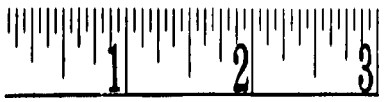
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TITLE VERB-ADVERB COMPOUNDS IN GOTHIC AND OLD HIGH GERMAN: A STUDY IN COMPARATIVE SYNTAX

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VERB-ADVERB COMPOUNDS IN GOTHIC AND OLD HIGH GERMAN:

A Study in Comparative Syntax

by

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of the requirements for the degree of
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Introduction

This dissertation is a study in the syntax of those Germanic particles associated closely with the verb in a distinctive set of grammatical patterns in such a way as to form a class of verb-adverb combinations or separable compounds. The term "verb-adverb compounds" has been used in the title in order to cover as much of the Germanic fields as possible. For some dialects, the term "separable compounds" might be more fitting. But the other is serviceable.

In the main, the problem is to discover to what extent there is a recognizable class of particles, connected with the verb, but different from inseparable particles and bound forms on the one hand and from free adverbs on the other - then to determine the distinctive patterns of such particles.

There is surprisingly little help in past studies. Confusion has arisen because authors set up hypothetical patterns and then sought examples, instead of looking over a whole body of material for all possible patterns. It has also come in part from the prejudice involved in applying the viewpoint of a modern dialect (NHG, ModE, etc.) to the older materials.

Basically the method applied, which I hope is adequate, is first to prepare the way for syntactical analysis by determining the pertinent lexical, phonetic, and semantic characteristics of the forms involved, then to examine all forms that for special reasons should be excluded or questioned in the final syntactical analysis. The syntactical study is thus greatly simplified and

the results clear. Because of the rather astonishing lack of previous interest and study, the preparatory part necessarily occupies a disproportionate space.

Standard terminology is adequate especially because the results are based on contrasting syntax patterns and the latter are the important consideration. The results of the study do indicate that certain terms have been too broadly used - for example, adverb, prepositional-adverb. I have tried to show how these might be more meaningfully applied.

A couple of technical matters need mention. I have underlined Gothic and OHG words in pencil, avoiding the typed underline, as recommended by Language. I have used p over b for þ, d with - for ð, h and v for hw. These are not in line with the recommendations of Language, and in the event of publication I shall change them.

References between chapters are indicated by superscript numeral after the page, for example: p. 100^2 in a reference in the first chapter would mean page 100 of the second chapter.

The present study is confined to Gothic and OHG. I hope to continue with other dialects as time permits.

I particularly want to thank Professor Norman L. Willey for his help and advice throughout the writing of this paper.

CHAPTER I

GOTHIC

A. The General Situation in Gothic

In the field of compound verbs, the lexical possibilities open to the Gothic translator must have been very impressive. In the restricted scope of the extant Gothic, which presents a vocabulary of only 3,000 words or so, there are by Rice's[1] count 28 different verbal prefixes, and these are used in compounds involving 448 simple verbs. This compares favorably with the 18 prefixes and 320 simple verbs of the parallel passages of the Greek Bible - even considering the extreme frequency in Gothic of ga- (240 compounds, including denominatives; or 2516 gross occurrences[2] out of a gross total of 5948 instances of compound verbs in Gothic[3]). Besides this display of quantity, Gothic has, in comparison with the Greek, expanded strikingly the lexical variety of the compounding forms. While in Greek every one of the 18 compounding forms is a regular preposition with its own clear lexical identity, we find in

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[1] v. Rice, p. 126.

[2] Ibid., chart pp. 124-5.

[3] There is no such concentration upon a single prefix in Greek, where ἀπο- leads the list but represents only one-fifth of the gross total (799:4047); v. Rice, loc. cit. In the OHG Tatian, however, gi- accounts for more than half (1934:3760) of the total occurrences of verb compounds; v. H. Rosen, OHG Prepositional Compounds in Relation to their Latin Originals (Language Dissertation No. 16, Linguistic Society of America, Philadelphia, 1934), p. 75 ff.

Gothic not only several prefixes which are not lexical entities, but a complication among those which are lexical entities. This complication is produced by the first stages of the breakdown in the distinction between preposition and adverb and by the intrusion of non-prepositional forms as compounding elements. It is in this change and expansion in the Gothic system that one finds developments paralleling the situation in OE, OHG, etc. and most germane to the subject of separable compounds.

B. The Lexical Situation

1. Introductory Remarks

The most obvious division to be made among the Gothic compounding forms is at the line of lexical identity. The following occur only as compounding forms, never in extant Gothic as independent words:

dis- (17 verbs, 33 occurrences[4])
fair- (6, 18)
fra- (29, 329)
ga- (240, 2516)

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[4] In these figures I am simply giving, for the sake of a general impression of relative frequency, the figures of Grewolds (60, p. 6 ff.) for the number of simple verbs connected with each prefix singly, and of Rice (pp. 124-5) for the total occurrences (out of 5948 for all prefixes) of each prefix. Grewolds (q.v.) excludes all denominative or "secondary" verbs. This seems a little risky, methodologically speaking, as there is always the possibility that congruity (with regular

Of the other prefixes which belong here (as bound forms) only tuz- (hapax in Mark 11, 23 ni tuzwerjai) and id- (in idweitjan, 6 occurrences) appear in finite verb forms. Both are denominative, however (v. OHG zurwâri, Gothic idweit). unþa (in unþapliuhan, used twice, viz. II Cor. 11, 33 and I Thess. 5,3) belongs

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compounds) of morphemic features in such verbs as fairweitjan, afhugjan would play a greater role in determining their morphological and syntactical use than any consciousness of their derivation. There is no evidence one way or the other in Gothic, so practically considered, it makes little difference, but in Greek there are instances of treatment of such verbs according to the pattern of primary compounds. Augment and reduplication, which regularly follow the preposition in primary compounds, often do so in definitely secondary compounds, e.g. ἀπολογέομαι (from ἀπολογία), ἀπ-ελογησάμην, ἀπολελόγημαι; ὑποπτεύω suspect (from ὑπ-οπτος suspect, ὑπόπτης suspicion, these in turn being from ὑπόψομαι), ὑπώπτευον, ὑπώπτευσα (these latter forms in Herodotus, the verb being otherwise regular; v. W. Veitch, Greek Verbs (Oxford, 1879), p. 660); ἐπιορκέω swear falsely (from ἐπίορκος perjured), ἐπιώρκουν; etc. The real complication of such a situation, where the Sprachgefühl hesitates in its judgment of the nature of these compounds, is shown by those Greek verbs which have augment concurrently in both positions, e.g. ἀνέχομαι endure, ἠνειχόμην; etc. (v. A. N. Jannaris, Historical Greek Grammar (London, 1897), p. 192.) Another type of confusion: some definitely prepositional compounds have come to be regarded as simple verbs, e.g. καθεύδω sleep, ἐκάθευδον (beside normal καθηῦδον); v. A. N. Jannaris, op. cit., p. 193. It is well to bear these possibilities of development in mind, especially in the other Germanic dialects.

A note on the figures themselves. Rice, in his enumeration, includes several verbs postulated for Gothic on the basis of extant nouns, adjectives, etc., which of course Grewolds seldom does. I have adjusted the figures only in cases of very rare forms and have noted such changes. Rice's figures also include instances in which the prefix enters into double compounds.

etymologically with und-,[5] q.v.i. missa- and twis- occur in non-finite verb forms only, missa- once and twis- twice. fri- in verb forms occurs only in gafrisahtjan and gafrisahtnan, both from the noun frisahts. Grewolds gives a full list of Gothic denominative or "secondary" verbs in his article.[6]

The remaining Gothic compounding forms are lexical entities. For the purposes of this paper it seems best to divide them into a) forms used alone as prepositions, b) forms not used alone as prepositions. This may, in effect, be a) prepositions, b) adverbs; but, as was mentioned above, one of the interesting developments in Gothic is the beginning of a change in the distinction between prepositions and adverbs, and compounding forms. It seems wise, then, to keep as one separate group those compounding forms which are, ab initio, prepositions and thus correspond to the Greek compounding forms; and to let the other group remain nameless until its nature can be studied.

2. "Prepositional Adverbs"

The following compounding forms are used separately

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[5] unþa- may bear the same phonetic relation to und- as faura- does to faur-, anda- to and-, etc. v. Mourek, p. 198 and Walde-Pokorny (under the appropriate entries).

[6] Grewolds 60, pp. 46-47 and p. 53. See also Wilmanns II, pp. 119-120.

as prepositions:

af (52 verbs, 222 occurrences)
afar (2,10)
ana (33,231)
and (26,465)
at (31,311)
bi (50,228)
du (3,67)
faur (11,35)
faura (10,61)
(fram[7])
hindar (1,2[8])
in (27,176)
miþ (20,61)
þairh (8,28)
uf (23,147)
ufar (20,33)
und (3[9],10) (unþa - v.s.)
us (93,905)
wiþra (2,2[10])

The following compounding forms are not used as prepositions:

inn (inngaggan used 18 times, innwairpan used once)
ut (utgaggan used twice, utbairan used once)

Grewolds has two groups for the above prepositional group, one for prepositions and the other for "pre-verbs used alone not only as prepositions but also as adverbs."[11]

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[7] fram as verbal element appears only in Luke 19,28 (v.i.p. 41), but most writers derive it not from this form, but from Phil. 1, 25 framgahtai, assuming a verb *framgaggan. II Tim. 3, 14 framwairþis is an adverbial genitive and is interpreted by Rice as derived from *framwairþan. Walde-Pokorny does not give it.

[8] Omitting Rice's four nominal forms representing a verb *hindarwitan. Cf. Rice, p. 106.

[9] undredan in Skeir 6, 13 is not given by Rice, who of course does not include verbs from the Skeireins, hence lists only two verbs, 9 instances.

[10] Omitting Rice's four instances representing *wiþrawairþan. Cf. Rice, p. 119.

[11] Grewolds 60, p. 7.

A division of this sort is, in its main features, one toward which any careful investigation will strive, and Grewolds is the first systematically to make the distinction and apply it to the verb compound system.[12]

It seems to me that there is, however, another and sounder way of arriving at what is also a sounder division. First of all, the division as given by Grewolds rests partly on evidence drawn from the division itself, in a sort of spiral argument. The same fact is used as evidence for the setting up of the group and as a test of the behavior of the group. For example, the reason for putting faur in the second division is that faur (besides being a preposition) occurs as an "adverb." But it occurs as an "adverb" only in Luke 19,4 jah biþragjands faur usstaig ana smakkabagm and in Mark 8,6 jah atgaf (sci. hlaibans) siponjam seinaim ei atlagidedeina faur. Then in analyzing this same set of compounding forms ("pre-verbs used alone not only as prepositions but also as adverbs") Grewolds uses the same two instances to show[13] "dass wir für ... faur- prinzipiell auch mit der Möglichkeit trennbarer Komposition zu

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[12]This is an opportunity to remark that Grewolds' article is distinguished in offering substantially new viewpoints on important aspects of a language which has been worked over as have few others.

[13]Grewolds 60, p. 13.

rechnen haben." Secondly, the distinction (in these compounding forms) between preposition and adverb on the basis of meaning is generally difficult and on the basis of syntax so sparsely attested that a more straightforward division would be welcome. There seems to be such a one, but first it would be in order to examine all of these prepositions which seem to have adverbial uses to discover whether there are any indisputable adverbs among them.

3. Examination of "Adverbial" Uses

Listing of adverbial uses for the following prepositions seems universal: afar, ana, du, faur, faura. Thus Grewolds, Streitberg, Bernhardt, Balg, Stamm-Heyne (where first members of double compounding forms are also listed as 'adverbs'; e.g. du atgaggan) and Mourek.

The reasons for devoting space to this questioning of the above adverbs, which may seem not to warrant all the attention they receive, are actually several. One reason is methodological and stems in part from the very paucity of instances of so-called adverbial use. This leads - to repeat the argument presented above - into the illogical procedure of saying that a word is an adverb and then saying that the adverbial form of the word is used in possible compounding, when actually the only "adverb" is the one or ones used in possible compounding situations! The statement that adverbs are used in

possible compounding is a significant one, and it demands the presence of clear evidence. But this evidence can't come from the same cases that are being analyzed! It must come from outside to be convincing or even logical. So the few existing instances must be very carefully examined.

Other reasons for placing so much emphasis on this inquiry into the nature of presumed adverbs have to do not with methodology but with the consequences of such assumptions. Because if one says without further ado that some or all of them were adverbs, one is also apt

1) to assume a ready-made pattern of word order (the adverbial pattern) for <u>other</u> compounding forms to fall into - for example prepositional preverbs when they separate from the verb
2) in an unguarded moment, to let the designation "adverb" extend to all likely forms in separation and, thinking they <u>are</u> all adverbs, fail to recognize a compounding form when it shows up - in, for example, the syntactical difference between <u>inn</u> and <u>dalaþ</u>
3) to ignore entirely the possibility of isolated or postposed prepositional uses.[14]

[14]These are not theoretical possibilities, but very

All these points are discussed at some length later. Now it is in order to examine the "adverbs" in question.

afar appears as an adverb[15] only in Skeir III, 15 afaruh þan "and afterwards then." This is its temporal meaning which it also has as a preposition. As a compounding form, however, it is obviously spatial or directional. The two uses are quite distinct, and distinct in such a way as to isolate the compounding form afar- from the one adverbial afar. This appears quite clearly in the prepositional uses. All instances involving expressions of duration of time and with one definite exception (I Tim. 4, 14 afar analageinai handiwe) all involving points in time (i.e. events) take the accusative. The borderline, as always in semantic matters, is the scene of a certain amount of confusion. But it is definitely here with the time expressions that Skeir III, 15 afaruh þan finds its only close analogues, viz. Mark 16, 12 afaruh þan þata and the same in Luke 10, 1 and Luke 18, 4 μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα; I Cor. 15, 5 jah afar þata εἶτα and the phrase in Matthew 8, 5 which corresponds only to δὲ in the Greek: afaruh þan þata. All these, as noted,

actual ones, especially the second. Leinen, acting on precisely this assumption, came to the indicated result and misled other scholars in doing so; v.i. p. 51.

[15]Grewolds 60, p. 7, note 9; Streitberg WB, p. 1 "afar"; Mourek, p. 23.

have the accusative. afar with dative pronouns appears only with personal pronouns (v.i.).

All instances involving the physical act of following, i.e. spatial or directional relationship (as well as several other uses; v. Mourek,p. 25) clearly takes the dative. Here the afar- of afargaggan and afarlaistjan (the only verbal compounds) finds its analogues. v. Matthew 8, 23 afariddjedun imma siponjos is ἠκολούθησαν αὐτῷ and compare this with the semantically similar Matthew 9, 9 iddja afar imma ἠκολούθησεν αὐτῷ , etc.[16] Note also that both afargaggan and afarlaistjan take dative objects.

Thus it seems reasonable to say that the compounding form afar- is fairly distinct from the one adverbial afar, and that characteristic adverbial uses similar to Col. 4, 5 du þaim uta ἔξω , etc. or even John 11, 43 Lazaru hiri ut ἔξω do not occur. It is also important that afar appears in no such separated positions as mentioned above for faur. That is, we have no sentences like *iddja afar Paitrus. Grewolds himself has some doubts about afar (v. Grewolds 60, p. 14, note 1).

ana has primarily simple spatial meanings.[17] It is

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[16]There is one case of repeated afar, viz. Phil. 3, 14 afargagga afar sigislauna.

[17]v. Mourek under ana, p. 39 ff.

listed by Streitberg, Bernhardt, Stamm-Heyne and Balg (glossaries under "ana") as an adverb in II Cor. 8, 7. This is the verse: akei swa raihtis in allamma managniþ, galaubeinai jah kunþja jah in allai usdaudein jah ana þizai us izwis in uns frijaþwai, ei jah in þizai anstai managnaiþ καὶ τῇ ἐξ ὑμῶν ἐν ἡμῖν ἀγάπῃ. This ana is hardly an adverb, but simply the preposition[18] which the translator added just as he added in (in the same passage - in allai usdaudein, where the Greek, as with ana ..., had only the dative καὶ πάσῃ σπουδῇ). All the other cases are either prepositional or directly connected with the verb, as was faur; v.i., p. 79.

du is given as an adverb (Streitberg WB, p. 28; et al.) in Luke 8, 44 and Mark 10, 13; but both are connected with the verb, as was faur, or are prepositional; v.i., p. 80.

faur (v.s.)

faura causes the most trouble in the interpreting but gives the most interesting results. Like afar, it has both temporal and spatial meaning. The most significant entry is given by Streitberg WB (p. 33) under "spatial adverb," namely Phil. 3, 14 þaim afta ufarmunnonds iþ du þaim þoei faura sind mik ufþanjands τὰ μὲν

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[18] v. Mourek, p. 26, note.

ὀπίσω ἐπιλανθανόμενος, τοῖς δὲ ἔμπροσθεν ἐπεκτεινόμενος.
This sentence, with its entirely different translations of two exactly parallel Greek phrases, points to a very necessary division in that class of Gothic words rather indiscriminately labelled "adverbs." Faced with these two exactly corresponding forms τὰ μὲν ὀπίσω ... τοῖς δὲ ἔμπροσθεν Wulfila renders the first intact þaim afta, but for what may have been reasons of grammatical exigency does not translate the second by *du þaim faura. It seems scarcely necessary to explain the assumption that he probably would have if it had been possible.[19] And in view of the absolute parallelism of the two Greek phrases it would have been done, I think, if this faura were an adverb in the sense that afta is.

At first glance this apparent impossibility of using faura by itself, as afta was used, is in conflict with the two cases where faura is definitely used by itself and adverbially, viz. I Tim. 1, 13 ikei faura was wajamerjands τὸν πρότερον ὄντα βλάσφημονRV though I was before a blasphemer, and Skeir I, 18 þo faura ju

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[19]This argument is somewhat vitiated, it is only fair to admit, by the fact that Wulfila sometimes does insert a form of wisan where it is, to judge from his general usage, possible to leave it out; e.g. the two translations of πρὸς τοὺς ἔξω in Col. 4, 5 du þaim uta and in I Thess. 4, 12 du þaim þaiei uta sind. (In the latter example, he may simply be responding to a more natural impulse of his Sprachgefühl; v.i. p. 44, note 66.) But the instances cited above are, after all, from one and the same passage.

us anastodeinai garaidon garehsn "the plan which was (always) determined before, from the beginning." Actually, though, this contrast is a perfect example of clear differentiation in Gothic syntax between two faura's. Here, more than in the similar case of afar (v.s.), the lexical antithesis is very clear. The adverb faura of I Tim. 1, 13 and Skeir 1, 18 is strictly temporal and refers to a previous, past time. It is the one that stands alone, just as did temporal afar in Skeir 3, 15. It is not to be equated with the primarily spatial (but sometimes temporal) faura of Phil. 3, 14 which obviously refers to something ahead or in front and, if applied temporally, not to a previous time but to the opposite, a future time.[20] The second faura is, I believe, the one we have in verb compounds, not the first. I am quite convinced that this is a very real distinction and no case of hair-splitting or syntactical wishful thinking. Some objection might be raised if the distinction had to rest on the Gothic alone. But it is convincingly confirmed by the OHG (v. fora, p.92[2]). It is, moreover, a very productive distinction, because

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[20]The same split in meaning as in ModE 'before', when applied to time, e.g. "what was before" (past) and "the things which lie (are) before" (future).

it demonstrates the primarily spatial nature of compounding forms and points to a needed skepticism in dealing with other "compounds" with temporal preverbs as well as with many assumed adverbs.

If this assumption is correct, then Phil. 3, 14 faura (note its future meaning) plus sind should be interpreted not as two separate words (as does Streitberg B ad loc.) but as a compound, just as fauraist of II Cor. 8, 11 is always interpreted[21] swaswe fauraist muns du wiljan καθάπερ ἡ προθυμία τοῦ θελεῖν RV as there was the readiness to will; i.e. "was present" (a derived spatial meaning), Streitberg "vorhanden ist." In the light of this distinction, the other instances cited variously for adverbial and for compound use of faura take on a clear, if somewhat different, complexion. The following seem, like I Tim. 1, 13 and Skeir 1, 18, to refer to a previous time and should, I think, be left as temporal adverbs and standing alone: II Cor. 8, 6 swaswe faura dustodida καθὼς προενήρξατο RV as he had made a beginning before; II Cor. 12, 21 þize faura frawaurkjandane τῶν προημαρτηκότων RV that have sinned heretofore; II Cor. 13, 2 þaim faura frawaurkjandam τοῖς προημαρτηκόσιν RV to them that have sinned heretofore.

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[21] Thus, ad loc., Bernhardt, Balg, Stamm-Heyne.

Streitberg has all the above as separate adverbs, noting that they correspond to Greek προ - but listing them separately from his "temporal" and "spatial" categories; Mourek has them all as compound with the verb; Grewolds likewise; Rice includes none; of the other editions Balg lists none in the vocabulary in any way but writes all separately in the text; likewise Bernhardt; Stamm-Heyne lists them separately and notes that they are temporal. (This is another of those instances in which word separation in the Gothic texts would be most revealing.) Without any word division and without stress marks, the argument for two faura's has a tendency to seem hypothetical, to seem restricted to semantic considerations, which alone can never suffice to indicate a homonym. But functional difference does appear, if only in Phil. 3, 14, with its avoidance of an adverb form. The real functional evidence appears in OHG.

There are two cases which are difficult to judge, as either interpretation seems possible, viz. Luke 14, 24 þize faura haitanane τῶν κεκλημένων RV (those men) which were bidden; I Tim. 1, 18 bi þaim faura faursniwandam ana þuk praufetjam κατὰ τὰς προαγούσας ἐπὶ σὲ προφητείας RV according to the prophecies which went before on thee (or, as in Canne's note: led the way to thee).

To sum up - an examination of the "adverbial" uses of certain prepositions, which prepositions also enter into verb compounding, reveals that ana, du and faur have no extant uses requiring their listing as adverbs, though the separate use stemming directly from their compounding with the verb or from prepositional uses (v.i., p. 79 ff.) definitely characterizes the beginnings of the breakdown in the distinction between preposition and adverb. afar and faura, on the other hand, show obvious uses as separate adverbs, but in situations semantically (and syntactically) different from their use in verb compounds, thus enabling us to eliminate with reasonable justification a class of forms in compounding that would have to be called "prepositions or adverbs." I think this a very important step in the analysis of the Gothic situation. Naturally, it still does not change in the least the observation that afar and faura (and others like nehva, for that matter) may function separatim either as adverbs or as prepositions. Nor does it diminish the significance of the fact that ana, du and faur may occur by themselves in other than pure prepositional uses. Rather it places this fact in better focus. And these two points taken together demonstrate clearly the difference between the incipiently complex Gothic and the nicely systematized Greek (where there are plenty of preposition-adverb pairs like ἐκ-ἔξω,

but where only the preposition functions in compounding and almost never wanders into adverbial or similarly separated uses[22]). Whether Gothic, or Primitive Germanic, ever represented such a generally clear dichotomy in form and function as existed in Greek (later Greek anyway) is scarcely demonstrable.

What is said above does not, to repeat, eliminate the advisability of making a distinction among the prepositional compounding forms. We find a more meaningful and useful distinction, I believe, in the purely mechanical aspects of the double compounds (those in which two pre-verbs come before the verb).

C. Double Compounding and Indication Through It of a Classification of Gothic Compounding Forms

The following are the cases generally cited for double compounding, listed alphabetically: ana-in-, at-ga-, du-at-, du-ga, faur-bi-, faura-du-, faura-faur-, faura-fra-, faura-ga-, ga-ga-, in-ga-, inn-at-, inn-ga-, inn-uf-, miþ-ana-, miþ-fra-, miþ-ga-, miþ-in-, miþ-us-, þairh-ga-, ut-us-, wiþra-ga-.[23] There is one triplet: miþ-inn-ga-.[24]

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[22]Homer has a fair number of separated prepositions in striking exception to the general rule of later Greek texts. The development of Greek syntax was away from such uses, but their existence is certainly significant in the general picture of compounding. Examples like (Iliad B, 699) τόσσε δ' ἤδυ ἔχεν κάτα γαῖα μέλαινα are cited by M. Roberts, "The Antiquity of the Germanic Verb-Adverb Locution," JEGPh 35, p. 470. (His example for New Testament Greek - κάτω - is on quite a different level, being no preposition.)

[23]Greek doublets are common in the New Testament. v. Grewolds 60, p. 2 and Rice, p. 73 ff.

[24]No triplets in the Greek of the New Testament, but

If the analysis above (p.13ff.)is correct, faura-du-, faura-fra-, and possibly faura-faur- must be dropped from the list, as they appear only in the passages which were mentioned there. One form (ga-miþ-) has apparently been judged and found wanting, but nevertheless belongs here, I believe (v.i.).

Definitely doubtful ones are the following: at-ga in atgaraihtjan (Titus 1, 5 atgaraihtjais ἐπιδιορθώσῃ); ga-ga- in gagahaftjan Eph. 4, 16 gagahaftiþ συμβιβαζόμενον), gagaleikon (II Cor. 11, 13-14-15 all translating a form of μετασχηματίζεσθαι), gagamainjan (Mark 7, 23 gagamainjand κοινοῖ), gagatilon (Eph. 2, 21 and 4, 16 each translating a form of συναρμολογεῖν), gagawairþjan (I Cor. 7, 11 gagawairþjan καταλλαγήτω), gagawairþnan (II Cor. 5, 20 gagawairþnan καταλλάγητε); in-ga- in ingaleikon (II Cor. 3, 18 ingaleikonda μεταμορφούμεθα); þairh-ga- in þairhgaleikon (I Cor. 4, 6 þairhgaleikonda[25] μετεσχημάτισα); wiþra-ga- in wiþragamotjan (John 12, 13 wiþragamotjan εἰς ὑπάντησιν). (It is apparent that only one of these 13 translates a Greek double compound, viz. atgaraihtjans - ἐπιδιορθώσῃ.) All these verbs are generally ruled out as being secondary compounds. While from a purely external and - to the extent that the

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v. ὑπεξαναδῦναι "come up from under," ἐξυπανάστῆναι, etc.

[25] Streitberg B, ad loc., note.

Sprachgefühl forgets its own derivations[26] - from a potentially syntactical view they <u>are</u> double compounds, the evidence in extant Gothic is that they are obviously secondary. They probably were even distinguished by stress. The ga in these cases is assumed to have borne the stress.[27] The pertinent evidence is perhaps worth reorganizing and repeating. The semantic relation is straightforward except as noted.

Doubtful Cmpd	Simple Verb	ga- Cmpd	Substantive
atgaraihtjan	-	garaihtjan	(raihts)
gagahaftjan	haftjan	gahaftjan	(hafts)
gagaleikon ingaleikon þairhgaleikon	-	galeikon	galeiks
gagamainjan	-	gamainjan	gamains
gagatilon ("fit together")	(andtilon "hold on to")	gatilon ("obtain")	gatils ("fitting")
gagawairþjan gagawairþnan	-	-	gawairþi
wiþragamotjan	-	gamotjan	- [28]

Thus with the exception of gagahaftjan and possibly gagatilon (through <u>and-tilon</u>, the etymological relationship of which is not clear), there is no evidence for a simple verb anywhere. And in the latter, the importance

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[26] <u>v</u>. p. 4, note 4, above.

[27] Streitberg Gr, p. 160.

[28] Grewolds 60, p. 7 cites OE gemot as evidence for denominative composition. The situation was probably very complicated, however. It should be noted that OE had, besides gemot, the nouns mot, gemet and the verbs metan, gemotan (Vespasian Psalter), gemetan.

of a possible simple verb is far outweighed by the presence of gatils. In any case, the point is definitely assured that these compounds with at, ga, in, þairh and wiþra added to ga- forms are not on the same level as the other double compounds. An important piece of further evidence is the use here of in- (ingaleikon) instead of inn-, which latter is the regular form for the first member of all true double compounds, v. inn-at- (bairan, gaggan, tiuhan), inn-ga- (leiþan), inn-uf- (sliupan), miþ-inn-ga- (leiþan), while in is used only with simple verbs (-aljan, aljanon, brannjan, etc.). This falls in with the notion of differing stress in the two positions of double compounding (v. i. p. 28).

It is quite a different matter with ga-miþ-. The form in question is II Cor. 8, 18 B gaþþanmiþsandidedun imma broþar συνεπέμψαμεν δὲ μετ' αὐτοῦ τὸν ἀδελφόν. The form evidently caused the scribes some worry for in A (v. Streitberg B, p. 311) Wilhelm Braun[29] had noted that another ga "steht, halb erloschen, am Anfang der folgenden Zeile" (the verb is split, the first line ending with the miþ), thus giving gahþanmiþ (ga)-sandidedun. The form gaþþanmiþsandidedun seems almost

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[29] v. Streitberg B, Introduction p. xxix.

always to be listed - in so far as it is listed with any clarity - as an example of tmesis caused by the group -uh-þan-miþ-.[30] How this can possibly be, I do not understand. Tmesis always consists in unaccented (or "tieftonig"[31]) particles drifting inevitably to a position after the first relatively stressed (or "hochbetont") unit of the sentence - Wackernagels Gesetz (IF 1, p. 333 ff.) in its most obvious aspect. Hirt says[32] "Partikeln können stark- und schwachbetont sein. ... Im Laufe der Zeit sind gewisse Partikeln zu regelmässig schwachbetonten geworden. Sie stehen daher nie am Anfang. Umgekehrt können wir eine Unbetontheit erschliessen, wenn eine Partikel nie am Anfang steht. Von solchen enklitischen Partikeln sind im Germanischen nur wenige erhalten." Hirt naturally does not include -uh-þan-miþ- (giving only uh, u, nu, þan, ba, uh-þan), though he mentions Grewolds' article. miþ after all does come first - hence has stress - in Gothic sentences (v. II Cor. 12, 18 baþ Teitu jah

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[30] v. Grewolds 60, p. 4; Streitberg Gr, p. 161; Stamm-Heyne, p. 367. Bernhardt and Balg seem to call it an inserted adverb. Mourek, however, lists the form with the miþ verbs (p. 179) and does not show miþ as part of the tmesis in the discussion under ga (Mourek, p. 111).

[31] v. Hirt Urgermanisch III, p. 215.

[32] Ibid, p. 216.

miþinsandida imma broþar, and further examples in Grewolds 60, pp. 5-6). The stress range of miþ is fairly great. In prepositions, of course, it is to be considered as having little stress. But the stress of real enclitics is obviously less than that of prepositions, as may be seen from John 19, 12 framuh þamma, etc. So the whole matter of stress separates miþ from uh-þan and leaves us only one possible conclusion, namely that it is, after ga-, the first unit in this sentence with appreciable stress.

The question of translation is significant, too. I can find no instance of a tmetic particle in Gothic which translates more than a particle (or expanded particle, e.g. nu for τοίνυν) in Greek. But here it is the only thing to render the prepositional part of the phrase μετ' αὐτοῦ , if not the συν- prefix as well.

Finally, the case of imma seems pertinent. A verb gamiþsandjan would naturally take the dative, but it seems unlikely that a tmetic particle miþ would govern a following case.

If these points are valid, we must be dealing with a verb gamiþsandjan. Streitberg WB, p. 117 does indeed list the verb, though he also gives uh-þan-miþ as tmetic in Gr, p. 161 (q.v.). There are, as far as the usual analysis of Gothic goes, two unique features of this

compound, viz. the order of the prefixes contrasting with the usual miþ-ga- in miþgadauþnan, miþgasatjan, etc. and the presence of tmesis between two particles. Concerning the latter, one wonders where else the tmesis would go. There is, to be sure, the instance of I Cor. 14, 23 atuhþangaggand inn, but this inn is separable (v.i. p. 56ff.) while the miþ of gamiþsandjan, one presumes, is not. The former feature (unusual order of compounding forms) seems to be the tacit reason for avoiding the verb. But precisely at this point we find an excellent argument for admitting the form, namely parallels in other dialects. Otfrid offers a perfect OHG parallel, giánabrechon (IV, 19-64 mohtin giánabrechon): gi- is inseparable in OHG, but ana is not.[33]

This leaves us with the following double compounding forms out of the original list:[34]

ana-in- (one verb, one instance[35])
du-at- (3, 14)
du-ga- (1, 1)
faur-bi- (2, 3)
faura-ga- (9, 14)
ga-miþ- (1, 1)
inn-at- (3, 11)
inn-ga- (1, 8)
inn-uf- (1, 1)
miþ-ana- (1, 6)
miþ-fra- (1, 2)
miþ-ga- (8, 9)
miþ-in- (1, 1)
miþ-us- (4, 7)
ut-us- (2, 2)

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[33]It ought to be added that Grewolds seems not entirely satisfied with the notion of miþ in tmesis (though he always so refers to it), for he says later (60, p. 19) "der Tmesisfall ... beweist, wie mir scheint, in unanfechtbarer Weise, dass miþ neben dem Kompositum gasandidedun eine gewisse syntaktische Selbständigkeit besitzt."

[34]I have omitted faura-faur as being too uncertain (v.s. p. 17).

[35]These are my own figures. I am omitting any cases

One immediate observation is that the two non-prepositional forms inn and ut never occur as second members, but are well represented in first position.[36]

Thus we have the following used as second members: at, ana, bi, fra, ga, in, uf, us, and miþ.[37] fra and ga are bound forms. The rest are prepositions.

The following are used as first members: ana, du, faur, faura, miþ; inn, ut; ga. The first five are prepositions; the second group, non-prepositions; the bound form ga is quite alone. Only ana and miþ occur in both

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where the pre-verb is other than directly before the verb; e.g. Luke 15, 28 usgaggands ut is left out. This of course greatly reduces the figures for the inn and ut verbs.

[36]Here again, separation of words in the Gothic text would be most revealing. Luke 14, 35 ἔξω βάλλουσιν αὐτό is given as ut uswairpand imma by Streitberg, and Rice omits it from his discussion. Matthew 27, 53 εἰσῆλθον εἰς τὴν ἁγίαν πόλιν is given by Streitberg as innatgaggandans in þo weihon baurg, and Rice includes it. The only reason for differentiation of the Gothic forms lies in the Greek, and that is hardly sufficient. Grewolds writes all such inn and ut double compounds with the inn and ut as separate words in order to indicate the separable nature of the compound. I include in the above count all forms in which inn and ut appear in pre-verb position and write them together for reasons which will be apparent.

[37]John 18, 15 miþinngalaiþ does not, I think, require putting inn in this group, as the word consists of inngaleiþan with inn-ga-, and then miþ- added in such a way as to be exactly parallel to inn. This proliferation of pre-verbs has been noted in Greek. But note also the equal treatment of the first two members ὑπο- and ἐξ- in the verbs ὑπεξαναδῦναι and ἐξυπαναστῆναι.

positions (first as well as second in doublets), miþ as second member only in the unusual verb gamiþsandjan. faura is used only with following ga, the least individual of the prefixes.

It seems that the Gothic compounding forms have, in the double compound type, separated themselves into two groups on a fairly clear basis. The situation at its most striking - and most germane to the problem of separation - is this: Whenever two compounding forms, both lexical entities, are used together before a verb, the separation of Gothic pre-verbs according to position is virtually complete as follows:

First: inn, ut; ana, du, faur, miþ[38]

Second: at, ana, bi, in, uf, us

With the exception of ana, the groups are exclusive, which even with the restricted amount of extant Gothic is surprising and, I believe, significant.

The distinction could be left on this purely external basis, but the fact that all instances of separability or isolated use in Gothic happen with those forms that may

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[38]Note how the second part of this group (ana, du, faur, miþ) compares closely with the usual list of "prepositions also used alone as adverbs" (afar, ana, du, faur, faura). Yet it is derived from quite different considerations.

occur as first of two compounding forms and that, in turn, all such forms except apparently miþ (v.i., p. 34and 38) actually are so affected indicates that there were other factors than simply their word order which allowed them to stray from their usual position. It is my opinion that stress difference is a principal factor. Stress in Gothic verb compounds has been investigated and argued at some length.[39] It seems to be the general consensus doctorum that verb compounds had, originally at least, relatively unstressed pre-verbs in Gothic. This probably was true for single compounds, but it seems that for these double compounds, especially where both compounding forms are lexical entities, greater stress as well as a greater feeling of separateness because of meaning may be assumed for the first member.

The very fact that single inn and ut are never separated (v.i., p.48 ff.) while inn and ut as first members of doublets are regularly separable (v.i., p.56 ff.) is a salient indication of this differentiation of first members of double compounding forms from single compounding forms, even though they be the same morpheme (or word).

It may seem that a rather considerable amount of space has been given to this argument, especially since, in

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[39] v. Streitberg, Gr, p. 160 and the literature there.

considering the separated prepositional forms actually extant in Gothic (v.i., p.73 ff.), separability of a compound verb is denied or questioned for most of the forms. But I believe that some lever must be found to explain the start of separability for verb compounds in general, to locate a group of prepositions sharing some mechanical features with the obviously separable inn and ut, and thus perhaps to explain why the separated or isolated uses of prepositional forms (even including those clearly originating in prepositional uses) are restricted to a certain few words. There are after all a lot of prepositions in Gothic. Why should only ana, du, faur and miþ exist separatim? Why not at, bi, in, uf, us and others compounded with verbs, or even andwairþis, inuh, undar and others not used in compounding? I think the greater stress and probably less distorted or weakened lexical nature assumed for the first members of double compounding forms is significant here, and it is the only such classification I can imagine which corresponds to the group to be explained.

We are, to recapitulate, dealing with the following groups of compounding forms (which will be referred to by these numbers):

One Compounding Form before the Verb

1. Not lexical entities: dis-, fair-, fra-, ga-; id-, tuz-, unþa-, missa-, twis-, fri-

2. Prepositions: af, afar, ana, and, at, bi, du, faur, faura, (fram), hindar, in, miþ, þairh, uf, ufar, und, us, wiþra

3. Not prepositions: inn, ut

Two Compounding Forms before the Verb - Both Lexical Entities -

4. First: a) inn, ut b) ana, du, faur, miþ

5. Second: at, ana, bi, in, uf, us

D. Separability in Gothic Compounds

Since the plan of this paper is to discuss, primarily, the sort of compound in which separation of some kind is possible, rather than the invariable preposition-verb sort typified by the Greek, and to a great extent the Gothic,[40] some account is needed of possible separation; and there should be a brief indication of what sure evidence there is that a Gothic "compound" is really a compound.

Separation of the most invariable nature is caused by reduplication and by tmesis.

The evidence of reduplication is very similar in Gothic and Greek. In Greek, reduplication (and augment), of course, regularly comes between the preposition and the verb in all "primary" compounds, e.g. ἀποβαίνω, ἀποβέβηκα, (ἀπέβην). In Gothic, instances of

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[40] Credit for the first systematic study of separability in Gothic goes to Grewolds, whose thorough work deserves the most sincere praise.

reduplication separating compounding form and verb are found in groups I and 2(above), e.g. Nehemiah 5, 16 jah þaurp ni gastaistald and I Thess. 4, 14 þans þaiei anasaislepun þairh Iesu. Other instances appear for ga- and fra- in group 1, for af, ana, and, at and us of group 2. One double compound shows reduplication, viz. Eph. 1, 5 fauragarairoþ. No instances of reduplication occur with pre-verbs of group 3 (inn and ut), but ana, which appears with inn and ut in group 4, is separated from its verb in six instances.[41]

Tmesis, like reduplication, gives largely negative evidence. It too affects even the forms of group 1. The total evidence is easily found.[42] Separation by tmesis (e.g. John 7, 32 inuhsandidedun and Mark 16, 8 dizuhþansat) appears with the following simple compounding forms: dis, ga; ana, at, bi, in, uf, us. Of the double compounds, only gamiþsandjan is separated (by uh-þan-, v.s.). One seemingly simple compound, however, is an example of what may have been the usual treatment of regular separable double compounds, viz. I Cor. 14, 23 atuþþangaggand inn εἰσέλθωσιν δέ.[43]

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[41] anaaiauk in Luke 3, 20; 20, 11; 20, 12 and Skeir 6, 22. anasaislep(-un) in Luke 8, 23 and I Thess. 4, 14.

[42] Streitberg Gr, p. 161 or Grewolds 60, p. 3 ff.

[43] v. Grewolds 60, p. 4.

The absence of any such evidence on inn and ut is unfortunate. If, as suggested above, such forms had considerable stress, one might assume that the tmetic particles like -uh- would necessarily follow the inn or ut, if the latter were first in the sentence. With different word order a type of tmesis does apparently occur in John 10, 1 saei inn ni atgaggiþ þairh daur (v.i., p.60, n. 80). It will be noted immediately that this is a relative clause and that it is not a case of initial ni. For, in contrast to the strongly stressed initial particle, ni in other positions is often a weakly stressed element - even a proclitic - in the older Germanic dialects, and there are, for example, numerous instances of second position (hence characteristically unstressed).[44]

Besides the lack of stress to be assumed for ni, there are other reasons for regarding saei inn ni atgaggiþ as a type of tmesis, rather than separation in the strict sense. First, it turns out (v.i., p.63 ff.) that inn and ut regularly come directly before the verb in subordinate clauses, and this rule would be best subserved by assuming tmetic separation here. Secondly, though Gothic is the only dialect in which tmesis is a regular feature, other Germanic dialects show unstressed ni in the same position,

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[44] v. Behaghel Syntax IV, p. 12.

e.g. OE in Luke 11, 52 ge in ne eodun;[45] OHG in Tatian 133-6 thie thar in ni get thurah duri qui non intrat per ostium. This latter form is especially significant (quite aside from its startling surface resemblance to the Gothic example) since the translator of the Tatian never has in separated from the verb in dependent clauses. Leinen (p. 62) says in reference to this, "Das unbetonte ni trennt die Partikel vom Nebensatzverbum..." See also Grimm II, pp. 873-874. He cites, among others, the Glosses with nidar ni rîsit, ûz ni wirfo (v.i., p. 38[2]). Thirdly, there is the parallel order of miþniqam (v. i.), where an even stronger general rule (inseparability of verbs with one compounding form) indicates tmetic separation for this particular instance.

The same form of tmetic separation by ni[46] occurs similarly with miþ, which also belongs with the presumably stressed forms of group 4, but in this case with a simple verb, viz. John 6, 22 jah þatei miþniqam siponjam seinaim

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[45] v. Curme Compounds, p. 326. Curme says of this sentence, "Altho the parts ar felt as one, the prefix is at the same time felt as a modifying adverb, for the negativ ne is put in between prefix and verb." Subsequently he even compares it directly with Gothic uzuhiddja.

[46] Tmetic separation by unstressed ni is surely, I believe, on a different level from separation by -uh-, etc. I would not expect it with dis- or ga- verbs, for example. I feel that it is tmesis, but I realize that there is hardly enough evidence to describe it accurately.

Iesus in þata skip ὅτι οὐ συνεσῆλθεν τοῖς....
Assumption of tmetic separation in a syntactically inseparable compound miþqiman[47] rather than an instance of straight separability[48] rests on several rather compelling reasons (apart from the general fact of unstressed ni). It would be very odd to begin with to find a simple compound separated at all (v.i., p. 38 ff.) and most unusual indeed to find the unique instance in a subordinate clause (v.i., p. 63). It would also be (with the exception of its parallel saei inn ni atgaggiþ) the only case in Gothic of a preposition - or compounding form of any kind - separated from the verb in a position other than following.

All the evidence given above for separability in Gothic compounds (reduplication and tmesis) is on an entirely non-syntactical level. It speaks only for the general feeling of the compound nature of these verbs. By itself, it would only prove that Gothic had not forgotten its compounding patterns as later Greek did, when augment, for example, was more and more indiscriminately applied to the beginning of any verb regardless of its composition.

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[47] Mourek, p. 177. Mourek definitely gives it as tmesis.

[48] Grewolds 60, p. 13. For Grewolds, this instance "erweist... Trennbarkeit wenigstens von miþqiman." He thus separates the miþ- compounds in two groups, separable and inseparable (the latter proved by the cases of miþ- verbs after initial ni; v.i.).

Reduplication and tmesis do not change Gothic word order in any case, the only points of possible doubt being the last two examples cited above.

Evidence for the second proposition of this section - that Gothic compounds are really compounds - is furnished most obviously by their occurrence after initial ni. Assimilation also appears (mainly with us, e.g. urreisan), but this is apt to be a retention of older assimilation and not so pertinent to the question. There is actually less Sandhi in compound verbs than one would expect, especially in view of its widespread appearance in tmesis; e.g. anuhkumbei vs. anaaukan; ubuhvopida, uzuhhof vs. usanan; uzuhiddja vs. usiddja; dizuhþansat.[49] Note that phonetic changes in the above examples are restricted to the cases of tmesis and are apparently resisted in the compounds. This latter fact actually speaks for a feeling of separateness in the compounding forms.

The evidence of ni is fairly conclusive. It is presented in complete form by Grewolds.[50] On ni as originally stressed initial, characteristically followed by the verb, v. Behaghel[51] and Hirt.[52] The evidence is almost complete

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[49]v. A. Meillet, "Notes sur quelques faits gotiques," MSLP 15, pp.96-97.

[50]Grewolds 60, pp. 9-15.

[51]Behaghel, Syntax IV, p. 12.

[52]Hirt Urgermanisch III, p. 223.

for group 1 (appearing with dis, fair, fra, ga, umþa) and for group 2 (with af, ana, and, at, bi, du, in, faur, miþ, uf, ufar, us). On miþniqam, v.s. There are two cases generally cited as showing initial ni with miþ- verbs, viz I Cor. 5, 11 ni miþmatjan[53] and Skeir 5, 6 ni miþqiþaina. The fact that there is this evidence for ana, du, faur and miþ is significant, for it shows, at least, that simple verbs with these compounding forms were still felt as units, although it is in these forms which also appear in group 4-b that we find the first evidence of separated prepositional forms. The implication of this situation in regard to Gothic stress patterns is, I think, quite important. Further discussion of the stress of main clause verbs appears in the OHG chapter on p.193? The main point is simply that the verb was very weakly stressed and that this accounts for its presence after ni - almost as an enclitic. Of course there is no system of stress marks in Gothic as there is in Otfrid's Evangelienbuch, but some conclusions are indicated by just such situations as these. Streitberg Gr., p. 112 says,

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[53] Full phrase: þamma swaleikinna ni miþmatjan. Thus it is valid as an example of initial ni only if this is interpreted as unechte Mittelstellung. v. Hirt Urgermanisch III, p. 219.

"Der Wortakzent ruht bei den Nominalkompositis auf dem ersten, bei den Verbalkompositis dagegen auf dem zweiten Kompositionsglied." He writes and-háfjan, faura-gággan, etc. I am sure that this was the case with all simple compounds in Gothic except possibly inn and ut compounds. The absence of cases of ni plus these forms may be an accident. Certainly it is a stumbling block in the way of our analysis. On the other hand, I feel equally sure that certain double compounds (specifically, those with both compounding forms lexical entities; v.s.pp. 27-8) did not have this weak initial stress, and that the absence of cases like *ni utuswairpa is no accident.

Initial ni with a double compound occurs only once but gives conclusive evidence of the separability of ut in a double compound and supports the notion that this form (together with inn) had greater stress than the other compounding forms. The instance is: John 6, 37 ni uswairpa ut οὐ μὴ ἐκβάλω ἔξω . This also shows the typical separability of ut in the main clause (v.i. p. 63ff.). It is clear, I think, that the ut had too great stress to occur in the characteristically weaker stressed position after initial ni. (The form utuswairpand in Luke 14, 35 is an example of the unseparated forms.)

E. Syntax of Separability in Gothic Compounds

1. Inseparability of Verbs with One Compounding Form

a. The Prepositional Type (Group 2)

The presence directly after ni (speaking for their practical equivalence with simple verbs) of verbs representing almost all the compounding forms of group 2 has already been mentioned.

One possible argument for separation[54] derives as noted, from the verb in John 6, 22 jah þatei miþniqam ... The reasons for regarding this as tmetic separation rather than as proof of separability on a syntactical level have also been given. One surprising fact does need mentioning, however. This is the only instance of miþqiman, there being no trace whatever of this verb elsewhere in spite of what seem to be numerous translation opportunities.[55] Once, indeed, Wulfila seems to avoid it when it would give his presumably favorite literal translation. The case is found in John 11, 33 Iudaiuns þaiei qemun miþ izai τοὺς συνελθόντας αὐτῇ ⁄.

The verb miþqiman (though not its separability)

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[54]The "usual" tmesis is non-syntactical and is not germane here for the further, patent reason that is applied without apparent differentiation even to verbs compounded with forms of group 1.

[55]The same verb συνεισέρχεσθαι is rendered once by miþinngaleiþan; συνέρχεσθαι once by qiman; συμπορεύεσθαι twice by miþgaggan. ἔρχεσθαι is the common original of simple qiman. Evidence of this sort is anything but convincing, however, and particularly so in the light of the restricted amount of extant Gothic.

seems definitely established if only by the one instance cited, but the other possible examples of separation in the forms of group 2 are a somewhat sorry pair. They are:

1) Mark 10, 13 þanuh atberun du imma barna, ei attaitoki im, iþ þai siponjos is sokun þaim bairandam du καὶ προσέφερον αὐτῷ ... ἐπετίμων τοῖς προσφέρουσιν. The translation of the Greek compound seems to speak for the close relationship of du to bairandam, but it is to be noted that atberun du translates the same verb. The presence of a verb *dubairan elsewhere would be relevant evidence, but Wulfila seems to have no such verb. προσφέρειν is translated three times by bairan plus du, eight times by atbairan (and once by saljan).[56] In examining the situation, we find that φέρειν is the only original of bairan which is used in Greek compounding and that πρός is by far the most frequent original of du (as preposition or as compounding form - 16 out of 20 in the latter[57]). The close parallel of Luke 18, 15 προσέφερον δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ τὰ βρέφη is rendered by berun þan du imma barna.

The further question of aspect arises here. If one assumes that, in general at least, compounding had the

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[56] v. Rice, pp. 53-54.

[57] Ibid., p. 124.

effect of making the verb perfective[58] - this is of course a much disputed point - predication of a verb *dubairan, here separated, would involve a rather definite change of meaning. The idea of the men being "in the process of bringing the children" would then be gone, and that idea seems to be the one indicated by the text. The matter of aspect apparently comes up only in this instance, at least as a crucial point, but it is worth remembering that all the really clear cases of separation in Gothic occur with a compounding form and an already compounded verb. In these cases there could be no formally dictated change of aspect resulting from separation.

If one regards this evidence as indicating that no verb *dubairan is to be assumed for this passage, that leaves two courses of interpretation, namely, to resign oneself to calling it an adverb, which in view of the discussion above (p. 9 ff.) seems meaningless unless in turn its unique "adverbial" nature is then explained, or (and I think this the more reasonable) to find in the sentence in point a case of the preposition du with object omitted (anticipated and understood from the context). To be sure, this does not conform to the one clear example

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[58] Behaghel (II, p. 118) says, "du ist als räumlich-imperfektiv nicht belegt."

in Gothic of an anticipated object - in Matthew 27, 7 akr ... du usfilhan ana gastim RV field, to bury strangers in (v.i.p. 78) - but we cannot be sure, with the restricted evidence, just what were the possibilities of such a construction in Gothic.[59] ON, which carried the syntactical independence of prepositions even further than does ModE, gives several instances which support the notion that this could well be an isolated preposition in Gothic,[60] e.g. vig hefe ek at segia þér ... en fyrer hefer orþet Suartr (literally "a murder have I to report to you, but to - i.e. to it - has fallen Suartr"), parallel to which would be a literal translation of the above passage as "reproached those bringing to (sci. him, Jesus)."

2) Luke 19, 28 jah qiþands þata iddja fram ἐπορεύετο ἔμπροσθεν RV and when he had thus spoken he went on before. A verb framgaggan is often assumed from Phil. 1, 25 du ... framgahtai εἰς τὴν ... προκοπήν, but if there is such a verb, it is not only restricted to these two exceptional cases, but it is also the only compound verb with fram. On the other hand, if fram be taken as an adverb

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[59] On this general problem v.i.p. 73 ff.; where, with the fuller evidence of prepositions with already compounded verbs, it is discussed more completely.

[60] v. Heusler, p. 151.

this is the only adverbial use of fram, otherwise a pure preposition. And I see no possible prepositional origin (such as suggested above for du) for this instance of fram. There is obviously not enough evidence in Gothic to give any satisfactory conclusion.

The other dialects show, along with the generally common prepositional use, a verb corresponding to *framgaggan or a noun corresponding to framgahts or both, and clear adverbial uses also appear. For example: OHG apparently has the verb (framgangan) and the noun (Gloss: framkenkiu - processu), and the adverb fram is frequent. In Otfrid, to be sure, the connection of fram with the verb gangan precludes any notion of compounding.[61] OE shows the noun (fromgonga, fromgeonga), but I cannot find any example of the verb unless it be AS Chronicles 755 Budon hie þæt hiera mægum þæt hie gesunde from eodon.[62] OE also has a clear adverbial use in Battle of Maldon 317 fram ic ne wille. For OS, fram, it would seem, is a hapax legomenon in Heliand 3931 that imu mahlidin fram modaga wihti.[63] Here

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[61] v. i. p. 190^2, 203^2, etc.

[62] Here the same question (compounding or adverb ?) arises as in Gothic. But with other verbs fram appears to compound rather freely in OE, e.g. fromgewitan, framsiðian - framsið.

[63] v. F. Holthausen, Altsächsisches Elementarbuch. (Heidelberg, 1921) p. 184.

it is either an adverb or a postposed preposition, depending on one's analysis.

Of course, if fram in this Gothic sentence be interpreted as separated from iddja, then we have a single instance to disturb the whole pattern of inseparability in simple compounds. But it is fair to say that this is really the only case of the three under examination which does not have, in itself, immediate symptoms of non-separation (miþqiman) or serious doubts about compounding plus a good - and different - explanation (bairan with du). I can find no real answer to the problem.[64]

These few and - as "separable verbs" - unconvincing exceptional cases given above stand alongside an impressive number of simple verb forms compounded with such prepositions (group 2), in none of which does a breath of separation stir. There is no need to give examples.

The reticence of these prepositional compounding forms to appear separated from their verbs contrasts directly with the great mobility of their nearest relatives, fairra, nehva, and nehv. This contrast shows definitely that they are not, as Grewolds has it,[65] "syntaktisch gleichwertig" with any

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[64]Each of these three cases is, in one or several ways, unique. The relative difficulty of doing a great deal with their analysis contrasts with the considerable ease of analyzing the inn and ut double compounds and even with the still somewhat bothersome task of explaining separate ana, du and faur with compound verbs. v.i.

[65]Grewolds 60, p. 8, note 3.

part of group 2. Grewolds states his point in such a way that one judges he may mean to include in this syntactical equivalence only the instances of pre-verb position of fairra and nehva. But then the equivalence would lose its usefulness, for in the entire picture of the behavior of the semantically and, to an extent, syntactically related fairra, nehva, and nehv we find a significant contrast indicating first the identity as a group of the prepositional compounding forms listed above, secondly their general inseparability, but also as a third point, it seems to me, one of the forces which might give impetus to separation in these compounds.

Mobility is shown by the following instances (with simple verbs only) of position after the verb.

fairra: Eph. 2, 13 jus juzei simle wesuþ fairra ὑμεῖς οἵ ποτε ὄντες μακράν.

nehva: Eph. 2, 13 waurþuþ nehva in bloþa Xristaus ἐγγὺς ἐγενήθητε ἐν ... John 6, 4 wasuh þan nehva pasxa ἦν δὲ ἐγγὺς τὸ πάσχα. John 7, 2 wasuh þan nehva dulþs ἦν δὲ ἐγγὺς ἡ ἑορτή (Note the direct reversal here of the tmesis found in true compounds.)

Separate position before the verb is found in:

fairra: Luke 14, 32 fairra imma wisandin πόρρω αὐτοῦ ὄντος.

Definite adverbial use independent of any verb - another contrast to the forms of group 2 - appears in:

fairra: Eph. 2, 17 izwis juzei fairra ὑμῖν τοῖς μακράν[66]

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[66]This might be interpreted as ellipsis (form of

nehva: Eph. 2, 17 jah gawairþi þaim ize nehva καὶ εἰρήνην τοῖς ἐγγύς.

Function parallel to words of group 2 occurs, on the other hand, when these words are used as prepositions, e.g.:

fairra: Luke 1, 38 jah galaiþ fairra izai sa aggilus καὶ ἀπῆλθεν ἀπ' αὐτῆς ὁ ἄγγελος; etc.

nehva: Luke 5, 1 standandis nehva saiwa ἦν ἑστὼς παρὰ τὴν λίμνην; etc.

nehv: Luke 15, 25 jah qimands atiddja nehv razn ἤγγισεν τῇ οἰκίᾳ; etc. (If nehv, naihva and fairra were to be considered as compounding forms, this could, of course, be reckoned as a compound verb atiddja nehv plus direct object, but the reasons are against, not for, such an assumption. v.i.

Parallel word order appears when fairra and nehva are used before verbs. But note even here the predominance of wisan, the verb which admits most easily the interpretation of prepositional or adverbial use (rather than compounding) for fairra and nehva.

fairra: Mark 12, 34 ni fairra is þiudangardjai gudis οὐ μακρὰν εἶ ἀπὸ τῆς βασιλείας τοῦ θεοῦ. Luke 15, 13 in

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wisan omitted); v. Behaghel III, p. 480 ff. (Behaghel does not regard this as a native Gothic construction.) We have seen, though, that Wulfila does not hesitate to insert a form of wisan in some cases; v.s.p. 14, note 29.

land fairra wisando εἰς χώραν μακράν. Luke 15, 20 nauhþanuh þan fairra wisandin gasahv ina atta is ἔτι δὲ αὐτοῦ μακρὰν ἀπέχοντος... Luke 7, 6 ni fairra wisandin þamma garda οὐ μακρὰν ἀπέχοντος αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ τῆς οἰκίας. Mark 7, 6 iþ hairto ize fairra habaiþ sik mis πόρρω ἀπέχει ἀπ' ἐμοῦ.

nehva: Phil. 4, 5 frauja nehva ist ὁ κύριος ἐγγύς (Sim. Luke 19, 41; Luke 19, 37; Mark 13, 28). (With case form only:) Luke 18, 40 biþe nehva was þan imma ἐγγίσαντος δὲ αὐτοῦ (Sim. Luke 7, 12; Luke 18, 35; Luke 19, 29; Mark 11, 1) (With preposition:) Mark 13, 29 kunneiþ þatei nehva sijuþ at ... γινώσκετε ὅτι ἐγγύς ἐστιν ἐπὶ... (With verb other than wisan:) Mark 2, 4 ni magandans nehva qiman imma προσεγγίσαι αὐτῷ.

Whether these last forms (those before the verb) are to be written together depends, of course, on one's decision as to whether they are compounds. Against such a decision for fairra, nehva and nehv as a class are the above instances (totally different from the regular prepositions in compounding with simple verbs) of 1) definite adverbial use, 2) great mobility of position, and 3) entirely different treatment with tmetic particles, i.e. particles which in real compounds would cause tmesis.

It is definite, then, that fairra, nehva and nehv are to be considered as separate prepositions or adverbs, not under any circumstances as compounding forms. The

influence of such words, however, may be presumed in the development of prepositional compounding forms into greater syntactical independence. For here are words used as prepositions and also standing before verbs, which at the same time can appear in other (independent) positions in the sentence. It is in precisely this direction that the prepositional compounding forms begin to move in such exceptional cases as those noted below for ana, du and faur as well as those suggested above for du and fram.

b. The Adverb Type (group 3)

If the forms du, fram and miþ as mentioned previously were indeed separated compounding forms, one would certainly expect to find separation in the simple compound verbs formed with inn and ut. Particularly so as separability here would be in accord with the possible lexical independence of inn and ut. (In addition close composition of this group is not supported by the evidence of ni, there being no cases whatever with ni.) Yet there are no instances of separation of any kind.

As far as their lexical standing goes, there is no indisputable indication that inn and ut are strictly adverbial in the sense that they can stand alone, even quite independent of any verb (as can, e.g., afta in Phil. 3, 14 þaim afta;

v.s.p.14). To a certain extent this is semantically unlikely, as they are both directional adverbs and as such intimately associated with verbs. The closest to such definitely separate use is certainly John 11, 43 Lazaru, hiri ut δεῦρο ἔξω, where hiri, over which there is much controversy,[67] may well be non-verbal in feeling as well as in origin.

It is interesting to note that neither inn nor ut (except if the above hiri is thought of as a verb) is ever used independently in a sentence whose main verb is uncompounded.[68] There are many with already compounded verbs, these being in reality separated compounding forms (v.i.).

The entire evidence on inn and ut with simple verbs follows: inngaggan (main clause):

Matthew 7, 13 inngaggaiþ þairh aggwu daur εἰσέλθετε διὰ τῆς στενῆς πύλης. John 10, 9 ik im þata daur. þairh mik jabai hvas inngaggiþ, ganisiþ jah inngaggiþ jah utgaggiþ jah winja bigitiþ ἐάν τις εἰσέλθῃ σωθήσεται καὶ εἰσελεύσεται καὶ ἐξελεύσεται.

inngaggan (subordinate clause):

Matthew 8, 8 ni im wairþs ei uf hrot mein inngaggais

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[67] v. Streitberg Gr, p. 70 and p. 152 (with references).
[68] Note the contrast with fairra and nehva.

ἵνα μου ὑπὸ τὴν στέγην εἰσέλθῃς John 10, 9 (v.g.) jabai hvas inngaggiþ. Luke 7, 6 ei uf hrot mein inngaggais ἵνα ... εἰσέλθῃς . Luke 10, 5 in þane gardei inngaggaiþ εἰς ἣν δ' ἂν οἰκίαν εἰσέρχεσθε. Luke 10, 10 iþ in þoei baurge inngaggaiþ εἰς ἣν δὲ ἂν πόλιν εἰσέρχεσθε.

inngaggan (participles):

Luke 8, 16 þai inngaggandans οἱ εἰσπορευόμενοι. John 10, 2 sa inngaggands þairh daur ὁ δὲ εἰσερχόμενος διὰ τῆς θύρας . Luke 17, 12 jah inngaggandin imma in suma haimo καὶ εἰσερχομένου αὐτοῦ εἴς τινα κώμην Luke 19, 30 in þizaiei inngaggandans bigitats fulan εἰσπορευόμενοι Mark 7, 15 ni waihts ist utaþro mans inngaggando in ina þatei magi ina gamainjan, ak þata utgaggando us mann þata ist þata gamainjando mannan εἰσπορευόμενον... τὰ ἐκπορευόμενα . Mark 7, 18 all þata utaþro inngaggands in mannan (Greek: sim.). Mark 11, 2 inngaggandans in þo (baurg) εἰσπορευόμενος. Mark 5, 18 jah inngaggandan ina in skip καὶ ἐμβάντος αὐτοῦ εἰς... Mark 1, 19 jah jainþro inngaggands framis leitil προβὰς ἐκεῖθεν ὀλίγον.

inngaggan (infinitive): Luke 15, 28 ni wilda inngaggan οὐκ ἤθελεν εἰσελθεῖν . Luke 8, 51 ni fralailot aimohun inngaggan οὐκ ἀφῆκεν εἰσελθεῖν .

innwairpan:

John 12, 6 þata innwaurpano τὰ βαλλόμενα (past participle)

utgaggan:

John 10, 9 v.s. inngaggan (main clause). Mark 7, 15 v.s. inngaggan (participles).

utbairan:

Luke 7, 12 sai, utbaurans was naus ἐξεκομίζετο τεθνηκώς. (past participle).

Two points on word order are apparent. First, even in main clauses (where separation is the rule in double compounds with inn and ut; v.i. p. 63), the inn and ut in these simple compounds always precede the verb. There are, to be sure, only three instances, but these seem very convincing in view of the great regularity of the separation of inn and ut with double compounds - only three (unseparated) exceptions against nine cases (of separation) directly opposed to or independent of the Greek order, not to mention numerous others corresponding to Greek. Secondly, in six instances of participles the same invariable position obtains, contrasting with eight separated and five unseparated in the inn and ut double compounds (only participles in "verbal use" are considered; v.i. p. 62).

This evidence, and the total absence of contradictory forms, indicates that we have in group 3 (inn and ut compounds with simple verbs) instances of strict composition

in which the incipient trend to separability does not intrude. I have given the evidence in full partly because the principle of separability of inn and ut in the double compounds has a tendency to tempt one into regarding inn and ut per se as separable,[69] whereas the separability seems actually to be determined more by compounding and stress patterns than on lexical lines. This separability in the other type of inn and ut (group 4-a) is a well substantiated contrast and is rather to be used as evidence for the opposite assumption, namely that inn and ut of group 3 are probably not separable. The fact that compounds of the latter group have a total instance of 22 times (18 forms of inngaggan alone), which is a respectable number for extant Gothic and should allow for a few exceptional separated forms if the tendency were present at all, precludes to a very reasonable degree objections on the basis of insufficient evidence.

Further evidence by contrast lies in the observation that of the most closely related adverbs aftra, dalaþ, inna,

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[69] As in Grewolds 60, p. 15; 61, p. 176. Failure to differentiate between simple compounds and double ones led Leinen into a worse mistake, viz. a denial of any laws of word order applicable to inn and ut (v. Leinen, p. 32).

iupa, samana and samaþ,[70] three occur not only before simple verbs (like inn and ut) but also after them or otherwise separated from them (unlike inn and ut), viz.:

aftra: Luke 9, 62 jah saihvands aftra καὶ βλέπων εἰς τὰ ὀπίσω

dalaþ: Luke 4, 9 wairp þuk þaþro dalaþ βάλε σεαυτὸν ἐντεῦθεν κάτω

samana: Luke 17, 35 twos wairþand malandeins samana[71] δύο ἔσονται ἀλήθουσαι ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτό I Thess.

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[70]The relationship is largely semantic, but potentially syntactical (in so far as inn and ut may develop into separated forms and, possibly, adapt their word order in separated position to that of these adverbs). I am citing cases only for the above adverbs because they seem to be the ones which are usually confused with inn and ut. Other adverbs occur in position parallel to inn and ut (pre-verb position), e.g. Matthew 26, 69 iþ Paitrus uta sat ana rohsnai. Indeed, all such adverbs, especially directional ones, should be examined for word order, for there is no telling whether they might influence compounding forms by their order in the sentence.

[71]This example of samana, I think, almost certainly belongs below with the "strict adverbial use," but I shall leave it here, as it is sometimes taken with the participle. (It is a clear contrast with inn and ut either way.) Note after all the Greek original and the RV (Two women shall be grinding together; the one shall be taken, and the other left.). If samana goes with malandeins at all, it also goes with the whole phrase, because it really delimits the ideas of twos... malandeins. The distinction is not as tenuous as it sounds. It can give rise, in some languages at least, to a very concrete semantic difference, as one can easily see if one changes (through the necessary stress and sentence pitch alterations) the English "two women shall be grinding together" from its meaning in the Bible verse to its obvious sentence-pun!

5, 10 **samana miþ imma libaina** ἅμα σὺν αὐτῷ ζήσωμεν. **Col. 4, 3 bidjandans samana** προσευχόμενοι ἅμα. **Luke 15, 13 jah afar ni managans dagans brahta samana allata sa juhiza sunus** συναγαγὼν ἅπαντα ὁ νεώτερος υἱός. **(The latter is especially important because it is independent of the Greek and shows a transitive verb with its object.)**

Here again, as with fairra et al. versus the prepositions, we must make as clear a distinction as possible between what may seem to be virtually identical groups. Grewolds[72] uses the evidence of aftra, inna, iupa, samana and samaþ - these being considered, apparently, "völlig gleichwertig" with the "pure adverbs" inn and ut - to help demonstrate the separability of inn and ut. But we have already noted the practical absence of pure adverbial uses for inn and ut, compared with the considerable frequency of (invariably unseparated) compounding uses. Since the two groups are also different even in their relation to verbs, the distinction may be considered proven.

It is perhaps well to repeat here what was said in the introduction, namely that one should for clarity of

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[72] v. Grewolds 60, p. 15.

analysis distinguish compounding forms (regardless of position, which may be separated and similar to adverbial position) from adverbs.[73]

Of the adverbs aftra, dalaþ, inna, iupa,[74] samana and samaþ, strict adverbial use (again unlike inn and ut) is established for:

(aftra only in temporal uses)

dalaþ: Matthew 27, 51 and Mark 15, 38 dis(s)kritnoda in twa, iupaþro und dalaþ ἀπὸ ἄνωθεν ἕως κάτω.

inna: I Cor. 5, 12 þans inna τοὺς ἔσω.

iupa: Phil. 3, 14 þizos iupa laþonais τῆς ἄνω κλήσεως. Gal. 4, 26 iþ so iupa Iairusalem frija ist ἡ δὲ ἄνω Ἰερουσαλὴμ ἐλευθέρα ἐστίν.

samana: I Tim. 5, 13 aþþan samana ἅμα δέ RV and withal. Skeir 1, 2 allai uswandidedun samana unbrukjai waurþun; RV (Rom. 3, 12) ... they are together become unprofitable.

Parallel word order (but not therefore compounding, of course) appears in:

(aftra, as far as I can discover, only in time expressions[75])

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[73] Only as long as the distinction is useful and clearly indicated, certainly; but it definitely is so in Gothic.

[74] For iup, which does not appear with simple verbs, v. i. p. 71.

[75] Cf. Grewolds 60, p. 8, note 4.

inna: II Cor. 6, 16 þatei baua in im jah inna gagga καὶ ἐμπεριπατήσω.

iupa: Col. 3, 1 & 3, 2 þoei iupa sind τὰ ἄνω (Note added sind.) Skeir 2, 5 ustaiknida þana iupa briggandan in þiudangardjai gudis wig.

samana: Mark 12, 28 gahausjands ins samana sokjandans ἀκούσας αὐτῶν συζητούντων. Phil. 1, 27 **ainai saiwalai samana arbaidjandans** μιᾷ ψυχῇ συναθλοῦντες. II Cor. 7, 3 du miþgaswiltan jas-samana[76] liban (B du gaswiltan jah samana liban) καὶ συζῆν.

samaþ: I Cor. 5, 4 samaþ gaggandam izwis συναχθέντων ὑμῶν. Mark 9, 25 gasaihvands þatei samaþ rann managei ὅτι ἐπισυντρέχει ὄχλος.

The same conclusion seems warranted here as was indicated for fairra, etc., namely that these are true adverbs (and to be written separately) and do not enter into composition but do associate freely with verbs. This latter association obviously includes the pre-verb position, and it seems likely that this factor and the semantic similarity of the two groups (group 3 -inn and ut-; and the adverbs

[76] The assimilation apparently gives no clue to the nature of the connection of samana with liban, as such assimilation (v. Streitberg Gr, p. 53) occurs before simple verbs, compound verbs, and adverbs.

aftra, inna, etc.) plus the evident separability of inn and ut in double compounds might soon lead to instances of separation in the inn and ut compounds with simple verbs.

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2. Separability in Verbs with Two Compounding Forms

a. Those with Non-prepositions First (group 4-a)

Most of the evidence in Gothic for the very interesting notion of separable compound verbs on lines of development approaching the German situation lies in the field of verbs compounded with inn and ut. Some factor in the compounding of these forms with already compounded verbs, such as their stress (v.s.) must have given them the initial ability to stand in positions other than the immediate pre-verb location - a characteristic which, as far as our evidence is valid, distinguishes them from their non-identical twins in the simple compounds. Grewolds is the first, to my knowledge, to give a systematic review of the evidence for separation.[77]

The following are all the cases of separation, together with the contrasting cases of pre-verb position.

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[77] Grewolds 60, p. 16 ff. He is not, however, primarily interested in the syntax of the separated and unseparated forms, nor does he note the vital distinction between simple and double compounds.

Equivalents across the line are on a basis of morphology, the groups for each verb being finite forms first; then non-finite, with participles in "verbal function" listed before the strictly nominal uses.

inn - Intransitive Verbs

Luke 4, 16 jah galaiþ inn bi biuhtja seinamma in daga sabbato in swnagogein καὶ εἰσῆλθεν ... εἰς ...
Mark 5, 40 jah galaiþ inn þarei was þata barn καὶ εἰσπορεύεται
Mark 15, 43 anananþjands galaiþ inn du Peilatau εἰσῆλθεν πρὸς Π.

Luke 6, 4 ni þata ussuggwud... hvaiwa inngalaiþ in gard gudis ὡς εἰσῆλθεν εἰς ...
Matthew 7, 21 ni hvazuh saei qiþiþ mis: frauja, frauja! inngaleiþiþ in þiudangardja himine εἰσελεύσεται εἰς...
Mark 14, 14 jah þadei inngaleiþai καὶ ὅπου ἐὰν εἰσέλθῃ
Rom. 11, 25 und þatei fullo þiudo inngaleiþai ἄχρις οὗ ... εἰσέλθῃ
Luke 18, 24 hvaiwa agluba þai faihu habandans inngaleiþand in þiudangardja gudis πῶς... εἰσελεύσονται εἰς ...

Luke 1, 28 jah galeiþands inn sa aggilus du izai qaþ καὶ εἰσελθὼν ὁ ἄγγελος πρὸς αὐτὴν...

Luke 19, 1 jah inngaleiþands þairhlaiþ Iaireikon καὶ εἰσελθὼν διήρχετο ...
Skeir 2, 20 ni mag inngaleiþan in þiudangardja gudis (v. John 3, 5)
Matthew 7, 13 jah managai sind þai inngaleiþandans þairh þata οἱ εἰσερχόμενοι

I Cor. 14, 23 jabai gaqimiþ alla aikklesjo samana jah rodjand razdom allai, atuþþangaggand inn jah unweisai ... ἐὰν... εἰσέλθωσιν δὲ ἰδιῶται ...

Luke 7, 45 iþ si, fram þammei innatiddja, ni swaif bikukjan fotuns meinans ἀφ' ἧς εἰσῆλθον
John 10, 1 saei inn ni atgaggiþ þairh daur in gardan lambe[78] ὃ μὴ εἰσερχόμενος
I Cor. 14, 24(jabai)iþ innatgaggai hvas ungalaubjands εἰσέλθῃ δέ τις...

[78]Following the interpretation of this as tmetic separation (v.s.pp.32-33).

Matthew 9, 25 þanuh þan usdribana warþ so managei, atgaggands inn habaida handu izos εἰσελθὼν ...

Mark 5, 39 jah innatgaggands qaþ du im καὶ εἰσελθὼν λέγει
Matthew 27, 53 jah usgaggandans us hlaiwasnom afar urrist is innatgaggandans in þo weihon baurg jah ataugidedun sik managaim εἰσῆλθον εἰς ...

Mark 6, 22 jah atgaggandein inn dauhtar καὶ εἰσελθούσης τῆς θυγατρός

Matthew 8, 5 afaruh þan þata innatgaggandin imma in Kafarnaum εἰσελθόντι δὲ αὐτῷ εἰς τὸ πλοῖον
Matthew 8, 23 jah innatgaggandin imma in skip καὶ ἐμβάντι αὐτῷ εἰς τὸ πλοῖον
Luke 14, 23 jah naubei innatgaggan καὶ ἀνάγκασον εἰσελθεῖν
Luke 1, 29 bi innatgahtai is in introitu eius[79]
Mark 4, 19 jah þai bi þata anþar lustjus innatgaggandans afhvapjand þata waurd εἰσπορευόμεναι

Gal. 2, 4 galiugabroþre, þaiei innufslupun οἵτινες παρεισῆλθον

inn - Transitive Verbs

John 18, 16 þaruh usiddja ut sa siponeis anþar ... jah attauh inn Paitru καὶ εἰσήγαγεν τὸν Π.

Luke 2, 27 jah miþþanei innattauhun berusjos þata barn Iesu ... καὶ ἐν τῷ εἰσαγαγεῖν τοὺς γονεῖς τὸ παιδίον ...

Luke 5, 18 jah sokidedun hvaiwa ina innatbereina καὶ ἐζήτουν αὐτὸν εἰσενεγκεῖν
Luke 5, 19 jah ni bigitandans hvaiwa innatbereina ina ποίας εἰσενέγκωσιν αὐτόν

ut - Intransitive Verbs

John 19, 5 þaruh usiddja ut Iesus ἐξῆλθεν οὖν ἔξω

Matthew 9, 32 þanuh biþe utusiddjedun eis αὐτῶν δὲ ἐξερχομένων

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[79] v. Streitberg B ad loc. cit.

John 18, 16 þaruh usiddja ut sa siponeis anþar ἐξῆλθεν οὖν ὁ μαθητὴς
Mark 11, 19 usiddja ut us þizai baurg ἐξεπορεύετο ἔξω τῆς πόλεως
Mark 1, 25 þahai jah usgagg ut us þamma ἔξελθε ἐξ αὐτοῦ

John 18, 4 usgaggands ut qaþ im ἐξελθὼν εἶπεν
Luke 15, 28 iþ atta is usgaggands ut bad im ἐξελθὼν παρεκάλει
Matthew 26, 75 jah usgaggands ut gaigrot baitraba καὶ ἐξελθὼν ἔξω

John 19, 4 atiddja aftra ut Peilatus jah qaþ im ἐξῆλθεν πάλιν ἔξω
John 18, 29 þaruh atiddja ut Peilatus du im ἐξῆλθεν οὖν ὁ Π. πρὸς ...
John 13, 30 suns galaiþ ut & þan galaiþ ut ἐξῆλθεν
John 18, 38 galaiþ ut du Iudaium ἐξῆλθεν πρὸς...

ut - Transitive Verbs

John 9, 34 & 9, 35 uswaurpun imma ut ἐξέβαλον αὐτὸν ἔξω
Mark 12, 8 jah uswaurpun imma ut us þamma weinagarda καὶ ἐξέβαλον αὐτὸν ἔξω τοῦ ἀμπελῶνος
John 6, 37 jah þana gaggandan du mis ni uswairpa ut οὐμὴ ἐκβάλω ἔξω
John 12, 31 nu sa reiks þis fairhvaus uswairpada ut ἐκβληθήσεται ἔξω
John 15, 6 uswairpada ut swe weinatains ἐκβλήθη ἔξω

Luke 20, 15 jah uswairpandans ina ut us þamma weinagarda usqemun καὶ ἐκβαλόντες αὐτὸν ἔξω τοῦ ἀμπελῶνος

John 19, 4 sai attiuha izwis ina ut ἴδε ἄγω ὑμῖν αὐτὸν ἔξω

Luke 14, 35 utuswairpand imma ἔξω βάλλουσιν αὐτό

Luke 4, 29 jah usstandans uskusun imma ut us baurg ἐξέβαλον αὐτὸν ἔξω τῆς πόλεως

Luke 8, 54 þanuh is usdreibands allans ut ... wopida ἐκβαλὼν πάντας ἔξω

Analysis of this evidence gives a most interesting picture of the inn and ut forms.

Definite compound nature (for the full double compound) is not established for these verbs by any case of ni followed by the verb with the inn or ut first, but this situation is natural (v.s.pp.35-37).[80] That they are compounds can only be inferred - from the regularity of their word order pattern in clauses, from the presumably invariable preposed order in the infinitive, and from their clear differentiation from the ordinary directional adverbs (v.i.). But I think the reasons are more than sufficient, and I hope that the following paragraphs will demonstrate the point.

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[80] ni in initial position - or the equivalent thereof - appears only in John 6, 37 ni uswairpa ut. The other case of ni, John 10, 1 saei inn ni atgaggiþ, is best regarded as an example of tmetic separation only (v.s., with miþniqam, p. 34 ff.). In the light of word order analysis (v.i.) it will be seen that these compounding forms are in their normal position for main and subordinate clause, respectively. Tmesis of the usual type, in I Cor. 14, 23 atuþþangaggand inn, shows the inn separated. On the word order of the latter phrase, v.i.

Parallels within the Gothic and the evidence of translation equivalence indicate that, though inn and ut are often separated, the forms with the pre-verb position and those with separation are actually identical in meaning. For example:[81]

Participial forms: jah galeiþands inn sa aggilus } - εἰσελθών
jah inngaleiþands þairhlaiþ I.)

atgaggands inn habaida... } - εἰσελθών
innatgaggands qaþ)

Absolute participle: atgaggandein inn dauhtar) Greek
innatgaggandin imma in) absolute
skip) constructions

Main clause: uswaurpun imma ut ἐξέβαλον αὐτὸν ἔξω
utuswairpand imma ἔξω βάλλουσιν αὐτό

The instance of utuswairpand imma in the main clause is actually exceptional,[82] but this group of parallels alone is enough to indicate that we are dealing with a cohesive set of verbs, not one set with double compounding and another with simple compounding and a more or less loosely attached adverb inn or ut. This becomes all the more clear when we discover that the distribution of separated and unseparated forms is not accidental but substantially systematic, depending on morphological and syntactical conditions.

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[81] In all the following discussion only the pertinent part of the passage will be cited, the reference and the full text being in the table.

[82] v.i. p. 65.

There is one probable distinction on morphological lines, though the evidence is scanty. Of the non-finite forms, the infinitive and the verbal noun appear only in unseparated form, viz. jah naubei innatgaggan; ni mag inngaleiþan; bi innatgahtai is.[83] It is likely that this order was regular in Gothic, especially in view of the OHG situation (v.i.p. 181[2]). In the other non-finite form extant, namely the present participle, there seems to be a distinct division into two types of order on a very natural line. Participles used as nouns appear only unseparated, viz. þai inngaleiþandans; þai bi þata anþar lustjus innatgaggandans. Participles with "subjects" or predicates or otherwise substituting for one verb of a compound sentence appear with both types of word order:

Transitive	
is usdreibands allans ut...	
uswairpandans ina ut us...	
Intransitive	
jah galeiþands inn sa aggilus...	inngaleiþands þairhlaiþ...
atta is usgaggands ut bad	
atgaggands inn habaida	innatgaggandans in þo weihon baurg
usgaggands ut qaþ	innatgaggands qaþ
usgaggands ut gaigrot	
Absolute Construction	
atgaggandein inn dauhtar	innatgaggandin imma in K. innatgaggandin imma in skip

[83] Including the verbal noun may seem odd, but different order is possible; v. ModE the outcome, the come-on.

When Delbrück first noted a possible word order pattern of the inn compounds in the main and subordinate clauses,[84] he indicated also his belief that the same pattern is valid for participles as well: "Wenn aber das Participium als Nebensatz empfunden wird, steht inn nach."

The most important distinction in these inn and ut compounds, and the one which speaks most eloquently for both separated and unseparated forms belonging together in a system of "separable compound verbs" is the word order pattern in clauses. Delbrück,[85] giving the evidence on inn, makes the observation "dass das Adverbium inn im Gotischen... im Hauptsatz nach dem Verbum Finitum zu stehen pflegt, im Nebensatz aber vor ihm."[86] The complete evidence, including ut verbs, is:[87]

Main Clause	Subordinate Clause
inn	
Transitive	
(usiddja ut sa siponeis) jah attauh inn Paitru	miþþanei innattauhun berusjos þata barn
	sokidedun hvaiwa ina innatbereina
	ni bigitandans hvaiwa innatbereina iha

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[84]B. Delbrück, "Beiträge zur germanischen Syntax," PBB 36, pp. 359-360. But for the fact that he failed to notice any difference between simple and double compounds, Delbrück would doubtless have set up the whole pattern.

[85]Ibid.

[86]Delbrück includes John 10, 9 jah inngaggiþ jah utgaggiþ as an exception. For his explanation, see the article cited. It is not necessary to include these forms or Matthew 7, 13 inngaggaiþ þairh aggwu daur (which would also constitute an exception), simple inn and ut compounds being inseparable under all circumstances. (v.s. p. 48 ff.)

[87]The table includes only the regular cases which

Intransitive	
jah galaiþ inn	ni þata ussuggwud hvaiwa inn-galaiþ in gard gudis
" " "	und þatei fullo þiudo inngaleiþai
	jah þadei inngaleiþai
	saei inn ni atgaggiþ
	fram þammei innatiddja
	iþ jabai allai praufetjand, iþ innatgaggai hvas ungalaubjands
	galiugabroþre, þaiei innufslupun
ut	
þaruh usiddja ut sa siponeis anþar	biþe utusiddjedun eis
þaruh atiddja ut P.	
þan galaiþ ut "	
suns " "	"
galaiþ ut du...	"
usgagg ut us þamma	
etc.	

The remaining (9) ut forms in regular order for the main clause (see the first table) all have ἐξω in the Greek and are therefore not as strikingly significant as the above - independent - examples, although they are no less regular in word order.

The pressure of this word order rule must have been very strong, for in nine instances (all the cases in the left hand column of the last table) Wulfila is at least independent of, if not contrary to, the Greek order.

The three exceptions to the Gothic rule for the main clause may possibly be ascribed to the pressure of the Vorlage. The exceptions are: 1) hvaiwa agluba þai faihu habandans inngaleiþand in þiudangardja gudis εἰσελεύσονται εἰς

establish the rule. The exceptions, actually only three in number, are discussed immediately below.

and 2) ni hvazuh saiei qiþiþ mis: frauja, frauja! inngalaiþiþ in þiudangardja gudis εἰσελεύσεται εἰς. Delbrück[88] explains these, as well as John 18, 15 jah miþinngalaiþ miþ Iesua in rohsn þis gudjins καὶ συνεισῆλθεν τῷ Ἰησοῦ εἰς.., in the same fashion, namely the avoidance of repetition (inn in).[89] This would not apply to the one further exception, viz. 3) utuswairpand imma ἔξω βάλλουσιν αὐτό. The evidence is so sparse that it is hard to reach any conclusion, but close following of the Greek is always possible. Considering the degree of Greekishness generally found in Wulfila, it is actually surprising that there is so little in this construction. The regular instances for these same verbs (inngaleiþan and utuswairpan), after all, outnumber the above exceptions decisively.

A further possible explanation for the two exceptions with inn is the very interesting one of preposed particle with late verb in the main clause. This principle is regular in OHG (v.i. p. 198[2]). It is typified by the following contrasting cases with the compounding form nidar: Otfrid IV-30-17 stig nu nídar and III-17-41 er sih sar nídar neigta. It would not apply to the utuswairpand, though.

There is one seeming exception in the subordinate clause. The verse (I Cor. 14, 23) is complicated, and the English will help make the clause construction clear: jabai gaqimiþ alla aikklesjo samana jah rodjand razdom allai atuþþangaggand inn jah unweisai aiþþau ungalaubjandans niu

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[88]Delbrück, loc. cit.

[89]Previously the form miþinngalaiþ has been mentioned only in passing (v.s. pp. 19,22; 26, note 37). It is an odd form in point of word order, since inn is definitely separable and miþ, belonging with inn in group 4, might be expected to separate. On the other hand, it is possible that the presence of miþ keeps the inn from separating as it would be expected to in the main clause. But a single instance is no basis for much analysis.

qiþand þatei dwalmoþ RV If therefore the whole church be come together into one place, and all speak with tongues, and there come in those that are unlearned, or unbelievers, will they not say that ye are mad? The atuþþangaggand inn is probably a natural Gothic construction, as the Greek has only εἰσέλθωσιν δέ. Delbrück[90] finds this form an exception and explains it as avoidance of "Häufung einsilbiger Wörter vor dem Verbum." There are the frequently mentioned cases of gaþþanmiþsandidedun and saei inn ni atgaggiþ on the opposite side of that argument, however. I suspect, though I cannot document the suggestion very well at present, that this bit of main clause order in the subordinate clause is actually no strict exception but a general Germanic tendency to forget whatever regular word order may currently prevail in the subordinate clause by the time a parallel clause is added on (without repeating the conjunction) and to use in its stead the main clause order. It is certainly very common in Modern German. Curme[91] gives the following sentence which may serve as a typical example: Wenn der Vater heute abend nach Hause kommt und er hat (or - hat er) nichts mitgebracht, so ... Another, from Hermann Hesse's

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[90] loc. cit.

[91] G. Curme, Grammar of the German Language. (New York, 1905), p. 424.

Fabulierbuch (p. 13): Und selig ist, wer ihm dient und opfert ihm sein Leben. For an OHG example, v.i. p.221[2],n.426.

It seems to me that a further interesting point of word order (in spite of the little evidence) may be made in examining those cases in which an object appears with separated inn and ut. They indicate that Gothic observed a presumably widespread Germanic rule of order which continues, for example, into Modern English. The observation is that pronominal (i.e. relatively unstressed) objects occur only between the verb and the separated compounding form (or adverb), while noun objects with their heavier stress may follow. The cases: uswaurpun imma ut; jah uswaurpun imma ut us...; uskusun imma ut us ...; attiuha izwis ina ut; but jah attauh inn Paitru.[92] It is possible that the noun object may take either position, as in ModE: 'he ate up the cake' or 'he ate the cake up', but always 'he ate it up.' v.i. iup, p. 71.

Two participles appear with pronominal objects in the expected order: usdreibands allans ut ἐκβαλὼν πάντας ἔξω and uswairpandans ina ut us... ἐκβαλόντες αὐτὸν ἔξω (τοῦ)...

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[92]In the instances with pronoun(s) the Gothic follows the Greek (v.s.) but this is only natural. The case with noun object is independent.

It should be noted at this point that the above are the only instances of complete separation (i.e. by an intervening word) of inn and ut from their verbs (unless saei inn ni atgaggiþ be so regarded - but the latter is in any case not on the same level, being a case of tmetic separation by ni only, and in a subordinate clause). The point is that there are no instances of remote separation, as there are for aftra, etc. (v.i.).

It is now in order to look over the examples of compound verbs occurring with the adverbs aftra, dalaþ, framis, inna, iup, samana, samaþ[93] (these being the principal ones which also occur in the most ambiguous position, that is, directly before compound verbs). Grewolds seems to regard this group as equivalent with inn and ut.[94] Since inn and ut with already compounded verbs are separable and since the separated position is of course apt to correspond with the normal adverb position, we must expect less striking contrast here than in the comparison of these adverbs with inn and ut in simple compounds.[95] Yet the following decisive differences turn up.

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[93]On the adverbial nature of aftra, dalaþ, inna, samana, v.s. p. 54. framis and iup occur only in the passages cited here. There is no unambiguous adverbial case of samaþ.

[94]Grewolds 60, p. 9, note 1 and p. 18, note 1.

[95]v.s. p. 51 ff.

Order in the subordinate clause is definitely freer among the adverbs. In three cases we find the adverb after the verb and only three times (v.i.) in the order which is regular for inn and ut. After the verb: Luke 19, 15 **biþe atwandida sik aftra** ἐν τῷ ἐπανελθεῖν αὐτόν; Luke 2, 43 **miþþane gawandidedun sik aftra** ἐν τῷ ὑποστρέφειν αὐτούς;[96] and I Cor. 14, 23 **jabai gaqimiþ alla aikklesjo samana** ἐὰν οὖν συνέλθῃ ἡ ἐκκλησία ὅλη ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτό. The deceptively compound-like appearance of the latter led to its citation by M. H. Roberts[97] as an example of the "post-removed order," which is "rarest in Gothic." Actually there is ample reason a priori for rejecting this as a verb-adverb compound (samana just does not seem to function in this way). In addition, such word order in a subordinate clause is in direct contrast with the regular pattern as established above, which would presumably apply here if this were a compound.

There is one instance of separation in a main clause which is likewise entirely at variance with inn and ut, being both in front of the verb and separated from the verb by a phrase: Matthew 11, 23 **dalaþ und halja galeiþis** ἕως ᾅδου

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[96] Note that in neither of these cases with aftra could Greek order be held responsible.

[97] "The Antiquity of the Germanic Verb-Adverb Locution," JEGPh 35, p. 472.

καταβήσῃ. It is worth noting here that this may be regarded as a phrase made up of adverb plus preposition plus object ("down to... ") and that, while sentences like usiddja ut us þizai baurg might also be so considered,[98] the ut, even in such situations, never is removed from the normal position of a compounding form. In keeping with the development of OHG ûz as an adverb, such phrases (ûz fon ...) are both obvious and common (v.i.p. 100?).

(The two examples of separation in absolute participles, dalaþ þan atgaggandin and dalaþ þan atgaggandam in Matthew 8, 1 and Mark 9, 9 respectively, are not, I think, the same sort of forms as the dalaþ und halja galeiþis mentioned above, but parallels among the adverbs to saei inn ni atgaggiþ,[99] and they may like the latter be interpreted as position before the verb.)

Different word order for the main clause also appears in Luke 19, 5 Zakkaiu, sniumjands dalaþ atsteig Ζ. σπεύσας κατάβηθι, cf. ni uswairpa ut; and in Rom. 13, 12 nahts framis galaiþ ἡ νὺξ προέκοψεν ; and in I Cor. 7, 5 þaþroh-þan samaþ gawandjaiþ καὶ πάλιν ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ συνέρχεσθε.

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99 Thus Grimm IV, p. 938.
v.s.pp.32-33.

The only case of a finite verb with a noun as direct object is interesting: John 11, 41 iþ Iesus uzuhhof augona iup ὁ δὲ Ἰ. ἦρεν τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ἄνω.[100] This form might well be interpreted as the normal position of the strongly stressed adverb, the invariable first position (noted above, p. 67) of the lightly stressed pronoun being the indication that of two such forms after the verb - compounding form and noun or pronoun; adverb and noun or pronoun - the more heavily stressed one is second. Then attauh inn Paitru would indicate that inn has less stress than the noun, while uzuhhof augona iup would show that iup has, potentially at least, greater stress than the noun. This stress relation would accord entirely with the greater mobility of all these "real" adverb forms like dalaþ in comparison with compounding forms (inn and ut). The evidence, again, is so scanty that this can be made only as a conjecture.

There is one case of negation after ni: Luke 17, 31 ni atsteigai dalaþ niman þo μὴ καταβάτω ἆραι αὐτά, similar to ni uswairpa ut.

Parallel word order (but not therefore parallel syntax!) also occurs in the following instances: 1) Matthew 8, 1 dalaþ þan atgaggandin imma af ... καταβάντι δὲ αὐτῷ ἀπὸ ...

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[100] Curme Compounds, p. 325 says that the "prefix iup ... is commonly separated." The evidence given here precludes the idea that iup is a separable prefix - or a prefix at all.

and Mark 9, 9 dalaþ þan atgaggandam im af ... καταβαινόντων δὲ αὐτῶν ἀπὸ... (v.s. p.70) 2) Infinitives: Rom. 10, 6 hvas ussteigiþ in himin ? þat ist Xristu dalaþ attiuhan τοῦτ' ἔστιν Χριστὸν καταγαγεῖν and Rom. 10, 7 hvas gasteigiþ in afgrundiþa ? þat ist Xristu us dauþaim iup ustiuhan Χριστὸν ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀναγαγεῖν . 3) Participles: (No examples of participles used as nouns.) Position after verb in Luke 6, 17 jah atgaggands dalaþ miþ im gastoþ καὶ καταβὰς μετ' αὐτῶν; Mark 1, 19 jah jainþro inngaggands framis leitil καὶ προβὰς ἐκεῖθεν ὀλίγον; Luke 19, 5 insaihvands iup Iesus gasahv ina ἀναβλέψας ὁ Ἰ. εἶδεν αὐτόν. Position before verb in the dalaþ examples of Matthew 8, 1 and Mark 9, 9 (v.s.) and in Luke 9, 37 dalaþ atgaggandam im af fairgunja κατελθόντων αὐτῶν ἀπὸ... The past participle (none with inn and ut) in II Cor. 3, 3 inna gamelida ni swartiza ἐγγεγραμένη οὐ μέλανι. 4) Subordinate clauses: I Cor. 14, 26 þan samaþ garinnaiþ ὅταν συνέρχεσθε; I Thess. 4, 16 unte silba frauja ... dalaþ atsteigiþ af himina ὅτι αὐτὸς ὁ κύριος ... καταβήσεται ἀπ' οὐρανοῦ; Col. 1, 29 bi waurstwa sei - ... inna uswaurkeiþ in mis κατὰ τὴν ἐνέργειαν αὐτοῦ τὴν ἐνεργουμένην ἐν ἐμοί (This latter is doubtless a case of scribal omission of a relative pronoun[101]) 5) Main

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[101] v. Streitberg B ad loc. and Gr, p. 229.

clauses: Matthew 7, 25 & 27 jah atiddja dalaþ rign καὶ κατέβη ἡ βροχή ; Luke 17, 31 ni atsteigai dalaþ (v.s.); John 18, 6 jah gadrusun dalaþ καὶ ἔπεσον χαμαί; John 9, 6 þata qiþands gaspaiw dalaþ ἔπτυσεν χαμαί; John 11, 41 iþ Iesus uzuhhof augona iup (v.s.). (If Mark 3, 5 jah gastoþ aftra so handus is καὶ ἀπεκατεστάθη ἡ χεὶρ αὐτοῦ is not simply a time expression with aftra, it also belongs here.)

The same order with pronoun objects (though with exceptional word order for subordinate clauses; v.s.) is found in two instances: Luke 19, 15 (biþe) atwandida sik aftra and Luke 2, 43 (miþþane) gawandidedun sik aftra.

To sum up - in this group of words where we expect the greatest possible correspondency of use with inn and ut we still find important differences (word order in subordinate clause, word order in main clause, remote separation) and these differences are numerous enough in comparison with the correspondencies so that we must keep these words distinct from the compounding forms inn and ut. They can be explained throughout as regular adverbs. Thus it seems natural to write the two differently, as has been done in anticipation of this argument, with inn- and ut- written together with the verb whenever they occur directly before it and the adverbs like dalaþ written separate.

b. Those with Preposition First (group 4-b)

There is a large body of prepositional compounds, and

they are discussed fully by Mourek and Rice (q.v.). The obviously inseparable ones are relevant only in so far as they give comparative evidence on the question of possible separability. The essential cases for this discussion are those in which the prepositions of group 4-b stand alone. Such instances, though few, are extremely significant. The cases of separate du (and fram) discussed above (pp.39-43) should also be borne in mind here.

The origin of these cases of separation is far more complex than the development of separable inn and ut, for separable inn and ut are certainly a part of the verb system, regular in word order and not marked, as far as the evidence goes, by other independent uses. In Gothic we have for some of the prepositional instances direct parallels in the form of unseparated verb compounds indicating that these separated prepositions may already have been felt as a part of a verbal unit. It is evident from an examination of the whole body of instances (separated and unseparated), however, that there is no regularity in these prepositional compounds which would justify setting up a syntactically consistent class of separable prepositional compounds, parallel to the inn and ut compounds.

Before giving the extant instances and attempting to explain them, it should be remarked that there is one other

and quite different (i.e. non-verbal) fashion in which otherwise purely prepositional forms may come to stand entirely alone in the sentence. This is the preposition in isolation as a result of anticipation of its object. As in ModE[102] 'the box to put the books in' or 'the box (that) I put the books in'; ON hann hǫfþe alt þat er hann skaut til[103] ("he hit everything that he shot at"), etc. The same sort of anticipation seems to appear in sentences other than those with relative clauses or modificatory infinitive phrases (like the above); e.g. it may well be regarded as appearing in such a sentence as 'he bought a box and put the books in,' etc. (but v.i.). We have already mentioned the definite possibility of just such a situation in Gothic, viz. atberun du imma barna ... iþ þai siponjos is sokun þaim bairandam du. Now the question inevitably arises: First, is there any way to distinguish such forms as 'the box $\binom{\text{to}}{\text{he}}$ put the books in,' which are cases of anticipated objects and hence still prepositional uses, from real separable verb forms (such as 'put in' - "to submit" - in 'he put an application in' or 'pull in' in 'pull your stomach in,' where only a tour de force will

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[102] v. Curme Syntax, p. 566, Heusler, p. 149 ff.

[103] Heusler, p. 167. For numerous other examples of this general type of construction with verbs, v. A. Sturtevant, "The Position of the Verb-Adverb Locution with Reference to the Verb in the Elder Edda," SS 16, pp. 1-21.

make the 'in' a preposition and complete it with an object). Secondly, where does such a sentence as 'he bought a box and put the books in' belong between the two extremes ('a box to put the books in' - prepositional; 'pull in your stomach' 'pull your stomach in' 'he ate up the cake' 'he ate the cake up' - verb-adverb compound).[104] Naturally, such questions are not meant to be asked only of English, but also of any dialect including Gothic which contains such forms. The English examples are used only to clarify the issue.

To the first question we may say definitely: At least some Gmc dialects make a distinction, e.g.:

ModE.1) 'the box $\binom{\text{to}}{\text{he}}$ put the books in' (prepositional type) always has the preposition after the direct object if such object is present, while the verb-adverb type generally may have the adverb either before or after (v.s.)
2) Prepositions which otherwise never occur alone may do so in this type of isolated use, e.g. 'the man I bought the books from' 'the man he spoke of,' while there are no verb-adverb combinations with 'from', 'of', etc. 3) Stress difference even with parallel word order seems probable: 'the box he put the books in'[105] but 'pull your stomach

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[104]And, for general discussion, the most vexing question - which came first ? That is, what was the first break in the serene consistency of the prepositional system (inseparable preposition-verb compounds; prepositions otherwise only with objects) represented by later Greek and almost by Gothic.

[105]Retaining the usual lack of stress of the preposition.

in' (or: 'pull your stómach in').

ModGm colloquial speech: Prepositions which never appear in verb compounding may be used in isolation: der Brunnen wo die Leute von trinken; da kann ich nichts für, etc.

ON, on the other hand, has either order in the relative clause: Rǫ́n átte net þat er hon veidde í menn alla (literally: "Ron had a net that she caught in all people") or kona manz sú er hann á bǫrn með[106] ("a man's wife that he has children with"). It must always be remembered that ON prepositions are even freer than those of ModE.

As to the second question (where do such sentences as 'he bought a box and put the books in' belong ?) it seems clear that ModE places this, in spite of its seeming omission of the (anticipated) object, with the verb-adverb compounds. The reason for this assumption is that, different from relative clauses, not all prepositions may so occur, but only those which appear in regular verb-adverb compounding. For example, we cannot say "*I went to the man and bought the box from." Yet the possibility of such a construction in Gmc is assured by ON in such sentences as hann hafþe skúto ok á þriá tego manna (literally: "he had a ship and on 30 men") and konungr sende skip ok fekk til

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[106]Heusler, p. 167.

stýremann[107] ("the king sent a ship and acted as the helmsman for"). Of course, ON shows the greatest freedom in the use of prepositional forms,[108] both á and til, for example, appearing as preverbs and in adverbial uses.[109] In Gothic it would seem that there is, proportionately, more evidence for the sort of use represented by the above ON examples and by the already mentioned sokun þaim bairandam du (sci. imma) than for the use of prepositions as separable compounding forms. See below.

With this background in mind the Gothic examples should seem clearer - or rather the difficulty of analysis should at least be plain.

The one obvious instance (with an already compounded verb) of a preposition with object anticipated[110] is Matthew 27, 7 usbauhtedun us þaim þana akr kasjins du usfilhan ana gastim ἠγόρασαν ἐξ αὐτῶν τὸν ἀγρὸν τοῦ κεραμέως εἰς ταφὴν τοῖς ξένοις (where, in view of the independence of the Gothic from the Greek original, we have beyond doubt a

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[107] Heusler, p. 151.

[108] An extreme example being rekkâa ein ok klæ̂þe í (Heusler, p. 151).

[109] v. Cleasby under á and til.

[110] Grewolds 60, p. 3 notes this form with the other examples of ana, du and faur without differentiation, calling it a compounding form (anausfilhan!?). Streitberg (WB under ana) gives it as an adverb; sim. Stamm-Heyne-Wrede, Bernhardt, Balg. A. M. Sturtevant, "Gothic Syntactical Notes," in: Studies in Honor of Hermann Collitz. (Baltimore, 1930),

natural Gothic construction). If any explanation is needed for the odd dative gastim, it can be found in the Greek.

The remaining instances of isolated prepositions in conjunction with compound verbs are:

ana:

1) Mark 8, 23 jah fairgreipands handu þis blindins ustauh ina utana weihsis jah speiwands in augona is atlagjands ana handuns seinos frah ina gauhvasehvi ? ἐπιθεὶς τὰς χεῖρας αὐτοῦ (Note again the independence of the Gothic construction.)

Compare this 1) with the following compound verbs (there being no extant verb *anaatlagjan): Luke 4, 40 iþ is ainhvarjammeh ize handuns analagjands gahailida ins τὰς χεῖρας ἐπιθεὶς ... and Luke 10, 30 ... þaiei jah biraubodedun ina jah banjos analag (-jandans - not clear in MS[111]) πληγὰς ἐπιθέντες . Note that these are compounded with simple verbs.

And 2) with the following preposition plus object forms: Matthew 9, 18 akei qimands atlagei handu þeina ana ija ἐπίθες τὴν χεῖρά σου ἐπ' αὐτήν; Mark 15, 17 jah atlagidedun ana ina

pp. 101-102, calls it "an adverbial modifier of the verbal substantive usfilhan," making no mention of possible prepositional origin. Sturtevant also discusses Friedrichsen's idea that ana is a plain preposition.

[111] v. Streitberg B ad loc.

þaurneina wipja ... καὶ περιτιθέασιν αὐτῷ ... ἀκάνθινον στέφανον.

2) Mark 11, 7 jah brahtedun þana fulan at Iesua jah galagidedun ana wastjos seinos jah gasat ana ina[112] καὶ ἐπέβαλον αὐτῷ τὰ ἱμάτια αὐτῶν καὶ ἐκάθισεν ἐπ' αὐτῷ.

Compare this 1) with the compound verbs given above from Luke 4, 40 & 10, 30 (there being no compound verb *anagalagjan).

And 2) with the following prepositional forms: John 9, 15 fani galagida mis ana augona πηλὸν ἐπέθηκέν μου ἐπὶ...; John 19, 2 jah galagidedun (sci. wipja) imma ana haubid ἐπέθηκαν αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ...; Mark 8, 25 þaþroh aftra galagida handuns ana þo augona is ἐπέθηκεν τὰς χεῖρας ἐπὶ ...

du:

1) With simple verb in Mark 10, 13 (v.s.pp. 39-41)

2) Luke 8, 44 atgaggandei du aftaro attaitok skauta wastjos is προσελθοῦσα ὄπισθεν.

Compare this 1) with the compound verb in Matthew 9, 20 qino bloþarinnandei ib. wintruns

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[112] Streitberg (B ad loc.) insists that ina should be added after the first ana to correspond with the Greek, the "omission" being a scribal error. But cf. Curme Compounds, pp. 350-1 for a contradiction of this suggestion.

duatgaggandei aftaro attaitok skauta wastjos is[113] προσελθοῦσα ὄπισθεν, etc.[114]

And 2) with the prepositional forms: Luke 18, 14 atiddja sa garaihtoza gataihans du garda seinamma κατέβη οὗτος δεδικαιωμένος εἰς ... and Luke 9, 12 atgaggandans þan du imma þai twalif προσελθόντες δὲ οἱ δώδεκα.

faur:

1) Luke 19, 4 jah biþragjands faur usstaig ana smakkabagm καὶ προδραμὼν ἔμπροσθεν.

Compare this 1) with the similar compound verbs (there being no extant verb *faurbiþragjan) in Mark 10, 32 jah ⟨was⟩[115] faurbigaggands ins Iesus καὶ ἦν προάγων αὐτοὺς ὁ Ἰ. (sim. Mark 16, 7) and (without the direct object construction) in I Tim. 5, 24 sumaize manne frawaurhteis swikunþos sind faurbisniwandeins du stauai πρόδηλοί εἰσιν προάγουσαι εἰς κρίσιν.

There are no extant instances of the preposition faur used with this particular verb.

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[113] One can hardly refrain from thanking Wulfila for this faultless pair of contrasting examples.

[114] Forms of duatgaggan appear 12 times in Gothic. Citing others would be supererogatory.

[115] v. Streitberg B ad loc.

2) Mark 8, 6 jah atgaf (sci. hlaibans) siponjam seinaim ei atlagidedeina faur jah atlagidedun faur þo managein ἵνα παρα-θῶσιν καὶ παρέθηκαν τῷ ὄχλῳ.

Compare this 1) with the following compound verb (there being no extant verb *fauratlagjan): Luke 9, 16 nimands þan þans fimf hlaibans jah twans fiskans ... jah gaf siponjam du faurlagjan þizai managein παρα-τιθέναι τῷ ὄχλῳ.

And 2) with the prepositional use in the original passage.

It is possible, in spite of the small number of extant cases to examine these prepositional forms with roughly the same lexical, syntactical and morphological criteria as were used in considering inn and ut. On this analysis rests not only our judgment of these prepositional forms but also, of course, our decision on the status of the Gothic prepositional compounds in relation to the matter of separability.

The following points of parallel lexical evidence may be noted:

1) Parallel compound verbs occur for the one instance of du (a complete parallel) and, almost as convincingly though not with the same verb, for one of the examples of faur. No equivalent double compounds appear for the two instances of ana, none for the second example of faur.

single compounds (faurlagjan, analagjan, atlagjan) cannot be regarded as equivalents, since their pre-verbs must in any case be regarded as inseparable (v.s. p. 38 ff).

2) Parallel preposition plus object forms appear for the two ana's, for du, and for the first example of faur, but not for the second example of faur. This latter lacuna is of no consequence, there being, of course, many examples of faur used with verbs quite similar to biþragjan. Among the naturally very large number of prepositional instances, the really significant ones are the repetition in the same sentence of atlagidedeina faur and atlagidedun faur þo managein, and the partial equivalence in the same sentence of galagidedun ana and gasat ana ina.

(There seems to be complete semantic agreement on both sides.)

Syntactically, the isolated forms naturally admit of being construed as prepositions of some kind (especially if one is going to resort to inserting objects, as Streitberg does with ina; v.s.). The principal syntactical question is - do these forms, by following the "regular" word order of separable compounding forms as outlined for inn and ut, admit of being interpreted as compounding forms? The answer seems to be a qualified 'no'. (Among the simple verbs with

isolated preposition, þaim bairandam du would be itself an exception to the observation that in participles used as nouns a separable compounding form always precedes; v.s. p. 623) The clear prepositional form (du usfilhan ana gastim) supports this negative answer in that the ana appears after the infinitive, while inn and ut always precede. Of the five forms under principal consideration, all show the preposition directly after the verb, all of them either in direct contrast to the Greek or independent of it, hence doubtless in natural Gothic order. This much is quite like inn and ut for four of them (being in participial constructions or in main clauses), but the remaining one - ei atlagidedeina faur - is a subordinate clause and should, if faur were a compounding form following the well substantiated rule for inn and ut, be *ei fauratlagidedeina, which would, in addition, correspond directly to the Greek and thus be a "painless" translation. We seem, therefore, to have rather unsatisfactory evidence for supposing these instances, as a group, to be separable compounding forms analogous to inn and ut. On the other hand the regularity of word order, the parallels in preposed compounds, and the semantic nature of at least two of these cases support the significant decision that they may already represent separated compounding forms. These cases are, of course,

atgaggandei du and biþragjands faur. This is not meant to deny the possibility that these two might also have been felt as prepositions[116] rather than as elements intimately associated with the verb. For the most rational explanation of the situation, in view of the patent absence of any regular separability in prepositional compounds (v.i.), is to say that these could be either prepositions or separated compounding forms. But, as the feeling for separable compounding grew, all these forms would probably be incorporated by the linguistic consciousness of the speakers of Gothic into the pattern of separable verbs.

The other numerous double compounds of this type (those compounded with forms of group 4-b) show, as I just mentioned, no signs of separability. Under consideration would be especially ana-in-, du-at-, faur-bi-, miþ-ana-, miþ-in-, miþ-us; but possibly also those in which the second member is not a lexical entity, viz. du-ga-, faura-ga-, miþ-fra-, miþ-ga. Considering the large number of unseparated instances (from which would be subtracted as ambiguous those with infinitives, some participles and those in subordinate clauses, even compounding forms preceding the verb

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[116] The context, as in all the other cases, admits of prepositional interpretation. Admission of this is assumed throughout the discussion. It is perhaps of importance, though, that the faur in particular has a rather remote "anticipated object."

here) and the very few instances which are like inn and ut, one is constrained to describe the compound verbs of this group as characteristically inseparable.

The following, for illustration, is the evidence of lack of separability in the principal scene of separation (the main clause) of what should be the most susceptible group (both compounding forms lexical entities): 1) du-at-: Matthew 8, 5 duatiddja imma hundafaþs; Matthew 9, 28 duatiddjedun imma þai blindans; Matthew 26, 69 jah duatiddja imma aina þiwi; Mark 6, 53 jah duatsniwun. 2) miþ-ana-: Mark 2, 15 jah managai motarjos jah frawaurhtai miþanakumbidedun Iesua. 3) miþ-in-: II Cor. 12, 18 jah miþinsandida imma broþar. 4) miþ-us: Eph. 2, 6 jah miþurraisida.[117]

It seems clear, then, that the evidence is not sufficient to indicate that these isolated prepositions are all true compounding forms like inn and ut and also not sufficient to warrant the establishing of a syntactically cohesive

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[117] Leinen (p. 41) and Stamm-Heyne (v.s. p. 9) both consider all first members of double compounds as adverbs. This applies equally to the du-at type and the du-ga type. The objection to this is the obvious one, namely the almost invariable preverb order. The cases in the paragraph above are only a small portion. In addition there are the participles, where some separation is expected (v.s. p.62), as well as the large number of both main clause and participial examples from the du-ga type. If these preverbs are adverbs, they certainly have a very special word order. After all, one of the characteristics established for adverb order is relative freedom.

group of separable compounds to include the ana, du and faur instances.

This does not, I think, drive us back to the assumption that any such forms are precisely like ordinary prepositions - or that they are ordinary adverbs. Looking back to the general discussion of Germanic prepositions in isolation, one may more reasonably assume that these instances of ana, du and faur[118] represent a growing syntactic characteristic of a group of prepositions, which, through isolated use made possible perhaps by stress changes and arising in some cases quite independently of any direct verbal connection, came to disrupt the previously existing syntactic class (inseparable preposition-verb compounds). It seems the only reasonable conjecture that the process was still in the initial stages in the Gothic of Wulfila. Though this sort of development reaches a state of some regularity only in other dialects, it is likely that these uses of Gothic prepositions showed characteristics of their own, such as heavier stress.

A source, or at least a point d'appui, for heavier stress and for the growth of separability in verbs compounded with these prepositions has been discussed at

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[118] With the possible exception of the two cases (with du and faur) just discussed - if one is willing to say that they have gone all the way to the compounding side.

length under the heading of double compounding forms (v.s.pp. 23-25). As was mentioned there, the fact that only a certain group of prepositions comes to stand alone demands explanation. (This applies not only to Gothic, of course, but also, for example, to OHG.) The explanation may be stress.

Certainly, as I shall try to show below, the semantic effect of some of these isolated prepositions is practically the same as fairly advanced types of verb-adverb compounds in, say, Modern English.[119] But I still think it important not to set up a class of separable preposition-verb compounds or even to say that these particular Gothic instances are necessarily cases of sporadic separation of preposition-verb compounds. Some of them, I think, may be; but the syntactic situation simply does not seem to warrant treating them as a class. What we have is (to risk repetition) the fascinating early stage of a new class (comparable perhaps to the compound verbs of Modern German or the verb-adverb combinations of Modern English), with its syntactic pattern as yet indefinite. Various currents flow into its main stream,[120] viz.:

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[119]One would scarcely expect the most advanced type to appear in Gothic. That is, Gothic would have no parallels for those English verb-adverb combinations where the adverb has lost all its original directional or spatial sense, e.g. 'up' in 'they bought up the entire supply;' 'he sawed the stump up,' etc.

[120]In saying this I am, to an extent, adding another opinion to those (actually rather few) already available

1) Prepositions in isolation by anticipation of object in infinitive or relative clause type of construction, e.g. akr... du usfilhan ana gastim.

2) Prepositions in isolation by anticipation of object in other types of construction, e.g. sokun þaim bairandam du.

3) Prepositions in isolation possibly by omission of normal object, possibly from a preposition-verb compound (an important type), e.g. atlagjands ana handuns seinos.

4) Prepositions in isolation probably from the equivalent preposition-verb compound (true separability), e.g. atgaggandei du.

A cohesive syntactic pattern for such a class of fairly diverse origin would probably develop later. It would be interesting to know the syntax of the language of Busbecq's Goths.

The following points, partly in recapitulation, may also be noted in connection with these prepositional forms:

1. ana, du and faur all fall in the group 4-b, for which we have assumed greater stress, greater lexical

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on the "ultimate origin" of separable or separated forms. These theories, with no exception known to me, run to the extremes and deal largely with hypothetical, not actually documented, stages of development. The two poles are represented by Schlachter and Curme, the first saying categorically that all separated "prepositional adverbs" came from pure prepositional uses, the other, with careful explanations, saying that they all came from compound verbs. These theories are discussed in the chapter on OHG (v.i. p. 78 ff., etc.) where more separate forms are available for reference. But it is my opinion that right here in Gothic we find evidence (and it is evidence, not hypothesis) for the actual beginnings of separation, and it certainly does not indicate one source but several. The Gothic forms, which may look rather inadequate here, will appear in better perspective when we consider a dialect with numerous separated forms, whose origin may well have been about the same as that of the Gothic cases.

independence, and hence greater possibility of separation. If this is true, original verbal compounds with this group of prepositions would have the way open to separability once the precedent of isolated use were set by anticipation or omission of the object with such prepositions as ana, du and faur.[121] This is of course only one possibility, another being that the greater stress to be assumed for the forms of group 4-b was in itself sufficient to allow for ultimate separation.

2. The fact that originally certain separated prepositional forms may have come from direct anticipation of the object, as in akr...du usfilhan ana gastim, does not preclude the chance that such forms themselves might well come to be regarded by the Sprachgefühl as compounding forms and help the trend toward separability.

3. The separated or isolated preposition, unlike a true adverb but like inn and ut, is in every case immediately after the verb. There is no sign in the extant examples of remote separation. This speaks for close relation to the verb and would facilitate the incorporation

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[121] See Curme Compounds, p. 323 and passim on the general significance of stress and the important notion that the stress of a given separated preposition (or compounding form) might well influence the same form when it is preposed, thus opening the way to separation.

of these forms into the system of separable compounds.

4. The syntactical character of such a group of forms is apt to be somewhat difficult to analyze. There will not be an immediate shift from one existing category to another (from preposition to compounding form, for example). No complete overturn of the established Gothic situation is to be expected. That is why any explanation of such phenomena must be somewhat tentative.

5 and 6. Two further matters of importance - the question of relative stress and the distinction of a prepositional object from the object of a verb with a prepositional compounding form - may be illustrated by proceeding from the unseparated miþ-in- form cited above, viz. II Cor. 12, 18 jah miþinsandida imma broþar. This verb has an object which is in a relation of Objektvertauschung[122] with miþ and would be, if separation were possible and took place, * jah insandida miþ broþar - a direct parallel to Mark 8, 23 atlagjands ana handuns seinos. In such a (hypothetical) sentence as * jah insandida miþ broþar, of course, the case form of broþar would show that it was not the object of miþ, but atlagjands ana handuns seinos, per se, could mean either "laying ŏn his hands (the book, etc.)" or "laying ón his

[122] On the question of Objektvertauschung in general and on its application to verbal prefixes, v. Hs. Grubel, Das adverbale uz- Präfix. (Jenaer Germanistische Forschungen 13), p. 30 f.

hands (on the man, etc.)," where in Modern English only the greater stress of 'on' in the second sentence can distinguish between the two forms if they are not completed by the rest of their sentences. We are probably justified in assuming that approximately the same was true in Gothic and that, say, atlagjands ăna hánduns seinos would have meant "laying ŏn his hánds ...," while atlagjands ána hánduns seinos was the pattern for this verse referring to the laying on of hands. Further, the fact that the typical separated position of the compounding form and the position of a preposition must often be the same means, in absence of stress evidence in Gothic, that in a sentence "compound verb - preposition of group 4-b - noun" definite identification of the preposition as an isolated, heavily stressed preposition (that is, an incipient compounding form or a fully developed one, depending on which stage of development we assume) is possible only if the noun clearly does not belong with the preposition, for which there is only one mechanical proof, namely - the noun is in the wrong case for the preposition. Of this there is no extant example. The above * jah insandida miþ broþar would be typical. Any other cases will be identifiable only if the noun, though in the right case, cannot, within the meaning of the particular sentence,

be the object of the preposition. Examples would be atlagjands ana handuns seinos and galagidedun ana wastjos seinos.

7. It should be noted finally that there are several different levels among these prepositions if one regards them all from the point of view of a possible compounding system. The last two examples (with ana) cited in the preceding paragraph would, if generalized into a regular pattern of syntax, represent an advanced stage of separable compounding forms or of verb-adverb compounds (there is no way of telling which way Gothic may have been headed; these two forms are, after all, directly comparable to their obvious Modern English translations, and Modern English represents primarily a verb-adverb system). They contain, as they stand, a transitive verb plus preposition plus a direct object of the verb-preposition combination.

A different construction with a transitive verb is found where no object at all is expressed. In the extant examples an object of the preposition and an object of the verb-preposition combination both suggest themselves from the context. Referring to hlaibans as object of atgaf, Mark 8, 6 reads: jah atgaf siponjam seinaim ei atlagidedeina faur jah atlagidedun faur þo managein. Here one might posit managein or its pronoun as the omitted object of the first faur (as in RV to set before them). This would mean that we have here not

a compounding form but a preposition in isolation. (Even though managein is not directly before this clause, it appears earlier in the verse as well as after the following verb.) If, on the other hand, hlaibans were assumed after faur (or rather: assumed as the referent of ei atlagidedeina faur), we should have the same type of construction as in atlagjands ana handuns and galagidedun ana wastjos (v.s.). If the former interpretation is correct, as I think probable partly in view of the word order[123] and partly because of the exact parallel sokun þaim bairandam du,[124] then this faur is still an isolated preposition. In the other case it would be, like the ana forms, approaching the category of compounding. (The fact that these instances are in a translation to begin with certainly makes it no easier to assay their place in the Gothic Sprachgefühl.)

In two other cases the verbs are intransitive, and the preposition here may be considered in such relative innocence of any likely object that these cases may represent an advanced stage of the development to separable compounding forms. The instances are: atgaggandei du aftaro; jah biþragjands faur.

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[123] v.s. p. 84.

[124] Where, for even more definitive reasons, du was judged an isolated preposition and not a compounding form. v.s. pp. 39-41.

F. Summary of Results for Gothic

The main interest of this study is comparative, but it contains what I believe to be important results in the field of Gothic syntax. There are:

1. The establishing of a pattern of separable compounding with inn and ut.

2. Demonstration of the inseparability of simple compounds.

3. Clear distinction of compounding forms from adverbs.

4. Indication of the multiple origin of later separable compounds.

5. Emphasis of the importance of the isolated preposition.

6. Questioning of the validity of the common group "prepositional adverbs."

A. Introductory Remarks

The aim of this chapter is essentially the same as that of the first - to find out whether the dialect in question has a class of compounding elements in the verb system which warrants the setting up of a class of verb-adverb compounds (or "separable compounds") and to distinguish among adverbs, compounding forms and inseparable preverbs, if such a distinction is warranted.

Previous procedure has too often been to set up a hypothesis or a theoretical set of patterns for OHG word order and then go about finding "examples." But it is the unhappy truth that you can find virtually anything in OHG, if you look long enough - any word order, any sentence type. This gives a semblance of validity to the suggested patterns, but it is actually worse than no theory at all.

The only logical procedure is to take an entire document - preferably, of course, the whole corpus of OHG - and analyze all of the relevant word order patterns. Thus and only thus is it possible to separate the general, common patterns from the sport mutations and the translation howlers, which seem so frequent in OHG.

Covering the entire body of OHG seemed quite beyond the reach of this work. So a choice was imperative, and the choice was crucial. Only the satisfactory results of the study gave the final confirmation of the soundness of the choice. Otfrid von Weissenburg's Evangelienbuch is an excellent source, as OHG goes, for this type of study.

The possibility and practicality of using a poetic text for this particular syntactical study will be apparent if it is realized that we are not, fundamentally, trying to set up absolute word order patterns. We are trying to find differences between the behavior of one group of words and the behavior of another. That is, we are establishing largely relative word order patterns. A poetic text can do this just as well as a prose text, if it makes the necessary distinctions at all. For example, if in Otfrid the behavior of heimortsun is systematically different from the behavior of thuruh and the volume of evidence is sufficient on the two forms, it may safely be assumed that they should be assigned to different classes of words. A text does not have to be prose to show this. As a matter of fact, a free poetic text is going to be better here than most translated prose texts, because the differences it shows will at least be native.

The type of observation that cannot always safely be made from Otfrid alone concerns, for example, the absolute position of the verb in the subordinate clause. But Otfrid can be expected to show the relative position of compounding form and verb in the subordinate clause. And further, while there may be some disturbances of the latter (relative) pattern because of poetic exigencies, it must, conversely, be admitted that Otfrid may give good evidence on many points of absolute word order, including this same matter of the verb in the subordinate clause. Certainly no one is going to say that all poets always use strange word order. The old doctrine, too often unhonored, of judging according to the individual case is much better than a stultifying blanket prejudice. There are, syntactically speaking, poets and poets.

Past scholarship certainly suffers from no dearth of heated utterances on the subject of Otfrid's "Germanity," ranging from Erdmann's defense to Behaghel's rejection. This is scarcely the time or the place for a review of the controversy. I prefer to use the Evangelienbuch, with a weather-eye out for likely cases of unnatural word order, in the same spirit that, for example, Kuhn[1] or, long before him, Jakob Grimm regarded

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[1] v. Kuhn, passim.

Otfrid - largely reliable in sentence structure, original in composition, and very helpful in matters of stress. I have no intention of ignoring other OHG materials, of course, because they are the only check on the validity of Otfrid. The general picture which results should be reasonably reliable.

Otfrid offers the further pleasant advantage of having a vocabulary almost exactly equal to Wulfila's. No other OHG work is within 1,000 words of the Gothic Bible.[2] Thus a direct comparison of word and pattern frequencies is possible with no need for further adjustment of figures.

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[2]Notker's 7,800 (total according to Prof. E. H. Sehrt in his Linguistics Institute lecture at Ann Arbor, Aug. 3, 1948) is the only OHG with a larger vocabulary.

B. The Lexical Situation

1. Introduction

As in the case of Gothic, the lexical nature of the preverbs is the first question. Unfortunately, the existence of compounding is itself a major problem in OHG, and not until all of the syntactical factors involved have been carefully analyzed will it be possible to identify any compounding forms in Otfrid. For the purpose of initial completeness, however, it is certainly fair to list and examine all those forms which occur directly before verbs in such a way as to admit of at least *prima facie* interpretation as compounding forms.

The total picture of the extent of these preverbs in Otfrid matches the surprising number of the Gothic forms. In a total vocabulary[3] practically the same as Wulfila's Otfrid uses no less than 11 inseparable prefixes, as well as about 15 other forms appearing directly before verbs as well as separately. These latter constitute approximately the total repertoire of forms from which various scholars select, apparently at random, 10 or so as the "prepositional-adverbs" of Otfrid's OHG.

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[3] By Kelle's count, 3,163 words (1,500 of which are compounds!); *v.* Kelle II, pp. 430-31.

This makes a total of 26, which are approximately on the same level as the 28 cited for Gothic (v.s. p.41ff.). In addition, Otfrid uses at least 8 forms which are so closely connected with verbs that excluding them all from the list of compounding forms would at least be anticipating the rest of this study. Clearly, the OHG situation is too complicated to allow a simple enumeration and totalling of compounding forms.

2. Bound Forms

The lexical division in Otfrid is roughly analogous to that of Wulfila. The series of inseparable prefixes which are at the same time bound forms is dominated by the standard German group of gi, ir, bi, fir, in(t) and zi, although the last is well behind the others in frequency. The number of different verbs[4] compounded with these forms is of interest, especially for the sake of comparison with the "separable" compounding elements, and with Gothic.

gi forms 68 strong verbs, 210 weak. Total 278[5]
ir " 38 " " , 78 " . " 116

[4]The counts are based on Kelle's glossary and grammar.
[5]Comparing with a total of 240 ga verbs in Gothic.

bi	forms	41	strong	verbs,	49	weak.	Total	90
fir	"	35	"	" ,	28	" .	"	63[6]
in(t)	"	25	"	" ,	17	" .	"	42[7]
zi	"	6	"	" ,	4	" .	"	10

The only other bound form[8] occuring in Otfrid's verb composition is hintar, in the one verb hintarqueman ("be startled, surprised, etc."). hintar, as a preposition, hardly appears at all before Notker and Williram.[9] Its semantic field in the older documents is taken care of by after.

If one is going to speak of "OHG in general" hintar would not be considered a bound form, and it is, in any event, on an obviously different level from gi, ir, etc., which are true bound forms throughout the Germanic languages at all periods.

There is one well-established compounding form which would be a bound form for OHG but for one instance

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[6]Comparing with a total of 35 verbs for Gothic fair and fra.

[7]Comparing with 17 verbs for Gothic dis. On the irregular etymological relationship v. Walde-Pokorny, vol. I, p. 821, with pertinent references.

[8]Other bound forms which are not really verbal compounding forms but occur only in denominative verbs (v. Gothic id, etc.) appear in OHG (v. Grimm II, p. 787), but not in Otfrid. it, for example, occurs only in the noun itwizzi (in Gothic also as the verb idweitjan).

[9]Except in the Monsee Glosses; v. E. G. Graff, Die Althochdeutschen Präpositionen. (Königsberg, 1824.), pp. 147-155.

of its independent use in Otfrid. This is missi-, which appears in 9 verbs. The adjective missi in Otfrid V-25-80 míssemo múate, "of different mind," corresponds to the Gothic misso,[10] but it does not show up in any other OHG source that I know of.

The true bound forms above, as well as hintar and missi-, which really belong below, are absolutely inseparable in Otfrid.

Likewise entirely inseparable, though clearly not bound forms, are the following nouns which do not enter into our discussion because their only appearance in denominative compounds: fuaz (-fallôn), hals (-slagôn), muat (-fagôn). The denominative nature of these is established not only by nouns like OHG halsslag and MHG vuozval but by the obvious fact that, for fuazfallôn and halsslagôn, there is no verb from which they could be derived (fallan and slahan being, of course, strong verbs).[11]

Sobel implies manslahan as a verb, citing as a compound IV-20-36 thaz sie mánsluagin.[12] Not only would

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[10] v. K. Müllenhoff, "Worterklärungen," ZsfdA 13, pp. 575-7; and Wilmanns, pp.126-7.

[11] Wilmanns, pp. 119-22 has a full discussion of this type of verb.

[12] v. Sobel, p. 63.

this be an unusual verb - compounded of man plus slahan (a strong verb),[13] but there are numerous OHG cases of manslago, including one in Otfrid IV-20-39, so that the derivative verb would probably be *manslagôn. Further, all the editions write mán sluagin, indicating their interpretation of this instance as noun plus verb.

3. Lexical Entities and Variants

We are left with the following forms which appear as lexical entities (or as variants of lexical entities) in Otfrid, including, as mentioned above, all those where compounding seems possible: after, ana, bifora, fora, fram, furi, heim, hera, hina, [hintar], in, ingegin (ingegini), mit (miti), nâh, nidar, (nidare, nidere, nidiri), thana, thara, thuruh, ubar, (ubari, ubiri), ûf, umbi, untar, ûz, widar (widari), zisamane, zua.[14]

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[13]Some compounds of this nature (noun plus strong verb) do appear in MHG, and Wilmanns (p. 121) indicates the possibility of such an interpretation for wint-wërfan. Here, however, the evidence seems all on the other side.

[14]This list of 25 forms, excluding variants, speaks well for the use of Otfrid as a sample of OHG. Of the at all frequent compounding forms (or possible compounding forms) of OHG, Otfrid is missing only az, opa-oba, fona. For apa-aba he uses thana. For samant he uses zisamane. az is quite uncommon; Tatian has forms of azstantan and azwesan; see also Grimm II, p. 876. opa-oba is even rarer; see Grimm II, p. 877. fona is almost non-existent; see Grimm II, p. 877.

A glance at the list reveals the lexical complexity of the OHG situation. Sorting out those forms also used as prepositions is the only simple and obvious task. This gives the following list:

after, ana,[15] fora, furi, (hintar),[16] in, ingegin, mit, thuruh, ubar, umbi, untar, widar.[17]

This is a reduction from the 18 prepositional forms of Gothic appearing in the same function, but 10 of these 13 OHG forms correspond directly to Gothic. Only ingegin, umbi, and untar are "new." And conversely only four of the Gothic forms have no analogues in Otfrid's verb system (viz. af, at,[18] uf, und).

Subtracting these prepositions from the total list leaves a great number of forms corresponding, in this classification, to the Gothic pair inn and ut, i.e. "forms not used as prepositions." To be sure, a fair share of this remainder is made up of forms that will certainly turn out to be the equivalents of Gothic fairra, nehva, etc. - that is, true adverbs - but the OHG situation is so complex that no tacit division can be made. The most difficult and fascinating task in analyzing verb composition

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[15] Only in MS F. The prepositional form in the other MSS is anan.

[16] v.s.

[17] Otfrid has no prepositional uses of ûz like Tatian 145-12 uz themo lante, which is a rather rare usage for OHG, anyway.

[18] Still extant in some OHG verbs, e.g. azqueman.

in Otfrid is precisely this one of distinguishing adverbs from compounding forms, and it is by no means so clear-cut as, I hope, the Gothic division was.

Several of the non-prepositional forms in the list are closely related to prepositions, and the difference in phonetic form seems generally to be related to their relative stress. Thus ingegini (preposition: ingegin), miti (mit), ubari-ubiri (ubar), widari (widar), zua (zi). The situation is actually considerably more complicated than that.

I should like to state in this connection what I regard as practically an axiom of compounding - namely, that a compounding form must be the same phonetically whether it occurs directly before the verb or separated from it. If the forms diverge they have become different things - perhaps one a compounding form and the other an adverb. It is unnecessary to say that many writers do not, apparently, believe this. But I think this comes from lack of close reflection, and I also think it presents a picture of the given verb which is distorted and artificial when viewed with the general compounding patterns of the Germanic languages in mind. Kelle, for example, gives widarwisu in his Glossary. The only instance is III-8-10 mihil úngiuuitiri uuás in harto uuídari. This widarwisu - uuas uuidari seems more than unlikely to me.

Piper's entry widariwesan is far better, if this is a compound at all. Similarly, the inclusion by Kelle of II-14-83 thaz sih liaz thiu sin diuri mit ótmuati so nídiri under nidarlazu.[19] Kelle says "des Reimes wegen... statt des gewöhnlichen nidar." II-4-55 laz thih nídar hérasun seems to be a parallel - and hence a superficial argument for Kelle's interpretation. On the contrary, the superficial evidence, I believe, makes nidarlazan - liaz nidiri very unlikely. Just as one might expect, there are other compelling factors which make these forms doubly suspicious. For uuás...uuídari it is the double stress (v.i. p. 204), and for liaz...nídiri the strange order in the subordinate clause (v.i. p.193).

There is no explicit statement of this idea, pro or con, that I know of. It is one of those things that everyone makes tacit assumptions about. Lachmann, however, clearly works on the basis of the same axiom I have suggested above, for in talking about ingegin compounds he totally omits all of the ingegini forms.[20]

4. Adverbial Uses

The problem of distinguishing clearly adverbial uses for forms in the OHG list is complicated by the fact that

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[19]Piper in this case follows Kelle. See their glossary entries for this form.

[20]v. Lachmann, p. 371.

(to anticipate the further steps of this study) part of the OHG development lay in the direction of freer use of some of these forms as sentence adverbs rather than as parts of a syntactically regular system of verb compounds. In the literature covering these forms, however, they are generally rather hazily classified, and then usually only by tacit assumption, as adverbs, adverbial prepositions, etc. It seems not ill-advised, therefore, to go through roughly the same procedure as in the Gothic chapter, though equally clear results cannot be expected.

The individual forms follow.

after. (Often listed as prepositional adverb.) In III-20-183 sar after we have a clear adverbial use, but it is temporal like Gothic afar (v.s. p. 11[1]). There are no instances of the spatial adverb, and there is only one case of a verb with after, viz. III-11-24...imo giklágoti io after rúafenti (P áfterruafenti). There are the uses with thara, i.e. thar(a)after; v.i.pp.116-7. The evidence by itself is not sufficient for any conclusion. In addition, the prepositional uses are not clearly separated, as were the Gothic cases. OHG after takes the dative both for temporal and for spatial meanings.

ana. (Often listed as a prepositional adverb.) As an adverb it could only be derived from its connection

with verbs. The decision therefore rests on the evidence for or against compounding. The closest approach to adverbial use might seem to be in cases like I-15-5 geist, ther mǫ ánauuas (with the verb 'to be', that is). There is one case of clearly adverbial thar(a)ana; v.i. p. 116.

bifora. It appears as an adverb, I believe, in IV-16-46 gábun sie mit uuórte thaz selba zi ántuuurte; thaz sélba sie imo ságetun, sie híar bifóra zelitun (P hiar). As Kelle makes quite clear, the context shows this to mean not 'predict,' but "the same thing they said to him here previously."[21] The impossibility of even considering this as a verb *biforazellen is clear if we compare the Tatian praedixi translation (145-17) Senu ih sagetaz iu bifora, which, like Otfrid's biforalazu and biforauuari, (v.i.), must be examined with the idea of compounding in mind. In any case, this bifora is a temporal adverb, and it is worth noting that both of Otfrid's verbs have distinctly non-temporal meanings, viz. "prefer" and "excel."

fora. (Often listed as a prepositional adverb.) The adverbial uses are frequent,[22] but they are all temporal and all in the form hiar fora (except one thar

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[21] v. Kelle III, p. 35.

[22] v. Kelle III, p. 142; and p.92 below.

fora). The preposition, like after, has both spatial and temporal meanings, and both with the dative. It should be added that in the case where possible compounding with fora comes up the fora is not obviously spatial in meaning; v. foraságen, pp.93-8.

fram. It appears frequently as an adverb (once even as an adjective), but its meaning is specialized into, as Kelle puts it, an indication "dass eine Thätigkeit oder Eigenschaft in einem hohen Grade vorhanden ist."[23] Thus it is clearly non-spatial. Examples are: I-8-9 gidar ih lóbon inan frám and I-22-61 thaz kind théh io filu fram. None of the possible compounds seems to have this meaning.

furi. (Often listed as a prepositional adverb.) No independent adverbial uses at all. There is the one tharafuri; v.i. p.116. Thus, listing furi as an adverb would depend on our judgment of the possible compound verbs (as with ana).

heim. Numerous cases of heime ("zu Hause") are clearly adverbial, but heim ("nach Hause") is naturally so closely associated with verbs of motion that the decision as to adverbial nature must generally rest with

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[23] v. Kelle III, p. 146.

our analysis of these possible compounds. There is however one instance which I consider clearly adverbial - that is one where compounding is almost excluded by the meaning. This case is I-18-31 ob uns in múat gigange thaz unsih héim lange. The impersonal verb langên ("es verlangt") is clearly not a verb of motion, as are all the others used with heim, and though such a decision on semantic grounds is difficult, there seems to be almost no possibility, in the nature of Otfrid's compounding system, of a verb *heimlangên. If this notion is correct we have here the first instance of a clear-cut spatial adverb.[24]

hera. This form shows definite instances of independent adverbial use, viz. V-8-28 uuio er uuárd ouh héra funs "became apparent, manifested himself here (to us)"; similarly with funs, though in the combination hera in uuorolt, in II-2-32. Also III-6-52 ther kúnftig héra in uuórolt ist (P hera); I-3-43 héra (P hérą) in uuorolt zį úns quam, uuúntarlichen thíngon, hera untar ménnisgon. It is conceivable that the second hera could be interpreted with the verb quam, but I find this form fairly

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[24]The term 'sentence adverb' (Satzadverb) might be used here, indicating that the affinity of the adverb heim in this last case is not restricted to the verb alone, but I am afraid that the term is used too generally for compounding forms (e.g. by Leinen).

conclusive evidence for the independence of hera. An even better example of hera in clear independent use is Tatian 196-2 inti biginnenti fon Galileu unzan hera. This is just like the Gothic þaim ize nehva, izwis juzei fairra, þizos iupa laþonais, etc.,[25] and it gives equally clear indication of independent adverbial use.

hina appears far less frequently than hera, but it too shows indisputable adverbial uses, viz. H-126 fon álten zitin hina fórn; H-57 hína uuard thiu uuórolt funs.[26]

in. (Often listed as a prepositional adverb.) Possible adverbial use only in connection with verbs. There are several cases of thara plus in; v.i. p.118. The question of length (in or ^in) is obviously related to the matter of adverbial uses, but Otfrid has no macron, and OHG gives, as far as I know, no conclusive evidence on ^in. One virtually certain adverbial use appears in III-10-23 ih ni bín...giséntit hera in uuórolt in. The decision rests on syntactical grounds but is practically incontrovertible; v.i. p. 188.

ingegin. (Often listed as a prepositional adverb.) Possible adverbial uses only in connection with verbs.

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[25] v.s. pp. 44-5[1], 54[1].

[26] Notker has phrases like (Piper Notker II-280-1) unz hina in alti. See also E. Graff, op. cit., p. 272.

There are several instances of ingegin used with thara; v.i. p.119. ingegin is the only (preposed) prepositional form. The ingegini instances all occur after a verb and frequently separated from it, or in conjunction with thara, or in other forms of separation. As far as the difference between ingegin and ingegini in the non-prepositional forms is concerned, separation is clearly not of itself the differentiating factor, as ingegin also occurs thus, e.g. II-15-4 ther liut ingégin aller gíang. And if it is not a prepositional use,[27] III-2-3 ioh fúar ingegin ímo sar (P imo) indicates that position after the verb is not the criterion either. Piper considers rhyme (menigi rhyming with ingegini) the only differentiator.[28] For further discussion, v.i. pp.89-91.

All the above has given no direct information on compounding, of course. But if the proposition stated on p.11 is correct, ingegin-verb / verb...ingegini pairs cannot be true compounds, even though they are so cited by Kelle and Piper and treated as such by others, e.g. Sobel. The possibility of some verbs being inseparable (in this case only ingegin, not ingegini) and the rest simple verbs plus an adverb, as indicated by Lachmann[29]

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[27]Kelle (III, p. 300) lists it as not prepositional.
[28]v. Piper II, under ingegin.
[29]v. Lachmann, p. 371.

must, because of the complexity of the situation, wait for syntactical analysis.

mit and miti. They are so sparsely represented that it is difficult to tell just what their mutual relationship is. miti is not dictated by rhyme certainly, as it never occurs at the end, but the one case of the short form (II-9-43) has the mit rhyming with niuuiht. No strict adverbial uses exist, but there is one good example of the preposition mit in isolation as the result of the anticipation of its object (v.i. p. 88). mit and miti, like ingegin and ingegini, must be kept separate as far as verb compounding goes. On thara compounds, v.i. p.120.

nâh. nâh is a definite adverb in II-9-58 so nah zi hérzen gifiang and III-24-15 sus náh er uns gifíangi. What is more, it has a comparative and a superlative: nâhor, nâhist. The Tatian gives further support for definite adverbial use in 146-1 uuizzit thaz iu nah ist sumar, etc., as well as 4-9 nah thri manoda quasi mensibus tribus.

nidar (nithar), nidare, nidere, nidiri. They are distributed as follows. nidar occurs only with verbs in possible cases of compounding, mostly directly before the verb, but also after it. There are no clearly adverbial uses. nidare and nidere appear to be equivalent and the

weight of evidence indicates that they are adverbs. Clearly adverbial are II-21-31 si uuíllo thin hâr nídare, sos ér ist ufin hímile; V-1-28 in érdu ioh in hímile inti in ábgrunte ouh hiar nídare; and V-25-95 and 103, which are both exactly the same as the previous line except that they have nidere (F has nidare). Kelle[30] seems entirely justified in calling the nidare of III-17-43 an adverb. unz er thar nídare tho scréib reproduces the Greek κάτω κύψας τῷ δακτύλῳ ἔγραφεν εἰς τὴν γῆν, Latin inclinans se deorsum, digito scribebat in terra. With its reference to the tomb of Lazarus, III-24-89 stúant er thar tho nídare, huab thiu óugun uf zi hímile seems to represent an adverbial use. nidare might appear to be simply a rhyme variant of nidar except for III-17-43, where it is entirely independent of rhyme.

Suspicion of the identity of nidare and nidar finds some support in the Tatian passage 209-1 zislizzan uuas in zuei teil fon obanentic zunzan nidar usque deorsum (v.s. Gothic iupaþro und dalaþ, p.54[1]). Further, there is in the Otfrid passage in question the possibility of separated tharnidare, similar to the other adverb forms

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[30] v. Kelle III, p. 425 and II, p. 399.

with thar(a) (v.i. p. 108). In that case, there would be no question about the adverbial nature of nidare.

nidiri appears only twice, and both cases are suspect. In II-14-83 thaz síh liaz thiu sin díuri mit ótmuati so nídiri, it is in a rhyme pattern with diuri. All the other combinations with lazan, separate and preposed, have nidar. The meanings are parallel, but the form is not, I think, to be equated with nidar, for the same reason that mit and miti, etc. are kept separate. The order, too, is very odd (v.i. p. 193). The other case, in II-11-18, is even more difficult: zistíaz er thie skránnon...ioh állaz thaz gisídili so dét er filu nídiri (F nidere). Kelle and Piper both call this a form of the adjective nidiri "klein, gering, schwach."[31] This agrees with the frequent loss of the characteristic neuter ending -az and the retention of the stem vowel alone,[32] especially in the attributive position. It also is in harmony with the frequent use of a complementary adjective with duan (e.g. duan plus mâri, offan, festi). Further the use of filu to modify the nidiri is consistent with adjectival nature. But we must not overlook the fact that the meaning in this passage is

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[31]Kelle III, p. 426 and Piper II, p. 331.

[32]v. Kelle II, p. 296 f.

far removed from the usual concrete, literal application of such complementary adjectives. For example, with nidiri itself, V-23-228 thu uuírdist mir gilóubo, sélbo thu iz biscóuo, theiz dúit thia mína redina hárto filu nídira (P duit). Here the nidira is fem. acc. sing., agreeing with redina. Erdmann interprets this in general rightly as: "wenn du es einst selbst schaust, so wirst du mir glauben, dass es (die Wirklichkeit) meine Rede tief unten (hinter sich zurück bleiben) lässt,"[33] though his translation actually sounds as if he might regard this as a form of nidar! Translating it as "that it (reality) makes my account insignificant" would be much closer, I think. Clearly this nidira is an adjective and its meaning is literal. But a literal translation of this kind makes no sense with ioh állaz thaz gisídili so det er filu nídiri. This nidiri, with the verb, means, as Kelle indicates,[34] "umstürzen, umwerfen." It does not mean "make small or insignificant." The meaning shows a much closer affinity to the adverb or compounding form nidar with its meaning of "nieder." There is, I am convinced, at least a possibility that we have here a form of nidari plus the verb duan. Thus

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[33] v. Erdmann, p. 482. Cf. Kelle III, p. 426, who gives a different and pretty surely incorrect translation.

[34] v. Kelle III, p. 426.

I prefer to hold this case in abeyance rather than to class it with adjectives or adverbs.

This leaves us with nidare (nidere) as the adverb and requires further analysis of the other forms.

thana. It occurs only with verbs.

thara. This form is used in conjunction with verbs in such a confusing variety of ways that one immediately suspects it of being a fairly free adverb. But these cases with verbal connection must still be considered as possible compounds (and many writers list them as such), and decision as to adverbial nature of the whole body of thara forms must wait for syntactical analysis. There are a few cases, though, that vouch for straight independent use. Perhaps most striking of all are the instances of the use of thara as a relative. With no particular antecedent:

II-12-41 ther géist ther blasit stíllo, thara imo ist múatuuillo

V-15-40 ioh gíangi thara thu uuóltos

V-15-43 thih leitit fílu manno thara thú ni gengist gérno (P géngist gerno)

With an antecedent:

III-21-24 (dóufe), thara inan kríst tho uuánta

V-11-29 so gibúrit mánne thara er so gínget thanne

V-16-8 (zítin), thára er tho giméinta (P thára)

Repetition, as with hera, bespeaks the adverb in III-24-63: quam tho drûhtin unser thara ríazenter, thára zi themo líoben man. And finally, II-14-118 has a thara which even by the greatest stretch of one's semantic and syntactical criteria can hardly be considered as compound with the verb: (uuíbe), thiu erist thára in thia búrg déta sina kúnft kund (P thárą).

On a different plane, but equally convincing, are the numerous compounds of thara with prepositions and adverbs, viz.: tharaafter, -ana, -furi, -in, -ingegin(i), -widiri, -zua, -ûf, -ûz, etc.

thuruh. This form does not appear separately in Otfrid except as a preposition. In OHG in general separate thuruh is very rare.[35] It appears in Notker's dure, e.g. dâr dure skîezen; leitta sie dure, etc.[36] But these are of no help in deciding on the possibility of adverbial use for Otfrid's thuruh.

ubar, ubari, ubiri. They present much the same complications as the nidar family.[37] ubar is the prepositional form; in verb compounds it is inseparable,

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[35] v. Wilmanns, p. 118.

[36] v. Lachmann, pp. 368-369. Also, v.i. p.110, n.189.

[37] The Tatian, which has no miti, nidari, ingegini, widari does have ubiri in 116-2 inti inan thara ubiri tatun sizzan and in 89-3 daz dar ubiri uuas uon den aleibun namun sibun sportella uolla (sim. 83-2). The presence of the Gothic adverb ufaro adds to the idea of a long background of phonetically expanded adverbs to go with certain prepositions.

and it is also the only form which appears directly before verbs. ubari and ubiri appear only after verbs. There is very little evidence on these forms, and none of it speaks for adverbial use. Kelle considers both ubari and ubiri simply variants of ubar, for the sake of rhyme.[38] But the inconsistency of this position is apparent when it comes to analyzing verb forms. Even Kelle is unwilling to assume for IV-5-33 sar so iro sîto bilidi sie thîh gileggent úbari a verb *ubargileggen. He gives ubari-gileggu (and Piper does the same). Likewise for II-13-38 ioh uuónot inan úbari gotes ábulgi Kelle gives ubari-wonôn. Yet V-23-75 (ubili), thiu únsih geit hiar ûbiri he lists under ubar-gân, as does Piper! The only differentiating factor is that there is the form ubargîang in IV-20-30, while the previous two verbs (in IV-5-33 and II-13-38), if verbs they be, are hapax legomena.[39] If that is the reasoning behind the vocabulary listings, it will not bear much examination. Even if one does not accept the axiom that a compounding form must be the same in all positions, there are still the following factors to consider:

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[38] v. Kelle II, p. 415.

[39] ubari and ubiri may safely be regarded as equivalent forms.

1) ubar is always regarded (and correctly so) as inseparable. Lachmann says of ubar, thuruh, untar "...diese Präpositionen werden im Althochdeutschen noch nie trennbar vor Verba gestellt."[40]

2) IV-5-33 and V-23-75 are subordinate clauses. The odd separation is cause for doubting the presence of a compound verb; v.i. p. 183.

3) II-13-38 has both verb and ubari stressed; v.i.pp.194-5.

Points 2 and 3 are the same sort of objections as were noted in the original statement of the axiom on p. 11. They are really syntactical matters, of course, but when there are so many factors against construing a verb as compound the question scarcely need be left in doubt.

ûf. This form shows no clear cases of independent adverbial use in Otfrid. All forms are closely connected with verbs. There is one tharûf. For pure adverbial uses we must, as far as I know, go to Old Saxon. The Heliand has, e.g., (903) so hwe so habad trewa up te them alomahtigon gode, where no direct connection with the verb is conceivable.

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[40] v. Lachmann, p. 368.

umbi. It occurs as a preposition, otherwise only with verbs. There is the additional strong possibility here, as with miti, of isolated prepositional use. Also, there is a chance that umbi enters into some inseparable compounds; v.i. p. 59, etc.

ûz. Except for one tharûz (v.i. p.122), this form appears only in relatively close connection with verbs. There is one sentence, however, where the ûz is so far removed from the verb that it is certainly to be regarded as an independent adverb. This is V-20-25 to 27 thie sélbe irstantent álle fon thes líchamen fálle, fon themo fúlen légere, iro uuérk zi irgebanne, úz fon theru ásgu, fon... On I-23-5 and V-9-1, v.i. p. 101. The Isidor has an even purer example of adverbial use[41] in XXIX-8 uurehhan chifrumida uzs fona paradises bliidhnissu "made him an exile out from the joys of paradise." Tatian 132-13 has uz fon theru samanunga uuari.[42]

widar, widari, widiri. These forms are infrequent in Otfrid. The situation is further complicated by semantic divergencies. The preposition widar means "toward, before;" "against;" "in relation to." The adverb

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[41] v. Leinen, p. 49.

[42] v. F. Purtscher, Die untrennbaren Partikeln im althochdeutschen Tatian. (Chur, 1902), p. 21. He also cites 171-3.

widar[43] or widari-widiri (the latter apparently rhyme variants) means "again" ("back"). The instances of the adverb are IV-17-24 (so er rûarta imo thaz óra), er sáztaz uuîdar héilaz (P uuidar); IV-21-1 giang pilatus uuîdari mit îmo tho in then sólari[44] (P giang); and probably II-7-16 er kérta sih sar uuidar zîn.

widiri occurs only in H-155 thára uuidiri, where it rhymes with nidiri. This combination, meaning "on the other hand," "in return," has no possible connection with any verb and may safely be discarded as far as compounding goes.

At first glance, this leaves as compounds or possible compounds in Otfrid: (giang...uuidari), (kerta... uuidar), uuidarstantan, uuidaruuertôn, uuidaruuarb..., (uuas...uuidari)[45] - a rather nondescript lot, the discussion of which has much to do with the adverbial nature of widar but must be completed in a later section; v.i. pp. 87-8, 226-7.

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[43]Note that widar is the only one of the group hintar, thuruh, ubar, untar and widar (inseparable compounding forms) which occurs alone as anything but a preposition. Diels (p. 145), who calls these prepositional adverbs (!), says "Trennbares ubar, untar wird man...in der alten Prosa vergebens suchen, nur uuidar hat bei T. (Tatian) eine Doppelfunktion als Präp. und trennbares Adverb."

[44]Compounding is possible here if it means "went back," "returned." The double stress in P is suspicious, though.

[45]In III-8-10. Actually this turns out to be a

On a semantic and morphological basis, however, the number of these verbs can definitely be reduced by one. widarwertôn "oppose" is surely a denominative verb,[46] not merely because its stress is marked uuídaruuerton (III-16-26) in distinction to the other verb with widar meaning "against" (uuidarstántan), but because the noun uuídaruuerto or uuídaruuert, "adversary" (with initial stress in all its many instances in Otfrid) is near at hand, while there is no verb wertôn at all.[47] The problem is further simplified if we look at the possible compounds from a semantic point of view. Note that all the verbs show widar in the meaning "back" or "again," except uuidarstántan, where it means, like the preposition, "against." The unvarying behavior of this verb, and the fact that its preverb has a meaning entirely different from the rest permits us to say that we have inseparable compounding here.[48]

Thus we are left with giang...uuidari, kerta...

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prepositional use; v.i. p. 87. Kelle's listing of widarwisu is twice dubious. First, it assumes compounding with sîn. Secondly, it changes widari to widar.

[46] v. Sobel, p. 64 and Lachmann, p. 369, both of whom emphasize only the stress.

[47] OHG has, of course, wertan, but in a different class. Precisely this situation is typical of denominative derivation vs. straight verbal forms.

[48] v. Lachmann, p. 370. The inseparable pattern with widar was more extensive in OHG than Otfrid would indicate. Note the forms cited by Lachmann (loc. cit.) from Notker:

uuidar and uuidaruuarb to analyze further. (Reference to the prepositional nature of uuás imo harto uuídari has already been made.

zisamane. It is used only in direct connection with verbs.

zua. This form appears only with verbs and with thara-. There is the possibility of postposed prepositional use, which will come up later. All preposed prepositional forms as well as the adverb "too" are zi in Otfrid. The longer stressed form does not become confused with the zi-ze on a large scale until Notker.[49]

5. Summary and Comparison with Gothic

To summarize, Otfrid has in separate use as

Prepositions only: thuruh, ubar, untar

Spatial adverbs: heim, hera, hina, in, nâh, nidare-nidere, (nidar),[50] thara, ûz

Adverbs, but not spatial: after, bifora, fram, widar-widari

Preposition-Adverb: fora

habet mir leid widerstozen, daz wirt widersaget, demo widirchedan wurde, where the absence of -ge- shows the inseparable nature of the verbs.

[49] v. E. Sehrt, "ze-zuo in Notker," JEGPh 35, pp. 331-6; also C. Carr, "The Oldest Use of the Preposition zu in German," JEGPh 33, pp. 219-21.

[50] If it belongs with nidare-nidere; v.s. p. 19 f.

Doubtful forms (to be classed on the basis of their syntactical behavior):

after, ana, bifora, fora, fram, furi, ingegin-ingegini, mit-miti, nidar,[51] nidiri, thana, ubari-ubiri, ûf, umbi, widar-widari, zisamane, zua[52]

In comparison with the Gothic, the situation in OHG has obviously become more complex. In Gothic it was possible to make a tacit exclusion of forms like fairra, etc. and dalaþ, etc., and to demonstrate later by an analysis of their morphological and syntactic behavior the validity of this distinction. This was possible partly because the traditional listings are correct in excluding them, but also because the prepositional compounding forms in Gothic present such a closely knit and nearly unbroken syntactical pattern that fairra, nehva and nehv almost automatically fall beyond the pale - except when enthusiasm for a generalized syntactical system gets the

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[51] See Spatial adverbs above.

[52] Notes: 1. The non-spatial adverbs I have listed again under "Doubtful forms," for much the same reason I thought it wise to separate in Gothic two forms of faura (v.s. p.13[1]). Clearly the possible compounding form is not identical in meaning and may not be identical in behavior with the adverbial form. It is certainly not wise to say, for example, that the compounding form fram is the same as the adjective fram. Again, this emphatically does not detract from the importance these temporal and other adverbs may have had in encouraging separation.

2. fora occurs in two categories because of its doubtful meaning in the compounding form (v.i. p. 93), which may not be identical with its adverbial meaning and function.

3. The above list does not take into account the judgment of the thara forms. On this, v.i. pp. 103-26.

better of some author's judgment. Similarly, there were so many clear cases of adverbial use with aftra, dalaþ, framis, inna, iupa, iup, samana and samaþ, and these contrasted so clearly with the inseparability of singly-compounded inn and ut that no confusion was likely - except again in the too enthusiastic setting up of large syntactical patterns. In OHG, on the other hand, both the apparent complexity of the situation and the universal vagueness of the standard lists of compounding forms, "prepositional-adverbs," etc., make it necessary to consider all possible forms. Only such adverbs as heimortes, tharasun, obana have been omitted tacitly (like Gothic dalaþ, etc.) as it is assumed that no one would be likely to think of them as compounding forms[53] (partly - and justifiably - because of the fact that they and their like do not become compounding forms even in NHG, where the separable prefixes have become both more numerous and more systematized). Perhaps it should be noted here anyway that there is not a shred of evidence for compounding in forms like heimortes.

The comparison of the lists of Gothic and OHG prepositions serving as preverbs has already been made (p. 10).

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[53]In part, unfortunately, a gratuitous assumption, in view of Piper's listing, e.g., of herasunîlen, hinanaîlen, etc. (Piper II, p. 214).

But note that in Gothic there are only two instances of any kind of separate use of these prepositions along with simple verbs and only six in the company of compound verbs. In OHG, of course, there are so many such cases that it is pointless to count them. And this results in the fact that, of the 12[54] prepositions in Otfrid's verb system, no less than seven (after, ana, furi, ingegin, mit, umbi, widar) occur in such compromising situations that they have to be relegated to the last group above, the "doubtful forms" whose nature in separation - adverbial or compounding - must be decided on the basis of syntax.

One other form of Otfrid's 12 or 13 prepositions shows definite adverbial nature <u>similar</u> to its possible compounding use. This is fora. It was faura in Gothic which caused the most trouble in analysis and came near to disrupting what I believe is still the valid exclusive division of compounding forms (not <u>words</u>; <u>v.s.</u> p.18[1]) into prepositions on the one hand and inn & ut on the other. Whether fora has succeeded in disrupting <u>prima facie</u> any such division in OHG rests on the answer to the question: Is it a compounding form? It certainly is both adverb and preposition.

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[54]Or 13, with hintar.

The remaining prepositions, (hintar), thuruh, ubar, and untar (as well as widar in widarstantan) constitute the true inseparable prepositional compounding forms of Otfrid's OHG.[55] They are as inseparable as gi, ir, bi, fir, in(t), and zi.

ubar forms four strong verbs and two weak. untar forms five strong verbs, and thuruh forms two strong verbs. (hintar), thuruh, ubar and untar (and widar) correspond in function to the Gothic prepositions af, afar, and, at, bi, faura, hindar, in, þairh, uf, ufar, und (unþa), us, and wiþra, which, if my classification is right, were surely inseparable under all circumstances.[56] Note that the OHG group still has much in common with its Gothic analogues. hintar, thuruh, ubar, and widar are direct etymological correspondencies. untar has taken over the semantic field of uf. And ir, bi, and in(t), now inseparable and bound forms in OHG, correspond etymologically to us, bi, and and, which were inseparable though not bound forms in Gothic. ir and in(t) simply show the

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[55] missi (in 9 verbs) is also inseparable, though no preposition.

[56] at, bi, in, uf and us because, if they occur in double compounding, they are always in second position, never first (v.s. p.26[1]), and the rest because they appear only in simple compounds, which are always inseparable (v.s. p. 38[1]ff.). fram is left out because it is by no means sure that there are any verbs compounded with fram (v.s.pp.41-3[1]). The remainder (ana, du, faur and miþ) were the ones where we expected and found separated uses and possible separability in compound verbs.

Gothic inn and ut in simple compounds are just as inseparable as af, afar, etc.

phonetic deterioration characteristic of bound forms. Since gi, fir, and zi correspond to Gothic ga, fair (fra), and dis, all the OHG inseparables are close cousins to Gothic forms.[57]

Analysis of syntactical behavior will decide any other correspondencies with Gothic. Clearly, syntactical parallels for aftra, dalaþ, framis, inna, iupa, iup, samana, and samaþ may very likely be found in the group of spatial adverbs or the group of non-spatial adverbs. But if any of the doubtful forms turn out not to be real compounding forms but independent adverbs there will be parallels in that OHG group, too.

Finally, for the true Gothic compounding forms inn and ut (in double compounds) we can expect to find syntactical analogues in the last OHG category (doubtful forms) and possibly in the two adverbial groups. fora, too, might belong here. NHG has separable compounding forms from all the OHG categories.

For any of the forms which are most germane to this study - some type of verb-adverb compounds - we must then wait for syntactical analysis. Only the inseparable forms in Otfrid are easily equated with Gothic forms.

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[57] If widar turns out to be inseparable (in at least one of its meanings), it too is taken care of, by wiþra.

C. Separability in OHG Compounds

Devoting space to those factors showing separability in OHG might seem supererogatory. Separation is extremely obvious. But any patterns evolved may be of help.

Tmesis and reduplication, which demonstrated a degree of separateness for even the bound forms in Gothic (v.s. p.30 ff.), have disappeared as active factors in OHG.

With the bound forms (gi, etc.) OHG shows the following characteristics: No separability under any circumstances.[58] This means no ge between preverb and verb in the past participle, likewise no interposed zi with the dative infinitive, ge very rare before the past participle.[59] Some of the latter need examination as possible denominatives, e.g. Otfrid's gibîsmeroter, probably from bîsmeron (from the noun bîsmer). hintar, ubar, untar, thuruh (and inseparable widar) show exactly the same character as the bound forms.

For the remaining forms (possible compounding forms) separability is, to say the least, common. But certain types seem to be in a sort of tmetic condition. That is,

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[58] v. Grimm II, p. 787.

[59] Ibid.

the whole verb tends to "stay together" rather than allowing its compounding form to wander off because of separation. This is not simply an observation based on NHG separable compounds, when used with ge and zu, but one based on OHG. Preposed order is clearly the first broad criterion for compounding. If that preposed position is interrupted by only one (unstressed) element we have a definite pattern which may well be of use as a further criterion in dividing the possible compounding forms into groups. This is, of course, a matter of syntax as well as a question of separability.

The following cases occur in Otfrid:

IV-6-19	thara giládot
V-6-52	thara in zi gánganne
I-1-8	zisámane gibúntan
H-137	zisámane gifúagte

Unfortunately these cases are very few and three of them are suspect at first glance. V-6-52 may well be a case of tharain. I-1-8 and H-137 have two stresses marked (v.i.pp. 56-7).

Other OHG sources give ample evidence for this usage, however. From Grimm[60] aba za snîdanne, ûf za qhuëmanne, ana zi liccanne, avar za saganne, and the remarkable form from Notker, ûf und nider ze gechêrenne.[61] Also: dane

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[60] v. Grimm II, p. 870.

[61] Tatian (54-2) has suohtun inan in zi traganne quaerebant eum inferre.

gebrochen, hina geliten, nâh kilëgan, nidar gilegit, fora keqhuëtan, furi kisëzan, fram gifuarit, ûf kekangan, ûz kicangan, zua kesuahhit, umpi gichêrit; and widar kiwuntan, widiri giwuntan.

The third type of separation is that by ni. The Gothic has miþ ni qam as well as saei inn ni atgaggiþ (v.s. p. 33[1] and p. 32[1]). OE has ge in ne eodun. Tatian 133-6 has thie thar in ni get. Though Otfrid has no examples of this position, it is amply assured for OHG. It even occurs in the glosses, which practically never quote any verb except in the Latin (preposed) order (i.e. no glosses like exire - gân ûz). Grimm quotes nidar ni rîsit, ûz ni wirfo, and the extraordinary double negation in the Kero Glosses ni zô ni wirf non adjicias.[62] Otfrid's ni causes the other type of possible word order, viz. complete separation, e.g. I-28-17 thaz uuir ni fáren furdir úz (v.i. p. 63).

The most emphatic sort of separation, again not in Otfrid, is that caused by the verb "to be," e.g. ana sî kimachôt, furi sî kisezit, fora sî kedenit, untar sî ketân, zua sî kitân (all from the Kero Glosses) and ingagan ist

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[62] v. Grimm II, pp. 873-4.

kispreitit from Junius.[63]

The evidence is, of course, negative. That is, it simply divides the material into the two classes: 1) inseparable, 2) not inseparable. There is no dearth of evidence for this division elsewhere. But the reverse of the medal may give a more interesting picture. That is, if we were to find forms like

1) *zisámanefuagte[64]

2) *zi ínganganne (in = "in")

3) *ni úzfaren

we would have excellent evidence for a feeling in the OHG writer's mind of the compound nature of such verbs, or at the least, a reflex of an older stage or period in which these forms were more closely compounded. Such forms would clearly represent a usage not precisely general or "current," as the regular forms (zisamanegifuagte, in zi ganganne, and ni faren uz or ûz ni wirfo) show. But if such forms were not or never had been compound verbs, there would be no possibility of such uses, as an adverb in any of these positions is unthinkable. (For results of this sort, v.i. p.64ff. and p.68 ff.)

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[63] v. Grimm II, p. 871.

[64] With verbs other than those regularly forming their past participles without ge-, like braht or funtan.

D. Double Compounding

Examination of the cases of double compounding yielded considerable evidence on the classifying of Gothic compounding forms. In OHG, however, for the obvious reason that separation is much more common and hence distinction between adverb and compounding form very difficult, double compounding is a troublesome classification to work with. NHG, to be sure, has many double compounds. In some, the order is just the same as in, e.g. Gothic inngaleiþan, the type from which we derived our group (inn, ut; ana, du, faur, miþ) where separation was likely. This type is represented by NHG einverleiben, vorbereiten, etc. In the written form, hineingehen, vorüberfahren, etc. might seem to represent a class of double compounds where both prefixes are separable. But the stress on the second element and the impossibility of two equally stressed adverbs at the end (er ging vór béi, er ging hín éin, like er ging hín zu dem Mánn) show that NHG has no double separable compounds. English, which has abandoned the alternation of pre-verb and post-verb position, has such double adverbs, of course, e.g.: he went down in (or, for that matter: he went down in under, and all the trick sentences of this school).[65] Modern German is

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[65]The trick sentence is actually a most valuable guide to a language's syntax. It shows the outer limit of the

down to a few highly dubious cases like ich stehe mit an.[66] Here the mit is probably outside the compounding pattern and is an adverb.

What then was the OHG situation?

It seems unlikely, within the frame of Germanic syntax, that there should be verbs with double separable compounding forms, but this is more of an intuition than an established fact. The Gothic instance of miþinngalaiþ should give us pause. On the other hand we should expect some reflex of the Gothic words on the pattern: separable prefix - inseparable prefix - verb (inngaleiþan, etc.).

Although this is not a matter which can be settled on a purely lexical basis, the forms may, I think, be listed now and any syntactical qualification made later. Possible cases of compounding with two forms, which forms also occur separately, do appear in Otfrid, viz.

II-4-79 thaz ih mih híar irréke inti hina nídarscrikke

IV-30-14 ni mag ni uuédar sar, thes húses uuiht bidíhan, noh hera nídarstigan

II-7-72 himil séhet er indán, thie éngila ouh hera nídargan

V-9-2 ...thaz líb, thaz bi únsih hiar irstárb, fon béche hera uuídaruuarb

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syntactical possibilities of any pattern: What did you bring me that book to read to out of up for? Such a sentence is recognized as correct, funny as it may be.

[66] v. Grimm II, p. 907.

The likelihood of simple compounds with nidar and widar, preceded by the adverbs hina and hera, is obvious. But the importance of these forms in the ancestry of NHG hernieder-gehen, etc. should not be overlooked. The stress pattern is the same as NHG, that is, the first adverb is less stressed, and this in the face of the clear possibility of either pattern in the ordinary compound adverb - hera úz, héra zua.[67] Still, for OHG they certainly do not prove double compounding on this level.[68]

The other type of doubling occurs in Otfrid also. This is the sort where two of the possible compounding forms (v.s. p. 9) appear in the same sentence but both in separation, like Modern English he went down in, e.g. er quam uns sulih hera héim (P quám). The general pattern of German compounding from the modern period all the way back makes it seem very unlikely that these two forms both belong with the verb in a double separable compound. A close cousin of this sort of usage appears at all stages from OHG to NHG, however. For example, Notker (Boethius) has mîh lústet taz nídera ûf. únde daz óbera níder ze gechêrenne,[69] and Keller in Kleider machen Leute exactly

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[67] v. Sobel, pp. 96-8.

[68] None is listed as a compound by Kelle or Piper, both of whom are very liberal in the listing of compounds.

[69] v. Sehrt and Starck, p. 68, lines 19-20.

the same construction in "...zog seinen fadenscheinigen Rock aus und das Prachtkleid an."[70] Whatever the difficulties in deciding what verbs these are (aus- und anziehen??), the difference from the Otfrid example is clear. The Notker and Keller sentences have an 'und' to separate the two. The only type of NHG parallel for the Otfrid sentence is the above (p. 41) ich stehe mit an.

The examples[71] are:

fram ≠ ûz	I-23-5	thaz er fúari thanan frâm úz...(P uz)
hera ≠ heim	II-3-1	er quam uns súlih hera héim (P quám)
hera ≠ in	IV-21-29	zi thiu quám ih hera in uuórolt in
ingegin ≠ ûz	IV-20-3	giang er sélbo ingegin úz thár zi... (P gíang)
	II-3-24	sie giangun kúsgo ingégin úz...
nidar ≠ hera	IV-30-28	so stig nídar hera

At first glance, anyway, III-23-28 has three forms:

farames áuur thara zi ín hína in iro lánt in

The only conclusion which can be drawn from these forms is that one of them (or all of them) must be adverbial, since only one at most can very well be a compounding form, within the frame of OHG compounding.

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[70] Vol. 8 of Gottfried Keller, Sämtliche Werke... ed. J. Fränkel (Erlenbach-Zürich and Munich, 1927), p. 44.

[71] The frequent cases with thanan, herasun, etc., have not been listed, as these are surely adverbs. Any instances of thara ≠ compounding form (e.g. thara ûz, thara ingegini) have been omitted as ambiguous; v.i. p.103ff.

Note that IV-30-28 has a parallel in IV-30-14 hera nídarstigan. This is a reasonable indication that in IV-30-28, nidar is the compounding form (if any) and hera is an adverb.

There is no immediate indication which one of the other pairs of forms is the compounding element.

Of possible compounds of the inngaleipan sort Otfrid has a plethora.[72] The cases with the separable form preceding are:

heim	III-20-72 ther...thaz líoht thir heim gihólota (P héim)
hera	(v.s. hera nídarstigan, hera nídargan, hera uuídaruuarb) II-7-30 nih hera gíílti zi thír
hina	(v.s. hina nidarscrikken)
in	IV-7-51 so er érist thia árcha ingigíang (P archa íngigiang)
thara	V-4-27 ni thaz er thara gíílti
	IV-6-19 (bóton), thie thara giládot uuarun[73]
	H-160 thara giléite míh

[72]So do other OHG MSS. v. Grimm II,pp. 908-9 for the best list. In summary, these include apa-ir-, avur-ar-, fram-ar-, inpor-ar-, ûf-ar-, ûz-ar-, zuo-ar-, ûz-int-, ana-pi-, umpi-pi-, zuo-pi-, ana-far-, apa-fir-, in-fir-, ûf-fir-, ûz-fir- ! Most of course are from the Glosses, which write all compounding forms before the verb regardless of separability, but several are from other sources. Grimm reserves judgment on whether these are compounds. For similar cases in MHG he denies compounding of the first element.

[73]giladôn appears elsewhere as a finite verb. This is the only case with thara. Kelle and Piper list all these thara forms as compound verbs.

ûf	IV-27-18 ioh thar nan úfirrihtun
	III-24-39 úfirstuant si snéllo
	IV-19-43 úf yrscrikta hárto ther furisto éuuarto
	III-24-43 thaz sí so gahun úfirstuant
umbi	I-22-19 so siu tho héim quamun, sih úmbibisáhun (P úmbibisahun)
ûz	IV-13-1 so iúdas thanan úzgigiang[74]
	IV-20-9 so er úzgigíang ingegin ín
zisamane	IV-29-42 sih untar ín ruartin, zisámane gifúagtin
	III-26-48 noti...ioh sines tóthes guati zisámane gifúagti
	II-8-5 thiu zisámane gihítin (probably a relative clause)
	V-6-61 zisámane biuuúntan
	I-1-8 zisámane gibúntan
	H-137 zisámane gifúagte[75]
zua	II-13-13 thes ér mo zuagisprîchit

Word division is simply given according to Erdmann's text, as usual. It may be noted here that Kelle and Piper list all of the above as compounds.

The following appear above as first elements: heim,

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[74]Note that if thanan could be interpreted as a compounding form (as it is by some, e.g. Piper) this could be a parallel to Gothic miþinngalaiþ.

[75]These last three forms are non-finite. gifuagen and fuagen both appear in finite forms; likewise gibintan and bintan.

hera, in, thara, ûf, umbi, ûz, zisamane, zua.

The following are used in immediate preverb position: gi, ir, bi.

The instances of such possible double compounding with the "first" member separated from the verb are more tenuous, but both Kelle and Piper list them (with the one exception as noted) as compounds.

heim	H-130 thi giléitit unsih héim
	I-18-44 er giléitit thih héim (P heim)
hera	III-21-26 ther héra uuard giséntit[76] (P gisentit)
	III-10-23 ih ni bín...giséntit hera in uuórolt in[77]
	II-12-33 thaz hera in uuórolt io gisán
ingegin	IV-4-56 thaz sélba ingégin ouh inqúad thiu áftera hériscaf[78]
thara	V-23-164 gilaz thir thára thinaz múat
	IV-2-3 so er thára iz tho bibráhta
	IV-33-4 ni uuólta si...thara zi ín biscouuon
ubari	IV-5-33 sar so iro síto bilidi sie thíh gileggent úbari

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[76]The participle is the only form of a verb gisenten, if it exists. Kelle and Piper both list heragisenten.

[77]This and the following are immediately suspect because of the use of the phrase hera in uuorolt; v.i.pp.98-100.

[78]This form is not listed as a compound by either Kelle or Piper, though I cannot see why they would not so list it. I think it is an adverb, too, but I think that others of this group are as well. And I fail to see any further differentiating factor in IV-4-56.

ûf	IV-27-9 yrhúabun sie úf in alauuár then kuning
	III-4-31 yrstuant er úf tho snello
	II-11-54 tho er úf fon themo gráb e irstuant
	III-13-58 unz thiu sín guati uf fon tóde irstuanti (P irstúanti)
	V-4-47 er ist...úf fon tóde irstantan (P irstántan)
umbi	III-4-7 thén bifiangun úmbi pórzicha fínfi
ûz	III-12-34 thaz sie nirgángen thanan úz
	V-9-1 tho thaz éuuiniga guat úz fon themo gráb e irstuant
	V-21-8 ist férro irdríban fon hímile úz
zisamane	V-5-13 zisámane al biuuúntan
	V-6-57 biuuúntan thar zisámane

This gives as possible first members: heim, hera, ingegin, thara, ubari, ûf, umbi, ûz, zisamane; and as second members gi, ir, bi, and in.

The lists of first and second members are surprisingly similar for the preposed and the separated forms. ingegin and ubari do not appear preposed. (For ubari this is no accident; v.i. p. 80 .) in and zua do not appear separated. The second members are identical for the 19 preposed and the 21 separated, with the exception of the one case of in (-quad). The unusual unanimity of the first forms is one of the facts about the group that must be

explained, whether we end up judging them as compounds or not. After all, there are many forms which, at first glance might well appear with already compounded verbs. Why no thuruhgi-, ubargi, untargi-? Why no anabi-, thanabi-, etc.? Another fact that must be explained is the startling paucity of such verbs, even listing, as we did, all possible cases without recourse to syntactical considerations which will certainly reduce the group radically (v.i. p. 227). There are only 40 of these instances, while, speaking generally, Kelle counts 801 of Otfrid's 1315 verbs as compounds![79] Further, Gothic has 39 indubitable double compounds.

One closing remark may be made about this group. Direct parallels in the two categories (i.e., same verb appearing preposed and separated) occur for ûfirstantan (2 preposed, 4 separated) and zisamanebiuuintan (1 preposed, 2 separated). This is some surface evidence for compounding. However, both are highly suspect (v.i. p.190).

The remaining double compound form is more surely a double compound but also much more exotic in appearance. gianabrechôn of IV-19-64, dét er iz then mánnon zi einen fristfrangon thaz sie nan, so ih thir ráchon, mohtin

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[79] v. Kelle II, p. 430.

giánabrechon. This verb has the same meaning of "condemn" that the simple verb ánabrechon of V-20-97 shows. The order of the preverbs is the interesting thing here - an inseparable preceding a separable,[80] and the case has already been noted in discussing Gothic gamiþsandjan. It is possible, of course, that this is a denominative verb, like gibísmeroter (IV-23-6).[81] The latter verb certainly can not be cited as an example of double compounding, but gianabrechôn certainly can, as the evidence for denominative origin is not convincing.

E. External Evidence of Compounding

1. Stress

So far we have been talking about the possible compounding forms of OHG largely from a lexical and morphological point of view. The discussion has been based on those forms where compounding seems possible, and no effort has yet been made to prove that compounding exists.

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[80]There seem to be very few such verbs in OHG. Schade (I, p. 237) gives ganavenzôn (canavinzôn) cavillari. v. also Grimm II, p. 907, who cites and discusses gâwiccôn, kiantheizôn, geantwurten, kipiheizôn, kiunfrewan, keummuazôn, giummagên, geunderskeitôn, chiforabôdon, gevurevangôn, piunchuskan, irunganzên.

[81]If it is a form of gibismerôn (thus Kelle and Piper). But I prefer to regard this as a simple past participle in gi of the verb bismerôn (see IV-25-2 bísmerota). The addition of gi here is not a violation of the rule of no gi with the past participle of inseparable compounds, since the bi is obviously part of a noun and has stress (v. IV-30-4 and IV-22-26 zi bísmere).

The remark on p. 4 that identification of compound verbs must await syntactical analysis is still largely true, but there are two factors not on a syntactical level which must be mentioned and which may aid in our problem. (The obvious drawback is that any of these criteria may only give us the dichotomy: verb forms which are inseparable compounds **vs.** verb forms which aren't!) These factors are stress, and word order with ni. The latter was a clear indication of Gothic compounding (v.s. p. 35[1]). Stress was an assumed factor (v.s. p. 28[1]) in characterizing those verbs where separation of originally compounded forms was likely. Stress is a much more tangible factor in OHG, thanks largely to Otfrid. What then is the OHG stress situation in inseparable compounds and in those cases where a possible compounding form is directly prefixed to the verb?

The stress of the gi, ir, bi, fir, in(t) and zi forms is so regular as to be almost monotonous. Out of all the extremely large number of these verbs, Sobel cites only the following exceptions[82] (that is, stressed prefixes):

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[82] v. Sobel, pp. 61-2.

bi: 5 in P; 1 in V
ir: 3 in V
fir: 2 in P
gi: 2 in P
int: 1 in P[83]
zi: none

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[83] As a check on the accuracy of Otfrid's accentuation, I give here the stress comparison of the two verbs ingân, one meaning "enter" (in / gân; including all possible cases of this verb) and the other "escape" (originally intgân).

in / gân	ingân-intgân (all unseparated)
Separated:	
Stress on in marked: I-22-33, IV-23-30, IV-35-5 Stress on in not marked: IV-34-6 (V-6-52 has stress on ganganne, but probably involves thara-in)	Stress not marked at all: None Stress marked on verb stem: I-1-48, I-19-15, I-24-2, II-5-27, IV-8-8, IV-16-20, IV-37-11, V-3-17, V-13-6, V-15-20, V-19-16
Unseparated:	
Stress on in marked: I-4-19, II-11-5, II-23-21, IV-15-5, V-6-28 Stress on in not marked: V-12-26	

(Some of these are dubious compounds, incidentally: v.i. p. 118.)

The results are fairly conclusive, especially in a text supposedly subject to vagaries and inaccuracies. They speak well for the accuracy of other verbal stress marks.

The very lack of consistency between V and P indicates that these are, as Sobel calls them, "Schreibfehler." (Certainly no further evidence for the compound nature of these verbs need be given. For phonetic characteristics of such inseparability, v. Grimm II, p. 689 ff.).

For the equally inseparable hintar, thuruh, ubar, untar the situation is a bit more complicated.

hintar would normally furnish the closest approach to the bound-form compounds, as it is for Otfrid a bound form itself. One immediate exception appears on first examination. Sobel says (of all four - hintar, thuruh, ubar, untar), "Der erste Bestandteil wird nur in erster Hebung accentuiert, sonst immer der verbale."[84] The cases are all listed by Sobel. He gives 18 with hintar (including two which appear only in MSS other than V). The remainder (8 cases) have the stress on some form of queman, including a couple where, if hintar were characteristically stressed it should have the stress in first thesis (e.g. III-16-6 hintarquámun innan thés (P hintarquamun)).[85] Therefore we may say that hintar- was

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[84] v. Sobel, p. 62.

[85] Cf. Sobel, p. 62, who says this is "durch den Versschluss bedingt." This explanation seems to place too great weight on the metrics and too little on the inherent stress of the word. It also leaves such verses as this same III-16-6 (where P has hintarquamun innan thés) standing between two stools. To follow Sobel - P shouldn't have the stress here because the verse-end situation is the same as in V, and V shouldn't have

relatively weakly stressed, but by no means so weakly as gi- (which, to all purposes, never has stress, even in the area of first thesis). With this weak but still appreciable stress, it sometimes got a stress mark when it fell into certain metrical areas characterized by stress.

thuruh is never stressed.

ubar is like hintar. There are three cases with stressed ubar in first thesis. V-7-26 gives the best indication of the conflict between natural word stress and meter pattern, for P originally had iz úbarstígit noti, marking, I think, both the word stress and the meter. But he found this a bit excessive and erased the first stress mark.[86]

Two forms in ubar (V-7-27 and V-23-93) which Sobel has to explain as "durch den Versschluss bedingt"[87] are actually demanded by their presence directly after ni. v.i. p. 63 .

untar, like thuruh is never stressed.[88]

widar in widarstantan is never stressed.

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hintarquámun because hintar usually takes stress in first thesis, as demonstrated by P. I think the above explanation is better, precisely because it reflects the uncertainty of the stress vs. meter conflict.

[86] v. Piper I, ad loc.

[87] v. Sobel, p. 63.

[88] missi is also never stressed.

We have, therefore, clear indication that hintar, ubar (and doubtless thuruh, untar and widar) had greater stress than gi, ir, etc., in spite of the fact that they are equally inseparable for Otfrid and most of OHG. Yet they did not have great enough stress to be regularly marked.[89]

The situation in the remainder of the possible compounding field is complicated - more so than one might expect. Certainly there is no trace of such unanimity of stress as appears in NHG. From my statistics (on preposed forms only, of course) I give the following summary. No allowance has been made, except as noted, for metrical exigencies, which play a very small role, in my opinion, or for semantic divergencies:

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[89] Is this not a confirmation of the idea that increased stress is an indication of possible (future) separation (v.s. p. 29[1], on Gothic) for it is in this group that we find the material for the NHG "prefixes either separable or inseparable."

Of course, there is the possibility that all separated uses are derived from prepositions in isolation, which then became attached to simple verbs, but the semantic nature of the OHG forms makes this unlikely. For example, ubar forms not only ubaruuinnan (later inseparable) but also ubargangan and ubarfaran (with the type of meaning associated with separable verbs).

	Stress in MS V on:				Stress in MS P on:			
	Preverb	Verb	Both	Neither	Preverb	Verb	Both	Neither
after		1			1			
ana	21	9			20	8		2
bifora	1	1			2			
fora[90]	7	1			7	1		
fram	2				2			
furi	2			1	2	1		
heim	5	1			5		1	
hera	6	3			7	2		
hina	1	1			1	1		
in	5	1		1	7			
ingegin	4	1			4	1		
miti[91]		2				2		
nidar	12				9	1	1	1
thana	18	2		1	15	2	1	3
thara	21	15	1		20	14		3
ûf	6				6			
umbi	2	3	2	1	2	6		
ûz	5	1	1		5	1	1	
widar[92]	1				1			
zisamane			6				6	
zua	5	1			4	2		

There are no cases of preposed order for the remainder: ingegini, mit, nâh, nidare-nidiri, ubari-ubiri, widari.

I trust that a glance at this table will be sufficient to emphasize the complexity of the situation. Simplicity can be attained only by going at the matter of stress with definite prejudices in the form of tacitly assumed categories - and can be attained thus only by recourse to

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[90] All 7 cases with fóra are in the form hiar-fora-verb (or thar-fora-verb) and are doubtless adverbial, but they will be examined later and are hence included here.

[91] Including one indubitable case of isolated preposition.

[92] widarwerban only.

frequent allegations of mistaken accentuation and by heavy leaning on assumed metrical exigencies, etc. Sobel, having already in mind a category of "Präpositionaladverbia" ("after, ana, fora, furi, gegin (ingegin), in, miti, uf, umbi, uz, widar = retro, zua") says these are all stressed when they directly precede the verb.[93] He is then forced to assume for this group alone no less than (as I understand his explanations) five erroneous markings, three cases of metrical exigency, four other and doubtful factors (denominative origin, real compounds, etc.), five "exceptions" plus five cases left unexplained. I think this is too high a price for uniformity.

The two MSS are substantially in agreement.

Note that in both MSS equal stress (both or neither marked) is very sparse and scattered - 14 cases in V and 19 in P. Six of each are zisamane plus verb. Since the rest of the equal stress patterns are so hit-and-miss, the presence of six cases of double stress with zisamane - and with no other pattern appearing for this form - is most striking. Here is the first indication of a check on the important question - Is it a compound? The feeling immediately arises that this stress pattern is a highly unlikely one for a compound verb, and I think this feeling correct. The nature

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[93] v. Sobel, pp. 98-105.

of all regular verbal composition, and of all nominal composition as well, indicates that one member - not both - takes the stress. This is a fundamental IE pattern of composition. It is therefore very doubtful, judging from this stress situation alone, that zisamane is a compounding form in Otfrid's OHG, in spite of its frequent, indeed usual listing as such. If syntactical analysis corroborates this, we can discard zisamane as a compounding form.[94]

There remains the examination of the first two stress categories. These two (mutually exclusive) patterns are the patterns of true composition. The total relationship in V is 126 stressed preverbs and 43 stressed verbs; for P, 120 and 42 respectively. Obviously we have arrived at the opposite end of the stress pattern - at least as far as Otfrid carries it - from the nearly 100% stressed verbs of the gi (etc.) group. But the main problem still remains - which of these are true compounding forms? If this were NHG our criterion would be simple enough. All true inseparable compounds would show only verb stress, not preverb. No form meets this requirement.[95]

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[94]On double stress in other dubious forms, v.s. p. 26, etc.

[95]Naturally there may be, especially in the less frequent forms, semantic factors or syntactical ones which would eliminate one or two forms (as forms where compounding is out of the question) and thus change the picture considerably or entirely. (The one case of miti, with verb stressed, is obviously not enough to judge by.)

All true separable compounds would show preverb stress only. The rest, if not inseparable, would be more or less chance juxtapositions of adverb and verb. But only fram, furi, nidar (in V, but not in P) and ûf fulfill this latter requirement of stressed preverb, and for fram and furi the evidence is far too sparse. Furthermore, for nidar the contradiction of MS P must be explained. Allowing for the possibility that P could be making a mistake, nidar might be considered as a real stressed form, precluding verb stress, and ûf seems to meet the same test at least as convincingly. Still there is no doubt that stress does not by itself provide any conclusive answers in the problem of composition.

We must be satisfied with a listing of those preverbs which are strongly on one side or the other of the dividing line (remembering that preverb stress is 3-to-1 over verb stress in the group as a whole). This gives the following divisions:[96]

Preverb stress much more frequent than verb stress:[97]

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[96] Confusion or inadequacy of evidence reigns to some degree with after, bifora and miti. They are therefore omitted here.

[97] Preverb stress more frequent, but less than 3-to-1 in hera (in V), thara, zua. zua is rather too infrequent for any judgment of its status. ana, however, even with a fair number of verb stresses belongs in this class and is given above, as most of the verb stresses are with clear cases of tharana.

ana, fram, heim, hera (in F), in, ingegin, nidar, thana, ûf, ûz, zua (in V)[98]

Verb stress more frequent than preverb stress:

umbi

The conclusions which can be drawn from this division are anything but compelling. Most important, though, is the clear necessity of examining umbi for cases - or rather individual verbs - which are inseparable. This is particularly necessary in view of the existence of inseparability in its NHG descendant.

In the other group (ana, fram, heim, etc.) are those forms which will be most interesting in the final decision between compounding forms and adverbs. Since, however, the stress is identical for the two (either adverb or compounding form would or could be stressed before the verb[99]), the decision rests with the syntactical analysis.

The points just given, plus the indicated likelihood that zisamane is no compounding form, are the only conclusions that the stress patterns alone warrant.

2. ni

ni is of much less help than it was in Gothic. Perhaps this is the only thing to expect in view of the stress

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[98] MS V's furi would belong here, too. In P there is one form with verb stress to two with preverb stressed. Similarly bifora in P. In general it seems that the evidence of stress alone is too sparse for zua and furi, but also for after, bifora, fram, hina, miti and widar.

[99] v. Sobel, pp. 105-7.

patterns as they evolved from the preceding discussion. Preverb stress - at the rate of 3:1 - would, of course, make it unlikely that these verbs in unseparated form would be used after ni (v.i. p.63 ff.), since this position is largely or entirely characterized by weak stress.

But ni may still be used as a criterion for compounding,[100] and it gives interesting, though largely negative results.

The considerable breach made in the characteristic initial position of ni by the clauses introduced with inti[101] is the result of the unusual nature of the inti clauses,[102] a very ancient distinction, which has only in NHG been definitively changed into the pattern of two syntactically similar main clauses connected by und. This characteristic order of the OHG - usually inti plus subject plus ni plus verb[103] - still does not affect the validity of ni as a touchstone for the question 'what is the verb?'

Examination of Otfrid's examples shows clearly the compound nature of the verbs in gi, etc. The cases of initial ni are:

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[100] On ni followed immediately by the verb and the literature on the subject, v.s. pp. 35-71.

[101] v. Behaghel Syntax IV, p. 12.

[102] v.i. pp. 197-9. Also Kuhn, p. 56, p. 64 and p. 65, note 1; Ohly, p. 40 f.

[103] Behaghel, loc. cit.

III-13-13 ni giuuáhin es, druhtin, fúrdir

III-16-45 nirdeilet únrehto (P nirdéilet)

II-21-37 ni firláze unsih thin uuára

III-18-23 nirstérbent sie in éuuon

V-4-38 drof nintuuérfet iuer múat[104]

But in the other positions the ni is still always followed directly be the verb (v.s.).[105]

IV-15-12 thés ni missedrúet (P missidrúet)

II-24-18 fon thínen ni giscéides (P gisceides)

IV-1-37 iz drúhtin ni bilíbe

IV-5-44 thes gánges thih nirthrúzzi (P nirthruzzi)

II-11-24 thoh mánn es io ni intgúlti (P nintgúlti)

I-5-38 mih io gómman nihein in min múat ni biréin (P birein)

This word order is a descendant of a usage as old as IE, where the negative had apparently greater stress than

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[104]The drof is part of the negative expression as an intensifier. v. Kelle III, under drof.

[105]There are no cases in Otfrid, to my knowledge, where ni (negating a verb or the whole or part of a sentence) is used anywhere but directly before the verb. Other OHG documents give substantially the same picture (v. Diels, pp. 81-84 and p. 143). The pattern of ni plus verb is so strong in Germanic that the ni even displaces other elements which characteristically precede the verb. Wende (p. III) says of the preposition with her, þaer and hwaer (as well as with pronouns, etc.) that it "gehört unmittelbar vor das Verbum, nur der zu einer einfachen finiten Verbalform gehörigen Negation ne...muss sie diesen Platz abtreten." See also Wende, p. IV, V.

the verb and this lesser stressed verb followed it, almost as an enclitic (e.g. Latin nescio, etc.).[106] The verb was definitely unstressed in Sanskrit main clauses, and the Germanic verb was similarly characterized by weak stress. Kuhn says, "Die verben der selbständigen sätze sind überall senkungsfähig und stehen meist im platze der satzpartikeln..."[107] Sobel says, "Das Verbum hat einen bedeutend niedrigeren Ton, als das Nomen. Es steht über 150 mal im Auftakt, das Verbum substantivum nicht mitgezählt und kommt, besonders nach Nominibus und Pronominibus sehr häufig in Senkung vor."[108] Thus it is perfectly logical for the unstressed gi, ir, etc. to follow the ni. But what is the situation with more heavily stressed preverbs?

hintar, thuruh, ubar and untar had characteristically weak stress but just enough to take the stress if meter required it, as we have seen. But if the position after ni is characteristically weak, these verbs should appear after ni and without stress. There are three cases with these preverbs in Otfrid, and all of them have the preverb unstressed. Since this is the regular pattern for hintar, etc. plus verb, the examples might seem of little significance. But two of the three are in position of first thesis,

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106 v. Behaghel IV, p. 12; Hirt Urgermanisch III, p. 223.
107 v. Kuhn, p. 52.
108 v. Sobel, p. 59.

and as Sobel points out, this position is usually stressed, even with these lightly stressed preverbs (*v.s.* p. 52). Here, then, the old pattern of *ni* plus unstressed preverb plus verb prevails over the metrical pattern, and we have V-7-27 *ni ubaruuíntu ih iz mér* and V-23-93 *thaz ni ubaruuínten uuir mer*. Sobel has to explain both of these as exceptions "durch den Versschluss bedingt."[109] The remaining case is I-1-79 *ther sé iz ni untarfálle*.

Two cases with possible separable compounding forms show at least that *ûz* did not precede the verb in negation (*ni uz-...*), presumably because it was too strongly stressed by nature. The instances are: I-28-17 *thaz uuir ni fáren furdir úz* and II-11-44 *thaz uuir ni kértin thanana úz*.[110] These examples might not seem to indicate much except for the fact that *ûz* shows a strong tendency to precede the verb in dependent clauses, at least in some OHG documents. According to Leinen's count of the Tatian examples,[111] *ûz* (which appears 26 times after the verb and 24 times before

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[109] *v.* Sobel, p. 63.

[110] II-6-27 is very odd: *thaz er nan úz thoh ni spe* (P *spé*), but it should be cited here anyway. On the word order, *v.i.* p.194. If it were not for the *thoh*, this could be an exact parallel to the Gothic John 10, 1 *saei inn ni atgaggiþ*. The difference is decisive, though. *thoh ni* can scarcely be called a tmetic particle.

[111] *v.* Leinen, pp. 54-55. Strangely enough Leinen then cites I-28-17 and II-11-44 as indications that *ûz* is "auf dem Wege der Composition... mehr oder weniger vorgeschritten" (p. 55). Since these positions are diametrically opposed to the true compound patterns, precisely the opposite statement would be nearer the truth.

it in main clauses) appears 25 times before the verb and only once after it in subordinate clauses. To be sure, Otfrid is by no means so unanimous (v.i. p.220), indeed there seems to be some definite difference in the syntax of the two documents on this point. The chances are that ûz is not a true compounding form with Otfrid, though it may have tended to be so in other OHG writers or dialects.

The Tatian supports this usage with ni in 27-3 ni ges thu thanan uz; 44-3 inti in burgi Samaritanorum ni get ir in; 141-11 ir ni get in; 220-3 ni gieng thoh widoro in. With an already compounded verb it has (82-7) ni aruuirphu ih uz. One case is particularly interesting and significant. This is 147-3 thanne ther der in theki ist ni stiget nidar non descendat. There are only four other cases of separated nidar with finite verbs among the numerous cases of this particle in the Tatian. Apparently the translator could violate whatever part of his Sprachgefühl tended toward separation in ordinary main clauses, but with ni he did not want to write *ni nidarstiget.

The Glosses have (Steinmeyer-Sievers IV, 293-33), 25) ne duon ik mih der nieht mer ana. Notker has nesuochet die frist imo got zuo (Piper Notker III-25-3).

An extraordinary exception appears in the Monsee Fragments V-20 dese ni uztribit tiubila hic non eicit daemones. This is not even dictated by the Latin and indicates that

ûztrîban was "the verb" as far as this writer was concerned. Does this perhaps represent the older stage, when separation was much less common in all such compounds and when the stress of the ûz was as weak or nearly as weak as, say, in Otfrid's ubar of ni ubaruuíntu?

Similarly Tatian has in 92-6 ni ingang in inan nê introeas in eum. The translator was certainly not restricted to the proposed order. He has 10 cases of separated in, 9 of them in direct contradiction to the Latin order. To be sure, these separated forms are greatly outnumbered by the unseparated ones. Yet none of the 10 separated cases appears in a subordinate clause. These facts taken together prove that the Tatian is by no means totally without regard for OHG rules of word order for such particles (as derived from Otfrid; v.i. p. 191), and they therefore add credence to the "correctness" of 92-6 ni ingang. Directly opposed to this example Tatian shows, after all, the above cases in 44-3, 141-11 and 220-3.

The sum of these examples (only two of them showing the order characteristic of Gothic simple compounds) is strongly negative. That is, there is certainly very little evidence - from ni ∠ verb - that OHG compounds are truly compounds. But even the two examples just given from the Monsee Fragments and the Tatian must have some significance. Consider, after all, the alternatives to regarding them as

indications at least of an older attitude toward compounds. The first alternative would mean that ûz and in in these sentences are adverbs (as indeed ûz, at least, may turn out to be in Otfrid's OHG) not compounding forms. Then we would have two virtually impossible sequences of ni ≠ adverb ≠ verb! This almost never occurs.[112] The other alternative would be to regard these as inseparable compounds (like nirdeilet, ni firlaze, etc.). Of course the evidence of separation in the same texts makes this impossible. I think that the most sensible attitude is to say that these forms ni uztribit and ni ingang show that the consciousness of ûztrîban and ingân being - or having recently been - compounds was strong enough to allow two slips in the regular pattern of ni ≠ weakly stressed verb (≠ following compounding form, if any).

The last paragraph above is the first small affirmative answer to the question: Are there any proofs of compounding among the verbs with our group of possible compounding forms?

Certainly of simple mechanical proofs there are very few. Otfrid's stress marks must obviously be ruled out.

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[112] ni can negate thoh, etc., but it then stands alone and parenthetical, e.g. I-4-57 ni thoh irbólgono III-14-86 ni thoh zi uuóroltruame III-15-3 ni thóh thuruh thia fórahta. Cases like the Tatian 110-2 ni sliumo ziuhit inan uz non continuo extrahet are exceedingly rare and may be instances of Latin influence.

They may - and do - give subsidiary evidence, but not proof. Meaning parallels, not mechanical but simple, are generally as inconclusive as they are easy to find.

I am by no means inclined to ignore the significant parallels of separated and unseparated forms in the same passage, which are in reality good evidence for compounding precisely because they indicate the existence of alternating patterns of word order. Tatian 141-11, for example (ir ni get in noh thie ingangenton ni lazet ingangan intratis nec introeuntes sinitis intrare) does not leave much doubt that ingangan is a compound verb. Nor do I underestimate the striking evidence for compounding, even with the verb separated, that lies in sentences like Tatian 184-6 legitun iro hant in then heilant ana.[113] But even these convincing instances are not on the very concrete level of morphological or mechanical proofs, the like of which we are now asking. Indeed, instances as definite as these still are open to the challenge of "adverbial" nature, as hazy as that possibility may seem. In view of this uncertainty and particularly because of the great discrepancies in lists of OHG compounds, such concrete evidence would be welcome. Whether we get it or not is a different matter.

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[113]This form is noted below, p. 85 n. 145, in its proper context.

3. Participle and Infinitive

The forms ni uztribit and ni ingang are certainly only a slight bit of the evidence desired. Perhaps they attest antiquity rather than continued vigor. But there are analogous bits of evidence in the other categories mentioned as desirable evidence on compounding (p. 39). Otfrid has the form furifarane, a participial adjective, in I-4-51 uns sint kínd zi béranne iu dága furiuarane (P furifárane) "past", "gone by". This is sure evidence (absence of gi) that furi here is regarded as a real compounding form. But it must be emphasized that it is not proof that furi was a separable compounding form, in spite of III-20-79 gan fúri; v.i. p.184. With ni uztribit there are so many forms like tribit uz, in identical meaning, that there can be no question of inseparable compounding. But with furi precisely that question arises. Lachmann considers furi "tieftonig zusammengesetzt wenn es fort bezeichnet."[114] He cites besides the Otfrid example furizimprit obstructum, furistoppot obturatum, furipundan recondita (all from glosses: Hrabanus, Junius, Kero, resp.). In spite of the very likely inseparable nature of this verb, there is some evidence on the side of separability. Berthold von Regensburg (MHG)

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[114] v. Lachmann, pp. 371-2.

says ir etelicher vert ouch unrehtes todes für,[115] which is this meaning of furi, not "out, before (as protection), by." Furthermore, inseparable furi can also mean "before (as protection), etc.", as in Notker (Piper Notker I-391-23) unde uuard er fúregurtet et praecinctus est, etc.[116] This sort of confusion is actually more typical than exceptional for OHG, and it leaves the general question of furi open. For the Otfrid form under consideration, however, inseparability is highly probable, in view of the absence of gi and the stress on the verb.

Otfrid's ana fúntan in III-19-13 cannot be treated here, if only because funtan is generally used without gi. There are other difficulties, too; v.i. p. 188, n. 346; etc.

In other OHG sources there are many examples of this usage without gi which are neither subject to interpretation as inseparables nor cases where absence of gi is natural. Notker (Piper Notker II-405-8) has ábasnitine precisi; also (Piper Notker II-548-2) unde uuaz uuirt dir gágenstéllet apponetur; also in the Boethius foresewen praevisus.[117] From the Glosses there are: ingagansprochan (Monsee), fora qhuëtan (Junius), fora sezit (Junius), fora scaffôt (Junius) furi worfan (Junius), furi zimprit (Hrabanus), ûz kân egressus

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115 v. Lachmann, p. 372, note 1.
116 v. Lachmann, p. 372.
117 v. Grimm II, p. 871.

(Hrabanus), etc.[118]

While the Glosses might be suspect as far as word order goes - they never, or practically never, have a compounding form after the verb in any circumstances - there is no reason to believe that the omission of gi was motivated by the Latin original.[119] Allowing for the possibility that several of the above examples may be inseparable verbs from the start, we still have rather convincing evidence for a feeling of compounding in verbs demonstrably separable (e.g. ûzkân, abasnitine).

In the remaining category of hoped-for evidence (zi / infinitive) there is also some indication of compounding, though none of it is in Otfrid. The Monsee glosses have zi vuripringanne ad ruminandum and zi vurigisezanne profuturi.[120]

The first of these, unfortunately, is of very dubious value as a demonstration of compounding in separable type verbs, because the furi may, as we have noticed, be inseparable (though the meaning is certainly not that of the typical inseparable, "away"). But the second form, which is a doubtful reading apparently, is much more interesting. If this is its correct reading, assumption of inseparable

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[118] ibid.

[119] Note their regular insertion of zi: e.g. ûf za qhuœmanne (Hrabanus). v. Grimm II, p. 870.

[120] v. Grimm II, p. 870.

compounding of furi would leave us with a double inseparable compound, the like of which is practically non-existent in OHG. (The only such cases that I know of are the Monsee gloss widarinpiotan for rescribere and the Kero gloss duruhinpintamês persolvamus, which Grimm calls "offenbar fehlerhaft und undeutsch."[121]) The possibility is therefore open that zi vurigisezanne is another indication of a feeling for the compound nature of separable forms. The meaning of furi in this phrase is also proper for the separable form, incidentally.

4. Intransitive Verbs in Transitive Use

As a final piece of evidence for compounding, there is the transformation of an intransitive verb into a transitive by the use of a possible compounding form. On the surface this seems to be conclusive evidence.[122] If an intransitive verb suddenly shows up with a direct object,

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[121] v. Grimm II, p. 866. Otfrid's gibîsmeroter has already been rejected. The rather rare type ich anerkannte (along with ich erkannte an) in NHG is an interesting parallel. But NHG usage scarcely permits an infinitive zu anerkennen (like zi vurigisezanne).

[122] But it is in just this sort of situation that the difficulties of syntactical analysis become most apparent, and it is here that comparisons (either with past or coming stages of the same language or with other dialects and languages) are so vitally necessary. An absolutely contemporaneous descriptive analysis is possible, but so many cases of multiple paths of interpretation or ambiguities in the classifications occur as to make the results excessively vague.

something very definitive must have happened to the verb. In Latin, Greek and Gothic and other IE languages an intransitive verb can relate itself to an object by the use of a preposition, of course. But the verb and the preposition do not "go together" in any syntactical pattern. They can be separated by all sorts of words, pause pitches, etc. They can stand separately and alone. E.g. Greek (Mark 8, 10) ἦλθεν εἰς τὰ μέρη (could be ἦλθεν...εἰς τὰ μέρη, etc.) or Gothic (Mark 8, 10) qam ana fera (qam...ana fera, etc.). But when we get, in the same meaning (or nearly the same meaning), Gothic aggilus fraujins anaqam ins in Luke 2, 9 we surely have a compound verb anaqiman, which is transitive and has the object ins. There is no possibility of this being a preposition ana governing ins unless we are willing to do violence to Gothic syntax to make it so. For Gothic, though, the answer is easy, because simple compounds are inseparable. What about a language like OHG, where some forms are separable (or appear in separation)? Interestingly enough, Otfrid has almost no examples of such a change from intransitive to transitive by the inseparable thuruh, untar, ubar. Nearly all of his verbs of this type have gone the way of semantic specialization, and the cases of thuruhqueman and thuruhgân (III-8-41 and I-25-11) are inconclusive. Only ubargân in IV-20-30 mit thiu er thaz lánt al ubargíang is a case in point. It

seems semantically no different from IV-16-12 gíang...úbar einan klíngon.[123] Other OHG sources offer sufficient further evidence, however. Tatian has 7-8 inti thin selbes ferah thuruhferit suert (cf. 106-4 thuruh loh naldun zi faranne) and the same in Notker isan durhkieng sina sela,[124] etc. Among the other compounding forms or possible compounding forms Otfrid has the following:

I-17-29 so thísu uuort tho gáhun then kúning anaquámun (P anaquamun)

V-10-5 uuanta áband unsih ánageit

IV-7-51 so er érist thia árcha ingigíang (P archa íngigiang)

V-23-75 úbili, thiu únsih geit hiar úbiri

II-13-38 ioh uuónot inan úbari gotes ábulgi[125]

I-1-104 thaz sie nan umbiriten (P umbiríten)

The question of course is: Do these instances prove compounding for anaqueman, anagân, ingigangan, ubirigân, ubariuuonôn, umbiritan and others of their type?

First of all it should be noted that these constituted by no means the only form in which Otfrid could express

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[123] But even ubarfaran has specialized into "excel".

[124] v. Grimm IV, p. 1047.

[125] Similar effect with the inseparable compound in IV-20-30 mit thiu er thaz lánt al ubargíang and V-17-25 thia súnnun ioh then mánon so úbarfuar er gáhon; v. Kelle III, p. 14. But see note 123 above.

the same idea. Either the simple preposition *anan then kuning quamun or preposition and compound verb *in thia archa ingigiang were entirely possible, as numerous similar sentences show. That is, the same possibilities were open as were open to Gothic, viz.

1) Luke 6, 1 gaggan...þairh atisk

2) I Cor. 16, 5 Makidonja auk þairhgagga

3) Luke 17, 11 jah is þairhiddja þairh midja Samarian

So the construction is a natural one for Otfrid.

There is only one other possibility of explaining the OHG forms - that is, other than the immediate explanation that they are the equivalent of type 2 of the Gothic above, and hence real compounds. The other possibility is that they may be postposed prepositions.[126] There are two general points to be mentioned. First, such postposition is common in closely related Germanic dialects such as OE, OS. Second, it is by no means so common in OHG. Wende has collected a great body of OE material in prose and poetry, showing the prepositions aefter, aet, be (big), for (fore), from, gean, in, mid, of, ofer, on, to, þurh, under, wid,

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[126]Decision on this question obviously involves syntactical considerations. Since the problem commences with a rather straightforward possibility of a further proof of compounding, however, I think it better to discuss the matter fully now.

wider, ymb (as well as forms like uppan, beforan, etc. and ongean, betweoh, etc., even inne, ute, etc.), all in postposition of one kind or another with demonstrative adverbs, relatives and personal pronouns,[127] as well as some with nouns.[128] Wende also observes that such instances with nouns have a strong tendency toward compounding with the verb rather than independent use, especially in the Bede translation.[129] There is no such large number of instances in OHG. Otfrid's thara compounds (v.i. p. 103) have a much stronger tendency to hold together than OE þaer plus preposition, where separation is rife. For the relative pronoun such uses as Bede's (þaere cirican) þe se biscoop in waes,[130] etc., do not appear in OHG to anywhere near the same extent. Finally, such usage with personal pronouns is rare in OHG. Cases like Beowulf 890 ne waes him Fitela mid, etc.[131] are practically absent in OHG, unless such cases as Otfrid II-13-38 inan úbari be so interpreted.[132] There seem to be no cases, however, which do not, on the

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[127] v. Wende, passim. One caution must be exercised in using Wende's excellent materials. He has a strong tendency (with the personal pronouns, that is) to say that any separated prepositional form is a postposed preposition, tacitly assuming that it can't be a compounding form. This he does even when the form directly precedes the verb and when the MS seems to indicate that the whole was written together. Wende does indicate a tendency toward compounding when the object is a noun, however.

[128] v. Wende, p. VI.

[129] Ibid.

[130] v. Wende, pp. 37-63.

[131] v. E. Hittle, Zur Geschichte der altenglischen Präpositionen mid und wid. (Anglistische Forschungen 2.) (Heidelberg, 1901), p. 101.

[132] v. Grimm IV, p. 925, note 2.

surface, admit of interpretation with the verb. (MHG valsches âne, etc. of course cannot be interpreted with the verb,[133] but I know of no such OHG constructions.)

The following particulars must also be noted for the Otfrid forms. ana and ubari-ubiri are not prepositional forms (except for MS F, which uses ana). In OE where double forms like bi(g)-be and fore-for exist, the "longer" form exclusively is used in postposition, but either may appear before the object. ubari-ubiri cannot so appear and ana cannot for MSS V and P. Notker and Williram both show the same sort of differentiation with ana. The preposition here is an, the separated form (postposition or compounding form) is ana.

Thus far only a few background factors have been presented. No compelling reasons have been given for either basic interpretation. The fact that postposed use of prepositions is less frequent in OHG than in OE does not prove that it is non-existent. The fact that ubari-ubiri does not appear before any verb might conceivably be an accident. But the original proposition that the change of an intransitive verb to a transitive use might be a demonstration of compounding is clearly to be rejected as an absolute criterion, because all the cases in Otfrid

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[133] Ibid.

could possibly be explained through the preposition alone (ana, in, ubar, and umbi all taking the accusative).

So we are at the end of our obvious evidences of compounding. The evidence is clearly more of a general indication - compounding is present among these OHG forms - than it is a useful specific test for any given set of forms. This being the case, the decision on the question of which cases represent compounding must rest largely with syntactical criteria.

The evidence we shall then be looking for is the sort which will permit an affirmative to the critical question: Do these possible separable compounding forms (or any set of them) behave in some fashion systematically different from the combination of ordinary adverb and verb? (There is comparatively little trouble in distinguishing the forms in question from the inseparable compounding forms.) If we can find a good body of affirmative evidence on this question, then we surely have the best of reasons to set up a system of separable compounding forms in OHG just as we did for inn and ut plus compound verbs in Gothic and on the same basis. Needless to say, I believe we can, or I would not have gone to all this trouble.

F. The Question of Postpositions

The verb forms just cited, intransitives which become transitives, may have failed as criteria of compounding, but they have raised another important problem in the sorting out of possible compounding forms. This involves the ambiguity of compounding forms and postpositions. It is a problem which must be discussed before we can fairly claim to have dealt with all of the peripheral difficulties.

A degree of uncertainty is, I think, inevitable. No syntax pattern can exist utterly complete and static. Forms are constantly moving from one category to another, and older usages stay on in isolated expressions. I believe that no sure, uniform explanation can be found for all the cases together. It will be fortunate if we can find sure classifications for individual cases among these ana, in, ubari-ubiri and umbi forms. But the following points seem important.

For compounding there is the following evidence.

1. The presence of other ana, in and umbi compounds.[134]

2. The trend, true even in OE (v.s.), for prepositions

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[134] It is apparently this fact which led Curme to assume in all these cases precisely the opposite position from Wende's (v. Curme Compounds, p. 347). Curme considers them all compounds, any case relationship as later. He says, "... the adverbs that stood immediately before the verb had become closely associated with the noun before it" and cites Otfrid's I-17-29. Sobel simply says that only the forms with unstressed ana are compounds, the others not (v. Sobel, p. 63), but this is obviously too simple and will lead to patent contradictions.

after noun objects to associate themselves with the verb in a form of compounding rather than to maintain the characteristics of prepositions.

3. The apparent absence in OHG of any free uses of noun plus postposed preposition - that is in an independent phrase, not followed directly by a verb, e.g. then kuning ana.

For prepositional interpretation there is the following evidence.

1. The use with thara of all these prepositions, in their present form, too - in cases which clearly parallel the OE daer on,[135] daer in,[136] daer ofer,[137] daer ymb,[138] etc., where no connection with the verb is possible. In Otfrid: thar(a)ana, thar(a)in. In other OHG documents: thar(a)ubari, tharumbi, etc. Such forms demonstrate definitely that the difference in form between the preposed preposition ubar and the cases of ubari-ubiri in II-13-38 and V-23-75 above (or anan and ana for that matter, the preposition being anan in V and P of Otfrid) is no bar to interpretation of these two as prepositional forms. Indeed the absence of *thar(a)ubar in OHG, and the

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135 v. Wende, p. 27; e.g. daet daer on fules sie.
136 Ibid.; e.g. seo þaer in waes.
137 Ibid.; e.g. Hi...daer ofer cyrcan araerdon.
138 v. Wende, p. 29; de daer ymb stondad.

general use with thara of the extended forms of all prepositions (e.g. ingegini, widari, zua) shows that ubari-ubiri is the long form or stressed variant of ubar in these prepositional situations.

2. The presence, likewise in extended form, of other prepositions in indubitable "isolated" use, e.g. Otfrid IV-2-23 in thíu...man árme miti nériti (v.i. p. 88). Thus mit in isolation becomes miti, etc.

3. Most important of all, perhaps, is the evidence derived from parallel uses with another accusative object (and an already transitive verb) that indicates prepositional, or at least case-governing nature for certain isolated or pre-verb prepositions. Since these forms are also susceptible of interpretation as compounding forms, the evidence is particularly important.

Otfrid has for ana:

I-15-34 er tod sih anauuéntit (P ánauuentit)
V-11-9 ouh blías er sia ána, so thu uuéist, then selbon héilegon géist
IV-19-40 thu hóris uuas sie nénnent ioh thih ánazellent
III-18-70 (with first object further away) námun sie tho stéina... thaz slíumo sies gihulfin, ioh inan ánauuurfin.

Other examples, from Notker and cited by Grimm are:

er santa sie ana dia âbolgi sînes zornes
du legetôst mih ana dîna hant
ziu lâzest dû dih ana dehein leid?

warf er sie ana fleisg, etc.[139]

ana is by far the most frequent in this use, but a few other prepositions also appear, e.g.: Tatian 44.4 thiu man iuuih furisezze[140]

There seems to be no other way to explain the accusative case of sih, sia, thih, inan, sie, mih, dih, sie and iuuih, respectively, in the above examples without the case-governing character of the ana (and furi). One need only consider the NHG "transliterations" of these sentences to see what happens when the an can no longer govern a case. E.g. er wendet sich dem Tode an, er blies ihnen den Geist an. Tatian 101-1 anasazta in sino henti, with the dative pronoun, is a similar contrasting type. Perhaps such cases may simply involve (compound) verbs with a "double accusative" construction. But the supporting evidence of like verbs in OHG is a bit shaky.

The instances cited for point 3 above indicate the possibility of postposed ana (and a few other prepositions) still governing a case, and their parallelism with Otfrid V-10-5 uuanta ábband unsih ánageit is clear. This verse may therefore be unsih ána, a postposed preposition and

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[139] v. Grimm IV, p. 1045.

[140] For other (MHG) examples, and for comments, see Grimm IV, pp. 1047-9.

no compound. But Grimm, who made the first systematic collection of these cases said of the whole group, "Die präposition verwandelt sich oft in ein adverb, d.h. die partikel wird dem bezug auf das nomen entrückt, und tritt in ein freieres verhältnis zum verbo des satzes, welches nun seine intransitive natur mit einer transitiven tauscht und jenen von der präposition abhängig gewesnen casus unmittelbar regiert ..."[141] Grimm definitely had the feeling that there was some sort of compounding or approach to compounding, and the indefiniteness of his statement reflects very accurately the indefiniteness of the situation. Otfrid and the other OHG documents, taken as a whole, seem to represent a middle ground between preposition and compounding form here. A more complete picture develops when the syntactical factors are fully analyzed (v.i. p.209ff.).

One item, however, which can be added to Grimm's statement as a result particularly of a study of Wende's statistics on OE, helps to clear up the situation. Wende said (v.s.) that instances of these postposed prepositions with nouns had a strong tendency toward compounding with the verb, a tendency not apparent with the pronouns. Note,

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[141] v. Grimm IV, pp. 1042-3.

now, that all the forms given above (p. 80-f.) have the ana (or furi) after a pronoun. There is no case I know of with ana after a noun in OHG except when the two directly precede a verb (e.g. Otfrid's then kúning anaquámun), and this is precisely the tendency which the nominal (more than the pronominal) cases have - to look like, perhaps really to be, instances of compound verb and noun object. This same observation applies to thia árcha ingigíang and other similar cases in OHG.

I have located only one case of a separate ana governing a noun object (along with a verb with its object), and that is from Notker's Psalms: Egyptios warf er ana finstri.[142]

By the very nature of this separation of ana, the form fell in with the pattern of ana compounds on two fronts. If it remained after the verb it came to parallel the ana from separable verbs. If it fell before the verb (in OE its regular position in subordinate clauses and "and" clauses[143]) it paralleled the unseparated ana compounds. The first happened largely with pronouns (v.i.), the second

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[142] v. Grimm IV, p. 1045.

[143] v. Wende, p. IX.

largely with nouns. It must be further emphasized that some of these separated ana's are very likely from the separable verb itself - not all from prepositions!

There is, then, a definite tendency of the ana forms, even if they were prepositional, to drift toward compounding. Symptomatic of this are the numerous cases where the ana has wandered away from its object and is held in the sentence pattern largely by its connection with the verb. Examples are:

Hildebrandslied 5 gurtun sih suert ana
Tatian 120-5 ther thie uzan sunta si iuuar
zi eristen sente sia stein ana in illam
lapidem mittat

and from Otfrid:

IV-29-37 so er sih iz ánalegiti
V-12-59 tho er sie híar thaz anablías[144]
II-6-42 thaz ér... thaz uuíb iz anazálta.

Here the "objects" of ana are sih, sia, sih, sie and thaz uuib, respectively, all separated from the ana. But note that, with the system in flux, their case is still determined by the remote ana. It would be interesting to see if in OHG there are instances of the modern type of substitute for this almost illogical double accusative. The Tatian anasazta in sino henti is of this sort, but

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[144] Cf. the above blías er sie ána...then...geist.

more pertinent would be *sazta in sino henti ana, etc. I know of none like this.

These forms with "prepositional" function retained, in turn, lead to the most obvious compound forms, like Tatian 44-8 thanne ir inganget thaz hus intrantes autem in domo, where the "preposition" has beyond doubt no individual direct connection with the "object" and is a compounding form. The compound verb has a regular direct object. Whether this is a new development from an isolated preposition or a continuation of old compounds is a matter of speculation. Both factors doubtless contribute.

Applying the above considerations to our original group of Otfrid's forms, we may sum up as follows:

1. I-17-29 then kuning anaquámun (P anaquamun) and IV-7-51 thia árcha ingigíang (P archa íngigiang) are most probably compound verbs rather than noun plus postposed preposition.[145]

2. I-1-104 thaz sie nan umbiriten (P umbiríten) with its pronominal form is ambiguous, but if P's stress is correct may be an inseparable compound anyway.

3. V-10-5 unsih ánageit is ambiguous.

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[145]The danger of saying that even postposed cases of ana not before the verb are definitely postpositional rather than compounded with the verb is amply shown by the very significant Tatian 184-6 legitun iro hant in then heilant ana manus iniecerunt in Ihesum, where the presence of the preposition in ("Latin" or not) proves that the ana cannot be a postposed preposition!

4. V-23-75 thiu únsih geit hiar úbiri and II-13-38 uuónot inan úbari are almost certainly postposed prepositions. The highly irregular word order (for a compound verb)[146] of V-23-75 and the double stress of II-13-38[147] are convincing corroboration for this judgment.

Nor does this latter decision conflict with points 1 and 2 above (p.78f.) speaking "for compounding", because the cases of other compounds (point 1) involved not ubari-ubiri, but ana, in and umbi and because neither involves a noun object (point 2) rather a pronoun object which is the typical case with postposed prepositions. (The remoteness of separation in V-23-75 is paralleled by numerous OE instances; v.i. p. 106 note 176) and p. 211.

G. Some Individual Forms

A seemingly disproportionate amount of work in such a study as this must, as the above section shows, be devoted to the weeding out of extraneous forms and the sorting of others. Part of this is the fault of previous sketchy listings and tacit classifications. Part of it is a plain reflection of considerable confusion in the OHG situation.

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[146] v.i. p. 193.

[147] v.s. (in connection with zisamane) pp. 56-7.

The following paragraphs involve further analysis of certain individual forms. In some cases forms previously doubtful will be much clearer in the light of the foregoing section.

The one remaining case of ubari, for example, may be judged here rather than waiting for the section on syntax. This is IV-5-33 sar so iro síto bilidi sie thíh gileggent úbari...so... This is exactly the same as V-23-75 thiu únsih geit hiar úbiri, except that it is a transitive verb with its own object (bilidi). It even shows the same word order in the subordinate clause, which alone would make it more than doubtful as a compound verb.

Similarly, widari in III-8-10 mihil úngiuuitiri uuás in harto uuídari[148] (the only remaining case of widari) now appears in its proper light. It is no doubt a post-posed preposition, and its order (separated from its object by harto) is no more surprising than the order of IV-5-33 thíh gileggent úbari and V-23-75 únsih geit hiar úbiri.[149] Its pronoun object makes it all the more likely as a member of this group. The meaning of this form, "against" "opposed to", is of course not that of the adverb ("again" v.s. p. 28)

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[148]Kelle lists widar-wisu, Piper has uuidari-uuesan.

[149]For widari v. Wende, pp. 201-2 (e.g. Psalms 143,4 þaet þu him aht wid aefre haefdest) andpp. 126-7 (e.g. Annals 866 hie him friþ wiþ namon). For ubari-ubiri v. Wende, p. 194 (e.g. Psalms 89,19 Wese us beorhtnes ofer blidan drihtnes) and pp.117-118. Note Cura Pastoralis (Sweet, p. 119, l. 19) mid anwalde him moste oferricsian, where the separated position has led to combination with the verb in the MSS. Wende (loc. cit.) separates them.

and this gives us an interesting hint that postposed prepositions are not necessarily ipso facto to be equated with adverbs. Direct prepositional parallels are frequent, e.g. III-22-57 thaz thiu uuórt min uuidar drúhtine sín. Finally, against any kind of compounding there are the following considerations: 1) wesan is the least likely verb for real compounding, even down to NHG, where compounding is so general; 2) double stress uuás... uuídari is unlikely in true compounds (v.s. p. 204).

Phonetically like ubari-ubiri and widari, miti in IV-2-23 illustrates a separated prepositional form of quite a different sort - the only one of its kind in Otfrid. The sentence refers back to the word "salve" (line 19) and says: in thíu man thaz iruuéliti, man árme miti nériti. Judas said they should sell it and said "in choosing that (course), they would save (or aid) poor people with (it)." This is not a postposition but an isolated preposition with its object anticipated, just like Gothic akr... du usfilhan ana gastim (v.s. p.78[1]), or its closer parallels in OE: slea mon da hond of, de he hit mid gedyde in Aelfric's Laws[150] or ordonc, de we mid aliesde siendon in the Cura Pastoralis (Sweet, p. 301, l. 9). These are in relative clauses, of course. But OE also has

[150]Cited by Hittle, op. cit., p. 102.

a usage directly parallel to Otfrid's. The Cura Pastoralis (Sweet, p. 455, l. 29-30) has daet he swa strangne laecodom selle daem seocan, swa he maege da mettrymnesse mid gefliemen.[151]

Thus, although OHG usually uses tharamiti[152] to express such an idea, Otfrid's miti in IV-2-23 is a clear isolated preposition. An instance of the preposed preposition clinches the case. It is IV-25-2 uuio er únsih mit thiu nérita. The meanings are identical.

Note that the expanded form (presumably associated with greater stress) is used here, just as it was for the postposed prepositions ubari-ubiri and widari (which had their stress marked). OE middy and mide, the equivalents of Otfrid's miti, appear similarly in postposition with pronoun objects or in reference to the relative. See Wende, p. 14, note 1. Examples: From Cnut handa þe he þaet fals mide worhte and Rushworth Glosses, Matthew 7, 33 lytel tid iow middy am.

ingegini shows the same expanded form as the above prepositions, but it is far harder to judge. Wende, who interprets all possible forms of this sort as falling into

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[151] Other examples in Wende, p. 32.

[152] Piper calls the form an adverb and translates it as 'damit', v. Piper II under miti. It would be much better, I think, to keep such prepositional uses apart from the adverbs, though of course this all depends on one's definitions.

the same category of postposition[153] as the OE forms, lists II-15-9 thie bráhtun imo ingégini síechero manno ménigi; II-15-13 gisah thia ménigi al quéman imo ingégini; V-13-16 ín quam sar ingégini físgo mihil ménigi; III-6-8 fuar, ímo thar ingégini mihil uuóroltmenigi; IV-22-15 riaf imo ál ingégini thes lántliutes ménigi (P ríaf). There is one more he might have cited,[154] viz:

IV-5-53 slíhtit uns ingégini then uuég...

With nouns there are:

III-24-6 ioh ilta kríste ingégini (P ílta kriste)
III-25-4 quam mihil uuóroltmenigi then héreston ingégini (P ingegini)

The cases with pronouns do indeed look very much like postpositions. Unfortunately the situation with ingegini is very complicated, and one runs the risk of choosing one explanation over another without sufficient cause. Certainly the possibility of compounding must be considered, and these forms will be reexamined below to see which interpretation their syntactical nature supports. Remember that in the case of ubari, etc. there was something

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[153] Wende, pp. 273-5. He also lists the above cases of ubari-ubiri and widari, but with no further reasons for this classification nor any background discussion, since this section of his book is meant only as an epilogue to the OE material.

[154] And one he cited, but shouldn't have, I believe. This is I-3-49 ther ímo ingegingárota. After all, his observations on OE show that where there are two forms extant the postposed one is the "longer" form, e.g. big rather than be. v. Wende, p. 14.

wrong with every instance from the point of view either of syntax or of stress, something which made compounding more than unlikely. Here, too, there are such factors, e.g. double stress in II-15-9, II-15-13, IV-5-53 (as well as III-24-6 and IV-22-15 in P); also a very odd infinitive in II-15-13 (v.i. p. 184), but some of the sentences could represent compounds.

For thara / ingegini, v.i. p.119 f.

A far more likely set of prepositional cases are those where the ingegin precedes its dative object. It seems odd that these ever should have been regarded as compounds (as they are by Kelle, Piper et al.). The instances are:

IV-16-35 ióh ingegin ín quam
IV-16-17 ingegin ímo fuar in uuár únfirslagan héri thar
III-2-3 ioh fúar ingegin ímo sar (P imo)
V-16-6 gibot... thaz uuóla sie iz firnámin ingegin ímo quamin

The stress is quite regular for preposition plus pronoun.[155] There are numerous direct parallels with prepositional listings. Finally, the initial position of ingegin in IV-16-17 is odd (v.i.p. 172), and V-16-6 is unlikely word order for a subordinate clause with a compound verb!

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[155] v. Sobel, pp. 50-51.

fora provides, as I indicated in the Gothic chapter, rather surprising support for the contention that the word (Gothic faura, OHG fora) has dual meaning and function. Certainly the evidence could not be more cogent and specific if it were designed for the purpose. The division in meaning and function is the same in OHG as it was in Gothic. One fora is temporal; it refers to past time. It is the one used adverbially. The other faura is spatial; it means 'ahead' or 'in front' and if applied to time it means not past time but future time. This is the one used in compounds! Obviously it would not be enough, just as it was not enough in Gothic, to make this semantic distinction for the sake of sorting out fora compounds to fit some hypothesis. But in OHG there is good evidence in other than the semantic field that the division into two distinct fora's is valid. This is the entire evidence with verbs:

A. I-18-43 húgi uuio ih tharfóra quad
V-4-6 thiz úngirati... thaz uuir hiar fóra quatun
IV-22-33 so ih hiar fóra quad
V-5-12 so uuir hiar fóra zelitun
IV-27-12 so ih hiar fóra zelita
V-8-29 so ih hiar fóra zalta
IV-8-2 gizíti, thio uuir hiar fóra zaltun
IV-33-26 hiar fóra theist gizált
IV-7-92 so hiar fóra uuard giuuáht (P giuuaht)[156]

[156]All these verbs have the same field of meaning.

B. IV-35-44 so mán hiar fora ságen scal

Kelle noted the clear semantic split here when he said of the forms in Group A above "zeitlich; vorher, früher...namentlich zur Hinweisung auf das, was in einer früheren Zeit gesagt, erwähnt etc. worden ist...", while he says of B "wie man zum voraus, der Erzählung vorgreifend erwähnen soll..."[157] He also had a clear feeling for the special nature of the temporal forms in A as against the prepositional and spatial hiarfora and tharfora.[158] Kelle did not, however, draw any further semantic or syntactical conclusions from this pair of opposite meanings.

Notice that, as Kelle says, every fora in A refers to past time. This is the same as Gothic faura, the true adverb. And every form in A, just as we should expect, is stressed. There are no exceptions, not even any variations among the MSS. More remarkably still, though 7

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[157] v. Kelle III, p. 142.

[158] V-2-11 nist fíant hiar in ríche, nub ér hiarfora intuuíche and IV-5-61 thaz sélba, thaz thie súngun, thie tharfóra giangun, thaz sélba inquad, in uuára, thiu áftera fúara. On the latter v. Erdmann, p. 201, who cites Hrabanus quod item illi, qui praeibant, et illi, qui sequebantur, clamabant. v. also IV-4-55 thaz sungun... thie fórdorun líuti, thaz sélba ingégin ouh inquád thiu áftera hériscaf. The stress on fora in IV-5-61 need cause no alarm. This is clearly the preposition used after thar, and the stress in such situations is highly variable (v. Sobel, pp. 96-97). In addition it has nothing to do with time.

out of the 9 forms are in subordinate clauses (where an adverb may end up in front of the verb, making it very difficult to tell a compounding form from an adverb) there is convincing evidence in both of the remaining forms that these are no compounds, namely the separation of fora and gizalt by theist (= thaz ist), the double stress in the both verses, and the separation of the fora and the giuuaht by uuard! On such separation, see p. 188. So OHG fora=past time, like Gothic faura=past time, is an adverb and no compounding form.

B, on the other hand, refers to the future. Its time meaning is derived from its spatial meaning "before", "in front", "ahead". It is the faura of Gothic for which we assumed compounding. What better evidence than the stress, foraságen here in the infinitive, neatly differentiating this from all the hiar fora's in A.[159] The only way to negate this evidence would be to assume that this extraordinary split in stress is pure accident. If one does that, one might as well forget all the stress marks in Otfrid.

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[159] Otfrid's stress marking is the concrete factor which makes the differentiation possible. Because of the lack of stress marks Tatian 158-3 foracundita, 145-8 foralernen, 171-4 foraquad are of help only in indicating the possibility of compounding.

I have written the form as one word, foraságen, because I believe it is a compound. Lexical support for this idea is not especially common in OHG, but it is by no means absent. The Grimm Dictionary (vol. 12, sec. II, 1433-1457) lists, in addition to the OE foreseegen, the OHG forasagên "in allgemeiner anwendung, vorhersagen, voraussagen" also "zukünftiges vorhersagen". These are exactly the meanings of the Otfrid form. As late as 1667, according to Grimm, Stieler glosses vorsagen with "vor der zeit sagen".

Graff's Althochdeutscher Sprachschatz (vol. 6, 104-105) indicates doubt as to the compound nature of the Otfrid form, though it lists several OHG instances, including three from Notker, one of which at least is quite similar to the Otfrid form in not meaning strictly "prophesy" but "tell in advance". This is (Piper Notker II-269-22) Vuaz half dô . daz ih iz fóreságêta in prophetis.

The only other possibility is, of course, to call this fora in Otfrid IV-35-44 an adverb, separate like the fora's of A, but different in meaning. Yet all the weight of evidence is against this, for example the stress contrast in Otfrid, the other OE and OHG forms of the compound verb, the noun compounds (v.i.), the similar OHG compounds like forakunden.

There has been no attempt made here to go deeply into the semantic background of this split in meaning. All the

words like "before" having both temporal and spatial meaning tend to develop such a split (and not just in Germanic or even IE) as soon as the spatial meaning becomes applied to time. The whole matter would be a fascinating (and difficult) study in itself. But here the bare statement of the proposition will suffice since it is backed up by a functional difference.

There is further evidence in support of the difference between the two fora's outside of the immediate verb system. If fora = past time is typically not compoundable with verbs, we should also expect it in few if any compound nouns. On the other hand fora = future time (or spatial fora) should appear. This is exactly the OHG situation. v. Otfrid forasago, forasagin, Isidor foraspel prophetia, Notker (Piper Notker I,pp. 272-273) ménniskôn providentia. dáz uuir héizen fúredâhte, etc. Naturally the nouns are rather confusing, and there are dubious cases.[160]

If there were going to be any fora = past time compounds, we might expect them with forms of quedan, etc. (in view of hiar fóra quad). Thus there might be a noun fora-quidi meaning "the aforementioned" or "the previous statement". And this noun foraquidi does appear, but it

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[160] For a list of numerous fora compounds, v. Grimm II, pp. 717-8.

means indicia, which it glosses in the Kero, Hrabanus and Paris (Steinmeyer-Sievers I-182-32), thus clearly a future meaning,[161] related to foraságen rather than hiar fóra quad.

The meaning feature which all these nouns share is their effect of pointing toward the future, which is the semantic direction of the verb foraságen, too.

Otfrid has, unfortunately, no cases of fora with verbs in the meaning "ahead", "in front" (the spatial equivalent and also the origin of this future fora of foraságen). That it was at least separable and possibly an adverb is demonstrated by Isidor V-22 ih faru dhir fora and by the Tatian 133-7, which shows the spatial meaning most clearly: Inti mit diu er thiu eiganun scaf uzsentit, thanne uerit er in uora; inti scaf folgent imo. The spatial meaning is certain. There is the possibility of fora here being a postposed preposition. Diels, however, calls it a separable adverb.[162]

foraságen I assume may have been inseparable, not only because of its stress but also because of Tatian foracundita, etc. But separable uses do outnumber the inseparable in the whole historical picture of vorsagen , as the Grimm Dictionary

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[161] For example, Notker Boethius (Sehrt and Starck, p. 63) indicium futurę calamitatis uuórt-zéichen dero chúmftigûn léidegúngo, which Notker goes on to explain: Táz argumentum héizet ab euentu. hoc est a fine. sive ab effectu. uuánda uuír finem ána-séhen súlen. án dero fóre-tâte.

[162] v. Diels, p. 144. Also F. Purtscher, op. cit., p. 39, who in this sentence as well as 4-17 and 116-4 (both in preposed order) sees fora "in trennbarer Verbindung mit Verben der Bewegung."

(v.s.) shows. The majority of separated uses are from later texts, however. Decision is difficult, probably impossible.

hera appears under very suspicious circumstances. Adverbial use has already been shown for this form (v.s. p. 16). V-8-28 uuio er uuárd ouh héra funs, which was cited as a good example of adverbial use, has a direct parallel in II-2-32 iz uuard héra in uuorolt fúns (P uuórolt funs). This parallel is typical of a great number of cases of hera, and it makes the question of compounding with hera considerably simpler. After all, if hera in uuorolt is a recognized adverbial phrase in OHG, a phrase which could exist quite apart from any possible connection of hera with the verb (as the above examples show[163]), then we are practically justified in omitting from the discussion of compounding those cases where hera is followed by in uuorolt. This does not mean that compounding is absolutely out of the question, but the presence of hera in uuorolt indicates at the very least a surface ambiguity in interpretation. This ambiguity makes such instances poor material for analysis of syntactical patterns. And if further irregularities are found in the behavior of

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[163] To II-2-32 may be added: III-6-52 ther kúnftig héra in uuórolt ist (P hera).

hera, it is a safe assumption that hera, as well as hera in uuorolt is adverbial, not compounding.[164]

The cases of hera in uuorolt are:

Transitive Verb, Main Clause

III-24-96 ioh hera in uuórolt uuantos

Transitive Verb, Subordinate Clause

I-13-5 thaz drúhtin dúan uuolta int iz héra in uuorolt sánta (P hera in uuórolt santa)
IV-19-50 ioh héra in uuórolt santi (P hera)
III-20-14 thes mih zi díu uuanta, hera in uuórolt santa
I-4-61 thi er héra in uuorolt séntit
III-22-55 ...héra in uuórolt santa (P hera)[165]
III-21-28 ther fáter nan ni sánti ioh hera in uuórolt uuanti

Intransitive Verb, Main Clause

IV-21-29 zi thiu quám ih hera in uuórolt in
I-3-43 ioh héra in uuorolt zi úns quam (P héra)
Note: IV-12-61 er quam so rísi hera in lánt (P quám)[166]

Intransitive Verb, Subordinate Clause

II-12-33 thaz hera in uuórolt io gisán
II-12-87 thaz hera in uuórolt quam
V-16-25 theih sélbo hera in uuórolt quam
V-8-26 uuío er hera in uuórolt quam
III-26-32 thaz drúhtin hera in uuórolt quam (P héra in uuorolt)

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[164]For analysis of such irregularities, v.i. p. 175, etc. Many scholars (e.g. Kelle) list most hera (and even the hera in hera in uuorolt) as compounding forms. Kelle (III, p. 269) notes an ambiguity in the interpretation of the form, after listing several cases which he regards as "sicher ... freistehendes Adverbium."

[165]Construction doubtful, very possibly a main clause.

[166]v. IV-4-64 ther thanana héra quam in lánt (P thánana). This latter example raises the possibility that hera in lant is not a crystallized phrase like hera in uuorolt, which never occurs thus separated. It also indicates that these two

III-24-90 thánana er hera in uuórolt quam
III-24-36 thaz...thu hera in uuórolt quami
III-13-4 bi híu er hera in uuórolt quam (P herą)
I-3-3 uuio sélbo er hera in uuórolt quam
II-8-54 síd er hera in uuórolt quam
II-2-14 ther hera in uuórolt sinne (P hérą in uuorolt)

Non-Finite

III-10-23 ih ni bín...giséntit hera in uuórolt in

The stress pattern seems to indicate a phrase grouping. On this question, vgl. p.102. The relatively frequent indications of elision (herą) give similar evidence.

The foregoing material on hera in uuorolt makes it advisable, as I indicated above, to restrict the syntactical analysis to cases of hera alone.

The possibility of other such phrases (adverb plus prepositional phrase) and therefore a possible indication that compounding with the verb is not present, arises with ûf and ûz. For ûz we found cases of certain adverbial use in OHG, but for ûf the evidence was restricted to OS (v.s. p. 26). Presence in such a phrase as ûf fon... might itself be considered evidence for adverbial use, but compounding of the ûf with the verb is also possible, so further adverbial evidence (such as there is for hera) would be welcome. The cases are:

sentences with lant may contain separate and independent hera. In that case they would belong with the subsequent discussion of hera.

ûf III-24-89 huab thiu óugun uf zi hímile
IV-15-61 úf zi hímile er tho sáh (P uf)
V-1-19 thaz zéigot uf in hímila
II-11-54 tho er úf fon themo grábe irstuant
III-13-58 unz thiu sín guati uf fon tóde irstuanti (P irstúanti)
V-4-47 er ist fon héllu iruuúntan ioh úf fon dóde irstántan (P irstantan)[167]

ûz V-9-1 tho thaz éuuiniga guat // úz fon themo grábe irstuant
I-23-5 thaz er fúari thanan frám // úz untar uuóroltman (P uz)

Verse I-23-5 has two possible compounding forms, fram and ûz.

Both these cases of ûz are in the same natural pause group relationship as all the ûf zi (in, fon) phrases above and could well be adverb ûz plus prepositional phrase.

Note however the definite contrast between ûf and ûz in relation to a following prepositional phrase. In every such case with ûf the word order and the pause group relation is such that these could easily be adverbial phrases. But with ûz there are only the above two against the following 10 with some sort of separation:

Separated and Caesura: IV-20-3 and II-3-24 ...úz // thár zi...
III-14-53 ...úz // thar zi...
IV-6-3 ...úz // thára zi...

Caesura: II-4-52 and I-14-19 ...úz // zi...
II-11-4 and IV-29-55 ...uz // zi...

After Prepositional Phrase: V-21-8 ...fon hímile úz
III-20-165 ... fon in úz

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[167]Kelle (III, p. 639) gives V-1-19 as adverbial, IV-15-61 as ambiguous, the rest as compounds, and Piper (II, p. 541) gives both IV-15-61 and V-1-19 as adverbs, the rest as compounds!

The evidence, in sum, points to the possibility of combination into adverbial phrases for ûf (especially with the three unstressed ûf's; v.i.) and perhaps for ûz. It shows much more independence from such constructions for ûz, but this does not necessarily mean compounding with the verb. They may still be adverbs. Both forms require further analysis on the basis of word order, and the above cases cannot be omitted, as hera in uuorolt was, from that analysis.

Differentiating between hera in uuorolt and the ûf and ûz cases is further justified by the difference in stress. While only 3 (in P, 4) out of the 21 cases of hera in uuorolt are stressed on the hera,[168] ûf is stressed in 3 of 6 (each time along with stress on the noun) and ûz in 10 out of 12. In both of the most likely phrases with ûz, both the ûz and the noun are stressed. Moreover, hera and in uuorolt are never separated, by caesura or otherwise.[169]

A final individual reservation concerns zua, which may often be interpreted as a postposition. Wende gives I-19-3 ther engil spráh imo zúa (P zua); I-4-26 ther éngil imo zúasprah; II-13-13 thes ér mo zuagisprîchit; and II-4-54

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[168]Full situation: Stress on hera: V 3, P 4
Stress on uuorolt: V 16, P 17
(v. also hera in lánt)
Stress on both: V 2.

[169]hera and in lant are separated in IV-4-64; v.s. p. 99, n. 166.

thar ríaf er ímo filu frúa thrato rúmana zúa (P riaf ... zua).[170] Incidentally, these are 4 of the 5 cases of zua, excepting the ones with thara.

All the "objects" in these cases of zua are pronominal, adding further circumstantial evidence to the assumption of postposition. Also, I-19-3 and II-4-54 have both zua and verb stressed. But neither of these facts is sufficient evidence, and the matter must be deferred to the section on syntax.

H. The thara Compounds

The thar(a) compounds sum up, in a way, all the foregoing cases of adverbial and prepositional uses. The use of thar(a) (and its analogues in the other Germanic dialects) in combination with prepositions or adverbs is a common phenomenon. The best collection of material is Wende's for OE (with quite a lot on OHG).

Gothic þar, þarei, þaruh do not participate in any such constructions, but the West Germanic dialects have developed a large variety. The question of origin and

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[170] v. Wende, p. 274. The extreme separation of the last sentence is suspicious. The question, of course, is whether such separation is more credible with a verb than with a pronoun object, or whether the zua will have to be regarded as quite independent in the sentence.

nature is therefore a very immediate and important one. Wende concludes, largely from the OHG distinction of thara ≠ in (direction) and thâr ≠ inne (position), "dass das zweite Adverb ursprünglich nur die räumliche Beziehung genauer bestimmte, die an sich schon durch das Pronominaladverb zum Ausdruck gebracht wurde. Von Haus aus standen also die beiden Adverbien völlig selbständig nebeneinander, ganz im Sinne der Übersetzung 'dort, nämlich innen', 'dorthin, nämlich hinein'"...[171] (In later OHG, as in almost all of the OE cases, this distinction was lost.)

If this is the case, the preposition must have existed in separation, as an adverb, before the connection with thara came about. The connection with thara was accidental, so to speak, and later became syntactically and semantically significant. This idea seems to be supported by the many OE and OHG cases of considerable separation of thara and preposition.[172] A good example is (Weissenburg Catechism, Lord's Prayer) endi thar sintun thoh allo mannes thurfti ana bifangano. Here the degree of removal is so great that one would perhaps be justified in saying that we have a case

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[171] v. Wende, p. 281.

[172] v. Grimm IV, pp. 1290-91 and Diels, pp. 56-7.

of isolated ana,[173] almost like the isolated miti of man árme miti nériti. Even in NHG separation is still possible, e.g. da kümmre ich mich nichts um,[174] and in NHG there is no such thing as a preposition in isolation. These separated instances offer, next to miti (v.s. p. 88), the closest approach to the Gothic cases with ana, faur, etc. For example Otfrid IV-1-46 fráuili, thár uuir ana lágun.[175]

Combination of the thara with other adverbs offers no problem at all - for example, OE þaer and inne (Gothic inna, adverb) or uppe (Gothic iupa, adverb). The weak stress and weak semantic nature of thara (frequently a "filler") would encourage combination into þaer inne, etc.

The advantages of Wende's suggestion are plain. It explains why the only prepositions originally used with

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[173] But note that the ana is directly in front of the verb. This shows the typical situation for the development of a new syntactical pattern, in this case compounding of ana with the verb.

[174] v. Grimm IV, p. 1291.

[175] Proof positive that thar and its preposition can be widely separated and still belong together is rather difficult to find among the prepositions of motion, because even the most unlikely ones then tend to look like cases of preposition-verb compounds. But such proof does exist in other instances like I-12-25 ioh lértun ouh thar sáng zua ("in addition").

thar(a) would be prepositions of motion or rest. It also explains the preference for, if not the exclusive use of, the stressed or "long" forms, e.g. thar-untari rather than *thar-untar, thara-zuo rather than *thara-zi, etc.

The only weakness I can see in Wende's hypothesis is precisely that it leaves the origin of separated prepositions entirely in the dark. It would appear from the Gothic evidence that Proto-Germanic had its prepositions only in the positions typical of Latin and Greek - that is, either before substantives or as preverbs. Whence the "adverbs" that were combined with thara? Perhaps in Proto-West-Germanic the Gothic development of separated prepositions from compound verbs and from prepositional uses with object anticipated was continued and expanded. (Wende does not discuss the question.) But still the feeling that a preposition must have an object, or at least a reference, was so strong that thara, etc. took up that function. (This is a closer connection than Wende would admit.) In Otfrid, after all, there are many cases of thar(a) plus preposition but only one of a true isolated preposition (man árme miti nériti).[176]

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[176] thara is not necessarily followed immediately by the preposition or adverb, though this condition is the prevailing one in OHG. As was mentioned, the relationship in OE between the þaer and the preposition or adverb was such that considerable separation is possible (v. Wende, p. VII, etc.). Several such instances appear in Otfrid, e.g. III-14-5 thar máhtu ana findan, uuio... Needless to say, this ana is not to be treated as a true isolated preposition, but equally obvious is the fact that in such cases, all three possibilities of syntactical analysis touch one another. These possibilities (which also represent possibilities of future development are: 1) thar ≠ ana 2) ana alone 3) ana-findan! v.i.pp. 111-2.

As the development of thar(a) as a substitute object continued, the usually unseparated da / preposition of NHG arose, excluding the development of isolated prepositions, but including in its scope even some prepositional uses which originally had little or nothing to do with motion (thara) or rest (thâr), e.g. danach fragen, davon wissen, damit aufhören.

The bearing of these compounds on the question of the development of verb compounding is simply this: there is, it seems, a fairly extensive body of separated prepositional forms and adverbs, whatever their origin, which can serve as a source for - or an inspiration to - the development of further verbal compounds. This is facilitated by parallel or ambiguous word order. No better example could be found than Tatian 116-4 thio menigi thio dar forafuorun inti thio dar after folgetun...[177] Here in spite of frequent proof for the existence of tharafter in OHG the first member of the dar after sequence may not be part of a thara compound but only the frequent sentence-filler dar, a word which has little syntactical connection and serves only to refer back to something previously mentioned and thus to knit the sentence together. (The example is especially fitting, since

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[177] v. Wende, p. 283, note 4, with a rather unsatisfying explanation: "dar beidemal beziehungslose Partikel ohne eigentlichen Vorstellungsgehalt." Surely this dar is more closely connected with its after than the Heliand 989 example: After quam thar uuord fon himile; v. Wende, p. 223.

the first dar is surely such a filler.) So the after could just as well be felt as compounded with the folgetun as with the dar.[178] Perhaps it would be better to say: It could develop into either, depending on the direction of the language's growing syntactical patterns.

The principle relevance of these thara compounds (or possible compounds) in the syntactical analysis of Otfrid's OHG is a monitory one. We should, for the sake of accuracy, reserve judgment on those forms where thara might be the "antecedent" of a preposition which in turn might perhaps be a compounding form, e.g. IV-3-2 quám tho thara ingégini mihil uuóroltmenigi. And we should eliminate all sure cases of thara compounds.

thar(a)[179] combines in Otfrid with after, ana, furi, in, ingegin(i), widiri, zua, ûf and ûz; and thâr, in addition, with fora, forna, inne, mit(i), nidare, oba, obana, ûfe, ûze and widari.

This list presents a couple of interesting points.

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[178] Otfrid's V-20-52 tharaáfter iamer ríazent is a definite example of the thara compound in a type of sentence where it would have no influence on compounding. His fólgata tharáfter (IV-4-38), however, could fall in with a separable compounding pattern: *folgata...after, if such a pattern developed.

[179] With Otfrid's frequent liaison, e.g. MS readings like thara, it is often impossible to tell for sure whether thar is shortened from thara or is original thâr.

First, if the forms used with thara are assumed to have had an adverbial feeling about them, we shall have to add to the list of Otfrid's possible compounding forms with adverbial uses: ana,[180] furi,[181] ingegin(i),[182] mit(i),[183] ûf,[184] and zua.[185] We shall also have, incidentally, a bit of support for the one other adverbial use of in (v.s. p. 17) in V-7-12 luaget áuur do tharin, where there is virtually no doubt of the tharin.

Secondly, the only prepositions in the original list of preverbs (p. 9) with which there are no such constructions are: hintar, thuruh,[186] ubar, untar, widar and umbi. Absence of any with umbi in Otfrid is probably accidental.

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[180] A clear use of tharaana (no possibility of interpreting ana with the verb) is II-21-38 thaz uuír ni missigángen, thara ána ni gifállen (P tharána) "that we not fall (into sin) thereby." III-16-17 is actually an equally good example; v.i. p. 117.

[181] One case only, likewise impossible of interpretation with the verb. IV-35-37 uuúllun se, ér se fuarin héim, tharafúri míhilan stéin (P tharafuri).

[182] No question of verbal compounding in I-9-27 uuúntar uuas thia ménigi áuur thara ingégini. Piper II, p. 472 translates "dem gegenüber, vor solchem Anblick." There is virtually no possibility of compounding with the verb for the ingegin of II-3-61 or V-20-48; v.i. p. 119, n. 222.

[183] The perfect example is I-22-60 unsan fáter eren, ioh thia múater tharmít (P tharmit). Also v.i. p.116(on III-6-29 tharmit) and p. 120(on IV-9-3 tharmiti).

[184] The only case, IV-4-15 namun síe tho iro uuát, legitun tharúf could hardly be a compound verb *ûfleggen, but the example is not so clear-cut as the above.

[185] Such cases as I-24-8 ...ioh gib thaz drínkan tharzua, where thar(a)zua means "in addition" are all clearly adverbial, not verbal, uses.

[186] Piper (II, p. 472) lists thara-thuruh for III-8-41 theih thuruhquéme thara zi thír!

Tatian 80-1 has thiu thar umbi sint.[187] Notker has several.[188] The rest of these prepositional forms, though, are practically innocent of any connection with thara, even in later OHG.[189] Notker has forms with ubere.[190] Tatian has thara ubiri (116-2), just as Otfrid has thara with widiri but none with ubar and widar.[191] hintar, as far as I know, never appears in any form.

It seems clear, therefore, that the use of a preposition with thara is not the "original" form of separate prepositional use. That is, some other form of separation must have preceded use with thara. Else how explain the total absence of hintar, thuruh, ubar, untar and widar? There is certainly no dearth of prepositional uses for these forms. So if the thara compounds were by origin simply prepositional or adverbial (in turn from prepositions) we should expect *thara hintar, etc. This is a particularly

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[187] Purtscher, op. cit., p. 12, considers this an independent adverb.

[188] e.g. Piper Notker II-111-21 diê în dârumbe ferliêzen; v. Wende, p. 287.

[189] Notker's three cases with dure are all pretty surely preverbs. Even Wende (p. 285, note 6) hesitates to call these dar combinations. The few scattered cases appearing in exception to this rule are from later documents and presumably represent the growing use of da with any preposition. Thus they hardly disturb the picture of the older period. Examples are: from the Older Physiologus De Vipera sliuffet dar dureh and De Lacerta sihet da dureh gegen dero sunnun; v. Diels, pp.56-7. These two could be separable durch with the verbs slioffen and sehen.

[190] v. Wende, p. 286.

[191] Tatian 81-3, however, has thara uuidar her tho quad at ipse ait. This is the only early exception I know of. Sig-

valid objection in view of the great numbers of thara compounds, for it is clear that we have, in all likelihood, the full range of OHG possibilities represented. Now these very forms (hintar, etc.) are the ones which are inseparable in verb compounding. Does it not seem very likely that the use with thara is, therefore, an outgrowth of some kind of separation originating from compound verbs or possibly from certain of the isolated prepositional uses the like of which we found in Gothic?[192] To give a hypothetical case history:

1) duatgaggan ⌿ þar (verb)
   iddja du þar or þar du (isolated preposition) } Gothic
2) (at)iddja þar du
3) giang thara zua } OHG
4) giang tharazua

More revealing and important is the sort where the verb would be last.

1) þar duatgaggan (verb)
   þar iddja du (isolated preposition)
2) thara-zua-gangan
3) a. tharazua gangan
   b. tharazua... gangan
   c. thara... zua gangan
   d. (thara) zuagangan

Every stage in this latter development (except, of course, the second which indicates only the loosening of the pattern) is extant in OE and OHG, and every one is important.

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nificantly enough, it occurs with the only form of the group which has separate adverbial uses in earlier OHG (v.s. p.27f.).

[192]Which in turn are related to the verb system through their presumed dependence on the heavy stress of first members of double compounds; v.s. p. 28[1].

Stage 1 represents the presumably original form, e.g. of Gothic, where þar is only accidentally followed by prepositions or adverbs or compound verbs. When the syntactical boundaries begin to change (Stage 2), the thara and the zua may become closely associated, e.g. Otfrid I-17-59 ioh sar tharaín quamun (P tharain)[193] (Stage 3a). Then the thara compound may be so strongly felt that it moves away from the verb (Stage 3b), e.g. Otfrid IV-16-10 thaz er ófto tharaín giuuon uuas gángan mit in.[194] The thara compound itself may then separate - or perhaps the loose pattern of Stage 2 is simply interrupted at a different spot - and we have Stage 3c, e.g. OE Cura Pastoralis (Sweet, 217-21) gif...daer wind to come,[195] IV-5-58 thar báldo ánasezzen. Obviously at this stage, the connection of the preposition with the verb (whether it be new, i.e. from separated thara ≠ preposition - or old, i.e. from the situation of Stage 2 borders on compounding and may give rise to new compound verbs or reinforce the pattern of old ones! In that case Stage 3d appears, where the thara, if it shows up at all, is an unrelated sentence filler and

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[193]The liaison is pretty fair indication of tharain.

[194]Separation of the þaer ≠ preposition of OE from the verb is very rare (rare enough in OHG) and these cases are usually ones of obviously non-verbal origin, i.e. from isolated prepositions, e.g. Cura Pastoralis (Sweet, 399-19) swa swa Loth funde ða lytlan ceastre, & hine daeron wið fyr gescilde. This great reticence to leave the verb may indicate that some feeling for the original word order or syntactical attachment still existed, even with thara ≠ preposition used directly together.

[195]v. Wende, p. 29.

the preposition is felt to be "with the verb." Bede (Miller, 174-30) þe þaer aetstodon, which Wende has to emend to aet stodon,[196] is a good example, as is the Otfrid verse with anasezzen, though Otfrid's word separation is very hazy. Stage 3d has things back again to the Gothic situation!

There are two main points to bear in mind. First, when a syntactical situation is so obviously fluid, it is unwise to set up absolute classifications or make exclusive decision on groups of words or single instances. Naturally any classification can be made absolute if historical or comparative development is excluded and strict definitions are set up. But the classification that would result from the application of such a method to the OE or OHG thara situation would not be worth having. I think it would be at most a description of word order (not even of word division), and I also feel there is more to the situation than that. Second, and more specific, it cannot be too strongly emphasized that at no stage throughout the story of thara / preposition is the same preposition - if separated from the thara - commonly stirred from its typical position before the verb! Wende's statement has been quoted before, but bears repeating: "Die von ihm (Beziehungswort her, daer,

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[196] v. Wende, p. 26. In such situations, Wende, a bit arbitrarily, assumes that the aet must be with the þaer, not with the verb.

hwaer) getrennte Präposition gehört unmittelbar vor das Verbum, nur der zu einer einfachen finiten Verbalform gehörigen Negation ne und dem den flektierten Infinitiv regierenden to muss sie diesen Platz abtreten. Freier ist die Stellung der Präposition zum Verbum, wenn sie unmittelbar hinter dem Beziehungswort steht."[197] The implication of this in the matter of compounding possibilities is clear.

Most of the emphasis in the preceding paragraphs has been placed on the origin of thara compounds from connection with compound verbs, which is the point Wende's theory ignores, I think. As I indicated at the start, thara compounds may come from isolated prepositions, too, and the order of such cases is freer, as a glance at Wende's material will show. The latter also applies, naturally, to compounds of thara / ordinary adverbs.

The development just outlined gives us some idea where many of these forms used with thara came from. It has a further outstanding advantage, which is at the same time a corroboration. It is the only way I know of to explain absence of hintar, etc. For if we say that these thara

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[197] v. Wende, p. VII, similarly p. X.

combinations are by origin purely prepositional,[198] we have no explanation for the absence of tharahintar, etc. And if we say that they came from adverbial uses of prepositions, we beg the question of why no adverbial uses of hintar, etc. Now however we can say: hintar, etc. were prepositions all right, but they never separated from verbs with which they were compounded and because of their lack of stress (hintar-quéman, hintar then bóum) they never appeared in any other separated use, hence virtually never became associated with thara - in OHG, anyway.

This does not mean that the well established set of thara compounds could not later have influenced separability in verbs, but it does mean that separability in verbs (and certain separated prepositional uses) preceded these thara forms.[199] Thus it centers our attention even more on compounding and separability as the fundamental factors in the German situation.

If the thara compounds gradually developed, even in OHG, toward their characteristic NHG prepositional status, we may

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[198]They certainly were on the way to becoming prepositional in OHG. That is, the thara serves as the "object" of the preposition in many, many cases (not as one of two parallel adverbs, certainly not in any relation to the verb); e.g. I-22-60 uuir unsan fáter eren ioh thia múater tharmít (P tharmit).

[199]Many of the forms which combined with thara were of course adverbs to begin with and had nothing to do with compounding (e.g. inne, ubare; v. Gothic inna, ufaro). In general, thara prefers the association of the stressed or "long" forms (ingegini, zua, etc.).

expect to find numerous cases in Otfrid of strongly prepositional use, therefore cases where there is no possibility of compounding with the verb. Such cases are:

V-20-52 tharaáfter iamer ríazent
II-21-38 thara ána (above, p. 109, note 180)
IV-35-37 tharafúri (above, p. 109, note 181)
II-4-4 er fasteta únnoto thar níuuan húnt zíto séhszug ouh tharmíti (P tharmiti)

and even cases like:

III-6-29 ther drégit hiar in sinan nót finf gírstinu brot, ouh zuene físga tharmit

The last case is clearly prepositional in spite of the parallel possible compound in II-9-43 thaz kínd thaz druag thaz uuítu mit, because the físga is parallel to brot and the tharmit serves only to indicate the connection: "along with them," just as in I-22-60 er uuólta unsih léren, uuir unsan fáter eren, ioh thia múater tharmít (P tharmit), where no one would assume a verb *mit-eren.

Excluding such forms still leaves a fairly large number of cases which are, at first glance anyway, doubtful. With the above considerations in mind it is possible to eliminate many where compounding with thara is certain or nearly certain. A few will turn out to be, in line with the argument above (p.107f.), probable compound verbs. Others will inevitably remain ambiguous. The purpose of this whole section will be served if we eliminate all those cases where verbal compounding is impossible or improbable.

The cases are:

after IV-4-38 héri ouh rédihafter so fólgata tharáfter[200]

ana I-23-29 thaz er thar ánagange (sic)[201]
I-18-36 ther tharána gange[202]
V-10-12 uuio iz tharána ist al gizált[203]
I-11-9 thárána si er gizálter (P tharána)[204]
III-1-26 tharana húgge (P tharána)[205]
II-9-23 tharana maht thu irthénken (P tharána)[206]
III-16-17 séhe tharána (P tharana)[207]
V-2-12 so ér tharana scóuuot[208]
IV-1-46 fráuili, thár uuir ana lágun[209]
III-20-48 githuar ein hóro thar in uuár, inti kléipta mir tharána sar[210]

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[200]The consistent presence of thar or hiar with after and folgen makes verbal compounding unlikely. v. Monsee Fragments XXXV-12 hear after folgento; Tatian 116-4 dar after folgetun; Isidor XI-19 hear after folgendo; etc. Also v.s. p. 13 and 116.

[201]Referring to uuega; almost certainly prepositional. (Erdmann emends to read tharána.)

[202]Referring to situ; almost certainly prepositional.

[203] " " forasagon; " " " .

[204] " " briaf; " " " .

The presence of preposed anageit (V-10-5) and anazellent (IV-19-40 and II-6-42), etc. has little if any relevance here, as both are quite different in meaning.

[205]Referring to a thaz clause; almost certainly prepositional.

[206] " " uuuntar; almost certainly prepositional.

[207] " " lera. The anasahi of IV-29-49 means "look at". This means "perceive therefrom - or thereby - that..." Certainly prepositional.

[208]Referring to gundfano. This approaches possible compounding with the verb, in form at least.

[209]Note the relative use. In spite of IV-24-23 ánalag, not a likely compound.

[210]Here is a very possible compound or isolated preposition. Note the transitive verb meaning "fix" or "stick". The tharana cannot mean "on it", because the reference would then be to horo, which would give the reverse of the actual meaning. This is just like English "...and stuck it on"! v. Gothic atlagjands ana and galagidedun ana (p.79-80[1]).

IV-5-58 then húgu uuir giuuézzen, thar báldo ánasezzen[211]
III-19-13 híar ist ana fúntan, thaz...[212]

fora (All cases disposed of above, p. 94 . Compounding possible only in foraságen.)

furi (v.s. p. 109, note 181.)

in IV-16-10 thaz er ófto tharaín giuuon uuas gángan mit in[213]
III-4-11 engil gótes guato fuar thar ín (P fúar)[214]
III-12-39 thie tharín ni sculun gán[215]
IV-11-14 nam áfter thiu ein békin, goz er uuázar tharin[216]
V-5-7 ni gíang er thiu halt thoh tharín (sim. V-6-25)[217]
V-7-12 luaget áuur do tharin[218]
I-17-59 ioh sar tharaín quamun[219]
II-11-5 er tho sár thara íngiang[220]
IV-15-5 uuard uuóla then thara íngeit (P thar)

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[211]The stress marks are confused here; v. Erdmann, ad loc. Here the ana has a preceding "object", namely uuerko, etc. But the immediate sentence is just like III-20-48 and may be an isolated preposition or a compound. It means, literally, "whet our wits and set them on".

[212]A clear prepositional use. Similarly III-14-5. The above case is included only to show the possibility of similar constructions with hiar.

[213]Referring to garton. Certainly prepositional because of the extra feature of virtually impossible word order of the infinitive (that is, impossible for a compound verb); v.i. p. 184.

[214]Referring to uuazar. Almost certainly prepositional.

[215]See note 213.

[216]Transitive verb, but with a clear "antecedent" for thar.

[217]Referring to definite antecedents (grab in both cases) and probably prepositional, but in an ambiguous position where it might be or become a compound. Consider the possible parallel in IV-23-30 giang... in thaz spráhhus ín. If the thar of V-5-7 be equated with in thaz sprahhus we should have an argument for compounding. Naturally this is not a constant or absolute equation, as is obvious if we try to put in thaz sprahhus in the place of thar in III-12-39. tharin is a real compound, and it may appear in V-5-7, too.

[218]Parallel to line 7 luagata áuur in thaz gráb. The idea of a verb *in-luagên is next to impossible here. This is a good case of tharin.

[219]Refers to hus in the same line. Note the liaison connecting thara and in! This is an extra argument for prepositional tharain rather than compounding with the verb.

[220]Given in Kelle III and Piper II under ingân. Similarly

II-23-21 thie lázit man thar íngan
V-6-28 tho er ínan sah thara íngan
V-6-52 thára in zí gánganne

ingegin(i) III-16-27 thó sprah thara ingégini áuur thiu selba ménigi[221]
V-16-43 ni mag ther díufal thara ingégin sin[222]

all the following cases. II-11-5 refers to hus. It is ambiguous, as are the rest of these forms with thara and in, all of which have definite antecedents. in, therefore, shows the three important types very clearly: the terminal points represented by thie tharín ni sculun gán (definitely not a compound verb) and I-4-19 íngiang er tho skíoro (as definitely compound as in offers), between which lies the typical ambiguous case of er tho sár thara íngiang. The frequency of the verb ingangan in OHG certainly makes one hesitate to deny compounding in these ambiguous cases.

[221]Similarly III-20-63 and IV-18-9. III-16-27 refers to a preceding speech. It is almost certainly not a compound verb, though its prepositional nature is not so obvious as, e.g., III-14-116; v. Kelle III, p. 593 for other examples.

[222]Other cases with sîn: I-9-27, III-24-67, III-14-15, IV-26-3. For some reason Kelle and Piper list only the last three as compound verbs. Part of the decision rests on the possibility of compounding with sîn, which is rather unlikely. (Piper also lists under ingegin-uuesan IV-30-23 ingegin ímo uuás.)

The other instances of thara with ingegin I have not bothered to list above, as they are quite beyond the pale. II-3-61 thih thára ingegin rústis, V-20-48 ther thára ingegin ríngе (P thara ingégin ringe), and V-23-133 thara ingégin rachon (P thára ingegin ráchon) do not permit, on the basis of meaning alone, any interpretation as compound verbs.

III-13-52 ...quámun thara ingégini (P tharą)[223]
IV-3-2 quám tho thara ingégini mihil uuóroltmenigi
III-6-8 fuar ímo thar ingégini mihil uuóroltmenigi[224]
V-20-19 thara férit al ingégini éngilo ménigi
II-3-14 uuio éngilo ménigi fúar thar ál ingégini
IV-3-18 ...fúar thara ál ingegini (P al ingégini).
Fuar thar ál ingegini thes lántliutes ménigi
IV-4-17 thó fleiz thara ingégini thiu míhila ménigi
(P tho fléiz)[225]
IV-5-41 thiu míhila ménigi thia uuát thar breitta
ingégini[226]

mit(i) IV-8-28 ther líut tharmít ni uuari (P tharmit)[227]
IV-14-6 neme thia dásgun tharmit (P néme...tharmít)[228]
IV-9-3 tho sant er pétrusan sár iohánnem ouh tharmíti
(P tharmiti)[229]

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[223]This and the next one are ambiguous. Kelle and Piper list both as compound verbs. In view of the total picture of ingegini one should be more than hesitant to call these compound verbs.

[224]The next four (with faran) are all listed by Kelle and Piper as compound verbs, but they are all actually ambiguous. Indeed II-3-14 has such odd word order for a subordinate clause that interpretation as compound verb is highly unlikely. Only one case of ingegin plus faran (without thara) exists, viz. III-9-2. This apparently complete dependence of ingegini on thara argues against any interpretation as compounding form.

[225]Ambiguous; compounding unlikely.

[226]Quite aside from the semantic considerations, the position of the ingegini after the verb, which is itself late in the main clause, makes compounding unlikely; v.i. p. 200. This opens the way to the interpretation of ingegini as belonging with thar - or as being an isolated preposition.

[227]On compounds with sîn, v.s. p. 119, note 222; p. 88.

[228]Referring back to sekil. This is almost certainly prepositional, like III-6-29 above, for as far as I know mitnehmen as a compound meaning "take along" does not appear in OHG. Note that the Gothic miþniman means not "take along", but "accept (along with)" δέξασθαι, Matthew 11, 14; v. Streitberg WB, p. 102.

[229]This shows the equivalence of tharmit and tharmiti, which is characteristic of isolated prepositional ("adverbial") uses, but just the opposite of compounding usage. The sentence is like the preceding ones, and miti is surely prepositional. For an even more definitely adverbial parallel, v.s. p. 116 (III-6-29).

zua V-20-20 quément iogilícho tharazua fórahtlicho
IV-33-28 mit spéru er tharzúa giilta[230]
III-14-71 thara ouh zúa gifuagi blíntero ginúagi[231]
V-16-40 tharzúa sin ouh gizálte béttirison álte[232]
IV-37-29 fáhemes tharazúa mit giióubu filu frúa[233]
II-24-13 thaz sie iruuáchetin frúa ioh hogtin hárto tharazua[234]
I-24-13 uuir scúlun thiu uuórt ahton, thara hárto ouh zúa drahton (P zua)[235]
(Relative uses, v.i. p.124)

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[230]These two verses, one with thar(a)zua after, the other with it before the verb, are typical of zua uses with verbs of motion. (The only cases of zua alone with verbs are with gisprechan, sprechan, ruafan and sehan.) They all might, considered individually, seem like compounds. But the very unanimity of the use of thara makes this unlikely. Other examples: IV-29-9, IV-36-10, I-13-20 and with transitives (giliazan, rihten): III-12-40, III-18-8. Tatian 184-6 shows the real compound tho zuogiengun tunc accesserunt.

[231]This verse, where F has zifuagi, shows how a thara compound, when it separates, immediately leaves the way open for the creation of a new compound (NHG zufügen). The other cases with fuagen are unseparated (I-1-71, V-24-17), and in view of the rest of the evidence III-14-71 is doubtless tharazua. Not all cases of separation indicate possibility of compounding; v. V-23-45 thara súftent sie zúa, where even NHG would not say *zuseufzen.

[232]In spite of NHG zuzählen, this is obviously no compound verb. Further, the past participle would, if it were such a verb, be separated, and both preverb and stem stressed, either of which would be enough to eliminate it as a compound; v.i. p. 189 and p. 204.

[233]This form and II-6-15 with the same verb, in the meaning "go after something", have clear antecedents and, on a semantic basis alone, are definitely not compound verbs.

[234]This is one of many uses with huggen (v. Kelle III, p. 596), and it demonstrates the impossibility of compounding. Note also, on the syntactical level, the word order in the subordinate clause (v.i. p.200f.). IV-35-8 with a split infinitive (thárazua ouh húggen) also demonstrates syntactically the impossibility of a compound verb (v.i. p. 184). Similar uses with thenken, githingen, suorgên, thingen, grunzen, none of them possible compounds.

[235]This separated form shows the zua in the right position with the infinitive for a compound verb, but the weight of similar cases with tharazua plus the obvious reference to uuort makes compounding unlikely.

The above are all the forms with thara + preposition where compounding could enter into consideration.

Further compounds occur of course with non-prepositions. Of particular interest are the only ones which also enter into the compounding picture - ûf and ûz.

IV-4-15 ... thaz fúlin bráhtun. Namun síe tho iro uuát, legitun tharúf in gidát (P légitun)

IV-33-31 (referring to Christ's wounds) slíumo floz thar úz sar blúat inti uuázar

Both have definite references and are doubtless real adverb combinations. But the possibility of their becoming (or falling in with) compound verbs is fairly clear.

The use of ûf meaning "on" is late, and such uses as the above may well have contributed to the development of this meaning (via "up on"). The usual verb is analeggen (Gothic analagjan). The Tatian has 184-6 legitun iro hant in then heilant ana. Gothic, referring to the same incident, had Mark 11,7 jah brahtedun þana fulan at Iesua jah galagidedun ana wastjos seinos.

Otfrid has the preposed form of the other combination in I-20-9 zahari úzfluzun. Whether this is a compound or not is another question. But there can be no doubt that the stage was completely set for compounding.

The use of ûf and ûz as adverbs - which was presumably their condition before they were compounded with thara - is no surprise. Gothic iup, as was shown above (p. 73[1]) was

an adverb, and ut, though still a compounding form in Gothic, may have had by its very separation a tendency to become confused with the ordinary adverbs in later development. It is one of the problems of the succeeding sections on syntax to discover how far this tendency went in OHG.

Quite contrary to the tendency of ûz to be an adverb is its ability to govern a case, even in OHG. Notker (Piper Notker II-50-5) has Unde der hohesto sprah in uz Et altissimus dedit uocem suam.[236] More striking is the Tatian 145-12 thie dar uz themo lante sin with its clear prepositional function, though there seems to be a possibility of mistranslation or omission here. This may have nothing to do with the above thara use, but if it does, it could only mean that the union of thara and ûz is so much the more secure, for thara and preposition hold together better than thara and adverb; v.i.

Both widiri and widari, which were discarded as compounding forms, appear with thara:

H-155 afur thára uuidiri (P uuidari)[237]

III-19-4 thaz uuír thar sprechen uuídari

The remaining cases (with forna, inne, nidare, oba, obana, ûfe and ûze) are not of much concern here.

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[236] v. Wende, p. 280, with one more example.

[237] Kelle III, p. 595: "hingegen, wiederum."

One special aspect of the thara problem deserves note, viz. the use of thara as a relative, with following ana, zua, ûfe. Obviously the thara, even in this extended use, has not lost its commom function as a relative. But all the cases in Otfrid are like the OE, where the preposition is separated from the relative,[238] rather than like NHG, where the two are together.

Otfrid's examples:

IV-1-46 fráuili, thár uuir ana lágun[239]

II-21-30 hímilrichi, thára uuir zuo io gíngen
ioh émmizigen thíngen

V-8-24 thaz gótnissi ruarta mit uuórton
filu díafen, thára uuir zua io rûafen

One factor which may have encouraged separation is the stress on thár(a).

Although this position might well encourage association of the prepositional form with the verb, it is to be noted that two of the three Otfridian examples have a word between these two. And with real verb compounds, not even io intervenes in Otfrid (v.i.p.192). Thus only IV-1-46 is like the typical OE cases, where the preposition "steht so gut wie regelmässig unmittelbar vor dem Verbum."[240] Of course it is to be assumed that in many, perhaps most, instances there would

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[238] v. Wende, p. 46ff.

[239] An exact parallel in Tatian 54-8 nam thaz thar her analag.

[240] v. Wende, p. 46.

be no intervening member. Thus the way to compounding would be more open.[241]

The others are like the exceptional cases in OE, e.g. Aelfric Homilies (Thorpe I, p. 258) his Wisdom, þe he mid ealle gesceafta geworhte.[242] In this case one would hardly assume a compound verb. There are many such instances in OHG, for example Piper Notker I-21-22 (festi) - Tára nehéin uuég zûo nesî. Note the obvious difference between this case and one where a parallel situation could lead to compounding with the verb because the semantic relation demanded by the Germanic dialects is present, e.g. Otfrid's V-8-24.[243]

The one use with an adverb is even freer in word order and thus further removed from possibility of compounding with the verb:

II-1-22 thaz fúndament zi hóufe, thaz thiu érda ligit úfe (P ufe)

This is just like another OE exceptional case, Bede (Miller 428-19) þaem wege, þe ic aer com on, and also just like present-day English. In NHG this order is impossible.[244]

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[241] Behaghel Syntax IV, p. 249 gives several examples and indicates a tendency of the "prepositional adverb" to move closer to the verb.

[242] v. Wende, p. 47.

[243] With the io gone, of course.

[244] The tenacity of some syntactical patterns is well demonstrated, however, by the preservation in NHG of the OHG order, as in colloquial constructions like der Brunnen, wo die Leute von trinken; die Hand, da du mit geschlagen hast (v. Grimm IV, p. 1291); Exod. 20,21 da Gott innen war (ibid.), etc.

To sum up the results of the section on thara, we have:

(a) Adverbial or adverbial-type use for additional forms, viz.: ana, furi, in, ingegin(i), mit(i), ûf and zua. This adverbial type of use was indicated by the reference "prepositional" (vs. compounding) in some of the sections above. The parallel use of the two terms reflects the possibility of actual prepositional adverbs in OHG. The relation of such use with thara to isolated prepositions like ana in Gothic du usfilhan ana gastim and Otfrid's man árme miti nériti is problematical.

(b) A possible source for later verb compounds with forms which in OHG were still probably attached to thara.

(c) Several cases of possible compounds to carry on into the section on syntax.

(d) Several cases of indubitable thara compounds to omit from the actual analysis in that section.

I. Complete List of Otfrid's Forms

1. Introductory Note

The preceding discussion of the nature of the compounding forms and the more lexical, mechanical, or semantic considerations applicable to these forms has, I hope, prepared the way for the most important section - that on straight syntax.

The purpose of the foregoing section was, essentially twofold: a) to describe the compounding forms b) to boil the mass of cases down to those where the syntactical question of compounding or non-compounding is the only principal question. In the second process I think we successfully eliminated (or indicated the elimination of)such forms as zisamane, hera in uuorolt, and ubari-ubiri, as well as many individual instances of other forms. But the great majority of Otfrid's cases still remains. The following section gives all these instances from Otfrid, arranged alphabetically by compounding form. For completeness most of the forms eliminated or seriously questioned above have been included and set in parentheses. As further confirmation for their elimination appears it will be noted. The forms not in parentheses will be the principal material of the last section - the analysis of syntactical patterns.

Under each compounding form or adverb, the cases will be divided, for ease of reference and in line with the findings of the Gothic chapter, into transitives and intransitives, and within these into main clause, subordinate clause, and non-finite uses, further into the obvious groups of preposed

and separated forms.

The stress marks are given according to V, with any relevant variations by P, Kelle, Erdmann, and Piper have all been checked for the readings. No attempt has been made to mark the long vowels. These can be found in Piper. In general Erdmann is more meticulous than the others in his reading of the MSS, so his text is the basis of the form of the following verses. As far as word division goes I have given Erdmann's version. I cannot emphasize too strongly that this is simply for convenience. All the editors and commentators divide rather freely according to their interpretation of the MS and their stated or tacit principles of syntax. The Otfrid MSS are naturally better than the Gothic in the division of words, but not enough better to give a clear notion of most passages. It is obvious from many of Erdmann's readings, incidentally, that he had a clearer idea of some of the syntactical facts behind points brought up in this study than did Kelle or Piper.

2. List

after

Non-Finite, Unseparated

III-11-24[245] Sih uuíht ouh thes ni scámeta, thaz er thaz rédinota,/ ni firlíaz ouh in ther nóti, ni si imo fólgeti;/ Ni si áuur thaz iruuéliti, then nót imo gizéliti,/ thia thúrft imo giklágoti io after rúafenti (P áfterruafenti)

ana

Transitive Verb, Main Clause, Separated

V-11-9 ouh blías er sie ána (so thu uueist) then selbon héilegon géist (P geist)

(III-20-48 inti kléipta mir tharána sar)[246]

Unseparated

H-67 réhtor er iz ánafiang, tho iz zi nóti gigíang

IV-5-58 then húgu uuir giuuézzen, thar báldo ánasezzen (V sézzen, stress erased; P ánasizen)

I-15-34 ... er tod sih anauuéntit (P ánauuentit)

Subordinate Clause, Unseparated

V-12-59 tho er sie híar thaz anablías

IV-37-3 thaz uuir iz ánafahen mit ánderen girátin

V-7-24 uuar ih iz ánafahe

(V-10-5 uuanta áband unsih ánageit)

IV-29-37 so er sih iz ánalegiti

I-17-29 so thísu uuort tho gáhun then kúning anaquámun (P anaquamun)

---

[245]Passage citation generally indicates the line of the compounding form (or adverb) or the verb, whichever is first.

[246]Note the dative case. All other ana verbs have accusatives in Otfrid and practically in all of OHG. This is another argument for tharana. It counters the factor noted on p. 117, note 210.

I-12-5 so sinan ánasahun
IV-24-14 so sie inan ánasahun (P anasáhun)
IV-29-49 súntar selb si in gáhi kristan ánasahi
V-10-26 ióh intslúpta in gahun, then míthont se ánasahun
(V-2-12 so ér tharana scóuuot (P erased an accent on tharana))
I-23-54 suntar siu nan suénte inti fiur ánauuente
III-18-70 thaz slíumo sies gihúlfin ioh inan ánauuurfin
II-6-42 thaz ér... thaz uuíb iz anazálta
IV-19-40 thu hóris, uuas sie nénnent ioh thih ánazellent

Intransitive Verb, Main Clause, Separated

I-16-25 uuízzi théh imo ana sár

Unseparated

IV-24-23 ther líut mit thisu imo ánalag
I-16-27 gótes geist imo ánauuas (P anauuas)

Subordinate Clause, Unseparated

(I-18-36 ther thar ánagange)[247]
(I-23-29 thaz er tharána gange)
(III-1-26 tház ih... tharana húgge)
(IV-1-46 fráuili, thár uuir ana lágun)
I-15-5 geist, ther mo ánauuas (P imo)

Non-Finite, Separated

(II-9-23 tharana maht thu irthénken (P tharána))
(I-11-9 thár ána si er gizalter (P tharána... gizálter))
(V-10-12 uuio iz tharána ist al gizált)

Unseparated

V-20-96 beginnit sie ánafarton mit... ioh ouh ánabrechon mit...
(III-14-5 thar máhtu ana findan, uuío...)

---

[247]Erdmann has emended this passage to read tharána gange.

II-22-13 beginnet ánascouuon thio frónisgon blúomon
(III-19-13 híar ist ana fúntan, thaz...)

bifora

Transitive Verb, Main Clause, Unseparated

I-1-52 thaz krístes uuort uns ságetun, ioh drúta sine uns zélitun, bifora lázu ih iz ál (P bifóra lazu)
(IV-16-46 thaz sélba... sie híar bifóra zelitun)

Intransitive Verb, Subordinate Clause, Unseparated

I-22-40 ni uuas er ío so mari, ni thiz bifóra uuari

fora

Non-Finite, Unseparated

IV-35-44 so mán hiar fora ságen scal

fram

Transitive Verb, Main Clause, Separated

IV-30-24 thaz scéltan líezun se allaz frám

Unseparated

IV-30-22 ... siez állaz frámbrahtun, so uuás sies thó githáhtun
V-25-83 thie gúate es sar bigínnent, ioh iz frámbringent

Subordinate Clause, Separated

II-14-87 séhet then mán, ther mir thaz állaz brahta frám (P mír thaz allaz bráhta fram)

Intransitive Verb, Main Clause, Separated

IV-24-11 giang pilátus zi ín tho frám
II-8-18 ni quam min zít noh so frám

Subordinate Clause, Separated

I-23-5 thaz er fúari thanan frám úz untar uuóroltman (P uz)

Non-Finite, Separated

IV-20-4 sie ni múasen gan so frám zi themo héidinen man[248]

furi

Transitive Verb, Main Clause, Separated

III-1-35 thia hánt duat si fúri sar

Unseparated

IV-2-10 mártha... thaz muas fúribrahta

Intransitive Verb, Subordinate Clause, Unseparated

IV-30-5 álle, thie thar uuárun ioh ouh thar fúrifuarun

Non-Finite, Separated

III-20-79 sie híazun thiu gan fúri sar

Unseparated

I-4-51 uns sint kínd zi béranne iu dága furiuarane (P furifárane)

heim[249]

Transitive Verb, Main Clause, Separated

I-18-44 gang thésan uueg, ih sagen thir éin, er giléitit thih héim (P heim)

H-130 brúaderscaf (ih ságen thir éin) - thi giléitit unsih héim

IV-5-23 tho sant er drúta uns sine héim mit sínen gibóten zuein

Subordinate Clause, Separated

III-3-25 ob únsih auur ladot héim man ármer thehéin

---

[248]Of the fram forms, I-23-5 and IV-20-4 are not listed in Kelle III as compounds. II-8-18 is rarely if ever listed as a compound.

[249]None in Kelle as compounds.

Unseparated

III-20-72 ther thir so mûatfagota, thaz lîoht thir heim gihólota (P héim)

(I-18-31 ob uns in mûat gigange, thaz unsih héim lange)

Intransitive Verb, Main Clause, Separated

III-11-16 sliumo fûar si sar héim

I-22-8 so íltun sie héim sar

I-27-28 ni bin ih thér... bi iaron químit er iu héim

II-3-1 er quam uns súlih hera héim (P quám)

II-4-13 uuar imo súlih man thihéin so quami uuísheiti héim (P heim)

IV-26-41 súlih quément sie iu noh héim, thaz... (P quement)

H-72 sie quámun filu scánt heim

H-133 ni duen uuir só... sero químit uns iz héim

IV-34-20 uuuntun héim tho spáto

Unseparated

III-2-5 bat er... mit imo héim fuari[250]

I-22-55 siu so héim quamun

Subordinate Clause, Separated

IV-35-37 ér se fuarin héim

I-26-2 sid druhtin krîst quam uns héim

III-16-59 thanne uns krîst quimit héim, ni uueiz iz mánno nihein (P heim)

Unseparated

I-22-19 so siu tho héim quamun

Non-Finite, Unseparated

I-18-24 ni uuollen héim uuison uuir uuenegon uuéison

---

[250]This may be a subordinate clause.

hera

Transitive Verb, Main Clause, Separated

III-16-66 ioh er mih sánta hera zíu

II-14-48 so zílot iuer héra sar, ih zellu iu...

Unseparated

IV-17-18 hímilisge thégana... sih snéllo hérafuartin

Subordinate Clause, Separated

IV-6-25 thi ih héra nu bat so gérno

I-10-12 thaz er hér iz liaz

Unseparated

II-7-66 thaz er thih héra leitti

I-27-38 thie unsih héra santin

I-27-54 tház ih iu gizálti uuáz er hera uuólti (P héra uuolti)

Intransitive Verb, Main Clause, Separated

II-12-54 húgi thoh nu héra méist

II-3-1 er quam uns súlih hera héim (P quám)

IV-12-61 er quam so rísi hera in lánt (P quám)

V-4-38 ir quamut héra thuruh gúat

IV-30-28 so stig nídar hera in uuár (V erased stress on stig and hera)

III-24-99 ioh er uuúrbi...fon béche hera uuídorort

Unseparated

IV-26-29 hera hóret, quad er, uuíb

II-9-63 so uuer thiz firnéman uuolle: héra losen sie álle

Subordinate Clause, Separated

III-10-20 thaz... si héra sus ni lóufe (P loufe)

Unseparated

II-7-30 nih hera giílti zi thír

IV-4-64 ther thanana héra quam in lánt
V-17-20 ther er so héra quami

Non-Finite, Separated

II-7-72 séhet... hera nídargan
III-21-26 ther héra uuard giséntit (P gisentit)

hina

Transitive Verb, Main Clause, Separated

IV-24-15 hína, hina ním inan

Unseparated

I-21-1 tho erstarp ther kúning heród ioh hina fúarta inan tod

Subordinate Clause, Unseparated

II-4-79 thaz ih mih híar irréke, inti hina nídarscrikke... sulih únthurf ist es mír

Intransitive Verb, Main Clause, Separated

II-4-74 far thanne héimortsun hina ubar hímila alle[251] (V erased an accent on hina)
II-4-93 far hína, uuídaruuerto
III-23-28 farames áuur thara zi ín hína in iro lánt in[252]
I-21-3 hina in élilenti quam ímbot imo in dróume

Subordinate Clause, Unseparated

V-18-6 so er hína fuar nu thárasun[253]

in

Transitive Verb, Main Clause, Separated

(IV-11-14 goz er uuázar tharin)
IV-22-24 sie námun... kúninglih giuuáti... inti dátun inan ín (P nan in)

---

[251]Not in Kelle III. (That is, not as a compound.)
[252]Not in Kelle III.
[253]Not in Kelle III - probably an oversight.

Subordinate Clause, Unseparated

IV-7-51 so er érist thia árcha ingigíang (P archa íngigiang)

Intransitive Verb, Main Clause, Separated

I-23-9 fúar er tho in thia uuórolt in
III-23-28 farames áuur thara zi ín hína in iro lánt in[254]
IV-9-9 fáret in thia burg ín (P búrg in)
I-22-33 er giang sar ín mit then brédigarin
IV-23-30 giang mit kríste er tho fon ín in thaz spráhhus ín (P in)
IV-34-6 sie giangun ir then grébiron zen líutin in dia búrg in[255]
IV-35-5 giang er báldo tho fon ín zi themo hérizohen ín[256]
(V-5-7 ni giang er thiu halt noh tharín)
(V-6-25 ioh giang er sár io tharin)
II-14-86 ílta in thia búrg in zen liutin
(V-7-12 luaget áuur tho tharin)
III-24-41 ni quám noh tho drúhtin in thaz kástel ín (P in)
IV-21-29 zi thiu quám ih hera in uuórolt in[257]

Unseparated

I-4-19 íngiang er tho skíoro
II-11-5 er tho sár thara íngiang
V-12-26 er ingiang úngimerrit dúron so bispérrit (P íngiang)
(I-17-59 ioh sar tharaín quamun)

Subordinate Clause, Unseparated

IV-15-5 uuard uuóla then thara íngeit

---

[254]Not in Kelle III.

[255]Not in Kelle III.

[256]Not in Kelle III.

[257]Not in Kelle III. If in is a compounding form, this sentence is another indication of the unity of hera in uuorolt.

Non-Finite, Separated

(III-12-39 thie tharín ni sculun gán)
(IV-16-10 thaz er ófto tharaín giuuon uuas gángan mit in)
(III-10-23 ih ni bín, quad er tho zi ín, giséntit hera in uuórolt in)

Unseparated

II-23-21 thie lázit man thar íngan
V-6-28 tho er ínan sah thara íngan
V-6-52 thara in zi gánganne

ingegin

Transitive Verb, Main Clause, Separated

IV-4-56 thaz sélba ingégin ouh inquád thiu áftera hériscaf[258]

Subordinate Clause, Unseparated

I-3-49 ther ímo ingegin gárota

Intransitive Verb, Main Clause, Separated

(III-2-3 ioh fúar ingegin ímo sar (P imo))
(IV-16-17 ingegin ímo fuar in uuár únfirslagan héri thar (P erased an accent on ingegin))
II-3-24 sie giangun kúsgo ingégin úz thár zi thémo gótes hus (P ingegin)
II-15-4 ther liut ingégin aller giang
IV-20-3 giang er sélbo ingegin úz thár zi themo pálinzhus (P giang)
(IV-16-35 krist giang fórna sos iz zám ióh ingegin ín quam)

Unseparated

III-9-2 ingégin fuarun fólkon zen séltsanen uuérkon

---

[258]Not in Kelle III.

IV-24-13 ingégin riaf tho lúto hériscaf thero líuto
IV-24-4 ingégin skrei ginóto al ménigi thero líuto

Subordinate Clause, Separated

(V-16-6 thaz uuóla sie iz firnámin, ingegin ímo quamin)

Non-Finite, Unseparated

(V-16-43 ni mag díufal thara ingégin sin)[259]

ingegini

Transitive Verb, Main Clause, Separated

IV-5-41 thiu míhila ménigi, thia uuát thar breitta ingégini
II-15-9 thie bráhtun imo ingégini síechero manno ménigi
IV-5-53 slíhtit uns ingégini then uuég thiu selba ménigi

Intransitive Verb, Main Clause, Separated

III-6-8 fuar ímo thar ingégini mihil uuóroltmenigi
IV-3-18 in mórgan tho ther líut al... fúar thara ál ingegini (P al ingégini). Fuar thar ál ingegini thes lántliutes ménigi
V-20-19 thara férit al ingégini éngilo ménigi
IV-4-17 thó fleiz thara ingégini thiu míhila ménigi (P tho fléiz)
III-24-6 ioh ilta kríste ingégini (P ílta kriste)
III-13-52 móyses giuuaro, helías ouh ther máro... quámun thara ingégini (P thara)
III-25-4 quam mihil uuóroltmenigi then héreston ingégini (P ingegini)
IV-3-2 quám tho thara ingégini mihil uuóroltmenigi
IV-22-15 riaf imo ál ingégini thes lántliutes ménigi (P ríaf)
(III-20-63 thanne óuh fon ther ménigi spráchun thara ingégini)

---

[259]Not in Kelle III.

(IV-18-9 tho spráh er... slíumo thara ingégini)
III-24-67 uuás tho thar ingégini hárto mihil ménigi
IV-26-3 uuás tho thar ingégini thes líutes mihil ménigi

Intransitive Verb, Subordinate Clause, Separated

II-3-14 uuio éngilo ménigi fúar thar al ingégini
III-14-15 thiu thár uuas tho ingégini

Non-Finite, Separated

II-15-13 so er thó gisah thia ménigi al quéman imo ingégini

mit

Transitive Verb, Main Clause, Separated

II-9-43 thaz kínd, thaz druag thaz uuítu mit
(III-6-29 ther drégit hiar in sinan nót finf gírstinu brot ouh zuene físga tharmit)[260]
(IV-14-6 neme thie dásgun tharmit (P néme))

miti

Transitive Verb, Main Clause, Separated

(IV-9-3 tho sant er pétrusan sar, iohánnem ouh tharmíti (P tharmíti))

Intransitive Verb, Main Clause, Separated

I-22-16 thiu kind thiu fólgetun... líafun miti stíllo

Unseparated

I-8-7 ér sia érlicho zóh, in aegýptum mitifló̂h

nâh

Intransitive Verb, Main Clause, Separated

V-5-10 ioh giang themo ginóz nah
V-6-27 thó giang náh ther ánther
V-5-8 liaf er náh in drati

---

[260]For comparison only; v.s. p. 116.

nidar

Transitive Verb, Main Clause, Separated

II-4-55 oba thu sís... gótes sun, laz thih nídar hérasun

V-1-31 leg iz nídar haldaz[261]

IV-5-43 sie uurfun nídar ana uuánk iro sélono gifánk

Unseparated

III-17-41 er sih sar nídar **neigta** (P nidar néigta)

Subordinate Clause, Unseparated

II-5-21 bat thésan... er síh ouh fon ther hóhi thes huses nídar liazi (P líazi)

Intransitive Verb, Main Clause, Separated

IV-30-17 stig nu nídar herasun

IV-30-28 so stig nídar hera in uuár (V erased accents on stig and hera)

Unseparated

IV-16-42 ... ioh alle nídarfialun

II-24-7 ... fon themo bérge er nídar giang (P nidargiang)

III-17-35 sélbo druhtin nídar sah, tho...

Subordinate Clause, Unseparated

II-4-86 in thiu thu nítharfalles

II-4-79 thaz ih mih híar irréke inti hina nídarscrikke

III-17-44 unz er so nídar stareta (V erased an accent on stareta)

Non-Finite, Unseparated

II-7-72 himil séhet ir indán, thie éngila ouh hera nídargan

---

[261] Kelle's reading. Piper and Erdmann give it as nidarhaldaz.

V-25-5 nu uuíll ih thes geflízan, then segal nítharlazan
II-4-77 ih... mag hiar nídarstigan
IV-30-14 ni mag... hera nídarstigan

nidare

Transitive Verb, Subordinate Clause, Separated

(III-17-43 unz er thar nídare tho scréib)

nidiri

Transitive Verb, Main Clause, Separated

II-11-18 ioh állaz thaz gisídili so dét er filu nídiri

Subordinate Clause, Separated

(II-14-83 thaz síh liaz thiu sin díuri mit ótmuati so nídiri)

thana

Transitive Verb, Main Clause, Separated

III-26-3 nu duemes uuír thaz zuíual thana sár ubar ál
I-8-6 nam thes húares thana uuán (P thána uuan)
III-24-87 sie namun thána thuruh nót then selbon stéin, so er gibot
IV-24-31 nim thana gáralicho thíh ! sin blúat si ubar únsih (V erased an accent on thana)
IV-17-6 thoh slúag er imo in uuára thana thaz zésua ora
V-4-26 er uualzta thána sar then stéin

Unseparated

II-15-11 thio súnta ouh thána fluhta (P thánaflúhta)
III-4-30 ... er thaz bétti sar irhúab, ioh sar iz thána fuarta
III-9-11 so uuér so nan birúarta, er fruma thána fuarta
III-14-10 si ganz sih thána fuarta, so slíumo siu nan rúarta (P thana fúarta)

V-16-38 ... thie suhti thána fuaret, so slíumo so ir se rúaret

I-20-11 thie brústi sie in óugtun, thaz fahs thána rouftun

V-25-42 thaz árga hiar ouh mídit, ioh iz thána snidit[262]

III-20-27 ióh thaz horo thána thuag (P thana thuag)

III-14-78 er blíder thána uuanta, so uuér so zi imo nándta (P thana uuánta)

Subordinate Clause, Unseparated

IV-35-25 oba sie nan thána fuartin

III-20-26 hiaz... mit uuásgu, so iz gizámi, thaz horo thána nami

III-20-60 so slíumo, so ih iz thána nam

IV-35-18 unz ér nan tho thána nam

IV-18-21 ... themo er thaz óra thana slúag (P thana sluag)

V-25-37 nub er iz thána snide ioh er iz thána scerre

V-25-49 uuant er... iz garo thána sneid

III-20-49 so ih thaz hóro thana thúag (P thánathuag)

I-27-65 tház ér... thiu spríu thána uuerre

Intransitive Verb, Main Clause, Separated

II-4-99 fuar ther díufal thana sár (P thána sar)

V-7-6 thie drúta giangun thana sár

Unseparated

III-4-32 er sar zi thíu tho gifíang, mit themo bétte thana giang

Non-Finite, Unseparated

V-20-113 biginnent sie thána keren

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[262]Possibly a subordinate clause, but see Erdmann on line 43 of this same section.

thara[263]

Transitive Verb, Main Clause, Separated

II-18-23	ni biut iz fúrdir thara mér (P bíut)
III-17-7	sie thára tho in fárun, so sie úbiluuillig uuárun, eina húarrun brahtun[264]
IV-31-4	ioh dúa thar thina gúati
IV-33-40	thaz deta drúhtin thar do krist
V-23-164	gilaz thir thára thinaz múat
III-20-59	er kléipta mir ein hóro thar
V-23-4	er thára ouh thie síne leitta (P thara)

Unseparated

I-14-20	... thaz kind ouh thára brahtun
I-15-11	múater thiu gúata thaz kind ouh thára fuarta
I-19-7	thia muater thára fuari (P tharafuari)
H-160	thara giléite mih[265]
II-8-8	... óuh man thara ládota thie iúngoron
II-8-43	then uuírt er thara ládota
IV-16-12	... ioh sie thára leitta
H-10	ioh mih io thára uuisi, thoh ih es uuírdig ni si

Subordinate Clause, Separated

IV-2-3	so er thára iz tho bibráhta
V-4-61	ni er sih fúage thara zi ín
V-23-169	thaz sie thára al thaz iár ládot mihil iámar
II-7-31	thaz íh thih thes gibéitti, thara zi imo leitti (P léitti)

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[263]This is the only form for which I have not attempted to give all the cases. In general I have given the forms listed by Kelle and Piper and others as compounds. Within this group there is more than sufficient evidence for purposes of anlysis.

[264]Listed in Kelle III !

[265]Not in Kelle III - probably an oversight.

III-1-35 ob iaman rámet es thar
III-16-21 ther auur thára iz uuéntit (P thára iz uuentit)
III-26-63 thaz... unsih thára io alle bi námen druhtin zélle (P thara)

Unseparated

III-11-10 thaz siu sia thára brahti
II-12-32 thaz er sih thára fuage (P thara fúage)
I-13-11 ther siu thára fuarta (P thara fúarta)
V-20-70 ríchi, thaz er gárota er ánagengi uuórolti, er íuih thara hóloti
III-20-60 nóh ir thes ni fáret, ir iuih thára keret
II-6-30 thaz er es firléipti, iz auur thára kleipti in then boum
IV-6-20 uuánta sie in iz ságetun, zi góumon thara ládotun
V-5-12 thie nan thára legitun
II-9-35 thaz er nan thára léitti (P leitti)[266]
V-22-12 thie sih io thára liezent
V-23-8 uuio... sih híar io thára liezent
IV-1-7 uuio ér sih thara náhta (P tháranahta)
III-26-64 thaz... álle io bi mánne, er unsih thára nenne
III-21-24 thara inan krist tho uuánta ioh sélbo thara sánta
V-1-25 thaz sih es thára uuentit

Intransitive Verb, Main Clause, Separated

III-15-36 fuar thára mit then sínen zen stétin...
III-23-28 farames áuur thara zi ín, hína in iro lánt in
IV-4-17 thó fleiz thara ingégini thiu míhila ménigi (P tho fléiz)
III-4-25 ih ílu thara in dráti
II-4-13 so quam ein uuíb thara thó (P quám)

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[266] v. Piper ad loc. Erdmann has a misprint here.

III-9-8 blínte ioh ouh dóube... ouh thara zi ímo quamun

III-24-63 quam tho drúhtin unser thara ríazenter (P quám)

IV-35-17 er quám thar tho gimúato

V-19-5 quément thara ouh thánne thia uuénegun álle (P thara)

III-24-97 er sprah tho uuórton lúten thára zi themo dóten (P spráh)

V-4-37 ih spríchu thara zi íu

Subordinate Clause, Separated

II-4-80 thaz ih... ioh fare in lúfte thara zi thír

III-11-9 thaz er fuari thára (P erased an accent on fuari)

III-3-8 thoh géner thara ni géroti sin selbes géginuuerti

III-14-84 ther thara in thíu giliafi, thaz thara zi ímo riafi (P thára in thiu gilíafi)

II-14-112 thie thara zí imo quamun

III-8-34 thaz ih quéme thara zi thir

IV-7-44 thaz sie quémen thara zi ín

IV-16-53 thie thara mit ímo quamun

V-12-14 uuío er selbo quámi (thaz ist séltsani) bisparten dúron thara zi ín

V-17-1 thie thara zi ímo quamun

II-12-66 thaz er... in thes tóthes gahi thara zi íru sahi

Unseparated

III-15-33 thaz sie thara fúarin (P thára fuarin)

II-7-30 thaz thú thara giangis mit mír (P tharagiangis)

II-12-65 thaz er thára giangi

III-14-9 unz drúhtin selbo thára giang (P thara giang)

V-4-27 ni thaz er thara giílti

I-13-9 so sie tho thára quamun

II-7-21 so sie tho thára quamun

III-14-44 ióh zi thiu si thára quam

I-8-19 unz er thára thahta, ther éngil imo náhta

Non-Finite, Separated

IV-33-4 ni uuólta si in then ríuon thara zi ín biscouon
III-3-10 er thara thoh fáran uuolta (P thára)[267]
V-23-48 beginnent thára io flízan (P begínnent thara)
V-23-49 begínnent thara io húggen
IV-7-39 so séhent se mit githuínge quéman thara zi thínge then... sun (P queman)

Unseparated

IV-3-20 thaz ér thara quéman scolta (P queman)
IV-35-7 thaz múasi er thara uuísen
IV-6-19 thie thara giládot uuarun
IV-3-1 thaz drúhtin krist thara quéman uuas
III-9-1 thaz drúhtin thara quéman uuas

ûf

Transitive Verb, Main Clause, Separated

III-18-59 er huab in úf tho thaz múat... zi... (P húab)
III-24-89 huab thiu óugun uf zi hímile
IV-27-9 yrhúaben sie úf in alauuár then kuning
(IV-4-15 legitun tharúf (P légitun))

Unseparated

IV-27-18 in thaz crûciman nan nágalta... ioh thar nan úfirrihtun

Intransitive Verb, Main Clause, Separated

III-4-31 yrstuant er úf tho snello (P er stúant, accent erased)
IV-35-43 tho giang uns úf uuunna, thiu éuuinigu súnna (P uf)
IV-15-61 úf zi hímile er tho sáh (P uf)

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[267] v. Piper ad loc. Erdmann has a misprint here.

III-4-27 stant úf, quad er
V-1-19 thaz zéigot uf in hímila

Unseparated

IV-19-43 úf yrscrikta hárto ther furisto éuuarto
III-24-39 úfirstuant si snéllo

Subordinate Clause, Separated

II-11-54 tho er úf fon themo grábe irstuant
III-13-58 unz thiu sín guati uf fon tóde irstuanti (P irstúanti)

Unseparated

III-24-43 thaz sí so gahun úfirstuant
III-24-24 thanne éllu uuorolt úfsteit
V-19-26 thaz uuorolt úfstante

Non-Finite, Separated

V-4-47 er ist fon héllu iruuúntan ioh úf fon dóde irstantan (P started an accent on irstántan)

Unseparated

IV-3-14 thaz er nan móhta ana uuán heizan áfur úfstan (D úf stán)

umbi

Transitive Verb, Main Clause, Separated

III-4-7 thén bifiangun úmbi pórzicha fínfi
IV-29-12 mit thiu thékent sie nan úmbi

Unseparated

IV-11-13 nám er einan sában thar, umbigúrta sih in uuár
II-21-10 úmbi kérit sih thaz múat, sélb so mo ther háls duat (P úmbikerit)
II-11-51 er ál iz umbithähta

Subordinate Clause, Unseparated

I-22-19 so siu tho héim quamun, sih úmbibisáhun (P úmbibisahun)

I-1-104 thaz sie nan umbiriten (P umbiríten)

III-7-14 thaz sih io úmbizerbit ioh émmizigen uuérbit (P umbizérbit)

Intransitive Verb, Subordinate Clause, Separated

II-1-17 er ther hímil umbi sus émmizigen uuúrbi (P uuurbi)

Unseparated

IV-11-7 so uuit, so hímil umbiuuárb

Non-Finite, Unseparated

II-14-105 ... mit then óugon biginnet úmbiscouuon (P bigínnet umbiscóuuon)

ûz

Transitive Verb, Main Clause, Separated

IV-4-65 ... dreip se ál thanan úz (P uz)

IV-7-58 ... dribi then thíob thanana úz

III-17-46 sih thanana úz tho fíartun

II-4-51 thánana er nan fúarta in eine búrg gúata, fon then stétin thanana úz zi themo drúhtines hús (P thanana)[268]

III-16-28 liazun úz in uuaron thes selben múates uueuuon (P líazun uz)

IV-29-55 si líuzit iz al thanana uz zi... (P thanana úz; V erased an accent on uz)

II-11-11 ioh uuarf se álle thanana úz

II-11-19 er uuerf iz állaz thanana úz

III-20-165 sie inan slíumo tho in uuár uuúrfun fon in úz sar

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[268]Not in Kelle III.

IV-6-10 uurfun úz, so er erist quám, then éinigon sinan (P uúrfun uz)

Unseparated

III-17-42 ioh íagilih sar úzsmeiz

II-11-10 só thiu... kráft eine géislun thar giflâht, uzstíaz er se iagilícho ioh filu kráftlicho (P úzstiaz)

Subordinate Clause, Separated

II-6-27 thaz er nan úz thoh ni spe (P spé)

III-10-34 níst... fruma tház, thaz man zúkke thaz maz then kíndon ir then hánton inti uuérpfez úz then húnton (P uuerfez)

Intransitive Verb, Main Clause, Separated

I-14-19 siu fúarun fon theru búrg úz zi themo drúhtines hús

II-11-4 so fúar er fon theru búrg uz zi themo drúhtines hus

I-4-75 giang er uz tho spáto

II-3-24 sie giangun kúsgo ingégin úz thár zi... (P ingegin)[269]

III-18-73 ... ioh giang ouh úz tho sáre úzar iro hánton, fon sinen fíanton

IV-6-3 giang io in mórgan thanan úz thára zi...

IV-20-3 giang er sélbo ingegin úz thár zi...

IV-34-3 ... ioh giangun úz thie dótun

(V-20-25 thie sélbe irstantent álle fon thes líchamen fálle, fon themo fúlen légere, iro uuérk zi irgebanne, úz fon theru ásgu, fon...)[270]

Unseparated

I-20-9 thie múater thie rúzun, ioh zahari úzfluzun

IV-12-42 úzgiang sar tho líndo ther díufeles gisíndo

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[269]This and IV-20-3 below are listed in Kelle III as ingegin compounds.

[270]Not in Kelle III.

Subordinate Clause, Separated

I-23-5 thaz er fúari thanan frám úz untar uuóroltman (P uz)

I-28-17 thaz uuir ni fáren furdir úz

III-14-53 uuio fuarun thiu díufilir úz thar zi pétruses hus (P fúarun)

III-12-34 thaz sie nirgángen thanan úz

V-9-1 tho thaz éuuiniga guat úz fon themo grábe irstuant

II-11-44 thaz uuir ni kértin thanana úz

Unseparated

IV-12-51 so slíumo sos er úzgiang... (P uzgíang)

IV-13-1 so iúdas thanan úzgigiang

IV-20-9 so er úzgigíang ingegin ín

Non-Finite, Separated

V-21-8 ist férro irdríban fon hímile úz, ther...

widar

Intransitive Verb, Main Clause, Separated

II-7-16 er kérta sih sar uuidar zín

Subordinate Clause, Unseparated

V-9-2 tho... thaz líb... fon béche hera uuídaruuarb

widari

Intransitive Verb, Main Clause, Separated

IV-21-1 giang pilatus uuídari mit ímo tho in then sólari (P gíang)

(III-8-10 mihil úngiuuitiri uuás in harto uuídari)

zisamane[271]

Transitive Verb, Main Clause, Separated

III-7-54 in búah sie iz duent zisámane
IV-22-20 sie flúhtun in zi gámane thórna thar zisámane
III-7-8 mit mínnon io ginúagen zisámane unsih fúagen

Subordinate Clause, Unseparated

III-26-48 starb afur thérer noti, er unsih sámanoti, ioh sines tóthes guati zisámane gifúagti
IV-29-42 ... sih untar ín ruartin, zisámane gifúagtin

Intransitive Verb, Main Clause, Separated

II-15-6 ... thie fúarun al zisámane
III-16-24 móyses gab iu uuízzod, thes ni uuírket ir drof, suntar get zisámane inti...
III-9-3 sie quamun ál zisamane (P zisámane)

Subordinate Clause, Separated

II-9-73 uuio iz químit al zisámane

Unseparated

II-8-5 thiu zisámane gihítin

Non-Finite, Separated

V-5-13 zisámane al biuuúntan
V-6-57 biuuúntan thar zisámane

Unseparated

V-6-61 zisámane biuuúntan
I-1-8 zisámane gibúntan
H-137 simes... zisámane gifúagte

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[271] Elimination of most of these forms has been indicated above, but they are given here for a full picture.

zua

Transitive Verb, Main Clause, Unseparated

(III-14-71 thara ouh zúa gifuagi blíntero ginúagi)

Intransitive Verb, Main Clause, Separated

(V-20-20 quément tharazua)
II-4-54 thar ríaf er ímo filu frúa thrato rúmana zúa
(P riaf... zua)
I-19-3 ther engil spráh imo zúa (P zua)

Unseparated

(IV-33-28 mit spéru er tharzúa giilta)
I-4-26 ther éngil imo zúasprah

Subordinate Clause, Unseparated

II-13-13 thes ér mo zuagisprichit
III-6-37 thar sie alle zúasahun

Non-Finite, Separated

(V-16-40 tharzúa sin ouh gizálte)

Unseparated

(I-24-13 thara hárto ouh zúa drahton (P zua dráhton))

Within this large and, I think, obviously complex body of forms most scholars have drawn their distinctions with a very wide brush - if at all. To give a notion of the necessity of careful and detailed analysis I should like to note how one authority proceeded with the listing of compounds. Kelle, whose edition is easily the most useful for extensive work in Otfrid and whose opinions have been of great influence, gives as compounds the following proportions of possible verb combinations:[272] all for after, bifora, furi, miti, nâh, nidar thana, umbi, zisamane, zua; all but one for fram, in, ingegin, (nidiri), thara (this one an oversight, I assume), ûf, ûz, (uuidar), (uuidari); all but two for ana, hera, hina, ingegini, He does not list forasagên as a compound, nor mitdragan. And strangely enough he lists no compound whatever for heim.

J. Comparative Analysis - Inseparables and Adverbs

1. Introductory Note

In the analysis of this large number of possible compounding forms, it will be our purpose to discover any definite natural lines of syntactical demarcation, whether they be in matters of stress or of order. The procedure must be essentially the same as it was for Gothic, though the body of evidence is much larger and much more complicated. In Gothic an examination of word order patterns revealed one group of forms which behaved in an entirely different fashion from other forms used with verbs,

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[272] That is, excluding any occasional exceptions made for a particular instance of a given verb. He may, for example, deny compounding for one case of in-gân. This is ignored above.

This group consisted of inn and ut with already compounded verbs, and its behavior led us to call inn and ut separable compounding forms. Thus we ended up with the following Gothic groups:

1. Inseparable preverbs (bound forms plus all single compounds and almost all double compounds, except inn and ut).

2. Separable compounding forms (inn and ut).

3. Free adverbs.

Special cases like isolated prepositions, other separated preverbs (du, etc.) were sporadic and had not yet developed into definite patterns.

We must expect - or hope for- some such division in OHG. Up to now scholars have contented themselves with surprisingly hazy notions of OHG verb compounds, usually based on NHG with a few adaptations. Terms like 'composition' and 'semi-composition' have been used arbitrarily or in lieu of systematic classification. The only work I know of that approaches the problem at all is Leinen's, and his commences with the theoretical, is based on a limited number of forms, and does not attempt to carry the matter to a conclusion. Examining a whole, large document for all possible cases is the only "first step" to an understanding of the entire picture of compounding in the verb system. The ideal procedure would be to cover all of OHG, but this is patently impossible and has at least one minor though definite disadvantage, to wit, the intrusion of dialect and period differences. Ultimately the whole body of OHG sources

ought to be covered, but Otfrid - annotated and supplemented by the other major works - should be sufficient to give us the patterns we are looking for, if they exist.[273]

The critical question is, to adapt a former statement: Does any group of these forms behave in some fashion systematically different from the others, in such a way that we can designate this group as separable compounding forms, the others as inseparables or adverbs?[274]

Criteria for such judgement come from two sources. First are those from without the body of forms listed above, e.g. characteristics of inseparable compounding, characteristics of free adverbs (harto, guatlicho, etc.). Second are those within the above body of forms, particularly those indicated by the Gothic, e.g. order in the subordinate clause, order in the infinitive.

2. Comparison with Inseparables

The syntactical characterization of the inseparable forms, like their identification, is easy.

The preverb, as indicated above, is always before the verb. The stress pattern is equally simple. The bound forms are unstressed. The others had just enough stress so

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[273] In the general categories discussed below the forms parenthesized in the main list will be omitted from immediate consideration. (Any special or confirmatory evidence will be noted.) These forms, after all, have been eliminated or seriously questioned, and including them might give a distorted picture.

[274] Any previously adduced evidence for compounding has been only a demonstration of a feeling that preverb and verb "belong together" or of the retention of an old pattern. Such factors were ni+verb, etc.

that if the meter required they could bear the accent. But there was no difference in stress in main or subordinate clause, no difference according to morphological form.

Actually only one of the inseparable patterns is significant for further investigation. This is the verb in normal (second) position, or later in the main clause. Initial position is treated separately, as befits its special nature. Exclusion of the subordinate clause rests partly on the Gothic evidence and partly on an anticipation of later results in the examination of Otfrid's clause structure.

The problem is to find the distribution of forms from the main list above in patterns parallel in word order to II-6-46 got ginádoti sin, V-12-10 uuir gilóuben thaz, or (with later verb) II-4-89 then sálidon sie intfállent. Obviously this is no more than an external correspondency of order we are looking for. Syntactical identity can enter the picture only with possible inseparables like umbi. With adverbs this order is only Subject-Adverb-Verb (a type almost gone in NHG, to be sure) or Subject-Object-Adverb-Verb, etc. With possible compounding forms it would actually be most surprising, in view of the virtual absence of Gothic inn and ut in such order.

The evidence is quite negative, at least in showing any distinction among the forms. The unseparated preposed type of order appears with ana, fram, furi, heim, hera, hina, in, miti, nidar, thana, thara, ûf, umbi, ûz, zua! Otfrid thus serves

as a good example of the phenomenon noticed by Grimm[275] - that in OHG these particles precede the verb much more frequently than they do in MHG. This same fact caused Grimm, who had his doubts even about NHG, to lean toward a theory of compounding for OHG.

A more critical test appears when we take into consideration only those sentences running Subject-Verb-Object (Predicate), etc., like got ginádoti sin, excluding the type: then sálidon sie intfállent. Otfrid has only:

er ingiang úngimerrit dúron so bisperrit (P íngiang)[276]
(sélbo druhtin nídar sah, tho...)[277]
(ioh alle nídarfialun)
(er blíder thána uuanta)
thia muater thára fuari[278]
...ôuh man thara ládota thie iúngoron
(ioh zahari úzfluzun)

This indicates that the great majority of the very numerous preverb positions in the main clause are with verbs late in the clause, e.g. IV-2-10 (martha) si scóno iz al bitháhta, thaz muas fúribrahta, or muater thiu guata thaz kind ouh thara fuarta.[279] Similar reservations concern

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[275] II, p. 872.

[276] Verse numbers and stress (unless specially germane) will not be given from now on if the form is taken directly from the main list.

[277] This case and the one with thana do not really belong here; v.i. p. 202.

[278] Object-Verb is the equivalent of Subject-Verb, still second position.

[279] A fact which most writers ignore; v.i. p. 196 ff.

the frequent sentences with inti and ioh, which have something in common with subordinate clauses (v.s.). Such inti and ioh clauses are therefore not proper examples of this position.

For two of the particles in the examples above adverbial nature has been well substantiated. This position, therefore, is by no means surprising for thara and ûz, because neither free adverbs or adverbial phrases show any distaste whatever for this place between subject and verb. Witness I-5-33 thiu thíarna filu scóno sprah, L-8 er állo stunta fréuue sih, I-1-9 sie ouh in thíu gisagetin. The remarkable fact actually is that the adverbs among the particles of the main list avoid this position much more than would be expected from the behavior of the ordinary adverbs. This type of order is consequently less distinctive than might be expected in showing any difference between compounding forms and adverbs.[280]

Other OHG documents indicate simply that this type of order is rare. They do not give any indication that only a certain group of forms participates in such a sentence. Grimm cites Tatian 228-4 inti her abfuor fon iro ougon et ipse evanuit ex..., and Tatian 72-1 andera ratissa furisazta her in.[281] The rest of Grimm's cases actually are not this

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[280] For further discussion, on a broader syntactical plane, see the section on the main clause, below.

[281] v. Grimm II, p. 372.

strict position but inti clauses (with subject in preceding clause), or inti + verb, or sentences like Otfrid's er tho sar thara ingiang, with a late verb, etc.

The Tatian also has 44-8 thanne ir inganget thaz hus, the imperative in 55-4 nidarstig (also 114-1) and 53-7 uzgang (also 92-6) and 95-5 uzlosi iz.

Diels considers such sentences in the Tatian and the Glosses to be influenced by the Latin.[282] He gives glosses like conplodo ich cesameslahun, abigo ih hintribe, congero ih sampringe. For the glosses certainly this assumption of Latin influence is correct. The Glosses have only preverbs. Their very unanimity excludes them from further consideration.

Such instances as the use after ni, on the other hand, prove that this pattern is possible. Diels cites the ni uztribit from the Monsee Fragments (v.s.p. 64) and gives further examples from "free prose," e.g. diu erda diu fure bringet ire uuocher; der uuise fure bringet sine reda.[283] The other forms he cites are of dubious relevance, e.g. samo uber triffet bonitas patris omnem bonitatem, from Williram. (Why shouldn't uber be before the verb?)

Behaghel cites several of the above forms as well as later (MHG) ones like ich anabete Kristum Jesum and sie abtragen, stelen. He also indicates the persistence of this pattern

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[282] v. Diels, p. 114.

[283] v. Diels, p. 144 for references and other instances.

into NHG by the sentence from His, Die anatomische Nomenklatur: dieselbe auferlegt uns aber auch eine besondere Verpflichtung.[284] Consider also NHG ich anerkenne, etc.

There are two ways to explain these forms, which are certainly not regular for compounding forms, anyway, in OHG - not even in the translation literature. One is to say that they represent a reflex of the old word order of simple (inseparable) compounds. This theory is supported by the fact that mostly prepositional forms appear here (with a few exceptions like Otfrid's thara and perhaps nidar.

The other explanation is rather secondary, I think, but it does explain the new forms. The subordinate clauses, the late main clause positions (and the inti clauses) have so many such preposed forms[285] that these may have influenced the retention or introduction of preposed forms into even the strictest main clause position.

3. Comparison with Adverbs

The syntactical characteristics of free adverbs are very important and must be understood fully. For they represent the other pole (opposite from the inseparables), and if certain forms in the lists above do not contrast distinctly with true adverbs, then all the "possible compounding forms" we have

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[284] v. Behaghel Syntax II, p. 17.

[285] For a notion of the proportions, v. Leinen, p. 49ff.

been talking about are only adverbs in a slightly specialized function. As I shall try to point out below, there are significant contrasts, and that is why I disgree completely with Schlachter, who says: "Rein theoretisch betrachtet konnten diese Adverbia (prepositional adverbs) dieselben Stellen im Satz einnehmen wie die bisher behandelten."[286]

What then are the characteristics of the free adverb in Otfrid ? From a careful study of Ohly[287] and Sobel[288] it is possible to get a very detailed idea of the word order (and stress) patterns of Otfrid's adverbs.

The very significant result of the application of these patterns to the cases in the main list is that some of the patterns occur in most or all of the possible compounding forms listed there, while others are definitely restricted to certain forms or groups of forms. Here, then, is the first large-scale indication of separation of the body of possible compounding forms into:

1. Forms which act just like and probably are adverbs
2. Forms whose behavior is not typically adverbial

Group 2 is our first convincing indication of a real pattern of separable compounding in Otfrid, the theory being that if a common adverbial pattern is represented to an

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[286] v. Schlachter, p. 182. He excludes for the "prepositional adverbs" only initial position and position after initial verb, "was sich aus der Einteilung des Materials unmittelbar ergibt" - that is, even these differences are not basic. But both these positions appear in OHG with the forms Schlachter means by prepositional adverbs, and the latter is frequent.

[287] Passim.

[288] Principally pp. 96-122. Diels and Schlachter are also useful here.

abnormally small extent in the above list, the difference is caused by the presence of some other category (compounding forms) and the existing instances of the pattern show the true adverbs. After all, if all the above forms are adverbs they should share proportionately the characteristics of other adverbs with only the variation of chance. The reliability of the procedure will be apparent if a consistent group of forms shows up in the various exceptional categories.

The evidence can speak for itself and does so rather eloquently. The first column gives the pattern, the second has one or two examples from the free adverbs, the third gives examples from the list above, but only if the pattern is generally represented among all the forms of the main list.

Absolute Position

Sentence Initial[289]	V-23-91 híar ist io uueuuo II-15-20 tharínne lag II-18-5 giuuísso, ih sagen íu	Only with bifora, hera, hina, in, ingegin, ûf, umbi, ûz[290]

Relative Positions

Double Adverbs[291]	I-15-24 filu fórahtlicho	er uualzta thana sar then stein er kerta sih sar uuidar zin thia hant duat si furi sar ioh thar furifuarun

[289] Ohly lists well over 500 of these instances where the adverb is followed by the verb ! And this does not include sentences with ni. See Ohly, pp. 21-2. See also Diels, p. 20 and pp. 22-6 and 39-42, etc.

[290] v.i. p.169 for list.

[291] Numerous.

		thar baldo anasezzen uuizzi theh imo ana sar liafun miti stillo so man hiar fora sagen scal er sih sar nidar neigta so stig nidar hera; etc.
Directly before Verb[292]	I-5-51 thráto gi-múnton	er blider thana uuanta thaz lioht thir heim giholota ingiang er tho skioro; etc.
Before Verb but Separated[293]	IV-12-6 ioh súntar mir iruuélita IV-23-44 thaz híar man min sus áhta	Only with hera, hina, ingegin, thara, ûf, umbi, ûz, zisamane[294]
Directly after Verb[295]	I-4-70 tharbe hárto	stant uf, quad er giangun thana sar liafun miti stillo thaz allaz brahta fram ob unsih auur ladot heim man tho giang nah ther anther sie uurfun nidar ana uuank iro selono gifank so stig nidar hera er uualzta thana sar then stein; etc.[296] v. also Tatian 205-3 er stige nidar fon...; 87-8 hebet uf iuuariu ougun, etc.

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[292] Numerous.

[293] Numerous.

[294] v.i. Cases of separation by ni or gi of course do not count here.

[295] Fairly numerous.

[296] This is the category which, unless I am totally misinterpreting him, Schlachter said (p. 183) doesn't exist, "da

After Verb but Separated[297]	I-1-27 yrfúrbent sie iz réino I-4-84 gilóubt er filu spáto	nu duemes uuir thaz zuiual thana druag thaz uuitu mit blias er sie ana liezun se allaz fram. gileitit unsih heim ilta in thia burg in laz thih nidar; etc.
Adverb-Verb-Non-finite Form[298]	V-17-38 thaz báz sie mohtin scóuon I-4-21 thár gisah er stántan V-19-6 er uuérgin megi ingángan II-3-53 nu ist drúhtin krist gidóufit V-1-27 mit thíu ist thar bizéinit I-9-1 ér iu uuard giuuáhinit V-5-18 er uuas fúntan	Only with hera[299]

dies (prepositional adverb) um als dem Verb gleichgeordneter Bestandteil gelten zu können, etwaige noch vorhandene Satzglieder zwischen sich und das Verb treten lassen müßte..."

[297] Numerous.

[298] Several - actually plenty in view of the very special category involved. See Sobel, p. 109, who considers only the infinitive, not the participle.

[299] v.i.

Adverb-Non-finite Form-Verb[300]	III-23-39 ther réhto gangan uuólle V-12-25 ther iamer lében scolta	Only with thara, fora[301]
Verb-Adverb-Non-finite Form[302]	I-22-25 bigan iz hárto anton	beginnent sie thana keren beginnet anascouuon beginnit sie anafarton thar mahtu ana findan mag hiar nidarstigan thaz muasi er thara uuisen heizan afur ufstan beginnet umbiscouuon uuollen heim uuison[303]
Non-finite Form-Verb-Adverb[304]	V-20-1 gizéllen uuill ih súntar IV-23-11 biscóltan ist er hárto	None
Verb-Non-finite Form-Adverb[305]	IV-12-34 ni gidórsta sprechan lúto	Only with furi, fram, ingegini, ûz[306]

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[300] Several.

[301] The examples are given below. Actually the category is only rare, not distinctive.

[302] Numerous.

[303] A form like ni mag ther diufal thara ingegin sin also really belongs here in spite of rather wide separation of the verb from the modal. (This would apply only if the sentence is not to be read ...tharaingegin....)

[304] Quite numerous.

[305] Several, actually quite sufficient to establish the pattern.

[306] v.i.

Adverb-Verb-Adverb[307]	I-17-48 slíumo duet ouh thánne	nu duemes uuir... thana bi iaron quimit er iu heim sero quimit uns iz heim hera nu bat so gerno ingiang er tho skioro ingegin fuarun folkon so stig nidar ufirstuant si snello umbigurta sih in uuar uzgiang sar tho lindo; etc.
Adverb-Adverb-Verb[308]	III-22-68 sie thar gisuáso uuarin II-4-107 noh uuérgin ouh giffúaren	fon beche hera uuidaruuarb ioh ouh anabrechon baldo anasezzen hiar fora sagen so siu tho heim quamun er sih sar nidar neigta iz garo thana sneid hiar io thara liezent afur ufstan[309]
Noun-Verb-Adverb[310]	I-19-9 ther kúning uuilit slíumo	thie druta giangun thana thia hant duat si furi uuizzi theh imo ana thaz allaz brahta fram krist quimit heim er giang sar in then bifiangun umbi; etc.

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[307] Quite numerous.

[308] Numerous.

[309] In all of these the possible compounding form is the one directly before the verb. For the contrary order, see "Before Verb but Separated" above.

[310] Numerous. Pronouns and phrases with nouns are included.

Noun-Adverb-Verb[311]	I-1-89 ther uuórolti so githréuuita	thar sie alle zuasahun guati zisamane gifuagti zahari uzfluzun iz umbithahta uuorolt ufsteit sih thara nahta thaz horo thana thuag; etc.
Verb-Noun-Adverb[312]	III-4-5 uuuasg thaz fléisg tharinne	duemes... thaz zuiual thana druag thaz uuitu mit blias er sie ana liezun se allaz fram gileitit unsih heim zilot iuuer hera datun inan in ilta kriste ingegini; etc.
Verb-Adverb-Noun[313]	I-9-19 sie spráchun uilu blíde	ladot heim man armer thehein ferit al ingegini engilo menigi giang nah ther anther uurfun nidar... gifank uualzta thana sar then stein namun thana... stein dua thar thina guati then bifiangun umbi porzicha finfi uurfun uz... sinan liazun uz... uueuuon[314]

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[311] Numerous.

[312] Numerous.

[313] Numerous.

[314] Such instances as uurfun nidar... gifank (transitive verb followed by compounding form or possible compounding form, followed in turn by the direct object) are an especial contradiction of Schlachter's denial of such word order (v.s. p. 163, note 296).

Adverb-Noun-Verb[315]	IV-13-35 er hinaht háno krahe	Only with hera, hina, ingegin, ûf, ûz, zisamane[316]
Adverb-Verb-Noun[317]	I-23-56 hárto nemet góuma	er blider thana uuanta so uuer so zi imo nandta beginnet anascouuon thio fronisgon bluomon thar mahtu ana findan uuio... hiar ist ana funtan thaz... bifora lazu ih iz al hera horet... uuib hera losen sie alle hina nim inan hina fuarta inan tod ingiang er ingegin skrei... menigi ingegin riaf... heriscaf thara ladota thie iungoron thara kleipti in then boum ufirstuant si uf yrscrikta... euuarto umbigurta sih umbi kerit sih thaz muat uzstiaz er se uzgiang... gisindo

Out of the total list of common patterns involving adverbs and their verbs there are, thus, a surprisingly large number of patterns which are not common to all or most of the possible

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[315] Quite numerous. This group is only a specialization of "Before Verb but Separated" above.

[316] v.i.

[317] Quite numerous. A specialization of the group "Directly before the Verb" above.

compounding forms. These may be called the distinctively adverbial patterns. If the forms from the main list which do enter into these distinctively adverbial patterns are a consistent group, we have the first indication, on a syntactical level, that they are adverbs and not compounding forms. If, in turn, these same forms have previously shown adverbial uses we have further substantiation of their non-compounding nature. Finally, the remaining group - those forms which don't appear in the distinctively adverbial patterns - must behave thus for some definite reason, and the only reason that is applicable is their very close relation to the verb. Thus we have here, if the evidence is consistent, the first indication of special behavior of a special group, true compounding forms.

Examination of the distinctively adverbial patterns does indeed show consistency in their participating forms, though this consistency is not so total as to make further evidence unnecessary. These patterns are:

Sentence Initial (bifora, hera, hina, in, ingegin, ûf, umbi, ûz)[318]	bifora lazu ih iz al hera horet, quad er, uuib hera losen sie alle hina, hina nim inan (ioh hina fuarta inan tod)

[318] Such position in Otfrid is much more significant, of course, than the invariable preverb position of the Glosses (v.s.p. 70). For further discussion, v.i. Theoretically any unstressed preverb in this position might be inseparable. Since P stresses bifora and ûz where V doesn't, they are beyond the pale, however, and hera horet as well as hina... quam cannot very well be special inseparable compounds. Only for umbigurta does this remain a possibility, for umbi is so frequently unstressed (v.s.p. 59) that inseparability in certain verbs is to be considered a likelihood.

ingiang er tho skioro
ingegin skrei ginoto al menigi...
ingegin riaf tho luto heriscaf...
ingegin fuarun folkon
ufirstuant si snello
uf yrscrikta harto ther furisto euuarto
umbigurta sih in uuar
umbi kerit sih thaz muat
uzgiang sar tho lindo ther diufeles gisindo
... uzstiaz er se (after a so clause)

Before Verb but Separated[319] (hera, hina, ingegin, thara, ûf, umbi, ûz, żisamane)

thaz er her iz liaz
thaz... si hera sus ni loufe
thi ih hera nu bat so gerno
hina in elilenti quam imbot
hina nidarscrikke[320]
ther liut ingegin aller giang
thaz selba ingegin ouh inquad thiu...[321]
er thara ouh thie sine leitta
sie thara tho in farun, so sie ubiluuillig uuarun, eina huarrun brahtun[322]
thaz... unsih thara io alle bi namen druhtin zelle
ther auur thara iz uuentit
thara zi imo leitti
thaz sie thara al thaz iar ladot mihil iamar
(Many other cases with thara; v.s.)
uf zi himile er tho sah

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[319] By something other than a bound form of course.

[320] As well as all the other double adverbs of this sort, viz. hera nidarstigan, hera nidargan, hera uuidaruuarb. Note that these involve no new adverb for the above list.

[321] The prepositional cases of ingegin, like ingegin in quam (see main list), have their non-compounding nature confirmed by this same category.

[322] A glance at this fine long sentence makes Kelle's and Piper's listing of tharabringan for this verse look a trifle optimistic.

tho er uf fon themo grabe irstuant
guati uf fon tode irstuanti
uf fon dode irstantan[323]
er ther himil umbi sus emmizigen uuurbi
thaz er nan uz thoh ni spe
... guat uz fon themo grabe irstuant[324]
zisamane unsih fuagen

Adverb-Verb-Non-finite Form (hera)

ther hera uuard gisentit

Adverb-Non-finite Form-Verb (fora, thara)

so mán hiar fora ságen scal[325]
thaz ér thara quéman scolta (P queman)
thaz drúhtin krist thara quéman uuas
thaz drúhtin thara quéman uuas
thie thara giládot uuarun

Verb-Non-finite Form-Adverb (fram, furi, ingegini, ûz)

sie ni muasen gan so fram
sie hiazun thiu gan furi sar
so er tho gisah thia menigi al queman imo ingegini
ist ferro irdriban fon himile uz, ther...[326]

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[323] All the ûf cases are ones where the notion of adverb + prepositional phrase was previously discussed (v.s. p. 101), but the separation is valid and germane in any case.

[324] See note 323.

[325] As indicated above, and as shown by the stress, there is a strong possibility of inseparable compounding here. This does not apply to the following example. In spite of unstressed thara here we have, in view of the numerous separated instances with the same verb, no cause to suppose inseparability. Further, the case of er thara thoh fáran uuolta (P thára) shows the normal lax order of thara, even in this same construction. Finally, a double inseparable (thara-gi-) is more than unlikely.

[326] lag gisuntorot thar, biuuuntan thar zisamane is actually the equivalent of this word order, but the construction is not so closely knit.

Adverb-Noun-Verb (hera, hina, ingegin, thara, ûf, ûz, zisamane)

A specialization of the second category in this same list. Examples, with type of separating member:

thaz er her iz liaz (pronoun)

hina in elilenti quam imbot (preposition plus noun)

ther liut ingegin aller giang (adjective or pronoun modifying preceding noun)

thaz... unsih thara io alle bi namen druhtin zelle (object pronoun, prepositional phrase, subject noun!)

uf zi himile er tho sah (prepositional phrase, pronoun)

uz fon themo grabe irstuant (prepositional phrase)

zisamane unsih fuagen (pronoun)

The following comments and reservations need to be made.

1. Sentence initial position is the least satisfactory of these categories to deal with. Obviously, if separable verbs come to some extent from original inseparables, initial position must have been one of their earlier possible word order patterns. Persistence of such preposed order we have seen in cases like ni uztribit. Yet Otfrid has only two forms in this category which do not appear in other distinctively adverbial patterns, and those are in (ingiang er tho skioro) and bifora (bifora lazu ih iz al). The stress marks of both principal manuscripts for in and of P for bifora show that these are not inseparable. We can therefore say that, surprisingly enough, separable compounding forms have almost entirely abandoned this word order pattern, leaving it to the adverbs.[327]

[327] This agrees with the statement by Diels (p. 28): "Ganz einstimmig bezeugt die freie Prosa, dass die trennbaren Präpositionaladverbien den Satz nicht einleiten können." Unfor-

This fact is especially obvious in the case of imperatives, where we find such adverbial elements as hina (nim inan) and hera (horet) before the verb, but no compounding forms.

The regularity of this development is further supported by the separable compounding forms of Gothic, inn and ut, which in spite of the common initial position of simple, inseparable inn and ut (e.g. Matthew 7, 13 inngaggaiþ þairh aggwu daur) always avoid position before the verb initially. An exception such as Luke 14, 35 utuswairpand imma, like Otfrid's ingiang er, may be a remnant of older usage, but the paucity of such cases only emphasizes the general rule.

That separable compounding forms can, in exceptional cases, start the sentence even in NHG is demonstrated by sentences like und herein drängte ... ein kleiner Kerl (from Sudermann's Katzensteg) or Auf steigt das Gebet, etc. Speaking of such examples, Leinen[328] pointed out that this is not the equivalent of ordinary preposed order, say, in the subordinate clause. In these initial positions, pause is possible after the particle.

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tunately most of the meaning is drained from his statement when we see his list of these "prepositional adverbs": aba, zuo, ûz, fram, fora, bifora, furi, in, widar, nidar, ubar, thuruh. ûz, fram and furi are pretty obviously adverbs; widar, ubar and thuruh are almost entirely inseparable; and cases of initial position do occur with several of these forms.

[328] p. 7.

And forms which have lost their concrete meaning do not participate in this type of order. One cannot say: An fängt das Schauspiel.

Other OHG cases of initial in may be influenced by their Latin originals, e.g. the instances like Tatian 186-3 inti inleitta Petrusan et introduxit Petrum.[329]

bifora is too rare to allow any definite conclusions.

2. The fact that Otfrid has no forms whatever in the category "Non-finite Form - Verb - Adverb" (biscoltan ist er harto) is presumably accidental. In view of the obvious tendency of separable compounding forms to stick to their infinitives and perticiples (see further discussion below), the absence of such cases is no surprise. But one might expect them with the adverbs, e.g. heim, hera, thara, etc.

3. Other factors indicating the absence of compounding may confirm the verdict of these word order patterns which are, by themselves, indicative but not conclusive. sie hiazun thiu gan furi sar, for example, is not only a typical free adverb pattern, but it is also quite opposed to the order of the compound infinitive, as both Gothic and OHG (v.i.) show.

4. The absence, among the compounding forms, of cases like so man hiar fora sagen scal is surely accidental. After all, this position would be natural not only for adverbs but also for any compounding form, separable or inseparable, e.g. IV-15-43 lêrt... uuio thaz firdrágan scoltun. Other OHG sources

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[329] v.Leinen, pp. 60-62, especially p. 62.

in any case, vouch for this type of word order, though it is still surprisingly rare. Tatian 32-3 has fater... ther thie sunnun ufgangen tuot oriri facit and the participle in 143-1 thaz her fon theru samanungu uzforuuorpfan ni vvurdi ut de synagoga non eicerentur.

The scarcity of this pattern is especially surprising since it is the one which becomes the normal order in the NHG subordinate clause (as in the Tatian examples in the preceding paragraph). In any case, it is of no help in making distinctions between adverbs and compounding forms and may be discarded.

5. The last category cannot exactly be counted separately, because it rather duplicates the second, as noted. But it certainly is a refinement or extreme case of such word order.

With the above reservations, the evidence is still very impressive. A table will help to visualize the consistency of the "membership" in these patterns.

Sentence Initial	Before Vb. but Sep.	Adv.-Vb.-Non-finite	Vb.-Nonfinite-Adverb	(Adv.-Noun-Vb.
			fram furi	
hera	hera	hera		hera
hina	hina			hina
in				
ingegin	ingegin thara		ingegini	ingegin thara
ûf	ûf			ûf
umbi	umbi			
ûz	ûz		ûz	ûz
.	zisamane		.	zisamane

The consistency and number of examples of hera, hina, ingegin(i), thara, ûf, and ûz is almost enough by itself to prove they are adverbs. And this same fact is very strong

argument for the same conclusion even with the least frequent cases, fram and furi.

The two appearances of zisamane are enough to finish this form, since its regular double stress in preposed position has already been cited against compounding.

umbi still provides something of a puzzle. No doubt some of the cases among the adverbial patterns show adverbial nature, but we must not make the mistake of assuming that all umbi's are ipso facto adverbs and not compounding forms. Evidence has already been quoted on the subject of umbi as an inseparable preverb (p.55-9). Judgment must therefore be reserved on the above case of umbigurta as well as some of the other instances in the main list. The two other umbi forms immediately above may safely be considered adverbs.

In this connection it would not be amiss to remark that there is always the possibility of a single form being an inseparable with some verbs and separable with others. But the status of such forms in NHG, as well as the general word order and stress situation in Otfrid cautions against too wide an application of this principle. It would be very unwise to go beyond Lachmann's group of umbi, widar, ingegin, hintar, furi,[330] and some of these are, I think, not properly classified. (hintar, of course, is never separated in Otfrid and is practically never separated in OHG; Lachmann's cases

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[330] v. Lachmann, pp. 369-73.

of ingegin are dubious). Further, it should be remembered that such dual function in OHG is not necessarily (a) inseparable or (b) separable, but may be (a) inseparable preverb, (b) adverb. Thus, for example, the adverbial nature of umbi is still quite intact, if only from the case of umbi sus emmizigen uuurbi, and the burden of proof would rest on finding sure instances where pre-verb umbi is inseparable.

Stress in the various patterns is not a good indicator of adverbs among the possible compounding forms in the main list, as an examination of the pertinent passages in Sobel will show. Both these adverbs and the compounding forms tend to be more strongly stressed than ordinary adverbs, and Otfrid makes no further distinction among them. In general, Sobel's observation that in double adverb situations the "more important" adverb is stressed[331] applies to these forms we are considering. They are the ones which we felt most strongly to belong with the verb, and all of them, adverb or compounding form, receive a relatively strong stress and are marked by Otfrid.

One minor indication by stress of a distinction between compounding forms and adverbs appears with the infinitives and is discussed below.

4. Results

Review of the whole evidence gives us the following results.

1. Adverbial nature (and not separable compounding) is

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[331] v. Sobel, pp. 111-2.

now certain for zisamane, virtually so for hera, hina, ingegin, ingegini, thara, ûf, ûz; indicated for furi, fram, umbi.

2. Real separable compounding may still be sought among the remainder.

3. Inseparable compounds may appear with furi, fora, (ingegin), umbi.

5. Possible Prepositional Uses

The only forms in the first group (adverbs) which are also prepositions in Otfrid's OHG are furi, ingegin and umbi. All these adverbial cases must therefore be re-examined to see if they are not isolated prepositions.

For ingegini in so er tho gisah thia menigi al queman imo ingegini (one of the distinctively adverbial patterns) we have already discussed the possibility of postpositional use with the object imo (v.s.p. 90). Similarly, for three of the forms in the category "Before Verb but Separated" prepositional use has been indicated. These are ingegin imo fuar; ioh ingegin in quam; ingegin imo quamun. The otherwise definitely adverbial position of the above, added to the likelihood of their being prepositions certainly ends the possibility of compounding. It also lends credence to the assumption of prepositional and postpositional use, as well as use with thara, as indicated in the respective sections preceeding.

Five forms, still remain from the adverbial patterns, viz.

ingegin aller giang; ingegin ouh inquad and the three initials ingegin skrei, ingegin riaf, ingegin fuarun. No prepositional use has previously been assumed for these.

Compounding is out as far as ingegin aller giang is concerned. The full passage (II-15-1 to 4) gives some support to the notion of prepositional use:

> Fúar tho druhtin thánana sid tho thérera redina
> sid tho thémo thinge zi themo héiminge.
> Es máru uuort tho quámun, so uuit so sýri uuarun,
> so uuít so galiléa bifiang; ther liut ingégin aller giang

What precisely the "antecedent object" might be it is hard to say. Perhaps it is druhtin. This sentence might then be considered a parallel to the Gothic sentence in Luke 8, 44 which has the remote reference to Jesus renewed by the following is: atgaggandei du aftaro attaitok skauta wastjos is. In any event prepositional nature remains very dubious. The same goes for IV-4-55 to 56:

> thaz súngun io zi nóti thie fórderun líuti,
> thaz sélba ingégin ouh inquád thiu áftera hériscaf

Here the "object" could be liuti, but the case is doubtful.

For the initial forms prepositional nature is impossible to prove.

The one case of furi is in III-20-79 sie (referring to the priests) híazun thiu (father and mother) gan fúri sar, thaz siu gizáltin thaz uuár. Here again prepositional use is conceivable - the reference being "them, the priests."

Finally, for umbi, the passage in question (II-1-17 ff.) gives no indication of a possible object for a prepositional use.

In summary, then, these isolated uses, except for the ones

indicated with ingegin(i) should remain as adverbs. Calling them all prepositions would be forcing them into a classification arbitrarily and on insufficient evidence, simply to serve the desire for uniformity. Prepositional or postpositional use may, on the other hand, be assumed for ingegin(i) wherever the object or thara is present.

K. Patterns in Morphological Classes and Clauses

1. Introductory Note

Positive evidence for identification has up to now been restricted to the adverbial forms. Evidence serving to identify compounding forms has been purely negative. But the most interesting material lies precisely in the field of positive identification of compounding forms. Just as in Gothic, this identification can be made through the discovery of certain morphological arrangements and syntactical patterns which characterize a group of forms as intimately associated with the verb - in which group the adverbs do not participate.

The correspondence with the Gothic is actually fairly surprising. The Gothic patterns which established inn and ut as separable compounding forms were primarily: the infinitive, the main clause, the subordinate clause. The regularity of certain patterns observed in these categories did not suffice to demonstrate separable compounding for inn and ut. Nor does it for OHG forms. Final assurance of the validity of the classification is at hand only when positive non-

participation of the adverbial forms in these same exclusive patterns is proven - as for Gothic, so for OHG.

2. Infinitive and Nominal Forms

The infinitive was entirely regular for Gothic, but the number of instances was distressingly small. Otfrid provides many more, and the results are that much more interesting and conclusive. The Gothic inn and ut occured before the infinitive, not after it and not separated in pre-verb position. The cases of infinitive use in Otfrid show the following in direct pre-verb position:

beginnet ánascouuon thio frónisgon blúomon
beginnit sie ánafarton mit... ioh ouh ánabrechon mit...
thie lázit man thar íngan
tho er ínan sah thara íngan[332]
himil séhet er indán, thie éngila ouh hera nídargan
nu uuíll ih thes geflízan, then segal nítharlazan
ih... mag hiar nídarstigan
ni mag... hera nídarstigan
beginnent sie thána keren

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ni uuollen héim uuison uuir uuenegon uuéison
(ni mag díufal thara ingégin sin)[333]
thaz múasi er thara uuísen
thaz ér thara quéman scolta (P queman)
thaz er nan móhta ana uuán heizan áfur úfstan (D úf stán)
... mit then óugon biginnet úmbiscouuon (P bigínnet umbiscóuuon)

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[332] If these two cases are not thar(a)in.

[333] Probably tharaingegin.

The group above the line consists of forms which did not participate in the distinctively adverbial patterns. Note that both MSS show invariable stress - always on the preverb. This pattern of compounding form before the verb is equally a characteristic of the inseparable compounding forms, but the latter show invariably unstressed preverb.

Here then is our first definite indication of a class of real compounding forms.

The validity of this category as an indicator of compounding is apparent when the cases of adverbs in this position are examined. After all, the position directly before the infinitive is a common adverb location (v.s.p. 165,etc.), so one would expect duplication, just as in Gothic for example dalaþ attiuhan in Rom. 10, 6 parallels innatgaggan in Luke 14, 23 (v.s.p. 72[1]) in spite of its demonstrably different character. But here half the similar word order patterns in OHG are disturbed by other and differing factors! The point of stress was mentioned before. Note that thara uuísen, thara quéman and even, for P, umbiscóuuon have exactly the opposite stress pattern from those forms which are beginning to characterize themselves as compounding forms. While the case of umbiscouuon is very doubtful, there is no doubt whatever about thara. It is certainly an adverb, and it is rather likely that it shows a stress pattern characteristic of ordinary adverbs vs. compounding forms. Sobel states the situation for adverbs between verbs thus: "Das Präpositionaladverb; nidar, thara und hie und da das Nominaladverb tragen

allein den Accent im Verse."[334] He then cites the above cases with ánafarton, ánascouuon, hiar nídarstigan and thána keren. But of the 51 cases Sobel cites with ordinary adverbs, 47 have the same stress patterns as múasi er thara uuísen.[335]

This is one of the few cases where compounding forms differ in stress from the adverbs, but the nearly complete antithesis is convincing.

On the basis of infinitive patterns we apparently have therefore as true compounding forms: ana, in,nidar and thana.

The remaining forms among the adverbs viz. héim uuison, ingégin sin, úfstan[336] and V's úmbiscouuon are exactly parallel to the compounding forms in order and stress, but the ingegin form is probably to be read tharaingegin, and the umbi verbs require considerable further analysis as possible inseparables. So actually only the heim and ûf forms duplicate the pattern of the compounding forms at all.

Complete confirmation of the distinction appears when we examine those instances where the adverb forms show different, not similar, word order. In the following cases they emphasize both their difference from the compounding forms

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[334] v. Sobel, pp. 109-10.

[335] He includes this form in the list. I deducted it from the figures. He also included heim uuison in the other set. This I likewise deducted, the purpose in both cases being to have the figures for ordinary adverbs like harto, ouh, etc.

[336] D's stress marks don't mean much against V and P.

and the validity of the infinitive as one of the criteria for differentiating between compounding forms and adverbs.

sie ni múasen gan so frám
sie híazun thiu gan fúri sar
so er thó gisah thia ménigi al quéman imo ingégini[337]
so séhent se mit githuínge quéman thara zi thínge then...

sun (P queman)
begínnent thara io húggen
beginnent thára io flízan (P begínnent thara)
er thara thoh fáran uuolta (P thára)
ni uuólta si in then ríuuon thara zi ín biscouon

Here the adverb, just as in Gothic with the subordinate clause order, shows its great freedom in contrast to the "bound" pattern of the compounding form. It occurs after the infinitive. It occurs after the infinitive and separated. It occurs before the infinitive but separated by one or even two words! Any of these situations is enough to prove absence of compounding.

Some sentences which seemingly belong in this section have been omitted. The characteristics of the infinitive word order and stress now established help to clarify their omission, though it is justified on other grounds as well.

III-14-5 thar máhtu ana findan, uuio..., which Kelle writes anafindan in the text[338] and which Sobel assumes to be a compound,[339] is clearly out of line with the proper stress

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[337] This form, plus the previous evidence, makes the exclusion of the above thara ingegin sin from any consideration as a compound all the more likely.

[338] v. Kelle I ad loc. But in the Glossary he does not list it as a verb.

[339] v. Sobel, p. 63.

for a separable compound. The explanation of thar...ana, already likely for this form, is now virtually proven.[340]

fora in so mán hiar fora ságen scal has already been discussed at some length. Its stress pattern seems now to be such that it cannot be considered a separable compounding form (unless an irregularity be assumed). Similarly for reasons of stress as well as for other reasons it cannot be considered a denominative. The only likely class, if it is a compound as I assume it to be, is the inseparable compounds.

uuidarstántan in II-11-27 is of course inseparable, and its stress is as expected.

A very important point must be noted in this connection. Any form which has a preverb may appear to be an inseparable compound, and this fact may encourage an inaccurate and misleading assumption - namely that the forms with the preverbs are inseparable and that the forms with the particle after the verb are some other verb. With a few verbs - or rather with a few particles - this is doubtless true, but the danger of carrying the idea too far has already been noted in connection with Lachmann's hypothesis and elsewhere in this chapter. Fortunately most of Otfrid's stress evidence is clear enough to preclude this error. That is, no one is likely to say

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[340] The same consideration also confirms the previous diagnosis of thara compounds for thie tharin ni sculun gan and tharain giuuon uuas gangan mit in.

that ánascouuon is inseparable and cite the absence of any scouuota ana as proof.

Equally fortunate is the plethora of meaning parallels just like those cited for Gothic. They are obvious from the main list. One need list only a couple of examples:

nidarstigan - stig nidar
ingan - er giang sar in ...
unz er nan tho thana nam - sie namun thana... then selbon stein

This sort of list may be duplicated proportionately in Tatian, Isidor, etc.

A final note concerns the nominal forms. In Gothic we cited bi innatgahtai as one aspect of the unseparated separable compounding form. While Otfrid's evidence in this line is not distinctive, it is still interesting. For Otfrid's OHG shows compounding even with the adverbial forms (though infrequently), and this new type of compounding actually indicates the first definite step toward real composition with such forms. With verbs they are still adverbs.

OHG has numerous examples of nominal composition with the separable particles, e.g. anadaht,[341] anasiht, anaruafti (Otfrid), ingang (Otfrid), niderfal, dananumft, thanatrib, etc., etc. Of the adverbial type Otfrid has the noun herafart and the adjective ufhaldaz; the Tatian has hinafart, ufgang, uzfart and uzgang; Isidor has framchumft; etc.

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[341] v. Grimm II, p. 195.

Exactly what influences operated here, or for that matter what influence these nouns had on verb compounding, is rather uncertain. That the noun formations are independent of any previous verbal compounding is shown not only by their origin in a period when definite absence of compounding can be demonstrated for hera, etc., but also by such differences as Rück- with nouns and zurück with verbs. Paul says: "Nach Analogie der präpositionellen (Zusammensetzungen) sind dann auch andere von Haus aus lokale Adverbia mit Nomina actionis verschmolzen, nämlich her, hin, fort, weg, vorweg, zusammen, heran, herauf, etc., hinan, hinauf etc., dar (nur in Darlehen), rück, dem zurück in verbalen Zuss. entsprechend. Schon im ahd. Ludwigslied erscheinen hiarwist (das niersein) und hinafart.[342] The problem deserves further special study.

Lest it be thought that all of the above discussion is superfluous, because perhaps "everyone" recognizes the adverbial nature of hera, etc., I should like to refer again to the check list of Kelle's glossary entries (p.153) and note further that, of the forms[343] in the preceding two sections (on adverbs and on infinitives), Kelle lists specifically as compounds all but one fora, one fram, two hina's, one ner, two ingegin's and one ûf.[344] Piper is even more generous in his listings of compounds. Some other scholars are as liberal. Some are less liberal, but they are almost invariably arbitrary or inconsistent in designating compounding forms or adverbs.

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[342] v. Paul V, p. 23.

[343] Excepting the ones with heim, which for some reason neither Kelle nor Piper considered a compounding form.

[344] But he suggests compounding here: Piper lists ûf-sehan.

3. Participles

Participles would presumably show exactly the same relationship as the infinitives, but there are no cases of participles with ana, in, nidar, or thana. Within the adverbs, however, the same non-compounding patterns appear as did in the infinitives.

One form must be omitted from further discussion. Otfrid's furiuarane in uns sint kínd zi béranne iu dága furiuarane (P furifárane) shows not only by P's stress, but by the absence of gi in the participle that it is inseparable. Here, as with umbi (v.i.p.216), even the small number of instances cannot hide the confusion that exists. Otfrid also has the form álle, thie thar uuárun ioh ouh thar fúrifuarun.[345] Like umbi, furi shows double nature; inseparable compounding form or adverb (presumably not separable compounding form).

The remaining (adverbial) cases[346] are:

ther héra uuard giséntit (P gisentit)
ih ni bín... giséntit hera in uuórolt in[347]
er ist fon héllu iruuúntan ioh úf fon dóde irstantan
ist férro irdríban fon hímile úz, ther...
zisámane al biuuúntan
biuuúntan thar zisámane[348]

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[345] On the probable distinction in meaning, v.s.p. 68 f. and Lachmann, pp. 371-2. Lachmann also cites inseparables like the glosses furizimprit obstructum (Hrabanus), furistoppot obturatum (Junius), furipundan recondita (Kero).

[346] hiar ist ana funtan, thaz... is like thar mahtu ana findan, uuio...; v.s.p.184f. It is hiar...ana, not anafindan. Hence it is not listed here.

[347] This proves adverbial nature not only for hera but also for at least this case of in.

[348] If any further proof of the adverbial nature of fora = "before" and of its connection with hiar were needed, forms

thie thara giládot uuarun
thaz drúhtin thara quéman uuas
thaz drúhtin krist thara quéman uuas
simes... zisámane giflúagte
zisámane biuuúntan
zisámane gibúntan

Only the last six even look like compounds, and the consistent double stress of the zisamane forms has already been mentioned as precluding any idea of compounding. The two participial forms in strictly adverbial order are a further confirmation. The stress of the thara forms also pretty well precludes considering them as compounds - assuming that the stress pattern of separable infinitives would apply in the participle too. The other evidence against thara is more than sufficient anyway.

In the first group separation is clear indication of adverbial nature, though there are no separable compounds to compare them with - in Otfrid anyway.[349]

The one declined infinitive (thara in zi ganganne) is regular enough but obviously ambiguous.

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like IV-7-92 hiar fóra uuard giuuáht, falling into this same group, would surely suffice. The form is mentioned only to indicate the type of evidence available now to confirm previous rejection of such forms as fora from further consideration as compounding forms.

[349] thar ana si er gizalter has already been indicated as a tharana compound, and its order is clearly impossible for a compound verb. The same applies to uuio iz tharana is al gizalt, and tharzua sin ouh gizalte. All these confirmed cases of thara compounds cast further doubt on the remainder, which may only accidentally show regular order.

4. Results in the Non-Finite Categories

The sum of the instances in the infinitive and the participle shows adverbial nature for:

fram, furi, hera, ingegini, thara, ûf, ûz, zisamane.

True compounding is probable for:

ana, (in), nidar, thana.

There is no evidence on the rest.

The list of adverbs above is substantially the same as the list derived from simple word sequence patterns, with relatively few duplications. It should be unnecessary by this time to say that this is not accidental.

One caution is necessary, though. It still cannot be said, for example, that since ûf appears in both lists of adverbs it cannot be a compounding form under any circumstances. While it is unlikely, it is still possible that ûf could be an adverb in some cases and a compounding form in others. That is, uf fon dode irstuanti proves by its word order that this ûf is not a compounding form but it does not necessarily prove that thaz si so gahun ufirstuant is no compound - any more than wenn wir hinüber zu Schmidts gehen proves there is no compound hinüber-gehen in NHG. Such reservations stem mainly from the ûf fon... sort of phrases already marked as likely adverbial uses. They are not, by the way, to be entirely ignored in considering forms like ufirstuant, though they certainly are not full and sufficient evidence.

The attempt to find an answer to this problem requires full examination of all the evidence and even this may, in the case of the rarer forms, leave undecided cases.

For the time being, I should like to remark that the problem concerns primarily ûf and ûz and refer to the final discussion, below, of these two forms.

5. Subordinate and Main Clauses

Even more striking and better documented evidence for the different behavior of the compounding forms and the adverbs is to be found in the word order of the various types of clauses.

There is some difficulty, to be sure, in identifying all subordinate clauses in OHG, as some of them seem to share subordinate nature and main clause characteristics (i.e. no conjunction). It depends of course on one's definition - that is whether the criterion be "subordinate meaning" or presence of certain conjunctions. Yet almost all the cases will work out very smoothly, in spite of this possible ambiguity. And anyone desirous of checking further may always refer to the appropriate sections of Erdmann's Syntax der Sprache Otfrids.

The evidence has, in a sense, already been supplied in the division of the main list into clauses. For clarity it must however be repeated in separate and analytical form.

The general rule for the subordinate clause is exactly the same as it was for Gothic.[350] It turns out that such clauses show two distinctly different types of word order - one group of forms being invariably before the verb,[351]

[350] Leinen, who denied any regularity of word order for Gothic, does indicate patterns of order - or incipient patterns - for the Tatian, though he treats only ûz, in, ûf, and nidar, thus missing a complete picture of the compounding situation.

[351] But, just as in Gothic, not necessarily at the end of

the other, while sometimes preposed, being extremely free in taking other positions.

Invariably preposed:

ana
- tho er sie hiar thaz anablias
- thaz uuir iz anafahen mit anderen giratin
- uuar ih iz anafahe
- so er sih iz analegiti
- so thisu uuort tho gahun then kuning anaquamun
- so sinan anasahun
- so sie inan anasahun
- suntar selb si in gahi kristan anasahi
- then mithont se anasahun
- suntar siu nan suente inti fiur anauuente
- thaz sliumo sies gihulfin ioh inan anauuurfin
- thaz er... thaz uuib iz anazalta
- tho horis, uuas sie nennent ioh thih anazellent
- ther mo anauuas[352]

in
- so er erist thia archa ingigiang
- uuard uuola then thara ingeit[353]

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the clause. Ruhfus, Stellung des Verbs (Dortmund, 1897), pp. 75-6, indicates a general tendency in the Tatian for verbs to go to the end of subordinate clauses but notes that certain types of clauses, notably relative and daß clauses, do not represent this tendency so strongly. Fucker's work on the rhyme documents (see Bibliography) shows end and middle position about equal.

[352]Other forms parenthesized in the main list but showing "regular" order are: uuanta aband unsih anageit, ther tharana gange, thaz er tharana gange, thaz ih... tharana hugge, thar uuir ana lagun, so er tharana scouuot. For the last five, tharana still is the leading possibility, and the omission of the forms is quite justified.

[353]If it isn't tharain.

nidar bat thesan... er sih ouh fon ther hohi thes huses
nidar liazi[354]
in thiu thu nitharfalles
thaz ih mih hiar irreke inti hina nidarscrikke
unz er so nidar stareta

thana oba sie nan thana fuartin
hiaz... mit uuasgu, so iz gizami, thaz horo thana nami
so sliumo, so ih iz thana nam
unz er nan tho thana nam
... themo er thaz ora thana sluag
nub er iz thana snide ioh er iz thana scerre
uuant er... iz garo thana sneid
so ih thaz horo thana thuag
thaz er... thiu spriu thana uuerre

The free order of the other group - and proof that they are true adverbs and not compounding forms - appears with the following:

fram sehet then man, ther mir thaz allaz brahta fram
thaz er fuari thanan fram uz untar uuoroltman[355]

heim ob unsih auur ladot heim man armer thehein
er se fuarin heim
sid druhtin krist quam uns heim
thanne uns krist quimit heim, ni uueiz iz manno
nihein[356]

hera (All cases of hera in uuorolt in subordinate clauses)
thi ih hera nu bat so gerno
thaz er her iz liaz
thaz... si hera sus ni loufe[357]

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[354] Possible main clause, but see Erdmann's comment (p. 391).

[355] No preposed form in subordinate clause. For other uses with bringan see main list.

[356] Preposed order in ther... heim giholota, so siu tho heim quamun.

[357] Preposed order in thaz er thih hera leitti, thie unsih hera santin, uuaz er hera uuolti, nih hera giilti, ther er so hera quami, ther thanana hera quam.

(hina thaz ih hina nidarscrikke)[358]

ingegini uuio engilo menigi fuar thar al ingegini
thiu thar uuas tho ingegini[359]

thara (19 instances with all kinds of separation in subordinate clauses, every one with a form commonly listed as a compound verb; see main list)[360]

ûf tho er uf fon themo grabe irstuant
unz thiu sin guati uf fon tode irstuanti[361]

umbi er ther himil umbi sus emmizigen uuurbi[362]

ûz[363] thaz er nan uz thoh ni spe[364]

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[358]hina here is a free adverb, of course, the verb being nidarscrikken. There are no forms in which hina goes as directly with the verb as do the other adverbs in the list, except for the preposed form so er hina fuar.

[359]None preposed.

[360]Preposed in 22 instances; see main list.

[361]Preposed order in thaz si so gahun ufirstuant, thanne ellu uuorolt ufsteit, thaz uuorolt ufstante.

[362]Preposed order in so siu sih umbibisahun, thaz sie nan umbiriten, thaz sih io umbizerbit, so uuit so himil umbiuuarb.

[363]Leinen (p. 49) regards ûz as incipiently regular in OHG, especially so in the Tatian, but less so in Otfrid.

[364]Separation by ni alone or even by tho alone might not preclude the listing of regular order for uz-spe. ni even in Gothic (saei inn ni atgaggiþ) could function as a sort of tmetic particle. For other examples, v.s. p.32-3[1]. tho in the Tatian separates nidar, which is otherwise entirely regular as a compounding form (v. Leinen, p. 74) from a participle in 99-2 and 99-3 nidar tho uallanti procidens autem. This leads directly to the assumption of tmetic thoh or tho and normal order rather than adverb and, for the compounding form, irregular order. But the whole situation in Otfrid argues against a double tmetic particle. Double stress in P is, though not a clincning argument, a source of doubt about compounding in úz... spé. Further discussion on ûz below.

nist... fruma thaz, thaz man zukke thaz maz then
kindon ir then hanton inti uuerpfez uz then
hunton
thaz er fuari thanan fram uz untar uuoroltman
uuio fuarun thiu diufilir uz thar zi petruses hus
thaz sie nirgangen thanan uz
tho thaz euuiniga guat uz fon themo grabe irstuant
thaz uuir ni kertin thanana uz
thaz uuir ni faren furdir uz[365]

zisamane uuio iz quimit al zisamane[366]

Insufficent evidence appears for word order analysis of bifora,[367] furi,[368] ingegin,[369] widar,[370] zua.[371]

No evidence is available in Otfrid on after, mit(i), nâh, widari.

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[365]There are a few remarks to be made on the ûz forms. In the last two, one wonders what would happen in such order where two rules of word sequence conflict - for compounding forms anyway. ni would require the verb after it, but subordinate order would require the particle before the verb. Since ûz is apparently an adverb, this order is simple to explain. Another matter concerns the case of fuari... fram uz. This sentence was also mentioned under fram. The double listing is not accidental. The least this form proves is that neither fram nor ûz is compounded with faran here. Finally, preposed order occurs with ûz in so sliumo sos er uzgiang, so iudas thanan uzgigiang, so er uzgigiang ingegin in.

[366]Preposed in ... zisamane gifuagtin, ... zisamane gifuagti, thiu zisamane gihitin.

[367]One case, preposed.

[368]One case, preposed.

[369]One case, preposed.

[370]One case, preposed.

[371]Two cases, preposed.

For the sake of ready comparison, the main clause evidence follows directly. After that comes the discussion of individual forms on the basis of instances in both subordinate and main clause.

An immediate and somewhat surprising difference appears when the OHG main clause forms are compared with the Gothic inn and ut. Even the compounding forms of Otfrid's main clauses show no such regularity or unanimity of contrast with their analogues in the subordinate clauses as did Wulfila's inn and ut. Remember that in 18 instances the Gothic had main clause inn and ut separated from the verb, nine of them independent of or contrary to the Greek, while there were only three preposed, two of which may be regular. For a translation piece this is rather overwhelming. Yet Otfrid, who is far more independent linguistically, shows numerous - in some cases preponderant - preposed order in the main clause.

This sort of order has been noticed before, of course. Grimm's use of such forms as evidence for OHG compounding has already been quoted. But the rather striking explanation for most of these preposed forms seems to have been overlooked in the general absence of interest in the subject of compound verbs and their word order. The explanation is found in a type of main clause sequence already noted by many scholars. This is the order which Behaghel calls Nicht-zweitstellung

(to avoid the term "end position," which is too restrictive). He notes that the verb, which normally came second in the Germanic main clause or simple sentence - this because of its weak stress - often was displaced by unstressed particles. These unstressed particles had "einen noch geringeren Ton... als das Verbum"[372] and hence preempted second place. Thus arose a pattern typified by Behaghel's examples from the Anglo-Saxon chronicles, e.g. se Valentinianus eft gesamnode werod.[373] He cites numerous OhG examples and notes that this order tended to disappear entirely at the end of the OhG period.[374]

Otfrid has this pattern of word order in full force and it is exactly here that the preposed compounding form is at home!

Reis also noted this order, which he called "Endstellung"[375] and noted further the frequency with which some adverbs appear before the verb,[376] e.g. Isidor II-20 so dhar auh ist chiscriban. But neither he nor Diels, who also noted the type of

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[372] v. Behaghel Syntax IV, p. 13.

[373] Behaghel also notes here the fact that a second sentence, "der einem ersten konjunktionell angeschlossen ist,... nicht selten die Nichtzweitstellung des Verbums zeigt." See this section (ibid., p. 13) for further discussion.

[374] ibid., pp. 14-5.

[375] ZsfdPh 33, pp. 219-24.

[376] ibid., p. 220.

words which give rise to "Schlußstellung des Verbs";[377] noticed the extraordinary regularity with which this late position of the verb is associated with preposed word order in the compounding forms. In part this is the result of the feeling of both Reis and Diels that this order is the equivalent of final position. Naturally if one regards late position as final, everything has to precede and there is no need to investigate further.

This is not true final position in any sense, as Behaghel shows. Otfrid and many other documents have such word order as Isidor XXXIV-1 umbi dhen samun dhurah dhen selbun esaian quhad druhtines stimna. Thus, position after the late verb was definitely open. And Otfrid's cases of late verb followed by adverb are good examples of such position.

This is the situation in Otfrid:

a) With verb in middle position,[378] compounding form and adverb regularly follow. On initial compounding form and adverb, v.s.p. 172.

b) With verb in late position,[379] compounding form directly precedes and so do most adverbs. Exceptions are proof of adverbial nature.[380]

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[377] v. Diels, pp. 136-46.

[378] Preceded by the subject or by one predicate element (object or prepositional phrase, etc.).

[379] Preceded by two full sentence elements, usually subject and predicate (object, etc.) and followed by any other sentence element or by none.

[380] This is a reversal of the practice in the preceding sections of citing the evidence and then drawing the conclusions from it. But I think we have now reached the point where compounding forms and adverbs have, in principle at least, fairly well identified themselves.

The body of forms, which follows, does two very positive things. First, it establishes the fact that the frequent preposed position of the compounding form in the main clause is not accidental or haphazard, but perfectly regular. Second, it provides, through the exceptions mentioned in (b) above, further clear identification of adverbs.

The cases with ana, in, nidar and thana: (The relatively few inti and ioh sentences have been omitted from the table because of their ambiguity and because of their infrequent appearance in Otfrid.[381])

	Middle and Initial	Late Position
ana	ouh blias er sie ana... then... geist; etc.	rehtor er iz anafiang then hugu uuir giuuezzen, thar baldo anasezzen er tod sih anauuentit ther liut mit thisu imo analag gotes geist imo anauuas
in	er giang sar in; etc. faret in thia burg in; etc.	er tho sar thara ingiang
nidar	so stig nidar; etc. stig nu nidar; etc.	er sih sar nidar neigta fon themo berge er nidar giang
thana	sie namun thana...; etc. nim thana garalicho thih; etc.	... thio sunta ouh thana fluhta ioh sar iz thana fuarta

[381] These cases, which seem to offer no further points of interest, are: inti datun inan in, ioh alle nidarfialun, ioh iz thana snidit, ioh thaz horo thana thuag. In the Germanic languages in general, as Kuhn points out (pp. 50-51), the secondary main clauses are largely equivalent to subordinate clauses.

er fruma thana fuarta
... thie suhti thana fuarta[382]
si ganz sih thana fuarta
thie brusti sie in ougtun,
thaz fahs thana rouftun
er sar zi thiu tho gifiang,
mit themo bette thana giang

The regularity of the late main clause pattern is striking. There are no exceptions to the preposed order of the compounding forms. All the exceptions are, as mentioned above, with the forms already characterized as adverbs. The irregularity takes two forms:

a) Adverb before the late verb but separated: thaz selba ingegin ouh inquad thiu aftera heriscaf; ther liut ingegin aller giang;[383] sie thara tho in farun, so sie ubiluuillig uuarun, eina huarrun brahtun; er thara ouh thie sine leitta; blinte ioh ouh doube... ouh thara zi imo quamun; uf zi himile er tho sah; sih thanana uz tho fiartun;[384] mit minnon io ginuagen zisamane unsih fuagen.

b) Adverb after the late verb: ioh er mih santa hera ziu; thiu mihila menigi thia uuat thar breitta ingegini; in morgan tho ther liut al... fuar thara al ingegini; moyses giuuaro,

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[382]Subject considerably previous. This is the only case which even looks like a middle position - that is, among these preposed compounding forms.

[383]May be middle position, depending on what aller is.

[384]If tho can be tmetic (v. nidar tho uallanti in Tatian), this would be "regular."

helias ouh ther maro... quamun thara ingegini; thanana er nan fuarta... thanana uz; sie inan sliumo tho in uuar uuurfun fon in uz sar; in buah sie iz duent zisamane.

In sum: ana, in, nidar, and thana are still quite regular as compounding forms. There is no exception. There is, on the other hand, further proof of the adverbial nature of hera, ingegin, ingegini, thara, (ûf), ûz, zisamane.

This piling up of evidence for forms like ingegini, thara and zisamane, which were very early suspected of being adverbs and not compounding forms, is gratifying. There is no contradiction as we proceed from one criterion to another. This speaks well for the validity of our criteria and helps to seal the case of such adverbial forms.

This word order with the late verb may also explain two of Wulfila's three "exceptional cases" of inn in the main clause (v.s. p. 65[1]).

The construction with middle (and initial) verb is more consistent but for that very reason less indicative of any distinction between compounding forms and adverbs. The only exception among the compounding forms in middle position is er ingiang. in has already shown the rare sentence initial order discussed above (ingiang er). It is, as a matter of fact, the only one of the apparent compounding forms which shows any irregularity at all, and this may indicate some caution in classifying it.

Two forms which seem at first glance to be exceptional have been omitted from the table. They are sélbo druhtin nídar sah and er blíder thána uuanta. These forms would, if the verb were considered in middle position, be the equivalent of er ingiang and definitely exceptional. While this may conceivably be the case, I am inclined to think that they are actually late verbs, and that Otfrid felt that he had two sentence elements in er blíder (subject and a sort of predicate adjective[385]) and sélbo druhtin (pronominal form and noun[386]).

Behaghel gives a large number of constructions with other sentence elements before the presumably middle verb and notes the difficulty of interpreting them.[387] Certainly in the later language "adverbial" elements could, in close connection with the subject, precede a middle verb. Behaghel cites an extreme example in Luther, II Macc. 3, 18 die Leute aber hin und wider in Heusern liefen zusammen.[388] But these cases cannot be adduced as evidence for the OHG situation. Certainly Otfrid's numerous cases of regular (separated) compound verb in the middle position show only simple subjects, nothing as extensive even as selbo druhtin.

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[385] v. I-9-19 sie sprâchun uilu blíde.

[386] The independence of selbo-selb is considerable. It often goes to the predicate, e.g. V-19-62 er duat iz sélbo and V-20-17 thar sizzent drúta sine, thi er zôh hiar sélbo in libe.

[387] v. Behaghel Syntax IV, pp. 15-6.

[388] ibid., p. 22.

6. Results in Clause Patterns

The results of the analysis of Otfrid's word order in clauses and non-finite forms reveal the following as separable compounding forms:

ana, in,[389] nidar, thana,

and the following as adverbs:[390]

fram, furi,[391] heim, hera, ingegin, ingegini, thara, ûf, umbi,[392] ûz, zisamane.

This is in entire accord with the evidence from other criteria.

The other documents confirm regularity for the compounding forms indicated for Otfrid. Suffice it to say that all of the Tatian's in and nidar forms are in regular order.[393] The same is true of ana. thana, of course, does not appear in many OHG MSS, its place being taken by abo.

L. Stress

Stress offers rather little help in distinguishing compounding forms and adverbs, as I discovered after analyzing all the patterns I could think of.

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[389] v. s. p. 172; p. 188, n. 347.

[390] In addition to any previously identified as adverbs and not further considered above, like fora.

[391] Also an inseparable compounding form.

[392] See note 391.

[393] v. Leinen, p. 62 and p. 74.

One set of statistics[394] shows a considerable difference, however. Interestingly enough it is the separated parallel to the preposed pattern of adverb-verb (zisámane gifúagti), which was used to demonstrate absence of compounding for zisamane, etc. This stress situation would naturally be very clear in preposed order. (That is, adverbs would show frequent stress on the verb as well as the adverb; compounding forms will not show stress on both the verb and the compounding form.[395]) That it continues to be significant in separation is so much the more striking. The relation of the stresses is approximately consistent with the preposed situation. In separation the true compounding forms very rarely show double stress, while the adverbs frequently do. The evidence of double stress, with the total figures:[396]

Compounding forms:

ana ouh blías er sie ána (1 out of 2)[397]

in inti dátun inan ín (P nan in)
fáret in thia burg ín (P búrg in)
ni quám noh tho druhtin in thaz kástel ín (P in)
(V - 3 out of 10; P - none out of 10)

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[394] In addition to the infinitive pattern above (p. 183).

[395] The only exceptions: P's nídar líazi, P's thánaflúhta. V avoided a double stress by erasing an accent on the verb in nídar stareta. The unanimity is much more remarkable than the two exceptions.

[396] These are taken from the main clause only.

[397] There is no telling whether this high proportion for ana is actually significant or accidental - or whether the stress of a presumably original postposition operated here.

nidar (None out of 5)

thana (None out of 8)

Adverbs (figures only):

fram	1 out of 2	thara[400]	
heim	V - 7 out of 12 P - 6 out of 12	ûf	V - 3 out of 7 P - 2 out of 7
hera	V - 2 out of 6 P - 3 out of 6	umbi	1 out of 2
ingegin	2 out of 4[398]	ûz	V - 5 out of 18 P - 7 out of 18
ingegini	V - 7 out of 15 P -11 out of 15[399]	zisamane	3 out of 6

This means for the compounding forms only four double stresses in V - in P just one - out of the 25 separated verbs in the main clause. For the adverbs the relation is quite substantially different. Excluding thara, in the total of 72 main clause instances V has 31 double stresses and P has 36.

These figures by themselves would be anything but conclusive. The contrast is the revealing feature. And the proportions are clearly different for the two types. This difference can scarcely be accidental, and in view of the sentence pattern involved it is rather extraordinary.

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[398] In the three prepositional cases, of course, ingegin is not stressed; e.g. fúar ingegin ímo.

[399] Even including a couple of sure prepositional cases ! See note 398.

[400] thara is odd in having only one double stress in P, none in V. P: er spráh tho uuorton lúten thára zi themo dóten (V sprah). But it has 7 cases in V and 4 in P with neither thara nor verb stressed - out of a total of 18 instances. Thus, though it has no double stress pattern, it still does not show the typical contrasting pattern of compound verbs.

The fact that there are a few cases of stressed verb in the separated compounds (v.s.; also main list) is less surprising when we realize that the verb, even with preposed compounding form was presumably not unstressed in OHG, but only less stressed. This is particularly likely when we recall that the original Germanic prepositional compounds presumably had heavier stress on the verb. Leinen calls the OHG verb stress a lighter "Hochton," not a "tieftonig" stress - or absence of stress.[401] Indeed it is rather surprising that there is this difference between adverbs and compounding forms at all.

Another aspect of the stress situation is the difference in word order with noun and pronoun objects. It results, I assume, from the fact that compounding forms are less stressed than adverbs. The contrast (poorly represented as it was) appeared in Gothic, where a similar stress relationship was assumed. The situation there was (v.s. pp. 67-73[1]):

a) Compounding form with pronoun: uswaurpun imma ut
b) Compounding form with noun: attauh inn Paitru
c) Adverbial form with pronoun: atwandida sik aftra
d) Adverbial form with noun: uzuhhof augona iup

The weakly stressed pronoun precedes both compounding form and adverb. But the more strongly stressed noun resists this process of being sandwiched in between verb and compounding

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[401] v. Leinen, p. 15.

form, because, for example, the inn did not have enough stress to follow the Paitru. The adverb, however, had heavier stress than the compounding form and could follow the noun.

In the light of the later development of the German compounding form, which sends the particle to the end (or after the object) whatever the nature of the object or particle, we might expect OHG not to show any differentiation here. The fact that it does is actually a bit surprising and is support for the validitiy of the stress pattern and confirmation of the hypothesis for Gothic.

The situation, in summary, is as follows.

With pronoun object in the main clause, both compounding form and adverb follow the object.[402] With noun object, compounding form precedes and adverb either precedes or follows. In other words exactly like Gothic (except that extant Gothic has, in the adverb group treated, no case of adverb before noun object).

The cases of noun object with compounding form are:

sie uuurfun nídar ana uuánk iro sélono gifánk (P gifank)
er uualzta thána sar then stéin
sie namun thána thuruh nót then selbon stéin
nam thes húares thana uuán (P thána uuan)[403]

The one exception points toward the NHG order:

duemes uuír thaz zuíual thana

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[402] Examples: laz thih nídar and giléitit thih héim (P heim). There is only one exception and that with a stressed pronoun: nim thana gáralicho thíh. These stressed pronouns are fairly frequent and not mistakes (v. Sobel, pp. 50-52). Similarly, ModE: You gave away that ?! or Pick up him (not her). Emphatic stress on the object may also cause non-final position in the NHG compounding form.

[403] The reason for this somewhat odd order is not clear.

The cases with adverbs:

tho sant er drúta uns sine héim
er kléipta mir ein hóro thar
huab thiu óugun uf zi himile
... dribi then thíob thanana úz
sie flúhtun in zi gámane thórna thar zisámane

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ioh dúa thar thina gúati
gilaz thir thára thinaz múat
er húab in úf tho thaz múat
liazun úz... thes selben múates uueuuon
uurfun úz... then éinigon sinan (P uúrfun uz)

A final note on stress I append merely as a suggestion. There must be some reason for the fact that compounding forms so regularly precede the verb of the subordinate clause, and that adverbs follow it as well as precede it. It seems more than likely that the greater stress of subordinate clause verbs noted for so many IE languages, Sanskrit for example, (compared to the weakly stressed or virtually enclitic nature of ordinary main clause verbs) is a leading factor in keeping the relatively stressed compounding form in pre-verb position.[404] But adverbs, having stronger stress than compounding forms, can follow. This corresponds not only to

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I have never taken recourse to "poetic license" as an explanation for any particular bothersome case, because I think it is a sort of constant factor, affecting all statistics a bit, and better left as such. But it does seem a possibility in this sentence.

[404] Kuhn (pp. 50-68) gives the best - indeed almost the only - full discussion of the difference between the verbs of the two types of clauses in Germanic. He uses the terms "selbständig" and "gebunden" rather than "main" and "subordinate," for the reason already noted above: the "subordinate" nature of inti, ioh, and other clauses. I have used the terms "main" and "subordinate" because the issue actually can be decided on that basis in Otfrid, there being so few secondary main clauses.

the noun object patterns above, but also to the infinitive patterns, the infinitive, too, being a strongly stressed sentence element.

With weaker stressed verbs - main clause verbs in middle position - the compounding form "breaks loose." Or perhaps it would be better to say: the second position in the sentence is a weakly stressed position, and the separable compounding forms cannot occupy it, while inseparables can.

Naturally in OHG these relationships are in general already an established pattern, and the Otfrid forms do not show this older stress relation by the accent marks, as a glance at the main list will show.

M. Special Problems

Several remarks must be made on individual forms in order to document sufficiently the results of this general survey.

A slight breath of suspicion hovers over ana. In many cases the ana could, as I pointed out some time ago, be interpreted as a postposition rather than as a compounding form.[405] In the original discussion I dealt with the most obvious of these uses and pointed out even there some reasons for not assuming wholesale postpositional use.

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[405] See the subordinate and main clause listings for ana in the main list and compare the discussion on pp. 73-86.

Certainly postposition is a real phenomenon in OHG and OE. It is equally certain that it is a mistake to call all OE prepositions in the same position compounding forms. Harrison[406] did so, much to the detriment of his study, and was contradicted by Gottweiss[407] and others. In OE there seems to be no sufficiently clear pattern of separable compounding forms to sustain Harrison's diagnosis. But in OHG there is. And further, the justification for considering ana a compounding form lies precisely in the absolute regularity of its word order in Otfrid (and elsewhere). If it were a postposition it should show freer word order, just as the OE forms do. This does not mean than many of the ana forms weren't originally postpositions. This is after all one of the points of origin we have assumed for compound verbs. But in Otfrid the ana has pretty surely made the transition to a compounding form. There is excellent reason in the syntactical field for this statement. It would otherwise be very difficult, indeed impossible, to explain why there are no sentences in Otfrid like:

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[406] The Separable Prefixes in Anglo-Saxon (Baltimore, 1892), passim.

[407] v. R. Gottweiss, Die Syntax der Präpositionen æt, be, ymb (Halle, 1905), p. 86.

a) imo ana uuas gotes geist

b) gotes geist imo uuas ana

c) imo got ana then geist blias

d) geist, ther imo ana io uuas

e) geist, ther imo uuas ana; etc.[408]

to parallel the OE:

a) Genesis 1041 hine on cymeð... wracu

b) Psalma 87,6 hi me asetton on seað hinder

c) Deor 5 siþþan hine Niðhad on nede legde

d) Beowulf 1935 þæt hire an dæges eagum starede

e) Bede (Miller 428-19) wege, þe ic ær com on; etc.

A further point which is apt to get lost in the subtleties of the situation is that calling ana a postposition in Otfrid means that here the short form is the postposition and the long one (anan) is the preposition, whereas in all the other Otfrid forms (widari, ubari, etc.) and in the Germanic forms

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[408]The absence of such sentences in any OHG work (with a few exceptions) is proof of how far ana had gone toward compounding. It is also the best argument against Wende's listing of Otfrid's and Notker's examples as postpositions. (Wende does admit the growth of compounding.) There is, to be sure, one apparent holdover of postpositional use and that is the accusative with some of these verbs, e.g. Piper Notker II-28-7 der sezzet sih ana, daz er got si vs. Tatian 101-1 anasazta in sino henti. See Wende, p. 275, and Grimm IV, p. 1045 (on line 5 of the Hildebrandslied). Notker also shows a couple of cases with definitely non-compounding order, like Piper Notker II-550-7 so dih ana beginne gan temptatio and Piper Notker I-36-18 tih ana uuanont sie solchero sculde. There are doubtless some others I have not located, but the very paucity of such postpositional word order emphasizes the strength of the compounding pattern.

in general[409] the long (stressed) form is the postposition.

In view of the above evidence we may safely say that ana is a compounding form in Otfrid and probably in most of OHG, while we bear in mind the possible postpositional origin of many of its instances and the likely postpositional nature of a few cases.

in is not too strongly represented, and there are more dubious cases than one might care for, namely the one initial ingiang and the one odd case with in before the verb in middle position: er ingiang... duron. Some of the sentences show a rather suspicious degree of removal from the verb, too.[410] Since the other compounding forms are so regular, these points are rather more important than their small number would indicate.[411]

More specific is the case of III-10-23 ih ni bin... gisentit hera in uuorolt in. This obviously cannot be a verb *ingisenten.[412] The in in this sentence, in the light of the known word order pattern of participles is definitely an adverb.

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[409] V. Sievers, PBB V, 480-81.

[410] A good example: farames auur thara zi in hina in iro lant in.

[411] Leinen (pp. 62-3) thinks that the boundary between in as "prepositional-adverb" and in as compounding form is often indefinite in Otfrid.

[412] Nor, certainly, is it heragisentu as Kelle lists it in his Glossary.

If we can assume separate existence of adverb and compounding form,[413] then this would take care of III-10-23 as an isolated adverbial form, without further damage to the consistency of the compounding pattern for in. Naturally this implies the same procedure with ûf and ûz, for example. But in these forms the majority of the evidence is against, not for, compounding.

Even with the above reservations I think it fair to say that in may have been an adverb in some cases (and still is in III-10-23) but that it nevertheless, in Otfrid's usage, associates itself so closely with the verb that it may be listed under the compounding forms.

Leinen's figures for the Tatian[414] give considerable support to the notion of compounding. In 9 cases entirely independent of or contrary to the Latin,[415] the translator has the in after the verb in the main clause, while in none of the 20 subordinate clauses does he have other than preposed order. The order for the non-finite forms is similarly regular.[416]

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[413] v. Leinen, p. 55 and pp. 62-3; also above, p. 190.

[414] ibid., p. 62.

[415] All cases where the in precedes the verb in the main clause are in agreement with the Latin (Leinen, pp. 60-62). Furthermore, some are with late verbs, where this position is regular - a factor which Leinen did not recognize. The latter in 87-8 (inti ir in iro arbeit ingiengunt). With inti: 18-1, 83-1, 117-2, 133-10, 186-2, 186-3, 220-4, 228-2.

[416] v. Leinen, p. 62.

The Monsee Fragments show entirely regular order with in compounds: XV-25 kenc in der chuninc duo daz kasahi intrauit, XX-16 kengun in mit imo za... intrauerunt, and XV-28 hueo quami du hera in intrasti, as well as the participles in VII-17 and XIV-8 ingangante intrantes. Here in the separated forms the in stays close to the verb, unlike many of Otfrid's cases.

The general considerations mentioned above (p. 190 and p. 213) on the possibility of dual nature - adverb and compounding form - for certain particles, as well as the combination of ûf with preposition + object into a phrase (uf fon dode), requires a brief re-examination of the ûf forms.[417] The word order of these phrases is a positive indication that ûf is an adverb. But these phrases may have to be deducted from the picture of ûf with verbs, and the remaining forms have a slight tendency to look like compounds.

The regular instances would be:

Main clause: er huab in úf tho thaz múat (in V; on P, v.i.)
ioh thar nan úfirrihtun
yrstuant er úf tho snello (P er stúant, accent then erased)
tho giang uns úf uuunna, thiu éuuinigu súnna (in P; on V, v.i.)
stant úf

Subordinate clause: thaz sí so gahun úfirstuant

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[417] Leinen is rather non-committal about ûf in Otfrid. He definitely calls it a sentence adverb in V-4-57, II-11-54, III-13-58, but considers compounding likely in most other cases; v. Leinen, p. 69.

thanne éllu uuorolt úfsteit
thaz uuorolt úfstante

Non-finite: thaz er nan móhta ana uuán heizan áfur úfstan
(on D, v.i.)

Such a situation - a form sometimes adverbial entering into genuine compounding - is certainly not impossible, as the further development of German ûf-auf shows.

The facts which indicate that this is probably not the case with ûf, that even simple ûf with verbs is an adverb and not a compounding form, are:

1. Initial word order in úfirstuant si snéllo and úf yrscrikta hárto ther furisto úuuarto.

2. Parallelism of:

er huab in uf tho thaz muat and huab thiu ougun uf zi himile
yrstuant er uf tho snello and uf fon dode irstantan
thaz si so gahun ufirstuant and tho er uf fon themo grabe
irstuant

This indicates that the (left-hand) simple forms, which might look like compounding forms, were actually regarded as quite equivalent to the (right-hand) adverbial forms.

3. Double stress in yrhúaben sie úf, P's húab in úf. V's gíang uns úf, D's úfstán (corresponding to V's úf zi hímile er tho sáh. As indicated in the chapter on stress, even separated compounding forms seldom have both parts stressed.

None of these factors, of course, precludes absolutely the idea of compounding. But when so many doubtful features appear the whole picture inevitably looks less and less like

compounding.

It must be conceded, none the less, that úf seems to be on the way to separable composition. Later development confirms this tendency, and even in OHG other documents seem to indicate it.

The situation in the Tatian, for example, is substantially "regular."[418] Of the 18 forms entirely independent of the Latin, the 10 main clause cases are all after the verb (e.g. 18-1 inti arstuant uf), the one subordinate clause form is preposed (69-6 nibi her ... iz ufheue), and the 6 non-finite forms are similarly regular (e.g. 32-3 ufgangen). This raises the definite possibility of differences among OHG texts, indicating the presence of more advanced stages in the development toward a broader compounding system.

umbi is among the most difficult forms to analyze. its non-compounding nature has been demonstrated by the clause pattern er ther himil umbi sus emmizigen uuurbi. There is unfortunately no antecedent object to put this umbi with - at least none that I can see in the passage (II-1-17). Were this possible we should have ancther case of real isolated preposition like IV-2-23 man arme miti neriti. But the only thing to do is to call it an adverb.

The initial form úmbi kérit sih thaz múat, sélb so mo ther háls duat (P úmbikerit) is probably adverbial. Erdmann writes two words úmbi kérit, while Kelle and Piper write one.

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[418] v. Leinen, p. 68.

If V's stress is correct, then Erdmann's version and adverbial nature for the umbi are definitely assured. The double stress alone would be enough to show it is no compound (v. zisamane). If P's stress is correct, the situation is less positive, though even then adverbial use would be far more likely than compounding.

These two are the only forms which are, at first glance, out of the compounding picture.

The frequent stress pattern in pre-verb position umbi-vérb, which occurs only with umbi (v.s.p. 59), has already been interpreted as a likely indication of the existance of inseparable umbi compounds. Lachmann, who carries this idea as far as - and perhaps considerably farther than - the evidence allows, bases his distinction on meaning, confirmed then by stress. He says: "Vor einfachen Verbis stehn sie tieftonig, wenn der ausgedrückte oder gedachte Accusativus bei umbi und hintar, Accusativus oder Dativus bei widar und gegin, nicht durch das Verbum an sich bedingt ist, sondern nur durch die Präposition: im entgegengesetzten Falle stehn umbi widar ingegin hintar adverbial, oder wenn man lieber so sagen will, sie werden mit dem Verbo trennbar zusammengesetzt, sind also betont."[419] He then gives thaz sie nan umbiríten (P's stress; V. has none); er ál iz umbithâhta; so uuit, so hímil umbiuuárb; and umbigúrta sih in uuár, all as inseparables. V's (rad) thaz sih io úmbizerbit

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[419] v. Lachmann, p. 369.

he thinks is "more correct" than P's umbizérbit.

Lachmann's idea of the "prepositional" form being unstressed would imply compounding with the verb, because if the umbi in, say, V thaz sie nan umbiriten were a postposed preposition with nan it would probably be stressed.

It seems certain that there are inseparables among the umbi forms, but the situation is very confused. The extraordinary variations in stress are symptoms of this confusion of the preposed forms, only umbigúrta, umbithánta and umbiuuárb are stressed alike in V and P. All the remaining five have conflicting stresses. This is a startling contrast to the other inseparables and to the separable compounding forms, where stress is very uniform in V and P.

Another disturbing factor is that two of Lachmann's four inseparables have separated parallels:

umbithánta vs. mit thiu thékent sie nan úmbi,
umbiuuárb vs. er ther hímil umbi sus émmizigen uuúrbi

Lachmann takes this in his stride,[420] but with the very small number of umbi forms all told, these parallels are striking. They certainly show the same general meaning, while NHG pairs like übersétzen / úbersetzen always have a clear differentiation of meaning.[421]

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[420] v. Lachmann, pp. 369-70.

[421] This raises the possibility that such a form as umbiuuárb may actually be umbi uuárb. There is not sufficient evidence to do anything with this idea, however.

It seems to me far better to say that Otfrid's forms represent the early, rather ill-defined stage of the development of new inseparable compounds with umbi. These compounds will perhaps soon show regular characteristics of stress and meaning, but they scarcely do so yet.

The final question, of course, is whether the existing or incipient dichotomy in Otfrid is (a) inseparable umbi / compounding form, or (b) inseparable umbi / adverb umbi. I am fairly sure that it is the latter,[422] and for the following reasons:

1. The word order of umbi in er ther hímil umbi sus émmizigen uuúrbi (P uuurbi) is impossible for a compounding form.

2. The double stress in úmbi kérit and úmbibisáhun in V and the similar stress in both MSS for thékent sie nan úmbi (as well as the complete lack of stress in V umbiriten) are likewise not the pattern of compounding forms.

Other MSS give little help. The Tatian, for example, shows typical inseparable order in 22-1 inti umbigieng ther heilant alla Galileam and 134-2 umbibigabun inan thie Iudaei, probably also in 200-1 inti rot lahhan umbibigabun inar, though the inti pattern may be at work here.[423]

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[422] Lachmann, as the previous quotation shows, regards such a decision as immaterial. But the whole evidence of the present study makes it imperative.

[423] Other preposed forms in Tatian 141-13, 102-2 (not a circum- verb in the original), 135-25, 188-1, all in subordinate clauses.

The only separated form is 60-7 inti scouuota tho umbi thia zi gesehanne et circumspiciebat videre eam. Obviously the translator did not want to use *umbiscouuota, which would give a parallel to all his other direct translations of circum- verbs. This does not, however, prove the existence of a separable compound.

ûz appears in groupings much like the ûf fon phrases, but the characteristics of these instances with ûz give less credence to the assumption of adverb + prepositional phrase (v.s. pp. 100-102). ûz, therefore, must stand largely on its own, and very few cases are to be deducted on the basis of independent adverbial use.[424]

There is thus little to alter the validity of the fairly numerous factors speaking against compounding for ûz: adverbial word order (p. 169 ff.), the participle with postposed ûz (p. 188), the numerous adverbial sequences in the subordinate clause (pp. 194-5), separated preposed as well as postposed order in the late main clause (pp. 200-201), in addition double stress in one preposed form (úzgigíang) - in a word virtually the whole battery of possible non-compounding patterns.

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[424]These cases are: uz fon themo grabe and uz untar uuoroltman, possibly one or two others.

The only reason for bringing the question up is that ûz is so generally regarded as a compounding form and that the evidence in Tatian seems to confirm this.[425]

But apart from the Tatian there are several convincing parallels to the adverb type of order in Otfrid, indicating clearly that ûz is not a compounding form like its Gothic relative. The Monsee Fragments show I-4 daz er aufuori (for arfuori) uz fona iro marchom in a subordinate clause, though there is the possibility of a phrase uz fona here. In the same document there is a passage which is virtually impeccable as a denial of compounding. This is XVII-20 sihante uz muccun excolantes, with a participle and opposed to Latin order at that! A similar participial instance occurs even in Tatian (139-8): nu ther herosto... uuirdit eruuorpfan uz eicietur foras, suggesting that 82-7 ni aruuirphu ih uz and 60-14 allen uzaruuorphanen are only coincidentally in compounding positions and casting a bit of doubt on ûz in general.[426]

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[425] v. Leinen, pp. 54-5.

[426] Tatian 72-5 uuil thu thaz uuir faren inti arlesemes iz uz colligimus looks like a fine sample of adverbial order in the subordinate clause, but it might just as well be a parallel to Gothic... atuppangaggand inn... v.s.pp. 65-67. The same may apply to Otfrid's thaz man zukke thaz maz then kindon ir then hanton inti uuerpfez uz then hunton.

N. Residue

There is an inevitable residue of forms in Otfrid which remain doubtful because of insufficient evidence. By the nature of the criteria used, the identification of an adverb is much easier than the identification of a compounding form, so that one or two instances of adverbial word order are sufficient to mark some of the rarer forms. Thus one has little hesitation in classing fram as an adverb if only from the infinitive gan so fram. The other instances are so like this that there is no fear of dual nature (as there is, say, with umbi). But some of the rarer forms show no characteristics which are distinctively adverbial. Yet at the same time they are not numerous enough to provide the consistent patterns of compounding. Their characteristics are ambiguous.

after. The preposition appears in III-10-20 ioh after úns ni ruafe; Tatian 85-3 siu ruofit after uns.

Tatian 60-4 has quam in thero menigi after venit in turba retro. Also 116-4 thio menigi thio dar forafuorun inti thio dar after folgetun turbae autem quae praecedebant et quae sequebantur. The latter may possibly be darafter. Similarly Monsee Fragments XXXV-12 hear after folgento in sequentibus, especially in view of Isidor XV-13 hear after in consequentibus and Isidor's numerous instances of dhar after, together or separated, with and without verbs (e.g. VII-16 so dhar auh after ist chiquhedan sic enim subiunguitur and XXIV-10 dhar ist after chiscriban sequitur. All are written in fairly distinct separation from the verb.) Some

doubt is cast on the possible after verbs by Isidor XL-3 folghet hear auh after sequitur. The almost invariable presence of hear and dhar indicates that there was probably no verb *afterfolgen or*afterquedan, else we should have a few cases of sequitur translated folget after, and the like. Tatian's quam... after can be adverbial as well as compounded.

Morphology and stress of Otfrid's after rúafenti (P áfterruafenti) are noncommital.

The weight of the evidence is on the adverbial side, but it is inconclusive.

bifora. The two examples could be either compounding form or adverb. Kelle and Piper give both as compounds. The pure adverbial use in IV-16-46 híar biforá might be slightly on the side of adverbial nature here. It must be conceded, though, that the meanings are different. The adverb is temporal, as is Tatian 145-17 senu ih sagetaz iu bifora, which Sievers naturally gives as an adverb. bifora lázu (P biforá lazu) means "prefer, give first place to" and ni thiz biforá uuari means "(no one was so illustrious) but what he - the child Jesus - excelled him." Both of these are from spatial meanings which is natural to compounding. Non-temporal meanings appear also in Monsee Fragments I-7 see saar butun imo bifora laman offerebant

ei paralyticum.[427] Numerous temporal uses appear in the Isidor. The ambiguity possible with even a fair number of examples is obvious here, because all of the cases of this sure adverb bifora are in quite proper word order for a compounding form.[428]

There is one factor which is rather strong circumstantial evidence for adverbial nature. This is the frequent equivalence of fora and bifora in the Glosses, etc., as well as Notker's forelazen excipere[429] paralleling Otfrid's bifora lazu. fora, of course, is either an adverb or (presumably) an inseparable compounding form, as indicated before.

Finally, there is one definite point against compounding to be found in the matter of order. The middle verb or initial verb in ...bifora lázu ih iz al (P biforá lazu) has a virtually impossible word order for a compounding form. Its solitary companions would be er ingiang or ingiang er.

mit. thaz kínd, thaz druag thaz uuítu mit has the word uuitu in the relation of Objektvertauschung with the form mit, just as in the hypothetical Gothic sentence insandida miþ broþar discussed on p. 91[1]. Whether this Otfridian form comes from any verb *mitdragan is doubtful.

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[427] In Otfrid the see saar would involve late position for the verb, and if it were a compound it would read biforabutun. There is no telling whether the Lonsee fragments followed this rule, but it is very probable.

[428] Main clause: XXXIII-8. Subordinate: XXV-7, XXVII-4. Participles with chi: XXV-14, XXXI-3.

[429] v. Grimm II, p. 877.

The sentence parallels exactly the adverbial use in ther drégit... finf gírstinu brot ouh zuene físga tharmit. This does not prove adverbial nature for the mit above.

A slight piece of evidence against compounding lies in the order of the noun object. The regular sequence for a compounding form (p. 207) would seem to be *druag mit thaz uuitu. Naturally this evidence is not conclusive.

The possibility of isolated preposition, which is obvious for IV-2-23 man arme miti neriti, is not to be overlooked. Since the mit is in a rhyme pattern it may be shortened from miti.

miti. The two forms[430] are in regular enough word order for compounds, but the possibility of miti as an adverb is further supported by the numerous -i extensions of prepositions, none of which enters into compounding.

nâh. Its adverbial and adjectival nature has already been noted (p. 19). The order is non-committal. It would certainly admit of compounding.[431]

One of Otfrid's forms seems as if it could be interpreted as a postposition. This is ioh gíang themo ginóz nah. But Otfrid has no preposition nâh, and Tatian's preposition means "near, by".[432] Since the meaning of the nâh forms with gangan and loufan is "after" it seems

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[430] Both listed by Kelle and Piper as compounds.

[431] All three listed by Kelle and Piper as compounds.

[432] nach apparently does not get its NHG meaning until Notker and Williram. The Monsee Glosses do show a nah uns post nos. v. Graff, Die althochdeutschen Präpositionen, p. 95.

that we have no preposition here.

The strictly adverbial quality of Gothic nehv and nehva, indeed the apparent absence of any clear compound in the older Germanic dialects, rather argues against compounding in Otfrid's nâh. Yet this is anything but definitive.

nidiri. This form is non-committal. With the probable absence of compounds formed with any of the -i extensions, the cases with nidiri look more unlikely.

widar. It appears in two sentences which might seem compounding forms with the verb: er kérta sih sar uuidar zín and tho... thaz líb... fon béche hera uuídaruuarb. The order in both is ambiguous.

While the semantic situation would permit the assigning of the spatial meaning "back" rather than the temporal "again" (the latter being the meaning of Otfrid's adverbs) and thus give some credence to compounding, the chances are still that we have here the simple adverb. The form would demand separate treatment, and compounding would be much more likely if it were not for the clear adverb use of widar (in addition to the usual widari-widiri) in IV-17-24 er sáztaz uuídar héilaz (<u>v.s.</u> p. 28). It also seems natural that the adverb form widar would have the meaning "back" as well as "again" and this is entirely confirmed by the Tatian 221-3 mittiu siu thisiu quad,

giuuanta sih uuidar inti gisah then heilant.

widari. Adverbial nature, as already mentioned, is pretty definite. It is further supported by P's giang pilatus uuídari, with its double stress.

zua. Aside from its numerous connections with thara, which vouch for its adverbial nature,[433] zua appears alone five times with verbs of speaking and seeing.[434]

No word order feature classifies this zua in any way. Yet several facts speak rather strongly against compounding:[435]

1. Possibility of postpositional use (pp. 102-3).

2. Double stress in V ríaf... zúa (P stresses neither) and V spráh imo zúa.

3. The direct parallel with thara[436] in V-8-24 gótnissi... thára uuir zua io rúafen.

A final paragraph must be devoted to the instances of possible double compounding.

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[433] Further support, in turn, for thara compounding wherever possible lies in the word order of tharzúa sin ouh gizálte - quite contrary to compounding patterns.

[434] All of which Kelle and Piper list as compounds.

[435] But Leinen (pp. 42-5) regards zuo + sprehhan forms as likely compounds. His arguments are a bit abstract, ignoring entirely such matters as stress and possibility of postpositional use.

[436] The correspondency between thara forms and postpositions (thara ingegini = imo ingegini) is no accident. Further treatment would be interesting but is beyond the field of this study.

The effect of the various syntactical considerations on the group of forms in the section on "Double Compounding" is fairly extensive. Adverbial nature and irregular order take their toll and leave only the following as double forms in which one is surely a compounding form: hina nidarscrikke, hera nidarstigan, hera nidargan, so stig nidar hera, farames auur thara... hina... in, and the combinations with the inseparable compounds of heim, hera, thara, ûf, umbi, ûz, zisamane, and zua (v.s. pp. 64-7). In all of these latter, of course, the one element is distinctly adverbial, but most of them are in the proper order for assimilation into the compounding pattern. Such a group is typified by NHG aufbewahren. Thus the same possibility of association with compounds is open for them as for forms like ûf and ûz with simple verbs. There is very little evidence for a group of compounds in OHG paralleling aufbewahren, however.

Remarkably enough, this leaves for Otfrid only one form both of whose particles are compounding forms. This is ingigiang.[437] It is the sole instance corresponding to the main scene of compounding - that is, separable compounding - in Gothic, the inn and ut double compounds ! In this fact lies the most extreme contrast between Gothic and OHG.

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[437] A direct parallel in Tatian 128-7 inti anagifiel in thioba et incidit in latrones.

0. Summary of Results and Comparison with Gothic

We have now heard all of the evidence which bears on the principle question: Is there in OHG a separable compounding system distinct from the free adverbial pattern ? The answer, in which lies the main import of this study for OHG syntax, is "yes" and has been throughout the paper.

The principal group of forms, of which I think only one is at all doubtful, is small but significant. Among its number - ana, in, nidar, thana - in is the only one for which strict adverbial use can be demonstrated in Otfrid. This general absence of real adverbial forms in the compounding system certainly does not last long, but it shows that Otfrid's language was on much the same plane as Wulfila's, where true adverbs like dalaþ and iup maintained their freedom of order, resisting incorporation into a pattern regulated by the verb.

For Otfrid, at any rate, these forms show another surprising characteristic. None of them is an indubitable preposition. ana is for F, of course, and in may be identical with the preposition in, though stress and length are such likely concomitants that almost all scholars write în where the form has no object of its own.

Certainly the lexical nature of these forms did facilitate their grouping as a separate syntactical class.

Even Otfrid's all-or-nothing accentuation cannot hide the fact that these forms had one further characteristic - beyond the lexical and syntactical ones already discussed. This characteristic is a degree of stress presumably less than the adverbs, but greater than the inseparable prefixes hintar, thuruh, untar, ubar, and widar.

This stress situation is actually the best support for the similar hypothesis made for the Gothic, where the stress of iup, etc. was presumed to be greater than that of inn and ut.[438] The tenacity of certain syntactical and stress patterns is one of the most striking observations that a comparative study provides.

In the field of Otfrid's syntax per se I hope this study has brought to light a few new or at least generally neglected points. The main ones involve:

1. The establishing of a pattern of separable compounding, centering around ana, in, nidar, and thana.

2. Description of some special features of main and subordinate clause word order.

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[438] Much of the Gothic argument, which suffered from a slight paucity of material, was based on the treatment of noun and pronoun objects. The same study in OHG showed the remarkable parallel between the two languages.

3. Clear differentiation between compounding forms and free adverbs.

4. Further evidence on the probable multiple origins of compounding forms.

5. Consideration of late main clause position as an important variant in OHG (and perhaps Gothic) word order.

6. Fuller discussion of the thara compounds.

The points of comparison with the Gothic have, I trust, been made clear in the body of the study. A few main particulars may be summarized and recapitulated. In every one of them the way is open for further work in OS, ON, OE, above all in Notker's OHG and in MHG.

1. OHG no longer depends on double compounding to "free" its first members for a separable compounding system. Indeed, the possibility of having a true compounding form with an already compounded verb has, it seems, nearly disappeared. Only ingigiang appears in Otfrid, and it is a good thing that it is in preposed order, for one would be tempted to regard gigiang... in as circumstantial evidence for adverbial in.

2. The fate of Wulfila's numerous compounding forms is interesting - taking the liberty of speaking as if Gothic were the ancestor of OHG. The force of the inseparability I have assumed for Gothic simple compounds seems to be reflected in the large number of forms that

are inseparables in Otfrid, to wit the analogues of and, bi, du (in part), faur and faura (in part), hindar, þairh, ufar, us, wiþra. The idea of a separate group of Gothic compounding forms consisting of first members of doublets is supported by the fact that, of the etymological correspondencies of that group, ana is a compounding form, du in part (zuo) an adverb, faur in part (fora) an adverb, and miþ an adverb. The two new words occupying the semantic field of Gothic forms appear as compounding forms: thana (= af) and nidar (= uf). uf has another semantic equivalent in the inseparable untar. The separable inn and ut of Gothic are divided, in being a compounding form (but the one with the only adverbial instances in Otfrid) and ûz being an adverb.

Thus, in general, the Gothic divisions, whatever their relation to the Proto-Germanic divisions, are significant comparatively and historically as well as synchronically.

4. The order of the compounding form in the OHG is freer than that of Gothic. More remote separation from the verb is possible. This brings the compounding form into contact but not identity with the adverbs. This in turn facilitates the growth of the compounding system through the assimilation of some of the adverbs.

5. The pattern of compounding form before the late main clause verb is, on the other hand, an instance of close connection with the verb which is true of OHG and at least likely though not so common in Gothic.

6. The continuing possibility of multiple origin for compounding forms is one of the most important similarities between OHG and Gothic. The OHG situation is the best verification for the paths of origin which were indicated by Gothic. OHG suggests as old and new sources:

a) Originally inseparable preverbs

b) Prepositions in isolation (various types)

c) Forms associated with thara (including ûf and ûz)

d) Adverbs

In the last field - the adverbs - Otfrid is especially rich in those coincidences of word order which later become significant. The adverb before the verb in, say, subordinate clauses or infinitives grows into a compounding pattern, where it was only incidentally associated with the verb before. Cases like thanne éllu uuorolt úfsteit show the sort of pattern that encourages the formation of ûf compounds.

7. Stress patterns (noun and pronoun objects, infinitives, subordinate clauses) show remarkable similarity, though Gothic stress must be assumed. OHG accent marking aids in an interpretation of Gothic.

8. OHG apparently has adverbial uses for prepositions, thus giving some justification to the term which seemed largely out of place in Gothic - "prepositional adverbs."

9. The most remarkable or perhaps the most natural correspondence between the two languages is within the group of word order patterns. They are in effect absolutely the same for OHG as they were for Gothic. It is now apparent that the large categories of infinitive, main clause, and subordinate clause would actually be enough to establish in both languages the class of true compounding forms as opposed to free adverbs or inseparables.

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