THE GERMANIC LANGUAGES

ORIGINS AND EARLY DIALECTAL INTERRELATIONS

Hans Frede Nielsen

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PREFACE

The present volume is a revised and translated version of *De germanske sprog. Baggrund og gruppering* (Odense University Press, 1979), which has been out of print for several years. The book is especially concerned with the grouping of the Germanic languages: with the research history of this much-debated question and with a discussion of the methods applied to past attempts and indeed applicable to future research in the field. These topics are discussed in the two longest chapters of the book (IV and V). The three preceding chapters should be seen as useful background information to the two central chapters. In ch. I the Germanic languages are introduced, an outline of their earliest attestations is given, and finally the dialectal status of the early runic language is discussed. The delimitation of Germanic in relation to the other Indo-European languages is dealt with in ch. II, while in ch. III the subject of Germanic tribal movements is taken up. The Germanic migrations are of great interest to Germanic dialect grouping because Gothic, Old High German and Old English are all colonial languages. Therefore the chapter focuses on the migrations of respectively the Goths, the Central and Upper German tribes, and the Anglo-Saxons.

To readers of the Danish version of the book it will be obvious that the basic arrangement has been retained in the present volume. But much new material has been incorporated in all chapters of the book, in chs. III. 3, IV and V mainly from the corresponding chapters (V, I and II) in my *Old English and the Continental Germanic Languages,* cf. the preface (1981). The number of works referred to in this edition exceeds the number in the original one by over 70 per cent.

Several of the reviews of the Danish version of the book have been of great benefit to the present edition. I would like to thank especially Dr. Harry Andersen (†) and Lektor Torben Kisbye for their kind and useful comments. My warmest thanks are due Professor Elmer H. Antonsen for his many suggestions for improvement in the book, particularly in relation

to ch. I.3, and for originally encouraging me to publish an English-language version of *De germanske sprog*. I owe a debt of gratitude to many people at Odense University: to past and present colleagues in the Medieval Centre and the English Department for the interest they have taken in my work; to Lektor Henrik Tvarnø, Dean of the Humanities Faculty, for kindly permitting me to have my manuscript typed in the *Humanistiske Skrivestue*; and to Ms. Henny Eriksen and Ms. Birthe Færing for their meticulous care in preparing the camera-ready typescript of the book. As always I am very grateful to the staff of Odense University Library for their helpfulness in providing the relevant literature. Finally, I would like to thank Mr. Jørgen Thomsen, Director of Odense University Press, for readily giving me permission to publish a translated version of *De germanske sprog* in the United States; Mr. Malcolm M. MacDonald, Director of the University of Alabama Press, for his prompt handling of my manuscript when submitted to him for consideration; and especially Dr. W.A. Kretzschmar, Jr., University of Georgia, for his advice.

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ABBREVIATIONS

a., acc.	accusative		m., masc.	masculine
adj.	adjective		ME	Middle English
Ags.	Angelsächsisch		MDu.	Middle Dutch
Ahd.	Althochdeutsch		MIrish	Middle Irish
An.	Altnordisch		MLG	Middle Low German
Anm.	Anmerkung		n.	neuter, nominative
Bucks.	Buckinghamshire		njy.	nørrejysk
C, cons.	consonant		nom.	nominative
Cambs.	Cambridgeshire		Nordsee-	
d., dat.	dative		germ.	Nordseegermanisch
dem.	demonstrative		nt.	neuter
ed(s).	editor(s)		n. Chr.	nach Christo
Engl.	Engländer,		OCS	Old Church Slavic
	Englis(c)h		OE	Old English
f., fem.	feminine		OFris.	Old Frisian
g., gen.	genitive		OHG	Old High German
germ.	germanisch		OIcel.	Old Icelandic
Gmc.	Germanic		OIrish	Old Irish
Got.	Goten, Gotisch		OLF	Old Low Franconian
Goth.	Gothic		opt.	optative
Gr.	Greek		OS	Old Saxon
Hrsg.	Herausgeber		p., pl.	plural
IE	Indo-European		pers.	person(al)
ind.	indicative		pp.	past participle
inf.	infinitive		pres.	present
interr.	interrogative		p(re)t.	preterite
Lat.	Latin		pret.-pres.	preterite-present
Latv.	Latvian		pron.	pronoun
Lincs.	Lincolnshire		ptc.	participle
Lith.	Lithuanian		rpt.	reprinted

Russ.	Russian
s., sg.	singular
Sanskr.	Sanskrit
Scand.	Scandinavian
Skand.	Skandinavier
sjy.	sønderjysk
T	Tübingen
vb.	verb
v. Chr.	vor Christo

Slashes (/ /) and brackets ([ ]) are used only when it is thought relevant to distinguish between phonemes and allophones, or when these symbols are found in citations. An exception is Kloeke's map of the distribution of vowels in the Dutch words for 'house' and 'mouse' (V. 2) where for practical reasons slashes have replaced brackets.

I THE GERMANIC LANGUAGES

1. Present-day extension

Geographically, the modern Germanic languages are essentially a North-Western European language group. *English* is the official language of Great Britain and, along with Irish (Gaelic), of the Republic of Ireland. *German* is official in the Federal Republic of Germany, the German Democratic Republic and Austria. In Switzerland, German is spoken along with French and Italian (and Rhaeto-Romanic). *Dutch* is official in Holland, while it shares official status with French in Belgium *(Flemish)*. In Scandinavia, the following official Germanic languages are to be found: *Danish* in Denmark, *Swedish* in Sweden and (with Finnish) in Finland, *Norwegian (Dano-Norwegian* and *New-Norwegian)* in Norway, *Icelandic* in Iceland and *Faroese* (along with Danish) in the Faroe Islands. There is a further North-Western European language of Germanic stock, namely *Frisian* which dialectally is split up into three groups: *West Frisian* in the Netherlands province of Friesland including the islands of Terschelling and Schiermonnikoog, *East Frisian* in the district of Saterland west-southwest of Oldenburg in Lower Saxony and *North Frisian* in the western part of Slesvig between the Danish border and Husum including most of the islands off the West-Slesvig coast (Sylt, Föhr, Amrum, Helgoland and three of the Halligen). The three dialectal groups are no longer mutually comprehensible (Sjölin 1969:7).

In terms of numbers of speakers, English clearly does not have its centre of gravity in North-Western Europe any longer. Through the British colonial expansion English was introduced into other parts of the world and is now the official language of the United States, Canada (with French), Guyana, New Zealand, Australia and a considerable number of Asian, African and Caribbean countries – in most of these countries as the language of administration and culture. In the Republic of

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South Africa the second official language is *Afrikaans,* which is an off-shoot of Dutch and which originated in the Dutch Cape colony in the 17th century.

2. Earliest attestation

The best evidence to show that the Germanic languages really constitute one language group is a number of striking linguistic features shared by all of them as we shall see below in II.3. Significant is also the fact that the resemblance between the languages increases the further we go back in time. But there are no extant texts in the language to which all Germanic languages are assumed to go back, namely *Proto-Germanic,* and what knowledge we do have of Proto-Germanic, stems from internal and comparative evidence, i.e. variation in and comparison between the earliest stages of the attested Germanic languages besides comparison with cognate language families (see below, ch. II). Onomastic and lexical evidence in works by classical authors, inscriptions and, to a limited extent, early Germanic loanwords in modern non-Germanic languages like Finnish (II.2) may also assist in the reconstruction of Proto-Germanic.

In England the first attested *Old English* manuscripts are from the 8th century, i.e. two or three centuries after the Germanic colonization of Britain (III.3). Some of the Old English runic inscriptions antedate the earliest manuscripts, cf. Page 1973:18-38.

In Frisia a few very short and partly baffling runic inscriptions deriving from the 6th to 9th centuries[1] have come to light, but the first real texts in *West* and *East Old Frisian* (on either side of the river Lauwers) date from the 11th century; the manuscripts of these texts are only from the 13th century and later. *North Frisian,* which probably arose as a result of emigration from Frisia proper,[2] is attested from the 17th century.

The earliest extant material in *Old Low Franconian* (or *Old Dutch*) is from the 9th century (psalm fragments translated in or around

the south of Limburg, i.e. the south-east corner of the Netherlands). From then and up to the Middle Dutch period (13th to 15th centuries), however, the quantity of extant language material is negligible: some onomastic evidence, esp. from Flanders, and an 11th-century sentence in West Flemish (van Loey 1970:253). Old Low Franconian differs little from *Old Saxon* (or *Old Low German*) in Northern Germany, for one thing because neither of the dialects participated in the High German consonant shift (see below, III.2 and Cordes/Holthausen 1973:16). Old Saxon, which is known through manuscripts dating back to the 9th to 12th centuries, is the predecessor of Middle Low German which, through the expansion of the Hanseatic League, acquired official status as a written language. It was eventually replaced by High German in the 16th and early 17th centuries (Sanders 1982:153-74), but Low German has survived on a regional oral basis: in the modern *Plattdeutsch* of Northern Germany.

The modern German standard language goes back to *Old High German* which, like Old English, is attested from the 8th century. As in the case of Old English, there is runic evidence which precedes the earliest manuscripts, cf. the Wurmlingen spearhead from about 600.

None of the languages discussed so far antedate *Gothic,* which has come down to us mainly through Bishop Wulfila's bible translation from the middle of the 4th century A.D., while the West Goths still inhabited a region on the lower Danube (i.e. on the Balkan peninsula). The translation no longer exists in toto, but is attested in fragments in a number of manuscripts dating from the 5th, 6th and 7th centuries. Best known among these is the *Codex Argenteus* ('Silver Bible'), which is now in the University Library of Uppsala. Wulfila's translation is about contemporary with the Gothic runic inscription on the gold ring found at Pietroassa in Roumania, but is antedated by the runic inscription on the mid-3rd-century spearhead from Kowel in the Ukraine. A variety of Gothic appears to have been preserved in the Crimea up to the 18th century, cf. Stearns (1978).

In Denmark and Sweden the earliest manuscripts written in *Old*

Danish and *Old Swedish* respectively stem from the beginning of the 13th century, and the first manuscripts in both countries were legal texts. However, the earliest writings in Danish and Swedish are the numerous runic inscriptions written with the letters of the younger *fuþark,* a runic alphabet consisting of 16 letters. There are 235 Danish runic inscriptions from the period 800-1150, whereas the Swedish number from approximately the same time (800-1225) exceeds 2000 (Wéssen 1975:76-81, 92-102).

The runic inscriptions found in the island of Gotland stem from between 900 and 1500, and along with a legal manuscript from the mid-14th century they reflect a language which differs from both Old Danish and Old Swedish, for which reason it is designated by the term *Old Gutnish.*

In Norway, the lengthy Eggjum inscription (written in the older *fuþark,* a 24-letter runic alphabet) is the earliest attested specimen of *Old Norwegian* and is dated to 700 by Krause (1971:143). There are about 1000 Norwegian inscriptions written in the 16-letter younger *fuþark.* The earliest Norwegian manuscripts crop up in the latter half of the 12th century, from which period also the earliest *Old Icelandic* manuscripts date (e.g. two *Grágás* law fragments). The oldest Icelandic runic texts (45 altogether, all of them of little linguistic value) are later than the manuscripts written in the Latin alphabet. Old Icelandic is the best documented and the most conservative of all the early Scandinavian languages, and Old Icelandic is therefore used synonymously with *Old Norse* in comparative Germanic philology.

From the point of view of language history, *Faroese* is of less significance, seeing that the first actual texts attested in this language (three ballads recorded by J.C. Svabo) go back only to the close of the 18th century, cf. Haugen 1976:33. Also, Faroese is less conservative than Icelandic.

The first dialectal split in Scandinavia seems to have been one between east and west, Swedish (and Gutnish) and Danish forming an *East Norse* subgroup and Norwegian and Icelandic (and Faroese) a *West Norse* subgroup. 'Split' is perhaps too strong a term to be used

here, for the distinction is by no means a clear one: in several respects East Norwegian is closer to East Norse than it is to West Norwegian, which was at first virtually indistinguishable from Icelandic. And as we shall see in V.2, not every East Norse innovation was carried through consistently.

Prior to the first independent dialectal innovations, which developed only during the Viking age, there must have been a period of *Common Norse*. The older runic inscriptions (24-letter *fuþark*) exhibit specifically Norse features after 500 (loss of initial *j-* and *w-* before back vowels, syncopation, loss of final *-n,* new pronouns, etc.), and the Common Norse period can therefore be said to have come into being by the early 6th century.

3. The early runic language

A great majority of the over 120 inscriptions written with the 24-letter *fuþark* date back to the period A.D. 200[3]-500, and they are written in a language which is surprisingly uniform[4] and which is even more conservative than Gothic. Unaccented vowels, e.g., show less tendency to disappear here than they do in any other early Germanic language, cf. asm. **staina** (Rö), Goth. *stain,* OE *stān;* nsm. **-gastiz** (Einang), Goth. *gasts,* OIcel. *gestr.*

The centre of the early runic finds is Southern Scandinavia, and that is probably a main reason why the early runic language is called *Primitive Norse* (*urnordisk* in Danish), a designation which has been retained not only by Scandinavian runologists, but also by the prominent German scholar Wolfgang Krause. Within the last few decades there has been an increasing tendency to regard the language as the common basis of the North and West Germanic languages,[5] i.e. all the Germanic languages with exception of Gothic[6] (East Germanic). In other words, between 200 and 500 the Germanic language area was largely uniform if we disregard the language spoken by the Gothic emigrants (cf. esp. Kuhn 1955 and below, IV.3 and 4). In this connection it should be noted

that Denmark (with Slesvig and Skåne), which has the largest concentration of the older runic inscriptions, probably was not definitely subjugated by the Scandinavian Danes until the 6th century (cf. Schwarz 1956:206-7), so that the southern boundary of North Germanic (the river Eider in Slesvig) was only fixed in this century. Also the possibility should be taken into account that some of the participants in the Anglo-Saxon emigration in the 5th and 6th centuries came from what were later to become Danish areas (III.3).

Below, we shall discuss the linguistic status of the older runic inscriptions. It can be immediately established that the runic language exhibits a number of features which are common to all North and West Germanic dialects. These parallels should not be ascribed solely to the retention of old linguistic traits; some of them are due to shared innovation in relation to Proto-Germanic, cf. $\bar{e} > \bar{a}$ and *a*-umlaut (phonemicization of /o/ < [o], see Antonsen 1975:26 and below, IV.4). The question is, however, whether this entitles us to call the early runic language *North-West Germanic* or whether we must content ourselves with a narrower term. Before we attempt to provide an answer to this, it should be emphasized that we have left out of consideration inscriptions the reading of which is uncertain.

(i) All extant *a*-stem nouns in gen.sg. exhibit the ending -*as* in early runic: **asugisalas** (Kragehul), **godagas** (Valsfjord), etc. This corresponds to the regular suffix in early Old English -*æs (dægæs),* which presupposes -*as* (IE *-*oso*) as does Old Saxon *dagas*. The alternative Old Saxon ending -*es (dages)* goes back to IE *-*eso,* which is also reflected in Old High German -*es (tages).* Antonsen (1975:19) thinks that Old High German *tagas* corresponds to Old English *dægæs,* but most likely it is just a late Bavarian variant, cf. H.F. Nielsen 1985:196. The loss of the suffix vowel in Old Norse prevents us from determining which ablaut grade prevailed in Scandinavia.

(ii) The West Germanic dialects and early runic (and Gothic) have acc.sg. $\bar{o}$-stem suffixes which all reflect IE *-*ām,* cf. runic **runo**

(Einang), OE *giefe*, OS *geba*, OHG *geba*. In ON, the nom.sg. *(skǫr)* has replaced the acc.sg. *(*skara)*.

(iii) The dat.sg. *u*-stem suffix in **kunimu(n)diu** (Tjurkö) corresponds to Goth. *-au (sunau)*, ON *-e (syne)* and the rare (and archaic) OHG suffix *-iu (suniu)*, all four endings deriving from the IE locative suffix **-ēu*. The alternative ablaut grade IE **-ōu* is possibly the origin of the endings of OE *suna* and OS *suno*. [7]

(iv) Early runic exhibits *a*-vocalism (IE **-on-*) in the gen./dat.sg. masc. *n*-stem suffixes (cf. **keþan** (Belland), **halaiban** (Tune)) as do ON *(hana)*, OE *(honan)*, OFris. *(skelta)* and OS *(hanan)* in contra-distinction to the *-en-* ablaut variant in the stem suffixes of OHG *(hanen, -in)* and OS *(hanen)*, cf. Gothic *(hanins, hanin)*.

(v) According to Krahe (II 1969:§37, §50) the nom.pl.masc. suffix in the strong adjectival declension was a pronominal one, Gmc. **-ai-* (IE **-oi-*) being the underlying vowel, cf. Goth. *þai, blindai*. After the change of *-ai-* to *-ē-* in early runic a secondary *-z* was added on the analogy of other categories, cf. **arjostez** (Krause 1971:89). This fits in well with the development in Norse *(blindir, þeir)*, but less so with OE *blinde, þā;* OS *blinde, thē (thea);* OHG *blinte, dē, (dea, dia)*. Never-theless Antonsen (1975:19) claims that the suffix *-ēz* (-**ez**) is reflected in ON *blindir*, OE (OS) *blinde*, OHG *blinte* and that it is a nominal ending unlike the pronominal suffix of Goth. *blindai* (which has re-placed **blindais)*. This would support the North-West Germanic theory, namely that the runic form represents common North-West Germanic, but it ignores the points of resemblance between pronouns and adjectival endings, cf. esp. Gothic (and Old High German).[8]

(vi) The strong adjectival suffix in acc.sg.masc. **minino** (Kjølevik) is thought by Krause (1971:108) and Brøndum-Nielsen (IV 1962:10) to be a weakly accented reflex of *-anō (*mīnanō*, cf. Goth. *meinana*, OHG *mīnan)*, but according to Brunner (1965:§324[1]) the ending derives from

IE *-inōm,* which is reflected in OE acc.sg.masc. *ǣnne* and, if we are to believe Streitberg (1974:269b), in the Anglian dialect of Old English in acc.sg.masc. of the demonstrative pronoun *þene,* cf. West Saxon *þone.*

(vii) The runic form of 'I' is **ek** (in enclitic use, **-eka**). But in the West Germanic languages the vowel is *i-* (OE *ic,* OFris./OS *ik,* OLF *ic,* OHG *ih*), and **ek** has consequently been assumed to indicate early runic membership of the North Germanic branch of the Germanic languages (IV.4). It is conceivable, however, that the vocalism is ultimately dependent on accentuation: **ek** may originally have become *ik* in weakly accented position while being retained when accented (Brøndum-Nielsen V 1965:§561, Krahe II 1969:§32). Alternatively, the vowel of *ik* may be accounted for in terms of intraparadigmatic levelling. North and West Germanic subsequently generalized *e-* and *i-* respectively, but it should be noted that *ek* is attested in Old Saxon (the only form to occur in the Heliand fragment recently discovered at Straubing, Bavaria) and Old Low Franconian (Taeger 1981:419-20, Makaev 1965:29, Gallée 1910: §362) and that *ik* is found on the Sønder Rind bracteate (North Jutland). **ek** can therefore not be taken as conclusive evidence of the specifically Norse character of the early runic language.

(viii) In the past participle of the strong verbs the suffix *-ina-* (< IE *-enos*) is present in early runic **slaginaz** (Möjbro), **haitinaz** (Kalleby), **faikinaz** (Vetteland) as well as in Old English *(binumine, forsleginum)* and Old Frisian *(fendsen, hwendsen (i-*mutated and palatalized)). The alternative suffix *-ana-* (< IE *-onos*) is seen in OHG *gibotan,* OS *giboran,* OE *boren* (all with *a*-mutation) and in Goth. *budans.* The origin of the Old Norse ending in, e.g., *gripinn* seems to be *-ina-,* but as there is *a*-mutation in classes II-IV of the strong verbs, we must assume that *-ana-* also existed in Old Norse, but was analogically replaced by *-ina-* after the completion of *a*-mutation (Krause 1971:107).[9]

All of this might indicate that *-ina-* was only found in an area covered by the Norse, English and Frisian (and early runic) languages, but apparently we also find remains of *-ina-* in Goth. *aigin* 'property' (vb. *aigan* 'to own'), in the OHG pp. *abasnitine* (Notker, cf. Rosenfeld 1954:382) and perhaps even in Old Saxon, cf. *bismitin* (Rooth 1956:69-70, Holthausen 1921:§421 Anm.1). All this shows that 'the selection of competitive alternates cannot unreservedly be employed as evidence for dialectal grouping' (Markey 1976:26), and that we have not got much further in the way of clarifying the dialectal position of the early runic language within Germanic.

(ix) The Germanic diphthong *ai*, which in Old Norse became *ā* before *h* and *r* and in Old English in all positions, has been retained in early runic **faihido** (Vetteland, c. 350), but monophthongized in **fahido** (Rö, c. 400). Antonsen (1975:43) thinks that *i* was omitted by mistake, seeing that the Rö inscription has the unmonophthongized form **saira**, cf. ON *sár*. Another possibility is that Rö exhibits both 'modern' and 'traditional' orthography as is seen in Stentoften and Björketorp (Antonsen 1975:14). It should be noted that the Halskov bracteate also has monophthongization (**fahide**). The only other Germanic language, apart from those mentioned, to show a shift of *ai* > *ā* is Old Frisian, where *ai*, however, may alternatively develop into *ē*, cf. OFris. *māra, stēn* (Goth. *maiza, stains*). Since the Danish edition of the present book was published in 1979, I have changed my mind concerning the evaluation of this parallel. I now think that the Old English shift is an isolative change unrelated to the monophthongizations in Frisian, early runic and Old Norse, which I see as examples of 'gravity' assimilation (H.F. Nielsen 1983:156-64). The development in early runic seems to anticipate that in Old Norse, while I assume the Frisian shift of *ai* to *ā* to be an independent development. (Cf. also below, ch.V note 11.)

(x) In the older runic inscriptions *n* is usually left out before *d* (or *þ*), cf. **widuhudaz** (= *Widuhundaz*, see Moltke 1976:107 and Krause 1971:35). It therefore lies near at hand to assume that *n* was also omit-

ted before -*s* in **asugisalas** (Kragehul) and **asugasdiz** (Myklebostad)
= *ansu-*. It should not be forgotten, however, that the nasal is dropped in
Norse (with compensatory lengthening of the vowel), cf. *fúss* and Old
Danish *gās*. This loss of nasal is comparable to that of Old English, Old
Frisian and Old Saxon (cf. OE *fūs, gōs,* but OHG *funs, gans*), although
the three languages exhibit loss of nasal in front of all (unvoiced) frica-
tives. By way of summing up, the runic spelling seems to be a somewhat
slender basis for drawing firm conclusions.

(xi)   In the older runic inscriptions, Germanic final -*z* in suffixes like
-*az, -iz, -uz* is denoted by Ⴘ, which in traditional runic scholarship has
usually been transliterated with -**R**. But Antonsen (1975) is undoubtedly
right in assigning the phoneme value /z/ to this runic symbol until Ⴘ
starts alternating with Ꝛ, i.e. when /z/ merges with /r/. Such an alternation
takes place in the 7th-century Blekinge inscriptions (Björketorp, Istaby,
Stentoften). While Germanic final -*z* is thus retained in Norse as *-r*
(ON *dagr* < **dagaz*), it is devoiced in Gothic *(dags)* and disappears
entirely in the West Germanic languages (OE *dæg,* OFris. *dei,* OS
dag, OHG *tag*). It is not known when this West Germanic loss took
place, but it is conceivable that the loss was preceded by phonetic
tendencies towards rhotacism. Such an assumption could be based on the
fact that Gmc. -*z*- became *-r-* medially, not only in North Germanic,
but also in West Germanic, cf. ON *meire,* OE/OFris. *māra,* OS/OHG
mēro (Goth. *maiza*), and further that final -*z* is retained as *-r* in OHG
monosyllabic words *(er, (h)wer).* Ⴘ's value as a North Germanic
(Primitive Norse) dialect criterion can therefore be said to be doubtful.
See also below, IV.4.

Items (i) and (iv) exhibit clear links between early runic and Old English
(Old Frisian, Old Saxon), and item (vi) points in the same direction,
while (viii) and (x), which in themselves are rather dubious, could be
interpreted in the same way. Among the items just listed Old Norse is
involved in (iv), (viii) and (x); whether it participates also in (i) cannot
be determined. The monophthongization of *ai* before *h* in early runic

(ix) and possibly the loss of *n* before *s* (x) may well suggest a pre-Norse language state rather than a North Gmc./North Sea Gmc. one. Items (vii) and (xi) reveal the kind of uncertainty associated with the traditional criteria for assuming a Primitive Norse language state. As for (v), it is doubtful what may be concluded on the basis of this item. In (ii) we see how a later language development may conceal the relationship between early runic and a later North Gmc./West Gmc. language, in this case (and this is not in itself significant) Old Norse. Item (iii) remains to be dealt with: it shows that Old English and Old Saxon may have selected an Indo-European alternate different from that found in Old Norse, Old High German, Gothic and early runic.

Our discussion has shown that Old English (Old Frisian, Old Saxon) exhibits striking parallels with early runic, parallels which to a large extent are shared also by Old Norse, but not by Old High German. In one case (ix) Old Norse even seems to exhibit a parallel shared exclusively with early runic. If in other words *North-West Germanic,* as the runic language has been called, is supposed to include (pre-)Old High German, we must reject the term. On the other hand, we must also reject the view of early runic which has most recently been advanced by Moltke (1976:106):

> Primitive Norse belongs to the Indo-European language family and by way of Proto- or Common Germanic it has developed into Primitive Norse (or North Germanic), which again – via a late Primitive Norse transitional period (the Blekinge stones) c. 750ff. splits up into East and West Norse ...[10]

When we attempt to determine the relationship between the Germanic languages, we are hampered by the difficulty of defining the language of the older runic inscriptions – not least because of the relative scarcity and limited geographical distribution of the inscriptions. And attempts are further hampered by the fact that the individual languages were first recorded in widely different periods, cf. above, I.2.

In ch. III an outline will be given of the most important historical factors contributing to the geographical expansion (and differentiation) of Germanic. But first the position of Germanic in relation to other language families will be examined: what are the links and what are the divergencies? Ch. II will attempt to answer these questions.

1. According to Düwel/Tempel (1970:357) the earliest find stems from the 5th century. For a discussion of the difficulty in defining the content of *Frisian* in connection with the runic inscriptions, see H.F. Nielsen 1984a:12.

2. On the authority of P. Jørgensen (1946), one reviewer of the Danish version of this book is unwilling to believe that not only Mainland, but also Insular North Frisian are emigrant dialects. However, P. Jørgensen's 'hitherto unrefuted view', as the reviewer in question puts it, is not shared by scholars such as Jankuhn (1959:11-19), Århammar (1964:4-6; 1988), Sjölin (1969:3) and Hofmann (1979:11-28, esp. 17, 'Die nordfriesischen Inseln Amrum, Föhr und Sylt scheinen schon in den Jahrzehnten vor und nach 700 eine friesisch sprechende Bevölkerung erhalten zu haben, ebenso Helgoland ...').

3. The Illerup inscriptions, which have come to light only within the last decade, have been dated to c. 200 by archaeologists, cf. Stoklund 1985:5, Moltke 1985:88-101. In the case of the first find (discovered in 1976-77), a mount for a shield handle, the dating is thought by the excavators to be no later than 200 (Moltke and Stoklund 1982:67). According to Harry Andersen (1982:261), the Illerup lance-head inscriptions are from the first half of the 2nd century A.D. The (presumably) earliest inscription is another recent find, the Meldorf fibula, which has been dated archaeologically to the 1st century A.D. (Düwel/Gebühr 1981:159-75).

4. This is the traditional view. Professor E.H. Antonsen has drawn my attention to his paper 'Om nogle sammensatte personnavne i de ældre runeindskrifter' in *Norsk Tidsskrift for Sprogvidenskap* 29 (1975):237-46 – here he argues that a number of the older runic inscriptions exhibit

West Germanic features. See further Antonsen 1975:75-8 where the Vimose and Værløse clasps and the Skonager and Skodborg bracteates are assigned to Antonsen's West Germanic group of inscriptions, cf. also 1986:340-43. But see Knirk 1977:175-6, 180.

5.   The terms *North, West* and *East Germanic* should be taken to indicate the geographical positions of the groups in question at a given period of time. West Germanic comprises Old High German, Old Saxon, Old Low Franconian, Old Frisian and Old English, but in the sense in which the term is used here it does not presuppose especially close interrelations between the languages mentioned to the exclusion of equally close links to e.g. Old Norse (North Germanic).

6.   The Gothic Kowel inscription shows that weakly accented *-a-* in *tila- rids* (Gmc. *-rīdaz*) had disappeared in East Germanic by A.D. 250.

7.   The suffixes are here accounted for in the traditional manner, cf. Krahe II 1969:§17. Antonsen (1972:138-9) follows Lane (1963:155-70) and others in assuming the Indo-European locative to have been *-ew-i/-ow-i*.

8.   According to Professor E.H. Antonsen (personal communication), the ending *-e* (< Gmc. *-aiz* < IE *-o-es*) is attested for *a-* stem nouns in early Old High German (Abrogans c. 765). This suggests that the suffix of OHG *blinte,* etc. is in fact a nominal one.

9.   Dr. Harry Andersen does not accept the idea of an *-ana-* suffix in the past participle of the Old Norse strong verbs. For the details, see Harry Andersen 1966:§171,7 and esp. 1978-9:285. (But cf. Brøndum-Nielsen I 1950:§76 Anm. 1.)

10.   My translation of the Danish passage:

Urnordisk tilhører den indoeuropæiske sprogæt og har gennem ur- eller fællesgermansk udviklet sig til urnordisk (eller nordger- mansk), der atter − gennem en senurnordisk overgangsperiode (Blekingestenene) o. 750ff. spalter sig i øst- og vestnordisk ...

II GERMANIC: AN INDO–EUROPEAN LANGUAGE GROUP

1. Indo-European

Germanic belongs to the Indo-European language family, which comprises a large number of modern and extinct languages in Europe and Asia.[1] A suitable place to begin our survey of these languages would be *Indian,* the first records of which are the *Vedic* hymns written about 1000 B.C., but representing a poetic tradition which is several centuries older. A well-known type of Old Indian is *Sanskrit,* which is known in its classical form from the middle of the first millennium B.C. The Modern Indian languages, which have developed by way of the Middle Indian *Prakrit* dialects, include *Urdu, Hindi, Bengali* and *Romany (Gypsy),* cf. Hjelmslev 1963:73.

The earliest recorded representatives of the *Iranian* group are *Avestan* (the language of Zarathustra) and *Old Persian* (known from the cuneiform inscriptions of the Achaemenian kings). While Avestan has no modern descendants, Old Persian is the ancestor of *Middle Persian (Pehlevi)* as well as of *Modern Persian,* the standard language of Iran. Because of the resemblance between Indian and Iranian the two languages are frequently classified as the *Indo-Iranian* or *Aryan* branch (Szemerényi 1970:10).

Armenian, which is spoken in the Caucasus region, is attested from the 5th century A.D. The earliest recorded Indo-European language, *Hittite,* became known only in the early part of this century. Excavations in Asia Minor brought to light thousands of clay tablets with cuneiform inscriptions going back to the golden age of the Hittites, perhaps to as far back as the 17th century B.C. Inscriptions in *Luwian* and *Palaic,* which were closely related to Hittite, were also found and the three languages have been bracketed together in an *Anatolian* branch. *Lycian* and *Lydian,* both recorded in the western part of Asia

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Minor from the middle of the first millennium B.C., are likely to be late Anatolian languages – Lycian (despite its late attestation) being more closely related to Luwian and Lydian being more on the side of Hitttite and Palaic (Palmer 1980:11).

Until the early 1950s the oldest documents in *Greek* were supposed to derive from the 8th century B.C. But when in 1952 the so-called *Linear B* script on clay tablets found in esp.Crete and Peloponnese was deciphered, the history of the Greek language was pushed about 800 years further back in time (Palmer 1980:27-33). There was much dialectal variation in early Greek, *Aeolic, Doric* and *Attic-Ionic* being among the most important dialects. *Modern Greek* derives from *koine,* the 'common dialect' of the Hellenistic period, which was based on Attic that had acquired much prestige, being the dialect of Athens. Hjelmslev (1963:72) includes *Macedonian,* an extinct language known only through onomastic evidence and glosses, in a *Hellenic* branch of Indo-European. Krahe (I 1962:17-18) calls it a marginal or mixed language that has absorbed not only Greek, but also Thracian and Illyrian elements.

Like Macedonian, *Thracian* is scantily attested. It was spoken in the north-eastern part of the Balkan peninsula. The documentation of *Illyrian* is slightly better, esp. because of the nearly 300 *Messapian* inscriptions from Apulia and Calabria in Southern Italy. Illyrian was not indigenous to Italy, however. The language was certainly spoken in the western part of the Balkan peninsula north of Greece, but as we shall see below in II.2, Illyrian is likely to have been much more widely used in pre-historic Europe.

Because of its geographical position *Albanian* is sometimes assumed to be a present-day descendant of Illyrian, but this is difficult to prove. The language was first recorded only in 1462, and esp. its vocabulary has been heavily influenced by neighbouring languages. *Venetic* was formerly believed to be an Illyrian dialect, but is now regarded as an independent Indo-European language even if it does exhibit striking parallels with Italic. Venetic is attested in a few hundred inscriptions from the north-eastern part of Italy dating back to the centuries im-

mediately preceding the beginning of the Christian era.

Italic comprises two subgroups, namely *Latino-Faliscan* and *Osco-Umbrian,* which because of distinct differences are sometimes regarded as two independent Indo-European branches, cf. Palmer 1954:6-11, Lockwood 1969:40-41. The political expansion of Rome had the linguistic effect that *Latin* (recorded from the 6th century B.C.) superseded first the other languages and dialects of the peninsula, later languages in other regions engulfed by the Roman Empire. Latin (in its spoken form) is therefore not only the ancestor of *Modern Italian,* but also of the other so-called *Romance* language, i.e. *Portuguese, Spanish, Catalan, French, Provençal, Sardinian, Rhaeto-Romanic* (see above, I.1) and *Roumanian.*

Today *Celtic* is spoken only in the British Isles and in Brittany. It can be divided up into two subgroups: *Goedelic* with *Irish, Manx* and *Scots Gaelic* and *British (Brythonic)* with *Welsh, Cornish* (extinct from about 1800) and *Breton* (whose presence in Brittany should be ascribed to British emigration in the 4th-6th centuries). Irish is the earliest recorded language by virtue of the *ogham* inscriptions, most of which belong to the 5th and 6th centuries A.D. (Ó Murchú 1985:12-13). But Celtic is not indigenous to the British Isles. From the middle of the last millennium before the beginning of the Christian era the Celts migrated from their Central European heartland to Gaul, Britain, the Iberian peninsula, Italy and by way of the Balkan peninsula to Asia Minor, cf. Paul's letter to the Galatians (see also below, V.1). The continental Celts have left few linguistic traces, but we know that there were several distinct types of Celtic already at that time, e.g. *Celtiberian* and *Gaulish.* British and Gaulish were so closely linked that Ó Murchú (1985:9) thinks it justified to speak of *Gallo-British.*

The Germanic language group was presented in ch. I. Among the Indo-European branches not yet dealt with is *Baltic,* which comprises *Latvian* and *Lithuanian (East Baltic),* recorded from the 16th century, and *Old Prussian (West Baltic),* scantily attested in the 15th and 16th centuries and extinct since 1700. Because of its highly conservative character Lithuanian is of great value to Indo-European comparative

studies. Baltic shows much affinity with *Slavic;* nevertheless, striking divergencies make it safer to assume that Baltic and Slavic are independent branches of Indo-European than to postulate the existence of a common *Balto-Slavic* branch. *Old Church Slavic (Old Bulgarian)* from the 9th century A.D. is the earliest attested Slavic language. The Modern Slavic languages can be divided up into three subgroups: 1. *West Slavic* with *Polish, Czech, Slovak* and *Sorbian* (in Lower and Upper Lusatia, East Germany); 2. *South Slavic* which includes *Bulgarian, Serbo-Croatian* and *Slovenian;* and 3. *East Slavic* which comprises *Russian, Ukranian* and *White Russian.*

Before ending our tour of Indo-European, we should not forget to mention *Tocharian,* which like Hittite was not discovered until the beginning of this century. It was spoken in Central Asia (Western China) over a thousand years ago and is attested in two dialectal versions.

2. The position of Germanic within Indo-European

Above it was suggested that some of the Indo-European language groups were more closely linked to each other than to the remaining members of the language family. A case in point is Indian and Iranian. It is therefore only natural to ask whether Germanic is more closely connected with some of the Indo-European groups than with others. Does Germanic share sufficient parallels with other members of the Indo-European language family to enable us to establish its early contacts and thereby give us a clue to its linguistic (and geographical) position within Indo-European?

A well-known criterion for classifying the Indo-European languages is the distinction between *satem* and *centum:* the Indo-European palatal stops $\hat{k}$ and $\hat{g}$ ($\hat{g}h$) became fricatives (sibilants) in *satem* languages, but remained stops in the *centum* languages. Thus IE *$\hat{k}mtóm$ 'hundred' developed into Sanskrit *sátám,* Avestan *satəm,* Lithuanian *šiṁtas* and Old Church Slavic *sъto,* whereas Gothic *hund* (see below, II.3), Latin *centum,* Old Irish *cēt* and Greek *hekatón* all

reflect a stop consonant. This example shows that the designations of the two macro-groups derive from the Avestan and the Latin words for 'hundred', *satəm* and *centum* respectively. Apart from Indian, Iranian, Baltic and Slavic, the former class includes Armenian, Thracian and Albanian, while Venetic, Illyrian, Hittite and Tocharian *(känt)* join Germanic, Latin, Celtic and Greek in the *centum* group. Geographically, this grouping would seem to indicate an east-west split – if it had not been for Tocharian in Western China (and to some extent Hittite). Pyles (1971:96) suggests that Tocharian and Hittite emigration from the *centum* area of Central Europe may be the reason why these two languages do not follow the general pattern.[2] Such an explanation might please adherents of the *Stammbaum* method of accounting for language development (V.1), but it does not take into consideration the experience of modern dialect geography (V.2). There are no grounds for assuming that the *satem-centum* division goes all the way back to Proto-Indo-European. It is more probable that the shift of stops to fricatives is the result of later innovation spreading within the eastern Indo-European dialect area, but without ever reaching Tocharian and Hittite, perhaps both for geographical and chronological reasons. Another change distinguishes the *satem* languages from the *centum* group: the loss of lip rounding in labiovelar stops so that k^w, g^w and g^w *h* coalesce with the velar stops, cf. Sanskrit *káḥ,* Old Church Slavic *kъto,* Lithuanian *kàs* 'who?' vs. Latin *quis,* Hittite *kwis* and Gothic *has.* But as already suggested, the *satem-centum* split should not be overestimated. There is much linguistic evidence that runs counter to this line of division. Below we shall see, e.g., how Germanic, a *centum* language, shares striking linguistic features with two *satem* languages, Baltic and Slavic.

Meanwhile, let us have a look at the 'Old European' river-names (hydronymy). It is well known that the oldest linguistic material in a given geographical area is the place-names. In history, there are numerous instances of invaders taking over the existing place-nomenclature of the conquered area. To give one example, the Anglo-Saxon settlements

in Britain in the 5th and 6th centuries (III.3) did not lead to the extinction of British place-names. On the contrary, the Anglo-Saxons took over pre-emigration names, many of which still exist, e.g. territorial names *(Kent, Thanet* and *Wight),* names of towns *(London, Carlisle, Penkridge, York),* forests *(Chute, Kinver, Morfe),* hills *(Cannock, Malvern, Pennard)* and rivers *(Avon, Dee, Ouse, Severn, Tee, Thames, Trent, Wye),* cf. Ekwall 1960:xxi-iii. Not surprisingly, river-names were to a large extent taken over from the Britons. River-names are known to be an especially tenacious type of nomenclature and can yield valuable information on the prehistory of a region, on ancient tribal settlement, etc. For this reason Krahe took upon himself to investigate European river-names (1954:48-63, 1964:32-86). Our interest in Krahe's research concerns the bearing it may have on determining the position of Germanic within an Indo-European framework.

In his investigation Krahe has gone as far back in time as possible, thereby reaching the oldest stratum of the 'Old European' hydronymy, a small number of residual names whose lexical elements and word-formation exhibit so great mutual resemblance that common origin must be assumed. Both in terms of roots and derivative elements all the words are entirely of Indo-European stock. I shall here render one example of the names listed by Krahe (1954:49, cf. 1964:52-3), namely the root **albh-* which is reflected in Old Norse *elfr* 'river' and which is cognate with Latin *albus* 'white': *Alba > Aube,* tributary of the Seine; *Alba,* rivers in Spain and Switzerland; *Alf* and *Alb,* rivers in the Rhine region; *Albis, Alba* = 'the Elbe'; *Albina > Elbe,* tributary of the Lahn in West Germany; *Albina > Alm,* tributary of the Traun in Upper Austria; *Albinia > Albegna,* river in Etruria, Italy; *Albula,* an alternative name for the Tiber; **Albanta > Lavant,* river in Carinthia, Austria; *Albenta* (16th century), river in Lithuania; **Albantia > Alfenz,* river in Vorarlberg, Austria; **Albantia > Aubance,* tributary of the Louet in France; **Albantia > Lafnitz,* river in Styria, Austria; *Alfund- > Ulvunda,* river in Norway. The last six names are all formed with an *-nt-* stem suffix, cf. **Albanta, *Albantia.* Various other river-names based on other roots exhibit the same stem suffix, cf. Krahe 1954:58, 1964:64.

It is interesting that the southern part of the Balkan peninsula and also the Iberian peninsula (with the exception of the northern part) do not participate in the general hydronymy pattern. As for the Apennine peninsula and Southern Gaul, both have river-names antedating the Indo-European nomenclature. This indicates that an invasion of Indo-European speakers must have taken place in these regions as well as in the Balkan and Iberian peninsulas.

Now, in what Indo-European language areas is the 'Old European' hydronymy reflected? Quite clearly, Baltic, Germanic, Illyrian, Italic (Latino-Faliscan and Osco-Umbrian), Celtic and Venetic are relevant in this context, but not Greek even if it is a *centum* language – which on the other hand, Baltic, a member of the 'Old European' group, is not. Apparently, Slavic is only an occasional participant in the hydronymy system. The marginal position of Slavic in relation to 'Old Europe' can further be illustrated by some lexical examples. The term for 'sea' corresponding to German *Meer* is thus found not only in Germanic (ON *marr,* Goth. *marei*), Celtic (Welsh, Cornish, Breton *mor*), Italic (Lat. *mare*), Illyrian (*Marus* (a river-name)) and Baltic (Lith. *mãrès, mã-rios*), but also in Slavic (OCS *morje,* Russ. *more*). But Slavic does not possess the root found in Icelandic *þjóð* 'people' in contradistinction to Baltic (Lith. *tautà,* Latv. *tàuta* 'people'), Illyrian (in many personal names: *Teuta, Teuticus,* etc.), Italic (Oscan *touto,* Umbrian *totam*), Celtic (Welsh *tūd* 'country', Old Irish *tūath* 'people') and Germanic (OE *þēod,* OFris. *thiād* 'people').

By way of conclusion, Krahe (1954:63-4, 1964:79) says that in comparison with common Indo-European the hydronymy reflects a later and geographically more restricted language state. The participating languages were all western Indo-European, and Krahe thinks that they had common links that set them apart from the remaining Indo-European languages and which were close enough to justify the use of the label *Die alteuropäische Sprachengruppe.* Geographically, Krahe assigns the group to Western and Central Europe, from the Baltic countries towards the east to the British Isles (cf. Nicolaisen 1971:85-102) towards the west and from Scandinavia to the Alps (extended in an easterly and a

westerly direction).

If Krahe's theory is accepted, the 'Old European' language group constituted only one stage in the development of the Indo-European languages. The *satem-centum* division may reflect a pattern prevailing at another time. However, serious criticism has been levelled from several quarters at Krahe's hypothesis, cf. Kousgård Sørensen 1972:65-9 and Andersson 1972:20-27. For one thing, it has been claimed (but perhaps unjustly, cf. Krahe 1954:60-63, 1964:77-8) that the ancient river-names were originally all common nouns or adjectives (like **albh-* 'white') and that therefore such river-names could have come into existence at any point within the life-span of the common noun or adjective in question. Consequently, the river-names did not constitute a system. Secondly, Krahe may have underrated the role played by the pre-Indo-European nomenclature in Europe. Thirdly, his concept of a specific western Indo-European language area has been questioned as has the delimitation of the area itself. Finally, he has been criticized for basing his belief in a Scandinavian participation in the 'Old European' hydronymy on a single scholarly work, Oluf Rygh's *Norske Elvenavne* (1904). To W.P. Schmid (1968) it is also significant that the languages assumed by Krahe to be 'Old European' do not exhibit one shared phonological, morphological or lexical innovation. In his view, the river-names are simply of common Indo-European descent, and the fact that Indo-European languages such as Indo-Iranian, Hittite and Greek fail to exhibit the river-nomenclature is attributed to the emigration of Indo-European speakers from their European *Ursitze* to regions that had already acquired river-names.

So much for Krahe's hydronymy. Let us now consider in more detail the early contacts between Germanic and other Indo-European languages with a view to determining its position within the family. Among the many problems associated with achieving this aim might be mentioned the scarcity of texts extant in some of the languages, e.g. Illyrian, Venetic and Osco-Umbrian; the vast time-differences between the languages in their first attestations of texts; and the difficulty in evaluating parallels (see below, ch. V). Obviously, it is easier to establish parallels between well-attested languages than between languages that are scant-

ily documented. And it is easier to find lexical parallels between the languages involved than morphological, phonological or syntactic ones even though lexical parallels are of less significance for rendering early contact probable than are the others.

Germanic shares quite a few parallels with Baltic and Slavic. Of special interest is their shared dative instrumental plural formation with an -*m*- case element, where the other languages exhibit a suffix containing -*bh*-: OE *dagum*, Lith. *výra-ms*, OCS *žena-mъ*, but Venetic *loudero-bos*, Sanskrit *dēvē-bhyah*, etc. (Porzig 1954:140, Krahe I 1969:§8). Among the eight lexical parallels listed by Polomé (1972:51-3) might be mentioned: ON *gull*, Latv. *zèlts*, Russ. *zóloto* 'gold'; Goth. *þūsundi*, Lith. *túkstantis*, OCS *tysęšta* 'Krafthundert' (i.e. '1000'); OHG *wahs*, Latv. *vasks*, Russ. *vósk* 'wax'; and OHG *stuot*, Lith. *stódas*, OCS *stado* 'herd' (esp. of horses, cf. Danish *stod*). A more extensive enumeration of Germano-Balto-Slavic correspondences is provided by Stang (1972), whose list exhibits many designations for simple wooden tools and objects besides some terms for social phenomena (1972:79-82).

A number of lexical isoglosses connect Germanic exclusively with Baltic, e.g. OE *teoru*, Latv. *dařva* 'tar' and Goth. *skulan*, Lith. *skeliù* 'owe'. More important for demonstrating a close relationship are the use of an -*m*- suffix to form the ordinal number 'first': OS *formo,* Old Prussian *pirmas* and the amazing resemblance between Goth. *ainlif, twalif* and Lith. *vienúolika, dvýlika* 'eleven', 'twelve', which are formed with a verbal stem **lik ᵂ*- meaning 'leave over', 'be in excess'. Porzig (1954:143-5) and Polomé (1972:58-9) disagree on what items to include among the Germano-Slavic correspondences, ON *borr* 'conifer', Old Russ. *borъ* 'spruce' being the only exclusive parallel fully accepted by both scholars. Further examples from Polomé's list are: ON *stakkr*, OCS *stogъ* 'heap' and ON *bjarga* 'save', OCS *brěgǫ, brěšti* 'take care of'. The items listed here have all crossed the *satem-centum* isogloss, but apart from that it is difficult to evaluate the Germanic links to Baltic and Slavic. It is a widely held opinion, though, that the links to Baltic are closer than those to Slavic. This is the view of e.g. Čemodanov (1962)

who also thinks that Slavic and Iranian were originally closely associated. Only when Slavic broke away from Iranian did it become closely connected with Baltic. Germanic, on the other hand, became more closely involved with Illyrian, Venetic and esp. Italic, cf. Polomé (1974:103-4) who finds much of Čemodanov's material dubious. In a very recent article W.P. Schmid (1983:101-13) argues that the development of Germanic could not have taken place entirely independently of Baltic, partly because of the similar type of consonantal variation as seen in words like German *Haufen* 'heap', *Haube* 'hood' and Lith. *kaupas* 'heap', *kaubras,* and partly because of the development of the verbal system on the basis of the phonological structure of present stem forms (1983:110-11). According to Schmid, the Germano-Baltic contacts precede those between Slavic and Baltic, but it is also suggested that the earliest parallels shared by Baltic and another Indo-European language were those shared with Greek (1983:108-11).

As far as the relationship between Germanic and Illyrian is concerned, it is significant that the Messapian reflexive possessive pronoun *veinan* (acc.) is formed by adding a *-no-* element to the locative of the personal pronoun (cf. IE *$suei$-no-m*). In Germanic, possessive pronouns like OHG *mīn, dīn, sīn* are formed in exactly the same way. The following lexical correspondences should be mentioned: OE *būr* 'room, bower', Messapian βύριον·; Goth. *þiudans* 'king', Illyrian *Teutana* 'queen'; Swedish dial. *brind(e)* 'elk', Messapian βρένδον·; OHG *bast* 'bast', Messapian βαστα· (Krahe 1954:104-8, Porzig 1954:128-30). How did speakers of Germanic manage to get in contact with speakers of a language attested in Southern Italy and in the Balkan peninsula? There is evidence to suggest that Illyrian tribes migrated over much of Central and Southern Europe just like, after them, the Celts and the *Germanen* and that at one point they were the neighbours of the *Germanen* in East-Central Europe (perhaps in present-day Poland) – this is at least what Krahe's place-name studies seem to show (1954:98-104, 169-70). The fact that Illyrian exhibits agreements with Baltic and Slavic (Krahe 1954:108-14) makes it conceivable that Illyrian was the western neigh-

bour of Baltic and the south(-eastern) neighbour of Germanic.

There are also parallels between Illyrian and Venetic (Krahe 1954:114-22), but our concern here are the Germano-Venetic ones. Sommer (1924:90-132) has drawn attention to two morphological correspondences, namely Venetic *me χ o* and Goth. *mik,* both 1 pers. pron. acc. forms influenced by the nominative *e χ o* and *ik,* and Venetic *selbo-,* Goth. *silba,* pronouns of identity, which are not found in any cognate language. Venetic has some correspondences with Italic, and it is possible that Venetic should be placed between Illyrian and Italic with Germanic to the north. It is worth noting in this connection that Tacitus (*Germania,* ch. 46) assigns the *Venethi* (who he thinks are either *Germanen* or Sarmatians) to a position east of the *Suebi* (probably in Poland). Later Slavic invaders (the Wends) took over this tribal name.

The similarities between Italic (Latino-Faliscan and Osco-Umbrian) and Germanic are very numerous, esp. within lexis. Many semantic fields are involved, e.g. the military and social spheres (ON *spjǫrr,* Lat. *sparus* 'spear'; OE *earh* 'arrow', Lat. *arcus* 'bow'; OE *þrymm* 'multitude', Lat. *turma* 'squadron'; ON *seggr* 'retainer', Lat. *socius* 'companion', cf. *sequor* 'to follow'), chronology (Goth. *aþn,* Lat. *annus* 'year'; ON *vár,* Lat. *vēr* 'spring'), religion (Goth. *weihs* 'holy', Lat. *victima* 'victim'; OHG *bluozan* 'to sacrifice', Lat. *flāmen* 'priest'), parts of the body (OE *tunge,* Lat. *lingua* < Old Lat. *dingua* 'tongue'; ON *hals,* Lat. *collus* 'neck'), nature (Goth. *ahva,* Lat. *aqua* 'water'; OE *hyll,* Lat. *collis* 'hill'), trees and plants (ON *bók,* Lat. *fāgus* 'beech'; OHG *gras,* Lat. *grāmen* 'grass'), cultivated plants (Goth. *ahs* 'ear of corn', Lat. *acus* 'chaff'; ON *barr* 'corn, barley', Lat. *farīna* 'flour') and animals (Goth. *gaits* 'goat', Lat. *haedus* 'billygoat'; ON *fiskr,* Lat. *piscis* 'fish'; OHG *wurm,* Lat. *vermis* 'worm'). There are certain common abstract terms (Goth. *hatis,* Oscian (gen.) *cadeis* 'hate'; Goth. *junda,* Lat. *iuventa* 'youth'). In addition, there are quite a few shared grammatical features: distributive numerals formed with the suffix *-no-* (ON *tvennr* 'double', Lat. *bīnī* 'two' < *bisnī* < *duis-no-i*), adverbs of direction in *-nē* (Goth. *ūtana* 'from without', Lat. *supernē* 'from above'), adverbs of locality (originally ablatives) in *-trō, -trā* (Goth.

jainþrō 'from there', Lat. *ultrō, ultrā* 'beyond'); and finally there are parallels among the verbs, sometimes so close that the same conjugational classes are involved. The present conjugations of e.g. OHG *zwirnōn, zwirnēn* (weak verbs classes II and III) correspond to those of the Latin 1st and 2nd conjugations, cf. Goth. *þahaiþ,* Lat. *t a c e t* 'is silent'. Also the similarity between the verbal formation of Goth. *hafja,* Lat. *capio* 'seize' should be mentioned.

There can be no doubt that Germanic must at one time have been adjacent to Italic, which is likely to have taken up a position west of the Venetic *Ursitz,* i.e. south of Germanic. The Germano-Italic contacts came to an end with the southward migration of the Italic tribes. When exactly this departure took place is difficult to say, but it is interesting that the Latin word for bronze, *aes,* occurs nowhere else in Europe except in Germanic, cf. Goth. *a i z,* ON *e i r.* This suggests that contacts ceased only after the beginning of the bronze age. Italic tribes turn up in the Apennine peninsula around 1000 B.C., so we may be justified in assuming that Germano-Italic contacts were interrupted in the latter half of the second millennium B.C.

The Germanic links to Celtic probably stem from a later date. It is noteworthy that the two language groups (but not Italic) share the same word for 'iron' (Gaulish *ī s a r n o-,* Goth. *e i s a r n*) and that they do not seem to exhibit any common innovations in respect of phonology and morphology (Polomé 1972:64). This suggests that Celto-Germanic contacts were later and less close than those between Italic and Germanic. As far as lexical correspondences are concerned, the parallels between Celtic and Germanic are by no means as numerous or important as the Germano-Italic ones. Nevertheless there are quite a few correspondences within various semantic spheres such as habitation (OE *flōr,* OIrish *lār* 'floor'; ON *þak,* Welsh *to* 'roof'), riding (OHG *mar(a)h,* Irish *ríadaim* 'go, travel'), nature (Breton *coet* 'forest', ON *heiðr* 'heath'), metal, material (OE *lēad,* MIrish *luaide* 'lead'; OS *lethar,* Welsh *lledr* 'leather') and religion (Goth. *rūna,* OIrish *r ū n* 'secret'). None of the words listed have loan-word status, but must be attributed to common retention (development) of something old. There is

some evidence to suggest, however, that the Celts, in virtue of their political and cultural superiority, were the givers and the *Germanen* the receivers in the lexical relationship between the two groups (Polomé 1972:67-8, 1985:52, 56-7), cf. Gmc. *rīk-* (OE *rīca* 'ruler', OHG *rīhhi* 'realm'), which cannot be derived from IE *rēg-* unless Celtic transmission is assumed (IE *ē* > Celtic *ī*, cf. Celtic *rīg-*, OIrish *rī* 'king'), and **ambaht* (OHG *ambaht* 'servant', ON *embætti* 'office, post'), which must be a direct loan from Celtic (cf. Gaulish *ambaktos*) seeing that the etymology of **amb(i)-aktos* was not properly understood in Germanic, for which reason Gothic changed the prefix into the more familiar *and-* in *andbahts,* cf. Krahe 1954:137.

It is a well-known fact that Celtic tribes like the *Helvetii* and the *Boii* (III.2) lived in areas that were later to be settled by *Germanen,* that the Greek historian Herodotus places the source of the Danube in Celtic territory and that many place-names in Central and Southern Germany are of Celtic derivation, e *.g. Bonn, Mainz, Bregenz; Taunus; Glan, Tauber, Brigach,* but still the linguistic situation suggests that Celts and *Germanen* came into contact only after their languages had reached some degree of independence. Evidently, the close Celto-Germanic proximity postdates the southward emigration of the Proto-Italic tribes in such a way that Celts moved into former Italic territory south and south-west of the *Germanen.*3

Germanic, Italic and Celtic do show some correspondences, but these are most suitably assigned to a period in which both Celts and *Germanen* were in close contact with the Italic tribes, but not with each other. The most significant parallels are *-tt-* > *-ss-,* cf. OS *wiss,* OIrish *fiss;* ON *sess,* Latin *(ob)sessus,* but Sanskrit *vittáḥ; sattáḥ,* and some lexical agreements: OE *wōþbora* 'poet, prophet', Irish *fáith* 'poet', Lat. *vātes* 'sooth-sayer'; ON *haptr* 'serf', Welsh *caeth* 'slave', Lat. *captus* 'prisoner'; Goth. *tunþus,* OIrish *dēt,* Lat. *dent-* 'tooth'; OHG *ancho* 'butter', Breton *amann* 'butter', Umbrian *umen* 'fat, ointment'. See also Polomé 1985:56.

We have now established the most important links between Germanic and the nearest Indo-European languages. Very likely, the original

neighbours of Germanic were from south-west to south-east: Italic (later to be replaced by Celtic), Venetic and Illyrian and towards the east, Baltic (and Slavic). However, Germanic must also have had non-Indo-European neighbours towards the east, namely Finnish and Lappish. There are hundreds of Germanic loan-words in Finnish alone, cf. Hofstra 1985. There is non-linguistic evidence to suggest that Finno-Germanic contacts go back to the latter half of the second millennium B.C. In the past, scholars like Vilhelm Thomsen and T.E. Karsten believed that the early Germanic loans were of significance for reconstructing Proto-Germanic in that Finnish was thought to be a conservative language that faithfully retained vocalic and consonantal features that later disappeared in Germanic. Scholars today (Juntune 1973, Loikala 1977, Kylstra 1970, cf. Hofstra 1985:198-201, 413-14) are much more cautious in extrapolating phonological information on early Germanic from borrowings in Finnish, both as regards consonants and vowels, esp. final vowels. Thus loan-words are now thought to be only of restricted value to Germanic philology, even if they may be granted a controlling function in relation to the reconstructions posited for Proto-Germanic. As Hofstra (1985:414) points out, Finnish *rengas* 'ring' confirms that **hrengaz* is the correct reconstruction for Proto-Germanic, although all attested Germanic languages exhibit first syllables in *-i- (h)ring- (enC > inC,* cf. Umbrian *krenkatrum* 'shoulder girdle').

The time has now come for considering what makes Germanic an independent Indo-European language: what features distinguish Germanic from all other Indo-European languages?

3. Linguistic features characteristic of Germanic

In the field of morphology the nominal and pronominal declensions have been exposed to substantial reduction in Germanic. While Indo-European had eight different cases (nominative, vocative, accusative, genitive, dative, instrumental, ablative and locative) and three numbers (singular, dual and plural), Germanic has preserved only four cases,

namely nominative, accusative, genitive and dative as in German (with traces of the vocative and the instrumental in the earliest attested stages) and two numbers, singular and plural, the dual being partly preserved in the pronouns.[4] However, there is no reduction in gender: like Indo-European, Germanic has three genders (masculine, feminine and neuter).

The Indo-European verbs could be conjugated in person (1/2/3 person), number (singular, dual and plural), voice (active and middle), mood (indicative, subjunctive, optative and imperative) and tense/aspect (present, imperfect, aorist, perfect and (possibly) future). The most striking reduction[5] here is that Germanic distinguishes between only two tenses, the present and the preterite. Formally, the latter corresponds to the IE perfect in the Gmc. strong verbs, but on the content plane it took over all IE past functions. Three moods are formally continued in Germanic: besides indicative and imperative, the optative which takes over the functions of the subjunctive. There are few traces of the middle voice outside Gothic, where it has passive function. And Gothic is the only Germanic language to preserve the dual in its conjugational paradigms.

The Germanic adjectives have innovated in that they have added a so-called weak declension to the strong declension inherited from Indo-European, cf. German *der gute Mann* vs. *ein guter Mann;* Danish *den gode mand, en god mand.* IE adjectives had the same (nominal) endings as the nouns, cf.Greek and Latin. In Germanic the strong adjectives retained a number of those suffixes, but introduced pronominal endings in quite a few cases. The weak adjectival declension, which formally corresponds to the *n-* declension of the nouns (OE nom. *guma* 'man', acc., gen., dat. *guman*) seems originally to have been associated with individualization, cf. Greek *strabōn* 'the squint-eyed one' vs. *strabós* 'squint-eyed', for which reason it acquires the definite article (Krahe/Seebold 1967:109). It should be noted that the substantival *n-* declension is much more widespread in Germanic than in Indo-European, and that the productivity of the *n-* declension may be due to the fact that formally IE adjectives could become nouns by going over to this declension, cf. the Greek example just given and Lat. *Catō, Catōnis* 'the

shrewd one' vs. *c a t u s* 'shrewd' (Streitberg 1974:207).

The most striking innovation among the verbs is the development of a weak verbal class with an alveolar suffix *(d/t)* added in the preterite, cf. Danish *fremme, fremmede; kalde, kaldte;* Dutch *horen, hoorde,* Gothic *hausjan, hausida,* etc. The origin of the weak preterites has given rise to much controversy. Let it suffice here to note that the Goth. pret. pl. suffixes in *hausidēdum, hausidēduþ, hausidēdun* are the exact equivalents of the pret. pl. forms of the independent OHG verb *tuon: tātum, tātut, tātun,* which suggests that the weak preterites derive from periphrastic constructions, cf. Dutch *ik hoorde < horen deed ik* (Schönfeld/v. Loey 1970:173).

In the Germanic strong verbs the Indo-European ablaut alternations, whose origins should be ascribed to suprasegmental features such as accent and intonation, were utilized systematically as can still, in many cases, be seen in the modern Germanic languages, cf. Dutch *grijpen, greep, gegrepen,* German *binden, band, gebunden,* Danish *bære, bar, båret.* It is possible to posit five ablaut series based on the IE *e - o* alternation, and either the zero grade or the lengthened grade, in different phonetic surroundings. Below, only Gothic examples are given. It should be noted that sound-changes such as IE *o* > Goth. (Gmc.) *a* have complicated the scheme:

1. IE	*ei*	*oi*	*i*	*i*
Goth.	*greipan* 'seize'	*graip* (pt.sg.)	*gripum* (pt.pl.)	*gripans* (pp.)
2. IE	*eu*	*ou*	*u*	*u*
Goth.	*niutan* 'enjoy'	*naut*	*nutum*	*nutans*
3. IE	*e+n(m/l/r)+*cons.	*on*	*n̥*	*n̥*
Goth.	*bindan* 'bind'	*band*	*bundum*	*bundans*
4. IE	*e+r(l/m/n)*	*or*	*ēr* (lengthened)	*r̥*
Goth.	*baíran* 'bear'	*bar*	*bērum*	*baúrans*
5. IE	*e*	*o*	*ē* (lengthened)	*e*
Goth.	*giban* 'give'	*gaf*	*gēbum*	*gibans*

3. Linguistic features characteristic of Germanic

There is a clear connection between the root vowels and their conjugational classification. However, there are indications that Germanic systematized not only an *e*-group, but also an *a*-group: the roots of the Gothic infinitives *haitan* 'call, name', *aukan* 'increase', *haldan* 'hold', *faran* 'fare, go', *graban* 'dig' are phonetically the exact counterparts of those of the *e*-group infinitives, even if the *a*-group exhibits only two ablaut grades: Goth. *faran, fōr, fōrum, farans;* OE *hātan, hēt, hēton, hāten* (cf. van Coetsem 1970:82ff., 1972:198-200).

As suggested above, IE *o* and *a* merged into Gmc. *a*. Further examples are: Lat. *potior* 'get possession of', Goth. *(brūþ)faþs* 'bridegroom'; Gr. *agrós,* Goth. *akrs* 'field'. Long IE *ā* and *ō* coalesced in Gmc. *ō* as the following examples show: Lat. *frāter,* Goth. *brōþar;* Lat. *flōs,* Goth. *blōma* 'flower'.

The IE sonants *r̥, l̥, m̥, n̥* became *ur, ul, um, un* in Germanic, cf. Sanskr. *vrkah,* Goth. *wulfs* 'wolf' (< IE **wlk^wos*) and IE **ḱm̥tóm* which appears as *śatám* in Sanskrit and as *hund* in Goth. For reflexes of *r̥* and *n̥* in Germanic, see the ablaut scheme above.

The most spectacular Germanic innovation is probably the Germanic Sound Shift, which changed the IE system of stop consonants in the following way:

I.	IE	*p, t, k, k^w*	>	Gmc. *f, θ, X ~ h, X^w ~ h^w*
II.		*b, d, g, g^w*	>	*p, t, k, k^w*
III.		*bh, dh, gh, g^w h*	>	*b ~ ƀ, d ~ ð, g ~ ǥ, g^w ~ ǥ^w*

The following examples illustrate the consonant shift:

I. Hittite *pítar* 'wing', ON *fjǫðr* 'feather'; Sanskr. *tarṣah,* Goth. *þaúrstei* 'thirst'; OIrish *cride,* Goth. *haírtō* 'heart'; Lat. *linquo* 'leave, abandon', Goth. *leihvan* 'lend'.
II. Lith. *dubus,* Goth. *diups* 'deep'; Gr. *édomai* (fut.), OE *etan* 'eat'; Hittite *genu,* Danish *knæ* 'knee'; OCS *nagъ,* Goth. *naqaþs* 'naked'.
III. Sanskr. *bhárati,* OHG *beran* 'bear'; Sanskr. *mádhyah,* OFris.

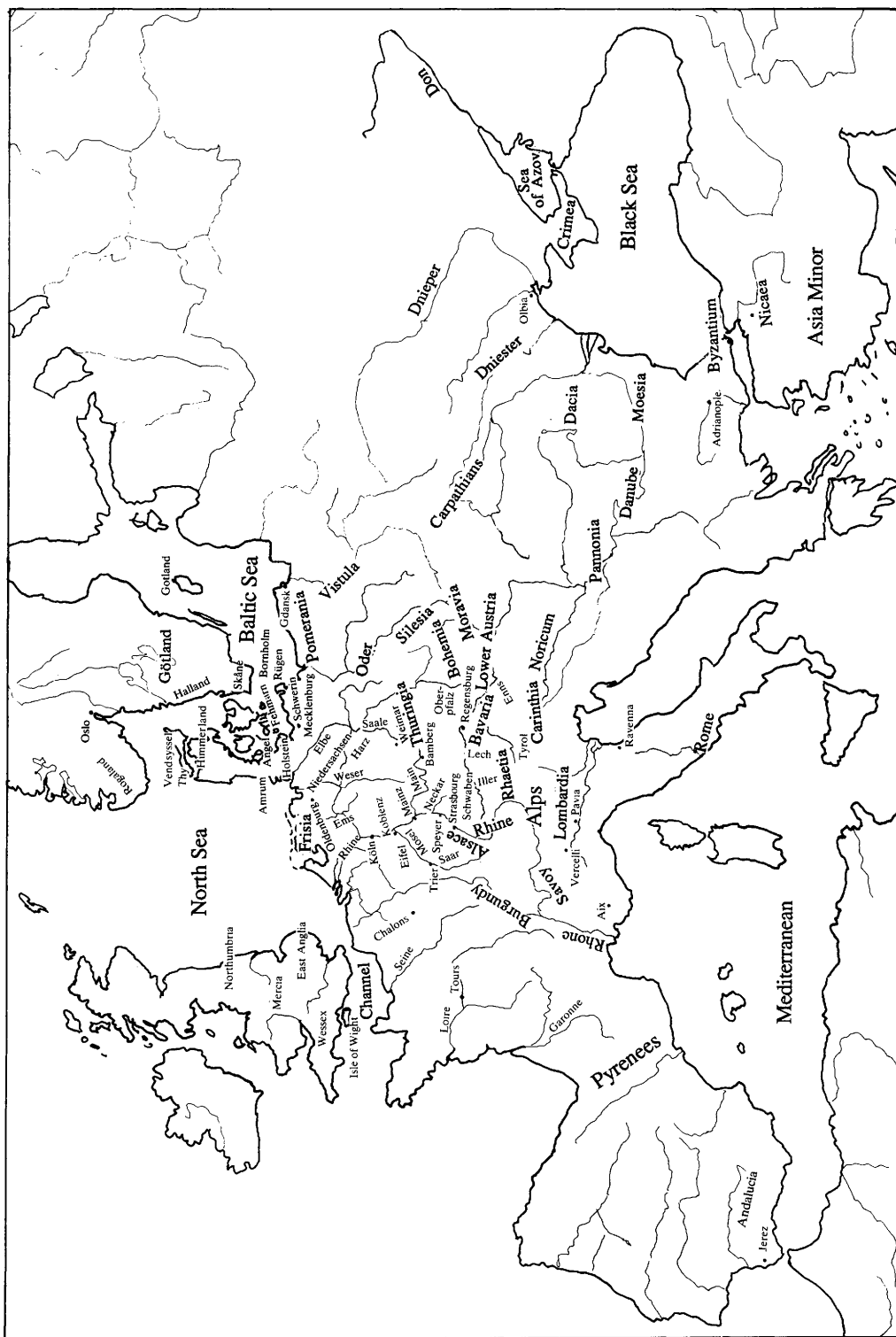*midde* 'middle, mid-'; Sanskr. *stighnutē* 'ascends', OS *stīgan* 'ascend'; Gr. *omphḗ* 'voice', ON *syngva* 'sing'.

An apparent exception to the Sound Shift was explained by Karl Verner in 1877. He pointed out that when the Germanic reflexes of IE *p, t, k, k^w* in some cases were *ƀ, đ, ǥ, $ǥ^w$* and not *f, θ, X, X^w* , this was due to the IE mobile accent: the voiced fricatives appeared whenever the preceding vowel was not accented, cf. Sanskr. *pitā́,* Goth. *fadar* vs. Sanskr. *bhrā́ta,* Goth. *brōþar*. In terms of relative chronology, this shows that the Sound Shift must antedate the fixation of accent on the first syllable in Germanic (in compound verbs, on the root syllable). The fixation of accent was to become of decisive importance for the subsequent development of Germanic because it entailed a reduction of the weakly accented syllables including the morphological suffixes.

Our brief treatment of the morphological and phonological features which have contributed most to establishing a Germanic identity has now come to an end. Later developments in Common Germanic have been left out of consideration, and the same applies to the lexical divergencies exhibited by Germanic in relation to the other Indo-European languages.[6]

1.   Instead of Indo-European German scholars have preferred to speak of *Indo-Germanic (indogermanisch)* in order to indicate the geographical limits of the language family: Indian to the southeast and Germanic to the northwest (Krahe I 1962:7-8).
2.   In Pyles/Algeo (1982:72,74), this hypothesis has been abandoned.
3.   In a series of articles covering a twenty-year span (1959-1978), Hans Kuhn advocated the existence of a large area in North-Western Germany and the Netherlands from where the Proto-Italic tribes may originally have emigrated, and which for a period of time remained linguistically

distinct from the neighbouring Celtic and Germanic speech areas, so that this 'North-Western Block' as it became known, cf. Kuhn 1959, was germanicized only after (or towards the end of) the Germanic Sound Shift (see below, II.3). The main linguistic characteristics of the block were the retention of IE *p* in proper and common names (IE *p* disappeared in Celtic, cf. Irish *athir,* and became *f* in Germanic, cf. OE *fæder,* but was retained in Latin, cf. *pater*), the presence of *st* and *k* suffixes in the onomastic material (cf. *Alisti, Segaste; Aleke, Peseke*), the *-apa* element in river-names and the suffix *-andr-* in place-names (Meid 1986:186-94). The scholarly world has been very hesitant to accept Kuhn's hypothesis, criticizing him, among other things, for not sifting his material carefully enough, for not presenting a coherent sound system for his substratum language and for not being able to delimit his 'North-Western Block' properly: the *st* suffix, e.g., has got a much wider distribution than Kuhn's core area. But what is called Kuhn's 'Schlüsselargument' by Meid (1986:203, cf. 198) appears nevertheless to be well substantiated. In this connection it might be mentioned that Gysseling, in his paper on substratum influence in English, Frisian, Dutch and Low German read at the Tenth Frisian Philologists' Conference in 1984, provides a long list of onomastic and common names with initial *p-* derived from the four languages under discussion (1986:154-60).

4. Modern Icelandic *við, okkur* 'we, us'; *þið, ykkar* 'you' are thus formally old dual forms 'we two, us two'; 'you two'.

5. Doubt has been raised as to whether Germanic actually lost any Indo-European tenses or moods. Polomé (forthcoming) suggests that a 'preterital' development into an imperfect and an aorist and the formation of the subjunctive and the future took place in Indo-European only *after* pre-Proto-Germanic had left the Indo-European community.

6. A list of specifically Germanic words is given by W. Schmidt 1970:41. Polomé (forthcoming) provides some examples of names of plants (Gmc. **dilja-* 'dill'; **gagl-* 'gale, bog myrtle'; **klaiwa-* 'clover'), animals (Gmc. **dūbōn* 'dove'; **maiwōn* 'mew, sea gull'; **maþōn* 'maggot') and animal products (ME *talȝ,* MDu. *talch* 'tallow'; OE *adela,* MLG *adel* 'mire, puddle'; MDu. *cuut,* OFris. *kūt* 'roe'), which he thinks stand isolated and are likely to reflect a pre-IE substratum in the Germanic lexicon.

Don

Sea of Azov

Crimea

Black Sea

Dnieper

Asia Minor

Dniester

Nicaea

Byzantium

Dacia

Moesia

Adrianople

Carpathians

Danube

Pannonia

Noricum

Gotland

Baltic Sea

Vistula

Silesia

Moravia

Bohemia

Lower Austria

Götland

Gdansk

Pomerania

Oder

Carinthia

Halland

Skåne

Bornholm

Rügen

Schwerin

Mecklenburg

Weimar

Thuringia

Ober-pfalz

Regensburg

Bavaria

Enns

Ravenna

Oslo

Rogaland

Vendsyssel

Fyn

Angel

Holstein

Fehmarn

Schleswig

Elbe

Saale

Harz

Bamberg

Tyrol

Rome

Thy

Himmerland

Niedersachsen

Weser

Main

Neckar

Lech

Rhaetia

Amrum

Oldenburg

Ems

Mainz

Schwaben

Iller

Alps

Lombardia

Frisia

Rhine

Köln

Nassau

Speyer

Strasbourg

Rhine

Vercelli

Pavia

Eifel

Trier

Saar

Alsace

Savoy

North Sea

Koblenz

Aix

Northumbria

Mercia

East Anglia

Chalons

Burgundy

Rhone

Mediterranean

Wessex

Seine

Isle of Wight

Channel

Loire

Tours

Garonne

Pyrenees

Andalucia

Jerez

Olbia

III GERMANIC TRIBAL MOVEMENTS

Until recently archaeologists and historical linguists associated the first presence of Indo-European speakers in Southern Scandinavia with the introduction of the 'single-grave' culture around the beginning of the second millennium B.C. According to this view, Jutland was invaded via Slesvig, Holstein and Central Europe by a people whose other archaeological characteristics were the perforated stone battle-axe and cord-impressed pottery and who, to all appearances, settled on the light soils of Central and Western Jutland, where they supported themselves by grain-growing and cattle-breeding (Glob 1967:80-85, Brøndsted 1977:160-72, N.Å. Nielsen 1968:14-20). And by way of the Baltic area and South-Western Finland kindred tribes were supposed to have penetrated into Sweden and from there into Norway and Eastern Denmark. The indigenous farming population, who cultivated the rich soils of Eastern Jutland and the Danish islands, had the megalithic tomb as their characteristic burial form. Apparently, the 'single-grave' culture encroached on the area with tombs of megalithic construction, and some scholars have taken this to indicate a mixing of two different peoples, the autochthonous farming population being eventually swallowed up by the 'single-grave' people. Linguistically, the consequence was a new Indo-European dialect: Germanic (cf. Güntert 1934:68, Schwarz 1956:21 and König 1978:43).

The above theory is based on the assumption that the two types of burial co-existed during a transitional period, but the carbon-14 dating method has shown that the 'single-grave' culture belonged to a later time. This raises the question if not both types of burial culture could be associated with one and the same people (see Becker 1977:528-31; cf. also 1984:157-62). In the third edition of his *World Prehistory,* Grahame Clark (1977:143) takes the distribution of the stone battle-axe to be an indicator of the 'last substantial extension of Stone Age farming in northern Europe'. The existing farming population thus took up new (and

35

poorer) soils for cultivation. Clark also draws attention to the lack of uniformity exhibited by the battle-axes, cord-impressed pottery and single graves of Northern Europe. Finally, it should be mentioned that according to the current view, the stone battle-axe did not reach Eastern Denmark, Norway and Sweden from the east – on the contrary, with the intensification of the farming economy the use of the battle-axe was extended to South-Western Finland and Russia from Southern Sweden.

Our knowledge of the historical events leading to the development of Germanic as an independent Indo-European language group is thus very uncertain. In ch. II.2 it was implicitly assumed that the Germanic *Urheimat* was Southern Scandinavia and Northern Germany, and interestingly enough this has been the assumption of nearly every scholar working in the field,[1] cf. Penzl 1985:149. One reason for this may be that the area in question shows no traces of any other language than Germanic (and Indo-European). There is uncertainty on especially the question of the extension of the *Germanen* in Northern Germany. Though being keenly aware of the dangers of equating archaeology with language history (cf. IV.2 and Polomé 1985:48), we may find a clue in the following quotation from Brøndsted (1977:344) concerning the late bronze age (900-400 B.C.):

> If we map out the finds of this area from Northern Germany and regard as Scandinavian those areas whose finds are entirely or predominantly Scandinavian in content and composition, the contours emerge of a Macro-Scandinavian sphere comprising Oldenburg, Hannover, Schwerin, Mecklenburg and West Pomerania (with hinterland).[2]

Brøndsted here refers to what German archaeologists call the *Jastorf-kultur,* cf. Keiling 1976:87-102. The Germania of 500 B.C. envisaged by Schwarz (1956:36-7) and König (1978:46) reaches from the Netherlands in the west to the river Vistula in the east.

From Northern Europe Germanic tribes migrated to other parts of Europe, and at least four[3] of the attested, early Germanic languages were

spoken in areas that were not Germanic originally: this holds true of *Gothic* which was spoken by a people that came if not from Scandinavia at any rate from the southern shores of the Baltic, *Old High German* that was primarily spoken by tribes that had migrated south from the lower and middle Elbe and the region lying between the Weser and the Rhine, *Old English* which was the language of the Anglo-Saxons who after crossing the Channel/North Sea settled in Britain in the 5th and 6th centuries, and finally *Old Icelandic* which was spoken by the descendants of the West Norwegians who settled in Iceland in and after the 9th century. Since we are mainly concerned with the dialectal differentiation of Germanic, Old Icelandic is only of marginal interest to us, seeing that North Germanic (Norse) had already developed its most important characteristics, and we shall therefore discuss in detail only the three remaining emigrations.

1. The Goths

In his book, *De origine actibusque Getarum (Getica),* written in Italy in 551 Jordanes (IV, 25-6) says that the Goths emigrated from the island of *Scandza* ,[4] crossing the sea in three ships. They reached the mainland at a place which they called *Gothiscandza* and the location of which historians assign to the southern coast of the Baltic near the Vistula estuary. *Gothiscandza* has sometimes been associated with *Danzig* (Polish *Gdansk*), a point on which scholars disagree. According to Much (1967:487), the word is a compound, **gutisk-andja,* meaning 'Gothic coast'. Svennung (1972:28) suggests that it should be interpreted as **Guti-Scandia* 'Gothic Scandia', seeing that new settlements are often named after the native soil.[5]

It is widely held by especially philologists (cf. Svennung 1972 and Wessén 1972) that the Goths originally came from Scandinavia (Southern Sweden). Apart from the information provided by Jordanes, such a place of origin is compatible with the onomastic evidence: names like *götar, Götland* (ON *gaut-*) and *Got(land)* are etymologically re-

lated to *Got(h)ones* (Tacitus) and Goth. *Gut(þiuda)*. Until a few years ago archaeology was supposed to provide decisive evidence in favour of the Scandinavian extraction of the Goths. Indeed, Oxenstierna (1948:189-90) believed that he had archaeological evidence to show that the home of the Goths was Västergötland! Oxenstierna's views were repeated by several scholars, the most recent being Scardigli (1973:42ff.), who gives an uncritical summary of Oxenstierna's arguments. However, archaeologists and historians today are much more cautious. Hachmann (1970:389) does not think that the archaeological finds entitle us to draw any conclusions concerning a Gothic emigration from Scandinavia to the Vistula area (v.v.), a view that is shared by, e.g., the historian Lönnroth (1972:57), but not by the philologist Svennung. As the latter scholar puts it (1972:37), 'Die Archäologie kann wohl jedenfalls nicht beweisen, daß eine 'Völkerwanderung' n i c h t stattgefunden hat'.

The supposed arrival of the Goths to *Gothiscandza* is dated to the beginning of our era. They are mentioned by Tacitus towards the close of the 1st century A.D. *(Germania,* ch. 43), being the (presumably western) neighbours of the *Rugii.* Like other Germanic tribes such as the Vandals, the southern neighbours of the Goths (see below), the *Rugii* are assumed to have migrated from Scandinavia to the Oder-Vistula region. Other Germanic immigrants turned up in this area after the arrival of the Goths. According to Jordanes, the last of the three ships crossing the Baltic carried *Gepidae* 'the tardy ones', a tribe who were closely related to the Goths (or perhaps were Goths) and who after leaving the Vistula region made conquests north of the middle and lower reaches of the Danube (5th and 6th centuries).

The Goths themselves migrated to Southern Russia, where their presence was first recorded in A.D. 214 (Oxenstierna 1948:174). This fits in well with the assumption that the tribe left their Baltic area of settlement in the latter half of the 2nd century A.D., and it finds confirmation in the fact that *Filimer* who according to Jordanes ruled the Goths at that time was the fifth king since the emigration from *Scandza (Getica* XXIV, 121).

The Goths appear to have split up into two tribes as early as in the mid-3rd century, where a Gothic king by the name of *Ostrogota* (*Ostrogotha* in Jordanes's version) is mentioned. This tallies with Jordanes's designation for the eastern Goths, the *Ostrogothae,* who are distinguished from the western Goths, the *Visigothae* (or *Vesegothae*), cf. *Getica* XIV. Other early written sources call the former group *Greuthungi,* while the latter tribe is called *Thervingi* (cf. Ammianus Marcellinus). This tribal division is possibly of long standing: above, it was said that the *Gepidae* were onboard the last of the three ships which ferried the Goths across the Baltic; the two other ships may reflect an original tribal bipartition of the remaining Goths.

The Ostrogoths settled on the plains between the rivers Don and Dniester, and the Visigoths established a kingdom to the west of Dniester. Gothic pressure on the Roman frontier began as early as in the 3rd century. The Romans gave up the province of Dacia c. A.D. 257, the Goths occupying the Crimea at about the same time. In 264 there were reports of raiding Goths in Asia Minor. Among the setbacks experienced by the Goths, the most serious was the defeat of the Visigoths in 332 by Constantine II, who subsequently incorporated the Visigoths in the defence of the Roman Empire by making them *foederati* through a treaty. This state of affairs lasted for about 35 years, a period during which the Arian brand of Christianity spread among the Visigoths. The Christian influence was strengthened by Bishop Wulfila's translation of the bible, but not all Visigoths approved of the new faith. Christians were persecuted and Bishop Wulfila and his followers were forced to cross the Danube and seek protection in the Eastern Roman empire. Things improved only when Athanaric, the pagan Visigothic king, was defeated by his rival Fritigern.

The further history of the Goths was profoundly affected by the irruption of the Huns from Asia. In 375 the Ostrogothic empire north of the Black Sea collapsed, most of the Ostrogoths submitting to the Huns. Relations seem to have improved, however. The Hun leader Attila, whose name was a Gothic diminutive meaning 'little father', is known to have appreciated Gothic culture (Schwarz 1956:90). A few years after

the battle of the Catalaunian Fields near Troyes in 451, in which Ostrogoths and Visigoths respectively were on the sides of Attila and the Roman general Aetius, the Ostrogoths settled in Pannonia. Towards the end of the century the Ostrogothic king Theoderic, after reaching an understanding with the Eastern Roman emperor, moved into Italy, making Ravenna the political and cultural centre of his Germano-Roman state. After Theoderic's death in 526 it was easy for Justinian, the Eastern Roman emperor, to reconquer the Ostrogothic kingdom, which perished shortly after the mid-6th century (L. Schmidt 1972:92).

In 375 the majority of the Visigoths lived north and west of the middle and lower reaches of the Danube. At first it looked as if Romans and Visigoths would join forces against the Huns, but their relations deteriorated and instead they fought the battle of Adrianople in 378, in which the Romans were defeated. The weaknesses of the Roman empire were now clearly demonstrated to the surrounding world. First the Visigoths under king Alaric penetrated deep into Greece, then they attacked Italy and sacked Rome in 410. After the death of Alaric, Athaulf (who was his brother-in-law) took the Visigoths to Aquitaine where the kingdom of Toulouse was founded in 418. In the battle against Attila at Chalons in 451 the Visigoths supported Aetius as already mentioned. In the latter half of the 5th century the Visigoths conquered Spain, probably because they felt threatened by the expansion of the kingdom of the Franks under Clovis (III.2). Visigothic rule in Spain was brought to an end in 711 when the Visigoths were defeated by the Moors at Jerez de la Frontera.

It was said above that the Goths conquered the Crimea in the 3rd century. As early as in 257 they were reported to have carried out raids across the Sea of Azov. Another indication of their early presence here is the participation of one bishop Theophilus from the diocese of *Gothia* [6] in the ecumenical council meeting at Nicaea in 325. The Crimean Goths may well have come into contact with Christianity in the Greek towns on the Black Sea, and they were Catholic Christians, not Arians. In the course of time the Crimea was subjugated by various powers, e.g. the Byzantines, the Tartars and the Turks, but the Germanic inhabitants were

nevertheless able to retain their special character including their language. There have been several reports of this (Stearns 1978:4-20), the most important being the report by the Flemish nobleman Ogier de Busbecq, which was published in 1589. Busbecq recorded about 86 words which, with due allowance being made for possible sources of error, appear to be of Gothic derivation.[7] Crimean Gothic is not likely to have been spoken beyond the 18th century.

It was suggested above that the Goths were only one of many East Germanic tribes participating in the migrations. The earliest such tribe to emerge was the *Bastarnae,* whose presence was first attested c. 230 B.C. in the Black Sea region. At almost the same time another Germanic tribe, the *Sciri* crop up in the same area, and according to an inscription in the town of Olbia at the mouth of the river Dnieper they constituted a military threat. Both tribes are thought to have moved in a southeasterly direction from the lands lying between the rivers Oder and Vistula, which may well have been inhabited by *Germanen* from as early as 1000 B.C. (Schwarz 1956:49). The term *Sciri* is cognate with the West Norse adjective *skírr* 'light, clean, pure', undoubtedly designating 'the pure ones' in contradistinction to the *Bastarnae* 'the impure or mixed ones', in short 'the bastards' (Neumann 1976:88). According to Strabo, the *Bastarnae* had come to look like Sarmatians because of mixed marriages, but they are not unlikely to have become a mixed tribe already when they lived near the Baltic. Both *Bastarnae* and *Sciri* were later reported to have been in contact with Romans as well as Goths, only to vanish completely from history, the *Bastarnae* in the 4th century A.D. and the *Sciri* in the following century.

While these early Germanic tribes never became a real threat against the Roman empire, the same can hardly be said of the *Cimbri* and the *Teutones*. Traditionally, the two names have been associated with the Danish districts of *Himmerland* and *Thy* (the 13th-century forms of which in Valdemar's Cadastre were *Himbersysæl* and *Thythæsysæl*), an interpretation which is not accepted by present-day scholarship, cf. Hald 1965:234-6. Indeed, the Germanic provenance of

the *Cimbri* and the *Teutones* cannot even be taken for granted. Although some scholars think that the two tribes followed the Elbe south, there are indications that they moved into the lands between the Oder and the Vistula vacated by the *Bastarnae* and *Sciri* c. 300 B.C. (Schwarz 1956:56, Jahn 1932:150-57). It looks as if, like their predecessors, they embarked on a migration towards the southeast, reaching present-day Yugoslavia and moving from there in a westerly direction. In 113 B.C. they defeated a Roman army at *Noreia* in Carinthia, and in 109 B.C. they emerged in the southern part of Gaul. From there the *Teutones* went to Northern Gaul and the *Cimbri* to Spain, but after being turned away in both places they united in Central Gaul with the intention of moving against Italy. According to their strategy, the *Teutones* (along with an allied tribe, the *Ambrones* [8]) were to cross the Western Alps whereas the *Cimbri* (and the *Helvetii*) were to descend into Italy via the Brenner pass. Both armies suffered staggering defeats: the *Teutones* were vanquished by Marius at *Aquae Sextiae* (Aix-en-Provence) in 102 and in the following year the *Cimbri* were beaten at Vercelli in Northern Italy. What remains there were of the *Cimbri* and *Teutones* were scattered: those who had stayed behind in Gaul moved north to Belgium and another group settled on the lower Neckar.

As mentioned above, the southern neighbours of the Goths, at the time of their presence on the southern shores of the Baltic, were the Vandals. It has traditionally been assumed that this tribal name relates to *Vendsyssel* (*Wændlesysæl* in Valdemar's Cadastre) in the north of Jutland: *Vend-* derives from *Vendel* which is an early designation for the district in question, but which is thought by Hald (1965:245) to be an ancient name for the Limfjord. Hald does not rule out, however, an association between the Vandal tribe and *Vendel*. Archaeologically, there appear to be links (if problematic ones) between Northern Jutland and Silesia, a region in which Vandal presence was recorded by Strabo at the beginning of our era. Owing to Gothic pressure the Vandals moved slowly towards the southeast, eventually crossing the Carpathians. The emergence of the Huns was probably responsible for their departure from Eastern Europe. As leaders of a tribal league which also

comprised *Hasdingen* (originally from Southern Norway, cf. Schwarz 1956:67) they moved to Gaul and subsequently to Spain, crossing the Pyrenees in 409. They ultimately invaded North Africa where a Vandal empire was in existence until 533 when it was destroyed by the Byzantines. Place-names such as *Gandalon* in Southern France and *Andalucia* in Spain are (possible) reminiscences of Vandal migrations.

Let us now direct our attention towards the Burgundian tribe. In the narrative of Wulfstan's voyage added to the Old English *Orosius* (III.3) the island of Bornholm is called *Burgenda land* 'land of the Burgundians'.However, modern place-name scholars no longer believe that the Burgundians should be specifically identified with the first element of *Bornholm,* cf. e.g. Hald 1965:238, 1971:75-7. Instead, *Bornholm (Burghændæholm* in Valdemar's Cadastre) is taken to mean the 'island of Borghund', *Borghund* being a word which occurs elsewhere and which is cognate with ON *borg,* OE *burg* < IE *bhr̥gh-* 'fortified height', cf. Sanskr. *br̥hánt-* 'high, big', Gaulish *Brigantes* 'inhabitants of heights' (Beck 1978:295-6, Neumann 1981:230-31). Schwarz (1956:74-5) suggests that South-Western Norway might be the *Urheimat* of the Burgundians, assuming that they were the original neighbours of the *Rugii* (see below) and taking *Burgundians* to carry the same meaning as *Brigantes.* However that may be, there were Burgundians in the Oder-Vistula region from the 1st century B.C. Their presence was not facilitated by the arrival of the Goths, but they chose to remain in the area until the 3rd century when they moved west. They incurred the enmity of the *Alemanni* (III.2) on the river Main, and perhaps for this reason they came on good terms with the Romans, became Christians and were settled in Savoy in 443 after their kingdom in the Worms region had been destroyed by the Huns in 437. In 534 Burgundy was incorporated into the Frankish empire (III.2).

At about the same time as the Burgundians, the *Rugii* emerge on the southern shores of the Baltic. The name of the island of *Rügen* should be attributed to their presence, but ultimately they may have come from Western Norway, cf. the district name of *Rogaland.*

According to Jordanes, the Goths camped in the vicinity of the *Ulmerugi* 'island *Rugii* ' and eventually drove them away. In the Old Norse (and Old English) literary tradition the early inhabitants of the district of Rogaland are called *(Holm)rygir*. In the 4th century there were apparently still *Rugii* in Pomerania. From here they moved down to Lower Austria where an independent *Rugii* kingdom was in existence in the 5th century. The Germanic king Odoacer in Italy, who feared an alliance between *Rugii* and Byzantines, virtually annihilated *Rugii* power in 487. The remnants of the tribe joined the Ostrogoths and descended with them into Italy.

The *Gepidae,* sister tribe of the Goths, were mentioned earlier. It remains for us to deal with the *Heruli,* who emerged in A.D. 267 near the Sea of Azov (east of the river Don). They were defeated by Ermanaric and his Ostrogoths, but after 375 they came under Hun rule just like the Ostrogoths (see above). The further history of the *Heruli* is difficult to trace, but they participated in the freedom struggle of the *Germanen* in Hungary after Attila's death and established a kingdom in Central Europe which was destroyed by the *Langobardi* c. 505. They vanish from the historical scene after 566. An interesting feature about the *Heruli* is their continued contact with their Scandinavian home country, from which they obtained their kings. According to Jordanes (III,3) the *Heruli* were driven away by the Danes from their native land which Schwarz (1956:106) thinks might have been Halland in Southern Sweden (cf. also Svennung 1972: 43-4).

In the context of the Germanic migrations, the movements of the Goths fall in line with a general pattern. After the early departure of the *Bastarnae* and the *Sciri* the lands between the Oder and the Vistula became a temporary area of residence for Germanic tribes stemming from the Kattegat (and adjoining) regions: *Cimbri, Teutones, Ambrones* (in so far as the three tribes were *Germanen*), Vandals, *Hasdingen,* Burgundians and *Rugii* besides Goths, *Gepidae* and *Heruli.* All these migrations can have taken place for a variety of reasons: it is an established fact that the climate deteriorated during the first millennium B.C.

(Coles/Harding 1979:523-4), but overpopulation, flooding, love of adventure, etc. may have been other factors. Our interest in the migrations is centred around their relevance for Germanic dialect grouping. We have seen examples of tribes moving from the north into what geographically may be called East Germanic areas and expanding from there towards the south(east). As already mentioned, Gothic is the only East Germanic language to have survived to even a moderate extent, which accounts for the emphasis put on Gothic tribal movements in this section. The remaining East Germanic tribes have left few traces of their language, and mainly in the shape of proper names and isolated words (Krahe/Seebold 1967:20).

2. *The Upper and Central German tribes*

For chronological, geographical and ethnological reasons the *Old High German* speech area is not uniform. The fact that the term Old High German is nevertheless retained is due to primarily one shared criterion, viz. participation in the High German (or Second, cf. II.3) Sound Shift. In the *Upper German* dialect group of OHG, which comprises *Alemannic* (in South-Western Germany, Northern Switzerland and Alsace), *Bavarian* (in Bavaria and Austria) and *Langobardic* (in Northern Italy), Germanic unvoiced stops become fricatives or affricates as in OHG *plegan, slǎffan, holz, eȝȝan, chorn, mahhōn, ih,* cf. Old Saxon *plegan, slāpan, holt, etan, korn, makōn, ik.* The High German Sound Shift is less consistently carried through in the *Central German* group, whose component members are old *Thuringian* and the *Franconian* dialects of Western and Central Germany.[9] Among all these dialects Langobardic and Thuringian are known to us mainly through onomastic evidence (Braune/Mitzka 1967:1-12, Kuhn 1973a:216-18).

Methodologically, it is worth noting that the dialect designations are based on old tribal names. As we shall see later (IV.2), it is a more than dubious procedure to identify old tribal names with later dialect areas, no matter what period in the history of the German language we

are dealing with, cf. Löffler 1974:141-4.

However, this should not prevent us from attempting to map the tribal movements into former Celtic territory in Central and Southern Germany (II.2) which led to permanent Germanic settlement. In this connection the provenance of these early Germanic colonizers will be accounted for.

The earliest tribe to appear on the scene was the *Alemanni,* who were probably established as a separate entity in the latter half of the 2nd century A.D. (see below). There were reports c. 200 of *Alemanni* on the river Main, from where they pushed forward against the *Limes,* the great Roman fortifications that had been erected from the Rhine just north of Koblenz to the Danube west of Regensburg. In 213 they were defeated by Caracalla, the Roman emperor (Schwarz 1956:169), and twenty years later (233-234) they were unsuccessful in their attempts to conquer the lands lying between the Rhine and the *Limes.* However, in 259-260 when the *Limes* were weakened by internal Roman strife, their efforts were crowned with success, and the new frontier between Romans and *Alemanni* followed the Rhine and the Iller, a tributary of the Danube. Things were now relatively quiet until the mid-4th century. In 357 the *Alemanni* were defeated by the emperor Julian at Strasbourg, and the Romans were to defeat them again on several occasions during the following period. At the beginning of the 5th century the Burgundians settled south of the Main (III.1), but after the Burgundians had left the area c. 440, it was taken over once again by the *Alemanni,* who immediately after 400, partly in consequence of Burgundian pressure, had begun to colonize Alsace and Northern Switzerland, which came definitively outside Roman control after Aetius's death in 454.

Before dealing with the Franks and their relations with the *Alemanni,* we shall discuss the origins of the *Alemanni.* Their tribal name, which is mentioned neither by Pliny, Tacitus, Strabo nor Ptolemy, is a vague one, indeed: it means 'all men' and could just be the name of a new tribal league. Asinius Quadratus, who lived in the 3rd century, called the *Alemanni* a 'converged people' (Schützeichel 1976:69), which suggests that tribal elements of different extraction were involved. The

Juthungen, who by Schwarz (1956:174) are called the eastern wing of the *Alemanni,* are known to have been an originally independent tribe, and according to Jänichen (1973:138) there may have been non-*Germanen* among the tribes that came into existence in the 3rd century. The one thing that remains clear is that the majority of the *Alemanni* were of Elbe-Germanic descent (cf. IV.2). It is not possible to decide precisely which Elbe-Germanic tribal components were incorporated into the tribal league of the *Alemanni:* to what extent were they *Semnones, Langobardi, Marcomanni, Quadi,* etc.? On archaeological grounds, however, the *Urheimat* of the *Alemanni* can be assigned to the Elbe region lying between Mecklenburg and Bohemia (Steuer 1973:145, 151). Attention should also be drawn to the fact that the South-Western German district name of *Schwaben (Swabia)* is cognate with Tacitus's *Suebi (Germania,* ch. 38-45), who comprised a number of tribes in Northern and Central Germany, five of which have just been listed.

Schwarz (1956:159-63, 169-70) sees the Elbe-Germanic penetration into South-Western Germany as a repetition of tribal movements taking place in the 1st century B.C. Among Ariovistus's Germanic front-line tribes, Caesar (*Belli Gallici* I,51) mentions *Marcomanos* and *Suebos* (acc. pl.). At that time the *Marcomanni* lived south(east) of the Main and were the neighbours of the *Suebi,* who lived on the lower Main and who were probably identical with the *Quadi.* Schwarz (1956:160) seems to think that *Marcomanni* as well as *Suebi (Quadi)* were of northern origin. Much (1967:468), on the other hand, takes the Main region to be the earliest home of the *Marcomanni.* Both tribes moved into Bohemia and Moravia immediately before the beginning of our era.

To return to the *Alemanni,* this tribe got on bad terms with the Franks towards the close of the 4th century. Their relations deteriorated even further during the following decades. In 456 Franks invaded *Alemanni* territory near Mainz, and the northern boundary of the *Alemanni* was slowly pushed southwards. A decisive battle was fought between the two tribes c. 496, and the *Alemanni* were forced by Clovis to surrender one third of their territory, the lands between the river Saar and

the middle reaches of the Main. However, the Franks do not seem to have replaced the inhabitants of the conquered area on any large scale: very likely the Franks only constituted the top social layer of a population otherwise consisting of *Alemanni*. Culturally, the consequence was that the region between the Saar and the Main became a transitional area in which no sharp boundary could be drawn between Franks and *Alemanni*. There is archaeological evidence to support the assumption of such tribal co-existence (cf. Schützeichel 1976:89ff., 159). For a while the *Alemanni* kingdom was under Ostrogothic protection and sovereignty, but the death of Theoderic (III.1) led to political instability. In 536 king Witiges and Theudebert, the Frankish king, came to an agreement whereby Alemannia was ceded by the Ostrogoths to the Franks, who allowed it to become a relatively independent duchy within the Merovingian empire.

As in the case of the *Alemanni,* the Franks are nowhere mentioned in the earliest historical sources. When they first emerge in 258, they are described as one of the Germanic tribes that were causing difficulties for the Roman empire. The term *Franks* means 'free ones' and perhaps their name should be seen in contrast to the barbarian tribes that had come under Roman rule. It is reasonable to assume that the Franks originated as a tribal league that had absorbed various tribal elements, not so much Elbe-Germanic ones as tribes deriving from the Weser-Rhine Germanic area (cf. IV.2): *Usipi, Tencteri, Bructeri, Chamavi, Angrivarii* and *Chasuarii* (Tacitus, *Germania,* ch. 32-4) must have been some of the tribes that came to constitute the Frankish tribal league. They were seafarers and are thought to derive from the lands lying between the mouth of the Rhine and the middle and upper reaches of the Weser. From the middle of the 3rd century and all through the 4th century the Franks move slowly in a southwesterly direction. Inevitably, there were many clashes with the Romans, and as we saw above, the first conflicts with the *Alemanni* were initiated in the late 4th century. From the mid-5th century the Franks had their minds set on acquiring permanent areas of settlement to the south: Cologne was eventually

captured and so were the Eifel and Moselle regions. Up to this time the Franks had had several chieftains or kings, but in 482 Clovis, by uniting the Franks under his rule, created the basis of the Merovingian empire. By the time of Clovis's death in 511 the Franks had expanded as far south in Gaul as the Loire and as we heard above, Alemannia had come under Frankish sovereignty. The southwestern frontier was subsequently pushed all the way down to the Garonne, the Burgundians were brought to their knees in 534 (III.1) and three years previously the Thuringians had suffered a shattering defeat: Weimar, their capital, had been captured, their king had been killed and with the exception of the northern part which had been ceded to the Saxons, Thuringia had been incorporated into the Merovingian empire.

Let us pause here so that we may briefly consider the history of the Thuringians. The first reference to this tribe crops up c. A.D. 400. The Thuringians were able to expand their military and political power up through the 5th century so that at the close of the century they were in possession of a territory stretching from the Danube to the Elbe; they had even absorbed parts of Lower Saxony, including the Harz. Again early tribal groups seem to have been swallowed up by the Thuringian tribe, most important among them being the *Hermunduri* who are mentioned by Tacitus (*Germania,* ch. 41-2). It is true that this Roman historian assigns the *Hermunduri* to an area near the sources of the Elbe, but it must be due to his geographical ignorance that the tribe is not placed further to the west. The *Hermunduri* are likely to have lived on lands stretching towards the head of the (Thuringian) river Saale and to have been in control of the upper Main region and of the Upper Palatinate. There is archaeological evidence to suggest that the territory held by the *Hermunduri* and later by the Thuringians had both Elbe-Germanic and Weser-Rhine Germanic elements. But the independence of Thuringia came to an abrupt end in 531 as we saw above.

Little is known of the Frankish relations with the Bavarians in the 6th century. In a letter to the Byzantine emperor Justinian in 539 Theudebert, king of the Franks, points out that his kingdom stretches as far as the borders of Pannonia, which may be taken to indicate that the

Bavarians had come under Frankish rule.The Upper Palatinate had been ceded to the Bavarians after the fall of Thuringia, and this at least suggests that they had reached some kind of understanding with the Franks who feared the rebellious Thuringians. When towards the end of the 6th century there was a clash between Franks and *Langobardi,* the Bavarians sided with the latter party. This decision turned out to be disastrous for the Bavarians who lost their sovereignty to the Franks, who appointed a new Bavarian duke when peace was concluded in 591. In the 7th and 8th centuries the influence exercised by the Franks in Bavaria fluctuated (Hamann 1973:608-10).

We have now seen the extent to which the Franks expanded their domain in Western and Central Europe. How did this influence the development of Old High German? Bearing in mind the reservations made at the beginning of this section, we might say that the language which is associated with the name of the Franks stretched as far to the west, south and east that Trier, Speyer and Bamberg came to lie within the Franconian dialect area. Moreover, Franconian innovations penetrated into Alemannic and Bavarian. This holds true of the monophthongization of *ai* and *au* to *ē* and *ō* in certain positions and the diphthongization of *ē²* and *ō* to *ia* and *uo*. So much for the Franks – let us once again direct our attention to the Bavarian tribe.

The appearance of the Bavarian tribal league on the historical scene is very late. The Bavarians are first referred to by Jordanes (*Getica* LV, 280) in 551 under the name of *Baibaros.* Fourteen years later they are mentioned by Venantius Fortunatus who on his way to Augsburg (and Tours) went over the Brenner pass and crossed the borders of the *Baioarios* (cf. B. Schmidt 1983:548). According to the 12th-century Salzburg Annals, there were fights between Bavarians and Romans from 508, but these reports are reconstructed and not based on contemporary evidence. It is thus difficult to say when precisely the Bavarian tribal league came into being. No less difficult is the question of the provenance of the Bavarians. Etymologically, their name presupposes *Bai(a)warjōz* (cf. Beck 1973:601-2), a compound in which the second element means 'inhabitants of a country', alternatively 'successors of the

original inhabitants of a country'. Kaspar Zeuss (1837) was the first
scholar to associate the first element with a Celtic tribe called the *Boii*
(*o* > *a* in Germanic, cf. II.3), i.e. the Bavarians lived in a country
formerly inhabited by *Boii*. Also, it is possible to interpret **Bai(a)-
warjōz* as an elliptical form of **Bai(a)-haim-warjōz* meaning 'in-
habitants of **Bai(a)haim*', i.e. Bohemia (Beck 1973:601-2).

    Recent scholarship has concentrated on two theories to account for
the provenance of the Bavarians. According to one hypothesis, the pres-
ence of Celtic *Boii* was decisive for naming the very composite popu-
lation of Noricum and Rhaetia after Rome had abandoned the provinces
in 488. The other theory assumes emigration by a strong group of Ger-
manic speakers in the first third of the 6th century: the name of these
Germanen (i.e. **Baiwari*) came to include also what remained of Celts,
Romans and *Germanen* in the provinces (Hamann 1973:606). In this
theory, the land of origin of the Germanic invaders is taken to be
Bohemia.[10]

    As a rule, archaeologists have been very reticent concerning the
question of the Bavarian *Urheimat.* They no longer believe that a uni-
form Germanic tribe invaded Noricum and Rhaetia to settle there in the
first half of the 6th century. They prefer to see the region as ethnically
mixed, assuming that Germanic tribal groups settled there from the 3rd
century A.D. (Roth 1973:617). It might finally be mentioned that the
rivers Lech and Enns, tributaries of the Danube, constituted the frontiers
between Bavarians and respectively *Alemanni* to the west and Slavs to
the east.

    Like the *Alemanni* and in part the Thuringians, the *Langobardi*
('the long-bearded ones') were probably of Elbe-Germanic derivation.
Tacitus (*Germania,* ch. 40) lists them among the *Suebi,* the *Lango-
bardi* being immediately preceded in the narrative by the *Semnones*
and followed by the *Nerthus* tribes (III.3). According to Tacitus, the
Langobardi were 'distinguished by the fewness of their numbers' and by
their daring. Strabo reports that the tribe made a temporary move to the
eastern bank of the lower Elbe in order to avoid clashing with the Ro-
mans (Much 1967:441). If one's reading had been restricted to Tacitus

and Strabo alone, there would be no grounds for questioning the *Suebi* (Elbe-Germanic) provenance of the tribe. However, Paulus Diaconus in his history of the *Langobardi* written c. 790 assigns the tribal *Urheimat* to *Scadan* and *Scandinavia,* by which is probably meant Skåne. At the time when the tribe departed from Scandinavia they were called *Winniler.* Kuhn (1955:7-8) attempts to combine the information given by Paulus Diaconus with that of the early classical writers. The *Winniler* went south from Scandinavia (perhaps from the Oslo area as certain place-names suggest), and in Eastern Germany or in the Danube region they joined *Langobardi* of *Suebi* descent, who had emigrated from the lower Elbe. The new combined tribe that arose was subsequently known as *Langobardi.* It is conceivable that the royal house of the new tribe might have been of *Winniler* stock; this would explain the memory of the Scandinavian provenance of the tribe.[11]

But when did the *Langobardi* of *Suebi* origin depart from Northern Germany? As early as in A.D. 167 or 168 there were reports of a small army on the Danube (in Pannonia), but the *Langobardi* emigration proper takes place much later. Shortly after 488 they occupy the northern part of Lower Austria *(Rugiland),* prior to which they may have lived a short distance from there. They destroyed the kingdom of the *Heruli* c. 505 (III.1). The Franks, the Ostrogoths and the Byzantines all tried to find favour with the *Langobardi,* and most success in this, at least initially, was achieved by the Byzantines who granted them land for settlement in Pannonia and payment of annual sums of money (Leube 1983:591-2). In 567 the *Langobardi* joined forces with the Avars to defeat the hostile *Gepidae* (III.1). In the following year the *Langobardi* under king Alboin, possibly with large Saxon reinforcements, descended into Italy from the northeast and were soon able to conquer the northern part of the country. Pavia became their capital. Very likely, the Germanic (Ostrogothic, cf. III.1) population in Italy came out in support of the *Langobardi* against the Byzantines although the latter, as the *Langobardi* pushed further south, were able to hold several coastal areas and Rome. The fact that the *Langobardi* were christianized at the close

of the 7th century accelerated their romanization, and this of course was decisive for their long-term political prospects as was the alliance set up between the popes and the Frankish kings, one aim of which was to curb *Langobardi* power. With the defeat of king Desiderius in 774 by Charlemagne the days of the *Langobardi* state were numbered. The district name of *Lombardia* in Northern Italy is a reminiscence of the golden age of the tribe. It is not easy to say for how long Langobardic was retained as a language. Apparently, bilingualism became increasingly common in the 8th century after the conversion to Christianity. Before it became extinct around the year 1000 (Lockwood 1965:12), Langobardic was spoken only at home.

The *Langobardi* were the only Upper or Central German tribe not to stay in immediate contact with the old speech area. It can therefore hardly be accidental that the tribe suffered the same fate as the East Germanic tribes whose languages all became extinct after having been spoken in South-Eastern Europe, Spain and North Africa.

3. The Anglo-Saxons

When Britain was still under Roman rule, there were reports of Germanic raids on the southern and eastern coasts of the country. Neither then nor immediately after Honorius's withdrawal of the Roman garrison from Britain in 410, however, did it come to permanent Germanic settlement. For a while the Britons seemed to have things well under control until eventually the Pictish attacks from the north became such a menace that king Vortigern had to call in foreign mercenaries for the defence of his country. The entry for the year 449 in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* records that 'Hengest and Horsa, invited by Vortigern, king of the Britons, came to Britain at the place which is called Ebbsfleet, first to the help of the Britons, but afterwards fought against them'. The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* was compiled only in the late 9th century, and its dating of the events taking place in the 449 entry is of course too precise. A much earlier source, *De Excidio et Conquestu Britanniae* written by

the Welsh monk Gildas in the 6th century, makes no attempt to date the events. Gildas mentions that the 'Saxons' as he calls them were given lands in the eastern part of Britain in return for their assistance. The revolt against the Britons was triggered off by a dispute about provisioning, but from that time onwards the Saxons established themselves permanently in Britain.

In the terminology of the Roman writers prior to 410 the Germanic pirates raiding Britain were known also as Saxons. However, the Saxons are hardly likely to have been the only Germanic tribe to invade Britain in the 5th and 6th centuries. Procopius, writing in the mid-6th century in Constantinople, thought that the island was inhabited by Angles, Frisians and Britons, his information having probably been derived from a Frankish embassy (Stenton 1971:5). Procopius does not say where in Britain the Germanic immigrants settled – unlike an early 8th-century source, Bede's *Ecclesiastical History of the English People* (ch. i.15), which is also specific as to the continental origins of the invaders:

> They came from three very powerful Germanic tribes, the Saxons, Angles, and Jutes. The people of Kent and the inhabitants of the Isle of Wight are of Jutish origin and also those opposite the Isle of Wight, that part of the kingdom of Wessex which is still today called the nation of the Jutes. From the Saxon country, that is, the district now known as Old Saxony, came the East Saxons, the South Saxons, and the West Saxons. Besides this, from the country of the Angles, that is, the land between the kingdom of the Jutes and the Saxons, which is called *Angulus,* came the East Angles, the Middle Angles, the Mercians, and all the Northumbrian race (that is those people who dwell north of the river Humber) as well as the other Anglian tribes. *Angulus* is said to have remained deserted from that day to this.

This passage has been quoted so frequently that it is generally over-

looked that in another place (ch. v.9) Bede adds to the list of tribes

> ... in Germany from whom the Angles and Saxons, who now
> live in Britain, derive their origin; hence even to this day
> they are by a corruption called *Garmani* by their neighbours
> the Britons. Now these people are the Frisians, Rugians,
> Danes, Huns, Old Saxons, and *Boruhtware* (Bructeri);

cf. Myres 1970:151, I 1977:116 (for a different interpretation of the
passage, see Bremmer 1981:48). The relevance of the non-Germanic
tribe of the Huns in this context is clearly dubious. The remaining (Ger-
manic) peoples can all be associated with the North Sea or Baltic areas
(III.1-2) except for the *Bructeri* whose *Urheimat* may have been West-
phalia (III.2). Below, we shall restrict ourselves to dealing with each of
the four tribes most commonly associated with the Germanic invasions
of Britain from the 5th century with special reference to their continental
provenance.

In our first Bede quotation cited above, *Angulus* was placed be-
tween the Jutes and the Saxons. This geographical position is confirmed
by the account of Ohthere's voyage added to the Old English translation
of Orosius's *Historia adversus Paganos* in the late 9th century. The Nor-
wegian *Ohthere* (Old Norse *Óttar*) sailed in five days from the south of
Norway to the port called *æt Hæþum* (Hedeby), which stands between
the Wends, the Saxons and *Angle* (dative). For two days before he
reached Hedeby there lay to his starboard Jutland and *Sillende* (perhaps
the eastern part of South Jutland, but see O. Jørgensen 1985:68-72) and
many islands: 'The Angles dwelt in those lands before they came here to
this country', i.e. England (Swanton 1975:35). In the Old English
Widsith poem (ll. 35-44) we are told that *Ongle* (gen./dat.) was under
the rule of Offa and that there was a battle between Angles and *Swǽfe*
(Suebi, cf. III.2) at (a river called) *Fīfeldōre* (dat.). The Offa tradition is
attested only in English[12] and Danish[13] sources. In Saxo's *Gesta Dano-
rum* Uffo is not an Angle but a Danish prince who, while staying in
Slesvig, successfully engages in combat with the Saxon king's son on an

island in the river Eider *(Eidorus)*. It lies near at hand to identify *Angulus* and *Angle/Ongle* with the present-day district of Angel in Eastern Slesvig, an assumption which is supported by archaeologists. Jankuhn's investigations seem to indicate that from the beginning of the Christian era to A.D. 400 Angel was the nucleus of a well-defined settlement area extending north to Sundeved and Als and south to Eckernförde. The scarcity of finds in the area from the middle of the 5th to the 9th centuries suggests that there was an emigration from Angel which was not followed by any immediate replacement of new settlers. This fits in well with the information given by Bede that *Angulus* remained deserted subsequent to the departure of the Angles. Further, there appear to be parallels between the earliest Anglo-Saxon remains in the east of England and the late finds of Angel, esp. in the field of ceramics (Jahnkuhn/Raddatz 1973:292, 298).

Myres (1970:153, I 1977:115) conceives of a specific Anglian type of culture which is characterized by cruciform brooches and a style in pottery decoration which consists of 'massed linear and corrugated ornaments, horizontal on the neck, vertical on the shoulder...'. Myres includes not only Eastern Slesvig (and England) but also Fyn in this *Kulturkreis*. Basing his view of the archaeological material of Fyn on Albrectsen, Myres finds it significant 'that the Anglian culture of Fünen comes to an abrupt stop about the beginning of the 5th century' (1970:159): the Anglian migration to Britain also had participants from Fyn. Albrectsen himself, however, is not particularly happy about the hypothesis of an emigration from Fyn to England, one of his reservations being that archaeological similarities *per se* cannot warrant conclusions in the way of tribal or political unity. Parallels may simply be due to spread of fashion (Albrectsen 1972:36-40, 1974:123-4). It should further be mentioned that Jensen (1975:106, 121) finds it probable, on the basis of his investigation, that the relevant burial places attested in Fyn cease gradually and do not come to an abrupt stop – as supposed by Myres (1970:159), cf. also Albrectsen 1972:34.

It remains for us to deal with the earliest written sources that know of the Angles, viz. Tacitus and Ptolemy. In ch. 40 of *Germania* Tacitus

mentions seven Germanic tribes, among these the *Anglii,* that are dis-
tinguished by a common worship of the goddess *Nerthus* (cf. Old Norse
Njǫrðr), to whom is consecrated a grove in an island of the ocean. It is
uncertain whether the ocean represents the North Sea or the Baltic, but
since the islands of the North Sea have no woods and also because of the
succession in which they are mentioned, the seven *Nerthus* tribes have
been assigned to the south-western shores of the Baltic, while the island
has been variously interpreted: Als, Fehmarn, Rügen and Sjælland, just
to mention some of the candidates (Bruun/Lund II 1974:54). At any rate,
there is nothing in Tacitus which is at variance with the sources already
cited. The same does not hold true of Ptolemy, who mentions a tribe,
next to the *Langobardi* on the middle Elbe, called *tõn Suébõn tõn
Angeílõn* (gen. pl.), cf. Cuntz 1923:63, and whose information is ad-
duced whenever a Thuringian place of origin for the Angles is being
advocated. However, Ptolemy's evidence is now seriously challenged,
and few scholars today would base their answers to the question of
Anglian derivation on him, cf. Wenskus 1973:290-91.

It is noteworthy that Tacitus does not mention the Saxons. Instead,
the region in which we should have expected their presence is allotted to
the *Chauci* (*Germania,* ch. 35-6). Ptolemy knows of this tribe *(Kaũ-
khoi)* as well, placing it between the rivers Elbe and Ems, but in
addition he is acquainted with the Saxons, who 'live on the neck of the
Cimbrian peninsula' (cf. Cuntz 1923:63), i.e. in present-day Holstein.
The relations between *Chauci* and Saxons are by no means clear (cf.
Wenskus 1981:397), but at least the Saxons appear to have been in
control of the whole region between the Elbe and the Weser from the
middle of the 3rd century A.D. Even Tacitus (ch. 35) had observed that
the vast stretch of country occupied by the *Chauci* was densely
populated, and similarly the numerous cemeteries stemming from the 4th
century indicate that the Saxon coastland must have been thickly settled
(Collingwood/Myres 1937:340, cf. also P. Schmid 1981:398-404, 407).
Living conditions are likely to have deteriorated, however, for excava-
tions at Feddersen Wierde in Wursten have shown that seven villages

were abandoned here in the first half of the 5th century. The western neighbours of the Saxons were the Frisians, whom Ptolemy places between the river Ems and the Rhine estuary, and archaeological sites in this country point in the same direction: hitherto prospering villages were given up after 400, cf. e.g. Wijster in Drenthe. Very likely, 'some at least of the former inhabitants of these villages found their new homes in England ...' (Blair 1977:10).

Myres thinks that a distinct Saxon culture manifests itself in the pottery of the Elbe-Weser area. Characteristic forms include carinated bowls with pedestal feet and large narrow-necked pots often decorated with *stehende Bogen* and finger-tipped rosettes, the style being generally less rigid than that preferred by Anglian potters (Myres 1970:157-8, I 1977:114-15). And instead of cruciform brooches the Saxon culture exhibits the equal-armed type and circular (saucer) brooches. There are differences in brooch and pottery fashions within the Elbe-Weser triangle, the river Oste representing the line of division between the Westerwanna culture to the west and the Perlberg culture to the east. Both cultural areas show distinct archaeological links to England, the latter more so than the former (Myres 1970:158, Hills 1979:315-16, Russchen 1967:62).

Despite Procopius's remarks on the peoples inhabiting the island. the Frisians 'are not generally considered to have taken any important part in the Germanic invasions of Britain', at least according to Stenton (1971:6). A recent survey by Bremmer (1981:56-63) lists 24 place-names in *Fres-/Fris-* (*Freezingham, Friston,* etc.), but as these are scattered all over England, the Frisians could hardly have operated 'as an important body' in that country as Bremmer (1981:84) points out. Moreover, the distribution of the place-names doesn't coincide with the Roman roads and pagan burial-sites (1981:84, cf. also H.F. Nielsen 1982:101-9). However, Loyn (1962:27) draws attention to resemblances between the institutions and agrarian systems of East Anglia and Kent on the one hand and those of Frisia on the other, which may suggest Frisian participation in the settlement. Myres's pottery evidence seems to bear out a similar assumption: the long-boss style and vessels with carefully made

pedestal or footstand bases which were popular in Frisia are also well
known in England, especially in the southeast. But Myres realizes that
such resemblances can be accounted for in more than one way (I
1977:116-17). It should be noted that the close ceramic connections
between England and the Low Countries go beyond even Greater Frisia:
Myres thus mentions a direct link between Belgium and Northampton-
shire (I 1977:117). Although we have no historical records from Frisia,
nor indeed from the rest of the Low-Country region (Boeles 1951:578),
which are contemporary with the Germanic settlement in Britain in the
5th and 6th centuries, there can be little doubt that the Frisians are one of
the few Germanic peoples to have remained more or less within the
same area from the time of the earliest sources, viz. Pliny and Tacitus
(ch. 34-5) whose geographical placing of the Frisians accords with
Ptolemy's, cf. above.

Geographically, Bede (ch. i.15) must have associated his *Iutae*
with the land beyond the Angles, viz. Jutland. Nevertheless Hawkes
(1956:110) envisages a heavy Frankish influx among the earliest settlers
of Kent, even if he recognizes the presence of 'North-Sea German Jutes'
and Frisians as well, cf. also Leeds (1913) and Jolliffe (1933). In her
study of the early archaeological evidence of Southern England Evison
supports the hypothesis of a 5th-century (Salian) Frankish invasion, not
only of Kent but also of Sussex, the Isle of Wight, Surrey and the upper
Thames (1965:44). Evison's book has been criticized by other archaeol-
ogists, e.g. by Myres who thinks that the author has been led seriously
astray by the evidence, because she has concerned herself overmuch
with the luxury objects (which pass more easily by gift or trade) 'to the
exclusion of humbler but more significant items, such as pottery ...'
(1966:342). Myres thus sees the Frankish influences as secondary and
also as belonging rather to the 6th and 7th centuries; to him the scarcity
of Frankish pottery in England is significant in comparison with the
Kentish (south-eastern) vessels, which have stylistic features in common
with pots found in the Cimbrian peninsula north (and west) of the
Anglian *Urheimat*, cf. Myres 1969:92, 96, 1970:156, I 1977:115. The
parallels are not numerous, though, and cannot yet be seen in their right

perspective, for much of the 5th-century material from Jutland has not been published (Hills 1979:314).

One of the seven *Nerthus* tribes mentioned by Tacitus (ch. 40) is the *Eudoses,* whose name has been connected with Bede's *Iutae* 'Jutes' and Old Norse *Jótar,* although the different alveolar stops in the names are difficult to reconcile (Much 1967:446-7). A letter to the emperor Justinian from Theudebert, king of the Franks, (c. 540) refers to a people called the *Saxones Eucii* who had submitted voluntarily to the Franks. If it is a correct assumption that they lived on the Rhine estuary, the *Saxones Eucii* would be geographically close to the *eotena* (gp.), *eotenum* (dp.) of the *Finnsburh* episode of *Beowulf* (ll. 1072, 1088, 1141; 1145). These supposed 'Jutes' were staying with Finn, king of the Frisians, at *Finnsburh* at the time of the Danish prince Hnæf's visit. The *Finnsburh* story seems to indicate that the 'Jutes' and the Frisians were allies (Fry 1974:13-15). It is interesting that 'Jutes' (*Ȳtum* dp.) and Frisians are also linked to one another in lines 26-7 of *Widsith:*

> Ōswine wēold Ēowum, ond Ȳtum Gefwulf,
> Fin Folcwalding Frēsna cynne.

Kuhn (1973c:304) does not believe that Bede's designation for the settlers of Kent, Southern Hampshire, and Wight, i.e. *Iutae,* is derived from the Old English tradition, seeing that a (precisely[14]) corresponding Old English form *(*Ēotas* or **Ēotan)* is not attested. Also, Kuhn notes that in the Old English translation of Bede the rendering of *Iutae* is *Gēatas:* apparently the Scandinavian *Gautar* were better known in England at the time of Alfred the Great than the *Iutae.* Kuhn suggests that Bede's threefold division of the Germanic invaders of Britain is based on an alliterating long line, e.g.

> *of Englum and of Eotum (Iutum) ond of Ealdseaxum

'[the Anglo-Saxons descend] from the Angles and Jutes and Old Saxons', which, in the Germanic poetic world, would be a very conventional way

of presenting tribal derivation. A case in point is the three *Mannus* tribes in Tacitus's *Germania* (ch. 2): *Ingaevones, Herminones* and *Istaevones.* Tripartition and alliteration might explain why, e.g., *Chauci* and Frisians are not listed among the invading peoples mentioned in Bede ch. i.15.

Finally, the contemporary state of affairs may have induced Bede to think of Kent as a distinct settlement area, the invaders have become a politically stable unit (kingdom) very quickly, which – in conjunction with its geographical location and overseas contacts – may have furthered its social and administrative idiosyncracies. Above, the Frankish element in the archaeological evidence was mentioned, an element which is perhaps the result of cross-Channel trade relations. Similarly, the institutional resemblance between Kent and Ripuarian Franks may be due to parallelism 'in the rate of economic and social development' (Loyn 1962:40-42). But how, then, should Bede's labelling of the inhabitants of the Isle of Wight and of Southern Hampshire as Jutes be accounted for? As Hills points out, these areas did have a material culture similar to that of Kent but not until the 6th century (1979:313). Possibly the settlements in Wight and on the coast opposite were offshoots from Kent (Collingwood/Myres 1937:364-5), although it should be noted that place-name evidence seems to bear out Jutish presence in Hampshire: according to Florence of Worcester (d. 1118) the Jute name is preserved in *Ytene* ('of the Jutes') in the New Forest, and it may be seen also in *Æt Yting Stoce* (10th-century name of Bishopstoke) and in 1263 *Ytedene,* 1453 *Iteden* (Eadens), cf. Reaney 1964:99-100.

We are left with the question to what degree the areas of settlement allotted by Bede to the Angles and Saxons in the rest of England are in accordance with other evidence. To Blair (1977:11) the general uniformity of place-names,[15] archaeology, social and agrarian custom (and language) in most of the country is striking, and he therefore finds the existence of sharp tribal distinctions unlikely. Loyn (1962:24) draws attention to the chiefly geographical names of the kingdoms, cf. the Mercians who were 'the men of the March', and doubts that strong tribal

groups could have kept their integrity intact after crossing the North Sea.

E.T. Leeds's examination of the earliest English brooches (1945:1-106) has revealed that the cruciform type is largely confined to the Anglian areas of England, while saucer brooches appear to be Saxon. But in the South Midlands, especially in the Cambridge area, both types are amply attested, which suggests a mixed zone of settlement. The evidence provided by pagan Anglo-Saxon pottery is, roughly, in agreement with the distribution of brooches: pots belonging to the 'Anglian' type are found in the Anglian parts of Britain, and pots decorated with *stehende Bogen,* etc. are attested south of the Thames, though in addition the 'Saxon' urns are found all over Eastern England: in Yorkshire, Lincolnshire and East Anglia, i.e. far beyond Leeds's area of mixed settlement (Myres 1970:162-5, I 1977:118-19). But the real problem is, of course, whether the distribution maps of brooches and pots should not be taken to reflect regional fashion rather than continental provenance.

Myres (I 1977:117) also mentions the similarity between pots found in Eastern Yorkshire (Sancton) and urns from sites in Sachsen-Anhalt in Central Germany. The theory that emigrants from outside the traditional homelands of the Anglo-Saxons participated in the settlement would appear to find support in place-names like *Terrington* (Norfolk), *Tyringham* (Bucks.) and *East* and *West Torrington* (Lincs.), which may all be associated with *Thuringia,* and *Swaffham* (Norfolk, Suffolk, Cambs.) and *Swavesey* (Cambs.), the first elements of which contain the term *Suebi* (III.2), cf. OE *Swǣfas* (Piroth 1979:5).

In spite of the way he divides up the Germanic invaders, Bede himself does not always observe the distinction between *Angli* and *Saxones.* In ch. i.15, e.g., of his *Ecclesiastical History* the names are represented as alternatives: Angles *or* Saxons. It was noted above that Gildas called all the continental emigrants 'Saxons', but nevertheless 'Angle' and 'Anglian' soon came to be used of the whole Germanic population. Pope Gregory I addresses Æthelberht of Kent as king of the Angles in 601, Bede calls his impressive work *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum,* and in one of the chapters (iii.8) he says that

Eorcenberht of Kent was the first king of the Angles *(Anglorum)* to order idols to be abandoned. The Anglo-Saxons,[16] including the West Saxons, called their language *Englisc,* a word which was, of course, to become the designation for both the language and the nation *(English).* The preference for the terms 'Angle' and 'Anglian' is probably due to their greater distinctiveness than 'Saxon', cf. the continental Saxons. In any case, the division of settling tribes in England appears to have been a good deal less clear-cut than Bede's tripartition indicates: the impression left is that from a very early stage the Anglo-Saxons regarded themselves as one nation – although they were split up into small units, cf. the fact that there were ten independent states south of the Humber in the year 600 (Blair 1977:27).

1. The only scholar who to my knowledge has questioned this hypothesis is W.P. Schmid (1983:109-11), who finds that (1) the river-name pattern in Jutland, Slesvig and Holstein and (2) the significant shared features between Germanic and Baltic (see II.2) do not fit in with the traditional geographical position allotted to the Germanic *Urheimat.*
2. My translation of the Danish passage.
3. See ch. II note 3.
4. *Scandza* corresponds to *Scandia* in Pliny; *-dz-,* which is a spelling characteristic of the 5th and 6th centuries, reflects Vulgar Latin pronunciation (Schwarz 1972:306).
5. Cf. such place-names as *Nya Sverige* and *Nya Göteborg* for early Swedish settlements in America (Svennung 1972:28).
6. According to Vasiliev (1936:18-19), Theophilus was a Visigoth who lived on the lower Danube, not in the Crimea. The Crimean bishopric of *Gothia* is attested with certainty only from the beginning of the 5th century (Schwarz 1972 (1953):203-4).
7. Krahe/ Seebold (1967:22) and others think that 'Crimean Gothic' was the language of the descendants of another East Germanic tribe. In what is

undoubtedly the closest study of Crimean Gothic ever made, Stearns (1978:119-20) classifies Crimean Gothic as an East Germanic language along with Bible Gothic. He finds it probable that it derives from the language of Ostrogoths settling in the Crimea in the 3rd century. Grønvik (1983) believes (wrongly, cf. H.F. Nielsen 1986b:65-70) that Crimean Gothic was a West Germanic language. Finally it might be mentioned that on the basis of the available evidence Marchand (1970:99) doubts that it is possible to determine whether Crimean Gothic is really Gothic or not.

8. The *Ambrones* have frequently been associated with the North Frisian island of *Amrum* (< *Ambrum*), an interpretation not accepted by P. Jørgensen (1946:40-50), but cf. Schwarz 1956:61 and esp. Århammar 1964:4, 24.

9. Low German thus becomes defined chiefly in terms of non-participation in the High German Sound Shift.

10. Schwarz (1956:186) believes that these *Germanen* were Elbe-Germanic *Suebi*, who came from the *deserta Boiorum* in Pannonia. See also B. Schmidt 1983:549.

11. There seem to have been early archaeological links between Scandinavia and the Elbe-Germanic areas of Germany. Schwarz (1956:156) speaks of a Scandinavian popular wave reaching the lower and middle reaches of the Elbe by the mid-7th century B.C. Maurer (1952:113-15, cf. below, IV.2) says that there was a gradual Elbe-Germanic movement towards the south so that eventually the Elbe-*Germanen* broke away from the *Nordgermanen* even if the two groups remained in close contact for several centuries. See also the introduction to ch. III.

12. Besides *Widsith,* in *Beowulf* (ll. 1949 and 1957), the Mercian royal genealogies and *Vitae Duorum Offarum,* a late 12th-century work written at St. Albans (formerly attributed to Matthew Paris).

13. Sven Aggesen and Saxo Grammaticus.

14. In his review of the Danish version of this book, Kisbye (1982:144) notes that the Old English Bede (ch. iv. 16) has the gen. plur. *Eota* (to render *Iutorum*) which presupposes the nom. plur. **Eotas.* It might be added that the E-entry for 449 of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* exhibits the dat. plur. *Iotum.*

15. According to Kisbye (1982:143), the uniformity of place-names is less striking than envisaged by Blair.

16. The compound 'Anglo-Saxon' was first used in 775 by the *Langobardi* historian Paulus Diaconus (III.2), who distinguishes between the *Angli*

Saxones and the continental *vetuli Saxones* 'old Saxons'. In OE, *Angulseaxan* was a neutral (not very frequently used) term in relation to the two main tribal names. Modern English *Anglo-Saxon,* which derives from a new formation in Latin, *Anglo-Saxonicus,* cropped up in the scholarly language of the 17th century (Kirsten 1969:243).

IV THE GROUPING OF THE GERMANIC LANGUAGES

In this chapter an outline of the research history of the numerous attempts at grouping the Germanic languages will be given, with special emphasis put on recent theories. Obviously, several problems of detail will have to be ignored in such an outline as will, on the whole, microgroupings within the language family. For a historical account of the many ways in which, e.g., English has been connected with the other Germanic languages, see H.F. Nielsen 1985:11-72, esp. 33-65. Finally, the sporadic and most often, fanciful ways of linking the Germanic languages to one another prior to the emergence of comparative philology as a scholarly discipline in the early 19th century have been left out of consideration.

1. Early attempts at Germanic dialect grouping

One of the founding fathers of comparative philology, the Dane Rasmus Rask, combined High German and Mœso-Gothic into a German group which along with a Saxon group consisting of Old Frisian, Anglo-Saxon, Dutch and *Plattdeutsch* constituted the Germanic branch of the Gothic language family, whose other member was a Nordic (Scandinavian) branch comprising Icelandic, Faroese, Dalecarlian, Swedish, Norwegian and Danish (1818:63-72). Quite clearly, Rask's terminology diverged from that usually employed. More up-to-date terms for Rask's Mœso-Gothic *(Mösogotisk)*, Germanic *(germanisk)* and Gothic *(gotisk)* would be Gothic, German and Germanic respectively.

In the preface of the first edition of his *Deutsche Grammatik,* which appeared in 1819, Jacob Grimm proposes a division of the Germanic tribes into four main groups on the basis of chiefly ethnological considerations (1819:L-LI) : (1) Goths and related tribes *(Gepidae, Heruli* and Vandals); (2) *Langobardi,* Bavarians, Burgundians, *Alemanni* and Franks; (3) Saxons, Westphalians, Frisians and Angles; and

(4) 'Nordic'. In his insistence on a close relationship between the first two groups, i.e. Gothic and High German (the *Quadi* and *Marcomanni* being the transitional tribes), Grimm (1819:LI note 2) may have been influenced by Rask, cf. also the addition made in the same note, 'In anderer Rücksicht darf man auch die drei ersten Stämme dem einzigen vierten entgegenstellen'. But Grimm also believes in other special links between his four groups: the Franks are e.g. seen to link groups 2 and 3 while the Frisians and Angles are transitional in relation to groups 3 and 4. (Cf. above, III.1-3.) Grimm (1819:LI note 2) finally promises to give a more detailed characterization of these four groups at the end of his work. However, this promise is fulfilled neither in the first nor in the second edition (I2-IV, 1822-37) of *Deutsche Grammatik,* although Grimm repeats his promise in the second edition of vol. I (1822:XV). Even his comprehensive statement in the third edition (1840:9) concerning the dialectal grouping of Germanic is no more detailed than his 1819 presentation. He still operates with transitions between groups, and he still thinks that there is a close relationship between Gothic and Old High German, but he seems to have abandoned the division into four groups, and he grants the possible existence of links between Nordic and Gothic. Methodologically, it is significant that in 1840 Grimm is more concerned with languages than with tribes.[1]

As suggested by Maurer (1952:18), Grimm's views are repeated by certain later scholars. However, to include e.g. Ludvig Wimmer in the list as Maurer does, is hardly reasonable for Wimmer's model is closer to that of Rask: Gothic is thought to have split up into Germanic and Nordic, but what Rask called Mœso-Gothic is no longer specifically associated with High German, which now participates in a West Germanic (or German) subbranch along with Low German (Wimmer 1867:12).

As early as in 1839 Adolf Holtzmann saw a close connection between Gothic and Icelandic, indeed he felt that Icelandic more immediately reflected Gothic than did any other attested Germanic language. This view, which contrasts sharply with Rask's and Grimm's hypotheses, was repeated many years later by Holtzmann (1870:VI) in that he described the Scandinavian languages as being closest to Gothic and furthest away from Old High German.

1. Early attempts at Germanic dialect grouping

The tripartite grouping of the Germanic dialects into East, West and North Germanic which was prevalent for several decades and which is often met with even today (cf. Strang 1970:376, Schibsbye I 1972:3, Pyles/Algeo 1982:94-6; Krause 1968:48-52, Braune/Ebbinghaus 1973: 2, van Bree 1977:91, 94-6) goes ultimately back to August Schleicher's tree diagram *(Stammbaum)* from 1860:

l k

h i

f g

d

e

c b

a

a) Gotisch
b) Deutsch
c) Nordisch
d) Hochdeutsch
e) Niederdeutsch im weiteren Sinne
f) Friesisch
g) Sächsisch
h) Angelsächsisch
i) Altsächsisch
k) Plattdeutsch
l) Niederländisch
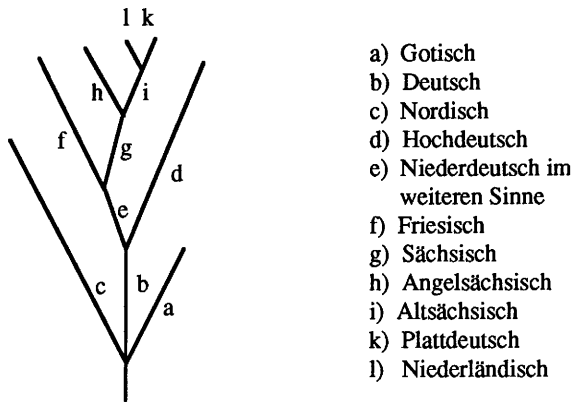
Deutsche Grundsprache

Schleicher assumes that 'die deutsche Grundsprache habe sich durch den Process allmähliger Scheidung in drei Theile zerlegt: ins Gotische, ins Deutsche im engeren Sinne und ins Nordische' (1869:91). Owing to the formation of 2 pt. sg. ind. of strong verbs in -*t* he thinks that there is a close relationship between Gothic and Nordic to the exclusion of 'Deutsch', but his basic view is that the three branches are co-ordinated: the Nordic branch, e.g., derives from neither of the two others. See also below, V.1. The fact that Schleicher's terminology was superseded by that familiar to us today (East, West and North Germanic) should probably be attributed to Wilhelm Streitberg (1896 (1974):13-15).

E. Förstemann (1869:163-4, 185-6) agrees with Schleicher in the latter scholar's concept of tripartition, but unlike Schleicher Förstemann thinks that the splits took place at vastly different periods of time. *Alt-urdeutsch* (his term for Proto-Germanic) is followed, after the departure

of the Goths, by *mittelurdeutsch* (i.e. Common Germanic minus Gothic), which is terminated by the migration of the Scandinavians over the sea and the creation of a Nordic branch. The remaining speech area continues the direct line of development into *neuurdeutsch,* the ancestor of High German on the one hand and Low German (in the broadest sense) on the other. With reference to Förstemann, Bezzenberger (1880:152-5) divides 'das germanische Urvolk' into a Gothic and a non-Gothic branch, the latter subsequently splitting up into 'Skandinavier (Nordgermanen) und Westgermanen (d.h. den Stamm, aus welchem Hochdeutsch und Niederdeutsch hervorgegangen sind)'. Förstemann and Bezzenberger thus anticipate Kuhn's views of Germanic dialect grouping (IV.4).

The concept of a Proto-West Germanic group received decisive support from Karl Müllenhoff who on the basis of non-linguistic criteria divided the Germanic world up into East and West *Germanen.* As was suggested above, Jacob Grimm (1819) was concerned with the early Germanic tribes, and the same held true of Kaspar Zeuss (1837:70-82). Müllenhoff proceeds to group the tribes on the basis of his reading of Tacitus and Pliny, so that the *Ingaevones, Herminones* and *Istaevones* of ch. 2 of *Germania* are interpreted as a West Germanic macro-group that should be seen in contradistinction to an East Germanic group which can be identified with Pliny's *Vandili,* cf. 1900:ch. 2.

Müllenhoff believed that Goths and Scandinavians had been neighbours in the Vistula area prior to the eventual emigration of the latter group across the Baltic to Scandinavia, a belief that is shared by Wilhelm Scherer who supports Müllenhoff's proposal of an east-west division. In the first edition of his *Zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache* Scherer sees the treatment of Germanic unaccented *-s (-z)* in the various dialects as a substantiation of the east-west hypothesis, cf. Gothic *dags,* Old Norse *dagr;* Old English *dæg,* Old High German *tag.* [2] Some of the linguistic parallels marshalled by Zimmer in his dissertation (1876:393-462) in support of Müllenhoff and Scherer's grouping are included in the second edition of Scherer's book, among these the development of *ww* to Gothic/Old Norse *ggw* and of *jj* to Gothic *ddj,* Old Norse *ggj* (1878:7 Anm. 2).

G. Kossina thought that he had archaeological evidence to show that the East Germanic tribes had emigrated from Scandinavia (1897: 276-312). Consequently, he finds North Germanic and South Germanic to be more adequate terms from a geographical point of view than East Germanic and West Germanic. The idea of West Germanic unity is thus, in principle, retained. Kossina has a successor in the philologist Gustav Neckel, who is of the opinion that the term West Germanic is devoid of meaning if East Germanic is abandoned. Instead he prefers to speak of *nordgermanisch* and *südgermanisch* like Kossina or, even better, of *nordisch* and *südisch* (1927:1-17).

The influence of Müllenhoff, Scherer, Zimmer and Kossina is seen for the first two or three decades after the turn of the century, cf. e.g. Brugmann 1904:26-7, Kluge 1913:139, Behaghel 1916:1 and Hirt I 1931:21.

So far Johannes Schmidt has not been mentioned in this survey, which is partly due to the fact that his ideas about Germanic inter-relations, unlike his methodological views (V.1), did not influence the further debate in any significant way. Just as was the case with the Indo-European languages, Schmidt is opposed to the application of a geneal-ogical-tree model to the Germanic dialects (V.1). His grounds for re-jecting the division into East and West Germanic are therefore hardly surprising (1875:453): 'Das nordische ist sowol ostgermanisch als west-germanisch, es bildet den übergang vom gotischen zum angelsäch-sischen, das angelsächsische und friesische den vom nordischen zum altsächsischen'. Interestingly enough, this is not very different from Grimm's thoughts concerning transitions between tribal or linguistic groups, cf. above. Neither does Rask regard languages as isolated enti-ties as the following statement bears out: 'Angelsaksisken kommer af alle de gamle Sprog Islandsken nærmest' (1818:66).

A line can be drawn from Schmidt to a later scholar, Richard Loewe (1899), who is much concerned with pointing out parallels be-tween Gothic and North Germanic and between North Germanic and West Germanic, correspondences which Loewe ascribes to geographical proximity. The agreements between Gothic and North Germanic are as-

signed to the period prior to the Gothic emigration from Scandinavia, and after the departure of the Goths from Northern Europe contact between North and West Germanic resulted in a series of innovations shared by both dialects. It should be noted, however, that Loewe's acquaintance with Schmidt's theory does not lead him to question Schleicher's and Streitberg's tripartition of the Germanic world and the concept of West Germanic.

Attention should finally be directed to the fact that some scholars assume the existence of a particularly close relationship between Old English and Old Norse. This holds true of e.g. Møller (1896:148), Bremer (1900:809-16, 842) and Neckel (1927:11). For further details, see H.F. Nielsen 1985:33-7.

2. *Wrede, Maurer and the West Germanic problem*

The innovatory views introduced by Ferdinand Wrede into the debate as to how the Germanic languages were interrelated revitalized the whole discussion. As early as in 1919 Wrede rejects the division of West Germanic into a German group comprising High and Low German and an Anglo-Frisian one. Instead, he maintains that in principle the northern or Ingveonic branch consists of not only Anglo-Saxon and Frisian, but also Low German (Old Saxon), seeing that the languages involved exhibit shared features such as *mī, þī* (High German *mich/mir, dich/dir*); *he* (High German *er*); uniform verbal plural endings (vs. three endings in High German); and loss of nasals before *f, s, þ: fīf, ūs, ōthar* (High German *fünf, uns, ander*). In the course of time Charlemagne incorporated Ingveonic Saxony into his Frankish empire, and linguistically this led to a gradual 'Germanization' process in the north. Thus *th* was replaced by *d* in Middle Low German, cf. *dat, ander* (Old Saxon *that, ōthar*), and *Kind* supplanted *barn*. Conversely, a northern feature like *he* penetrates into Middle German, and *r*-metathesis is attested even in Southern Germany. Similarly, Low German *drüge, dröge* crop up in places where we should expect the southern form *trocken*. The final result is 'verdeutschtes Ingwäonisch' in Northern Germany, 'reines

Deutsch' in the South and 'auf Kontamination beider beruhendes "Mitteldeutsch"' in between (1919:14-16, 1924:274).

A few years later Wrede changes his view of West Germanic and Ingveonic radically. The presence of early Ingveonicisms as far south as Weißenburg and Lorsch and the bond between north and south shown by the distribution of *r-*metathesis raise the question whether certain south-western (Alemannic (III.2)) features should not be interpreted differently from what they had been hitherto: could, e.g., the Alemannic loss of *n* before *s* and *f,* and the uniform verbal plural endings not be seen as retentions stemming from a period in which a large unbroken area stretching from the North Sea to Switzerland was characterized by Ingveonicisms? This hypothesis is very tempting to a dialect geographer like Wrede, who has seen numerous instances of marginal relic areas separated from each other by an innovatory central zone (see below, V.2 and the map p. 133). Besides, Alemannic is generally thought to be a conservative dialect (1924:277-8).

But how is the innovatory area to be accounted for? Wrede notes that Bavarian has no Ingveonicisms whatever: there are no third sg. pers. prons. in *h-,* the three persons pres. pl. have not coalesced, and there is no loss of nasals before fricatives in *fünf* and *uns.* The same applies to Gothic, so why not assume Gothic (East Germanic) influence on Bavarian? There were Gotho-Vandalic tribes in Hungary and Austria, *Skiri* in Galicia and *Rugii* in Lower Austria, and about A.D. 400 there were Burgundians in Bavaria and afterwards on the Rhine. Also, Theoderic's East Gothic kingdom in Italy may have exercised linguistic influence on the *Alemanni* and Bavarians (III.1-2). Finally, the Gothic (Arian) mission in Southern Germany left its traces in at least Bavarian, cf. *ertag* 'Tuesday' and (perhaps) the use of the old dual *enk* 'you' (1924:278).

Although he realizes that his theory is not satisfactory in all details, Wrede nevertheless calls German 'ein gotisiertes Westgermanisch' (1924:282): by way of Bavarian, Gothic has influenced the remainder of the German language area so that a wedge has been driven in from the south-east in a west-northwesterly direction. Old ties uniting north and south are broken, and Ingveonic relic areas survive in the south-west and

in the north. But German remains a West Germanic dialect, cf. the doubling of consonants (1924:281).

However stimulating Wrede's views were to the scholarly debate, they became increasingly criticized. Theodor Frings thought that the contacts between Goths, Bavarians and *Alemanni* stemmed from a time when these tribes or their forbears were neighbours in North-Eastern Europe (1932:10), but nevertheless he considered Wrede's basic ideas to be valid.

A severer critic of Wrede was C. Karstien (1939:14-23), who refuses to believe that the distribution of the loss of nasals before fricatives included Southern and Central Germany. Early southern proper nouns exhibit no such loss, whereas a loan-word like *Hanf* drops its *n* in Alemannic, a loss which can have taken place only after the High German Sound Shift (III.2) and subsequent to the loss of weakly accented -*a*-, cf. Old High German *hanaf,* Old Saxon *hanap.* Another important argument adduced by Karstien is the fact that the morphological and phonological correspondences between Gothic and Bavarian are shared retentions (V.2), e.g. Gothic *is*/Old High German *ir, er* vs. Old English/Old Frisian/Old Saxon *hĕ, hĭ.* Moreover, the historical facts should not be left out of sight: what historical and ethnological evidence does Wrede have to warrant the existence of an East Germanic influence on Bavarian strong enough to disrupt the West Germanic unity (1939: 17)?

It is interesting that Karstien does not accept the concept of West Germanic (IV.1), an entity that was not basically questioned by Wrede and Frings. According to Karstien, several Anglo-Frisian innovations antedated the so-called West Germanic parallels which thereby became only secondary items (1939:19). Karstien thus replaces Schleicher's tripartition with a division of the Germanic languages into four groups: Gothic, German, Anglo-Frisian (Ingveonic) and North Germanic, cf. Grimm (IV.1).

Friedrich Maurer also objects to Wrede's 1924 theory of Ingveonic that it ignores the historical facts, and further that modern (synchronic) dialect maps do not immediately admit of diachronic interpretations back

through the centuries (1952:57-8). In Maurer's opinion a dialect group-
ing of Germanic cannot be undertaken without considering the evidence
provided by archaeology and the classical historians, mainly because of
the late attestations of the Germanic dialects.

Maurer's reading of the relevant archaeological literature leads him
to set up five culture groups lasting from the 1st century B.C. to the 3rd
or 4th century A.D.: (1) North Germanic, (2) Oder-Vistula Germanic, (3)
Elbe Germanic, (4) Weser-Rhine Germanic and (5) North Sea Germanic.
Similarly, the classical sources point towards a quinquepartite grouping,
cf. Pliny's *Vandili* 3 (Burgundians, Goths, etc.) who appear to tally with
the North Germanic culture group, *Peucini* and *Bastarnae* who corre-
spond to the Oder-Vistula group, *'Mediterranei' Herminones* (Suebi, Her-
munduri, etc., cf. the Elbe Germanic group), *Istuaeones 'Proximi Rheno'*
(cf. the Weser-Rhine Germanic group) and *Inguaeones* (Cimbri, Teu-
toni, Chaucorum gentes) who fit in with the North Sea Germanic culture
group. Müllenhoff's interpretation of Tacitus *Germania* ch. 2, which
turned *Ingaevones, Herminones* and *Istaevones* into West *Germanen,*
is totally rejected by Maurer (1952:89-90).

As far as the linguistic evidence is concerned, Maurer realizes the
need to investigate all isoglosses within Germanic, but since no one has
undertaken that task, Maurer has to content himself with listing some of
the more important correspondences. Taking, at least in part, inspiration
from 'den archäologisch erschließbaren Gruppen' (!), Maurer sets up as
linguistic macro-groups Nordic, Gothic, Anglo-Saxon/Old Saxon, Upper
German and Franconian. The language of the Weser-Rhine *Germanen*
is thought by Maurer to have been continued mainly through Fran-
conian, but also to some extent in Old Saxon. He admits, however, that
Weser-Rhine Germanic remains extremely vague as a linguistic group
(1952:66, 85, 175-8), in fact its very existence is a result of his employ-
ment of historical and archaeological evidence for a quinquepartite
grouping of Germanic. Maurer thereby presupposes that culture groups
and dialect groups are identical, an assumption which is clearly unten-
able as many counterexamples will show. In the preface to the second
edition of his book Maurer says that his method involves 'die Zusam-
menführung der Ergebnisse von Geschichte und Sprachforschung; die

Vertiefung unserer sprachgeschichtlichen Erkenntnisse mit Hilfe der Nachbarwissenschaften, hier besonders der Archäologie'. But in this case – and it is not the only example – he has done quite the reverse: he has made linguistic inferences on the basis of non-linguistic material.

The title of Maurer's book is *Nordgermanen und Alemannen,* and he does actually cite a number of parallels between Upper German and Nordic in support of early North Germanic/Elbe Germanic proximity in Northern Europe. However, Maurer's aim is not to establish a close relationship between Nordic and Upper German, but to weaken the theory of a West Germanic linguistic unity, cf. Müllenhoff and Schleicher (IV.1). Maurer states, e.g., that the Elbe Germanic group had closer ties to the North *Germanen* than they had to the Anglo-Saxons and than the Anglo-Saxons themselves had to the North *Germanen* 4 (1952:84).

Maurer does concern himself with linguistic correspondences shared by Anglo-Saxon, Old Saxon, Upper German and Franconian, i.e. West Germanic, but he is sceptical of the weight carried by the twelve parallels cited. After the appearance of the first edition of *Nordgermanen und Alemannen* in 1942 Maurer was heavily criticized for his treatment of West Germanic, e.g. by Kuhn (1944:8-9, cf. also below, IV.3) who regards the loss of final -z, $\delta > d$ and the doubling of consonants as important West Germanic innovations. In an appendix to the third edition Maurer assigns such shared features to a later period (4th to 7th cent.): they are thought to have originated in North Sea Germanic with subsequent penetration into Franconian, from where the innovations spread to Upper German as a result of the political expansion of the Franks in the era of the Merovingians (1952:178-87).

Despite the objections raised against it Maurer's book is important, not only because of its replacement of West Germanic by three independent groups (North Sea Germanic, Weser-Rhine Germanic, Elbe Germanic) and the discussion which that gave rise to, but also because of the new methodological vistas that after all were opened up by his use of historical and archaeological evidence. The impact of Maurer's ideas on the handbooks of German (but not of English) historical linguistics has been tremendous, and to a varying degree it can be seen in e.g. Eggers I 1963:31-2, Bach 1965:§44, 50; Moser 1965:86-97; W. Schmidt 1970:46;

Braune/Eggers 1975:§2 Anm.2; Keller 1978:48-56; and König 1978:52-3.

　　Let us for a while return to the criticism levelled at Wrede. Above it was pointed out that Frings 1932 was in fundamental agreement with Wrede's views. However, in the 1940s Frings takes the matter up for reconsideration. In his *Grundlegung einer Geschichte der deutschen Sprache* Frings now stresses that the loss of nasals before fricatives and the syncretism of the pres. pl. endings in Alemannic are much later than similar developments in the North (1957:50). Also, the original distribution of the third pers. pron. in *h-* can hardly have included Southern Germany, since the modern dialect maps know of no *h-* forms south of the river Main (1957:48, 138). And in his view no theory of Ingveonic can be propounded without paying due regard to the Dutch dialects. In 1944 *(Die Stellung der Niederlande im Aufbau des Germanischen)* Frings had drawn attention to the complex linguistic situation in Dutch, to the struggle between Franconian and non-Franconian elements. The retention vs. the loss of *n* before *s* is a case in point: the coastal region from Dunkirk and northwards – indeed all the way to the North Frisian islands – has *üs,* the rest of the Netherlands has *ons* (without loss of nasal), and in Germany *us* (besides *uns*) is found in Low German, while the autochthonous South German form is *uns.* To Frings this suggests a tripartite division: (a) loss of nasal, (b) nasal retained *and* loss of nasal, and (c) nasal retained. Frings adduces three further examples of a similar divison, of which only one shall be repeated here, viz. a lexical item: like English *Wednesday* the coastal Dutch/Frisian form *weunsdag* derives from **wōdins-;* the remaining part of the Netherlands and the neighbouring German provinces have reflexes of **wōdans-,* cf. Dutch *woensdag ,* and the rest of Germany has *Mittwoch* (1957:51-2, 142-3). On the basis of this material Frings feels entitled to divideWest Germanic into three groups: *Küstendeutsch* (or *Küsteningwäonisch*), *Binnendeutsch* (or *Gemeiningwäonisch*) and *Alpendeutsch,* cf. Tacitus's three *Mannus-* tribes *(Ingaevones, Istaevones* and *Herminones),* and Müllenhoff and Maurer (see above). The *Ingaevones* and *Istaevones* move west and southwest, the former tribe settling in the coastal

region and the *Istaevones* settling on the middle Rhine. After the
beginning of our era it becomes difficult to draw a clear archaeological
distinction between them, whereas they are more easily definable in
relation to the third tribe, the *Herminones*. According to Frings, the
speakers of *Küsteningwäonisch* are primarily Saxons, while the 'Träger
von Gemeiningwäonischem sind im Westen die Franken, die im Kern
Istwäonen sind' (1957:55-6).

In an article from 1947 Alistair Campbell discusses such problems
as the definition and division of Ingveonic. To Campbell a language can
be called Ingveonic if it exhibits the following characteristics: fronting
of West Germanic $\bar{a}$ except before nasals where   rounding takes place;
West Germanic $au > \bar{a}$; palatalization of k and g before front vowels;
loss of nasals before fricatives; non-participation in the High German
Sound Shift; and uniform verbal plural forms (1947:4). The languages
involved are therefore English, Frisian and Old Low German (Old
Saxon).[5] However, Ingveonic was never anything but a loosely knit
linguistic community within West Germanic: Old English, e.g., had
features of its own (retention of Germanic u before $n,$ absence of
lowering of Germanic i in harmony with a following vowel, and the
universal lowering of Germanic i and u before z), which suggest that
pre-Old English 'took a position apart' in West Germanic (1947:13-14),
and even during the Ingveonic period Old English shows separate
development, cf. $au >$ Old English $\bar{e}a$ (Old Frisian $\bar{a}$). Campbell
thereby rejects Heeroma's bipartite division of Ingveonic into West
Ingveonic (assignable to the regions between the rivers Scheldt and
Weser) and East Ingveonic (the North Sea coast between the Weser and
the Scandinavian language boundary).[6] According to Heeroma, the
Anglo-Saxons and Frisians were East Ingveonic speakers who had
emigrated west; the West Ingveonic speech area was reduced not only by
the immigration from the east, but especially by the expansion of the
Franks, which gave the autochthonous Ingveonic dialects of the
Netherlands their Franconian stamp, but which was unable to quell the
Ingveonic fronting of $\bar{a} > \bar{æ}$ in what by Heeroma is called *Zee-*
frankies. [7] Campbell is unhappy about Heeroma's concept of West
Ingveonic because of its extreme vagueness: it differs from Franconian

only in the monophthongization of *au* to *ā* besides the universal front-
ing of West Germanic *ā* (1947:8). The fact that *ā* is fronted everywhere
(including the position before a nasal) indicates that *Zeefrankies* is not
based on a Frisian substratum,[8] so in this respect Heeroma puts an end to
the old assumption that at the time of Charlemagne the Frisians had in
their possession all of the North Sea coast from the Scheldt to the Weser.

Campbell himself is inclined to think that the sporadic Ingveonic
features of *Zeefrankies* represent late Frisian borrowings and late com-
mon developments, and should not be ascribed to an Ingveonic (a Fri-
sian) substratum. For historical reasons it may be assumed that North
Holland was originally Ingveonic even if linguistic evidence is wanting,
and finally it should be noted that Campbell considers the fronting of *ā*
in *Zeefrankies* to be an independent development (1947:10-13).

Campbell's viewpoints are clearly divergent from not only Heero-
ma's but also Frings's thoughts of Ingveonic. As a matter of fact, R.
Vleeskruyer (1948:1975) has raised the objection that Campbell pays no
attention to the prevailing opinion on the origin of the Dutch dialects, i.e.
'the essentially uniform views of M. Schönfeld, Th. Frings, G.G. Kloeke,
and many others ...' (cf. also note 5). These scholars all believe that
Ingveonic was the first Germanic language in the Netherlands, and that
the Franconian[9] influence intensified only after 700. In the northern part
of the country the autochthonous Ingveonic language was retained and
developed into Frisian, and despite the penetration of Franconian further
south, the Dutch standard language, which is chiefly based on the coastal
dialects, has preserved a number of Ingveonic relic forms. And the
Ingveonic element seems to be stronger the further back in time we
move.[10] An indication that the Ingveonic features of *Zeefrankies* are
not due to Frisian influence as Campbell assumes, is that the Ing-
veonicisms are more common in Zealand and West Flanders than in
North Holland, and also that many of them have a clearly non-Frisian
character. Vleeskruyer believes that there is an Ingveonic substratum
stretching from the Scheldt to the north of North Holland (1948:180-83).

As for the further development of Germanic *ē*[1] *(ǣ)*, Vleeskruyer
refers to those scholars who believe that the Ingveonic reflex of this
vowel did not go by way of West Germanic *ā*, so that *ǣ* + nasal repre-

sents an earlier stage than $\bar{o}$ + nasal. The crucial importance of West Dutch $\bar{æ}$ (in all positions) for the *Zeefrankies* hypothesis is thereby called in question.

During the following two or three decades the scholarly debate was less concerned with the Ingveonic problem than with the position taken up by North Germanic in relation to Gothic on the one hand and the so-called West Germanic languages on the other. When Ingveonic was included in the discussion, the geographical term North Sea Germanic (cf. Maurer) was usually preferred to the old ethnological designation. There will be examples of this below in sections 3 and 4.

3. Schwarz and his critics

Unlike Karstien and Maurer (IV.2) W. Jungandreas refuses to abandon the old concept of West Germanic although he is aware of important ties between Anglo-Saxons and Scandinavians in the Germanic heroic era. But linguistic, especially lexical, parallels between Old English and Old High German are used by Jungandreas in establishing a case for early Old English/Old High German contact at a time prior to the ultimate departure of the Upper German tribes from Central Germany, i.e. the time of the Ingveonic/Istveonic/Herminonic *Kulturgemeinschaft* (I 1949: 48-9). The way in which Jungandreas groups the Germanic dialects thus becomes a traditional one: Low German and High German form a German group which along with an Anglo-Frisian group comprising English and Frisian constitutes the West Germanic branch. North Germanic and East Germanic are lumped together in a Gotho-Nordic branch because of such striking shared parallels as the weak Class IV *(-nan)* verbs, the formation of the 2 pt. sg. ind. of strong verbs through the addition of *-t*, and the development of *jj, ww* to *ggj* (Old Norse)/*ddj* (Gothic) and *ggw*, 'die sich wohl aus dem gemeinsamen Ursprung beider Sprachgruppen erklären' (I 1949:30).

As mentioned above the hypothesis of a particularly close relationship between Gothic and Scandinavian goes at least back to Holtzmann

(IV.1), and other 19th-century scholars like Müllenhoff, Scherer and Zimmer had come out in favour of a bipartite grouping of Germanic into East and West Germanic, assuming that the *Germanen* in Scandinavia were emigrated East *Germanen.* Kossina, however, found it more reasonable to believe that an emigration had taken place in the opposite direction and prefers therefore to speak of North and South *Germanen,* cf. also Neckel (IV.1). Maurer's concept of North *Germanen* should be seen along similar lines: Goths and related tribes were regarded as belonging to the North Germanic group because they were thought to derive from Scandinavia (Maurer 1952:134).

The fact that Ernst Schwarz divides the Germanic world up into *Nordgermanen* and *Südgermanen* is hardly in itself surprising in the light of earlier theories. What makes his views different from those of his predecessors, however, is the changing position of North Sea Germanic. In the 3rd century B.C. North Sea Germanic more or less belonged to the northern group, but in the course of time North Sea Germanic moved closer to the *Binnengermanen,* so that by the 3rd century A.D. a South Germanic group with North Sea Germanic participation was established (1951:276). What linguistic evidence does Schwarz adduce in support of his view? As for North Germanic he posits twenty-six parallels between Gothic and Old Norse (of which ten, however, belong to lexis). His list includes four common innovations: (1) *ww, jj* > *ggw, ggj/ddj;* (2) $\bar{u}$ > $\bar{o}$ in hiatus; (3) Gothic *baíraina,* East Norse *-aina* in the 3 pres.pl.opt.; and (4) Gothic *bērjau,* Old Norse *bǽra* < **bērjau* (the 1 pt.sg.opt.), cf. Schwarz 1951:144-8. To prove his hypothesis of an original North Sea Germanic participation in the northern group Schwarz sets up a dozen parallels (retentions!) shared by Gothic, Old Norse and Old English. The subsequent separation of North Sea Germanic from North Germanic was due partly to the development of specifically North Sea Germanic features and partly to innovatory features (such as the development of a gerund) shared by the enlarged South Germanic group (1951:199-200).

The conclusions drawn by Schwarz are undoubtedly too far-reaching in view of the scope of the material actually examined in *Goten, Nordgermanen, Angelsachsen.* Important innovations shared by North

Germanic and North Sea Germanic are often ignored, and bearing in mind the method Schwarz himself applies in the book, one must find his discussion of the similarity between on the one hand Old English dsm. *þǣm*, gsf. *þǣre* and on the other Old Norse *þeim, þeire* (dem.pron.) strangely cautious: 'Es wird zu überlegen sein, ob die gleiche Entwicklung des Nordseegerm. und An. zur selben Zeit unabhängig erfolgt ist oder ob ein Zusammenhang besteht' (1951:237, H.F. Nielsen 1985: 197-9).

Prior to writing *Goten, Nordgermanen, Angelsachsen* Schwarz had done much work on the Modern German dialects of Eastern Europe, and had taken a special interest in the question of origin in connection with German *Sprachinseln* (i.e. language islands or linguistic pockets). In the book under discussion he applies the experience reaped from modern dialect geography (V.2) to the age of the Germanic migrations (1951:5). As for Gothic he regards this language as a North Germanic *Sprachinsel* on the strength of the information provided by Jordanes (III.1) and of the archaeological conclusions drawn by Oxenstierna (III.1), who thought that the Goths had emigrated from Southern Sweden (Västergötland) at the very beginning of our era. Linguistic parallels between Gothic and Old Norse (especially East Norse) should therefore be assigned to a period antedating the Gothic departure from Sweden. Another *terminus ante quem* is seen by Schwarz in the Anglo-Saxon emigration from the Continent in the 5th and 6th centuries (III.3). To him it is axiomatic that parallels shared by Old English, Old Frisian and Old Saxon were developed on the Continent before the Anglo-Saxon *landnám*. No doubt Schwarz's attitude is too categorical, especially in view of his assumption of a North Sea Germanic area stretching from Slesvig to the lower Rhine: 'Sein Zusammenhalt liegt in der Lage am Meere begründet. So wird er auch mit den Seefahrten der germ. Stämme zusammenhängen' (1951:244). Why could not, e.g., Kent, East Anglia or Yorkshire have kept up contacts across the sea with the continental North Sea Germanic community after the *Adventus Saxonum*?

In the preface to his book (1951:5) Schwarz says that his aim is 'das zur Abwanderungszeit im ersten Jahrhundert vor Chr. gesprochene Gotonordische zu gewinnen, das in der gotischen Urheimat in Süd-

schweden gesprochen worden ist'. A large portion of the book is devoted to achieving the goal of reconstructing a Gotho-Nordic protolanguage, the ancestor of both Gothic and Old Norse and intermediate in relation to Proto-Germanic. Schwarz points out repeatedly that for historical reasons Gothic is a North Germanic language (1951:104, 136, etc.), and his argumentation is therefore circular when at one stage in the book he says that the twenty-six linguistic parallels between Old Norse and Gothic 'sichern die Herkunft des Got. aus dem Norden' (1951:148). Schwarz proves what initially he took for granted.

On the whole, the reactions to Schwarz's book were very negative and subsided only after a decade or so. Brinkmann doubts that Schwarz has sufficient linguistic evidence to entitle him to draw comparative conclusions on the scale that he actually does. Brinkmann also finds that Schwarz underestimates the divergences between Gothic and Old Norse: consonants, e.g., develop very differently in the two languages in final position and in the levelling processes subsequent to vernerization (II.3); within the field of morphology attention is drawn to the fact that Gothic has -*is* (< IE *-*eso*) in gsm/n. *a*-stem nouns, while Primitive Norse (I.3) exhibits the ending -*as* (< IE *-*oso*). But Brinkmann does not question that 'das Gotische sich aus dem Norden gelöst hat ...'; he just thinks that Gothic had come to occupy a place apart in the Scandinavian *Urheimat* (1952:210). As for Brinkmann's view of Maurer's hypothesis, the West Germanic parallels are seen as more important than those linking West Germanic to North Germanic. This is in conflict with Maurer's thoughts even if Brinkmann is not exactly a believer in West Germanic linguistic unity (1952:211-12).

In a paper from 1954 Philippson expresses scepticism concerning the significance of the lexical parallels between Gothic and Old Norse listed by Schwarz: firstly, lexis is not the best evidence for demonstrating close linguistic relations (cf. below, V.4); secondly, Philippson's own counts show that the lexical parallels between Gothic and Old Norse are no more numerous than those between Gothic and Old English or between Gothic and Old High German (1954:26); thirdly, it is pointed out that Schwarz's ethnological information does not tally with the

renderings given in the authoritative works on the subject; and fourthly, Philippson deplores that Maurer, Schwarz and other scholars operate with new Germanic tree diagrams 'als ob Johannes Schmidt, der Vater der Wellentheorie, vergeblich gelebt hätte' (1954:30, cf. also below, V.1).

Rosenfeld's review (1954) of *Goten, Nordgermanen, Angel-sachsen* is an important contribution to the discussion. Schwarz is here attacked for assuming the Gothic departure from Scandinavia to be a reliable *terminus ante quem* for correspondences between Gothic and Old Norse. We do not know, e.g., whether all Goths emigrated or whether some tribal groups stayed behind so that a linguistic exchange could take place between Goths on either side of the Baltic also after the beginning of our era. Neither does Rosenfeld want to preclude the possibility 'daß aus gegebenen gleichen Anlagen sich dieselbe Entwicklung auf beiden Seiten auch noch nach jahrhundertlanger Trennung durchsetzen konnte' (1954:367). Moreover, Rosenfeld points out that geographical proximity is not the only prerequisite for the spread of linguistic innovations. For one thing, tribal movement may lead to settlement adjacent to speakers who are dialectally distant from the colonizers, cf. the Westphalian-Frankish tribal boundary. In other words, a prerequisite for the spread of a linguistic feature is that dialects must be closely related, which, however, is what must be proved in the case of Gothic and Old Norse (1954:367-8).

Further, Rosenfeld stresses the difficulties which the Gotho-Nordic reconstructed by Schwarz presents to the reader: what Gotho-Nordic forms are also Common Germanic and what forms are intermediate in relation to the attested languages and Common Germanic? Despite all his objections, however, Rosenfeld comes out in favour of a Gotho-Nordic primary group (1954:374), though partly for other reasons than those given by Schwarz. He rejects some of the latter's parallels and attaches more importance to other of his correspondences, e.g. the *īn*-declension of weak fem.pres.ptc., cf. Gothic *gibandei,* Old Norse *ge-fande,* and the *-t* ending of the 2 pt.sg.ind. of strong verbs (Gothic/Old Norse *bart*), cf. 1954:372, 377ff. Finally, Rosenfeld thinks that Schwarz's list of Gotho-Nordic parallels might be expanded.

Rosenfeld is thus not in doubt about the Scandinavian provenance of the Goths, but how about the position of North Sea Germanic? A scrutiny of Schwarz's Gothic/Old Norse/Old English parallels convinces Rosenfeld that none of these correspondences justify the assumption of early North Sea Germanic links to North Germanic (1954:383). Instead, he advances nine cases of Old English agreement with West Germanic[11] so that he finds himself in a position to conclude: 'Das Nordseegermanische (jedenfalls das Ags. und das As.) war eine westgermanische Sprache mit sehr alten Neuerungen gegenüber dem Gotonordischen. Es hat niemals zum Nordgermanischen gehört oder mit diesem zusammen gegenüber dem Binnengermanischen eine höhere Einheit gebildet ...' (1954:388). Even if Rosenfeld's article must be described as well documented, the author (as he himself is the first to realize) takes only a limited set of 'nachbarliche Berührungen' into consideration. In my opinion, this becomes decisive for Rosenfeld's results and his ultimate view of Germanic dialect grouping.

The sharpest critic of Schwarz is Hans Kuhn who in a well-known paper from 1955 argues against the concept of Gotho-Nordic and a North Germanic primary group (consisting of Gothic and Old Norse). The twenty-six parallels listed by Schwarz in support of such a primary group are considered of no value by Kuhn with the possible exceptions of the coalescence of $\bar{o}$ and $\bar{u}$ in hiatus and the 3 pres.pl. opt. ending *-na*. The development of *jj, ww* > *ggj/ddj, ggw* is an innovation too uncertain to allow of far-reaching conclusions (1955:10-11). Kuhn regards the parallels between North and West Germanic as much more important than the Gotho-Nordic ones, some of them being perhaps even older, e.g. *þl-* > *fl-* and the contraction of the 1 pt. pl. **hauziðēdum* to **hauziðum*. When the Goths left Northern Europe about 2000 years ago, the Germanic speech area was more or less uniform, and the language spoken by the Goths at that time was thus not North Germanic but Proto-Germanic. According to this theory the subsequent evolution of a Gothic language is to be looked upon as an offshoot of Common Germanic, which itself splits up into a North Germanic and a West Germanic branch (c. A.D. 500) with independent innovations (1955:15-16).

Another important point of criticism levelled at Schwarz is Kuhn's
rejection of the axiom that the sea prevents linguistic exchanges from
taking place. Above, this axiom was criticized on the basis of Schwarz's
own premises. Kuhn's chief argument is a number of cases where the
sea has not prevented linguistic exchanges, cf. the relations between the
Balearic Islands and Spain, between the component parts of the island
kingdom of Denmark and especially between Western Norway and its
Atlantic colonies, i.e. the Orkneys, the Shetlands, the Faroes and Iceland.
No less than fifty innovations all postdating the period of settlement are
characteristic of this group, which Kuhn calls 'das Ozeannordische'
(1955:16-23). Thus the Anglo-Saxon departure from the Continent can-
not be regarded as a *terminus ante quem* for the development of the Old
English links to the continental dialects; on the contrary, the majority of
the innovations shared by Old English and Old Frisian arose, according
to Kuhn, only after the emigration. The historical background for this is
the Frisian control of the North Sea trade in the 8th (and perhaps even in
the 7th) century and the Anglo-Saxon mission to Frisia in the late 7th
century. The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* knows of Frisians during the reign
of Alfred the Great, cf. the entry for 896. According to Kuhn, the ar-
chaeological finds from A.D. 400-450 in the Frisian *Terpen* suggest im-
migration from the east prior to the Anglo-Saxon settlement in Britain
(this view is no longer accepted; cf. above, III.3): in other words, if these
eastern newcomers could somehow be linked to the 5th-century invasion
of Britain, this might imply that the first beginnings of a North Sea
Germanic that included English and Frisian should be assigned only to
this late stage (1955:41-2, 26).
  Kuhn counters Schwarz's hypothesis of a North Sea Germanic
speech area from Slesvig to the lower Rhine prior to 450 by calling
attention to the relatively modest Old Saxon participation in North Sea
Germanic, for which Franconian influence alone can hardly be held
responsible. In the Saxon *Urheimat* north of the Elbe the North Sea
Germanic features are no more pronounced than elsewhere in Lower
Germany, even if the influence of the Franks must have been least felt
here. Moreover, the runic inscriptions of the ancient tribal lands of the
Jutes and the Angles display no specifically North Sea Germanic

characteristics.[12] Kuhn's conclusion is that North Sea Germanic came into being only at the time of, or after, the establishment of the Anglo-Saxon colony in Britain. The central dialects were English and Frisian, from which features were taken over by Old Saxon and to some extent also by Old Low Franconian (1955:36-44, 46). Kuhn has recently stated (1973b:240) that the North Sea Germanic innovations in Old Saxon most probably 'trotz sehr weiter Verbreitung niemals festen Halt gewonnen haben und daß die Sprache der fränkischen Eroberer auf ihre Aus-merzung wie auch die übrige Entwicklung des As. wenig Einfluß gehabt hat'.

To summarize some of Kuhn's main points: after the Gothic emi-gration the Common Germanic dialect area split up into North and West Germanic around the middle of the first millennium A.D. Historically, the Germanic migrations (the Anglo-Saxon invasion of Britain, the settlement of Danes in Jutland) are to be held responsible for this. Both North and West Germanic developed independent innovations, but while North Germanic remained fairly uniform, West Germanic fell apart in consequence of innovations not affecting the whole area, cf. the High German Sound Shift (III.2) and the North Sea Germanic correspon-dences.[13]

In several respects Schützeichel is in agreement with Kuhn. He does not find the parallels between Gothic and Old Norse as listed by Maurer and Schwarz convincing, and he can by no means accept the hypothesis of a specific Gotho-Nordic primary group within Germanic (1976:19ff.). On the other hand, the significance of the so-called West Germanic correspondences should not be underestimated (even if three of the five parallels that he gives are dubious, to say the least), and he is sceptical of Maurer's points of agreement between Old Norse and Ale-mannic (1976:21ff., 34-5). Like Kuhn Schützeichel thinks that Common Germanic, after the emigration of the Goths, did not begin to disintegrate until c. A.D. 500, cf. the linguistic innovations in Old English and the uniform runic inscriptions of the early period (1976:18, 16; cf. also note 12 with references).

Methodologically, Schützeichel fully approves of Kuhn's concept

of the sea as 'Sprachraummitte', and is aware of the dangers of applying the methods of dialect geography too one-sidedly. Modern dialect maps cannot, without reservation, be correlated with historical and archaeological phenomena for the purpose of drawing diachronic conclusions (1976:12) in the manner that e.g. Wrede did (IV.2). Nor can it be taken for granted that shared linguistic parallels always come into existence through contact in consequence of gradual spread from an innovatory centre. According to Schützeichel, parallels may arise for polygenetical reasons. In cognate languages 'Prädisposition' and 'Anlagetendenz' may precede linguistic change (1976:39ff.). It is therefore not necessary to assume that ethnological expansion and split are immediately attended by language differentiation. In other words, parallel developments may take place long after the physical separation of tribes or tribal groups. Schützeichel thus manages to argue against both Maurer, who on the basis of non-linguistic groupings extrapolated contemporary linguistic quinquepartition (IV.2), and Schwarz, whose parallels always antedated tribal separation. But Schützeichel's concept of 'Anlagetendenz' and the chronological elasticity which this concept entails hardly help reduce the problems associated with Germanic dialect grouping (cf. also below, V.2 and 3).

Adamus, in his article on Germanic interrelations, aims at establishing the links of Old Norse to Gothic and West Germanic respectively (1962:120). Nevertheless, his investigation is restricted to substantival, adjectival and pronominal endings, and since his Gothic/Old Norse parallels are identical with those listed by Schwarz, his results cannot be accepted without reservation.

Adamus is able to cite no less than fifty-seven correspondences between North and West Germanic. However, this number is partly due to the fact that phonological parallels *per se* are not included, seeing that the same phonological development is taken into account whenever it entails shared North and West Germanic inflectional divergences from Gothic. Further, Adamus makes no sharp distinction between North Germanic/West Germanic parallels and such that are shared by North Germanic and only part of West Germanic, cf. H.F. Nielsen 1976:96-7. Adamus's list of Gothic/Old Norse correspondences contains seventeen

of Schwarz's twenty-six parallels, including two phonological ones, viz. *jj, ww > ggj/ddj, ggw* and the retention of final *-z* (to which 'iso-phones' Adamus attaches little importance), even if elsewhere in the article he is concerned only with nominal elements. The remaining parallels are thirteen 'lexical morphemes' which are considered of no significance (1962:151ff.).

It is therefore small wonder that Adamus dissociates himself from the concept of a primary Gotho-Nordic group. Like Kuhn he thinks that Gothic through its isolation became the first Germanic dialect with innovations of its own and that North and West Germanic (North-West Germanic) continued to develop shared (morphological) innovations long after the emigration of the Goths (1962:157-8).

4. Recent attempts at Germanic dialect grouping

Unlike Maurer, Frings and Schwarz (IV.2 and 3) Ludwig Rösel leaves out of account non-linguistic evidence in his important book, *Die Gliederung der germanischen Sprachen* from 1962. Linguistic groups can only be established on the basis of linguistic evidence. But Rösel realizes that the mere listing of a large number of parallels between Germanic languages will not enable him to provide unequivocal solutions to the problems with which Germanic dialect grouping is attended. He therefore introduces a chronological dimension into his survey: he wants to collect parallels arisen at about the same time in groups. Thereby different dialectal patterns can be set up at different points in time (1962:VI-VII). Before a more detailed account is given of his findings, it should be noted that Rösel restricts his linguistic material to morphological items. According to Rösel, phonological criteria are not suitable because 'die Sprache unserer Texte als geschriebene Sprache nicht mit der gesprochenen übereinzustimmen braucht'. There is much uncertainty about the phonology of early texts whereas the inflectional forms of such texts seem much more reliable (1962:3-4).

The earliest grouping of the Germanic dialects set up by Rösel is based on the selection made by each dialect of Indo-European morphological doublets. Rösel has been able to isolate eight such cases. To give

one instance: asm. interr.pron. Gothic *hvane,* Old Norse *hvan* (1962: 11-12) and Old English *hwone* exhibit *a*-vocalism in contradistinction to the *e* of Old Saxon *hwena* and Old High German *hwen.* Here as in most of the remaining seven items Old English seems to be more closely connected with Gothic and Old Norse than with Old Saxon and Old High German. Geographically, the Baltic and the Danish sounds and belts may have constituted the line of division between the two early groups. Rösel is therefore in basic agreement with Schwarz's view of the earliest position of Old English, but it is worth pointing out that unlike Schwarz Rösel does not include Old Saxon in North Sea Germanic, which thus becomes restricted to Old English and Old Frisian (1962:19).

The first division of the Germanic dialects was brought to an end with the Gothic departure from Southern Sweden. The distribution of doublets arisen during the Proto-Germanic period shows striking parallels between the variants selected by Old English and Old Norse (cf. gsm/n. *a*-stem nouns in *-as,* dem.pron. **þaiz-* in g/dsf., and the root **ar-* in the verb 'be'), and this period of pre-Old Norse/pre-Old English proximity was followed by a gradual Old English coalescence with South Germanic (pre-Old Saxon/pre-Old High German). An indication of the shift is provided by the fact that pre-Old Norse and pre-Old English both use original locatives as instrumentals, whereas pre-Old Saxon and pre-Old High German retained the old instrumentals. However, pre-Old English preserved the instrumental (< locative) as an independent case (masc. *a*-declension) in conformity with pre-Old Saxon and pre-Old High German. In addition, there were West Germanic innovations such as the introduction of *-s* as a 2 pres.sg. suffix in replacement of final *-z,* which according to Rösel disappeared in West Germanic c. A.D. 200 (1962:46-7).

The Goths are traditionally assumed to have settled in the Vistula area at the beginning of our era (III.1), but Rösel dates the Gothic colonization to the 2nd century B.C. Moreover, he finds it probable that the Goths did not immediately cut off all links to their Scandinavian *Ursitze.* And they may have come into contact with the Elbe *Germanen* to the west as correspondences between Gothic and South Germanic in

g/dsf. dem.pron. and in dsm. strong adj. (Gothic *-amma,* Alemannic
-amu) suggest. Nevertheless, the extent of the Gothic linguistic contact
with the rest of the Germanic world was very modest in comparison with
the numerous parallels between North and West Germanic. Perhaps
Gothic was relatively isolated from the other Germanic dialects even
before the migration to Southern Russia (1962:56-7, 116-17).

But to return to West Germanic: Rösel does not believe in the
existence of a uniform West Germanic area, a decisive reason being the
northern origin of pre-Old English. But there were sufficient innovations
shared by Old English, Old Saxon and Old High German for assuming
that a West Germanic linguistic community isolated from North
Germanic[14] came into being (1962:76-8). The West Germanic period is
brought to an end when in the 5th century the Anglo-Saxons leave the
Continent, and England becomes a linguistically active centre with
innovations of its own. Meanwhile, innovatory waves spread north from
Upper Germany so that the West Germanic community is disrupted. Old
Saxon comes into an intermediate position: it participates in some of the
innovations spreading from both extremes. From English and Frisian
(North Sea Germanic) Old Saxon takes over the uniform present plurals
and the syncretism of acc. and dat. forms of the first and second pers.
prons., but does not participate in the levelling of gender in the oblique
cases of *n-* stem nouns. But this should not lead anybody to call the
fundamental alignment of Old Saxon with Old High German into
question: they are both of South Germanic provenance. Similarly, Low
Franconian was exposed to late North Sea Germanic (English-Frisian)
influence (1962:118-19).

Rösel summarizes his dynamic view of Germanic dialect grouping
in the following way (1962:120):

```
um 200 v. Chr. Goten +  Skand. +  Engl.     Sachsen +  Ahd.
um 100 v. Chr. Goten - -  Skand. +  Engl.     Sachsen +  Ahd.
um 0           Goten - -  Skand. - -  Engl. - -  Sachsen +  Ahd. - - Got.
um 200 n. Chr. Goten    Skand.    Engl. - -  Sachsen - - Ahd.
um 500 n. Chr. Goten    Skand.    Engl. -   Sachsen - - - Ahd.
um 800 n. Chr.          Skand.    Engl. - - -  Sachsen - Ahd.
```

(+ bedeutet enge Nachbarschaft, -, - -, - - -, bedeuten engere oder
lockerere Verbindung).

Apart from Rösel's first division, which took place c. 200 B.C., his model is not very different from that proposed by Kuhn in 1955 (IV.3). However, in a review of *Die Gliederung der germanischen Sprachen* Kuhn sees Rösel's primary bipartition (Goths, Scand., Engl. vs. Saxons, OHG) as just another reflection of the tree-diagram way of thinking: Rösel does not presuppose any transitions between the two groups (1964:149).

Kuhn also questions Rösel's linguistic evidence for positing a primary division into two groups, i.e. the selection of doublets inherited from Indo-European. In the first place, he accepts only one such set of doublets: the distribution of **hwaz* and **hwez* (nom. sg. interr.pron.); secondly, he thinks that Rösel has left out of account Indo-European doublets the distribution of which does not tally with his primary grouping (1964:145-9). Furthermore, Kuhn is unsympathetic to the idea of projecting tribes into prehistoric periods: Rösel operates with e.g. Goths and Anglo-Saxons in Southern Scandinavia long before they become established historical entities, even though such tribal groups may have been of mixed origin. Finally Rösel is attacked for seeing a gap between North and West Germanic, a division which in Kuhn's opinion Rösel does not always recognize himself (1964:151).

In a paper read at a conference in 1963 W.P. Lehmann advocates a primary division of Germanic into a north-eastern and a western group.[15] His evidence is some of the well-known innovations shared by Gothic and Old Norse on the one hand and the West Germanic dialects on the other. But since both groups are dialectal in kind, Lehmann sees no reason to reconstruct, e.g., a North-East Germanic proto-language. Parallels between North and West Germanic,[16] between the Scandinavian languages and the coastal West Germanic languages, and between the members of the latter group (North Sea Germanic) are accounted for in terms of shifting linguistic contacts in later periods. Finally, Lehmann draws attention to lexical correspondences between Gothic and Old High German, – most likely the outcome of Gothic influence on Old High German after the introduction of Christianity, i.e. in the 5th and 6th centuries (1966:13-27).

Lehmann's basic views are shared by Schirmunski (1965:1-36), who divides Germanic into a northern (or Scandinavian) and a southern (or continental) group with independent innovations. Like Lehmann he sees no need to posit an intermediate proto-language for either group. After the emigration from Scandinavia to the southern shores of the Baltic between the 3rd og 1st centuries B.C. the tribes east of the Oder could more fittingly be called East Germanic when seen in relation to the West Germanic (formerly South Germanic) tribes between the Elbe and the Rhine. The departure of the Goths for the south of Russia explains the isolation and increasing independence of the Gothic language. Schirmunski realizes that there is a large number of correspondences linking North Germanic to West Germanic, but in his judgment they all postdate the Gothic emigration and have arisen between the 1st and 5th centuries A.D. owing to 'eine kontaktbedingte Entwicklung' (1965:20). North Germanic begins to break away from West Germanic from the 5th century.

Schirmunski posits three West Germanic groups, viz. Ingveonic, Istveonic and Erminonic, which supposedly came into being as early as in the 1st century A.D. Erminonic, which was originally spoken on the lower and middle Elbe, becomes an Upper German dialect through the *Alemanni* and Bavarian colonization of Southern Germany. Old English, Old Frisian and Old Saxon are assigned to Ingveonic, while Franconian (including Low Franconian) is described as an Istveonic dialect (1965:21). According to Schirmunski, the Saxon expansion from the North Sea coast and the east bank of the Elbe into the originally Istveonic region between the Weser and the Elbe and further in the direction of the Rhine – plus the linguistic influences of the Carolingean era – led to close interaction between Ingveonic and Istveonic, cf. Frings's 'Gemeiningwäonisch'. But despite the penetration of Franconian features into Old Saxon itself Schirmunski has no doubt about its basically Ingveonic character (1965:23-4).

In his summary of 'the possible grouping and separation of the Germanic languages' Herbert Kufner (1972:95-6) is heavily influenced by Schirmunski, although he does not agree with him in all details. Kufner does acknowledge the existence of innovations common to Gothic and Old Norse, but adds that it 'seems likely that these innova-

tions were shared at this time (2nd century B.C. to the beginning of our era) only by a relatively small part of the North Gmc. area, and spread throughout most of Scandinavia only after the departure of the Goths'. Kufner is unable to support the theory of a specific Gotho-Nordic group (or a split between Gothic and Nordic), but the Germanic speech area appears to have been largely undifferentiated at the time of the Gothic departure from the north.

Very few scholars have followed Lehmann and Schirmunski in their assumption of a bipartition into a northern (North-East Germanic) and a southern (West Germanic) group.[17] We shall now proceed to discuss some contributions to the debate from the latter half of the 1960s. Perhaps this may give us a clue to understanding why Kufner diverged from Schirmunski on some points.

Important in this context are the works of Makaev, which -- though published in Russian -- are well known in the West, partly because of Krause's detailed reviews (1966, 1968). Makaev, who is a runologist, is concerned with the position of the language of the early runic inscriptions and argues that it has as great a claim to be considered West Germanic as it has to be called North Germanic irrespective of the fact that the language has traditionally been designated 'Primitive Norse': Germanic $\bar{e}$ has e.g. already become $\bar{a}$; $-aR$ and similar endings probably existed in West Germanic before disappearing altogether; and Makaev does not regare *ek* 'I' as a specifically Nordic form, seeing that *ek* is also attested in Old Saxon and Old Low Franconian (1965:20).[18] But Makaev is aware that a few of the early inscriptions display East Germanic features, e.g. the Kowel spearhead, and he therefore agrees with Kuhn (1955) in regarding the isolation of Gothic (East Germanic) from (Common) Germanic as a primary dialect division (1965:24). The remaining speech area stays undivided until the 4th and 5th centuries, during which period West Germanic -- in conjunction with an Ingveonic subgroup -- gradually breaks away. The beginnings of a specific Scandinavian group go back to the 5th and 6th centuries; however, the language of the early runic inscriptions remains more or less uniform until the 7th century, and Makaev therefore assumes the existence of a runic koine (1965:49), a supradialectal literary language. Three years be-

fore (1962:122) Makaev had advocated the idea that the language of the inscriptions arose as a literary koine, but as Antonsen (1965:36) points out, the assumption of a common Northwest Germanic period of development obviates the need for presupposing an early runic koine.

Antonsen himself follows Kuhn and Adamus in looking upon the isoglosses connecting Scandinavian with West Germanic as much more numerous and important than those linking Old Norse to Gothic,[19] cf. $\bar{e}$ $> \bar{a}$; $z > r$; $\bar{e}2$ in pt. forms of verbs which have reduplication in Gothic; the formation of the 3 pres.sg. of 'be' without *-t*; the laws of final syllables; the phonemicization of [o] > /o/; and the lexical unity (1967:18-20).

As for the traditional concept of a 'Primitive Norse' runic language, Antonsen says that a reconstruction based on the Scandinavian languages as they are actually attested is identical not with the early runic language,[20] but with Common Nordic, which in turn descends from the language of the early runic inscriptions (1967:17). Like Makaev (1965) Antonsen thinks that this language is neither Scandinavian nor West Germanic, but common to all of the Germanic speech area with the exception of Gothic.[21]

But why should this language be called Northwest Germanic and not just Germanic? As pointed out by Antonsen (1965:31) Dutch did not cease to exist because an offshoot of the language, viz. Afrikaans, arose, and similarly the emergence of a Gothic language can be assumed to have had no effect on the mother language as such. The answer to our question lies in the development of linguistic innovations that form a bundle of (chronological) isoglosses between Proto-Germanic and Northwest Germanic, e.g. the restructuring of the allophones of /i/ and /e/, the phonemicization of [o] > /o/ in consequence of the loss of final /-e, -a/, the lowering of $\bar{e}$ to $\bar{a}$ and the emergence of $\bar{e}2$. The period between the first and the last of these innovations is one of transition.

Another advocate of a primary split of Germanic into Gothic and North-West Germanic is Joseph Voyles. His criteria, which are exclusively phonological (1968:734-5), consist of thirteen innovations common to all of North and West Germanic, of which the first five are par-

tially shared by Gothic: Germanic X^w, X become h^w, h in all positions in Gothic, but only initially and in front of vowels in North-West Germanic. This causes Voyles – taking inspiration from Halle – to remark (1968:741):

> It seems to be the case that when one describes dialect differentiation with a tree diagram, the first rules after a split into two dialects are often very similar – or sometimes even the same rules, but in a different order ...

The eight remaining correspondences are all familiar with the exception of $X > f$ between *a, o, u, w* on the one hand and *l, n, r* on the other, cf. Old English *ofen* vs. Gothic *aúhns* 'oven', and $g > w$ between *a, o, u, w* and *m*, cf. Old English *bēam*, but Gothic *bagms* 'tree'. The thirteen North-West Germanic parallels carry much more weight than the one phonological agreement usually associated with North and East Germanic, i.e. *jj, ww > ggj/ddj, ggw*, and Voyles even suggests that this in fact represents two separate sound changes (1968:743).

   Voyles's view of the macro-grouping of Germanic can be represented by the following tree diagram (1968:736, cf. also 1981:105):

Proto-Germanic

West Germanic   North Germanic   Gothic
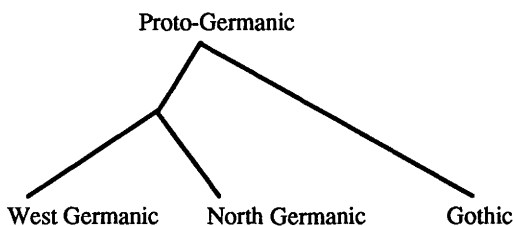
The thirteen changes shared by North and West Germanic must have arisen at a time when North and West Germanic were one dialect.

   Haugen (1970:47-8, 1976:112) is in basic agreement with Kuhn and the scholars who were of the same mind (Schützeichel, Adamus, Makaev, Antonsen and Voyles) and who may have persuaded Kufner (1972) to dissociate himself from some of Schirmunski's conclusions. According to Haugen, Northwest Germanic (after the departure of the Goths) must have represented a continuous dialect area[22] with only

minor isoglosses up to the time of the Anglo-Saxon emigration from the Continent and the Danish invasion of Jutland. This fits in nicely with the fact that the early runic inscriptions exhibit Scandinavian characteristics only after 500 (1970:48, cf. also above, I.3):

> One can therefore say that the gradual transition from North-west Germanic to Common Scandinavian takes place in the later runic inscriptions before our very eyes.

Karen Bahnick, who is a student of Antonsen's, is yet another scholar to come out in favour of the concept of Northwest Germanic (as opposed to Gothic). The Northwest Germanic period is brought to an end 'by the stabilization of the individual dialects: Old English, Old Saxon, Old High German, and Common Nordic' (1973:193). The isoglosses between each of the dialects and between these and Northwest Germanic consist of phonological features, and Bahnick envisages the following pattern of development (1973:202):
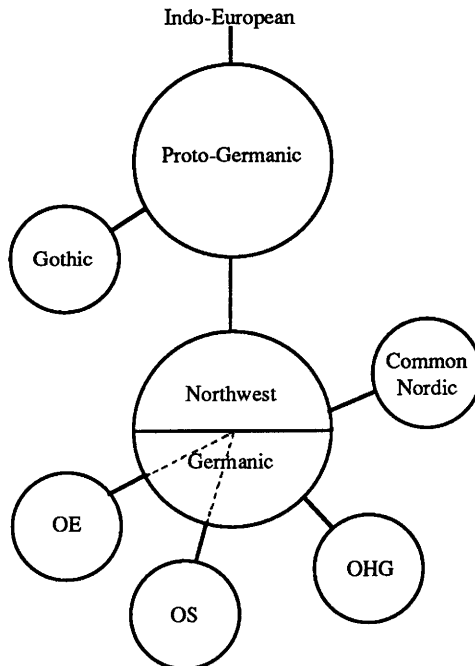
It is remarkable how easily the author accepts phonological criteria as the sole means of delimiting early dialects, considering that (1) only a small section of the book is devoted to a discussion of the 'priority of phonology' (1973:190-201) and (2) the bulk of the work is concerned with morphology and the validity of morphological evidence for determining stages in the development of the Germanic languages, cf. 1973: 67-190, as a matter of fact in ch. 3 (1973:67-121) the development of the more important noun, adjective and verb paradigms is traced from Proto-Germanic into the dialects through morphophonemic transformations.[23] And it is doubtful, indeed, if the stringency of method achieved by re-sorting to the formalism of generative grammar has been worth the trouble. As Bahnick herself realizes (1973:69-70), the morphophonemic rules do not account for such factors as analogy, differentiation and system pressure – and it goes without saying that forms which exhibit restricted dialectal distribution, e.g. doublets resulting from (a) Indo-European ablaut and (b) Verner's Law, could have been put forward without using the method. The same holds true of Bahnick's conclusion, namely that the distribution of doublets yields no unequivocal pattern, for which reason she rejects the application of morphological criteria (1973:186-90).

Thomas Markey's approach to Germanic dialect grouping is more traditional. He has recently (1976) attempted to determine which of the two bipartite macro-groupings most frequently proposed is the more probable: North and East Germanic vs. West Germanic *or* North and West Germanic vs. East Germanic? First he examines five isoglosses often cited in support of a North-East Germanic primary group and he rejects them all. The development of *jj, ww* in Old Norse and Gothic is thought to be late and secondary, weak Class IV verbs are not exclusively North and East Germanic and contracted verbs (Old High German *gān, stān*) are found outside West Germanic, cf. East Norse *gā, stā.* And the *-t* ending of the 2 pt.sg.ind. of strong verbs in Gothic and Old Norse is, according to Markey, due to 'parallel independent development' (1976:15). The same applies to the fem.pres.ptc. suffix *-īn* in North and East Germanic. There is thus little to point towards a primary North and

East Germanic group, but does that make a Northwest Germanic group more probable?

Markey is himself suspicious of several of the fifteen North and West Germanic parallels cited by him, especially because of the chronological disparity between the literary traditions of Gothic and North Germanic/West Germanic. Very likely, Gothic would have lost e.g. reduplication in a later period as did the other dialects. Except for a few developments in final syllables Markey only accepts $X > f$ and $g > w$ (in certain environments, cf. above (Voyles)) as safe criteria of Northwest Germanic unity. North and East Germanic exhibit no parallels that carry similar weight. But when did Northwest Germanic split up into North Germanic and West Germanic? Markey vaguely assigns the division to the period A.D. 300-450 on the basis of unaccented $-z >$ North Gmc. $-R > -r$ (lost in West Gmc.); West Gmc. $\delta > d;$ and the formation of a gerund in *-*annja* (< *-*anja*) in West Gmc.

A large portion of the book is devoted to the delimitation of Ingveonic (1976:36-71). Here Markey tries to accommodate the traditional idea of Ingveonic formed as a distinctive dialect group on the Continent prior to the Anglo-Saxon emigration with Kuhn's concept of a North Sea Germanic group that only arose later in consequence of continued contact over the sea. Among Markey's thirty-six items described as 'typically Ingveonic' only three are thought to have developed before 450, viz. uniform verbal plural endings, loss of -*r* in monosyllabic pronouns and loss of nasals before fricatives, while many of the shared innovations are the result of 'continued and intimate cultural and linguistic contact'. Markey sees continental North Sea Germanic as a group of related dialects which remained in mutual contact after the Anglo-Saxon departure, and which formed a block between North Germanic and High German. Old Saxon was eventually exposed to a franconianization process in which many Ingveonic features were ousted. Old Low Franconian and the Franconian dialects of Flanders exhibit 'an admixture of Ingvæonic'.

One objection that might be raised to Markey's treatment of Ingveonic is that he pays overmuch attention to Frisian, esp. at the expense of that other 'most persistently Ingveonic' (1976:78) of the dialects, i.e.

English. There are thus occasional examples of specifically Old Frisian items among Markey's thirty-six Ingveonicisms.

The research history of the last twenty-five years has revealed an ever increasing support for Kuhn's macro-grouping of the Germanic dialects (IV.3). Ramat (1981:15) describes (with reference to Bahnick 1973) the isolation of Gothic and the existence of a North-West Germanic language area (etc.) as generally acknowledged today, cf. also Voyles 1981:105. Very recently, Penzl (1985:163-5) has declared himself in favour of this model, cf.

> Wir können feststellen, daß mit den beinahe gleichzeitigen Gallehus- und Wulfilatexten die ursprüngliche Zweiteilung in der Ausgliederung des Gemeingermanischen als bewiesen gelten kann
>
> (1985:165)

where the Gallehus inscription and the Wulfila bible translation should be seen as representatives of respectively 'der nordisch-westgermanischen Ursprache' (to use Penzl's term) and Gothic. Kuhn's macro-grouping has exerted little influence on the introductory handbooks of the Germanic languages, partly because such books tend to be conservative. Recent exceptions are Sonderegger 1979:115-17, 121 and Grønvik 1983: 55-6.

There is much less agreement today about Kuhn's hypothesis of a late evolution of North Sea Germanic (IV.3). Above, we saw that Markey (1976) believed that a few Ingveonicisms had come into being prior to the Anglo-Saxon emigration. My own survey of parallels between Old English and Old Frisian/Old Saxon suggests that correspondences arose both before and after the invasion (H.F. Nielsen 1985:148-54, 255-7), and especially the material shared exclusively by all three languages seems to have a high proportion of pre-invasion parallels. It might be mentioned here that the 9th-century Heliand fragment discovered at Straubing, Bavaria, a few years ago exhibits more Ingveonicisms than the other Heliand manuscripts. This evidence supports the assumption that Old Saxon was originally an Ingveonic language, cf. also IV.2.

4. Recent attempts at Germanic dialect grouping

An attempt at Germanic dialect grouping which is curious not just by standing outside recent trends but by being actually regressive, is Mańczak's article from 1982. Mańczak's method is to make lexical comparisons between extracts from Wulfila's bible translation and the corresponding (modern!) respectively German and Swedish texts, the results of which are that Gothic and German coincide in their lexical choice in 365 cases, Gothic and Swedish only in 130 (1982:127-31). In order to get an idea of the relative position of Low German/Dutch he compares another passage from the Wulfila translation with (again modern) German, Swedish and Dutch (1982:131-3). His count of shared lexical items suggests that Dutch is intermediate as compared with German and Swedish in terms of closeness of relationship with Gothic. Consequently, Mańczak takes the *Urheimat* of the Goths to be situated not in Scandinavia but in the southern part of Germania. Moreover, Gothic should be called South Germanic, and since the so-called West Germanic group was originally situated between South and North Germanic, Middle Germanic would be a more appropriate designation for this group.

Methodologically, it should be noted that Mańczak is content with making mechanical counts of his lexical material, that he does not go into any further evaluation or qualitative deliberations, that he does not consider the (dis)advantages of using lexical items vis-a-vis other types of linguistic evidence, and that he is not bothered by drawing non-linguistic conclusions from linguistic material. It is ironic indeed that with Mańczak's paper we have come full circle after surveying the research history of the last 165 years: both Rask and Grimm (IV.1) regarded Gothic (the Goths) as particularly closely related to High German (Upper and Middle German tribes), and like Mańczak they both saw Gothic and Nordic as the languages furthest apart within Germanic.

In this chapter we have come across radically different criteria employed for grouping the Germanic dialects. Mańczak and others (cf. note 22) restricted their investigations to lexical items, whereas e.g. Voyles (IV.4) was concerned only with phonology and Rösel (IV.4) with morphology.

Other scholars were primarily interested in extralinguistic material such as tribal history and archaeology, cf. respectively Müllenhoff and Kossina (IV.1) – or both disciplines in conjunction with linguistic parallels, cf. Maurer (IV.2). Quite clearly, the diversity of opinion concerning the early grouping of the Germanic languages is at least partly attributable to the different criteria used.

Frans van Coetsem (1970:32) is undoubtedly right in warning against the dangers of making linguistic inferences on the basis of extra-linguistic evidence. Another source of error found in many hypotheses of Germanic dialect grouping is, according to van Coetsem, the projection of later language positions into prehistoric periods, whereby secondary groups are mistaken for primary ones. Finally, he draws attention to our slender knowledge of the linguistic developments occurring from the time of the Germanic parent language to the appearance of our earliest written records. This information gap obviously leaves room for diverging interpretations, if not to say, in some cases, sheer guess-work.

To this should be added that the comparison of the Germanic dialects is further hampered by the fact that their first attestations do not coincide: Gothic, e.g., is known primarily through Wulfila's 4th-century translation of the Bible, while the earliest manuscripts in Old English and Old Frisian derive from the 8th and the 13th centuries respectively (I.2). And the question whether the early runic language should be assigned to North Germanic, North-West Germanic or North Germanic/ North Sea Germanic (I.3) has not reduced the scope of potentiality in the way of Germanic dialect grouping.

Moreover, the demonstration of an increasing number of parallels between languages will affect the grouping posited, and the same applies when parallels hitherto accepted are discarded.

Finally, the evaluation of linguistic similarities should be brought to mind: are grammatical and lexical correspondences of equal importance? And do they constitute shared innovations, common retentions of inherited material or something else? In ch. V we shall consider these and other methodological questions – in spite of the pessimism recently expressed by James W. Marchand with regard to solving the problems of linguistic grouping (1975:442):

Until we have some generally agreed upon criteria for iso-
lating and weighting features, it is useless to speculate on the
closeness of relationship of related languages.

1. 'Die gothische sprache steht in inniger verwandtschaft zur hoch-
   deutschen, doch verbleibt jener zugleich noch ein gewisser anschluß an
   die nordische. Hochdeutsch, niederdeutsch, niederländisch, angelsäch-
   sisch liegen gegenseitig in engem band, allein wiederum so, daß das
   sächsische, angelsächsische und englische außerdem eine merkliche be-
   rührung mit dem nordischen haben. Hochdeutsch und niederdeutsch ver-
   mittelten sich ehmals in dem fränkischen; einige schwache spuren dieser
   vermittlung läßt noch heute das niederländische gewahren. Das friesische
   schlägt die brücke aus dem dänischen in das sächsische; von dem
   hochdeutschen ufer auf das gothische gebiet ist sie uns abgebrochen'
   (1840:9).
2. The same criterion was used many years later by Krause (1968:48-52)
   for grouping the Germanic dialects.
3. The reason that Maurer assigns the *Vandili* to the North Germanic group
   is that he takes Burgundians, Goths, etc. to be emigrated Scandinavians.
   The East Germanic tribes proper are the ancient tribes who moved from
   North-Eastern Germany and Northern Poland in a southeasterly di-
   rection, perhaps 1000 years prior to the arrival of the Goths at
   Gothiscandza (III.1).
4. Maurer says this without having even investigated the parallels between
   Old English and Old Norse.
5. There has been some controversy as to the Ingveonic character of Old
   Saxon, but since Rooth's investigation of the Merseburg texts most
   scholars have tended to believe that Old Saxon became deingveonicized
   only as a result of massive High German (Franconian) influence, cf.
   Rooth 1932, Wolff 1934, Dal 1954, but cf. Kuhn (see below, IV.3). Note
   that the 9th-century Straubing manuscript of Heliand, which emerged
   only recently, exhibits a considerable number of Ingveonicisms, more in
   fact than any other Heliand manuscript (Taeger 1979-84). Cf. also År-

hammar 1989.

6. Heeroma, who advanced this theory in the 1930s, later abandons it com-
    pletely. In an article from 1965 he dates the earliest Ingveonic (Old Eng-
    lish/Old Frisian/Old Saxon) sound changes to the 5th century A.D.
    (1965:1-15), cf. Kuhn (IV.3).

7. *Zeefrankies* comprises the dialects of West Flanders, Zealand, South
    Holland, Utrecht and North Holland.

8. In a series of articles from c. 1910 N. van Wijk had drawn attention to
    the fact that the fronting of West Germanic $\bar{a}$ was not an exclusively
    Frisian dialect criterion. – Heeroma's *Zeefrankies* is, in actual fact, just
    another designation for van Wijk's *Hollands-Frankies* (Campbell 1947:
    5-6).

9. Schönfeld and Frings regard Franconian as a group of transitional dia-
    lects between two original extremes. Franconian dialects which have an
    admixture of Ingveonic are *Gemeiningwäonisch,* to use Frings's desig-
    nation. In his delimitation of Ingveonic, Campbell (according to Vlee-
    skruyer 1948:178) is not sufficiently aware of the mixed character of
    Franconian.

10. This view of Ingveonic is basically retained in the latest edition of
    Schönfeld's Historische Grammatica van het Nederlands (1970:xxiv-v,
    xxxiii). 'Ingvaeoons is ... een samenvattende benaming voor een groep
    van nauwverwante dialecten, welke alle oorspronkelijk langs de kusten
    van de Nordzee werden gesproken en waarvan de voornaamste waren
    Fries, Saksisch (vóór de frankisering) en Anglisch. De term is te ver-
    kiezen boven de benaming Anglo-Fries, die o.i. ten onrechte een nadere
    eenheid tussen Fries en Engels veronderstelt' (1970:xxxii).

11. At least one of these cases appears to be untenable: Rosenfeld equates
    Old Norwegian and Old Swedish *hwā* with Gothic *ƕa,* distinguishing
    these forms from the West Germanic ones, cf. Old English *hwæt* and
    Old High German *(h)waჳ.* Very likely, *hwā* represents an error in
    writing or perhaps a nsm. form, cf. Brøndum Nielsen V 1965:388.

12. Kuhn does not envisage the possibility that the early runic inscriptions
    may have been written in a koine language, cf. Kufner 1972:83 and
    above, I.3 (with note 4). See also below, IV. 4.

13. Kuhn repeats his views in *Us Wurk* 4 (1955):37-46 and in *Philologia
    Frisica anno 1956* (Grins/Groningen 1957), pp. 15-20.

14. Rösel attributes the fact that both North and West Germanic participate
    in e.g. umlaut to 'die allgemeine germ. Sprachentwicklung' (1962:77).

15. Surprisingly, Lehmann regards Schwarz's views on Germanic inter-

relations (IV.3) as 'the most plausible conclusions' within this field of research (1966:15).

16. Lehmann cites four parallels between North and West Germanic which are all considered to be late on the strength of Bennett's paper from 1950. Here Germanic $\bar{e}$ > North and West Germanic $\bar{a}$ is discussed: the lowering of $\bar{e}$ to $\bar{a}$ only took place in a central area of innovation, leaving Gothic and Old English/Old Frisian unaffected (H.F. Nielsen 1985:233). Bennett therefore takes the change to be late.

17. In a few recent handbooks such as Krahe (I 1969:§10), Szemerényi (1970:11) and Schönfeld/van Loey (1970:xxiii) the kind of bipartition advocated by Lehmann and Schirmunski is propounded as an alternative to the traditional tripartite division into East, North and West Germanic.

18. Both *ek* and *-aR* (= *-az*, cf. I.3) crop up on the gold horn from Gallehus, but Makaev also refuses to assign this inscription to a North Germanic group.

19. According to Antonsen (1967:18) 'the isogloss [*jj, ww* > *ggj/ddj, ggw*] could very well have been present in Proto-Germanic itself, which must have had certain minor dialect divisions, just as every living language does'.

20. Karl Martin Nielsen (1975:11) asks if it is 'reasonable or expedient to demand that a parent language for which there is evidence in written sources must be able to be reconstructed?' and refers to asm. **horna** in the Gallehus inscription which cannot be reached by reconstruction: **horn* will be the result of a triangulation process based on extant Germanic asm. forms, cf. Pedersen 1962:268. Also K.M. Nielsen draws attention to Twaddell's view of a reconstructed parent language as being 'timeless, non-dialectal, and non-phonetic' and Lüdtke's definition of it as a language 'ohne konkreten Bezug auf Raum und Zeit', for which reason the method should not allow of conclusions in time and space. Moreover, it is possible to arrive only at a limited number of linguistic features by the method of reconstruction (1975:14). Finally, K.M. Nielsen thinks it impossible to determine the position of the early runic language within Germanic because of 'the lack of contemporary West Germanic material' (1975:15).

21. In his runic grammar published in 1975 Antonsen has changed his mind in one respect: the early runic language (Northwest Germanic) is now thought to be the common ancestor of the Scandinavian and the Ingveonic West Germanic dialects (and not all of West Germanic), cf. 1975:26. See also 1986:323-5 and above, I.3 with note 4.

22. In support of his assumption of a close dialectal connection between
     North and West Germanic Haugen adduces, among other things, W.W.
     Arndt's lexicostatistical (glottochronological) investigation of Germanic,
     which shows that there was lexical uniformity between North and West
     Germanic for at least 250 years after the emigration of the Goths (1959:
     183). The North-West Germanic period was brought to an end in the 3rd
     century A.D. by the lexical rupture between North Germanic and 'Inland
     Germanic', and afterwards between North Germanic and North Sea Ger-
     manic, which led to the isolation of North Germanic. West Germanic,
     which was in fact a 'residual North-West Germanic', underwent a series
     of (lexical) innovations up to at least some point after 400. The departure
     of the Anglo-Saxons from the Continent was the main reason for the
     dissolution of this branch (1959:184, 191). Arndt is himself aware of the
     shortcomings of the lexicostatistical method, cf. below, V.4.
         It might be mentioned that Lerchner, in his more traditional lexical
     survey *(Studien zum nordwestgermanischen Wortschatz)* from 1965, ar-
     rives at a conclusion different from that reached by Arndt. According to
     Lerchner, there was no such thing as a uniform North and West Ger-
     manic speech area lasting to c. A.D. 500, cf. Kuhn 1955; on the contrary,
     it seems more reasonable to assume an early 'mindestens bis in die Jahr-
     hunderte um Christi Geburt hinaufzudatierende Sonderung der ger-
     manischen Dialekte' (1965:301). Lerchner's use of the term North-West
     Germanic is more restricted than is usual in that it does not include
     Upper German and North Germanic. It comprises only the dialects (lan-
     guages) of England, Frisia, the Netherlands and Northern Germany as far
     south as Trier. The author points out 'zwei Grundelemente des Aufbaus
     ...: Küste und Binnenland, getrennt oder miteinander verflochten, beide
     gerichtet gegen Südlich-Alpenländisches' (1965:305). This clearly echoes
     Frings's tripartite division of West Germanic into 'Küstendeutsch', 'Bin-
     nendeutsch' ('Gemeiningwäonisch') and 'Alpendeutsch', cf. above, IV.2.
     Lerchner is careful to stress that North-West Germanic (in his sense)
     does not preclude the existence of West Germanic lexical correspon-
     dences (or in fact West Germanic unity) – North-West Germanic and
     West Germanic need not be alternatives from a wave theoretical point of
     view (1965:299, 321, cf. also below, V.1).
         Lerchner's results are based on a thoroughgoing comparison of rel-
     evant dictionaries, and he is himself aware of certain methodological
     weaknesses in his approach: (1) the absence of a word from a dictionary
     is no proof of its non-existence and (2) lexical parallels established on

the strength of modern dictionaries need not have existed in earlier periods (1965:17ff.). It should finally be noticed that Lerchner appears to have made no systematic attempt at including Scandinavian lexical material in his investigation.

23.   In his review of Bahnick, Seebold (1975:263-5) considers it 'wenig sinnvoll ..., etwas zu formalisieren, das man gar nicht genau kennt'.

V METHODOLOGICAL DELIBERATIONS

1. Stammbaum theory, wave theory and substratum theory

In the preceding chapter August Schleicher's view of the development of the Germanic languages was rendered by means of a *Stammbaum* model (tree diagram). Since Schleicher's *Stammbaum* was to have lasting influence on the scholarly literature (IV.1), it might be appropriate to have a closer look at the underlying assumptions.

In *Die deutsche Sprache* Schleicher posits the following ideal *Stammbaum,* in which the proto-language (Ursprache) splits into parent languages *(Grundsprachen),* which again branch off into languages and finally dialects (1869:28):
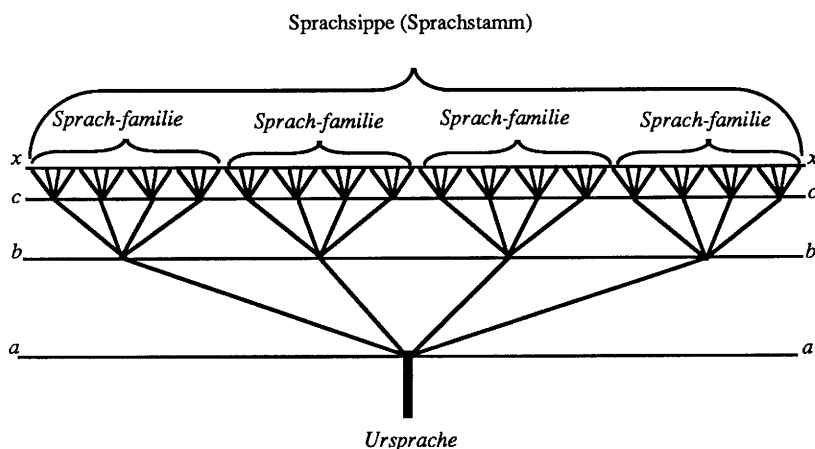
The horizontal lines *aa, bb, cc, xx* indicate the points at which the splits took place. The length of the lines of development reflects the extent of deviation from, e.g., the proto-language. Longer lines of development indicate greater linguistic divergence than do shorter lines (1869:59).

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No *Stammbaum,* however, is identical with that depicted above: the various branches will always develop differently, one branch exhibiting greater ramification (in time and space) than the other. An example of this is Schleicher's Indo-European tree diagram *(Sprachstamm):*

(1876:9)

110
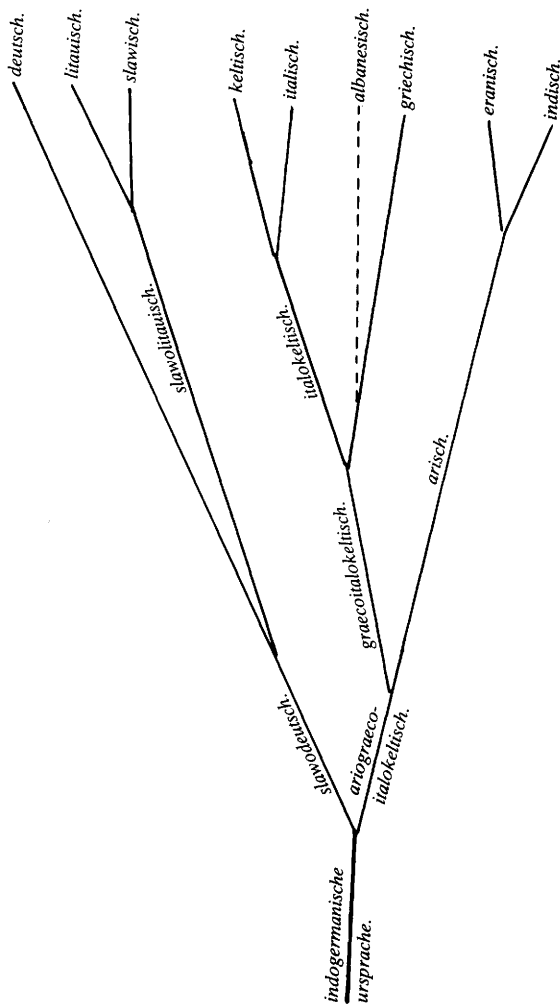
1. Stammbaum theory, wave theory and substratum theory

Schleicher's concept of genetic relationship is based on phonological cri-
teria, and agreements going counter to his *Stammbaum* model are as-
cribed to coincidence or lexical borrowing (1869:26):

> Wenn zwei oder mehr Sprachen so stark übereinstimmende
> Laute zum Ausdruck der Bedeutung und Beziehung ver-
> wenden, daß der. Gedanke an zufälliges Zusammentreffen
> durchaus unstatthaft erscheint, und wenn ferner die Ueber-
> einstimmungen sich so durch die ganze Sprache hindurch
> ziehen und überhaupt der Art sind, daß sie sich unmöglich
> durch die Annahme einer Entlehnung von Worten erklären
> lassen, so müssen die in solcher Weise übereinstimmenden
> Sprachen von einer gemeinsamen Grundsprache abstammen,
> sie müssen verwandt sein.

To Schleicher languages are natural organisms with periods of develop-
ment and decay. Differentiation is thought to take place during the decay
period of a language (1869:58):

> So entstehen aus einer Sprache bloß durch das längere Leben
> derselben mehrere Sprachen, die eine Sprache löst sich durch
> den sprachgeschichtlichen Prozeß in mehrere Sprachen auf,
> welche mit der Zeit demselben Gesetze verfallen. In der Re-
> gel also lebt dann die ältere Sprache als solche gar nicht
> mehr, sie ist in die jüngeren aufgegangen.

Languages which exhibit a high degree of similarity are thought by
Schleicher (1869:29) to have separated later than other members of the
same family of languages which are more dissimilar. This, Schleicher
believes, gives us a clue to the chronological order in which related
languages have separated.

Schleicher's *Stammbaum* with its many isolated ramifications was
severely criticized by Johannes Schmidt in *Die Verwantschaftsver-
hältnisse der indogermanischen Sprachen* from 1872. Schmidt's own

investigation of the Indo-European languages had revealed more parallels between neighbouring languages than between more distant ones: Slavic, e.g., has certain features in common with Iranian but not with Sanskrit, and similarly there were linguistic items shared by Slavic and Indo-Iranian but not by Lithuanian (1872:15). Schleicher's model as rendered above does not anticipate the existence of correspondences between *slawodeutsch* and *arisch* nor between the individual member languages of the two branches. To take another example: Greek exhibits links to both Latin and Indo-Iranian, so how can Greek be unequivocally assigned to a Graeco-Italic parent language (1872:24)?

Schmidt therefore replaces Schleicher's genealogical tree and its clear-cut ramifications by his own 'wave theory' (1872:27):

> Wollen wir nun die verwantschaftsverhältnisse der indoger-
> manischen sprachen in einem bilde darstellen, welches die
> entstehung irer verschidenheiten veranschaulicht, so müssen
> wir die idee des stammbaumes gänzlich aufgeben. Ich
> möchte an seine stelle das bild der welle setzen, welche sich
> in concentrischen mit der entfernung vom mittelpunkte
> immer schwächer werdenden ringen ausbreitet.

Linguistic innovations, like waves, spread concentrically, becoming ever weaker, and since the innovatory centres vary, transitions between dialects are, in principle, continuous. Schmidt's model is illustrated by Bloomfield (1935:316) in the following manner:
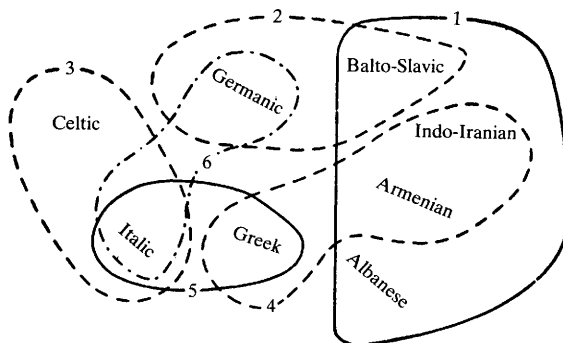
Each of the six numbers represents a phonological or morphological parallel between at least two of the Indo-European languages. Item No. 2 is thus the dative instrumental plural formation with an *-m-* case element, where most of the Indo-European languages have a suffix containing *-bh-* (II.2).

But how do linguistic boundaries arise in an area with continuous transitions? According to Schmidt (1872:27-8), one dialect may expand at the expense of neighbouring dialects for political, religious, social or other reasons, and if eventually it comes to border on a more distant dialect (which, in its turn, may have undergone a similar expansion), a language boundary will have arisen.

Above (IV.1), it was pointed out that the wave theory was of decisive importance for Schmidt's view of early Germanic interrelations. Here we might add that Schmidt's theory was basically substantiated by contemporary dialect investigations. Braune showed that the High German consonant shift started in Upper Germany, and that its northward expansion was a process which lasted several centuries and which eventually cut Franconian in two. Schmidt, in fact, adduces this example himself (1875:186ff.) to demonstrate that High and Low German did not come into existence as the result of a sudden split as assumed in Schleicher's genealogical tree model (IV.1).

Whereas Schleicher thus conceived of the development of languages in terms of an increasing number of independent ramifications, Schmidt concerned himself exclusively with the mutual links between languages in consequence of geographical proximity. However, the *Stammbaum* and the wave theories do not represent mutually exclusive models. Even though Schmidt employs the concept of relationship, there is something extremely vague in his use of the term: it is probably synonymous with 'agreements', for which reason his theory can be regarded as complementary to the genealogical tree model, which does not anticipate the existence of parallels resulting from contact in genetically related languages. Before proceeding to a discussion of the relevance of the methods of modern dialect geography to Germanic dialect grouping,

we shall consider a third theory, the substratum theory.

Ascoli and Gröber are among the scholars associated with this theory, which was first applied to the Romance languages, the diversity of which was attributed to the transference of varied pre-Romance speech habits to Vulgar Latin. Hirt (1894:36ff.) employed the substratum theory to account for the expansion of Indo-European whose dialectal heterogeneity, in Hirt's view, was due to the fact that subjugated nations had acquired the speech of Indo-European conquerors.

The substratum theory is of interest to us because of its general method of explaining the spread and delimitation of linguistic features, but especially because Viggo Brøndal, in his doctoral thesis from 1917, attributed striking correspondences between Dutch, German, English (and Scots, Shetland Norn, Faroese and Icelandic) to Celtic substrata in areas that acquired Germanic speech: Holland, Southern and South-Western Germany, Southern England and perhaps Scotland and the islands lying to the north of Scotland.

The fronting of back vowels is characteristic not just of the Celtic substratum language of Northern Gaul, i.e. French (1917:59-60), but also of Dutch where $\bar{u}$ became $\bar{y}$ (prior to the diphthongization of $\bar{y}$, cf. below, V.2). A similar fronting of u to y is attested also in the Alemannic dialects of Alsace and Breisgau, in Western England and in Scotland (1917:101-8).

Another parallel that has a French counterpart is the loss of final, weakly accented -z in Dutch *mī, thī, wī* and Old English *mē, wē, hwā* (cf. High German *mir, dir, wir, wer*) which corresponds to final, mute -s in French, according to Brøndal. The unrounding of rounded vowels as in Dutch *euvel > evel* has parallels in Southern Germany and Austria, where *El = Öl* and *hibsch = hübsch*, in England, where Modern English *mice* and *pit* derive from Old English *mȳs* and *pytt*, and also in Scotland, Shetland, the Faroes and Iceland. Brøndal draws attention to a similar tendency in French (1917:71).

A further correspondence is the voicing of initial fricatives in Dutch *(fader > ᵛvader, singen > ᶻzingen)*, German (voicing of initial *s*- before a vowel, cf. *sagen*) and Southern English *(f-, s-, þ- > v-, z-, ð-*

initially, cf. Middle English (Kentish) *vader* 'father' and *zome* 'some' and below, V.4).

As a final example we may choose the diphthongizations of long $\bar{\imath}$ and $\bar{u}$ in Dutch *(mijn, huis)*, German *(mein, Haus)* and English *(mine, house)*, which are strikingly similar. In these and other cases Brøndal sees a manifestation of the same phonetic tendencies as observed in Gaulish and British (cf. II.1) as well as in French and other Romance languages spoken in former Celtic territory. Conversely,

> these tendencies are *not* to be found in the Germanic areas where Celts have been of no importance: in most Low German dialects, in Jutlandish, in Primitive Norse, in Proto-Germanic.[1]
>
> (Brøndal 1917:113)

That there is nothing genetic about the adaptation of the new language (Germanic) to old (Celtic) speech habits is further illustrated by Brøndal's investigation of similar phonetic tendencies in non-Germanic languages: in *Bohemian* (Czech), spoken in an area in which the Celtic *Boii* (III.2) had formerly lived, and in *Pontic* (a dialect of Modern Greek) on the southern shores of the Black Sea which had once been inhabited by the Celtic Galatians (II.1), cf. 1917:114-17.

Bloomfield (1935:386) draws attention to the fact that Celtic was itself an immigrant language in Southern Germany, Holland and England, and he finds it improbable that a Celtic substratum could be held responsible for changes occurring many centuries after the replacement of Celtic by Germanic. According to Bloomfield, the substratum theory can account for changes only in the case of second-language acquisition.

In Samuels' view (1972:96-7), many instances of transference from a substratum can be explained in terms of normal contact. A case in point is the change of $\bar{u}$ to $\bar{y}$ in French, cf. above, but Samuels does not entirely reject the concept of substratum influence, especially not when 'suprasegmental features of stress or intonation are *environmentally*

transmitted through generations of speakers of the displaced language, [so] that these features may ... produce changes in the segmental phonemes of the adopted language'.

It should finally be pointed out that many attempts to explain changes by means of the substratum theory have been abortive for the simple reason that our knowledge of the underlying language has been defective, in some cases even non-existent.

2. Dialect geography

To some extent Schleicher's view of genetic relationship (V.1) was taken over by the Neogrammarians, who believed that sound laws admit of no exception, cf. e.g. August Leskien's book from 1876, *Die Deklination im Slavisch-Litauischen und Germanischen.*

It was in order to show the correctness of this belief that in the same year (1876) Georg Wenker initiated his dialect investigation of the Rhineland. How great was Wenker's surprise when he discovered that Johannes Schmidt's wave hypothesis was a more suitable model for describing modern dialect conditions, even though like Schleicher and the Neogrammarians Schmidt had based his theory on early language states and sound changes completed long ago. There was a gradual transition from one dialect to another: the lines indicating the extension of the various dialect features (isoglosses) did not coincide, so instead of having clear-cut boundaries, the dialects were separated by transitional zones, often of considerable breadth. Even in words with segments that derived from identical Indo-European and Germanic sounds, the isoglosses did not always coincide. In the Rhineland Wenker was thus able to show that the isoglosses indicating the extension of the High German Sound Shift (III.2) in various words differed markedly: the Krefeld area, e.g., had *ich* but *maken* although both words had *k* in Germanic, while Jülich had shifted consonants in either case, but not in *dat.* [2]

What, then, is the difference between Schmidt's wave theory and modern dialect geography? In the first place, dialect geographers are

probably on the whole more aware of inherited features in (cognate) dialects than was Schmidt, who – as the passage quoted in V.1 (1872:27) suggests – did not distinguish between language development through contact and genetic relationship, and who therefore did not anticipate that because of contact parallels might arise between non-cognate languages. Secondly, Schmidt's concept of the concentric spread of innovations ignores the close connection between the extension of linguistic features and contact: isoglosses often follow natural barriers (forests, swamps, mountains, etc.) for the simple reason that these can cut off contact between regions. Political and administrative boundaries may have the same effect: to a large extent the Rhineland isoglosses mentioned above reflect the political and administrative history of the region in question (for the details, see e.g. Bloomfield 1935:343-5).

It has been a much debated question whether seas and rivers prevent or promote the expansion of linguistic features. In England, where the most important dialect boundary (zone) is that between Northern and the Midland dialects, a dense bundle of isoglosses follows the Humber system, cf. Wakelin 1972:103. The idea that immediately suggests itself is that there is a causal relationship between river and isoglosses, but one should not forget that there had been an independent kingdom of York north of the Humber up to 954 when Eric Bloodaxe was finally expelled, and that York remained an ecclesiastical and administrative centre for centuries.

In his history of the Danish language Peter Skautrup (IV 1968:119-20) stresses that the isoglosses that separate the South Jutland dialect from the more northerly ones constitute a bundle which follows the Kongeå or the Ribeå westwards, while to the east it spreads from Kolding fjord to Haderslev fjord and Sandvig:
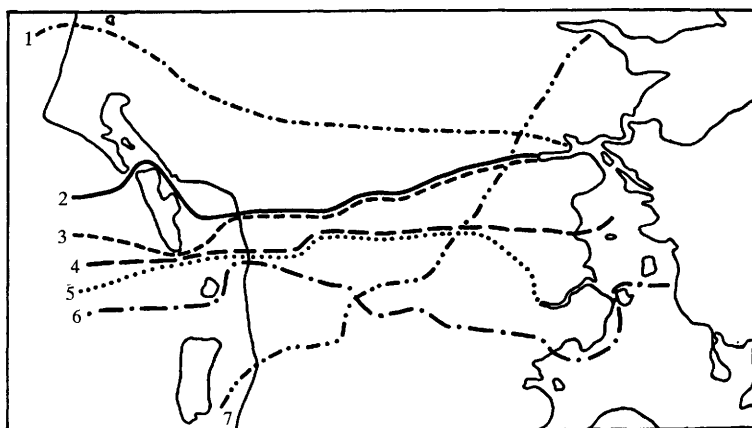
1. njy. [ꝺæm'], [ꝺæm']: sjy. [jæm'], [væm']; 2. njy. [a'dər]: sjy. [æ(')dər]; 3. -p, -t, -k i
njy. [-v, -ð, -q], i sjy. [-f, -r, -χ]; 4. ē, ō og (efter h, k, g) ꝺ̄ i njy. [iə, uə, yə], i sjy. [e·, o·,
ø·]; 5. ā > [o·] og -ǎ- > [d·] i njy., > [d·] og [a·] i sjy.; 6. njy. [a] jeg, sjy. [æ]; 7. mod
nordvest vestjysk genustype, mod sydøst to køn.

Perhaps Skautrup is too much concerned with waterways at the expense
of the fact that the isoglosses roughly follow an old political boundary,
viz. that between the Duchy of Slesvig and the rest of Jutland.

Finally, Schwarz (1950:72, 65) observes that the dialectal line of
division represented by the Lech in Southern Germany has got less to do
with its being a river than with the circumstance that it used to constitute
the boundary between the Duchies of Bavaria and Swabia (see also Hirt
I 1931:24).

Conversely, big rivers like the Danube, the Elbe and the Rhine are
accompanied by no bundles of isoglosses: traffic has been allowed to
cross freely from bank to bank. Karl Jaberg's map of the distribution of
the equivalents of standard French *il faut* 'it is necessary' (unshaded

districts) and *il chaud,* etc. (shaded districts) shows that the standard form has come to prevail in a large slice of South-Eastern France:
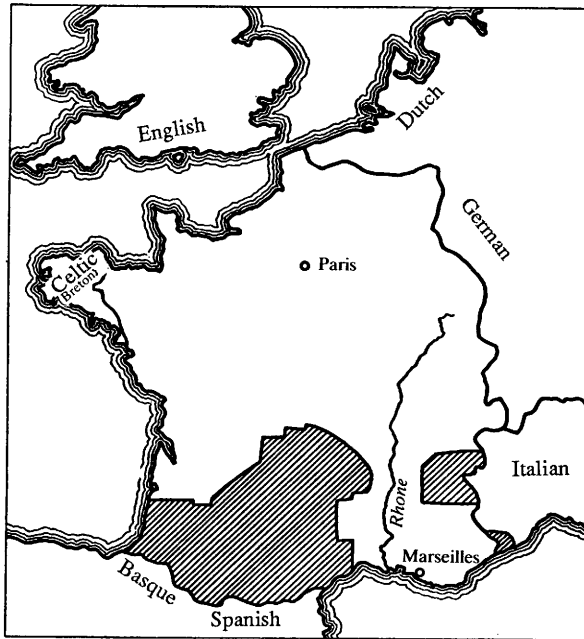
(After Jaberg and Bloomfield)

The advance of *il faut* has clearly been furthered by traffic on or along the Rhone.

As we saw in the previous chapter (IV.3), Kuhn gave a number of counterexamples to Schwarz's axiom that the sea, in this case the North Sea and the English Channel, put an end to linguistic exchanges between the Anglo-Saxons and their continental kinsmen after the Germanic invasion of Britain. Another instance showing that the sea does not necessarily prevent the spread of features is the weakening of consonants in *bak* (> *bag*), *skip* (> *skib*), *mat* (> *mad*) in what has been called the 'Kattegat dialect' (Ringgaard 1970:6), which comprises Southern Norway, the west coast of Sweden, Skåne and Jutland, the Danish islands

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taking up a central position in the diffusion. Moreover, Niels Åge Nielsen (1959:23) draws attention to the similarities between the dialects on either side of The Sound, especially in its southern (and broader) end where the commercial links of Skanör, Falsterbo, Malmö and Trelleborg to Sjælland were close.

It might therefore be concluded that linguistic spread is a matter of contact: if the most convenient line of communication is by sea, innovations will cross the sea. When isoglosses coincide with waterways, there is a good chance that this is due to the identity between waterway and political boundary.

Now, what is, more precisely, the relevance of dialect geography to the problem of dialect grouping? For that there is a connection between the two is indicated by the fact that dialect geographers like Wrede, Frings, Schwarz and Schirmunski have made important contributions to the discussion of the way in which the Germanic dialects are interrelated. It should be recalled that the migrations from Germania discussed in ch. III resulted in colonial dialects: Gothic, Old High German and Old English. The grouping of the early Germanic dialects must inevitably be based on the existence of specific linguistic interrelations, and the demonstration and evaluation of shared parallels therefore become crucial to any attempt at grouping the dialects.

But to answer the question posited, let us examine a few modern dialect maps. Our first specimen shows the distribution of the different 1 sg.pers.pron. forms in the Danish dialects: most of Jutland has *a*, but in two marginal districts, viz. in Thy (including Thyholm and Harboøre) and in the southern section of the peninsula *æ* prevails.

Pron. 'I' has

▨ *a* unbroken | broken   ▨ *jæ(j), jɔ*

◼ *æ* form | form   ◼ *ja*
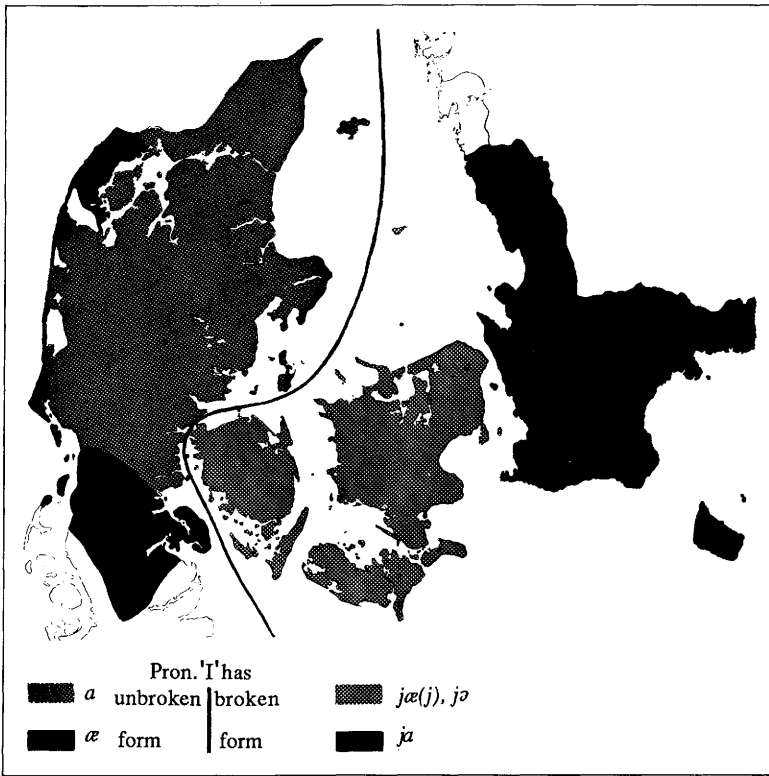
(After Brøndum-Nielsen (1927))

The provenance of *a* and *æ* is not fully transparent, cf. Brøndum-Nielsen V 1965:§561, Harry Andersen 1969:244-55; nevertheless, many scholars posit **ek* (cf. Gallehus) as the likely etymology of both: *ek* developed by way of *æk* to *ak* (depalatalization, cf. Brøndum-Nielsen I 1950:§129[5]) – accompanied by the weakening and subsequent loss of the consonant to *æ* and *a*. Thereby *æ(k)* represents an earlier form than the innovation *a(k)*, which spread over most of Jutland, leaving the re-tention *æ(k)* in possession of only the two relic areas mentioned above. The forms found in the eastern part of Denmark differ from those in Jut-land in that they have diphthongized vowels. This is thought to be due to the influence of unaccented *-a* on *e-* in **eka* (cf. Ellestad 550-600

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ekA, Indo-European *egom̂*) which went by way of *i a k* and *iæk* to *iegh* and *jeg*. Thus a primary isogloss along the Little Belt cuts the Danish dialects in two groups which (presumably) reflect different selections of two original possibilities, viz. **ek* and **eka*.

The map clearly shows that not all linguistic parallels are of equal significance. The fact that two marginal districts in different sections of Jutland have *æ* is not indicative of a special connection between them; on the contrary, they have come into being only as a result of innovation in the intervening area. Shared retentions thus do not signify contact relationship. The same does not apply to shared innovations: the expansion of *a(k)* in Jutland is a contact phenomenon. In evaluating the g/dsf. forms of the Germanic demonstrative pronouns (Gothic *þizōs, þizai;* Old Norse *þeirar, þeir(r)i;* Old English *þǣre, þǣre;* Old Frisian *thēra, thēre;* Old Saxon *thera, theru;* Old High German *dera, deru*), we shall therefore not assume any particularly close connection between Gothic, Old Saxon and Old High German just because these three dialects retain the old vowel *-e-*. Old English, Old Frisian and Old Norse, however, all have forms that reflect the vowel *-ai-* (Indo-European *-oi-*), which was originally restricted to the plural, but must have penetrated into the singular paradigm. Very likely, this innovation arose at a time when there was linguistic contact between pre-Old English/-Old Frisian/-Old Norse (H.F. Nielsen 1985:198-9).

Finally, parallels that result from the common choice of the same variant must be considered important because the dialects behave actively as in the case of shared innovations. It will be remembered that Ludwig Rösel (IV.4) based his grouping of the Germanic dialects on the selections made by the dialects between doublets arisen in Indo-European and Germanic respectively. A further example is the Germanic nsf/n. *n-* system endings where Gothic nsf. *tuggō,* n/asn. *augō* reflect Indo-European *-ō,* while the endings in Old Norse *tunga, auga;* Old English *tunge, ēage;* Old Saxon *tunga, ōga;* Old High German *zunga, ouga* derive from Indo-European *-ōn,* cf. Rosenfeld 1954:380. This must be taken to be an old isogloss separating Gothic from the rest of the Germanic world. However, divergent opinions on etymologies can lead

to different evaluations of correspondences, of course; one such example is nsm. interr. pron. where Old High German *(h)wer,* Old Saxon *hwē* are thought by some scholars to go back to an independent Indo-European root **kʷis* as opposed to **kʷos,* cf. Gothic *hvas,* runic Swedish **huaR** (Rök), Old English *hwā,* whereas other scholars see the vowel as the result of analogical transference from gen. *(h)wes* and the anaphorical pronoun *er.*

Our next map shows the distribution of *w-* and *v-* in Danish:

■	*w* in all positions	initial position	-----	To the north: *h* is sounded in *hw (hj)*
▤	*w* before back v.			To the south: *h* is silent in *(h)w, (h)v, (hj)*
	v before front v.		———	To the north: *w* in initial *dw, tw, kw, sw, (h)w*
▨	*v* in all positions			To the south: *v* in initial *dv, tv, kv, sv, (h)v*
▥	*w* in *olie, orm,* etc.		⊂ⅿⅿⅿ	Within the combed line: *sw, kw,* but *v* initially
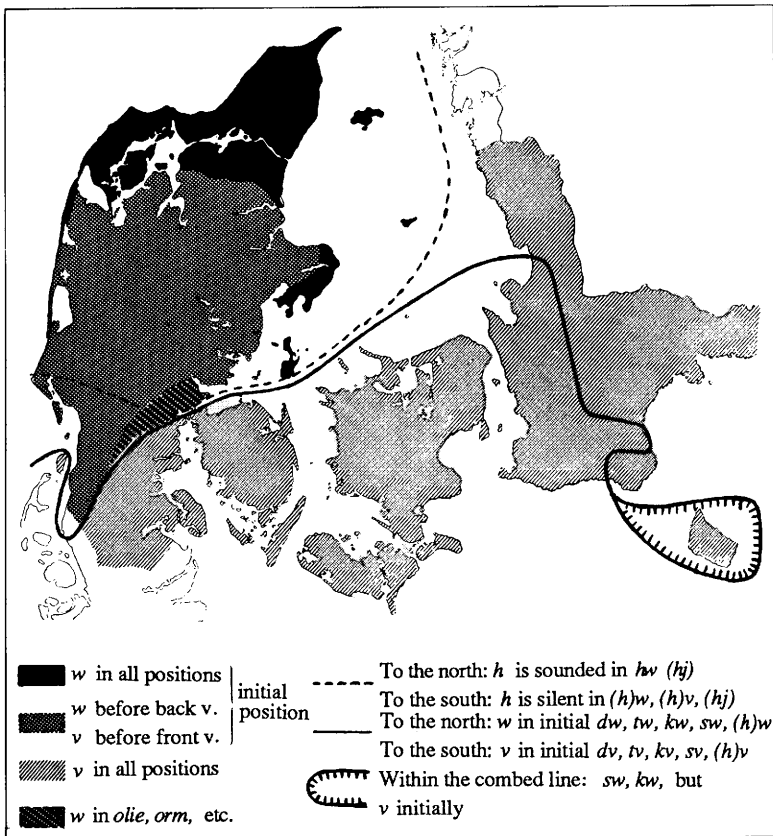
(After Brøndum-Nielsen (1927))

The original sound *w-* has lost ground to the innovation *v-* (cf. Brøndum-Nielsen II 1968:§277), which has penetrated from the Danish islands into the south-east of Jutland. The remaining part of the peninsula, however, with the exception of Northern Jutland, Eastern and Southern Djursland and the Kattegat islands has been partly affected in that Western and Central Jutland exhibit *v-* before front vowels, but retain *w-* in front of back vowels and in the initial clusters *dw-, tw-, kw-, sw-, (h)w-*.
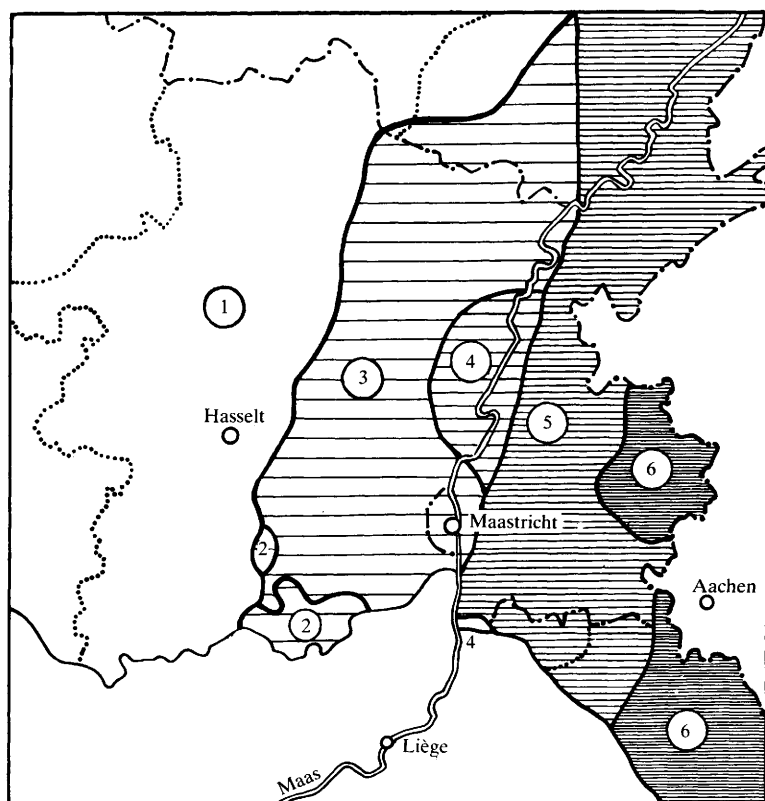
(1969:127)

① /ʃ/ in Fremdwörtern
② /ʃ/ anlautend vor Vokal + 1
③ /ʃ/ anlautend vor /r/ + 1 + 2
④ /ʃ/ in- und auslautend + 1 + 2 + 3
⑤ /ʃ/ anlautend vor /l/, /m/, /n/, /p/, /l/ + 2 + 3 + 4
⑥ /ʃ/ anlautend vor /w/ + 1 + 2 + 3 + 4 + 5

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That the boundary between innovation and retention need not be a sharp one, especially when no extralinguistic factors prevent normal contact, has also been demonstrated by Jan Goossens, whose investigation of the distribution of the /ʃ/ phoneme in Limburg has revealed a zone of transition with respect to this feature (map p. 124). The development of /s/ to /ʃ/ is clearly an innovation spreading from east to west: it is found most extensively in zone No. 6, while in Western Limburg (zone No. 1) it is attested only in words of non-autochthonous origin. Despite their hypothetical nature dialect maps of the past can be assumed, in principle, to have resembled modern maps (cf. Samuels 1971:5); innovations shared by one Germanic language and only partly by another may therefore indicate early (pre-migration) proximity. By way of illustration, the consistent doubling of consonants before *j* in the West Germanic dialects may be contrasted with the much more limited doubling before *j* in North Germanic where only *g* and *k* are affected, cf. Old Norse *hyggia* (Gothic *hugjan;* Old English *hycgan*), *bekkr* (< **bakja*). This may be interpreted as the result of North Germanic border contact with a West Germanic innovative area. A morphological example is the consistent paradigmatic use of initial *h-* in 3 pers. of the personal pronouns in Old English/Old Frisian (and Old Norse) where Old Saxon has *h-* only in the nom.sg.masc. *(hĕ, hĭ),* cf. H.F. Nielsen 1985:113, 194-5. Since the Old Saxon forms have much in common with the Old High German ones, Old Saxon seems to be transitional in relation to Old English/Old Frisian (and Old Norse), cf. our discussion below of the development of *hs* in Old Saxon.

    Kloeke's investigation of the dialectal distribution of vowels in the Dutch words for 'mouse' and 'house' serves as an illustration of the Neo-linguistic dogma that 'each word has its own history' (cf. note 2):

The Netherlands
- ⬛ /mu:s, hu:s/
- ⬛ /mu:s, hy:s/
- ⬛ /my:s, hy:s/
- ⬛ /mø:s, hø:s/
- ⬛ /møys, høys/

Het Bildt — Groningen
Frisian — Leeuwarden
Amsterdam
Haag
Rotterdam
Brugge
Gent
Antwerpen
Bruxelles
French
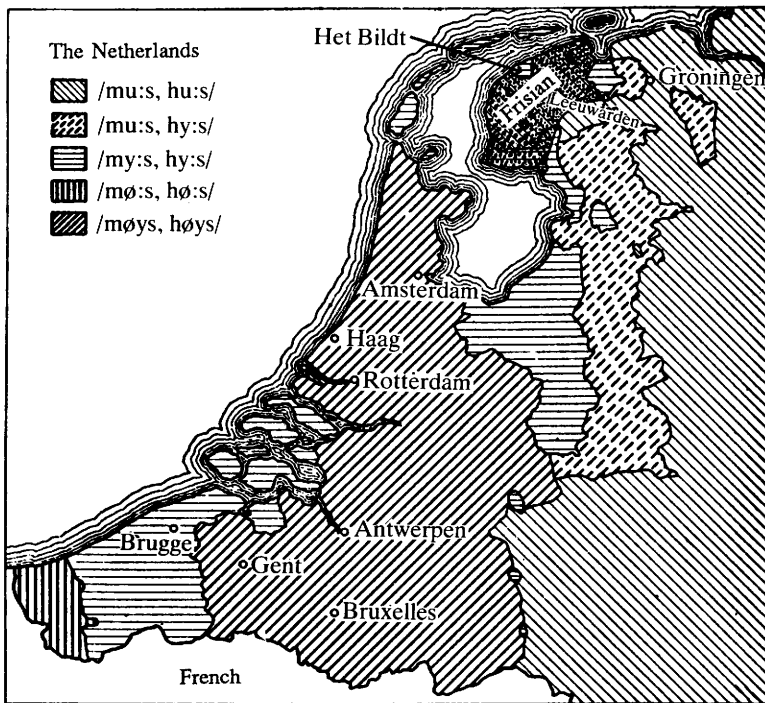
The original vowel in both words was *ū* (/u:/) as a comparison with the early Germanic dialects will show, and this vowel has been retained in the eastern part of the country. A change of /u:/ to /y:/ took place, the results of this development being reflected in areas on either side of a central section of the map extending from Brabant in the south to North Holland which has innovated a second time from /y:/ to /øy/. There are thus two layers of innovation on top of each other. A large area south of Friesland and two districts on either side of Groningen show mixed forms (/hy:s/ and /mu:s/), perhaps for social reasons (Bloomfield 1935:330). But what new information does this map yield? It is worth noting that one of the areas in which /y:/ prevails was colonized relatively late. What we have in mind is *Het Bildt,* which is encircled by

Friesland except to the north where it borders on the sea. After the district had been diked in at the beginning of the 16th century, it was settled by Hollanders; /y:/ probably reflects the pronunciation prevailing at that time in Holland proper where /y:/ became diphthongized only at a later stage. A linguistic pocket *(Sprachinsel)* like Het Bildt may give important chronological clues to historical dialect geography: innovations implemented in both the old country and the colony may be assumed to have come into being prior to the colonization. This kind of reasoning was precisely what determined Schwarz's interpretation of the linguistic correspondences between Gothic and Old Norse and also between Old English and Old Frisian (Old Saxon), cf. above, IV.3. But it will be remembered that Schwarz did not envisage the possibility of later spread across the sea.

Since the dialectal and geographical derivation of modern *Sprach-inseln* has methodological bearing on an assessment of the origins of early Germanic emigrant languages, we shall proceed to discuss a few such cases. When the linguistic atlas of Germany was prepared, the existence of three High German linguistic pockets on Low German soil was recognized: in three cases emigrants from Southern Germany had settled in Northern Germany. In one of these cases, viz. the *Sprachinsel* near Kulm in Western Prussia, the large majority of the colonists came from Württemberg, while the minority were Franconians. Surprisingly, the dialect to prevail was not the Swabian majority dialect, but the Rhine-Franconian dialect of the minority. Another example is the small High German *Sprachinsel* near Kleve in Nordrhein-Westfalen, where a group of emigrants from the Palatinate settled towards the end of the 18th century. Since the emigration lists survived, the settlers are known to have come from the neighbourhoods of Simmern and Kreuznach in the Palatinate. Nevertheless, at the time when the dialect survey was conducted, the emigrants spoke a dialect resembling that of the vicinity of Kusel, which is situated south-southeast of Simmern and Kreuznach. In Schwarz's view (1950:91), the dialects spoken by the emigrants from the two districts amalgamated in such a way as to develop into a new dialect which resembled that of the Kusel area.

What factors, then, govern the linguistic selection process in mixed dialects? Let us have a look at a few more examples. The Anglo-Norman conquest of Ireland in the Middle Ages led to the introduction and spread of English in the island. A short list of features that the Anglo-Irish texts of the 14th and 15th centuries share with the dialects of Western and South-Western England is given in McIntosh and Samuels 1968:8. It is highly significant that the items characteristic of Anglo-Irish cannot be assigned to any one English county, but represent a mixture of features which are known to large sections of the total English area of origin. In one case a geographically restricted form was selected, viz. *euch(e),* which in England occurred only in South Herefordshire and South Worcestershire. The form goes back to Old English *eghwilc (æg-hwilc),* and the reason that it managed to survive despite the presence of two formidable neighbours, *uche* to the north and *eche* to the south, was no doubt that it was suitable as a compromise form between the two major areas (Samuels 1972:99-100). In Ireland it served not only as a compromise form, it even became one of the standardized features of late medieval Anglo-Irish texts, where majority forms were selected on account of their functional utility (Samuels 1972:108-9).

But functional utility is not the only principle governing the linguistic selection in emigrant languages. In his study of the derivation of Afrikaans, Kloeke, the Dutch dialectologist, is able to demonstrate that Afrikaans shares more items with the dialect of the southern part of the province of South Holland than with any other Dutch dialect – and this despite the fact that no more than a quarter of the earliest immigrants settling in the Cape colony came from South Holland (Kloeke 1950:41-207, 360). More recent investigations have shown that there was no Dutch majority even among the early Cape settlers, seeing that the number of Germans immigrating between 1657 and 1807 almost equalled the extent of Dutch influx; besides, there were numerous French Huguenots (Raidt 1983:16). According to Kloeke, the South Holland basis of Afrikaans must have been laid at the very beginning of the colonization of the Cape, i.e. during the van Riebeck period (1652-1662); later immigrants then followed the tradition of speaking that shade of Dutch. The

history of Australian English presents another example of the importance of the language of the first colonists for the future development of a language variety. In 1788 Great Britain established a penal colony at Sydney with 717 prisoners, mainly from South-Eastern England, and almost 300 officials, soldier-guards, etc. Subsequent groups of new-comers tried to gain quick acceptance by conforming to the type of language evolved by the earliest immigrant groups: the 'new chums' endeavoured to imitate the 'old hands'. It is noteworthy that the large number of Irish prisoners transported to Australia soon after the establishment of the colony had virtually no influence on the development of the Australian language, which retained its Southern English basis (Eagleson 1982:415-22; Turner 1966:5, 11).[2a] The tendency of people to adapt themselves culturally and linguistically to the group with which they would like to identify themselves appears in many contexts and frequently runs contrary to general norms. No one would call Cockney English a prestige dialect, but in many situations it can nevertheless be the key to social acceptance. In his sociolinguistic investigation of Martha's Vineyard, Massachusetts, Labov (1972) has shown that a pronunciation of the diphthongs /ai/ and /au/ with centralized first elements is widespread among the Vineyarders who make a living on the island or who plan to do so and are proud of living there, whereas those who have thoughts of leaving Martha's Vineyard seek to adapt their pronunciation to that of the South-Eastern New England standard, where the diphthongs have low first elements. These tendencies are outspoken among the students at the local high school, those who want to stay on the island and those who want to leave (Labov 1972:32). Significantly, the Vineyarders identifying themselves with the island exaggerate centralization even in comparison with the social group most firmly associated with the essence of Martha's Vineyard and most stubbornly opposed to mainland influences, the fishermen.

These examples suggest the extent to which the selection of forms is determined partly by the principle of functional utility and partly by (covert) prestige factors. For both of these reasons it is difficult, if not impossible, to parallel the percentage of linguistic forms with the share

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of emigrants from a specific area settling in the new colony. Very likely, the Germanic tribes that came to speak Gothic, Old High German and Old English comprised dialectally heterogeneous elements prior to the respective emigrations. Old English, e.g., exhibits various links to other Germanic languages or groups of languages, and in some instances northern and southern forms compete in Old English, cf. H.F. Nielsen 1985:102-252, esp. 223. Above in IV.4 we saw that Rösel used the existence of variant forms in a language to establish chronological layers and prehistoric dialectal affiliations with other Germanic languages. But as our modern examples show, linguistic features are not necessarily safe indicators of dialectal and geographical provenance.

In continuation of these deliberations let us briefly discuss the concept of 'compromise form'. The topic was touched upon above in connection with the old West Midland minority form *euch(e),* and as Samuels points out (1972:98), compromise forms, or adaptations as he calls them, often crop up near regional isoglosses. One of the examples given by Wrede (1919:12) is *önk* 'you' (plural) which emerges precisely between a large area along the lower Rhine exhibiting *öch* and a Westphalian district adjacent to the rivers Ruhr and Lippe with the old dual *ink.* According to Samuels (1972:98), the /ask/ 'ask' of North-Eastern England is separated from North-Western /ɛks/, /aks/ by a narrow corridor where the form is /as/. In his *De jyske dialekter* N.Å. Nielsen (1959:43) ascribes the survival of constructions without the definite article like *om aften, hen ad jord, i bæk ved ende af sø* in Vester Hanherred north of the Limfjord to their frequent occurrence. Of greater significance for their retention is, perhaps, the fact that Vester Hanherred is situated between a dialect area to the west using the proclitic article and one to the east with enclitic use.

But compromise forms may also arise when emigrants who speak different dialects settle in the same area. In the colonial dialect of Thuringia (East Middle German), e.g., initial *f-* came to replace High German *pf-* and Low German *p-* because it was an acceptable compromise phoneme to settlers from both dialect areas: it fits into the respective phonemic systems, and it does not coincide with either of the

two consonants it replaces.

If we turn to early Germanic dialectology, we may wonder if e.g. Old Saxon *s(s)* < *hs* should not be seen as a compromise between northern *ks* and southern *hs* (cf. Old Norse *sex,* Old Frisian *sex,* Old English *siex;* Old Saxon *ses;* Old High German *sehs*). The development of *hs* to *s(s)* may also be accounted for in terms of the principle of least effort, however (V.3).

Let us finally give one or two examples of how the application of the methods of modern dialect geography to language history might have provided more plausible historical explanations and afterwards of how the application of the same methods has led to incorrect conclusions.

It was mentioned in ch. II.2 that Pyles (1971:96) saw emigration from the European *centum* area as a possible explanation of the *centum* status of Tocharian and Hittite. The obvious solution suggesting itself to a dialect geographer would be the assumption that the *centum* languages represented marginal relic areas separated by a central area of innovation constituted by the *satem* languages.

Haugen (1970:50-51) blames Skautrup for saying that the language of Gotland and of some northern and eastern Swedish districts exhibit several West Norse features seeing that the diphthongs which are among the items cited by Skautrup have not been monophthongized *(æi > ē* and *ǫu, øy > ø̄),* but retained as diphthongs. In the light of Skautrup's presentation as a whole (1944:128-34), Haugen's criticism is not entirely justified, but Haugen is right in objecting to Skautrup's labelling of unchanged Swedish diphthongs as West Norse.

The original
diphthongs
retained
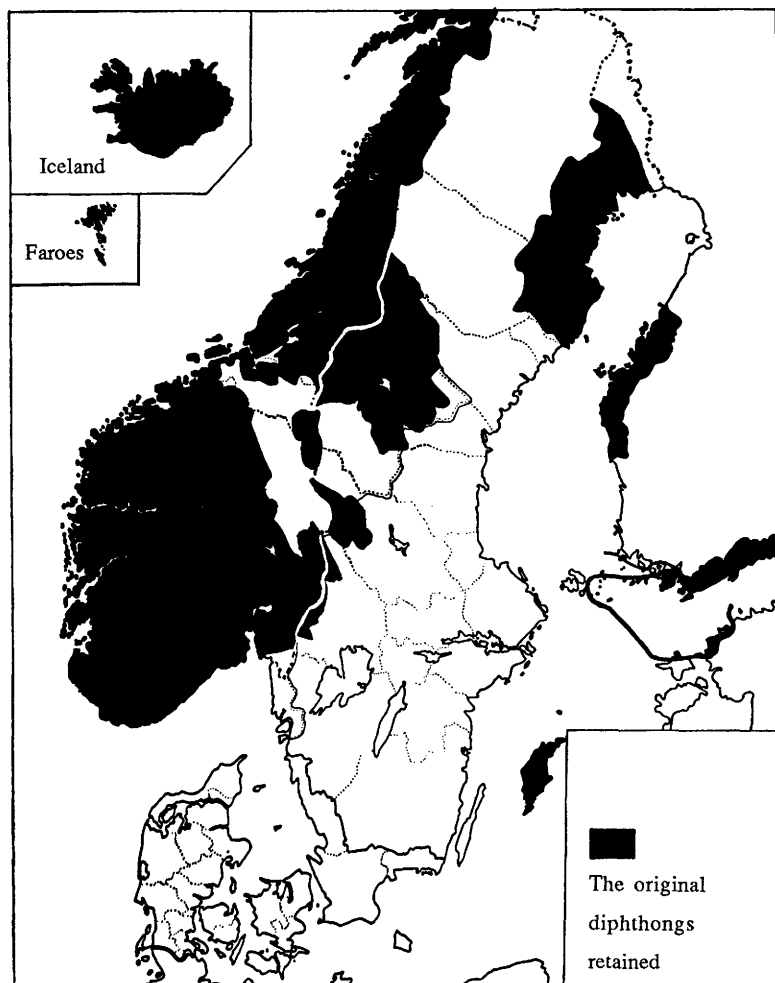
(After Brøndum-Nielsen (1927) and Haugen)

Ferdinand Wrede's article on Ingveonic and West Germanic from 1924 was discussed above, IV.2. Here Wrede connected the loss of nasal before *s* and *f* in Alemannic with a similar loss in Northern Germany, the Netherlands and England, thinking that the intervening area con-

stituted an innovatory zone (which had ultimately been influenced by Gothic). The modern dialect maps invite such an interpretation as the distribution of nasal-less forms of 'five' reveals:

(After Frings 1957:136)
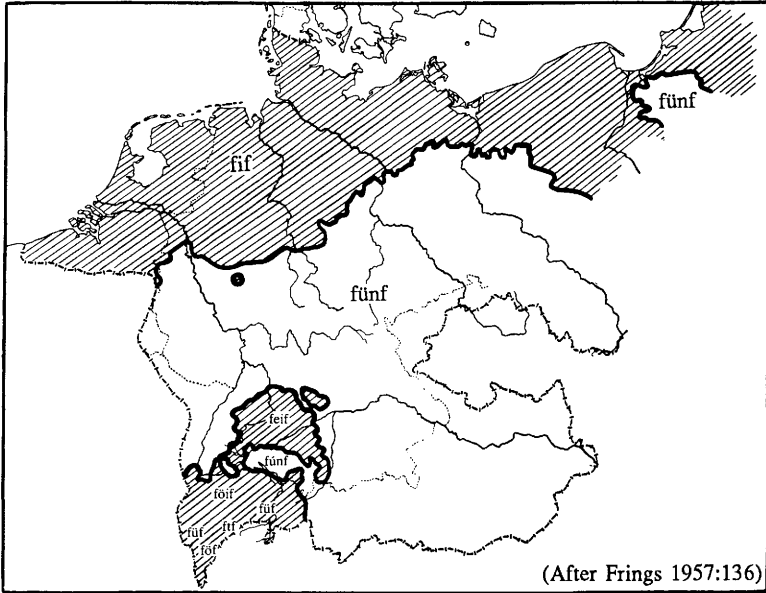
Nevertheless, one may wonder why Wrede did not pay more attention to the fact that the loss of nasal before *f* (and *s*) itself represents an innovation. Scholars critical of Wrede (IV.2) have shown that the nasal was dropped much later in Alemannic than in Northern Germany and that the innovations must therefore have been unconnected, the result of coincidence. The next section will be devoted to a discussion of linguistic correspondences which need not or should not be explained in terms of contact.

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3. Parallels (partly) attributable to other factors

i-mutation is a striking and much debated innovation shared by all Germanic languages except Gothic. It entails the fronting of a back vowel when *i* or *j* stood in an immediately following syllable. The development is not reflected to the same extent in the various dialects, least consistently and latest in Old Saxon and Old High German, where only *a* (> *e*) is regularly affected (from the 8th century). *i*-mutation of the remaining back vowels manifests itself in the Middle High and Low German manuscripts (Holthausen 1921:§115, Braune/Eggers 1975:§51).

In Old Norse, Old English and Old Frisian the process appears to have operated along similar lines, cf. *ā̆* > *æ̆* (Old Danish *gæst,* Old Norse *lǽtr;* Old English (Anglian) *ældra,* (West Saxon) *dǽlan;* Old Frisian *dēla*); *ō̆* > *ø̃* (> Old English/Old Frisian *ē̆*) (Old Norse *øxn, dǿma;* Old English *exen, sēcan;* Old Frisian *gelden* (?), *sēka/sēza*); *ŭ* > *ȳ̆* (> Old Frisian *ē̆*) (Old Norse *fylla, lýkr;* Old English *fyllan, mȳs;* Old Frisian *hreg, hēd(e)*); *iu* > Old Norse *ȳ (flȳgr),* Old English (West Saxon) *īe (cīest);* *au* > Old Norse *ey (heyra),* Old English *(ēa >) īe* (West Saxon), *ē* (Anglian/Kentish) *(hīeran, hēran),* Old Frisian *ē (hēra).*

According to Luick's dating, which is widely accepted, the Old English umlaut belongs to the 6th century (I,1 1921:§201), while the innovation seems to have taken place from the 7th century in Old Norse (**gestumz** (Stentoften) and Old Danish *Ongendus* (c. 700) < **-gandiz,* cf. Brøndum-Nielsen I 1950:115).[3]

The late attestation of *i*-mutated forms in North and West Germanic makes normal spread by contact insufficient to account for their extension. Scholars like Luick (I,1 1921:§200) and Rooth (1935:5-34)[4] have tried to get round the chronological problems involved by assuming that the intermediate consonant was palatalized in anticipation of *i* or *j,* which again led to the development of a glide from the accented back vowel. The last stage was then the umlaut itself. Such an explanation allows of an extended chronological scope since the intervening consonant may have become palatal long before the accented

vowel was directly affected. Both Rooth (1935:25) and Luick (I,1 1921:§202) see North Sea Germanic (Anglo-Frisian) as the innovatory centre of *i*-mutation with subsequent spread to Norse and Old Saxon/Old High German,[5] partly because *i*-mutation was first and most consistently carried through in Old English and Old Frisian, partly because Old English/Old Frisian velar stops reflect the palatal influence of *i* or *j* and finally because the choice of Anglo-Frisian as the innovating dialect area is expedient to scholars who see the Anglo-Saxon emigration as a *terminus ante quem* for the establishment of innovations common to Old English and the continental Germanic languages, cf. Luick I,1 1921:§201, Schwarz 1951:260-61.[6]

Phonetically, however, the theory as outlined above presents serious difficulties. As Rooth himself is aware (1935:15), palatalization (and the development of a palatal glide) must necessarily affect all consonants and consonant groups seeing that *i*-umlaut occurs irrespective of the quality of the intervening consonant, cf. Campbell 1959:§192; Malmberg 1966:157-8. Moreover, the so-called double umlaut as in e.g. Old English *gædeling* (Old Saxon *gaduling*) is not easily explained in this way.

If we choose to reject the palatalization theory and instead accept the less complicated concept of distant assimilation (vowel harmony), how can we possibly account for the late extension of mutated vowels all the way from Norway and England to Southern Germany? Edward Sapir was greatly preoccupied with the amazing degree of likeness between English *foot, feet; mouse, mice* on the one hand and German *Fuss, Füsse; Maus, Mäuse* on the other, especially in view of the considerable time lag (300 years) between the first attestations of mutated forms in the respective languages, which, to Sapir's mind, physically and chronologically precluded that the parallel could be the outcome of shared development (1921:184ff.). Instead he sees the agreement as an illustration of *drift:* 'Language moves down time in a current of its own making. It has drift' (1921:160), cf. also:

> The momentum of the more fundamental, the pre-dialectic,
> drift is often such that languages long disconnected will pass
> through the same or strikingly similar phases. In many such
> cases it is perfectly clear that there could have been no dia-
> lectal interinfluencing.
>
> (1921:184)

But Sapir concedes that our knowledge of this drift is inadequate (see
e.g. 1921:199) – the concept should, perhaps, just be regarded as a com-
mon denominator for a number of phonetic tendencies existing in the
languages. In any case, it does not properly account for the development
of parallels that do not directly result from contact.

Schützeichel (1976:17, 39ff.) has warned against overrating dialect
geographical interpretations of parallels between languages. The pos-
sibility of polygenetic development should by no means be ignored:
common, inherent predispositions may lead to the emergence of dialectal
correspondences long after the break-up of a linguistic community. As
early a scholar as Streitberg (1896:78) had spoken of 'Keim' and Schulze
(1913:174) of 'Prädisposition', both terms being used with a similar
content, while Lessiak (1933:7) touched upon the idea of linguistic 'Po-
lygenese'. Hirt (I 1931:44) says of the extension of *i*-mutation in
England and on the Continent (including Upper Germany):

> Es kann sich natürlich um keine durch den Verkehr bewirkte
> Ausdehnung eines Lautwandels handeln, ... , sondern es lie-
> gen die gleichen Ursachen vor, die früher oder später zu dem
> gleichen Ergebnis führen.

Otto Höfler is even more suspicious of the application of the methods of
dialect geography (and the wave theory) to early Germanic inter-
relations. He doubts that the extension of striking Common Germanic
innovations like e.g. the umlaut phenomena can be accounted for in
terms of contact, seeing that the Germanic language area, at the be-
ginning of the Christian era, was so large that the diffusion of in-

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novations would be a protracted process that would leave several relic areas. With a term borrowed from biology Höfler (1955:34) prefers to speak of phylogenetic developments in such cases, by which is meant that identical predispositions eventually show themselves in simultaneous or almost simultaneous agreements that do not presuppose expansion by contact, cf. the fact that different environments do not prevent the development of amazing points of resemblance in identical twins (1955:35-6).

According to Höfler the ultimate reason for the *a-/i-/u*-umlaut phenomena in the Germanic languages was a suprasegmental one, viz. the fixation of accent on the first syllable in early Germanic, which was then only spoken in and around the Jutland peninsula (cf. ch. III). Owing to the increasing stress accent the *a, i, u* of the weakly accented syllables underwent qualitative reductions, which again led to compensatory colouring ('Ersatzfärbung') of the accented vowels; in other words the colour of the reduced vowel *(i (a* or *u))* [7] was taken over by or influenced the accented vowel (1955:62ff., 1956:13ff.). The predisposition, in Höfler's explanation of umlaut, thus becomes the Germanic accent.

During the last few decades several scholars have been critical of the advocation of latent tendencies, which 'may degenerate into a mentalistic playground' (Markey 1976:11). A theory which now seems to be generally accepted[8] posits subphonemic variation in the accented vowels in umlaut conditions, i.e. before *a, i, u* in the following syllables. Höfler's idea of 'Ersatzfärbung' thereby becomes superfluous: the allophones had come into existence prior to the reduction of the unaccented vowel. When the conditioning factor, in the case of *i*-umlaut *i* or *j,* was lost (or became *e*), a phonemicization process took place as in e.g. pre-Old English */do:mjan/* ([dø:mjan]) > */dø:man/* 'deem', cf. the corresponding noun */do:m/* 'doom'.[9]

There is nothing to suggest that the assimilation as far as *a* and *u* are concerned occurred earlier or later than that in the case of *i* – however, the allophones resulting from the three types of umlaut were phonemicized at various points of time, which again should be ascribed to

different phases of reduction. And, to quote Antonsen (1965:25), the 'divergent shapes and distributions of the phonemes in the individual dialects can be ascribed to a very large extent to secondary developments in those dialects which have no direct connection with the umlaut process itself'.

As in the case of distant assimilation (umlaut) we need not assume that other conditioned phonetic changes result from contact (Samuels 1972:12, 121). This holds true of proximity assimilation: e.g. the development of *nl > ll* in Old Norse *ellefo* and Old Saxon *elleban* (Gothic *ainlif*, Old English *endleofan*, Old High German *einlif*) probably took place independently in the two languages, cf. later forms in English (Middle English *en(d)leue(ne), elleue(ne)*; Modern English *eleven*) and German (Middle High German *einlif, eilf*; Modern German *elf*).

The sporadic simplification of consonant clusters is also an inertia phenomenon, cf. Old Norse *fræn(d)kona, hol(d)gan, an(d)lit*, Old English *el(d)cian, on(d)gett, an(d)lang*; Old Norse *þar(f)nask, Ul(f)gestr*, Old English *ðor(f)léas, Wul(f)gar*; Old Norse *mor(g)ne* (dat.sg.), Old English *merne* (late Northumbrian dat.sg. form of *morgen*), cf. Old Frisian *morgen/morn* (Jungandreas I 1949:56); Old Norse *heims(k)legr*, Old English *hors(c)lice*; Old Norse *iam(n)t, Ar(n)biorn*, Old English *em(n)lice, Sæter(n)dæg*; Old Norse *kris(t)ne, þis(t)le*, Old English *belis(t)nian, nos(t)le*, Old Frisian *droch(t)enis, nes(t)la* (Noreen 1970:§291, Campbell 1959:§477, Siebs 1901:1273). Loss of consonant in weakly accented use is seen in English *as*, cf. German/Dutch *als*, Old English *(e)alswā*. *-l-* was lost in late Middle English (Schibsbye I 1972:89), and a similar loss is seen in Middle Low German *as(e) (als(e)*, Old Saxon *also*), cf. Lasch 1974:§256, and Old Frisian *as(s), asa (< alsa)*, cf. Siebs 1901:1262. An intervocalic consonant has disappeared in Old English *sēon*, Old Norse *sjá*, Old Frisian *siā*, cf. Gothic *saíhvan*, Old Saxon/Old Low Franconian/Old High German *sehan*. The Old English form presupposes breaking *(*sehwan > *seohan > sēon)* which suggests that the loss – which is also antedated by *i*-mutation and syncope – is a late one. The fact that the metres of the earliest Old English (and Old Norse, cf. Noreen 1970:§130) poetic

records require uncontracted forms, points in the same direction. Note that *-h-* has disappeared in Middle Low German *sēn* and Middle Dutch *sien*. Weak accent may be held responsible for syncope (loss of medial vowel) and apocope (loss of final vowel): pt.sg. Old English *dēmde*, Old Saxon *lōsda*, Old High German *hōrta*, Old Norse *heyrða* (Gothic *sōkida*); Old Norse *gestr*, Old English *giest*, Old Saxon/Old High German *gast* (Gallehus **gastiz**). The great diversity shown in the way the Germanic dialects are affected and the lateness of the losses make spread by contact less likely. [10]

Sometimes the pronunciation of a consonant cluster is facilitated by the insertion of a glide-vowel (svarabhakti). Conversely, a stop consonant may be inserted between two consonants, often because of failure to execute several simultaneous articulatory movements, cf. Old English *sim(b)le*, Old Saxon *sim(b)la*, Old Norse *kum(b)l*, Gothic *tim(b)rjan*, etc.; French *humble* (Latin *hum(i)le*), *tendre* (Lat. *ten(e)re*); Greek *andrós* gen. of *anér;* Modern English *thunder* vb. (Old English *þunrian*). Such insertions are clearly sporadic.

Dissimilation is another conditioned phonetic change. In Old English *sþ, fþ, hþ* and *fs, hs* are dissimilated to *st (wiext), ft (þēoft), ht (gesiht)* and *ps (wæps), ks (seax),* probably for articulatory (and/or auditory) reasons. Similar dissimilations are seen in Old Norse; *sþ > st (estu), sf > sp (husprøyia), þs > ts* (Old Danish *umbuts*), *hs > ks* (Eggjum **sAkse**), cf. Noreen 1970:§238, §240, Brøndum-Nielsen II 1968:§297[3]. The loss of nasal in Old English *penegas (< peningas), cynegas (< cyningas),* Old Frisian *panni(n)g,* Old Saxon *penni(n)g,* Old High German *phennig, cunig,* Old Danish *pænnig, kunugs* is probably due to dissimilatory factors (preceding nasal), perhaps assisted by weakness of accent.

By metathesis is most often understood a reversion of the order of segments, cf. *fl, þl/dl, sl > lf, ld, ls* in Old Norse, Old English and Old Frisian (Old Norse *innylfi, heimold, reykelsi;* Old English *innelfe, bold, rīecels;* Old Frisian *bold, wannelsa;* but Old High German *innuovli,* Old Saxon *botl, rādisli*). Such metathesis involves develop-

ment from less common sequences to more common ones, and the concrete examples listed, although shared innovations, are therefore not nearly as important for establishing prehistoric proximity among the languages affected by *l*-metathesis as thought by Schwarz (1951:266), cf. H.F. Nielsen 1985:209-10. The term metathesis is also used when a segment is moved from one syllable to another as in Middle High German *kokodrille* and Middle English *cokodrille* 'crocodile'. Very likely, however, the metathesized forms represent lexical borrowings from Romance, cf. Old French *cocodrille,* Italian *coccodrillo,* Medieval Latin *cocodrillus* (Hjelmslev 1963:52).

All the conditioned phonetic changes listed above can be regarded as simplificatory processes and can therefore be accounted for word by word in each language. But this is not to deny that contact may evoke or speed up such processes if the raw material is there, as it most often will be in closely related languages. Schirmunski (1965:10-11) expresses his view in the following way

> Ein Lautwandel, der letzten Endes auf den Eigenheiten der Artikulation beruht, erfaßt allmählich eine ganze Reihe benachbarter Mundarten. Das Beispiel der Nachbarn kann bei der Ausbreitung einer phonetischen Neuerung eine wesentliche Rolle spielen, in der Tat löst es aber bloß die spontane Entfaltung potentieller Möglichkeiten aus, die in der Artikulation der betreffenden Mundart schon gegeben waren.[11]

There are dialectal examples of the development of independent phonological parallels that do not appear to be the outcome of conditioned change. A case in point is the phonemicization of /æ/ and /a/ in two non-contiguous Old English dialects, viz. West Saxon and Northumbrian. In the latter dialect Germanic **fallan* 'fall' and **falljan* 'fell' are realized as *falla* and *fælla.* A similar minimal pair did not come into being in West Saxon because of early intradialectal sound changes, but a phonemicization process occurs anyway: the complementary distribution of [a] before a back vowel in the following syllable and [æ] elsewhere is

broken by paradigmatic analogy, whereby *(*(ic) fære >) (ic) fare* '(I) go' becomes distinct from *fære* (dat.sg.) 'journey'. How coincidental are now the identical phonemicizations in the two dialects? Samuels (1972:35-8) says that 'the nature of the accident [that constitutes phonemicization] is not important; provided the potentiality for contrast exists, it is likely to be realised sooner or later, though the accident may be only one of many that could have given the same result'. The parallel development can thus be said to be a result of the great resemblance between the two vowel systems and of their potentiality for contrasts. This leads us to a brief discussion of the role played by symmetry of pattern in phonemic systems. If a system is not symmetrical, e.g. in the correlation between short and long vowels, it will, according to this theory, strive to remedy the imbalance by eventually utilizing available raw material.[12] Symmetrical pressures may be seen as inertia phenomena, especially if it can be shown that it is easier for speakers to handle segments which correlate with regard to e.g. quantity or front/back articulation, cf. Hansen/Nielsen 1986:7. Our interest in the theory of systemic balance is, of course, closely linked to the development of independent common innovations in similar systems, but it should be added that the exact importance of symmetry for the evolution of phonemic systems has not been entirely clarified (Samuels 1972:33-4).

The fact that identical linguistic premises may lead to identical results can also be illustrated by morphological examples. In the 2 pres.sg.ind. of the verb *willan* Old English has *wilt* where we should have expected *wile* (formally an optative). *-t* forms are also recorded in the other North and West Germanic languages (West Norse *vilt,* Old Frisian/Old Saxon/Middle High German *wilt*), but the attestations are so late and so irregular that independent analogical development must be assumed (cf. Braune/Eggers 1975:§385 Anm. 2, Holthausen 1921:§479[4], Noreen 1970:§532[7], Krahe II 1969:§101). The innovation probably took place in the languages affected on the analogy of the indicative of the preterite-present verbs, which constituted a special group everywhere, and which could be used as a model for the 2 pres.sg.ind. by the anomalous verb *willan.* Another example of (independent) interparadigmatic

influence in different Germanic dialects is the occurrence of *-u-* in the opt. and pl.ind. forms of 'may', cf. Old English *muge* (opt.), Old Saxon/Old High German *mugi* (opt.), *mugun* (pl.ind.), Old Frisian *muge, mugun,* Middle Norwegian *mugom* (pl.ind.), Old Swedish *mugha* (inf.). In at least Old English, Old High German and Old Norse *u*-forms are late and mostly infrequent, cf. Brunner 1965:§425, Braune/Eggers 1975:§375 Anm. 1, Noreen 1970:§525 Anm. 1 and Krause 1968:§248. The introduction of *-u-* should probably be ascribed to influence from the pret.-pres. verbs Classes II-IV, which had *-u-* in the Germanic opt. and pl.ind. forms.

Sometimes sound changes affecting several dialects result in morphological coalescences in the same dialects. In West Germanic, e.g., the doubling of consonants before *j* led to an obliteration of the distinction between long and short *jō*-stems (which join the *ō-* declension), cf. Old English *bend* (Gothic *bandi*) and *sibb* (Gothic *sibja*). The coalescence is thus not in itself a valid correspondence linking the West Germanic languages to one another.

In early Old English, the 2 pres.sg.ind. suffix was *-s,* to which was subsequently added a *-t (> -st).* Similar additions are attested in other Germanic languages, cf. Old Saxon/Old Low Franconian/early Old High German *nimis,* but Middle Low German *nimst,* Middle Dutch *nemes(t),* late Old High German *lisist* and Old Frisian *sprekst. -t* is usually thought to stem from *þu* in inverted forms *(bintst(u) < bindes þu,* cf. Brunner 1965:§356), but the model provided by the pret.-pres. verbs *canst, mōst, wāst* may also be held responsible for the innovation – or more probably, the two factors in combination (multiple conditioning), cf. Braune/Eggers 1975:§306 Anm. 5, Franck 1910:§125[2].

Systemic (intraparadigmatic) pressure may give rise to independent parallel development in closely related languages. In Germanic, the dat.sg. of 'daughter' was **duhtri,* in which the accented vowel – had it been allowed to develop regularly – would have become *i*-mutated *y* in e.g. Old English and Old Norse. Prior to the operation of *i*-umlaut, however, *u* was replaced by *o* on the analogy of the *a*-mutated forms of the

paradigm,[13] so that the resulting Old English and Old Norse dat.sg. forms are *dehter* and *døtr* (< *dohtri*). To this should be added that Old Norse *døtr* is rare (Noreen 1970:§421 Anm.); the classical Old Norse dat.sg. form is *dóttur* which like *døtr* is the outcome of intra-paradigmatic levelling. Similarly, dat.sg. *dehter* is ousted by *dohter* in late West Saxon.[14]

　　Finally, number and gender differentiation can be held responsible for certain correspondences between Germanic languages. A case in point is the differentiation between masc. and fem. *i*-stem nouns which were not distinguished in Indo-European and probably not in early Germanic either (Makaev 1964:47). However, on the pattern of Germanic masc./nt. *a*- and fem. *ō*- (cf. Old English and Old Norse) stem nouns a distinction is eventually established among *i*-stem nouns, and most likely the differentiation took place independently in each language affected (cf. Bahnick 1973:185). But as in other cases in the present section we do not preclude that contact may have had a catalytic and accelerating effect on the innovatory process.

4. Closing remarks

Above, in ch. V.2, the significance of shared or partly shared innovations and of the common selection of the same variant was demonstrated with a view to determining the *Urheimat* of emigrant languages. But the application of the methods of dialect geography to our problem had its limitations: we saw that a geographically restricted form was selected as a majority form because of its functional utility in dialectally mixed texts, and that the close contact between two emigrant dialects resulted in the emergence of an idiom which resembled that of an already existing dialect. Also, we saw that the language evolving in an emigrant community need not reflect the origin of the majority of the settlers. There is evidence to suggest that the dialect(s) of the first wave of settlers can be of decisive importance for the future linguistic course taken in the colony. This again implies that the intralinguistic deter-

mination of the dialectal position of an emigrant language need not co-incide with the results achieved by extralinguistic disciplines (e.g. archaeology) with regard to determining the *Urheimat* of the speakers of the emigrant language. In ch. V.3 we saw how simplificatory pro-cesses and other developments governed by the principle of least effort might produce phonological and morphological parallels between Ger-manic languages that did not arise through contact, but which were the results of independent development. But it was emphasized that contact might evoke or speed up such simplificatory processes.

To give a practical illustration of the various methods discussed in this chapter and of how differently scholars have evaluated a parallel between an overseas emigrant language (English) and a continental one (Low Franconian), we may choose the voicing of initial fricatives *(f, s, þ > v, z, ð)* in southern English (cf. Middle Kentish *vader, verste; zelve, zoþe; þe, þyef)* and in Old Low Franconian (cf. Old West Flem-ish (11th century) *vogala,* Old Ghentish *Velthem;* Middle Dutch *zegghen, zo; daer, dief*). Above, we saw how Brøndal (V.1) attributed the change to Celtic substrata in the two speech areas. Early scholars like Sweet (1876:76-9, 1888:139) and Ellis (1889:832) thought that the change had taken place in Germanic or West Germanic, i.e. prior to the Germanic colonization of Britain. Bennett (1969:351) in principle agrees to such a dating in that he assigns the parallel to pre-emigration tribal contacts: the Jutes, on their way to Kent, as well as the Saxons before migrating to the *Litus Saxonum* and the south-west of England, 'entered the lower Rhenish – i.e. the Low Franconian – area', and here both tribes may have acquired the voicing of initial *f, s, þ.*

As suggested by Samuels (1971:8), on the other hand, the voicing of initial fricatives may have spread across the Channel from Flanders to England early enough for the late Old English dialects of Kent and Wes-sex to have been affected, but certainly *after* the Anglo-Saxon settle-ment in Britain. According to this view the voicing of initial fricatives first occurred in Franconian, from where it spread into Upper German (Braune/Eggers 1975:§102a) and north into Low Franconian, eventually crossing the Channel to the south of England. Fisiak (1985) argues that

the voicing of all initial fricatives in English should be seen as a unitary lenition process which may or may not be ascribed to continental influence. (Cf. Luick I,2 1940:§703 Anm. 8, Goossens 1974:75, Poussa 1985:247-9).

The traditional historical grammars have tended to see no foreign inspiration in the voicing of initial fricatives in English, cf. Brunner 1965:§192 Anm. 1, Luick I,2 1940:§703, Wright 1905:§278, §320; 1928:§236, etc., assigning the voicing process to late Old English/early Middle English – and certainly to the pre-Norman era because words of French origin were generally not affected. Wakelin has recently advanced the view that the change arose in Old English, 'in or near the Devon area, where it is still most vigorous' (1982:9). Wakelin calls the origin of voicing obscure (1975:161), but suggests that it may have arisen at the sentence level, in intervocalic position (1972:92, cf. Wakelin/Barry 1968:59). This view of the origin of voicing coincides with that of Moore et al. (1935:15) and of Luick (I,2 1940:§703).

As already pointed out, the present example epitomizes our previous methodological discussions. Brøndal (1917) posited Celtic substrata to explain the parallel change. To Sweet and Ellis, who worked within the *Stammbaum* tradition, linguistic features could spread only through the emigration of speakers. Although Bennett operates with tribal interrelations on the lower Rhine, his concept of the extension of linguistic features is not much different. Significantly, he considers 'the Channel and the Strait of Dover ... effective barriers against the ingress of linguistic influences' (1969:353-4). He has not learnt the lesson of dialect geography: that actual contact is decisive for the spread of linguistic features. The sea does not in itself prevent spread. Therefore, in principle, the concept of post-invasion cross-Channel diffusion must be accepted, and this is exactly what lies behind the hypothesis of the spread of initially voiced fricatives from Old Low Franconian into late Old English/early Middle English, cf. Samuels 1971:8. Wakelin and Luick prefer to see the English development as an independent English innovation. In their explanation, it is clearly a case of assimilation and therefore a type of development which need not have been triggered off

by contact.

Very little has been said so far about correspondences in the lexical field. One reason for this is that lexical items are much more unstable than phonological, morphological or syntactic ones and therefore less suitable for determining prehistoric dialectal interrelations. As Arndt (1959:181) realized, it is a 'serious theoretical weakness' of the lexico-statistical method (see above ch. IV note 22) that lexis is so sensitive to extrasystemic influences: on the one hand 'any lexical interchange between dialects after separation ... results in postdating the actual divergence' while on the other 'a serious lexical invasion from outside its family results ... in antedating its splits within the family. Both these effects occur in Germanic'.[15] There is, in fact, hardly any limit to the number of loan words that can be adopted by a language. According to Hjelmslev (1963:65) Albanian is thought to possess only about 600 words that are not borrowings; the remainder of the vocabulary stems from Latin, Romance, Slavic, Greek and Turkish. Similarly, the number of loan words in Finnish is large, so large indeed that the language is Indo-European rather than Finno-Ugrian if genetic relationship were to be based on lexis alone. Further indication of the instability of lexical items is provided by the fact that linguistically the partition of Germany after World War II has virtually only affected the field of vocabulary.

However, this is not to say that lexical parallels should be completely disregarded, especially not in cases where the same form and content are linked together in the languages under investigation, cf. Porzig 1954:59, Lerchner 1965:12-13; I only wish to stress that lexical parallels do not carry the same weight as phonological, morphological or syntactic ones. In the past little scholarly attention has been paid to the syntax of the early Germanic languages, especially when seen in the light of the overwhelming interest taken in the two remaining fields: from the days of Rask and Grimm innumerable articles, monographs and general handbooks have been published on morphology and phonology. Since the strenuous task of investigating the Germanic dialectal inter-relations is obviously very dependent on the basic research conducted by

others, any attempt to group the Germanic dialects should take as its point of departure the fields of phonology and morphology. [16]

How extensive should an investigation of the grouping of the Germanic dialects be, then? Many of the theories surveyed in the previous chapter were based on a very small number of parallels often haphazardly selected. Admittedly, the scarcity and chronological unevenness of the evidence is a serious drawback to any attempt at determining Germanic interrelations. Nevertheless there has so far been no comprehensive survey of all the Germanic dialects that took into account all correspondences. Such an approach was called for by e.g. Maurer (1952:65), but never actually undertaken. In my *Old English and the Continental Germanic Languages* (2nd edition, 1985) I aimed at establishing the links of one language, English, to the other Germanic languages, alone or in combinations. All morphological and phonological parallels were classified and evaluated in accordance with the principles discussed in the present chapter. My results were not sensational: the agreements between Old English and Gothic were insignificant; the same applied to those between Old English and Old High German unless Old Frisian and Old Saxon and in many cases also Old Norse were included. More important were the parallels between Old English and Old Norse: apart from parallels shared also by Old Frisian/Old Saxon (Old High German) there were six features known exclusively to Old English and Old Norse. While the number of correspondences common to Old Frisian, Old Saxon and Old English was very large (twenty-six in all), there were very few restricted to Old English and Old Saxon. However, Old English exhibited more parallels with Old Frisian than with any other Germanic language on the Continent. Although some of the forty items I found were bound to postdate the Anglo-Saxon departure from the Continent, a majority of the parallels were possibly of pre-emigration origin. But my investigation brought about an unforeseen result, namely that Old Frisian was virtually always in agreement with Old English whenever Old English had features in common with a third, fourth or fifth member of the Germanic family, a clear indication that Old Frisian was more closely connected with Old English than with any

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other continental language.

It should be emphasized, however, that my survey does not in itself suffice for establishing the dialectal position of English within Germanic. In order to delimit the extent of the Ingveonic/North Sea Germanic speech area (IV.2 and 3) it is important to examine the relationship of Old Saxon to Old Frisian and Old High German in close detail. Many scholars, among them Nils Århammar, think that Low German and Low Franconian were deingveonicized and that therefore the numerous parallels shared exclusively by Old English and Old Frisian give a somewhat distorted picture of the dialectal situation in Northern Germany and the Netherlands at the time of the Anglo-Saxon emigration, cf. H.F. Nielsen 1986a:173-5. Similarly, systematic surveys of the parallels between Old Norse and Gothic, between Old Norse and Old Frisian, between Old Norse and Old High German and between Old High German and Gothic would shed indirect light on the dialectal position of Old English. But clearly, a comprehensive survey of all the morphological and phonological features linking the Germanic dialects in pairs or groups would obviate the need for supplementing my survey of English. Such a survey would have to focus on each individual Germanic language in turn and take into consideration all parallels[17] that cannot with certainty be shown to have arisen independently or too late to have any bearing on the subject. Thus parallels of the types discussed above in V.3 are not rejected *apriori* since in each case little is known about the actuation and spread of linguistic innovations and consequently about the way in which many of the parallels have come into being. This is due to the character of our evidence, of course: a scarce number of old manuscripts are hardly comparable to the data of modern dialect surveys. There is little possibility of recovering register variation, linguistic subsystems, suprasegmental factors and other elements of the causation complex. On the other hand, the material available must be analysed as consistently and extensively as possible, and here much work still remains to be done in the field of Germanic dialect grouping.

1. My translation of the Danish passage:
   > findes disse Tendenser *ikke* paa de Steder i Germansk, hvor
   > Kelter ikke har spillet en Rolle: i de fleste nedersaxiske Maal, i
   > Jysk, i Urnordisk, i Urgermansk.

2. This and other examples, some of which provided by Gilliéron and
   Edmont's word-geographical investigations in France, led Bertoni and the
   other Italian Neolinguists to put forward the anti-Neogrammarian dictum,
   'Each word has its own history'. According to Brøndum-Nielsen
   (1927:51-2), this is an untenable dogma: dialect investigations have re-
   vealed regular sound development in lots of comparable words, cf. also
   Malmberg 1966:95-6.

2a. Trudgill (1986:139-42) warns against discounting the influence of Irish
    English speakers in the formation of Australian: '... it seems that it is
    likely that ... they will have had some linguistic influence on the newly
    emerging mixed dialect *if* the processes involved in accommodation
    favoured the retention of features of their speech' (1986:139).

3. For many years Axel Kock's view of Scandinavian *i*-umlaut was ac-
   cepted by most scholars, see e.g. Noreen 1970:§66 and Brøndum-Nielsen
   I 1950:114. Kock's theory operates with three stages: (a) an early period
   (c. 600-700) in which umlaut was brought about by an *i* disappearing
   after a long syllable, cf. *$d\bar{o}mi\delta\bar{o}$ > $d\phi m\delta a$*; (b) an intermediate period
   (c. 700-850) in which an *i* disappeared after a short syllable without
   causing umlaut, cf. *$tali\delta\bar{o}$ > $tal\delta a$;* and (c) a late period during which
   i-umlaut occurs before a retained *i,* the earliest example being runic
   Danish **liki** (i.e. *lǣngi* < *$*lang\bar{i}n$-*) c. 950 (Brøndum-Nielsen I
   1950:115). Kock's theory has been criticized by, among others, Neckel
   (1927:13), Olsen (1949:334-8), Maurer (1952:81), Harry Andersen
   (1956:9-15, 1966:15-16) and Antonsen (1961:221).

4. The first to advance the palatalization hypothesis appear to have been
   Scherer (1868:143ff.) and Sievers (1901:302, 316). It gained the support
   of many linguists, among them some fairly recent ones, cf. Quirk/Wrenn
   (1957:153):
   > The generally accepted phonetic explanation of *i*-mutation is that
   > the high front *i* or *j* palatalised the preceding consonant and that
   > this in turn pulled the vowel of the stem towards its own position,
   > raising or fronting it.

5. According to Neckel (1927:14 note) Sievers, in his lectures, gave ex-
   pression to a similar opinion of the expansion of *i*-umlaut.

6. DeCamp does not consider the Anglo-Saxon departure from the Con-

tinent a hindrance to Old English participation in later linguistic innovations (cf. Kuhn 1955 (IV.3)) such as e.g. *i* -mutation:

> ... the innovation known as *i*- umlaut, which had originated somewhere in southern Germany and had spread northward to the Frisians, was similarly carried from Frisia to Kent and then, probably during the first half of the seventh century, spread throughout England.
>
> (1969:362)

7. The fact that *a*-umlaut antedates *i*- and *u*-umlaut is attributed by Höfler to the greater degree of opening and therefore stronger expiration of *a* than of *i* and *u*. Weakly accented *a* thus undergoes an earlier qualitative reduction in consequence of the increased accentuation of the stressed syllable ('Akzentballung'), cf. 1956:16-17.

8. Cf. Antonsen 1961:218-30, 1965:23-5, Haugen 1970:54, 85 and Samuels 1972:35.

9. Surprisingly, Penzl (1985:153) seems to think that this is in full agreement with Höfler's *Entfaltungstheorie.*

10. For the details, see Braune/Eggers 1975:§66, Holthausen 1921: §137, Luick I,1 1921:§303ff., Brunner 1965:§159, Campbell 1959:§341, §351ff., Noreen 1970:§153, Brøndum-Nielsen I 1950:121ff., Krahe/ Seebold 1967:38 and H.F. Nielsen 1985:173-4.

11. Schirmunski is here concerned only with *articulatory* simplifications. Within the last two decades there has been an increasing interest in phonological changes resulting from acoustic-auditory factors. In my paper on Germanic *ai* in Old Frisian, Old English and Old Norse from 1983, I argue that the changes of *ai* > *ā* in these languages are unrelated: the Old Norse (and early runic) development takes place before *h* and *r* and in Old Frisian it tends to occur before *ch* and labials and next to *w*, all consonants which, like the back vowel *ā*, can be marked as [+grave], an acoustic-auditory feature. The Old Norse and Old Frisian developments are therefore cases of 'gravity' assimilation. In Old English *ai* became *ā* everywhere (H.F. Nielsen 1983:157-62, cf. also above, I.3 No. ix).

12. According to Krupatkin (1970:63), the phonemicization of short breaking diphthongs in Old English is the result of a systemic gap-filling process in which the long Old English diphthongs *īo, ēo, ēa* came to be counterbalanced by short *io, eo, ea*. The short Old English diphthongs therefore arose independently of the breaking diphthongs that emerged in Old Norse and Old Frisian, cf. H.F. Nielsen 1984b:73-80.

13. This may have taken place at a time when the dialectal differentiation was slight in North-Western Europe, cf. early runic (Tune 400) nom.pl. **dohtriz** (Noreen 1970:§112 Anm. 4).
14. For parallel examples in Germanic languages of interparadigmatic analogy and intraparadigmatic levelling antedating the emergence of the earliest written records, see H.F. Nielsen 1986a:172.
15. For a critical discussion of the lexicostatistical method, see Bynon 1977:266-70.
16. To this should be added that the borrowing of syntactic structures appears to be generally more widespread than the borrowing of morphological and phonological characteristics, cf. Lehmann 1972:243 (with examples of syntactic loans). Finally, it should be borne in mind that many early texts are translations, cf. Gothic.
17. Ideally, the survey should include not only morphological and phonological items but also syntactic and lexical ones, cf. above.

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