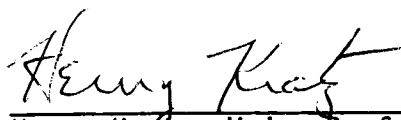
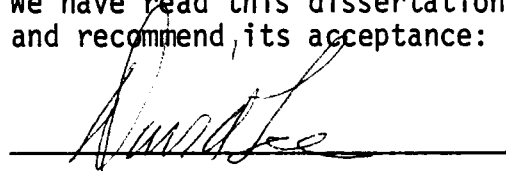


To the Graduate Council:

I am submitting herewith a dissertation written by Carol Jean Tullos entitled "The Language of the Nürnberg City Chancery of 1519 and Its Position in the Development of Modern Standard German." I have examined the final copy of this dissertation for form and content and recommend that it be accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, with a major in German Language and Literature.

  
Henry Kratz, Major Professor

We have read this dissertation  
and recommend its acceptance:







Accepted for the Council:

  
The Graduate School

THE LANGUAGE OF THE NÜRNBERG CITY CHANCERY OF 1519  
AND ITS POSITION IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF  
MODERN STANDARD GERMAN

A Dissertation  
Presented for the  
Doctor of Philosophy  
Degree

Carol Jean Tullos  
August 1983

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## ABSTRACT

This study describes the dialect of the Nürnberg Briefbücher (NBB) for 1519 in an effort to determine its position in relation to the rise of modern standard German and Lutherdeutsch, and to try to devise a standardized method whereby other texts can be analyzed and their positions vis-a-vis Luther can be shown. The Nürnberg dialect was chosen because, in the sixteenth century, it was exposed to and perhaps influenced by other dialects through trade, travel and the regular meeting of the Imperial Diet, and was situated on the Bavarian/Franconian--and thus an Upper German/Middle German--dialect interface. The year was chosen so that the text was contemporaneous with, but not yet influenced by, Luther's language.

To form a basis for comparison with Lutherdeutsch and other Early New High German dialects, the study analyzes the phonology, morphology, syntax, and to some extent, the vocabulary of the NBB, and then compares the dialect to Luther's language. Special attention is paid to linguistic characteristics which mark the transition from Middle High German to New High German, as well as those which identify specific dialects of the medieval and modern periods. Although in all areas there are some medieval characteristics to be found--e.g., the absence of unrounding, the lack of vowel leveling in present tense singular verbs, or the frequent use of so as a relative clause introducer--the language is basically modern in phonology, morphology, and syntax. Semantically it is somewhat less modern. The dialect

appears to be essentially a Bavarian/Franconian mixture with few extreme dialect forms.

Lutherdeutsch is somewhat less modern than the NBB dialect, for example in the retention of the third plural present indicative verb ending -ent, or of the dative personal pronoun in for ihnen and dative im/ir/in for sich, or in the less consistent use of strong and weak adjective declensions. The relationship between Lutherdeutsch and the dialect of the Nürnberg chancery may be described as follows: Luther's language is Middle German, whereas that of the NBB has some Upper German characteristics. However, the two have more in common than in contrast.

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## SYMBOLS AND ABBREVIATIONS

|             |                                                              |
|-------------|--------------------------------------------------------------|
| < >         | graph                                                        |
| [ ]         | phonetic value, according to International Phonetic Alphabet |
| >           | develops into                                                |
| <           | develops from                                                |
|             |                                                              |
| A, acc.     | accusative                                                   |
| D, dat.     | dative                                                       |
| ENHG        | Early New High German                                        |
| f, fem.     | feminine                                                     |
| G, gen.     | genitive                                                     |
| gmc.        | germanic                                                     |
| imp.        | imperative                                                   |
| ind.        | indicative                                                   |
| m, masc.    | masculine                                                    |
| MG          | Middle German                                                |
| MHG         | Middle High German                                           |
| n, neut.    | neuter                                                       |
| N. nom.     | nominative                                                   |
| NBB         | <u>Nürnberg</u> Briefbuch for 1519                           |
| NHG         | New High German                                              |
| P, p, pl.   | plural                                                       |
| PG          | Proto-germanic                                               |
| pres.       | present                                                      |
| pret.       | preterite                                                    |
| S, s, sing. | singular                                                     |
| subj.       | subjunctive                                                  |
| UG          | Upper German                                                 |
| V, voc.     | vocative                                                     |

## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION

#### I. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

One of the greatest problems in the study of the German language is the question of the origins of standard high German as it exists in the modern period. A number of dialects<sup>1</sup> exist in Middle High German (MHG) as they do in New High German (NHG), but none can be shown to be the direct antecedent of the standard speech of the modern period. Likewise there is no standard literary language in MHG in which the modern High German might be rooted.<sup>2</sup> Thus there is a discontinuity in the development of German which has yet to be fully explained. Furthermore, until recently, there has been little attempt to discover just what the circumstances are in the Early New High German (ENHG) period that lead to the development of standard NHG.

---

<sup>1</sup>The Middle High German (MHG) dialects can be divided into Low, Middle or Central, and Upper German. Low German dialects include Lower Franconian and Lower Saxon. Middle German dialects are Rhinefranconian, Ripuarian and Moselle Franconian, Upper Saxon (also called Meissnisch), Thuringian, and Silesian. Upper German dialects are South and East Franconian, Swabian, Lower and Upper Alemannic, and Southern, Northern and Middle Bavarian.

<sup>2</sup>It has been suggested that a courtly literary dialect of a sort did exist, but Rudolf Schützeichel, in "Zur Entstehung der neuhochdeutschen Schriftsprache" [Nassauische Annalen, 78 (1967), 75] points out that this language was too much tied to the courtly life and that it died out with the culture.

Scholars of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries gave the period between MHG and NHG little consideration, presumably because the literary output of the period seemed less remarkable than that of the Middle Ages or the modern period. The question of the origin of NHG was solved by naming Martin Luther its creator and crediting the dissemination of his biblical translations with its spread and eventual ubiquity.

The situation was not that simple, of course, and scholars of this century have increasingly turned their efforts to the period during which NHG developed. It is maintained by most scholars that the Early New High German period covers the three centuries from 1350 to 1650. Most scholars give phonological reasons for choosing 1350 as a terminus a quo. Bentzinger, Bock and Langner, in their article on ENHG,<sup>3</sup> cite the essential completion of diphthongization. W. B. Lockwood<sup>4</sup> gives lengthening of short vowels in open syllables as the distinctive change in the mid-fourteenth century. Waterman notes that most of the phonological and morphological changes that characterize the ENHG period have started by 1350, and by that time Middle German (MG) dialects are beginning to be more prestigious than Upper German.<sup>5</sup> Virgil Moser bases his dating on the beginnings,

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<sup>3</sup>Rudolf Bentzinger, Rolf Bock, and Helmut Langner, "Frühneuhochdeutsch," in Geschichte der deutschen Sprache, ed. Wilhelm Schmidt (Berlin: Volkseigner Verlag, 1969), p. 281.

<sup>4</sup>W. B. Lockwood, An Informal History of the German Language (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1976), p. 102.

<sup>5</sup>John T. Waterman, A History of the German Language (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1976), p. 102.

in the mid-fourteenth century, of a supradialect in the chancery language of Karl IV.<sup>6</sup>

Other scholars cite extra-linguistic reasons for this periodization. Schirokauer emphasizes the rise of the universities and the shift of cultural endeavor from the courts to the universities and the middle class, noting that the history of the ENHG period corresponds to the rise and flourishing of cities and trade.<sup>7</sup> In keeping with this, he ends the ENHG period in the early seventeenth century (1620) when, he says, the courts resume their role as cultural centers.

The ENHG period is generally considered at an end by the middle of the seventeenth century. Bentzinger, Bock and Langner cite the completion of the leveling out of root vowels in verbs as the significant event separating ENHG from NHG.<sup>8</sup> Virgil Moser notes that by 1650, East Middle German has spread north to take over the dialects of the northern cities, and that West Middle German and West Upper German dialects are becoming more and more similar.<sup>9</sup> Lockwood adds that the language societies (which are established in

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<sup>6</sup>Virgil Moser, Frühneuhochdeutsche Grammatik (Heidelberg: Carl Winters Universitätsbuchhandlung, 1929), I, 1, 1.

<sup>7</sup>Arno Schirokauer, "Frühneuhochdeutsch," in Deutsche Philologie im Aufriß, ed. Wolfgang Stammer (Berlin: Erich Schmidt Verlag, 1952), I, 1016.

<sup>8</sup>Bentzinger, Bock, Langner, p. 281.

<sup>9</sup>V. Moser, p. 1.

the early seventeenth century) and the grammarians develop a "uniform written language in the modern sense" by this time.<sup>10</sup>

A few scholars disagree with the periodization discussed above. Hugo Moser does not recognize an ENHG period, but calls 1250-1500 "spätmittelalterliches Deutsch."<sup>11</sup> He begins the period with the changeover from the use of Latin to German in the chanceries, and the general rise of cities and trade. He ends the period concurrent with the beginning of publication of Luther's works and the rising German nationalism of the early sixteenth century and later.

Walter Mitzka, in the 19th edition of Paul's Mittelhochdeutsche Grammatik,<sup>12</sup> agrees that 1350-1650 is the proper time frame for ENHG, but arrives at that conclusion, as does L. E. Schmitt,<sup>13</sup> by choosing a 300-year period centered roughly on the years of Luther's productivity. Finally, Johannes Erben labels as ENHG the period beginning in 1250 and continuing into the sixteenth century--beginning with the end of the MHG Blütezeit and running

---

<sup>10</sup>Lockwood, p. 88.

<sup>11</sup>Hugo Moser, Deutsche Sprachgeschichte, 3rd ed. (Stuttgart: Curt E. Schwab, 1957), pp. 132-141.

<sup>12</sup>Hermann Paul, Mittelhochdeutsche Grammatik, 19th ed., ed. Walter Mitzka (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1966), p. 17.

<sup>13</sup>In Schirokauer, col. 1016.

until the "typische Strukturzüge des frühen Neuhochdeutschen" are in place.<sup>14</sup>

In spite of the arguments of Hugo Moser and Johannes Erben, it seems most logical to call the years between 1350 and 1650 the ENHG period. There are sufficient linguistic reasons<sup>15</sup> for 1350 as a terminus a quo and also sufficient indications of its end in the seventeenth century with the establishment of the linguistic societies and the near completion of those morphological and syntactic changes which mark the NHG standard language.

The sources of the NHG standard language which developed in this period are disputed, but its necessity is not. The need for a single NHG written language is bound up with the history of the period in general. It arises with the Renaissance: as travel and trade throughout Europe and beyond begin to increase, the need for a broadly understandable speech grows, and with the development of printing, the need for a widely intelligible written language develops also. These things are occurring at a time when the strength of the central government--the Holy Roman Empire--is waning and the power of the new middle class is growing. The decentralization of government means that the written language of government,

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<sup>14</sup>Johannes Erben, "Frühneuhochdeutsch," in Kurzer Grundriß der germanischen Philologie bis 1500, ed. Ludwig E. Schmitt (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1970), I, 386.

<sup>15</sup>Herbert Wolf, in an excellent article, "Zur Periodisierung der deutschen Sprachgeschichte" [Germanisch-Romanisch Monatsschrift, NS21 (1971), 78-105], lists a large number of phonological changes that have occurred by 1350. They are, by and large, the changes discussed here in Chapter II.

either Latin or German, is no longer as widely used as before, and that communication that was formerly handled by the Imperial chancery might be taken over by individuals. Members of the middle class, who did not or could not maintain scribes and did not have schooling in Latin or German, begin to write in their own German dialect. Hence the need for communication throughout Germany makes some sort of supradialect very important.

Some ENHG dialects which might have sufficed for a common written speech were in existence already. Gemeines Deutsch was the dialect used in the Vienna chancery of the Habsburgs. It was commonly used in the South. It is thought by some scholars, notably Hugo Moser<sup>16</sup> and Friedrich Maurer<sup>17</sup> that without Luther's intervention, Gemeines Deutsch might have been the basis for NHG.

Another written dialect which enjoyed widespread popularity was that of the Imperial Chancery of Prague. This dialect was predominantly Middle German, and was widely imitated in smaller chanceries and by city governments. A third dialect of importance was that of the Saxon Electorate, based on the speech of the Saxon-Thuringian area.

In addition to these dialects, new linguistic forces began to be felt in the late Middle Ages. The free cities--trade centers

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<sup>16</sup>Hugo Moser, "Die Entstehung der neuhochdeutschen Einheitssprache," Deutschunterricht, 3 (1951), 62.

<sup>17</sup>Friedrich Maurer, "Zur Frage nach der Entstehung unserer Schriftsprache," Germanisch-Romanisch Monatsschrift, NS2 (1951-52), 113.

such as Nürnberg--had communication through trade with speakers of widely differing dialects, and thus had the opportunity to spread their own language over large areas as well as to absorb elements from others. Nürnberg, for instance, had extensive trade with the Netherlands and with northern Italy,<sup>18</sup> which meant that its citizens came in contact with northern, eastern and southern German dialects. It is thought because of this that the Nürnberg dialect might show some elements borrowed from other dialects.

In the late fifteenth century, as printing developed, another factor came into play: in the interest of selling more printed works, printers began to work towards a dialect that could be widely understood. Unfortunately, their efforts were so bound by regional dialects that by the mid-1500's at least five distinct printers' languages existed: Bavarian/Swabian (Augsburg), Upper Rhenish (Strassburg, Basel), Upper Saxon (Leipzig, Wittenberg), Middle Rhenish (Mainz, Worms, Frankfurt), and a Nürnberg/Bamberg dialect which was a combination of Middle and Upper German elements.<sup>19</sup>

Thus at the beginning of the ENHG period there was a fairly strong need among the nobility, tradespeople and bureaucracy for some sort of language that might be understandable to all

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<sup>18</sup>Josef Pfanner, "Die deutsche Schreibsprache in Nürnberg von ihrem ersten Auftreten bis zum Ausgang des 14. Jahrhunderts," Mitteilungen des Vereins für Geschichte der Stadt Nürnberg, 45 (1954), 159.

<sup>19</sup>Adolf Bach, Geschichte der deutschen Sprache, 7th ed. (Heidelberg: Quelle and Meyer, 1965), p. 255.

German-speaking people. At the end of the period this need had been met by an essentially modern supradialect which is standard NHG.

Just how this language was created--or grew--has been the subject of some speculation over the last century. A unique idea proposed by Müllenhoff in 1892 was that the roots of standard NHG extend as far back as the Rhinefranian speech of the court of Charlemagne, whence the dialect travelled from imperial chancery to imperial chancery until it reached Prague. From Prague it went to the Saxon Electorate, where it was taken up by Luther.<sup>20</sup> The most obvious criticism of this theory is that there is no body of written works to document the existence of a distinct dialect used continuously from Old High German through MHG to NHG. The theory also leaves out all consideration of the dialects of Old and Middle High German, an omission which seems inappropriate.<sup>21</sup>

For the most part, however, the scholars of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries settled the question of the creation of the NHG standard speech by fiat. It seemed obvious that Luther, who by his own testimony worked ceaselessly toward a speech that might be understood by all Germans, had taken the dialect of the Saxon Electorate and modified it into a language that, if not

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<sup>20</sup>Karl V. Müllenhoff, Denkmäler deutscher Poesie und Prosa aus dem 8.-12. Jahrhundert, 4th ed. (Berlin: Weidmann, 1964), I, xxxiii-xxxv.

<sup>21</sup>Schützeichel, p. 75.

immediately understandable to all, quickly became so as the printed editions of his Bible translations reached every corner of the German-speaking lands.

One of the best known defenders of Luther as the creator of the NHG written language was Friedrich Kluge, who stated unequivocally that

Unsere jetzige Schriftsprache ist im wesentlichen eins mit der Sprache des Reformators, die früh zur Norm für Deutschland überhaupt geworden ist. Nicht die Sprache Niederdeutschlands oder der Schweiz erlangte die Vorherrschaft; die Zukunft gehörte auch nicht der bayrisch-österreichischen Mundart, die durch das habsburgische Kaisertum zur Herrschaft über Deutschland berufen schien. Das Meißnische oder Obersächsische, das durch Luthers Bibel klassisch wurde, ist der Literaturdialekt, aus dem das Schriftdeutsch damals hervorging und sich in der Folgezeit stets erneuerte.<sup>22</sup>

Friedrich Maurer agreed with Kluge, noting that had Luther's teachings not created NHG, Gemeines Deutsch would have been its base.<sup>23</sup>

Other scholars have since proposed other theories, but none has ever denied the importance of Luther's work. Burdach proposed that the Prague chancery language, spread to the North and West by the humanists of the fourteenth century, formed the core of the NHG standard speech, but H. Bach pointed out that linguistic evidence does not support this.<sup>24</sup> Then in the 1940's Theodor Frings theorized

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<sup>22</sup>Friedrich Kluge, Von Luther bis Lessing, 5th ed. (Leipzig: Quelle and Meyer, 1918), pp. 39-40.

<sup>23</sup>Maurer, p. 112.

<sup>24</sup>H. Bach, "Die Entstehung der deutschen Hochsprache im Frühneuhochdeutschen," Zeitschrift für deutsche Mundartforschung, 23 (1955), p. 193.

that since the Meissen area was colonized by people from all areas of Germany, the Meissen dialect was a mixture of all the German dialects. In addition, because of its location Meissen was a center for trade and Meissnisch became a lingua franca and hence the basis of standard NHG. Schützeichel<sup>25</sup> explains Frings' theory and goes to considerable extent to disprove it, pointing out that the area Frings calls Meissnisch also includes Bamberg, Würzburg and Nürnberg. In addition, Frings claims that the newness of the colonial area frees it from tradition and allows the Mischdialekt to grow. Schützeichel argues that the colonists brought traditions with them which could as easily have hampered the growth of a common speech. The idea that the spoken dialect influenced the written one was popular for a time,<sup>26</sup> but objections were raised by Virgil Moser, among others, who states that although a written dialect may have some dialect coloring, in general it holds itself aloof from local speech.<sup>27</sup>

In spite of this attempt to see beyond Luther as the father of NHG, scholars continued to attach perhaps undue importance to his part in the development of High German. Hugo Moser, in "Entstehung

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<sup>25</sup>Schützeichel, pp. 78-83.

<sup>26</sup>Werner Besch, Sprachlandschaften und Sprachausgleich im 15. Jahrhundert, Bibliotheca Germanica, II (Munich: Francke Verlag, 1967), p. 352.

<sup>27</sup>Virgil Moser, Historisch-grammatische Einführung in die frühneuhochdeutschen Schrifttdialekte (Halle: Waisenhaus, 1909), p. 11.

der neuhochdeutschen Einheitssprache," reaffirms the conclusions of earlier writers:

Will man Luthers sprachlicher Bedeutung gerecht werden, so genügt es nicht, ihn als denjenigen herauszustellen, durch dessen Wirken dem Gemeinen Deutsch in der ostmitteldeutschen Sprachform ein gefährlicher Wettbewerb entstand, dem es schließlich unterliegen sollte. Er ist nicht nur der Begründer der neuhochdeutschen Schriftsprache ostmitteldeutscher Prägung, sondern vor allem auch der Muster ihrer Gestaltung; seine Sprache steht zwar nach der Lautform, der Wortstellung, der Wortwahl, Wortbildung und der Satzfügung in der ostmitteldeutschen Überlieferung, aber er vermochte sie freizumachen von den Fesseln des Kursächsischen Juristendeutsch, entwickelte die spätmittelalterliche Sprache der Innerlichkeit und Erbauung weiter, suchte und fand die frische Volksnähe des Ausdrucks und schuf neue Wörter . . . und glückliche Lehnübersetzungen, die rasch aufgenommen wurden.<sup>28</sup>

Only in the sixties do scholars begin to look carefully at Luther's work and at the ENHG period in general. Schützeichel emphasizes the part played by the languages of chancery and legal documents (Urkunden), maintaining that as early as the fourteenth century these languages began to expunge the more obvious dialect elements. What Luther did was what the Kanzlei- and Urkundensprachen were already doing--he removed the gross dialect characteristics and replaced them with forms understandable to all speakers of German:

Mit Martin Luther wird dann der unbestrittene Angelpunkt der weiteren Entwicklung erfaßt, wenn man auch längst weit davon abgekommen ist, in ihm einfachhin den Schöpfer der nhd. Schriftsprache zu sehen. Es muß aber auch hervorgehoben werden, daß sich Luther die bereits im Gang befindlichen Entwicklungen bewußt angepaßt hat, sie dadurch allerdings auch forderte, beschleunigte und mit der Reformation und dem Buchdruck diesem von ihm

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<sup>28</sup>Hugo Moser, Entstehung der neuhochdeutschen Einheitssprache, p. 66.

aufgegriffenen und dann mitgestalteten mittleren Deutsch zum Siege verhalf.<sup>29</sup>

Werner Besch, in Sprachlandschaften und Sprachausgleich im 15. Jahrhundert, looks at Luther's language and at some of the ENHG dialects and concludes that Luther's main contribution lay in how he used the dialect material available to him. Besch points out that Luther's speech is not bound to one dialect and that where differences exist, he generally picks the NHG form (which is generally also the Upper German).<sup>30</sup> He notes that the Upper German dialect area was a relatively united one compared with other areas at that time and that Luther took advantage of this:

Luther jedenfalls hat sich in der sprachlichen Zersplitterung der damaligen Zeit die relative Einheitlichkeit im Südosten zunutze gemacht. . . . Seine Bedeutung besteht darin, daß er entschieden weiterführt, was schon seit Jahrhunderten stetig im Gange war, nämlich daß er seine ostmitteldeutsche Sprache noch ein Stück näher an die Sprache des Südostens rückt.<sup>31</sup>

Seen from the perspective of NHG, a further problem exists concerning the relationship between Luther's language and standard NHG. Since there are many elements in Luther's speech that differ from today's standard German, the question arises as to the provenience of the corresponding elements today. If these elements of Luther's speech are present in other dialects of German

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<sup>29</sup>Rudolf Schützeichel, Mundart, Urkundensprache, und Schriftsprache (Bonn: Rohrscheid, 1960), p. 127.

<sup>30</sup>Besch, Sprachlandschaften, pp. 347-349.

<sup>31</sup>Besch, Sprachlandschaften, p. 349.

contemporary with Luther, it would seem that these dialects contributed to the development of standard NHG. Is it possible, then, that some dialects were more "modern" than Luther's and therefore exerted their own influence on the rise of NHG? It seems possible that along with the undeniably large influence of Luther's dialect and that of Meissen, there were other less widely used dialects that had their own effects on the language.

The Nürnberg dialect, because of its location and the influences exerted on it by contact with other dialects through trade, etc., has a good chance of being one of the more modern and less regionally bound dialects of the time. It is the aim of the present study to look at the dialect of the Nürnberg City Chancery in these terms--to see if this language is sufficiently modern and free of obvious dialect elements to have had some input into the creation of standard NHG. It is to be hoped that other studies of other dialects of the period are already being undertaken, so that a clear picture of the German language--or languages--of the period may emerge.

## II. SOURCES AND METHODS

An attempt has been made, in choosing the manuscript used for a description of the Nürnberg dialect, to avoid the insufficiencies which have been characteristic of other Early New High

German dialect studies. In 1944 Frings and Schmitt<sup>32</sup> pointed out that earlier researchers had concentrated too much on phonological and morphological characteristics, which, although they are the most decisive determinants of dialect (or at least the most easily noticed elements), do not describe a dialect completely. Frings and Schmitt stressed the necessity of including syntactical and semantic analyses in dialect studies. In 1968, Werner Besch summarized a number of weaknesses of previous studies in "Zur Entstehung der neuhochdeutschen Schriftsprache."<sup>33</sup> He agreed that syntactical and semantic studies had been neglected, and added that existing studies concentrated too much on East Middle German dialects. Furthermore, the studies covered widely disparate times, ranging from the fourteenth to the sixteenth centuries, thus destroying the possibility of meaningful comparison of the studies. He noted that extant studies had not analyzed texts close enough in time to Luther's Bible, and suggested that

Wenn sich die weiteren Forschungen zur Entstehung unserer Schriftsprache stärker als bisher auf die schreibsprachlichen Gegebenheiten in der 2. Hälfte des 15. und in den ersten Jahrzehnten des 16. Jh. konzentrieren und dabei alle größeren Schreiblandschaften im Blick behalten würden, könnten viele Probleme ihre Lösung erfahren.<sup>34</sup>

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<sup>32</sup>Theodor Frings and L. E. Schmitt, "Der Weg zur deutschen Hochsprache," Jahrbuch der deutschen Sprache (1944), pp. 2, 73.

<sup>33</sup>Werner Besch, "Zur Entstehung der neuhochdeutschen Schriftsprache," Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie, 87 (1968), pp. 410-411, 425.

<sup>34</sup>Besch, Sprachlandschaften, p. 351.

As is indicated in this quotation, he also recommended that researchers should work with large geographical areas because High German is obviously not the extension of any one Middle High dialect, but a mixture of many elements.<sup>35</sup>

However, working with large geographical areas has its drawbacks. First, the sheer amount of textual material required for any study of more than one dialect at once is prohibitive in terms of time needed. The individual dialects are at least fairly distinct entities, and their boundaries do provide a convenient means of dividing the textual material into manageable amounts. Second, any study that crosses dialect boundaries must by its nature ignore those boundaries to some extent, omitting characteristics which make each dialect distinctive in order to concentrate on characteristics which make them either modern or homogeneous.

Based on these suggestions, then, the most useful study would seem to be one which analyzes a dialect not of the East Middle German area, using manuscripts from the first decades of the sixteenth century, and including studies of phonology, morphology, syntax and semantics. It was decided, in order to keep the present study to a manageable size, to limit the textual material to relatively long manuscripts--length being important for syntactical investigations. To make the study as accurately based as possible, the choice was further limited to dated manuscripts written within a

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<sup>35</sup>Besch, Sprachlandschaften, p. 425.

single decade and known to be of Nürnberg origin. The aim of this was to find manuscripts written as close as possible to, but before the publication of, Luther's first major biblical translation in 1522.

I omitted printed works from consideration in order to avoid the problems of dealing with individual printers' languages. These hybrid dialects were quite frequently very different from the general dialect of the area in which the printers worked. A last condition was that the manuscript be in good condition and relatively easy to read.

The dialect of Nürnberg was chosen for this study for several reasons. First, it has not previously been described for this time period, except in two reportedly inaccurate studies. The two studies are by August Gebhardt (Grammatik der Nürnberger Mundart)<sup>36</sup> and Hildegard Eberl (Sprachschichten und Sprachbewegungen im Nürnberger Raum vom Hochmittelalter bis zur Gegenwart. Diss. phil. Graz, 1944). The Gebhardt work is widely criticized for inaccuracies and for ignoring historical dialect forms. Eberl's work is criticized by Josef Pfanner<sup>37</sup> for its use of printed sources instead of manuscripts, and for its dependence on Gebhardt's work and modern dialect criteria. Erich Straßner adds also that Eberl's texts were chosen on the basis of Nürnberg dialect characteristics rather than known Nürnberg origin, so that they were selected "nach Kriterien,

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<sup>36</sup>August Gebhardt, Grammatik der Nürnberger Mundart (Leipzig: Breitkopf and Härtel, 1907).

<sup>37</sup>Pfanner, pp. 148-208.

die eigentlich erst in der Untersuchung festzulegen  
wären."<sup>38</sup>

Another reason for choosing the language of the Nürnberg chancery is that Nürnberg was, in the sixteenth century, a major crossroads and trade center, which assured that it was exposed to many dialects of German. Third, the city was and is located on the Bavarian/Franconian dialect interface and the dialect is generally considered to have elements of both Bavarian and Franconian. A fourth reason for the choice was that Nürnberg was closely tied to the Holy Roman Empire and hence to the Imperial Chancery language. Eggers notes: "in Nürnberg zwischen 1350 and 1520 mehr deutsche Reichstage stattfanden als in irgendeiner anderen Stadt."<sup>39</sup>

For all of these reasons it was expected that the Nürnberg dialect would represent a mixture of dialects from Bavarian, Franconian and the trade centers and chanceries of Germany--a Mischdialekt which might be significant in the process through which the several MHG dialects were amalgamated into NHG.

Although Nürnberg is by no means lacking in archival material, manuscripts that fit the long list of requirements are few. The time itself is a major difficulty, for by 1500 printing had already experienced a healthy growth and the number of extensive works being

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<sup>38</sup>Erich Straßner, Graphemsystem und Wortkonstituenz (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1977), p. 75.

<sup>39</sup>Hans Eggers, Deutsche Sprachgeschichte, Rowohlt's Deutsche Enzyklopädie, 270, 271 (Reinbek bei Hamburg: Rowohlt, 1969), III, 23.

copied by hand was already declining. In addition, a large number of manuscripts available for the period are works copied from other manuscripts or even from printed works. Even though the copyist might have been from Nürnberg, if his original text was written in another dialect, the possibility of dialect contamination is at best unassessable. Translations, which are primarily from Latin, are also unusable because of the probable influence of Latin on German, particularly in the syntactical sphere.

In the end, the only manuscript found which unequivocally fills all the necessary requirements was the extensive and interesting collection of city correspondence known as the Nürnberg Briefbücher (NBB) which are available almost continuously between 1405 and 1736. These manuscripts are the official records of the correspondence of the city of Nürnberg. They were written in the city offices and have been the possession of the city and the Bavarian State Archive (formerly the Kaiserliches Kreisarchiv) since their writing. Sample folios from the manuscript are in the Appendix.

They consist of large<sup>40</sup> leatherbound volumes, each of which--there are three for 1519--contain copies of the city's correspondence over about four months. The script is a reasonably legible bastarda typical of the time. There are fortunately no unresolvable peculiarities to the script. It appears to be written all in one hand.

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<sup>40</sup>Page size is 30x22 cm.

Abbreviations and symbols are numerous in the manuscripts, but none is undecipherable or even unusual for the time. In the transcriptions used in the present study abbreviations and symbols were expanded in cases where there was no doubt as to their meaning, and left unresolved when doubt existed. The most common abbreviations are listed here: <sup>~</sup> superscript = n (meinē = meinen 109v27, meynūg = meynung 109r9); a descending stroke on a final letter, = en (geduld, = gedulden 109r14); an ascending stroke on a final letter' = er (gutt' = gutter 109r22); <sup>~</sup> superscript = ra (Marggēfen = Marggrafen 109v30); p = per (psonen = personen 109r30); c = et cetera.<sup>41</sup> The common form -kt or -k<sup>t</sup> was left unresolved because of the two possible interpretations: -keit/-kait. Excerpts from the NBB are followed by page and line citations when cited in the text of this study.

The interpretation of the bastarda of the Nürnberg Briefbücher was occasionally made difficult by confusion among the letters i, u, m, n, and their combinations, and between medial c and r. Context usually made the proper interpretation possible, however.

The analysis of the language of the manuscript was accomplished by the usual method of collecting sample words for the linguistic changes or phenomena which determine the essence of the language. For instance, in assessing phonology, words were extracted to attest the phonetic value of each vowel and consonant.

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<sup>41</sup>Kurt Düfler and Hans-Enno Korn, Schrifttafeln zur deutschen Paläographie des 16.-20. Jahrhunderts, Veröffentlichungen der Archivschule Marburg, No. 2 (Marburg: Institut für Archivwissenschaft, 1966), Table II.

Where a particular linguistic change appeared only partly accomplished, examples were given, but little attempt was made to give a statistical value to the examples. Although it would be desirable to be able to attach a percentage value to a phenomenon, the numbers of words involved here was never great enough to allow more than the most tentative appraisal. Since only a very large and probably computer-aided study could hope to make use of statistical methods, rough percentages only have been indicated here. Where percentages have been given, the total number of sample elements involved in any approximation has also been cited.

The analysis of the language of this manuscript has two major goals: first, an accurate description of the dialect itself, without reference to historical or geographical relationships; and second, an assessment of the dialect in synchronic and diachronic terms--that is, on the one hand, how the dialect is related to normalized Middle High German and New High German, and on the other hand, how it compares to Luther's written language. Time and the complexity of the subject prevented its comparison to other dialects of the time.

Thus the following chapters on phonology, morphology, syntax and semantics will be concerned first with description and then with comparison. Description of a dialect is of course simply a matter of arranging in compact form the material which is already there to see in the linguistic examples available. In trying to reconstruct the progress of a dialect from one stage to another, however, one

must compare the language with both its former and future states. For this purpose the next four chapters will deal with specific changes that are already known to have taken place, either at the beginning or the end of the Early New High German period. Most of the phonological changes occurred between Middle High and Early New High German, although some began early in the Middle High period. The morphological and syntactical changes generally occur later, and mark the transition from Early New High German to New High German.

## CHAPTER II

### PHONOLOGY

In order to assess the phonology of the Nürnberg chancery dialect used in this manuscript, it is necessary to look first at the means by which the sounds are expressed--that is, their graphic representation, the writer's orthography. The major phonological changes between MHG and NHG are fixed early in the ENHG period, but orthography remains in a state of flux throughout the time, varying from dialect to dialect and decade to decade. What letters shall be used to represent what new or old sounds, what the exact quality of an umlauted vowel is, how umlaut and vowel length can be signified--these are unresolved or even unasked questions in 1519. Also, the need to produce something of sufficient ostentation to prove the importance of the City Council is at odds with the need to produce quick copies of, for that time, massive amounts of text. So the text of the NBB is a combination of oversized capitals and formulaic spellings contrasted with a quick cursive script free from most embellishments and poor in diacritical marks. The following pages on orthography present a picture which by modern standards seems confused, but is for ENHG a relatively consistent system, not unduly influenced by provincial dialect elements.

## I. VOWELS

The script of the NBB for 1519 employs the following symbols: a, ä, b, c, d, e, f, g, h, i, j, k, l, m, n, ö, o, p, r, s, ß, t, u, v, w, y, z. The paragraphs below illustrate the usage of these graphs in accented syllables.

<a>

<a> represents MHG and NHG a, ā. There is no indication of length. <a> is found in all positions where either MHG or NHG a or â would be expected:

MHG a > NHG a: stracks 117v23, zusatz 110r28, tapfern 109r18;  
 MHG a > NHG ā: Adel 119r16, erwarten 110v13, tag 110r2;  
 MHG â > NHG ā: Ersamen 112r19, Rath 112r20.

<ä>

<ä> represents MHG ae and e, but not exclusively. In the few cases where <ä> = MHG ae, MHG ae can also be found spelled <e>, and in one case, also <a>: klärlich 116r22 vs. clerlich 113r3; nächst 109v29, nechten 111v5, nachsten 110r20. Likewise <ä> and <e> can alternate as representatives of MHG e: verträgen 116v15, vertragen 109v11. In by far the largest number of cases, however, the umlaut of a is represented by the graph <e>.

<e>

<e> represents MHG e, ë, ê, ä, ae, and NHG e, ē, ä, and ā.

The provenience of <e> cannot be deduced from the graph:

- MHG e > NHG e: widersetzen 117v17, eltern 110r11, zubestellen 118r5;  
 MHG e > NHG ē: entheben 118r13, pferd 119r32, here (=Heer) 228v10;  
 MHG ë > NHG e: zettel 112r23, etlicher 118r19, unwidersprechlichen 117v10, selbs 117v6;  
 MHG e > NHG ē: pfleger 111v15, versehen 119r27, begerten 119r22;  
 MHG ê > NHG ē: wenigsten 119r31, erlich 110v11, befehdung 235v21, selen 232v22;  
 MHG e > NHG ä: heißig 113r4, gentzlich 116r23, mechtig 111v7;  
 MHG ae > NHG ā: gnedigclich 117v27, clerlich 113r3, beschwerlich 109r15.

<e> also appears for MHG ei in two words--zwen 119r28, and bede 116r3--and for NHG ö in zwelffhundert 115v23.

<ee> appears for MHG ê, if only rarely, to indicate length: eerlich 229r12, vereert 237r3, seer 229r34.

### <i>/<j>

Unfortunately the graphic situation with respect to <i> presents some difficulty. <j> appears initially, both as vowel and semi-vowel: jst 115r4, jn 114r28, jedes 119v13, jagerlich 115r4. <i> appears medially: berichten 109v10, mitler 110v13, and root-initially when prefixed: beiagen 234v7. <y> appears as a spelling variation of <i>/<j> in most positions (see under <y> for examples), but never in the pronouns mir, dir, jm, jr, etc., or in -lich, although it does appear for ie, i, in sy (=s*ie*) 109v11, etc. <i>/<j> represents MHG i, ie, and NHG i, ie, ī:

- MHG i > NHG i: jn 109r10, jrrig 116v5, pillich 109v14, zwischen 109r12, hitziger 115r13;  
 MHG i > NHG ie: verschriben 109v10, erschinen 114r16, zufriden 109v17, diser 109r20, zymlich 111r5.  
 MHG i > NHG ī: jm 113v9, dir 111v10, mir 109v28, jr 109r13.

<i> also alternates with <ie> in forms of dienst(-) and occasionally in krieg(-): dinst 119v23, dinstleut 118r8, krig 227v26; dienst 109r10, dienstleut 111r3, krieg (kriegssachen 110r11). <i> appears for MHG e and NHG ü in wirdig 115v15. This unrounded form is quite common in ENHG. <ii> appears rarely, in forms of dieser: diis 189r17.

### <o>

The graph <o> represents MHG o, ô, oe, and NHG o, ō, ö, ȳ. <o> also represents MHG u, ü, and NHG u, but these occurrences are infrequent.

|                 |                                                                           |
|-----------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| MHG, NHG o:     | hoffnung 118v13, got 113v4, erfordert 110v8, Donnerstag 109r25;           |
| MHG o > NHG ō:  | hof 109v4, gleichwol 110r7;                                               |
| MHG ô > NHG ȳ:  | genoßen 111r29, groß 174r16, so 118r8;                                    |
| MHG, NHG ö:     | Coln 118v18, but also Cölne 118v1, öffentlich 173v2;                      |
| MHG o > NHG ȳ:  | hochloblicher 112v21;                                                     |
| MHG oe > NHG ȳ: | horen 111v4, vertrosten 111r2;                                            |
| MHG u > NHG o:  | sonnder 117v26, fromen 111r12, sonst 229r10, (occasionally sunnst 113r9); |
| MHG ü > NHG ö:  | konigen 113r9.                                                            |

There are only a few situations where <o> deviates from the pattern described above. Although the prefix un- appears as a rule, on- is used occasionally, as in onersucht 117v12. The occasional appearance of <o> in anntwort (veranntwortung 117r2) in place of the more common <u> (anntwurt 113r20) is by analogy with Wort. MHG o appears instead of NHG u in forcht 115r3, and sometimes for NHG u in konfftigen 230r17. MHG a changes to o in wo 110v9. The sinking of u to o in the presence of n or r plus consonant is an indication of West Middle

German and Swabian influence.<sup>1</sup> It occurs part of the time with sonnder, sonst, and gonstigen 112v11.

### <ö>

<ö> appears sporadically in forms of mögen and elsewhere, but umlaut is more often not shown (For examples of mögen, see Table 3.4). <ö> represents MHG ö in Cölne 118r1, MHG oe in nötter 119r4 (=NHG nötiger).

### <u>

This manuscript observes the orthographical convention of using <v> to represent y and u in word-initial position, and <u> for y and u in all other positions. For ease of discussion this study will treat vocalic <u> and <v> as u, and consonantal <u> and <v> as y. Citations will be spelled as they are in the manuscript.

<u> represents MHG u, ü, uo, üe, and NHG u, ū, ü, ū, o.

Although <u> must represent ü in many cases, there is no designation of umlaut in the text.

- |               |   |                |                                                                               |
|---------------|---|----------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| MHG u         | > | NHG u:         | Burgermaister 109r1, vnnser 109r8, gedulden 209r14;                           |
| MHG u         | > | NHG <u>ū</u> : | verursachen 109r17, tugendt 110r22, Churfursten 113r24;                       |
| MHG <u>ü</u>  | > | NHG <u>ü</u> : | fursten 110r12, rustung 109r23, jungsten 110r27;                              |
| MHG <u>ü</u>  | > | NHG <u>ū</u> : | vbrig 119r13, gespurt 119r10, vber 113r6;                                     |
| MHG uo        | > | NHG <u>ū</u> : | fuder 112v23, zuthun 111r21, mumen 111r16;                                    |
| MHG uow       | > | NHG u:         | beruen 229r10 (usually spelled berwen 117v7);                                 |
| MHG <u>üe</u> | > | NHG <u>ü</u> : | betruben 113v27, gebruder 109v2, gemut 109r9, verhutzen 109v23, mußen 228r19; |

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<sup>1</sup>H. Bach, Handbuch der Luthersprache (Copenhagen: G.E.C. Gad, 1974), I, 66.

MHG u > NHG o: sunnst 113r9;  
 MHG ü > NHG ö: urputtig 110v27 (=NHG erbötig)

Besides the alternation between u and o discussed under <o>, (e.g., gunstigen 112v10, gonstigen 112v11) there is only one situation where <u> appears at variance with the general pattern above. In about 25% of occurrences, uff appears in this manuscript instead of auff. This is common in ENHG, particularly when uf is not heavily accented. In all other situations where MHG u should have been diphthongized, <au> appears.

## II. DIPHTHONGS

### <ai>/<ei>

These two digraphs represent MHG ī, ie, and ei, and NHG ai and ei. In general the copier has adhered to the Bavarian custom of using <ai> for MHG ei, <ei> or <ey> for MHG ī: erberkait 113r27, vertzaichnus 109r12, waidwercks 114r28, genaigt 110r31; schreyben 109r7, fleys 109r21, vermeyden 109v22. However, there are frequently cases where MHG ei is rendered <ei>: keyßerliche 112v27, nachgreiffen 114r26, meynung 109r9. In a few words both <ai> and <ei> appear for MHG ei: gemein 113v5, geistlicher 112r2, einicherley 111v19; gemainem 110r16, gaistliche 111v15, ainicherley 112r3. Wayn 112v2 appears once, weyn frequently.

<ey> also appears for the final syllable ie, borrowed from the French in MHG, in copey 187r25, parthey 189v10. Although copy 193r16 occurs once, and copien (pl.) more often (192v11), <ey> is used as a rule.

<ie>

<ie> represents MHG ie and NHG ie: anpieten 109r10, fliehen 110r13, kriegssachen 110r11, hieher 111v5, hierynnligender 109v7, veindsbrief 119v17.

<au>

<au> represents MHG û, ou, and NHG au:

MHG û > NHG au: tausent 115r18, zugebrauchen 111r1,  
haußfrawen, auß 111r19, etc.

MHG ou > NHG au: augen 111r2, hauptsach 116v2, lauffen 119v22.

<au> is spelled <aw> in some instances: haußfrawen 111r16, Baws 109v4, vmbehawens 117v3.

<eu>

<eu> represents MHG iu, öu, and NHG eu, äu:

MHG iu > NHG eu: schleunigs 111r27, freuntlichen 109r20,  
zeugs 118v24;

MHG öu > NHG äu: geleutert 113r12, weitleufftigen 117r27,  
gepreuch 231r31.

<ew> appears for <eu> in forms of neu and euer: newen 109v5, ewrm 109v6. NBB durchlechtig 112v17 (=NHG durchlauchtig) is a form also used by Luther.<sup>2</sup>

## III. CONSONANTS

<w>

<w> is a distinct graph (i.e., it is not represented by <uu>, <uv>, etc.) used to represent MHG and NHG w: welcher 109r9, wollt 109r10, schweren 111r2, zweyfels 111r30, <w> replaces MHG uow in rwe

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<sup>2</sup>H. Bach, Luthersprache, p. 226.

109r20, berwet 110r28, and is used for NHG u in au and eu, particularly when either diphthong is followed by a vowel, but also before consonants and in final position: haußfrawen 111r16, vertrawen 113r13, Baws 109v4, fraw 111v15; newen 109v11, newlich 110v14.

### <j>

In the NBB consonantal j is as yet indistinguishable from vocalic j or i. It is used only in word-initial position, both for MHG and NHG i and for NHG j. For examples see <i> above.

### <y>

As with <j>, <y> has no unique function in this text. It replaces initial <i>/<j> (MHG i) and medial i, and appears frequently in ie and the diphthongs ai and ei:

ie: yeder 115v3, yedoch 117r26;  
i: geschryben 109v29, zymlich 111r5  
ai: Bayrn 114r10, vrtayl 114r22;  
ei: Meynung 114r2, sey 118f14;

MHG ie is replaced by <y> in nymand 110v14, <y> appears once for g in beyert (= begehrt) 195r23.

### <r>

In general <r> is used in this text as it is both in MHG and NHG. It appears singly in all positions: verursachen 109r17, wurd 109r17, vnnser 109r15, reylich 109r19. It may be doubled medially or finally: jrrig 116v5, herr 109r1, verrer 229r16 (but also verer 115r7). <r> remains in this text in some compounds where it has been

superseded by a lengthened vowel in NHG, namely in darnach 115r16, darbey 115r12, dartzu 118v1, etc.

### <l>

<l> represents MHG and NHG l, with minimal spelling variations. Initially <l> follows MHG and NHG usage without exception: lanngksam 110r21, lannd 119v12, loblicher 113r1. Medially, <l> is doubled: bestallung 109r13, willen 112v5, all forms of sollen and wollen. Pre-consonantally <l> and <ll> appear apparently at random. Presumably the doubling is stylistic, as with <n>: welcher 109r9, hanndlung 109r11, besoldung 109r19, alls 109r7. Vorelltern 116v16 appears alongside voreltern 113r1, gellts 118r21 alongside gellts 118r23. In final position <l> and <ll> are both present: Adel 112v9, dhweyl 109r13. Zol 112v20 and zoll 112v27 appear with about equal frequency.

### <m>

<m> appears generally as in NHG, although there are no instances where <mm> is used to indicate NHG short vowels: mer 113v6, menigclich 113v28, man 118v26, kompt 113v11, nemlich 114r6, versamlung 115v12, lanngksam 110r21, zum 114r25.

By assimilation, n has become m in empf- (< entf-) in this text: empfindtlich 111r29, etc.<sup>3</sup> <b> (occasionally <p>) appears after m and before consonants, but this occurs almost exclusively between m and t. See under <b> and <p> for examples.

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<sup>3</sup>Entf- and empf- are both used in MHG.

<n>

Initially and finally <n> appears mostly as one would expect both in MHG and NHG: nun 110r1, nachuolgend 110r6, schaden 109r17, daran 109v15, befinden 110r26. Stylistic doubling--the use of double consonants to make words look more impressive--occurs medially, <nn> alternating with <n> in some words: langen 109r17, sonders 111r29, lanngksam 110r21, sonnder 117v26. In others, <nn> appears almost exclusively: vnns 109r7, hanndlung 109r12.<sup>4</sup> <nn> appears once for dat. plural denn 236r17. This is probably due to scribal error.

<p>

<p> appears in the NBB under the following conditions:

- 1) <p> = MHG, NHG p in foreign words and in the combination  
sp: principal 117r32, disputacion 117r28, petschir  
119v34 vnuerspart 119v29, erspries 112v4, gespurt  
119r10;
- 2) <pp> = MHG, NHG pp in sippschafft 115r15, but  
nechstgesipte 111r17 also appears.
- 3) <p> = NHG b. Initially both <p> and <b> occur in  
accented syllables, although <p> predominates: potschafft  
119v29, pringen 119r30, zugeprauchen 116r4. In unaccented  
syllables <p> appears occasionally: dinstperkt 116v23,  
nachtparlicher 116v22. For examples with initial <b>,

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<sup>4</sup>Vns- and handlung have been found a few times, in perhaps less than 5% of citations.

below. Pre-consonantally <p> appears only occasionally:  
hapt 112r23. <p> does not appear in final position.

4) <p> appears sometimes instead of <b>, epenthetically  
 after m: bestimptem 113r6, kumpst 111v5, auffnempt  
 115v18;

5) <p> occurs in the NHG combinations emp- (MHG en + b-) and  
empf- (MHG entf-): emporung 110v10, empfindtlich 111r29.

The use of initial p for b is a Bavarian/Upper German dialect characteristic that is quite common in this text. Offenpar 221v23 alternates with offenbar 174r17 and offenwar 221v12. The alternation between b and w is likewise an Upper German characteristic.<sup>5</sup>

#### <pf>

<pf> appears as in MHG and NHG: Pferd 119r32, verpflichtung 113r5, schimpf 119v30. The double <ff> in tapffer 236r7 is a rare exception. Tapfer appears otherwise (109r19).

#### <b>

<b> appears as in MHG and NHG with three exceptions: the substitution of <p> in some environments, the epenthetic use of <b> after <m>, and the appearance of <w> in offenwar 221v12. <b> is always used initially in unaccented syllables: besonndern 118r1, bestellt 119v3, behalten 119v7. <b> alternates with <p> initially in accented syllables, with <p> used in about two-thirds of the cases: Bundt 119v7, veindsbrief 119v17, bitten 116v12; but pundtischen

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<sup>5</sup>Pfanner, p. 207.

118v13, außpringen 113r10, pitten 113r19, geprechen 114v21, pesten 115r25.

Medially, <b> appears as in NHG and MHG: lieber 119v7, aber 118v22, glauben 118r13. Final <b> represents both MHG -p and -b: auffheb 116r18, hab 119r4, ob 119r16. <b> also appears medially and finally after m, in etymologically correct position in darumb 119r4, and epenthetically in frembd 118v27, gehaimbd 119r7, Baumbgartner 119v23, etc. The use of <b> in Wittib 218r7 is a normal development of w in this period.

#### <f>/<v>/<ff>

In this text the sound [f] is represented by <f>, <ff>, <v>, and <u>, depending partly on environment, and apparently partly on scribal tradition. In general, <f> appears initially and finally, <ff> medially and finally. <v> appears initially but is spelled <u> when prefixed (e.g., vil vs. souil). Except for the use of <ff> and <u>, the text anticipates modern usage. The distribution of v and f, with very few exceptions, is modern: fursten 114r6, fasst 119v6, frembd 118v27; Bischof 114r8, pfaltzgraf 114r6, hofmaister 114r14, von 114r21, vierdten 114r27, vil 119v7. Exceptions are veind (veindsbrief 119v16), furnemlichsten 114r15.

Whereas <ff> in NHG indicates a preceding short vowel, in this text <f> is almost always doubled medially and pre-consonantly, and often finally, regardless of preceding vowel quantity: hoffnung 118v14, Ritterschafft 114r13, treffenlich 114r12, funff 114r17, straff 117v19, darauff 114v5.

When initial <f> appears in compounds or with prefixes, it usually remains <f>: vnfructpar 117v20, beffinndest 119r20, Churfursten 114r6; but <v> in these circumstances is spelled <u>: vil 119v7, etwouil 119r22, versehen 119r29, zuuerhalten 119v14. Medial <f> and <u> are generally not confused, but occasionally exceptions occur: frefel 117v17, freuel 117r5, leichtuertigen 117v13, zuzefertigen 114v19. <v> is also used to represent initial <u>. (See under <u> for examples.)

#### <c>

<c> appears initially in the NBB in foreign--that is, Latin--words: costen 110r19, Copien 228r28; and in Coln 118v18, closters 112r2, curfursten 114r8 (also Churfursten 114r6). <c> alternates with <k> in clerlich 113r3/klärlich 116r22 and forms of klagen (clagend 112r22, zubeklagen 113r26).

Medially, <c> is found in foreign words: jnstruction 110r4, principal 117r32, and in the combinations <ch>, <ck> (see below). For all practical purposes <c> does not appear finally. The only examples in this text all involve the MHG suffix -ec, which has become -ig here in word-final position (e.g., vollig 116v1, instead of MHG vollec), but is unvoiced by the addition of <c> when the suffix -lich is present: gnedigclich 117v27, vnderthanigclich 117v32, menigclich 111v9, etc.

#### <k>

<k> appears initially for etymological k except in the few cases mentioned above, where <c> is preferred: komen 109r11, kauff

112r24, konigcliche 112v27. Otherwise <k> appears only in -kait: erberkait 113r27, Edelkait 112v12; after g (to represent unvoicing?): langk 113v27, fangknus 114r22; and in the combination <ck>.

### <ck>

<ck> appears in the manuscript both medially and finally after vowels, n, and r: beduncken 110r12, wurckung 110r24, verruckter 220r2, schicken 110v10, gedenck 110r9, waidwercks 114r28, stuck 114r19, fleck 112r23.

### <ch>

<ch> appears nearly as in NHG, pre- and post-consonantly for MHG h and ch: mocht 109r13, solche 109r13, forcht 115r3, kriegssachen 110r11, durch 117v4, noch 110r8. Exceptions are few:

- 1) solh- and welh- appear for, although less often than, solch- and welch-, and generally only before -s: solhs 110r18, welhs 117v23, solche 109r13, welcher 109r9.
- 2) <ch> appears for MHG and NHG h in beschech 109v19, geschichte 110v4, weichprunnen 115r21, kirchweich 213v15, and occasionally in forms of hoh-: hoche 221v30.
- 3) <ch> (=MHG h) alternates with <g> in forms of nächst: nächst 109v29, nagst 118r7, nechsten 111v5, negsten 113v26.

### <g>

<g> appears throughout the manuscript where it would normally appear in MHG and NHG: grund 117r8, gelts 118r21, guten 118r17,

Burger 118r3, beschuldigungen 117r8, zugesagt 117r21, weg 117r21, and for MHG c, NHG g in genaigt 117r26, fug 117r6, dursstig 117r15.

With the exception of <gk> and <gc> (see under <k>, <c>), the deviations from the norm are unusual. <g> appears for <ch> occasionally in nächst/nägst, and for <k> in Marggraf 114r7, a not unusual instance of assimilation.<sup>6</sup> Rarely <y> appears for <g>, as in beyert 195r23 for begehrt. Begert is far more common.

### <h>

<h> appears initially and medially in this text in etymologically correct environments: herrn 113r6, haben 113r19, horen 113v21; versehen 113r2, fliehen 110r13, geschehen (also with <ch>-- see above) 113r30, hohen 116v14. <h> appears finally only in the frequently attested beuelh 117r23 and stylistically in combinations with <t>: gepieth 112r23, Bith 113r28. <h> also appears in combination with <j>: jhenen 111v7, jhenige 111r25.

<h> is not used to separate syllables, except in muhe 109r23, or to indicate length: vnndersteen 113r26, vorgeende 231r33, mer 113v6, abfaren 113v9.

### <t>/<tt>

The use of <t> initially and finally is consistent with MHG and NHG usage: tag 109r7, tapfern 109r18, trostlichen 118v13,

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<sup>6</sup>Hermann Paul, Virgil Moser, and Ingeborg Schröbler, Mittelhochdeutsche Grammatik, 21st ed. (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1975), par. 92. Subsequent references to this work will be noted in parentheses in the text.

dienst 109r10, zeyt 109r20, gemut 109r9, zugesant 209r8, gefertigt 209r8. Between vowels, <t> is usually doubled, regardless of the length of the preceding vowel: vrputtig (=erbötig) 109r21, verhutzen 109v23, bittzettel 117r2, willtpeuten 114r26; but anpieten 109r10. Before and/or after a consonant, <t> remains single: etlichen 118r19, verhalten 109r21, mntlich 109r12; or is stylistically doubled<sup>7</sup> by the addition of <d>: viernten 114r27 (but also vierten 237r14, konndten 109v19. <dt> is more often present, however, in words which historically end in -nd: vnuerpundtne 116v29, lanndt (lanndtgraf 114r11), pundsstandt 115v13, where it probably represents unvoicing. <dt> also occurs where elision has brought <t> and <d> together in third person singular verb forms: werdt 109v22, befrembdt 117r14.

Further, an excrescent <t> appears from time to time in (da)selbst 231v11 (which also appears without <t>: selbs 110r13), and in -schaftt, (freuntschaftt 119v32), sonnst 229r10, dannocht 230r11, etc. Ent- has become standardized for both MHG en- and ent-: entgegen 116v17, entheben 118r13. <t> occurs epenthetically in allenthalben 182r15, deinthalben 212r12, nachtparlicher 116r22, aigentlich 228r8, and others.

#### <d>

<d> is used in all positions very much as it is in MHG and NHG: dienst 109r10, darumb 109r22, dritten 111r9, widerumb 109r11,

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<sup>7</sup>V. Moser, Frühneuhochdeutsche Grammatik, I, 1, par. 29.4.

gedulden 209r14, Fuder 112v23; nachuolgend 110r6, abred 112r26, vnd 109r9. The only exceptions are the frequent use of <dt> in final position to indicate unvoicing: tugendt 110r22, grundt 117r14, pundtischer 118r13 (also grund 117r8, Bund 110r16), the addition of <-d> in yemand 109r17, nymand 110r14, weylund 112v29, and the consistent use of <d> in unter: vnnderlaßen 110v8. The excrescent <d> in yemand, etc. is a Middle and Upper German characteristic.

In the word zettel, <d> and <tt> are both used. When it appears as a heading, apparently meaning "addendum," it is spelled Zedula 111r7. In the text of the letters only zettel is used: bittzettel 117r2.

#### <s>

In the NBB <s> represents MHG s, z, and NHG s, and appears in all positions: sorglichen 110v7, kriegssachen 110v11, sonnder 110v9, disen 110v7, lesen 110v26, ersamen 111r12, gleichnus 110v28, vnns 109v7, alles 110v5, das 230r16, was 173v12.

The copier has followed the practice of using an elongated <s> (ſ) initially and medially, and <s> only finally. For ease of reproduction, <s> has been used throughout in attestations for the present study.

#### <ß>

<ß> represents MHG z, zz, and occasionally s, and NHG ß, ss, and s. It appears medially and finally:

MHG z > NHG s/ss/β: außgericht 110r1, genoßen 111r29,  
 maß 109r13;  
 MHG zz > NHG ss/β: vergeßen 110v8, große 112v25,  
 entschloßen 110r8;  
 MHG s > NHG s: keyßerliche 112v27, haußfrawen 111r16,  
 weyßen 111r12.

### <ss>

<ss> appears much less frequently than <β>. It represents  
 MHG s, z, zz, and NHG s, ss, β, and occurs medially and before  
 consonants:

MHG s > NHG s: fasst 119r6, mussten 117r10 (1st pl. pret.  
 subj.);  
 MHG z > NHG β: müssen (1st pl. pres. ind.) 228r19,  
 zuerpussen 117v17;  
 MHG zz > NHG ss: wissen (inf.) 236r26.

In addition, <ss> appears occasionally in other environments:

cossten 110r17 (but also costen 110r19), hessen 114r11.

### <sz>

<sz> appears only very rarely: halbgewachsen 116r2,  
schulthaiszen 112r19.

### <sch>

<sch> as a designation for [ʃ] is used in the manuscript as  
 it is in NHG--that is, before l, m, n, w, but not before p or t:  
schleunigs 111r27, schweren 111r2, schnel 197v5, stilligen 111r8,  
gunstigen 110v3, vnwidersprechlich 117v10. <sch> also appears as  
 in MHG and NHG in schreyben 109r14, schicken 110v10, zwischen  
 116r26, etc.

<z>

In word-initial position <z> always appears as in NHG. Medially and finally where one would expect <z>, <tz> appears. This is apparently stylistic doubling, common throughout the ENHG period.<sup>8</sup> It is not without exception here, though there seems to be no discernible pattern to the few deviations.

z: zeyt 11256, zu 116r25, zal 115v23;

tz: betzalung 112r25, abtzustellen 116v21, hitziger 115v13; nutz 112r4, gantz 114v32, trutz 117r5;

Exceptions are Bittzettel 117r2, mitlerzeyt 112r1, zuzupringen 118v19, yetzuzeitten 115v3.

## IV. PHONOLOGICAL CHANGES

It is perhaps not surprising that phonological changes during the ENHG period are the best documented changes, both in studies such as this one, of individual texts and dialects, and in grammars of ENHG because phonological changes are the most easily noticeable. Whatever the reason for their emphasis, though, the phonological changes which occur between MHG and NHG are well known: monophthongization, diphthongization, shortening and lengthening of vowels, rounding, unrounding, reduction of double consonants, loss of medial h, the change in s from [s] to [ʃ] before some consonants, the voicing of s between vowels, and the discontinuation of the practice of indicating final consonantal unvoicing (Auslautsverhärtung) orthographically. In the following paragraphs these phenomena

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<sup>8</sup>v. Moser, Frühneuhochdeutsche Grammatik, I, 1, par. 30.1.

are recorded as they are manifested in the NBB for 1519. A discussion of the evidence of these changes in relation to that which has been found in Luther's language will be undertaken in Chapter VI.

### Monophthongization

By the late MHG period the monophthongization of MHG ie ( $=[i\bar{e}]$ ) uo, üe to ie ( $=[i:]$ ), u, ü has already taken place in Northern Bavarian, including Nürnbergisch,<sup>9</sup> and one would thus expect to see evidence of this in the manuscript under consideration. Further, it is also generally accepted, both on the basis of ENHG spelling and modern pronunciation, that in Northern Bavarian the resulting monophthongs, ie, u, ü were again diphthongized to ei, öu, ou. These are the gestürzte Diphthonge which are said to be characteristic of the Nürnberg dialect.

Monophthongization of uo and üe has certainly taken place. The digraphs <uo> and <üe> do not appear at all in the manuscript, and <u> is used wherever MHG uo or üe might have appeared: gutter ( $=$  gut, gen. sing.) 109r22, zu 109r8 and elsewhere, angesucht 109r8, betruben 113v27, gebruder 109v2, gemut 109r9. There is no spelling change associated with the phonological change in <ie>, but there is still some evidence for its monophthongization. <i> alternates with <ie> in forms of dienst(-): dinst 119v23, dinstleut 118r8, dinstgelt 109r18; dienst 109r10, dienstleut 111r3; and krig appears occasionally

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<sup>9</sup>V. Moser, Frühneuhochdeutsche Grammatik, I, 1, par. 81.3 and Note 1.

(227v26, 28) instead of the more common krieg, as in kriegssachen 110v11. sy is consistently used for NHG sie, and dy and die both appear for NHG die, although die predominates. <y> substitutes for <i>, MHG <ie>, in ymer 118r14, and nymand 110v14.

As for the gestürzte Diphthonge, neither <ou> nor <öu> appears at all in the text, and <ei> appears only for MHG î and ei (ai). Although Virgil Moser maintains that the secondary diphthongization occurs in "das ältere Frühneuhochdeutsch"--the period 1470-1520--he notes that they are not "explicitly attested" before 1578.<sup>10</sup> If they exist in Nürnberg's chancery language they are certainly not yet explicitly attested in 1519.

### Diphthongization

The diphthongization of MHG i, u, iu to ei (ai), au, eu has unquestionably taken place in the dialect of the NBB:

|                          |                                                                                                   |
|--------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| MHG <u>î</u> > ei/ey/ai: | <u>erberkait</u> 113r27, <u>heylichen</u> 114v8,<br><u>schreyben</u> 109r14, <u>gemein</u> 113v5; |
| MHG <u>û</u> > au:       | <u>tausent</u> 115v18, <u>laut</u> 110r4, <u>auß</u> 111r19;                                      |
| MHG <u>iu</u> > eu:      | <u>freuntlichen</u> 109r20, <u>euch</u> 109r20, <u>zeugs</u><br>118v24.                           |

The only non-diphthongized form is the common MHG form uff, which appears about one-fourth of the time, auff being used otherwise: uff 114r30, 109r7; auff(-) 112r12, 112r16, 112r2.

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<sup>10</sup>v. Moser, Frühneuhochdeutsche Grammatik, I, 1, par. 81.3, Note 17.

There is some variation in the spelling of the NHG analogues of MHG ei and ī. In the majority (about 80%) of cases, the scribe follows the Bavarian tradition of using <ai> for MHG ei, and <ei> for MHG ī. In other instances <ei> is used for MHG ei and <ai> for MHG ī, and occasionally <ei> and <ai> are used in the same word. (Examples may be found in the orthographic section under <ei>/<ai>, p. 27.) The variation in the use of <ai> and <ei> seems to indicate a leveling in pronunciation that has either occurred or is in progress in the two diphthongs.

#### Lengthening and Shortening

During the transition period from MHG to NHG, short vowels in open syllables lengthened, and long vowels in closed syllables were sometimes shortened. Because, with few exceptions, the same graphs were used--and are used--to indicate long and short vowels, there is almost no direct graphic evidence of these two occurrences. Lengthening and shortening are therefore at best difficult to distinguish in the dialects of ENHG. Although the two phenomena have most probably already occurred (judging by other dialects, at least) in the dialect of the Nürnberg officials, there is little, if anything, in the NBB that would indicate either a medieval or a modern status for short and long vowels. Only one of the possible indicators of length is present in the text, and that only rarely. There are no diacritical marks, no etymologically incorrect <h> placed after a vowel, and only occasionally a stem in

which a doubled vowel exists to indicate length: eerlich 119r12, vereert 137r3, seer 229v24, 216v20, steet 116r29.<sup>11</sup>

Shortening, which occurred preceding some consonant clusters and occasionally in unaccented syllables, is as difficult to distinguish as lengthening. The mere presence of a following consonant cluster is not evidence, since for the most part double consonants were present before the shortening. In the NBB, the diphthong ai/ei in zwainzig 206r29 is meager evidence that shortening has not occurred.

Doubling of consonants, which occurs in NHG after short vowels, indicates their shortness, and also, by its absence after long vowels, indicates length. The doubling of l, n, f, and other consonants in this text, however, is no indication of preceding vowel quantity. <ll> is not extremely common, and appears mostly in forms of stellen and fallen, where it is etymologically correct, and in sollen, wollen, and zoll, where it probably owes its presence to analogy: verfallen 109v8, zubestellen 118r5, gestallt 109r9, bestallung 109r13, willen 109r21, wollen 109r23, sollen 110r29, weinzollshalben 109r30. Its use does not apparently have any connection with preceding vowel length.

<ff> is used in etymologically correct position: treffenlich 114r12, but more often the doubling is gratuitous: Ritterschafft 114r13, lauffen 119v22, funff 113r17, vff 114r30, auff 113v19. Even here vowel length is no deciding factor, because <ff> occurs after

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<sup>11</sup>See page 64 concerning this form.

long and short vowels and even diphthongs. Medial <nn>, which does seem to appear only after short vowels, does not actually present good evidence for shortened vowels, because it almost always appears in otherwise closed syllables where the consonant cluster n plus consonant would already be sufficient to indicate a NHG short vowel: hanndlung 109r12, besonndern 111r12, empfanngen 112v25, anntwurten 115r22. There is no clear-cut evidence that lengthening has occurred, and it is impossible to show that long vowels have been shortened. In spite of Moser's findings<sup>12</sup> that the change took place in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, there is simply no evidence--or not nearly enough--to indicate it has taken place in this manuscript.

### Rounding

Moser's work<sup>13</sup> indicates that rounding did not occur to a great extent in the Nürnberg speech. When it did occur it involved only e/ö and occasionally i/ü. By the end of the fifteenth century, wöllen, schöpfen, öpfel, schöff, löffel, and schöffel are supposed to be common in Nürnberg. In the sixteenth century, zwölf, löw, and occasionally löschen and hölle should be present.<sup>14</sup> Of this group,

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<sup>12</sup>Virgil Moser, Frühneuhochdeutsche Grammatik, I, 1, par. 49-50.

<sup>13</sup>Ibid., par. 66.

<sup>14</sup>Ibid.

wollen 229v10, schopffen 221r17, and zwelff 115v23 are attested in the NBB. Zwelff is obviously not rounded. There is, furthermore, nothing to indicate that <o> is supposed to represent <ö> in forms of wollen. There is nothing to prove the opposite either. Although umlaut is sometimes indicated with <o>, it is more often not. This leaves only the evidence of schopffen to indicate that rounding is indeed occurring.

<i> is not often rounded in the Nürnberg chancery dialect. Moser<sup>15</sup> cites würde, würdig, and a few other words that have become rounded only in the seventeenth century. As one would expect, the 1519 manuscript contains only unrounded forms: wirdige 115v15, and elsewhere. No examples have been found of other rounded vowels.

### Unrounding

Unrounding, like rounding, is either non-existent in the chancery writing, or is present but not indicated by the orthography. Moser mentions that unrounding occurs only sporadically in Nürnberg in the sixteenth century.<sup>16</sup> Certainly words which appear unrounded in other dialects appear to be rounded here: romischer 112v21, fursten 110r12, sawme 228v6, freuntlichen 109r20, gemut 109r9.

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<sup>15</sup>Ibid.

<sup>16</sup>Ibid.

### Unvoicing of Final Consonants

Unvoicing of final consonants, or Auslautsverhärtung, occurred in MHG. Although final b, d, and g continue to the present to be pronounced respectively as p, t, k, the use of the graphs <p>, <t>, <k> to denote the sounds ceased during the early transition period from MHG to ENHG. The NBB, following this general pattern, does not usually indicate final unvoiced consonants graphically:<sup>17</sup> hab 231v11, ob 119r16, abred 112r26, vnd 109r9 and elsewhere, tag 118r16, krig 227v26. An exception to this is the use from time to time of <gk> in a few words, mostly following <n> or <nn>: langk 113v27, lanngksam 110r21, vnuerfengklicher 229r7, hinwegk 233r19. But these forms are counterbalanced by others: gelanng 118v14, lengs 117v14, angehengter 230v9, weg 117v21.

### Qualitative Change in S + Consonant

The change from [s] to [ʃ] before the consonants t, p, l, m, n, and w occurs during the ENHG period. Before t and p, there is no orthographical change--[ʃ] is represented by <s>--but the combinations sl-, sm-, sn-, sw- become schl-, schm-, etc. This change has certainly taken place in the Nürnberg chancery language by 1519: zugestellt 111r26, stilligen 111r8, vnwidersprechlich 117v10, schleunigs 111r27, hierynuerschloßner 111r19, schwagers 111r16, schweren 111r2, schnel 197v5.

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<sup>17</sup>The unvoicing of <b> to <p>, which occurs frequently in this text, nevertheless does not appear in final position.

### Other Phonological Changes

There are three phonological changes from MHG to NHG which do not lend themselves easily to investigation because they do not, per se, involve orthographic changes, but must be deduced from other orthographic occurrences.

Medial h. In MHG, h is pronounced [h] medially. In NHG it has lost its phonetic value and become merely a symbol denoting syllable separation (in sehen, for example). The evidence for this change is indirect: the loss of <h> where it did occur in MHG, or its appearance in etymologically incorrect environs (e.g., stehen, gehen). In this text there is little to indicate the value of medial h. It is almost always present where appropriate in MHG: versehen 119r27, empfahen 110v14, absent where inappropriate: vnndersteen 113r26, ergen 113v31. Only rarely does it serve as a syllable divider, in muhe 109r23, where it replaces w and j in that function.

MHG double consonants. MHG double consonants were pronounced double, or long. In NHG they are not. The change began in MHG and was speeded up by the general ENHG proclivity for stylistic doubling of consonants.<sup>18</sup> Although there is no direct evidence for this phonological reduction in the manuscript, a look at the occurrence of geminated consonants might provide some indication of pronunciation. First consider the MHG geminata. In general this text uses

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<sup>18</sup>v. Moser, Frühneuhochdeutsche Grammatik, I, 1, par. 31.

double consonants conscientiously, which is not surprising, considering the tendency toward stylistic doubling: allein 236r30, entsynnen 110r9, schicken 110v10, vergeßen 110v8. There is, however, at least one case where a MHG geminate is spelled with one consonant as well as with two: nechstgesipte 111r17, sippschafft 115r15. This would seem to indicate that <p> and <pp> are identical in pronunciation. Second, the tendency toward stylistic doubling itself at least arouses the suspicion that geminata are pronounced as their single counterparts. Particularly where the double consonants appear in the place of both MHG and NHG single consonants--lauffen 119v22--it seems unlikely that the pronunciation is double.

Voicing of s. A third phenomenon, the voicing of s between vowels, is also unprovable by orthographic means. Indirect methods used to discover non-orthographically indicated changes are of no help in this manuscript because of the ambiguous uses of <s>, <ß>, <ss>, and <sz>. In particular, <s> and <ß> are confusing. They represent MHG and NHG voiced and unvoiced sibilants--that is MHG s, z, zz, and NHG s(=[s, z]), ß, ss. <ss> stands in free variation with <ß>, and <sz> appears too rarely for its value to be determined. Furthermore, all four forms of s--<s>, <ß>, <ss>, <sz>--appear in intervocalic position in the NBB. Thus any attempt to determine whether any of these graphs is voiced or unvoiced is impossible on the basis of their environments.

## CHAPTER III

### MORPHOLOGY

#### I. VERBS

##### Tense and Mood

In MHG, as in NHG, there are two synthetic tenses, present and preterite, which appear in two moods, indicative and subjunctive. The imperative mood appears only in the present tense and is derived from it. One would expect the verbs of the NBB to follow this pattern, and of course they do. Unfortunately, the preterite forms, especially in the indicative, are almost never used, subjunctive forms are rare, except in modals, and the imperative is most often indicated indirectly. Therefore, the only really well-attested synthetic forms are present indicative. The other synthetic tenses are consistently replaced with periphrastic constructions: preterite tense is indicated by the present perfect forms, haben or sein with past participle, or by the past participle alone. Subjunctive mood is indicated by a subjunctive modal construction or, at least as often, by the modern conditional forms using werden in the subjunctive. Commands are rendered either by wollen: (ir) wollet aber die sachen den zoll belangend . . . vnderlagen 229r14-16, or by some phrase involving beuelh or beuelhen: ist darumb an euch vnnser beuelh . . . (das) ir wollet . . . 111v18-20, ist darumb an dich vnnser beger hiemit beuelhende das du . . . 111v30-112r4. True imperative forms are quite rare.

These periphrastic verb forms and their uses in the NBB will be discussed in Chapter IV. It only remains to be noted here that, because of the selective use of tense and the tendency toward periphrasis, the paradigms appearing in the following paragraphs are somewhat incomplete.

### Strong Verbs

The conjugation of the strong verb in the NBB deviates in three ways from the normalized MHG conjugation:

1) The -e- that separates stem from inflection in normalized MHG has been lost completely (syncopation and apocopation of -e(-) in MHG was not, however, uncommon). Apocope of -e is considered a southern dialect characteristic, and occurs in the NBB in most monosyllabic nouns as well as in verbs.

2) The third pl. pres. ind. ending -ent has been shortened to -en.

3) -ent appears once as a second pl. present subjunctive in ir werdent 111v19. Paul, Moser and Schröbler mention this as an Alemannic and/or South Rhinefrancian characteristic, but since it occurs so rarely, it is probably simply the mistaken use of an old third pl. ending where a "modern" (sixteenth century) ending would have been correct. There is certainly some confusion in the NBB over the nature of the second pl. inflection. Usually -(e)t appears, but occasionally -en is used. In fact, on one page, only -en is used: jr wolten 187v3, jr kondten 187v8, jr musten

187v8, jr seyen 187v17. The different endings are probably both shortened forms of -ent. If so, it is significant that the NHG form is used in the NBB in the majority of cases. Strong verbs are conjugated according to the pattern listed in Table 3.1.

It should be noted that although genomen is the usual preterite participial form, a few verbs which are automatically perfective in meaning form their part participles as in MHG--that is, without addition of the perfective prefix ge-.<sup>1</sup> Komen 109r11 is the regular past participle instead of gekomen, and geben 173v22 appears regularly, although gegeben 173r20 is also frequently used.

Imperative and preterite indicative forms do exist in the NBB, but as was noted earlier, they are extremely rare. Attested forms are as follows:

preterite indicative: (er) trug 183v31;

imperative:                zweyfel nit (2nd pers. pl.) 234v10,  
                              thut fleys (2nd pers. pl.) 235r1.

The first imperative example, zweyfel nit, lacks the characteristic -t ending and would seem therefore to be singular. This may be the case, since incongruences between subject and verb do occur in the NBB. The omission could also be attributed to scribal error, since ir is consistently used throughout the three-page letter.

Strong verbs in the dialect of the NBB appear in the normal seven classes of MHG and NHG. Although some changes occur between MHG and NHG--weakening of some strong verbs, for example--the strong

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<sup>1</sup>Paul, Moser, Schröbler, par. 156.

Table 3.1. Conjugation of strong verbs in normalized MHG and in the Nürnberger Briefbuch of 1519.

| Indicative          |         | Subjunctive   |                  |
|---------------------|---------|---------------|------------------|
| MHG                 | NBB     | MHG           | NBB              |
| <u>PRESENT</u>      |         |               |                  |
| S1                  | nime    | neme          | geb 179v30       |
| 2                   | nimest  | nemest        | vernempst 195r28 |
| 3                   | nimet   | neme          |                  |
| P1                  | nemen   | nemen         |                  |
| 2                   | nemet   | nemet         | nemet 186v15     |
| 3                   | nement  | nemen         |                  |
| <u>PRETERITE</u>    |         |               |                  |
| S1                  | nam     | naeme         | wurdest 115v4    |
| 2                   | naeme   | naemest       | erwuchse 205v20  |
| 3                   | nam     | naeme         |                  |
| P1                  | nâmen   | naemen        | trugen 199r23    |
| 2                   | nâmet   | naemet        | (wurden 114v14)  |
| 3                   | nâmen   | naemen        | trugen 205v27    |
| Infinitive:         | nemen   | nemen 227r27  |                  |
| Present Participle: | nemende | essend- 113r3 |                  |
| Past Participle:    | genomen | genomen 113r5 |                  |

Source: MHG verb forms are from Paul, Moser, Schröbler, page 155.

verbs attested in this text, with the exception of erheben, are strong in both periods. Neither has evidence been noted of transfer of verbs from one class to another in this text. The major change in strong verbs between MHG and NHG, the leveling-out of two preterite vowels to one, is not in evidence in the NBB because so few preterite forms appear. Table 3.2 presents examples of the strong verb classes.

Irregularities in the present tense of strong verbs may or may not be leveled in the NBB. In ENHG, in the second class, forms of the present singular took on the present plural vowels, so that the iu of the present singular may appear in ENHG as eu as a result of diphthongization, or as ie as a result of leveling. Like Luther, the NBB uses eu: zeucht 195v12, erpeut 215r25.

In the third, fourth and fifth classes, the vowel of the first person singular, originally identical with that of the second and third person, changes to that of the infinitive, so that, for example, ich nime becomes ich nehme. The change from i to e occurred in open syllables in North and Middle German, and was adopted into the NHG literary language in the ENHG period.<sup>2</sup> This change does not appear to have occurred in the NBB: ich vernym 216r13, ich gib 220r8, ich versich mich 225v19.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>2</sup>George Curme, A Grammar of the German Language (New York: Friedrich Ungar, 1922), p. 311.

<sup>3</sup>Curme (p. 311) notes that ich gib still occurs in Upper German dialects.

Table 3.2. Classes of strong verbs in the Nürnberger Briefbuch of 1519.

| Class | Infinitive                          | 3rd Sing.<br>Pres. Ind.            | 3rd Sing.<br>Pret. Ind. | Past Participle                                        |
|-------|-------------------------------------|------------------------------------|-------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------|
| I.    | pleyben 113r12<br>erscheinen 181r17 | pleybt 110r9<br>erscheint 174r17   |                         | pliben 234r24<br>erschinen 114r16                      |
| II.   | -ziehen 117r23<br>erpieten 175v29   | zeucht 195v12<br>erpeut 215r25     |                         | getzogen 116r14<br>erpotten 175r25                     |
| III.  | pynnden 218r20<br>finden 228r12     | verpindet 224v33<br>erfindet 178r1 | (w1r befunden 198r15)   | verpunden 204r1<br>empfunten 193v3<br>verholffen 235v4 |
| IV.   | komen 112r13<br>nemen 227r27        | kompt 228v10<br>furnimpt 183r1     |                         | komen 109r11<br>genomen 226v7                          |
| V.    | geben 115r26<br>umbzusehen 119r5-6  | gibt 110r1-2<br>sicht 182r22       |                         | geben 173v22<br>gegeben 173r20<br>angesehen 186r7      |
| VI.   | tragen 228r9                        | zutregt 212r19                     | trug 183v31             | zugetragen 197r30                                      |
| VII.  | halten 118r13<br>laßen 111r24       | enthalt 227r26<br>helt 220r33      |                         | gehalten 188r19<br>laßen 110r5                         |

### Weak Verbs

By MHG times weak verbs are no longer divisible, as they were in Old High German, into classes based on the Germanic infinitive ending (-jan, -ôn, -ên). Paul, Moser and Schröbler (par. 169) therefore reclassify weak verbs into two groups: those having a Bindevokal--e-- before the preterite suffix (that is, OHG -ôn and -ên verbs, and short stemmed -jan verbs) and those having no Bindevokal (the long-stemmed -jan verbs of OHG). But Paul, Moser, and Schröbler (par. 169) go on to point out that even in MHG this distinction is not hard and fast, because, for example, the -e- of the first group is frequently syncopated after n, r, l, and t. This Bindevokal very rarely occurs in the NBB: entlediget 184v9, bewilliget 205v14. Thus there is no real difference in forms, and no basis for grouping among weak verbs in this text. Table 3.3 represents no single weak verb, since none was used in all its forms. Instead, examples for each verb form are listed here:

- S1 schick 214r18, acht 225v7
- 2 bedenckst 180v14, hanndelst 195r4, berichtest 195r29
- 3 befrembdt 117r29, zweyfellt 227v30, berwet (= berührt) 110r28
  
- P1 schicken 116r2, begern 112r16
- 2 achtet 192v4, dawidersetzt 228r17
- 3 berichten 109v10, bewilligen 228r16, practicin 119r13
  
- Infinitive: achten 117r9, berwen 117v7
- Present Participle: eylender 119v28, nachfolgend 113r11, gepurennde 115v13
- Past Participle: furwendet 192v18, vermut 226v8, vermutet 175r15

Table 3.3. Conjugation of weak verbs in the Nürnberger Briefbuch of 1519.

| Present Indicative                  |                               |
|-------------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| S1 -∅                               | P1 -en (-n)                   |
| 2 -st (-est)                        | 2 -t (-et)                    |
| 3 -t (-et)                          | 3 -en (-n)                    |
| Infinitive: _____en                 | Past Participle: ge_____ (e)t |
| Present Participle: _____end (ennd) | ge_____ <sup>a</sup>          |

<sup>a</sup>When the root ends in -d or -t, the past participle may be formed without ending or with -et. Forms without -et may also bear adjective endings: auffgerichten 112v2.

Preterite indicative does not appear because no weak preterite verb forms were found. The subjunctive is represented only by a rare occurrence: third singular present subjunctive gepure 203r16. Subjunctive mood is generally expressed through modals or by use of the werden-conditional. As is true in MHG, the present indicative inflections of weak verbs are identical to those of strong verbs.

### Anomalous Verbs

Rückumlaut verbs. Rückumlaut verbs seem to be in transition in the NBB. Four verb simplexes occur, and each shows a different relationship between MHG and NHG forms. Bedencken 175v27-8/ (bedenckst 180v14)/bedacht 179r28 appears exactly as in MHG and NHG. -Stellen (zuruckstellen 176r2/abstellt 275v19/abgestellt 176r19) deviates from the MHG mixed verb, but is identical to the NHG stellen. Horen 192v24/gehort 176r3 is ambiguous. Since umlaut of <o> is infrequently and inconsistently designated in this text the value of <o> in gehort cannot be ascertained. -Senden (zusennden 176v19), with three distinct past participles, is clearly in a state of flux: vbersenndet 186r24, gesannden 217r4, gesannt 223r16 are all attested.

Mixed verbs. The mixed verb bringen is not attested in the preterite. However, it follows the MHG and NHG pattern in the infinitive: bringen 118v22. The past participle varies between forms with and without ge-: zugebracht 192v10, pracht 215r22.

Preterite-present verbs. Preterite-present verbs are well-represented in this text, due in part to the authors' dependence on modals to express the subjunctive mood. In contrast to the somewhat medieval forms of the strong verbs of the NBB, wollen and the preterite-present verbs show relatively modern forms, particularly through the presence in these verbs of NHG vocalism. For instance, u > o, ö in konnen, sollen, and mögen. Table 3.4 lists the preterite-present verbs attested in approximately 140 pages of text.

Wollen. Wollen is of particular interest because of two changes that take place, presumably in the ENHG period. First is the change in vowel from <e> to <o> in the indicative plural and subjunctive singular and plural; second is the inflectional change in the second sing. ind. present from -t to -st. While the vowel change has clearly occurred, the appearance of the second singular form (willit 194r25) indicates that the inflection has not changed. Forms of wollen are listed in Table 3.5.

#### Haben and Sein

Forms of haben are clear-cut and unvarying in the NBB, and generally consistent with NHG forms. The only deviations from the modern forms consist of the apocope of final -e, the use of <p> instead of <b> before <t> (in the past participle and second pl. pres. ind. forms, but not in the subjunctive) and the spelling <e> for NHG <ä> in the preterite subjunctive. The first two phenomena are characteristic of this manuscript and the southern dialects.

Table 3.4. Preterite-present verbs in the Nürnberger Briefbuch of 1519.

| Class | a. Infinitive<br>b. Past Part.     | Present Indicative |                             |                             | Present Subjunctive |                                        |                             | Preterite Subjunctive |                                              |                                                  |
|-------|------------------------------------|--------------------|-----------------------------|-----------------------------|---------------------|----------------------------------------|-----------------------------|-----------------------|----------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------|
|       |                                    | Person             | Singular                    | Plural                      | Person              | Singular                               | Plural                      | Person                | Singular                                     | Plural                                           |
| I.    | a. wissen<br>236r26                | 1                  |                             | wißen 119v8                 | 1                   |                                        |                             | 1                     |                                              |                                                  |
|       |                                    | 2                  | waist 230v19                | wisst 228r18<br>wist 233v23 | 2                   | wiät 180v2                             | wisset 208v18               | 2                     |                                              |                                                  |
|       |                                    | 3                  |                             |                             | 3                   | wië 180v29                             |                             | 3                     | west 205v28                                  | wësten 205v9                                     |
| III.  | a. können <sup>a</sup><br>115r24   | 1                  |                             | können 117v22               | 1                   |                                        |                             | 1                     |                                              |                                                  |
|       |                                    | 2                  |                             |                             | 2                   |                                        |                             | 2                     |                                              |                                                  |
|       |                                    | 3                  | kan 116v21                  | können 228r21               | 3                   |                                        |                             | 3                     | konnt 115v25                                 | konndten 109v19<br>konndt 231r34                 |
| III.  | a. bedorffen<br>199r30             | 1                  |                             | bedorffen 219v29            | 1                   |                                        |                             | 1                     |                                              |                                                  |
|       |                                    | 2                  |                             |                             | 2                   |                                        |                             | 2                     |                                              |                                                  |
|       |                                    | 3                  |                             |                             | 3                   |                                        |                             | 3                     |                                              |                                                  |
| IV.   | a. (sollen)                        | 1                  |                             |                             | 1                   |                                        |                             | 1                     |                                              |                                                  |
|       |                                    | 2                  | sollst 194r26<br>solt 111v5 | sollt 110r24<br>solt 231r19 | 2                   | sollset 222v24                         |                             | 2                     | solltest 201r28                              | sollten 114v4                                    |
|       |                                    | 3                  | soll 226v16                 | sollen 110r29               | 3                   |                                        |                             | 3                     | sollt 230r21<br>solte 230r24<br>sollte 176v1 | sollten 229v9                                    |
| V.    | a. mögen, mögen<br>114v16 181r19   | 1                  |                             | mögen 115r25                | 1                   |                                        |                             | 1                     |                                              |                                                  |
|       |                                    | 2                  | magst 119r14                |                             | 2                   |                                        | mogt 227r27<br>mocht 182r18 | 2                     |                                              | mochten 233v17<br>mocht 182r18<br>mochten 227r23 |
|       |                                    | 3                  | mag 117r16                  | mögen 228r3                 | 3                   | mög 115v22<br>mog 174r19<br>mug 177r22 |                             | 3                     | mocht 229r12                                 | mochten 229v8                                    |
| VI.   | a. (müssen)<br>b. müssen<br>232r30 | 1                  |                             | müßen 228r19                | 1                   |                                        |                             | 1                     |                                              |                                                  |
|       |                                    | 2                  |                             |                             | 2                   |                                        |                             | 2                     |                                              | müßten 117r10<br>müsten 190v8                    |
|       |                                    | 3                  |                             | müßen 116r4                 | 3                   |                                        |                             | 3                     |                                              | müsten 193v9                                     |

<sup>a</sup>können is also attested in the preterite indicative 1st plural: konndten 230v16, konnden 187r8.

Table 3.5. Conjugation of wollen in the Nürnberger Briefbuch of 1519.

| Indicative                | Subjunctive               |
|---------------------------|---------------------------|
| <u>PRESENT</u>            |                           |
| S1 will 231r14            | S1                        |
| 2 willit 194r25           | 2 wollest 119r20          |
| 3 will 227r20             | 3 wol 229r31, wole 232r22 |
|                           | woll 182r21, wolle 111r22 |
| P1 wollen 109r19          | P1 wollen                 |
| 2 wollt 234v5             | 2 wollet 112r28           |
| 3 wollen 110r10           | 3 wollen 236r3            |
| <u>PRETERITE</u>          |                           |
|                           | S1                        |
|                           | 2                         |
|                           | 3 wollt 119r19            |
|                           | P1 wollten 226v13         |
|                           | 2 wollt 117v31            |
|                           | 3 wollten 117r12          |
| Infinitive: wollen 229v10 | Past Participle: wollen   |
|                           | 115r16                    |

The spelling <e> for <ä>, however, is typical of the ENHG and earlier periods. The forms of haben are listed in Table 3.6. It should be noted that ich hann is an unusual form for the text under consideration. It was found only once, whereas citations for ich hab are numerous.

Although haben is generally consistent in form, sein shows a good deal of variation, both in form and orthography, in the present indicative plural and the present subjunctive. The occurrence, in the first and third pl. pres. ind., of sind and sein side by side with the form seind, reflects the unsettled state of these verb forms in MHG dialects, particularly in Middle German, where sind alternates freely with sfn (Paul, Moser, Schröbler, par. 178, Note 2). The fact that sind predominates in both persons (seind is rare) would seem to indicate a trend toward the NHG pattern of usage. Franke (p. 204) notes that seint is not uncommon in the speech of the Saxon Electorate in this time period, and represents an Upper Saxon form with ei and enclitic t. Kettmann adds that ei exists by analogy with the subjunctive.<sup>4</sup>

The orthographic variations are minor, and characteristic of the NBB: <p> appears for <b> occasionally in bin/pin, and <ey> and <ei> vary relatively freely. The final -e in were (third sing. pret. subj.) is sometimes omitted. The past participle, gewest, is a fifteenth-century form prevalent in the Middle German, East and Low

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<sup>4</sup>Gerhard Kettman, quoted in H. Bach, Handbuch der Luthersprache, I, 190.

Table 3.6. The conjugation of haben and sein in the Nürnberg  
Briefbuch of 1519.

| <u>Haben</u>                 |                          | <u>Sein</u> |                                                       |
|------------------------------|--------------------------|-------------|-------------------------------------------------------|
| <u>PRESENT INDICATIVE</u>    |                          |             |                                                       |
| S1                           | hab 226v27 (hann 208v7)  | S1          | bin 110r31, pin 178r23                                |
| 2                            | hast 230v5               | 2           | bist 118r5                                            |
| 3                            | hat 109r11               | 3           | ist 109r11                                            |
| P1                           | haben 227v2              | P1          | sind 109r20, sein 109r3<br>seind 237r12 (syen 236v22) |
| 2                            | hapt 109v12, habt 228r23 | 2           |                                                       |
| 3                            | haben 110r4              | 3           | sind 110r7, sein 113v5<br>seind 235r13                |
| <u>PRESENT SUBJUNCTIVE</u>   |                          |             |                                                       |
| S1                           |                          | S1          |                                                       |
| 2                            | habst 112r1              | 2           | seyst 112r4, seyest 230r23                            |
| 3                            | hab 226v7                | 3           | sey 109r24                                            |
| P1                           |                          | P1          | seyen 116r25, seien 180r13                            |
| 2                            | hapt 119v27              | 2           | seyt 231r10                                           |
| 3                            |                          | 3           | seyen 114v8, sein 228r3                               |
| <u>PRETERITE SUBJUNCTIVE</u> |                          |             |                                                       |
| S1                           |                          | S1          |                                                       |
| 2                            |                          | 2           |                                                       |
| 3                            | het 113v30               | 3           | were 114r30, wer 113r30                               |
| P1                           |                          | P1          | weren 117v32                                          |
| 2                            |                          | 2           |                                                       |
| 3                            | hetten 114v27            | 3           | wern 109v12                                           |

Infinitive: haben 110r24, sein 109r16.

Present Participle: habende 116r17, wesende 221r21.

Past Participle: gehapt 117r6, gewest 109r5 (gewesen 219r4).

Franconian dialects (Paul, Moser, Schröbler, par. 178, Note 3). Only once in 140 pages of text does the Bavarian gewesen appear.<sup>5</sup> The forms of sein are listed in Table 3.6. It should be noted that the first pl. pres. ind. form syen occurs only once, and is probably a miscopied seyn.

### Würzelverben

Würzelverben other than sein--that is tun, gehen, and stehen--show no really remarkable forms. The Bavarian/Middle German/East Franconian forms (Paul, Moser, Schröbler, par. 176, Notes 1 and 3) with ê, steen, and geen, are used exclusively. Whether this doubled <e> is disyllabic is difficult to tell. The occasional presence of stet alongside steet may indicate that the doubled <e> is a sign of length. Thun shows no unusual forms except in the consistent stylistic use of <th> for <t>. The attested forms of these verbs are as follows:

Infinitive: steen 232r30, zugeen 193r10, thun 226v31.

Present Participle: steende 119r14, vorgeende 174v24.

Past Participle: gestanden 116v6, außgangen 116r23, abganngen 232v22, gethan 112r22.<sup>6</sup>

Present Indicative:

2S: steest 119r19, thust 228v26;

3S: steet 116r29, stet 180v27, furgeet 193r6;

1P: steen 184v20;

2P: thut 227r31;

3P: thun 190r17.

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<sup>5</sup>Paul, Moser, Schröbler (par. 178, Note 3) indicate Bavarian and in part East Alemannic, East Franconian, and Eastphalian as the fifteenth-century provenience of gewesen.

<sup>6</sup>The one-time occurrence of gethun 225r6 as a past participle is probably due to scribal error.

Present Subjunctive:

3S: zustee 203r16, gee 193v20, thue 228v6;

1P: thun 114r24.

Preterite Subjunctive:

3S: stunde 203v2;

3P: thetten 212r15.

## II. NOUNS

Noun declensions in the NBB are difficult to assess for several reasons. First, their orthographic appearance causes confusion. Umlaut is somewhat capriciously indicated, or not indicated at all, and final -e is consistently dropped. Both of these omissions make difficult the choice of clear-cut examples of whatever noun classes might exist. In addition, contradictory forms often exist, as with the dative plural forms of land: landen/lendten/lendern.<sup>7</sup> Frequently a MHG noun class may be represented by only one or two attestations in the text, e.g., acc. pl. gest for masculine i-stem nouns. The following tables of noun classes (Tables 3.7, 3.8, and 3.9) reflect this state of confusion.

Strong Nouns

With the exception of here, which retains the final -e before all endings, all strong masculine and neuter nouns in the NBB are declined alike in the singular. Thus only plurals distinguish masculine and neuter noun classes. The general pattern for masculine plurals is identical to that for MHG, except for loss of final -e: MHG nom., gen., acc. pl. -e, dat. pl. -en; NBB nom.,

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<sup>7</sup>See below, page 93.

Table 3.7. The declension of the strong masculine noun in the Nürnberg Briefbuch of 1519, listed according to Middle High German classes.

| Case and Number | a-Stems        | ja-Stems           | i-Stems                            | er-Stems          | Consonant Stems                   |
|-----------------|----------------|--------------------|------------------------------------|-------------------|-----------------------------------|
| SN              | tag<br>109r7   | pfleger<br>227r18  | bruder<br>235r17                   | vatter<br>219r9   | -man<br>119r2<br>freund<br>227r11 |
| G               | tags<br>115r27 | pflegers<br>223v12 | bruders<br>196r18                  | vatters<br>217r30 | mans<br>208r15                    |
| D               | tag<br>112v13  | pfleger<br>227r16  | bruder<br>203v5                    | vatter<br>218v5   | man<br>203v2<br>freund<br>181v14  |
| A               | tag<br>119r11  | pfleger<br>111v15  | bruder<br>117r18                   |                   | man<br>186r2<br>freund<br>110v3   |
| PN              |                | pfleger<br>179r8   | bruder<br>203r29                   | vatter<br>109v9   | freunde<br>197v15                 |
| G               | (knecht)       |                    | bruder<br>117r19                   |                   | freund<br>229v18                  |
| D               | tagen<br>111v5 | pflegern<br>178v14 | brudern<br>178r20                  | vettern<br>201r5  | freunden<br>227r7                 |
| A               | tag<br>111v8   | pfleger<br>179r8   | bruder<br>178r31<br>gest<br>118v27 |                   | freund<br>110v22                  |

Table 3.8. The declension of the strong neuter noun in the Nürnberg Briefbuch of 1519, listed according to Middle High German classes.

| Case and Number | <u>a</u> -Stems                                    | <u>ja</u> -Stems    | <u>iz/az</u> -Stems <sup>a</sup>      |
|-----------------|----------------------------------------------------|---------------------|---------------------------------------|
| SN              |                                                    | here<br>229v26      | gut<br>112r27                         |
| G               | außerlands<br>206v20                               | ampts<br>176r12     | heres<br>233r26<br>gutshalb<br>202r16 |
| D               | lannd<br>116r24                                    | ampt<br>230v7       | here<br>227r2<br>gut<br>206v5         |
| A               | lannd<br>119v12                                    | pflegeampt<br>112r1 | here<br>228v10<br>gut<br>212v4        |
| PN              |                                                    |                     | guttere<br>234r22                     |
| G               |                                                    |                     | gutter 216r9<br>guttere 184r23        |
| D               | lannden 173v25<br>lendten 185r14<br>lendern 175v25 | amptern<br>110v11   | guttern<br>235v6                      |
| A               | landen<br>204r17                                   | ampten<br>229v30    | gutter<br>235v12                      |

<sup>a</sup>Although gut is not historically an iz/az-stem, it has been declined as such since the twelfth century [Heinz Mettke, Mittelhochdeutsche Grammatik, 2nd ed. (Halle: Niemeyer, 1967), p. 77].

Table 3.9. The declension of the strong feminine noun in the Nürnberg Briefbuch of 1519, listed according to Middle High German classes.

| Case and<br>Number | <u>o-Stems</u>      | <u>i-Stems</u>    |                      |                  | <u>Consonant Stems</u> |                  |
|--------------------|---------------------|-------------------|----------------------|------------------|------------------------|------------------|
|                    | sach                | stat              | furschrift           | krafft           | nacht                  | tochter          |
| SN                 | sach<br>185v5       | stat<br>233r6     | furschrift<br>112v4  |                  |                        | tochter<br>219r6 |
| G                  | sach<br>181r22      | stat<br>173v1     | schrift<br>236r19    |                  | nacht<br>229v15        |                  |
| D                  | hauptsach<br>116r15 | stat<br>113r8     | schrift<br>112v15    | krafft<br>173v6  | nacht<br>228v12        |                  |
| A                  | sach<br>184r19      | stat<br>113v9     | furschrift<br>112r23 | krafft<br>189r17 |                        | tochter<br>219r1 |
| PN                 | sachen<br>115r23    | stet<br>226v1     | schriften<br>177v3   |                  |                        |                  |
| G                  | sachen<br>113r23    | stet<br>185r10    | schriften<br>229v26  |                  | nechten<br>222r5       |                  |
| D                  | sachen<br>111v16    | stetten<br>110r16 | schriften<br>110r6   |                  |                        |                  |
| A                  | sachen<br>228r10    | stet<br>110r13    | schriften<br>229r29  |                  |                        |                  |

gen., acc. pl. -Ø, dat. pl. -(e)n. In the NBB umlaut may or may not be present. It appears to be present in i-stem nouns, although there is only one example of this class, acc. pl. gest, and also for a few other strong masculine nouns: vertrag 225v12/verträg 113r11, furschlag 193r18/anschleg 181v29, fall 197v24/fell 198v9, Rath 233r21/Reth 212r15, stillstannd 205v14/stennde 227v24. It may be that umlauted plurals are much more common than appears from these examples. Since the umlaut of <a> is the only consistently indicated umlaut in the text, plurals of nouns with other root vowels may have had umlaut in pronunciation even though not in orthography.

Strong neuter plurals are much more difficult to assess in the NBB. Only one noun, das gut/guttere, is fully attested in the plural, and its forms (see Table 3.8) correspond neither to MHG nor NHG norms. The consistent presence of final -e in the plural, in a text where -e is almost always apocopated in nouns is a puzzling phenomenon, and it is unfortunate that there are no other completely attested plural neuters to establish whether this pattern is the norm or the exception.

Strong feminine nouns are more consistent in their declension than masculines or neuters. In the singular there are no endings at all. This holds true for all feminine nouns found in the text, including the o-, i- and root-stems listed in Table 3.9 as well as nouns in -ung, -schaft, -hait, -kait, and -nus. Most feminine nouns, including o-stems, non-umlauted i-stems, and nouns in -ung,

-schafft, and -kait, have -en throughout the plural. Nouns in -nus and -hait have not been attested in the plural. I-stems which take umlaut in the plural follow the pattern nom., gen., and acc. pl. -Ø dat. pl. -en.

### Weak Nouns

Masculine and feminine weak nouns fall easily into the expected pattern: nom. sing. -Ø, all other forms -en. Weak neuter nouns are of course poorly attested, since there are only four nouns in the class. Dative pl. augen 228r1 presents no surprise--it is consistent with MHG and NHG dat. pl. forms. But gen. sing. hertzens 193v12 shows a change underway from the MHG weak to the NHG mixed declension. Table 3.10 gives examples of weak nouns.

A peculiarity of this text is das Recht, which is strong both in MHG and NHG, but appears in the NBB to belong sometimes to the strong, sometimes to the mixed declension:

|    |                               |    |                |
|----|-------------------------------|----|----------------|
| SN | Recht 198r23                  | PN | ----           |
| G  | Rechtens 111r27, Rechts 190r1 | G  | ----           |
| D  | Recht 176r22, Rechten 196v13  | D  | Rechten 114v10 |
| A  | Recht 113v3                   | A  | Rechten 187r10 |

Dative sing. Rechtens, and gen. sing. Recht are the commoner forms for these cases.

### III. ADJECTIVES

In MHG adjectives are declined either strong, when unpreceded or after the uninflected indefinite article and possessive pronouns, or weak, following the definite article, the inflected indefinite

Table 3.10. The declension of weak nouns in the Nürnberg  
Briefbuch of 1519.

| Case and<br>Number | Masculine                    | Feminine             | Neuter         |
|--------------------|------------------------------|----------------------|----------------|
| SN                 | herr<br>112v18               | fraw<br>111v15       |                |
| G                  | herrn <sup>a</sup><br>113r1  | haußfrawen<br>111r16 |                |
| D                  | herrn <sup>a</sup><br>109v30 | frawen<br>111v13     |                |
| A                  | herrn<br>119r2               | frawen<br>213r21     |                |
| PN                 | herrn<br>110r8               | frawen<br>112r2      |                |
| G                  | herrn<br>114r6               |                      |                |
| D                  | herrn <sup>a</sup><br>113r25 |                      | augen<br>228r1 |
| A                  | herrn<br>110r2               |                      |                |

<sup>a</sup>Forms with -en also appear.

article and possessive pronouns, and the demonstratives. This holds true in the NBB in all but two situations. After the indefinite article MHG uses strong nominative of all genders and strong accusative feminine (Paul, Moser, Schröbler, par. 314). In this configuration the NBB uses mixed endings, which only sometimes correspond to the MHG strong or weak endings. The mixed declension is also used in the NBB after the possessive adjective, where MHG uses either strong or weak endings.

### Strong Declension

The strong declension varies little from MHG to NHG, and the strong declension in this text reflects this consistency for the most part. The greatest change from MHG to NHG lies in the replacement of null endings in the nom. sing. of all genders and the acc. sing. neut. by the more descriptive endings, -er, -e, -es, and -es, respectively. A second change has already taken place during the MHG period: -iu has been replaced by -e wherever it occurs--that is, in the nom. fem. sing. and the nom. and acc. neut. plural. Table 3.11 presents MHG and NHG declensions of the strong adjective as well as the forms used in the NBB. The null endings have been superseded by strong endings in all but the acc. neut. singular. Since the authors of this manuscript consistently apocope final -e, its absence in the acc. neut. sing. would not be unusual except for the fact that all other attested strong adjective forms which

Table 3.11. The strong adjective declension in Middle High German, the Nürnberg Briefbuch, and New High German.

| Case and<br>Number | Masculine |        |     | Feminine |     |     | Neuter |        |     |
|--------------------|-----------|--------|-----|----------|-----|-----|--------|--------|-----|
|                    | MHG       | NBB    | NHG | MHG      | NBB | NHG | MHG    | NBB    | NHG |
| SN                 | Ø, er     | er     | er  | Ø, iu    | e   | e   | Ø, es  | s      | es  |
| G                  | es        | s      | en  | er       | er  | er  | es     | s      | en  |
| D                  | em        | em, en | em  | er       | er  | er  | em     | em, en | em  |
| A                  | en        | en     | en  | e        | e   | e   | Ø, es  | Ø      | es  |
| PN                 | e         | -      | e   | e        | -   | e   | iu     | -      | e   |
| G                  | er        | er     | er  | er       | er  | er  | er     | er     | er  |
| D                  | en        | en     | en  | en       | en  | en  | en     | n      | en  |
| A                  | e         | Ø, e   | e   | e        | e   | e   | iu     | en     | e   |

can end in -e do so.<sup>8</sup> Another anomaly, the presence of -en in the acc. neut. pl., where -e is to be expected, makes the acc. the only case where gender can be distinguished in the plural. The dat. masc. sing. ending -en is a common ENHG phenomenon, and appears frequently in the works of this period<sup>9</sup> (-em appears in this text only rarely).

### Weak Declension

The weak adjective declension, like the strong, changes relatively little from MHG to NHG. The acc. fem. sing. -en becomes -e, but otherwise the declension remains morphologically unchanged. In the text considered here, however, the -e is apocopated in the nom. masc. and neuter. Only the fem. sing. matches the NHG forms, and even here the acc. ending is in confusion: -en, -∅, and -e all appear. Of the attested plural forms, only the nom. fem. in -e differs from the standard MHG/NHG -en. Table 3.12 lists the weak adjective declension as it appears in the NBB.

### Mixed Declension

In NHG the mixed adjective declension consists of strong endings in the nom. sing. of all genders and in the acc. fem. and neut., and weak endings otherwise. That is, the choice depends on whether a "strong" or distinctive ending appears on the preceding

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<sup>8</sup>The presence of -e here in the strong declension is doubly noteworthy because -e is also apocopated in weak adjectives.

<sup>9</sup>Curme, A Grammar of the German Language, par. 106, Note 3.

Table 3.12. The declension of the weak adjective in the  
Nürnberger Briefbuch of 1519.

| Case | Singular |          |       | Plural |      |       |
|------|----------|----------|-------|--------|------|-------|
|      | Masc.    | Fem.     | Neut. | Masc.  | Fem. | Neut. |
| N    | ∅        | e        | ∅     | en     | e    |       |
| G    | en       | en       | en    | en     | en   |       |
| D    | en       | en       | en    | en     | en   | en    |
| A    | en       | en, ∅, e | ∅     | en     |      |       |

word or words. Thus weak endings suffice after indefinite articles and possessive adjectives which have distinctive endings, but where the null ending appears on articles and possessive adjectives, that is, in the nom. masc. and nom. and acc. neut., a strong ending is needed on the adjective. It is clear that this principle is already being applied in Nürnberg in 1519, although the strong endings match neither MHG nor NHG forms. After the possessive adjective or the indefinite article, the adjective is declined according to the paradigm in Table 3.13.

Where the mixed declension singular differs from the weak declension in the NBB, generally either a strong ending is used, as in the nom. masc., or alternative distinctive endings appear. The normal NBB strong nom. neut. ends in -s, the weak has no ending (the -e has been apocopated), and the mixed alternates between the weak null ending and -e. Likewise the acc. neut. can agree with either strong or weak (both -Ø), or end in -en or -es. Acc. fem. can take the ambiguous strong or weak -e, or the null ending which also appears occasionally in the weak declension.

#### Comparison of Adjectives

Comparative and superlative forms of adjectives in the NBB show no significant variation from the MHG or NHG forms. Comparative is formed with -er, and superlative with -st: genaigt 110v28/  
genaigter 116v21/genaigtst 228r3, pillich 114v3/pillicher 113r23,  
jung 230v30/jungst 230r25-6, durchlechtig 235v33/durchlechtigst 233r14. These forms are fairly regular, the only variation being an

Table 3.13. The mixed adjective declension in the Nürnberg  
Briefbuch of 1519.

| Case | Singular |      |           | Plural |      |       |
|------|----------|------|-----------|--------|------|-------|
|      | Masc.    | Fem. | Neut.     | Masc.  | Fem. | Neut. |
| N    | er       | e    | e, Ø      | Ø, e   |      |       |
| G    | en       | en   | en        | en     |      |       |
| D    | en       | en   | en        | en     | en   |       |
| A    | en       | e, Ø | en, es, Ø | e      | Ø, e |       |

apparent indecision concerning quality and syncope of the vowel in the superlative. The connecting vowel -e- before the -st inflection is omitted for the most part, even when it is needed for pronunciation--as in genaigtst 228r3--and appears only sporadically as <i>:<sup>10</sup> gnedigist 114v5/gnedigst 113r24.

Umlaut of one-syllable roots seems to be the rule, although it is not always indicated: unnot 109r24/nötter 119r4, noter 113r24 (=unnötig/nötiger); lang 114v24/lenger 175r2; nahe 229r4/neher 181r23/nachst 110r20, nechsten 111v5; hoch 228r7/hofer 119r5/hochst 174r24; groß 110r14/grosten 184v24. Of the adjectives which form irregular comparatives and superlatives, e.g., übel/wirser, michel/mere, etc., only gut 115r23/beßer 115r24/pest 115r25 is attested. Comparative and superlative forms are declined by the same rules concerning weak versus strong endings as are other adjectives.

#### IV. PRONOUNS AND THE DEFINITE ARTICLE

The personal pronouns used in the NBB follow a regular pattern which is consistent with the more common MHG forms, and similar in most respects to the modern paradigm. The most obvious differences between the MHG forms and those attested here are phonological: iu > euch, siu > sy, sie. It is impossible to judge whether the [i] of jme, jr, jne, jnen, sy has lengthened. Also, because the genitive forms are not attested, it is not possible to determine

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<sup>10</sup>Carl Franke, in Grundzüge der Schriftsprache Luthers, 2nd ed. (Halle: Waisenhaus, 1913-1922), I, 142, notes that forms with <i> still exist in MHG.

whether sein has replaced es in the masc. and neut. gen. singular. Table 3.14 lists the personal pronouns attested in the manuscript.

The third sing. dat. masc. jme is a Middle German form (Paul, Moser, Schröbler, par. 146b, Note 12). It appears in the NBB about three times as often as jm. The third dat. pl. jnen deviates from the MHG jn. Whereas in was still in use in the sixteenth century--it appears in Luther's earlier writings--the longer form, inen, first appeared as early as the twelfth century and was standard by the end of the sixteenth century (Curme, par. 140b).

### Reflexive Pronouns

Reflexive pronouns appear in the accusative and dative in the text under consideration. Accusative forms are identical in MHG, NHG, and the NBB. Unfortunately, where MHG and NHG differ--that is, in the dative--only one example has been found in the text, the dat. pl. sich.

### Possessive Adjectives

Possessive adjectives in the NBB exhibit no great deviation from the MHG and NHG norms. Orthographically their development falls somewhere between MHG and NHG: mein, dein, sein, represent NHG phonology and spelling. ynnser, ewer (ewr-) combine NHG phonology with earlier orthographic conventions, the doubling of n and the use of ew for eu. Jr, both fem. sing., and plural of all genders, is a MHG form. The declension of these adjectives follows the standard MHG strong declension, with null endings (e > Ø) in the

Table 3.14. Personal pronouns in the Nürnberger Briefbuch of 1519.

| Case and Number | 1st Pers. | 2nd Pers. | 3rd Person |      |       | 3rd Person--<br>All Genders |
|-----------------|-----------|-----------|------------|------|-------|-----------------------------|
|                 |           |           | Masc.      | Fem. | Neut. |                             |
| SN              | ich       | du        | er         | sy   | es    |                             |
| G               |           |           |            |      |       |                             |
| D               | mir       | dir       | jm(e)      | jr   | jm    |                             |
| A               | dich      | dich      | jne        |      |       |                             |
| PN              | wir       | jr        |            |      |       | sy, sie                     |
| G               | vnnser    | ewer      |            |      |       |                             |
| D               | vnns      | euch      |            |      |       | jnen, jne                   |
| A               | vnns      | euch      |            |      |       | sy, sie                     |

nom. sing. of all genders and the acc. sing. fem. and neuter. With stems ending in -er (vnnser, ewer) the gen. and dat. fem. sing. and gen. pl. -er ending is apocopated, so that the forms appear unflected; however, gen. and dat. forms deiner, seiner, and jrer attest the correct ending. The use of possessives as substantives is not common. The plural forms vnnser and ewer are attested, but no others have been found.

### The Definite Article

The definite article, as is shown in Table 3.15, follows the NHG pattern without exception. These forms represent only minor changes from the MHG pattern: die for diu in the nom. fem. sing. and nom. and acc. neut. pl., and das for daz in nom. and acc. neut. singular.

### Demonstrative Adjectives

The demonstrative adjective dieser agrees with the NHG forms with two exceptions. First, the MHG <i> of the root appears almost exclusively instead of <ie>. Second, <ii> appears in rare cases, and only in the gen. masc. singular. This may indicate an awareness of the lengthening of the vowel in these pronouns, or could indicate lengthening of the vowel of this particular form to compensate for the apocopation of the normal -es ending. Of the demonstrative pronouns listed in Table 3.16, only the nom. neut. pl. is not attested. However, since the MHG -iu ending is never used in the NBB, we may assume that the MHG nom. neut. pl. disiu has become dise and agrees with other nom. pl. forms.

Table 3.15. The definite article in the Nürnberger Briefbuch of 1519.

| Case | Masc. | Fem. | Neut. | Pl. |
|------|-------|------|-------|-----|
| N    | der   | die  | das   | die |
| G    | des   | der  | des   | der |
| D    | dem   | der  | dem   | den |
| A    | den   | die  | das   | die |

Table 3.16. The demonstrative adjective in the Nürnberger Briefbuch of 1519.

| Case | Masc.        | Fem.  | Neut. | Pl.   |
|------|--------------|-------|-------|-------|
| N    | diser        | dise  | dises | dise  |
| G    | dises (diis) | diser | dises | diser |
| D    | disem        | diser | disem | disen |
| A    | disen        | dise  | dises | dise  |

Of the other demonstratives, only selb is used to any extent in this text. Jener and jenig appear sporadically: das jhenig 111r25, die jhenen 111v7. Ander is used in the sense of "second": annder 114r23. Three forms of selb- occur: selbs is used after pronouns or nouns as an intensifier--vnns selbs 227v20 (acc., "us ourselves"), ir selbs 117v6 (nom. pl., "you yourselves"). Inflected forms of derselb- are attested from time to time, e.g., nom. sing. masc. derselb 229r30, gen. sing. masc. desselben 231v19, nom. pl. dieselben 119r12. Selbst appears in daselbst 229v27, daselbstumb 119v25, and once where selbs would be expected: von (jm) selbst 188r12.

#### Interrogative Pronouns

Because of stylistic factors in the NBB, was and wer do not appear as interrogative pronouns. Questions are indirect, if they occur at all, and interrogatives (was) appear as indefinite relative pronouns. Nom. sing. masc. wer occurs rarely (234r31). The gen. weß is used once, in an unclear context (11rv21). No dative forms were attested.

The historically instrumental form wie appears as in MHG and NHG, as an interrogative adverb (230v3, 231r18, 34). Weder, which in MHG serves as an interrogative pronoun meaning "which of two" (Paul, Moser, Schröbler, par. 149) has taken on its NHG function as a conjunction: weder (=entweder) . . . oder 116v7. As is the case with was and wer, welcher is not used as an interrogative, but as

a strong adjective: masc. nom. sing. welcher 111r13, masc. dat. sing. welchem 112v24, dat. pl. welchen 113v30; fem. dat. sing. welcher 236v12. Note that the masc. dat. sing. form ends in -em, whereas the usual strong masc. dat. sing. ending is -en. As a pronoun it appears as neut. sing. nom. welhs 236v2.

### Relative Pronouns

In MHG, relative clauses were most often introduced by the demonstrative pronoun der, etc., often strengthened by one of the particles dar, dâ, der (Paul, Moser, Schröbler, par. 150). In the NBB the same procedure is followed, although changes are beginning to be evident. The strengthening particles are not used, and some attempt is being made to distinguish at least the masc. pl. gen. and dat. relative pronouns from the demonstratives. Dero appears for the gen. masc. pl., denen for the dat. masc. plural. The occurrence of der for the fem. gen. pl. possibly indicates a gender-differentiating plural for relative pronouns. Unfortunately, most other forms of the plural are unattested, so that no proper assessment of this possibility can be made.

### Indefinite Pronouns

Of the indefinite pronouns, none is used consistently. Menigclich is used in one set context: souerer du . . . hieher kumpst . . . solt du fur menigclich vnnser frey sicherheyt vnd gleyt haben (111v4-10, and elsewhere). Welcher and weder appear occasionally, as was mentioned above. Etlicher 111v28, 228r26 is

more common than most indefinite pronouns, and is declined strong. Other indefinite pronouns, all of which appear only sporadically, include the following: man (used mostly in the nom.), iemand, alles, etwas and icht (etwas is more frequent), nichts, ainich.

## V. SUMMARY OF MORPHOLOGICAL CHANGES

Although most of the phonological phenomena that characterize NHG are generally present in the NBB, the morphological picture is not nearly as modern. Many of the changing morphological elements have assumed basically modern forms, but some are either too sparsely attested to be properly evaluated, or are attested in contradictory forms, so that conclusions cannot be drawn. Almost all grammatical categories are, as would be expected, in a state somewhere between the MHG and the NHG forms. In the following paragraphs, morphological changes that should be expected will be discussed as they affect verbs, nouns, adjectives, articles and pronouns. First, however, one or two phenomena that affect all these grammatical categories must be mentioned.

There is a general tendency in the text to drop final -e from nouns, verbs, and adjectives. Conversely, the -e is always present under certain circumstances--in forms of here (=Heer), for example. Also, e is frequently added or deleted between consonants in positions where just the opposite occurs in NHG. None of these tendencies represents either MHG or NHG norms, or even, to any extent, a particular MHG or NHG dialect norm. Although

the loss of final -e is a Bavarian characteristic, it does not occur here without exception.

### Verbs

Among strong verbs there are five morphological changes of significance between MHG and NHG: the leveling of vowels in the preterite indicative, the substitution by analogy of -st for -e in the second sing. pres. ind., analogical changes in the singular pres. ind. vowel, the addition of the ge- prefix for past participles of perfective verbs (for example, MHG komen, NHG gekommen), and the loss of final -t in the third pl. pres. indicative.

The first change, the use of either the singular or the plural vowel in the preterite indicative for all preterite indicative forms, is completely unattested in the NBB. Among the few verbs that appear in the pret. ind., none is attested in both the singular and plural.

The substitution of -st for -e in the second sing. pres. ind. has been accomplished in this text except in the case of sollen and wollen, where the historically correct ending, -t, still appears.

Changes in the vowel of the pres. ind. sing. of strong verbs are analogical changes involving the first person, where the plural vowel is adopted (e.g., ich gebe, rather than ich gibe), or the third person, in which the vowel changes to conform to

other singular forms, as in er kriecht, from er kreucht. Neither of these phenomena has occurred in the NBB: (ich) versich mich 225v19, (ich) gib 183r15; (er) zeucht 195v12, (er) erpeut (= erbietet) 215r25.

The adoption of the ge- prefix for a few perfective verbs, -kommen and geben, for example, has been at least partially accomplished. Of the verbs without ge- in MHG (Paul, Moser, Schröbler, par. 156), finden and treffen are not attested in the NBB in the past participle. Kommen and werden always appear without ge-: komen 109r11; worden 111r9, 18. But it should be noted that worden always appears in the passive with a past participle-- wir sein bericht (= berichtet) worden 112v12--and thus conforms to NHG usage. Laßen is attested with and without ge-, also according to NHG usage: (er) soll . . . gelaßen haben 226v16-18, (sie) haben . . . werben laßen 110r4-5. Geben, as was noted earlier, forms its past participle with and without ge-: geben 173v22, gegeben 173r20; and the past participle of bringen is always gebracht: angebracht 182r31, zugebracht 192v10-11. Heben, which is strong in NHG, is weak in this text: auffgehept 203r3. Although it is usually strong in MHG, it can be weak (Paul, Moser, Schröbler, par. 163, Note 3). Luther uses both strong and weak forms.<sup>11</sup>

Finally, the change of -ent to -en in the third pl. pres. ind. is complete in the NBB. -ent appears only once, in

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<sup>11</sup>Franke, II, 362.

ir werdent 111v19, in the subjunctive.<sup>12</sup> NHG -en appears in all other instances in the subjunctive (ir werden 227r11) and without exception in the indicative.

Of the five changes listed above, one is ambiguous, one has not been accomplished, one is in transition, and two are complete. Thus the transition of strong verbs from the MHG configuration to that of NHG is perhaps half accomplished.

Weak verbs do not change as greatly from MHG to NHG as do strong verbs, probably because the general tendency of morphological change in this period is toward leveling, and weak verbs have of course already been subjected to the leveling process. Weak verbs do reflect the changes in inflection discussed for strong verbs. The third pl. pres. ind. -ent becomes shortened to -en, and -st becomes the normal second sing. pres. ind. inflection: (sie) sich geprauchen 113v9, (sie) furen 113r8; (du) hanndelst 195r27, (du) berichttest 195r29.

Anomalous verbs show phonological and morphological progress toward their NHG forms, although many MHG characteristics are still present. Among the preterite-present verbs both phonology and morphology tend to be modern. The modern innovations are as follows:

- 1) u > o in the inf. and pres. ind. and subj. (<o> represents both [o] and [ö]) of konnen, sollen, mogen.<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>12</sup>See page 51 for a discussion of this form.

<sup>13</sup>See Table 3.4, page 60, for examples of preterite-present verbs.

- 2) Second sing. pres. ind. ending -t becomes -st in sollst, magst. However, solt also appears.
- 3) Where the preterite has two forms in MHG, the verbs of the NBB generally favor the form taken over into NHG: solte instead of solde, mußte instead of müese,<sup>14</sup> mochte instead of mahte.

The only form which corresponds to MHG norms at the expense of those of NHG is the NBB/MHG pret. subj. weste used instead of NHG wußte. Bedorffen (inf. and second pl. pres. ind.) deviates from both MHG bedurfen, bedürfen and NHG bedürfen. However, the past participle, bedorfft, is the correct MHG form.

Wollen<sup>15</sup> shows almost exclusively modern forms, the only exception being the MHG second sing. pres. ind. inflection -t instead of -st. The change from <e> to <o> in the pres. ind. pl. and the subj. is a Middle German phenomenon which spread into Upper German in the fourteenth century (Päul, Moser, Schröbler, par. 173). Thus the forms with <o> would be expected in this text.

Haben,<sup>16</sup> like wollen, is generally modern. MHG contracted forms are represented by ich hann, a one-time occurrence which is greatly outnumbered by instances of ich hab. Sein shows some, if not

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<sup>14</sup>Päul, Moser, Schrobler (par. 172.9) note that this change has already occurred in MHG in the thirteenth century.

<sup>15</sup>See Table 3.5, page 61, for citations.

<sup>16</sup>See Table 3.6, page 63, for citations.

all, of the confusion characteristic of MHG first and third person pl. pres. indicative. Although sind predominates in these two instances, sein also appears frequently. The past participle also appears in two forms, the normal MHG gewesen, and the dialect form gewest. Gewesen is attested only once.

Stehen, gehen and tun<sup>17</sup> are fairly modern in form: roots with <e> are used here, as in NHG, to the exclusion of the Alemannic/Rhinefrancian forms with <â>. Forms with medial h--stehen, gehen-- have not appeared yet, and ge- has not been prefixed to gehen-- ganngen serves as past participle instead of gegangen. Tun does not deviate from the modern forms except in the use of <th> for <t>.

A further change between MHG and NHG, consistent with the general tendency toward leveling, is the transfer of some verbs from the strong or mixed to the weak conjugation. In this text only (auf-) heben has become weak.

### Nouns

The changes in noun declensions from MHG to NHG seem in general to reflect a shift in emphasis from case to number.<sup>18</sup> Whereas MHG nouns can be classified on the basis of inflection and root modification (umlaut) in terms of stem and case, NHG nouns are

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<sup>17</sup>Citations for these verbs appear on pages 64-65.

<sup>18</sup>See A. Woronow, "Die Pluralbildung der Substantive in der deutschen Sprache des 14.-16. Jahrhunderts," Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur (Halle, 1962), 84, 173-198.

more distinctively classified by type of plural: -e, -en, -er, -Ø.

The changes that effect this shift are as follows:

- 1) The feminine i-declension loses umlaut in the singular, but retains it in the plural in NHG.
- 2) Weak feminine nouns lose endings in the singular, but retain them in the plural.
- 3) The MHG neuter iz/az-stem plural marker, umlaut plus -er (lamp/lember), becomes generalized to some masculine nouns in NHG.
- 4) Umlaut becomes a NHG plural marker.

One of the results of the changes listed above is the creation of a new declension in NHG, the mixed declension, with a strong singular and weak plural. Weak feminines and some feminine o-stems move into this category, along with a few masculine and neuter nouns whose weak endings have been supplemented by a genitive -s (Namens, Herzens).

The nouns of the NBB do not exhibit all these changes. There is some evidence that the umlaut of the singular in the i-declension has been leveled: dat. sing. krafft, gen. and dat. sing. stat; and that it has been retained in the plural: nom., acc. stet, dat. stetten.<sup>19</sup> Weak feminine nouns are only represented in the text by fraw, which retains its MHG -en in all attested oblique cases, so

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<sup>19</sup>For citations to the text for these and other nouns in this section, see Tables 3.7, 3.8, and 3.9, pages 66, 67, and 68, respectively.

that we must assume the change from weak to mixed has not yet occurred.

The -er neut. pl. with umlaut has attracted a few non--iz-/az- stem neuters, but almost all of them acquired this plural during or before the MHG period: gut 112r27/guttere 234r22 (twelfth century),<sup>20</sup> kynnd/kynnder,<sup>21</sup> hauß/acc. pl. hewser 217v1, 219r1, 226v16 (OHG),<sup>22</sup> schloß 233r11/schloßer 225v1 (fourteenth century).<sup>23</sup> Land/lendern (dat. pl.) is a new cross-over to this declension, even though it appears in the NBB with and without the umlaut plus -er.<sup>24</sup> Ampt/ dat. pl. amptern/acc. pl. ampten seems to be joining the group also, although the transition is not complete. Wort, which has both -e and -er plurals in NHG, appears in the NBB only in the dat. pl. worten, in contexts where NHG would use the -e plural: mit lauttern Worten 176r11, mit disen nachuolgend Worten 196v7.

There are a number of examples (see page 69) of umlaut used as a plural marker. With each of the masculine nouns umlaut is the

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<sup>20</sup>Mettke, par. 77.

<sup>21</sup>Paul, Moser, Schröbler, par. 123, Note 2.

<sup>22</sup>Wilhelm Braune, Althochdeutsche Grammatik, 11th ed., ed. Walter Mitzka (Tübingen: Niemeyer), par. 197.

<sup>23</sup>Mettke, par. 77.

<sup>24</sup>The forms without umlaut are used only in titles or in set phrases--dat. pl. landen und leutten 214r21--whereas the umlaut forms, dat. pl. lendten 185r4, and lendern 175v25, appear in non-idiomatic prose. Thus the non-umlauted forms may be relics.

only inflection in the plural except the dat. -en. The same holds for feminine i-stems (stat/stet) which show umlaut in the plural.

NHG strong masculine nouns follow three different declensions, characterized by plurals in -e, -Ø, -er. The strong masculine nouns with no plural ending in the NBB correspond to both NHG -e and -Ø plurals, because final -e is dropped in the NBB. There are no masculine -er plurals attested, so that the end result is that the text makes use of only one strong masculine noun declension:

|    |   |    |      |
|----|---|----|------|
| SN | Ø | PN | Ø    |
| G  | s | G  | Ø    |
| D  | Ø | D  | (e)n |
| A  | Ø | A  | Ø    |

Umlaut may or may not be present in the plural, as is the case in NHG also. These nouns differ from those of MHG mainly in the loss of the final -e (which served to distinguish er-stems from other classes, as well as nom. and acc. sing. from dat. sing. and nom., gen. and acc. pl.), and in the presence of umlaut in the plural of nouns other than i-stems.

There is essentially only one strong feminine declension in NHG: -e plurals with or without umlaut. A second strong declension, -Ø with umlaut, contains only two nouns, Mutter and Tochter, neither of which is attested in the plural in the NBB.

There is also only one class of strong feminine nouns in the NBB. It employs umlaut as the plural marker, and corresponds, if we assume -e > -Ø in the plural, to the NHG strong noun (NBB stat/stet, NHG Stadt/Städte). The declension is as follows:

|    |   |    |     |
|----|---|----|-----|
| SN | ∅ | PN | ∅   |
| G  | ∅ | G  | ∅   |
| D  | ∅ | D  | -en |
| A  | ∅ | A  | ∅   |

Strong neuter noun declensions in NHG are identical to those of strong masculine NHG nouns. Both have three classes with plurals in -e, -∅, -er, all with and without umlaut in the plural. And, as with masculine nouns, neuter nouns in the text under consideration follow only one declension, but here it is the -er plural which is represented:

|    |   |    |         |
|----|---|----|---------|
| SN | ∅ | PN | ere     |
| G  | s | G  | ere     |
| D  | ∅ | D  | ern, en |
| A  | ∅ | A  | er, en  |

The three nouns representing this class, ampt, land and gut, vary in the dat. and acc. pl. The nouns are grouped together here because they belong to the -er plural group in both MHG and NHG. The variation in plural probably reflects the unstable situation in plural inflection rather than the existence of another strong neuter declension. The attested forms of these three nouns may be found in Table 3.8, page 67. Here, which is attested only in the singular (see Table 3.8), probably represents a second Nürnberg strong neut. declension, but the absence of other nouns of this type precludes describing the declension here.

In MHG weak nouns take -en in all cases but the nom. singular. In NHG, consistent with the change to a number-oriented declension, the singular has no ending, and the plural takes -en. In addition, in MHG there are weak nouns of all genders, whereas in NHG there are only masculine weak nouns. In the NBB there are no longer any neuter

nouns, and only one feminine (fraw) in this class. Instead, formerly weak neuter nouns and some strong feminines have transferred to the mixed declension. The neuter mixed declension is represented by forms of hertz and Recht, and the feminine is amply attested by former o-stems: schrifft/schrifften, sach/sachen. The mixed feminine declension of the NBB follows the NHG pattern:

|    |   |    |    |
|----|---|----|----|
| SN | Ø | PN | en |
| G  | Ø | G  | en |
| D  | Ø | D  | en |
| A  | Ø | A  | en |

### Adjectives

One change of significance occurs in the transition of strong adjective endings from MHG to NHG: the replacement of all null endings, i.e., in the nom. sing. of all genders, and acc. neut. sing., by distinctive endings -er, -e, -es. This difference merely implies a choice between two possible MHG endings, since both the null ending and -er, -e, -es were used. The strong declension in the NBB is close to the modern paradigm--only in the neut. acc. sing. does the null ending still appear.

The weak declension changes even less. The replacement of -en by -e in the acc. fem. sing. is the only alteration of MHG forms that occurs in ENHG. In this text, this change is underway, but not complete. Both -en and -e occur, the latter occasionally apocopated. NBB usage differs from normal MHG and NHG usage in two ways: in the apocope of -e, which occurs in all positions except nom. fem. sing., and in the unexpected appearance of -e in the nom. fem. plural. No plausible explanation for this plural form has been found.

Another change in adjective declension in ENHG is the alteration in the mixed declension, which in NHG consists of strong inflections in the nom. sing. (all genders) and the acc. sing. fem. and neut., and of weak endings in all other positions. In MHG, the gen. and dat. cases as well as the masc. and plural acc. can be either strong or weak. The declension exists in the NBB, but has not yet reached its NHG form. Neut. sing. still appears weak (-e or Ø), and neut. acc. sing. takes any of three endings, -en, -es, -Ø. In addition, e and Ø are used in the nom. and acc. plural. This last is, of course, inconsistent with both MHG and NHG usage.

Adjective declensions in ENHG undergo four noteworthy changes: the phonological change from iu to e, the loss of null endings in the strong declension, the change of -en to -e in the weak fem. acc. sing. inflection, and the exclusive use of weak forms in the oblique cases (except fem. and neut. sing.) of the mixed declension. The adjectives of the NBB have undergone all four of these changes, although only in part. Most of the strong declension null endings are gone, and the change from iu to e has occurred. The weak fem. acc. sing. appears to be in transition, using -en and -e, and in the mixed declension, the change to exclusive use of weak endings in the oblique cases has occurred. The strong endings of this declension, however, have not yet achieved the NHG norm.

### Pronouns and the Definite Article

Pronouns in the NBB are in transition. Orthographically they represent a mixture of MHG and NHG elements mixed with some purely

ENHG characteristics--for example, MHG jm, jn, jr, dis-, NHG euch, es, sein, dein, ENHG vnnser, ewr-. Except for the forms with <i> (jm, jr, etc.), which might be either long or short, the phonology is that of NHG.

Morphologically the pronouns do not differ greatly from MHG to NHG. Where they do--in the gen. of the personal pronoun or the dative reflexive, for example--they are sometimes unattested in the NBB. Table 3.17 lists the pronouns which change from MHG to NHG, the forms which are used in the NBB, and the status of these forms (whether MHG, ENHG, NHG, or, in one case, Middle German in form). Only one of the attested forms is medieval in character: the third sing. dat. pers. pronoun jme, which is an older MG form (Paul, Moser, Schröbler, par. 146B, Note 12). Thus the pronouns of the NBB are for the most part modern in morphology. The definite article remains morphologically unchanged from MHG to NHG, and the NBB forms are standard.

Table 3.17. ENHG pronoun changes as reflected in the Nürnberg  
Briefbuch of 1519.

| Pronoun                      | <u>NBB</u> Form           | MHG/ENHG/NHG |
|------------------------------|---------------------------|--------------|
| <u>Pers. Pronoun</u>         |                           |              |
| 3rd sing. gen.               | unattested                | ----         |
| 3rd sing. dat. masc.         | <u>jme</u>                | MG           |
| 3rd pl. dat.                 | <u>jnen</u>               | NHG          |
| <u>Dative Reflexive</u>      |                           |              |
| dat. sing. masc.             | unattested                | ----         |
| dat. sing. neut.             | unattested                | ----         |
| dat. sing. fem.              | unattested                | ----         |
| dat. pl.                     | <u>sich</u>               | NHG          |
| <u>Demonstrative Pronoun</u> |                           |              |
| nom. sing. masc.             | <u>diser</u> <sup>a</sup> | NHG          |
| gen., dat. sing. fem.        | <u>diser</u> <sup>a</sup> | NHG          |
| gen. pl.                     | <u>diser</u> <sup>a</sup> | NHG          |
| <u>Relative Pronoun</u>      |                           |              |
| gen. masc. pl.               | <u>dero</u>               | ENHG         |
| dat. masc. pl.               | <u>denen</u>              | NHG          |

<sup>a</sup>dirre is also used in MHG, but not in the NBB.

## CHAPTER IV

### SYNTAX

While general descriptions of various elements of syntax will be presented in Chapter IV, the emphasis will be not on the total description of syntax in the NBB, but rather on those elements of syntax which exhibit significant differences from modern patterns. Syntactical usage described includes functions of case, adjectives, pronouns, articles, verbs (tense, mood, and voice), conjunctions, word order in main and subordinate clauses, and types of sentence structure. Matters which extend more into the realm of stylistics--such as sentence structure, which varies in the NBB in accordance with the status of a particular letter's recipient--will not be discussed in great detail.

#### I. USE OF CASE

Generally speaking, cases function in the NBB much as they do in NHG. The nominative mainly defines the subject; the genitive indicates possession (including attributes). The dative and accusative are object cases, the dative identifying indirect verbal objects and objects of certain prepositions, the accusative defining direct verbal and prepositional objects. The instrumental case appears only in relic forms--wie, for example. It is not an actively used case even in MHG. Vocative, identical to nominative, is used sparingly in the NBB for opening phrases of letters.

In the following sections the use of case in the NBB is described. Although here, as elsewhere in this study, it was not possible to collect statistical information, in some cases rough assessments have been made of the frequency of appearance of the five cases, and of the various uses of each case. The description of case usage, for all practical purposes, doubles as a description of the use of nouns, since pronouns, articles and adjectives agree in case with the nouns they replace or modify.

### Nominative

The nominative case is used almost exclusively to represent the subject:

vnd dhweyl vnnser gewonhait bißher nit gewest (ist) 109r14-15

alls vnns gemelte vnnser Burger berichten 109r9-10

Gleichwol sind meine herrn noch nit entschloßen 110r8-9

das die fursten sich selbs bedencken den costen fliehen  
110r12-13

and for the occasional predicate nominative:

das solhs mer ein specklein sey 110r18-19.

Because of the prosaic nature of the text, apposition--nominative or otherwise--is rare, but examples do appear:

so er der hertzog . . . hab (which he, the duke, is said to have) 226v9.

### Vocative

Although the vocative case is not heavily used in any period, it does appear in the NBB fairly often. It appears in the strong

declension in the salutations of letters in which the addressee is singular: Erber vnd vester 109r7, lieber Schwager 109v28, Wirdige vnd gaistlich Fraw 111v15, Lieber Farbprener 111v27. When the addressee is plural, the salutation bears weak endings: Erben vnd vesten 109v3, lieben freund 110v3,22, etc. This apparently inconsistent use of weak and strong endings under similar conditions is not unusual in ENHG and even later. Virgil Moser cites Luther's usage, and mentions that weak vocative plural is used in letter headings as late as the end of the eighteenth century.<sup>1</sup>

### Genitive

The genitive case is most commonly used attributively with nouns. The attributive genitive expresses different shades of meaning and can be divided on that basis into the following classes<sup>2</sup> (examples are from the NBB):

- 1) Genitive of origin denotes source, cause or authorship of the person or thing it modifies: des außschuß Ratschlag 119r20.
- 2) Genitive of possession denotes possession, association with, or relation to: die hanndlung des punds 110r10, vff des Bunds jungsten schreyben 110r27.

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<sup>1</sup>V. Moser, Historisch-grammatische Einführung in die Frühneuhochdeutschen Schrift dialecte, par. 212.

<sup>2</sup>This section is based on George Curme's classifications in A Grammar of the German Language, pp. 477-484.

- 3) Subjective genitive represents a person in relationship to his own action: auff ansuchen Fritzen Mullners 113v19.
- 4) Objective genitive names the object of an activity. The activity is usually expressed as a deverbative noun: entrachtung der schulden 109v23, welche satzung der zoll 113r10.
- 5) Genitive of material or composition tells what the object consists of: gold oder gröschlein golds werung 227r3-4.
- 6) Descriptive genitive describes a quality or characteristic or measure of an object. (No examples were found in the NBB.)
- 7) Appositive genitive explains the word it modifies: auf mangel der gutligk<sup>t</sup> 111r26-27, der kauff des weins 112v24.
- 8) Partitive genitive denotes part of a whole: dhweyl der knecht souil sein mußen 116r4-5, ein antzal geraisiger 118r4, von einem yedem Fuder weins 112v23.
- 9) A last type of attributive genitive modifies nouns which are formed from verbs which require a genitive object, such as "sich einer Sache bemächtigen," which would generate a genitive phrase such as "durch Bemächtigung eines Stroms" (Curme, p. 484): erfarne der kriegssachen 110v10-11.

Of these nine types of attributive genitive, all are fairly common in the NBB except the genitive of composition and the descriptive genitive. This is probably due to the fact that purely descriptive passages are rare in the text. The last type mentioned, that depending on verbs which require the genitive, is also uncommon, in this case most likely because of the relatively small number of genitive verbs.

The attributive genitive does not differ significantly from MHG or NHG usage except in terms of word order. In the NBB even extensive attributive genitives frequently precede the nouns they modify. This word order appears particularly clumsy to the modern ear in prepositional phrases:

Gotz von Berlichingen des hertzogen zu Merckmul amptman  
119f1-2

des pfaltzgrafen gepot 119r16

solchem des punds furnemen 110r15

mit einverwarter der waldstromair Bittzettel 117r1-2

vnder vnnsers Eltern Burgermaisters verwesers Martin  
Gewders petschir (under the seal of Martin Gewder, proxy  
for the mayor of our city council) 111v11-12

The next most common construction with the genitive is as the object of certain prepositions. Although the genitive prepositions are few and not extremely common in usage, the inclusion of the enclitic preposition -halben doubles the number of citations for

prepositions with genitive objects. The prepositions, with examples of their usage, are as follows:

|                              |                                                                                                                                                                                                                  |
|------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <u>gemeß:</u>                | gemeß vnnsers schreybens 227r30                                                                                                                                                                                  |
| <u>laut:</u>                 | laut innligender instruction 110r4                                                                                                                                                                               |
| <u>mitlerzeyt:</u>           | jst darumb an dich vnnser beger hiemit<br>beuelhende das du mitlerzeyt seins abwesens<br>solch pflegeampt jn versehung habst . . .<br>111v30-112r1<br><br>mitlerzeyt solcher taglaistung vnd hanndlung<br>114r27 |
| <u>sonders</u><br>(without): | sonders zweyfels 111r29-30                                                                                                                                                                                       |
| <u>vngeachtet:</u>           | vngeachtet jres leichtvertigen vernainens<br>117v12-13                                                                                                                                                           |
| <u>vnverspart:</u>           | vnverspart alles costens 119v29                                                                                                                                                                                  |
| <u>versehens:</u>            | des versehens 115r13-14                                                                                                                                                                                          |
| <u>von wegen:</u>            | von wegen derselben burger (pl.) 110v22-23<br>von wegen der hab vnd gutter 111r14<br>von pilligkt wegen 111r25<br>von ampts vnd oberkait wegen 192r26                                                            |
| <u>-halben:</u>              | etlicher sachenhalben 112r10<br>des zollshalben 114v25-26<br>der waldstromairhalben 116v27<br>jrer verwandtnus vnd potmeßigkaithalben 117v28                                                                     |

Zwischen sometimes appears to take gen. (zwischen ewer 109r13) as well as the dative.

Besides these fairly common usages, the genitive is employed as the object of some verbs, following certain adjectives, as a relative pronoun (substituting for a prepositional phrase), and occasionally in expressions of time and place. Typical of verbs requiring genitive objects are the following:

|                    |                                                                                    |
|--------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <u>gefertigen:</u> | Souer Rieter vnnsers jungsten erpietens . . .<br>nit wollt gefertigt sein 234r9-10 |
| <u>vergnugen:</u>  | die ewrn vnd vnnsern irs erlitten schadens<br>zuuergnugen 236r4-5                  |
| <u>ertzaigen:</u>  | dem ich zuertzaigen dinstlichs willens genaigt<br>(bin) 232v23-24                  |
| <u>vernemen:</u>   | haben wir seins innhalts . . . vernomen 233v12,<br>18                              |

The more common adjectives governing genitive objects are few in number, but fairly often used in the NBB. Curme (p. 515) lists a number of genitive adjectives which are still fairly common in NHG. The genitive in this case "denotes sphere, goal, specification, cause." Of the adjectives listed here--gewärtig, mächtig, nötig, schuldig, vergeßen, begierig, eingedenk--all but begierig and nötig appear in the NBB, and all take the genitive. Examples are listed here:

|                     |                                                                                                                                                                                             |
|---------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <u>gewertig:</u>    | (sie) sind . . . taglichs beschaidt gewertig<br>231v12-13                                                                                                                                   |
| <u>ingedenck:</u>   | jrer vnnerrichtung jngedenck zu sein 229v11                                                                                                                                                 |
| <u>mechtig:</u>     | fur . . . die jhenen <u>der</u> wir ongenerlich mechtig<br>sind 111v7                                                                                                                       |
| <u>notdurfftig:</u> | ob du <u>des</u> yetzutzeiten notdurfftig sein wurdest<br>115v3-4, er . . . etwo gelts notdurfftig sein<br>wirdet 118r20-21 (but: dann wir <u>den</u> . . . fast<br>notdurfftig sein 119v6) |
| <u>schuldig:</u>    | des sy nit schuldig wern gewest 109v12                                                                                                                                                      |
| <u>vnuergeßen:</u>  | (wir) wollen euch ewers ansuchs . . .<br>vnuergeßen seyn 110v29-31                                                                                                                          |

The gen. des of the neuter pronoun das is quite frequently used in a prepositional sense, in situations where a da-compound or prepositional phrase (in Bezug auf) would appear in NHG:

ob derhalben was an die Bundtischen . . . gelangen wurd.  
des einen kurtzen bericht zuhaben 114r3-4

des sind. e.f.g. hieuor in jungster vnnser schrifft bericht  
(berichtet worden) 117v15

Finally, genitive is used in a few set expressions of time and place:

bederseys 116r25; diser zeyt 109r20; eines tags vnd zeyt 115r27;

freytags, sontags (on Friday, Sunday) 118v6; jedesmals 119v13;

mitlerzeit 112r1; nach lengs 117r14; nachmals (afterwards) 115v26;

nochmals (again, once more 110r23).

### Dative

In the NBB the dative case is used predominantly with prepositions. In fact, approximately 80% (267/334) of the dative citations in a 20-page section of the text were prepositional objects. Although most prepositions with dative objects always require the dative, a few--notably in, an, and possibly vor--may also take accusative objects. Dative prepositions, with examples of their usage, are as follows:

|                |                                                                                                          |
|----------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <u>ab</u> :    | ab welchem zoll 112v24<br>ab hierynnligender seiner Supliōn 182v29                                       |
| <u>auß</u> :   | auß diser vertzaichnus 110r7<br>auß deinem vergeßen 110v8<br>auß etlichen obligenden sachen 111v16       |
| <u>bey</u> :   | bey vnnsern . . . herrn den Churfursten 113r24<br>bey ewrn gnaden 113r29-30<br>bey der versamlung 115v12 |
| <u>gegen</u> : | gegen dir 112r5<br>gegen anndern vnnsern bestellten 109r16                                               |

- mit: mit gepurlicher entrichtung 109v23  
mit dem ertailten zusatz 110r27-28  
mit den jnhabern 111r23
- nach: den vnnsern vnd irer verwandtnus nach 111r20  
dem sonndern vertrauen nach 118r23-24<sup>3</sup>  
nach dato 111v5
- neben: neben einer vertzaichnus 109r12  
neben annderm 113r2-3  
neben ewrn f.g. (pl.) 116v22
- sampt: sampt der pilligk<sup>t</sup> 109r24  
sampt den knechten 180r15
- von: von vnnserm Burgern Petern Imhof dem Elteren  
109v3-4  
von vnns den verordenten 110v19  
von einem yeden Fuder 112v22-23
- zu: zu vnnserm dienst vnd erlichen amptern 110v11  
zur notdurfft 113r2
- zusampt: zusampt einē solchen tapfern dinstgelt 109r18  
zusampt dem 191r15
- zwischen: zwischen hie vnd derselben zeyt 116r27  
zwischen jrem widertayl hannsen vmbehawen alls  
dem princpal auch vnns der belaidigten  
oberkait 117r31-117v1

A few prepositions take either dative or accusative. There are likely others in this group which simply did not appear in the section used for this study. The ones recorded are an, in, vnnder, and vor.<sup>4</sup>

- an: am pfintztag 109r25  
an den zwelfffhundert knechten 115v23
- in: in den newen vertregen 109v11  
in der kriegstuben 110v19-20  
in dem (demonstrative pronoun) 115v27

---

<sup>3</sup>As it does in MHG and NHG nach precedes its object when it is used with the meaning "after." In the meaning "on account of, because of," however, it is postpositive.

<sup>4</sup>Examples with the accusative may be found in the section on accusative case, page 112.

vnnder: vnnder denen 114r13  
vnnder dem weichprunnen 115r21-22

vor: vor anndern 110v10  
vor gemainer versamlung 116r24

Aside from its use with prepositions, the dative is infrequent. It is used for indirect objects, as the object case for certain verbs, and in the headings of correspondence. The following examples illustrate its use as indirect object:

ir hapt mir nächst geschryben 109v28-29

wir haben disem ewrm potten . . . iij G(ulden) entricht 111r8-9

das (=daß) wir dir hiemit zuschreyben 111v10

Because of the length of the complete NBB for 1519, and the time that would be required to analyze the whole text, a complete list of verbs requiring dative (or genitive or accusative) objects has not been compiled. Only a few dative examples are given here:

jst auch vnnsere gemut nit den waldstromairn . . . zugewarten  
117v7-8

wie es nun dem Baumgartner . . . begegnen wirdet 119v26-27.

A few verbs take both dative and genitive objects (genitive of thing, dative of person):

(ir) wolle . . . jme darumb entlichs vnd schleunigs Rechtens  
verhelffen 111r22-28

das wir euch gutter meynung nit wollten verhallten 113v32.

The only other significant use of dative is in the addresses which appear before each letter in the collection. Whether these are meant as direct objects or as objects of the preposition an is unclear:

Dem Erbern weyßen Lenharten Grolannd meinē lieben Schwager  
109v26-27

Den Erbern Hannsen Schintzer vnd Bartholmes wonriedern zu  
Wangen 110v1-2

Der Erbern vnnser Burgerin Dorothea wilhelm hallerin 112r8-9

A less common usage of dative is with reflexive pronouns of some verbs. Without doubt the dative reflexive is used in the NBB, but there are unfortunately no obvious examples. The overwhelming majority of reflexive occurrences are plural, so that dative sich is not distinguishable from accusative sich.

### Accusative

The use of the accusative in the NBB is divided almost equally between direct (verbal) objects and prepositional objects. Aside from these two situations, accusative is used only in a few time phrases, and for the objects of a few present participles.

A few examples of direct objects should suffice to illustrate this obvious and consistent use of the accusative:

Alls wir . . . vnnsern diener hainrichen knoden zu Euch  
gefertigt haben . . . 109r7-8

wir werden den halbgewachsen<sup>5</sup> vnd vielleicht noch einē mit  
im hinauff schicken . . . 116r2-3

das wir vnnser gepurnus der geraisigen . . . gen Vlme nit  
bringen mogen 118v20-22

in besorgnus das man damit frembd gest in das lannd pringen  
. . . werd 118v26-28

---

<sup>5</sup>Text reads sz, not ß.

Prepositions followed by accusative objects are of two types: those which require accusative under all conditions, and those which may also take dative objects. Those requiring accusative at all times are as follows:

- durch: durch keyßerliche vnd koniglich begnadung  
112v27  
durch all nachuolgend auffgericht verträg  
113r11  
durch geubten irn frefel 117v11
- fur: fur vnns die vnnsern vnd die jhenen 111v6-7  
fur den furnemlichsten anrichter 114r15  
fur das hauptstück vnd die vrsach 114v2
- on(e)(ohne): on ein freyen stillstand 114v32  
one des aigenherrn wißen und bewilligung  
208r20-21
- vber: vber darynnen bestimpten zol 113r6  
vber die tausent knecht 115v21  
vber alle gegebne vnnser entschid 117v12
- wider: wider seiner f.g. voreltern gegebne begunstigung  
114r29  
wider der K<sup>n</sup> Mt<sup>n</sup> halben gulden zoll 114v3  
wider gemaine vnnser Stat 116v18
- vmb: vmb das so jne dauon ausstendig jst 109v21  
vmb gutlich vnverpunden vnnderhandlung 114v20  
vmb einen furstand des solds 118r8-9

Only three prepositions--an, in, and vnnder--appear in the NBB in situations which show beyond doubt that either dative or accusative case is acceptable, but there are others, notably auff/uff and vor, which probably belong in this group. All clear-cut examples with auff/uff indicate accusative. Some examples with vor are ambiguous, but others are clearly dative (see page 109). All the following citations, except those with vor, indicate accusative case:

|                  |                                                                                                                  |
|------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <u>an:</u>       | an die Eltern 110r11<br>an dich 111v30, 112r11<br>an die Bundtischen 119r11                                      |
| <u>in:</u>       | in ewer art 111r5<br>in weittern vnrat vnd nachtayl 117r10-11<br>in vnnsern diennst 118r5<br>in das lannd 118v27 |
| <u>auff/uff:</u> | auff sie (3rd pl.) 111r16, auff dich 115r27<br>uff die Burger 114r30, uff den dritten tag<br>115v14              |
| <u>vnnder:</u>   | vnnder mein Eindres Tuchers hauptmans petschir<br>110v16-17                                                      |
| <u>vor:</u>      | vor einē zukunfftigen Romischen Keyßer vnd konig<br>116r18<br>vor schimpf, nachtayl vnd schaden 119v30           |

The ambiguity in case determination in the examples for vor above lies in the impossibility of interpretation of the form einē in the first example. If einē represents einem, the case is obviously dative. However, ē = -en could indicate either dative or accusative, since either -em or -en is appropriate for the dative.<sup>6</sup>

Besides its use as a verbal and prepositional object, the accusative case also appears in a few often-used time expressions: drey tag die nechsten 111v8-9, etlich tag 111v17, einen tag 115r9. One of the important innovations of ENHG is the use of während, a present participle, as a preposition. Although während is not yet

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<sup>6</sup>Another problem in the use of vor arises because of MHG usage, where vor with the dative is used if no motion is involved, and fur (=NHG vor) with the accusative is used otherwise (Paul and Mitzka, Mittelhochdeutsche Grammatik, par. 270.) In the NBB vor and fur are separate prepositions whose meanings correspond to NHG meanings.

used in the NBB, other present participles do appear to be used as prepositions. When this occurs, they take the accusative, and may or may not be postpositive:

die sachen den zoll belangend 119r15

berurnd die aufsag 230v18-19

betreffend den Newen zoll 231r3.

## II. ADJECTIVES

Adjectives in both MHG and NHG are used mainly in three ways: attributively, predicatively, and substantively. This is true also of usage in the NBB. By far the most common function of the adjective in the NBB is attributive. Attributive adjectives appear in six different configurations, determined by the presence or absence of definite and indefinite articles, possessive adjectives, and der-words (specifically diser and jener), or by word order. The six configurations, with examples of each, are described in the following paragraphs.

### Attributive Adjective Usage

Unpreceded adjective + noun. When adjectives appear with nouns, unassociated with articles, possessive adjectives or other specific modifiers, they bear strong endings.<sup>7</sup> Examples are as follows:

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<sup>7</sup>The only exception to this is the use of weak endings in the vocative plural. Examples are on page 102.

- Nom. verruckter tag 232v16, verschiner tag 109r7, etc.
- Voc. lieber Schwager 109v28, wirdige vnd gaistlich Fraw 111v15
- Gen. gutter meynung 109r22, dinstlichs fleys 109v15, obgemelter gutter 111r24
- Dat. gemainem Bund 110r16, gepurlicher entrichtung 109v23 kurtzen tagen 110v12
- Acc. vorgedulddten langen vertzug schaden vnd nachlaßen 109v17-18  
große beschwerung 112v25  
keyßerliche vnd konigclich begnadung vnd freyhaitten 112v27-28  
weittleufftig vnd vnaußtreglich anntwurt 113r20

Definite article + adjective + noun. The adjective after the definite article generally takes weak endings. Examples are self-explanatory:

- Nom. die wirdigen frawen 112r2  
der durchleuchtig hochgeborn Furst 112v17-18
- Gen. des auffgerichten kauffs 112v2
- Dat. den newen vertregen 109v11  
dem ertailten zusatz 110r27-28
- Acc. die muntlich hanndlung 109r12  
den dritten tag 111r9  
die tausent knecht 115v21

Indefinite article + adjective + noun. The adjective after the indefinite article takes mixed endings, that is, weak endings in the genitive and dative of all genders and numbers and in the masculine accusative singular, and distinctive (sometimes strong,

sometimes deviant) endings in other positions.<sup>8</sup> Examples are as follows:

- Nom. ein Erber Rath 110r1-2  
Dat. einer großen purden 110r14  
Acc. einen nachtailigen eingang 109r16-17  
 ein entlichen abschid 114v31

Possessive adjective + descriptive adjective + noun. The description of the combination of possessive pronouns with nouns in the NBB is made difficult by a word-order peculiarity which may reflect the influence of the Latin chancery language.<sup>9</sup> The possessive adjective, which generally precedes the attributive adjective, as in NHG, sometimes follows the adjective in the NBB. This results in two different declensional patterns. When the word order is normal--possessive adjective + adjective + noun--the adjective follows the mixed declension, as one would expect:

- Nom. vnnser dinstlich Bith 111r21-22  
 vnnser gnedig herrn 113r6  
 vnnser gnediger herr 114r18  
Gen. irer billichen vordrungshalben 109v16  
 ires leichtuertigen vernainens 117v13  
Dat. meinē lieben Schwager 109v27  
 irem gesandten anwald 111r22  
Acc. ewrn genaigten willen 110v27-28  
 ire . . . nechstgesipte freund 111r17  
 vnnser frey sicherheit vnd gleyt 111v9-10  
 dein jungstes schreyben 115r21

---

<sup>8</sup>See Table 3.13, page 77, for mixed adjective endings.

<sup>9</sup>Pers. comm. Henry Kratz.

sein auffgelegte gepurennde hilff 115v13-14  
 vnnserre habende freyheiten 116r17

When word order is inverted--that is, when a descriptive adjective precedes the possessive adjective--the declension of the adjective and the possessive appears to be strong. But given the relatively few unambiguous citations available, and given the contradictory evidence of some of these, it is difficult to derive hard and fast rules for the declension of this type of word group. The adjectives in the examples given here are marked (M = mixed, S = strong, W = weak) to indicate to which declension they may belong:

Gsf: voriger vnnser verstentnushalben 230r18-19  
           S          S

Dsf: bey aigner vnnser potschafft 236v24-25  
           S          S

ab hierynnligender seiner supliōn 182v29  
           S                  S

Nsm: Gedachter vnnser Burger 118r7  
           MS          MWS

Dsm: bey hochgedachten vnnsern M<sup>en</sup> herrn 113v15-16  
                   MWS          MWS

Asm: durch geubten irn frefel 117v11  
                   MWS      MWS

Npm: gemelte vnnserre Burger 109v9-10<sup>10</sup>  
           MS          MS

Gpm: der hernachbenanten vnnser gnedigsten vnd M herrn 114r5-6  
                   MW                  S          MW

---

<sup>10</sup>Endings for strong masc. pl. nom. and gen. are unattested elsewhere in the NBB, but the endings in this and the following example--nom. -e, gen. -er (er > Ø in the case of vnnser)--are consistent with MHG and NHG strong usage and are thus probably correctly labeled strong.

In all these examples except the last, both descriptive adjective and possessive are or could be strong. In the last case, the presence of the definite article probably has influenced the choice of the weak declension for the adjectives.

Demonstratives and limiting adjectives. Demonstratives and limiting adjectives also regularly precede possessive adjectives, and both are declined strong:

disem ewrm potten 111r8

etliche vnnsere nachpaur 119r9

solh ir erkaufft gut 112r27-28

aller solcher bestellter knecht 115v19

solcher irer hanndlung 117r21

Diser/Jener + adjective + noun. As would be expected, adjectives other than possessives take weak endings following dieser/jener:

diser beschwerlichen sachen 113r23

disen zufelligen sorglichen leufften 110v7

Noun + adjective. Only rarely in this text does an adjective follow its noun. When it does, however, it is declined strong:

ewer vatter seliger 109v9

### Irregularities in Attributive Usage

Although attributive adjectives generally follow these recognizable patterns, irregularities in attributive adjective

declensions do appear in the NBB. It is not terribly unusual to find mixtures of weak and strong endings among the modifiers of nouns. In irs darynnverleybts gutwilligen erpietens (Gsn) 110v26-27 where one would expect weak endings on both adjectives, a strong -s appears side by side with a weak -en. vnnser gesanndten vbermeßig vollig Rechpot (Asm) 116r30-117r1 has the correct weak ending (gesanndten) followed by an unexpected strong ending (vollig).

A common irregularity in the NBB is the use of one adjective to modify two or more nouns. In these cases the adjective ending may be correct for both nouns, as in the first example below, or incongruent, as in the second:

mit erylnerung solcher begnadung vnd verträg 113r17  
(solcher is both Gsf and Gpm)

zu vnnserm dienst vnd erlichen amptern 110v11  
(=vnnserm dienst vnd vnnsern erlichen . . .)

### Predicate Adjectives

Adjectives appear in the predicate as predicate nominatives without inflection:

. . . so ine dauon ausstendig ist (which is owed to them)  
109v21

ob ir . . . notdurfftig sein werdent 111v19

wir sind . . . danckpar urputtig 109r20-21

Of the predicate appositive (the type "he came back healthy") in the accusative, no examples have been found in this text.

### Comparison of Adjectives

The comparative and superlative endings of adjectives in the NBB are -er and -est, as would be expected.<sup>11</sup> Comparative clauses, as in MHG, are constructed with dann: mer dann 117r7; eher dann 119v24; stattlicher vnd hoher dann 119r5. In negative comparisons, though, where MHG uses wann (Paul, Moser, Schröbler, par. 266), the construction in the NBB, like the positive, is with dann: anders nichtzit dann 117r23-24.

### III. PRONOUNS

Pronouns in the NBB present no serious problems of syntax. Of interest is a general tendency to omit pronouns--particularly personal pronouns and the impersonal es. There are more ways to express certain syntactic functions--for example, so, welcher, and was may be used, as well as der, as relative pronouns--and pronoun word order is somewhat variable.

#### Personal Pronouns

Morphological considerations aside, the most noteworthy characteristic of personal pronoun usage is omission. Omission of pronouns appears to be limited to subject pronouns, and arises in several situations. The most regular and expected omission is with the imperative. As was discussed in Chapter III, true imperative

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<sup>11</sup>See pages 77-78 for formation of comparative and superlative.

forms are rare in the NBB. Where they do appear, however, they are without pronouns. Furthermore, where wollen is used to express commands, the pronoun is also missing:

das wollest vnns . . . verstendigen 199r20-21

das wollest dannocht den Bundtischen auch antzaigen 119v18-19

The subject pronoun does sometimes appear if the command is expressed indirectly: vnd demnach vnnsrer beuelh, das du jne . . . wollest . . . fertigen 119v3-5. The most common omission of the subject pronoun, however, is in paratactic and hypotactic constructions where the subject (usually wir in this text), has already been mentioned:

haben wir alles jnhalts horen lesen. vnd (wir) sind . . . danckpar . . . 110v25-27

wie jr des jn kurtzen tagen beschaid empfahren werden. des wollet (jr) erwarten 110v12-13

(daß) du solh pflegampt in versehung habst vnd (jhnem) . . . hilfflich seyst, darynn ertzaigst (du) vnns sonnder gefallen 112r1-4

Occasionally in hypotactic or paratactic situations a second but different subject will be omitted:

vnns gefallen aber die sachen, so gut sy sein können das aber nit beßern vnd (wir) wollen vnns . . . 115r23-24

das wollest (du) dannocht den Bundtischen auch antzaigen, ob (=in case) wir sy mit der zeyt vmb Rath vnd hilff darynn ansuchen wurden. des zuuor wißen zuhaben 119v18-21 (so that they might have prior knowledge of it)

Wir is frequently omitted, particularly at the beginning of sentences or in the formulaic expressions of gratitude or loyalty which occur in the closing lines of many letters:

Bitten demnach dinstlichs fleys 109v15

haben auch Stephan Baumgartner vnd Michelen Schluchter  
verordent 110r24-25

dich darnach haben (wir) zurichten 115r16

The only other significant pronoun omission is of the impersonal es. This omission is not uncommon in MHG, nor is it impossible to find in NHG. But where es is omitted in NHG, word order is different: Unser Befehl ist, daß . . ., for example, rather than ist vnser beuelh . . .. Examples from the NBB are as follows:

ist darumb an euch vnser beuelh 111v18

vnd ist war 116r12

vnns befrembdt aber, das 117r29

auch gantz vnfruchtpar vnd vergebens were (es) 117v20-21

The tendency, as was stated earlier, seems to be more toward omission than overuse of personal pronouns in the NBB. Redundant uses of personal pronouns seem to be avoided. Pleonasm of the sort "the old man, he went" do not appear often.

### Reflexive Pronouns

Accusative and dative reflexive pronouns are used frequently. Since accusative and dative forms are alike in all cases except first and second person singular, it is generally impossible to distinguish the two cases. Reflexives are used quite frequently in the NBB, often with verbs which are not reflexive in NHG. Some examples are listed here with their Nürnberg meanings and cases (where identifiable):

|                              |                                   |
|------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| sich antzaigen 112r13 (Acc.) | - to report, to appear before     |
| sich einlegen 228v11-12      | - to take a break, stop for night |
| sich legern 233r5            | - to encamp, to be stationed      |
| sich saumen 228v5            | - to waste time                   |
| sich verhoffen 116v10        | - to hope (intensified)           |

### Possessive Pronouns and Adjectives

In general, possessives are used attributively; they do appear substantively in the NBB, although this usage is rare. The following examples are of normal usage:

#### Possessive adjectives.

seinen weg (Asm) 226v6  
 ir statlich potschafft (Asf) 226v20  
 bey meinen mitfreunden (Dp) 226v22  
 meiner herren vnd freund (Gp) 226v28  
 vnnser beuelh (Nsm) 227r29  
 nach vnnser erkanntnus (Dsf) 227v28  
 vnnser gelegenhait (Nsf) 228r24

#### Possessive pronouns.

fur vnns die vnnsern vnd die jhenen, der . . . 111v6-7  
 (wir) sind genaigt . . . den vnnsern . . . beuelh zuthun  
 117v6-8

One construction involving attributive possessives--that is, the sequence Article + Adjective + Possessive + Adjective + Noun--is mostly limited to forms of address, specifically letter headings:

der erbern vnnser burgerin (Dsf) 112r8

von hochgedachten vnnsern M<sup>en</sup> herrn dem Marggrafen 113r28-29

Den Erbern vnnserm Burger Stephan Baumbgartner vnd vnnsern  
diener Michelen Schluchter 115v6-8

The use of possessives with indefinite limiting adjectives is  
not at all uncommon. Examples from the NBB are easily found:

etlicher ander vnnser Ratsfreund (Gp) 230v7

etlichen vnnsern besonndern guten freunden (Dp) 236v8

anndern vnnsern bestellten (Dp) 109r16

alle seine verwandten (Ap) 235v31

### Demonstratives

Der is the most commonly used demonstrative in the NBB,  
although dieser and jener do appear. Der is used more often sub-  
stantively (i.e., pronominally), dieser attributively. Jener does  
not appear alone, but der jener and der jheniger are used  
occasionally. Examples of these pronouns are listed here:

#### der:

die haben wir vernomen 109r14

bey denen von Vlme 232r13

wie jr des jn kurtzen tagen beschaid empfahren werden 110v12-13

vmb das so jne dauon ausstendig jst 109v20-21

ob derhalben was an die Bundtischen oder dich gelangen wurd,  
des einen kurtzen bericht zuhaben 114r3-4

#### diser (attributive):

dises vngeschickten vertzugigen postirns (Gs) 229r6

diser hierynnverwarten zettel (Gsf) 230v13-14

diser zeyt (Dsf) 230v30

dise zeytung 233r4

diser (substantive):

sie wurden . . . auch dise . . . thun 206r1-2

vnd e. nachuolgende scheinlich vrsachen vernemen.  
vnd nemlich dise 217v7-8

der jener/der jeniger:

fur . . . die jhenen der wir ongenerlich mechtig sind 111v6-8

das jhenig so inen von pilligk<sup>t</sup> wegen angehört 111r24-25

Derselber and solcher, while generally appearing attributively, are also used as demonstratives. Their use is not as common as that of der:

dieselb wolle jrem gesandten anwald . . . jn . . . beuelh haben  
111r22-23

das (=daß) solhs jm anfang der hanndlung zustund beschehen  
wurd 231v4

wo solhs abermals nit beschech 109v19

### Relative Pronouns

In the NBB the most common relative pronoun, as in MHG, is probably der, which has begun to take on forms (denen, dero) which differentiate this pronoun, at least in some cases, from the demonstrative. The only other pronoun used to any extent as a relative is the indeclinable so, which seems to be as frequently used as der. Examples of both kinds of relatives are listed here:

der Euch am jungsten seinerhalben hat angesprochen 234r7

guttern, die er auff sein Schloß Cronberg . . . gepracht  
(hat) 235r6-7

die jhenen der wir ongenerlich mechtig sind 111v7-8

Michel Schluchter . . . den wir etlich tag geprauchten  
werden 111v16-18

die nam so . . . von Jacoben von Cronberg vnd seinen helffern  
geubt ist 236v7-11

Contz linsen so ir verganngner tag auff vnnsern beuelh hapt  
fangklich annemen zuredhalten laßen 235r8-10

sampt denen so ime des verholffen (haben) 235v4

Occasionally welhs and was are used in the NBB when the relative  
antecedent is a clause or sentence, or when it is indefinite:

welhs alls erbern vnd vermoglichen gar erschrocklich vnd  
beschwerlich sein wurde 236v2-3

was nun ewer w. hierynn fur gut bewegen 236r24-25

### Interrogative Pronouns

As was discussed earlier, interrogative pronouns, because of  
the nature and style of the texts, do not appear in the NBB.

### Indefinite Pronouns

Although they are not used as interrogatives, wer, was and  
also etwas appear in the NBB. They are used as indefinite relative  
pronouns. Forms of wer appear only rarely--not because another  
pronoun is used in its place, but apparently because content and  
style do not provide appropriate contexts. Only a few examples have  
been found:

wer wollt dann fur pillich vnd gleichmeßig achten 234r31

das vnnser antzal weß vber die tausent knecht trifft  
115v20-21

Was is used in four ways: most commonly as an indefinite relative pronoun or in relative adverb phrases, but occasionally also as a shortened form of etwas and as a relative adverb meaning was für (ein): Examples of the use of was are listed here:

as a relative pronoun:

(ist) darynnen . . . clerlich verleybt, was . . . soll genomen werden 113r2-5

was des Wein Zollshalben bey . . . dem Marggrafen außgericht werd . . . 109v29-110r1

was nun datzumal muntlich . . . fur annt't (=antwort) gefallen ist, vernempt ir . . . 110r5-7

as a relative adverb:

in was namen. vnd auß was anfurdrung vnd verursachung der von Cronberg disen thatlichen Lanndfridpruch . . . geubt hat 235v18-22

as a pronoun in the meaning "something":

ob derhalben was an die Bundtischen oder dich gelangen wurd . . . 114r3-4

was fruchtpars 236r10

as an indeclinable adjective, like English "what":

mit was pillicher schein . . . 203v21

was gnedigen vnd manigfaltigen großen Eren 213r12-13.

Other pronouns and adjectives are used occasionally, all (except icht) as they would be in NHG. Adjectives include ein, jeder, alle, etlich. Pronouns include man, icht (in von ichten), yemand, niemand, nichts.

#### IV. DEFINITE ARTICLE

The particular situations in which definite articles are used are so varied and numerous that their description for MHG, NHG or the

NBB is beyond the scope of this work. Since there is little significant change in usage between MHG and NHG, the definite article will not be discussed here.

## V. VERBS

### Tenses: Present and Future

By the end of the MHG period, all of the verb forms, both synthetic and periphrastic, that exist in NHG have appeared somewhere in the language. The only exception is the future perfect.<sup>12</sup> The major changes from MHG to ENHG thus involve the loss of some forms--for example werden with present participle for present tense,<sup>13</sup> and the establishment of other forms as standard (e.g., werden with infinitive for future tense). In the following discussion of tense forms therefore, the question of which forms are most commonly used is more important than that of which forms appear.

Present tense. The normal usage of present tense for present or consuetudinal action or condition is by far the most common function of the present tense in the NBB:

alls . . . vnnsere Burger berichten 109v9-10

wir sind danckpar vrputtig zuverdienen 109r20-22

hapt ir selbs zuachten 109v12-13

(wir) wollen vnns . . . rusten zum pesten vnd furderlichsten  
wir mogen 115r24-25

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<sup>12</sup>Curme, par. 166, Note.

<sup>13</sup>Virgil Moser, Historisch-grammatische Einführung, p. 226.

Present is used to indicate future, although not often:<sup>14</sup>

des wollet (ir) erwarten vnd euch mitler zeyt gegen nymand  
mit dinst verpflichten. daran geschicht vnns guts  
gefallen 110v13-15

kommt doch dieselb zal zu vlme nachmals bestellt vnd erstat  
werden. vnd ir thut in dem vnnser meynung 115v27

daneben entdecken wir dir das vnns heut dato . . . ein  
veindsbrief zukomen ist. wie du auß innligender Copi  
vernimpst 119v14-18

Modals in the present tense may also indicate future tense, but the modal aspect in these cases outweighs the future. See below, page 129, for examples. Quite rarely sein with the present participle occurs for the present: ist darumb an dich vnnser beger hiemit beuelhende . . . 111v30-112r4

Future tense. The future tense is most often expressed by forms of werden with the infinitive:

Gleichwol sind meine herrn noch nit entschloßen was sy  
darauf ferner hanndelen vnd furnemen werden 110r8-9

den wir etlich tag geprauchten werden 111v18

wie du muntlich vernemen wirst 112r14-15

wir werden den halbgewachsen . . . hinauffschicken 116r2-3

The MHG practice of using modals--particularly sol, wil and muoz--to express futurity occurs in the NBB, but not as commonly as the forms using werden with infinitive. Furthermore, the modal component seems to be stronger in most cases than the future.

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<sup>14</sup>Werden with the infinitive is the usual future form.

The future connotation seems stronger with wollen than with other modals:

Nun will ich euch nit verhalten, das . . . 110r1

so wollen auch meine herrn die hanndlung . . . nit gantz wol gefallen 110r10-12

souerer du in acht tagen den nechsten . . . hieher kumpst. solt du . . . vnnser frey sicherheit vnd gleyt haben 111v5-10

was hierynn das Recht yedentayl geben mag 117v6

### Past Tenses

In the NBB the simple preterite is never used, except with modals, and past perfect appears only rarely, and then only in the subjunctive. The overwhelmingly prevalent past tense is the present perfect, which is formed as in NHG, with present forms of haben and sein and the past participle:

Alls wir verschiner tag vnnsern diener zu Euch gefertigt haben 109r7-8

ir hapt mir nächst (=recently) geschryben 109v28-29

haben wir alles inhalts horen lesen 110v25-26

Frequently the past participle will appear without auxiliary, either in cases where repetition is unneeded or awkward, as in these examples:

(daß sie) bey vnns einkomen vnd vor Rath erschienen sind 114r16

wie ir . . . auff ansuchen Fritzen Mullners . . . an vnns geschryben (haben). haben wir alles inhalts horen lesen 113v20-21

or in dependent clauses, where sentence rhythm apparently causes the auxiliary to be dropped (Curme, par. 190.1A).

## Mood

Imperative. True imperative forms in the NBB are uncommon.

In fact, only two examples have been found, both in the second person plural, without pronoun (zweyfel nit 234v10,<sup>15</sup> thut fleys 235r1).

Imperative is more frequently indicated by the use of the present subjunctive of wollen or of beuelh, beger, beuelhen, etc., with a daß-clause in the present subjunctive. Examples of these imperative constructions appear on page 50.

Indicative and subjunctive. Examples of verbs in the indicative mood can be found above in the sections on verb tenses. The general function of the indicative is to express real, achievable or imminent action or condition, in contrast to the unreal, unachievable, or remotely possible action indicated by the subjunctive. The indicative mood also carries with it a stronger, more precise sense of time than does the subjunctive, as is the case also in MHG:

Wenn das Verbum im Indikativ steht, so hat das Tempus überwiegend, nicht immer, einen selbständigen Wert; steht das Verbum im Konjunktiv, so überwiegt im allgemeinen die Modusaussage, und das Tempus hat keinen konstanten Wert: die zeitliche Bedeutung kann weitgehend aufgehoben sein.<sup>16</sup>

MHG uses subjunctive in a fashion similar to NHG, but with some exceptions. It is used with imperatives and comparisons, and

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<sup>15</sup>See page 53 concerning this form without -t.

<sup>16</sup>Paul, Moser, Schröbler, par. 310.

with the indefinite pronouns swer and swelher, as well as in the more commonly found manner--to indicate unreal situations.<sup>17</sup>

In the NBB the subjunctive does not appear regularly with comparisons:

das auch vnnserer verordente Ratsfreund auff vnnsern beuelh  
mit jme anders nichtzit gehandelt dann hierynn sein gemut  
zuuernemen 117r22-25.

It is sometimes present with imperatives; but not always:

zweyfel nit dhweyl der von Cronberg am gut gantz vermoglich  
ist, wo mit einē ernst, durch den Bundt zuor diser zeyt  
bey jme angehalten wirdet, die 800 R(eichsgulden) mochten  
herauß gebracht werden 234v10-13;

jn dem allein thut fleys, wie vnns nit zweyfelt . . . 235r1.

In main clauses the subjunctive appears for indirect discourse:

nach gemainer sag, hab im der pfaltzgraf vnderhaltung  
abgeschlagen 226v7-8;

and for wishes which the speaker considers achievable:

got wole darynn einen glucklichen außganng mittailen 118v12.

The greatest use of the subjunctive, though, is in daß-clauses and other dependent clauses, where it represents most of the unreal situations, probability, indirect discourse, possibility, hearsay, and polite subjunctive:

wiewol nun solchem des punds furnemen/ ein schein gemacht  
wirdet, uff meynung alls ob das gemainem Bund vnd zuor  
den stetten zu gut beschech, 110r13-17 (opinion);

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<sup>17</sup>Joseph Wright, A Middle High German Primer, 5th ed., ed.  
M. O'C. Walshe (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1955), par. 108.

Bitten euch dennoch gutlich ir wollet mit benante Zeydler souil verschaffen . . . vnd sich hierynn so gonstlich erweyßen das ir dise vnnser furschrifft zu nutz erspries 112r28-112v4 (hope, desire);

So wirdet vnser gelegenhait nit sein, Sy on zymlich straff einkomen zulaßen, darumb auch gantz vnfructpar vnd vergebens were mit jne zu taglaistung oder verhore zukomen 117v18-21 (opinion);

(er) hat auch ein laut das der hertzog jn das Niderland nach Reutern geschickt hab. darumb vielleicht dester nötter wurdet sich aller ennde, statlicher vnd hoher, dann wir hie bedencken umbzusehen vnd zustercken 119r3-6 (hearsay);

Dhweyl dann ewer vatter Seliger vnd jr alls vnns gemelte vnnsere Burger berichten. euch derhalb statlich verschriben vnd sy jn den newen vertregen dannoch etwouil verfallner gulten nachgelaßen, des sy nit schuldig wern gewest 109v8-12 (unreal situation);

(wir) achten dafur das Baumbgartner daselbst vnnser antzal (knechten) eher dann zu wanngen . . . mocht bekommen 119v23-26 (possibility);

Das (rel. pron.) ich euch freuntlicher meynung nit verhalten wollt, dann euch bin ich zu freuntlichen willen gantz genaigt 110r30-31 (polite usage);

Subjunctive does appear in conditional sentences (an example appears on page 150, under ob) but it is usually with modals. The great majority of conditional clauses are with the future subjunctive, or conditional:

Jst darumb an dich vnnser beger hiemit beuelhend das du . . . ob die wirdige . . . frauen berurts vnnsers closters dich vmb ainicherley anlangen wurden . . . jne hilfflich seyst 111v30-112r4

wir geben dir . . . zuerkennen, ob derhalben was an die Bundtischen oder dich gelangen wurd. des einen kurtzen bericht zuhaben 114r2-4

(For examples of conditional after wo and so (if), see pages 152-153.)

In fact, conditional is rarely used except after wo, so, and ob

(all used as conditional conjunctions). Ob is occasionally omitted, but the omission does not change the conditional meaning of the clause:

wurd yemand fur schaden zusteen, vnd zusampt einẽ solchen  
tapfern dinstgelt auch die besoldung so reylich zubewilligen,  
So wollen wir . . . 109r17-19.

Conditional (future subjunctive). The conditional, or future subjunctive forms that appear quite commonly in the NBB are generally used in situations which have elements both of futurity and conditionality in them. Only occasionally do würde-forms appear without future connotation, as in the third of the following examples:

wurd jemand fur schaden zusteen 109r17-18

ob die . . . Frawen . . . dich vmb ainicherley. anlagen  
wurden 112r2-3

ob du der yetzuzeitten notdurfftig sein wurdest 115v3-4

### Passive Voice

In the NBB the passive voice is used with what appears to be normal frequency. Both statal and actional passive forms are attested, and although statal passive is frequent only in the present indicative, actional shows up in the present and perfect indicative as well as present and preterite subjunctive. It is probable that a more comprehensive survey of the text would turn up other forms. Examples of the passive are listed here:

#### Present indicative statal:

welhe satzung der zoll . . . dermaß geleutert vnd bestettigt  
sein (=sind) 112v10-12

wie du waist vnd nummer bericht bist 118v14-15

derhalben wir auß vnnser notdurfft bewegt. vnd verursacht  
sein . . . 112v14

wir sein von vnnserm Burgerin . . . vmb vnnser furdrung  
an . . . euch angesucht 109v3-8

Present indicative actional:

damit schaden vnd nachlaßen nit noch ferner aufgezogen  
werden 109v17-18

wiewol nun . . . ein schein gemacht wirdet 110r14-15

so durch seiner gnaden gepiethen . . . gefurt wirdet  
112v23-24

Perfect indicative actional:

dhweyl er biß an den dritten tag ist stilligen vnd  
auffgehalten worden 111r8

. . . wir von etlichen vnnsern burgern . . . vmb  
furschriefften sind angesucht worden 111r13-18

wir sein ytzo in eyl bericht worden 112v11-12

Present subjunctive actional:

ir hapt mir nächst geschryben vnd gepetten Euch zuuerstendigen  
was des Wein Zollshalben bey vnnserm M. herrn dem Marggfen  
außgericht werd 109v28-110r1

achten wir doch hie dafur, das solhs mer ein specklein sey,  
damit den costen allein den stetten aufftzulegen, vnd den  
nachsten schaden zufliehen vnd das der fursten daran  
gepurende antzal gar lanngksam betzalt werde 110r18-21

wir (haben) auß allerley vrsachen vermutung, das bey der  
pfaltz . . . werd practicirt an die Bundtischen Mandata  
außgeen zulaßen 119r7-11

Preterite subjunctive actional:

Darumb ist an ewer gnaden Edel vnd erberkait vnnser  
vnnderthanig vnd dinstlich Bith Ob solhs von mergedachten  
vnnserm M<sup>n</sup> herrn dem Marggfen bey ewern gnaden vnd .e.  
geschehen wer oder hinfur gethan wurd ewer gnad .e. vnd

.e. wollen sich vnnser vnuerhort zu keinen vngnaden oder vngunst wider vnns bewegen laßen 113r27-113v1.

Ob dann gleich noch ein zal an den zwelffhundert knechten mangeln vnd mit den doppelsoldnern vnder den Tausenten, nit gar erfullt wurd. konnt doch dieselb zal zu vlme nachmals bestellt vnd erstat werden 115v23-26.

Passive forms with sein are occasionally actional in meaning rather than statal in the NBB. The last two present indicative statal examples might more rightly be considered actional.

### Participles and Infinitives

Present participles. In the NBB the present participle is most often used as an adjective:

zu disem komenden Stettag 228v2

auß etlichen obligenden sachen 111v16

in furfallenden kriegssachen 110v31

but occasionally it carries active implications: vnnser habende Freyheiten 116r17. Present participles are also used sometimes as adverbs:

. . . so wir dann so eylend . . . nit pringen mogen  
232r33-232v1

. . . so eylennds gen Vlme nit bringen mogen 118v21-22

and a few appear to be prepositions:

die sachen den zoll belangend 119r15

berurnd die aufsag 230v18-19

betreffend den Newen zoll 231r3

Past participles. The major use of past participles in the NBB is obviously in the perfect tenses, but aside from this, the past participle is also frequently used adjectivally, in absolute constructions:

jr hapt selbs zuachten das sy sich ferners vertzugs der  
betzalung vnd annders in den vertregen begriffen pillich  
beschwert 109v13-14.

was nun dazumal muntlich auch nachuolgend in schriffthen  
fur annt't gefallen ist, vernempt ir auß diser vertzaichnus  
hierynnuerwart 110r5-8.

wir haben ewer schreyben vnd gutwillig anpieten zu vnnserm  
dienst, ytzo an vnns gethan. alles inhalts zu gutem  
gefallen vernomen 110v4-6

Gnediger herr. e f .g. annt't vnns ytzo des furgenomen ewer  
gnaden weinzollshalben vff vnnser geschichten Ratsfreund  
jungste muntliche werbung schriftlich vberschickt, haben  
wir jn vnnderthanigk<sup>t</sup> alles inhalts vernomen 116r9-12

In addition, past participles are used as attributive and substantive adjectives and as adverbs. Examples are self-explanatory:

Attributive adjectives:

e.f.g. ytzo an mich gesantes schreyben 116v21  
auff den angesatzten Stet versamlungtag 227v3  
dises vngeschickten vertzugigen postirns 119r5-6  
diser hierynnverwarten zettel 230v14

Adjectives used substantively:

einer seiner Burger . . . alls ein beschedigter . . . verwandt  
ist 236r1-2

wie e. R<sup>t</sup> innligends (from the enclosed letter) vernemen  
236r24

Adverbs:

(ir wollet) bede verwart (=under guard) herein schicken  
235r24

Infinitives. Infinitives appear in the NBB as dependent infinitives, in "double infinitive" constructions, and with the conjunction vmb . . . zu. With modals and certain other verbs, the double infinitive construction is used to the total exclusion of the older form with the past participle:

. . . haben wir alles innhalts horen lesen 113v21

(sie) haben hanndelen vnd werben laßen 110r4-5

For expressing the idea "in order to," vmb . . . zu constructions are the rule in these texts:

. . . mit willen vmb euch zuuerdienen 109r21-22

although the infinitive with zu sometimes suffices:

das . . . kriegsknecht gen Vlm lauffen dinst zusuchen  
119v22-23

and occasionally the conjunction damit is used:

solhs mer ein specklein sei, damit den costen allein den  
Stetten aufftzulegen 110r18-19.

Dependent infinitives appear with modals and other verbs, much as they do in NHG. The noteworthy aspect of dependent infinitive constructions is the variability in the use of zu. In MHG infinitives after touc, gan, and weiz are preceded by ze and inflected. Modals with dependent infinitives do not require it.<sup>18</sup> This situation has changed in the NBB. Although occasional inconsistencies arise, dependent infinitives in general are uninflected and preceded by zu, which is generally affixed to the

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<sup>18</sup>Paul, Moser, Schröbler, par. 318a.

infinitive. The exceptions to this are the modals, and verbs in "double infinitive" constructions with laßen and hören (and probably sehen and heißen as in NHG). Examples are as follows:

With modals:

Nun will ich euch nit verhalten 110r1

wo ye des punds furnemen nochmals sollt wurckung haben  
110r24

. . . was hierynn das Recht yedemtayl geben mag 117v6

vnd es dafur achten mussten 117r9-10

With other verbs:

(er hat) einen newen wein zol . . . zenemen angefanngen  
112v19-22

das wir sein f.g. an seiner .g. willtpeutten . . . zu  
nachgreiffen betruben vnd verhindern 114r22-23

die waldstromair (sich) widersetzen, solchen frefel gegen  
vnns zuuerpussen vnd das noch vermainen zubeharren 117v16-18

Inconsistent usage:

das du dich . . . wollest erheben vnd herein gen Nurnberg  
komen dich bey vnns antzaigen vnd bemelter hanndlungshalben  
(,) wie du muntlich vernemen wirst(,) zugewarten 112r12-15

Bitten wir vnnderthanigs fleys zu keinē vnghaden sonnder  
vnns notdurfft nach geruchen gnedigclich zuuemercken  
vnd sich der waldstromair irer verwandtnus vnd pot-  
meßigkaithalben wider vnns nit antzunemen. sonnder sich  
hierynn dermaßen ertzaigen . . . 117v25-29

For examples with hören and laßen, see above, page 137.

## VI. WORD ORDER

### Word Order in the Main Clause

In a text where sentences are extremely complex and frequently anacoluthic, it is surprising to find that word order is quite

consistent and generally in agreement with NHG patterns. The general structure is most easily described in terms of verb position: the finite verb occupies second position, preceded by almost any single sentence element except nicht. The uninflected verb elements appear last. The subject usually either precedes or follows the finite verb, nicht precedes the infinite verb forms (or a sentence element meant to be specifically negated). Between the two verb positions, all other sentence elements are placed roughly in ascending order of semantic importance. In the following paragraphs this basic pattern, as it appears in the NBB, will be described more fully.

Position of the finite verb. In by far the majority of main clauses in the text the finite verb holds second position. It is most frequently preceded by the subject or a dependent clause, but accusative, dative and genitive objects and sentence adverbs are not uncommon before the verb. Occasionally other elements appear first: one independent clause may be used as the subject of a second, or an independent clause may have as its first element a section of a following dependent clause. A few examples should suffice to illustrate the verb-second position:

Preceded by subject:

wir haben disem ewrm potten . . . iij G(ulden) entricht  
111r8-10

wir schicken dir hiemit vnnsern diener hannsen haßler  
. . . 115v2-3

Preceded by dependent clause:

vnd wiewol vnns laut der pundsordnung 1200 knecht zuschicken  
geburt Befelhen wir doch euch das . . . 115v15-17

Ob dann gleich noch ein zal an den zwelffhundert knechten  
mangeln . . . konnt doch dieselb zal zu Vlme nachmals  
bestellt vnd erstat werden 115v23-26

Preceded by direct object:

die haben wir vernomen 109r14

das magst du dem außschuß in vertrawen antzaigen 119r14-15

Preceded by dative object:

vnns sind ytzo zway deine schreyben . . . geannt't  
(=überantwortet) 118r5-9

Preceded by genitive object:

ob ir bede trost oder nit trost hapt kriegsknecht zubekomen,  
des wollest (du) vnns . . . berichten 119v27-29

Preceded by adverbial conjunctions (coordinating):

Nun will ich euch nicht verhalten . . . 110r1

Darumb ist an euer gnaden Edel vnd erberkait vnns  
vnnderthanig vnd dinstlich Bith . . . 113r27-28

Preceded by independent clause:

Wir werden den halbgewachsenen . . . hinauffschicken . . . ,  
wollten wir euch auch nit verhallten 116r2-5

Preceded by main clause within relative clause:

Jorgen von Weyershalben, horen wir gern, das der in vnnsern  
dienst bestellt ist 119v2-3

Under certain conditions, and then not often, the verb may come first, as in formulaic expressions (often repeated business-letter phrases), or when subject pronoun or grammatical es is omitted.

Pronoun omission is responsible in most verb-first clauses.

Examples are as follows:

Verb first, formulaic expressions:

haben wir euch gutter meynung 109r22

Pronoun omission:

(wir) haben auch Stephan Baumbgartner vnnd Michel Schluchter  
verordent . . . 110r24

(wir) seyen gleichwol sorgfelig das . . . 118v20

(es) verwundert vnns aber das . . . 118v22-23

(es) ist an dich vnnsrer beger hiemit beuelhende 111v30

Rarely the finite verb will be omitted altogether, but this generally occurs only where the verb is felt to be redundant, as in the second of these clauses: haben wir euch gutter meynung vnd darumb (haben wir) nit verhalten wollen 109r22-23.<sup>19</sup>

Position of the subject in the main clause. The subject of a main clause is placed before or after the finite verb. It most often appears after the verb, due primarily to the tendency in the NBB to begin sentences with one or more dependent clauses. The subject is fairly often omitted, especially with verbs of command or request, with impersonal verbs requiring es in NHG, and where the same subject has appeared within a few preceding lines or is thought to be obvious. Occasionally a subject--but never a subject pronoun--will appear separated from the finite verb by a sentence adverb or other element. The following examples illustrate subject position:

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<sup>19</sup>Concerning omission of the finite verb in dependent clauses, see above, page 129.

Subject immediately following verb:

Alls wir vnns aber darauff verfangen . . . (einen) bericht  
 . . . zuzufertigen haben sy . . . angehalten 114v17-24

So haben die vom Adel zu Francken einen tag (=Tagung) gen  
 Schweinfurt . . . furgenomen 115r8-11

Subject immediately preceding the verb:

die haben funff Clagartickel ertzelt 114r17

vnd ir thut in dem vnnser meynung vnd gefallen 115v27

Subject omitted:

(Wir) Bitten euch demnach gutlich . . . 112r28

Vnd (es) langt vnns daruber statlich an . . . 113r21

dann (=denn) wir den diser zeyt im hauß fasst notdurfftig  
 sein. wollten (wir) auch vil lieber den anhaims behalten  
 119v5-7

vnns gefallen aber die sachen so gut sy sein können das aber  
 nit beßern vnd (wir) wollen vnns mit vnnser antzal rusten  
 zum pesten vnd furderlichsten wir mogen 115r23-25

It should be noted that in this last example, the subject of wollen--  
wir-- appears only indirectly, as vnns. This is not typical of  
 usage in this text, but it does occasionally occur.

Another unusual subject position is illustrated by the same  
 example, where the subject of the first clause (die sachen) is  
 separated from the finite verb by the adverbial conjunction aber.  
 This is not an infrequent pattern in the NBB: ist darumb an dich  
vnnser beger hiemit beuelhende 111v30, nichtzit desterminder wollen  
dannocht meine herrn auß einer not ein tugendt machen 110r21-22.  
 This separated subject position is tenable only for non-pronominal  
 subjects.

Position of infinite verb forms. Past participles take final position in the main clause except in the periphrastic tenses of the passive voice or when followed by an infinitive phrase. In both of these cases the past participle is the penultimate element.

Examples are easily found for all three conditions:

Gleichwol sind meine herrn noch nit entschloßen 110r8

(das) ist auß keinem vergeßen vnnderlaßen 110v8

des haben sy vnns aber gelaint 114v28

das hat er vnns zuerkennen geben 109r7-14

ir hapt mir nächst geschryben vnd gepetten Euch zuuerstendigen 109v28

(wir) sein (=sind) bericht worden 112v11

ir werden beholffen sein 111r4

(sie) konnt bestellt werden 11rv26

Infinitives are placed last with werden (future tense), with modals and haben zu (=müssen), and in some "double infinitive" constructions.<sup>20</sup>

ir werdt das mit gepurlicher entrichtung der schulden verhusen 109v22-23

so wirdet vnser gelegenhait nit sein 117v18-19

got wole darynn einen glucklichen außganng mittailn 118v13

---

<sup>20</sup>The only "double infinitive" constructions that have been found in the NBB occur with hören and laßen. Although those with laßen put the participle (laßen) in final position, as in NHG, those with hören place the dependent infinitive last: (sie) haben handeln vnd werben laßen 110r4-5; . . . haben wir alles innhalts horen lesen 113v21.

das magst du dem außschuß in vertragen antzaigen 119r14

. . . hapt ir selbs zu achten 109v12-13

. . . wollen wir im allßdann Recht ergen laßen 113r30

As in NHG the infinitive is penultimate in the compound tense of modals:

. . . haben wir jme einich gelt nit zustellen wollen  
118r22-23

Position of nicht. As in NHG, nicht appears either just before the uninflected verb forms, or at the end of a sentence with no infinite forms:

(das) wollten wir euch nicht verhalten 116r4-5

Jst auch vnnser gemut nit (,) den waldstromairn . . .  
zugewarten 117v7-8,

or before a specific element to be negated:

. . . hapt ir selbs nit schwer zu bedencken . . . 112r26

Position of elements between finite and infinite verbs. As with other aspects of word order in the NBB, the order of elements between the two verb positions is generally fixed. The pattern is as follows:

- (1) subject pronouns (if not before verb)
- (2) other pronouns
- (3) adverbs
- (4) subject nouns
- (5) prepositional phrases, genitive constructions, other sentence elements
- (6) nicht or other negation

The order is simple, and conforms in part to the MHG "Gesetz der wachsenden Glieder"<sup>21</sup> and the MHG and NHG tendency to place semantically more important elements toward the end of the clause. Thus pronouns, which are not only short, but contain no new information, come first, followed by adverbs and nouns. The longer and supposedly more important elements--prepositional phrases, genitive constructions, and the like--come near the infinite verb position or the end of the clause. These are ranked among themselves in the NBB not by length alone, but apparently according to semantic importance. Frequently a dependent clause, or more than one, may be included among these longer elements. A few examples should suffice to indicate the regularity of this general pattern (the numbers 1-6 under various elements refer to the six categories listed above):

des wollen wir vnns also zu dir versehen 112r15  
                   1    2       3       5

. . . haben wir doch dasselben zu yedem mal weittleufftig vnd  
                           1       3       5                   5                   5  
vnaußtreglich anntwurt erlangt 113r19-21  
                                   5

Gedencken auch die Churfursten vnd fursten nunmer  
                           3                                   4                                   3

vnnsere gerechtigt<sup>t</sup> glimpfs vnd grund aller stuckhalben,  
                           5                                   5

nach lengs zuberichten 115r5-8  
                   5

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<sup>21</sup>Paul and Mitzka, par. 182, quote Behaghel's rule: "von zwei Satzgliedern geht, soweit möglich, das kürzere voraus, das längere steht nach."

. . . haben wir dir vorgemelter ursachen halben mit kurtz  
1 2 5 5

nit bergen wollen 115r15-16  
6

. . . konnt doch dieselb zal zu Vlme nachmals bestellt vnd

erstat werden 115v25-26

wollen wir doch auff die gesatzten zeyt zum wenigsten  
1 3 5 5

biß jn 40 pferd darunder vnnser verordenter Ratshauptman  
5 5 5 (dependent clause)

## Coordinating and Correlative Conjunctions

Coordinating conjunctions. In the NBB the more common coordinating conjunctions are vnd, oder, aber, sonnder (=sondern) and dann (=denn). Auch, doch, yedoch and nemlich also appear occasionally. Vnd is no longer used to introduce dependent clauses, as it was in MHG, and dann, which corresponds to NHG denn (for), while sometimes coordinating, is usually a subordinating conjunction. The following excerpts illustrate the use of coordinating conjunctions:

Vnd: wir haben ewer schreyben . . . alles inhalts . . . vernomen. vnd das wir Euch . . . nicht erfordert haben. Jst aus keinem vergeßen vnnderlaßen  
110v4-8

oder: wir werden den halbgewachsen vnd vielleicht noch einen mit jm hinauff schicken derselben einen oder sy bede . . . 116r2-3

aber: Aber dafur solt jrs gantzlich achten . . .  
231r19-20

sonnder: Bitten wir vnnderthanigs fleys zu keinē vngraden sonnder vnser notdurft . . . gnediglich zuvermercken 117v25-27

dann  
(for): dann mein freund vnd jch sind genaigt . . .  
227r11

auch: kan man doch in desgleichen fellen vnd zuuor nach gelegenhait diser hanndlung, auch was sich derhalben . . . zugetragen . . . 117r28-30

er wird hilff auch angetzaigter psonen (schicken)  
199r29-30

doch: . . . vnd sy zymlich (doch nitt offentlich . . .) zuentschuldigen 229v11-14

yedoch: Yedoch dhweyl wir sy zu weittleufftigen gezenck vnd hader genaigt befinden . . . 117r26-27

Correlative conjunctions. Correlative conjunctions are not frequently used in the NBB, and few examples have been found. Those conjunctions which do appear tend to differ in form from their NHG counterparts. The correlative conjunctions, with their NHG meanings and examples from the text, are listed below:

weder . . . oder (NHG weder . . . noch):

Darumb wir vnns auch weder in der hauptsach oder deß stillstandshalben . . . wollen verpunden haben 116v7-9

bede . . . oder (NHG entweder . . . oder):

vnd ob ir bede trost oder nit trost hapt . . . 119v27

eintweder . . . oder (NHG entweder . . . oder):

das er sich eintweder so jagerlich stellen, oder . . . das er das darumb thun mus 207v17-19

ob . . . oder:

ob der hertzog noch bey leben oder mit tod verschiden sey 233r22-23

vnd . . . vnd (sowohl . . . als auch):

Gleichwol haben sy. das here getailt. vnd 5000 zu fuß vnd 500 pferd 216v14-15

nicht . . . oder (weder . . . noch):

nicht konndten oder mochten 209r6

nit zugefugt oder begegnet werde 215r30

Neither the MHG beide . . . unde nor its NHG counterpart sowohl . . . als auch has been found in the portions of text being used for this analysis.

### Types of Dependent Clauses

There are basically three types of dependent clauses in German: relative, interrogative, and those introduced by conjunctions. All of these types are present in the NBB, although interrogative clauses seldom have any direct interrogative force. Those with conjunctions are the most common, but relative clauses are numerous, probably outnumbering even independent clauses. Since word order is the same for all three types of clauses, dependent clauses will be discussed here as a single group, in terms of how they are introduced.

Relative clauses. Relative pronouns and the particle so are the primary relative clause introducers. Was appears once or twice and darin is not rare. Vnd is used only as a coordinating conjunction. Only a few examples for relative clauses are needed here:

Michel Schluchter . . . den wir etlich tag geprauchten werden  
111v17

mit einer schrift durch dy sy dester hitziger wider den  
Marggrafen gemacht werden 115r12-13

dem sonndern vertrauen nach so wir zu ewer .l. haben . . .  
118r23-24

die waldstromair so vnns mit potmeßigk<sup>t</sup> verwandt vnd  
vnwidersprechlich verschriben sind 117v9-10

verträg . . . darynnen neben annderm clerlich verleybt  
(ist), was . . . soll genomen werden 112v29-113r5

Dependent clauses introduced by interrogatives. The NBB employs few interrogatives because of stylistic considerations and

subject matter, but wo, wie, wann, and ob (=whether) all introduce dependent clauses. Weder, used as an interrogative pronoun in MHG, is used in the NBB only as a correlative (weder . . . oder).

Welcher appears only as a relative pronoun (page 125). Interrogative clauses are introduced in the texts by the following pronouns and adverbs:

|                          |                                                                                                                          |
|--------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <u>wo</u> :              | wir sind . . . vrputtig . . . ewrn genaigten<br>willen . . . wo es zuschulden langt. freuntlich<br>zuuerdienen 110v26-29 |
| <u>wie</u> :             | vnd wie du des augschuß Ratschlag hierynn<br>befinndest, das wollest vnns . . . verstendigen<br>119r19-21                |
| <u>wann</u><br>(=when):  | jr wollet mich (berichten) wann und zu welcher<br>zeit . . . (sie) zusammen komen. 198v10-11                             |
| <u>ob</u><br>(=whether): | vnd ob jr bede trost oder nit trost hapt<br>kriegsknecht zubekomen . . . 119v27-28                                       |

Dependent clauses introduced by conjunctions: The largest number and the greatest variety of subordinate clauses are introduced by conjunctions. A complete analysis of types of clauses is too complex to be presented here.<sup>22</sup> The conjunctions used in the NBB have been divided for this study in terms of general meaning, in an effort to provide some order and to differentiate the various meanings of some of the most often-used conjunctions. In Table 4.1 conjunctions from the NBB are divided into seven groups. Daß is

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<sup>22</sup>For a more thorough discussion of MHG conjunctions, see Paul, Moser, Schröbler, par. 350-359. An exhaustive analysis of the conjunctions and clauses for NHG can be found in Curme, par. 232-240 and 268-282.

Table 4.1. Subordinating conjunctions in the Nürnberg  
Briefbuch of 1519.

| Type        | Conjunction                                                                 | Meaning                                                                                       |
|-------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Temporal    | alls<br>so<br>nachdem<br>dhweyl                                             | when<br>when<br>after<br>while                                                                |
| Conditional | ob<br>ob<br>so<br>wo                                                        | if<br>in case<br>if<br>if                                                                     |
| Concessive  | wiewol<br>allda<br>wo                                                       | although<br>wherever<br>wherever                                                              |
| Causal      | dann<br>darumb<br>darumb<br>dhweyl<br>so                                    | because<br>because<br>wherefore, for which reason<br>because<br>thus, for that reason, since  |
| Purpose     | damit<br>auff das<br>also das                                               | so that<br>so that<br>so that                                                                 |
| Manner      | wie<br>alls ob                                                              | as<br>as if                                                                                   |
| Degree      | nit so ___ alls<br>so ___<br>zum ___ sten<br>alls<br>___ er dann<br>sou(er) | not as ___ as<br>as (positive) as<br>(superlative)<br>exactly as<br>___ er than<br>insofar as |

discussed separately below. Examples of the usage of these conjunctions are self-explanatory:

### Temporal conjunctions

#### alls:

Alls wir vnns aber darauff verfangen (=angefangen haben)  
(den) notdurfftigen bericht in schriftten zuzefertigen,  
haben sy . . . 114v17-19

#### dhweyl (while):

vnd dhweyl sich die waldstromair fur vnd fur widersetzen,  
solchen frefel gegen vnns zuerpussen vnd das noch vermainen  
zubeharren so wirdet vnser gelegenheit nit sein, sy on  
zymlich straff einkomen zulaßzen 117v16-20

#### nachdem (after, since):

Nachdem durch die verhencknus gottes hertzog Vlrich zu  
Wirtenberg hinwegk sey . . . 233r18-19

### Conditional conjunctions

#### ob (if):

jst an euch vnnser beuelh ob jr einicherley jn ewrn sachen  
notdurfftig sein werdent jr wollet Michel Farbrener . . .  
derhalben anreden . . . 111v19-22

#### ob (in case):

wir schicken dir hiemit vnnsern diener Hannsen haßler ob du  
des yetzueitten notdurfftig sein wurdest jnen jn obligenden  
sachen zugeprauchen 115v2-5

#### so (if):

vnd damit den stetten ein gantz vntreglicher lasst auffgelegt  
(wäre). den aigentlich die fursten so es in gleichen fall  
gegen jnen stunde nit tragen wurden 118r7-9

#### wo (if):

alßdann wollest. dem hiltner wo das noch nit beschehen (ist)  
die 4000 G(ulden) . . . furderlich entrichten 232r9-11

Concessive conjunctionsallda (wherever):

vnnser beuelh jst. das du Eindreßen Hiltner . . . viertausent gulden. an gold. jm here allda er die haben wirdet. vberantworten wollest 228v19-23

wiewol (although):

vnd wiewol vnns . . . 1200 knecht zuschicken geburt Befelhen wir doch euch das jr . . . souil knecht . . . auffnempt, das aller solcher bestellter knecht tausent vnd nit daruber seyen 11rv15-19

wo (wherever):

wo nun gedachter Linßen jn vnnser oberk<sup>t</sup> zubetretten werd, so jst an euch vnnser beuelh jr wollet denselben . . . annemen laßen 227r27-30

Casual conjunctionsdann (because):

jst . . . vnnser beuelh, das du jne . . . wollest zu vnns fertigen dann wir den diser zeit . . . fasst notdurfftig sein 119v3-6

darumb (because):

Aber Frantzen von Sickingenhalben . . . bewegen wir doch etwouil beschwerden darumb vnnser gelegenhait nit jst vnns mit jme antzehencken . . . 228r22-25

darumb (wherefore, for which reason):

(wir) konnen gleichwol selbs bedencken. das dir nummer gelt mangelen mag. darumb wir auch dise tag jn arbeit gestanden sein dich statlicher mit gelt zusehen 232r4-6

dhweyl (because, since):

wir werden den halbgewachsenen . . . hinauffschicken . . . dhweyl der knecht souil sein mußen 116r2-4

so (therefore):

vnd dhweyl sich die walstromair fur vnd fur widersetzen,  
solchen frefel gegen vnns zuuerpussen vnd das noch vermainen  
zubeharren so wirdet vnser gelegenheit nit sein, sy on  
zymlich straff einkomen zulaßen 117v16-20

Conjunctions of purpose

also das (so that):

Aber die Stet vnd Schloß herrenberg Plawbeurn (and others),  
haben dem Bund auch huldigung gethan. Also das ausser  
Tubingen, hohenasperg weißperg vnd Merckmul wenig mer  
eintzunemen sey 226v1-5

auff das (so that):

(ir) wolle . . . hanndelen laßen auff das den vnnsern das  
jhenig so jnen von pilligkt wegen angehört . . . gutlich  
zugestellt . . . werd 111r24-26

damit (so that):

(das alles) haben wir euch . . . nit verhalten wollen. damit  
euch ainicher rustung muhe vnd costung . . . vnnot sey  
109r22-24

Conjunctions of manner

alls ob (as if):

das der gedachten waldstromair gemut. nit allein dahin  
gericht jst jrn . . . trutz vnd freuel, mit einē pracht  
vnd alls ob sy des fug vnd Recht gehapt gegen vnns  
zuuerfechten 117r12-15

wie (as):

dhweyl aber er in solchem etwo gelts notdurfftig sein wirdet  
vnd die leufft wie .e. R<sup>t</sup> bedencken mogen ytzo geschwind  
sein 118r20-22

Conjunctions of degree

so + adj. (as + pos. adj. + as):

so gut sy sein können 115r23, so pald möglich 234v32

nit so + adj. + alls (not as \_\_\_\_\_ as):

nit so getrewlich alls 227v22

zum + superlative (as + superlative):

zum pesten vnd furderlichsten wir mogen 115r25

mit dem + superlative (as + superlative + as):

mit dem furderlichsten so das beschehen mag 237r8-9

alls (exactly as):

waist du, das dich dein gethane Burgerpflicht (alls andere vnnser burger) dahin verpflichtet(et) 230v19-21

comparative + dann (comparative + than):

statlicher . . . dann bißhere 228v10-11, annders nichtzit . . . dann 117r23-24

souer(er) (insofar as):

souer nun e.l. diser weg gefallen will. Bitten wir .e. R<sup>t</sup>. dinstlichs fleys die wollen jrn geschickten . . . beuelh thun. 236r11-13

Dependent clauses introduced by das (=daß). The conjunction das, unlike its counterpart in MHG, which could be used with the meanings damit and so daß (Paul, Moser, Schröbler, par. 355.2, 356), is used in the text considered here to mean "that" and nothing more. It serves to indicate the beginning of a dependent clause, and is the most used conjunction in the NBB.

Das is used most often to introduce object and descriptive clauses, but it also serves to introduce subject clauses, and to strengthen adverbial conjunctions (doch das, for example). It is not used to coordinate two dependent clauses, as it is in MHG. A few clauses with das are listed here:

Object clause:

souer sy befinden das es noch vff des Bunds jungsten  
schreyben mit dem ertailten zusatz berwet . . . 110r26-28

Linhart Grolannd . . . hieher hat geschriben. Das bey der  
versamlung des punds beschloßen sey. das ein yeder  
pundsstandt sein auffgelegte gepurennde hilff gedoppelt  
soll schicken . . . 115v11-14

Attributive clause:

das haben sy vnns aber gelaint, mit antzaig, das sy des  
kein beuelh auch einich trost nicht hetten 114v28-30

. . . hatt auch ein laut das der hertzog in das Niderland  
nach Reutern geschickt hab 119r3-4

Subject clause:

das wir Euch in disen zufelligen sorglichen leufften, bißher  
nicht erfordert haben. Jst auß keinem vergeßen vnnderlaßen  
110v6-9

With adverbs:

angesehen das wir fur dergleichen vngewonlich neue zoll  
. . . 112v26-27

Word Order in Dependent Clauses

Word order in dependent clauses differs in only two respects from the pattern set by independent clauses. First, the clause is opened by an introducer--a relative or interrogative pronoun, an adverb, or a conjunction (Only rarely in the NBB does an unintroduced dependent clause appear). Second, the finite verb is displaced to the end of the clause.<sup>23</sup> Thus the regular pattern for dependent clauses is as follows:

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<sup>23</sup>Although the inflected verb occasionally appears just before the infinite form, as in the second citation under "object clause" above, as a rule, the finite form comes last.

|            |                      |                                                                                  |                                              |                     |                |
|------------|----------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------|---------------------|----------------|
| Introducer | subject<br>+ reflex. | modifiers,<br>pronouns,<br>objects,<br>adverbs,<br>preposi-<br>tional<br>phrases | <u>nicht</u> or<br><u>negated</u><br>element | uninflected<br>verb | finite<br>verb |
|------------|----------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------|---------------------|----------------|

A subject noun may not necessarily appear just after the introducer. However, pronoun subjects always take this position. Most dependent clauses follow the pattern above rather carefully. Relative and interrogative clauses tend to be short and clear, but others, particularly daß-clauses, sometimes become very long and complex, especially in letters where the authors' intention is to impress the reader. The very length of these sentences occasionally creates ellipsis of and/or incongruence in verbs (Examples: 114v1-4 and 110r12-14), and some sentences become so complex they are never finished.<sup>24</sup>

## VII. TYPES OF SENTENCE STRUCTURE

Probably more than any other syntactical consideration, sentence structure is a function of style--the product of the erudition and the intention of the author--and therefore it must be one of the least reliable determiners of a dialect. This is particularly true where there is evidence, as in the NBB, that sentence structure--or more appropriately, paragraph structure--

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<sup>24</sup>A good example may be found beginning 112v17 and running through 113r13, a total of 26 lines apparently without a main clause.

changes according to the rank or importance of the recipient of any particular letter--that is, according to the intent of the author rather than according to set syntactic principles. Johannes Erben, in Grundzüge einer Syntax der Sprache Luthers<sup>25</sup> devotes a great deal of energy and space to categorizing in detail the different combinations of main and subordinate clauses used by Luther in An den christlichen Adel deutscher Nation. The result of his analysis seems to be that main and subordinate clauses may be combined in almost any manner.<sup>26</sup> The same result is observed from a brief analysis of sentence structure in the NBB. In fact, the combination of main and dependent clauses in these texts is far more complex just in sheer numbers of possible permutations than that which Erben found to exist in Luther's work.<sup>27</sup> A few remarks concerning the more common types of sentences are all that would seem to be of value here.

### Simple Sentences

Simple sentences are not common in the NBB. At least half of the few that do appear are often-repeated opening and closing

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<sup>25</sup>Johannes Erben, Grundzüge einer Syntax der Sprache Luthers (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1954).

<sup>26</sup>Unfortunately, Erben's work contains no statistical analysis of the frequency of various combinations of clauses in the work. Statistics of this type could help to determine the character of Luther's idiolect and at the same time provide a basis for comparison among the ENHG dialects.

<sup>27</sup>The reason, of course, is obvious. Luther's aim was to make his work understandable to everyone. The aim of the city council of Nürnberg was often to convey an impression of power and erudition, rather than simply to inform.

statements such as these: wir haben dein schreyben an vnns ytzo vmb gleyt gethan, horen lesen 111v3-4 or des sein wir mit willen vmb euch in gleichen vnd mererm zubeschulden genaigt 112v5-6. Even among these sentences it is difficult to find true simple sentences, for most have either compound subjects or predicates or are loosely attached to preceding or following clauses by commas or vnd.

### Complex Sentences

Complex sentences are, of course, the predominant types in these texts. The most prevalent combination consists of one or two main clauses to which are attached a number of (as many as 10) dependent clauses. Often the structure is chiasitic, dependent clauses being inserted within independent or vice versa. The following excerpt, a sentence of average or perhaps less than average length, illustrates the interweaving of clauses typical of the NBB:

Alls wir verschiner tag, vff ewer schreyben vnns dauor  
D<sub>1</sub>D<sub>2</sub>  
zugesant. vnnsern diener hainrich knoden zu Euch gefertigt  
D<sub>2</sub>D<sub>1</sub>  
haben. mit beuelh ewer gemut vnd meynung, welcher gestallt  
D<sub>1</sub>D<sub>3</sub>D<sub>4</sub>  
jr euch jn vnnsern dienst auff ewer anpieten begeben wollt.  
D<sub>4</sub>  
zuernehmen, vnd derselb ytzo widerumb anhaims komen jst.  
D<sub>3</sub>D<sub>5</sub>  
hat er vnns neben einer vertzaichnus die muntlich hanndlung  
M<sub>1</sub>



Concerning the internal structure of various clauses, as was noted earlier, in spite of terribly complex sentence arrangements, structure within clauses remains fairly consistent. There are many compound elements (subjects, objects, etc.), prepositional phrases modified by abridged clauses (vff ewer schreyben vnns dauor zugesant 109r7-8), extensive use of genitive objects, and occasionally anacoluthic constructions.

Letters addressed to clergy and nobility (for example, 112v8-113v16) tend to be much longer and have more complex sentences than others. Those to councilmen and mayors of other cities (e.g., 110v21-111r10), while long, are less pompous and more direct. Letters to individual citizens (111v1-12) are sometimes quite short and refreshingly clear of phrase.

#### VIII. SUMMARY OF SYNTACTICAL CHANGES

##### Use of Case

The differences between MHG and NHG case usage are few, and not always easily quantified. First, the genitive is used less in NHG than in MHG: there is less use of partitive genitive, for instance, and genitive is no longer used in comparisons. Second, many genitive constructions have been replaced by prepositional phrases, particularly after verbs. Third, a number of verbs lose their genitive, dative, or accusative objects and substitute prepositional phrases.<sup>29</sup> Although there is no large shift in case

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<sup>29</sup>Paul and Mitzka, par. 263, Note 1.

usage, as there is in phonology, and no overall systematic pattern of change, the impact of a large number of somewhat small and unsystematic changes is quite noticeable in the language.

Genitive case. By far the most notable change from MHG to NHG in the use of case is the reduction of the use of genitive case for verbal objects and in the partitive sense. Although no statistics are available for either MHG, NHG, or the NBB, it seems from the texts that the Nürnberg authors made more use of the genitive than is customary for NHG. To confirm this impression a list was compiled of all verbs in a section of the text (109r-119v) which take genitive objects. Of these, only one verb (sich entsinnen) takes a genitive object in NHG as well as in the NBB, and even it is not used with the same meaning in NHG as in the NBB. Even more interesting, though, is that three of the nine verbs take the genitive in the NBB and the accusative in both MHG and NHG. So it appears that genitive usage may have been greater in the NBB than in either MHG or NHG. Table 4.2 lists the verbs and their object cases in all three periods. These verbs also illustrate another phenomenon of the transition from MHG to NHG, that is, the tendency of verbal objects to be replaced by prepositional phrases, as with erlangen, where the genitive of the person in the NBB becomes a prepositional phrase with von in NHG, or verhelffen, where the genitive object is replaced by zu with the dative.

The partitive genitive is not frequently used in the NBB, perhaps because of the subject matter of the letters. The genitive

Table 4.2. Partial list of genitive verbs in the Nürnberg  
Briefbuch of 1519.

| Verb                                    | MHG           | <u>NBB</u>     | NHG                 |
|-----------------------------------------|---------------|----------------|---------------------|
| berichten                               |               | G/A            | <u>über</u> or<br>A |
| beschwören                              | A             | G              | A                   |
| s. entsynnen<br>(to decide, figure out) | G             | G              | G<br>(to recollect) |
| erlangen                                |               | G<br>of person | A<br>(von + person) |
| erwarten                                | G             | G              | A                   |
| gebrauchen                              | G/A           |                | A                   |
| verhallten                              | A             | G              | A                   |
| verhelfen                               | G<br>of thing | G              | zu +<br>dative      |
| vermeiden                               | A             | G              | A                   |

is used regularly in partitive situations, however, with Antzal, which also takes the genitive in NHG, and with souil, which does not. Where numbers occur there is no clear evidence of the genitive or other case usage.

Prepositions. The use of case with prepositions seems to correspond more to NHG patterns than to MHG. Of the prepositions which change case requirements (listed in Table 4.3), only gegen clearly adheres to the MHG use of dative instead of NHG accusative. Neben and vnnder are attested in the text only in situations where in NHG the dative would be appropriate, vber only in NHG accusative situations, and citations for vor could be either dative or accusative. (See page 112 for examples.)

Several prepositions that exist in MHG are no longer extant in NHG. Of the five more common ones--after, innen/inner, sunder, ê, and unze<sup>30</sup>--only one is still used in the NBB and it only rarely. Sunder, which takes accusative in MHG, occurs with genitive (sonders zweyfels 111r29-30). In general, case usage in the NBB is more medieval than modern. Usage of case rather than prepositional phrases for verbal objects and of partitive genitive is closer to the MHG norm. Only in adjective comparison and with prepositional phrases does the NBB usage more closely resemble that of NHG.

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<sup>30</sup>Paul and Mitzka, par. 271.

Table 4.3. Changes from MHG to NHG in case usage with prepositions.

| Preposition | MHG Case       | <u>NBB</u> Case | NHG Case |
|-------------|----------------|-----------------|----------|
| gegen       | D              | D               | A        |
| neben       | A <sup>a</sup> | D               | D/A      |
| uber        | D/A            | A               | D/A      |
| unter       | D/A            | D               | D/A      |
| vor         | D              | ?               | D/A      |
| wider       | D/A            | A               | A        |

<sup>a</sup>According to Paul, Moser, Schröbler, par. 246, neben occasionally takes the dative.

## Adjectives

The changes in adjective usage are few from MHG to NHG. Virgil Moser<sup>31</sup> lists three MHG practices that die out late in the ENHG period or in NHG. They are: (1) the use of the strong declension (as well as the weak) after definite articles, which Moser says exists still in NHG, (2) the use of weak endings for the vocative plural, current until the end of the eighteenth century, and (3) the practice of declining the predicate adjective according to the strong declension, a practice which dies out in the sixteenth century. Although the vocative plural does take weak plural endings in the NBB, predicate adjectives are undeclined, and the adjective after the definite article follows the weak declension.

Aside from the weak vocative plural, the only non-NHG practice concerning adjectives is the inverted word order used sometimes with possessive adjectives. This word order is perhaps derived from Latin chancery language.

## Pronouns

Whereas pronouns generally have the same basic meanings and functions in the NBB as in NHG, their usage tends to be somewhat less standardized than one would expect from NHG. Pronouns are frequently omitted, especially personal pronouns and the impersonal es. There are more ways to express certain syntactic functions--for example, so, welcher and was may be used as well as der as relative

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<sup>31</sup>V. Moser, Historisch-grammatische Einführung, par. 212.

pronouns--and pronoun word order is more variable, as has already been noted with the possessives (page 115).

The most evident changes from MHG are morphological: the addition of sich as the third person dative reflexive pronoun, the loss of dirre in favor of diser, and the replacement of es by sein as the masculine and neuter genitive singular of the personal pronoun. These changes are all accomplished in the NBB. (For examples and discussion, see Chapter III,)

Personal pronouns. Omission of personal pronouns is more common in MHG and in the NBB than in NHG. Most pronoun omission in this text is stylistic or practical (i.e., to avoid redundancy), but the frequent absence of grammatical es is medieval in character. The ellipsis does not require altered word order, as it would in NHG. The use of one personal pronoun to refer to two different persons, which Paul, Moser and Schröbler (par. 271) describe as "außerordentlich häufig" in MHG, does not occur. The construction has been replaced either by diser/jener or is avoided by using proper nouns.

Reflexive pronouns. Reflexive pronouns have taken on their NHG form--sich in the third person dative and accusative instead of the gender-identifying MHG pronouns (im, ir, in, sie, ez)--but they seem to be used rather more frequently with verbs than is the case in NHG. The MHG practice of using sich as a personal object of a dependent infinitive (Paul, Moser, Schröbler, par. 277) does not

appear (except with laßen) in the NBB, and has likely fallen into disuse.

Possessive pronouns and adjectives. MHG usage of possessives includes one configuration which does not appear in NHG: the use of articles with possessives is common in MHG, rare in the NBB, and does not occur at all in NHG.

Demonstrative pronouns and adjectives. Among the demonstrative pronouns there is little change in form or usage between MHG and NHG. Der is the most commonly used demonstrative in MHG and NHG,<sup>32</sup> as well as in the NBB. MHG der jener corresponds to the NHG derjenige (Paul, Moser, Schröbler, par. 175). In the NBB both der jhener and der jheniger appear, indicating a transitional state for this pronoun.

Relative pronouns. In MHG the function of the relative pronoun was mostly performed by the demonstrative pronoun der, frequently differentiated from der in its demonstrative function by the addition of the particles dar, da, der. In addition, adverbs (da, dannen, dar, darinne, so, also, unde, etc.) were used with demonstrative clauses to create relative clauses. A third type of non-specific relative--swer, swelcher, sweder, was also used (Paul, Moser, Schröbler, par. 150). In the NBB, der, die, das (and occasionally the more modern relative form denen) are the most commonly used, but

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<sup>32</sup>Curme, p. 157.

so, which is rare in MHG, is also very frequently used. This was a common ENHG relative (Curme, par. 153.7) and is still in use in Swiss German and other dialects. Sweder and the adverbs listed above are not used in the NBB, although wer and welcher are occasionally (see page 125).

Indefinite pronouns. Was with the genitive is a MHG form that has been replaced in NHG by was für (ein). The NBB uses the genitive construction.

### The Definite Article

Virgil Moser<sup>33</sup> cites a few minor points concerning differences in MHG and NHG article usage. The article may be omitted (as in MHG) after prepositions or with the first or second of two nouns connected by und. The MHG omission of definite articles in prepositional phrases involving names of rivers is no longer adhered to, and articles may appear with other place names. Again, as in MHG, the definite article may appear before possessive pronouns. The NBB shows some of these syntactical changes, but not others. The definite article is frequently omitted after prepositions, and does not appear with place names. It is used with names of rivers (jenhalb des reins 226v9) and occasionally before possessive pronouns. Thus the NBB adheres to modern usage in two out of the four situations, and to medieval in the other two.

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<sup>33</sup>v. Moser, Historisch-grammatische Einführung, par. 214-215.

### Verb Changes: Usage of Tense, Mood, and Voice

Present tense. In MHG and NHG the present tense is used with four different temporal connotations. Mainly, of course, present tense represents present action or condition, including action started in the past and continuing in the present (e.g., es geht noch). Probably the second most important use of the present--at least in NHG--is to indicate futurity, but it can also represent non-specific or "timeless" abstracts (he who eats well is healthy), and occasionally it represents the past, in the so-called historical present used in narration.

Present tense usage in the NBB falls into the first two of these categories. The absence of examples of the remaining groups--timeless abstracts and historical present--is probably due only to the style and subject matter of the letters, since there is little occasion for historical narrative, and very little concern for abstraction in the NBB.

Imperative. MHG and NHG forms for the imperative mood are basically identical. Imperative forms exist for second person singular and plural. In NHG the pronoun is lacking in the second person forms, but present in the first person. In MHG the pronoun may be present, although it is rare, in the second person forms, and may or may not be used with the first person (Paul, Moser, Schröbler, par. 270a). In the NBB, the few examples indicate that form and pronoun usage in imperatives correspond to NHG practice.

### Verb Changes: Tense Formation

Changes in verb forms between MHG and NHG are among the more noticeable syntactic changes to take place, and mostly concern the formation of various tenses. The best known is perhaps the new form for the future tense. To express futurity, MHG uses either simple present (also used in the NBB and NHG), sollen or wollen with the infinitive, or werden with the present participle.<sup>34</sup> The use of werden with the infinitive is a late MHG innovation which gradually replaces the MHG forms. The NBB uses the modern forms in general. Where modals are used, the modal sense is stronger than the future. Another change, the creation of the conditional forms würde + infinitive to replace the MHG sol + infinitive has been accomplished in the dialect of the NBB and is used fairly commonly.

A third phenomenon occurring in MHG but missing in NHG and rare in the NBB is the fairly common use of present participles and infinitives with other verbs to create periphrastic forms for the simple present (werden + present participle or infinitive), a present durative (sein + present participle or infinitive), and emphatic present (tun + infinitive).<sup>35</sup> This last, according to Virgil Moser, was rare in MHG, but more common in ENHG.<sup>36</sup> Few of

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<sup>34</sup>Otto Behaghel, Deutsche Syntax (Heidelberg: Carl Winters Universitätsbuchhandlung, 1923), par. 690.

<sup>35</sup>v. Moser, Historisch-grammatische Einführung, par. 220.

<sup>36</sup>Ibid.

the forms with present participles appear in the NBB, where present participial usage is usually limited to attributive and prepositional functions.<sup>37</sup> There are no examples of sein or tun with infinitive, and although werden with infinitive appears, it denotes future and not present tense.

Passive voice. As in NHG, the passive voice in MHG can be expressed by two different structures, one--sein + past participle--denoting a state of being, the other--werden + past participle--denoting action. Paul, Moser, and Schröbler (par. 319) point out two differences between NHG and MHG, however. First, while MHG forms with werden are always actional, forms with sein may upon occasion be actional and not statal. Second, although some perfect and pluperfect passive forms are attested as early as the thirteenth century (Paul, Moser, Schröbler, par. 319.3, Note 2), they are not common in MHG. The perfect and pluperfect passive forms appear without worden in MHG, and only begin to show their modern form in late MHG.<sup>38</sup> Worden is consistently present in the perfect passive in the NBB. No examples were found of the pluperfect passive, perhaps because the pluperfect tense is only rarely used in the NBB. The use of the passive with sîn in an actional rather than statal mode also occurs in MHG but not in NHG. In the NBB, while most

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<sup>37</sup>The only examples of participial usage are discussed on page 128.

<sup>38</sup>v. Moser, Historisch-grammatische Einführung, par. 217.

passive forms with sein are statal, an actional interpretation is occasionally more appropriate.

Changes in participial and infinitive usage from MHG to NHG are significant. In MHG the present participle is used to some extent with sein and werden to form periphrastic verb tenses (present, present progressive, future)<sup>39</sup> and attributively with nouns. With nouns the present participle has active meaning, for example, in sterbender not ("in der Not des Sterbens") (Paul, Moser, Schröbler, par. 314), rather than adjectival, as in NHG die lächelnde Frau. In the NBB the present participle comes much closer to NHG usage, although it does occasionally have active meaning. There are a few participles which function as prepositions (in NHG only während is used thus)<sup>40</sup> but present participles are most frequently used as adjectives, generally as in NHG.

Past participles in MHG are used fairly extensively. Paul, Moser, and Schröbler (par. 315) list four types of participial constructions: (1) participles with kommen, wollen, tun, sollen, e.g., er kam geritten, er will sie ungelohnt lagen, er tut nach ihm gesannt, etc.; (2) with adverbs, where the participle would be replaced by the infinitive in NHG, for example ez ist in sêre guot gelesen; (3) as noun--geroufet unde geweinet . . . dâ vil geschach (Paul, Moser, Schröbler, par. 315); (4) in absolute participial

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<sup>39</sup>Paul, Moser, Schröbler, par. 307, 299.

<sup>40</sup>Curme, par. 182.

constructions (the desk covered with papers), rare in MHG. Of these four types, only one appears in the NBB, and that is the least common in MHG--absolute participial constructions. As for the other three types, although no examples have been found, one would expect to find that in some cases the first type--er kam geritten--might be permissible, since it is also used in NHG. Type 2 does not appear at all, but no examples of this type using infinitives were found, either. For the third type, the NBB, like NHG, employs the infinitive instead of the participle. The absolute participial construction, however, appears quite frequently in the NBB. The only difference between its use here and in NHG is that in the NBB these constructions follow the nouns they modify and are abridged clauses, whereas in NHG they tend to precede the noun and are inflected as extended adjective constructions.

Infinitives develop three new characteristics during the ENHG period. First and most pervasive is the growing tendency to use zu with dependent infinitives. In MHG, infinitives dependent on modals do not take zu, those dependent on touc, gan, and weiz generally do, and other verbs may or may not take zu with the infinitive (Paul, Moser, Schröbler, par. 318a). In general zu is used considerably less in MHG than in NHG, and its consistent use may be considered one of the differentiating factors between MHG and NHG.<sup>41</sup> In the NBB zu appears in most of the situations where it would be expected in NHG.

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<sup>41</sup>V. Moser, Historisch-grammatische Einführung, p. 226.

Where it is omitted, extraneous circumstances such as extremely long and complex sentence structure make one suspect the omission is accidental.

The second change in infinitive usage in perfect tense clauses with infinitives is the analogical replacement of the past participle by the infinitive form, so that a "double infinitive" construction arises. Since this began to happen in the thirteenth century (Paul, Moser, Schröbler, par. 318c), it is not surprising that the double infinitive forms alone are used in the NBB.

The third construction, clauses with um . . . zu, is listed by Johannes Erben<sup>42</sup> as one of the major innovations of the sixteenth century.<sup>43</sup> MHG uses the simple infinitive for this construction. In the NBB, vmb . . . zu is the most common construction, but infinitives with zu or damit . . . zu also appear occasionally, indicating that the um . . . zu construction is not yet completely established in general usage.

The inflected infinitive, common in MHG, is no longer used in late MHG, and does not appear in the NBB.

#### Word Order and Sentence Structure

Concerning word order and sentence structure in MHG and in transition from MHG to NHG, there is not much to say here. Word

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<sup>42</sup>Erben, Syntax Luthers, p. 165, Note 3.

<sup>43</sup>However, Curme says, it is not common until well into the seventeenth century (par. 281b, Note).

order, with a few exceptions, is variable even in NHG, and most scholars content themselves with pointing out that word order is even more variable in MHG than in NHG.<sup>44</sup> W. G. Admoni describes a tendency toward fusion of words into groups, strong formal organization of noun groups, and strengthening of grammatical principles, all of which point up the structural unity of the sentence.<sup>45</sup> In other words, sentence structure is moving from free and often rather poor organization in MHG to clear and grammatically concise patterns in NHG. He suggests that this tendency is present in the period from the fourteenth to the beginning of the sixteenth century, but is only very clearly expressed in the sixteenth to the nineteenth century. It does not involve the creation of new forms, but rather the refining of already developed ones. This theory is supported by the word order and sentence structure patterns of the NBB when compared to MHG patterns<sup>46</sup> and NHG structure.

In word order, the NBB conforms rather strictly to NHG patterns. The position of the finite verb in main clauses, which varies more freely in MHG than in NHG, is fairly well set in the NBB,

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<sup>44</sup>V. Moser, Historisch-grammatische Einführung, for example.

<sup>45</sup>W. G. Admoni, "Der Umfang und die Gestaltungsmittel des Satzes in der deutschen Literatursprache bis zum Ende des 18. Jahrhunderts," Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur (Halle: 1967), 89, 148.

<sup>46</sup>Paul and Mitzka, par. 182-195.

and its position at the end of the subordinate clause differs from the MHG position (third or later),<sup>47</sup> but agrees with the NHG.

Paul and Mitzka's "Gesetz der wachsenden Glieder" (that longer elements follow shorter ones) for MHG has been largely replaced by the NHG practice of placing semantically more important elements later in the sentence.<sup>48</sup> The NBB adheres fairly strictly to the NHG word-order pattern.

The use of dependent clause introducers turns out to be more a semantic problem than a syntactical one. The three types--relative pronouns, interrogative pronouns and subordinating conjunctions (including adverbs)--all have the same effect on word order. In MHG they move the finite verb to third or later position, and in NHG and the NBB, they cause the verb to be placed last in the clause.

The semantic changes, particularly among conjunctions, are more varied than the syntactic differences. So is used much more freely in the NBB than in either MHG or NHG, both as a relative pronoun, and as a conjunction meaning "when" or "if." Wo, besides its usual meaning "where," often indicates "if." Besides these

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<sup>47</sup>Paul and Mitzka describe the position as "third or later" because of uncertainty as to the reason behind the verb placement: "Ob wirkliche Endstellung oder Nichtzweitstellung, die nicht Endstellung ist, (im Nebensatz) eintritt, hängt im allgemeinen ab von der Länge der Satzglieder, die das Verb bestimmen. Die Glieder, die nicht länger sind, folgen ihm überwiegend nach" (par. 187i).

<sup>48</sup>Of course this does conform somewhat to the MHG law, in that pronouns, which refer to already mentioned nouns or phrases and therefore have little semantic news value, appear earlier in the sentence and are usually also the smallest sentence elements. Thus even in NHG, to some extent, short items precede long ones in the clause.

conjunctions there are some in the NBB that no longer exist in NHG: allda, allßdann (=because), darumb (=because), and also das. Dann has been replaced by NHG denn. Dhweyl does exist in NHG, but is rare. In the NBB it is one of the most commonly used causal conjunctions.

The situation regarding coordinating conjunctions remains fairly static from MHG to NHG. In MHG relative clauses can be introduced by pronouns (der, die, das, swer/swas, swelcher, etc.), by adverbs such as dâ, dar, dannen, or by the particles so and und. Clauses introduced by particles are rare, however (Paul, Moser, Schröbler, par. 342). Only MHG wann (=NHG denn) no longer exists in NHG, nor is it used in the NBB. Unde is no longer used to introduce dependent clauses. In short, use of coordinating conjunctions in the NBB corresponds closely to NHG usage.

As with dependent-clause introducers in general, correlative conjunctions change little in function from MHG to NHG, although different forms are used. NBB correlatives do not correspond exactly to MHG or NHG vocabulary. The replacement of beide . . . unde by sowohl . . . als auch, which Erben ranks as one of the major syntactic changes of the sixteenth century<sup>49</sup> is unattested in the NBB, where und . . . und performs this function.

In MHG daz is used to introduce subject, object and descriptive clauses, to coordinate a second dependent clause to a

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<sup>49</sup>Erben, Syntax Luthers, p. 165, Note 3.

previous one (i.e., as a filler where the semantic value of the first conjunction is meant to apply also to daz), and occasionally to give "conjunction support" to adverbs being used as conjunctions (sit daz, for example).<sup>50</sup> These functions of daz in MHG are not too much different from the functions of das in the NBB.

### Sentence Structure

As much as word order is fixed and consistently adhered to in the NBB, sentence structure--the combination of clauses into sentences--is variable and inconsistent. With the rise in the late MHG period of the use of German for expressing more complex ideas, the proliferation of grammatical forms--often borrowed from Latin--was inevitable. Also unavoidable was the necessity eventually to arrive at common, concise ways of expressing and linking thought sequences in readily understandable segments. Between these two times, the period of creating new forms and the period where forms became set and consistent, lies the ENHG period, in which syntax is being refined and standardized. Sentence structure itself seems to be the last area to be touched by this process, as is illustrated by the irregularity characterizing sentence structure in the NBB. It can be said of the sentence in this text that it is in general more complex and involved than the MHG sentence, and less rigidly structured than the NHG sentence.

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<sup>50</sup>Paul, Moser, Schröbler, par. 358.

## CHAPTER V

### VOCABULARY

As with any text, there are a number of factors that make the semantic content of the NBB difficult to assess. To begin with, semantic change is a slow process. Frequently, for a given word, meanings that are prevalent today or in the sixteenth century are already extant in MHG along with earlier meanings, and the change that occurs is one of emphasis rather than extinction or creation. Such is the case with dennoch, for example, which has the modern meaning "nevertheless" in MHG, although the primary meaning is different.

Also, there is the general difficulty of knowing the minds of authors so far removed in time and custom from the present. Beyond that, there are the problems of lexicography: none of the dictionaries for the MHG period is comprehensive. The only ENHG dictionary, Götze's Frühneuhochdeutsches Glossar,<sup>1</sup> is quite brief, and the dialect dictionaries, aside from a very few (Schmeller's Bayrisches Wörterbuch,<sup>2</sup> for instance) are nonexistent. The

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<sup>1</sup>Alfred Götze, Frühneuhochdeutsches Glossar, 7th ed. (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1967). Future references to this work will be in parentheses in the text.

<sup>2</sup>J. Andreas Schmeller, Bayrisches Wörterbuch, 2nd ed., 2 vols. (Munich: Oldenburg Press, 1872). Future references to this work will be in parentheses in the text.

Ostfränkisches Wörterbuch, which might have been of value for this study, still exists only on notecards and is expected to take another lifetime to complete.<sup>3</sup> A third problem involves the difficulty of assigning clear meanings to words that appear only once or twice in the text, frequently in ambiguous contexts.

Special problems in semantics associated with the NBB involve the unique and limited scope of the subject matter, which makes comparison with extant word lists from other authors nearly impossible. For instance, from Friedrich Kluge's list of 100 words from Luther,<sup>4</sup> only fifteen were found in approximately 200 pages (50,000 words) of NBB text. This poor correlation seemed not to be a matter of differing word usage, but of different subject matter: words such as Buben (child of the devil), Erdbeben, erretten, Gesang, Heuchler, Lippe, Sindflut, tauchen, etc., simply do not often occur in bureaucratic correspondence.

Genre also plays an important part in assessing semantic content. Most of the vocabularies and word lists for the MHG and ENHG periods are composed from literary sources, in which the language is varied and often metaphoric, and where the emphasis is on narrative rather than expository writing. The language of bureaucratic correspondence is limited in these respects, but rich in abstraction and legal and business jargon. Since the languages

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<sup>3</sup>Pers. comm. Eberhard Wagner.

<sup>4</sup>Friedrich Kluge, Von Luther bis Lessing, pp. 99-103.

do not correspond, many words or specific meanings that occur in the NBB are frequently not listed in MHG and ENHG dictionaries. The absence of these words does not imply that they are common only to Nürnberg, but that bureaucratic style was simply not included as a source in the available dictionaries.

The words listed in Tables 5.1, 5.2, and 5.3 are divided into three sections: those MHG words which die out during the late MHG or ENHG periods, those words which remain in the language from MHG to NHG, but undergo changes in meaning, and those words or meanings which appear to exist only in ENHG or in the Nürnberg dialect of this period. The major sources used for determining the presence or absence of a word or meaning in a particular period were dictionaries: Lexer's Mittelhochdeutsches Wörterbuch<sup>5</sup> and Benecke-Müller-Zarncke<sup>6</sup> for the MHG period, Götze's Fruhneuhochdeutsches Glossar for ENHG, Grimm's Deutsches Wörterbuch<sup>7</sup> for ENHG and NHG, and Wahrig's Deutsches Wörterbuch<sup>8</sup> for NHG. Schmeller's Bayrisches

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<sup>5</sup>Matthias Lexer, Mittelhochdeutsches Handwörterbuch, 3 vols. (Leipzig: S. Hirzel, 1872). Future references to this work will be identified by author's name within the text.

<sup>6</sup>G. F. Benecke, W. Müller, and F. Zarncke, Mittelhochdeutsches Wörterbuch, 2 vols. (Leipzig: S. Hirzel, 1861, 1863).

<sup>7</sup>Jakob Grimm, Deutsches Wörterbuch (Leipzig: S. Hirzel, 1854-1961). Future references to this work will be in parentheses in the text.

<sup>8</sup>Gerhard Wahrig, Deutsches Wörterbuch (Gütersloh: Bertelsmann, 1970). Future references to this work will be in parentheses in the text.

Table 5.1. Words or meanings dying out between MHG and NHG.

| MHG                                         | NBB                                                           | Luther                                         | NHG                              |
|---------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| <u>allewēge</u><br>"always, constantly"     | <u>allweg</u><br>"always"                                     | <u>allweg(e)</u><br>"always"                   | <u>(immer)</u>                   |
| <u>ambechten/dienen</u><br>"serve"          | <u>dienen</u><br>"serve"                                      | <u>dienen</u><br>"serve"                       | <u>dienen</u><br>"serve"         |
| <u>ander-</u><br>"second"                   | <u>annder-</u><br>"second"                                    | <u>ander(e)</u><br>"second"                    | <u>(zweit-)</u>                  |
| <u>anegeng/anvanc</u><br>"beginning"        | <u>anfang</u><br>"beginning"                                  | <u>anfang</u><br>"beginning"                   | <u>Anfang</u><br>"beginning"     |
| <u>antworten</u><br>"deliver, hand over to" | <u>antworten</u><br>"deliver, hand over to"                   | <u>antworten</u><br>"answer; deliver"          | <u>(überantworten)</u>           |
| <u>beiten</u><br>"wait for; wait, delay"    | <u>gewarten/erwarten/<br/>harren auf</u><br>"wait for, await" | <u>gewarten/harren auf</u><br>"wait; wait for" | <u>(erwarten)</u>                |
| <u>ertac</u><br>"Tuesday"                   | <u>Eritag</u><br>"Tuesday"                                    | --                                             | <u>(Dienstag)</u>                |
| <u>ēwirtinne</u><br>"married woman"         | <u>eewirtin</u><br>"wife"                                     | <u>(eheweib)</u><br>"wife"                     | <u>(Frau)</u>                    |
| <u>vê(he)de</u><br>"feud"                   | <u>vehde</u><br>"feud"                                        | --                                             | <u>Fehde</u><br>(archaic) "feud" |

Table 5.1 (Continued)

| MHG                                         | NBB                                      | Luther                                           | NHG                                                   |
|---------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------|
| <u>gar/harte/fast/sêre</u><br>"very (adv.)" | <u>gar/seer</u><br>"very (adv.)"         | <u>fast, sehr</u><br>"very (adv.)"               | <u>sehr</u><br>"very (adv.)"                          |
| <u>gehaben</u><br>"have, possess"           | <u>gehaben</u><br>"receive, get"         | <u>(gefallen =</u><br>"possess")                 | <u>(erhalten)</u>                                     |
| <u>gluckhaft/glücklich</u><br>"fortunate"   | <u>glücklich</u><br>"fortunate"          | <u>gluckhaftig/gluckseliglich</u><br>"fortunate" | <u>glücklich</u><br>"lucky, happy"                    |
| <u>michel/groß</u><br>"large, great"        | <u>groß</u><br>"large, great"            | --                                               | <u>groß</u><br>"large, great"                         |
| <u>die harr</u><br>"delay"                  | <u>die harr</u><br>"delay"               | <u>das harren</u><br>"longing"                   | <u>(das Harren)/</u><br><u>Verzögerung</u><br>"delay" |
| <u>jenhalp</u><br>"on the other side of"    | <u>jenhalb</u><br>"on the other side of" | <u>jenhalb</u><br>"on the other side of"         | <u>(jenseits)</u>                                     |
| <u>klein/lützel</u><br>"small"              | <u>klein</u><br>"small"                  | --                                               | <u>klein</u><br>"small"                               |
| <u>mit kurz</u><br>"in short"               | <u>mit kurz</u><br>"in short"            | --                                               | <u>(kurzum)</u>                                       |

Table 5.1 (Continued)

| MHG                                          | NBB                         | Luther                      | NHG                                                       |
|----------------------------------------------|-----------------------------|-----------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------|
| linde<br>"soft, mild"                        | lynnd<br>"easy, mild"       | lind<br>"soft, gentle"      | mild/lind<br>"soft, gentle, mild"                         |
| muome<br>"maternal aunt, female<br>relative" | muome<br>"sister-in-law"    | --                          | Muhne (archaic)<br>"(elderly) female<br>relative"         |
| nâm(e)<br>"theft"                            | nam<br>"theft"              | --                          | (Raub)                                                    |
| pfintztac<br>"Thursday"                      | pfintztac<br>"Thursday"     | --                          | Donnerstag<br>"Thursday"                                  |
| sweher<br>"father-in-law"                    | schweher<br>"father-in-law" | schweher<br>"father-in-law" | Schwiegervater<br>(Schwäher extant in<br>some dialects)   |
| swiger<br>"mother-in-law"                    | schwiger<br>"mother-in-law" | schwiger<br>"mother-in-law" | Schwiegermutter<br>(Schwieger extant in<br>some dialects) |
| spænenec<br>"disputed"                       | spennig<br>"disputed"       | spennig<br>"disputed"       | (strittig)                                                |
| (drî) stunt<br>"(3) times"                   | (drei)mal<br>"(3) times"    | --                          | (drei)mal<br>"(3) times"                                  |

Table 5.1 (Continued)

| MHG                                                | NBB                                                  | Luther                   | NHG                                            |
|----------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------|------------------------------------------------|
| urgicht<br>"declaration,<br>deposition"            | urgicht<br>"deposition"                              | urjicht<br>"deposition"  | (Aussage)                                      |
| urlouben<br>"give permission to leave"             | urlauben<br>"release from service,<br>send on leave" | urlauben<br>"give leave" | (entlassen)<br>"release from<br>service," etc. |
| wflent<br>"formerly"                               | weylund<br>"former(ly)"                              | weylant<br>"formerly"    | weiland (archaic)<br>"formerly"                |
| ze stunde(n)<br>"at the same time,<br>immediately" | zustund<br>"at this time"                            | --                       | (sogleich)                                     |

<sup>a</sup>occurs only rarely.

Table 5.2. Words with changes in meaning between MHG and NHG.

| MHG                                                                     | NBB                                              | Luther                                         | NHG                                                          |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------|
| <u>anheim(es)</u><br>"at home"                                          | <u>anheims</u><br>"home (nach Hause)"            | <u>anheimen</u><br>"home (nach Hause)"         | <u>nach Hause</u>                                            |
| <u>arbeit</u><br>"toil, travail"                                        | <u>arbeit</u><br>"work, toil"                    | <u>erbeit</u><br>"work, toil"                  | <u>Arbeit</u><br>"work, job"                                 |
| <u>atzung</u><br>"food; horse fodder"                                   | <u>atzung</u><br>"upkeep for self (?), horse(?)" | --                                             | <u>Atzung</u><br>"feed for birds of prey"                    |
| <u>bereiten</u><br>"equip, make ready"                                  | <u>ausrusten</u><br>"equip"                      | <u>bereiten</u><br>"equip"                     | <u>ausruesten</u><br>"equip"<br>( <u>bereiten</u> "prepare") |
| <u>dannoch/dennoch</u><br>"still at that time, still now; nevertheless" | <u>dannocht</u><br>"nevertheless"                | <u>dannoch, dennoch(t)</u><br>"nevertheless"   | <u>dennoch</u><br>"nevertheless"                             |
| <u>êre</u><br>"fame, reputation"                                        | <u>eer</u><br>"honor, distinction"               | (e)ere<br>"fame, honor, nobility of character" | <u>Ehre</u><br>"honor, distinction"                          |
| <u>êrlich</u><br>"worthy of honor; imposing"                            | <u>eerlich</u><br>"honorable"                    | <u>ehrlich</u><br>"worthy of honor; imposing"  | <u>ehrlich</u><br>"honorable"                                |

Table 5.2 (Continued)

| MHG                                                                               | NBB                                                         | Luther                                                       | NHG                                                                                               |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <u>endlich</u><br>"at the end"                                                    | <u>endlich</u><br>"at the end, finally"                     | <u>endlich</u><br>"at the end, finally"                      | <u>endlich</u><br>"finally"                                                                       |
| <u>endunge</u><br>"end, grammatical<br>ending"                                    | <u>enndung</u><br>"end"                                     | --                                                           | <u>Endung</u><br>"grammatical ending"                                                             |
| <u>s. enthalten</u><br>"reside temporarily"                                       | <u>s. enthalten</u><br>"reside temporarily"                 | <u>s. enthalten</u><br>"reside temporarily"                  | <u>s. enthalten</u><br>"refrain, abstain<br>from"                                                 |
| <u>erheben</u><br>"lift, raise up,<br>begin"                                      | <u>erheben</u><br>"take up, accept;<br>take into group"     | <u>erheben</u><br>"lift, raise up;<br>canonize"              | <u>erheben</u><br>"raise up, elevate;<br>elevate to nobility"                                     |
| <u>s. erheben</u><br>(lit.): "get oneself<br>up (fig. usage<br>secondary); begin" | <u>s. erheben</u><br>"leave home; break<br>camp and travel" | <u>s. erheben</u><br>"break camp, get up and<br>leave, etc." | <u>s. erheben</u><br>"rise up"<br>(fig. & lit.)                                                   |
| <u>ernennen</u><br>"to list fully,<br>express completely"                         | <u>ernennen</u><br>"mention, make<br>note of"               | <u>ernennen</u><br>"mention by name"                         | <u>ernennen</u><br>"nominate, appoint"                                                            |
| <u>erspriezen</u><br>"rise, come up<br>(plants), swell,<br>expand"                | <u>erspriezen</u><br>"flourish, succeed"                    | --                                                           | <u>erspriezen</u><br>"open out (blossoms)"<br>(but <u>ersprießlich</u> =<br>"useful, profitable") |

Table 5.2 (Continued)

| MHG                                                                                                          | NBB                                                      | Luther                                                       | NHG                                       |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------|
| vlec(ke)<br>"tract of land" <sup>a</sup>                                                                     | Fleck<br>"tract of land"                                 | --                                                           | Fleck<br>"spot"                           |
| vrouwe<br>"noblewoman"<br>(late MHG: "woman")                                                                | fraw<br>"prioress, nun,<br>etc." (religious<br>use only) | fraw(e)<br>"lady, wife, woman"                               | Frau<br>"wife, woman"                     |
| vremde<br>"faraway, unheard of,<br>strange"                                                                  | frembd<br>"foreign"                                      | frembd<br>"foreign"                                          | fremd<br>"foreign, strange"               |
| gemüete<br>"sum total of thoughts<br>& feelings, including<br>intentions" (i.e.,<br>"I've a <u>mind</u> to") | gemut<br>"intention"                                     | Gemüt<br>"intention"                                         | Gemüt<br>"mind, soul,<br>character, etc." |
| geniezen<br>"profit from, enjoy"                                                                             | genißen<br>"profit from"                                 | (genies= "usefulness;<br>partnership, mutual<br>usefulness") | geniessen<br>"enjoy"                      |
| geschütze<br>"weaponry"                                                                                      | geschütz<br>"cannon"                                     | Geschütz<br>"weapon"                                         | Geschütz<br>"cannon"                      |
| gelücke<br>"fortune"                                                                                         | gluck<br>"good luck"                                     | --                                                           | Glück<br>"good luck"                      |

Table 5.2 (Continued)

| MHG                                                          | NBB                                                                                          | Luther                                  | NHG                                               |
|--------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------|
| <u>grunt</u><br>"earth, ground"                              | <u>grunt</u><br>"reason, cause"                                                              | <u>Grund</u><br>"reason, cause"         | <u>Grund</u><br>"earth, ground, reason, cause"    |
| <u>handeln</u><br>"take in the hand; do, do by hand"         | <u>handeln</u><br>1) <u>mit</u> (intr.) "deal with, take care of"<br>2) (trans.) "deal with" | <u>handeln</u><br>(trans.) "deal with"  | <u>handeln</u><br>"deal, behave, trade (intr.)"   |
| <u>heil</u><br>"health, good fortune"                        | <u>hayl</u><br>"salvation"                                                                   | --                                      | <u>Heil</u><br>"salvation, prosperity, happiness" |
| <u>kürnen</u><br>"pulverize"                                 | (un)kurnt<br>"powdered, ground"                                                              | --                                      | <u>körnen</u><br>"granulate"                      |
| <u>ledic/ledec</u><br>"empty, free, unhindered; unmarried"   | <u>ledig</u><br>"freely, lightly"                                                            | --                                      | <u>ledig</u><br>"unmarried; empty, free (poetic)" |
| <u>rîs/rîz</u><br>"twig, limb, tree"                         | <u>Reyß</u><br>"tree, log"                                                                   | --                                      | <u>Reis</u><br>"twig, limb"                       |
| <u>schier</u> (adv.)<br>"quickly; immediately; soon; almost" | <u>schir</u> (adv.)<br>"quickly, soon"                                                       | <u>schier</u> (adv.)<br>"quickly, soon" | <u>schier</u> (adv.)<br>"almost, nearly, barely"  |

Table 5.2 (Continued)

| MHG                                           | NBB                                 | Luther                                   | NHG                                                |
|-----------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------|
| smalz<br>"butter, fat"                        | schmalztz<br>"butter"               | (uses <u>Butter</u> )                    | Schmalz<br>"rendered fat"                          |
| snel<br>"brave, strong, fast"                 | schnel(1)<br>"fast"                 | schnell<br>"fast"                        | schnell<br>"fast"                                  |
| swebend<br>"flowing, floating"                | schwebend<br>"pending (legal term)" | schwebend<br>"vascillating, alternating" | schwebend<br>"pending, etc."                       |
| unerhort<br>"never heard of"                  | unerhort<br>"unheard of"            | unerhört<br>"unheard of"                 | unerhört<br>"unheard of"                           |
| unrât<br>"bad advice, damage"                 | unrat<br>"adversity, misfortune"    | Unrat<br>"misfortune"                    | Unrat<br>"garbage"                                 |
| zeiger<br>"bearer of letter;<br>index finger" | zaiger<br>"bearer of letter"        | --                                       | Zeiger<br>"index finger,<br>pointer, clock hand"   |
| ziuc<br>"weapons, in general;<br>horse troop" | zeug<br>"horse troop; army"         | Zeug<br>"army"                           | Zeug<br>"stuff, junk; arms,<br>ordnance (archaic)" |
| ze ruck<br>"at, on the back of"               | zu ruck<br>"to, on the back of"     | --                                       | zurück<br>"back"                                   |

<sup>a</sup>Not a primary meaning.

Table 5.3. Words or meanings unique to ENHG.

| MHG                           | NBB                                             | Luther                          | NHG                                |
|-------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| (non-reflexive<br>not extant) | anlangen<br>"request"                           | anlangen<br>"request"           | anlangen<br>"to concern (archaic)" |
| beklagen<br>"to lament"       | beklagen<br>"accuse in court"                   | beklagen<br>"accuse"            | beklagen<br>"to lament"            |
| betrüben<br>"darken, becloud" | betrüben<br>"hinder, make<br>difficult"         | betrüben<br>"distress, afflict" | betrüben<br>"distress, afflict"    |
| brauchen<br>"use"             | brauchen<br>"use; practice (i.e.,<br>wage war)" | --                              | brauchen<br>"use"                  |
| not extant                    | einantworten<br>"deliver to"                    | einantworten<br>"deliver to"    | not extant                         |
| vriunt<br>"friend, relative"  | freund<br>"friend" ("relative"<br>appears once) | freund<br>"friend, relative"    | Freund<br>"friend"                 |
| geheimde<br>"secrecy; secret" | geheimbd<br>"secret document;<br>secrecy"       | --                              | not extant                         |
| gelit<br>"limbs"              | glyd<br>"member of group"                       | --                              | Glied<br>"limb"                    |

Table 5.3 (Continued)

| MHG                                              | NBB                                             | Luther                                 | NHG                                                            |
|--------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------|
| <u>hinfür</u><br>"before, forwards,<br>foremost" | <u>hinfür(o)</u><br>"from now on"               | <u>hinfür</u><br>"from now on"         | <u>hinfür</u><br>(archaic) = <u>hinfort</u> ,<br>"from now on" |
| not extant                                       | <u>inmaßen</u><br>"in such measure as"          | <u>inmaßen</u><br>"in such measure as" | not extant                                                     |
| not extant                                       | <u>mitvormunder</u><br>"co-sponsors, guardians" | --                                     | not extant                                                     |
| not extant                                       | <u>newenzeittungen</u><br>"news"                | <u>neuzeitung</u><br>"news"            | not extant                                                     |
| <u>petschaft</u><br>"seal"                       | <u>petschir</u><br>"seal"                       | <u>Pitschier</u><br>"seal"             | <u>Petschaft</u><br>"seal"                                     |
| <u>stunde</u><br>"period of time"                | <u>stund</u><br>"o'clock"                       | <u>stund</u><br>"o'clock"              | ( <u>Uhr</u> )                                                 |
| <u>unrät</u><br>"bad advice"                     | <u>unrat</u><br>"misfortune"                    | <u>Unrat</u><br>"misfortune"           | <u>Unrat</u><br>"garbage"                                      |
| <u>verêrûnge</u><br>"gift"                       | <u>vererung</u><br>"tip; reward for<br>service" | --                                     | <u>Verehrung</u><br>"honorarium"                               |
| not extant                                       | <u>widerumb</u><br>"back (zurück); again"       | --                                     | <u>widerum</u><br>"again"                                      |

Wörterbuch was also consulted. For Luther's usage the major source was the standard work by Franke, Grundzüge der Schriftsprache Luthers, although Grimm's Wörterbuch, Kluge's Etymologisches Wörterbuch<sup>9</sup> and Dietz' Wörterbuch zu Luthers Sprache<sup>10</sup> were also frequently of help.

Some of the words listed in the tables require no explanation. Others represent complicated changes and are discussed in the notes following the tables. Citations for all words are given in these notes also.

#### I. NOTES FOR TABLE 5.1, PAGE 183

MHG allewege/NBB alleweg 207v5, 185r19. Grimm notes that allweg is still in use in some Swiss dialects (I, 241-242).

MHG ambechten/NBB dienen 174r21, etc. Ambechten dies out before ENHG.

Luther's usage is from Dietz.

MHG ander/NBB annder 114r23. Luther's usage is noted by Franke.<sup>11</sup>

MHG anegeng/NBB anfang 231v4. Anegeng dies out in late MHG<sup>12</sup> and is replaced by Anfang.

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<sup>9</sup>Friedrich Kluge, Etymologisches Wörterbuch der deutschen Sprache (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1953). Future references to this work will be in parentheses in the text.

<sup>10</sup>Ph. Dietz, Wörterbuch zu Dr. Martin Luthers deutschen Schriften (Leipzig: F.C.W. Vogel, 1870). Future references to this work will be in parentheses in the text.

<sup>11</sup>Franke, Schriftsprache Luthers, II, 35. Future references to this work will be noted in parentheses in the text.

<sup>12</sup>Fritz Tschirch, Geschichte der deutschen Sprache, Grundlagen der Germanistic, 9 (Berlin: Schmitt Verlag, 1969), p. 116.

MHG antworten/NBB anntwurten 115r22. Lexer lists antworten, "to deliver to," and antwürten, "to answer." The NBB uses anntwurten, uberanntwurten 118r28, and einantworten 1179r1 to mean "deliver to," veranntwurten 117r26, "to answer," and anntwurt (neut.), "answer." The meaning "deliver to" is current in ENHG (Götze). Luther uses antwort(en) for both meanings, although the Kursächsische Kanzlei alternates between forms with <u> and forms with <o>. <sup>13</sup>

MHG beiten/NBB gewarten 232r18, 185v17; erwarten 185v25, 186r10; harren auf 185r31. Gewarten and erwarten are frequently used in the NBB. Harren auf is quite rare, and beiten does not appear at all. Of these, only erwarten is current in NHG. Luther's usage is from Franke (II, 153, 155).

MHG ertac/NBB eritag 210r20. Eritag is used occasionally along with the more common dinstag 210r6. This is a Bavarian dialect word which is no longer extant (Wahrig).

NHG ewirtinne/NBB eewirten 202r14. Haußfraw 227r25, etc., is the generally used word for "wife" in the NBB, but there are three ways to indicate "legal wife" or "legally married woman": eewirtin, Eliche haußfraw 111r16, and eeweib 194v10. This number of nearly synonymous terms reflects the bureaucratic nature of the NBB, where there is a distinction made between "housewife" and "legal spouse," and emphasis is placed on the legality of the relationship.

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<sup>13</sup>H. Bach, Luthersprache, p. 21.

MHG ve(he)de/NBB vehde 184r4+8. Fehde is, according to Ernst Otto,<sup>14</sup>

an old word that dies out slowly, and in fact has not completely died out even in this century. The NBB uses vehde only occasionally, but compounds occur frequently: bevehdung 235v21, "peace treaty"; urfehd 187r6, "written oath"; urfehdliche verschreibung 188r3, "sworn document."

MHG gar, harte, faste, sêre/NBB gar 117r20, 188r7; seer 229v34,

216v20. In MHG gar, harte, faste and sêre are all used in the meaning "very." In the ENHG period sehr begins to be used to the exclusion of gar, harte and faste to modify adjectives. The NBB uses gar and seer about equally, but harte and faste do not appear in this context. Luther uses faste as in MHG, and sehr (Dietz).

MHG gehaben/NBB gehaben 186v16. In MHG, gehaben is a stronger form of haben, and means "to have, possess." NHG gehaben is extant only as a reflexive in set phrases and means "to behave."

The NBB uses gehaben to mean "accomplish, get," but only one citation for the word was found. Luther uses gefallen--not gehaben--for "to possess," a use which Franke lists as idiolectic for Luther. Gefallen is used in the NBB as in NHG.

MHG glückhaft, glücklich/NBB glücklich 193v4, 118v12. Grimm (II, 307) indicates that of the three forms common to MHG, glücklich

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<sup>14</sup>Ernst Otto, "Zur historische Wortforschung: Erstbelege und Frühbelege aus ostmitteldeutschen Handschriften des 16. Jahrhundert," Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur (Halle), 97 (1976), 246.

wins out in usage over selig and glücklich in the sixteenth century. The NBB uses only glücklich, but Luther's use of glückhaftig and gluckseliglich indicate that the early sixteenth century may indeed have been the transition time for these forms. Discussion of the semantic content of glück/glücklich may be found below, page 207.

MHG michel, groß/NBB groß 110r14, 229r7, etc. Grimm (IV, 1,6; 457) and others state that michel has been superseded by groß by the end of the fifteenth century. NBB usage indicates that this is so.

MHG die harr/NBB die harr 193v21. This word is still present in ENHG (Götze lists die Harre) and is also to be found in Grimm's Wörterbuch (IV, 2, 492) and Schmeller (2, 226). It has apparently been lost only in the last century and has been replaced by das Harren.

MHG jenhalp/NBB jenhalb 226v9. Jenhalb is used throughout the Middle Ages (Lexer cites Hartmann's Erec) for NHG jenseits. No information was found concerning when jenhalb dies out.

MHG lützel, klein/NBB klein 114r21, 181v2, etc. Lützel, according to Grimm and others (see under "groß" above) has been superseded by klein by the end of the fifteenth century. The NBB uses only klein.

MHG mit kurz/NBB mit kurtz 115r15. Mit kurz is cited by Lexer (I, 1798) from the Deutsche Städtechronik (fourteenth-fifteenth century). No information was found concerning when NHG kurzum became predominant.

MHG lind/NBB lynnd 197r11, 188v15. Although lind has been in use from MHG into the present, it is much less used in NHG. The meaning is most often expressed by NHG mild or gelinde.

MHG muome/NBB mume 111r16. Muome in MHG most often meant "maternal aunt," but was used then and still is used to indicate any female relative, particularly the elderly. Its usage is now considered archaic.

MHG nam, name/NBB nam 236v7. Grimm (VII, 301) lists citations for die nahm(e) as early as the fourteenth century, but indicates that it is no longer in use in the late nineteenth century.

MHG Pfinztac/NBB Pfintztac 181v16. This Bavarian dialect word is used side by side in the NBB with the more often employed donerstag 184v12.

MHG sweher/NBB schweher 235r12. MHG swiger/NBB schwiger 235r12.

While Schwäher and Schwieger are still in use in NHG, Wahrig considers them archaic, and Grimm notes that they are only used in old-fashioned or cultivated speech (IX, 2180). Some Middle and Upper German dialects still use Schwieger (Grimm IX, 2612), but the more common terms are Schwiegervater and Schwiegermutter.

MHG spaenec/NBB spennig 225r4. Spennig is used throughout the MHG period and in ENHG. Luther uses it until 1527 (Franke, II, 69) and then drops it. No other information was found concerning when spennig loses out to NHG strittig.

MHG -stunt/NBB mal 202v28. -stund with cardinal numbers is still extant in ENHG (Götze), but not in NHG. Although mal with a cardinal number was only found once in the NBB section surveyed, mal frequently appears with etlich (113r14) and jeder (113r20).

MHG urgicht/NBB urgicht 186r23. Urgicht is used in MHG, but is first cited in legal usage by Grimm (XI, 3, 2426) in 1518. In reference to the use of urgicht to mean "written deposition" as it does in this context, Grimm lists no citations earlier than 1728. Luther uses a spelling variant, urjicht (Grimm, XI, 3, 2425).

MHG urlouben/NBB urlauben 180v18, 190v1. This verb was formed in MHG from Urlaub and, according to Grimm (XI,3,2477) was archaic even in dialects in the nineteenth century. It has been replaced in NHG by entlassen.

MHG wîlent/NBB weylund 112v20, etc. Weiland is one of the words listed by Franke (II,73) as a Middle or Upper German word that disappears after Luther's time. It is still listed by Wahrig, however, even though it is considered archaic. It is still rather frequently used in the NBB.

MHG ze stunde(n)/NBB zu stund 186v17. ze stund(e), meaning "at this time, immediately," is cited by Grimm (XVI, 495-7) as late as the nineteenth century, but it does not appear in Wahrig at all. In the twentieth century it has been replaced by sogleich.

## II. NOTES FOR TABLE 5.2, PAGE 188

MHG anheim(es)/NBB anhaims 186r8-9. Anheims undergoes a change in meaning, from "at home" to "toward home" (nach Hause) between MHG and ENHG, and then dies out sometime later. According to Grimm anheim, meaning "nach Hause," exists only in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Luther's form, anhaimen, is considered idiolectic by Franke (II, 174).

MHG arbeit/NBB arbeit 232r5, 192v16, etc. The changes in the meaning of arbeit have been mentioned by most authors working in this area of semantics. In general the semantic change is described as a development from "toil" in MHG to "that which is produced by toil" in NHG--that is, from labor to opus, Mühsal to Werk.<sup>15</sup> In actuality arbeit has never completely dissociated itself from the idea of "trouble" or "travail," although this element is much weaker in NHG than previously. Another meaning, that of "job," has been added to the NHG concept also (pers. comm. Kratz).

In the NBB arbeit appears primarily to be a general term such as the English "work." It is not clearly used in the sense of "job," but it often appears coupled (contrastively?) with muhe, so that its meaning seems to lie somewhere between the MHG and the NHG. Luther uses erbeit

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<sup>15</sup>This idea is discussed in Tschirch (p. 125) and in Wolfgang Beutin, Das Weiterleben alter Wortbedeutungen in der neueren deutschen Literatur bis gegen 1800 (Hamburg: Ludke, 1972), p. 69.

with muhe in a manner similar to that in the NBB (Dietz).

MHG atzung/NBB atzung 188v18. In MHG, atzung is a general term meaning food and/or fodder. Grimm lists both these meanings and gives no indication that either is archaic, but by the mid-1900's Wahrig defines Atzung very narrowly as "feed for birds of prey." The one citation from the NBB clearly means "upkeep" of some sort, but the context does not make clear whether the subject, who is in prison, is being required to pay for his own upkeep or that of his horse. Whether "food" or "fodder" however, the NBB usage is still closer to MHG than to NHG.

MHG bereiten/NBB ausrüsten. Between MHG and NHG bereiten changes in meaning from "to equip, make ready" to "to prepare." As this happens, the verb ausrüsten, "to equip," is created. The NBB uses the NHG ausrüsten to mean "to equip," whereas Luther uses bereiten (Franke, II, 37). Bereiten does not appear at all in the NBB.

MHG dannoch, dennoch/NBB dannoch(t) 109v11, 230r11. Dannoch(t) and dennoch are used by Luther (Franke, II, 66), in the NBB and in NHG to mean "nevertheless." Although this meaning did exist in MHG, it was not a primary meaning (see Lexer).

MHG êre/NBB eer 191v12, 229r23. The change in meaning in Ehre between MHG and NHG is subtle and involves the differences between the outward (reputation, fame) and the inward (NHG

honor, distinction), a change from what one is seen to be (fame) to what one is (honor, distinction). George F. Jones describes the change as "a shift from denoting respect, deference, prestige, rank, or superiority to denoting admirable conduct, personal integrity, or inner sense of right and wrong."<sup>16</sup> NBB usage appears to lean more toward the NHG, although it is used in the sense of "reputation" also ("on our honor" 229r23). Luther's usage (Dietz) falls somewhere between MHG and the NHG.

MHG êrlich/NBB eerlich 229r12, etc. The MHG êrlich is directly related in meaning to êre: where êre means "fame," êrlich means "having or worthy of having fame." In the NBB, however, eerlich has taken on the inward-directed meaning associated with Ehre in NHG. Here eerlich means "honorable," as in "an honorable end to war" 192v23. This is in contrast to Luther's adherence to the MHG meaning "ansehnlich, ehrenvoll" (Franke, II, 39).

MHG endlich/NBB en(n)tlich 234r25, 195r28, etc. According to Ernst Otto,<sup>17</sup> endlich develops an "element of impatience" between MHG and NHG. That is to say, MHG endlich means "at the end," literally, whereas the NHG endlich indicates "finally" (as opposed to "am Ende"). NBB usage is mixed, with some

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<sup>16</sup>George F. Jones, Honor in German Literature (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1959), p. 190.

<sup>17</sup>Otto, "Zur historische Wortforschung," p. 159.

citations indicating the NHG meaning (234r25, 180v8), others seeming to adhere to MHG usage (195r28).

MHG endunge/NBB enndung 195v15. In NHG the word Endung has become restricted to "grammatical ending." The NBB uses enndung in the widest sense to mean "end" in general.

MHG sich enthalten/NBB sich enthalten 236r16, etc. In the NBB, as in MHG, sich enthalten corresponds to NHG s. aufhalten. No information was found concerning when the change occurred in the prefix, although Grimm (III, 551) offers citations (including some from Luther) as late as Wieland for s. enthalten.

MHG erheben/NBB erheben 193r18, 195r28. Beutin<sup>18</sup> cites this word as one of those which change from literal to figurative meaning between MHG and NHG. Lexer gives literal meanings, but also cites "to begin." In the NBB the usage has become predominately figurative, as in furschlag erheben 193r18, or "take into service" 195r28.

MHG sich erheben/NBB sich erheben 112r12, 214v7. In the NBB, sich erheben is used quite literally, as in these instances: du wollest dich erheben und herein gen Nurmberg komen 112r12-13, or das (=daß) Hertzog wilhelm sich mit dem gantzen Bundtischen here vor der Stat kirchen erhebt vm irn antzug . . . uff Stutgarten zugenomen . . . 214v6-8.

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<sup>18</sup>Beutin, p. 64.

Dietz lists this latter meaning--"to break camp and travel"--under s. erheben.

MHG ernennen/NBB ernennen 189r27. This verb is subject to a great deal of semantic variation from MHG to NHG. The MHG idea of "naming completely," or "making a list of" is refined in NHG to "to nominate." The idea "to give a name to" evolves into "to set apart by naming." Luther's usage in the sense of benennen (Grimm, III, 921)--"to give a name to"--seems to fall in with the MHG meaning fairly easily. The NBB usage generally consists of the past participle, ernannt, used as an adjective to mean "aforementioned." While this semantic development is a logical one, it is not related as closely to either MHG or NHG meanings as Luther's is.

MHG erspriezen/NBB erspriesen 112v4. Historically, erspriesen is connected generally with physical growth (MHG "sprout, germinate"; NHG "open out, as in blossoms"). In the NBB as well as in the early modern period (Grimm, III, 982,2) erspriesen is more abstract and corresponds to the NHG gedeihen, "to flourish, succeed." The original meaning of erspriesen is still present in NHG, in the adjective ersprieslich, "useful, profitable." Eerspriesen does not appear in Luther's writing (Dietz).

MHG vlec(ke)/NBB Fleck 216v12. "Tract of land" is mentioned only as one of several meanings for MHG vlec by Lexer, but Grimm (III, 1741) notes that the meanings "ort, platz, stelle,

stück" are quite common beginning in the sixteenth century.

The NBB uses Fleck only to describe a tract of land, but this specific meaning has died out in NHG, where Fleck is a generalized term for "spot."

MHG vrouwe/NBB fraw 111v13, 113r2, etc. Early in the Middle Ages the appellation vrouwe was reserved for women of noble birth, the word wîp being used for the commoner. By late MHG, however, weib had become pejorative<sup>19</sup> and vrouwe was, as in NHG, a general term for woman or wife. The NBB almost exclusively restricts fraw to purely religious usage. It is used to refer to Mary (193v26), to a prioress (111v13), to a nun (112r2). Fraw is used once (213r20-21) to refer to a noblewoman, but for non-religious use (i.e., in the meaning "woman, wife") several other words appear: haufraw 202r17, eliche haufraw 111r16, eeweib 194v10, and ewirtin 202r14. Haufraw is the most commonly used. Luther uses fraw(e) and eheweib (Dietz), but fraw is not restricted to religious usage as in the NBB.

MHG vremde/NBB frembd 208r22, 118v27. Fremd undergoes an alteration in meaning from the MHG, where the meaning "far" (as opposed to "near") is primary, to the NHG, where the primary meaning is "foreign" (i.e., "from faraway"). In the NBB the modern

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<sup>19</sup>Els Oksaar, Mittelhochdeutsch (Stockholm: Almqvist and Wiksell, 1965), pp. 384-385.

element of "foreignness" is present, as in the phrase frembd gest 118r27, "foreigners," or in frembde hanndt 208r22, "in foreign hands." Luther still uses fremd to mean "faraway," but that meaning is secondary (Dietz).

MHG gemüete/NBB gemut 117r24, etc. The MHG gemüete is a term indicating the sum total of a person's thoughts and feelings. Beutin indicates that the MHG word includes, although not as a primary meaning, the idea of attitude, way of thinking (Gesinnung). NHG has narrowed this to the concept of "mind, soul," in opposition to the practice of Luther and the NBB, where Gemüt indicates "intention." (See Grimm, IV, 1, 2 for citations to Luther.)

MHG geniezen/NBB genißen 111r29, 191v2. Genießen in NHG has a narrower semantic content than in MHG. MHG geniezen has the element "to profit from" in addition to "to enjoy." The NBB citations tend to imply profit rather than joy, but the meanings are not always mutually exclusive. It is used with the genitive in MHG and in the NBB, but in NHG, the use with the genitive has disappeared. The idea "to profit from" may have died out with the genitive construction. The citation for Luther's usage of genies appears in Lindmeyr's book, Der Wortschatz in Luthers, Emsers und Ecks Übersetzungen des "Neuen Testamentes."<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>20</sup>Bernhardt Lindmeyr, Der Wortschatz in Luthers, Emsers und Ecks Übersetzungen des "neuen Testamentes" (Strassburg: Trübners, 1899), page 48.

MHG geschütze/NBB geschutz 214v30. The narrowing of meaning of this word from "weaponry" (in general, "weapons that shoot") to "cannon" occurs with the development of firearms and weapons in the Middle Ages. The change has occurred in the NBB, but not in Luther's work (Franke, II, 41).

MHG gelücke/NBB gluck 184r16, etc. The semantic content of Glück and glücklich has been the source of some controversy. Beutin<sup>21</sup> maintains that Glück has a negative element through the end of the Middle Ages and only gets its current positive connotation in the eighteenth century. Kluge (Etymologisches Wörterbuch) describes its semantic change as less dramatic: from "outcome," whether good or bad, to "positive outcome." Grimm (IV, 1, 5) concurs in this latter interpretation, but differs with Beutin concerning when it occurred. He remarks that "bereits im mhd. überwiegt für gelücke die einigung der bedeutung nach der gunstigen seite" (II, 233) and cites the formation of Unglück and the loss of gut as a frequent modifier of Glück as indications of the change. The NBB supports Grimm's opinion, both in the absence of gut as a modifier (got geb . . . gluck 190r20) and the presence of Ungluck 193v6, as well as in the contrastive expression glücklich oder ubel 207v20. In the NBB, glücklich has taken over from the MHG saelec in the meaning "happy."

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<sup>21</sup>Beutin, p. 172.

MHG grunt/NBB grund(t) 117r8, 113v23, etc. Grund in the abstract meaning "reason, cause" is generally thought to be an innovation of Luther's, but the evidence from the NBB suggests that the abstraction was already common. Grundt is a very commonly used word in the NBB and is used in the abstract in all citations recorded. Examples are as follows:

des (=about that) sind e.f.g. hieuor in iungster vnnser  
schrifft mit grundt vnd warheit bericht 117v14-15;

ob sein f. g . . . der letzter funff artikelhalb mer grounds  
vnd Indicia antzaigen konndt (whether the Markgraf could show  
more cause in reference to the last five articles . . .)  
187v30-32;

(wir haben) euch hieuor gelegenhait des angereten vertrags  
mit grund angetzaigt 113v23.

MHG handeln/NBB hanndeln 112r11, 228v10, etc. The major change in meaning for handeln comes between the MHG meaning "to take in the hand, do by hand" (Lexer) and the ENHG and NHG meaning "to deal with, handle." The NBB and Luther both use the word with its modern meaning. Luther uses handeln for "behandeln," "to handle" (trans.) (Franke, II, 147). The NBB uses the verb transitively as Luther does: die geruch gnediglich zuhandelen 176r14; bede partheyen (sollen) erscheinen (vnd) in sachen hanndelen thun vnd laßen was sy diser zeyt thun vnd hanndeln hetten mogen 181r17-19; and intransitively with mit: wir haben etlicher sachen halben mit dir zuhandeln 112r10-11.

MHG heil/NBB hayl 185r1. MHG heil means "health; good fortune, luck," but does not carry the notion of salvation, as it

does in NHG. In the one NBB citation noted above, the word has the NHG meaning "salvation."

MHG kürnen/NBB kurnt/unkurnt 185v30. In MHG kürnen, as in the NBB, means "to grind, pulverize." The verb is no longer extant in NHG, although körnen, "to form into grains," does exist. Grimm (V, 1823, 4b) cites gekürnts and kurnts from the Nürnberger Polizeiordnung (fifteenth century). It is possible that this form is peculiar to Nürnberg.

MHG ledic, ledec/NBB ledig 197v21. Although ledig has not really lost meanings from MHG to NHG, emphasis has shifted from "empty, free" in MHG to "unmarried" in NHG. The use of ledig to mean "freely" in the NBB is not modern, nor does it conform to Götze's definition for ENHG: "leer, inhaltlos; bloß; erfolglos."

MHG rîs, rîz/NBB Reyß 181v30. In MHG rîs can mean "tree" as well as "tree limb" or "twig"; but this meaning is lost in NHG. The NBB conforms to the MHG. In this citation it refers to a tree felled across the road for ambush.

MHG schier/NBB schir 185r10, 198v12. Both the NBB and Luther (Grimm, IX, 20) use this adverb in the MHG meaning "soon" or "quickly." Grimm notes that this meaning is already old in the eighteenth century. Luther's usage is from Dietz.

MHG smalz/NBB schmaltz 181r27-28, 181v12. The NBB uses putter and schmaltz interchangeably, perhaps treating putter as an unfamiliar word which needs explanation, as in Schmaltzen

oder puttern 181r27-28. This does not totally support Franke's contention that Butter, although it existed in MHG, only became a commonly used word through Luther's example (Franke, II, 61) for we have here another author using and interpreting the word also.

MHG snel/NBB schnel(1) 197v5. Although MHG snel could mean "fast," its primary meaning--"strong"--was current up to the ENHG period (Grimm, IX, 1286). Both Luther<sup>22</sup> and the NBB use the word in the modern sense.

MHG swebend/NBB schwebend 114v21. The pertinent semantic change in schweben between MHG and NHG seems to be the addition of the abstraction "pending" to the more concrete meanings. Luther uses the term in an abstract manner (Grimm, IX, 2378, 7k), but the use of schwebend as a legal term (as in 114v21, etc.) did not generally occur until the late fifteenth century (Grimm, IX, 2378, 9a).

MHG unerhort/NBB unerhort 176r15. The difference between the MHG "never heard of" and the NHG "unheard of" is not always easy to perceive in context. However, the sense of impropriety conveyed in the NBB citation seems to imply the modern meaning. Speaking of a newly levied--and in their opinion, illegal--toll, the authors speak of "dise unerhorte vnd traglich newerung vermainter zoll" 176r15-16. Luther's usage is similar (Grimm, XI, 486).

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<sup>22</sup>Beutin, p. 293.

MHG unrât/NBB unrat 117r11, 222v6. Franke (II, 45) indicates that Luther used Unrat in the sense of NHG Unglück, to mean "misfortune." Unrat appears in the NBB with the same meaning. However, ungluck ("misfortune," 193v6) also appears. There is no indication that the NHG meaning exists in the NBB.

MHG zeiger/NBB zaiger 190v14. The use of zeiger to mean "bearer of a letter" is noted by Lexer as early as 1432. The NBB usage follows the MHG. No example was found of the NHG Vorzeiger, "bearer," or of Luther's usage.

MHG ziuc/NBB zeug 118v24, 195r34. The general meaning of MHG ziuc, "weapon," is one which is carried through to NHG, although it has now become archaic. The usage of zeug to mean "horse troop" or "army" is one common to ENHG, and is found both in the NBB and in Luther's writings (Franke, II, 47). It is used in the NBB to mean "troops," whether mounted or on foot: vnnfers zeugs von raisigen oder fußvolck 206r9. Unlike Luther, who uses zeug instead of Heer, the authors of the NBB apparently differentiated zeug from Heer. The latter appears frequently. (For citations, see page 71.)

MHG ze ruck/NBB zu ruck 173v22. For the NHG zurück, meaning "back," the NBB consistently uses "widerumb." zu ruck is used more literally to mean "on the back of."

### III. NOTES FOR TABLE 5.3, PAGE 192

NBB anlangen 112r3, 228v25, etc. The use of anlangen to mean "to request" is apparently first attested in ENHG. Luther uses

it thus (Franke, II, 163) and it appears frequently in the NBB. The impersonal use of anlangen (es langt vns an 113r21), which is also common in the NBB, means "to concern" in MHG and in the NBB. In NHG, anbelangen (non-reflexive) appears with this meaning, but is considered archaic.

MHG beklagen/NBB beklagen 113r26, etc. Whereas in MHG and NHG beklagen means "to lament," both Luther (Grimm, I, 1417) and the NBB authors used beklagen to mean specifically "to accuse in court." (Grimm, I, 1417) cites this meaning only from 1512 on.

MHG betrüben/NBB betruben 114r28. The meaning of betrüben progresses from the literal--MHG "trüb machen, to darken"--to the figurative--NHG "to disturb, afflict." Luther uses the verb in the figurative sense, as in NHG. The NBB meaning seems to be unique: "to hinder, make difficult"--das (=daß) wir sein f. g. auß den Bayrischen eroberten flecken an seiner g. willtpeutten vnd geyaiden zu nachgreiffen betruben vnd verhindern 114r25-28. In another citation (215v14) betruben is used in the modern sense. Franke's contention that this is a MG word which only became entrenched in the language through Luther's usage (Franke, II, 61) cannot be proved or disproved from NBB evidence.

MHG brauchen/NBB brauchen 180r11. Although Götze lists s. brauchen in the meaning "to practice," there is no record of brauchen in this sense. The citation for this meaning (der in

ietlichen jarn nit krieg gepraucht hat 180r11) is unique.

Elsewhere in the NBB, brauchen is used in the more common MHG and NHG meaning, "to need, to use."

MHG antworten, antwûrten/NBB einantworten 179r1. Einantworten is apparently fairly common in ENHG and later. Götze lists it, and it is used by Luther and in the NBB. Grimm (III, 145) does not list it as archaic even as late as 1862, but it has been replaced now by überantworten. In MHG, the meaning "to deliver" was expressed by the simplex "antworten" (Lexer).

MHG vriunt/NBB freund 110v3, etc. This word comes under consideration here primarily because of Luther's usage of it and because of the relationship in ENHG between the ideas "friend" and "relative." In MHG vriunt means primarily "friend," but can also refer to a relative. Luther uses Freund to mean "relative" (Franke, II, 46) and this meaning appears once in the NBB (111r17). Much more frequent in the NBB, however, is the use of Freund in the sense of "friend" (231r5) or in the general (NHG) sense of "colleague," as in Ratsfreund (=fellow member of city council) 115v10, etc.

MHG geheimde/NBB geheim(bd) 119r7, 194r2, etc. Grimm notes that this word is a Canzleiwort, the usage of which grew in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. It is certainly much used in the NBB, where the secret matters of war are often discussed. In fact, the meanings of the word have expanded considerably from the MHG ideas of "secret" or "secrecy."

In the NBB the word can mean "secret, secrecy": die tagliche potschafften von vnnsern kriegsvolk . . . zaigen wir euch jn gehaimbd 190v23-27, jn gehaimbd vnd vertragen 190v27; secret document: Dabey wollen wir dir aber warnungs weiß vnd jn einer gehaimbd antzaigen 119r6-7; or "secret meeting or council": "so jst vnnser . . . Bith jr wollet derhalben jn einer gehaim ewer fleyßig auffsehen, forschen vnd nachfrag haben 182r3-5. The word does not exist in NHG. No record has been found of Luther's usage, although das Geheim<sup>23</sup> is present. MHG gelit/NBB glyd 195r11. Grimm (IV, 2, 5, 20) states that the use of Glied to mean "member of a group" (NHG Mitglied) is unusual up until the late MHG period, and has fallen into disuse by the nineteenth century. The NBB usage (glyd des Bunds 195r11) is thus consistent with ENHG.

MHG hinwur/NBB hinfur(o) 113r30, 183r15. Although hinfür still appears in NHG (Wahrig) it has been considered archaic since the end of the eighteenth century (Grimm). Hinfort, the form used by Luther,<sup>24</sup> is the NHG equivalent.

NBB inmaßen 199r13. Inmaßen, with the meaning "in such measure as," is apparently an ENHG word. No reference has been found for it either in MHG or NHG except for Grimm's entry (IV, 2, 2122).

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<sup>23</sup>Karl von Bahder, Zur Wortwahl in der frühneuhochdeutschen Schriftsprache, Germanische Bibliothek, 2nd series, 19, ed. W. Streitberg (Heidelberg: Karl Winter, 1925), p. 136.

<sup>24</sup>Lindmeyr, p. 64.

Grimm cites it from around the turn of the sixteenth century, and also in Luther's work.

NBB mitvormunder 181r7,13. Mitvormunder, which means "co-sponsors," or "guardians" in the NBB, does not appear in MHG. Lexer cites only vormunt. Grimm (VI, 2429) notes the word's appearance in the mid-sixteenth century. There is no indication of when it does out.

NBB newenzeittungen 182r14. No entry for this word has been found in any of the major dictionaries. Grimm (VII, 689) lists neuzeitung (=news) with citations from Luther and Fischart.

MHG petschaft/NBB petschir 110v17, etc. Petschaft came into MHG from the Prague chancery (Kluge, Etymologisches Wörterbuch). The Czech word pečat (=Siegel) was given the suffix -schaft in the fourteenth century,<sup>25</sup> and modified in the ENHG period to petschier (Grimm, VII, 1579). There is no information concerning when Petschaft prevailed. Luther uses pitschier.<sup>26</sup>

MHG stunde/NBB stund 228v29, 235r5, etc. The meaning of stund narrows from MHG, when it means "an unspecified period of time" to NHG, "an hour." In the ENHG period, Grimm notes (X, 24, 488), stund appears occasionally with cardinal numbers instead of NHG Uhr. It is used thus by Luther (Grimm, X, 24, 488) and in the NBB. Uhr (spelled hor, ur, or) also appears in the

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<sup>25</sup>A. Bach, Geschichte der deutschen Sprache, p. 282.

<sup>26</sup>H. Bach, Luthersprache, p. 21.

NBB (hor 177r7, or 233v11), although less frequently than stund.

MHG unrât/NBB unrat 117r11. This is a word which changes drastically from MHG "bad advice" to NHG "garbage." The meaning "misfortune" seems to be unique to ENHG.

MHG verêrunge/NBB vererung 191r1. This word narrows in meaning from the MHG "gift" to NHG "honorarium." Grimm cites the meaning "Trinkgeld," which is the NBB usage, around 1600 (II, 1, 267).

MHG aber/NBB widerumb 227r3, 237r9, etc. Tschirch<sup>27</sup> notes that MHG aber (=again) is replaced in NHG by wieder, and MHG wieder (=back, adv.) is replaced in NHG by zurück. In the NBB the first of these changes has taken place: NBB aber corresponds to NHG aber (=but) and widerumb is used for "again." The second change, however, has not yet occurred, so that widerumb in the NBB means both "again" (118v2) and "back" (235v10). Wieder without the -umb suffix does not appear in the NBB.

Statistically, the words in Tables 5.1-5.3 provide no surprises. Of the 84 words listed, 27 (32%) are medieval in semantic content, 25 (30%) are modern, and the remaining 32 (38%) are either transitional in meaning between MHG and NHG--endlich, for example--or more or less unrelated in meaning to both their MHG and NHG counterparts (glyd, for instance). These numbers can be seen in two ways: first, 68% (NHG and transitional) are not medieval, which indicates,

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<sup>27</sup>Tschirch, Geschichte der deutschen Sprache, p. 121.

as was expected, that in terms of semantics the NBB language can certainly not be classified as MHG. Second, however, it may be noted that 70% (MHG and transitional) are not modern, either, so that the dialect cannot be called modern. The obvious conclusion is of course that semantically the dialect is in transition between MHG and NHG.

The words in these tables for which Luther's usage could be determined show a somewhat different statistical pattern. From a total of 55 words, 17 (31%) are medieval, whereas 20 (36%) are modern. Eighteen, or 33%, are intermediate between MHG and NHG. Furthermore, 34 (62%) of these 55 words are used alike by the NBB authors and Luther. This indicates that Luther's vocabulary might not be as different from that of his contemporaries as has been thought. Both authors use about the same proportion (32% and 31% in the NBB and Luther, respectively) of words that are archaic in NHG, but Luther has a few more modern words (36%, as compared to 30% for the NBB) than the NBB. There are more transitional words--words whose meanings fit into neither MHG nor NHG--in the NBB (38% as opposed to 33% for Luther). Given the small sample used as a base for these statistics, it is likely that there is no statistically significant difference between the vocabularies of the two languages.

Absolute statistical accuracy in a study such as this would require the analysis of all the words in the NBB and Luther's texts. That is, of course, beyond the scope of this work. Because of time

limitations, the vocabulary to be investigated was chosen based on a somewhat superficial perusal of the texts. Archaic words seemed to be more easily spotted than modern ones, so that the statistics were pre-biased somewhat toward the medieval and the vocabulary might be more modern than appears from these figures.

Concerning the statistics for Luther's speech, it should be noted that vocabulary items for Luther's usage were selected not from an analysis of his works, but based on vocabulary from the NBB, and thus they probably do not present a true picture of the modernity of his language. In addition, comparing Luther's vocabulary with that of the NBB is complicated by the fact that the subject matter of the two vocabularies is so different.

In spite of these limitations, though, it can still be said that in general the vocabulary of the NBB is distinctly non-medieval. It is likewise not modern, but transitional, and although not exactly so, it is enough like Luther's language to indicate that the Nürnberg chancery language was following the same path toward NHG as was Luther's.

## CHAPTER VI

### LUTHER AND THE NÜRNBERGER BRIEFBUCH: A COMPARISON

One of the major motivations for choosing the NBB of 1519 for this study was to get some picture of the state of the dialects of German concurrent with and geographically near Luther's speech, in an effort to put Luther's influence on ENHG and NHG into a proper philological perspective. The material presented in Chapter VI was selected because it represented points of difference between Luther's language and that of the NBB or between either of these dialects and MHG or NHG. An attempt was made to look at Luther's language around the time of the NBB texts. Consequently, some points of his usage may appear to be incorrect to those familiar with his later writing. This comparison relies almost exclusively on Franke's Grundzüge der Schriftsprache Luthers, on the more recent work by Bach, Handbuch der Luthersprache, Band I, and on Johannes Erben's Grundzüge einer Syntax Luthers, for Luther's usage. The material includes phonology, morphology, syntax, and vocabulary.

#### I. PHONOLOGY

The major phonological changes that occur between MHG and NHG are for the most part complete before the sixteenth century, and hence do not really come into play in a comparison of Luther and the NBB authors. Monophthongization, diphthongization, and the change of [s] to [ʃ] before some consonants are pretty well established by

1519. Neither Luther nor the NBB authors differ from NHG in these in any significant way, although there are some scattered MHG forms used by both. Both use uff for auff fairly often, and there are a few situations where undiphthongized vowels appear in Luther's writing--in a few foreign words, in unaccented position in a few words (-lin for -lein, -ry for -rei, itelkeit, huchley) and, until about 1520, in a handful of other words (bliben, beschribet, lydenden, grusam) (Franke, I, 115-116).

The NBB shows little evidence of rounding--schopffen being the only rounded form. Luther does use zw<sup>e</sup>olf as compared to NBB zwelff, but in later years zwelf appears more frequently.<sup>1</sup> There are a number of words that are rounded in NHG but not in Luther's work, e.g., leschen, schweren, sich ergetzen.<sup>2</sup>

Whereas lengthening has probably occurred in the NBB, there is no indication of it in the orthography.<sup>3</sup> In Luther's work, though, vowel lengthening is indicated significantly often, and appears by and large as it does in NHG (Franke, I, 111). Vowel length is indicated by the presence of <h> or by vowel doubling, including <ie> for [i:]. Shortening of MHG long vowels is not indicated in the NBB.<sup>4</sup> Nor is it consistently indicated in Luther's works.

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<sup>1</sup>H. Bach, Luthersprache, p. 32.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid.

<sup>3</sup>There are a few instances of vowels doubled to indicate length (see Chapter II, pages 24-25), but these are usually MHG long vowels.

<sup>4</sup>See Chapter II, page 44, for discussion of evidence for shortening in the NBB.

The unvoicing of final consonants (Auslautsverhärtung) is, as a rule, no longer indicated in orthography by the sixteenth century, although there is still some variability in the two dialects. In the NBB, -igk or -ic usually appear for etymological -ig (i.e., for the historically correct form of the suffix) when followed by -heit or -lich. Luther uses -ic in this environment. In addition, he uses -k or -gk for etymological -g; -t or -dt for etymological -d; -ch for etymological -h; and -p for etymological -b. Whereas in the NBB -gk and -dt appear frequently for etymological -d and -g, the other consonants do not show Auslautsverhärtung.<sup>5</sup>

Aside from the systematic differences discussed above, Luther's language shows a lot of deviation from MHG and NHG. These elements presumably reflect the dialects on which his writing was based. There appear to be many more of these phonological differences in Luther's work than in the NBB, but it may be that the difference in volume of variations is great because of the extent of the research that has been conducted with Luther's texts compared to that with the NBB. A second mitigating factor is that the studies involving Luther cover texts written as much as thirty years apart, whereas the text used for this study was written over a period of approximately six months. Still, some of the variations seem consistent enough to be of interest in comparing the two dialects, because they make the languages appear--if only superficially--quite

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<sup>5</sup>Luther's usage is from Franke, vol. 1.

different from each other and from MHG and NHG. As with the other phenomena discussed here, an attempt has been made to present examples of Luther's earliest usage--that is, up to 1520--so that comparisons with the NBB might be as close to synchronous as possible.

Most of the phonological phenomena discussed below are exceptions, not only to MHG or NHG usage, but also frequently to the standard usage of Luther and the NBB. For that reason they are presented here as briefly as possible. Except where indicated, Luther's usage is taken from Franke's Grundzüge der Schriftsprache Luthers, Vol. I. Dates are approximate.

#### Phonological Variations in Luther's Works and the NBB

1. Vowel length is indicated more often, if not always more consistently, in Luther's work than in the NBB. Luther uses <ie>, <h>, or doubled vowels to indicate length. The NBB uses <ee> occasionally, and <ii> rarely, but no other sign of length appears.

<ie> as a sign of lengthening:

Luther: begir > begier, dißer > dieser (1524)

NBB: beger 111v30, diser 109r20, rarely diis- 189r17

<ee> to indicate ē

Luther: seele, zween

NBB: selen 232v22, zwen 119r28, but seer 229v34, eerlich 229r12

<eh> to indicate ē

Luther: sehr/seer, Eelich-/Elich-

NBB: seer 229v34, eerlich 229r12

<h> as a sign of lengthened vowel:

Luther: fahr > far, denen > dehnen, welen > wehlen, nehme > neme

NBB: vernempt 110r6, zuerweln 229r13

<ih> to indicate  $\bar{i}$   
 Luther: ihr, ihm, ihn, etc.  
 NBB: jr, jm, jn, etc.

2. Distribution of <ai>/<ei>. The distribution of the graphs <ai> and <ei> in the NBB follows the Bavarian tradition of using <ai> for MHG <ei>, and <ei> for MHG <i>, although there are exceptions to this. Luther generally uses <ai> only to distinguish homonyms.

Luther: laib brots, waise, but keyßer.  
 NBB: erberkait 113r27, vertzaichnus 109r12, fleys 109r21,  
 keyßerliche 112v27, nachgreiffen 114r26.

3. Consonant doubling.<sup>6</sup> Orthographic doubling of single MHG consonants occurs in Luther's writing mostly before 1525, and begins to taper off after that (Franke, I, 88). Doubling involves fewer consonants in the NBB--mainly <n> and <f>--than in Luther. <ll> appears fairly frequently in Luther, but in the NBB it is restricted mostly to environments where it occurs in NHG. <nn> is frequent in both dialects, but appears only before consonants in the NBB. Luther uses <ff> exclusively medially and finally, and occasionally in root-initial position. In the NBB, <ff> is always used medially and is used finally more frequently than <f>, but it never appears initially.

<dd> appears in Luther's texts after MHG short vowels and before -er or -el. It occurs occasionally after long vowels. <dd> does not occur in the NBB, although <-dt> appears finally, where it most likely indicates unvoicing.

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<sup>6</sup>Examples of consonant doubling are given below.

In Luther's writing <bb> appears in the same environment as does <dd>, although it is rare. It does not occur at all in the NBB. T is doubled medially and post-consonantly by Luther until 1528. In the NBB, <tt> is used medially, but not exclusively so. <dt> appears in Luther's language more often than in NHG and not consistently with NHG usage. It usually appears after <n>. In the NBB <dt> occurs finally--particularly after <-n>--to indicate Auslautsverhärtung. It does not occur here as frequently as in Luther's work.

Under the influence of the slavic languages, Middle German typically substitutes cz for z. Luther uses it frequently until 1520 for z and tz, but it does not appear in the NBB. Tz, which appears in initial position in Luther's texts until 1522, does not appear in initial position in the NBB. However, it is used almost to the exclusion of <z> medially and finally. Luther uses <ck> for <k> in final position after long vowels or consonants. <ck> is occasionally found medially. In the NBB, <ck> appears medially and finally after vowels, n and r. <gk> appears less often than <ck> in Luther's texts. In the NBB, final <g> is sometimes spelled <gk>.

<ll>

Luther: allt, gellt, zweyffellt, hanndellnn.

NBB: gelts 118r21, gellt 118r23, zweyfel 234v10, zweyfellt 227v30, hanndelst 195r4.

<nn>

Luther: vnnd, geschehenn, dahyndenn.

NBB: lanngksam 110r21, vnns, hanndlung 109r12, sonnder 117v26.

<ff>

Luther: erffullet, erffunden, lauffen, oft, hellffen, glimpff.

NBB: -schafft, funff 117v19, befunnden 198r15, lauffen 119v22.

<dd>

Luther: odder, widder, fudder

NBB: (fuder 112v23)

<bb>

Luther: gabbel, zabbeln

NBB: <bb> does not occur.

<tt>

Luther: wartten, wortten, gutte, bitte, butter, gestatten, gott (got also appears)

NBB: worten 176r11, gut 112r27, butter 181r28, got 118v12.

<dt>

Luther: nodd, bekandt, kindt, stadt (also stat/statt)

NBB: stat 233r6, lanndtgraf 114r11, vierdten 114r27.

<cz>

Luther: czezt, etc.

NBB: <cz> does not appear.

<tz>

Luther: tzeugt, tzehenn.

NBB: betzalung 112r25, gantz 114v32, hitziger 115r13, mitlerzeyt 112r1.

<ck>

Luther: gedenckist, danck, volcker.

NBB: gedenck 110r9, fangknus 114r22.

<gk>

Luther: langk.

NBB: langk 113v27, fangknus 114r22.

4. Lack of consonant doubling. Lack of consonant doubling in positions where it is appropriate for MHG and/or NHG occurs in both languages although not frequently in either. This phenomenon concerns <l,m,n,r> and <t>. Pre-consonantly, <l,n,r> are single in Luther's texts. <l> and <n> may be doubled in the NBB in this position, but <r> is not. In final position, <l,m,n,r,t> may be doubled by Luther, but only final <ll> and <rr> appear in the NBB. <m> is never doubled in the NBB and is single in Luther's works where it is often doubled in NHG.

<m>

Luther: genomen, komen, ymer, samlunge, zusamen

NBB: genomen 226v7, komen 109r11, versamlung 115v12.

<l,n,r>

Luther: solt, wilt, wolte, zolner, kanst, erkant, herlich.

NBB: verursachen 109r17, darnach 115r16, welcher, 109r9,  
besoldung 109r19, alls 109r7, befinden 110r26, sonnder 117v26.

<l,m,n,r,t> in final position

Luther: vol, wil, al, kan, man, bit, got.

NBB: zoll 112v27, zol 112v20, man 118v26, will 227r20, kan  
116v21, got 118v12, herr 109r1.

5. Distribution of <f> and <v> is usually like NHG, with some exceptions. Both authors use <v-> and <-u-> for [(-)u-] and [(-)v-].

Luther: eyffer, eivern, brief, brieue, margrauen.

NBB: veindsbrief 119v17, marggraf 114r7, -schafft,  
funff 117v19.

6. Indication of umlaut is spotty in the NBB, but somewhat more consistent in Luther. Luther regularly uses <e> for NHG ä, but <æ> appears, if rarely.<sup>7</sup> The umlaut of short or long o is indicated originally by <o>, then by <ö>. <u> is used after 1526<sup>8</sup> to indicate short or long ü. The NBB uses <e> (occasionally <a> or <ä>) for NHG ä, <o> or <ö> to indicate NHG long or short ö, and <u> to indicate NHG ü.

Luther: hessigen, mechtig, nehsten, hören getröst,

jüngste, fürsten.<sup>9</sup>

NBB: heßig 113r4, gentzlich 116r23, mechtig 111v7, hören  
111v4 vertrosten 111r2, nächst 109v29, Cölne 118r1, fursten  
110r12, jungsten 110r27.

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<sup>7</sup>H. Bach, Luthersprache, pp. 12, 169.

<sup>8</sup>H. Bach, Luthersprache, pp. 83, 149.

<sup>9</sup>These examples are from H. Bach, Luthersprache, pp. 17  
(mechtig), 168 (nehsten), 178 (getröstet), 88 (fursten).

7. Umlaut misapplied or omitted.

|         |                    |      |                                                                                                                                             |
|---------|--------------------|------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Luther: | nachsten           | NBB: | nachsten 110r20<br>nechten 111v5<br>nächst 109v29<br>klärlich 116r22<br>clerlich 113r3<br>offenpar 221v23<br>dinstperkt <sup>t</sup> 116v23 |
|         | klarlicht          |      |                                                                                                                                             |
|         | offenberlich       |      |                                                                                                                                             |
|         | streffer (Strafer) |      |                                                                                                                                             |
|         | erkantniß          |      |                                                                                                                                             |
|         | ganzlich           |      | gentlych 116r23                                                                                                                             |
|         | zweyfaltig         |      |                                                                                                                                             |
|         | man (Männer)       |      |                                                                                                                                             |
|         | nacht (Nächte)     |      | nechten 222r5                                                                                                                               |
|         | faß                |      |                                                                                                                                             |
|         | land               |      | lendten, lannden<br>lender <sup>10</sup>                                                                                                    |
|         | ampte/empte        |      | amptern 110v11                                                                                                                              |
|         | erbeyt             |      | arbeyt 232r5                                                                                                                                |
|         | erkennt            |      | erkannt                                                                                                                                     |
|         | genent             |      | ernenten 189r27                                                                                                                             |
|         | brewen             |      |                                                                                                                                             |
|         | dewen              |      |                                                                                                                                             |
|         | durchleucht        |      | durchleuchtig 112v17                                                                                                                        |
|         | erleuben           |      |                                                                                                                                             |
|         | heubt              |      | haupt 116v2                                                                                                                                 |

8. Vowel substitution or retention of MHG vowel.

|         |                      |      |                              |
|---------|----------------------|------|------------------------------|
| Luther: | wirde, wirdig        | NBB: | wirdig 115v15                |
|         | wilch (occasionally) |      | welcher 111r13 <sup>11</sup> |
|         | gottis, sagist, etc. |      |                              |
|         | fienc, gienc, lieht  |      |                              |
|         | liegen (lügen)       |      |                              |
|         | betriegen            |      |                              |
|         | zwolf,               |      | zwelff 225v23                |
|         | fromede (fremde)     |      | frembd 118v27                |
|         | ergetzen             |      |                              |
|         | schepffen            |      | schopffen 221r17             |
|         | sall                 |      | soll 226v16                  |
|         | dach                 |      | doch 229v11                  |
|         | nach                 |      | noch 116r2                   |
|         | adder                |      | oder 233r23                  |

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<sup>10</sup>See Table 3.8, page 67.

<sup>11</sup><i> appears in unaccented syllables for <e> only in the superlative -ist.

8. Vowel substitution or retention of MHG vowel (cont.)

|         |                        |              |                                   |
|---------|------------------------|--------------|-----------------------------------|
| Luther: | an (ohne)              | <u>NBB</u> : | on(e) 114v32                      |
|         | wa- (wo-)              |              | wo 110v9                          |
|         | forcht                 |              | forcht 115r3                      |
|         | vor                    |              | vor/fur-                          |
|         | zwo                    |              | zwo 223r1                         |
|         | noch                   |              | nach 111r2                        |
|         | worhafftig             |              |                                   |
|         | dohin, doran           |              | dahin, daran                      |
|         | sundernn <sup>12</sup> |              | sonnder 117v26                    |
|         | sunst                  |              | sunst 113r9, sonst 229r10         |
|         | antwort                |              | antwort 113r20                    |
|         |                        |              | verantwortung 117r2 <sup>13</sup> |
|         | kunig                  |              | konigen 113r9                     |
|         | künnen                 |              | konnen 115r24                     |
|         | mügen                  |              | mogen 114v16, mögen 118r19        |
|         | urbuttig (erbötig)     |              | urputtig 110v27                   |
|         | frunt(lich)            |              | freund 227r11                     |
|         | zu (for zer-)          |              | zer-                              |

9. <b> and <p> both appear in loan words--mostly of Latin origin--where NHG has <p>. This occurs in the NBB as well as in Luther's language. Luther has Babst (as does the NBB: 232v17), brüfen, and perhaps two dozen additional words which sometimes occur with initial <b>. In the NBB, initial <b> occurs in unaccented syllables, and some accented, but in about two thirds of the cases <p> appears initially in accented syllables where NHG has <b>. Medially and finally, <b> is used.

<b> and <p> appear epenthetically in both dialects in the same environments. Luther uses unshifted <-pp-> (Lippe) and <-pf-> (Harpfe) occasionally in places where they would ordinarily have been the opposite. Neither <-pp-> nor <-pf-> is attested in the NBB in

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<sup>12</sup>Forms with <o> (sonnder, sonst) are more common.

<sup>13</sup>Forms with <u> are more common.

these environments. The remaining consonantal variations are exceptional rather than systematic and are therefore listed here without further comment.

<b>/<p>

Luther: Bapst, brüfen, heubt, blötzlingen, knorbel.  
 NBB: potschafft 119v29, zugeprauchen 116r4, nachtparlicher 116v22, behalten 119v7, Bundt 119v7, hab 226v27, haben. 227v2, babstlich 232v17.

<mb>

Luther: darumb, umb, ampt, lamb.  
 NBB: darumb 232r5, vmb 109v21, ampt 230v7.

epenthetic b/p

Luther: frembd, bestimpt, kompt, nempt, sampt.  
 NBB: frembd 118v27, bestimptem 113r6, kompt 228v10, sampt 109r24, vernempt 190r24.

<pp>

Luther: <-pp> is occasionally unshifted: Lappen, Lippe, Schuppe.  
 NBB: No forms attested with <-pp> unshifted.

<pf> not corresponding to NHG usage

Luther: Scherpfe, pflasche, harpfe, entpflieden.  
 NBB: none attested.

<w> for MHG <w>, NHG <b>

Luther: Schadwe, gluwen (=glühen).  
 NBB: offenwar 221v12 (also forms with -bar, -par. See above, no. 7).

<m> for <n>

Luther: besem, harm, bosem (Besen, Harn, Busen).  
 NBB: none attested.

<mp> for MHG <ent>

Luther: empfallen (=entfallen).  
 NBB: not attested.

<d>

Luther: Duringen, zeddel, monad, werd (=wert), vierde, siebende, hinder, vnder.  
 NBB: vierdten 114r27, bittzettel 117r2, vnder 110v8.

<d> for MHG dialect <t> (<PG d>), initially and finally  
 Luther: dapfer, drauben, dromete, dasche, dopf, disch,  
 brawd, brot/brod, leud (rare), stad (stadt).  
NBB: tapfer 109r18, leutten 214r21, stat 223r6.

excrescent <d>/<t>  
 Luther: gemeyn (=Gemeinde), nyrgen, mon (Mond), wundsch.  
NBB: yemand 109r17, weylund 112v29, nymand 110r14.

<t> for gmc. <d> or in Latin loan words  
 Luther: tichten, tumm, gedult, gelit, tausend/tausent, wirt/  
 wird.  
NBB: gelts 118r21.

excrescent or epenthetic <t>  
 Luther: anderthalb/anderhalb, selb, selbst, selbest, selbs,  
 selbist.  
NBB: selbs 110r13, da selbst 231v11, allenthalben 182r15.

MG<t>  
 Luther: vorterberen, ticht, untertrucken schneiten.  
NBB: not attested.

<t> omitted  
 Luther: achzig, predig.  
NBB: not attested.

<r> used etymologically correctly, contrary to NHG usage  
 Luther: werlt, darnach, war-compounds.  
NBB: darnach 115r16, darbey 115r12, weltlich 204r29.

r-metathesis  
 Luther: born (Brunnen), börnen (brinnen) occasionally.  
NBB: not attested.

<n> omitted  
 Luther: ferr (fern), lynwad, nu (nun), alber.  
NBB: verrer 229r16, ferners 109v13, nun 110r1.

<g> for NHG <j>  
 Luther: geh (jäh).  
NBB: not attested.

loss of <ng>  
 Luther: fahen, usually.  
NBB: fahen always.

<g> for NHG <ch>, <k>.  
 Luther: mangerley, volg, marggraf, handwerk, ruge, tzeugt,  
 fleugt.  
NBB: marggraf 114r7, zeucht 195v12.

<ch> in MHG -lich, NHG -lig

Luther: billich, einich.

NBB: billich 109v14.

<ch> for MHG <ch>, NHG <g>

Luther: einecherley, manichfeltig.

NBB: ainicherley 112r3.

MG <ch>, NHG <g, h>

Luther: sicht, geschicht, nit/nicht.

NBB: sicht 182r22, geschicht 110v14, nit 234v10.

<h> for NHG <g>

Luther: zoch, zoh, zog.

NBB: not attested.

MHG <hs> for NHG <chs>

Luther: nehste befehl.

NBB: nächst 109v29, negsten 113v26, bevelh 117r23.

loss of h

Luther: erab, erauff, schwacheyt.

NBB: not attested.

addition of h

Luther: herwachsen (=erwachsen).

NBB: not attested.

## II. MORPHOLOGY

The most significant morphological differences between Luther's language and that of the NBB involve noun declensions and verb conjugations, but the most noticeable difference is their different treatment of final or unaccented e.

### Final and Unaccented e

In general both final and unaccented e appear more frequently in Luther than in the NBB. In the latter, usage is fairly strict:

-e is always dropped from nouns<sup>14</sup> and is generally missing in verb forms. With adjectives, -e is consistently present in strong feminines in the nom. sing. and acc. sing. and plural. In all of these situations Luther's usage is freer. Although the tendency is toward dropping -e,<sup>15</sup> it is retained frequently with both nouns and adjectives.

Luther's practice of using -e- in unaccented syllables, as in höreten, sorget (Curme, p. 3) occurs rarely in the NBB, in weak verbs. Unaccented -e- is often dropped from words where its presence is needed to facilitate pronunciation.<sup>16</sup> Medial unaccented -e- is almost always dropped from superlative adjectives in the NBB (genaigtst- 228r3); -i- appears sporadically (gnedigist 114v5). Both -e- and -i- appear in Luther's work, with some frequency, until 1528 (Franke, II, 141). These differences between the two sources are to be expected, for, as Curme notes (p. 3) there was variation in Middle German usage, the forms with e tending to appear toward the north, those without e to the south.

### Declension of Nouns

In the NBB, the situation regarding noun declensions is difficult to assess because of the general apocope of -e, which

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<sup>14</sup>Except with here. See page 71 above.

<sup>15</sup>Franke, II, 284, 239, and Curme, page 3.

<sup>16</sup>For forms with -e-, see page 56 above.

blurs distinctions between classes. However, some general observations may be made. First, the shift from a case-oriented declension to a number-oriented one seems to be underway. This is attested to most dramatically by the feminine i-stem nouns such as stat (die Stadt) and Schrift, which have one singular form for all cases and one or two plural forms. Other indications of the shift are the single declension for all masculine and neuter singular nouns, an increase in the number of plurals ending in -er, and the tendency toward using umlaut as a plural marker.

The tendency to apocope -e also is present in Luther's work, but is not as strong. For feminine nouns in 1520, those without -e only slightly outnumber those with -e (Franke, II, 230). This makes his noun declension appear closer to MHG than the NBB declension does.

Franke lists far more -er plurals from Luther's writings than are found in the NBB, but since the texts Franke is using range from 1517 to 1545, compared to six months of texts of the NBB, we might expect this to be the case (Franke, II, 224-228).

Luther's masculine and neuter singular declensions are not identical, as are those of the NBB. In the nom. and acc. sing. of neuter ja-stems Luther most often retains -e, a practice common in ENHG (Franke, II, 209).

Franke (II, 187-90) discusses a number of MHG elements retained in Luther's noun declensions. For ease of comparison with the NBB, they are listed in tabular form in Figure 6.1.

Luther's Usage

1. Genitive -s is used more frequently than -es, but not always in the same situation as in NHG.
2. MHG -e is frequently retained in nom. and acc. strong ja-stems and nom. masc. and neut. weak nouns.
3. Strong neut. pl. may or may not have -e in nom. and acc.
4. More masc. and neut. nouns have -er plurals than in MHG, but fewer than in NHG.
5. -ere plurals corresponding to NHG -er (from MG).
6. Some masc. and neut. nouns change from strong to weak and vice versa.
7. Umlaut is used as a plural marker more frequently than in MHG, less than in NHG.
8. Strong fem. plurals are usually still strong.
9. Weak fem. singular ending is -en in oblique cases.
10. Nom. and acc. neut. (occasionally nom. masc.) sometimes have null ending.

NBB Usage

1. Genitive -s is used almost exclusively, and more than in NHG.
2. -ø occurs with ja-stems; -e with weak masc. and neut. nouns.
3. These nouns poorly attested; -e present in nom. once, -ø in acc.
4. There are more -er plurals than in MHG, but probably fewer than in Luther. For examples, see Chapter III, page 93.
5. -e is added occasionally.
6. No changes attested.
7. Umlaut as a plural marker probably as common as with Luther.
8. Feminine plurals are most often weak.
9. This is true also of the one attested weak fem.
10. Null ending present in singular, but not in plural.

Figure 6.1. Medieval elements in noun declensions in Luther's writings and the Nürnberg Briefbuch for 1519.

As was mentioned earlier, it is difficult to compare the noun declensions of Luther with those of the NBB, or in fact, of either with MHG or NHG declensions. Both are definitely neither MHG nor NHG. Luther's appear to be more conservative in the matter of endings and more advanced in the trend toward plural markers (*i.e.*, in the transition from case-oriented to number-oriented) than the NBB.

### Conjugation of Verbs

As with the noun declensions, the changes in verb conjugation are easily summarized in tabular form (Figure 6.2). Luther's usage is taken from Franke's summary (II, 190-193).

The comparison of the MHG elements in Luther's verb conjugations with those of the NBB indicates that both sources are distinctly archaic in many ways. Of the thirteen phenomena listed, four cannot be compared because of lack of evidence in the NBB. For one, the use by Luther of three verbs which are no longer preterite-present, the lack of evidence may be construed as evidence that the verbs are no longer in use. There is only one clear-cut situation in which NBB usage is more modern than Luther's. That is the use of -en for MHG -ent in second and third pl. pres. ind. verbs. Otherwise the two sources seem to be at about the same stage with respect to verb morphology.

### Adjectives

The major alterations in strong adjective endings between MHG and NHG are the change from -iu to -e in the nom. fem. sing. and the

Luther's UsageNBB Usage

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|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <p>1. Some strong verbs become weak; some weak verbs strong.</p> <p>2. Class I verbs retain &lt;ei&gt; in the preterite sing. (<u>bleib</u> for <u>blieb</u>).</p> <p>3. Class II verbs retain &lt;eu&gt; in 2nd and 3rd person pres. indicative (<u>zeucht</u>).</p> <p>4. Class IIIa verbs retain &lt;u&gt; in the preterite plural (<u>sungen</u>) and MHG vowels are occasionally retained elsewhere in the preterite.</p> <p>5. Participles without <u>ge-</u> are frequent (<u>kommen</u>, <u>worden</u>).</p> <p>6. Three preterite-present verbs are used which are no longer preterite-present in NHG: <u>gan</u>, <u>taug</u>, <u>thar</u>.</p> <p>7. <u>Wollen</u>, <u>sollen</u> still have 2nd sing. pres. ending in -t</p> <p>8. The MG participle <u>gewest</u> is used exclusively.</p> <p>9. 2nd and 3rd plural pres. indicative end in -<u>ent</u> (until 1523).</p> <p>10. <u>Stecken</u> has a strong present tense (<u>stickestu</u>).</p> <p>11. <u>Was</u> corresponds to <u>war</u>, <u>sein</u> to <u>sind</u> (until 1537).</p> <p>12. <u>biß!</u>, <u>stand!</u> <u>ganck!</u> correspond to <u>sei!</u> <u>stehe!</u> <u>gehe!</u></p> <p>13. <u>Wiste</u> corresponds to <u>wuße</u>.</p> | <p>1. Only one strong verb has been observed conjugated weak; no MHG weak verbs have been conjugated as strong verbs.</p> <p>2. No preterite forms are attested.</p> <p>3. <u>Zeucht</u>, <u>erbeutet</u> also occur in the NBB. (See page 88.)</p> <p>4. No preterite forms are attested.</p> <p>5. Unprefixed participles are also present, but there is evidence that <u>ge-</u> is becoming more prevalent.</p> <p>6. These verbs are not attested.</p> <p>7. <u>Solt</u> and <u>willit</u> also appear in the NBB. (See page 60.)</p> <p>8. <u>Gewest</u> likewise predominates, but <u>gewesen</u> appears once.</p> <p>9. As a rule, -<u>en</u> is used. -<u>ent</u> appears once.</p> <p>10. This verb is not attested.</p> <p>11. <u>was/war</u> are not attested. <u>sein/sind</u> are both used, but <u>sind</u> is more frequent.</p> <p>12. Imperatives are generally unattested.</p> <p>13. Pret. subjunctive is <u>weste</u>.</p> |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|

Figure 6.2. Medieval elements in verb conjugation in Luther's writings and the Nürnberger Briefbuch for 1519.

nom. and acc. neut. pl., and the adoption of distinct endings in the nom. sing. of all genders and the acc. neut. singular. The change from -iu to -e is accomplished before the sixteenth century, and -e is used without exception in both Luther's works and the NBB. In the NBB, typical NHG endings are used except in the acc. neut. sing., which still retains the null ending. Luther tends to use no endings, except in the masc. nom. sing., where -er predominates.<sup>17</sup> However, typical NHG endings do occur. In the nom. acc. plural,  $\emptyset$  is preferred, but -e also is used.

In the declension of the weak adjective, Luther and the NBB authors differ mainly in the presence or absence of -e. Luther sometimes uses -e (which corresponds to  $\emptyset$ ) in the nom. sing. and in fem. and neut. acc. singular. In the NBB, apocopation results in null endings in these positions except in the feminine, where the nom. sing. is -e and the acc. sing. may be  $\emptyset$ , -e, or -en. Luther's occasional use of -e is of course the more modern practice.

Comparison of adjectives in the two dialects is similar. Both use -ist, Luther more frequently than the NBB authors. Luther tends to retain the full -est, whereas in the NBB it is most often reduced to -st (Franke, II, 141). Both dialects show umlauted and non-umlauted forms of monosyllabic adjectives.<sup>18</sup>

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<sup>17</sup>All information on adjective endings in Luther's writing is from Franke, page 284.

<sup>18</sup>For examples, see page 79.

### Pronouns

There are three points at which NHG pronouns differ significantly from those of MHG--that is in the third sing. gen. and third pl. dat. of the personal pronoun and in the dative reflexive. In the first instance, Luther uses the MHG form es (Franke, II, 188) instead of the NHG sein. Es and sein are unattested in the NBB.

For the third pl. dat. personal pronoun (MHG in), Luther uses yhn/jn until 1533 (Franke, II, 193) instead of the NHG ihnen. Jnen is used in the NBB. Sich is used as dative reflexive in the NBB, but Luther uses ihm/ihr/ihn almost exclusively (Franke, III, 187). A fourth difference between MHG and NHG--the loss of dirre as possessive--has occurred before the early sixteenth century. Neither author uses dirre.

### III. SYNTAX

Although syntactical differences between Luther's language and that of the NBB are not great, there are a large number of them, and taken as a whole they present a picture of two distinct languages. There is not a great deal of change in case usage from MHG to NHG, and as would be expected, there is little difference on the whole in case usage between Luther and the NBB authors. Both use the nominative case for subjects and predicate nominatives. Both use the vocative in letter headings--incidentally with the same odd usage of strong singular and weak plural forms.<sup>19</sup>

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<sup>19</sup>v. Moser, Historisch-grammatische Einführung, p. 223.

## Case Usage

Genitive. The genitive is used in both languages primarily attributively and for prepositional objects, although it is sometimes used by both authors for objects of verbs and adjectives (see page 106), and in expressions of time and place. Both authors use the genitive more often than it appears in NHG. Luther especially uses the genitive with a large number of verbs.

Dative. Besides its use as the object case for some prepositions, the dative is employed in both texts as indirect object and with a number of verbs (taking either dative objects or dative reflexive). In addition, Luther uses dative with a few adjectives: unbekannt, gleich, voll, wurdiglich, etc. (Franke, III, 135). Other than that, there is little difference between the two sources.

Accusative. The accusative is used by both authors as direct (verbal) object and as object of several prepositions. In the NBB, usage is about equally divided between direct and prepositional objects. Some expressions of time are accusative in both dialects--notably those expressing a set length of time, such as Luther's drei Tage (Franke, III, 163) or the NBB drey tag die nechsten aneinander 111v8-9. The NBB also occasionally uses the accusative to express indefinite time: etlich tag 111v17. Luther sometimes uses einen Tag for NHG eines Tages (Franke, III, 163). No examples of accusative of degree (Luther: die helfft, ein hand

breit, etc.)<sup>20</sup> were noted in the section of text used for the study of case, but this sort of accusative is probably present in the NBB.

Prepositions. The only easily quantifiable difference in case usage between Luther's writings and the NBB is in prepositional object case. As Table 6.1 suggests, there is a great deal of confusion in the ENHG period concerning case use with prepositions.<sup>21</sup> Of the forty prepositions used by Luther and/or the NBB authors, only thirteen take the same case in MHG, NHG, Luther and the NBB. Two others, sampt and zusampt, take dative in MHG, NHG, and the NBB, but are unattested in Luther's texts. Jenhalb, which takes genitive in MHG and both languages, dies out in the ENHG period (see Chapter V), and laut, which is genitive in the NBB, Luther (lautts) and NHG, is not attested in MHG.

Luther has rather a large number of prepositions which take either dative or accusative objects, although they are not necessarily included in the dative/accusative group in NHG. They are gegenüber, wider, on (ohne), neben, über, gegen, umb, bei.

In the NBB, preposition case usage corresponds more closely to NHG usage in general, although there is a tendency for NHG dative/accusative prepositions to be either dative (neben, vnder)

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<sup>20</sup>Franke, III, 164.

<sup>21</sup>In Table 6.1, a dash indicates that a particular preposition was nonexistent or unattested. Cases listed in parentheses indicate rare or infrequent usage. Case usage from MHG is from Paul, Moser, Schröbler.

Table 6.1. Prepositions and object cases used by Luther and the Nürnberg Briefbuch of 1519.

| Preposition     | MHG       | NBB | Luther | NHG |
|-----------------|-----------|-----|--------|-----|
| an              | D/A       | D/A | D/A    | D/A |
| anstatt         | --        | --  | G      | G   |
| auf             | D/A       | D/A | D/A    | D/A |
| auß             | D         | D   | D      | D   |
| ausgenommen     | --        | --  | A      | A   |
| außerhalb(en)   | G         | --  | G/A    | G   |
| bey             | D (G,A)   | D   | D/A    | D   |
| disseit         | G         | --  | G/D    | G   |
| durch           | A         | A   | A      | A   |
| fur             | A         | A   | G/D/A  | A   |
| gegen           | D (G,A)   | D   | D/A    | A   |
| gegenuber       | --        | --  | D/A    | D   |
| gemeß           | D         | G   | --     | D   |
| -halben         | G         | G   | G      | G   |
| hinter          | D/A (G)   | --  | D/A    | D/A |
| in              | D/A       | D/A | D/A    | D/A |
| inwendig        | --        | --  | G/D    | --  |
| jenhalb         | G         | G   | G      | --  |
| jenseit         | G         | --  | G/D    | G   |
| laut            | --        | G   | G      | G   |
| mit             | D         | D   | D      | D   |
| nach            | D         | D   | D      | D   |
| neben           | D/A/G     | D   | D/A    | D/A |
| ob              | D         | --  | G      | D   |
| on (=ohne)      | G/A       | A   | D/A    | A   |
| samt            | D         | D   | --     | D   |
| sint (seit)     | G/D       | --  | D      | D   |
| sonders         | A (G)     | G   | --     | A   |
| uber            | A (D)     | A   | D/A    | D/A |
| umb             | A (I)     | A   | D/A    | A   |
| um . . . willen | --        | --  | G/A    | G   |
| unnder          | D/A (G,I) | D/A | D/A    | D/A |
| ungeachtet      | --        | G   | --     | G   |
| von             | D/I       | D   | D      | D   |
| von . . . wegen | G         | G   | G      | G   |
| vor             | G/D       | D/A | G/D/A  | D/A |
| wider           | D/A       | A   | D/A    | A   |
| zu              | D         | D   | D      | D   |
| zusamt          | D         | D   | D      | D   |
| zwischen        | G/D/A     | D   | G/D/A  | D/A |

or accusative (yber) exclusively. Also, there are several NBB genitive prepositions which are no longer extant in NHG, notably mittlerzeit, vnverspart, versehens, and jenhalp. Sonders (=without) is dative in the NBB but accusative in NHG.

There are some significant omissions in the prepositions attested in both dialects--notably trotz, während, wegen--and in the NBB, hinter and anstatt. Considered solely from the standpoint of case usage, it appears that the NBB prepositions are more modern than Luther's. Of the thirty prepositions attested in the NBB, 23, or 77%, take the same case as in NHG. Of 34 in Luther, only 19, or 56%, correspond to NHG usage.

### Adjectives

Attributive usage. Of the three major uses of adjectives--attributive, predicative, and substantive--the attributive usage is the most prevalent in both dialects. Attributive adjectives in the NBB and in Luther are declined much as in NHG. In the six patterns of adjective usage (see Chapter IV, pages 113-116), Luther and the NBB generally agree, although some variation does occur. The declension of adjectives in particular settings is summarized as follows:<sup>22</sup>

| <u>Pattern</u>                      | <u>NBB</u> | <u>Luther</u>             |
|-------------------------------------|------------|---------------------------|
| Unpreceded adjective + noun         | strong     | strong, occasionally weak |
| Definite article + adjective + noun | weak       | weak, sometimes strong    |

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<sup>22</sup>Luther's usage is from Franke, II, 284-290.

| (Pattern)                                | (NBB)  | (Luther)               |
|------------------------------------------|--------|------------------------|
| Indefinite article +<br>adjective + noun | mixed  | weak, sometimes strong |
| Possessive pronoun +<br>adjective + noun |        |                        |
| 1. normal word order                     | mixed  | strong or weak         |
| 2. inverted word order <sup>23</sup>     | strong |                        |
| <u>Diser/jener</u> + adjective<br>+ noun | weak   | weak or strong         |
| Noun + adjective                         | strong |                        |

NBB usage is the more modern in that there is less deviation from the usual declension. There are exceptions in the NBB, however, notably occasions where two adjectives modify the same noun, the first taking a strong ending, the second a weak, or vice versa (examples are on page 118). This is not unheard of in Luther's work, either--Franke notes that Luther used weak, then strong endings after der, as in der treue vnd warhafftiger zeuge (Franke, II, 285).

Comparison of adjectives. In forming comparative phrases Luther<sup>24</sup> and the NBB authors use denn and dann, respectively, instead of the NHG als, both in positive and negative comparisons. This corresponds to MHG dann in positive comparisons, wann in negative.

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<sup>23</sup>Inverted word order is described on page 116.

<sup>24</sup>Erben, Syntax Luthers, p. 145.

## Pronouns

Omission of pronouns. There is little mention in the secondary literature of pronoun omission in Luther's work. Erben<sup>25</sup> cites some archaic uses of pronouns in Luther's writings, however, including the use of ihm, ihr, and ihn as reflexive pronouns, and of so and da as relatives. The NBB uses sich as reflexive. So is quite common as a relative pronoun, but da is used only as a conjunction and adverb.

Demonstratives. Among demonstratives, der, die, and das, of course, predominate. The NBB uses in addition der jhener and der jheniger. Derjeniger is used by Luther, but appears less often than in NHG. Was is used by both authors for NHG etwas, and by the NBB authors for was or was für ein. Was für ein appears in Luther's texts much as in NHG (Franke, III, 196).

## Verbs

Several changes occur in verb usage between MHG and NHG that can be documented in Luther's writing as well as in the NBB. In the formation of tenses the most notable innovation is a distinct form for the future tense. Although the present tense can be and is used in both dialects to indicate futurity, werden + infinitive is the predominant form in both. The NBB occasionally uses sollen or wollen + infinitive to express futurity (as was common in MHG), but

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<sup>25</sup>Erben, Syntax Luthers, pp. 143-147.

there is generally a stronger sense of modality than of futurity in these cases. Luther is apparently freer in his use of modals, as well as haben zu, to indicate futurity (Franke, III, 212).

In other tenses the two authors also generally agree. Luther uses the historical present (Franke, III, 209), which is missing in the NBB. The authors differ little in the formation of the imperative--both generally omit the second person pronouns.

The consistent use of the past participle worden in the perfect and pluperfect passive voice occurs only in NHG. In the NBB, worden is consistently used in the perfect, but since pluperfect passive does not appear in the section of the text used for this study, the use of worden there could not be verified. It seems reasonable to suppose that it would appear, however, in the full text. Luther does use worden, but often omits it (Franke, III, 207).

Two changes occur between MHG and NHG in infinitive usage. One involves the use of zu with infinitives. In the NBB zu appears with infinitives generally as it does in NHG. In Luther's writings it appears in some cases and not in others,<sup>26</sup> not necessarily in the same way as in NHG.

The use of infinitives with um . . . zu is a sixteenth-century innovation of some importance. Although zu and damit . . . zu appear in the NBB with the meaning "in order to," um . . . zu is the most common construction. Luther uses zu + infinitive in this situation.

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<sup>26</sup>See Franke (III, 228-234) for details on the use of zu with infinitives.

### Sentence Structure

Basic sentence structure in Luther's writings is identical to that of the NBB, and revolves around the position of verbal elements. The basic pattern used by both authors (and in NHG) for declarative sentences is as follows:<sup>27</sup>

|                                   |                      |                                       |                        |                                  |
|-----------------------------------|----------------------|---------------------------------------|------------------------|----------------------------------|
| Front field<br>( <u>Vorfeld</u> ) | finite<br>verb forms | middle field<br>( <u>Mittelfeld</u> ) | infinite<br>verb forms | end field<br>( <u>Nachfeld</u> ) |
|-----------------------------------|----------------------|---------------------------------------|------------------------|----------------------------------|

One difference between the two is that in Luther's works extreme forms appear, in which all elements are in the front, middle or end field. This type sentence appears in the NBB only very rarely, in the few cases where the front field is unoccupied and there is no infinite verb form. (For examples, see page 142 under the heading Subject omitted.)

A second, and perhaps more significant difference between the NBB and Luther is that Luther sometimes puts elements in the end field which are essential to the meaning of the sentence. In the NBB, as in NHG, the end field generally contains only non-essential elements, or afterthoughts. In Luther's work it is not impossible to find even a direct object in the end field.<sup>28</sup> In both languages, within the middle field (and end field, with Luther), word order is determined by the importance or news value of the word or phrase in question, the most important or newsworthy item being last.<sup>29</sup>

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<sup>27</sup>Erben, Syntax Luthers, p. 13ff.

<sup>28</sup>Erben, Syntax Luthers, p. 21.

<sup>29</sup>For examples and discussion of this word order, see pages 144-146.

This word order in most cases holds for dependent clauses also, with two exceptions: the clause is opened by an introductory particle, and the finite verb is displaced to the end of the clause.

### Conjunctions and Relative Clause Introducers

Erben lists a number of ways in which Luther's language differs from NHG. The majority of the differences involve the use of conjunctions and relatives. He includes the use of so and da as relatives, als (NHG wie) and denn (NHG als) as modal particles, da as a local conjunction, biß daß, da, and (die)weyl as temporal conjunctions, ob, so, and wo as conditional conjunctions, and daß, seintemal, and so as causal conjunctions. The NBB also uses so as a relative, but not da. Among the conjunctions listed, the NBB uses alls and dann as modal particles and dhweyl quite frequently, but biß daß, da, and weil do not appear at all. Ob, so, and wo are used as conditional conjunctions, but of the causal conjunctions, only so is used. Da appears in the NBB, but not with the meaning "because," and seintemal is not used at all. Neither the NBB nor Luther consistently uses the NHG correlatives sowohl . . . als auch or weder . . . noch. Luther uses the MHG beide . . . unde, and the NBB uses und . . . und for sowohl . . . als auch. The NBB uses weder . . . oder or nicht . . . oder instead of weder . . . noch, while Luther employs noch . . . noch (rarely widder . . . noch).

Despite the discrepancies listed here, the larger number of conjunctions are attested in both the NBB and Luther's works, and are used similarly. Among these are auch, oder, und, wie, aber, doch,

sondern, wo, nun, dieweyl, ob, so (both as conjunction and relative), wiewol, damit, um(b) . . . zu, auff das, als, nemlich, etc. Luther uses the NHG forms wenn and denn, as opposed to the less modern wann/dann found in the NBB, and wie ("exactly as") as opposed to the NBB alls. Als and als wenn in Luther correspond to alls ob in the NBB. Some conjunctions appear in one text or the other, but not in both. Among those that only Luther uses are weil, solange, ohne daß, seyntemal, dazu, geschweige, do, bis, ehe. Alßdann, darumb, also das, and allda appear in the NBB but not in Luther's writings.

Beyond these differences in conjunction usage and the minor differences in word order, sentence structure is in general the same in the two dialects. Both Luther and the NBB tend to create sentences which are longer and more complex than are usual in NHG. The combinations of main and subordinate clauses noted in Chapter IV can also be found in Luther<sup>30</sup> and anacoluthic sentences are not unheard of in either text.

Differences in vocabulary between Luther's writings and the NBB are difficult to assess, for reasons already mentioned in Chapter V. Without exhaustive studies of all vocabulary of the two dialects, no real quantitative measure of the differences and similarities is possible. The statistics noted at the end of Chapter V are pertinent here. It seems significant that Luther's usage agrees with that of the NBB in almost two-thirds (62%) of the vocabulary items discussed.

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<sup>30</sup>See Erben, Syntax Luthers, for detailed descriptions.

## IV. SUMMARY

With respect to phonology, Luther and the NBB very nearly agree on most major items, although Luther has variation where the NBB tends to be more rigid. Monophthongization is virtually complete in both sources. Diphthongization is essentially complete, although there are a few exceptions in Luther.<sup>31</sup> There is evidence for lengthening and shortening of vowels in both dialects, but the phenomena are more clearly indicated in Luther.

Rounding is only scantily attested in the NBB, and unrounding even less well. Luther has more words affected by both phenomena, although they do not necessarily reflect the NHG situation. Auslautsverhärtung is indicated to any extent in the NBB only in the case of final -d: -dt is frequently used. In Luther's writing Auslautsverhärtung is regularly indicated. The lesser phonological changes listed below appear generally to be accomplished in both dialects, although there is no evidence in the NBB that medial -s- has become voiced, and medial h is still pronounced in Luther's texts. The changes referred to are as follows:

- 1) [s] > [ʃ] before l, m, n, p, t, and w.
- 2) [h] > [Ø] medially, as in sehen.
- 3) Medial double consonants, pronounced double in MHG  
are pronounced single in NHG.
- 4) <s> becomes voiced between vowels.

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<sup>31</sup>Only uff/auff occurs in the NBB.

Variations in individual phonemes appear to be greater in Luther's works. There is more extensive consonant doubling in Luther's writing than in the NBB, which makes the language look less modern, but on the other hand, umlaut is more frequently indicated (and also more frequently misapplied, by NHG standards). MHG vowels are retained slightly more often by Luther<sup>32</sup> and more variation occurs in the distribution of b/p, b/w, m/n, d/t and a few other consonants. Most of this variation concerns only a few words, so that the overall differences in the dialects are not too great.

Unlike the phonological situation, where there is not a great deal of variation between Luther's language and that of the NBB, the morphology of the two languages presents some clear-cut differences, notably among pronouns and in the third person present tense verb ending.

The most pervasive difference between both dialects and standard MHG and NHG lies in the treatment of unaccented and final -e. Both authors drop the final -e to some extent from adjectives and nouns, although it is more consistently omitted in the NBB. Also, Luther's use of epenthetic -e- in some verb forms (höreten, for example) has no parallel in the NBB, where the opposite process is more likely to occur--unaccented e is frequently omitted (genaigtst, for example).

In verb conjugations, six major changes take place between MHG and NHG: preterite vowels are leveled, -st becomes the

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<sup>32</sup>See no. 8, pages 227-228.

standard second person singular ending, vowels in the present tense singular are regularized, some MHG verbs that lacked ge- prefixes in the past participle gain the prefix, and the third person pl. pres. ending -ent becomes -en. Vowels in rückumlaut verbs are in some cases leveled (i.e., NHG hören/gehört, instead of the earlier gehort).

Leveling in the preterite vowels cannot be compared in the two dialects because verbs do not appear in the preterite in the NBB. They are not leveled in Luther's writing. Neither author has regularized present tense singular stem vowels. Both have added ge- to some MHG perfective verb participles (kommen > gekommen), but there are many exceptions.

In present tense endings, Luther and the NBB use -st almost exclusively for the second person singular (modals are the exception), but only the NBB has -en as the third person plural ending.

Some vowels in rückumlaut verbs in the NBB are leveled--stellen/gestellt, for example--but others are not (see page 58 for examples). There is some confusion, particularly with senden, which has three different past participles. Luther likewise shows some leveling and some confusion, for example, in the past participle of nennen, where genennet, genent and genant all appear (Franke, II, 359).

There is little difference between the two dialects in the major changes in noun declension. Both are participating in the

general trend away from case-oriented declension to number-oriented. In both texts feminine i-stems lose umlaut in the singular (krafft/kreffte) and retain it in the plural. Both authors retain the MHG -en ending for weak nouns in the singular. However, -er as a plural marker is used more in both sources--perhaps more by Luther than by the NBB, and umlaut is used frequently by both authors to mark plurals.

Paradoxically, although final e is apocopated almost everywhere else in the NBB, in the strong adjective it is used frequently, so that in one of the major changes in adjective endings, the replacement of null endings with distinctive ones, the NBB is more nearly like NHG than are Luther's texts. In the latter the null ending still predominates.

It is among pronouns that the greatest morphological differences occur in the two languages. Four major changes in pronouns occur between MHG and NHG: sein replaces the genitive es as the masculine and neuter possessive pronoun, the third person plural dative personal pronoun, MHG in, is replaced by sich as the dative reflexive pronoun, and the MHG demonstrative dirre drops out in favor of diser. Of these changes, only the last has occurred in both dialects. Luther uses es for the possessive, jn or yhn for NHG ihnen, and ihm, ihr and ihn (only occasionally sich) for the dative reflexive. The NBB uses the modern pronouns, except in the case of sein/es, which is unattested.

Differences in vocabulary between the two dialects probably stem more from the differing subject matter and genre than from any essential difference in the language of the authors. The vocabulary surveyed in Chapter V is used for the most part by both authors, but it was not chosen for that characteristic. NBB words were chosen which differed from MHG or NHG usage, and although Luther's usage was added wherever possible, only the most general comparisons can be made between the authors. We can say that where words from the NBB did not correspond to MHG or NHG, Luther's usage of the same words generally (about two-thirds of the time) matched that of the NBB authors rather than MHG or NHG. However, there is little beyond that that can be said with any authority. A comparison between the two vocabularies would be meaningful only if separate studies were made of both vocabularies so that separate statistics on modernity and antiquity, as well as semantics, could be compared.

Syntactical differences between the two languages sometimes seem small, but taken as a whole they show the languages to be noticeably different. In terms of case, the genitive usage is the most unusual. Both authors use the genitive far more than NHG, especially with verbs, but also with some prepositions. Luther also uses a genitive es in some verb formations. The dative is employed with adjectives more frequently by Luther than by the NBB authors. Following prepositions the oblique cases are used somewhat differently than in NHG. Both dialects have some non-NHG usage, although Luther tends to be further from the NHG norm, especially because

of his tendency to use two or more cases with some prepositions.

In the choice of strong versus weak declensions for adjectives, both Luther and the NBB authors deviate from NHG usage. The NBB chooses the NHG pattern more consistently than Luther, however.

Among pronouns, syntax does not present nearly as contrastive a picture between the two dialects as does morphology. The major syntactical deviation in the NBB is the frequent omission of pronouns, and while this occurs in Luther's writings also,<sup>33</sup> no information has been found in the secondary literature concerning its extent.

There are a number of ways in which verb usage differs in the two dialects under discussion. The future construction with werden + infinitive is a little more consistently used in the NBB than by Luther. Luther tends to use constructions with modals (sollen, wollen) fairly often to express futurity. This occurs in the NBB, but it is infrequent and there is generally a strong sense of modality in these constructions.

The past participle worden is always present in the NBB in perfect tense passive voice forms. It appears sometimes in Luther's writings, but not as consistently as in the NBB. Zu with infinitives is likewise used more nearly like NHG in the NBB than in Luther's

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<sup>33</sup>Erben, Syntax Luthers, pages 88-89.

writings, and the construction um . . . zu, which is an ENHG innovation, is likewise more consistently used in the NBB than by Luther. Neither author uses it exclusively, however. While Luther generally uses zu alone, the NBB authors use zu or damit . . . zu--an indication of the newness of the construction. Two final verb anomalies are of lesser importance: Luther uses the historical present tense, which does not occur in the NBB--probably for stylistic reasons--and first person imperatives appear in the NBB but not in Luther's writings.

In the area of word order there are only two noteworthy differences between the two languages. Although basic word order patterns are identical, Luther has more extreme forms--sentences in which all elements are in the front, middle, or end field. This occurs only rarely in the NBB. In addition, contrary to NBB and NHG usage, Luther sometimes puts essential sentence elements in the end field.

Many differences between the two dialects exist in the vocabulary of conjunctions, if not in usage. However, it is difficult to quantify these differences in terms of modernity of the texts. It appears that the NBB has given up medieval conjunctions that Luther has retained, but conversely Luther has adopted modern conjunctions that the NBB does not yet use. In the NBB, the following conjunctions (plus one relative clause introducer) that appear in Luther are not attested: da used as a relative and as a local conjunction, biß daß and da as temporal conjunctions, and daß

and seintemal as causal conjunctions. On the other hand, Luther uses denn and wenn instead of the NBB and MHG dann and wann, widder . . . noch (neither . . . nor) occasionally, and wie ("exactly as") instead of the NBB als.

## CHAPTER VII

### CONCLUSIONS

An attempt has been made in five of the preceding six chapters to present an accurate picture of the language of the Nürnberg city council in 1519, in terms of phonology, morphology, syntax, and--to some extent--semantics. In keeping with the ultimate goal of this as well as other studies of ENHG dialects--that is, to trace the origins and development of standard NHG, special attention has been directed toward linguistic characteristics which are known to mark the transition from MHG to NHG, as well as those which identify specific dialects of the medieval and modern periods. The following listing of medieval and modern elements in the language of the NBB is meant to provide an overview of material presented in detail in Chapters II-VI. Changes which are only partially accomplished are starred.

#### I. MODERN ELEMENTS IN THE LANGUAGE OF THE NBB

##### Phonology

- 1) Monophthongization of ie, uo, üe to ie, u, ü
- 2) Diphthongization of î, iu, and û to ei, eu, au
- 3) Lengthening of short vowels in open syllables\*
- 4) Shortening of long vowels in closed syllables\*
- 5) Rounding\*
- 6) Non-indication of Auslautsverhärtung in orthography

- 7) Change of [s] to [ʃ] before certain consonants
- 8) Loss of medial h\*
- 9) Simplification of double consonants.

### Morphology

- 10) Second person singular present indicative verb ends in -st
- 11) Ge- prefixed to past participles of some MHG perfective verbs\* (e.g., komen)
- 12) Third person plural present indicative verb ends in -en instead of -ent
- 13) Noun declension changing from case to number orientation
- 14) -er plurals generalized to include some masculine and more neuter nouns\*
- 15) i-stem nouns lose umlaut in the singular, retain it in plural
- 16) Umlaut used as plural marker for nouns\*
- 17) Strong adjective endings are distinctive
- 18) Weak accusative feminine singular adjective ends in -e (< en)\*
- 19) Mixed adjective endings are -en in oblique cases (except for feminine and neuter accusative singular)
- 20) MHG iu > e where applicable in all declensions
- 21) Third person plural dative of personal pronoun is ihnen (< in)
- 22) Dative reflexive sich (< im/ir/in) is used
- 23) Apocope of final e is widespread in nouns and adjectives.

Syntax

- 24) Genitive case is used less, and generally replaced with prepositional phrases\*
- 25) The strong adjective declension is no longer used after der
- 26) Predicate adjectives no longer declined
- 27) Articles no longer used with possessives
- 28) Swer/swelcher (relatives) no longer used
- 29) Periphrastic future (werden + infinitive) used to the exclusion of other periphrastic future forms
- 30) Conditional (würde + infinitive) in use
- 31) Present participle no longer used in periphrastic tenses\*
- 32) Worden is used in perfect and pluperfect passive constructions
- 33) Absolute participial constructions with the past participle are frequent
- 34) Zu is used with infinitives (except with modals, lassen, hören, etc.)
- 35) "Double infinitive" constructions are used
- 36) Umb . . . zu used frequently
- 37) Infinitives no longer inflected
- 38) There exists a tendency toward complex and grammatically defined sentence structure
- 39) The following MHG conjunctions are no longer used: wann, unde, beide . . . unde, da (relative clause introducer

and local and temporal conjunction), bis daß, daß (causal), seintemal.

## II. MEDIEVAL ELEMENTS IN THE LANGUAGE OF THE NBB

### Phonology

- 1) Unrounding has not yet occurred

### Morphology

- 2) Vowels in present singular indicative verbs not yet leveled
- 3) Weak feminine singular nouns end in -en in oblique cases
- 4) Weak adjective declension used for vocative plural
- 5) was with the genitive used for was für (ein)

### Syntax

- 6) So (relative clause introducer), allda, allßdann (because), darumb (because), dhweyl still in use.

It is not difficult to conclude from this material that in most respects the language of the NBB is modern. It must be noted, however, that the medieval aspects of the language are not insignificant. The forms of present tense singular strong verbs, the weak feminine -en, and the fairly large number of archaic conjunctions are visible reminders of the age of the language. Vocabulary, word order, sentence structure, and to some extent orthography, likewise seem conservative.

From the few vocabulary items discussed in Chapter V, it is not possible to quantify the modernity or antiquity of the

vocabulary. Within the limits of the study, however, it appears that vocabulary is more conservative than any of the other determiners of status for the NBB. Of the words listed in Tables 5.1-5.3 (pages 183, 187, and 192, respectively), about a third (see Chapter V, pages 216-217, for exact percentages) are medieval, another third modern, and the rest either transitional in meaning between MHG and NHG or unique to ENHG. On the basis of this vocabulary it appears then that semantically the NBB is midway between MHG and NHG.

Sentence structure, which is by no means medieval, still is not wholly modern. Sentences tend to be less well-defined than in NHG. The lack of definition involves length of sentences and a tendency to lump large numbers of dependent and independent clauses together in not always logical sequence, so that sentences frequently seem haphazard and hence archaic. What is not haphazard, however, is word order. It is essentially modern and strictly adhered to. Differences in word order from the NHG tend to be within specific constructions rather than in overall organization of sentences--for example, the practice of putting possessives after the article or adjective instead of before (see page 116) differs from NHG word order, but the word group itself--that is, adjective + possessive ± adjective + noun--would be placed in the sentence in the same position as in NHG.

Orthography is another area which belies the essential modernity of the text. The sporadic indication of umlaut,

gratuitous doubling of consonants, and erratic capitalization and punctuation all make the language appear less modern than it actually is.

It can be concluded then, that although there are significant medieval characteristics and also a few very visible but less significant ones, the language of the NBB is mostly modern and essentially similar to the NHG standard speech.

The question of dialect provenience of the language of Nürnberg has been contested for centuries. There is little question that the dialect of Nürnberg has been and is either Bavarian or Franconian or a mixture of the two. Josef Pfanner's comprehensive survey of opinion on this subject<sup>1</sup> need not be repeated here. It should suffice to note that among the two dozen or so scholars quoted by Pfanner, five (among them Friedrich Maurer) are of the opinion that the language is Franconian. Another half dozen, including Weinhold and Gebhardt, opt for Bavarian alone. A good dozen, including Socin, Wrede, Lessiak, v. Bahder, V. Moser, Kranzmayer, Eberl and Mitzka see the dialect as Bavarian, influenced in varying degrees by Franconian.

The evidence from the NBB supports the Bavarian/Franconian theory--or at least a Bavarian/Middle German mixture. The significant dialect characteristics are summarized here:

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<sup>1</sup>Josef Pfanner, "Die deutsche Schreibsprache in Nürnberg," pp. 162-168.

### III. BAVARIAN OR UPPER GERMAN ELEMENTS IN THE LANGUAGE OF THE NBB

#### Phonology

- 1) ai/ei are used mostly in etymologically correct environments
- 2) Initial p for b is quite common
- 3) There is some exchange of w for b (one example)
- 4) mb has not been assimilated to mm
- 5) Enclitic d or t appears in some words after l or n.  
(This is also characteristics of MG dialects.)

#### Morphology

- 6) Final e is apocopated in verbs and monosyllabic nouns
- 7) Steen, geen are used instead of stân, gân. (This is also characteristic of MG and E. Franconian.)

#### Vocabulary

- 8) Frequent appearance of Eritag and Pfintztag
- 9) Use of weylund, schwieger. (This is also characteristic of MG.)

### IV. MIDDLE GERMAN AND/OR FRANCONIAN ELEMENTS<sup>2</sup> IN THE LANGUAGE OF THE NBB

#### Phonology

- 1) G is substituted for k in Marggraf
- 2) Enclitic d or t appears in some words after l or n.  
(Also characteristic of Upper German dialects).

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<sup>2</sup>Middle German unless otherwise indicated.

### Morphology

- 3) gewest for gewesen occurs in Middle German, East and Lower Franconian
- 4) Steen, geen appear in MG and East Franconian as well as Bavarian
- 5) Third singular dative masculine of the personal pronoun is ime
- 6) u > o in bedorffen

### Vocabulary

- 7) Schwieger, weiland are MG as well as Bavarian.

A few other dialect characteristics need to be noted here. In phonology, the "gestürzte Diphthonge" (ie > ei, u > ou, ü > öu) which are said to be characteristic of the Nürnberg dialect are not indicated in the NBB, although they are attested in Nürnberg speech before and after 1519. It is possible that they are used but not indicated in the Nürnberg chancery, but more likely they are not a part of the chancery language at all.<sup>3</sup> The fact that there is little rounding or unrounding is said by Moser to be characteristic of the Nürnberg dialect.<sup>4</sup>

In vocabulary the appearance of u and o in anntwurten/antworten is mentioned by H. Bach as occurring in the Saxon Electorate Chancery

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<sup>3</sup>Note Bach's statement below (page 271) that by the fifteenth century gross dialect elements are being expunged from the chancery languages.

<sup>4</sup>V. Moser, Historisch-grammatische Einführung, par. 66.

language.<sup>5</sup> In addition, alleweg, which appears infrequently in the NBB, still exists in the Swiss dialect.

Because of the incompleteness of most dialect studies of the ENHG period, there is little, if any, information on syntactical variations from dialect to dialect, so that determination of dialect must be based on phonology, morphology and vocabulary. A glance at the listing above shows the dialect of the Nürnberg city chancery to be influenced both by Bavarian and Middle German dialects. It is interesting to note that the Bavarian influence is more to be seen in phonology, whereas the Middle German influence is mainly in morphology.

The purpose of including notes on Luther's usage in this study was to attempt to see where the NBB dialect stands with respect to Luther's in terms of modernity and dialect provenience. In order to make valid comparisons of modernity, information concerning his usage before the early 1520's was selected wherever possible. This had the advantage of assuring that the two sources were precisely synchronous, so that no allowance need be made for passage of time or possible influence of one text on the other. The disadvantage lay in the necessity to ignore the essentially more modern speech of Luther's later years. The ideal would have been to add to this study a section on Luther's later dialect compared with an excerpt of the NBB from, perhaps, 1545. Unfortunately time and other factors did not allow this. It cannot be overstressed

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<sup>5</sup>H. Bach, Entstehung der deutschen Hochsprache, p. 21.

that the following remarks pertain to Luther's early linguistic efforts (except for Franke's listing of MG elements presented below on pages 268-269) and may seem incorrect to those more familiar with his later works.

The following lists of modern and medieval characteristics of Luther's language should be read in connection with the similar lists above (pages 257-260) of NBB elements. In most matters Luther and the NBB are both more modern than not. The lists which follow cite only those situations where Luther and the NBB differ.

#### V. MODERN ELEMENTS IN LUTHER'S LANGUAGE

##### Phonology

- 1) Phonology is essentially similar in Luther's work and the NBB, but there is a tendency in Luther to make exceptions to his own standard practice. Phonologically, the NBB is more consistent.

##### Morphology

- 2) There are more plurals in -er than in the NBB.

##### Syntax

- 3) was für (ein) is used instead of was with the genitive
- 4) So, allda, alßdann (because), darumb (because), die weil do not appear

## VI. MEDIEVAL ELEMENTS IN LUTHER'S LANGUAGE

Phonology

- 1) Auslautsverhärtung is still indicated
- 2) Medial h is still pronounced

Morphology

- 3) The third person plural present indicative verb ending -ent is still used
- 4) In the strong adjective declension Luther uses distinctive endings less often than the NBB (i.e., the null ending is still frequently used)
- 5) In is still used for third person plural dative personal pronoun
- 6) im/ir/in are used instead of sich as dative reflexive

Syntax

- 7) The choice between strong and weak adjective declensions is not always consistent: (a) strong endings may appear after der, (b) unpreceded adjectives are sometimes inflected weak, (c) adjectives after the definite or indefinite article may be weak or strong.
- 8) Worden is not always present in passive periphrastic tenses
- 9) Zu is less consistently used with the infinitive than in the NBB
- 10) umb . . . zu is less consistently used than in the NBB
- 11) wann, unde, beide . . . unde still appear.

Although it might seem from the two lists above that Luther's language is more medieval than modern, this is not the case. When elements on which both authors are more modern are added to those noted here, the balance shifts well into the modern. Both languages appear to be largely modern. There are perhaps a few more modern elements in the NBB, or at least a few more situations where the NBB is more consistently modern, but on the whole the two dialects appear to be fairly similar in terms of modernity.

The same generalization cannot be made in reference to dialect, however. Whereas the NBB shows about an equal number of Bavarian and Middle German characteristics, Luther leans heavily on Middle German, although not to the exclusion of Bavarian (see Besch's comment, page 270). Franke notes the following Middle German characteristics retained by Luther:<sup>6</sup>

- 1) e is retained after el, er (jüngere, engelen)
- 2) e is added to (a) old -er plurals (vätere, Mütterer, Brüderer, etc.), (b) -er neut. plurals (kleidere), (c) Nom. and acc. sing. masc. and neuter nouns (hause), (d) First and third person preterite indicative of strong verbs (sahe)
- 3) Long-stemmed -jan verbs often retain e with umlaut in the preterite (fürete)
- 4) Gewest is used instead of gewesen

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<sup>6</sup>Franke, pp. 189-190.

- 5) Stecken has a strong present tense: stickestu
- 6) Early in his writings, the weak dative of der, ein, sein occurs.

It was noted earlier that the language of Nürnberg has been generally considered to be based on Bavarian, but with a more or less heavy Franconian influence. Concerning Luther's dialect, the consensus seems to be that Luther used his own East Middle German dialect, but relied heavily on Gemeines Deutsch for alterations which could make his language clearer to more readers. The relationship between the two languages being considered here may be characterized as follows: Luther's language leans toward Middle German, whereas that of the NBB tends toward Upper German, but the two languages have more in common than in contrast. Luther seems to retain a few more (MG) dialect characteristics than does the NBB and appears to be somewhat less modern.

It was noted in Chapter I that the presence in other dialects of modern elements not attested in Luther's language might indicate an influence of those dialects on the creation of modern standard German. The summaries above indicate where Luther and the NBB authors differ. There is no element in the lists which may be said to be uniquely Nürnbergish, so that in a technical sense we cannot say that the Nürnberg city chancery dialect had a specific influence on standard High German. What the summaries do indicate is that the NBB seems to be somewhat further along in its development towards NHG than Luther's early work is. Frequently the differences between

the two dialects are a matter of degree--for example, the use of umb . . . zu, or of worden in the passive periphrastic--but in other cases the NBB does have modern elements not attested in Luther's early language (e.g., the modern pronouns ihnen and sich). The important question here is not whether the NBB contains modern elements not present in Luther, but whether these elements are unique to the Nürnberg chancery language. The answer to this is most likely no. Most of these elements will probably be found in other dialects as other ENHG studies are completed.

In terms of their influence on NHG, it is probable that Luther's is greater, if only because by the mid-sixteenth century Luther's prose had to be much more widely read. Besch describes Luther's contribution in these terms:

Luther bedient sich der schreibsprachlichen Großfläche des Südostens, wo immer er kann. Ist er gezwungen, sprachlich auszuwählen, so trifft er seine Wahl sehr oft im Blick auf diese Einheit. Das will auch heißen: Luther bringt noch ein Stück mitteldeutsches Erbe ein und setzt es kraft seiner Autorität durch, er macht aus der ursprünglichen Angleichung an den Süden einen echten Sprachausgleich zwischen dem Ostmitteldeutschen und dem "gemeinen Deutsch," wenn ich diese Bezeichnung trotz aller Bedenken noch einmal gebrauchen darf. Unsere Schriftsprache ist so in ihrem Rohgerüst ostmitteldeutsch-südostdeutsch (p. 362).<sup>7</sup>

However, Luther alone is no longer credited with single-handedly creating NHG. As Bach points out, dialect forms in general are being replaced by non-dialect forms:

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<sup>7</sup>Besch, Sprachlandschaften, p. 362.

Es ist deshalb richtig, daß die fortgesetzte normalisierung der sprache Luthers im 3.-5. jarzehnt [sic] des 16. jhs. keineswegs eine isolierte erscheinung darstellt, sondern genau zu den allgemeinen entwicklungstendenzen stimmt.<sup>8</sup>

It appears that this is true at least of the Nürnberg city chancery language in the early sixteenth century. On the whole there are relatively few distinctively dialectic elements in the language, and the majority of changes which have been found to take place between MHG and NHG are accomplished in the text. The language is not, of course, standard NHG as it appears today, or even as it existed a century or two ago. There are still subtler changes--particularly in syntax and vocabulary--that must occur. For one thing, the general tightening up and refining of syntactical practices--particularly in sentence structure--which seems barely begun in the NBB, will change the appearance of the language greatly in the centuries following the Reformation.

It is unfortunate that there has been so little work done in the syntax of the ENHG period. Comparisons of syntactical characteristics of the NBB with those of contemporary manuscripts might help settle the dialect question. Such comparisons between the NBB and earlier and later texts (or earlier and later excerpts from the Ratskorrespondenz) would add much to our knowledge of the ENHG period and of the rise of the NHG standard language.

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<sup>8</sup>H. Bach, Entstehung der deutschen Hochsprache, p. 200.

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## APPENDIX

NÜRNBERGER BRIEFBUCH FOR 1519

Unsere Kinder Peter  
Kordmann.

Der folgenden vier Jahren des 17. Jahrhunderts an dem Tage  
und gleich gethan, Horen lassen und sonst der in acht  
tag den nachst nach das hohe Rumpst Holt die für  
und von unsern Hoff wider an die getreue für unser  
die vorsehen und die pflegen der vor angetrieben und  
find und für in unsern Stat Nürnberg der tag der  
nachst angetrieben für ungenügend unsern für sich selbst  
und gleich haben, das vor der hant die pflegen und  
unsern Eltern Burgermeisters vorsehen Martin  
Sunder der am Freitag nach ankommen 1519.

Frankenburger Provinz  
die Engolthal

Vorherg und ganz kluge Frau, was haben wir schon pfehen  
 Michel Stillingen auf obigen obigen fache zu unser  
 nachricht zu unser fache gefordert. den wir obigen tag  
 gegangenen wurd. und ist darmit an sich bezeugt. weil  
 der einigkeit in unser fache nachricht zu unser  
 der wolle Michel fache zu unser den wir  
 fachen zu unser den wir bezeugt haben. Ich habe  
 auch und zu unser den wir fache zu unser den wir  
 was unser zu unser den wir fache zu unser den wir  
 den 15 19

Mangel farbrunner zu  
Hofstadt

Der Herrscher, der seine Untertanen zu Einigkeit  
führt, ist der Beste. Der Herrscher, der seine Untertanen  
zu Unruhe bringt, ist der Schlechteste. Der Herrscher, der  
seine Untertanen zu Unruhe bringt, ist der Schlechteste.





## VITA

Carol Jean Tullos was born in Oak Ridge, Tennessee, on February 12, 1947. She attended elementary schools in that city and was graduated from Oak Ridge High School in June, 1965. The following September she entered Wake Forest University, and in June, 1969, she received a Bachelor of Science degree in Mathematics. In the Fall of 1972 she accepted a teaching assistantship at The University of Tennessee, Knoxville, and began study toward a Master's degree in German Literature. This degree was granted in December, 1974.

She re-entered the Graduate School of The University of Tennessee, Knoxville, in January, 1975, and in 1977 was awarded a Fulbright-Hays Graduate Fellowship for study in Germany. She received the degree of Doctor of Philosophy with a major in German Language and Literature in August, 1983.