How to create an early German *scriptus*

The literization approach to historical German syntax

Katerina Somers

Open Germanic Linguistics

Open Germanic Linguistics

Editors: Michael T. Putnam, B. Richard Page, Laura Catharine Smith

In this series:

1. Lemke, Robin. Experimental investigations on the syntax and usage of fragments.
2. Larsson, Ida & Erik Petzell (eds.). Morphosyntactic change in Late Modern Swedish.
3. Hall, Tracy Alan. Velar fronting in German dialects: A study in synchronic and diachronic phonology.

ISSN (print): 2750-5588
ISSN (electronic): 2750-557X

How to create an early German *scriptus*

The literization approach to historical German syntax

Katerina Somers

Katerina Somers. 2024. *How to create an early German scriptus: The literization approach to historical German syntax* (Open Germanic Linguistics). Berlin: Language Science Press.

This title can be downloaded at:
redefine\lsURL

ISBN: no digital ISBN
no print ISBNs!
ISSN (print): 2750-5588
ISSN (electronic): 2750-557X
no DOI

Cover and concept of design: Ulrike Harbort
Fonts: Libertinus, Arimo, DejaVu Sans Mono
Typesetting software: XeLaTeX

redefine \publisherstreetaddress
redefine \publisherurl

Storage and cataloguing done by redefine \storageinstitution

For Matt

Contents

Preface

Acknowledgments

This book's inciting idea grew out of a course that I developed during the first year of my appointment at the University of Wisconsin–Madison, academic year 2018-2019. I shamelessly called it 'Barbarian Language and Culture,' in the hopes of attracting more students with a title that alluded to epic tales of battles and heroes. Preparation for the course introduced me to literature on the topic of orality and the oral tradition. I started wondering why I had never considered orality in a more systematic way before. In that my research had focused on German's first attestations, which were produced when the language was still an almost exclusively oral phenomenon, I felt remiss in having neglected this relevant context for so long. Thus, a slow process of reconceptualizing what early German was began. It has been a long, challenging, and intellectually stimulating journey. The COVID-19 pandemic made it more difficult and, at times, isolating than it needed to be. But there were many shining lights in my life that illuminated my path and, thus, made this book possible.

I begin my thanking my colleagues in the German, Nordic, and Slavic+ Department, especially, Jolanda Vanderwal Taylor, Mark Louden, and Thomas DuBois for their support in navigating the not-insignificant bureaucratic aspects of these initial years of my appointment at the UW. I also thank my mentors, Kirsten Wolf and Monica Macaulay, who routinely checked in with me and gave me excellent (work and life) advice.

With respect to the development and execution of the book, I am grateful to Hannah Eldridge and Sabine Gross, who organized and invited me to present at the Wisconsin Workshop in the fall of 2019. This event and the feedback offered by its participants helped me turn my inciting idea into a more concrete analysis. Thanks belong also to the graduate students of the German section in GNS+, especially those who were in my Orality and Literacy course in fall 2022. This course was another incubator for my book project in that its students brought incredible energy and creativity to the class and their own projects. What a fun experience that was! I am also grateful to the anonymous reviewers for Open Germanic Linguistics, who engaged with my work rigorously, with an open mind, and on a tight timeline. Thank you so much for your extensive feedback, which did so much to help me clarify my arguments. This book is better because of you.

This penultimate set of thanks belongs to people who supported me and the work during (what ended up being) trying times. First, I thank my friend and mentor of more than two decades, Rob Howell. It's difficult to put into words the significance of Rob's influence on me as a scholar and a person. With respect to this particular project, Rob spent hours letting me talk through the project, listening carefully, asking questions to help my ideas become more coherent. Rob, I am grateful for your friendship, support, and delightful company. I also thank my friends, Hieyoon Kim, Wendee Gardner, Christine Evans, and Melissa Sheedy. Hieyoon and I wrote together every morning (via FaceTime) during the COVID lockdowns of 2020, and she has continued to be a staunch advocate for my mental health, even when I ruthlessly attack it with negative self-talk. Wendee, in addition to reading and commenting extensively on my introduction, has also encouraged me to bring more balance into my life, to trust my intuitions, and to celebrate my achievements. Christine Evans and I were in parallel situations in 2023. We were both working at a near frantic pace, she to complete her dissertation, I, a draft of this manuscript. I found solidarity in that, as well as comfort in her unstinting kindness and support. Speaking of unstinting kindness and support, thank you, Melissa Sheedy, for all the many, many ways you have encouraged me and this project over the last several years. You inspire me to be a better colleague and friend, though, I have to admit, you are a tough act to follow.

Finally, I thank my parents, Bob and Barbara Somers and my sister, Nina Williamson, who have been my persistent cheerleaders. I also thank, in the most heartfelt way a person can, my husband, Matt Hermann. It is not an overstatement to say that I would not be where I am right now and doing the things I'm doing without you. You supported me in countless ways and I am so grateful and happy to have you as my partner. Thank you for everything.

Abbreviations

1 first person
2 second person
3 third person
AB ablative
ABS absolute
ACC accusative
ACT active
AUG augmentative
AUX auxiliary
BEN benefactive
CAUS causative
CIS cislocative
DAT dative
DEM demonstrative pronoun
DET determiner
DIST distributive
DU dual
DUP duplicative
F feminine
FAC factual
FUT future
GEN genitive
HAB habitual
HYP hypothetical
IMP imperative
IND indicative
INF infinitive
INST instrumental
LK linking vowel
M masculine
NEG negative

N neuter
NOM nominative
NSF simple noun suffix
PART partitive
PARTC participle
PARTL particle
PAT patient
PERF perfect
PL plural
PRES present
PRET preterit
PRO pronoun
PUN punctual
REFL reflexive
REP repetitive
SG singular
STA stative
SUBJ subjunctive
TRANS translocative
VOC vocative

1 Introduction

Imagine you live in East Francia in the early ninth century and have decided to write a continuous text in your German vernacular. You are probably, though not necessarily, a man and member of the clergy.[1] You can undoubtedly read and write Latin. No one else writes in German, though. What would be the point? It is Latin, the language of the Church, that matters. With already more than seven centuries of development as a literate language, Latin should suit your needs perfectly. It is tailor-made to relate and discuss the most important topic of all, the Word of God made manifest in the Latin Bible. That is why the Carolingians have invested so many resources into its revitalization and promotion. That is also why your library is full of copies of Latin-language texts. What little written German can be found there is confined to the glossing of Latin words. The vernacular is none of the things Latin is. It is an embodied phenomenon—that is, there is no *corpus* separate from the people who speak it—and exists only as ephemeral sound. It is secular, rather than spiritual. It is the language of paganism and the epic songs from the Franks' barbarian past. This vernacular writing project that you have undertaken is not wholly consistent with the sociocultural values of the empire and the community in which you live. To be frank, taking it on makes you a bit of an oddball.

It will also be a significant challenge to wrangle your phonic vernacular onto parchment in a graphic form. *Literizing* your oral vernacular, which itself consists of multiple spoken varieties, is not simply a matter of transcription. Transcription would be difficult enough, as German has no orthographic conventions—and early medieval Germans, no access to recording devices. But you must do more than match sound to grapheme and push your vernacular beyond its existing spoken competencies so that it can function in the fully dislocated con-

[1]See Garver (2009: 124-38) and McKitterick (1989: 223–227) for evidence that women, both religious and lay, were literate. It is for this reason that, throughout this book, I refer to the anonymous people engaged in literization with the gender-neutral 'they.' Using the supposedly, but not actually, gender-neutral 'he' only reinforces the erroneous conclusion that all medieval women were illiterate and unengaged in Carolingian literary and documentary culture. Regarding the assumption that all literary activity was religious, see the entirety of McKitterick's Chapter 6, which explores the literacy of the Carolingian laity, concluding on page 270 that it was a "literate laity."

text that writing alone can create. Because your colleagues across the empire are thoroughly engaged in a Latinate literacy—writing in and improving their Latin, making multiple copies of Latin-language texts—you also cannot rely on a community of vernacular literizers to support your work. With no German tradition of literacy on which to draw, you have no sense of how German might or should be written. So, you must decide for yourself how to engage all your linguistic resources, your multilectal[2] vernacular and the Latin in which you were educated, to create a new written variety, or a *scriptus* (plural, *scripti*).

My purpose in beginning with this thought experiment, that is, asking you, the reader, to imagine yourself as an early medieval German-speaker engaged in literization is to draw attention to your subjectivity as a literate person. From your vantage point, living in a society in which the written word plays a significant or even all-encompassing role, it can be difficult to conceptualize the many ways in which an oral vernacular must change to become functional in the graphic medium. If you are a linguist or literary scholar, this act of imagination is even more difficult in that the very terminology of our fields is rooted in literacy and stems particularly from classical discourses on language retained in the writings of the Greeks and Romans. Egbert Bakker, for example, describes this struggle in the introductory chapter to his 1997 book, *Poetry in Speech: Orality and Homeric Discourse*.

> Working within the speech perspective implied by my methodology and forcing myself to read Homer as the transcoding of one medium into another, a flow of speech through time that has become a transcript, *I began to realize just how much of the vocabulary and the notional apparatus used for our study of language and style is overtly or covertly literate, pertaining to our writing culture, and thus perhaps more indicative of the perspective of the philologist than of speech studied in the form of a text.* (page 3, emphasis added)

Setting aside, for the time being, the validity of the approach he describes in the non-italicized portion of the quote, Bakker identifies the challenge of approaching Homer's text specifically as an early literization of Greek. As such, one's methodology must accommodate the fact that the first written testaments of a language reflect emerging written grammars whose structures might be organized in ways more characteristic of spoken varieties than written ones. The

[2] Multilectal and multilectalism are terms that I have adopted from Höder (2010: 42-44), which points out that crosslinguistically communities tend to be multilingual and are certainly multilectal. That is, there is intralingual variation; no one speaks just one variety of a language.

danger of not recognizing one's subjectivity as a literate person in command of a modern written variety, which itself is the product of many centuries of literization, can lead to an inability to see the *scriptus* on its own terms.

Two main questions animate this book. First, what did the process of creating an early medieval *scriptus* entail when German was still an almost exclusively oral medium of communication and only just beginning its long journey toward literization? Second, how does the process of *scriptus*-creation shape early linguistic structures? Specifically, how does it interact with the syntactic variation that is attested across the *scripti* from this first period of literization? One of this book's central tasks is to define literization and *scripti*, particularly as they relate to the history of the German language. A good starting point, however, is to define literization in two ways. First, in the synchronic sense, it is the act of a speaker transforming their multilectal spoken vernacular into an ad hoc written variety or *scriptus*. It also refers to the diachronic process of a community of speakers creating a written language and writing culture for their vernacular; that is, the development of increasingly functional *scripti*, in turn, opens up new domains to the written word. My conception of a *scriptus* builds on the one found in Koch & Oesterreicher (1994: 596–597), which itself draws on Gossen's (1967) description of early literizations in French medieval charter texts. Koch and Oesterreicher's article discusses the "early writing traditions" (*Schreibtraditionen*) of a mostly oral vernacular, which, they note, may never expand beyond their original spheres of use or connect to later written languages ("*Schriftsprachen*").[3] This definition highlights a *scriptus*'s possible diachronic isolation. My notion of the term is similar, though with an additional emphasis placed on the *scriptus* as a material artifact resulting from incipient literization, as I hope to make clear in the pages to follow.

Returning to the questions I posed at the beginning of the last paragraph, there are several propositions embedded in them that are worth stating outright. First, I propose that when people write in a vernacular *for the first time*, they cannot draw on any principles of a vernacular written grammar because one does not yet exist. While the first literizers can—and surely do—consult linguistic intuitions that guide their production of a multilectal spoken vernacular, these intuitions alone will be insufficient to create a variety that is functional in the graphic medium. This conclusion follows logically from the fact that the intuitions connected to exclusively spoken varieties are determined by and perfectly suited to

[3] Koch & Oesterreicher (1994) and Gossen (1967) use the feminine participle, *scripta* (plural, *scriptae*), rather than the masculine *scriptus-scripti*, presumably inflected for the feminine noun, *traditio*, 'tradition.' I adopt instead the masculine form to move the term away from being more explicitly diachronic.

the phonic medium. Before the literization process begins, none of these varieties, whose production and reception had always been facilitated by interlocutors being in the same place at the same time, is equipped with the linguistic means of establishing the unprecedented degree of grammatical and lexical coherence required by the written word. Consider that the new domain of the page could disconnect completely the vernacular from the one who produces it and anyone who might read it.

Thus, literization begins with the construction of individual, idiosyncratic *scripti* for which the literizer must consciously innovate if they are to create a written form of their vernacular that has the grammatical and lexical tools required to function in these new dislocated spaces. This innovation does not occur in a vacuum, but rather is guided by all the linguistic resources to which the new vernacular writer has access: in the case of German, these resources include multiple varieties of spoken German, as well as Latin, the main written language with which a literizer would have been familiar.[4] This argument indicates that my account of the early German *scripti* is more compatible with usage-based approaches to language than it is with structural approaches, in particular, generative syntax. Usage-based approaches assume that the ways that people use language is determinative of the structure and organization of that language. In contrast, generative approaches maintain a separation of language use, that is, performance, and language structure, that is, competence.[5]

My intent is not to argue against generative and other structuralist approaches to linguistic inquiry. Rather it is to propose that, in concerning themselves primarily with the identification and elucidation of a mental grammars, they are poorly equipped for a comprehensive study of early *scripti*, whose creation demanded that literizers must also innovate beyond their existing linguistic intuitions. I, furthermore, propose that these approaches have led to a type of linguis-

[4]Knowledge of Greek was fairly limited in Carolingian Europe (Persig 2020: 7; Dickey 2016:*passim*), though its grammar was accessible through the Late Roman grammars that were popular at the time. These grammars drew explicitly on the Greek tradition of *grammatikós*. German-speakers would have encountered Romance speakers from the western parts of Francia. They spoke what was often called a 'rustic' Latin (more on this in Chapter 3). Their written language was simply Latin, though the ever-growing gulf between how people wrote Latin and how they spoke it was a recognized problem and prompted Charlemagne to implement reforms to restore a prescriptive, classical Latin.

[5]More recently in generative theory the terms i-language and e-language have replaced competence and performance, respectively. The former, to quote an anonymous reviewer, is "internal, intrinsic, and individual," the latter, "external." Though the terms are new, the divide between a mental grammar, i.e. competence or i-language, and its actual manifestations, i.e. performance or e-language, remains. I retain the older terminology because they are more accessible than the new terms to non-generativists.

tic presentism, which has hampered our understanding of incipient literizations on their own terms. That is, in the absence of native speaker judgments, which a framework like generative syntax tells us are the only direct evidence of a mental grammar, modern scholars have too often projected their own intimate knowledge of highly literized written grammars, for example, Modern English and German, backwards onto the first literizations of a mostly oral vernacular. This fallacy has led to scholars creating, as it were, structures in historical data that may or may not have actually been a part of any of the literizers' mental grammars.

My two main research questions contain a second proposition, namely that the linguistic production of the oral and written varieties in early medieval, German-speaking Europe relied on different processes. Setting aside for now any implications this statement has beyond the context of incipient literization, I argue that, for the *scriptus* creator, linguistic production in the graphic medium is fundamentally different from that in the phonic medium.

In the phonic medium of an exclusively oral vernacular, I propose that linguistic production is shaped by the convergence of human consciousness and language. Humans modulate that stream to accommodate the communicative requirements of 'immediacy' and 'distance' contexts. The contexts of immediacy require spontaneous, intimate, and dialogic language, while distance contexts require planned, public, monologic language.[6] Varieties on both ends of this spectrum must rely on the same cognitive faculties for their production. Thus, the challenge of processing the spoken varieties of immediacy lies in the speaker verbalizing their focus of consciousness in real-time with little to no planning. Fortunately, and not coincidentally, the language of immediacy is influenced, even determined, by the naturally restless movement of a fickle human consciousness. Potential misunderstandings between interlocutors can be smoothed over through extralinguistic cues and a more participatory engagement from all involved. Distance varieties, in contrast, must work against the roving human consciousness, and speakers must find ways to slow down their—and interlocutors'—shifts in focus. For example, an effective public address requires language that is more cogent and organized, and does not jump discursively from one topic to another. These types of linguistic production are also less participatory and the onus of effective communication falls more heavily on the speaker. There is an additional challenge with the production of oral distance varieties in that

[6]The terms 'language of immediacy' and 'language of distance' are from Peter Koch and Wulf Oesterreicher's seminal 1985 article, 'Sprache der Nähe – Sprache der Distanz. Mündlichkeit und Schriftlichkeit im Spannungsfeld von Sprachtheorie und Sprachgeschichte.'

speakers must plan their language with no access to writing. This fact requires speakers to engage those memory systems that they rely on to produce spontaneous language, but to a much enhanced degree.

Creating a new written variety, a *scriptus*, must be a different cognitive process from the ones I just described. That is, the first *scripti* of a vernacular are not subject to the same communicative pressures that characterize how speakers process its oral varieties of immediacy and distance. Furthermore, as I argued earlier in this introduction, the structural generalizations that underlie these vernacular productions, which one might collectively refer to as a mental grammar, will lack the linguistic tools the early literizer needs to effect the grammatical and lexical coherence required by the new graphic medium. My conception of *scriptus* creation gives primacy to the active human choice that the process requires over the unconscious expressions of the mental grammars that also find their way into early *scripti*. For example, the literizer must decide which of their many linguistic resources they intend to draw on to create a *scriptus*, from their multilectal oral vernacular to Latin. The writer must also work out how they will improve the functionality of an exclusively oral vernacular as they transform it into a graphic mode of communication. They must improve German's grammatical and lexical coherence so that it gains the ability to signify the relationships between constituents and ideas in a more unequivocal fashion. These relationships can remain more implicit when interlocutors are in the same place at the same time, as must be the case in communities that speak an exclusively oral vernacular (in the absence of recording technology). One should expect that grammatical and lexical patterns from the literizer's oral varieties will find their way into a new *scriptus*. However, the process of literization itself will augment these patterns with new systems of grammatical and lexical coherence that would and could not have been present in the literizer's existing multilectal vernacular grammars.

This dynamic process that I just described in which a *scriptus*-creator decides, first, how to make their *scriptus* more grammatically and semantically coherent and, second, how to engage their various linguistic resources interacts with two other important changes: the development of concepts of both well-formedness and a literary style. My notion of well-formedness refers specifically to coherence. It involves the literizer recognizing the gap that exists between their oral vernacular varieties, which have always been functional in their exclusively phonic medium, and a written variety, which functions best when syntactic and semantic relationships are explicitly marked. This recognition prompts the literizer to create explicit and/or more graphically visible means of marking such relationships. Steffen Höder's (2010: 139-60) analysis contains examples of how medieval language planners created a more coherent *scriptus* for Written Old Swedish by

drawing on Latin models. More specifically, they added to its subjunction inventory a series of monosemantic, polymorphemic subordinators: while earlier varieties would often link clauses with polysemous, monomorphemic particles, like *än*, these new, constructed subordinators were more specific. *Än* could be used in a whole host of contexts, from comparative to conditional to adversative. In contrast, the newly introduced *for þy*, which was modeled on Medieval Latin's *pro eo*, was used to mean one thing: 'because.' Thus, well-formedness is what results from literizers recognizing an orally shaped variety's lack of coherence in the written medium and implementing linguistic strategies to augment it. A *scriptus* may be more or less well-formed depending on the extent to which its creator addressed an oral variety's inherent shortcomings in the graphic medium.

Alongside the cultivation of well-formedness in a new *scriptus*, literizers must also develop a conception of literary style. This idea refers specifically to how a literizer chooses to engage their numerous linguistic resources in order to effect greater coherence in their innovative *scriptus* and create a text that is suited to their goals for the project. For example, the literizer might want to textualize a story that has circulated in the oral tradition for generations, let us say, a tragic song about a father who must face his long-lost son in battle. This goal would logically lead the literizer to create a *scriptus* that is evocative of the oral tradition. As a result, they attempt to augment the coherence of their *scriptus* in ways that are consistent with, or at least reminiscent of, the language of the oral tradition, that is, the planned and public oral varieties of distance used in their speech community. Another literizer, however, might want to create a vernacular *scriptus* that carries the same prestige as the classical languages and is appropriate for a retelling of the Gospels in its original Middle Eastern milieu and a discussion of their theological significance. In this case, they would intentionally eschew the same linguistic characteristics that our previous literizer embraced. They must also create a *scriptus* that has the means, that is, the vocabulary and syntactic structures, to engage in a type of discourse for which Carolingians have always used Latin in the past. Both literizers create *scripti* that align with and are appropriate to their goals. This process yields what one might reasonably call two different vernacular writing, which is to say, literary styles.

Conceptualizing the choices that a literizer makes in terms of well-formedness, on the one hand, which is about creating a coherent *scriptus*, and literary style, on the other hand, which has to do with resource engagement, points to another hypothesis about the process of creating *scripti*. That is, there exists a relationship between these two types of decisions, and a literizer might be more or less focused on establishing well-formedness depending on the type of literary style they aim to create. Let us return to the two imagined *scriptus*-creators from the

previous paragraph: the first is textualizing a song from the oral tradition, and the second is creating a vernacular *scriptus* as medium for the treatment of theological topics that would otherwise be discussed exclusively in Latin. A logical proposal is that the latter *scriptus*-creator becomes more aware of the functional gap between exclusively oral and written varieties and, thus, takes greater care to create structures and lexical items that augment their *scriptus*'s coherence than the former literizer. Consider the fact that the Latin of early medieval Europe had already undergone about eight centuries of development as a literate language. Furthermore, this development included a robust discourse on issues surrounding well-formedness. In aiming to create a German *scriptus* that can function as well as Latin in the graphic medium, the shortfalls of the vernacular, still an oral phenomenon, would come into clearer relief for the literizer. Drawing more extensively on the varieties of the oral tradition, as the former literizer does, invites fewer direct comparisons to Latin. Furthermore, the vernacular is already well suited to telling a story that stems from its own oral tradition; for example, it does not require the introduction of as many new words and phrases that refer to topics that were once unknown to the community. It will lack the requisite coherence for optimal functionality in the graphic medium, but the literizer might be less inclined to fill that gap and happier to leave syntactic and semantic relationships implicit. This decision can result in early medieval *scripti* that are structurally ambiguous, particularly to modern readers, but perhaps also to contemporary readers who were not well versed in the oral traditions that inspired the *scriptus* in the first place.

It is important to emphasize that I see the process that I just described as something distinct from that of norm formation. That is, this book is not about early medieval attempts at developing a prescriptive German. A more structurally oriented linguist might characterize it in this way because they assume a strict division between competence and performance and believe that identifying structures that truly reflect competence is the most important goal of diachronic linguistic analysis. These linguists see themselves as being interested in description rather than prescription. In other words, they care much less about the extent to which an early medieval writer wonders how they *should* write something than they do about how that writing expresses only their linguistic intuitions, i.e., competence. As a result, my discussion of topics like literary style may give the impression that I want to describe the origins of a prescriptive German. This is not the case. Rather, I argue that *scripti* result from literizers' necessary and individual engagement with questions of well-formedness and literary style, which requires two things from the literizer: the conscious recognition of the functional shortfalls in their oral varieties and the creation of stylistically appropriate ways

of addressing them. These are not questions of prescription. That is, I see the literization process itself as having transformed early German in ways that are difficult to elucidate if one assumes a strict competence-performance binary and adopts the epistemological orientation that competence has primacy, while the literizers' stylistic or prescriptive considerations are confounding factors stemming from performance.

This discussion brings me to my third major proposal; that is, in order to understand structural variation across the first German *scripti*, we must first investigate the process of individual *scriptus*-creation and the range of choices that was available to the early medieval literizer. Understanding this range of choices necessitates that Germanic linguists consider topics that have generally not been viewed as relevant to early German syntax. These topics connect to the wider social, cultural, and political contexts of Carolingian Europe. For example, while previous studies have dealt extensively with medieval Latin's relationship with German, scholars have focused primarily on whether or the extent to which Latin syntax confounds a native German competence. In the approach I propose here, in contrast, a literizer's knowledge of Latin is a logical linguistic resource for *scriptus*-creation. An important question to ask then is whether or to what extent the literizer drew on their Latinate literacy, which included training in the classical discourse surrounding Latin and its use, termed *'grammatica,'* in order to create their *scriptus*. As an already highly literized language, Latin would have a multitude of structures that augment well-formedness in the written medium, as well as stylistic discussions of how to write appropriately, which is to say, well. Research on Carolingian documentary culture and the history of linguistics describes the Carolingian preoccupation with the classical tradition of *grammatica*. It also tells us which classical grammars were the most influential. Chief among these were works by the Latin grammarians Donatus (mid-fourth century) and Priscian (sixth century), both of whom approached the study of language in ways that were heavily influenced by the writings of Aristotle. These texts created a framework within which the Carolingians thought about their own vernacular in a systematic way. This intellectual environment of classical literacy is where each individual act of literization occurred, and we should take it as a given that Latin influenced every vernacular *scriptus* that was created.

Because diachronic generativists and other structurally oriented linguists have focused on isolating a supposedly native German competence, they might be reluctant to acknowledge the widespread influence that Latin and *grammatica* must have had on *every* early German literization. The usual method in the diachronic syntactic literature has been to isolate any data that might have been affected or even effected by so-called confounding factors, for example, a Latin

source text or, in the case of poetic texts, a metrical scheme. Such data, according to this view, obscure the true nature of the underlying competence and are often excluded from analysis or perhaps treated as evidence of some older, competing grammar. Within this methodology, the possibility that *all* the early German data are ostensibly influenced by the literizers' Latinate literacy would imply that it might not be possible to control for its confounding effects. Scholars' narrow focus on competence means that we have been treating the Latin influence on early German as a problem, rather than as a relevant and even enlightening sociolinguistic factor that indelibly shaped its literization. I propose, therefore, that Germanists treat the Carolingians' engagement with Latin and *grammatica* as a window into the first literizers' thoughts on language. Moreover, this metalinguistic thinking shaped to some extent how they literized their vernacular. To ignore this sociolinguistic context in favor of, what I maintain is, a myopic interest in structure and competence means that scholars are not simply hampering their own efforts by shrinking their datasets unnecessarily. They are also missing out on the one story that these data can reliably tell: namely, that of the beginning of a literary German.

A final note on terminology that has theoretical and empirical implications: the reader has perhaps noticed that I have not used the usual terms, 'Old High German' or 'Old Saxon' to describe early medieval German. These names reflect a linguistic difference; that is, Old High German texts show evidence of the Second Consonant Shift (or 'High German Consonant Shift'), while Old Saxon texts do not. Separating the early German *scripti* into two different categories based on the effects of a sound change, however, obscures the fact that they were all products of a Carolingian documentary culture and the empire's monastic network. This is why I refer to both as one linguistic phenomenon, that of 'early medieval German' or simply 'early German.' My definition of the term encompasses the vernacular *scripti* created during this period, but also the many spoken varieties of the vernacular. As scholars of language and literature, German's few early written testaments are precious to us. However, we must remember that together they constitute the smallest fraction of the linguistic activity that was carried out in German during this period. This means that the vast proportion of this linguistic activity is lost to us: the *scripti*, in that they cannot be transcriptions of a spoken vernacular, are able to provide only indirect evidence of what early medieval German as a broad spoken phenomenon was like.

There is good reason to abandon the terms Old High German and Old Saxon. Their use, I propose, has encouraged scholars to treat these first attestations of German as equivalent to the language that occupies the opposite pole of the diachronic continuum: New High German. New High German is a broad linguistic

phenomenon, like early medieval German, in the sense that it comprises multiple varieties of language. However, the varieties to which speakers of early medieval German, on the one hand, and speakers of modern German, on the other hand, have access are radically different. First, one prominent variety of modern German is Modern Standard German,[7] while early medieval German has nothing remotely equivalent to this variety. Modern Standard German is a highly literized language, cultivated by generations of people who worked to create a codified written language. In modern Germany, the written standard is central to culture and society; this statement is especially true the further north one is. The superimposing of a written variety on top of the regional varieties has caused dialect change and even loss. The most widespread change has been the emergence of regiolects, regionally flavored oralizations of the standard variety.[8] Kehrein (2020) characterizes the regiolects as the "predominant varieties of everyday language in Germany today."

This state-of-affairs leads to a second main difference between modern and early medieval German: while it is reasonable to speak of a Modern German grammar, it is a mistake to do the same for early medieval German. The influence that Modern Standard German has had on written and spoken varieties means that it is theoretically and empirically more viable to assume a uniform syntactic basis for all linguistic varieties and conceptualize structural variation as derivations of that basic pattern. One example of a pattern that structuralists have hypothesized is canonical is the verbal frame; when the surface pattern deviates from the main one, it is called a 'dislocation' or 'extraposition' (1).[9]

(1) a. Ich habe den Hut in der Stadt gekauft.
'I bought the hat in the city.'

b. **Mein Hut**, den habe ich in der Stadt gekauft.
'The hat, I bought it in the city.'

c. Ich habe den Hut gekauft **in der Stadt**.
'I bought the hat in the city.'

[7]Modern German is a pluricentric language with more than one standard, including Austrian Standard German and Swiss Standard German. I refer only to Modern Standard German, the standard language of Germany.

[8]I have drawn on Roland Kehrein's 2020 contribution to the *Handbook of the Changing World Language Map*, in which he discusses Germany, 'Vertical Language Change in Germany: Dialects, Regiolects, and Standard German.' I also relied on Christine Evans' depiction of regiolects in her 2023 dissertation, 'Variation, change, and the left periphery: Dislocation phenomena in contemporary northern German varieties' (see page 9).

[9]These examples are (adapted) from Evans (2023: 45).

(2) a. ich habe den Hut in der Stadt gekauft
I AUX the hat.ACC in the city bought
b. meinen Hut den habe ich in der Stadt gekauft
the hat.ACC DEM.PRO AUX I in the city bought
c. ich habe den Hut gekauft in der Stadt
I AUX the hat.ACC bought in the city

The example in (1) a. exhibits the assumed canonical structure of a German main clause: the finite auxiliary *habe* 'have' is in clause-second position, while the non-finite verb *gekauft* 'bought' occurs after the sentential constituents, *den Hut* 'the hat' and *in der Stadt* 'in the city' in clause-final position. Together, the finite verb and non-finite verb demarcate the clause's verbal frame. In both (1) b. and c., however, a sentential constituent occurs outside of the clause's main verbal frame.

In identifying these syntactic patterns as *dis*locations or *extra*positions, we convey through our terminology more than just a neutral theoretical assumption that the verbal frame is the underlying structure and the orderings in (1) b. and c. are derivations of this pattern. Consider that the surface ordering in (1) a. has been codified as belonging to the standard, while dislocations to the left or right of the verbal frame, (1) b. and c., respectively, have not. The association of only one of these orderings with the standard has led more prescriptively minded scholars to characterize the non-standard ones as "anomalous" or "deviations from standard language norms" (Dewald 2012:25; see also Altmann 1981:33-4). Relatedly, it has led to diachronic change by exerting a normative pressure on spoken German varieties, which is to say, on individual mental grammars. For example, Evans (2023: 207) finds that while rates of left dislocation are higher in Low German dialects than in the more normative regiolects, there has been a marked decline in the frequency of left dislocations in Low German speaking regions over the last half century as speakers have abandoned their dialects in favor of regiolects. In other words, the growing influence of a standard has reduced or eliminated structural variation in some speakers' mental grammars. This diachronic change, in turn, bolsters the credibility of the initial assumption that an underlying structure, whose linguistic manifestations vary according to performance factors, exists in the first place. Crucially, it is the association of one surface ordering with the norm and its other orderings with variations of, or indeed deviations from, that norm that can be seen as setting the stage for an analysis of the former as part of underlying grammar and the latter as the product of performance-driven derivations.

This is to say that I wonder to what extent literization and its later phases of standardization within the context of modern nation states, which have the political and sociocultural prominence to impose language norms on broad swaths of their populace and, thereby, effect language change, have made structuralist approaches to linguistic inquiry seem more viable and empirically supported than they would otherwise be. In this respect, diachronic generative syntax could be seen as a theoretical reification of the normalizing tendencies of nationalism, analogous to the ways in which nationalism projects its modern construction of a national identity backwards onto history.[10] In the nationalist discourses of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, for example, intellectuals promoted a national spirit that they believed bound all Germans together, even in the absence of a German nation. This national spirit was defined in linguistic, cultural, historical, and, increasingly throughout the nineteenth century, racial terms. As Christopher Krebs demonstrates in his 2011 book, *A Most Dangerous Book: Tacitus's* Germania *from the Roman Empire to the Third Reich*, nationalistically minded scholars mined the past—with Tacitus's ethnographic treatise on the northern barbarians of Late Antiquity becoming the *Urtext*—for evidence of a distinctly German antiquity.

Jacob Grimm, one of the founding figures of Germanic linguistics and German Studies as an academic discipline, saw his own work as part of this project of defining the German nation (Krebs 2011: 188-9). Along with his brother Wilhelm, he collected folktales and legends in his *Kinder- und Hausmärchen*, first published in 1812 (Grimm & Grimm 1812). In line with writers like Johann Gottfried Herder and Johann Gottlieb Fichte, Grimm believed such expressions of so-called "low culture" represented a "people's spirit." The German language was the peoples' "full breath," while its stories were manifestations of this spirit (Krebs 2011: 189). In this way, Grimm was building on the foundations laid in the seventeenth century by German scholars who began the search for—and the construction of—a more perfect, ancient, and original ("*ursprünglicheres*") German to serve as the standard language for the German people (Langer 2000, 2002). In my mind, Grimm's philological work on Germanic takes on a new significance in light of his larger project of national identity construction. In reconstructing the sounds of Proto-Germanic and the German language's prehistory, Grimm was uncovering what he saw as a distinct and, indeed, discrete German language. Because he believed that a uniquely German spirit and language had always existed, it was

[10]This practice reflects one of the three perplexing paradoxes of nationalism described in Benedict Anderson's influential *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*: while nations are objectively modern, in the subjective view of nationalists they are ancient (page 5).

a given that one could also identify *a* prehistoric German phonological system. It is not difficult to see how these methods of reconstruction, rooted in the assumption that there is *a* German structure to reconstruct in the first place, can be extended into other areas of grammar, including syntax.

It is also the case that Grimm described sound changes in teleological terms that related directly to the emerging modern standard. For example, he referred to early medieval Upper German dialects that were affected by all of the Second Consonant Changes as "strict Old High German" (*strengalthochdeutsch*) (Braune 2018: 13). This contrasted with so-called normal Old High German (*normalalthochdeutsch*), said to be best represented in the ninth-century East Franconian translation of Tatian's *Evangelienharmonie*. The linking of the Tatian text to a future normative variety of language is due to the fact that its consonantal system is closest to the modern Central German dialects on which the eventual standard was based. It strikes me as unlikely that Grimm actually intended to identify the Tatian text as a synchronic normative variety of early medieval German. Moreover, even Wilhelm Braune's (1886) first 1886 edition of what would become the standard handbook of Old High German grammar, the *Althochdeutsche Grammatik*, cautions against using terms like "strict Old High German."[11] Later editions of the *Althochdeutsche Grammatik*, for example the latest 2018 edition, update Braune's original introduction to make clearer the fact that the "Old High German dialects" should not be confused with a national language ("*Als "deutsch" im Sinne einer Nationalsprache sind die althochdeutschen Dialekte nicht zu bezeichnen*," page 3).

Despite these acknowledgments, the grammar maintains the traditional practice of arranging its word index according to the East Franconian forms of words. The choice is a logical one in that readers who use the reference work are invariably familiar with Modern Standard German. It is also a necessary decision in that an index of this sort requires lemmas to serve as individual entries. Consider, however, the possibility that the practice itself implies that the early form that most closely reflects the modern standard one is a kind of norm. That is, within the context of this index, the East Franconian is indeed *acting* as a norm and will implicitly convey to the modern user, especially the one who did not read the reference work from cover to cover, that a norm existed, as does a diachronic continuity from German's earliest to most recent attestations. This example also illustrates what I see as an important truth that largely goes unrecognized in the literature on the history of the German language. Namely, that the literiza-

[11] See page 3 of the grammar's introduction. Note, however, there is no justification provided for recommendation. Braune only states that the term was used often in earlier works.

tion process itself encourages linguists to establish norms—even for early varieties that are known not to have had any—because our metalanguage requires them. Indexes and dictionaries, for instance, are inventions of literacy, created through literization processes. They require normalization, better yet standardization. They push us not just into thinking about language primarily in structural terms, but into creating those structures in historical varieties *where they did not actually exist.*

Ultimately, my concern is that modern diachronic linguists have not fully recognized the extent to which their emphasis on structure reflects two influences. The first is an epistemological orientation that was indelibly shaped by the nationalistic ideals of our disciplinary forebearers, as well as their drive to establish an authentically German norm. I propose that this influence has unduly shaped linguists' assumptions about what the goal of diachronic linguistic inquiry should be, which data are important, and why. The second influence is the extent to which our metalanguage, which itself has grown out of literacy, encourages us to seek structure in historical varieties that predate the literization processes that establish those structures in the first place. The arguments I offer here are distinct from the claim that structuralist minded linguists have ignored synchronic and diachronic variation in German. Such a statement would be demonstrably false. As I noted just above, it is widely acknowledged that, despite what the parallel phrasing implies, Old High German is different from New High German. Similarly, there are diachronic generativists who routinely work with corpora of data, which inevitably evince tremendous variation in forms. It is the effects of the literization process and our subjectivity as literate scholars that have not been acknowledged. It is my hope that this book brings these possibilities to the attention of diachronic linguists.

It is for these reasons that in this book I use the terms 'early medieval German' or 'early German' to describe what is more traditionally referred to as Old High German and Old Saxon. The first two terms simply refer to a particular time period during which many varieties of German were in use *and* from which we have our first written attestations. When I do use the terms 'Old High German' or 'Old Saxon' it will be as reference to more traditional treatments of early medieval German. This terminological shift, I propose, highlights the fact that the first attestations of German are crucially different from Modern German with respect to literization. Embedded in this proposal is another parallel one: namely, that the degree to which a language has been literized should be foremost in the diachronic linguist's mind, not just because literization has a transformative effect on language but because our subjectivity as highly literate people presents us with a perpetual challenge when investigating data from the earliest periods of a

language's literization. In other words, I propose that we cultivate an awareness of literization in our practice of diachronic linguists. For me, at least, thinking of 'early medieval German,' rather than Old High German and Old Saxon, as my object of study helped in this endeavor. I was better able to move beyond old patterns of thinking that had in my previous work sent me off primarily in search of the grammatical intuitions (i.e., the mental grammars) of speakers who lived over 1,200 years ago. It was, moreover, easier for me to maintain a scholarly focus on the *scripti* themselves as the material artifacts of a multilectal linguistic community in a Carolingian sociocultural context.[12]

I close this introduction with a précis of this book's six chapters, excluding the Chapter 8 conclusion. I recommend that the reader read them in order and not skip around, for each chapter elaborates the book's arguments in cumulative fashion. In Chapter 2, I describe the ways in which linguists have approached the study of early German syntax, a methodology I call the 'deficit approach.' The deficit approach grows out of the long-standing structuralist assumptions that diachronic linguists' main object of study ought to be the native speaker intuitions—or structures—that underlie historical attestations. There is another way to characterize this assumption: namely, that native speaker intuitions are the most significant factor that determines the shapes *scripti* might take. Though structurally minded linguists may well acknowledge the multilectalism of early medieval German speakers, their methodologies for analyzing their innovative *scripti* do not operationalize this fact. That is, generative and other structural accounts of early medieval German texts have focused on identifying the confounding influences, factors like a poetic meter or Latin borrowings, that effected

[12] My engagement with the question of how epistemological orientations can be conveyed through their terminology and affect the scholar's work is analogous to, and inspired by, the ongoing discussion in early English studies about the field's widespread use of 'Anglo-Saxon' to refer to the people, language, literature, etc. of pre-Conquest England. The term itself came into prominence as part of the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century discourse on 'racial Anglo-Saxonism,' which "portrayed the white English race as a transhistorically superior one" (Rambaran-Olm & Wade 2022:135). The English medievalists of the past were interested in establishing a national history that supported contemporary colonialist and imperialist agendas by constructing the supposed medieval origins of an imagined Anglo-Saxon people, language, and culture (see Rambaran-Olm & Wade 2022: *passim*). Present-day medievalists who adopt such terminology risk perpetuating an inaccurate narrative of the early English and worse, Rambaran-Olm and Wade note, the racism and white supremacy that underlay these ideas. In his book, *Barbarian Tides: the Migration Age and the Later Roman Empire*, Walter Goffart (2006) presents a similar argument against the uncritical use of 'Germanic' in German Studies. This term, like Anglo-Saxon, is anachronistic and gives the impression of a unified ethnicity and culture where nothing of the sort existed. Moreover, it was created to serve nationalist agendas and has inspired scholars to search for—or more accurately, construct—evidence of their glorious Germanic prehistory (see Goffart's introduction).

attested variation. Because the deficit approach is often an implicit methodology, that is, scholars adopt its assumptions without either realizing or discussing this fact, I describe what this approach is and where it is evident in the literature on early German syntax. I argue that the deficit approach does not incorporate the multilectalism of medieval speakers into its analytical model. Moreover, I propose that it is based on traditional and, indeed, outdated notions of what prose is, how 'grammatical' the linguist can assume this genre of writing to be, and what its relationship is with poetry.

Chapter 3's main purpose is twofold. First, I present evidence that supports my characterization of the early medieval German *scripti* as isolated and idiosyncratic acts of literization. For this argument, I draw on literature from outside the field of historical German syntax and discuss the history of orality and literacy in early medieval German-speaking Europe and Carolingian documentary culture. This discussion will convey to the reader a better sense of the sociocultural context of the Carolingian empire and what it meant to write in the vernacular in this environment. The second goal of Chapter 3 is to consider what it means to literize German in this context from a theoretical point of view. Specifically, I argue that developing a *scriptus* for a vernacular that is still mostly or exclusively oral requires linguistic innovation on the part of the *scriptus* creator. By innovation I mean that the vernacular writer must create linguistic structures that were not—and indeed, could not have been—present in any of its spoken varieties or vernacular mental grammars. Though the first literizers of a language can and certainly do draw on their linguistic intuitions, none of these intuitions had ever before contended with, or been shaped by literacy as a conceptual category, what Koch & Oesterreicher (1985) call 'language of distance' (*Sprache der Distanz*). In other words, the early literizer cannot create a functional *scriptus* by simply transcribing one of their spoken varieties into the graphic medium, even if transcription were technologically possible.[13] The new context of literacy demands more than a medial transfer of the vernacular from the phonic to the graphic. That is, literization effects lexical and grammatical change.

In Chapter 4, I elaborate on the nuts and bolts of *scriptus*-creation. Drawing on the concept of language 'ausbau' from the works of Heinz Kloss, I discuss how a literizer must adapt the vernacular's lexicon and syntax so that it can be functional in the graphic medium, which has the potential to dislocate a linguistic production utterly from the language producer and the moment of production. This possibility requires literizers to augment the grammatical and semantic coherence of the vernacular, a process that I also refer to generally as 'closing the

[13]I discuss the practicalities of transcription in an early medieval context in Chapter 5.

functional gap' between the oral varieties of distance and the more extreme distance of the written medium. These processes are universal in the sense that all exclusively oral vernaculars require ausbau in order to become functional written languages. There is, however, plenty of room for variation in how literizers solve the problem of ausbau.

Chapter 5 aims to provide a basis for understanding why early medieval German *scripti* vary structurally and lexically. In it I demonstrate how scholars might piece together evidence elucidating the ausbau choices a particular literizer made with their *scriptus*. Early medieval authors are largely anonymous. Thus, I outline a set of guardrails, as it were, that is relevant to the sociocultural environment of East Francia and implies certain ausbau possibilities. One guardrail is provided by the oral varieties of distance that make up the oral tradition or 'elaborated orality.' The other guardrail is the Latinate tradition of literacy, which formed the basis of a Carolingian education. Literizers, I argue, would have been educated in the descriptive and prescriptive norms of Latin, encompassed in the Latin-language term *grammatica*. Latin and the linguistic varieties of the vernacular, particularly the oral tradition, thus constitute the two main linguistic resources on which a *scriptus*-creator could draw. With the two ninth-century Gospel harmonies, Otfrid von Weissenburg's *Evangelienbuch* and the *Hêliand* as my sample texts, I demonstrate how one may establish authors' different orientations toward these two resources, an analysis that can support further investigation of the *scriptus* itself. In this chapter, I also return to the question of whether any early medieval *scriptus* can be a transcription of spoken language and provide evidence that the practicalities of this task render such an eventuality inconceivable.

In Chapter 6, I begin to lay out the implications that Chapter 5's analysis has on the shape a *scriptus* may take. Specifically, if a literizer was oriented toward their oral varieties of distance, that is, the language of the oral tradition, this chapter explores how this influence will be reflected in the syntactic structure of the *scriptus*. In order to investigate how these varieties might affect syntax, we require a method for identifying the structural characteristics of linguistic varieties that no longer exist. Scholars generally approach the challenge of reconstructing German's prehistory armed with the comparative method. This methodology is particularly useful for identifying the phonological and morphological characteristics of a prehistoric German. However, because the method requires working backward from historical *scripti*, that is, written varieties created through literization and some degree of ausbau, I argue that it cannot elucidate the structures of an *oral* variety of distance. Instead, I propose that we may better understand German's prehistoric syntax, which was necessarily a *spoken* syntax, if we consider the central challenge that processing distance varieties in the phonic medium

poses. Namely, if spoken language is ephemeral, and the focus of human consciousness moves restlessly from one topic or idea to the next, how do people process a language of distance that requires coherent, progressively organized, and planned discourse?

The answer to this question is a collection of strategies I refer to as 'layered elaboration,' the use of which, I maintain, ameliorates this challenge. They involve the elaboration of constituents or ideas through overlapping reverbalizations that layer more detail on top of the original idea. Reverbalizations are linked in discourse through the use of semantic and/or structural parallelism, as well as through deictic connectors. These strategies leave their structural imprint on *scripti* whose creators drew particularly on the linguistic resources of their oral vernacular in order to evoke the (language of the) oral tradition. In fact, the Greeks, Aristotle in particular, already identified this mode of expression and called it unperiodic syntax. In his treatment, he does not recognize its particular characteristics as psycholinguistically determined, as my concept of layered elaboration intends to do. Instead, he associates his unperiodic syntax with a certain literary *style*, that of the ancient poets. This style, Aristotle argues, is inappropriate for the 'prose' style of composition he is developing.

The purpose behind exploring how classical discourse on language associated layered elaboration with a particular literary style becomes clearer in Chapter 7. It is in this chapter where I outline two important conceptual changes that must accompany literization: the cultivation of notions of well-formedness and literary style. The idea of well-formedness connects to my earlier argument that the early German *scripti* cannot be transcriptions. That is, the literizer cannot simply consult their linguistic intuitions because, as I discuss in chapters 3 and 4, their spoken vernacular intuitions have never before had to contend with the new written context of distance. Thus, *scriptus* creation requires that the literizer develop for their vernacular more explicit means of indicating the syntactic and semantic relationships between constituents, a process that I characterized in Chapter 4 as ausbau. Engaging with the project of ausbau, however, requires that the literizer become aware of the demands of conceptual literacy or, to phrase it another way, the functional gap between even their most coherent, distance-shaped oral varieties and a well-functioning written variety. Thus, ausbau and a conceptualization of well-formedness are complementary processes.

The development of a notion of literary style, on the other hand, refers to how a literizer leverages their linguistic resources—their multilectal spoken vernacular, as well as the Latinate tradition of literacy—in order to execute ausbau. I submit that they will not engage in this process in the manner of the desultory diner, who samples randomly from the dishes on offer at an all-you-can-eat

buffet. Rather, the literizer will make selections based on what they find to be appropriate in the context of their project, as discussed in Chapter 5. Appropriateness in the *scriptus* will be determined by the associations that the literizer has formed between linguistic production and the contexts that invariably shape it. For example, early literizers would connect the structures of layered elaboration to the communicative contexts of distance within an oral community; the former is, thus, appropriate to the latter. This association becomes a conception of literary style when the literizer creates a *scriptus* that is suited to the telling of, say, a story that stems from their oral community. There is a larger argument that underlies this idea: namely, that even the earliest literizations of a language are indelibly shaped by considerations of appropriateness or literary style. In structuralist approaches, generative syntax in particular, literary style is a matter of performance. Thus, diachronic generativists' interest in questions of appropriateness and style will be limited to how one controls for their potentially competence-obscuring effects on mental grammars. I argue, in contrast, that questions of well-formedness, appropriateness—or literary style—are so integral to the literization process itself and the *scripti* it produces, that it makes little sense to try to disentangle these constitutive factors from those provided by speaker intuitions.

The two conceptual developments of well-formedness and style are related in that the decision to rely more on oral varieties of distance for the creation of a *scriptus* will suggest different, and, I argue, less desirable and more ambiguous ausbau outcomes. Creating a *scriptus* in the style of the oral tradition also places the literizer in opposition with principles of composition that emerge in the classical discourse on *grammatica*. Aristotle, for example, passes a negative judgment on an overly "poetic" style. We may recognize the style of the ancient poets as layered elaboration and cognitively advantageous in the phonic medium, but for Aristotle it amounted to poor style for composition in which clarity of expression is paramount. One might not think that classical notions of well-formedness and literary style are relevant to the creation of an early German *scriptus*. I maintain that they are, however, in that aspiring German writers first encountered literacy in their Latinate education, which was mediated entirely by the Bible and by various treatises that were part of the classical tradition of *grammatica*. Through implicit and explicit means, these texts conveyed to German literizers Greek and Roman constructions of well-formedness and literary style, both the results of already advanced processes of literization and ausbau. The implicit means refer to the highly literized Latin language in which grammatical treatises and, more importantly the Bible, were composed. The grammatical treatises with their descriptions of well-formed sentences constitute the explicit means by which Ger-

man literizers were exposed to what classical writers thought were appropriate solutions to the challenges of lexical and grammatical ausbau in different contexts. For example, I discuss in this chapter how Otfrid von Weissenburg, the author of the *Evangelienbuch*, finds inspiration for his *scriptus* in these classical notions of well-formedness. This chapter presents this book's final and, perhaps, most controversial proposal, which is that modern linguists have mistaken early literizers' adoption of classical constructs of ausbau and associated notions of well-formedness for an inherent grammatical structure. More generally, I propose that the structural similarities that linguists have identified across European languages might also reflect the widespread influence that classical literacy exerted on their literization.

2 Historical linguist seeks good data: the deficit approach to early German syntax

2.1 Introduction

Schrodt (2004) begins his reference grammar on Old High German syntax with the following summary:

> Die Darstellung der althochdeutschen Syntax ist ein Wagnis: Die Verschiedenartigkeit der Sprachregionen, die Abhängigkeit vom Lateinischen, die große, mehrere Jahrhunderte umfassende Zeitspanne, der mögliche Einfluss von Reim und Metrum erschweren sehr oft eine ausreichende Begründung für die Beschreibung syntaktischer Kategorien. Dazu kommt eine problematische Überlieferungslage. Es ist wohl kein Zufall, dass eine solche Darstellung bisher fehlte. (page VII)
>
> A portrayal of Old High German syntax is risky: the variable nature of the dialect regions, the dependence on the Latin, the multiple centuries that the corpus covers, the possible influence of rhyme and meter: these factors mean there are often insufficient grounds for the description of syntactic categories. To these challenges, one may add problematic transmission histories. Indeed, it is no coincidence that such a depiction does not yet exist (my translation).

Thus, the main challenge in Schrodt's eyes stems from the variability exhibited by the syntactic data. Texts originate from different places across the German-speaking continuum and different centuries. They are manipulated and distorted by extragrammatical influences like a Latin source text or a poetic meter. These factors make it difficult to describe early German[1] syntax.

For example, consider the finite verb, which is attested in many different surface positions in main (1) and subordinate clauses (2).

[1] In this book's introduction I explained why I discuss 'early German,' rather than Old High German or Old Saxon.

(1) **Main clauses:**

a. Verb-first:
Quhad got see miin chnecht ih inan infahu chiminni mir
said God behold my child I him receive beloved.one me.DAT
'God said, behold my child, I will receive him; my beloved one' (Isidor, IV. *De Trinitatis Significantia*, Sentence 8, Eggers 1964)

b. Verb-second:
thô **fragetun** sie inan uuaz nu bist thu Helias
then asked they him what now are you Elias?
'And they asked him, what now are you Elias' (Tatian, Chapter 13, sentence 20, Sievers 1961)

c. Verb-third:
Állo zíti thio the sín Kríst **lóko** mo thaz múat
In.all hours that he be Christ gladden.PRES.SUBJ him.DAT the heart
sin
his
'In all the hours that he be alive, may Christ gladden unto him his heart.' (Otfrid L 75, Erdmann 1973)

d. Verb-later:
Her thó antlingenti **quad** ín gét inti saget Iohanne thaz
he then answering said them.DAT go and tell John.DAT what
ír gisahút inti gihórtut
you.PL saw and heard
'So he answering said to them, Go back and report to John what you have seen and heard.' (Masser 100, 14-16; Tatian, from Luke 7, 22)

e. Verb-final:
that odar al brinnandi fiur ia land ia liudi logna
the other all burning fire.NOM both land and people flame.NOM
farteride
destroyed
'The burning fire, flame, destroyed everything,[2] both land and people' (Hêliand, 52, 4372b-73, Sievers 1935)

(2) **Subordinate clauses:**

[2]'That odar al' can be translated into German as 'alles Andere.'

a. Verb-first:
Het that ic thi thoh sagdi that it scoldi gisid
commanded that I you yet tell.PRET.SUBJ that he should companion
uuesan heuancuninges het that git it heldin uuel
become Heaven's.king.GEN commanded that you.DU him hold well
tuhin thurh treuua
raise.PRET.SUBJ in faith
'He commanded that I should say to you also that he shall be a companion of Heaven's King, commanded that you two should hold him well, raise him in faith' (Hêliand, 2, 131a, Sievers 1935)

b. Verb-second:
Tho uuard thiu tid cuman that thar gitald habdun
then became the time come that there told had
uuisa man mid uuordun that **scolda** thana uuih godes
wise men with words that should the temple God.GEN
Zacharias bisehan
Zacharias watch
'Then/when the time was come, which wise men there had foretold with words, that Zacharias should watch the temple of God' (Hêliand, 2, 95b-96a, Sievers 1935)

c. Verb-third:
Inti thahta innan imo sus quędenti uuaz tuon
and thought to himself thus saying what do.1.PRES.IND
thaz ih ni haben uuara ih **gisamano** mine uuahsmon
that I NEG have where I store my crops
'And (he) thought to himself, saying then, what will I do in that I do not have anyplace to store my crops' (Luke 12, 17, 'He thought to himself, 'What shall I do? I have no place to store my crops,' Tatian, Masser 170, 3-6)

d. Verb-later:
Tho uuard thiu tid cuman that thar gitald **habdun**
then became the time come that there told had
uuisa man mid uuordun that scolda thana uuih godes
wise men with words that should the temple God.GEN
Zacharias bisehan
Zacharias watch
'Then/when the time was come, which wise men there had foretold

with words, that Zacharias should watch the temple of God' (Hêliand, 2, 95b-96a, Sievers 1935)

e. Verb-final:
Lúdowig ther snéllo thes wísduames fóllo
Ludwig the brave DET wisdom full
er óstarrichi ríhtit ál so Fránkono kúning **scal**
he eastern.kingdom rules all as Franks.GEN.PL king ought
'Ludwig, the brave, full of wisdom, he rules all the eastern kingdom as a Frankish king ought' (Otfrid, L 1-2, Erdmann 1973)

Descriptions of Modern Standard German often assume three basic positions for the finite verb with the possibility of a pragmatically motivated rearranging of surface constituents. So, most clauses in standard and standard-influenced varieties of German have clause-first, -second, or -final verbs. There also exists in these varieties a clear main-subordinate clause asymmetry, whereby subordinate clauses correlate with verb-final syntax and main clauses with verb-first or -second syntax. These patterns in the data underpin the hypothesis that the German verb phrase is underlyingly a head-final template and that finite verbs may be fronted to a surface first or second position to form main clauses. Verbs in early German, as the examples in (1) and (2) demonstrate, surface in many positions within the clause and do not exhibit the same tidy distributional asymmetry in main and subordinate clauses as modern German does.

Considering data like these, how does one describe the basic syntactic category of the verb phrase? There are tantalizing hints that early German syntax was a lot like modern German syntax. So, the clauses in (1)a. and (2)e. exhibit the verb-second and verb-final patterns in main and subordinate clauses, respectively. The clauses in (2)b. and (2)c. are reminiscent of constructions in more colloquial registers, in which a finite verb can sometimes be fronted in subordinate clause (2)b. and a nominal constituent is extraposed and occurs after an underlyingly clause final verb (2)c. Such similarities might convince a historical linguist to assume that early German has an underlyingly verb-final clause like modern German, though doing so requires the linguist to also account for the surface orderings in clauses like (1)c., (1)d., (1)e., and (2)a.

In other words, data variation for Schrodt is a sort of static that can easily obscure the fundamental structure of basic syntactic categories, such as the verb phrase. Fleischer (2006) adopts a similar view when he begins his article on the methodology of early German syntactic research with this same passage from Schrodt (2004). He elaborates the problem sketched out in Schrodt (2004) as be-

ing one of an unfortunate corpus that is rife with compromised data, an orientation that I call the deficit approach to early German. Unlike other old Germanic corpora, like that of early English, which contains a good selection of both prose and poetic, translational and original texts, the early German corpus is almost entirely made up of the most problematic of these genres: original poetry and translational prose. Like Schrodt, Fleischer assumes these texts contain many inauthentic ("*unecht*") syntactic constructions, a situation that cannot be mitigated by asking a native speaker. The article, thus, outlines a method for filtering out such transgressive structures, a process that should leave behind only genuine syntactic data. Returning then to the clauses in (1) and (2), Fleischer's method offers a means for deciding which tokens represent a real early German competence, and which are simply static that obscure the true nature of that system.

The deficit approach frames inquiry into early German syntax as the search for the data that represent an authentic German competence, using methods that are meant to cut through all the variation and identify the grammatical structure or mental grammar, to use generative terminology, from which attested structures are derived. Structuralist assumptions about linguistic inquiry underlie this approach. That is, one adopts this deficit mentality primarily if it is taken as a given that the object of analysis should be underlying structure. Surface variation can certainly result from the usual derivational procedures of generative syntax, for example, but not *all* attested variation need be integrated into accounts of an early German competence. That is, these approaches assume that some surface patterns are created by confounding factors, for example, the influence of a non-native grammar, like Latin, or a competence-altering metrical pattern. In order to delineate the real structure beneath the surface, the linguist must be aware how these factors can affect competence and control for their effects.

I argue that the deficit approach encourages scholars to view surface variation with suspicion and even associate it with linguistic distortion. Relatedly, it discourages researchers from considering the possibility that variable structures might link to variable sociolinguistic conditions. In this way, the deficit view of the early German corpus promotes a monolectal understanding of this stage of the language. As I explained in my introduction, this argument is different from the claim that scholars with a more structuralist focus ignore or are somehow unaware of empirical variation. In fact, many generative accounts of historical Germanic varieties published over the last two decades have moved well beyond basing sweeping conclusions on a limited set of cherry-picked examples and instead draw on extensive corpora for their analyses. The work of scholars like Katrin Axel-Tober, Christopher Sapp, and George Walkden immediately

spring to mind. My argument regarding the monolectal leanings of structuralist approaches refers to the researcher's orientation toward that variable data. That is, it seems to me that structuralists gather as much data as possible in the hopes that the patterns of an underlying competence will become evident. With respect to data that are recalcitrant to the emerging patterns and their possible derivations, the methodology incentivizes their characterization as competence distorting static, i.e., as the product of confounding factors.

A more multilectal orientation toward that same variability, in contrast, would bear in mind that early Germans are in command of multiple spoken varieties, whose structures vary in accordance with the communicative context in which they are produced. The language's first literizers, thus, had a multilectal German on which to draw in order to create their *scripti*. Variation in the *scripti* themselves would then result from the literizer engaging their multiple and variable linguistic resources in different ways. The researcher gains insight into the structural variation of early German texts by cultivating a better understanding of early medieval *multilectal* German and how varying structures connect to different communicative and sociocultural conditions. Coseriu (1974) neatly encapsulates these ideas in its concept of 'historicity,' which emphasizes how all languages are synchronically and diachronically variable and that people on the individual and societal level are multilectal. The literization methodology is my attempt to take historicity seriously, that is, as an analytically relevant fact that must serve as the basis for any attempt to explain early German syntax.

The purpose of this chapter, then, is to elaborate the deficit approach and show how it has shaped research into early German syntax. I demonstrate how this approach is informed by, but also reinforces, a monolectal view of German's earliest attested stage. I argue that the deficit approach and its associated monolectalism is supported by a traditional understanding of the corpus as comprising two main genres, that is, poetry and prose, rather than as a literizations of an exclusively spoken vernacular. Many modern syntactic studies have adopted this traditional view without discussion. They have also associated early non-poetic texts with a prose style of writing, which they connect to the notion of authenticity, which I argue is grammaticality in disguise. In other words, it has been the assumption that these early 'prose' texts constitute better reflections of an underlying early German competence and, so, the researcher may use its structures as an alternative to the grammaticality judgments of long dead native speakers. In contrast, the researcher ought to treat the data from poetic texts with greater suspicion because of the assumption that poetic structures confound competence in ways for which it is difficult to control. Therefore, so the argument goes, the German of poetic texts must be further removed from a natural, grammatical spoken German

than is the case for the period's prose texts. These methods make an already small corpus smaller, in that one is discouraged from working with significant texts because they are poetic. I also argue that they push scholars toward a monolectal understanding of early German by, first, maintaining that the ultimate goal of diachronic syntactic analysis should be identifying a German competence and, second, equating this competence with one variety of early German, an imagined "ordinary" spoken German.

This chapter progresses as follows: in §2.2, I discuss the deficit approach to early German syntax by focusing on Fleischer (2006), which contains, as far as I am aware, the most thorough description of this method. Many studies on early German syntax rely, often implicitly, on assumptions that Fleischer (2006) makes explicit. I focus particularly on how it associates prose texts with grammaticality, on the one hand, and poetic texts with ungrammaticality, on the other hand, and demonstrate how the author uses such conclusions as a substitute for native speaker judgments. In §2.3, I examine existing studies that are influenced by the deficit approach to early German. These works mostly analyze translational prose and claim to describe an early German grammar. §2.4 concludes the chapter.

2.2 The deficit approach to early German syntax: Fleischer 2006

2.2.1 The four genres of early medieval German

Fleischer's (2006: 27-31) methodology begins with the identification of two binaries within the early German corpus: poetic versus prose texts, on the one hand, and translational versus autochthonous texts, on the other. Poetry and prose, according to the author, are the two main genres of early German, a characterization that is widely accepted. For example, the standard reader for Old High German, Braune & Ebbinghaus's (1994) *Althochdeutsches Lesebuch*, divides all texts into a prose or a poetry section. The next important descriptive feature is whether a text is 'translated' or 'translational' ('*übersetzt*'), on the one hand, or 'autochthonous' or 'indigenous' ('*autochthon*'), on the other. The positioning of the two binaries in this way already implies that a text's status as poetic is more analytically consequential, especially with respect to its syntactic structures, than its status as translated. Fleischer (2006: 30) combines the two binaries to form the four logical genre possibilities for early German texts, each of which is associated with different advantages and challenges. It will become

clear in this discussion of these categories below that Fleischer uses the terms 'authentic' and 'authenticity' as substitutes for 'grammatical' and 'grammaticality.'

Table 2.1: The genres of early German

	Autochthonous texts	Translational texts
Poetic, i.e., metrically bound, texts	Otfrid, *Hildebrandslied*, etc.	*Psalm 138*? *Sigihart's Prayers*?
Prose, i.e., metrically unbound, texts	*Die Altdeutschen Gespräche*, *Markbeschreibungen*	Tatian, Isidor

(Adapted from Fleischer's (2006: 30) 'Schema: Typologie der althochdeutschen Überlieferung)

Note that Fleischer does not include in this scheme the glosses, which convey little to no information on German syntax.

The first category of note in Table 2.1 is autochthonous poetry. One need not worry, so the story goes, about Latin interference with texts like the *Hildebrandslied* because they are not translations. Another advantage to working with this genre of text is that there are two substantial, early, which is to say, ninth-century works of original poetry: the *Hêliand* and Otfrid's *Evangelienbuch*. However, Fleischer (2006: 35-37, 42) argues that poets also routinely compromised "authenticity" for the sake of metrical structures. Thus, texts like the *Evangelienbuch* are not ideal sources of good data reflective of an early German competence.

An example of poetic adjustment that moves the surface structure further away from competence comes to us from Otfrid: that is, the inflection of the present participle in periphrastics that are formed with *wesan* ('to be'), illustrated in (3).

(3) **Wárun** siu béthịu góte filu drúdịu joh íogiwar sínaz gibot **fúllentaz**, Wízzod sínan ío **wírkendan** I 4 5-7

they were both very intimate with God and fulfilling his commandment everywhere his law always carrying out

Wárun siu béthịu góte filu drúdịu joh íogiwar
were they both God.DAT very intimate and everywhere
sínaz gibot
his commandment
fúllentaz wízzod sínan ío
fulfilling.ACC.PART law his always
wírkendan
carrying.out.ACC.PARTC

In line 5, the adjective *drudiu* agrees with the subject *siu*, as one might expect. However, in lines 6 and 7 the adjectival present participles, *fullentaz* and *wirkendan*, agree with their objects, *gibot* and *wizzod*, respectively. Fleischer (2006) relies here on Erdmann (1874: 216), who characterizes the agreement of participles with the object as a rarely occurring phenomenon in Otfrid, though with no direct statements on how many object-agreeing tokens occur across the work, compared to subject-agreeing ones, to back up this claim. Based on this information, Fleischer (2006) agrees with Nemitz (1962: 421), who concludes that these forms are effected entirely by the rhyme, with no native speaker intuition behind them. These tokens, then, constitute a "phantom structure" that had "no status in the Old High German grammar" (page 37). These conclusions imply that such forms are, in fact, ungrammatical in that native speakers would not produce them because they are not part of an early German competence. Fleischer (2006: 36) extrapolates a broader conclusion from these data that has serious implications for the study of early German: Otfrid was willing to break the "grammatical rules of Old High German" for the sake of "poetic freedom." This argument places the *Evangelienbuch*, the corpus's longest original work, under suspicion of containing structures that are ungrammatical in that they do not align with any native speaker judgments. Perhaps researchers should avoid the work entirely in favor of prose texts. In the latter type of text, at least, one need not also contend with poetic structures as a confounding influence on an early German competence.

In the case of the second category of note, translational prose, poetic interference is not a problem, but the possible influence of the Latin source on German syntactic structures is. The translation of Tatian's *Evangelienharmonie* into ninth-century East Franconian contains many examples of what one assumes is

transferred Latin syntax. This assumption is based on the fact that the German is, for the most part, a word-for-word translation of the source text (4).

(4) Iam non dico vos servos quia servus nescit quid **faciat** dominus **eius**

Ih ni quidu íu iu scalca uuanta scalc ni uueiz uuaz **duot** **sin** hérro

Ih ni quidu íu iu scalca uuanta scalc
I NEG call you.DAT no.longer servants because servant
ni uueiz uuaz **duot** sin hérro
NEG knows what does his lord

'I no longer call you servants because a servant does not know what his master does' (from John 15, 15, Tatian, Masser, 284, 16-18)

As becomes evident in Masser's (1994) edition, the German is generally a line-by-line translation of the Latin, with only a minimal rearrangement of constituents, for example, the swapping of the order of a noun and its possessive adjective, as seen in line 18. The translator[3] was more reluctant to rearrange constituents across line boundaries, as seen in lines 17-18 in that '*duot*' has not been moved to the end of clause in line 18. Dittmer & Dittmer (1998: 18–20) argue that it is through small adaptions within these textual constraints, as seen in line 18, that the translator was able to shape the syntax into more "German-like directions." Still, many clauses look distinctly un-German, as it were, because of the project's translation principles, as seen in line 17. Dittmer & Dittmer would caution against accepting its early placement of the finite verb at face value, as one cannot know if it reflects a native or a foreign syntactic pattern.

Fleischer's (2006) next predicted genre is the poetic translation, which is more a logical possibility stemming from the premise of the two binaries than a real early German text type. On page 30, the author identifies two potential examples of poetic translation, but it is doubtful that either text, the *Psalm 138* or *Sigihard's Prayers*, qualifies. Both texts are closer to a loose rendering or paraphrase of a Latin text, structured in Otfridian verse. Bostock (1976: 218-20) notes that the early tenth-century *Psalm 138* is a "very free" paraphrase of the Latin Vulgate, in which the writer interprets the psalm according to contemporary thinking, even rearranging the order of ideas (page 219). Similarly, *Sigihard's Prayers* are German

[3]There is no unanimity in the scholarship on whether one or multiple people translated Tatian's text into early German. For simplicity's sake, I refer to one translator. With respect to this chapter's arguments, it does not matter how many people worked on the project.

renderings of formal prayers that marked a task brought to completion, rather than the translation of one fixed text. The fact that their authors used a style of verse created by a German for the German vernacular further speaks to the independence of these works from their sources. If, despite these circumstances, one did characterize these works as poetic translations, one would also have to concede that they are too short to be of much consequence: *Psalm 138* is only 38 lines long, while *Sigihard's Prayers* comprise only four lines, two per short prayer. In my mind, there is insufficient evidence to conclude that the poetic translation was a real genre of early German.

The final predicted genre is autochthonous prose, which is also poorly attested in the early German corpus. Fleischer (2006: 28) characterizes this text type as the most ideal for syntactic analysis. These texts are bound neither by poetic constraints nor a Latin source and, so, the author maintains that they will exhibit the most authentic German of the four genres. Fleischer equates authenticity with closeness to "the spoken language," and while all text types will exhibit reflexes of this spoken language, autochthonous prose texts are the mostly likely to contain these reflexes. The article identifies two example texts from this genre: the *Markbeschreibungen*, which comprise two charters, and the *Altdeutsche Gespräche* ('the Old German Conversations'). To this list, one may add the prose section of the *Wessobrunner Gebet*, but nothing much else.[4] Of these works, it is the *Gespräche*, with their colloquial, everyday language, that stand out in the author's mind as representing a particularly authentic German (page 28-9).

2.2.2 Judging grammaticality in the absence of native speakers: the dative absolute

Within the deficit approach, it is this basic understanding of the four genres, their advantages, and challenges with respect to providing sound data, that should inform which text a researcher decides to work with and how they work with it. Practically speaking, Fleischer (2006) advocates a structure-by-structure, comparative approach whereby the researcher decides whether a token is authentically German, or whether a translational or poetic imperative created it. Assessing the relative authenticity of a text vis-à-vis other texts in the corpus is a central consideration. I argue in this section that Fleischer's search for authenticity is a search for grammaticality in disguise. In other words, the author's

[4]The early German corpus is notably different from the early English corpus, in which vernacular prose is more robustly attested.

comparative structure-by-structure method is meant to distinguish data generated by a real German competence, from those structures and patterns that have been affected or, indeed, effected by confounding influences. If one thinks about this approach in terms of linguistic intuitions, the former data would have been judged grammatical by a native speaker, the latter, as less than grammatical. This method, then, is operates as a substitute for the native speaker grammaticality judgments.[5]

Fleischer's analysis of the dative absolute serves as a good example of how his method should work. In (5), I reproduce Fleischer's examples, to which I have added glosses.

(5) Tunc **conuocata turba** cum discipulis suis dixit eis
tho **gihalatero menigi** mit sinen iungoron quad in
Tunc conuocat-a turba cum discipulis suis dixit eis
then assembled-FEM.AB.SG crowd with disciples his said them
tho gihalat-ero menigi mit sinen iungoron quad in
then gathered-FEM.DAT.SG crowd with his disciples said them.DAT
'Then having gathered the crowd with his disciples, (he) spoke to them'
(Tatian 90,5 Sievers 1961; Masser 1994:144,13f)

One might begin with the assumption that the dative absolute was not an authentic early German structure as it is not present in modern German. Further cause for suspicion arises from the fact that it is attested mostly in translational prose as a German rendering of the Latin ablative absolute. Perhaps, then, German's dative absolute is just a superficial transference of a Latin construction. Though such data imply the construction's inauthenticity with respect to German, they do not settle the matter entirely. Fleischer argues (pages 32-33), for example, that texts like the "Latin-dependent" Tatian can still provide valuable data if focus remains on tokens that deviate from the Latin, referred to in German as *Differenzbelege* ('tokens exhibiting difference'). Underlying this approach is the so-called *Differenzprinzip* ('difference principle'). Discussed as early as Ruhfus (1897), it maintains that deviating tokens *must* be reflections of genuine German. Thus, any instances of the dative absolute that do not correspond to a Latin ablative absolute could be treated as authentic early German. There are, however, no such *Differenzbelege*: citing Lippert (1974: 179-81), Fleischer states that the translator rendered practically every Latin ablative absolute with a German dative absolute. This one-for-one correspondence points to the latter's total dependence on the former, which also implies its inauthenticity as an early German structure.

[5]This argument was inspired by Somers (2021a: 370-3).

But what if the dative absolute occurs in the Isidor translation? Scholars largely agree that the Isidor is the superior translation of the two because it is largely independent from its Latin source. Furthermore, Matzel (1970: 349) notes that the translator did not schematically translate all Latin ablative absolutes into German as dative absolutes. The *Differenzprinzip* would suggest that these independent renderings of the dative absolute must be based on native speaker intuitions ("*Sprachgefühl*"). Matzel himself viewed the construction as one that would have been rated as "acceptable" ("*tragbar*") by native speakers at the time. Lippert (1974: 160), however, argues that this conclusion is unwarranted because the Isidor translator confines the German dative absolute to "certain formulaic contexts" when the translator presumably wanted simply to transfer a Latin-inspired style into the vernacular. Thus, the dative absolute was a non-autochthonous structure ("*unautochthone Struktur*") and never a "living idiom" of medieval German, as van Gelderen (1991: 56) puts it when writing about a similar state-of-affairs in Notker.

What if the dative absolute were attested in an autochthonous text like Otfrid's *Evangelienbuch*, though? Given its lack of a Latin source text, would its presence there indicate that it is a living idiom or autochthonous structure of medieval German? And, indeed, Otfrid's poem does contain a few examples of the dative absolute, but only a few, exactly two, according to Erdmann (1874) (V 25, 7 and IV 13, 52-3, page 259). I present one of these examples in (6). Both Erdmann and Lippert conclude that the form is too rarely attested to be treated as authentic. Furthermore, the tokens surface in phrases that correspond to common Latin phrases (Fleischer 2006: 43).

(6) Bin **gote hélphante** thero árabeito zi énte
Bin got-e hélphant-e thero árabeito zi énte
am God-DAT helping-DAT.SG.ABS the.GEN.PL work.GEN.PL to end
'I am at the end of my toils with God's help' (Otfrid V 25, 7)

For this reason, Fleischer notes, historical German linguists have not seen the dative absolute as reflective of an authentic German grammatical structure. Rather it is a mere mechanical transfer of Latin syntax with no native speaker feeling behind it. The author cites Erdmann (1874: 259), who argues that such constructions did not "develop in original German conversation" (*in orginaler deutscher Rede nicht entwickelt hat*).

Indeed, the fact that Otfrid included such constructions in the first place, places the whole text's linguistic authenticity in doubt. On pages 43-4, Fleischer adopts Haubrichs' (2004: 8) characterization of Otfrid, whose attempt to compose in his

Frankish tongue never breaks free from the Latin model because the poet either did not want to or could not manage it (*Otfrids "Versuch, in fränkischer Zunge zu dichten, sich nie vom lateinischen Vorbild lösen kann noch will*," my translation). So, while one should expect a prose translational text to have mechanically transferred structures like the dative absolute, their presence in the *Evangelienbuch* is treated as a problem. In the former type of text, the reason for these borrowed structures is clear: namely, the pressure of rendering a Latin text in German. Moreover, the scholar may control for these structures through the *Differenzprinzip*. In Otfrid's text, however, where one cannot apply the *Differenzprizip*, even the odd occurrence of the dative absolute seems to indicate that the text is an unreliable source of authentic data.

Considering these arguments, it might make sense to avoid the *Evangelienbuch* entirely. Does the poem contain any authentic German at all? How can one tell? Fleischer's (2006: 44) discussion of multiple negation provides an answer. I present again here his examples to which I have added glosses.

(7) ne haben ne trophen (non abeo quid)
NEG have NEG nothing.at.all
'I don't have anything at all' (*Altdeutsche Gespräche* 74)
inti n-ioman imo ni-gab
and NEG-one him NEG-gave
'And no one gave him anything' (Tatian, Masser 1994:155,11)
Drúhtin quad er gúato n-ist n-íaman thero fríunto
lord said he the.good NEG-is NEG-one.NOM the friends.GEN.PL
'Lord, he said, the good, there are no friends (i.e., I have no friends) *…who could help toss me into the water.*' (Otfrid, III 4, 23)

In contrast to the dative absolute, the author concludes that multiple negation is an authentically German syntactic construction because it is attested in autochthonous and translated prose texts. So, for example, the Tatian translator sometimes rendered Latin single negation as double negation in German. Most importantly, however, the apparently colloquial prose of the *Gespräche* exhibits multiple negation as well, which implies that speakers produced multiple negation in their everyday language.

It is useful at this point to make explicit the difficulties involved in establishing grammaticality for historical varieties and how this focus on grammaticality pushes historical linguists in directions that might well be inconsistent with their views on synchronic linguistic variation. The most glaring issue is that it is impossible to confirm or refute the supposed grammaticality, or authenticity, to use

Fleischer's word, of a structure because early German speakers are long dead. In place of native speaker grammaticality judgments, Fleischer's discussion of the dative absolute reveals that he has established two conditions for authenticity in early German, both of which would and could never be acceptable to scholars who study modern languages. The first condition for authenticity is a structure's presence in spoken, preferably colloquial, German, as evidenced by Fleischer's characterization of the *Gespräche* as an early German text of particular interest and its structures as uniquely authentic. The second condition is a structure's "Germanness." That is, authentic German structures are autochthonous or "original," to use Erdmann's term. In contrast, a structure that is borrowed from Latin into German and is used in limited or formulaic ways is assumed to have no native speaker intuitions behind it. It is, therefore, not authentically German.

It is also worth reflecting on Fleischer's use of the terms 'authentic' and 'authenticity,' in place of 'grammatical' and 'grammaticality.' Explicitly generative analyses use similar euphemisms, such as 'extragrammatical' to refer to structures that are not *really* part of an Old High German grammar. For example, Axel (2007: 70, 77-78) argues that exceptions to the asymmetric distribution of the finite verb in main and subordinate clauses in early German are attributable to extragrammatical, i.e., confounding factors.[6] Referring back to the early German clauses I presented at the beginning of the chapter, the assumption among historical linguists is that early German, like Modern German, generated verb-final clauses (2)e. from which the verb-second main clause ordering (1)b. was derived. Clauses like that in (8) occur regularly in the poetic *Evangelienbuch* and undermine this assumption. However, Otfrid's tokens have largely been characterized in the literature as "conditioned by rhyme and, therefore, not meaningful pieces of evidence" ("*reimbedingt und damit keine aussagekräftigen Belege*," to cite Schrodt's (2004: 204) *Althochdeutsche Grammatik, II*).

(8) Er uns ginádon sinen **ríat** thaz súlichan kúning uns **gihíalt**
he us mercy his meted that such king us.DAT preserved
'He meted out to us his mercy in that he preserved such a king for us.'
(Otfrid, L 27)

Hence, in Axel's account of Old High German clause structure, the complementary distribution of finite verb and complementizer was part of an early Ger-

[6]See Somers (2021a: 360-364) for an earlier and somewhat different version of this argument. My focus then was still on structure, and so, there is much in that article that I would approach differently today. However, I maintained there, as I do here, that the generativist 'extragrammatical' is seen as a way around the limitations of 'grammatical' with respect to historical varieties.

man competence. In contrast, asyndetic verb-late clauses, that is, verb-late or verb-final clauses with no complementizer, were produced only to satisfy the exigencies of a poetic scheme. In that generative syntax assumes multiple mental grammars for each speaker, it is possible that a diachronic generativist like Axel would include the asyndetic verb-late clause in an early German *poetic* grammar. However, the structure is outside of ("*extra-*") the Old High German grammar that Axel intends to describe, which is the patterns of a *prose* syntax. This conclusion is reminiscent of the discussion of object-inflected present participle periphrastics (§2.2.1) and the dative absolute (§2.2.2); that is, asyndetic verb-late clauses are a poetically created "phantom structure" (Nemitz 1962: 421), not a "living idiom" of early German (van Gelderen 1991:56).

This terminological avoidance of the terms 'grammatical' and 'grammaticality' on the part of diachronic structuralists points to two conclusions. First, it reflects a discomfort with using the term grammatical, which is established through the grammaticality judgments of native speakers, for historical languages. Second, the use of 'authentic' instead of 'grammatical' creates a new standard for attested historical structures. While the latter term applies to the many synchronic mental grammars that generativists imagine each language user has, diachronic structuralists of all stripes only have eyes for an 'authentic' historical grammar. This grammar, as Fleischer's explicit methodological treatment demonstrates, is that of an early colloquial, everyday spoken German.

One would be hard pressed to find linguists today who would make the argument that colloquial spoken Modern German is particularly grammatical. There are many grammatical structures that are absent in many Germans' spoken varieties but have been maintained in the written standard, e.g., the simple past in Upper German and the genitive case across the dialect continuum. The extended participial (e.g., *Ich sehe den unter dem Tisch liegenden Hund*, 'I see the **under the table lying dog**') is an example of a structure that is all but absent from spoken German and exists only as a written construction. These examples demonstrate that structures can be part of a written or a standard grammar while also being absent from people's everyday spoken language. This conclusion will strike no one as particularly insightful or controversial. Generativists, for example, would simply include the extended participial in a written German grammar and exclude it from Germans' spoken grammars. Yet, when analyzing a historical text, the search is no longer for grammatical data with the goal of piecing together the grammars of the multilectal German speaker who wrote it. Rather, it has become about identifying the 'authentic' data that reflect one of the multiple spoken varieties we should assume a text's writer produced in their everyday life. This is why I characterize structuralist methodologies like Fleischer's as monolectal. While

they might acknowledge variation and/or multilectalism, their methods do not promote a multilectal understanding of historical varieties. Quite the opposite, in fact.

This brings me to the second problematic aspect of Fleischer's conditions for authenticity, which is that the structure must be autochthonous or original. As I discussed in this book's introduction, our disciplinary forebearers, e.g., the grammarians of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and the philologists of the nineteenth century, were interested in identifying the ancient German of their imagined ancestors and cultivating "good" German based on what they found. A nationalistic belief that there was a uniquely German language to uncover in the first place underlay this project and, I have proposed, underpins structuralist linguistic inquiry. This monolectal narrative of the history of German is transmitted to modern students of historical linguistics through one of the first representations of language evolution that they encounter: the tree model. This model invites comparison (not coincidentally) to family trees and phylogeny in the biological sciences, where shared origins indicate genetic and racial relatedness. In doing so, it simultaneously obscures the fact of historicity, that is, that all speakers and communities, then as now, are multilectal and, more often than not, multilingual. This means that language contact is a fact of human existence.

It seems possible to me that modern structuralist methods for identifying an authentic early German grammar represent an unconscious adopting of the assumptions of early nationalists, who believed that an ancient German language existed and that it was their job to uncover it. They laid the groundwork on which the discipline of historical linguistics has been built. Thus, I see a connection between these early views and the fact that many diachronic linguists today unquestioningly believe that their object of study must be a *real* early German grammar and that their methods must help them reconstruct this system by identifying where confounding factors have moved grammatical structures away from this authentic system. To reiterate, I do not think that Fleischer and other more structurally minded modern linguists have nationalistic aims or use the term "authentic German" in the same way that Erdmann or Grimm used the phrase. Fleischer's "authentic German," as I have argued above, is something of an oblique reference to grammaticality, while philologists like Grimm meant the term literally. These same linguists, I believe, would balk at the suggestion that, say, foreign borrowings into German do not and have not become part of a German grammar. However, modern linguists' use of terms like 'autochthonous' or 'original' places analytical constraints on their arguments nonetheless and has made it less likely that they will approach German's first *scripti* from the literization perspective of this book, or any sociocultural approach, for that matter.

Returning to the specifics of Fleischer (2006), we see that a hierarchy of early German genres takes shape over the course of his discussion, one in which genres are distinguished with respect to how likely they are to yield authentic German and, thus, their suitability for syntactic analysis.

(9) autochthonous prose > translational prose > autochthonous poetry[7]
The *Altdeutschen Gespräche* > Tatian > Isidor > Otfrid

Fleischer himself never explicitly states as much, but his analyses make clear that he believes prose texts to be generally superior sources of syntactic data to poetic ones: he sees prose as a neutral form of language, lacking as it does a poetic structure. Autochthonous prose, in particular, is the most desirable genre of all, with its independence from Latin. Also evident is that the author believes *translational* prose to be superior to *autochthonous* poetry: though both genres are subject to distortions, it is only in translational texts where one can easily control for any confounding effects on data patterns. Fleischer's enthusiasm for the *Differenzprinzip* and its ability to identify authentic data underlies, I believe, his more indifferent attitude toward the other significant translational prose text, the Isidor, which lacks the neat one-to-one correspondence between the source and its translation. Scholars often point to the independence of the Isidor translation as indicative of the text's quality and suitability for syntactic investigation (see Robinson 1997: 3). Fleischer, however, emphasizes how the Latin source still exerts pressure on German structures (pages 33-34), though its influence is harder to isolate than is true for the Tatian. This treatment of Isidor is reminiscent of Gering (1876), who concludes that the Tatian is the more significant text, in part, because the Isidor translation is of such high quality. It is impossible to know, Gering argues, whether deviations are due to style of grammar. The language of the Isidor is the product of one exceptionally erudite individual, a masterful and artificial creation (see page Robinson's page 3). The Tatian text, on the other hand, is a better reflection of authentic, everyday German.

In this way, Fleischer's methodology amounts to a scale that ranks each genre and text based on how authentic the data are and, thus, how suitable they will be for syntactic analysis. Because there are no living native speakers of ninth-century Frankish to elucidate the shape of their competence by providing grammaticality judgments, linguists are unable to establish grammaticality for their historical varieties. The texts that these speakers left behind is mere performance and only ever an imperfect reflection of competence. Given the extent to which

[7]I make no mention of translational poetry, which receives practically no attention in Fleischer (2006).

the data in this particular corpus have been characterized as problematic, a method for sorting through the good structures and the bad seems essential. In place of grammaticality, modern diachronic linguists have authenticity, and Fleischer (2006) encapsulates perfectly the ways in which we have approached the corpus: the deficit approach. It compares genres with respect to their suitability for syntactic analysis and their likelihood to contain competence-reflecting, authentic data. Authenticity is established only in the relative sense: that is one genre is more or less likely than another to evince authentic data. Autochthonous prose texts, like the *Altdeutschen Gespräche*, are free from the confounding influence of a Latin source or poetic meter. Fleischer's method treats data from these texts as prima facie the most authentic. Autochthonous poetry, like the *Evangelienbuch*, is prima facie inauthentic. Structures from such texts, like multiple negation or the dative absolute, are established as authentic only through comparison with prose texts, both autochthonous and translational. Translational prose texts occupy a middle ground in that they are prima facie authentic when they deviate from the source text, that is, are *Differenzbelege*. One can isolate these deviations most easily in Tatian's *Evangelienharmonie* and so that text is a better source of authentic data than the Isidor.

2.3 The search for the most authentic early medieval German

In §2.2, I elucidated how Fleischer (2006) connects genre to authenticity as a substitute for historical grammaticality, as well as the argument's structuralist underpinnings. In this section, I demonstrate how these assumed correlations appear in the scholarship and outline the disadvantages to the deficit approach, which is based on the notion that the corpus is rife with inauthentic structures and patterns resulting from the influence of confounding factors. The most widely accepted and problematic assumptions are, first, that early German prose is linguistically more authentic, or indeed grammatical, than poetry and, second, that autochthonous prose is the most linguistically authentic or grammatical. These notions have become axiomatic in the literature. For example, Axel's (2007) study of Old High German syntax excludes clauses from poetic texts, like Otfrid's *Evangelienbuch*, from its dataset—they are brought into the analysis only on a structure-by-structure or comparison basis—but does not discuss the reasons for doing so (see, in particular, chapter 1).[8] The problem, as I see it, is not

[8] Axel's (2007) section 1.2 seeks to introduce the reader to the Old High German corpus but discusses only prose texts. Its one mention of poetic texts comes on page 3, when the author notes

that authors choose to analyze data from translational prose or ignore poetry. One of this book's main arguments is that all early German data are legitimate evidence of the language's early literization, that is, the process whereby a multilectal oral vernacular acquires a written form. Rather, at issue here is the belief that an analysis of *only* prose data is tantamount to an analysis of authentic, or grammatical, Old High German syntax. Note again the assumption of monolectalism that is inherent in this approach: these studies search for evidence of, and look to account for, one grammatical system, in particular a colloquial, everyday early German. Whereas analyzing variable data with historicity in mind would encourage the researcher to treat an early German *scriptus* as a material artifact into which the writer poured their multiple linguistic resources.

This section is divided into two parts. In §2.3.1, I assess prose as a genre and its various definitions. I argue that classical attempts to distinguish prose from poetry have shaped the traditional and colloquial definitions of prose, in particular. Earlier philologists and today's linguists who study Germanic syntax have adopted these classical definitions uncritically, a practice that has yielded incoherent and misleading references to the non-poetic texts of the early German(ic) corpus. Ultimately, it has allowed scholars to believe that the early prose texts are a written expression of an authentic and even colloquial spoken language. I counter this line of thinking with a more specific definition of prose as one linguistic register that writers begin to develop in the early medieval period. In §2.3.2, I demonstrate how overly broad definitions of prose and the association of prose with (one) grammatical German system have colored recent studies of early German syntax.

2.3.1 What is prose?

I return here to Fleischer (2006), in which conclusions regarding the relationship between the genre of an early German text and its presumed authenticity—indeed, even grammaticality—are made the most explicit. The studies I discuss in §2.3.2 are built on these same ideas, whether their authors acknowledge these assumptions or not. I begin, then, with the two binaries that shape Fleischer's (2006) four genre distinctions: autochthonous–translational and prose–poetry. For the reader's convenience, I reproduce here Table 2.1 as Table 2.2, to which I have added additional relevant texts.

that "autochthonous prose texts" are so rare that some studies focus on autochthonous poetry, e.g., the "lyrical" *Evangelienbuch* and *Hildebrandslied*. Though there is no explicit statement to the effect of "prose texts are better than poetry," this belief clearly underlies the study's chosen focus. The same applies to section 1.6, which introduces the study's corpus of prose texts with no discussion of why poetic texts were excluded.

Table 2.2: Fleischer's genre classification for early German

	Translational texts	Autochthonous texts
Poetic texts	*Psalm 138*? *Sigihart's Prayer*?	Otfrid, *Hêliand*, *Hildebrandslied*, etc.
Prose, i.e., metrically unbound texts	Tatian, Isidor	*Die Altdeutschen Gespräche*, *Markbeschreibungen* (*Wessobrunner Gebet*, the final short paragraph)

In the case of both binaries, Fleischer defines one side only in relation, and in opposition, to its counterpart. So, some early German texts are translations of a Latin source and, thus, are 'translational' (or 'translated, *übersetzt*'), while non-translational texts are described as 'autochthonous.' Similarly, prose texts are defined by their lack of poetic structures. That is, they are "metrically unbound" texts, or not poetic.

These binaries, however, are not particularly good at creating categories that accurately describe early German texts, their similarities, and dissimilarities. Consider, for example, two texts that land in opposite genres: *Psalm 138* and the *Markbeschreibungen*. According to Fleischer's definitions, the charters of the *Markbeschreibungen* are described as autochthonous because they do not have one specific source text from which they stem. In contrast, *Psalm 138* is not autochthonous, or translated, simply because it is based on the Vulgate's *Psalm 138*. Identifying one text as autochthonous and the other as not, however, obscures how similar these texts are with respect to the degree of cultural transfer that was involved in their production.

Bostock (1976) characterizes the German *Psalm 138* as such a free translation of the Vulgate text it is more of a paraphrase. The German-speaking writer adapted and rearranged the original text, its language and ideas, in order to fashion a vernacular text that was appropriate to their contemporary ecclesiastical setting (Bostock 1976: 219-22). Furthermore, the author composed in Otfridian verse, which represents another way in which the writer molded the original into a distinctly Carolingian text. The context of Carolingian Europe is also relevant to the *Markbeschreibungen*, which comprises two charters, one that records the land in Hamelburg, Bavaria given to the monastery at Fulda on January 7, 777 (the *Hamel-*

burger Markbeschreibung), the other delineates the boundaries of Würzburg on October 14, 779 (*Würzburger Markbeschreibung*). Their language is formulaic and repetitive, as is the case with all charters; it also contains a mixture of Latin and German. This bilingualism indicates how charters were important bureaucratic vehicles for an unbroken tradition of Roman law that maintained a tight grip on administrative systems across Europe for centuries to come.

Both *Psalm 138* and the *Markbeschreibungen*, in fact, are products of Carolingian culture and society, while also being influenced by classical traditions of religion and administration. It is misleading to label the latter texts as 'autochthonous,' simply because they do not have one specific source text, but rather a whole legal tradition as a source, while calling the former text 'translated.' Also note the sense of "nativeness" that is conveyed with the term 'autochthonous' and how easily one might transfer that notion to language. As autochthonous texts, the *Markbeschreibungen* gain an air of authenticity and must surely exhibit more authentic German than the translated, non-autochthonous *Psalm 138*, which also happens to be poetry and, thus, must exhibit less authentic German because of the influence of confounding factors.[9]

The prose-poetry binary is equally misleading as a means of describing early German texts, and its problems begin with the fact that 'prose' is largely defined only in relation to poetry. Fleischer (2006: 28) defines prose as comprising metrically unbound texts; that is, prose includes anything that is not poetic. Defining prose in terms of what it is not has a long tradition that reaches back to Classical Greece. Poetry's status as the terminological fixed point around which prose is defined stems from the fact that, in evolutionary terms, "poetry precedes prose, at least as a self-conscious or artistic mode of verbal performance and literary composition" (Graff 2005: 303). For example, Graff (2005: 303-4) notes in his article, *Prose versus Poetry in Early Greek Theories of Style*, that significant evidence exists of a robust tradition of oral and written verse going back to Greece's archaic period. In contrast, formal prose was a comparatively late invention of the classical period, during which it also became a major topic of scholarly inquiry. Classical rhetoricians like Aristotle were interested in the art of speech and, therefore, attempted to identify the different types of prose and establish prescriptions for making prose, which is to say 'unmetered' oratory and writing, effective. Graff (2005) demonstrates in his article that the classical rhetoricians were unwilling or unable to define prose in positive terms in that their descriptions of and prescriptions for appropriate prose always made crucial reference to poetry. To quote Graff (2005: 305), who cites Nimis (1994):

[9]Simple fixes, like replacing the term 'autochthonous' with 'original,' run into similar problems.

> This negative and basically formal conception of prose, though pervasive in antiquity and widespread even today, has been a source of confusion. It both assumes and asserts a distinction that proves to be illusory. As Steve Nimis [1994] remarks, the definition of prose as non-verse "makes prose a very unstable category … If prose is the 'other' of verse, then what prose is depends on what 'verse' is, and this is not a stable category either.

This same categorial incoherence is evident in the work of the nineteenth-century philologists, such as the Grimm brothers. In their *Deutsches Wörterbuch* they define prose as "die ungebundene schreibart und rede **im gegensatz zu** verse und poesie" ('unbound writing and speaking as opposed to verse and poetry,' page 2170) and has been carried over into modern scholarship, as Fleischer (2006) demonstrates.

Old-school philologists, Germanists, and lexicographers alike have uncritically adopted another idea from the classical rhetoricians, namely, the notion that prose, unlike poetry, represents a natural, everyday mode of linguistic expression. Consider the continuation of the Grimm brothers' definition of prose, which describes it as "*eine ledige oder ungezwungene red, die nit in reim gestelt oder gezwungen*" ('an unattached and unforced speech, which is not placed or forced into a meter'). Prose is free, unbound speaking and writing. In contrast, poetry "forces" and "binds" language. Though this definition does not mention qualities like 'grammaticality' or 'authenticity,' it implies that prose and poetry have opposite relationships to both concepts, with "free" prose likely to be more authentic or grammatical than "forced" poetry. More contemporary, colloquial definitions of prose follow the traditional lead of defining prose in opposition to poetry, while strengthening the apparent link between it and naturalness or grammaticality. Consider Merriam-Webster's definition for *prose* (2023a):

- the ordinary language people use in speaking or writing; language intended primarily to give information, relate events, or communicate ideas or opinions
- a literary medium distinguished from poetry by its greater irregularity and variety of rhythm, its closer correspondence to the patterns of everyday speech, and its more detailed and factual definition of idea, object, or situation — compare verse

Note how this definition connects prose to everyday, "ordinary language," which implies the extraordinariness and markedness of poetry. Wikipedia, often people's first online stop for the basics on any given topic, links prose and grammaticality even more explicitly: "Prose is a form of written or spoken language

that typically exhibits a natural flow of speech and grammatical structure" (*prose* 2023b). Poetry, it is implied, is unnatural and follows a different set of rules than so-called ordinary language.

This linking of prose to authentic, everyday, and unmarked language also has classical origins, namely, Aristotle's *On Rhetoric*, in which the philosopher and rhetorician, like modern Germanists, wrestles with the same incoherent categories of poetry and prose and, therefore, runs into similar analytical problems. The main focus of *On Rhetoric*'s Book 3 is to establish what constitutes good style in unmetered *logos*,[10] which encompassed prose oratory and writing. Here, Aristotle positions himself against other orators whose prose style was, in his mind, too poetic and, therefore inappropriate (Graff 2005: 308; *On Rhetoric* 3.2.1). From this same paragraph of Book 3, chapter 2:

> [L]et the virtue of style [*lexeōs aretē*] be defined as "to be clear" [*saphē*] (speech is a kind of sign, so if it does not make clear it will not perform its function)—and neither flat nor above the dignity of the subject, but appropriate [*prepon*].[11]

Clear language, according to Aristotle, results from orators using common words and metaphors to convey their intended meaning, as well as adhering to the "rules for speaking idiomatic, grammatically sound Greek," detailed in Book 3's fifth chapter, 'To Hellēnizein, or *Grammatical Correctness*' (Graff 2005: 314–315). Based on this discussion, Graff (2005: 314) notes how Aristotle arrives at his idea of what "naked or unmarked" Greek was, "a sort of stylistic zero-degree." This description of a "flat" Greek that is free from the excessive ornamentation of poetic language and, thus, grammatical resembles that similarly neutral early German that Germanic syntacticians have tried to isolate in their data. However, Aristotle's rules for idiomatic Greek are not descriptive rules at all, but rather prescriptive rules designed to promote clarity in expression.[12] In fact, what Aristotle advocates for is a particular *style* of prose that paradoxically takes inspiration from "regular" and poetic speech alike. On the one hand, the author should

[10] Aristotle defines *logos* in various ways in *On Rhetoric*, including as 'word, sentence, argument, reason, speech, tale, and esteem' (Aristotle 2007: 317). In this context, the translation 'speech' seems the most apt, though it likely carries other connotations, like 'reason' and 'argument' with it. Kennedy also notes that Aristotle had "no technical term for prose" and that the word he used literally meant "in bare words" (page 198, fn. 17).

[11] Translations of *On Rhetoric* are from George Kennedy's 2007 second edition of the work (Aristotle 2007).

[12] See chapter 7's discussion of well-formedness for a more thorough treatment of Aristotle's rules of idiomatic Greek.

consciously construct their language in ways that resemble everyday speech and seem natural or authentic. On the one hand, they should also draw linguistically on the right types of poetry, tragedy, mainly, in order to defamiliarize the speech for the interlocutor and lend it a degree of distinctiveness (Graff 2005: 314-5, 330-1, 333).[13]

It seems to me that classical, traditional, and colloquial definitions that associate prose with ordinary or natural speaking and writing underlie Fleischer's (2006) methodology, something that becomes particularly evident in the value the study places on the *Altdeutschen Gespräche*. As autochthonous prose, Fleischer's hierarchy predicts that this text contains the most authentic data in that it is supposedly free from the confounding influences of Latin sources and poetic structures. Yet Fleischer (2006: 28-29) sees the text as especially ideal for syntactic analysis for its unparalleled authenticity in that it exhibits a 'prose' that is close to an early *spoken* German. Consider the examples from the *Gespräche*[14] in (10).

(10) a. Gueliche lande cumen ger
which land come you.PL
'Where do you come from?' (20)

b. Guer is tin erro
where is your lord
'Where is your lord?' (31)

c. Nu guez
NEG know
'I don't know' (32)

d. Ubele canet minen teruæ
bad sevant indeed
'Bad servant, indeed!' (36)

e. Min erro guillo tin esprachen
my lord wants you speak.INF
'My lord wants to speak with you' (43)

[13] I return to the topic of (literary) style in chapter 7's discussion of well-formedness.

[14] The *Altdeutschen Gespräche* refer to two similar, short texts, one stemming from the Kassel Glosses, the other from a manuscript originally housed in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris (now Vatican manuscript Reg. 566) (Bostock 1976: 101). Together they comprise a list of words, phrases, and short sentences; the *Paris Conversations*, the longer of the two texts, has just a little over 100 sentences.

f. Ne haben ne trophen
NEG have NEG nothing
'I don't have nothing' (74)

g. Gimer min ros
Bring.me my horse
'Bring me my horse!' (51)

h. Coorestu narra
hear.you fool
'Do you hear me, fool?' (65)

i. vndes ars in tino naso
dog.GEN.SG ass in your nose
'A dog's ass in your nose!' (42)

These short sentences and phrases exhibit an "everyday language" (*Alltagssprache*) that is not attested elsewhere in the corpus. For example, the language is emotive, at times vulgar, and indicative of the subjective involvement of the speaker. The utterances themselves are dialogic in that they assume the presence of an interlocutor. It is this "closeness to everyday life" ("*Nähe zum täglichen Leben*") that Fleischer identifies as the reason why the *Gespräche*'s data are so authentic that the presence or absence of a syntactic structure among its lines is significant for the analysis of other, far more substantial, early German texts. Recall, for example, Fleischer's arguments regarding multiple negation and how the fact that it was present in the *Gespräche* confirmed their authenticity in a way that their presence in the poetic *Evangelienbuch* could not.

This belief in the *Gespräche*'s superior authenticity vis-à-vis data from other texts primarily because it exhibits everyday language demonstrates how pervasive these colloquial and traditional definitions of prose that associate the genre with ordinary, natural speaking and writing have been. Applying similar conclusions and assumptions to directly observable stages of the language, like modern German, reveals how this approach to early German denies the existence and legitimacy of different linguistic registers or varieties in the early medieval period. One would be hard pressed, for example, to argue that the genitive case, the simple past and extended participials are inauthentically German because they are completely absent from the everyday language of many German speakers. Modern German, like medieval German, is a multilectal phenomenon. Speakers have command over multiple different linguistic varieties and the language they produce in a colloquial context varies, likely considerably, from how they speak or write in a different context.

In sum, I argue that any claims that the *Gespräche* exhibit a particularly authentic early German cannot simply rest on the observation that its language represents colloquial language: everyday language is no more or less authentic than any other register of language. In fact, there is good reason to question the *Gespräche*'s linguistic authenticity. Consider, for example, that the manuscript shows Romance spellings for German sounds, such as <gu> for /w/, the omission of initial /h/ and its inclusion in places where it does not belong. These details indicate that an adult L2 learner of German initially wrote the text. The scribe was likely a French speaker, who spelled the words as they would have pronounced them, a circumstance that makes locating the text within a specific region impossible. Bostock (1976: 102) explains how some features indicate the text is a French speaker's approximation of Middle Franconian, while others point to West Franconian. Given the extent to which the scribe's first language influenced spelling, it is not unreasonable to wonder whether other aspects of the text were affected.

I return now to the question that animates this section: what is prose? I have argued that prose has been too vaguely defined in scholarly discourse on early German syntax. It has been linked to spoken and written language that is imagined to be ordinary, natural, and grammatical, and this line of thinking has discouraged approaching historical languages as multilectal phenomena. This vague conception of prose underlies the conclusion that the *Altdeutschen Gespräche*, with its reflexes of ordinary spoken language, constitute the most authentic text in the corpus. It promotes autochthonous prose as the epitome of authenticity, which, given this text type's rareness, confirms for diachronic linguists how flawed the early German corpus is. And, finally, it frames the search for authentic early medieval German as a search for a colloquial, spoken competence, which is precisely the variety to which historical linguists have *no reliable access*. By this I mean two things: first, that there are no living speakers of early medieval German to render grammaticality judgments for linguists and, second, that isolating data that are supposedly reflective of this colloquial, spoken competence involves constructing a relative scale of the supposed authenticity of early German's four genres that is based on a faulty understanding of prose and, I might add, poetry.[15] Now, this does not mean we cannot gather data from across the corpus and identify basic patterns, for example, in the placement of finite verbs vis-à-vis other constituents. That is, they tend to occur in earlier position in stand-alone clauses and later position in clauses that might be connected to other clauses. But, as generativists will remind us, performance, i.e., data gathered from texts, is *not*

[15]I engage more with the question of what poetry is in Chapter 6, though I will not address it to the extent that I did prose in this chapter.

competence, and these data show lots of variability that makes reconstructing the underlying competence that supposedly produced them difficult. The reconstruction of the underlying competence is what sends diachronic linguists back to the deficit approach to find the authentic, or grammatical, data. And the deficit approach, as I have argued in this chapter, is a house of cards.

Given the fact that spoken and written language can differ so significantly from each other, it makes sense to adopt a more specific definition of prose that reflects this fact. The definition in the Oxford Dictionary of Literary Terms (4th edition) is a step in the right direction:

> [Prose is] [t]he form of written language that is not organized according to the formal patterns of verse; although it will have some sort of rhythm and some devices of repetition and balance, these are not governed by a regularly sustained formal arrangement, the significant unit being the sentence rather than the line. Some uses of the term include spoken language as well, but it is usually more helpful to maintain a distinction at least between written prose and everyday speech, if not formal oratory. Prose has as its minimum requirement some degree of continuous coherence beyond that of a mere list. (Baldick 2015)

Baldick's definition link prose to the written language, while still acknowledging that formal spoken language can be like prose. It also considers how prose writing is organized in ways that distinguish it from other types of linguistic production. So, for example, the sentence is a basic unit of prose, and its language typically has some degree of "continuous coherence." According to this definition, the *Altdeutschen Gespräche* is not a prose text, while the *Markbeschreibungen*, as well as the Isidor and Tatian translations are.

In linking prose to formal oratory, Baldick's definition alludes to prose as a diachronic linguistic phenomenon. Garrett Stewart's (2018) treatment of prose emphasizes the notion that prose is an invention that has developed over time.[16]

> Prose is a fabrication, not a linguistic axiom. It has a complex history well before its intricate literary genealogy. Made, not given, prose comes down to modern use with the form, formally determined, of a world-historical invention. […] Born of empiricism and print culture, *prose is neither neutered*

[16]Garrett Stewart's discussion of prose in its entirety approaches the topic within the discipline of literary criticism and, thus, falls outside of the scope of this book. It can be accessed here: https://oxfordre.com/literature/view/10.1093/acrefore/9780190201098.001.0001/acrefore-9780190201098-e-1084.

> *poetry nor transcribed speech.* Only its immediate ancestry is oratorical. [emphasis added]

Stewart (2018) explicitly contradicts traditional and colloquial definitions of prose, stating that prose exists as its own historical phenomenon, independent of poetry and speech. Later in his discussion, he offers an explanation on how prose has come to seem so natural to today's speakers, linking it to the emergence of new styles in prose writing: authors started to abandon earlier "embellished declamatory models" in favor, first, of "epistemological lucidity, later of verisimilitude in narrative fiction." Still, this language of narrative fiction, one must remember, is generally unlike the language of actual spoken language, with its fragmented syntax and reliance on the pragmatic context of the immediate dialogic setting to create meaning.[17] Though, of course, some writers intentionally try to represent more faithfully naturally occurring dialogues or a protagonist's interior monologue. The point is, however, that writers *created* prose as part of the long process of literization and continue to consciously develop it. The ways in which they shape their prose reflect their historical context, the purpose of the text itself, and their own educational background and/or identification with a particular intellectual or cultural movement.

Drawing on the definitions of Stewart and Baldick, I define prose as follows: it is one linguistic variety that is generally written; it is a human innovation developed in specific sociocultural contexts to meet the needs of the writer, rather than a neutral representation or transcription of spoken language or denuded poetry. It does not simply exist, and it is not a naturally occurring linguistic phenomenon. Rather, people must create it. This definition of prose fits more comfortably within a multilectal view of early medieval German.

2.3.2 Which early medieval text has the best data and why isn't it Otfrid?

What follows is not an exhaustive discussion of every study that reflects Fleischer's (2006) ideas and views variable data in the corpus as a problem requiring remediation, relies on traditional and colloquial definitions of prose, and approaches the language as a monolectal phenomenon. Most studies on early German syntax fall into this category, even if they do not directly identify their assumptions, as I argued at the beginning of the section is the case with Axel (2007). Instead, I discuss a selection of studies that are reflective of Fleischer's

[17] I explore this point in greater detail in chapters Chapter 3 and Chapter 4.

methodology and have settled on different texts as the best source of authentic data. Each adopts different strategies for sorting through the structural variation in order to delineate an early German competence. In this way, these works all offer structural analyses of early medieval German and approach their chosen text as a means of reconstructing an underlying grammar, rather than as an artifact, a *scriptus*, created by a person with access to multiple linguistic resources.

I first examine Petrova & Solf (2009) and Robinson (1997) in some detail. Both studies are emblematic of the argument that one prose text can constitute the best source of early German syntax, though the former chooses the Tatian translation, while the latter chooses Isidor. Another unstated assumption becomes apparent in Robinson's work: that authenticity or grammaticality correlates with structural regularity. This association between authenticity and regularity is also evident in Lötscher (2009), who analyzes Otfrid's *Evangelienbuch* and argues that variable data result from the presence of two syntactic systems. That is, grammatical word order rules, or a core grammar, produced the regular data that mirror modern-like syntactic patterns, which are also evident in texts like the Isidor, while data that do not reflect modern patterns are pragmatically arranged according to archaic and poetic information structural principles.

I begin with Petrova & Solf (2009), which directly references Fleischer (2006) and its deficit, structuralist approach to the early German corpus. Thus, this work also adopts the attendant assumption that an underlying competence can find expression in supposedly neutral or natural prose writing, which would have had a close relationship to ordinary speaking. The article characterizes the lack of autochthonous prose as indicative of a problem in the "reliability" of the data that researchers must counter by asking "whether the word order patterns and syntactic constructions [...] are representative for the system of the language under investigation" (pages 122-23). Because that perfect text containing "authentic prose [that is] representative for the system of the dialects spoken at the period of time" (page 123) does not exist, the authors propose that "true Germanic syntax" can by isolated in the *Differenzbelege* from the Tatian,[18] that is, those data in which the German deviates sufficiently from the Latin source. Specifically, they argue that one can investigate the role of information structure in early German simply by looking at deviating data from this one particular translational

[18]This discussion does not contend with the Isidor translation, though the authors state that they want a text of "considerable size" (page 123). The implication is that the Isidor was not long enough for the authors' purposes. The study's analytical focus on the *Differenzbelege* also suggests that they rejected the German translation of the Isidor as a source text because it is a more independent translation than the Tatian. This decision is also consistent with Fleischer's (2006) implied hierarchy of texts (see §2.2.2).

prose text (page 154). This argument indicates that, though the authors recognize the existence of a multilectal early medieval German, they still assume that one competence underlies this grammar. Analytically, their approach is monolectal in that they do not recognize the possibility that an individual's multilectalism (and multilingualism) plays a role in the *scriptus* they create. Furthermore, the authors assume that they can reconstruct this one competence if they consider only its genuine reflexes in the data. Data from other texts can contribute to this understanding, the authors note on page 126, but it is a unitary grammar that Petrova & Solf (2009) aims to depict.

Robinson (1997) has similar goals to Petrova & Solf (2009), though its author concludes that it is the Isidor that is the "best early source of Old High German prose" (page 2). It also becomes clear that Robinson's ideas about prose and its connection to an early German grammar and ordinary speaking resemble Petrova & Solf's. Consider how the author claims that the prose of the Isidor was "quite near" to "the common spoken language" (page 4) because the translator wanted their work "read out loud as a polemical piece in a contemporary theological debate, aimed at persuasion more than instruction" (see Nordmeyer (1957: 29) and Nordmeyer (1958: 27; 33) as the sources of Robinson's argument). Presumably, Robinson means to argue that the translator wanted to make the language as accessible as possible so that listeners would be persuaded rather than confounded and, so he composed in a "common," which is to say, colloquial, perhaps neutral language that resembled ordinary speaking. Recalling my earlier observation that this conflation of prose with ordinary speaking and writing obscures the fact of a multilectal early medieval German, it is telling that Robinson does not comment on which register or variety of an eighth-century spoken vernacular would have been appropriate for the translation of the rhetorically and theologically sophisticated Isidor treatise.

A more specific definition of prose, however, as a human innovation and a socioculturally determined variety of written language, might incline one toward the arguments in Matzel's (1970) detailed study instead. Matzel summarizes the Isidor project on page 495, emphasizing the difficulty of the undertaking. The translator, first, had to understand a theologically challenging text, written in a complex and advanced Latin. Then they needed to find a way to transfer the original treatise into German such that "the meaning of its sources was retained, and the needs of the vernacular met" ("*[…] die lateinischen Texte […] so in die deutsche Sprache umzusetzen, dass der Sinn ihrer Vorlagen und die Belange der Muttersprache gewahrt bleiben*"). In addition to these formidable challenges, Matzel notes, the translator created "regulated language" ("*geregelte Sprache*"), which

most particularly expressed a "differentiated orthography" ("*differenzierten Orthographie*") and consistently implemented this system throughout the text's composition. The language of the Isidor, thus, is not a neutral representation of some spoken variety. Rather it is a carefully constructed work of prose—perhaps the first in the history of German—and the translator's attempt to rise to the challenge laid down by the emperor himself to turn spoken vernaculars into a written language that was "*schrift- und damit literaturfähig*" ('the language has a written form and, thus, one can compose literature in that language').[19] This description is reminiscent of Gering's (1876: 1-3) assessment that the Isidor text and its language were "a product of erudition, an artistic creation, for which the author's mother tongue provided no model" ("*ein produkt der gelehrsamkeit, eine künstlerische schöpfung, die in der muttersprache kein vorbild hatte*").

Robinson (1997) does not accept Gering's conclusions, and the reasons behind this rejection are twofold. First, Robinson misapprehends prose as a simple graphic transfer of seemingly authentic, ordinary language into writing, rather than as a necessarily human construction that, as I argue in chapters 3 and 4, requires linguistic innovation. Second, Robinson seems to believe that a neutral, grammatical syntax will exhibit regular, not overly variable, patterns, especially if one controls for confounding factors and selects a text that is more likely to exhibit so-called authentic German. This linking of grammaticality and regularity becomes evident when the author discusses why he decided not to analyze Otfrid's *Evangelienbuch*: its poetic structure is a "significant (and negative) factor" affecting the ability to gather reliable data (pages 2-3). It is telling how Robinson summarizes the confounding effects of meter and rhyme: he targets *only* variability in Otfrid's clause structure as the negative consequence of poetic influence. Robinson cites Wunder's (1965: 485) study on the subordinate clause in the *Evangelienbuch* and characterizes the following quote as the latter author "essentially throw[ing] up his hands": "These examples illustrate how difficult, indeed impossible, it is to formulate a clear description of the placement of the finite verb in subordinate clauses in Otfrid's work" ("*Die Beispiele machen deutlich, wie schwierig, meines Erachtens unmöglich, es ist, ausgehend von Otfrid, genauere Aussagen über die Stellung des finiten Verbs im Nebensatz zu machen*"). As Somers (2021a: 370-3) points out, in implying that Otfrid's syntactic data is of dubious worth because of its structural variability, Robinson asserts a correlation between authentic, grammatical early German and a certain degree of syntactic regularity.

[19]The reference here is to the famous line from Einhard's biography of Charlemagne: "*inchohavit et grammaticam patrii sermonis*." I discuss this line and its significance in §3.2.1.

This idea that ordinary early spoken and written German must have been syntactically regular is made more explicit when Robinson (1997: 3) argues against Gering's (1876: 3) characterization of the Isidor translation as an "artistic creation" ("*künstlerische schöpfung*") with no existing model in the vernacular. Robinson counters: "[i]f this were correct, of course, my book would be nothing but a description of this "künstlerische schöpfung," and the regularities I find would be nothing but the creation of one brilliant translator." This statement combined with the discussion of the disadvantages of the Otfrid text demonstrates Robinson's underlying belief that the structural regularity of the Isidor translation is evidence of its particular authenticity. The Isidor's data are so genuine, in fact, that the author concludes that, as the "earliest large and dependable sample we have of the syntax of the German language [...] [w]e should not simply merge it with all other Old High German texts to serve as the starting point for a history of German syntax. In many ways, it should *be* the starting point, certainly for word-order issues" (page 5; emphasis in the original).

In this passage, one also finds a clear distillation of Robinson's structuralist orientation toward the early medieval German corpus. That is, the significance of its texts lies solely in their ability to reveal an underlying competence. Ironically, in arguing against Gering's description of the Isidor, Robinson comes close to a different way of approaching its German translation without realizing it. Gering's characterization is reminiscent of the literization approach in that he identifies the Isidor *scriptus* as a human construct. While Gering sees this creation primarily as artistic, I see it as the product of necessary linguistic innovation. This innovation is rooted in the linguistic resources to which the literizer had access. They do not literize in random fashion or without consulting their own linguistic intuitions, though stylistic, i.e., aesthetic or artistic, concerns surely play a role as well. Robinson thinks that it is a trivial matter to describe the artifact, the *scriptus*, and that significant work in diachronic linguistics can only be about identifying a competence. I submit that describing a *scriptus* and identifying how different linguistic varieties shaped its creation as a singular artefact is a worthwhile endeavor that offers diachronic linguists a new and exciting way forward.

To be clear: I am not arguing that natural language or spoken language is devoid of structural regularities.[20] Instead I argue that the presence of regular patterns does not confirm the authenticity of the Isidor's language as a reflection

[20]Though compare the syntax of the structures produced in a spontaneous conversation between two friends to a work email that one of those friends sends to their boss and see which one is more syntactically regular.

of an early German competence, as Robinson implies. Nor does it speak against its being the result of the conscious literization of the spoken vernacular undertaken by one writer, who had the educational and linguistic resources to try such a thing. Indeed, the care taken to develop a regularized orthography, as Matzel (1970) lays out, speaks in favor of the opposite conclusion, that the text is exactly as Gering described it: a masterful, creative achievement. Accepting Gering's assessment does not diminish the significance of the Isidor or mean that Robinson (1997) is not an important study. It simply changes why they are important. Instead of being the starting point of German syntax, the Isidor translation marks the beginning of a history of German *prose*, as a specific linguistic, socioculturally determined development.

I turn now to Lötscher (2009), a work that seems to fly in the face of the studies discussed so far in that its focus is the poetic *Evangelienbuch*. Recall that Fleischer (2006) concluded that Otfrid's text is the least likely among those in the corpus to yield authentic data because the poet was willing to break the "grammatical rules" of early German and produce "mistakes" for the sake of the end-rhyme. Robinson's (1997) discussion of Otfrid is consistent with this argument; he identifies the *Evangelienbuch*'s apparent variability in constituent ordering as the main effect of such poetic distortions. Lötscher (2009), as a result, must develop some alternate understanding of what constitutes authentic or grammatical data to justify an analysis of Otfrid in the first place. If these poetic data are so unreliable, why not simply ignore them?

Lötscher's (2009: 283) solution is to hypothesize that all data are authentic, but some of them are evidence of a core "grammatical" system that produces modern-looking clauses, like the ones Robinson found in the Isidor text, while the data that do not align with this core grammar were ordered pragmatically, or according to "information-structural conditions." This approach builds on the work of Lenerz 1984, 1985, which argues that variability in the placement of clausal constituents is due to speakers having access to an inherited and an innovative grammar. In the former, speakers produce a new, unique to Germanic, head-final complementizer phrase. This phrase forms the basis of Modern German's clausal syntax. Speakers also produced an inherited COMP-less verb-final clause (see, for example, Lenerz 1985: 117-19. According to Lötscher (2009), the *Evangelienbuch* exhibits clauses that fit the modern pattern and can, therefore, be explained as products of the "core grammar of his language" (page 182). Yet these "grammatical" clauses exist alongside other clauses that follow an archaic, pragmatically driven pattern. These informational structural principles are "special rules, be it of an older tradition, be it of poetical language as a subsystem of the overall system" (page 182). Note that the assumption that early German poetic language

must have also been archaic (i.e., that poetic syntax is archaic syntax) makes this whole argument seem perfectly logical: naturally, Otfrid would reach for poetic, and thus, archaic language in the composition of a poem, and, as a result, his more variable syntax, which often defies the modern clausal pattern, it neatly explained.

The information structure approach to early German syntax is more tolerant of variable data than the approaches described in Fleischer (2006) and Robinson (1997) in that it encourages scholars to look for patterns in data that they might otherwise write off as inauthentic or ungrammatical, which is to say, not representative of a real early German competence.[21] However, this approach does not actually rehabilitate the *Evangelienbuch* as a text of analytical consequence. If you adopt Lötscher's (2009) methods and conclusions, Otfrid's work can only confirm the regular syntactic patterns that are attested more broadly in the translational Isidor and Tatian translations. Any data that are inconsistent with such patterns are treated as essentially different, produced by a special, separate, and more peripheral system. The decision to examine the *Evangelienbuch* within this framework would only make sense if one had a particular interest in so-called poetic grammars or wanted to take advantage of Otfrid's supposed window into a prehistoric syntactic system. For Lötscher (2009) the variable data do not prompt a more fundamental reexamination of how scholars might approach Otfrid's text in the first place. Instead of insisting there is only one grammar diachronic linguists ought to be interested in identifying, there are now two: the "core" grammar, that yields an ordinary, authentic language similar to what the prose texts exhibit, and a "poetic" one that produces special or archaic language.

2.4 Conclusion

In this chapter I laid out a case against the deficit approach to the study of early German syntax, which maintains that the corpus comprises mostly problematic texts (Fleischer 2006; Schrodt 2004). The problem stems from two sources. First, the structuralist orientation and goals of our disciplinary forebearers have given modern diachronic linguists the idea that the only object worth pursuing in our research is the competence that underlies performance. Thus, Germanic linguists have sought the data, i.e., performance, that in their view faithfully reflects an early German grammar. The preoccupation with structure leads to the second

[21]This is the approach taken, for example, in the many articles that comprise the volume, *Information Structure and Language Change, New Approaches to Word Order Variation in Germanic* (Hinterhölzl & Petrova 2009).

problem, which is that early German texts do not represent the sorts of genres that diachronic linguists assume will contain the most authentic data, i.e., the data most reflective of an early German competence. Of the four logically possible genres, autochthonous prose, autochthonous poetry, translation prose, translational poetry, it is the first genre that is the most likely to yield reliable data, so says the deficit approach. This is because the confounding influences of a Latin source text and a poetic meter, which compromise the authenticity of data gathered from the second and third text genres in the above list, have no effect on autochthonous prose. Unfortunately, the corpus is made up almost entirely of autochthonous poetry and translational prose, with only a few short texts providing reliable data on the structure of a spoken, everyday medieval German, without the complication of having to control for the effects of confounding factors. Thus, diachronic structuralists need the deficit approach to help them navigate this tricky empirical landscape.

This story is axiomatic in the literature and, so, it was my goal in this chapter to identify the assumptions that underlie it, explain where I thought they were based on misapprehensions, and propose that there is another way to approach the study of early medieval German. For example, colloquial and traditional definitions of prose as representing the same neutral, underlying grammar as 'ordinary speaking and writing,' have convinced scholars that these translational prose texts contain data that are more authentic or grammatical than the era's major poetic texts. Thus, many investigations of early German syntax gather data exclusively from the prose translations (for example, Axel 2007; Robinson 1997; Petrova & Solf 2009; Schlachter 2012). Approaching the corpus in a monolectal way has allowed scholars to claim that, in analyzing what they assume is the best source of authentic data, be it the Tatian or Isidor translation (never Otfrid), they are delineating an authentic early German competence or, as these studies generally call it, an Old High German grammar. Even studies that do consider data from poetic texts, like Lötscher (2009) and Lenerz (1985), do not adjust their fundamental ideas about where the authentic data can be found. Instead, they characterize the poetic data as peripheral to a core German grammar, to use Lötscher's turn of phrase, and propose a different set of rules to account for this other grammar.

What none of these studies has done is treat each text like an individual linguistic artifact that results from an early medieval speaker literizing their vernacular for the first time. This literizer does not speak just one variety of German, say, this imagined ordinary variety or an everyday, colloquial language. Rather they are multilectal, in that they speak many varieties of German ranging from colloquial to formal, and to some extent multilingual, in that they have been educated

in Latin and the classical discourse of *grammatica*.[22] In order to produce a *scriptus*, they must engage these multiple linguistic resources. How they choose to do so reflects the literizer's sociocultural context and the nature of their writing project. The resultant *scriptus*, as I argue in the next chapter, necessarily involves linguistic innovation so that the theretofore exclusively oral vernacular can function in the new dislocated context that writing alone can create.

[22]It is of course possible that a Carolingian literizer spoke other languages as well, say, the so-called rustic Latin of West Francia. In that rustic Latin's corresponding written language was Latin—though indeed the gulf between how people spoke and how they wrote was growing wider by the day—Latin would have remained the one written language with which literizers were familiar. There is also the possibility, if the literizer was one of the missionary monks from England, that the literization of early English influenced early German's literization. One still returns to Latin as the main model of a written language in that English's literization was also influenced by Latin and a Latinate literacy.

3 Creative literizations in the absence of a vernacular writing tradition

3.1 Introduction

In Chapter 2, I identified what I call the deficit approach to the early German corpus and connected this methodology to the structuralist orientation of our disciplinary forebearers. Since its inception, historical linguistics as a discipline has sought to identify the structures of an authentic German grammar or competence, to use a more modern term. The deficit approach has led diachronic structuralists to winnow down an already small corpus to something even smaller, say, one text whose data they believe are most reflective of this competence. This competence is imagined to be a neutral or ordinary German of the sort produced in everyday speech. In contrast, data from other texts seen as negatively impacted by confounding factors like a poetic meter are largely ignored or analyzed as indicative of a peripheral, e.g., poetic, grammar. Far more consequential is the fact that diachronic linguists see only the delineation of an early German competence as the goal of analysis. This long-standing orientation has made it challenging for scholars to move beyond the mental grammar as their analytical object and treat the first German texts as, *scripti*, that is, as the first material artifacts of a long process of vernacular literization.

In this book, I offer an alternate narrative, that is, the literization approach. Namely, the German speakers who wrote in the vernacular in early medieval East Francia, mostly members of the clergy, were multilectal and multilingual. They each have multiple linguistic varieties that they could engage in order to create their *scriptus*. Among these varieties is a multilectal spoken German, but also Latin, the only language in which these first literizers were literate. What they lacked was any sort of vernacular writing tradition on which to draw. They needed to create one first. This fact means that each literization resulted from a writer drawing on their linguistic resources in ways that were commensurate with their own linguistic and educational background and the goals they have for their particular writing project. Thus, one should expect to see variety across the different literizations.

This alternate narrative implies an alternative approach to the study of early German. It allows scholars to break free from the assumption that identifying an Old High German grammar, as many previous studies claim to do, is the only worthwhile scholarly pursuit. Instead, we might see the first textual evidence of German as a constellation of idiosyncratic *scripti*, each the product of the literizer engaging their linguistic resources in a unique way. Each *scriptus*, however, will also reflect a creative engagement with the vernacular. That is, the writer must shape their vernacular into a written form, which, I argue, places entirely new demands on it. In other words, none of the varieties of the early German oral vernacular had ever before had to contend with the new dislocated communicative domain of the written word, which had the potential to disconnect entirely the linguistic production from its creator and receiver. Thus, literizers must also stretch their vernacular beyond its existing conventions, or their linguistic intuitions, as generativists would say, and creatively adapt the vernacular so that it can be functional in this new communicative context.

In this chapter, I justify my characterization of early medieval German as an almost exclusively oral vernacular, and its first literizations as acts that demand linguistic creativity from the *scriptus* creator. In §3.2, I, first, demonstrate the absence of a *vernacular* writing tradition in Carolingian Europe and then, detail the sociocultural barriers that inhibited its development. These discussions underpin the conclusion that German's first attestations were isolated, idiosyncratic, and produced in a culture that was, at best, indifferent, at worst, hostile toward its own vernacular. I tackle these topics in some depth and draw on literature from fields outside of historical syntax, primarily the history of medieval orality and literacy and Carolingian documentary culture. The sources I discuss in this section do not often find their way into the bibliographies of published works on Germanic and early German syntax. This makes a certain amount of sense given diachronic linguists' enduring interest in identifying an early German grammar or competence and the attendant belief that sociocultural factors are relevant only to performance. But I maintain that this sociocultural context is crucial to our understanding of the early *scripti* and, so, I dedicate this sub-section to discussing them.

In §3.3, I elaborate my argument that these first literizations required linguistic creativity from its literizers. That is, these *scripti* are not and could not have been simple transcriptions of some variety of the literizer's oral vernacular. I rely here on Koch & Oesterreicher's (1985) framework of conceptual orality and literacy to demonstrate that the literization of an oral vernacular involves not simply a medial transfer of a phonic linguistic phenomenon into the graphic medium. It also requires a whole conceptual reworking of these phonic varieties, as literizers

work out how to make the phonic vernacular functional in the dislocated context of the page.

3.2 Innovative *scripti* in German-speaking Francia

Vernacular culture was overwhelmingly oral in ninth-century German-speaking Francia and would remain so for centuries to come. The Carolingians had established a documentary culture, but literacy was Latinate with only minimal encroachment on the vernacular. Comparatively fewer resources were devoted to developing and maintaining vernacular *scripti*. I argue in §3.2.1 that none of the *scripti* that emerged in the eighth and ninth centuries were adopted to any significant extent outside of the limited context in which they were created. Furthermore, these *scripti* did not grow out of an interest in literizing the vernacular but were created in the service of making Latin texts more accessible to German-speakers. That is, the preponderance of vernacular writing during the period was a by-product of the Carolingian project of Latin education and reform, not the result of a concerted effort to literize the vernacular. In §3.2.2, I argue that there were significant barriers to the vernacular's literization across the empire. Those few texts that *do* constitute an author's conscious engagement with vernacular literization, like the *Hêliand* and *Evangelienbuch*, were written in a indifferent, or even hostile, cultural environment that offered no significant vernacular written tradition that could guide their linguistic output. The *Hêliand* poet and Otfrid had to work out literization for themselves. That is, their poems are written in two idiosyncratic and innovative vernacular *scripti*.

3.2.1 Literacy in Carolingian Europe

For this brief introduction to the history of literacy in Carolingian Europe, I draw extensively on Green's (1994) monumental *Medieval Listening and Reading*, especially its Chapter 2 (and more specifically, pages 35-39). Literacy arrives through contact with Mediterranean cultures. Of particular interest are the interactions between the Germanic-speaking tribes and the Roman Empire during late Antiquity that results in the northern barbarians learning to speak, and in some cases, write Latin. Goffart (2006: chapter 7) details the ways in which barbarians, including ones who spoke varieties of Germanic, not only joined the Roman army, but rose to high positions in its (post-Diocletian) military aristocracy and married Romans. Though these men were valued primarily for their prowess on the battlefield and generally did not have any background in the liberal arts, the ability

to read and write Latin would have been, as Green's (1994) puts it, "indispensable" (pages 36-37). Additionally, many and diverse barbarian tribes during this period had extensive contact with Latin speakers in and around the frontier region of Europe that Romans called *Germania*, sometimes as enemies, sometimes as *foederati*, that is, as allies of Rome. The many words that Germanic-speakers borrowed from Latin before the occurrence of the Second Consonant Shift, i.e., *Pfirsich* 'peach' and *Pflaume* 'plum,' is evidence of this early linguistic contact.

The next significant development that promoted literacy among Germanic-speaking peoples was their conversion to Christianity. This process began already with the Goths, who became Arian Christians starting in the mid-fourth century. It is, however, not until after the locus of power in Western Europe shifted away from the Italian peninsula that Germanic-speakers began to convert to orthodox Catholicism. Clovis I (ca. 486-511), who initiated Frankish territorial expansion in earnest, famously converted to Catholicism in 496, thereby linking the salvation of Germanic-speakers to the Latin language. Rome was, after all, still the center of the Catholic Church, and the language of this church was Latin. Most importantly, the dominant versions of the Bible at the time—the Vulgate mainly, but the *Vetus Latina* remained important—were in Latin. As a religion of the book, it was the Bible that provided the map to heaven, a fact that ensured a continued interest in the Latin language. Christianity later introduced a writing culture to German-speaking regions. In the seventh and eighth centuries monasteries largely following the Rule of Saint Benedict were founded. Reading and writing practices were embedded in this monastic culture; they were entirely Latinate (see Green 1994: 39).

The educational reforms of the so-called Carolingian Renaissance instituted under Charlemagne's reign in the late eighth and early ninth centuries provide evidence of a continued preoccupation with the Latin language in German-speaking Europe. As Brown (1994: 17-19) explains, Charlemagne's *Admonitio generalis*, legislation that was promulgated in 789, makes clear the importance of literacy and learning in the empire. In Charlemagne's estimation, the emperor's most important duty was to save souls. To this end, he required a clergy that was capable of carrying out this task. These clergy would need access to reliable copies of important Christian texts and the ability to read and understand them. The *Admonitio generalis*, thus, directed that schools be established in monasteries and cathedral churches in order to train clergy, as well as *scriptoria*, which would produce the necessary texts.

Charlemagne was also concerned with the state of written Latin, which over the previous centuries had undergone considerable change through interference from spoken Romance (Zeller 2021: 162-63). By the year 700, the state of the

written language was "completely chaotic" (Norberg 2023: 31, quoted in Zeller 2021: 166). This linguistic situation was seen as antithetical to the advancement of an orthodox Christianity, which required "uniformity of faith" (Brown 1994: 20). Uniformity of faith required uniformity of observance, which itself depended, not just on widespread access to texts, but those texts being identical and accurate. Thus, in his *Epistola de litteris colendis* ('Letter on the cultivation of learning') to Abbot Baugulf of Fulda, composed sometime in the last decades of the eighth century, the emperor emphasized that correct Latin is crucial to Christian learning (Brown 1994: 20-21). Through it one could "unlock the mysteries of the scriptures" contained in the Latin Bible (Brown 1994: 20), as well as guard against doctrinal error and heresy. To the Carolingians, establishing standards of correct Latin was a matter of eternal salvation or damnation. The stakes could not have been higher.

So, it makes sense that under the Carolingians there was a renewed interest in the classical tradition of *grammatica*, or 'the art of grammar,' which went beyond learning to read and write. It primarily entailed the study of literature, understood as "the science of the things said by poets, historians and orators; its principal functions [were]: to read, to write, to understand and to prove" (Brown 1994: 37, from Marius Victorinus's (1967) *Ars Grammatica* 1967:65-66). The art of grammar provided students with the tools to uncover the many layers of meaning in the Bible as part of Christian exegesis; it also made more accessible to them the Latin-language commentaries of the early church fathers (Brown 1994: 37).

This developing literary tradition and engagement with a written language, however, is an entirely Latinate phenomenon. That is, there is no good evidence of a widespread, concerted effort to literize the vernacular in the early medieval period. For example, imperial directives along the lines of the *Admonitio generalis*, calling for the clergy to cultivate a *German* literacy, are not extant. Charlemagne's biographer, Einhard, could be seen as contradicting this statement: he reports in the *Vita Karoli Magni* that the emperor "began forming a grammar of the ancestral language" (*inchoavit et grammaticam patrii sermonis*, 29, Einhard 1880). This passage gives the modern reader the impression that, not only did German already have a written form, but speakers had even begun applying the same sort of linguistic analysis to this new variety that they applied to the Latin language—that they were able to identify and discuss regularities in structure and agree on prescriptive norms. Matzel (1970: 516-20), however, warns against such an anachronistic interpretation. Drawing on Grundmann (2019) [1958], Matzel argues on page 519 that "grammar' cannot be understood as anything resembling a modern descriptive or prescriptive grammar of a language. As Green (1994: 49) observes in his own discussion of Matzel's work, a project of this nature would

have been beyond the capabilities for vernacular writers of this early period. German, in fact, had no literary form, and it is this deficit that Charlemagne is addressing; it was "the emperor's concern [to make] the vernacular subject to the same rules of written language as Latin, [by] making the vernacular *capable of being written*"[1] (Green 1994: 49, emphasis added).

Whatever Charlemagne's level of concern for the state of vernacular actually was, the Carolingian literary apparatus remained primarily engaged with Latin and did not undertake any coherent project to literize German. This focus on Latin, and inattention toward German, is reflected in two facts. First, monastic time and energy were directed toward the production, copying and preservation of Latin, not vernacular, texts. Second, the comparatively small number of vernacular texts that are part of the early medieval corpus were generally, though not exclusively, produced in the service of understanding Latin better, rather than developing a vernacular *scriptus*. The one notable exception to this statement, the eighth-century translation of Isidor's *De fide catholica contra Iudaeos*, has hardly no influence on texts produced outside of the immediate ecclesiastical network in which it was produced.[2]

In order to elaborate on the first point, I turn again to Green (1994: 49), who notes that while original vernacular poetry may be of great import to Germanists, each are preserved in only four manuscripts or fragments, whereas the Latin *Waltharius* is preserved in twelve manuscripts, Einhard's *Vita Karoli* in eighty, and the *Historia Langobardorum* of Paulus Diaconus in about 200. Even writers in Charlemagne's own orbit at court "composed hundreds of lines of Latin *carmina*, but not one of them composed a line in the vernacular." Green also cites Kuhn (1959), who likens the relationship between vernacular and Latin texts to the image of isolated islands—experimental German-language texts—floating in a sea of Latin-language literature. In short, there is an absence of evidence supporting the conclusion that there was any noticeable response to Charlemagne's reported wishes to see German literized. As Somers (2021b: 34, note 2) argues, these facts raise two possibilities: that these vernacular texts never existed in the first place, or that they existed at some point, but no one cared about them enough to preserve them. Either possibility points to the literization of German not mattering much to those Carolingians who were engaged in the empire's documentary and literary culture.

This conclusion is also reflected in the fact that the preponderance of texts that Carolingians produced were glosses and translations, and that these text types

[1]The early medieval conception of linguistic rules should not be confused with a modern descriptive one. That is, rules were seen as applicable only to the written language.

[2]See also §2.3.2 for a discussion of the Isidor text.

were created to foster Latin literacy among the clergy, not to cultivate a literary German (Green 1994: 49-50). For example, there are "weighty volumes" (page 49) of early medieval glosses that were compiled for use in monastic schools, where the vernacular was simply a means to teach Latin. The interlinear translations in texts like the eighth-century *Benediktinerregel* and the *Murbacher Hymnen* do not, and indeed are not meant to, constitute "consecutive text[s] in the vernacular" (page 49), but instead help the reader understand the construction of the Latin original. Masser (1989: 98) calls such texts "bilingual" texts in that they exist alongside, and are subordinate to, a Latin text. Unlike autonomous writing, they are tied to their original Latin text, deriving their function from that text and continually referring back to it.

Green (1994: 49-50) places the translation of Tatian's *Evangelienharmonie* into this category as well, noting how it is often a close translation of the Latin and that markers of textual organization, like the use of capital letters to divide sections, are present in the Latin text, but not its German equivalent. To this argument, one could add the fact that the German is copied alongside the Latin, and that the translators maintained the syntactic transparency of an interlinear gloss by having each line of the German translation correspond to a line of the Latin, a fact that is lost in the standard Sievers (1961) edition but is made clear in Masser's (1994) edition.

(1)

Et cogitabat intra se dicens	Inti thahta innan imo sus quędenti
quid faciam quod non habeo	uuaz tuon thaz **ih** ni haben
quo congregem	uuara **ih** gisamano
fructus meos	**mine uuahsmon**

He thought to himself, 'What shall I do? I have no place to store my crops.' (Luke 12, 17. King James Version)
Inti thahta innan imo sus quędenti
and thought to himself thus saying
uuaz tuon thaz ih ni haben
what do.1.SG. that I NEG have
uuara ih gisamano
where I store.PRES.SUBJ
mine uuahsmon
my crops
'And thought to himself saying thus, what will I do in that I do not have a place where I can store my crops' (Masser 1994, 170, 3-6)

The syntax of the translation is largely guided by the syntax of the original. As Dittmer & Dittmer (1998) detail, the translators maintained the order of sentential constituents set by the Latin, though would re-order within sentential constituents (page 21). See, for example, 'fructus meos,' and 'mine uuahsmon' in line 6 in (1). The translation of the constituent "my crops" is confined to the same line as the Latin equivalent—this, despite the fact that placing it before the verb, 'gisamano,' would have more clearly marked the clause as subordinate—though the translators did reorder the possessive determiner and its head noun. The same study also notes how readjustments in any ordering of constituents generally involved two constituents swapping places, and that this swapping was likely to involve at least one function word (page 21-22 and 23).

(2) quid **fecerim** uobis uuaz ih iu **teta** (Tatian 156,2, Sievers 1961)

quid fecerim uobis
what do.1.SG.PERF.ACT.SUBJ you.AB.PL
uuaz ih iu teta
what I you.DAT.PL. did
'what I did to you all'

In other words, the translators were loathe to rearrange lexical constituents with other lexical constituents. In (2), 'fecerim uobis' is switched around, yielding 'iu teta' in the German translation.

These facts are consistent with Green's characterization of the Tatian as a bilingual text and indicate its literization of German is incidental to the project of making the Vulgate version of the *Evangelienharmonie* more comprehensible to German speakers. The translator's[3] main goal was to clarify the Latin constructions, not create a systematic vernacular *scriptus*. To reiterate, my argument is not that the Tatian data have no relevance to the study of early German syntax. In fact, Dittmer & Dittmer (1998) make a compelling case that the translators made systematic, if generally limited, changes to the Latin syntax. It also seems eminently plausible that the deviations from the source text were intended to render the translation more legible to German-speaking readers, thereby clarifying what the Latin original actually *means*, not just what each individual word *says*. In this way, the deviating structures, or *Differenzbelege*, as they are called in the literature (see Chapter 2), could well be evidence of some early German structural tendency to have possessive determiners occur before their noun phrase.

[3]A reminder that, though scholars are not sure how many translators were responsible for the German translation of the Tatian text, I refer to one translator for simplicity's sake.

However, this argument is complicated by the fact that the Tatian translation constitutes neither an independent German *scriptus*, nor a simple medial transfer of some variety of the spoken vernacular into writing.[4] This point is important because it means that any syntactic systematicity a modern researcher identifies could well be attributable to the act of translation itself. That is, the translator's focus was on how best to translate Tatian's gospel harmony so as to elucidate for the German-speaking reader the original's structure and meaning. Their goal was not to create an optimally authentic-seeming or grammatical German *scriptus*. If it had been, they would not have hewed so closely to the source text in both the text's translation and presentation.

Scholars have largely not recognized this reality and have treated any structural systematicity found in the translation as evidence of an authentic German, to recall Fleischer's terminology (Chapter 2), which is to say, some undefined variety of ninth-century spoken German. An example of this type of analysis is Axel's (2007: Chapter 6; 303-06) treatment of *pro*-drop. Returning to the glossed excerpt in (1), note another difference between the Latin original and its translation: sometimes the translators rendered Latin *pro*-drop, that is, the dropping of subject pronouns, with overt subjects in the German translation.

(3)	quid faciam quod non habeo	uuaz tuon __ (a) thaz **ih** (b) ni haben
	quo congregem	uuara **ih** (c) gisamano
	fructus meos	mine uuahsmon

The translators added the pronoun *ih* 'I' twice, in (b) and (c), but not in (a). Studies, like Eggenberger (1961) and Hopper (1975), advocate for the 'loan syntax' hypothesis, which proposes that the translators transferred Latin's *pro*-drop into German. Axel (2007: 306-8), however, points out that there is a pattern to the distribution of overt and null pronouns. Namely, the translators were much more likely to drop the subject pronouns of main clauses than they were those of subordinate clauses. The excerpt in (1) demonstrates this asymmetrical distribution. Note that the clause with *pro*-drop, (a), is a main clause, while (b) and (c) occur in subordinate clauses. Axel (2007: 303-06) takes this systematicity to mean that *pro*-drop must have been part of an authentic Old High German grammar. If it were not a true feature of its grammar, how does one explain its non-random, seemingly syntactically determined, distribution?[5]

[4] I elaborate on the impossibility of a simple medial transfer of a spoken vernacular into writing in §3.3 and Chapter 4.

[5] Axel (2007) offers a structural explanation for the phenomenon: that *pro*-drop is licensed through the fronting of the finite verb from its generated clause-final position to the second position in the clause.

If one keeps in mind what the early German Tatian is, that is, an incidental literization of the German vernacular, rather than an intentional *scriptus*, alternative explanations open up. For example, the insertion of the subject pronoun perhaps might serve a disambiguating function by more clearly demarcating the text's subordinate clauses.

(4) quid faciam quod non habeo — uuaz tuon thaz ni haben
quo congregem — uuara gisamano
fructus meos — mine uuahsmon (lines 4-6)

subordinate clause: uuara **ih** gisamano mine uuahsmon
main clause: uuara gisamano **ih** mine uuahsmon

subordinate clauses: uuaz **ih** tuon; thaz **ih** ni haben
main clauses: uuaz tuon **ih**; thaz ni haben **ih**

Much of the clausal ambiguity stems from the project's translational constraints. For example, the ordering of the finite verb, 'gisamano,' and the object 'mine uuahsmon' is fixed by the Latin. Thus, the translators are locked into having a Verb-Object sequence. Adding the subject pronoun, however, allows the translators to carve out a clearer subordinate clause, or a main clause, if that is what they had wanted, simply by adding the first person singular subject pronoun before the verb. Similar clausal ambiguity arises in the German translation of line 4, which can be mitigated through the addition of subject pronouns. Both clauses, 'uuaz tuon' and 'thaz ni haben' could be main or subordinate clauses. Furthermore, 'thaz,' (that) can be translated in a number of different ways, including as a complementizer, a demonstrative or relative pronoun, or as a causative conjunction meaning 'in that' or 'because.' This explanation, I maintain, is more consistent with the realities of this text's creation, specifically that the translators prioritized the Latin, and translated it in such a way so as to maintain the original's syntactic transparency. In the case of (4), then, one should first assume that the translators are elucidating for the German-speaking reader the distinction between Latin main and subordinate clauses. In that the translator's literization of the vernacular is incidental rather than the immediate goal of the project, unlike contemporary writers who composed directly in the vernacular, Axel's (2007) analysis of *pro*-drop seems more far-fetched to me.

In contrast to the Tatian translation, that of Isidor's *De fide catholica contra Iudaeo* stands out as an early *scriptus* that, though it is still "geared to the needs of the Latin primary text" (Green 1994: 50), represents a more concerted and intentional engagement with the project of vernacular literization. For one, the

translation is much freer. Though one cannot know for sure how idiomatic that makes the translation (see Chapter 2), one fact is certain: that an independent vernacular translation is more of a challenge for the L2 Latin learner than, say, the Tatian translation with its (mostly) transparently one-to-one correspondence between Latin and German constituents. Another indication of the Isidor translator's interest in the literization of their vernacular as its own end is the fact that they took steps to create and apply a "regulated language" in their text. Matzel's (1970) extensive study traces the existence of a consciously implemented and differentiated orthography in the Isidor (495-96, *passim*). That the Isidor translator went to the trouble of developing this *scriptus* and applying it throughout their translation is indicative of an interest in the vernacular that is not evident in the Tatian.

Matzel imagines that the Isidor translation represents a direct response to Charlemagne's call for the development of a *grammaticam patrii sermonis*. He speculates that the Isidor translator was one brilliant and highly educated scholar, who was able to, not only meet the linguistic challenges inherent in the project, but also understand the difficult Latin and sophisticated theological arguments of the original and find ways to express these complicated ideas in German without the benefit of an already existing vernacular *scriptus*. He, thus, deduces that the translator must have been close to, or part of, the emperor's intellectual circle, for such a person could not have come from an isolated provincial monastery (page 522). Regardless of who the translator was or what their motives were, the end result of their toils was a new written variety of German that was "*schrift- und damit literaturfähig*," (i.e., that could be written and, thus, was a suitable variety for literature), that could be used to write texts "*höchster Inhalte*" ('of the most rarefied content,' page 495-96, but also pages 519, 521-22).

The *scriptus* that the Isidor translator created for his project, however, remains an isolated phenomenon and does not become the basis for *scriptus* development across the German-speaking monastic network. Matzel notes how there are hardly any traces of the *scriptus* outside of the Isidor family of texts, known as the "*Isidor-Sippe*," and argues that its regulated language was both too specific to the translator's own Rhine Franconian dialect and too difficult for the average person to learn (pages 530-532). Otfrid von Weissenburg, who was not an average monk, seems not to have been aware of the Isidor translator's efforts, for he laments in the *Ad Liutbertum*, one of the *Evangelienbuch*'s several prefaces, how the Franks have no tradition of vernacular literary culture. He states that they, unlike other great cultures, do not "commit the stories of their predecessors to written record" (Magoun 1943: 886). He continues to note that they write in a "foreign language" and, so, Frankish is "unused to being restrained by the regulating

curb of the art of grammar" and that it has never been "polished up by the natives" through writing (Magoun 1943: 880, 886). In section VII, Otfrid complains about how challenging it was to wrestle his spoken vernacular onto the page. Its words are difficult to spell, its grammatical patterns unlike Latin (Magoun 1943: 880). In short, Otfrid had to literize Frankish from scratch. He had no vernacular *scriptus* on which to build, and it was as if the eighth-century *scriptus* from the dialectally close *Isidor-Sippe* did not exist.

3.2.2 Inhibited vernacular literization in the Carolingian Empire

In this section I expand on the argument that the sociocultural environment of the day was not well disposed toward the vernacular, and, so, it makes sense that few people decided to dedicate resources toward its literization. That is, the Carolingians felt little need or incentive to divert extensive resources from their Latinate documentary culture to the cultivation of the vernacular. This decision came at a cost in that the literary apparatus remained focused on a written language that did not easily connect to how any of the empire's subjects spoke. This choice stands in marked contrast to early England, which saw both the revitalization of Latinate literacy and the establishment of a more far-reaching education in English (Marsden 2004: 1-2). Why did the Frankish empire not do the same? Why is there only scant indication of imperial interest in vernacular *scripti*? Einhard indicates Charlemagne spared a thought or two for the vernacular: as discussed in §3.2.1., the emperor is reported to have asked for a *scriptus* of, one assumes, his own vernacular. Einhard also states that Charlemagne requested that the "barbarous and ancient songs" of the Carolingian ancestors be committed to parchment. But where is the corresponding legislation? Where are the letters that would indicate some official, systematic program of vernacular literization that rises to the level of anything remotely resembling the Carolingians' engagement with Latin. Put simply, evidence of this sort does not exist.

I would like to first explore the consequences of the Carolingian focus on Latin. Drawing on von See (1985: 12, 25), Green (1994: 42-43) describes the chaotic state of written Latin during the Merovingian period. Romance vernaculars had begun to emerge from the Latin of Late Antiquity, which, combined with a decline in education and a rise in illiteracy, led to confusion over how one should write Latin. The decision, then, to restore written Latin to its older, classical state, when it was the language of intellectual pursuits, as well as legal and commercial transactions, meant that the empire's *lingua franca* moved further away from all of its subjects' vernaculars, including the Romance ones. This fact is recognized by church directives that preachers should translate (*transferre*) their Latin-language sermons

into *rusticam Romanam linguam* and *linguam Theotiscam* 'rustic Latin' and 'the German language' (Green 1994: 43). Similarly, the *Strasbourg Oaths* were translated into German and a language that more closely resembled Romance vernaculars, what we might simply refer to now as Old French. These developments limit the potential for the literization of vernaculars: the reforms of the Carolingian renaissance re-established Latin as a language that was entirely fit for purpose, be those needs pragmatic, theological or intellectual, and left little incentive for anyone to develop vernaculars in a similar way (Green 1994: 42). It is true that, as Green notes, these imperial language policies created a domain for vernacular literization in that certain important texts would have to be translated for illiterate subjects. However, this is a restricted literization that exists only to render Latin texts more accessible. It is a support to Latinate literacy and not an end in itself.

Why did Charlemagne re-establish a normative, classical Latin as the language of the empire when it was apparent that doing so made that language less functional as a means of communicating with his subjects? First and foremost, the policy makes religious sense. Latin was the language of the Vulgate, as I discussed in §3.2.1, and the Carolingians engaged in exegesis, the process whereby they would uncover the multiple layers of meaning of Bible verses through close analysis. This project necessitated a more than rudimentary understanding of Latin and *grammatica*, though it would also require that clergy are able to convey important Christian lessons to the empire's subjects in language that they can understand. It seems to me that it would have also made political sense to re-establish classical Latin, rather than reform the written language to reflect the language change that had occurred. Charlemagne was crowned the Holy Roman Emperor by the pope in 800, a symbolic act that reflected the mutually beneficial relationship that existed between the Frankish Empire and Rome, as well as the fact that the Franks had begun to see themselves as the true inheritors of the Roman Empire and its church. Furthermore, the Carolingians themselves drew legitimacy from the church, which backed their ultimately successful efforts to supplant the Merovingians as the ruling family (Wickham 2009: 383). All of these factors contributed to the promotion of Latin at the expense of the vernacular.

One final circumstance that I believe contributed to the decision to devote time and effort to Latin, is the linking of Latin to the Carolingian program of moral reform. In fact, the flowering of education associated with the so-called, Carolingian renaissance was part of a larger, ambitious project of correcting (from Latin *correctio*) how both lay and ecclesiastical subjects thought and acted (Wickham 2009: 382-83). The prescriptions, stemming from all manner of ecclesiastical texts, describe in Latin how one should live and worship. The program, thus, not only

ensured continued engagement with Latin, it linked moral behavior to the Latin language in the minds of those who were directly involved in literary culture and the production of texts, which is to say, the clergy. The vernacular, on the other hand, was associated with the profane and is confined to secular oral spaces and secular topics.

One famous example of the inherent incompatibility of vernacular culture and Christian piety comes from Alcuin, the Northumbrian clergyman who would exert tremendous influence on the direction of Christian learning in Charlemagne's empire. In his letter to Higbald, the bishop of Lindisfarne, he argues against the introduction of secular songs into the monastic setting, stating:

> … [L]et the words of God be read in the gatherings of priests. There it is fitting for a reader, not a harp-player, to be heard; the teachings of the Fathers [of the Church], not the songs of the pagans. What has Ingeld to do with Christ?[6]
>
> verba Dei legantur in sacerdotali convivio. Ibi decet lectorem audiri, non citharistam; sermones patrum, non carmina gentilium. Quid Hinieldus cum Christo?

This attitude toward vernacular culture had an effect on how the church viewed the vernacular language. Edwards (1994: 141-42) notes how the clergy began to associate Latin with God and the Bible, which was the only means through which one's immortal soul could be saved. In contrast, German spoken varieties were the language of pagan, secular culture, to which clergy would frequently attach epithets, like "*obscenus*, *inutilis*, *barbara*, *rustica*, *indisciplinabilis*" ('obscene, harmful/useless, barbaric, rustic, undisciplined'). One monk, who heard secular songs from his cell, declared that the vernacular reeked of "the stench of dung and the sweat of the warrior" (Edwards 1994:141, citing Haubrichs 1988:42).

These negative attitudes were surely sharpened by the fact that oral pagan culture was still ubiquitous. Though Frankish society had become more Christian by the eighth and ninth centuries, conversion, in addition to correction, was an integral part of the Carolingian agenda. Otfrid illustrates how clergy viewed vernacular culture as a persistent threat to a Christian way of life. In his *Ad Liutbertum* he explains that one reason why he wrote the *Evangelienbuch* was to counteract the "noise of (worldly) futilities" and "the offensive song of laymen" ("*laicorum cantus … obscenus*"), which had become a burden for people of God (Magoun 1943: 873). He expresses the hope that "a little of [his] poem (*huius cantus lectionis*) might neutralize the trivial merriment of worldly voices (*secularium*

[6]See Alcuin (1895: 181-183).

vocum) and (that), engrossed in the sweet charm of the Gospels in (their) own language, [people of God] might be able to avoid the noise of futile things" (Magoun 1943: 873-74). Vernacular, or pagan, culture threatened to overtake the sonic environment of the Franks, unless people like Otfrid could mitigate its deleterious influence with the sound of the Gospel in Frankish.

Even a writer like Otfrid von Weissenburg, who ultimately arrived at the conclusion that composing extensively in the vernacular was worth the effort, expresses ambivalence vis-à-vis his own spoken Frankish. He makes clear in the *Ad Liutbertum* that it is not simply vernacular culture that he finds problematic. He writes in section VII that Frankish is "rude," "unpolished," and "unruly," "unused to being restrained by the regulating curb of the art of grammar" (*Hutus enim linguae barbaries, ut (just as) est inculta et indisciplinabilis atque insueta capi regulari freno grammaticae artis*, translation from Magoun 1943: 880). Though painting Frankish in a unflattering light, this passage evinces an optimism about the vernacular that Haubrichs's disgruntled monk certainly did not feel. Otfrid believes Frankish to be in a barbaric state, but the problem lies not in its supposed pagan associations, but rather in the fact that no one has bothered to tame it. This task of turning Frankish into a proper written language is one that Otfrid takes on himself. However, he also feels the need to justify the decision extensively. In addition to the Latin-language *Ad Liutbertum*, in which he explains why he wrote the *Evangelienbuch*, Otfrid devotes the work's first chapter, "Why the author composed this work in the vernacular" (*Cur scripto hunc librum theotisce dictaverit*), to the topic. At 126 lines, it is one of the longer chapters of the work and indicates that Otfrid was aware of the fact that the cultural environment that would receive his gospel harmony was at best, indifferent to, at worst hostile toward, the vernacular.

This section's discussion of Carolingian attitudes toward vernacular culture and language supports the characterization of early German *scripti* as isolated and idiosyncratic occurrences. That is, people who were part of literate culture were engaged with Latin, the language of the church and of their canonical Bible. The vernacular, on the other hand, was the language of paganism, which the Carolingians were eager to stamp out. It was also the language of the still ubiquitous oral tradition, the sound of which threatened to drown out more pious utterances. It is in this sociocultural context that the vernacular *scripti* of the early medieval period emerged. Few indications exist that many people were particularly invested in their existence. No good evidence indicates that there was ever a concerted or centralized effort to literize German in the first place. When vernacular writers, like Otfrid von Weissenburg, embarked upon their German-language writing projects, they were on their own and faced with the task of literization,

of turning the auditory into the visual, without any written tradition on which to draw.

3.2.3 A new way to approach four old texts

I close out this section by highlighting how my treatment of the four most significant early German texts—the Tatian and Isidor translations and the originally composed *Evangelienbuch* and *Hêliand*—differs from the one informed by the structuralist deficit approach. Of the four, I have identified the Tatian translation as the least likely to contain a coherent *scriptus* because the translators were demonstrably and primarily engaged with the task of elucidating the structure of the original Latin text. This characterization is consistent with the fact that most vernacular literizations in Carolingian Europe were part of the imperial policy of Latin reform and education. Its significance is that any systematicity the modern linguist discovers in the translation could be attributable to the translation process itself, that is, is the result of negotiating the vernacular around the constraints of the Latin syntax. Accepting this argument does not mean the Tatian data are useless, corrupted, inauthentic, or ungrammatical. It does mean, however, that one must reject the *Differenzprinzip* as a methodology, which, as I explained in Chapter 2, involves analyzing just the tokens that deviate from the original under the assumption that these data must be authentic German. Rather, all of the Tatian data stem from an incidental German *scriptus* that is dependent upon the Latin original and geared toward rendering it more comprehensible to German-speaking readers. They do not result from an explicit attempt at German literization with a new authentic seeming *scriptus* as the intended goal.

In contrast, the Isidor translation features a more independently and intentionally constructed *scriptus* than the Tatian. This conclusion is supported by the fact that the translation itself is much freer and, as Matzel (1970) demonstrates, the text features a regulated, differentiated, and complex orthography. This argument indicates that its translator consciously engaged with the project of vernacular literization and managed to create a fairly consistent *scriptus*, at least in terms of its graphemic representations of sound. Ultimately, though, the Isidor translation is still dependent on a Latin text.

The two most significant original works from the period, the *Hêliand* and Otfrid's *Evangelienbuch*, do not present these same complications for the researcher. They feature independent *scripti* in that there is no vernacular writing tradition that could have informed their writers' composition process. This statement does not imply that they did not draw on different linguistic influences, including and

especially, their training in Latin. Latin *was* the language of literacy for German-speakers in the medieval period, so it seems highly implausible to me that either Otfrid or the *Hêliand* poet would or could have eschewed this tradition entirely. More likely is that they embraced it, along with appropriate vernacular linguistic resources in an effort to solve the puzzle of literization.

3.3 Ad hoc *scripti* and linguistic creativity

Ninth-century German-speakers who go against the grain and write in German, like Otfrid and the *Hêliand* poet, embark upon the daunting task of shaping their exclusively oral variety into a written *scriptus*. The fact that they undertake these projects in the complete absence of a vernacular writing tradition means that each writer (or team of writers) must work out for themselves what shape their *scriptus* should take. This is not to say that their vernacular linguistic intuitions do not inform this process. They certainly do. However, analyzing the early German *scripti* cannot be a simple matter of identifying some underlying grammatical system that fed into them. That is, the principle of historicity reminds us that the early literizers were multilectal and multilingual, just as today's speakers are. Different syntactic patterns will characterize different varieties of the exclusively oral varieties of early German, as they do modern varieties, a literizer must decide which variety or varieties they will draw on.

A logical choice would be those (exclusively oral) planned and public varieties that are shaped by a communicative context of distance, as writing too will require a greater level of coherence than is present in the contexts of proximity or immediacy that determine spontaneous and intimate varieties. However, even the most planned and public distance varieties of the literizer's oral vernacular will not be able to function effectively in the wholly dislocated context that only the technology of writing can effect. Thus, literizers like Otfrid and the *Hêliand* poet must innovate linguistically in order to create their written *scriptus*. Their linguistic intuitions are a necessary, but not sufficient ingredient for literization. That each *scriptus* creator operated in the absence of any tradition of vernacular literacy also suggests that these first *scripti* will vary structurally and lexically.

In this section, I discuss the basis for understanding the development of a vernacular *scriptus*, fundamentally, as a linguistically creative act. I draw on the work of Koch and Oesterreicher because their descriptions of a conceptual orality and literacy are useful for explaining what the process of creating the first literizations of a German vernacular necessarily entailed. In short, though ninth-century oral vernaculars were perfectly suited to the communicative contexts

in which they had always been used, they required further development before they could become a vehicle for literary expression in the new graphic medium. Aspiring vernacular writers, thus, shaped their vernacular into a new written form that met the needs of their particular project.

3.3.1 Conceptual orality and literacy

Koch & Oesterreicher's (1985) seminal article provides an excellent starting point for an investigation of the development of early medieval *scripti*. It elucidates how turning ninth-century spoken German into a written German *scriptus* is not mere mechanical transfer of language from one medium to another. Rather the early literization of an exclusively oral vernacular depends on the creation of literacy as a conceptual category that is qualitatively distinct from orality, a process that Koch & Oesterreicher (1994) call '*Verschriftlichung*.' *Verschriftlichung* is often translated as 'textualization.' The term textualization, however, has associations that present problems for the current analysis. In the field of Homeric studies, for example, scholars have argued that textualization and textuality can reasonably be applied to works of oral art. Nagy (1996: 109) uses these concepts as means of explaining changes in the tradition of Homeric poetry *before* its transfer into the graphic medium, maintaining that "there can be textuality—or better, textualization—without written text." Ready (2019)[7] similarly argues for the usefulness and applicability of these terms to oral art. His argument is literary: the world constructed in Homeric poetry seems to presume the existence of stories and song beyond the moment of their performance; that is, they exist in this literary world as text, and poets can adopt strategies of 'entextualization' that create these 'oral texts' within the story being told (pages 15-6). In modern text linguistics, Oesterreicher (1997: 191) notes, scholars have also applied the term 'text' in broad ways: they have referred to both spoken and written discourses as texts. As will become clear in the pages that follow, I aim to follow Oesterreicher's lead and maintain a strict division between the medial categories of phonic and graphic, on the one hand, and the conceptual categories of orality and literacy, on the other hand.

Thus, to avoid terminological confusion, I adopt the term literization—not textualization—for the diachronic process of making an oral vernacular a written variety. From what I have been able find in scholarly literature across disciplines, 'literization' has not been much used. That it has not found much favor might be due to the word's awkwardness. One of the few scholars who has put the term

[7] Ready's (2019) chapters 1 and 2, which together make up Part One, deal extensively with these arguments.

to good use, Sheldon Pollock, characterized it as a "rebarbative" translation of *Verschriftlichung*. Still, Pollock has used the concept of literization as a way of describing the development of literate and literary languages of India. He has defined it as the process "whereby a language (or what thereby becomes *a language*) acquires written form" (Pollock 2007: 283-4). Literization has been used to refer to, more or less, the same process in a few sociolinguistic and anthropological studies of pidgins and creoles. For instance, Jeff Siegel's (1981) article on written Tok Pisin adopts a similar definition of literization to Pollock's: "[f]or lack of a better word, I will use 'literization' to refer to such development, both planned and unplanned, of a previously unwritten language into a written one" (page 20). Laura Hills's (2001: 11-13) Ph.D. thesis on Mauritian Creole argues that it is more fruitful to talk of literization of the vernacular, rather than the more commonly used phrase the 'vernacularization of literacy.' That is, a focus on simply learning how to read and write in Mauritian Creole skips over the necessary processes of literizing that vernacular in the first place. Hills' own conception of literization is narrower than Pollock's (and mine) in that she states it involves only the establishing of written norms and a written oeuvre. Pollock's more expansive definition, in contrast, encompasses the development of literacy as a conceptual category. So, it is his basic description of literization that I elaborate in the rest of this book.

Returning to Koch & Oesterreicher (1985), its central insight lies in its distinction between the phonic and graphic media, on the one hand, and *Mündlichkeit*, 'orality,' and *Schriftlichkeit*, 'literacy,' as conceptual categories, on the other. The phonic and graphic codes constitute a binary: language is either spoken or written. In contrast, all instances of linguistic production, be they spoken or written, can reflect some degree of "spokenness" or "writtenness." For example, an academic presentation written out in advance and read aloud will have literate qualities, while the hastily dashed-off instant message to a close friend will exhibit oral qualities that characterize spoken language. In order to disentangle the conceptual from the literal, the authors imagine a continuum of linguistic production: language at the left pole is shaped by the communicative context of closeness or proximity and is called *Sprache der Nähe*, 'language of immediacy,' while language at the right pole is shaped by a communicative context of distance and is called *Sprache der Distanz*, 'language of distance.' The contexts of immediacy and distance constrain and shape their linguistic utterances in many ways (Koch & Oesterreicher 1985: 23). For example, paradigmatic language of immediacy is dialogic, subjective, expressive, and spontaneous; it occurs in intimate and familiar contexts. Language at this extreme end of the continuum is (probably) spoken, excluding sign languages from the discussion. Paradigmatic language of distance,

in contrast, is monologic, objective, detached and planned; it occurs in formal and unfamiliar or public contexts. Language at this extreme end of the continuum is often written, assuming the culture or individual in question is literate.

Linguists have long acknowledged the many ways in which context shapes an individual's language. A person's utterances, for example, vary considerably when they are speaking spontaneously and in intimate contexts compared to the way that same person speaks in formal or public contexts with the benefit of time to plan. The differences reach into every aspect of language, from syntax to pronunciation. Consider lexical variation, for example, and the ways in which our word choices are distinct when we are speaking in immediacy contexts versus writing something formal for an unknown readership. It is not simply a matter of register; it is also a question of specificity. When a speaker shares the physical space of their interlocutor, it is easier to arrive at a shared meaning than when a language producer and receiver are disconnected from one another in time and space. For example, the formal writer must take care that what they write accurately reflects what they mean. They must choose their words carefully and precisely; it is in fact the only thing they can do to facilitate arriving at a shared meaning with a wholly unknown reader.

Koch & Oesterreicher's (1985) disentangling of medial and conceptual orality and literacy, respectively, allows for a more systematic way of assessing different types of linguistic output. The article's figures 2 and 3 on pages 18 and 23, respectively, reproduced here as Figures 3.1 and 3.2, are useful in their schematic representation of how the conditions and constraints of immediacy and distance link to different strategies and, thus, different characteristics of linguistic production.[8]

Of particular interest to the current study is the authors' identification of certain syntactic characteristics that may be associated with the language of distance versus the language of immediacy. Figure 3.2 indicates that the language of immediacy is less information dense, compact, integrated, complex, elaborated, planned, while the language of distance is more so. The conditions of the language of immediacy involve an immediate, intimate, often spoken, dialogic, and face-to-face context. These conditions may also be seen as constraints in that there is no time to plan one's speech, and, as a result, one produces utterances that are structurally marked in accordance with this constraint. Immediacy utterances are not only tailored to and, indeed, a product of the constraints under which a speaker must produce them; they are also suited to the same context in which

[8]I relied on Peter Koch and Wulf Oesterreicher's translation of these figures. The reader may access them here: https://publikationen.uni-tuebingen.de/xmlui/handle/10900/79017.

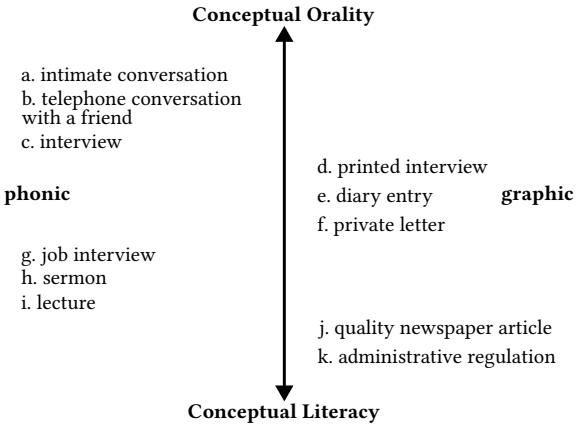

Figure 3.1: Disentangling medium and conceptual orality-literacy

they are received by a physically present interlocutor. The same logic applies to the language of distance: it is shaped by and suited to the context of distance.

I would now like to make the terms in figure 3.2, that is, information density, compactness, integration, and elaboration, more explicit by discussing a couple of examples.

(5) a. Der Hund da unter dem Tisch der ist müde
DET dog there under the table DET is tired
'That dog there under the table, that (one) is tired'

b. Der unter dem Tisch liegende Hund ist müde
the under the table lying dog is tired
'The dog under the table is tired'

German speakers will immediately recognize the utterance in (5a) as an example of language of immediacy: it features the left dislocated deictic noun phrase 'der Hund da,' which one could translate as something like, 'that dog there' or the more colloquial 'that there dog.' This phrasing is characteristic of colloquial German. The use of the demonstrative pronoun 'der' as the resumptive third person subject pronoun is also characteristic of spoken German. The utterance in (5b), in contrast, does not convey the same sense of shared space between speaker and interlocutor. Furthermore, its extended participial, 'der unter dem Tisch liegende Hund,' is a characteristic of distance language. A construction like the one in (5b) is virtually unattested in spoken German varieties and can only be found in its more formal, generally written varieties.

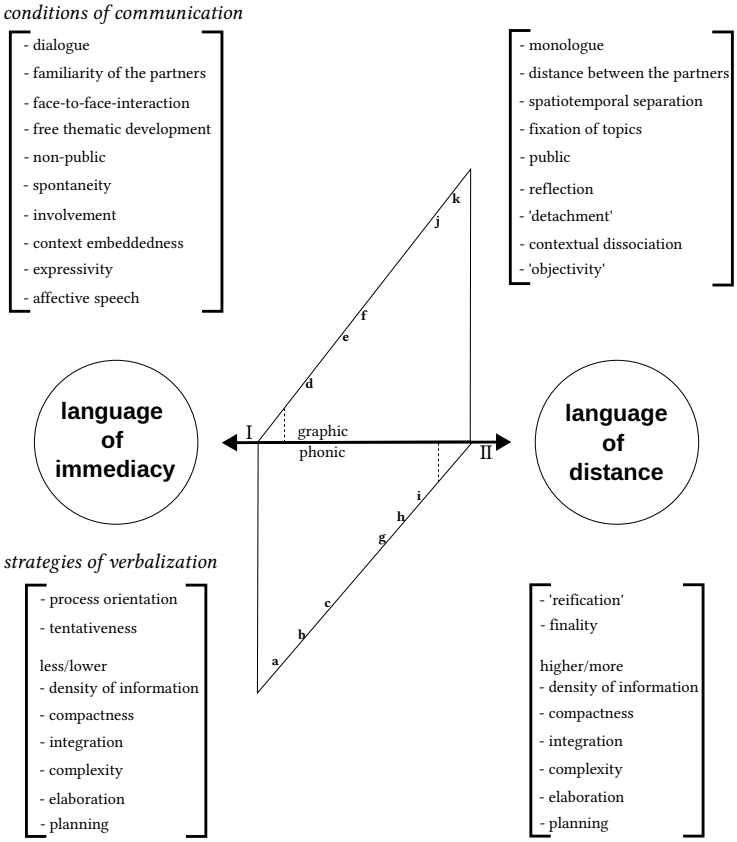

Figure 3.2: The communicative conditions and corresponding strategies of orality and literacy

Consider, then, how the two clauses in (5) differ with respect to integration. The example sentence in (5b) is more integrated than (5a) in that the subject *der Hund*, 'the dog,' along with its extended participial modifier and embedded predicate, *liegende* 'lying,' function as the clause's subject. However, in (5a) the location modification is not integrated into the main clause's subject but is instead featured in the topic of a topic-comment construction. Information density, another verbalization strategy listed in figure 3.2, correlates with syntactic integration. That is, the more syntactically integrated a clause or sequence of clauses is, the more information that clause or sequence of clauses is likely to contain. Note how the more syntactically integrated clause in (5b) conveys the same information as a. but accomplishes this with one fewer word. Its nominalized predicate, *liegende* 'lying,' furthermore elaborates on the position of the dog—she is lying

under the table, information that is missing in (5a) Admittedly, this spatial modification would also be unnecessary in the context of shared physical space in which a spoken language of immediacy is generally produced.

In light of this foregoing analysis, one might also conclude that the clause in (5b) is more complex than the one in (5a), as Koch & Oesterreicher's (1985) figure indicates. I do not think, however, that complexity is not a useful parameter by which to measure linguistic output. First, complexity, as a concept, brings nothing to the analysis that integration does not and instead introduces a qualitative judgment into a discussion where it does not belong. As Schleppegrell (2004: 14) explains in her discussion of the features of what she calls the 'language of schooling,' that is, the type of written standard language that literate cultures teach and hold in high esteem, complexity is generally equated with more subordination, hypotaxis, or the hierarchical embedding of one clause in another.[9] These features of subordination, hypotaxis, and embedding are all measurable types of integration in fact. Complexity, in contrast, is a syntactically vacuous term. When it is associated with the syntactic features of written standard language, rather than, say, the language of a free-wheeling conversation between a group of old friends, it reflects a literate bias. The latter, in fact, evinces its own complexity, as any discourse analysis would reveal.

I also question the usefulness of compactness and elaboration as variables to assess different syntactic structures. Similar to complexity, compactness is another qualitative parameter that can only be demonstrated empirically by referring to the measurable, syntactic characteristics of integration. That is, one might conclude that more hypotactically arranged clauses are more compact, paratactically linked clauses less so. Compactness could refer to the fact that, speakers or writers who plan language of distance are able to economize with their linguistic production by avoiding, say, lexical items that producers of spontaneous language use to buy time or shape discourse (modal particles, discourse adverbials) or eliminating redundant language. Still the assumption that planned distance language is *necessarily* compact seems to reflect a modern style preference for how written language should be. Namely, that it ought to be concise. Elaboration, on the other hand, will be useful as a general modifier for different types of distance varieties, for example, 'elaborated orality,' as I discuss just below, rather than as a syntactic feature whose presence in the data confirms their identity as data shaped by the communicative context of distance.

[9] Schleppegrell's (2004) work is aimed at researchers and students of language in education. She makes explicit the variety of English that students are expected to produce at school. This variety is vastly different from the "interactional language" that students use outside of school.

In sum, Koch & Oesterreicher's (1985) conceptual categories of 'language of immediacy' and 'language of distance' are analytically useful in that they correlate with different syntactic features, particularly those connected to the degree of integration and lexical density. I explore this topic further in Chapter 4. In keeping literal and conceptual orality/literacy distinct, the authors also provide a framework for imagining the linguistic production of, what Ong (2012: 11) [1982] calls, 'primary oral cultures,' that is, cultures that are totally unfamiliar with writing. In such cultures, the medium is naturally always oral. However, contexts of immediacy and distance are still relevant and, thus, affect the shape of linguistic structures, just as they do in cultures that are literate. In fact, one can expect that distance languages in exclusively oral and literate cultures are similar in some ways because they both, to some degree, are influenced by the communicative conditions of distance and, so, would make use of similar verbalization strategies. Chafe (1981), for example, demonstrates that the ritual, or planned, variety of Seneca, an Iroquoian language the author characterizes as strictly oral, is structured similarly to written distance varieties: for example, ritual Seneca features more syntactic embedding, like other written languages and unlike colloquial Seneca.

Yet, Koch & Oesterreicher (1985: 30) caution that a primary oral culture's varieties of distance, which they collectively refer to as 'elaborated orality,' must be treated as distinct from written distance varieties because their speakers have no recourse to writing. This circumstance places an additional cognitive constraint on their production, that of memorability (1985:30). Ong (2012: 31-6) [1982][10] elucidates the effect that the memorability constraint can have on the language itself. In cultures with no writing, words are evanescent in that they are only ever sound and have no visual presence at all. In order to ensure a tradition of knowledge and cultural memory, people must devise ways to make their thoughts and language memorable. Because one knows only what one can remember, Ong remarks, "experience is intellectualized mnemonically" (page 36). Another way of saying this is that the planned distance language of an oral culture must take a particular form. The following quote is from Ong 2012: 34 [1982].

> [T]hought must come into being in heavily rhythmic, balanced patterns, in repetitions or antitheses, in alliterations and assonances, in epithetic and other formular expressions, in standard thematic settings (the assembly, the meal, the duel, the hero's helper, and so on), in proverbs which are constantly heard by everyone so that they come to mind readily and which

[10]Walter Ong's book *Orality and Literacy. The Technologizing of the Word* was first published in 1982. I used the 30th Anniversary edition.

> themselves are patterned for retention and ready recall, or in mnemonic form.

Somers (2021b: 33) points out that modern readers are likely to recognize these mnemonic devices as features of poetic language, concluding that "the language of the oral tradition was crucially poetic, its form the instrument of its survival."[11] A closer examination of Ong's features reveals how Ong's mnemonic devices alleviate the cognitive burden of planning and producing distance varieties in exclusively oral cultures. Some features constrain the prosodic and phonological form of language, as is the case with the use of rhythm, balanced patterns, alliterations, and assonances. Other forms, in contrast, constrain content, as is the case with the prominence of formulaic language (like epithets), repetitions, antitheses, and standard themes or clichés. In that this type of language exists in and of the culture that produces it, interlocutors should also find it easier to process. These same patterns in form and content shape their own engagement with the world around them.

Memorability is one of the central distinguishing features of oral and written distance varieties, though it is not the only one. As soon as speakers become aware, and take advantage, of writing's ability to release thinking and language planning from mnemonic constraints, written distance varieties can, and as I argue in the next section, *must*, adopt different grammatical forms that prioritize the visual over more sound-based patterns of construction. As writing makes inroads into culture, speakers also become aware of the potential for the complete disconnection that writing can effect between language producer, the language they produce, and the person who receives the language. This next section, §3.3.2, explores how extreme, which is to say, written, contexts of distance force the early literizers of an exclusively oral vernacular to creatively shape their vernacular in new ways that are better suited to this new visual environment.

3.3.2 '*Verschriftlichung*' (literization) and the creation of early *scripti*

The goal of this section is to demonstrate that the creation of early *scripti* must involve linguistic creativity. My argument in support of this idea is based on the

[11] This observation could yield a companion clarification to Chapter 2's examination of the definition of 'prose.' Just as modern literates tend to see prose as a neutral and natural type of language, rather than a constructed written distance variety, they might view poetry as the unnatural and constructed variety, wholly unlike the way people actually speak. This literate orientation might lead them to see the early poetry of newly literate cultures in those same terms Somers (2021a: 368-70)

premise that the variety of vernaculars in an exclusively or mostly oral society, which would include immediacy and distance languages, are perfectly suited to the environments in which they develop and are used. However, they are not yet suited to the new distance contexts and projects that writing itself makes possible. Thus, each early literizer must innovate linguistically in order to create a written language that can function in these new contexts and for these new projects; *a simple medial transfer of an oral vernacular into a written one will not suffice*. This point connects directly to Chapter 2's argument against the deficit approach to early medieval German syntax. There I pointed out the problems associated with diachronic linguists' assumption that early German autochthonous prose was the best place to find authentic German structures that are characteristic of an early German grammar. Beyond the fact that this approach is built on a number of fallacies, in this section I argue that early German *scripti* could never have resulted from a simple medial transposition of an oral variety into a graphic form. Rather, each *scriptus* required the literizer to build on existing spoken competencies and create brand new structures to accommodate the similarly new, more extreme communicative context of distance that writing alone effects. Referring back to the deficit approach discussed in Chapter 2, the structures that literizers necessarily created in the eighth and ninth centuries are the beginning of a written, literary German, regardless of the degree to which so-called non-autochthonous factors shaped them or whether they may or may not have been attested in some spoken variety of the vernacular.

I begin, then, by explaining my argument's initial premise, namely, that exclusively oral, unliterized vernaculars are perfectly functional in exclusively oral societies but do not remain so once literization begins. Consider Koch & Oesterreicher (1985: 23) list of the communicative constraints associated with extreme contexts of immediacy and distance, adapted from their figure 3.
The first important point regarding this list is that it establishes characteristics for languages of extreme distance and immediacy that could apply to literate cultures only. That is, several communicative constraints associated with distance contexts are *effected* by language literization and, so, cannot characterize exclusively oral vernaculars. The second noteworthy observation is that exclusively oral vernaculars, be they shaped by immediacy or distance, are contextually bound to their moment of production in ways that written languages need not be.

In order to demonstrate this point, consider certain specific constraints of extreme distance identified in figure 3.3. For example, spatiotemporal separation (number 3) cannot characterize the distance varieties of an oral vernacular in the same way that it does any given written variety. While people can read texts

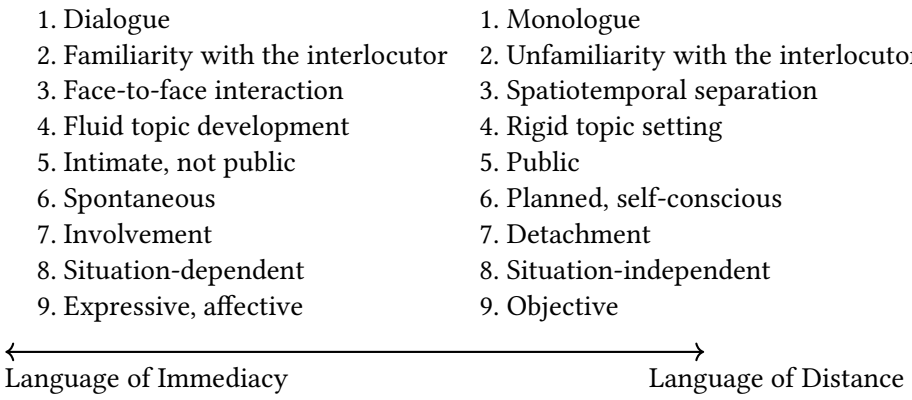

Figure 3.3: Communicative constraints/requirements

produced by writers who are long dead and lived somewhere they themselves have never been, the words of an exclusively oral variety can only ever be *heard* and, in the absence of any recording technology, have a reach that is restricted to those within earshot. This reality forces a reimagining of other characteristics for exclusively oral vernaculars, for example number 2's "unfamiliarity with the interlocutor." While written languages of distance may conceivably be read by anyone in space and time, exclusively oral distance languages can only be received by people who are physically present during the speech act. The speaker may not know their interlocutors well or at all, but all inhabit the same spaciotemporal location. Thus, the speaker *perceives* their interlocutors, and vice-versa, in ways that writers often cannot; neither speaker nor interlocutor is wholly unfamiliar or unknown to the other.

The contrast pairings of numbers 4 and 7-9 must similarly be reimagined for exclusively oral contexts. So, the fact that interlocutors will always be physically present for productions of oral vernaculars places natural limits on how detached or objective the speaker will be (numbers 7 and 9). Consider, for example, the narrative song, one possible genre of an oral distance varieties. Parry and Lord's (2000) field research on Serbo-Croatian poets, detailed in *The Singer of Tales*, describes the extent to which the audience influences how the poet performs, which is to say, composes, his song. They note how the singer must engage his "dramatic ability and his narrative skill" in order to maintain the audience's attention. The poet also radically adjusts the length of the song based on his perceptions of his listeners. If the audience is restless or unreceptive, he will shorten the song accordingly; if they are interested and attentive, he will "lengthen the song savoring each descriptive passage" (page 89-90, online version). That is, there is no

objective detachment between speaker and listeners. Rather, the poet continually assesses his audience and shapes his song based on what he perceives. In skipping certain narrative beats or expanding on others, the poet also demonstrates a more "fluid topic development" than could ever be found in a written text (number 4). Overall, the poet's linguistic output is situation-dependent (number 8). While more varieties of an exclusively oral vernacular that are more ritualistic than epic poetry may be less subject to the whims of an audience, they are still spoken in the presence of interlocutors and, thus, are contextually bound to the moment of their production in ways that the written language is not.

The shared context of speaker and interlocutor is linguistically significant in that it allows both to draw on visual and auditory cues while producing and receiving utterances. The spoken utterance represented in (6), which is from Miller & Weinert's (1998: 60) study on spontaneous spoken syntax, illustrates how important these context cues are.

(6) no if we can get Louise/ I mean her mother and father/ Louise's parents would give us/they've got a big car and keep the mini for the week// but Louise isnae too keen on the idea so …

This spoken utterance contains fragmented and incomplete syntax. Its clauses are not always explicitly linked to one another through some grammatical means and its information is not as logically arranged as it could be. The written version of this utterance that Miller & Weinert (1998) offers fixes these apparent deficiencies (7).

(7) No. Louise's parents have got a big car. If we can get them to give us the big car and if they would take the Mini for the week [we could all travel by car together]. But Louise is not too keen on the idea, so [we will not be traveling in the big car].

In contrast to the original spoken utterance, the written version has "complete and coherent syntax" (Miller & Weinert 1998: 60). Its information is well-organized, and conjunctions make the relationship between clauses grammatically explicit. The written version also features complete sentences, or clause complexes, through the addition of the clauses in square brackets.

The difference between the spoken utterance in (6) and its written version in (7) is significant for two reasons. First, though the reader might judge the example in (6) to be grammatically vague and, thus, difficult to parse, Miller & Weinert (1998: 60) note that none of the participants in the actual conversation found the utterance difficult to understand or otherwise problematic. This was also true for

the field worker, who was listening in, and the students who were later asked to listen to the recording and identify any syntactic problems they heard. These facts indicate, not only that the utterance was functional in the context in which it was uttered, but that the speaker's prosodic cues were sufficient in conveying the connections between clauses that might otherwise had been signaled through grammatical means. That is, people who were listeners and denied any gestural cues still thought the utterance sounded fine. It was only when those same students saw a transcript of the conversation that they identified any syntactic problems in (6). In other words, when stripped of the information that can only be conveyed through being present during the speech act, either because one is physically there or transported there through technological means, the same utterance is rendered dysfunctional. Phrased yet another way, performing a simple transfer of the spoken utterance into a written medium—that is not a close transcription—detached it from the communicative context in which such an utterance was functional and to which it was suited.

This discussion elucidates the early medieval Carolingian context in which incipient vernacular literization occurred. The exclusively oral varieties of German would now have to exist in the dislocated visual space of the page; that is, they would have to function in the communicative context of extreme distance that literization itself creates. A simple transposition or transcription of prehistoric oral vernaculars, which are always and necessarily bound to a particular place in time, would not suffice. A quick note: I intentionally use the term "dislocated," rather than "decontextualized," despite the fact that a number of studies describe so-called literate texts, with their written languages of distance, decontextualized language (Gumperz et al. 1984, Michaels & Cazden 1986, Michaels & Collins 1984, Olson 1977, 1980: Scollon & Scollon 1981, Snow 1983, Torrance & Olson 1984; citations from Schleppegrell 2004). I agree with Schleppegrell (2004: 6-7), however, who argues that formal languages of distance, the likes of which are taught to children in school, are bound to particular contexts just as surely as immediacy utterances are. This view is also consistent with Koch & Oesterreicher's (1985) framework, which identifies the contexts for the whole range of linguistic production. There is in fact no such thing as decontextualized linguistic production.

Because simply transposing exclusively oral vernaculars creates a dysfunctional written language on the page, the first writers of German were obliged to bridge the functional gap, as it were, and innovate with their vernacular so that it could meet the novel demands of operating as a visual, dislocated language. I refer to this conscious building up of an oral vernacular's ability to function in a graphic medium as 'ausbau' and detail the particular types of changes one should associate with it in Chapter 4.

3.4 Conclusion

I begin this chapter conclusion with a brief overview of the book's argument up to this point. So far, I have argued against the deficit approach, which reflects a traditional and structuralist orientation toward diachronic linguistics and is based on several misapprehensions about the nature of the early German corpus. I have advocated viewing each early German text as an individual, idiosyncratic literization or *scriptus*, rather than as belonging to an inherently problematic corpus riddled with inauthentic data and subject to the influence of confounding factors. I elaborated on my characterization of early German *scripti* as isolated artefacts by drawing on substantial secondary literature, which concludes that there was no concerted, collective effort to literize the vernacular in the Carolingian Empire. Primary literature, chiefly Otfrid von Weissenburg's *Evangelienbuch*, supports this conclusion. Literizers like Otfrid, therefore, had no vernacular writing tradition or linguistic norms to ameliorate the difficulty of their task. They had to work out literization on their own and in a cultural environment that did not necessarily view their decision to write in the vernacular with a friendly eye.

I have also argued that, what linguists have been calling, autochthonous prose is, in fact, often not particularly autochthonous and is never actual prose. Furthermore, they have assumed that this hardly attested genre of early medieval text is the most likely of the four genre categories to contain authentic German data representative of an everyday language. Diachronic structuralists, including generativists, have maintained that it is the linguist's job to delineate the core competence or structure that underlies performance or data. They have erroneously associated this early medieval competence with some colloquial spoken variety and have, thereby denied the multilectalism and multilingualism of early German speakers as an analytically consequential fact. I have advocated that we instead approach the study of each early German *scriptus* as a material artifact that resulted from the unique way in which the literizer engaged their many linguistic resources, including their multilectal oral vernacular and their Latinate literacy.

In this chapter, I also began to describe the multilectalism of early German speakers in more concrete terms and discussed how literization itself necessitates linguistic innovation and, thus, language change. By drawing on Koch & Oesterreicher (1985), I aimed to replace this construct of everyday German that has so preoccupied diachronic linguistics with a more realistic view of early medieval German. That is, early medieval Germans had access to a whole range of spoken varieties that were indelibly shaped by the communicative contexts in

which they were produced. Contexts of extreme immediacy and distance mark the two poles, and varieties anywhere on the continuum that connects the poles will be structurally and lexically distinct. However, none of the literizers' spoken competencies will yield a *scriptus* that can be entirely functional in the new written context that literization itself introduces. That is, writing disrupts the equilibrium that is maintained through the modulation of linguistic output in accordance with communicative context, whereby the former is shaped by and perfectly suited to the latter. Before literization interlocutors were always in the same place at the same time, once literization begins, writers have to contend with the possibility that their linguistic output can be disconnected from them and the time and place in which they wrote it. Thus, their written German requires a degree of grammatical and lexical explicitness that was unprecedented and also unnecessary when the vernacular was an entirely phonic phenomenon. Chapter 4 elaborates on this point in its discussion of the 'ausbau' process. Finally, because early literization unfolds in isolated pockets, not as part of a concerted program, scholars should expect that the resultant *scripti* will also vary considerably.

4 How to create an early German *scriptus*

4.1 Introduction

In Chapter 3, I explained, what I have been referring to as, the "functional gap," that exists between the many varieties of an exclusively oral vernacular and the lexical and grammatical explicitness that writing requires. That is, the written language must be able to function in places that are completely dislocated from the language producer and the moment of linguistic production. Thus, the initial literizations of a vernacular require that the writer innovate linguistically. They must shape their spoken language into a written form, thereby creating a *scriptus* that is a functional graphic representation of linguistic expression. Recall from §3.2 that a *scriptus* is an early and *ad hoc* vernacular literization that one writer or a team of writers creates for the purposes of their individual project. These *scripti* have limited or no influence on one another in that they are produced before the establishing of any writing tradition. In this chapter, I elaborate on the process of creating an early *scriptus* by drawing on the concept of 'ausbau' (from German *Ausbau*, meaning 'construction'), which originates from the works of Heinz Kloss (Kloss 1967, 1978). Kloss's analyses focus on the creation of modern ausbau languages, and, so, his work is less directly applicable to medieval *scripti*. Fortunately, Koch & Oesterreicher (1994) develops the concept of ausbau further so that it may also apply to earlier *scripti*. The discussion that follows elaborates on the specifics of creating a *scriptus* and strengthens Chapter 3's argument that vernacular literization necessarily constitutes more than a simple medial transfer of some spoken variety into a written form.

This chapter contributes to this book's overarching argument that researchers in historical syntax, particularly those focused on the earliest attestations of a language, should consider how the act of writing an exclusively oral language down for the first time itself interacts with the shape that the *scriptus* takes. With this statement, I mean that the people who give their spoken language a written shape in the absence of a vernacular literary tradition must decide how the oral

vernacular's graphic form will meet the new demands of a written distance language (*Sprache der Distanz*). This chapter's discussion, then, describes literization and ausbau as universal processes, rather than ones that are specific to the case of German.

The literature on ausbau, particularly Kloss (1967), Kloss (1978) and Koch & Oesterreicher (1994), provides a clearer view of what the structural, textual, and lexical requirements of a dislocated language of distance are and how unliterized languages fall short of these requirements. With respect to eighth- and ninth-century German *scripti*, these early, individual literizations exhibit only as much coherence and consistency as the person or people who constructed the *scriptus* were able, or cared, to effect. In order to illustrate this point, consider again the case of the Isidor text. As Matzel (1970: 521-3) explains, even its erudite translator, who consciously worked toward orthographic uniformity and consistency, was not able to achieve the sort of regularity that characterizes modern written languages. This point applies just as readily to ausbau: each literizer who is working out how to create a functional *scriptus* based on their multilectal and multilingual linguistic resources will not simply arrive at different solutions than the literizer engaging in their own literization project a couple hundred miles and years away. There will also be variation within each *scriptus* because achieving consistency is challenging, especially so in an early medieval context. This will be particularly the case in the longer, originally composed texts of the *Hêliand* and Otfrid's *Evangelienbuch*, each of which comprises thousands of lines of poetry.

The structure of this chapter is as follows. I begin by discussing the concept of 'language ausbau' as it relates to the literization of exclusively oral vernaculars in §4.2. Of interest here is the work of Kloss, both his 1967 article and 1978 book. Though Kloss's model requires significant adapting before it can be useful for the analysis of the earliest attestations of a language, I devote this whole section to his ideas on ausbau for two reasons. First, the concept of ausbau has made little inroads into scholarship on early German and Germanic syntax, and I hope this discussion convinces historical linguists that they ought to consider it.[1] Second,

[1]One must exercise caution when engaging with the work of Heinz Kloss. Wilhelm (2002) describes how Kloss wrote propaganda masquerading as research for the Nazi regime during the 1930s and -40s. In 1944, Kloss also wrote *Statistik, Presse und Organisationen des Judentums in den Vereinigten Staaten und Kanada* ('Statistics, Press, and Organizations of Jewry in the United States and Canada,' Kloss 1944), which is a detailed census of Jewish populations and organizations in North American cities. I was able to find only digital copies of the odd page; it seems to comprise mostly lists comparing the number of Jews to the overall population, from the largest cities and their many thousands of Jews to the smallest towns with Jewish populations only in the dozens (https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/ottawa/hitler-book-

recognizing ausbau as central to the long and arduous language literization process provides more ammunition against the deficit approach to historical German syntax (see Chapter 2) by clarifying what neutral, natural prose really is: namely, the end product of a long process of literization and ausbau. In §4.3, I discuss the goals of language ausbau as processes in which writers attempt to enhance the semantic and grammatical coherence of a conceptually oral vernacular. Here I draw on Koch & Oesterreicher (1994), which expands on Kloss's work in ways that make it more directly applicable to the creation of early *scripti*. I also further develop their mostly sketched out descriptions of ausbau's potential areas of focus.

One final introductory comment is in order: I am indebted to Höder's (2010) book on the ausbau of Old Swedish, which introduced me to the concept of ausbau and the work of Kloss. Though I do not engage extensively with Höder's analysis in this chapter, the way he approached his topic of an early Scandinavian *scriptus* informed how I am approaching mine.

4.2 Literization and language ausbau: Kloss (1967) and (1978)

Kloss (1978: 37) argues that turning an exclusively oral vernacular into a written language comprises three kinds of tasks. The first of these tasks is alphabetization, which Kloss conceptualizes as a simple medial transfer of the phonic into a graphic medium. Because no normalized orthography exists at this stage, early *scripti* will exhibit variable spellings ("*Rechtschreibungsweisen*") (page 46). After alphabetization, writers regularize the language's orthography, grammatical structures, and lexicon; they then creatively shape the language so that it can become a "standardized tool of literary expression" in a modern society. This

library-and-archives-canada-1.4989961). The work was commissioned by the Nazi regime and was part of Hitler's personal library. Such detailed statistics, regardless of how neutrally presented they may be, are not *actually* neutral when understood in their historical context. That is, Kloss wrote it in and for a country whose government meticulously planned and carried out the murder of up to 6 million Jews (https://encyclopedia.ushmm.org/content/en/article/final-solution-in-depth). With respect to the current work, I considered whether Kloss's basic concept of the ausbau language reflects Kloss's role as a Nazi researcher cum propagandist in ways that delegitimize the concept itself. I do not think it does. Additionally, there appears to be no link between Kloss' concept of ausbau language and the statistical work he carried out for the Nazis. An argument certainly can be made that Kloss's early work compromises his later work to the point that one should simply avoid him. I chose, instead, to refer to his writings on ausbau languages, while also making clear the possibility that his linguistic writings are compromised by bias and anti-Semitism.

molding, or remolding, of a language is what Kloss calls 'ausbau' (Kloss 1967: 29). It can and, one assumes, often does, unfold simultaneously with regularization.

Ausbau, which is the real locus of linguistic innovation in Kloss's (1978: 37-8) model, involves the development of new stylistic devices ("*Stilmittel*"), on the one hand, and new domains for the use of distance varieties ("*Anwendungsbereiche*"), on the other.[2] Developing new stylistic devices generally entails the creation of a more differentiated lexicon and syntax, though sometimes it involves their simplification. The new written domains created through ausbau fall into four categories: literary genres ("*Belletristik*" or *belles-lettres*), including, poems, plays, epics and narrative prose; expository prose ("*Sachprosa, nicht-dichterische Prosa*"); and so-called "*Schlüsseltexte*," which Kloss defines as translations of original texts that contain ideologically significant content, such as, vernacular translations of the Bible in Western Europe or of Karl Marx's *Das Kapital* in Cuba and Angola. The fourth and final distance variety domain created through ausbau is the "speech-text" ("*Zusprachetext*"), which are texts conceived in/with the aid of writing but delivered orally. Included in this category are the news, delivered on television or the radio, sermons delivered from the pulpit, and speeches delivered from the podium (pages 38-9).

A language is a fully realized ausbau language once it has "conquered" each of these four domains, though Kloss does not give every domain equal weight in the ausbau process Table 4.1.

Table 4.1: Kloss's quantitative representation of ausbau

"key-texts" ("*Schlüsseltexte*")	100
literary texts ("*Belletristik*")	200
"speech-texts" ("*Zusprachetexte*")	300
expository prose ("*Sachprosa*")	400
→	1,000 points

In Table 4.1, Kloss (1978: 39) offers a quantitative representation of how much the development of each new domain contributes to the language's overall ausbau. According to this view, the development of key-texts contributes the least to ausbau: these translations are "thematically restricted" by the contents of the

[2]Kloss's work pre-dates that of Koch & Oesterreicher (1985) and their descriptions of languages of immediacy and distance (*Sprachen der Nähe und der Distanz*). Kloss himself did not see the new linguistic domains effected by ausbau in these terms. The current presentation is the result of my using Koch & Oesterreicher (1985) to elucidate Kloss's ideas.

original text and, thus, require only minimal ausbau of the language's lexicon, according to Kloss. I can find no explicit discussion of why Kloss weights the other domains as he does. What he does provide is a discussion of the difference between expository prose and literary texts. Namely, literary texts are beholden to important aesthetic objectives; how a writer constructs their literary writing is just as important as what they write, that is, the content. In contrast, the purpose of expository prose is to convey meaning with no attention paid to its artfulness; the content of the writing alone is what matters. Expository prose runs the gamut from the basic "everyday prose" ("*Alltags-/Jedermannsprosa*") that is taught in schools and that citizens of developed countries are expected to have some command of, to the prose of academic research ("*Forscherprosa*") (Kloss 1978: 41-5).

As I see it, Kloss defines expository prose as a sociolinguistically specific phenomenon that only emerges after an industrialized society has engaged in extensive language ausbau. This type of prose is intended to be broadly accessible. Thus, it requires the existence of a regularized or, indeed, standardized, written language that large swaths of people can use routinely and in clearly defined, widely recognized linguistic domains (Kloss's "*Anwendungsbereiche*"). Recalling Koch & Oesterreicher's (1985) framework, I would place Kloss's expository prose at the far right, 'language of distance' pole of the continuum: its intended accessibility means that the contexts in which it will be produced or received cannot easily be anticipated. It must be equipped with a grammar and lexicon that enables the language's total dislocation by allowing for clarity in any possible context. Thus, there is a logic to Kloss's conclusion, represented in Table 4.1, that the development of expository prose constitutes a strong marker of that language's ausbau.

A comparatively weak marker of a language's ausbau, according to Kloss, is the existence of literary texts. This weighting makes sense from a historical perspective, at least with respect to the history of German. Consider how writers, like Otfrid and the *Hêliand* poet, composed original literary works in the vernacular long before the development of widely accessible expository prose and the regularized grammar and lexicon upon which this sort of writing relies. Note that early translations, like that of Tatian's *Evangelienharmonie*, do not belong in Kloss's category of expository prose at all. Rather, they are key-texts (see Table 4.1) and developmentally far removed from the accessible, neutral-and natural-seeming style of prose that writers of German may produce today (see my arguments in §2.3.1).

One particular aspect of the way in which Kloss imagines the literization of an oral vernacular deserves closer examination. Namely, the alphabetization phase.

I see two problems with Kloss's conceptualization of this first stage of literization: first, that Kloss characterizes it simply as alphabetization and, second, that by calling it a "*Vorphase*" ('preliminary stage') of literization, he indicates that it occurs separate from, or as a prelude to, the supposedly real literization processes of ausbau and regularization. Supporting this interpretation is Table 4.1 which assigns no ausbau points to the development of early *scripti*, indicating that this phase is not part of ausbau at all. In this respect, Kloss's conceptualization of a language's first attestations is consistent with the deficit approach's treatment of the earliest German texts as simple medial transpositions of existing spoken varieties into a written form requiring no additional change. The variability across early texts, according to Kloss, stems only from literizers making different spelling choices in the absence of orthographic norms. Compared to the literization process that I have been outlining in this book so far, Kloss sees the creation of an oral vernacular's first *scripti* in a severely restricted way. Recall that I have defined literization as entailing both the development of literacy as a conceptual category and the overt changes that literizers make to the language. In imagining the creation of early *scripti* as an alphabetization that involves no structural changes or innovative ausbau, Kloss implies that exclusively oral vernaculars require no adaption to work in the graphic medium. Early literizers give it a a new visual form, but otherwise are simply reproducing an existing vernacular grammar and lexicon in a new medium. According to this view, historical linguists should theoretically have direct access to this early spoken grammar, as long as they are able to sift through the orthographic idiosyncrasies across texts and eliminate data influenced by extragrammatical factors, like meter, rhyme, or Latin.

Kloss's characterization of early literizations as resulting from engagement only with spelling, that is, a medial transfer, and not with other linguistic structures becomes more apparent in his treatment of the translation of key-texts. He does not think their production contributes much to the language's overall ausbau (see Table 4.1) because the translated text requires only the development of new lexical items as determined by the original text (Kloss 1978: 39). So, taking the early German translation of Tatian's *Evangelienharmonie* as an example, the primary challenge for translators would have been creating German words for Biblical concepts. What Kloss does not consider is the structural gulf that must have existed between Latin, a language with a written tradition over a millennium long, and German, an almost exclusively oral vernacular in its first stages of literization. By the early medieval period, Latin was a well-developed written language that could meet all of the demands of distance that existed at the time. Literizers of German, in this case the translator of the Tatian text, had to create

German structures that mirrored the Latin ones. This had to involve grammatical, as well as lexical, innovation.

Overall, though, Kloss's work is still necessary and important in that it emphasizes the human agency involved in the construction of written languages. People must deliberately undertake literization; they must innovate and plan in order to create an ausbau language, for example. Modern ausbau languages, like German and English, do not evolve on their own (Kloss 1967: 38). Kloss's dissection of expository prose ("*Sachprosa*") also is a reminder that a neutral prose style of writing, with its focus on conveying a message clearly, is the product of considerable ausbau. One should not expect to find such texts among the newly created and *ad hoc* early medieval vernacular *scripti*. Nor do such texts resemble unliterized oral vernaculars or provide evidence of especially natural or authentic—or grammatical—language.

There are two main problems I see in Kloss's model of literization, The first is that it does not incorporate the possibility that the early *scripti* are also products of ausbau. This blind spot in Kloss's model could stem from the author's focus on modern language developments and literizations. Given these research interests, it follows that Kloss conceives of ausbau as the more targeted language planning that happens in conjunction with modernization, industrialization, and nationalization, all of which create new and numerous domains in which the written language must also be able to function. This problem relates to the second: Kloss fails to consider the conceptual changes that must be part of the early literization process. In fact, pushing oral vernaculars into dislocated written contexts in which those varieties are going to be, to one extent or another, dysfunctional, becomes the source of a growing awareness of literacy as a conceptual category that is distinct from orality. As a result, Kloss's work never examines or appreciates how literization generally and, as I discuss in §4.3, ausbau specifically are necessary for filling in the functional gap between the varieties of an exclusively oral vernacular and a written variety, which requires a new level of semantic and grammatical coherence.

4.3 Language ausbau and early *scripti*

Koch & Oesterreicher (1994: 589) offers a broader definition of ausbau than Kloss in that this work develops the concept of ausbau to include modern and medieval literizations alike. That is, they define language ausbau as the long, difficult process of molding a written language so that it can meet all of the communicative demands of distance. Thus, ausbau as a process is also relevant to early literi-

zations where the functional gap between what were once exclusively oral vernaculars and the new distance contexts created by writing is particularly acute. It applies equally well to later ausbau that allows a language to function in any new context of distance—or immediacy, for that matter—that emerges as a result of industrialization, modernization, or any other historical development. Koch & Oesterreicher (1994: 589) also distinguish two types of ausbau: intensive and extensive ausbau. Intensive ausbau is specifically about how writers adapt the language structurally and lexically, in order to meet the demands of literization, while extensive ausbau describes the process of extending a *scriptus* into all existing and newly emerging contexts. It is the former process of intensive ausbau that is particularly relevant to the current project and its focus on early German *scripti*.

In the section that follows, I examine Koch & Oesterreicher's (1994: 590-1) descriptions of intensive ausbau, which they divide into three categories. First, they identify the "textual and pragmatic" dimension; next, the syntactic dimension; and, finally, the lexical and semantic aspects of intensive ausbau. For reasons that become clearer below, I do not maintain all of the distinctions that the authors themselves establish. In particular, I conclude that one aspect of their textual ausbau, namely, the augmenting of the grammatical coherence of a language, relates better to their separately discussed category of syntactic ausbau. It is this dimension of ausbau that is the most relevant to the current study and, so, it receives the most attention here. Furthermore, I rearrange and reconceptualize Koch and Oesterreicher's categories in a fashion that, I believe, better captures the commonalities that different aspects of ausbau have. The two main analytical categories that I explore in some depth are the lexical ausbau of an exclusively oral vernacular (§4.3.1) and their syntactic ausbau (§4.3.2). Both of these aspects of ausbau are primarily concerned with augmenting the systems of coherence—semantic and grammatical, respectively—that characterize distance languages.

4.3.1 Lexical ausbau and the cultivation of semantic coherence

Semantic coherence has to do with how a speaker or writer organizes their linguistic production so that it makes sense to the interlocutor or reader. The ausbau of this aspect of an exclusively oral vernacular involves turning discourse organization into text organization. In order to elaborate on this point, consider how speakers in immediacy contexts organize their utterances.

(1) a. Modal particles

Das hab' ich **doch** schon probiert
That have I PARTL already tried
'But I've already tried that'

b. Discourse adverbials
Anyway, I left the party without saying 'hi.' (signals the end of a discourse topic)
Right, let's see what we can do. (signals the beginning of a new one)

(1)a. shows that speakers use modal particles, for example, to indicate their subjective orientation toward a topic. This organizational strategy corresponds to the fact that linguistic utterances produced in immediacy contexts reflect the speaker's subjectivity rather than a distanced objectivity. In this example, note how the modal particle, *doch*, expresses the wider context in which such a statement must have been uttered and the speaker's personal orientation toward that context. That is, the speaker reacts here to some real or perceived disagreement, or perhaps some misguided assumption about what they have, and have not "already tried" (*schon probiert*). Speakers also use discourse adverbials to organize their utterances and indicate, for example, when they intend to begin or end a conversation, or when they want to continue discussing a topic or start a new one (1)b. Additional "organizational signals" ("*Gliederungssignale*") rely on metalinguistic and prosodic cues, for example, turn-taking signals, hesitation phenomena, and repairs.

However, these conceptually oral means of organizing linguistic production are not functional in, or specific enough for, contexts of extreme distance. Turn-taking signals, for example, do not transfer into a graphic medium and are only functional for organizing dialogue, while extreme distance language is monologic. Modal particles, so useful for expressing the subjectivity of the speaker in immediacy contexts, become superfluous when they are extracted from discourse and used in more objective distance language contexts. Discourse adverbials, on the other hand, can still be functional in more distance-shaped written language, but the writer must opt for adverbs expressing more specific meanings over vaguer, immediacy-shaped adverbs, like 'so' and 'anyway.' Thus, in order to enhance the semantic coherence of linguistic production in dislocated, 'distance language' contexts, writers must develop an inventory of lexical items that can bind together the semantic content of linguistic production concretely, hierarchically, and logically. Such lexical items would need to make explicit how writers are organizing their language within a text, as well as express a wide range of logical relationships between propositions. For example, sets of words, like "first, second, … finally," make clear the writer's decisions about the order

in which they decided to present their information. Other examples Koch and Oesterreicher mention include "on the one hand, … on the other hand," which juxtaposes two ideas, and "*zwar*, *aber*" ('admittedly; yet'), which express concessive or contrastive semantics, respectively. A written ausbau language will want numerous and varied lexical items that can organize text along these lines.

I would like to digress from this section's main analysis briefly to make explicit certain assumptions that are inherent to Koch & Oesterreicher's (1994) presentation but remain unacknowledged in their work. Namely, the authors turn an observation about the synchronic differences between conceptually oral, immediacy utterances, on the one hand, and conceptually written, distance utterances, on the other hand, into a hypothesis about how exactly the structures of exclusively oral vernaculars are deficient in distance contexts and how exactly ausbau tries to address these deficiencies. So, if a structure is characteristic of modern spoken language, as modal particles and discourse adverbs are, then it also must be characteristic of the varieties of exclusively oral vernaculars. Along these same lines, if modern written varieties require systems of *text* organization because the *discourse* organization of immediacy language is dysfunctional in distance contexts, then one could expect intensive ausbau to create systems of organization based around text and not discourse.

To a certain extent, I think Koch and Oesterreicher's assumption can be useful in that it provides a concrete framework for conceptualizing the ausbau of oral vernaculars into written *scripti*. In accepting it, one does run the risk of establishing a false equivalence though. That is, it would be wrong to conclude that the immediacy (spoken) varieties of languages like Modern English or German are structurally the same as oral vernaculars. Recall that exclusively oral vernaculars have both distance and immediacy varieties (see §3.3). The latter set of varieties can be expected to be similar to the spontaneously spoken varieties of ausbau languages, like English and German. Exclusively oral vernaculars of distance, in contrast, will be distinct from the spoken immediacy varieties of ausbau languages. Though both types of language are spoken, the former must function in ways that are similar to written languages of distance—it is the planned, public form of an oral vernacular—without the benefit of writing itself. That is, it must also be memorable language. Yet, one must also remember that oral and written varieties of distance are themselves distinct from one another. As I argued in §3.3, there is a "functional gap" between the most distance-shaped variety of an exclusively oral vernacular and distance-shaped written language, which allows for a complete disconnection between the language producer, the text they produce, and the person who ultimately reads it. In sum, comparing systems of linguistic

organization in modern distance varieties to those of modern immediacy varieties can still be a good place to look for indications of how language ausbau turns exclusively oral vernaculars into *scripti*. But one must also be clear on the important differences that exist between exclusively oral varieties of immediacy and distance and the varieties that exist in a literate culture.

Returning to the topic of lexical and semantic aspects of language, Koch & Oesterreicher (1994: 591) provide additional details on what intensive ausbau entails. Producing language in a context that is at the far pole of immediacy language presents the speaker with certain advantages and challenges. With respect to the former, the speaker can make use of the physical space they share with the interlocutor in order to make meaning. Language of immediacy also occurs between intimates; thus, speaker and interlocutor know each other and share a set of experiences, which facilitates communication. The challenge of producing language in immediacy contexts arises from the fact that it is spontaneous, and one does not have—or does not take—the time to plan an utterance. Fortunately, in such informal contexts, one can get away with vague referents, such as, "stuff" or "thing," what Koch and Oesterreicher call "*passe-partout*," or 'master key,' words. Other strategies, like redundancy, or the repetition of a word or phrase, alleviates the cognitive burden for both speaker and listener: the speaker need not worry about varying lexical items simply for variety's sake, and the listener benefits from hearing a word or phrase more than once.

A new language of distance that can function in written contexts, in contrast, requires a vastly expanded, differentiated, and more precise vocabulary. Without one, people would not be able to capture in dislocated language "the totality of their social reality and the full range of all bodies of knowledge connected to their world" (Koch & Oesterreicher 1994: 591). Thus, lexical ausbau and its attendant semantic coherence has the main goal of elaborating the lexicon. Writers engaged in the project of ausbau must increase the vernacular's vocabulary, establish consistency in nomenclature and distinguish synonyms. They can create new words through derivational morphology and by borrowing words, morphemes, or concepts from other languages with which they are in contact. In developing a *scriptus*, its creators are obliged to expand the lexicon in ways that correspond to their particular project. In the case of early medieval German, for example, writers needed German words for the many items and concepts that did not originally exist in vernacular culture but were part of a Latin Christianity (Table 4.2).

The examples in Table 4.2 include both concrete and abstract terminology. Note the many translations early German literizers created for the multifaceted

Table 4.2: Latin loans into early German

	Latin	Ninth-Century German	Modern English
Loan translations	trinitas	drînissa 'three-ness'	'trinity'
	propheta	forasago 'before-sayer'	'prophet'
Loan creation	incensum	wîhrouh 'holy smoke'	'incense'
	apostulus	zwelifboto 'twelve-messenger'	'apostles'
	misericordia	irbarmherzida, miltida, ginada, eregrehte, armherziu, irbarmherzi, irbarmida	'loving kindness'

concept of *misericordia*. Koch and Oesterreicher note that lexical ausbau is particularly concerned with the creation of abstract words, e.g. more "*Sachverhaltsabstrakta*," 'abstract nouns describing states, circumstances' and "*konsequentere Begriffshierarchien*," 'more consistent hierarchies in terminology.' This description brings to mind works like Walter Ong's (2012) [1982] *Orality and Literacy*, which maintains that literacy makes possible a level of abstract thought that is wholly inaccessible to speakers of exclusively oral cultures. According to this view, the ausbau of an abstract lexicon would be both the result, and a reflection, of the literizers having unlocked their full cognitive potential for more conceptual, abstract thinking. This notion has rightly been taken to task for its technological determinism (see Best 2020).

4.3.2 Syntactic ausbau and the cultivation of grammatical coherence

Grammatical coherence, the second type of Koch and Oesterreicher's textual and pragmatic intensive ausbau, refers to the ability to use grammatical means to express the many relationships that can exist between constituents. The ausbau of a variety's grammatical coherence, then, involves creating, what Koch & Oesterreicher (1994: 590) call, a "*planungsintensive Textphorik*," that is, planning-intensive systems of coreferentiality between the linguistic elements within a text. An example of this sort of ausbau is the development of rules of agreement ('*Kongruen-*

zregeln"). The authors do not elaborate on this point and, so, it may seem like, in identifying agreement as a product of ausbau, they are claiming that systems like subject-verb agreement are not present in exclusively oral vernaculars, and that they only exist as a result of conscious development. I do not think that this is Koch and Oesterreicher's argument, as I hope to illustrate by way of a few examples.

First, consider left dislocation, a structure that is characteristic of modern spoken German but not Modern Standard German.[3] Notably, certain types of left dislocated phrases need not be integrated into the predicate of the clause.

(2) ja und **dies-en Flusslauf** de-m folgen wir jetzt
yes and this-ACC river.course this.one-DAT.DET follow we now
'yes and this river course, we will follow it now' (from Miller & Weinert 1998: 240

Consider how the left dislocated noun phrase, *diesen Flusslauf*, is in the accusative case, while *dem*, is in the dative case. In other words, the demonstrative pronoun is integrated into the clause as the object of the verb, *folgen*, while *diesen Flusslauf*, the noun phrase to which *dem* refers, is not. In this way, the utterance in (2) is less grammatically coherent than one in which all of the constituents are morphosyntactically integrated into the clause either through agreement rules, in the case of verbs, or, to use the terminology of generative syntax, government relations, in the case of sentential constituents.

Koch & Oesterreicher's (1994: 590) example of clause linkage is another good one to consider more closely because it concerns explicit concatenation across clauses, rather than simply within clauses. While languages of immediacy will often contain paratactically or asyndetically concatenated clauses, the relationship between which is signaled with the help of, say, intonation or the addition of a particle (Miller & Weinert 1998: 23), written distance language will more visibly and explicitly link clauses through the use of a broader inventory of conjunctions that express differentiated and more precise relationships between constituents.

(3) A1 it's the same chap that takes us hillwalking on Sundays **and** we had one about a fortnight ago at Comrie **and** the weather was really bad **and** we were in a snow blizzard **and** we didn't know how we were going to get out **and** we were petrified
M10 can you ever em did you ever feel when you were on that thing at any time that you were really going to get lost there

[3]See Evans 2023, Chapter 2, for a recent overview of the literature on left dislocation.

A10 yeah quite often when we were on the top the top of the hill there was just about a whiteout [-] you couldn't see where the farm was [-] you were lucky if you saw a foot in front of you and I was convinced we were still going in the wrong direction

From Miller & Weinert (1998: 103)

In (3), the clause in A1 demonstrates how spontaneous spoken language will often rely on coordinating conjunctions, in this instance *and*. Here the speaker does not shape their sequence of clauses into distinct clause complexes that would organize the narrative beyond a simple linearization. In A10, the speaker produces a sequence of clauses with no formal linkage at all, indicated by the [-]. Another example of how spontaneously spoken language tolerates the absence of an explicit formal linking of two clauses can be seen in the tendency for speakers to produce direct speech, rather than integrate the direct speech as a complement clause into the main clause.

Table 4.3: Complement clause embedding

Direct speech	Complement clause
a. So I asked what are you doing	I asked what he was doing
b. I said we'll help.	I said that we would help
c. Then she explained: the baby was ill and she had to stay home	Then she explained (that) the baby was ill and (that) she had to stay home

From Miller & Weinert (1998: 54)

The direct speech constructions in Table 4.3 are more characteristic of spontaneously spoken language. In written distance language, in contrast, the clause containing the direct speech is likely to be recast as a subordinate clause with an initial complementizer. In a. and b. (Table 4.3) there is also a readjustment of tense and mood, which constitutes yet another layer of grammatical encoding of the hierarchical relationship between main and subordinate clause.

Miller & Weinert (1998: 58-71) demonstrates that spontaneously spoken syntax can be more fragmented than in (3) and in the direct speech utterances of Table 4.3, so much so in fact that the line between *identifying* underlying syntactic units, like the clause and the clause complex, and *creating* them ex post facto becomes blurred. They discuss the work of Sornicola (1981: 20-34), who shows how spontaneously spoken Neapolitan Italian contains utterances with no evident syntagmatic relations, as in (4).

(4) programmi che (pause) per i bambini (pause) [...] a l'indomani (pause) vedono (pause) guardono (pause) per la scuola
programmi che per i bambini a l'indomani
programs that for the children for tomorrow
vedono guardono per la scuola
they-see they-watch for the school

By filling in background information and drawing on general knowledge, Sornicola was able to produce a semantic interpretation of the utterance with coherent clauses that are logically ordered in a clause complex.

(5) programmi che [i bambini] vedono [perché sono loro utili] per la scuola il giorno dopo
programs that [the children] see [because they.are to.them useful] for the school the day after

For a full explanation of the inferences and reorderings that were required to turn the fragmented syntax of (4), in which it is difficult to pick out individual clauses, much less a clause complex, into the utterance in (5), see Miller and Weinert's pages 58-9. The main point here is that the fragmented spontaneous utterance, taken on its own terms, is made up of 'blocks of syntax,' to use Miller and Weinert's term, with no evident clauses or clause complexes. As Sornicola observes on pages 22-23, the utterance evinces an "extreme fragmentary nature. Each constituent seems to stand on its own with pauses demarcating the boundary between them. The more coherently organized syntactic units of (5) can only be created, rather than found, if one ignores the constituent order and interpolations of the original utterance and fills in, as it were, all of the semantic and syntactic blanks. I develop this point of the creation of ideal structures in spoken clauses and clause complexes in Chapter 7.

To summarize what I have discussed thus far, spontaneously spoken, or immediacy, language is more fragmented than distance language in the sense that it features less explicit concatenation between constituents, both within, and across, clauses. As I explained in §4.3.1, Koch and Oesterreicher assume that the spoken varieties of existing ausbau languages, like Modern English and German, have characteristics in common with the immediacy *and* distance varieties of exclusively oral vernaculars. However, it is important to remember that, though the planned, formal varieties of an exclusively oral vernacular will feature more integrated and lexically dense structures than its immediacy varieties, it will never feature the same degree of grammatical coherence and explicit concatenation

that written language can and will. I base this argument on two observations. The first observation, I have already discussed in this section, as well as §3.3. That is, literization itself effects a new context of extreme distance that is entirely dislocated from the moment of language production and the person producing it. The first literizers of an exclusively oral vernacular must, therefore, creatively shape their language so that it can function in ways that were theretofore unnecessary and impossible. I discuss the second observation in Chapter 6, where I note that exclusively oral varieties are all subject to memory constraints. I argue that such constraints ensure that exclusively oral distance varieties will effect more integrated and lexically dense utterances through memory-supporting means, while syntactic ausbau, as a written elaboration of language, is unfettered by any mnemonic concerns.

Koch & Oesterreicher (1994: 591) identifies several of these strategies of syntactic ausbau that enhance the grammatical coherence of a *scriptus*, including the following items.

1. The differentiation of prepositions and hypotactic conjunctions
2. The regularization in the use of tense and mood
3. An increase in the use of subordination and hypotaxis
4. The development of nominalizations

This list requires clarification and amendment. First, I propose that regularization processes, like that of the use of tense and mood, not be counted as part of syntactic ausbau. Both Kloss (1978) and Koch & Oesterreicher (1994) define ausbau as the creative shaping of language that results from writers pushing their exclusively oral vernaculars into new, written distance contexts. Regularization of form and structures is certainly a concern of literization. I believe it also contributes to a written variety's grammatical coherence. However, I do not think it is an ausbau process in that it involves a systematic selection and deselection of linguistic forms, rather than a creative shaping of language so that it is functional in the new distance contexts of writing.

The remaining strategies listed above, I argue, are appropriately characterized as part of syntactic ausbau, but must also be clarified and amended. Beginning with the differentiation of prepositions and hypotactic conjunctions, I would like to broaden the wording of this strategy in line with Höder's (2010: 139-40) discussion of the syntactic ausbau of Old Swedish. Höder's argument is similar to Koch & Oesterreicher's (1994) in that he emphasizes how spoken and written

language organize information differently. The former relies more on implicit connections between utterances that are coherent with respect to the discourse in which they occur. The latter, on the other hand, requires the explicit linking of constituents and clauses that elucidate the semantic and logical relations between these elements. As a result, Höder concludes that syntactic ausbau must involve the creation of an inventory of more, and more differentiated, subordinators that can enhance the grammatical cohesion of a written text. One example of this sort of development is the creation of polymorphemic, monosemous subordinators in Old Swedish, such as *så att*, 'so that,' with consecutive semantics, and *eftersom*, 'because,' which takes on a causal meaning.

In contrast, more orally structured varieties will have a smaller inventory of subordinators that includes more monomorphemic, polysemous subordinators. The connector 'that' or 'thaz' in the early German *scripti* is a good example of a polysemous subordinator. In the *Hêliand*, for instance, it is associated with a number of different meanings (6).

(6) a. he gisah thar aftar thiu enna engil godes
he saw there after this an angel God.GEN
an them uuihe innan the sprac im mid is uuordun to
in the temple inside PARTL spoke him.DAT with his words too
het **that** frod gumo forht ni uuari,
commanded that venerable man afeared NEG become.PRET.SUBJ
'He saw there then an angel of God inside the temple, who spoke to him with these words too; he commanded that the venerable man should not be fearful' (2, 113a-15b)

b. thin thionost is im an thanke **that** thu sulica githaht haues
your service is him.DAT a favor because you such faith have
an is enes craft
in his one power
'Your service is a favor to Him, because (in that) you have such faith in His one power (2, 118b-119a)

c. Tho uuard thar gisamnod filu thar te Hierusalem
then were there gathered many there in Jerusalem
Iudeono liudio uuerodes te them uuiha
the.Jews.GEN.PL people.GEN.PL crowd.GEN.SG to the temple
thar sie uualdand god suuido theolico thiggean scoldun
there/where they ruling God very humbly beg should

herron is huldi **that** sie heuancuning ledes
master his grace so.that them Heaven's.King evil.GEN.SG
aleti
deliver.PRET.SUBJ

'Then were gathered there in Jerusalem, many of the Jewish people of the crowd at the temple, there/where they should very humbly beg the Ruler God, the Master, for his grace, so that Heaven's King might deliver them from evil' (2, 96b-101a)

d. Bethiu ne andradad gi iu thero manno nid
therefore NEG fear.IMP you you.REFL the.GEN.PL men.GEN.PL hate
ne forhteat iro fiundskepi
NEG fear.IMP their enmity
thoh sie hebbean uuuas ferahes geuuald
though they have your life.GEN.SG power
that sie mugin thene lichamon libu beneotan
that they may your body life.INSTR rob

'Therefore do not fear the men who hate you, nor fear their enmity; though they have power over your living; (with the effect) that they may rob your body of life' (22, 1903b-05b)

In (6)a., 'that' functions as a complementizer that marks its clause as an object of the main clause's predicate, *het*, 'commanded.' In b., 'that' has causal semantics. In the last two examples in (6), 'that' occurs at the beginning of adverbial clauses that modify the predicate of the main clause. In c., 'that' is a final conjunction, indicating the purpose of an action, while in d. it indicates the result of an action, that is, is a consecutive conjunction.

The conjunction 'that' in the *Hêliand* raises another point that is relevant to this discussion. Namely, if a language relies more on monomorphemic, polysemous subordinators, the modern reader may well associate them with more than one syntactic category, not simply multiple meanings. The examples in (6) already show how 'that' functions in ways that modern linguists would say are syntactically distinct, that is, as a complementizer and as a adverbial subordinator. The former embeds one clause in another; the other merely modifies. Yet, one morpheme connects to both functions. Ausbau languages, like Modern English, have added a morpheme to distinguish the adverbial uses of 'that' from the complementizer: 'so that,' as the final conjunction, 'such that,' as the consecutive conjunction, and 'in that,' as the causal conjunction. Contributing to the multi-categorial, polysemous nature of 'that' in early German is the fact that the

morpheme can also function as a relative pronoun (7)a., demonstrative pronoun (7)b., and determiner (7)c. Consider examples of these usages from the *Hêliand*.

(7) a. so uuard ok **that fiur** kuman het fan himile
so was also DET fire come hot from heaven
that thea hohon burgi umbi Sodomo land
that the high mountains around Sodom land
suart logna bifeng grim endi gradag
black flames encircled grim and greedy
'So was the fire also come hot from heaven that encircled the high mountains around Sodom-land with black flames grim and greedy' (52, 4366b-69a)

b. Ne uuilleat feho uuinnan erlos an unreht
NEG wish.IMP property gain earls.VOC through injustice
ac uuirkead up te gode man aftar medu
but work.IMP in.the.direction to God man.NOM according.to reward
that is mera thing than man hir an erdu odac
that is greater thing than man.NOM here on earth rich.NOM.SG.M
libbea uueroldscattes geuuono
live.PRES.SUBJ treasure.GEN.SG accustomed.to
'Do not wish to gain property, earls, through injustice, but work toward God, man according to reward; that is a greater thing than when man here on earth may live, rich (ones), accustomed to treasure' (19, 1637b-41a)

c. Iohannes tho gimahalde endi tegegnes sprac them
John then answered and in.reply spoke DET
bodun
messengers.DAT.PL
baldlico ni bium ic quad he **that** barn godes uuar uualdand
boldly NEG am I said he DET child God.GEN true ruling
Krist
Christ
'John answered and spoke boldy in reply to the messengers. "I am not", he said, "the Child of God the True Ruler Christ' (11, 914a-16a)

Speakers of Modern German are not particularly troubled by the fact that the sequence [dɑs] is associated with multiple meanings and syntactic functions. Homophony of this sort is generally functional in oral contexts. However, when

multifunctional, polysemous morphemes are transferred into a written variety, the modern researcher might have difficulty attaching them to one meaning and one function. That is, they can seem ambiguous.

There are two conclusions that may be drawn from these examples. First, the differentiation of [dɑs] and other polysemous morphemes like it only becomes necessary in the new distance contexts that literization itself creates. This new dislocated context of the page requires a similarly new specificity in the matching of lexical items to grammatical function. One-size-fits-all style subordinators become less functional in the written language. The other conclusion both foreshadows Chapter 7's discussion and points back to the point I made in this book's introduction. Recall that in Chapter 1, I argued that the literization process itself pushes people into the development of linguistic norms. The example I used there had to to with the indices compiled by the early philologists who published the first grammars of and readers for historical German. In order to create a functional index, they had to settle on single lemmas that would represent all of the variable instantiations of a lexical phenomenon. The decision to choose lemmas that reflected the modern standard was certainly a practical one, rather than reflective of some mistaken belief that there was a standard form of early German. However, I also argued that two unavoidable consequences of the compiling of these important reference works were the creation of both an actual norm and the illusion of one. The actual norm is the word list contained in an index or a glossary, which provides a necessary lexical starting point for the grammar or the reader. The illusion of a norm emerges when modern learners of these historical varieties assume that the lemmas of the index represent a linguistic norm for an early German language, just they would for Modern German. Given that the early German lemmas represent a similar regional variety to the one that became the basis of the standard, this possibility is far from outlandish.

I propose that a similar conflation can occur between the methods and practices that are necessarily part of our literate engagement with these historical varieties and the varieties themselves. In order to clarify the meaning behind this statement, consider the comprehensive glossaries that different philologists compiled for significant early German texts. Two of the best examples are Paul Piper's (1884) glossary for Otfrid's *Evangelienbuch* and Edward Sehrt's (1925), for the *Hêliand*.[4] These works are stunning achievements in that their compilers attached each individually occurring token in the text to a full grammatical

[4]That both men aimed for completeness in their glossaries can be gleaned from the titles they gave them. Piper called his an "*Ausführliches*" ("detailed") *Glossar*, while Sehrt called his a "*vollständiges Wörterbuch zum Hêliand*" ("a complete dictionary of the *Hêliand*").

identification and modern German translation. For some lemmas, this exercise was relatively straightforward. For example, the Modern German word *der Kelch*, 'chalice, cup, or goblet,' occurs once in Otfrid, once in the *Hêliand*. The glossaries provide the citation for the form, its basic grammatical information, that is, that it is a masculine (non-*n*-stem) noun, and that the word in its context is a singular accusative noun.

Other lemmas, in contrast, are significantly more complex. For example, Sehrt's entry for the lemma *sô* (pages 481-88) not only lists citations for all occurrences, it also categorizes each token with respect to Sehrt's own assessment of how that token functioned in its context. Sehrt identifies seven larger grammatical categories for *sô*, within which there are even smaller sub-categories of different functions and meanings. *Sô* can be an adverbial or a relative particle; it can have a causal meaning like 'because,' a temporal meaning, like 'when,' or a concessive meaning, like 'although.' It can introduce a contrary to fact conditional sentence or a correlative sentence. This process of assessment is like the one I presented in (6) and (7) just above, where I noted how the sequence [dɑs] performs a number of different grammatical function. Sehrt's entries for '*that*' (and Piper's for '*thaz*') are similarly elaborate in the number of categories and sub-categories the compiler had to add to their glossary in order to describe each individual attestation of that lemma.

Such detailed entries are helpful to the modern reader, who may not intuit that one lemma can exhibit this multiplicity of meanings and functions. If this modern reader is trained in historical linguistics, they may also conclude that the published glossary is a description of a historical mental grammar and that lemmas like *sô* and *that* contain a whole host of variable sub-categories that later become associated with their own distinct lemmas. The notion of ausbau, however, raises the possibility that it is literization itself that creates these different categories in the first place. In other words, it is literization that effects the written context that, in turn, requires a new level of grammatical and lexical explicitness and the means of achieving it. To look for the same inventory of explicitly defined syntactic categories in the first attestations of an oral vernacular, for which ausbau has only just begun, could lead to anachronism. Indeed, one could see Piper and Sehrt's respective glossaries as inherently anachronistic. I do not, however. I see them as important, not just for their comprehensive descriptions of each lemma. They are also important in that they illustrate another point I made in my introduction that is relevant to literization and ausbau; namely, that our metalanguage—the way we think and write about language—is shaped, even effected, by literization.

I now turn to Koch & Oesterreicher's (1994: 591) third aspect of syntactic ausbau, which aims to enhance grammatical coherence through increasing the use of subordination and hypotaxis. This strategy links to the one discussed just above in that the project of increasing hypotaxis is facilitated by a concomitant differentiation and expansion of the inventory of subordinators. This strategy also connects to this section's introductory observations on the more fragmented nature of spoken and more conceptually oral language. The creation of an ausbau language, then, requires writers, not just to build more grammatically coherent clauses, but also more grammatically coherent links between these clauses that clarify and make visible the hierarchical relations between them.

This argument is consistent with accounts of syntactic change advanced in the Indo-Europeanist tradition of the last one hundred and fifty years (see Harris & Campbell 1995: 25-7). While not all Indo-Europeanists have agreed on whether Proto-Indo-European had complex or merely simple sentences, they all accept that it had less integrated syntax and more parataxis and asyndetic linking than its attested daughter languages. For example, Brugmann (1925: 8) argued that simple sentences came first. Complex sentences developed not long thereafter and first comprised sequences of sentences that were more closely related to each other. Coordinating and subordinating relations developed eventually, then explicit marking of these relations. Sweet (1900: 59-60) also describes an earlier state of language in which utterances are less grammatically coherent but become more so over time.

> In primitive language permanent attribute-words [later adjectives] were naturally put in juxtaposition with the substance-words [later nouns] they qualified. Many languages then found it natural and convenient to bring out more clearly the connection between head-word and adjunct-word by repeating the form-words or inflections of the former before or after the latter as well, the result being grammatical concord. Thus, in *I bought these books at Mr. Smith's, the bookseller's*, the repetition of the genitive ending serves to show more clearly that *bookseller* is an adjunct to—stands in apposition to—*Mr. Smith's*.

These accounts mirror to some extent the ausbau narrative I have presented in this chapter: exclusively oral vernaculars feature blocks of syntax that are loosely connected to one another. Syntactic ausbau augments the grammatical coherence of linguistic production through the identification and marking of a wide range of syntactic relations that may exist between constituents. The main point of distinction lies in the source of such changes. Sweet (1900) and Windisch (1869:

205), for example, invoke the notion of evolutionary advancement by declaring that the overt marking of syntactic relations is a sign of sophistication, its absence, a sign of primitiveness. My argument, in contrast, is that it is the literization process and its attendant ausbau that effects these developments, not because writing is inherently more sophisticated, but because writing demands an explicitness that is neither required for spoken language, nor achievable for exclusively oral vernaculars whose production is cognitively constrained in ways that that of the written language is not.

Harris & Campbell (1995: 282-4; 308-10) is critical of the traditional view that parataxis is more common than hypotaxis in earlier stages of a language's development and, thus, could be seen as a challenge to the ausbau narrative of Koch & Oesterreicher (1994). Harris and Campbell offer two critiques that are relevant to the current study's arguments. First, they state that it is wrong to associate sophistication with hypotaxis and primitiveness with parataxis. Indeed, these are qualitative judgments that reflect a western European bias against exclusively oral cultures, which tend to be non-western and non-White. The literization narrative, as I stated just above, provides a straightforward explanation for why syntactically integrated language increases once people start writing in their vernacular.

More potentially damaging to the literization narrative is the authors' implication on page 308 that it is a "common belief," rather than an accepted fact that writing has more hypotaxis than spoken language does. Harris and Campbell themselves present no argument or data contradicting this conclusion and indeed cite works like Chafe (1982) that demonstrate that, for example, written language contains more finite subordinate clauses than spoken language. To this work one could add Miller & Weinert (1998), a monograph full of evidence that the integrated hypotaxis of written language will not be heard in spoken language, especially in its most spontaneous or informal varieties. Harris & Campbell (1995) notes that exclusively oral vernaculars do contain other types of hypotactic integration, like non-finite clauses. This observation is undoubtedly true and contradicts only the most extreme narratives in which exclusively oral languages are meant to have no integrated utterances at all. These narratives do not recognize the fact that the contexts of distance and immediacy are just as relevant to exclusively oral languages as they are to written ausbau languages (see Chapter 3) and that the distance varieties of exclusively oral vernaculars will feature more integrated and lexically dense utterances than its immediacy varieties. Integration, however, is achieved by different means than may be employed in an ausbau language because, first of all, language producers always share the physical space of their interlocutors (see §3.3) and, second, they are subject to the

cognitive constraint of memorability, a point that I discuss in detail in Chapter 6.

The final strategy that Koch & Oesterreicher (1994: 591) identifies as contributing to a vernacular's syntactic ausbau is the development of nominalizations. This aspect of ausbau is more about creating integrated language than it is about creating grammatically coherent language. Intense nominalization is, in fact, a hallmark of written distance language, especially academic and technical varieties. Consider this sentence from Chafe (1981: 137): 'One tendency is the preference of speakers for referring to entities by using words of an intermediate degree of abstractness." Note how the sentence contains only one finite verb, the copular *to be*, while all other verbs are in nominalized, non-finite forms, that is, 'referring' and 'using.' Also note the presence of derived nouns, such as 'abstractness.' I return to this topic in earnest in Chapter 6, where I argue that the speakers of exclusively oral vernaculars can make better use of nominalization as an integration strategy than, say, clausal hypotaxis because the former strategy can draw on mnemonic devices more easily.

In sum, I have identified three main aspects of syntactic ausbau that are relevant to the current study: 1. the creation of an inventory of more, and more differentiated, subordinators; 2. an increase in the use of subordination and hypotaxis; and 3. the development of nominalizations. These changes have two main goals. The first is to create more integrated, which is to say, lexically dense, language; the second is to make linguistic production more grammatically coherent. With respect to the first goal, I clarified that some strategies of syntactic ausbau are not wholly absent from the planned, oral varieties of exclusively oral vernaculars, which are also subject to some of the same constraints of distance. So, for example, nominalizations are employed in elaborated orality as a means of effecting lexical density. To reiterate, my argument is not that ausbau creates hypotaxis or that hypotaxis develops out of parataxis. Rather, integration is present in spoken and written forms of language, but the organization of clauses into explicitly marked and highly elaborated sequences of (finite) clauses develops primarily from literization and ausbau. I also argued in this section that exclusively oral means of organizing language for distance contexts are different from written means because, among other reasons, memorability constrains the former. With respect to the second goal of syntactic ausbau, which is to enhance the grammatical coherence of linguistic production, I discussed studies that show how fragmented spoken utterances can be in that they can feature blocks of syntax that may not be fully integrated into a clause or into clause complexes. Thus, syntactic ausbau also involves the development of more explicit means of concatenation between constituents in order to create more grammatically coherent clauses and clause complexes.

In this section, I established a definition of language ausbau, a term that originates from the work of Kloss and is extended to the first stages of literization by Koch & Oesterreicher (1994). As a diachronic process, ausbau involves the innovative shaping and reshaping of a linguistic variety so that it can meet all of the communicative demands of distance that a society may make. Language ausbau begins when people first write in, what was until that point, their exclusively oral vernacular. The corpus of early medieval German, then, is the textual evidence of this first stage of German's ausbau. Each text is one synchronic snapshot of the beginning of this long diachronic process. Koch & Oesterreicher's (1994) elaboration of the lexical and syntactic aspects of Kloss's ausbau helps the researcher conceptualize the types of adjustments a writer must make to their vernacular so that it can become a functional written language.

4.4 Conclusion

In this chapter, I began to make more concrete what an innovative literization looks like by discussing the universal characteristics of language ausbau. Ausbau comprises the structural modifications that writers undertake as part of that language's literization. In particular, it refers to those changes that enhance the lexical and grammatical means by which writers can produce the more explicit and coherent language required in the graphic medium. Lexical ausbau (§4.3.1) is concerned with enhancing the vernacular's semantic coherence through the creation of a larger, more differentiated, and precise vocabulary. It involves developing, for example, a more abstract vocabulary that can describe a whole range of states and circumstances and more consistent and coherent hierarchies in terminology that are capable of, among other things, organizing language within the visual space of a text. Syntactic ausbau (§4.3.2) looks to increase the grammatical coherence of the vernacular by creating explicit systems of coreferentiality between the various elements in a string of language. Examples of such changes might include the stricter implementation of agreement rules, like subject-verb agreement or integrating all sentential constituents within a clause as part of either the subject or the predicate. Elements can also be integrated more coherently across clausal boundaries through the development of a larger and more differentiated inventory of conjunctions. The idea of 'transparent linking' connects both lexical and syntactic ausbau processes. That is, both types of ausbau entail the conscious development of explicit, visible systems of semantic and grammatical concatenation.

Two specific types of change that Koch & Oesterreicher (1994) identify as language ausbau are worthy of special mention in this conclusion: the increase in

the use of subordination and hypotaxis and the development of nominalizations. Both require a more subtle analysis in that one should not associate these processes *only* with ausbau, specifically, and literization, generally. Oral vernaculars also make use of hypotactic integration (Harris & Campbell 1995: 282-4; 308-10) and nominalizations (Chafe 1981), namely in their planned, public varieties of distance.[5] In other words, one should expect that written and oral distance varieties will share structural features because they are subject to a similar set of communicative constraints and conditions, as Koch & Oesterreicher's (1985) framework explains. However, the conditions that shape written languages of distance are not *identical* to the ones that shape the elaborated orality of a mostly or exclusively oral culture, the form of which must support its memorability and people's ability to plan important and/or public language in advance with no writing to support its performance. The production and reception of written language, in contrast, have no such constraints and can tolerate a level of elaboration that would render an oral vernacular dysfunctional. Combine these facts with the argument that a functional written language requires new levels of explicit semantic and grammatical concatenation, and it becomes clear that the elaborated structures in written ausbau languages, on the one hand, and varieties of distance of mostly/exclusively oral vernaculars, on the other hand, must be structurally distinct.

This chapter, then, constitutes an important step in imagining a new methodology for the analysis of the first German *scripti*. Its discussion of the universal properties of ausbau could be applied to other early literizations, though it is a task for others to decide whether or the extent to which an alternative methodology is useful for understanding other language histories. As I indicated in the previous paragraph and will make clearer in subsequent chapters, it is also important to consider the multilectal contexts in which people undertake these literizations. Understanding these environments and how they interact with language is, I submit, one of the central challenges of working toward an accurate understanding of early literization. This statement must be especially true for literate people living in the hyper-literate world of twenty-first century academia, an environment that is far removed from ninth-century Carolingian Europe. As Koch & Oesterreicher (1994) indicate, one may use spoken language patterns to imagine which aspects of the lexicon and of syntax literizers must elaborate to bridge the functional gap between the oral vernacular as a multilectal phenomenon and a written language of distance. However, one must also bear in mind that planned varieties of an oral vernacular will also be marked by the more integrated and

[5] I discuss Chafe's (1981) data and arguments in detail in Chapter 6.

lexically dense structures generally associated with literization and ausbau. In Chapter 6, I demonstrate how speakers accomplish this within exclusively oral environments.

In this narrative, several sources of variation across the different early German *scripti* emerge. Though literization and ausbau, in particular, aim to establish certain universal structural characteristics, for example, the augmentation of a vernacular's means of creating integrated and lexically dense language, they are still conscious processes undertaken by individuals, each of whom has a whole host of linguistic resources they may draw on when constructing their *scriptus*. These linguistic resources include own multilectal vernacular. The early medieval Carolingian literizer, furthermore, creates an *ad hoc scriptus* for the purposes of their own writing project. Their immediate set of concerns encourages the literizer to engage their linguistic resources in one particular way that will likely vary from the ways in which other literizers, working in different monasteries on different projects, will engage theirs. This relationship between project and *scriptus* provides yet another important nexus for understanding the early German *scripti*. This topic is the main focus of Chapter 5.

This depiction of early medieval German as a set of variable and consciously constructed *scripti* runs counter to the way that diachronic linguists have studied German's earliest attested forms. Reflecting a traditional, structuralist orientation toward historical linguistics, their focus has been on describing and accounting for the authentic grammar that underlay attested structures. This authentic German grammar is assumed to be the so-called natural prose that characterized early Germans' everyday spoken language. It is also, as one of this book's anonymous reviewers phrased it, the "heart of the matter," that is, understood to be the self-evident target of diachronic linguistic analysis. In chapters 2 and 3, my goal was to point out the problems with this approach and to propose that scholars might instead view the *scripti* more holistically and as a sociocultural and linguistic artifact. For example, we might consider the individual circumstances of a *scriptus*'s creation. In order to create a reasonably well functioning *scriptus*, the literizer cannot simply transpose their multilectal oral vernacular into the graphic medium. In other words, though existing spoken competencies, which are shaped by and perfectly suited to their exclusively oral contexts, certainly feed into the first *scripti*, they will always fall short to some extent of the demands of the written word, which is a new context that can disconnect language production from producer and reader. Thus, the literizer must also innovate linguistically to create new explicit systems of lexical and grammatical coherence, a process I call ausbau. Understanding more about how orally organized language is less coherent, how conceptually literate language is more so, and how ausbau

can bridge the gap from the former to the latter is essential to understanding literization processes in general. This relationship provides an essential context for analyzing historical varieties, especially those created before nationally directed standardization movements take hold. It also constitutes a means of analyzing variation within and across *scripti*. Because literization and ausbau are conscious processes undertaken for a particular goal, that is, to produce a particular type of text, different literizers will activate their multilectal and multilingual linguistic resources differently and devise varying solutions to solve the problem of the functional gap.

5 The linguistic resources of a ninth-century German *scriptus* creator

5.1 Introduction

As I discussed in the previous chapter, certain changes associated with literization and ausbau are universal. This point follows from the fact that the communicative contexts of the languages of immediacy and distance are cross-linguistic, and the pressures they exert on spontaneously produced, intimate language on the one side of the pole and on planned, public language on the other side will shape all languages in similar ways. Thus, varieties shaped by immediacy, for example, will exhibit less integration and lexical density than those shaped by distance; they will be dialogic, more expressive, and less objective (see §3.3). Similarly, when speakers begin literizing their exclusively oral vernacular, they must elaborate its lexicon and grammar so that the new *scriptus* can meet the communicative demands of a dislocated distance. None of the existing varieties of the vernacular, which have evolved in response to, and to accommodate, conceptual orality and literacy within *an exclusively phonic medium*, will have all of the linguistic tools required by this new written communicative context. So, literizers must augment the emerging *scriptus*'s lexical and grammatical coherence by developing the explicit means for expressing these relationships.

However, the early medieval German corpus, as I indicated in Chapter 2, exhibits considerable linguistic variability from one text to the next. So, if the communicative pressures associated with the production of language in different contexts are universal, how can scholars explain linguistic variation? In the conclusion of Chapter 4, I pointed toward an answer by noting that literization and ausbau are conscious processes that individual speakers undertake. Each literizer has their own set of multilectal and multilingual linguistic resources on which they may draw to create a *scriptus*, and it makes sense that they would do so in unique ways. One can further expect that these choices will be guided by the writing project itself. That is, what are the literizer's literary aims for their

scriptus? For example, the *scriptus* created to familiarize the gospel story to a suspicious Saxon audience will differ from the one created to raise the status of a people and their language.

If structural differences are simply the result of the idiosyncratic decisions of individuals, this narrative still would not provide the scholar with the methodological means for analyzing variation. Early medieval German literizers are largely anonymous after all. Yet, analyzing the early German texts within the context of Carolingian culture can elucidate the ausbau choices that these linguistic innovators make. For example, literature on Carolingian history and documentary culture tells us about the education vernacular writers would have received in Latin. We also know which Latin grammars were particularly popular during this time. Training in a Latinate literacy and classical linguistic thought influenced the ways in which early literizers conceptualized their own vernacular and devised ways of adapting it so it could meet the new demands of a written language of distance. Additionally, we have the texts themselves, from which one may extrapolate the set of goals that motivated their creation. This analysis has direct bearing on the decisions the literizer made regarding the shape their *scriptus* and its structures should take. Of particular interest in this chapter is whether the project itself inclines the author to lean more heavily on some of the structural patterns of their elaborated orality, that is, their spoken varieties of distance, or on the descriptive and/or prescriptive norms of Latin.

At first blush, this methodology seems to resemble Koch & Oesterreicher's (1994: 591-2) ideas of a "*fremdiniitierten*" ('extrinsic') ausbau in that literizers ostensibly choose between extrinsic and intrinsic structures when creating a *scriptus*. So, on the one hand, they may lean heavily on Latin structures and norms, or, on the other hand, they may eschew foreign influence in favor of a more authentically German ausbau. Koch and Oesterreicher themselves do not couch this discussion in the terminology of the deficit approach, but this framing of an extrinsic ausbau, which presumably stands in opposition to an intrinsic ausbau, should illustrate how easily the parameter can be co-opted into a deficit mind frame. The idea of extrinsic ausbau works best as a way of identifying languages whose literizations occurred through contact with another literate language. Literization as acculturation is much more frequently attested, the authors note. With respect to the history of European languages, for instance, Ancient Greek is one example of an intrinsic literization and ausbau, which later informed the literization and ausbau of Latin. It was then a Latin-Greek bilingualism that influenced the development of many of Europe's literized languages (see, for example, Höder 2010: 77). A better term would perhaps be 'contact-induced literization and ausbau.'

For the study of individual early German literizations, however, a more nuanced approach is required in which one considers how vernacular authors engaged all of their linguistic resources in order to create a new *scriptus*. These resources include their literacy in Latin and Latinate education. That is, learning Latin provides early Carolingians with a conceptual framework for understanding what a written language is and how it can be constructed. This Latinate education relied on grammatical treatises that engaged with the discipline of *grammatica*, which included descriptive and prescriptive treatments of Latin. Indeed, no clear distinction between description and prescription was maintained in classical linguistic thought. The resources of an early German *scriptus* creator also include a whole constellation of oral vernacular varieties ranging from the more immediacy- to more distance-shaped, the latter of which connect to the oral tradition and the communicative constraints that shape their production. One might expect to find in the data a creative combining of, say, Latinate structures and norms, on the one hand, and vernacular forms, on the other hand. For example, a writer may choose to avoid double negatives in their *scriptus* because classical rhetoric prescribes against it. Alternately, they could create a vernacular structure based on a Latin one. Höder (2010: 159-60) argues that this is the case for Written Old Swedish, which gains a new set of monosemantic, polymorphemic subordinators as the result of a contact-based ausbau. According to Höder's account, writers created grammatical calques out of Latin compound conjunctions like, *sicut* (*sic* + *ut*, 'just as') and *antequam* (*ante* + *quam*, 'before, until'), yielding *sva sum* and *fyr än*, respectively. In my mind, it makes more sense to focus on the idea of the *scriptus* as a unique creative engagement of different linguistic resources, rather than to couch the question in terms of extrinsic and intrinsic ausbau. Whatever the result of this process is, whether the author draws heavily on Latinate norms or not, the *scriptus* is part of the history of a written German.

In this chapter, then, I propose that understanding the structural variability attested across early German *scripti* from a sociolinguistic perspective necessitates understanding both the nature of the different linguistic resources a vernacular literizer would draw on to create their *scriptus* and the individual literizer's particular orientation toward those resources. Because my ultimate goal is to connect structural differences across early German texts to the different ways that a vernacular writer could build a *scriptus*, it is important to establish reasons beyond the structures themselves why a writer might rely more or less on one type of linguistic resource than the other. Otherwise, the argument becomes circular quickly. In order to demonstrate how this analysis can work, I analyze the two originally composed ninth-century gospel harmonies in terms of their creators' dispositions toward their projects. In the case of the *Evangelienbuch*, the

work contains direct and indirect evidence of Otfrid's reliance on the Latinate tradition of literacy and the conceptual framework for approaching vernacular literization that his education in *grammatica* provided him (§5.3). In contrast, the *Hêliand* poem provides indirect evidence of its creator's desire to build a *scriptus* that would be more culturally familiar to German-speaking listeners. Thus, they drew more explicitly on their oral vernacular resources and the tradition of elaborated orality (§5.4).[1] As part of this section (§5.4.1), I also address—and present evidence to counter—Haferland's (2010) argument that the *Hêliand* is a transcribed, orally composed poem. If what Haferland claims is true, the *Hêliand* text would not constitute a *scriptus* at all, nor would it be the result of language ausbau, as I defined it in Chapter 4. I begin this chapter, however, with a discussion of the Latinate tradition of literacy, in which I describe in greater detail the type of literacy education that was on offer in early medieval Francia (§5.2). This section should provide the reader with a better sense of how this discourse shaped the ways in which people thought about language generally and their own specifically.

5.2 Training German-speaking clergy in the Latinate tradition of literacy

Before engaging in the analysis of the two gospel harmonies and the extent to which their authors oriented themselves toward or away from the 'Latinate tradition of literacy,' I would like to explain more fully what this term refers to and how it connects to another term the reader has already encountered in this book, *grammatica*. This short section, then, introduces the reader to the clerical education that was available in the ninth century, when Otfrid and the *Hêliand* poet were active, as well as in the early medieval period more generally. What I ultimately intend to show is that Latin instruction in Carolingian Europe exposed its students to a long classical tradition of scholarly engagement with language. This training, thus, gave vernacular literizers the vocabulary and conceptual framework to approach their own spoken language, that is, a metalanguage. It is perhaps not obvious to those who have grown up in literate communities how difficult it would be to conceptualize an exclusively oral vernacular, which

[1] Somers (2021b) is the starting point for this argument. What I present here, though it draws on many of that article's examples, amounts to an updated and more specific theoretical and sociocultural understanding of what the author refers to as the poet's orientation toward a "Latinate literacy" and the oral tradition. See the article's page 34 for a summary of its author's argument.

exists only as sound, as a visual phenomenon without any sort of model of a written language to bootstrap, as it were, onto. As Law (1997: 250) aptly phrases it, conceptualizing language is a reflexive endeavor in that "we use language to formulate our thoughts about language." The study of Latin and *gramamtica* provided a new means for German-speakers to formulate their thoughts about their vernacular, including thoughts on how it worked and what was good (and bad) about it. I return to this point in Chapter 7, where I elaborate the argument that classical metalanguage shaped how Carolingians thought about their vernacular and, thus, how they literized it. As modern linguists whose own literate subjectivity is difficult to overcome, I propose that we must also consider how our metalanguage has determined the way we have analyzed historical varieties.

Research in different fields, including Carolingian documentary culture and the neuropsychology of literacy education can provide insight into what sort of education an aspiring monk would have received in Charlemagne's empire, how effective that education would have been, and the types of cognitive changes it might have effected. As I discussed in §3.2.1, it was imperial policy that clergy be trained in Latin and *grammatica*, along with other skills that made them better able to perform the liturgy and contribute to monastic life, for example, singing and computation (Brown 1994: 19). Learning Latin was complicated by a number of factors.[2] First, no one spoke Latin as a first language. Even those students who spoke Romance were not speakers of Latin, particularly the revived classical Latin that Charlemagne was interested in reestablishing, but rather of divergent "rustic" Latin varieties.

There was the added challenge of teaching students who had never encountered written forms of their own vernacular a different language that they would experience primarily in writing.[3] Research on the difficulties associated with teaching illiterate adults a new literate language lays out the neuropsychological changes that occur as the result of literacy education. Kotik-Friedgut et al. (2014: 496), in its review of this research, notes that learning how to read changes the way people perceive written words, setting up "an association between sounds and graphic symbols-letters, synthesizing rows of these symbols into meaningful words and synthesizing groups of words into sentences that describe things and events." In their study, which presents a method for more effectively teaching illiterate Ethiopian adults Hebrew, Kotik-Friedgut et al. (2014: 498) emphasized the development of students' phonological awareness and visual perception so

[2]This discussion of factors that made the acquisition of Latin literacy challenging for Carolingian clergy mirrors to a certain extent that of Law (1994: 88).

[3]See Barrau (2011) for evidence that medieval monks generally could not, and if they could, did not, *speak* Latin.

that they were better able to distinguish phonemes and connect sound to letters. They also relied on the learners' first language to provide clarification and instruction. Education in monastic settings could begin when a student is quite young, so the modern circumstance of adult illiterates is not necessarily parallel to the medieval one. However, the research is relevant in what it reveals about how literacy education affects the brain and how it precisely hones those cognitive processes that make the acquisition of a new written language possible. The medieval student learning Latin at a cathedral church school, regardless of age, is faced with similar challenge as the Ethiopian immigrant learning Hebrew in Israel. How successful either is at acquiring literacy in their language depends on a number of factors, some within (e.g., degree of effort, motivation) and beyond (e.g., level of aptitude, degree of neuroplasticity) the individual's control.

The final challenge associated with teaching illiterate German-speaking learners how to read and write Latin was the availability of appropriate teaching materials. Carolingians inherited from the classical world a tradition of *grammatica*, expressed in numerous treatises on the Latin language. *Grammatica* refers to a whole discourse dealing with the descriptive and prescriptive norms of the Latin language. Already beginning in the fourth century B.C.E., Plato, Aristotle, and the Stoics began discussing and writing about language as an object of study. This work undergirds the Roman rhetorician Quintilian's codification of the two tracks of grammatical study in his twelve volume, *Institutio Oratoria* (Ciccolella 2008: 6). *Grammatica* entailed the study of the correct usage of written and spoken language as well as the "reading and expounding (*enarratio*) of poets and other authors" (Matthews 1994: 2). This definition is the basis for those grammatical treatises, particularly those written by Donatus and Priscian, that would prove especially popular among Carolingian thinkers. Classical grammarians sought to describe the sounds, letters, and parts of speech of Latin. They also wanted to comprehensively catalog the "faults and virtues of discourse" (Matthews 1994: 2). These treatises on *grammatica* were written for proficient speakers, rather than learners, of Latin (Law 1994: 88-9; Matthews 1994: 8-9). However, these were the texts that were available to Carolingians, and they made ample use of them, adding their own commentaries to sections that caught their interest. They used the simpler presentations of the basic parts of speech, like that found in Donatus's fourth-century *Ars Minor*, for language instruction (Auroux et al. 2000: 503), or Donatus's more comprehensive *Ars Maior*, which included brief treatments of different kinds of faults and figures of speech. Only the most advanced learners of Latin, people like Alcuin, engaged with more sophisticated treatments of Latin grammar, particularly Priscian's multi-volume *Institutiones Grammaticae* (Law 1997: 136-7; Auroux et al. 2000: 507). Luhtala (1993: 145) ar-

gues that Priscian's more "advanced inquiry into linguistic issues" significantly shaped grammatical thought during the ninth century. Barrau (2011: 299) argues that the term *grammatica* underwent semantic change in medieval contexts because medieval intellectuals used the textual fruits of a classical engagement with Greek and Latin as foreign language instruction manuals.

There are several important takeaways from this discussion. First, learners of Latin in the early medieval, German-speaking setting faced an uphill battle. The task itself was a challenge, and students did not have access to anything close to optimal learning materials. This characterization is consistent with that of Barrau (2011: 296), which concludes that learning Latin was a long, difficult process and not every medieval monk was successful at it. This view also casts the educational regimen of the time in a new light. In brief, it proceeded as follows. Primary teaching would include learning to "memoriz[e] most of the Psalter both orally and in written form," a task that monks could accomplish without knowing any "basics of Latin grammar" (Vineis 1994: 139). Vineis's description is interesting in that it calls to mind a child who does not yet know how to read, that is, has not formed "letter-sound connections to bond the spellings, pronunciations, and meanings of specific words in memory" (Ehri 2014: 5),[4] but has memorized their favorite book by noting the relationships between the visual and oral form of the word wholesale. It was only the middle and higher levels of monastic education that would expose students to the *trivium*, which included explicit instruction in *grammatica* and rhetoric—through exposure to some of the treatises mentioned just above—as well as dialectic (Vineis 1994: 139; Brown 1994: 37). Students would not reach a more advanced level of education, which included interpreting the Bible and exegesis, until they had achieved an "optimum knowledge of Latin" and could easily read the Latin-language texts to which their earlier education would have exposed them. Barrau's (2011) study concludes that it is "doubtful" that all students who began this course of study would attain the literacy associated with these middle and higher levels of education or would be able to "read the Bible or the Fathers" (page 302).

Those students who did reach an advanced state of Latin literacy, on the other hand, would have access to a treasure trove of literature on the subject of language. Indeed, their education would have relied on precisely this literature. These same texts would be immensely helpful for any vernacular literization project and likely shape any resultant *scriptus* to some extent. It seems likely to

[4]This is the definition of a process called 'orthographic mapping,' which research on reading acquisition has shown is necessary to become a proficient reader. See Seidenberg (2018) for a discussion of the topic directed at a general audience.

me that anyone who undertook a project of German literization in the ninth century and whose texts are still extant, which is to say that they were preserved and copied within the system of Carolingian documentary culture, did so within the context, and with the support, of a monastic center and after receiving the sort of literacy education I just described. Furthermore, I would also argue that these literizers were high achievers, that is, those who attained a high level of literacy, which suggests that they had a more than passing familiarity with the Latinate tradition of literacy, including *grammatica*. Fortunately, in the case of Otfrid von Weissenburg and the *Hêliand* poet, one need not assume. Their projects simply would have been impossible in the absence of this education. The fact that both poems are independently rendered gospel harmonies indicates that their authors could read and interpret the gospels, Tatian's gospel harmony, and the extensive Latin-language Biblical commentaries written by doctrinal authorities. I discuss additional evidence of the poets' facility with advanced Latin-language writing and *grammatica* in the sections below.

Another topic that I address as it becomes relevant to the *scripti* under examination is the more specific content of these treatises on *grammatica* that influenced the conceptualization and execution of German literization. This choice reflects my argument that different authors undertaking their own writing project will draw on this tradition in their own unique way and to an extent that is commensurate with the author's goals for their project. As I discussed in this chapter's introduction, the main axis I adopt for understanding structural variation is the degree to which a *scriptus*-creator orients themselves toward the Latinate tradition of literacy or away from it, drawing instead on the linguistic structures of their elaborated orality. My discussions of descriptive and prescriptive Latin norms detailed in the grammatical treatises focus on those that influenced German *scripti*.

One aspect of these texts' presentations of language is worth mentioning now, however, lest one think that my parameter for understanding *scripti* variation is strictly one of a literacy-orality binary. In fact, the situation is more complex. Latin grammarians themselves still conceived of linguistic structures in oral terms and integrated sound structures into their conceptions of syntax. For example, in the seventeenth volume of his *Institutiones Grammaticae*, Priscian sets out to describe the syntax of Latin, beginning with sounds, which combine into syllables; he then turns to syllables, which combine into words, and, finally, words combining into sentences (Priscian 2010: 27-31).[5] Similarly, Donatus includes among the basic units of grammar sounds, syllables, and metrical units,

[5]Citations from Priscian are from Schönberger's 2010 German-Latin bilingual edition of the grammarian's volume on syntax. All translations into English are mine, unless indicated oth-

i.e., feet (Donatus 2009: 15-25). He also defines different sentential units in terms of speech, in addition to referencing meaning. So, the semantic definition of 'sentence' is clear in his use of the word '*sententia*,' which also means 'thought' and 'meaning' (page 36-7). However, Donatus identifies breaks within the sentence, i.e., the complete thought, as pauses, what Schönberger translates as '*Atempause*.' Donatus writes, "[a]n intermediate pause is available, when almost as much of the sentence is still to be said as has already been said, but it is necessary to take a breath" (page 38-9).[6] Thus, the orality of language, how it is spoken, informs how the classical grammarians thought about linguistic structures, including the clause and the sentence. These ideas become particularly important in chapter 6, where I discuss clauses and clause complexes.

5.3 Vernacular literization within a Latinate framework: Otfrid's *Ad Liutbertum*

The main goals of this section are as follows. First and foremost, I intend to demonstrate that Otfrid von Weissenburg approached the creation of his *scriptus* within the conceptual framework he gained through his education in Latin and Latinate literacy. The main evidence supporting this argument is Otfrid's own words, not just his epistolary preface, the *Ad Liutbertum*, which constitutes a rare metalinguistic commentary on the task of vernacular literization from the period, but also how he justifies the project in the work's introductory chapter. From this writing, one may extrapolate what the monk's goals were for his project and its *scriptus*: namely, to develop a proper or correct written form of Frankish. To that end, Otfrid created a set of prescriptive norms based on the notion of metrical, or rhythmic, discipline. However, Otfrid also indicates his desire to create good Frankish that still adhered to what he perceived were the language's descriptive norms. In this way, the *Evangelienbuch* provides insight into how Otfrid reconciled what he knew his contemporaries would view as the inherent incompatibility of these two goals, given the ambivalent attitudes Carolingians generally harbored toward their vernacular (see §3.2.2). Its *scriptus* is the result of a cre-

erwise. The word that Priscian uses for "sentence" is *oratio* (see page 30), a word that could mean 'speech' in both definite and indefinite senses, as well as 'Satz,' as Schönberger translates it here. The German word 'Satz' corresponds to English 'sentence' or 'clause.' Priscian's use of the word refers to the notion of completeness; that is, an '*oratio*' is a unit of speech that expresses a complete sense in an appropriate way. I return to this point in chapter 7.

[6] Citations from Donatus's *Ars Maior* are all from Schönberger's German-Latin bilingual edition of the work (Donatus 2009). Any translations into English are mine, unless indicated otherwise.

ative interaction between the descriptive norms of the vernacular and a Latinate notion of linguistic prescription.

5.3.1 How do you solve a problem like Frankish?

In the *Ad Liutbertum*, Otfrid identifies two goals for his vernacular writing project, both of which orient him away from his own vernacular oral tradition. The first goal is didactic, as expressed in the following passage, which is also highlighted in Somers (2021b: 37).

> [. . .] I have written down a selection from the Gospels, composed by me in Frankish [. . .] so that he who shudders at the difficulty of a foreign language [. . .] may here in his own language become familiar with the most holy words and, understanding in his own language the Law of God, may, therefore, guard well against straying from it by even a little through his own erroneous thinking. (*Ad Liutbertum*, Magoun 1943: 875-6[7])

Otfrid alludes to a feeling of urgency surrounding the project in that it was prompted by numerous requests from other Christian Franks in his circle, who felt under some degree of threat from their sonic environment.

> When formerly the noise of worldly futilities smote on the ears of certain men exceedingly well-tried in God's service and the offensive song of laymen disturbed their holy way of life, I was asked by certain monastic brethren worthy of consideration and especially moved by the words of a certain reverend lady, Judith by name, who urged me very often that I should compose for them in German (i.e., Frankish) a selection of the Gospels, so that a little of the text of this poem might neutralize the trivial merriment of worldly voices and that, engrossed in the sweet charm of the Gospels in their own language, they might be able to avoid the noise of futile things. (*Ad Liutbertum*, Magoun 1943: 873)

It is notable how Otfrid especially invokes his oral world in this passage, placing in opposition to one another the "sweet" sound of a Frankish-language retelling of the gospels, on the one hand, and the "offensive song of laymen," on the other hand. His *Evangelienbuch* should help drown out "the trivial merriment of worldly voices" making it easier for pious Franks to remain focused on what mattered: the salvation of their soul through the word of God. In seeing his project

[7] All English translations of Otfrid's *Ad Liutbertum* are from Magoun (1943), unless indicated otherwise.

as an opposing force that will counteract the "noise" of the non-Christian oral tradition, it makes sense to hypothesize that Otfrid chose to avoid language that listeners might have associated too strongly with its stories and songs. Details, like the fact that Otfrid opts for an innovative Latin-inspired form of verse over the traditional alliterative verse supports this hypothesis (Somers 2021b: 35-8).

Otfrid's second more ambitious goal for the project, I argue, will also lead the author to eschew linguistic markers of the oral tradition. This goal has to do with the prestige of the Frankish empire vis-à-vis other great civilizations throughout history. Consider the following passage, also highlighted in Somers (2021b: 37).

> Indeed, the Franks do not, as do many other peoples, commit the stories of their predecessors to written record nor do they adorn in literary style the deeds or the life of these out of appreciation for their distinction. But if on rare occasions it does happen, by preference they set forth in the language of other peoples, that is, of the Romans or the Greeks. [. . .] A remarkable thing it is, however, that great men, constant in good judgment, distinguished for careful attention, supported by nimbleness of wit, broad in wisdom, famed for sanctity, should carry over all these virtues into the glory of a foreign language and not have the habit of composition in their native language. (*Ad Liutbertum*, translation from Magoun 1943: 886-7)

Otfrid more explicitly compares Frankish culture to the classical cultures of the Romans and the Greeks in the introductory book to the work, which is entitled, 'Why the author composed this work in the vernacular' (*cur scriptor hunc librum theotisce dictaverit*). Otfrid begins this chapter with the following observation (1).

(1) Was líuto filu in flíze, in managemo ágaleize
was people.GEN.PL many in eagerness in much striving
sie thaz in scríp gicleiptin thaz sie iro námon
they that in writing secure.PRET.SUBJ that they their names
breittin
glorify.PRET.SUBJ
Sie thés in io gilícho flizzun gúallicho
they this.GEN them.REFL always likewise strive.PRES.SUBJ eagerly
in búachon man giméinti thio iro chúanheiti
in books one proclaim.PRET.SUBJ DET their bold.deeds
Tharána dátun sie ouh thaz dúam óugdun iro
through.this did they also DET glorious.deed demonstrated their
wísduam
wisdom

> óugdun iro cléini in thes tíhtonnes reini
> demonstrated their feeling.for.art in DET composing.GEN.SG purity
> 'Many peoples strove eagerly and strenuously so that they might fix that in writing, with which/so that they may glorify their names. Likewise, for this they always strove eagerly (that) one may proclaim in books their bold deeds. Through this, they also performed a glorious deed (and) demonstrated their wisdom (and) demonstrated their feeling for art in the purity of their composing.' (I 1, 1-6)

Who these groups of people are becomes clear in lines 13-16, where Otfrid states how successfully the Greeks and Romans cultivated the written word and, thus, solidified their own legacies. So why, Otfrid asks, have the Franks not developed their own traditions of writing in the vernacular: "Why should the Franks be the only ones who refrain from singing God's praises in Frankish?"[8] They are equally capable of such an achievement, argues the poet. The implied conclusion to this line of argumentation is that, if the Franks wish to assume their rightful position in history as the leaders of a great empire, they must secure their own legacy, not just in writing, but in written Frankish.

Thus, the *Evangelienbuch* constitutes the monk's proof of concept: Otfrid argues in his preface and introductory book that Franks should write in Frankish and then presents a poem that comprises many thousands of lines of written Frankish.[9] Somers (2021b: 31; 37-8) argues that Otfrid was not simply interested in writing a work of significant length in Frankish, but doing so in good Frankish, an ambition that necessitated the monk create a *scriptus* that could qualify as such. That Otfrid believed that Frankish would not be up to the task without concerted shaping and amendment is clear in how he characterizes his vernacular. In the *Ad Liutbertum*, for example, he calls Frankish "rude [...] unpolished and unruly and unused to being restrained by the regulating curb of the art of grammar" (see Magoun's (1943: 880) translation of lines 58-9). Later in the preface, he continues: "This (Frankish) language is, indeed, regarded as rustic because it has at no time been polished up by the natives either by writing or by any grammatical art" (Magoun 1943: 886). In the introductory chapter, Otfrid strikes a more hopeful tone (2).

(2) Níst si so gisúngan mit régulu bithuúngan
NEG-ist it so sung with regulation curbed

[8] Wánana sculun Fránkon éinon thaz biwánkon ni sie in frénkisgon bigínnen sie gotes lób singen (lines 33-4)

[9] Otfrid thereby avoids the irony of Martin Opitz's obituary on the Latin language delivered in the fall of 1617, in Latin (Krebs 2011: 142).

> si hábet thoh thia ríhti in scóneru slíhti
> it has yet the rectitude in beautiful simplicity
> 'It has not been sung in such a way as to be shaped by regularity; yet it has the rectitude of beautiful simplicity.' (I 1, 35-6)

This statement constitutes a politic reframing of his earlier characterization of Frankish as "rustic" and "rude" and furthermore is more consistent with the simple fact that Otfrid opted to write an entire poem in this language. Clearly, Otfrid thought Frankish had the potential to be something more than a spoken vernacular.

5.3.2 A metrical prescription

In Somers (2021b: 44-6), I conclude that the prescriptive ideal that Otfrid chooses is a metrical one, highlighting Otfrid's introductory discussion of how, in his estimation, the Greeks and Romans effected "purity and refinement in their writing" through "strict adherence to a meter" (I 1:21-8; from Somers 2021b: 45). Similarly, Otfrid creates for his poem a new, Latin-inspired metrical scheme featuring a pattern of alternating stresses and dips, designed to regulate his unruly vernacular. Somers (2021b: 46) references the following passage in support of her argument, drawn again from the work's introductory chapter (lines 41-8).

> Let God's law be sweet unto you, *then feet, tempo, and rules, will also shape it [Frankish]*; indeed, those are the words of God himself. If you have in mind to adhere to the meter, create prestige in your language and create beautiful verse, strive to fulfill God's will all the time; then the servants of the Lord will write in Frankish *in accordance with the rules*; *let your feet proceed* in the sweetness of God's law; *don't let time escape you*: then beautiful verse is created forthwith. [emphasis in the original]

Thus, in the absence of any established norms for the writing of Frankish, Otfrid opts for a metrical prescription. Somers (2021b: 46) notes the double meaning of "feet" and "time," words that also reference poetic structures: in order to create beautiful, more elevated Frankish, the poet must keep time and regulate their feet, as it were, in order to maintain Otfrid's self-fashioned alternating stress-dip pattern. Otfrid also applies end-rhyme to the lines of his poem, its first known use in German. This poetic device and the metrical scheme can effect distortions in the prosodic patterns of the vernacular (Somers 2021b: 44-5). That is, work's poetic scheme moves the listener or reader away from the familiar prosodic patterns of Frankish, a strategy that reflects the monk's goal of elevating Frankish

beyond its existing oral varieties. Thus, any Frank who heard the *Evangelienbuch* read aloud would have been aware of how different its language *sounded* from any of their own spoken varieties or immediacy or distance.

I see this argument at the center of Somers (2021b) as important for the current work in that it points to two additional conclusions regarding vernacular literization and, especially, the development of an exclusively or mostly oral vernacular's capacity to function in fully dislocated, written contexts. First, it indicates that Otfrid consciously engaged in the literization of Frankish. That is, he understood his project as the creation of a *scriptus* that would be appropriate to written distance contexts, in which the vernacular had never before had to function and, indeed, could not have functioned well without ausbau. Though his strategy for creating good, written Frankish might seem odd to literate speakers of German and English, whose prescriptive standards are not based on regularizing meters, Otfrid's choice is not so strange considering, for instance, how his metrical prescription had the potential to influence, or distort, vernacular prosody, thereby immediately catching a listener's attention with its crafted language. In chapter 6, I also discuss the important functional role that poetic language plays in exclusively oral communities, noting that planned, public, formal varieties of an oral vernacular are crucially poetic. Poetic language was "special" language,[10] and so Otfrid's choice to write in verse makes sense. The second conclusion that the ideas in Somers (2021b: 42) point to is that Otfrid conceived of vernacular literization in terms of the descriptive and prescriptive norms of Latin. The author discusses, for example, how Otfrid built his unique poetic scheme on Latin models. Drawing on Bostock (1976: 208-9), she notes that Otfrid's likeliest sources for his poetic scheme are the Ambrosian hymns, which feature alternating stresses and dips, and the Latin hymns of Hrabanus Maurus, which exhibited end-rhyme. Thus, Otfrid conceives of his prescription for Frankish in terms of Latin and, in implementing it, moves the vernacular away from its more familiar, colloquial prosodic patterns.

Further examination of the *Ad Liutbertum* reveals additional evidence that the monk understood his task of literizing Frankish in terms of Latin and his Latinate education. For example, he writes of his difficulties spelling Frankish words in ways that were consistent with their pronunciation but did not run afoul of prescriptive and sometimes descriptive classical norms. (lines 58-70). For example, he struggled to find the appropriate letter for certain reduced vowel sounds in Frankish and also found no alternatives to using *k* and *z* letters, despite Latin

[10] I paraphrase here Bakker's (1997) term "special speech," which he applies to Homeric poetry (page 17).

grammarians having declared them "superfluous" (Magoun 1943: 880-1). That is, Frankish phonemes did not map perfectly onto Latin letters, and Otfrid found this fact problematic enough to warrant an explicit mentioning in the preface. Otfrid struggled similarly with grammatical conflicts between Frankish and Latin. For example, he acknowledges that Latin prescribes against double negatives because they ostensibly equal a positive. In Frankish, however, they "almost invariably negate," and, so, he includes them because he took "pains to write as customary speech has showed itself to be" (see Magoun's translation of lines 93-6, Magoun 1943: 885). In the next sentence, Otfrid laments the fact that he could not avoid committing "barbarisms" and "solecisms," two types of errors identified in classical rhetoric, by using Frankish genders and numbers that were inconsistent with those of Latin (lines 96-101). That this fact pains Otfrid points again to his desire to create and write in good Frankish, which, in his opinion, should transgress classical prescriptions as little as possible.

These lines also demonstrate Otfrid's awareness of contemporaries' ambivalent feelings toward his vernacular, including, perhaps, his own. On the one hand, he routinely opts for structures that are consistent with "customary speech." On the other hand, he feels the need to defend these decisions because they conflict with Latin patterns and prescriptions. His defensiveness becomes even clearer in lines 101-5, where he writes:

> I might put down from this book examples in German of all these faults noted above, except that I would avoid the derision of readers; for when the unpolished words of a rustic language are sown in the smooth ground of Latin, they give occasion for loud laughter to readers. (Magoun 1943: 886)

Thus, all of the following statements are simultaneously true for Otfrid. First, he is concerned about the rusticity of the vernacular and would like to offer correctives to its unacceptable state. Next, Frankish's rusticity appears to stem in large part from the fact that it is not Latin, something that might strike the modern reader as more of a statement of fact than a defect on Frankish's part. So, it might seem strange that the man who wants to elevate Frankish might also see its "Frankishness" or, perhaps more accurately, its "non-Latinness" as a problem. Yet, when faced with Frankish structures that directly conflict with Latin descriptive and prescriptive norms, Otfrid chooses the former because they reflected common linguistic usage.

The apparent contradiction in these statements disappears when one treats them as a commentary on the relative literization of Frankish and Latin, the latter of which constitutes a thoroughly literized ausbau language and the former

falling well short of that ideal. These are the terms within which Otfrid saw his literization process: his job was to take the rustic Frankish vernacular and polish it up, as one might a rough stone into a jewel. He approaches this task in a similar way to how Latin speakers drew on the writings of Greek grammarians when literizing their own language. Consider as an example the late Roman grammarian, Priscian, who wrote the multi-volume *Institutiones Grammaticae*. This work becomes one of the most influential grammars in early medieval Carolingian Europe, along with Donatus's *Ars Maior* and *Ars Minor* (Auroux et al. 2000: 504). Priscian's presentation of Latin grammar relies entirely on the parts of speech that are systematically defined in Greek grammars, particularly the works of the renowned grammarian, Apollonius Dyscolus.[11] Thus, Priscian includes a section on articles in his own grammar of Latin, along with the commentary that, while Greek has articles, Latin does not (Priscian 2010: 99). That is, Priscian's description of Latin occurs within the framework of the categories identified by grammarians like Dyscolus for Greek. In line with this approach to grammatical discourse, Otfrid describes Frankish in relation to Latin and notes when forms do not align. That the former deviates so significantly from the latter only emphasizes Frankish's lack of literization. However, in searching for solutions to these misalignments, Otfrid does not abandon his own grammatical intuitions and observations on how Frankish speakers around him used the vernacular.

Ultimately, what Otfrid describes in his preface and introduction is his own conscious engagement with literization and ausbau. The monk's poem is the product of a delicate balancing of several factors: his linguistic intuitions as a Frankish speaker, his divergent attitudes toward Frankish and Latin, his Latinate education, which represented the state of grammatical thought in Carolingian Europe, and, finally, his own ambitions for the project. This constellation of interconnected features also exposes the limitations of Koch & Oesterreicher's (1994) conception of an extrinsic versus an intrinsic ausbau, which does little to elucidate this complex situation and instead encourages more reductive analyses. Instead, one must approach the creation of each *scriptus* as an occasion for the literizer to marshal their various linguistic resources in the service of a particular writing project, for which the literizer has their own particular goals. In the case of Otfrid, his framework for understanding Frankish's unliterized state and conceiving of strategies for addressing the problem is Latinate. In that sense, it might be appropriate to refer to his *scriptus* as resulting from extrinsic ausbau, as Koch and Oesterreicher define it. However, Otfrid also wanted to create a *scriptus* that

[11] As discussed by Schönberg in his comments on the Priscian text and his translation of it (Priscian 2010: 487).

was distinctly Frankish, even though Latin was the framework for that assessment, and it was accompanied by the judgment that Frankish deviations from Latin were proof of its rusticity. These are all relevant factors for understanding the way he builds his *scriptus*.

5.4 Vernacular literization with reference to the oral tradition: the *Hêliand*

The *Hêliand* provides an instructive counterpoint to the *Evangelienbuch* in that the *Hêliand* poet aligns their work with the vernacular oral tradition, while Otfrid intentionally moves his poem away from it. Koch & Oesterreicher's (1994) notion of extrinsic versus intrinsic ausbau might incline one to see the *Hêliand*'s *scriptus* as resulting entirely from the former. However, it is important to recognize that both gospel harmonies were produced in the same Carolingian cultural environment in which literacy was a Latinate phenomenon first and foremost. That is, one should not discount the possibility that the *Hêliand* poet had certain descriptive and prescriptive norms of Latin in mind when constructing their *scriptus*. Furthermore, a Latin influence does not constitute evidence that the *Hêliand* is a non-autochthonous or inauthentic text, whose data scholars must view with a suspicious eye. It simply means that the *Hêliand* poet, like any other aspiring vernacular writer in ninth-century German-speaking Francia, would have been educated in Latin and, thus, had access to this literary tradition when undertaking vernacular literization. It also means that a metalanguage stemming from classical linguistic thought likely how the poet conceptualized literization and ausbau.

In the section that follows, I argue that the *Hêliand* poet engaged their linguistic resources differently from how Otfrid did. The latter poet's interest is in creating good, written Frankish, and so he orients himself away from the oral tradition. The former poet, in contrast, leans into the oral tradition by Germanicizing certain aspects of the story and composing the poem in traditional alliterative verse. Yet the Latinate tradition of literacy, as Somers (2021b) calls it, informs the work generally. For example, the *Hêliand* poet draws on Latin-language sources and the Latinate tradition of biblical commentaries when crafting their gospel narrative. I begin this section with a discussion of these Latinate influences and then discuss how the *Hêliand* poet draws on vernacular oral tradition to create a gospel harmony that is stylistically distinct from the *Evangelienbuch*.

Though the *Hêliand* was originally composed in the vernacular, the sources that informed its composition were Latin. Bostock (1976: 178-9) indicates that the

poet or their clerical advisor (more on this possibility below) made use of a Latin version of Tatian's gospel harmony, rather than drawing independently on the Scriptures. This idea is echoed in Haferland (2010: 168-9), who concludes that the poet likely had a Latin manuscript of the Diatessaron in front of them while composing because the section divisions of the *Hêliand* match up with those of Tatian's work. The poet omits some sections and rearranges others. Some receive further elaboration. Bostock (1976: 174), for example, notes how the poet expands the eleven biblical verses describing the wedding feast at Cana to more than eighty lines depicting a "grand carousal in the no doubt contemporary Saxon style." Other expansions, however, are in line with Latin-language commentaries, including Rhabanus's Commentary on St. Matthew, the Commentaries of Bede on St. Luke, and, to a lesser extent, Alcuin's Commentaries on St. John (Bostock 1976: 178-9). Haferland (2010: 169) explains that one can identify clear instances of correspondence in which the *Hêliand* and the commentaries share stylistic features, like sentence boundaries, though the poet's own "method and style" remain apparent. In sum, the composition of this vernacular poem, though original to the poet, was built on Latin renderings of the gospels and the Latin-language exegetical tradition that was so central to Carolingian literacy and learning. The Germanicization of the poem's form and narrative details, thus, occurs within a Latinate framework. It is a conscious cultural transfer of the story of Jesus from its canonical setting and framing into a vernacular context.

Turning now to the Germanicized narrative details, the *Hêliand* poet shifts the setting of the gospel away from its original geographical and cultural setting of the Biblical Middle East to one that would feel more familiar to German-speaking listeners. Well-known examples[12] include the shepherds of the Bible becoming horse herds in the *Hêliand* (line 388). Similarly, the Star of Bethlehem leads the Magi through forests, rather than deserts (line 603). The argument that the *Hêliand* poet is "play[ing] to Germanic tastes," as Somers puts it (page 35), is strengthened by the poet's depiction of Jesus. Whereas the gospels emphasize that Jesus was meek and self-effacing (see, for example, Matthew 11:29), the *Hêliand* highlights his courage, wisdom and might. For example, the Son of God is referred to "the Lord of the peoples" [*thiodo drohtin* (e.g., 2950); *managoro drohtin* (e.g., 1999)]; "the guardian of the Land" [*landes uuard* (e.g., 626)]; "the mighty protector of many" [*mahtig mundboro* (e.g., 1544)]; "a wise king, renowned and powerful [and] of the finest lineage," [*ein uuiscuning, mari endi mahti [. . .] thes bezton giburdies* (582–84)]; and "courageous and powerful" [*bald endi strang* (e.g., 999)] (Somers 2021b: 35; 47). In sum, the *Hêliand* poet reshaped the gospel

[12]These examples are drawn from Bostock (1976: 169-74) and are also cited in Somers (2021b: 35).

narrative significantly, though, it should also be noted, never in ways that ran afoul of what was considered orthodoxy at the time. This Germanicization of narrative details is why scholars have seen the *Hêliand* as a literary expression of Carolingian expansion into Saxony, a campaign that involved military action as well as (sometimes forced) religious conversion (Somers 2021b: 35). This view turns the *Hêliand* into a political text that would have been designed to encourage the transformation of recalcitrant Saxons into obedient Christian subjects of the Frankish Empire.

The Germanicization of the poem extends to its form, which is that of alliterative verse. Haferland (2010: 170-4) argues that the work provides considerable evidence of the poet—or a team of people that included a poet and a clerical advisor—having been well versed in what he calls "the sociolect of the singers" (page 173). He notes, for example, how the poem draws from a broad inventory of poetic formulas shared with alliterative poetry in other Germanic traditions, including Old English and Old Norse. Drawing on the language of the oral tradition and its prosodic patterns represents a harmonization of form and content, both of which would render the gospel story more familiar to German-speaking listeners. This tack contrasts significantly with Otfrid, whose *Evangelienbuch* does nothing to accommodate Frankish tastes and, indeed, uses a metrical pattern that effects prosodic distinctiveness (Somers 2021b).

Unfortunately, nothing like Otfrid's metalinguistic commentary on the why and how of literization exists for the *Hêliand*. The goals of the text must be extrapolated from the poem itself and how the poet approached their subject matter. Consideration of the two short texts written in Carolingian Latin that many scholars have taken to be prefaces to the *Hêliand* (see Bostock 1976: 181-2), the prose *Prefatio in librum antiquam Saxonica lingua conscriptum* and the poetic *Versus de poeta et interprete huius codicis*, do not elucidate much beyond these extrapolations. In the prose text, for example, the unknown author states that "Ludiuuicus piissimus Augustus," usually understood to refer to the Emperor Louis the Pious, "ordered a certain man of the Saxon peoples, who had among themselves poets of no small worth, that he work to poetically translate the Old and New Testaments into the German language, such that the sacred reading of the divine precepts might be open to not only the literate but also the illiterate" (translation from Carlton 2019).[13] This description supports the conclusion that the text's Germanicized details and use of alliterative verse already point

[13]Praecepit [Ludouuicus] ...cuidam viro de gente Saxonum, qui apud suos non ignobilis vateshabebatur, ut vetus ac novum Testamentum in Germanicum linguam poetice transferre studeret,quatenus non solum literatis, verum etiam illiteratis sacra divinorum praeceptorum lectiopanderetur Sievers (1935: 3).

to, namely, that this gospel harmony was intended as an aid to Christianization efforts in Saxony. Bostock (1976: 183) cautions that the link between these texts and the *Hêliand* is by no means conclusive, noting that while some of the details mentioned in the prefaces match the German-language text, others do not. He concludes that the prefaces "merely show that there existed in the ninth century a tradition or belief that, at the command of the Emperor Louis, a Saxon had produced poems dealing with the Old and New Testaments."

5.4.1 Was the *Hêliand* poet illiterate (Haferland 2010)?

The question of whether one poet composed the *Hêliand* or it was the product of a collective effort is irrelevant to the argument that the poem is oriented toward the vernacular tradition of elaborated orality. That is, regardless of whether the poet was one person or several people, the pervasive influence of the oral tradition is indisputable. The question of authorship, however, is relevant to the idea that the work's *scriptus* is the product of ausbau in the first place. Indeed, Haferland (2010) presents a more serious challenge to my argument that the creation of early medieval *scripti* required innovative linguistic ausbau to enhance the lexical and grammatical coherence beyond what existing vernacular linguistic intuitions provided for. This work argues that the *Hêliand* was composed orally by an illiterate poet with the aid of a clerical advisor. If this view is correct, then the poem would be a *Verschriftung*, rather than a *Verschriftlichung*, that is, a transcription of a spoken variety—in this case, likely one of distance, as it would represent a song from the oral tradition—and not a conscious literization resulting from ausbau. Additionally, the poem would constitute a more limited "pragmatic ausbau" of German, a term that refers to the gradual recognition of the fact that texts can be produced and received entirely within the graphic realm, with no reference made to conceptual orality or the oral culture (Koch & Oesterreicher 1994: 590). In classical and medieval cultures, as Green (1994: 15-6) notes, the written word remained connected to their still vibrant oral cultures. Texts were treated as "written storage" ("*schriftliche Speicherung*") and were secondary to, and produced in support of, a spoken utterance.[14] If the *Hêliand* had been orally composed and then transcribed, the written word in this case would be mere storage, a state-of-affairs that is inconsistent with ausbau in that the *scriptus*

[14] Green's (1994: 15-6) description of how medieval correspondence worked is a useful example of this phenomenon (drawing from Köhn 1986: 340). First, the letter-sender dictated their missive aloud to a scribe. Whoever delivered the letter to the addressee would also have conveyed an oral communication, which, in fact, could be more important than the contents of the letter itself. The delivered letter was then read aloud to the recipient.

would be linked to a conceptual orality and, thus, constrained by the cognitive demands of composing orally and spontaneously. Ultimately, I am unconvinced by Haferland's characterization of the *Hêliand* as an orally composed and transcribed work. I devote the remainder of this section to describing Haferland's arguments and laying out a case against them.

Haferland's (2010) argument that the poet must have been illiterate rests on one central assumption: that it is impossible that the two "distinct talents" required to produce the *Hêliand* resided in one person and that these competencies must have been spread out across a team that minimally included one ecclesiastical advisor and one illiterate singer (pages 201, 203). The clerical advisor, on the one hand, was trained in the Latinate tradition of literacy and could marshal all the biblical sources required for the project. They provided the material to the illiterate poet, who, on the other hand, had "total command of the art and lexicon of Germanic singers." Then the singer "refashioned" the material provided from memory (page 177) and scribes transcribed what they heard (page 186). Haferland imagines the actions of the illiterate poet in the model of the legend of Caedmon from Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica*. The poet would listen to one discrete section of the gospels told to him by the clerical advisor, ruminate over it, perhaps in the evenings "to find the proper wording," and perform that part of the poem the next morning spontaneously and from memory (pages 201-2).

Imagining the poem as the work of one poet points to one of only two possibilities, both of which cannot be true, according to Haferland (2010). One possibility is that it was written by a member of the clergy well-trained in a Latinate literacy but only capable of "feigning" orality because they devoted themselves to the church rather than the oral tradition. Alternatively, a later convert, who underwent the long training to become a singer and only afterwards joined a monastery, wrote the poem. Neither possibility can be true, says Haferland. In the case of the latter, the singer-turned-clergy could not have been able to read Latin fluently (page 203) and, thus, would not have been able to access all of the sources required to compose the poem. In the case of the former, the orality of the poem is too "constitutive" to be feigned (page 176). Additionally, the clergy-turned-poet would not have made the errors of interpretation that can be found in the parts of the text (pages 192-200). It is these "involuntary reflexes of orality" (page 204) and errors that lead Haferland to conclude that an illiterate poet must have composed the poem orally with the help of a clerical advisor and that a writer or team of writers transcribed the work.

In order to address Haferland's claims, I begin by noting that the author rests his arguments on two false dilemmas. The first is that a person living in ninth-century Francia could not be educated in Latin while also having some degree of

command over more planned, public oral varieties that reside on the right end of the 'language of immediacy–language of distance' continuum (see chapter 3 for discussion of Koch and Oesterreicher's model of linguistic output). The *Hêliand* poet's (or poets') world is, as I discussed in chapter 3, still overwhelmingly oral. Coseriu's (1974) principle of historicity reminds the scholar that people in the ninth century were multilectal, just as people are today, and that they, like us, produced immediacy and distance varieties of their spoken language. This is not to say that everyone could spontaneously produce long, epic songs without special training. But it seems to me that Haferland treats the sociolect of the singers as something wholly apart from ninth-century vernaculars, as opposed to one special variety embedded at the extreme end of a whole continuum of spoken varieties of distance that were accessible to many speakers, not simply those who underwent specific training as a singer. I see no good reason to accept Haferland's proposition that a ninth-century writer could not have simultaneously accessed a Latinate literacy and a distance-shaped spoken competency when creating a *scriptus*.

The second false dilemma is that the poem's "constitutive orality" necessarily implies that the poem must have been composed orally. This dilemma connects to the previous one that postulates that a single person could not have had command of elaborated oral varieties of distance and be literate in Latin. Therefore, only a trained singer, who must have been illiterate, could have produced poems that featured an authentic and constitutive orality of the kind supposedly exhibited in the *Hêliand*. Haferland's (2010) evidence of the poem's constitutive orality varies in degree of persuasiveness. None of it unequivocally points to the work having been orally composed—rather than featuring a *scriptus* constructed with oral varieties of distance in mind—while some examples point to the opposite conclusion, that is, that the work is a literate one. For example, the author discusses the poet's use of repetition, which speaks to the work's oral orientation, but also explains how passages of multiple lines are repeated *verbatim* (pages 177-80). Ong (2012: 57-65), discussing the work of Milman Parry and Albert Lord, notes that verbatim memorization is generally not a strategy employed in the spontaneous composition of epic songs and instead points to the existence of a static text. Haferland's conclusion that a literate approach to the composition of a text is incompatible with repetitions of this sort (pages 179-80) does not discount the possibility that the *Hêliand* poet(s) composed the work in writing but drew on the linguistic properties of orality in the construction of their *scriptus*.

Other examples are even less convincing, such as when Haferland (2010: 184-5) claims that the poet's descriptions of the act of writing come from an "outsider's perspective." The author bases this conclusion on the fact that the poet describes

the act of writing in ways that emphasize the physicality of the act, that it involves producing letters (*bi bôcstabon* 'with letters,' 230) in a book (*an buok* 'in book,' 14) with fingers and hands (*mid handon* 'with hands,' 7; *fingron* 'with fingers,' 32). Why such descriptions are any more likely to have come from an illiterate person than a literate one is unclear. In fact, medieval scribes were known to comment on the fact that writing was hard work that could tax the body (Gullick 1995: 41; 43). Other arguments, like the idea that a clerical poet would never have made some of the interpretational errors in the spiritual meaning of the text (see Haferland 2010: 192-200), are more convenient than convincing.

With these assumptions, Haferland paints himself into a corner, where he has to create an elaborate story of the *Hêliand*'s composition that involves a "clerical advisor who selected and arranged the material, with the poet being responsible only for the composition and the blunders," a division of labor that Bostock (1976: 178) characterizes as "highly improbable." One should also reflect on the practicalities of undertaking such an endeavor in ninth-century Francia. Consider all of the tools modern linguists have at their disposal when creating a transcription of spoken language. For example, they can capture an oral performance with recording devices that allow them to play it back, stop and restart the stream of sound, and, thus, transcribe what they hear incrementally and, to some degree, faithfully. How do scribes in the medieval setting accomplish anything resembling this process? Does the spontaneously composing poet simply speak very slowly? Do they repeat themselves? Can the rhythm of spontaneous oral composition be adjusted like that? Ready's (2019) extensive examination of the process of 'textualizing' an oral performance through dictation and transcription provides a wealth of comparative evidence from oral traditions around the world that is fatal to Haferland's (2010) imagining of the *Hêliand*'s composition as an orally composed, unliterized transcription.[15] The "dictation model," Ready (2019) argues, can only be considered plausible with the presence of a collector *cum* collaborator, who shapes the text considerably and contributes to the oral performance's textualization (pages 158-73). Ready (2019), for example, demonstrates that the structure and language of a dictated poem are fundamentally different from a performed poem (pages 168-9). Additionally, collectors and scribes alike intervene heavily in the performance of the song and its textualized manifestation (pages 169-173). Note here that I use the term textualization to refer strictly to the act of transferring an exclusively oral discourse tradition into the graphic medium. This process yields examples of 'textualized orality.' The *Hildebrandslied* is one of the few texts in the history of German that we may characterize as

[15]See in particular Ready's (2019) chapter 3, 'Textualization.' I discussed Ready's use of the term 'textualization' in chapter 3 and how it relates to my use of the term 'literization.'

textualized orality. In order to textualize orality, the writer must still literize the oral variety associated with that discourse tradition, that is, deal with questions of ausbau.

Other practicalities come to mind. For example, modern linguists rely on established orthographic conventions designed to represent sound on a page: the International Phonetic Alphabet, if one requires a closer transcription, or an alphabet, when such phonetic specificity is unnecessary. In chapter 3, I explained how there were no writing conventions established for the vernacular in the early medieval period. Those who decided to write in the vernacular had to establish their own systems for representing on the page what had only existed as sound. This fact means that a would-be transcriber of the *Hêliand* first would have to develop an alphabet, which is to say, a system of sound-letter correspondence, for their illiterate poet's vernacular, and then figure out how to spell the words that the poet says and decide on questions like where the word boundaries should go.

One might also ask whether ninth-century scribes could write quickly enough to make any type of transcription possible. Michael Gullick for his chapter, 'How fast did scribes write?,' consulted historical sources as well as the modern calligrapher Donald Jackson before concluding that a European scribe in the Romanesque period, so from the year 1,000 to 1,200, could write roughly twenty-five lines an hour, possibly managing as much as 200 lines per day (page 50).[16] From the perspective of the scribe, the poet would have to dictate very slowly indeed for the scribe to be able to keep up. Alternatively, the scribe could try to write as quickly as they can, sacrificing fidelity to what they hear and requiring lots of repair after the fact, which again undermines the possibility that the poem is a transcribed oral performance. The *Hêliand* poem is about 6,000 lines long,[17] so one may assume that under ideal circumstances it could take around 30 days of working eight-hour days to write the whole poem out in the normal scribal fashion, which is to say, copying from an exemplar.[18] It is difficult to surmise how long it would take to perform and transcribe such a long work. For one, the poet would need a prodigious cognitive stamina to listen to the clerical advisor describe to him the material, which would include stories and doctrinal

[16] I discovered Gullick's (1995) chapter through the blog post, 'Clever sluggards? How fast did medieval scribes work?,' written by Deborah Thorpe on October 28, 2015 (Thorpe 2015) and accessible at: https://thescribeunbound.wordpress.com/2015/10/28/clever-sluggards-how-fast-did-medieval-scribes-work/.

[17] Bostock (1976: 168) notes that 5,983 lines of the poem have been preserved. The conclusion is missing, but its length is "unlikely to be very great."

[18] Writing in the medieval environment was not always conducive to speed, Gullick (1995: 43) reminds us. Conditions in *scriptoria* could be cold, as many scribes complain in colophons and marginalia. Cold fingers do not write as quickly as warm ones do.

interpretations that, according to Haferland's narrative, the illiterate poet would otherwise have no access to, to organize that material without the aid of writing and using the lexicon and practices of their singer training, and then immediately perform that material in the mode of a slower dictation that, Ready (2019: 114-7) notes, singers often find challenging. The poet, as well as the rest of the team, would presumably have to repeat this process day after day. One particular question emerges after considering all these practicalities. *Why* would those responsible for the work choose to compose the poem in this arduous way?[19]

This discussion, I hope, is instructive in elucidating some of the practical challenges that would arise in producing a transcription of spoken language in early medieval German-speaking Francia. These challenges point to the conclusion that transcription without at least some degree of literization, that is, an editing and/or shaping of the poem as a *written* text, simply would have been impossible. From the German-language tradition, we have only two works of textualized orality, the *Merseburg Charms* and the *Hildebrandslied*; these are the closest extant representations of a German oral tradition. Whoever was responsible for their textualization and literization certainly drew on their oral varieties of distance to create and structure their *scriptus*, similar to how the *Hêliand* poet surely did. However, one might also expect notable differences in the resultant *scripti* for the following reasons. First and foremost, unlike the *Hildebrandslied*, the *Hêliand*'s story does not stem from the oral tradition of the community that created the text. It is an imported story, and it is the poet's particular literization of it that would have made the story seem more familiar and accessible to listeners in communities in East Francia and Saxony. Let us also consider more closely what it would have meant for a story to be embedded in and grown from the Germanic-language oral tradition. Unlike the *Hêliand*, the *Hildebrandslied*'s story, characters, themes, structure, and lexicon would have already been well known to the members of the community. These elements are in and of the community's cultural and linguistic cosmology. Whoever wrote the *Hildebrandslied* did not have to engage with the literization process as intensively as the *Hêliand* poet, who had to transfer all of these same elements to a new milieu. One might hypothesize, therefore, that the author of the *Hildebrandslied* engaged in less ausbau than that of the *Hêliand*.

[19]It is not as if there existed a long tradition of oral compositions of the gospel narrative in Frankish Europe that people might have wanted to capture in writing, as was the case in Ancient Greece and its tradition of Homeric epic poetry.

5.5 Conclusion

An important goal of this chapter was to describe the basic parameters of a Carolingian education, which focused on fostering in its students a Latinate literacy, though likely with mixed results. The ultimate aim of this educational program was to teach people, clergy in particular, how to read and write Latin so that they could understand the Bible. For this task, they relied on late Roman grammatical treatises that detailed the descriptive and prescriptive norms of Latin. The Romans inherited this tradition of *grammatica* from the Greeks, and, just as the Romans conceived of the literization of their oral vernacular in terms set by classical linguistic thought, so too did the Carolingians. That is, in this chapter I argued that the Latin language and its discourse on language (i.e., *grammatica*) provided the conceptual framework within which the Carolingians understood the literization of their own language.

The *Evangelienbuch* is one of the best early sources of evidence that speaks to this point. Otfrid comments directly on the literization process and details the Frankish language's many ills. Chief among these problems is the fact that Frankish is not Latin or, rather, *like* Latin: it is not a written language and, thus, has not been regulated in any way. It is wild, unruly, and unworthy of the great civilization that speaks it. Otfrid's prescription for the language is metrical, and so he introduces a poetic scheme that, in his view, disciplines it while still allowing him to build a *scriptus* that does not directly contradict his own grammatical intuitions. Given Otfrid's desire to turn Frankish into a proper written language and the fact that he had a particularly Latinate, or classical, model of a written language in mind when composing the work, I propose the following. When Otfrid made choices regarding ausbau, that is, how to effect the requisite degree of grammatical cohesion by augmenting Frankish's lexical density and integration, he turned to the grammatical treatises that formed the backbone of his literacy education. In light of this orientation, Otfrid was inclined to avoid the types of linguistic features that characterized the spoken distance varieties comprising the oral tradition that surrounded him.

Thus, in this chapter I demonstrated how to analyze an early medieval text with respect to its author's orientation toward their oral vernaculars of distance (the language of the oral tradition), on the one hand, and their education in a Latinate literacy, on the other hand. My contention is that this analysis constitutes a method for approaching linguistic variation across early German texts. That is, language ausbau processes that shape oral vernaculars into a graphic form that is functional in the dislocated visual space of the page promote new degrees of lexical and grammatical coherence (Chapter 4), but the resulting *scripti* will still

be distinct because their creators draw on their linguistic resources in ways that reflect their particular project and goals. Because ausbau is a conscious process of linguistic change, how a literizer like Otfrid thought about his vernacular and language in general is relevant to the *scriptus* he creates. Though his multilectal linguistic intuitions surely inform his vernacular writing, so too do the literate model provided by Latin, the metalanguage he learned through his education in *grammatica*, and the prescriptive solutions he devised to address Frankish's rusticity based on this linguistic training. A literization approach, then, considers all these factors in an analysis of a *scriptus*, rather than just focusing on delineating the structures that comprise those intuitions.

The *Hêliand* poet (or poets), in contrast, covered the same narrative ground as Otfrid did in the *Evangelienbuch* but drew more directly on the oral tradition for its formulation. They transferred the gospel story from its original milieu to that of northern Europe and used what would have been the widely familiar patterns of alliterative verse. Similarly, one should expect that the *Hêliand*'s *scriptus*, generally, and more specifically its ausbau structures will reflect, to some degree, the lexically dense and integrated structures of oral varieties of distance, a description and account of which is the focus of Chapter 6. Where Otfrid eschewed structures that he would have associated with elaborated orality, the *Hêliand* poet embraced these same patterns. However, as I argued in Chapter 4, the act of creating a *scriptus* would still push its creator toward augmenting, or making some attempt to augment, the grammatical coherence of their vernacular. This conclusion follows from the fact that writing has the potential to dislocate language from the language producer and the time, place, and culture of its production. Thus, the written medium impels writers toward grammatical and lexical explicitness. In Chapter 6, I highlight the ambiguities that arise when the structures in a *scriptus* are more directly inspired by oral varieties of distance and their different systems of syntactic organization and when literizers engage less in ausbau, specifically.

What I would like to work toward is a more multifaceted, sociolinguistic understanding of these early German *scripti* than the one that focuses only reconstructing the structures of an underlying competence. Consider the following. First, there is an early author who consults their intuitions on the various generalizations, patterns, and forms that are associated with the multiple (spoken) varieties of which they have command. Some of these varieties are shaped by the communicative demands and constraints of distance and, thus, feature a degree of lexical density and integration that all distance contexts, be they oral or written, require. I elaborate this point in Chapter 6. None of these varieties can

function as a written language without some level of literization, even if that simply involves mapping vernacular sounds onto graphemes. Most writing projects require a good deal more, however, including the ausbau of lexicon and grammar to increase the vernacular's semantic and grammatical coherence. I have demonstrated that the early literizer of German also had some knowledge of Latin, as well as education in the classical traditional of *grammatica*. This training can also be counted among the linguistic resources to which an author had access.

This literization process does not and cannot happen naturally or *only* by virtue of people tapping into an underlying competence.[20] Relatedly, a systematic written language cannot exist until people create it, and creating this written language requires conscious decision-making from its creators. For example, which generalizations, patterns, and forms will the literizer transfer from their different oral varieties into their *scriptus*? To what extent will they consult or eschew Latinate descriptive and prescriptive norms during its crafting when solving the unavoidable puzzle that is ausbau? How successful will they be in implementing these ideas consistently? Answers to these questions can elucidate linguistic variation not just within, but also across early medieval texts. While a singular focus on the reconstruction of underlying structures means that we are telling only one—small, I believe—part of the story. In not considering literization's role in the early history of the German language, I maintain that we have ignored one of the most revolutionary forces, if not *the* most revolutionary force, that can effect linguistic change; namely, the literization of an oral vernacular.

In the chapters that follow, especially Chapter 7, I propose that there is another important aspect to conceptualizing the choices that early German literizers made when crafting a *scriptus*. Namely, they also had to develop a sense of written well-formedness for this new variety of the vernacular. In other words, necessarily accompanying the task of selection, i.e., 'I will do it this way, not that way,' are considerations of suitability, appropriateness, and aesthetics, i.e., 'I *should* do it this way, not that way.' One structure might offer greater coherence or clarity in the graphic medium than the other or might evoke elaborated orality and, thus, be more or less desirable, depending on the nature of the project. Another way of referring to the development of well-formedness might be to speak of an evolving sense of 'literary style,' though the former has been used in the linguistic literature in reference to grammatical constraints, while the latter is not seen as a matter of grammar. In Chapter 6, I focus particularly on the syntactic characteristics of elaborated orality so that we may better understand the oral varieties of distance and, thereby, the full spectrum of linguistic resources available

[20] A corollary to this statement is the fact that people do not learn how to read and write unless they consciously undertake this task and, not to mention, devote many multiple years to it.

to an early German literizer. This discussion will also be a necessary corrective to our modern literate subjectivity in that we will try to approach unliterized, exclusively oral vernaculars on their own terms. That is, the metalanguage from the classical linguistic tradition introduces to speakers of oral vernaculars the *ideas of structures*. If ausbau is conscious linguistic innovation undertaken to address real communicative deficiencies arising from the functional gap between planned oral varieties of distance and written language, to what extent do the classical conceptualizations and categories discussed in the popular grammars shape or effect proffered solutions to the ausbau puzzle?

I conclude this chapter with an acknowledgment of what it is missing, namely discussion of the third ninth-century gospel harmony, the German translation of Tatian's *Evangelienharmonie*. My interest in exploring the early ausbau of German and the role of these first *scripti* in the creation of early *scripti* and a written German means that, in my mind at least, this text is a less significant development. This is not to say that it cannot reveal interesting aspects of early ausbau, particularly with respect to how or to what extent German-speakers creatively shaped their vernacular to accommodate a largely literal translation of a Latin Christian text. The German Tatian translation remains important, if for no other reason than it is one of the few German-language texts of any notable length from the early medieval period. However, it has less to tell us about the process of *scriptus* creation and ausbau than the other two ninth-century gospel harmonies. The authors of these latter two texts developed a written medium to tell the story of Jesus from their own vernacular point-of-view; the *scripti* they created reflected their individual orientation toward the subject matter. In other words, their poems are the product of a unique, vernacular, and literary engagement with the source material. In contrast, the Tatian project is not the product of a similar literary or vernacular engagement with the source material. Its creators did not develop their own point-of-view; they simply adopt that of Tatian. In this way, the translation is actually a more accurate representation of the state of vernacular literacy in early medieval Carolingian Europe in that resources were funneled into revitalizing and promoting Latin literacy, rather than into creating a vernacular written medium. The Tatian text with its transparent line-by-line—and largely word-for-word—translation of its source would have been an excellent study aid for German-speakers eager to understand Biblical Latin better and was probably created for that reason. The same cannot be said for Otfrid's work, the *Hêliand*, or for that matter, the Isidor translation. The Tatian's *scriptus* is a by-product of the translational process, rather than the intentional vernacular literization that the other two gospel harmonies represent.

6 German's prehistory as elaborated orality

6.1 Introduction

In Chapter 5's conclusion, I argued that scholars require a better understanding of the varieties, or linguistic resources, as I called them, on which a literizer necessarily relied for a *scriptus*'s creation if we hope to understand German's earliest *scripti* and the linguistic variation they exhibit. Thus, the task for this chapter is to elucidate how elaborated orality is structured. My approach here is different from the usual ways in which linguists and philologists have examined the German language's prehistory, which has been conceptualized by way of the comparative method and linguistic reconstruction. This approach entails looking backwards from the standpoint of the language's literized stages to project its oral past. Doing so makes sense in that there can be no direct evidence of German's prehistory. Only the literate traces remain. I propose, however, that such methods invite anachronism in that they do not take into consideration literization as an impetus for radical linguistic change. The historical traces of a language are definitionally literate, that is, result from processes of literization like ausbau, while prehistoric varieties were definitionally oral and thoroughly shaped by the phonic medium. If we only apprehend an exclusively oral past through its literate fossils without considering the fundamental structural differences between orally organized and literized language, we risk imposing our own literacy-shaped views onto unliterized language.

The goal of this chapter, then, is to elucidate German's prehistory without referring to its literate history, that is, to try to understand it on its own terms. Prehistoric German speakers, like everyone else, were multilectal; crucially, all their linguistic production was oral. This fact eliminates one axis of variation that applies to literized languages: the medial binary between phonic and graphic. But the spectrum of communicative contexts, ranging from immediacy at one pole to distance at the other, shaped all linguistic output, just as it does today. Thus, I aim to account for prehistoric structures by centering the phonic and considering how speakers constructed sound-based language in its varying, but always

exclusively oral contexts. My starting point, then, is the following assumption: speakers with no notion of written languages will apprehend their vernacular through primarily phonic means. Similarly, organizational strategies on which speakers must rely for linguistic production in contexts of communicative distance will also be sound based. For this discussion, I draw from Wallace Chafe's (1994) monograph, *Discourse, Consciousness, and Time*, which conceptualizes the structure of spoken language as the convergence of linguistic expression and the "flow of consciousness." The challenge of elaborated orality, then, entails managing and slowing this rapidly flowing stream of language and thought to allow for the planning of language, the developing of ideas, and the telling of coherent narratives. The strategies that people adopt for meeting this challenge are universal in that they are determined by human cognition. Thus, elaborated orality across communities will have structural similarities.

This chapter is divided into two main sections. The first of these (§6.2) elucidates the intonation unit, or IU, as the main organizational unit of spoken language, be that a spoken language of immediacy or distance. Building on Chafe (1994), I define the IU as the linguistic expression of a speaker's focus of consciousness. The IU is bounded by prosody and cognition, both of which are biological constraints. With respect to prosody, speakers produce language in spurts constrained by the need to draw breath; with respect to cognition, human brains have a restless and limited focus of consciousness. Thus, the IU is where the two converge. I propose, then, that the IU is the locus of a speaker's modulation of their linguistic production to fit the contexts of immediacy or distance. In this chapter, my primary focus is on the strategies speakers use to address the challenge of processing oral varieties of distance, something I collectively refer to as 'layered elaboration.' I illustrate two of these strategies, 'reverbalizations' and 'nominalizations,' with data taken from the unliterized North American language of Seneca and explain how they build the lexically denser and more integrated utterances required in distance contexts. In this way, elaborated orality works to similar ends as those of ausbau, which also effect greater integration and density. However, layered elaboration is always subject to and shaped by the cognitive constraints of its exclusively phonic medium. The phonic medium itself ensures that its linguistic output will never evince the unattainable and, not coincidentally, unnecessary degree of lexical and grammatical coherence effected through ausbau and required in the graphic medium. It also requires speakers to undergird the layered elaboration they build with their utterances with mnemonic devices that make linguistic production easier for speaker and listener to process.

In this chapter's second main section (§6.3), I trace the structural fossils of layered elaboration in the longer of the two extant examples of textualized orality

produced by the Carolingians, the *Hildebrandslied*. Here I argue that the basic poetic units of traditional verse stemming from elaborated orality is a formalized verse-IU (intonation unit). In the case of Germanic alliterative poetry, I propose that the verse-IU is the main locus for the building of its mnemonically grounded, lexically denser, and more integrated language of distance. I also note in this section that I am far from the first to describe this variety of language that I call layered elaboration. It has, in fact, been the object of scholarly interest for more than two millennia, though these discussions have generally not recognized layered elaboration's cognitive basis, Egbert Bakker's 1997 monograph, *Poetry in Speech. Orality and Homeric Discourse*, being one notable exception. It has, however, long been associated with different types of ancient poetry. For example, I discuss in §6.3.2, how Aristotle described the *lexis* of the ancient poets, that is, their formal speech and artistic prose, in ways similar to the mode of expression I call layered elaboration. Aristotle saw layered elaboration—composing as the ancient poets did—as resulting only from the composer's stylistic choice. It was one which Aristotle discouraged: he deemed its structures poor style for unmetered *logos* (loosely translated as 'language,' but see footnote 10 in §2.3.1) in that they did not foster the clarity of expression this type of composition, in his opinion, required.

This discussion, I argue, suggests two conclusions. The first is that the *scriptus* that is created by an early literizer who wanted to evoke oral composition by employing layered elaboration to effect lexical density and integration will also exhibit less ausbau. That is, a literizer like the *Hêliand* poet employed conceptually oral strategies for dealing with communicative distance, while the graphic medium of the *scriptus* actually requires a conceptually literate solution to address the oral vernacular's lack of lexical and grammatical coherence. The resultant *scriptus*, I propose, will be less coherent and more ambiguous in its grammatical relations than the *scriptus* created by a literizer like Otfrid, who was inspired by their Latinate literacy, a tradition which itself was rooted in Greek grammatical treatises. This is because a more orally organized *scriptus* for which the literizer drew extensively on their oral tradition will rely on various types of parallelism, i.e., the simple juxtaposition of similar types of constituents with no syntactic linking between them. The process of ausbau, however, replaces those implied connections with explicit ones. I argue that the classical discourse on *grammatica* recognized the difference between these two modes of expression: the older, conceptually oral juxtaposition of verse-IUs, on the one hand, and the newer, conceptually literate ausbau structures created through literization. In turning away from the oral tradition, Otfrid draws more directly on the intellectual and metalinguistic foundations of classical linguistics.

6.2 The structure of elaborated orality

Identifying and accounting for early German's exclusively oral distance varieties might seem like an impossible task in that there is no extant tradition of elaborated orality in the German language. However, I propose that one is able to draw conclusions about the structure of a long-gone elaborated orality by considering how the dual communicative pressures of distance and memorability shape linguistic production in an exclusively phonic medium. Instrumental in this analysis is the work of Wallace Chafe, whose writing on the relationship between the production of spoken language and the "flow of consciousness" highlights the central functional challenge of elaborated orality. Namely, the ephemeral nature of the spoken word combines with the significant cognitive limitations on how long, and how many, thoughts can stay active in human consciousness; the oral tradition, therefore, is built around creating cognitive and linguistic strategies for making the impermanent less so.

Consider again Koch & Oesterreicher's (1985: 23) schematic representation of the interrelatedness of communicative conditions and constraints, on the one hand, and verbalization strategies, on the other hand. I first discussed these ideas in §3.3 when introducing conceptual orality and literacy; returning to the figure now in an adapted form is useful for understanding the challenge of language planning in mostly or exclusively oral communities and the linguistic strategies humans developed for meeting them.

Table 6.1 is a version of Koch & Oesterreicher's (1985: 18; 23) figures 2 and 3. My adaptations are bolded to reflect my arguments in Chapter 3. For instance, I argued in §3.3 that the type of complete physical dislocation of speech act and person that can be achieved in the graphic medium is impossible in the phonic one. The latter is always embodied; the former has the potential to become disconnected entirely from the person who produced it and find its way into the hands of a completer stranger long after the author is dead. Also in in §3.3, I discussed Ong (2012) [1982], in which the author identifies common mnemonic strategies that make possible the survival of the songs, stories, etc. of an oral tradition. I pointed out that these mnemonic strategies strike modern speakers of German and English as poetic language and concluded that the language of elaborated orality was "crucially poetic." In this same section, I also discussed the verbalization strategies identified in Koch & Oesterreicher (1985) that connect to syntactic characteristics: information density, integration, compactness, complexity, and elaboration. There I concluded that, of the five listed, only information density and integration would be useful as structural markers distin-

Table 6.1: The continuum of linguistic production, in mostly or exclusively oral cultures

	Language of immediacy	**Language of distance**
1. Communicative conditions/ constraints	Spontaneous	Planned
	Dialogue	Monologue
	Familiar interlocutor	**Less familiar** interlocutor
	Physically present interlocutor	**Physically present interlocutor**
	Free topic development	More topic fixation
	Intimate context	Public context
	More context-dependent	Less context-dependent
	More expressive, emotional	More objective
	Need not be memorable	**Must be memorable**
2. Verbalization strategies	**Less mnemonic (poetic)**	**More mnemonic (poetic)**
	Processuality	Reification
	Preliminarity	Conclusiveness
	Less **Information dense** **Integration** ~~**Compact, complex, elaborate**~~	**More**

guishing the language of immediacy from that of distance.[1] The challenge of an elaborated orality, stated in the terms of the above table, is how the speaker can create the more information dense and integrated language required by the distance context in ways that are mnemonically supported.

6.2.1 The intonation unit and its cognitive basis

I draw now on the work of Wallace Chafe, that is, Chafe (1980), Chafe (1981), Chafe (1987), Chafe (1994), to elucidate how speakers of exclusively or mostly oral vernaculars can build lexical density and integrated structures into their varieties of distance. Understanding this process requires a discussion of Chafe's ideas on the constitutive role played by consciousness and prosody in the production of spoken language. Namely, he identifies the 'idea unit' (1980, 1981), later changing the name to the 'intonation unit' (1994), as a defining unit shaping all spoken language. In arguing for the significance of the IU, Chafe seems to advocate for a different view of spoken language to the one offered in works like Miller & Weinert (1998), in which the authors posit that a syntactic unit, that is,

[1]This is not to say that there no other features that similarly relate to syntax and correlate with whether the utterance is produced in a context of immediacy or distance. In this book, however, I focus on these two and leave it to additional research to identify others.

the clause, underlies all spoken production. They do this despite spontaneously spoken language's often fragmented syntax, which does not always feature coherently constructed clauses. Chafe (1994) is also reluctant to deny the clause a constitutive role in shaping spoken utterances. On pages 65-6, he indicates that in his data of spoken language IUs and clauses were isomorphic roughly 60% of the time. He concludes that speakers try to verbalize "a focus of consciousness in the format of a clause" but are not always able to manage it because of constraints on how information is distributed across the IU, an example of which I discuss below. I return to the topic of clauses in Chapter 7. For now, however, I assume that spoken language is made up of IUs and that the IU, as a cognitively defined unit that is crucial to the production and reception of the stream of spoken language, is the locus of mnemonically grounded strategies for building the more integrated and lexically dense language of a planned orality.

Wallace Chafe's "IU" began its life as the 'idea unit' and eventually became the 'intonation unit.' This evolution in terminology reflects the fact that these segments of speech are defined with respect to both cognition and prosody. In his 1981 article, Chafe argues that spontaneous spoken language is "produced in a series of spurts" that he called idea units (page 136).

(1) It was … it .. had .. evidently … been under snow, (IU 1)
and just recently melted off, (IU 2)
and the mosquitoes were … incredible. (IU 3)
… So we also left. (IU 4)

Both the name of the unit and its associated example indicate that Chafe does not define the unit in primarily syntactic terms. As (1) demonstrates, IUs do not always comprise complete clauses or sentences.[2] Ultimately, however, Chafe settles on a more prosodically driven definition of the IU ('intonation unit'), a decision that, I believe, reflects the fact that its borders are more easily identifiable through prosodic, as opposed to cognitive, means. Simpson (2016: 15-7), in her review of existing scholarship on IUs, defines them as "segments of speech uttered with a coherent intonational contour." The other advantage to a prosodically defined unit is that it fits more neatly into the theoretical landscape on prosody. As Simpson (2016: 17) explains, a number of different theories on the flow of speech have already identified units that are similar to the IU, including the 'intonational phrase' of Prosodic Phonology (Nespor & Vogel 2007 [1986], Selkirk 1984) and the

[2]These IUs are reminiscent of Miller & Weinert's (1998: 58-9) "blocks of syntax," (discussed in §4.3.2), a term that reflects how fragmented spontaneously spoken utterances can be. I return to Miller & Weinert (1998) in Chapter 7.

'intonation group' (Cruttenden 1997 [1986]). The main difference between the IU and other units, like the intonational phrase, lies in the flexibility of the former, as opposed to the latter's more rigidly, prosodically defined boundaries (Simpson 2016: 17).

The flexibility in delimiting the intonation unit, i.e., the IU, is important, as Chafe's (1994: 58; 60) discussion of how to identify IUs in data illustrates. He identifies several prosodic markers of the boundaries between IUs: pauses that precede and follow them; a pattern of acceleration-deceleration; an overall decline in pitch level; a falling pitch contour at the end of the IU; and vocal fry at the end of the IU. It is, however, not always possible to unambiguously demarcate all IUs in acoustic data, Chafe argues. He uses the analogy of breaking eggs into a frying pan, after which it is difficult to tell where one egg ends and another begins (page 58). The unit's inherent fuzziness is the result of the IU also being a cognitively relevant unit. In order to understand this point, one must also consider Chafe's ideas on activation states within the flow of consciousness.

Chafe understands consciousness as analogous to vision. Both consciousness and vision are similar with respect to focus. A person can focus only on limited information at any given time. There is a "small area of maximum acuity," a peripheral area of focus, which provides the "context for the current focus but also suggest[s] opportunities for next moves," and everything else that lies beyond but could "at some time be brought into focal or peripheral consciousness" or vision (quotes are from Chafe (1994: 53) but see also Chafe (1980: 12-3)). Chafe (1980: 11) emphasizes the limited capacity of consciousness (and vision); compared to the enormous amount of information available, only a tiny proportion can be active at any given moment. Chafe (1994: 53) refers to information in the peripheral consciousness as semi-active, while the remainder of a human's informational field is inactive.

Chafe and other scholars have connected humans' narrow focus of consciousness to constraints on short-term memory. Croft (1995: 873), for instance, notes that there are correlations between what studies have found to be the average length of IUs and the proposed size of short-term memory, both of which seem to hover between four to six words (Altenberg 1990: 282; Crystal 1969: 256; Chafe 1980: 14). Croft's interest is in mapping common grammatical collocations, or 'constructions,' onto IUs; his study indicates that these constructions and the IUs themselves are expressions of the limitations short-term memory places on processing and that they evolved in this manner based on these cognitive abilities and constraints.

Croft's constructions have a cognitive basis; they fit into the model of a general cognitive process that scholars have called 'chunking.' Chunking involves

the fusing together of sequential experiences that occur with repetition (Bybee 2010:34; but see also Miller 1956, Newell 1990, Haiman 1994, Ellis 1996, and Bybee 2002). Bybee (2010: 34) cites Newell (1990: 7):

> A chunk is a unit of memory organization, formed by bringing together a set of already formed chunks in memory and welding them together into a larger unit. Chunking implies the ability to build up such structures recursively, thus leading to a hierarchical organization of memory. Chunking appears to be a ubiquitous feature of human memory.

Bybee (2010) argues that this same process is responsible for morphosyntax and its hierarchical organization. Collocation of smaller chunks that occur frequently can form increasingly larger chunks. Chunking, Bybee (2010: 34) explains, is a process that is relevant to both production and perception; speakers rely on chunking to produce fluent language and listeners, to process it. She continues: "[t]he longer the string that can be assessed together, the more fluent the execution and the more easily comprehension will occur." Simpson's (2016) three empirical studies support Bybee's argument. The results of her studies also collectively indicate that IUs—more so, in fact, than the syntactic unit of the clause—act as the domain in which 'chunking' processes occur. Listeners break up the continuous stream of spoken language into chunks that correspond to IUs and whose size is set by limitations on short-term memory. These chunks, shaped by the convergence of intonational contours and cognition, are easier for listeners to process. In sum, they are the most efficient vehicle for a speaker to express linguistically what is active in their consciousness and through their utterance transmit a (hopefully) "reasonable facsimile" of that information into the active consciousness of the interlocutor (Chafe 1994: 63).

The question I would like to explore now is how the IU as the linguistic manifestation of consciousness shapes linguistic output. Understanding this relationship is important to understanding the challenges of language planning in the absence of writing and how people use those same cognitive capabilities they rely on for fluent conversation to plan and produce their oral varieties of distance. In order to engage with this question, I consider Chafe's 'one new idea constraint,' approaching it first from the perspective of how it makes producing elaborated orality more difficult. Chafe's (1994: 108-9) 'one new idea' constraint states that in spontaneously spoken language an IU supports no more than one new idea. This constraint can be understood from the perspective of speakers and listeners: invoking more than one new idea per IU is cognitively too challenging for the speaker to spontaneously produce and for the listener to process. Herein lies

the artificiality of many of the sentences that turn up in syntactic analyses and textbooks for language learners. Consider the following.

(2) The brave woman reads a scary book.

This sentence is grammatical; however, it is not an utterance that would likely ever be produced in natural conversation. Namely, it contains two noun phrases with attributive adjectives, 'the brave woman' and 'the scary book,' that is, four content words in total with the possibility that each of those content words expresses completely new information within their discourse context (pages 117-8). It is difficult to imagine naturally occurring circumstances in which three of these four ideas are already accessible or given information when the clause is uttered. Instead, speakers would spread all new information out across IUs, perhaps expressing the referents' properties as predicate adjectives with copula verbs, e.g., 'That book was scary.'

One may see the difficulties in producing and processing a sentence like the one in (2) as a result of undue activation costs. Activation costs build on the idea that the focus of consciousness is limited, a state of affairs that applies to speaker and interlocutor alike. In this way, focus is a limited cognitive resource (Chafe 1994: 71-81). When a speaker wants to introduce new information into a conversation, that is, information that was until that point inactive within discourse, there is a cognitive cost for both speaker and interlocutor. The speaker could, of course, ignore the needs of their interlocutor and carry on with their flow of discourse never having established that the interlocutor is following along. In this case, communication would be less effective.[3] There are no activation costs associated with given information; that information was already active at that moment in discourse. Information can also be accessible, or semi-active, in which case some cognitive coin must be spent to fully reactivate that information, but not as much as would have been necessary had the information been fully inactive, or new. There are prosodic and structural correlates to whether a piece of information is given (active), accessible (semi-active), and new (inactive) within a discourse. Speakers give new ideas more prominence than given ideas. So, new ideas within discourse are more likely to be full noun phrases and/or strongly accented. Given

[3]Note that ignoring your presumed interlocutor is easier when writing than speaking face-to-face. In the latter case, you receive visual and verbal feedback cues from your interlocutor, perhaps a blank stare, ostentatious yawning, or requests for further explanations. In the former case, readers are generally not positioned over your shoulder declaiming how the footnote that you just wrote makes no sense at all.

ideas, in contrast, will likely be pronouns and/or weakly accented.[4]

Thus, the linguistic expressions of the flow of human consciousness mirrors human consciousness in that it is restless (Chafe 1994: 66-7). Speakers move swiftly from one small, cognitively constrained area of focus to another, a process wherein a speaker, for instance, raises a topic that was inactive, makes it the focus of discourse, and then moves on to some other piece of information, thereby letting the first topic fall into a semi-active or perhaps an inactive state. No single idea does, or indeed can, remain the focus of attention for long, though Chafe (1994: 66-7) also notes that different types of substantive IUs—IUs that express lexical information, as opposed to regulatory IUs that control interaction and the flow of discourse (see pages 63-4)—will persist in the active state longer than others. For instance, the idea of an event or state verbalized in an IU is relatively transient in the active consciousness and will constantly be replaced by ideas of new events or states. Chafe's (1994) example from page 66 illustrates this point, as well as the way a speaker moves from one idea of an event or state to another.

(3)
a. (A) … Cause I had a … a thíck pátch of bárley there,[5] (state)
b. (B) … mhm, (regulatory)
c. (A) .. about the sìze of the .. kìtchen and líving room, (state)
d. (A) … and I went òver ít, (event)
e. (A) .. and then, (regulatory)
f. (A) … when I got dóne, (event)
g. (A) I had a little bit léft, (state)
h. (A) .. so I tùrned aróund, (event)
i. (A) and I wènt and spràyed ìt twíce. (event)
j. (A) .. and ìt's just as yèllow as … can bé (state)

In contrast, ideas that express referents, or the "participants in events or states" persist longer in human consciousness (pages 67-8). In Chafe's example in (3), the referent 'I,' which is to say, the idea of the speaker, is included in the state idea in (3)a., and the referent verbalized as 'thick patch of barley' in the same IU

[4] Accessible information is usually expressed in similar ways to new information, with accented full noun phrases (Chafe 1994: 75). The special characteristics of accessible information are not pertinent to the discussion at hand.

[5] I adopted the symbols Chafe uses: < ´ > indicates a primary accent; < ` >, a secondary accent; < .. >, a brief pause; < … >, a typical pause. The use of < = > in (3) indicates a lengthening of the preceding vowel or consonant.

remain active participants in the expressions of later events and states, e.g., (3)d., (3)i., and (3)j.

6.2.2 Processing elaborated orality within the domain of the IU

The discussion in §6.2.1 is directly relevant to the challenge of producing and receiving oral distance vernaculars. To wit, the constraints associated with *spoken* language on the one hand, and those associated with *distance* language on the other hand, are contradictory. The limitations of human short-term memory mean that its spoken, linguistic expressions, which is to say, IUs, must be economical in how information is distributed across them. Parceling out information that is new in discourse across multiple IUs, for instance, ensures ease of production and reception. However, the communicative conditions and constraints on distance language push linguistic expression in the opposite direction and demand from the speaker and listener linguistic feats that appear to lie beyond human capability. If human consciousness is restless and has a small area of focus, which itself is defined by a biologically constrained short-term memory, how can speakers produce and listeners process distance-shaped spoken language, an elaborated orality capable of relating complex, culturally central narratives and convey important information gleaned from generations of lived experience?[6] For this type of linguistic expression, people must be able to linger on topics and the usually transient ideas of referents and, most particularly, events and states; they must be able to create lexically dense and integrated language.

The question is how do speakers and listeners meet the challenge of elaborated orality? Its answer is complex, but a good place to start is to emphasize the fact that, in order to produce and process planned oral varieties, people in exclusively oral cultures must exploit the same cognitive and linguistic capabilities they rely on for other more immediacy-shaped spoken varieties. There is no writing to ameliorate the cognitive burden of planning language. Furthermore, the strategies that a writer relies on to create lexically dense, integrated writing

[6]It is important to recognize that elaborated orality is not simply a challenge for the trained poet, bard, or storyteller. In fact, it presents a cognitive challenge for the people who *listen* to distance varieties, which in mostly or exclusively oral cultures is everyone. Ready (2019: 134-35) serves as a reminder that audiences are active participants in the performance of a work of oral art. For example, performers want to "please" their audience (Ready cites here Diop 1995: 167 and Jensen 2011: 126-7. They also vary their performances according to their audience (Kaivola-Bregenhøj 1996: 27; Jensen 2011: 132; Okpewho 2014: 66). See also §3.3.2 for my discussion of Parry and Lord's (2000) observations on the influence audiences have on poets' performances. These listeners are active participants, not passive receivers; thus, the language of elaborated orality is and must be something that audience members can and do process.

in, say, an academic manuscript are ill-suited to and generally unattainable in any varieties produced in the phonic medium. In this section, I discuss two linguistic processes, nominalization and reverbalization, that effect more lexically dense and integrated utterances in elaborated orality and allow speakers to slow down the flow of consciousness, as it were, by keeping ideas of referents, events, and states active longer than is the case in spontaneous conversation. These tools give speakers more time to develop a topic ('topic fixation') while easing the processing burden for listeners who, as a result of this slowing down of discourse, no longer have to follow the speaker's restless movement from one topic to the next. This more elaborated language, however, also strains speakers' and listeners' short-term memories in that it involves utterances—IUs, in particular—that could be too lexically complex to process in real time. For this reason, people must rely on, what I will refer to as mnemonically supported, or even a mnemonically driven, chunking to produce and process oral varieties of distance. As a reminder, chunking is the recursive construction of a hierarchically organized inventory of routinized collocations. Elaborated orality results from this same cognitive process but with a particular reliance on, or attention paid to, the building of chunks whose memorability is reinforced through mnemonic means, not just through frequency.

I begin, then, with a discussion of nominalization and reverbalization, the two processes identified in Chafe (1994: 68) that can ameliorate a language's transience by allowing ideas of events and states to persist in active consciousness and across more than one IU. Chafe's example on pages 67-8 illustrates both strategies.

(4)
a. (A) … Have the ánimals,
b. (A) … ever attacked anyone ín a car?
c. (B) … Well I
d. (B) well Í hèard of an élephant,
e. (B) .. that sát dówn on a `VẂ one time.
f. (B) … There's a gìr
g. (B) .. Did you éver hear thát?
h. (C) … No,
i. (B) … Some élephants and these
j. (B) … they
k. (B) … there
l. (B) these gáls were in a Vólkswagen,

m. (B)... and uh,
n. (B) ... they uh kept hónkin' the hórn,
o. (B) ... hóoting the hóoter,
p. (B) ... and uh,
q. (B) ... and the .. élephant was in fróntof em,
r. (B) so = he júst procèeded to sit dówn on the `VẂ.
s. (B) ... But théy .. had .. mánaged to get óut first.

First, the event of the participants honking the horn is expressed in (4)n. and then reverbalized in (4)o., with a similarly alliterating verb phrase no less. This strategy allows the speaker to dwell on the event longer. Speakers can also keep the idea of an event or state in their and, thus, in the interlocutor's, active consciousness through nominalization, which is evident in (4)g., in which the speaker turns the events expressed in (4)c.-f. into the referent *that*. The nominalization of already activated ideas of events or states lets speakers and listeners conceptualize them "as if they had a temporal persistence. Once an event or state has been given this derived status as a referent, it may then, like other referents, participate in and persist through a series of other events or states" (Chafe 1994: 68).

Nominalization in Modern English can be achieved through other means, namely, derivational morphology and complementation. Both processes can effect greater lexical density and integration either within the clause or the IU. The following example of derivational morphology comes from Chafe (1981: 137).

(5) One tendency is the preference of speakers for referring to entities by using words of an intermediate degree of abstractness.

The first significant feature of the sentence in (5) is that it conveys all information via nouns rather than finite predicates. In fact, it only has one lexically light copula verb and no agentive subject. One particularly notes the presence of derived, non-finite verb forms, 'referring' and 'using,' both of which convey the idea of a predicate but are nominal in function. Additionally, the nouns 'tendency' and 'preference,' are derived from verbs. Integrated into this single sentence is the idea of multiple predicates, *to tend*, *to prefer*, *to refer*, *to use*, yet the sentence itself consists entirely of content-rich nominal forms and a content-poor verbal form. Unfurling all of these embedded predicates into individual clauses would leave us with a sequence looking something like the one in (6).

(6) Speakers use words of an intermediate degree of abstractness.
Speakers refer to entities in this way.

Speakers prefer this.
We observed this tendency.

This sort of nominalized integration makes sentences like the one in (6) difficult to produce and process because so many ideas of different predicates and their assumed agents are subsumed within its single syntactic unit. This is why such sentences are more characteristic of formal written language and would not be produced in immediacy contexts. Another means of nominalization in English is through the use of the complementizer *that*, as example (6) illustrates.

(7) We noticed **that** you weren't at the party.

'That' signals that the clause that follows is embedded in the preceding clause. In a more literal sense, the two clauses can be read as: 'We noticed something, that thing being that you weren't at the party.' In this respect, 'that' is a nominalization of, and stand-in for, an entire clause.

6.2.3 Elaborated orality in an unliterized vernacular: the case of Seneca

I now turn to how nominalization and reverbalization unfold in a language that, first, is not English and, second, is unliterized and, thus, has distance varieties that can still be characterized as elaborated orality. I have chosen samples of elaborated orality from Chafe's (2014: 185-6) grammar of the Seneca language. The data come from a transcription of a story told by Solon Jones of the Cattaraugus Reservation of the Seneca Nation of Indians on May 7, 1957 that describes the origins of Seneca False Face masks. Seneca is a Northern Iroquoian language indigenous to New York State. It is spoken by people who refer to themselves as Onödowá'ga:', or 'those of the big hill' Chafe (2014: 1). At the turn of the twenty-first century, no more than a few dozen people could speak Seneca fluently. Ethnologue classifies Seneca as a 'dying' language which means that the only fluent users of the language are beyond child-bearing years, making it too late to "restore intergenerational transmission through the home" (Eberhard et al. 2020).[7] Seneca's moribund state, as is the case with many other Native North American languages throughout the United States and Canada, can, in no small part, be attributed to children having been removed from their homes and sent

[7]Efforts are underway to increase everyday use of Seneca among the people living in Seneca territories in western New York State. See https://senecalanguage.com/seneca-language-departments-programs/ for information on their Seneca language and cultural programs.

to government- and missionary-run boarding schools, where they were forced into a cultural assimilation and punished for using their native languages.[8]

In that Seneca is, and was in 1957, an unliterized oral vernacular with no codified standard variety, it is a good source for data on the linguistic structure of varieties of elaborated orality. The other advantage to using data from Seneca is the fact that Wallace Chafe published extensively on the language. He recorded, transcribed, and glossed the examples that I discuss in this section, and my analysis of these data was supported by the freely available grammar he also compiled.[9] As a linguist who was interested in discourse analysis and worked extensively with the concept of the IU, Chafe's transcriptions are sensitive to the boundaries between IUs. Because I also adopt for this study the IU as the basic unit of spoken linguistic expression, it made particular sense to consider structures from Seneca.

One final point of justification is in order, that is, an explanation as to why I do not begin this discussion with an early German text such as the *Hildebrandslied*, as a culturally closer testament of the elaborated orality of Germanic-speaking Europe. First, it bears repeating that the *Hildebrandslied*, like every other text that existed first as an embodied tradition of oral art, is not and cannot be a transcript of elaborated orality. As I argued in chapter 5, there is no way to capture faithfully, i.e., through dictation and transcription, the performance of a song, poem, or story. The text that this process creates is fundamentally different from the oral art to which it connects. Rather, the *Hildebrandslied*, like Homeric poetry and *Beowulf*, and unlike the *Hêliand*, which never existed as embodied oral art, is an instance of textualized orality. On the one hand, one might expect that whoever wrote the *Hildebrandslied* down tapped into the more distance-shaped oral varieties of their vernacular to produce their story. Thus, it would not be surprising to find traces of, what one could call, a more orally organized syntax in its *scriptus*. On the other hand, the attested song is the product of some degree of literization, which means that the author would have also engaged with questions of ausbau as a way of making the *scriptus* or text more grammatically and semantically coherent and, therefore, more functional in the dislocated context of writing (see Chapter 4). Thus, I begin with a discussion of Seneca, for which data on elaborated orality, and not simply textualized orality, exists. In this unrelated and unliterized language, speakers producing distance utterances use reverbalization and nominalization as two distance strategies for building

[8]See https://americanindian.si.edu/nk360/code-talkers/boarding-schools/ for more information on the experience of living in these Indian boarding schools.

[9]Chafe's (2014) grammar is available for free at https://senecalanguage.com/grammar-seneca-language-wallace-chafe/, where one can also access transcriptions of three spoken 'texts.'

the integrated language that the context requires. I examine the *Hildebrandslied* from the Germanic-language vernacular tradition in §6.3.

6.2.3.1 Reverbalizations and nominalizations

Now to two samples of elaborated orality in Seneca. The goal here is to observe the division of the stream of spoken language into prosodically and cognitively defined IUs and the building of more lexically dense and integrated linguistic expressions within this domain. While reading these data, keep in mind the strategies identified in Chafe (1994) that allow speakers to maintain transient ideas, particularly those of events and states, active in consciousness. Speakers can achieve this through reverbalization and nominalization. What also becomes apparent in these data, however, is how speakers use similar strategies to elaborate or, to use Chafe's term, "amplify," ideas of referents, events, and states. I begin with the story's opening lines. Note that each line corresponds to an IU.

(8) a. Da:h o:nëh ëgátšonyá:no:',
ë-k-athrory-a-hnö-:'
FUT-1.SG.AGT-tell.about-LK-DIST-PUN
so now I will tell about things
So now I will tell about things,

b. heh nijáwësdáhgöh, how it happened
ni-t-yaw-ë-st-a-hk-öh
PART-CIS-N.SG.PAT-happen-CAUS-LK-INST-STA
how it happened,

c. shagojowéhgo:wa:h, the great defender
shako-atyowe-h-kowa:h
M.SG.AGT/3.PAT-defend-HAB-AUG
the false face,

d. **ne'hoh** në:gë:h odadö:ni:h,
o-atat-öni-:h
N.SG.PAT-REFL-make-STA
that/there this it has made itself
that/there it came into being,

e. **hë:öweh** yeyá'dade' **neh** ö:gweh.
ye-ya't-a-te-'
F.SG.AGT-body-LK-be.present-STA
where they are there namely people
among the people.

First, consider the semantic relationship between the events expressed in the IUs contained in (8)b. and (8)d. (8)b. refers more generally to the (idea of the) event of how the first false face came into existence, while (8)d. is a more specific restatement and, thus, an elaboration of that same idea. This relationship is also expressed grammatically in the distributive (not plural) suffix *-*hnö*-: in (8)a., which is glossed as the indefinite object 'things,' but, in fact, merely implies a patient. The IU that follows in (8)b. elaborates this patient, particularly through the initial particle '*heh*.' Chafe (2014: 143), whose grammar identifies '*heh*' as a general adverbial subordinator, glosses this token as the manner subordinator 'how.' Further elaboration of the idea of what happens, that is, how the first false face comes to be, follows in the remaining IUs. Thus, these first lines of the story demonstrate how reverbalization not only is a reiteration of a previously expressed idea, it also layers additional information on top of that initial idea and uses particular grammatical means—which in Seneca may involve the interaction between verbal affixes and particles—to support this layering.

There are other examples of this interaction between verbal affix and particles in this excerpt, for instance the particle *ne'hoh* in (8)d. Chafe (2014: 119; 122-3) explains that *ne'hoh* is a commonly used deictic. It refers to a whole topic rather than a particular referent and can function as a discourse particle that points to either something that was already said or some location mentioned elsewhere in discourse. Hence, Chafe's proposed translations of 'that' or 'there,' respectively. There are two possible readings for *ne'hoh* in this context. First, it could point back to the series of ideas expressed in (8)a.-c.; this seems to be Chafe's interpretation in that he translates the particle as 'that' in his glossing on page 185. In this case, the particle would make (8)d.'s status as a reverbalization of the idea in (8)b. more explicit through the deictic. I see another reading of *ne'hoh*, however, namely as a deictic reference to the location of the false face's emergence described in (8)e. According to this reading, *ne'hoh* would be a locative particle that is explicitly elaborated in the subsequent IU and links to its initial adverbial, textithë:öweh. The reverbalization of *ne'hoh*, 'there,' in (8)e. emphasizes the significance of where the false face emerges, which is to say, among people. This event is what leads to the hunter encountering the first false face, becoming dangerously ill, and overcoming his sickness by having false face masks constructed and certain rituals performed. The construction '*neh ö:gweh*' also indicates that the speaker sought to emphasize the false face's emergence among people, in particular, and could be evidence that supports the second reading. The pronominal prefix '*ye*' is ambiguous in that it can refer to either a feminine singular, 'she' or 'her, or a non-specific/unidentified people (Chafe 2014: 32). The occurrence of *ö:gweh* reverbalizes and elaborates the idea of the referent first conveyed by

the pronominal prefix and is emphasized through the particle *neh*.[10] It is possible that the recording of the story reveals whether the storyteller, Solon Jones, intended one reading over the other, and perhaps Chafe's translation reflects this analysis. Regardless, I think it is also notable that the deictic particle itself—and in its context in (8)d.—is ambiguous. I propose that *ne'hoh*, in the moment it was uttered, was indeed synchronically ambiguous from both the standpoint of production and perception. The idea of synchronic structural ambiguity is one to which I return in this chapter and the next.

6.2.3.2 Layered elaboration

The storyteller's mode of expression, as illustrated in (8), is what I propose to call 'layered elaboration.' New ideas are elaborated through semantically similar or related reverbalizations. These semantic relationships between IUs can be marked grammatically through mutually reinforcing deictic elements, like demonstrative pronouns, adverbs, or, in the case of Seneca, verbal suffixes and particles. In (9) I rephrase the content of (8) to demonstrate this point.

(9) I will tell you {things}^{1}
{About this one thing/how}^{1} that/it happened
{The false face}^{2}
{This thing}^{2} came into being {there}^{3}
{Namely}^{3}, among the people (where it will do damage)

Three things to note in (9): first, my paraphrasing reflects the conclusion that ne'hoh is a cataphoric reference to the locative IU of (8)e. Second, I added the parenthetical, 'where it will do damage,' to indicate how this emphasis of the false face's appearance among people sets up the narrative that begins in the next line: a hunter walking through the woods encounters the false face and suffers ill effects. Finally, the subscripts indicate where the narrator links related ideas through deictic markers.

My term of 'layered elaboration' is similar to Kirk's (1976: 152) "cumulation." For Kirk, cumulation refers to the defining style of Homeric verse in which "each new piece of information, as the story proceeds, can be envisaged as being heaped upon its predecessor." Bakker (1997: 50) provides a good example of cumulation from the *Iliad*.

[10] Chafe's use of commas in the transcription are intentional and the fact that there is no comma separating '*neh*' and '*ö:gweh*' in (8)e. should indicate that the speaker thought of the pronominal and nominal references to the (idea of the) referent 'people' at the same time, rather than including the elaboration of the full NP as an afterthought. In other words, Chafe saw this as a planned construction.

a.	Πρῶτος δ' Ἀντίλοχος	And first Antilokhos,
b.	Τρώων ἕλεν ἄνδρα κορυστὴν	of the Trojans he took a helmeted man,
c.	ἐσθλὸν ἐνὶ προμάχοισι,	valiant among the foremost fighters,
d.	Θαλυσιάδην Ἐχέπωλον·	Thalusias's son Ekhepolos.
e.	τόν ῥ' ἔβαλε πρῶτος	He first struck him,
f.	κόρυθος φάλον ἱπποδασείης,	on the crest of his horse-haired helmet,
g.	ἐν δὲ μετώπῳ πῆξε,	and he planted [it] in his forehead,
h.	πέρησε δ' ἄρ' ὀστέον εἴσω	and it pierced right through the bone,
i.	αἰχμὴ χαλκείη·	the bronze spearpoint,
j.	τὸν δὲ σκότος ὄσσε κάλυψεν,	and darkness covered his eyes,
k.	ἤριπε δ' ὡς ὅτε πύργος,	and he fell as when a tower [does],
l.	ἐνὶ κρατερῇ ὑσμίνῃ.	in the tough battle.

Figure 6.1: Cumulation in the *Iliad*

Note that Bakker's presentation of the excerpt in Figure 6.1 is not the traditional one in which hexameters occupy their own lines. Instead, each line contains a single prosodically defined unit, which one might call IUs, and the boundaries between them align with the metrical breaks at the end of the hexameter line or the middle caesura. This presentation builds on Bakker's argument that the verses evinced in instances of textualized orality correspond to an "intonational reality" (page 50).

Let us begin by noting some of the similarities in the mode of expression in the Homeric verses and the Seneca data. For example, the excerpt in Figure 6.1 contains reverbalizations that elaborate the ideas of referents and events that were just introduced: in Figure 6.1 a.-b. Antilokhos fights a helmeted man in battle; the idea of this referent, the helmeted man, is explicitly reverbalized in Figure 6.1 d. and identified as Thalusias' son, Ekhepolos.[11] Similarly the idea of the event in Figure 6.1 e., which is Antilokhos fatally striking Ekhepolos in the head during battle is elaborated in a series of overlapping IUs.

[11]It is not clear to me whether the adjectival appositive in Figure 6.1 c. describes Antilokhos or Ekhepolos.

(10)		
	Antilokhos stikes Ekhepolos	- The event in plain terms
	On the crest of his helmet	- General location of strike: forehead to crown of head
	Drives (some weapon) into his forehead	- Specific location of strike and strike intensity: so hard it is implanted into forehead
	(So far that) it pierces through the skull	- Elaboration of intensity of the strike
	The weapon is a bronze spearpoint	- Specifics on the weapon used for the strike

Though Seneca and Homeric Greek are two languages separated by a vast geographic and temporal gulf, they both introduce and expand on ideas of referents, events, and ideas, in similar ways. I see this as a reflection of the universal constraints on the processing of distance oral varieties, which are evident in the structure of elaborated and, to some extent, textualized orality.

With respect to terminology, I prefer 'layered elaboration' to Kirk's 'cumulation' because the former links more clearly this mode of expression to the distance varieties of oral vernaculars, collectively called 'elaborated orality.' With respect to the concept itself, my notion of layered elaboration is different from Kirk's cumulation in that the former scholar sees this mode of communication as a matter of style, associating it with the particular type of poetry found in the Homeric epics. In contrast, my concept of layered elaboration refers to how people meet the communicative demands of distance within the phonic medium, a challenge that fundamentally shapes the structure of exclusively oral vernaculars. In that these oral varieties of distance feed into the creation of a vernacular's first *scripti*, the structures associated with them will come to be associated with particular literary or poetic styles. But the structures themselves, I maintain, have a cognitive or psycholinguistic basis.

It is important to recognize how written distance modes of expression differ from this mode of layered elaboration. If one were to edit the Seneca lines in (8) and the Greek lines in Figure 6.1 with the stylistic norms of written Modern English in mind, one would likely see the layered elaboration as unnecessary redundancy and eliminate it.

(11) a. I will now tell you the story of how the false face came into being among the people.

b. Antilokhos struck Ekhepolos right at the crest of his horse-haired helmet, driving his bronze spearpoint so far into his forehead that it pierced through his skull.

In (11), I edited (8) and Figure 6.1 to minimize redundancies. The resulting sentences have a smoother quality than the versions that build up to the same idea through overlapping IUs and instead have a more fragmented, stuttering quality. My edited versions are also more concise. For example, (11)a. contains only one main clause and one subordinate clause, while still conveying the same basic information. The layered counterparts, though wordier, are more functional as series of spoken utterances, however. They feature precisely those redundancies that good modern prose style eschews, but they are constructed in ways that reflect the processing realities of oral varieties of distance.

I turn now to another excerpt from later in the story of the origins of the false face; this one illustrates nominalization, another strategy of distance orality that turns more transient ideas of events and states into referents that remain active in consciousness longer. Thus, nominalization has a similar effect to reverbalization in that it can slow down the linguistic expression of the flow of consciousness, affording the speaker time to develop a topic and construct a cogent narrative, while also easing the processing burden for the listener. Speakers of Seneca effect nominalization through different means than those observed for Modern English. One device in particular is the particle '*neh*,' which I first mentioned in the discussion of (8) just above. Chafe (1981: 138-9) explains that, while '*neh*' has no good English translation, it can act like a definite article by nominalizing a subsequent constituent and integrating it into a larger structure. In this way, it functions similarly to the English devices I have already discussed. Chafe also notes that, in his dataset, utterances from what he calls ritual Seneca had almost twice as many '*neh*' particles as conversational Seneca. In other words, Seneca speakers producing language in contexts of distance, language that is definitionally planned and public, relied on this nominalization device more than speakers conversing in immediacy contexts did.

(12) a. Da:h o:nëh wá:dihšo:ni' gagöhsa',
wa'-hati-hsröni-' ka-köhs-a'
FAC-M.PL.AGT-make-PUN N.SG.AGT-face-NSF
so then they made it face
So they made a face,

b. o'tadiyëöda:ak në:gë:h
o'-t-hati-yerötar-a-hk-ø
FAC-DUP-M.PL.AGT-resemble-LK-INST-PUN
they made it resemble it this
they made it resemble this

c. wá:tšo:wi' heh nigáya'dó'dë:h.
wa'-ha-athrori-' ni-ka-ya't-o'të-:h
FAC-M.SG.AGT-tell.about-PUN PART-N.SG.AGT-body-be.so-STA
he told about it there the way it was
the shape he told about.

d. Da:h tgaye:i' në:gë:h wa:diyë'gwahso:nye:t,
t-ka-yeri-' wa'-hati-yë'kw-a-hsöry-e:ht-ø
CIS-N.SG.AGT-be.right-STA FAC-M.PL.AGT-tobacco-LK-savor-CAUS-PUN
so indeed this they burned tobacco for it
So they burned tobacco for it,

e. waënödöišök
wa'-hën-at-öhisyöhk-0
FAC-M.SG.AGT-MID-persist-PUN
they
they prayed

f. **neh** **ne'hoh** i:gë:h sgë:nö' hö:saya:wëh,
h-öö-sa-yaw-ëh-0
TRANS-HYP-REP-N.SG.PAT-happen-PUN
namely that who well-being it would happen
that he would get well again,

g. në:gë:h heh niyó'dë:h dagáiwadiyö:dë'.
t-a-ka-rihw-a-tiyöt-ë-'
CIS-FAC-N.SG.AGT-topic-LK-stretch-BEN-PUN
this how it is a certain way it caused him distress
from what was wrong with him.

The IU in (12)f. begins with the particle '*neh*, which operates similarly to *that*-complementation in English in that it integrates the idea of the potential event expressed in (12)f., that is, that the man who fell ill after encountering the first false face might become well again, to the idea of the event of praying expressed in (12)e. The particle '*ne'hoh*,' which has a demonstrative function and means something like 'that' or 'there,' reverbalizes ideas of events and states elsewhere in discourse (Chafe 2014: 122-3). Thus, one should understand it as a reverbalization of the pronominal neuter, singular, patient prefix *-yaw-* that occurs later in the same IU and not confuse it with the modern English complementizer.

In addition to its example of integration through nominalization with *neh*, the excerpt in (12) also contains multiple instances of amplification and/or reverbalization that use deictic elements to link IUs together and effect a more integrated string of utterances. For instance, the implied neuter singular patient 'it' in (12)a. is amplified through the noun *gagöha'*.[12] The IU in (12)b. reverbalizes the original event idea of making a false face mask, while layering onto this event the new information that they made it so that it would look like the first false face that the hunter encountered in the woods. First, the implied neuter singular patient 'it' in (12)b. is amplified through the demonstrative *në:gë:h*. This demonstrative pronoun then sets up the IU in (12)c. which elaborates 'this' in the preceding IU to further explain how they made the mask to resemble the face that the hunter described to them.

Here is a summary of the key conclusions from the examples of elaborated orality in Seneca. First, the stream of elaborated orality, just like that of spontaneously spoken language, is organized into IUs (or intonation units), the boundaries between which are prosodically marked. Next, the data show how speakers elaborate the ideas of referents, events, and states through the reverbalization of these ideas in additional IUs. These reverbalizations layer new information on top of the idea that was first introduced, a process that I call 'layered elaboration.' Its effect is also to keep the ideas of referents, events, and states active as the focus of consciousness longer, thereby affording the speaker more time to develop these ideas, while also making the narrative easier for the listener to follow. The Seneca examples demonstrate one way to create a more integrated oral language of distance. The speaker relies on nominalization and reverbalization to link IUs with one another, as well as deictic elements, for example, pronouns, or pronominal affixes, and particles that function as demonstrative pronouns and adverbials. These data constitute a window into how speakers organize their stream of spoken language when producing an elaborated orality that meets its cognitive demands of distance.

[12]Neuter singular patients (or agents) are only overtly marked when they are not also combined with a human agent (or patient) (Chafe 2014: 30-1). Because there is a human agent conveyed through the pronominal prefix *-*hati*-, the patient 'it' is implied. Note also that the neuter singular agent prefix *-*ka*- in *gagöha*' does not indicate its theta-role, but rather indicates that its noun root does not refer to a possessed entity, along the lines of 'my face' (see Chafe 2014:89).

6.3 Traces of elaborated orality in an early Germanic-language *scriptus*

Having examined elaborated orality from an unrelated linguistic tradition, the task now is to assess whether there are any indications that elaborated orality in the Germanic-language tradition might have been organized similarly. As I have already mentioned, there is no possibility of examining any Germanic- or German-language elaborated orality directly as there are no extant traditions. I also argued in §3.3.2 that textualized orality cannot be treated as transcriptions of elaborated orality. This is to say that there are no direct testaments to a German-language oral tradition. The two works of textualized orality, the *Merseburg Charms* and the *Hildebrandslied*, are the best one can do in establishing anything close to a starting point of a literary German. I focus attention in this chapter on the *Hildebrandslied* with the intent of demonstrating that the strategies for processing lexically dense and more syntactically integrated oral vernaculars are relevant to the construction of a *scriptus* for a work of textualized orality and, thus, are key to our understanding of the *scriptus*'s structures. This discussion further elucidates the structural ambiguity that such *scripti* evince. It also marks the beginning of an argument that I develop further in Chapter 7, where I propose that scholars have too often tried to disambiguate structures that were, in fact, synchronically ambiguous. In other words, we have examined the earliest *scripti* of a language looking for the systematic, grammatically cohesive structures that were effected through—and only through—centuries of literization and ausbau.

I begin this section by returning to the intonation unit, that is, the IU, of §6.2 and assessing how this prosodically and cognitively defined unit shapes the structure of the Germanic-language oral tradition. I also trace the elaboration of the ideas of referents, events, and states through nominalizations and, particularly, reverbalizations. That is, the layered elaboration that I identified in Seneca is also present in the *Hildebrandslied*. We will see, however, that the deixis that linked IUs together in the Seneca examples are less evident in the *Hildebrandslied*.

6.3.1 The verse-IU of alliterative poetry

My analysis begins with the IU, which I argue is formalized as one of the main metrical units of alliterative poetry, that is, the verse. Alliterative poetry is broadly attested across most of the earliest Germanic languages, including medieval German, English, and Scandinavian, as well as the earlier runic inscriptions; and in textualized oral works like the *Hildebrandslied* and *Beowulf*. As I argued in §3.3.2 and §5.4.1, such literized works are not transcriptions of the oral art that inspired

them. Yet similarities in the basic pattern of alliterative verse across multiple Germanic languages indicates that elaborated orality, or the planned, public distance language of exclusively or mostly oral, Germanic-speaking communities was organized and processed along similar lines. In order to appreciate the implications of this point, it is important to remember the argument I made earlier in (§3.3.1), that elaborated orality is crucially poetic. The devices that modern-day literate speakers characterize as poetic and associate with a belletristic mode of expression are mnemonic and, thus, served the functional purpose of making the language of elaborated orality more memorable. Similarly, I argue that alliterative poetry's presentation of textualized orality in verses reflects what was a functionally motivated organization of the linguistic expression of consciousness into mnemonically reinforced IUs.

First, let us consider how a functionally motivated organization of elaborated orality into formalized IUs, or verse-IUs, differs from the basic units that modern literate people are likely to associate with poetry. This short poem from William Carlos Williams, *This is Just To Say*, illustrates the modern tendency to view verses as visually and perhaps aesthetically defined units.

(13) 1 I have eaten
the plums
that were in
the icebox

2 and which
you were probably
saving
for breakfast

3 Forgive me
they were delicious
so sweet
and so cold

Stylistically, the poem is recognizable as poetry primarily through how it is visually presented on the page, that is, in the lines and stanzas that one associates with poetic expression rather than the continuous text of prose writing. The language itself does not have many of the stereotypical hallmarks of poetry; for example, the lines do not rhyme, and neither the word choice nor the syntax is particularly marked or poetic-sounding. The organization of the language into lines and stanzas also does not provide consistent cues for reciting the poem. Note how

the line breaks do not always correspond to prosodic breaks. For example, pausing between the third and fourth lines of stanza 1 and separating the preposition 'in' from its complement 'the icebox' would yield a disjointed-sounding recitation. Yet, pausing between the lines comprising stanza 3 would yield a natural reading, especially before the two appositive modifiers of the plums, 'so sweet' and 'so cold,' which comprise perhaps the most poetic-sounding lines of the otherwise syntactically straightforward poem. In other words, the poet arranged his language into poetic units according to aesthetic, stylistic or, perhaps, thematic principles, and these units are most consistently represented in the poem's visual form, rather than in performance or recitation. The poem in (13) is just one example of modern poetry. However, it represents how the possibility of poetry existing as written text obscures what I argue is the original functional motivation of poetic units like the verse as the formalized IU of elaborated orality.

In order to examine this functional motivation behind verses, let us now turn to the alliterative verse that characterizes the elaborated orality of the Germanic languages. Here is a brief overview of how it works. Though alliterative verse is defined by its pattern of alliterating stressed syllables, called 'staves,' it is the structure of the individual verses that constrains this variety of language in ways that are perceptually salient and consistent with human short-term memory constraints. The three categories of alliterating line are exemplified in Table 6.2

Table 6.2: Categories of alliterating lines (*Hildebrandslied*, lines 42–44)

Category	Alliterative pattern	Examples of verses in lines
1	**a** x : **a** x	dat **s**ágetun mí : **s**éolídante **a** x **a** x
2	**a a** : **a** x	**w**éstar ubar **w**éntilseo : dat inan **w**íc furnám **a** **a** **a** x
3	x **a** : **a** x	tót ist **H**íltibrant : **H**éribrantes súno x **a** **a** x

a = alliterating lift, i.e., stave; x = non-alliterating lift; : = pause between verses

First some basics: each verse has two lifts, that is, stressed syllables, yielding four lifts per line. Each line has two or three alliterating lifts, also known as 'staves.' That is, not every stressed syllable, or lift, participates in the alliterative structure. Lifts can be separated by unstressed syllables, also called 'dips.' I add them now to

the schematic representation of the sample lines in (14). This time I have bolded both alliterating and non-alliterative lifts.

(14) dat **s**ágetun **m**í : **s**éol**í**dante
d **a** d d x **a** d d

wéstar ubar **w**éntilseo : dat inan **w**íc fur**n**ám
a d d d **a** d d d d d **a** d x

tót ist **H**íltibrant : **H**éribrantes **s**úno
x d **a** d d **a** d d d x d

There is no limit to the number of dips that can occur before, between, and after lifts, which theoretically could lead to verses and lines of indeterminate length. However, there are functional constraints on a verse's length set by the overwhelming preference for lifts to be content-conveying morphemes and dips to be grammatical morphemes. Consider again our sample lines, this time glossed in (15).

(15) dat **s**ágetun mí : **s**éolídante
d **a** d d x **a** x d d
that said to.me sea-travelers

wéstar ubar **w**éntilseo : dat inan **w**íc furnám
a d d **a** d d d d d **a** d x
westward over Wendelsea that him battle took

tót ist **H**íltibrant : **H**éribrantes súno
x d **a** d d **a** d d d x d
dead is Hiltibrant of.Heribrant son
Seafarers told me that, westwards over the Wendel sea, that battle took him, Hildebrand, the son of Heribrand, is dead

Suzuki (2004: 55–56) notes how lexical words or morphemes are more likely to be staves or lifts within the alliterative structure, with substantives being the most likely. This category includes nouns and adjectives, as well as substantive and adjectival verbs, for example, 'We have **lost** the battle' and 'The battle is **lost**.' Function words or morphemes, for example, pronouns, copula verbs, and inflection, are the least likely to be prominent within the alliterative structure and, thus, be dips.

These poetic structures associated with alliterative verse break up the stream of sound in prosodically salient ways. That is, stressed lexical morphemes that are (generally) nominal in nature demarcate the verses, while the alliterative pattern demarcates a line of two verses. These structures also effectively limit how long a verse, and thus a line, can be in that lifts are associated with lexical morphemes and dips with functional morphemes. Though dips can be as numerous as the poet wants, the restriction of lexical morphemes, in particular, to two per verse ensures that they will never stretch on indefinitely. The clear prosodic marking of unit boundaries is different from the fuzzier boundaries that exist between the IUs of immediacy shaped spoken varieties. As I noted earlier in this chapter, even with linguistic training, people are sometimes only able to delimit the broader contours of IUs in spontaneous spoken language rather than its exact shape. It makes a certain degree of sense, however, that planned orality would make use of IUs whose boundaries have been formalized into clearly perceptible patterns.

In this way, I propose that there is a functional, psycholinguistic basis to the verses, or verse-IUs, of this alliterative form of elaborated orality in Germanic. Verses are formalized IUs. As the more fuzzily delineated IU is the basic unit for spontaneous immediacy varieties, so is the more clearly demarcated verse the basic unit of linguistic expression for oral distance varieties. Also like the IU of immediacy varieties, the processing of distance-shaped verse-IUs is constrained by the same limits of human short-term memory. It stands to reason that people (must) rely on the same cognitive abilities, whether they are processing immediacy or distance varieties. The cognitive process on which I have focused so far in this chapter as relevant to the construction of spoken language is chunking. In fact, I argue that the same chunking process underlies the processing of spontaneous and elaborated orality. Chunking, to review, is when frequently occurring sequential units coalesce into increasingly complex units. These chunks are stored together in what Bybee (2010: 7) calls rich memory, which includes the "details of experience with language, including phonetic detail for words and phrases, contexts of use, meanings and inferences associated with utterances." The creation of chunks that can be accessed wholesale makes possible the fluent discourse of spontaneous spoken language. It also allows for the processing of more lexically dense and integrated language that the communicative pressures of distance require, though speakers must build up the required inventory of chunks, that is, conventionalized constructions that exhibit these linguistic features. According to this view, the processing of both immediacy and distance varieties is dependent on memory. However, the more distance-shaped the utterances, the more mnemonic those utterances must be so that people can still process them.

It is worth recalling at this point Ong (2012: 34) description of the language of elaborated orality, which I first discussed in §3.3.1. I repeat the quote I presented in that section here.

> [T]hought must come into being in heavily rhythmic, balanced patterns, in repetitions or antitheses, in alliterations and assonances, in epithetic and other formular expressions, in standard thematic settings (the assembly, the meal, the duel, the hero's helper, and so on), in proverbs which are constantly heard by everyone so that they come to mind readily and which themselves are patterned for retention and ready recall, or in mnemonic form.

These mnemonic (or poetic) devices illustrate how chunking can be expressed linguistically in an exclusively or mostly oral community. The most obvious point of intersection between chunking and Ong's list of mnemonic devices is the formulaic expression. Here Ong is no doubt making an explicit reference to the oral-formulaic theory, first articulated by Milman Parry and further elaborated by Albert Lord. Parry (1971: 272) [1930] describes the formula as "a group of words which is regularly employed under the same metrical conditions to express a given essential idea." While a discussion of the details of the oral-formulaic approach to oral poetry lies beyond the scope of this chapter, we may note that this basic definition of the formula bears a resemblance to the chunks described in usage-based approaches to language processing. Formulas, like chunks, are collocations that have become conventionalized through repetitive use. Unlike the chunk, however, the formula will make better use of various mnemonic devices, like alliteration, in order to solidify them in the memory. Parry's definition indicates that formulas are ready-made for slotting into the poetic scheme of the song. Translated into the more functionally oriented terms of this discussion, we might expect a mnemonically reinforced, conventionalized collocation to comprise a verse-IU and feature two stressed lifts or even two staves, that is, alliterating lifts. Consider, for example, these two formulas from early English: twelfe under tunglum 'twelve beneath the stars' (see *Andreas* 2a) and sweart under swegle 'dark beneath the heavens' (see *Genesis* 1414a). Both feature two staves and could easily be dropped into a line to fill out one of its verses. Riedinger (1985: 297-8) explains that these commonly attested formulas contribute to the "stylistic tone" of the verse, while adding little in terms of semantic content. They are filler verses whose function is prosodic and stylistic.

6.3.2 Reverbalizations, nominalizations, and layered elaboration

Let us now turn to an excerpt from the alliterative *Hildebrandslied*, as one of the few examples of textualized orality in early German. It is also the only example of epic poetry in early German, though in terms of style, it is unlike other Germanic-language poems, like *Beowulf*. Bostock (1976: 52) describes the *Hildebrandslied*'s language as "terse, simple, and direct," lacking the epic variation of the early English poem and its other "elaborations of style." Still, one finds similarities to the Seneca data in how the *Hildebrandslied* poet employs reverbalization and nominalization, thereby layering verse-IUs on top of one another in the service of creating more lexically dense, integrated utterances. My focus is on the poem's first six lines, first presented with their alliterative structure intact, then glossed, then translated (16).

(16) 1 Ik gihorta ðat seggen
2 ðat sih urhettun ænon muotin
3 hiltibraht enti haðubrant untar heriun tuem
4 sunufatarungo iro saro rihtun
5 garutun sê iro guðhamun gurtun sih iro suert ana
6 helidos ubar hringa do sie to dero hiltiu ritun
1a Ik gihorta ðat seggen
I heard that tell
2a ðat sih urhettun
that REFL.PRO challengers
2b ænon muotin
one met
3a hiltibraht enti haðubrant
Hiltibrant and Hadubrant
3b untar heriun tuem
between two armies
4a sunufatarungo
son.and.father
4b iro saro rihtun
their armor prepared
5a garutun sê iro guðhamun
readied they their fighting clothes
5b gurtun sih iro suert ana
belted REFL.PRO their swords on

6a helidos ubar hringa
heroes over rings
6b do sie to dero hiltiu ritun
PART they to the battle rode
'I have heard tell how two challengers met alone, Hildebrant and Hadubrant, between two armies, son and father, prepared their armor, they readied their fighting clothes, belted on their swords, heroes over chainmail, then/when they rode into battle.'

The poem begins with a common formula used to express the general idea of the oral origins of the story that is about to be related. Reichl (2010: 56) notes how other examples of epic poetry in Germanic, i.e., *Beowulf* (17) and the *Nibelungenlied* (18), begin with an idea similar to the *Hildebrandslied*'s 'Ik gehorta ðat seggen' (line 1).

(17) Hwæt **wē** Gār-Dena in gēar-dagum
þēod-cyninga þrym **gefrūnon**
hū ðā æþelingas ellen fremedon.

So. The Spear-Danes in days gone by
and the kings who ruled them had courage and greatness.
We have heard of those princes' heroic campaigns.[13]

(18) **Uns ist in alten mæren wunders vil geseit**
von helden lobebæren von grôzer arebeit
von fröuden hôchgezîten von weinen und von klagen
von kŭ ener recken strîten muget ir nu wunder hoeren sagen

We have been told in old legends many wondrous things (translation from Reichl page 57)

Contained within that formulaic first line is the demonstrative pronoun ðat, which is a cataphoric and deictic nominalization of the entire poem that follows but, particularly, the next nine lines that set the stage with the (idea) of the event of two challengers meeting for single combat. In this way, the event of Hildebrand and Hadubrand's meeting has been integrated into, or embedded in, the poem's introductory statement.

[13]This translation is from *Beowulf. A new verse translation by Seamus Heaney, bilingual edition* (2000). See Walkden (2013) for an alternate reading of *hwæt* as an underspecified interrogative: "How much we have heard of the might of the nation-kings in the ancient times of the Spear-Danes."

The next several lines contain examples of reverbalization as layered elaboration. The idea of the referent *urhettun*, 'challengers,' is reverbalized twice more, first in 3a's verse-IU in which their names are provided. Information on their relationship to each other, possibly already hinted at with their alliterating names, Hildebrand and Hadubrand,[14] is made explicit in 4a with the compound noun *sunufatarungo*. There are two important points to note about these reverbalizations, one connected to the formulaic *sunufatarungo* 'father and son,'[15] the other to the way in which the verse-IUs in lines 3-4 (and beyond) link to one another. Beginning with *sunufatarungo*, Schürr (2013) notes how similar coordinative compounds expressing kinship relationships are attested in other early Germanic-language texts (19).

(19) a. The *Hêliand*, lines 1173-6
furðor quâmun thô fundun sie [thar] ênna frôdan man
sittean bi them sêuua endi is suni tuuêne,
Iacobus endi Iohannes uuârun im iunga man.
Sâtun im thâ **gesunfader** an ênumu sande uppen,

They found there an old man
sitting by sea and both of his sons
Jacob and John; they were still young men
There sat **son-and-father** up on the sand[16]

[14]See Jeep's (1996: 41) comment on alliteration in Germanic naming conventions. See also Woolf (1937: 24).

[15]Many details of the '*sunufatarungo*' compound remain mysterious. For example, Schürr (2013: 65-6) notes that the *-ung* suffix has no parallels. Within its context, many scholars have been inclined to do as Lachmann (1876: 418)[1833] did and assume that the nominative plural *sunufatarungôs* was the intended form and the attested one, an error (see Bostock 1976:44). If one takes the *-o* suffix at face value, as Haubrichs (1988: 149) does, then one must make a genitive plural form fit semantically and stylistically within the context, perhaps along the lines of: 'that two challengers met one-on-one, Hildebrand and Hadubrand, between/among two armies of the son and the father.' Schürr (2013: 66) points out that this reading makes little semantic sense in that it positions Hildebrand and Hadubrand as kings in their own right, when the poem highlights the latter's loyalty to his lord, Dietrich, (lines 18-22; 25-6) and Hadubrand's having a good master, who treats him well (lines 46-8). This reading also undermines the tragedy and dramatic tension of the poem's narrative, which pits the loyalty between kinsmen against loyalty toward one's lord. These difficulties lead Schützeichel (1981: 28) to conclude that the poet intended a dative singular form, meaning something like: "*in einer Sohn und Vater betreffenden Sache*" ('a father-and-son-related situation'). This solution is also unsatisfactory; it requires that we still assume an inflectional error, but for a reading that makes less sense than the simple nominative plural understanding of the word.

[16]The translation of these lines and the ones from *Beowulf* in (19) is based on the one provided in Schürr (2013: 67). Both examples stem from Haubrichs (1988: 145-6).

b. *Widsith*, ll. 45-6
Hroþwulf ond Hroðgar heoldon lengest
sibbe ætsomne **suhtorfaedran**
siþþan hy forwræcon wicinga cynn
ond Ingeldes ord forbigdan,
forheowan æt Heorote Heaðobeardna þrym.
Hroþwulf and Hroðgar held the longest

peace together, **uncle and nephew**
since they repulsed the Viking-kin
and Ingeld to the spear-point made bow,
hewn at Heorot Heaðobard's army.

c. *Beowulf*, 1163b-4
þær þa godan twegen
sæton **suhtergefæderan** þa gyt wæs hiera sib ætgædere,

There the good two (both)
sat, **nephew-and-uncle**, their family still held together then

Schürr (2013) raises the possibility that these formulaic father-and-son (or uncle-and-nephew) coordinative compounds might connect to the "*sagentypisches Thema*" ('a theme typical of epic poetry,' page 68) of kinsmen separated through conflict. In (19)a. 'Iacobus' and 'Iohannes' will soon leave their old father on his own (*iro aldan fadar ênan forlêtan*). (19)b. and c. are both references to Hroþwulf and Hroðgar; Hroþwulf, Hroðgar's nephew would ultimately usurp the throne from Hroðgar's children. Finally, Hildebrand and Hadubrand are about to come to blows on the battlefield, the latter not realizing that he means to fight his own father. Thus, as a compound noun this construction is lexically dense; it also connects this story and this particular father-son relationship thematically to the wider constellation of stories that existed as part of the oral tradition, and with which poet and listeners would have been familiar. In this respect, the coordinative compound is also allusion rich. With respect to its prosodic qualities, it can conveniently bear two stressed lifts and comprise a whole verse on its own, if need be, as it does in the *Hildebrandslied* and *Widsith*.

Interestingly, Seneca has a similar coordinative compound, *yadátawak*, which Chafe (2014: 124) explains has the form of a stative verb and can be translated literally as 'they are father and son to each other' (20).

(20) Né:ne:' wa:ya:jö's neh, **yadátawak**
those they (masculine dual) visited namely a father and son
'They visited, a father and his son.'

Seneca's *yadátawak* is but one such kinship term among many; see Chafe's (2014) chapter nine for a description of this complex system. The point to be made here is naturally limited by the fact that we are comparing two isolated examples from two unrelated languages. The tokens in (19), however, do contain interesting structural parallels in that the copulative compounds are used to elaborate an earlier mentioned referent. The Seneca example shows amplification of the pronominal affix through *neh*, as we saw in earlier examples in this chapter, while the German *sunufatarungo* provides the second elaboration of *urhettun*.

Returning now to the *Hildebrandslied*, let us focus on how the reverbalizations of urhettun are layered into discourse. I repeat here the poem's first six lines for the reader's convenience, as (21).

(21) 1a Ik gihorta ðat seggen
I heard that tell
2a ðat sih urhettun
that REFL.PRO challengers
2b ænon muotin
one met
3a hiltibraht enti haðubrant
Hiltibrant and Hadubrant
3b untar heriun tuem
between two armies
4a sunufatarungo
son.and.father
4b iro saro rihtun
their armor prepared
5a garutun sê iro guðhamun
readied they their fighting clothes
5b gurtun sih iro suert ana
belted REFL.PRO their swords on
6a helidos ubar hringa
heroes over rings
6b do sie to dero hiltiu ritun
PART they to the battle rode

One should note that '*hiltibraht enti haðubrant*' in (21) 3a. and '*sunufatarungo*' in (21) 4a. are not explicitly integrated into a clausal structure but instead are in a loose, asyndetic coordination with the verse-IUs surrounding them, i.e., they

are appositives. The first appositive in 3a., in fact, occurs between the clause expressed in line 2, '*ðat sih urhettun ænon muotin*' and the locative prepositional phrase modifier, '*untar heriun tuem.*' The positioning of the appositive verse-IU in 3a effects for the modern reader, who is used to the smooth prose of a literized ausbau language, a fragmented disjointedness. It also primes the reader or listener to interpret (21) 4a.'s coordinative compound as another appositive elaboration of *urhettun*.

6.3.3 Parallelism, deixis, and structural ambiguity

The loose appositive linking of verse-IUs in (21), the reader may have noted, yields a structural ambiguity, which becomes particularly evident when this orally organized construction is used in this graphic medium. Though the idea of the two referents, Hildebrand and Hadubrand, father and son, is active throughout these lines, it is unclear whether *sunufatarungo* is intended to be the grammatical subject of the object + verb collocation in the verse-IU of (21) 4b. Modern readers of the poem, especially those who are literate in languages whose clauses require expressed subjects in order to be considered "complete," might be inclined to assume a grammatical relationship between (21) 4a. and 4b.; otherwise the clause in 4b. would be "missing" a subject. However, the poem contains examples of clauses that have no subject pronouns.

(22) a. du bist alter hun
you are old hun
ummet spaher
immeasurably clever
spenis mih mit dinem wuotrun
goad me with your words
wili mih dinu speru werpan
want me your spear.INSTR throw
pist also gialtet man
are thus old man
'You are an old Hun, immeasurably clever; you goad me with your words, but want to spear me with you spear; so you are an old man' (39a-41a)

b. do lettun se ærist
then let they first
asckim scritan
ashen.spears glide

scarpen scurim
sharp showers
dat in dem sciltim stont
that in the shields stuck
do stoptun tosamane
they came together
staimbort chludun
bright boards split
'And they first let ashen spears fly, sharp showers, such that they stuck in their shields; they moved toward each other, splitting each other's bright shields' (63a-65b)

The subject pronouns that one would expect to find in a language that requires overtly expressed grammatical subjects are absent in (22). If early German is like modern German in this respect, the poet should have repeated the second person singular pronoun '*du*' in one or all of the three clausal IUs that follow its first mention in the first line. Similarly, the poet should have repeated '*se*,' as in '*do stoptun (se) tosamane*.' Given that there is evidence in the poem that its poet was not beholden to the rules of Modern Standard German with respect to pronominal syntax, one cannot be certain that the poet intended for *sunufatarungo* to be the subject of the b-verse IU.[17]

The structural ambiguity continues in lines 5 through 6a. Here the narrator elaborates how Hildebrand and Hadubrand prepare their gear ('*iro saro rihtun*,'): they ready their armor and strap on their swords — in that order presumably — though this logical sequence is reflected only in the linear presentation of the two verses. For example, there are no text organizational words, such as "*first* ...; *then* ..." and no overt paratactic linking through some kind of coordinating conjunction. One might interpret the following verse IU, '*helidos ubar hringa*,' yet another elaborated reverbalization of the idea of the referent '*urhettun*' in 2a., as the subject of the verse-IU in 5b., which itself has no subject pronoun. Also possible, however, is to treat the idea contained in the verse-IU in 6a. as yet

[17]This footnote is an acknowledgment that much has been written on the topic of *pro*-drop in early German; see, for example, Eggenberger (1961), Hopper (1975), Axel (2007), Axel-Tober (2012), and Somers (2018). I do not weigh in on any of the broader claims made in such studies, such as whether the apparently missing subject pronouns in the *Hildebrandslied*'s lines 4b., 40-42, and 65a constitute cases of referential *pro*-drop, topic drop, or evidence of the apparent unreliability of poetry or the imposition of supposedly foreign Latin syntactic patterns (see, though Chapter 2 for my discussion and refutation of the deficit approach to early German syntax).

another appositive, occupying yet another a-verse. It elaborates the original idea of the challengers to emphasize not their relationship to each other as the earlier verse-IUs do, but that they are warriors who are now ready for battle after having prepared their armor and weapons. It is not necessarily integrated into a clausal structure as a grammatical subject, though a reader today might feel inclined to integrate the noun phrase into a clause in order to create a syntactic unit that is complete by the standards of modern English or German.

This particular mode of expression, i.e., layered elaboration, was recognized already by the Greeks who characterized it as an ancient poetic "style" (Bakker 1997: 36–39). From Aristotle's *On Rhetoric* (the second 2007 edition of George Kennedy's translation, pages 214–218):

> The strung-on style is the ancient one; for in the past all used it, but now not many do. I call that *strung-on* which has no end in itself unless the thing being said has been completed. It is unpleasant because it is unlimited; for all wish to foresee the end. Thus, as they complete the course [runners] pant and are exhausted; for they do not tire before the goal is in sight.
>
> This, then, is the strung-on style of composition, but the turned-down style is that in periods. I call a *period* an expression having a beginning and an end in itself and a magnitude early taken in at a glance. Such a style is pleasant and easily understood, pleasant because opposed to the unlimited and because the hearer always thinks he has hold of something, in that it is always limited by itself, whereas to have nothing to foresee or attain is unpleasant.

Aristotle compares the periodic style, *léxis katestramménē*, or, as Kennedy translates it, the "turned-down way of composition," to the unperiodic style, *léxis eiroménē*, or "strung-on way of composition." In the periodic style of composition, ideas are presented in what is characterized as balanced ways and brought to a natural end; in the unperiodic style, they are added to one another and continuous until, to paraphrase Fowler (1982: 90), the composer simply runs out of subject matter. Parry (1971: 252) connected Aristotle's comments on unperiodic style to the "cumulative" or "adding style" of Homeric poetry's verse and sentence structure.

This description matches the structure of the *Hildebrandslied* that I have outlined thus far, namely in how its multiple elaborating reverbalizations—of the ideas of the referent '*urhettun*' and the event of Hildebrand and Hadubrand preparing themselves for battle—are "strung onto" one another with little in the way of explicit grammatical signaling of the relationships between these constituents.

Aristotle's definition of periodic and unperiodic syntax is problematically vague and emphasizes the two styles' different affective impact. Yet, as modern readers we have some insight, I believe, into what Aristotle means with these descriptions. For example, in the introduction to the *Hildebrandslied*, there are no clear clause and sentence boundaries, nor the clearly indicated grammatical relationships between clausal constituents that we expect in, say, modern English prose. Consider how someone practiced in prose writing might edit the poem's first lines. Here is my attempt:

> I once heard a story of two challengers named Hildebrand and Hadubrand, who met for single combat between two armies. Though father and son, they prepared their gear for battle, first donning their armor, then strapping on their swords. Afterwards they rode into battle as two chain mailed heroes.

The boundedness of the clauses in this re-imagining of the lines, as well as the clearly indicated relationships between them stands in contrast to the original version, in which clauses seem to continue or overlap with and run into one another. My version also eliminates the structural ambiguities by providing delineated clauses and sentences, though the fact that multiple modern prose versions could be carved from the original speaks to the original lines' structural ambiguity. I resolved these ambiguities simply by creating connections between constituents and clauses that were not evident or, one might say, *did not exist* before I created them. Anticipating my chapter 7 discussion of the development of well-formedness as a component of ausbau, I note now how Aristotle attaches stylistic judgments to both structures: the periodic style is pleasing, while the unperiodic style is not. In this way, he is engaging in the ausbau of Greek by trying to establish guidelines for what constitutes well- and ill-formed composition or good and bad style.

Bakker (1997: 40-2) observes that scholars like Antoine Meillet and Pierre Chantraine describe the same unperiodic or strung-on style of composition, but from a syntactic perspective (see, for example, Meillet 1937: 358-9; Meillet & Vendryes 1963: 598-9; Chantraine 1953: 12). They characterize Homeric syntax as appositional, a structure that ancient Greek inherited from Proto-Indo-European. Bakker (1997: 40) characterizes this argument as follows: "phrases or even single words in Homer tend to have considerable syntactic autonomy, being loosely attached to each other by appositional relationships and having the semantic autonomy of independent sentences." This is but another way to capture the same phenomenon

that Aristotle described. Referring again to the introduction of the *Hildebrandslied*, one sees that its reverbalizations of the referent, '*urhettun*' are not integrated into, for example, predicate nominative clauses, as in '… challengers, *who were called* Hildebrand and Hadubrant.' Similarly, no conjunctions link the appositional layered elaborations of '*iro saro rihtun*' ('they readied their armor') in (22) 5a. and 5b. to surrounding clauses to create a sentence.

This concept of appositional syntax does not offer much in the way of explanatory potential, however. It defines the connection between constituents as the absence of any syntactic connection and offers no positive account of these structures. The hint of a diachronic explanation that these accounts do offer, along the lines of 'appositional syntax is inherited and, therefore, old,' invites the facile conclusions reached by the philologists I discussed in §4.3.2. Recall how late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century scholars like Henry Sweet and Ernst Windisch characterized the syntax of early Indo-European texts as primitive and unlike the apparently sophisticated constructions found in contemporary German- and English-language texts.

Generative attempts to provide formal accounts of appositions are also focused on the absence of structure and are reluctant to take such data at face value. In his overview of the generative literature on appositional syntax, Griffiths (2015: 1-6) notes how researchers have assumed that an underlying and obligatorily unpronounced structural difference must underlie a supposed functional difference between reformulative and attributive appositions.[18]

(23) a. Dietrich's righthand man, Hildebrand, recognizes his son on the battlefield.
b. Hadubrand, a legendary hothead, refuses the extended olive branch.
c. Hildebrand, the tragic, surrenders his will to fate.

(23)a. is a reformulative apposition in that it provides "additional and often more informative names" for their 'anchors,' the term for the constituent to which the apposition refers. Attributive appositions like in (23)b., in contrast, predicate properties of the anchor (Griffiths 2015: 1). The assumption that these two functions are indicative of two different underlying structures runs into problems. To begin with, the function of an apposition is often ambiguous; this is the case

[18] I refer the reader to Griffiths' (2015) introduction if they want to learn more about the different underlying structures that scholars have proposed for the two types of appositions. Griffiths recognizes a similar ambiguity in function to the one I discuss in this section but maintains that it is acceptable to assume formal differences that do not connect to actual differences in function.

with the (imagined) epithet "the tragic" in (23)c., which is both a more informative name for Hildebrand and predicates the property of 'being tragic' to him. The fact that descriptive epithets like this one are by their very nature reformulative *and* attributive undermines the premise that distinct appositional functions should link to distinct, unobservable structures. Similarly, the processing of the collocation would depend on the point-of-view of the processor. If the person is part of the community in which the referent, Hildebrand, has been frequently associated with the attribute, "tragic," then the apposition is more reformulative. If the person is unfamiliar with this narrative tradition, the apposition is more attributive. One can imagine the case of a poet saying "Hildebrand, the tragic" as an automatic reformulative collocation, which is heard by an interlocutor as an attributive collocation. The synchronic structural ambiguity in the collocation is only a problem if one insists on the existence of unobserved formal structures. In other words, it is a problem only for the modern researcher who is reluctant to accept the structurally ambiguous data for what they are: structurally ambiguous due to the absence of grammatically explicit linkages, which could only be created through syntactic ausbau.

More insight into these constructions can be gained if, instead of focusing on what is ostensibly missing, one concentrated on what is actually there. I propose that the concept of parallelism, as it has been approached by folklorists and scholars writing on orality, provides a way to understand the nature of the relationship between constituents that have no overt grammatical linkage. Parallelism also has the advantage of being consistent with my account of elaborated orality and the relationship between its structures and the communicative challenge of processing distance varieties only in the phonic medium. Scholars have identified parallelism in poetry, particularly oral poetry, a term that can encompass oral art and textualized orality. Frog & Tarkka (2017: 206) define parallelism broadly as referring to "a perceivable quality of sameness in two or more commensurate units of expression so that those units refer to one another as members of a parallel group." One can encounter parallelisms on every linguistic level; that is, sameness can be expressed and perceived, in words, syntactic structure, meanings, sounds, and prosody, including, rhythm (Frog & Tarkka 2017; Jakobson 1966). For example, alliteration is a phonic parallelism in that it involves the 'recurrent returning' (to paraphrase Jakobson 1966: 399) of certain sounds, their sameness made perceptible by the repeated sounds' immediacy to one another. In the Germanic languages, as I discussed in §6.3.1, the repetition of onset consonants or vowels, which all alliterate with one another, is constrained by the domain of a line, that is, two verse-IUs.

Investigators of parallelism have long distinguished between semantic and grammatical, also known as syntactic, parallelism. These categories, along with the term 'parallelism' itself, originate from the late eighteenth-century work in biblical poetry undertaken by Robert Lowth. Let us begin with a description of semantic parallelism, which involves two or more lexical items that refer to the same idea, e.g., referent, event, or state. Using the terminology that I established earlier in this chapter, semantic parallelisms are reverbalizations of the same idea. Illustrating the fact that parallelism of this sort is attested across the Germanic languages, Frog & Tarkka (2017: 207; 212) provide the following examples from old Germanic varieties, the first from Old Norse, the second from Old English.

(24) Semantic parallelism from Germanic

a. Þá gengo {regin ǫll}[1] á rǫcstóla,
{ginnheilog goð}[1], oc um þat gættuz,
hvárt scyldo æsir afráð gialda
eða scyldo goðin ǫll gildi eiga
Þá gengo regin ǫll á rǫcstóla,
then went powers.NOM.PL all.NOM.PL to the seats of judgment
ginnheilog goð, oc um þat gættuz
most.holy.NOM.PL gods.NOM.PL and on that deliberated
hvárt scyldo æsir afráð gialda
whether should the.Aesir a.heavy.tribute pay
eða scyldo goðin ǫll gildi eiga.
or should the.gods.NOM.PL all offerings receive[19]
'Then all the powers went to the seats of judgment, the most holy gods, and on that deliberated, whether the Aesir should pay a heavy tribute, or (whether) all the gods should receive offerings.' (Vǫluspá 23, 1-4)

b. þa {nædran}[1] sceop {nergend user}[2]
{frea ælmihtig}[2] {fagum wyrme}[1]
þa nædran sceop nergend user
then the.viper.dat.sg made savior our
frea ælmihtig fagum wyrme
Lord Almighty colorful worm.dat.sg
'Then our savior, the Lord Almighty, made the colorful worm.' (Genesis 903-04)

[19]I glossed the Old Norse example with the aid of the morpheme-by-morpheme break-down found at this link: https://lrc.la.utexas.edu/eieol/norol/90.

Frog & Tarkka (2017: 207) allude to the fact that there is a syntactic dimension to semantic parallelism. "[P]arallelism is built into the syntax of how language is used." In their examples, one sees how parallel reverbalizations of an already expressed idea occupy their own verse-IU, constituting its own prosodically delineated building block. The poet constructs their language and elaborates their ideas by adding more blocks. Frog & Tarkka (2017: 207) note how parallel reverbalizations are dislocated from their clauses and identify this as a hallmark of Germanic-language poetic varieties. In (24) a., for example, the noun phrase '*ginnheilog goð*' ('the most holy gods') occurs outside of what is considered the clausal framework of "*gengo á rǫcstóla*," ('went to the seats of judgment'). It is, however, integrated into the alliterative pattern. That is, there is the coherence of parallel sounds, if not the grammatical coherence modern readers might expect. The same structures are present in (24)b. in that the chiastically arranged parallel reverbalizations "frea ælmihtig" and "fagum wyrme," while cut out from their clausal frameworks, are integrated with each other through alliteration. This pattern is also present in the introduction of the *Hildebrandslied* (25).

(25) 1 Ik gihorta ðat seggen
2 ðat sih **urhettun** ænon muotin
3 **hiltibraht enti haðubrant** untar heriun tuem
4 **sunufatarungo** iro saro rihtun
5 garutun sê iro guðhamun gurtun sih iro suert ana
6 **helidos ubar hringa** do sie to dero hiltiu ritun

1a Ik gihorta ðat seggen
I heard that tell
2a ðat sih urhettun
that REFL.PRO challengers
2b ænon muotin
one met
3a hiltibraht enti haðubrant
Hiltibrant and Hadubrant
3b untar heriun tuem
between two armies
4a sunufatarungo
son.and.father
4b iro saro rihtun
their armor prepared

5a garutun sê iro guðhamun
readied they their fighting clothes
5b gurtun sih iro suert ana
belted REFL.PRO their swords on
6a helidos ubar hringa
heroes over rings
6b do sie to dero hiltiu ritun
PART they to the battle rode

The three parallel reverbalizations of "*urhettun*" ('challengers') each comprise their own verse-UI building block, outside of the structure of the clauses they ostensibly belong to but integrated into the parallel sound patterns of alliteration.

Naturally syntactic parallelism will have a clear syntactic dimension; it often co-occurs with semantic parallelism but need not involve any reverbalizations of ideas. Here is an example from Frog (2017: 448); it is a kalevalaic description of a fiery eagle that Lemminkäinen, the hero, passes on his way to the otherworld.

(26) Syntactic parallelism, from kalevalaic epic poetry

1 Jo tuli {tulini}^{1} koski	Already came {a fiery}^{1} rapids
2 Kosell' on^{2} {tulini}^{1} korko	On^{2} the rapids is^{2} {a fiery}^{1} shoal
3 Koroll' on^{2} {tulini}^{1} koivu	On^{2} the shoal is^{2} {a fiery}^{1} birch
4 Koivuss' on^{2} {tulini}^{1} kokko	In the birch is^{2} {a fiery}^{1} eagle
5 Sep' on hampahieh hivove	That one is its teeth grinding
6 Kynsiähä kitkuttauve	Its claws scraping
7 Peän varalla Lemminkäisen	Ready for the head of Lemminkäinen

(SKVR I2 742.119-25, from Frog 2017: 448)

The language in (26) is structured in a "chain," or is "terraced," Frog & Tarkka (2017: 212) explain in their article.[20] The last word of verse begins the next verse, a rhetorical figure the Greeks named *anadiplosis*. Though no line is a reverbalization of an idea of a referent, event or state that was previously mentioned, the linked structures collectively elaborate a larger event, and each new line is directly linked to a previous one through syntactic "sameness." The Merseburger charms is a similar example from the German language tradition (27).

(27) Syntactic parallelism in the history of German
1 Phol ende uuodan uuorun zi holza

[20] According to Frog & Tarkka (2017: 212), these descriptions stem from Krohn (1918: I: 79), Steinitz (1934: 120-22), and Austerlitz (1958: 63-9).

2 du uuart demo balderes uolon sin uuoz birenkit
3 thu biguol en sinthgunt sunna era suister
4 thu biguol en friia uolla era suister
5 thu biguol en uuodan so he uuola conda
6 sose benrenki sose bluotrenki sose lidirenki
7 ben zi bena bluot si bluoda
8 lid zi geliden sose gelimida sin

Phol ende uuodan uuorun zi holza
Phol and Wotan went to the.forest
du uuart demo balderes uolon sin uuoz birenkit
then became DET Baldur.GEN horse his foot sprained
thu biguol en sinthgunt sunna era suister
then sang to.it Sinthgunt Sunna her sister
thu biguol en friia uolla era suister
then sang to.it Freya Volla her sister
thu biguol en uuodan so he uuola conda
then sang to.it Wotan as he well was able
sose benrenki sose bluotrenki, sose lidirenki
be.it bone.sprain be.it blood.sprain be.it limb.sprain
ben zi bena bluot si bluoda
bone to bone blood to blood
lid zi geliden sose gelimida sin
limb to limb as.if stuck together be

'Phol and Wodan went into the forest,
Then Balder's horse sprained its foot.
Then Sinthgunt, the sister of Sunna, charmed it.
Then Frija, the sister of Volla, charmed it.
Then Wodan charmed it, as he was well able to do:
Be it sprain of the bone, be it sprain of the blood, be it sprain of the limb:
Bone to bone, blood to blood,
limb to limb, as if they were stuck together!'

Note in particular the parallel syntax of lines 3 through 5, which repeat the collocation, adverbial + verb + pronoun + noun phrase, exactly. As in the Finnish example, though none of these verse-IUs are linked through syntactic sameness, they do collectively elaborate a larger scene. The example in (28) demonstrates how semantic and syntactic parallelism can directly reinforce each other; it stems

from the *Hanvueng*, a ritual text from southern China. In this excerpt, Covueng tells his half-brother, Hanveung, that their father is ill.

(28) Syntactic and semantic parallelism, from west-central Guangxi, southern China
{Boh raeuz}[1] {gwn {raemx}[2] lwt}[3]
{Boh raeuz}[1] {swd {raemx}[2] rong}[3]
{Boh raeuz}[1] fuz mbouj hwnj
{Our father}[1] {drinks {water}[2] from a small bamboo cup}[3]
{Our father}[1] {drinks {water}[2] through a rolled-up leaf}[3]
{Our father}[1], even if supported, cannot stand up. (H 666-668, from Holm 2017:388)

As Holm (2017: 388) explains, all three lines share a subject, which is repeated in each line with no anaphoric reference. The first two lines have exactly the same syntactic structure. With respect to content, Frog & Tarkka (2017: 212) notes that these syntactically parallel verses are semantically similar without expressing precisely the same thing.

Parallelism, I propose, is one relationship that can weld constituents together in oral varieties, particularly those of distance for which humans have to meet the challenge of processing planned, lexically dense, integrated language. This "element-to-element sameness," as Frog & Tarkka (2017: 208) calls it, can be expressed on any perceptible linguistic level, that is, patterns of sameness in sound, prosody, meaning, and grammatical or syntactic constructions. For example, it is a semantic and perhaps also structural sameness that connects an apposition to its anchor, not an underlying, unpronounced syntactic structure. Apposition and anchor are only unlinked or loosely linked by the standards of the modern ausbau languages in which the researchers investigating this phenomenon are literate. I propose also that parallelism as a means of indicating which constituents in discourse belong together fits well with the account that I offered earlier in the chapter of the challenge of processing oral varieties of distance. That is, people must manage the rapid, fickle flow of human consciousness while constrained by their limited short-term memories. I argued that the reverbalization of ideas of referents, events, and states is one important strategy for meeting this challenge. The reverbalization itself can manifest as a type of semantic parallelism, but other types of parallelism can elucidate further the connection between the multiple verbalizations of an idea. People engaging in the ausbau of their vernacular, which involves enhancing a written *scriptus*'s grammatical and lexical coherence, look for more grammatically explicit means of expressing those relationships that are implied through parallelism in oral distance varieties. If the

literizer, however, draws more on their oral vernacular resources, the *scriptus* they create will likely have more parallelisms.

In treating parallelism as grounded in the cognitive challenge of processing distance varieties in the phonic medium, I diverge from the classic structuralist approach offered in Jakobson's (1966) oft-cited article on the parallelism. Jakobson maintains throughout that parallelism is inherently artificial, approvingly quoting Hopkins (1959: 84), who wrote:

> The artificial part of poetry, perhaps we shall be right to say all artifice, reduces itself to the principle of parallelism. The structure of poetry is that of continuous parallelism, ranging from the technical so-called Parallelisms of Hebrew poetry and the antiphons of Church music to the intricacy of Greek or Italian or English verse.

According to this view, parallelism is "the cardinal poetic artifice" (page 401) particularly as it is attested across many poetic grammars from many different cultural and linguistic traditions. One might see parallelism's ubiquity as evidence of the phenomenon's connection to humans' psycholinguistic capabilities. Yet, Jakobson (1966: 423) argues that parallelism is not ubiquitous *enough* to result from "a mental automatism" or "mnemotechnical processes upon which the oral performer is forced to rely." He supports his conclusion with the following points. First, he claims that there are whole folk traditions "totally unfamiliar with pervasive parallelism." Second, he notes that other folkloric systems have different "poetic genres," which are distinguished through parallelism's presence or absence. Finally, he mentions written poetry from China that is thousands-of-years old that are strictly adhered to than in the more relaxed folklore. Jakobson does not discuss specific examples or identify the traditions that illustrate his points. It is, therefore, impossible to attempt to refute his claims.

It seems to me that Jacobson's view of parallelism is too narrow in that he does not see it as one possible and, I argue, cognitively grounded means to link together reverbalized ideas of referents, events, or states. Even if one stipulated that he is correct and that there are traditions of oral art that do not have the sort of formalized parallelism that most interests him, this possibility does not invalidate parallelism as a mnemonically useful tool. In fact, the examples of Seneca examined earlier in the chapter did not have parallelism. But they did have reverbalizations, and these were linked together primarily through deixis, rather than structural similarity and the use of appositions. Frog & Tarkka (2017: 206) offer the following insightful comment on the interplay between parallelism and deixis.

Unlike deictic words such as *it*, *this* or *that*, which refer to a preceding stretch of text, parallelism has a formal aspect that allows it to become perceivable without such explicit terms: a parallel member of a group is recognized in part through a formal equivalence to the preceding member as a unit of utterance whether it is a verse line, hemistich, or stanza, or a clause or phrase in a form of discourse that lacks recurrent meter. The deixis or indexicality of parallel members creates formal relations between signs and qualifies as a type of syntax (Morris 1971: 22; Du Bois 2014: 387–400). Recognizing and interpreting those relations relies on perception.

Thus, the introduction of the *Hildebrandslied* and the excerpts from Seneca's elaborated orality illustrate two strategies for knitting together reverbalizations. In the case of the former, the three reverbalizations of the referent '*urhettun*' evince a semantic sameness and, while occupying their own verse-IUs, are integrated into the sound structure through parallel sounds, i.e., alliteration. A parallelism in the syntactic configuration of the two lines reverbalizing "*iro saro rihtun*" ('the prepared their gear'), "*garutun sê iro guðhamun*" and "*gurtun sih iro suert ana*" ('they prepared their armor' and 'they belted on their swords,' respectively), welds these two verses together as elaborations of the preceding event of two warriors preparing themselves for battle. Their structural similarity, not to mention the alliterative structure that stretches across these verses, effects a perceptible link between them. Constituents can also relate to one another more explicitly through the use of deixis, as was the case for the Seneca examples examined in §6.2, where the speaker connected reverbalizations of ideas expressed in IUs with deictic pronominal affixes and particles. Thus, different oral distance varieties may rely on one or perhaps both of these two systems of coindexing ideas to create more coherent utterances. For example, it makes some sense that ritual language in particular would make use of syntactic parallelism, as we see in the Merseburger charms, while narratives might feature less structural repetition of this sort and more deixis.

Frog & Tarkka's (2017: 206) quote makes one final, important point about the use of deixis versus that of parallelism. Namely, in that parallelism indicates the concatenation of constituents without any additional elements to mark these connections, the use of deixis is the more *explicit* strategy for elucidating these same relationships. That is, the latter strategy features grammatical morphemes that indicate relationships that are implicit in parallelisms. Think back now on chapter 4, where I argued that syntactic ausbau is one of the main tasks of literization. This human-initiated and -directed process involves the development of more of these explicit means of indicating the grammatical and semantic connections between constituents. It makes sense, then, that it is precisely these

functional, deictic markers that would make excellent subordinating conjunctions and relative pronouns in a literizing written variety. Indeed, the etymological link between subordinating conjunctions and deictics and anaphorics in Indo-European languages (see Clackson 2007:172-3) is consistent with the narrative that literizers expanded and elaborated the functioning of an original set of pointing morphemes to suit the needs of a written distance variety.

According to the view I have developed thus far, humans have always connected ideas and constituents together in discourse. This argument is in line with those expressed in, for example, Harris & Campbell (1995: 308–310), which points out that early written and "unwritten" languages, as they call them, also have subordination and embedding. In accordance with the foregoing chapters, I would edit this statement to include and emphasize the role that literization and ausbau play in changing the ways in which people connect ideas and constituents in discourse: the communicative requirements of distance yield integrated and lexically dense oral varieties. These varieties have linguistic strategies for connecting ideas and expressing logical hierarchies. Among these are parallelism, which implicitly indicates the relationships through semantic or structural sameness, and deixis, which more explicitly co-indexes ideas or constituents. When people begin to write in their vernacular, they must engage in ausbau, which, among other tasks, involves augmenting the vernacular's grammatical coherence and the explicit means of expressing these relationships. It is the dislocation of the vernacular to the graphic medium that prompts people to make these changes.

Recall the disagreement between Harris and Campbell, on the one hand, and more traditional philologists like Henry Sweet, on the other hand (see §4.3.2). The latter scholar makes a developmental argument: young and primitive languages are more paratactic and become more hypotactic as they mature and become more sophisticated. The former scholars argue that all languages are hypotactic, and that scholars like Sweet overemphasize the paratactic nature of early written and "unwritten" languages. Harris & Campbell (1995) is correct to point out that all languages, including unliterized ones, have integrated structures. Sweet's surmise that languages become more hypotactic over time is correct in the sense that highly literized languages express more and more specific grammatical relationships between constituents and do so more explicitly. They rely less on the implicit means of signaling these relationships, like parallelism, which, if viewed strictly from the perspective of syntax, seems to entail only a loose paratactic linking of constituents. Both parties, I argue, miss out on the actual crux of the matter, which is that it is literization itself, and ausbau in particular, that is the impetus for this shift.

6.4 Conclusion

The main goal of this chapter was to describe German's pre-history from a different perspective than that of the comparative method. This goal is based on my contention that one cannot learn about the structure of distance varieties in the phonic medium when one works backwards from written varieties. Prehistoric linguistic varieties are by definition oral and have not undergone any of the fundamental changes that literization sets into motion. Thus, if we want to understand the structural implications of a literizer drawing on their oral varieties of distance in order to create their *scriptus*, we need a way to investigate elaborated orality. This is a difficult proposition as we have no *direct* access whatever to spoken medieval German in that all ninth-century German speakers are long dead. I proposed the following method to deal with this problem.

First, I began by outlining the universal challenges of processing oral varieties of distance. These include slowing down the fickle, fast-moving convergence of consciousness and linguistic expression. The basic unit of language is the intonation unit (IU), which can be defined according to several parameters. The two main parameters are cognitive and prosodic. Regarding the former, natural limits on short-term memory constrain the IU's length. Regarding the latter, intonational characteristics, like pauses for breaths and changes in pitch signal the IU's boundaries. To some extent, IUs are syntactically defined in that they are isomorphic with constituents, though notably not necessarily with complete clauses. The challenge, then, lies in how humans manage to process, i.e., produce and receive, oral varieties that also meet the communicative demands of distance contexts. For example, how do they slow down their restless consciousness to focus on and develop ideas (of referents, events, or states)? How do they process the greater density and integration required in exclusively oral distance contexts?

The nature of the challenge inherent in processing varieties of distance in the phonic medium suggests the strategies for ameliorating it. If the stream of cognition and language is too fast paced to develop an idea or tell a story coherently, find a way to slow down the flow of discourse and keep ideas active in consciousness longer. The reverbalization and nominalization of ideas of referents, events, and states are two ways to accomplish this goal. Use reverbalizations, for example, to gradually layer more detail on top of the originally stated idea. A nominalization of an event or state, perhaps with some deictic particle linking the nominalization to the original idea, is another way to add more information. I referred to these strategies collectively as 'layered elaboration.'

But what about our biologically limited short-term memories? How can we process lexically dense, integrated language? In this chapter, I presented a two-part answer. First, I argued that people rely on the same psycholinguistic abilities for both spontaneous spoken language and oral varieties of distance: chunking. Fluent communication is possible because people build and access an inventory of conventionalized collocations stored in rich memory. The difference between oral varieties of immediacy and those of distance is that with the latter, speakers must rely more on mnemotechnical processes to solidify lexically dense chunks in the memory. For example, one can remember a sequence of words in an IU chunk more easily if there is some manner of repetition, like each word begins with the same sound, i.e., alliteration. Similarly, one IU chunk can be connected to another more readily if they both evince the same rhythmic pattern, i.e., meter, or mirror each other structurally.

We, modern readers, associate these mnemonic devices with poetry. Thus, it can prove insightful to consider even the most basic elements of poetry, like the verse, from the perspective of how they might have afforded a psycholinguistic advantage to speakers of oral vernaculars. In this chapter I argued that the verse of alliterative poetry, or the verse-IU, is a formalization of the basic unit of spoken language. The verse-IU, unlike the IU of more spontaneously produced language, is clearly demarcated by intonational cues, particularly the pause between verses for taking a breath. It constrains the content of the verse-IU by limiting the number of stressed lifts to two, which effectively limits the number of content-carrying substantives that can occur in the verse. Such features of poetry, once functionally motivated in the production of elaborated orality, leave their traces behind in the early *scripti*. There they no longer serve the same purpose of easing language processing in the phonic medium but instead come to define a literary style of writing, adopted by the *scriptus*-creator because that is what they deemed would be appropriate for their literization project.

Though the focus of this chapter was not ausbau specifically, its analyses are still relevant to the process in that they can elucidate the extent to which a literizer both engages with and succeeds in creating a more grammatically and semantically coherent *scriptus*. I argued in this chapter that oral varieties of distance have their own more implicit means for indicating the types of relationships between constituents and ideas. For example, parallelism places two elements in implicit juxtaposition and suggests a link between them. Adding deictic connectors can make these connections more explicit. Such methods, though they are perfectly functional in the phonic medium, are less so in the graphic medium and effect structural ambiguity when they are not augmented through ausbau. Thus, an early German literizer who draws on their oral varieties of

distance develops a literary style that has a propensity for structural ambiguity, unless the *scriptus*-creator takes care to augment cohesion in a way that these varieties do not require. It takes some imagination to recognize the implications of producing language in a dislocated written variety, including the fact that your text might be read by people who are not of your immediate temporal and sociocultural context. Such an unfamiliar audience, which includes the modern reader, would not be practiced in processing your particular, localized oral varieties of distance, which rely heavily on a shared, community-wide inventory of conventionalized language and concepts. The so-called structural ambiguities that stand out to the modern reader as syntactic puzzles they must resolve escape the notice of, and are perfectly legible to, the ninth-century local. Thus, the literizer whose emerging literary style evokes the oral tradition might see less success in the ausbau of their *scriptus* than a literizer who intentionally moves away from orality and aims to develop in their *scriptus* a more innovative literary style. To rephrase this idea in the terminology of the next chapter, the latter literizer will engage more with the task of establishing a concept of well-formedness for a written vernacular than the latter.

7 Historical linguist seeks well-formed sentences in early vernacular *scripti*

7.1 Introduction

I closed Chapter 6 with the argument that there is a relationship between the answers to these two questions. First, which linguistic resources does a literizer lean on more heavily to create their *scriptus*? Second, how extensively do they engage with ausbau and, thus, look to enhance the grammatical and semantic coherence of their writing by making the logical and hierarchical relationships between constituents and ideas explicit? I proposed that the more a literizer was interested in evoking the oral tradition, the more they relied on orally organized ways of building lexically denser and more integrated language into their *scriptus*, strategies I collectively called layered elaboration. Similarly, a literizer like the *Hêliand* poet would engage less with the process of ausbau, which I have defined as the construction of more grammatically specific and visually explicit systems of coreferentiality between the linguistic elements of a text. In contrast, a literizer like Otfrid, who eschews the planned distance varieties of their elaborated orality and engages more intentionally in vernacular ausbau, will try to establish this type of systematicity. I see these two seminal ninth-century texts as marking the beginning of literary German; the two poets' orientation toward and away from the oral tradition, respectively, demarcates the two broad categories of literary style that characterize early composition in German.

Literary style is not a topic with which modern historical linguists often contend in that it is considered a matter of linguistic performance and not competence, and these scholars interest themselves primarily in delineating the contours of the latter. I argue, however, that recognizing emerging literary styles in the early *scripti* is important to understanding the attested syntactic differences between them. This proposal follows logically from the relationship I see between a literizer's orientation vis-à-vis the oral tradition and the degree to which they engage with vernacular ausbau. Because a literizer like the *Hêliand* poet is less concerned with ausbau, their resultant *scriptus* will contain more structurally ambiguous sequences (see §6.3.3). That is, they maintain more conceptually oral

ways of modulating linguistic production according to the communicative contexts of distance in the phonic medium. In contrast, literizers like Otfrid want to create a new written variety that will not remind listeners or readers of the oral tradition. So, they look to create a new variety to suit the context of communicative distance. In that Otfrid was specifically interested in creating a written form of the vernacular, one that reflected the prestige of the empire in which he was a subject, it would have been logical for him to engage more intentionally with vernacular ausbau and, to this end, draw on his education in Latin and its long literate tradition.

In this chapter, I consider a conceptual development that, I argue, necessarily accompanies the literizer's engagement with vernacular ausbau; namely, the cultivation of a sense of well-formedness. That is, in engaging with this literization process, a *scriptus*-creator must also develop an awareness of literacy as a conceptual category. This change happens on an individual and societal level, though, as I argued in Chapter 3, German *scripti* emerged mostly in isolation, and so there was no concerted, society-wide engagement with the question of how literizers must shape their oral vernacular varieties to be more functional in the written medium. An analysis of German's first attestations, thus, mainly involves individual linguistic change. I see the development of a notion of well-formedness as another variable that is dependent on a literizer's stylistic choices. That is, an early German literizer who turns away from the varieties of elaborated orality and, consequently, toward ausbau and the Latinate tradition of literacy, will directly compare their multilectal vernacular to Latin, which has already undergone significant ausbau. As a result, the disparity in German and Latin's suitability for the dislocated written word comes into more immediate and sharper relief.

Direct comparison may also lead to the literizer drawing on the linguistic norms that are featured and discussed in the classical grammatical treatises that were popular in the Carolingian period. In the parlance of modern linguistics, these norms are both descriptive and prescriptive, though classical linguistic thought did not distinguish one from the other, as will also become clear in this chapter. Based on my Chapter 5 arguments (see especially §5.3), one could characterize a linguistic innovator like Otfrid as concerned with descriptive and prescriptive norms: he states in his preface that he was at pains to create a *scriptus* that was simultaneously idiomatic Frankish and a proper, written language. Pursuing both goals presented Otfrid with a conundrum in that Frankish was a rustic, barbarous language, whose main defect was how unlike Latin it was. On the one hand, it would make sense for Otfrid to use the Latinate norms he had encountered as part of his education and continuing engagement with Latin literacy as

a model for the ausbau of his German *scriptus*. Yet would not a Latin-inspired ausbau be incompatible with the monk's stated desire to create a *scriptus* that is also idiomatic?

Recalling my arguments of Chapter 3 and Chapter 4, the answer to this question is no. That is, the ausbau of an exclusively oral vernacular demands from the literizer linguistic innovation. Before the moment of literization, none of its varieties—either of immediacy or distance—had ever needed to function in the graphic medium, which can dislocate linguistic output completely from the moment of its production. Thus, literization itself demands from the vernacular speaker a level of explicitly marked, linguistic cohesion that had never before been achievable, functional, or required in the phonic medium. Phrased another way, an exclusively oral Frankish did not yet have idiomatic ways of being fully functional in the graphic medium. Individual literizers during this early medieval period devised their own solutions to the problem of ausbau in ways that reflected their chosen literary style. Over time, as more people engage with vernacular literization and ausbau, writing conventions emerge at a societal level, and ausbau constructions become increasingly idiomatic, especially for the most literate people. To be clear: my argument is *not* that the immediacy and distance varieties of exclusively oral vernaculars manifest no grammatical relationships, e.g., agreement rules, or surface order patterns. Nor is it that literizers like Otfrid find no inspiration in their idiomatic vernacular when creating *scripti*. Human language before and after literization and ausbau features conventionalized patterns, and literizers can certainly look for ausbau solutions that reflect the patterns of exclusively oral vernaculars as much as possible.[1] Rather my argument is that it is literization alone that effects the need for ausbau, which yields a theretofore unrequired degree of grammatical and lexical systematicity, specificity and explicitness, as well as the means for developing these features.

This chapter is divided into three main sections. In §7.2, I discuss the related developments of notions of well-formedness and literary style. I argue that well-formedness in the early German *scripti*, indeed in any written language, is always modulated in accordance with the desired literary style. Indeed, there is no such thing as decontextualized linguistic output, that is, a neutral variety that is not indelibly shaped by a communicative context. This view is not inconsistent with structuralist approaches to historical syntactic analysis. For instance, diachronic generative linguists maintain that performance is never a perfect reflection of

[1]However, as I discussed in Chapter 6, if a literizer draws more on their oral vernaculars of distance, they are engaging less with the project of ausbau and producing *scripti* that are less functional and more grammatically and lexically ambiguous in the graphic medium. I argued that the *Hêliand* was an example of this possibility.

competence. Where these linguists and I differ is in their belief that the most important goal of diachronic analysis is the reconstruction of a historical underlying competence. In contrast, I propose that this goal is too narrow to account for the broad linguistic phenomenon that is the early German *scripti*. A focus on competence alone encourages the investigators to minimize or reject entirely the possibility that literization itself causes significant language change. It has also sent scholars on the misguided search for historical varieties they believe most accurately represent a neutral or contextless early German (see chapter 2). In this section I explain how the belief in an unmarked, neutral variety of language stems from classical discourses on language. In particular, Aristotle describes "flat Greek," which he characterizes as a neutral and so-called grammatical form of Greek but is actually a long cultivated and particular literary style that emphasizes clarity of expression. This sort of classical metalanguage provides literizers like Otfrid a road map for their own literization project. More specifically, I hypothesize that the categories and linguistic descriptions in these treatises can directly shape the ausbau structures of a German *scriptus* in that they give early literizers a conceptual framework for the vernacular innovation that ausbau demands.

In §7.3, I elaborate on how the metalanguage of classical linguistics can influence the early German *scripti* of literizers like Otfrid, who consciously turned away from the layered elaboration of their community's oral varieties of distance. As I discussed in Chapter 6, interlocutors must process lexically denser, more integrated structures in contexts of communicative distance using the same building blocks as they do for language processing in immediacy contexts. That is, all phonic varieties are comprised of the prosodically defined intonation unit (IU) and are subject to the same cognitive constraints. I also concluded in Chapter 6 that the IU was the main locus for the modulation of linguistic output in accordance with changing communicative contexts. A broader point undergirds these arguments, which is that non-literate speakers of exclusively oral vernaculars will conceptualize language in exclusively phonic terms.

In this section, I discuss how, in turning to the Latinate tradition of literacy as a model for ausbau, an early German literizer encounters a new conceptualization of language, one that references sound but also structure. So, while popular Late Roman grammars identify linguistic categories that foreshadow modern syntactic categories, e.g., nouns, pronouns, verbs, and conjunctions, they begin their grammatical description of Latin with the smallest linguistic units, which they define with respect to sound. These grammars also identify larger linguistic units akin to the clause and the sentence, though they do not define them in terms of grammatical relations. Rather, these definitions reference primarily prosody and

meaning, with some allusions to structure. *Grammatica*'s engagement with these units, I argue, introduces to literizers like Otfrid the idea of what Koch & Oesterreicher (1994) call *Satzförmigkeit*, a word that is difficult to translate into English, but what I take to mean a sequence of words that is, or indeed should be, constitutive of a complete discourse unit, like a clause or a sentence. This concept stands in contrast to the conceptually oral system of discourse organization that I call layered elaboration, with its overlapping parallel IUs that build dense and integrated language without clearly signaled boundaries between larger discourse units. I conclude that a *grammatica*-inspired concept of *Satzförmigkeit* influences how Otfrid decides to construct his larger clause-like discourse units.

As the discipline of linguistics moves toward structuralism, scholars eventually conceptualize the discourse units of language as clauses and clause complexes. They, furthermore, define these units in purely structural ways. So, a structurally oriented linguist would maintain that they are simply identifying the underlying features that characterize all human language; for example, all languages organize linguistic production in clauses which minimally comprise, say a subject and a predicate. My final argument of this chapter (§7.4) is that, though one can surely identify in the early German data subjects, predicates, and, thus, clauses, it does not necessarily follow that these linguistic elements must constitute the basic organizational structures around which a literizer organized their historical *scriptus*. They are certainly the ones around which modern linguists have tended to form their own conceptualizations of language. But I wonder to what extent the conclusion that all human languages organize linguistic output according to clauses, which entail certain constituent types and clear beginnings and ends, is supported by structuralists' preference for examining modem ausbau languages for which there is a thoroughly developed and societal notion of *Satzförmigkeit* and well-formedness generally.

In contrast, a literizer like Otfrid developed notions of well-formedness and *Satzförmigkeit* in a vacuum and for, what was theretofore, an exclusively oral German. He was accustomed to a vernacular whose organization was based on prosodic units and relied on layered elaboration. In that the *scriptus* results from a creative shaping of Frankish in the graphic medium, one should imagine that Otfrid could have organized the larger units of his written production in different ways. Recall again that ausbau necessitates linguistic innovation; vernacular intuitions are restricted to the phonic medium and, though conventionalized native speaker patterns certainly feed into *scripti*, they will offer no direct solutions to the problem of ausbau itself. We should not simply assume that Otfrid's emergent sense of well-formedness, which effects his *scriptus*'s consciously constructed syntax, was identical to our modern ideas of well-formedness and

Satzförmigkeit, in particular. For this conclusion to be true, there should be some evidence that, say, the metalanguage to which Otfrid was exposed in the popular grammars of his day contained descriptions of *Satzförmigkeit* that mirror modern definitions of the same. This evidence does not exist. I, furthermore, argue that if scholars look for the structures reflecting modern notions of well-formedness—which themselves are created in a centuries-long process of ausbau—in a historical variety—especially one for which the literizer adopts the style of oral vernaculars of distance—they invite anachronism and presentism into their analyses.

7.2 The development of well-formedness and literary style

I begin this section with Koch & Oesterreicher (1994: 590–591), the work that originated my definition of well-formedness. The authors characterize syntactic well-formedness as resulting from a process of selection and deselection: literizers consciously cultivate the grammatical coherence of their *scriptus*, molding utterances so that they become *satzförmig* or 'constitutive of a complete discourse unit, for example, a clause or sentence.' This definition of well-formedness as *Satzförmigkeit*[2] has interesting theoretical implications. If well-formedness is about conformance to an innate competence, as generative approaches assume, then complete clauses and clause complexes should be provided to the literizer by their mental grammar and should not be constructions that they must first consciously cultivate. Furthermore, ill-formed clauses and clause complexes, according to the generative view, should result only from performance errors. Koch and Oesterreicher's presentation of well-formedness implies, however, that the ill-formed constructions in a *scriptus* arise instead through a less consistent or effective implementation of syntactic ausbau. I do not interpret Koch and Oesterreicher's linking of well-formedness to syntactic ausbau as indicating that German-speakers at this time never produced complete, well-formed clauses and clause complexes by the standards of a modern literized language like German or English. Rather, I understand their proposal to indicate that well-formedness, rather than referring to a speaker's innate competence, is an actively constructed concept, guided by the principles of syntactic ausbau, as outlined in chapter 4, and considerations of literary style, as I argue below.

[2]When a written variety evinces *Satzförmigkeit*, it has the quality of being constitutive of a complete clause or sentence. I could think of no good way to capture this term in English, whose derivational morphology simply is not up to the task.

Koch & Oesterreicher (1994: 590–591) gives several examples of ill-formed constructions, whose presence in a *scriptus* would undermine its grammatical coherence. Two of their examples, are figures from classical rhetoric: anacolutha and aposiopesis. The first figure refers to unexpected discontinuities in a grammatical sequence: 'I saw the sun for the first time in—how long?' The second is the deliberate breaking off of an utterance: 'If I get my hands on you, …! In the example of anacolutha, the discontinuity yields an incomplete clause. The utterance with aposiopesis, in contrast, features an incomplete clause complex; there is only a subordinate clause, while the expected main clause is left to the interlocutor's imagination. The modern reader may, as did the Greeks who gave these two rhetorical phenomena their names, associate them with spoken language. Indeed, a third example of ill-formedness from Koch and Oesterreicher further suggests that ill-formedness in early *scripti* can result from transferring certain construction types from the phonic medium, where they are functional because speakers and interlocutors share the physical space, into the graphic medium, where they are not. Holophrastic expressions convey a complex idea in one or a few words: 'Help!' or 'Again, please.' Such expressions are highly dependent on the contexts in which they are spoken and require elaboration should they be presented outside of that context.

If literization were merely a matter of ausbau, then *scriptus*-creators would deselect all such disjointed or telegraphic constructions and not include them in their writing. The classical discourse on certain rhetorical figures reminds us that literization is more nuanced than that. Yes, literizers must augment the grammatical coherence of their oral vernacular before it can be more functional in the graphic medium. However, the ausbau process will also be influenced by the creation of appropriate writing, that is, literary, styles. Consider the late-Latin grammarian Quintilian's (1922) treatment of aposiopesis in which he explains how it has a place in formal, legal oratory. He writes in Book 9 (chapter 4, section 54)[3] of his influential *Institutio Oratoria* that aposiopesis can be useful for conveying passion or anger, as Koch and Oesterreicher's example, 'If I get my hands on you, …! demonstrates. Similarly, the figure "may serve to give an impression of anxiety or scruple." Quintilian draws his example from the speech (the *Pro Milone*) Cicero wrote in defense of his friend, Milo, who was on trial for the murder of the politician Clodius.

> Would he have dared to mention this law of which Clodius boasts he was

[3]Quintilian's text is accessible online here: http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Perseus%3Atext%3A2007.01.0066%3Abook%3D9%3Achapter%3D4%3Asection%3D54.

> the author, while Milo was alive, I will not say was consul? For as regards all of us—I do not dare to complete the sentence.

Quintilian explains later in the same book 9 (chapter 4, section 59)[4] why incorporating aposiopesis into formal oratory can be effective.

> There are other devices also [that is, in addition to aposiopesis] which are agreeable in themselves and serve not a little to commend our case both by the introduction of variety and by their intrinsic naturalness, since by giving our speech an appearance of simplicity and spontaneity they make the judges more ready to accept our statements without suspicion.

This passage indicates, first of all, an awareness of the orality and literacy as conceptual categories. Quintilian identifies this device as characteristic of spoken language or, phrased in the terms of the current study, as a conceptually oral construction.

Prescriptions around the use of such oral features were more subtle, however, than simply declaring them off-limits for written compositions, as we can see when Quintilian notes that they can by useful for feigning the language of immediacy. There is a particular irony to these suggestions: speakers would craft formal oratory in advance with the aid of writing. Though planned in advance, the language should *seem* unstudied, affective, and spontaneous, which, Quintilian argues, lends it a feeling of sincerity and authenticity. Thus, one incorporates conceptually oral structures of immediacy into one's distance language. Oesterreicher (1997: 200; 205) describes this phenomenon as one of his eight types of orality in text: "mimesis of immediacy or simulated orality." He notes that it seems like an oral phenomenon "on the surface" but that the communicative conditions that are responsible for its production are not those of immediacy. "Such imitations of casual speech function as *literary devices*" (emphasis added), Oesterreicher explains. They can only ever be "a mimesis of the language of immediacy [and] can never match authentic immediacy," he adds.

Quintilian, Peter Koch, and Wulf Oesterreicher are all pointing to the same insight but from different perspectives: the development of different literary styles is a concomitant development to the establishing of well-formedness through ausbau. To begin, Koch & Oesterreicher (1994) notes that the disjointedness of the language of immediacy is one of the primary targets of ausbau-related change.

[4]This section is accessible online here: http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Perseus%3Atext%3A2007.01.0066%3Abook%3D9%3Achapter%3D4%3Asection%3D59.

Quintilian recognizes that a writer can consciously adopt constructions that feature this sort of disjointedness and are associated with conceptual orality. Finally, Oesterreicher (1997) reminds us that this feigned orality is not the same thing as language that is actually shaped by the communicative context of immediacy. It is instead a literary style.

Another literary style that emerges out of similar discussions of well-formed, appropriate language and its supposed relationship with the spoken language is what Oesterreicher (1997: 204–205) refers to as a "plain" rhetorical style of writing. I first discussed this type of composition in §2.3.1, where I explained that the idea of a neutral, grammatical prose as representative of some natural, spoken language stems from the classical tradition of linguistic thought and cannot actually describe any actual variety. I return now to *On Rhetoric* briefly to point out that what Aristotle actually describes in his section on grammatical Greek (Book 3, chapter 5; see Aristotle 2007:206-9) is the development of well-formedness through ausbau, a process that he also relates to literary style. Aristotle (2007: 206) notes that while Aristotle's discussion of the rules of grammar in this chapter is meant to be about the grammatical rules of "speaking Greek," they are in fact about "clarity." Indeed, all five principles that Aristotle mentions[5] are concerned with enhancing the grammatical and semantic coherence of a composition and correspond to ausbau-related changes. For example, Aristotle calls for the correct use of "connective particles" (Book 3, 5:2), such as 'one the one hand' and 'on the other hand.' This example connects to my discussion of lexical ausbau to effect semantic coherence in §4.3.1. Writers aiming for clarity in distance compositions must think in terms of text organization, not discourse organization, and develop a vocabulary for this purpose. His other example of the correct use of connective particles has, in fact, nothing much to do with particles.

> But I, when he spoke to me (for there came Cleon both begging and demanding), went, taking them along.

Aristotle prescribes that "correlatives should occur while the first expression is still in the mind and not be widely separated." Otherwise, the "result is unclear." It is, however, difficult to match Aristotle's prescription to the example whose unclear syntax stems simply from the clause complex's disjointedness. Integrating disjointed constituents into a clause or series of clauses through grammatical systems of coreferentiality is the particular task of syntactic ausbau, as I discussed in §4.3.2.

[5]One presumes there are many more than five. Kennedy (Aristotle 2007: 207, fn. 58) characterizes this chapter as possibly the least satisfactory in the *Rhetoric*. As in previous chapters, all of my direct quotes from the *Rhetoric* are from Kennedy's translation.

We may categorize the remaining four principles similarly into prescriptions surrounding lexical or syntactic ausbau. Aristotle's insistence that one use specific names for things rather than circumlocutions falls into the category of developing an expanded, differentiated, and precise vocabulary (Book 3, 5:3; see §4.3.1).[6] The other three principles are concerned with establishing greater clarity in the concatenation of various constituents, which is the goal of syntactic ausbau. In Book 3, 5:4, Aristotle warns against using amphiboles, which are syntactically ambiguous constructions, unless it is one's intent to obscure the meaning. An old Marx brothers' joke is an example of an amphiboly: "I shot an elephant in my pajamas," the humor arising from the uncertainty about who is wearing the pajamas, the shooter or the elephant. The final two principles (Book 3, 5:5-6) set forth prescriptions for proper inflection of participles: "Having come and having spoken, she departed" and "Having come, they beat me." Aristotle is reminding readers here to observe the classifications laid out by the philosopher Protagoras (fifth century BCE) that participles inflect according to the gender and number of the pronoun. Aristotle closes this chapter with some general prescriptions regarding clarity, stating that "[w]hat is written should generally be easy to read and easy to speak—which is the same thing." If one has an easy time punctuating one's writing, that is a indication that one has achieved clarity. In contrast, writing that is hard to punctuate is less desirable because "it is unclear what goes with what, whether with what follows or with what precedes" (Book 3, 5:6). I interpret these statements also as relating to ausbau: establishing more explicitly marked connections between constituents within and across clauses makes clear syntactic boundaries easier to delineate.

In sum, though Aristotle characterizes his discussion of "grammatical Greek" as establishing some principles of a spoken grammar, what he, in fact, describes is a series of well-formedness norms that promotes grammatical and lexical coherence. There is another unintended parallel between Aristotle's discussion of well-formedness, in his terminology 'grammatically correct Greek,' and my assertion that an ausbau-driven well-formedness occurs in relation to the development of literary style. Aristotle argues in the earlier chapters of this book 3 (chapters 1 and 2) that grammatically correct Greek represents, as Graff (2005: 314) puts it, a "stylistic zero-degree" whose "flatness" makes it stylistically inappropriate for anything but ordinary, everyday speech. Good prose style, in contrast, should be more dignified and special. One can achieve this result only by consciously constructing one's prose artfully. Crucially, however, the writer must take steps

[6]Unfortunately, Aristotle provides no examples of this principle, and so I cannot comment more extensively on it.

to conceal this art. In other words, good prose should seem like everyday speech without actually resembling it (Graff 2005: 314-7).

Aristotle conflates a number of phenomena with one another in a way that foreshadows future conflations. On the one hand, we have the construct of 'flat' Greek, which is meant to represent a neutral, contextless, spoken language. On the other hand, there is the notion of well-formedness, which involves selecting some constructions as well-formed, others as not, and attaching the descriptor of 'grammatical' to the former set. This linking of an imagined neutral, context-independent language with a ordinary, everyday speech, along with well-formedness and grammaticality is evident in discourses on language long after Aristotle. This same constellation of ideas surfaced in the Middle Ages, for example, as part of scholarly discourse on the literary career of Virgil, which was envisaged as a wheel, the *rota Vergilii* (Laird 2010: 138). This diagrammatic representation of Virgil's works categorized his different literary styles, including the *stilus humilis/stilus planus*, in other words a "plain style rhetoric" (Oesterreicher 1997: 204–205). Authors writing in this style, Oeterreicher explains, employed a "markedly simple language in opposition to what may be called linguistic mannerism or rhetorical bombast" (page 204). Oesterreicher (1997: 204–205) continues:

> It is characteristic of this style to draw on a number of features that have been conventionalized in a certain literary tradition in order to create the impression of naturalness, spontaneity, simplicity, and ease. This style is therefore aesthetically motivated and is not intended fundamentally as an imitation of the language of immediacy [unlike Oesterreicher's category 'mimesis of immediacy']. In Renaissance Europe this stylistic advice was condensed to the imperative formula "Write like you speak!"

The dictum, 'write like you speak,' will strike Germanists as familiar. It has been identified as a motivating principle behind Martin Luther's translation of the Bible into a German that was more comprehensible than that of the earlier Mentel Bible. It also motivated his multiple revisions of his original translation, in which we can see greater structural clarity and regularity emerge. It seems to me, in any case, that there is good evidence of this long-standing belief in the existence of a style of prose writing that both mirrors the spoken language and is representative of a neutral grammar (see also Chapter 2). I propose instead that this plain rhetorical style is the product of ausbau that writers over time have shaped into a particular direction because they wanted to create a clear literary style. The result is a style of prose that works best for an uncomplicated transfer of information from the mind of the writer to all possible readers in any spatiotemporal

context. Writing like one speaks, in contrast, is impossible unless one means to record and transcribe speech. As a recommendation on literary style, however, the dictum makes more sense (Avoid rhetorical excesses. Keep clauses and sentences short and unambiguous). This style is but one of many that can guide the writing of prose; it is no more or less like "the spoken language" than any other literary style.

7.3 *Satzförmigkeit*

In §7.2, I argued that the early literizers of an exclusively oral vernacular must develop a concept of well-formedness in tandem with literary style. By this I mean that what writers decide is well-formed in a particular *scriptus* is not only a matter of creating grammatically and semantically coherent written language, i.e., ausbau. It is also a matter of creating a *scriptus* that is appropriate to the writer's goals. As I proposed in Chapter 5, a literizer's orientation toward their two main linguistic resources—the elaborated orality of community discourse traditions and the Latinate tradition of literacy—correlates with the degree to which they engage with ausbau. For example, the *Hêliand* poet, who consciously adopts the style of elaborated orality (see Chapter 6), will rely more on the organizational strategies of layered elaboration, like parallelism, and less on establishing new systems of grammatical concatenation. Otfrid, in contrast, who wants to move the vernacular away from the oral tradition and toward great literature, would focus more on creating a grammatically coherent *scriptus*.

In this section, I discuss Koch & Oesterreicher's (1994) assumption that well-formed, which is to say, grammatically and semantically coherent *scripti* will be *satzförmig*, that is constitutive of a complete clause or sentence.[7] This is the logical proposition that Koch and Oesterreicher imply with their presentation of well-formedness as tied to not only improving the functionality of an oral vernacular in written distance contexts, i.e., ausbau, but also involving the cultivation of *Satzförmigkeit*. If we re-phrase this understanding of well-formedness in the terms of the preceding chapters, we arrive at the following arguments: through engaging in ausbau and the creation of well-formedness, both of which are modulated by a concomitant development of a sense of literary style, the literizer shapes their oral vernacular into a *scriptus*. The multiple varieties of their oral vernacular are based around the intonation unit (IU); in contexts of communicative distance, speakers create more lexically dense, integrated utterances by lay-

[7]The derived noun *Satzförmigkeit* refers to the quality of being constitutive of a complete clause or sentence.

ering IUs onto one another and linking them implicitly through parallelism and more explicitly through deictic particles. According to Koch and Oesterreicher, however, shaping one's vernacular into a *scriptus* also involves creating larger discourse units akin to complete clauses and sentences. If I have convinced you, the reader, that the basic unit of immediacy and distance oral vernaculars was the IU, then Koch and Oesterreicher's introduction of *Satzförmigkeit* as a goal of ausbau means that literizers may abandon the prosodically defined IU in favor of more syntactically defined units. On its face, this possibility makes some sense in the context of the literizing language's trajectory from existing only as sound, where prosody matters, to gaining a graphic presence, where prosody matters less. It would also be a logical consequence of a literizer drawing on the Latinate tradition of literacy, whose texts feature literary styles that diverge from the layered elaboration of the oral tradition and whose grammars point to means other than prosodic for the larger organization of linguistic output.

Clauses and sentences can feel inevitable not just for generativists, who might assume that both are part of an innate human grammar, but for speakers of the literized modern Germanic languages where one finds clauses aplenty and is conditioned to look for them in their textual antecedents. Leaving aside the question of whether the development of clauses and sentences is a universally inevitable consequence of literization and ausbau, the history of a written German indicates that, at the very least, clauses and clause complexes provided an effective domain for the literization of its oral vernacular. With this statement I point to the following proposal: over the course of the development of a written German, literizers coalesced around the clause and clause complex as the primary domains in order to create functional written languages that could meet all of the requirements of a fully dislocated communicative distance. To reiterate a point I made in this chapter's introduction, I fully acknowledge that modern linguists have no trouble finding collocations that will fit their conceptualization of clauses or sentences in historical data. However, the ease with which they can find such constructions might well say more about their own literacy and internalized norms of a written well-formedness than it does about the *scriptus* itself and the literizer's process of creating it. I elaborate this argument in the sections to follow.

In §7.2, I discussed some significant figures identified in the classical discourse on rhetoric. Koch and Oesterreicher, I noted, called these constructions ill-formed with respect to ausbau because they were not *satzförmig*. The Greeks and Romans would have characterized those same constructions as ill-formed only if used in compositions where it would have been considered poor style to have conceptually oral constructions. In this section, I discuss some examples of constructions from modern languages that are more ill-formed than the examples of

aposiopesis and anacolutha discussed in Koch & Oesterreicher (1994). Those constructions, though not evincing complete clauses or sentences, still had a level of coherence that make them functional in certain literary styles of composition, especially the two styles that invoke orality in text (Oesterreicher 1997), the mimesis of spoken language and the plain prose style. I venture that no one would consider the fragmented and disjointed utterances of the next section appropriate for writing in any literary style. In these examples one must become a more active editor of the attested data in order to create sequences of words that fit modern conceptualizations of clauses and clause complexes or even coherent constituents. My hope here is to highlight how scholarly treatments of modern spoken data parallels our treatment of historical data in some important ways. Chief among these is how structurally oriented linguists are reluctant to analyze spoken varieties of immediacy and historical *scripti* that reflect the prosodically driven organization of exclusively oral varieties on their own terms. Instead, they have approached both types of data with the assumption that a structure or competence underlies all attestations, including the well-formed written ones that were consciously shaped across generations of literization and ausbau. I propose that it is these latter ausbau structures that structuralists have tended to adopt as the underlying structure.

7.3.1 Speakers produce discourse units, while literizers create clauses

I have taken the first two ill-formed constructions from Miller & Weinert (1998: 60), These examples demonstrate that spoken utterances, especially those that are spontaneously produced, can show what may seem like surprising levels of disjointedness and incoherence when transcribed into the graphic medium.[8] In this first example, note the absence of complete clauses and clause complexes.

(1) no if we can get Louise/ I mean her mother and father/ Louise's parents would give us/they've got a big car and keep the mini for the week// but Louise isnae too keen on the idea so …

In (1), clauses are incomplete and are not integrated into clause complexes. For example, the non-finite complement that would complete the clause, 'if we can get Louise …,' remains unexpressed, while the clause, "Louise's parents would

[8]It is important to remember, as I argued in Chapter 3 and Chapter 4 that linguistic production in contexts of immediacy are both shaped by and suited to their context. It is when we transpose such language into the graphic medium that their disjointedness and incoherence become particularly evident.

give us,' has no object complement. In fact, the utterance contains not one single, complete main clause-subordinate clause complex. The second example, from Sornicola's (1981) study of spoken Neapolitan, is even less coherent than the one in (1).

(2) programmi che (pause) per i bambini (pause) [...] a l'indomani (pause)
vedono (pause) guardono (pause) per la scuola
programmi che per i bambini a l'indomana
programs that for the children for tomorrow
vedono guardono per la scuola
they.see they.watch for the school

As I discussed in §4.3.2, this spoken utterance is notable for its discontinuities, which undermine the establishing of any syntagmatic relations. It does not contain any grammatically and syntagmatically coherent constituents, clauses, or clause complexes. Instead of "coherently organized pieces of syntax," one finds a "juxtaposition of information blocks" (Miller & Weinert 1998: 60).

One final example of how spoken language can be disjointed and lack coherent constituents is from the Santa Barbara Corpus of Spoken American English. (3) is a transcription of a lecture delivered in a Chicano Studies class at the University of California, Riverside. The utterances are organized into IUs, indicated through ellipses.

(3) … Well,
… if we remember .. our Chicano history,
… my point,
as we get into the whole question of Chicano political participation,
%is that,
(H) … it's difficult,
.. for us as Chicanos,
.. as we get into it,
… to understand,
… why is it,
.. including ourselves,
.. because a lot of Chicanos don't even understand why we don't vote,
.. why don't we participate,
.. and they come up with all kinds of (H) somewhat superficial analysis,
… that,

.. m=uch of our political behavior,
... is a product of what ... was covered in this class,
.. under history,
(H) and culture,
and what did I say.
... Two.
... major currents,
... of history,
... two .. major currents of political culture,
... right?

This more extended spoken utterance was not spontaneously produced in conversation, like the data from Miller & Weinert (1998). Instead, though it seems to be delivered extemporaneously, the language to some extent was probably prepared beforehand. Furthermore, this speech was delivered publicly as a university lecture on an academic topic. This context falls on the 'distance' end of the continuum, the opposite pole to more private conversations among intimates or friends. Finally, though the lecturer is not identified, university lectures are usually given by people with at least a college degree and, more likely, those with advanced degrees. This supposition indicates that the speaker already had a long engagement with literacy, including the norms of Standard American English. Yet, note the discontinuities in clauses and clause complexes. For example, "my point" is a constituent that remains unintegrated into any clausal structure. The subordinate clause "if we remember our Chicano history" is never paired with a main clause to create a complete clause complex. Finally, the clause complex "it's difficult for us as Chicanos, as we get into it, to understand, why is it ..." contains a discontinuity in how the expected non-finite clause 'why it is (that Chicanos don't vote)' is phrased as question ("Why is it that ...?") that is never brought to satisfactory completion.

As I discussed in Chapter 4, the examples of spoken language in (1), (2), and (3) are shaped by, suited to, and functional in the contexts in which they were produced. This statement holds despite the fact that they fall short of written norms of well-formedness. It is when we replicate spoken utterances in the dislocated space of the written page, a domain that requires a lexical and grammatical explicitness that is unnecessary and unachievable in the spoken domain, that the differences between spoken and written varieties become glaringly apparent. These examples also serve to remind us that even highly literate people like university lecturers can and do produce constructions when speaking that fall short of the

well-formedness norms created through ausbau and internalized over a lifetime of engagement with literacy. In these cases, they are not communicating sloppily or badly. Rather they are simply communicating in the phonic medium and are, therefore, subject to its particular pressures and constraints. I would even venture to argue that the students listening to the lecture on Chicano history excerpted in (3) understood more than if lecturer had written a text ahead of time and read it out loud. This would particularly be true if, when writing the text, the lecturer ignored the fact that the text would be delivered orally. That is, the spoken delivery of a written text shaped by the context of distance will be less functional, as a room full of sleeping or confused students would undoubtedly confirm.

Of course, people who are educated and practiced in a written ausbau language have little problem turning the disjointed and incoherent blocks of syntax in these same examples into language that meets standards of well-formedness and is the most functional in written distance contexts (4).

(4) a. No. Louise's parents have got a big car. If we can get them to give us the big car and if they would take the Mini for the week [we could all travel by car together]. But Louise is not too keen on the idea, so [we will not be traveling in the big car].

b. programmi che i bambini vedono perché sono loro utili
programs that the children see because they.are to.them useful
per la scuola il giorno dopo
for the school the day after

c. Bearing in mind Chicano history and the question of Chicano political participation, it can be difficult to understand why Chicanos don't vote. It is even difficult for us Chicanos to understand why we don't participate politically. Superficial analysis indicates that our political behavior is the product of two major currents: history and political culture.

In turning the spoken utterances into grammatically coherent constituents in (4), I propose that I acted like the middle school composition teacher I mentioned earlier in the chapter, who adjusts, reorganizes, and augments a student's more orally influenced writing so that it conforms to the well-formedness standards of the written language. Where before there were fragmented, juxtaposed blocks of syntax, now there are logically and hierarchically arranged, coherently integrated constituents, clauses, and clause complexes. In examples (1) - (3), I can easily find subjects predicates and can also put them together to form clauses

and clause complexes. My argument is simply that I can gain a more complete understanding of the speakers' linguistic output if I consider how they mapped their cognition onto prosodic units, as I discuss in Chapter 6, rather than focus solely on the structure of the underlying competence.

Because of the notable differences between spoken utterances, especially those produced in immediacy contexts, and the well-formed written language of distance contexts, Miller & Weinert (1998: 26–27) argue that the former should not be understood as a failed attempt at the latter. They cite the following passage from Heath (1985: 108).

> There has been a recurrent tendency in much syntactic research to distinguish between an underlying, rather crystalline 'grammar,' which then interacts in real speech with a distinct outer 'psycholinguistic' component, the latter being especially concerned with short-term memory limitations, linear ordering of major clause constituents, resolution of surface ambiguities, etc.

Heath's quote describes what linguists ought not to do with spoken language data. That is, do not assume that the well-formed clauses and clause complexes of the written variety are competence, and the syntactically more fragmented and disjointed utterances, the imperfect performance of this competence. If one does, one runs the risk of not accounting for the actual spoken data. The idea of the crystalline, underlying grammar is similarly problematic from the perspective of literacy education. Returning yet again to middle school composition class, consider a student there whose writing reflects linguistic production that is shaped by contexts of immediacy in that it, for example, features ambiguous constructions, sentence fragments, and run-on sentences. It takes years of literacy education to learn how to write good, clear prose (with clearly delineated and complete clause complexes). Most learners, in fact, do not reach that level of mastery. What are the structures that comprise their competence? Should they include the well-formed clauses or clause complexes that the language user never realizes in any medium?

These arguments apply particularly to the early *scripti* of a language, for which there will not yet be any established norms of written well-formedness. Literization itself involves both the cultivation of ideas of well-formedness and the concomitant process of ausbau through which writers, first individually, then on a societal level, creatively shape their vernacular in order to effect a well-formed, distance-appropriate, and -functional written variety. Unlike the lecturer on Chicano history in (3), the ninth-century German vernacular literizer has not benefited from a lifetime of education in and engagement with an established written

standard language. The linguistic intuitions they have access to are shaped by and suited to the phonic medium. Ausbau structures designed to bridge the functional gap between the phonic and graphic medium are just being worked out, literizer by literizer and for the first time. It is, for example, likely that the ausbau structures in an early *scriptus* are not as coherent and consistently executed as the those that eventually find their way into a standard language, which emerges centuries later and is the product of a collective, society-wide effort. Linguists must examine the historical data with these contexts in mind and treat the early *scripti* of a language as artifacts of this whole context and not just of an underlying crystalline, to use Heath's word, grammar. Furthermore, I argue that if we consider the historical data without the full context of their creation in mind, we run the risk of mistaking our own literacy-based notions of well-formedness for competence. Thus, in looking for that competence in the data, we are, in fact, anachronistically shaping them to fit this competence, not unlike the middle school composition teacher who corrects a student's writing according to their own internalized sense of how written language ought to be.

7.3.2 Are clauses and sentences universal syntactic categories?

The arguments I have offered in this chapter so far indicate how I intend to answer the question posed in this section's title: I propose that clauses and sentences (or clause complexes) are creations of literization and ausbau. Orally organized language produced entirely in the phonic medium has similar units, but their production is based around the convergence of cognition and sound. Their organizational logic differs from that of the clause, for example, which sets structural requirements for its construction. By this statement I specifically mean that clauses and sentences are written ideals that people establish through literization and, specifically ausbau; they are not inherent parts of a human competence. These clausal ideals can and do become cognitively real templates for some people's linguistic production; this eventuality holds for those who attain some level of literacy and will especially apply to their production of written language. It makes the least amount of sense to assume the existence of Heath's crystalline grammar based around clauses and sentences for the first *scripti* of an exclusively oral vernacular, for which literizers are only beginning to work out what could constitute written well-formedness. My claim that sentences are not part of a universal competence might strike the reader as less controversial than claiming the same thing for the clause. In this section, I argue that the case for the clause's universality rests on similar shaky ground to that for the sentence's. The structure of an individual clause is also dependent on how one assesses the extent to

which it is integrated into other clauses in its orbit. Hence, how one analyzes the structure of sentences affects one's analysis of the structure of the clause. If one category is universal, it stands to reason that the other one would also have to be universal.

In this book, I have used 'sentence' and 'clause complex' interchangeably. In the literature, however, it seems that linguists will use one or other depending on whether they see groups of clauses as discourse units, in which case 'sentence' seems to be the preferred term, or as syntactic units, in which case 'clause complex' is used. For example, Halliday (1989: 82-9) attempts a syntactic definition of clause sequences that can apply to the spoken language, a unit that he calls the 'clause complex.' The term 'sentence,' on the other hand, connotes considerations of rhetorical choice and style (which are generally not considered elements of grammar). Miller & Weinert (1998: 32–33) differentiates the two as follows:

> Clauses occur singly and in complexes, and clause and clause complexes are indispensable concepts for the study of both spoken and written syntax. Sentences in written language developed from the desire to mark clause-complexes; the initial capital letter of the first word in a clause-complex and the full stop following the final word signal which clauses the writer wants the reader to construe as interconnected. Of course, clauses are also interconnected in spoken language […]; the difference is that interconnectedness is not signaled by adjacency nor even by the relevant clauses occurring in the same turn (of conversation) or under the same intonation contour (in narrative).

Thus, Miller and Weinert see sentences as features of the written language: they result from writers visually marking the boundaries between clause complexes, and these orthographic decisions are a matter of rhetorical style. Clause complexes, they argue, are present in the spoken language, but as larger discourse units, the boundaries of which are only loosely signaled.[9]

In support of this argument, they present examples of sentences from different cultures and historical periods, noting that how writers construct them and where they place sentence boundaries is neither static nor uniform. Rather these characteristics vary from one text genre to another and from one writer to another (Miller & Weinert 1998:41). An example of prose writing from the seventeenth-century Pepys's Diary (5) illustrates this point.

[9]The language of a speaker who is reading from a prepared text may have well-formed, complete sentences. That is, the more planned the spoken language and the more practiced the speaker in writing, the more likely it is that one hears well-formed sentences.

(5) to Whitehall to the Duke, who met us in his closett; and there he did desire of us to know what hath been the common practice about makeing of forrayne ships to strike sail to us: which they did all do as much as they could, but I could say nothing to it, which I was sorry for; so endeed, I was forced to study a lie; and so after we were gone from the Duke, I told Mr Conventry that I had heard Mr Selden often say that he could prove that in Henry the 7ths time he did give commission to his captains to make the King of Denmark's ships to strike him in the Baltique.

Latham's (Pepys 1978: 34) editing of the text brings the excerpt more in line with modern orthographic conventions. For example, the editor replaced Pepys's dashes, which he used to mark boundaries within sentences with semi-colons. While Pepys's writing indicates an awareness of phrases and clauses, as well as larger discourse units, more invasive editing would be required to carve out the prototypical sentences of modern English with its main finite clauses and coordinated and/or subordinated final clauses.

The development of Latin prose provides additional illustrations of how writers in different cultures and historical periods shape their sentences differently. For example, Palmer (1954: 119) describes how early Latin texts show a "naïve juxtaposition of simple sentences." Over time, however, writers created a more integrated prose style comprising carefully constructed clause complexes of main and subordinate clauses, which is to say, sentences. Where these sentence breaks occur also changes over time and differs from where, for example, a writer of modern English prose would place them. For example, Miller & Weinert (1998: 43) note that Latin relative clauses did not need to be orthographically marked as belonging to the sentence of some matrix clause. Consider the lines in (6).

(6) a. ergo telis undique obruitur
then with.weapons from everywhere it is showered

b. confossoque eo in vehiculum Porus imponitur
having been transfixed it in carriage Porus is placed

c. **Quem** rex ut vidit … miseratione commotus … inquit
whom the king when he saw … by.pity moved … he said

d. Quae amentia te coegit … belli fortunam experiri
What madness you moved … of.war the fortune to.try

e. cum Taxilis esset … tibi exemplum
when of.Taxilis was … to.you the example

'Then it [the elephant] was showered with weapons from all sides. When it was dead, Porus was placed in a carriage. When the king saw

> him … moved by pity … he said: 'What madness made you try the fortunes of war when you had the example of Taxiles? (Quintus Curtius Rufus)

'Quem' in (6) c. is a relative pronoun, but its clause is orthographically marked as belonging to a separate sentence. This sort of construction is a regular feature of classical Latin, according to Miller and Weinert, and was even considered good style. As an indefinite deictic, they further note, *quem* could point to referents within and across clause and sentence boundaries.

Miller & Weinert's (1998: 44-5) presentation of the temporal and cultural variability in sentence construction is consistent with the ideas of syntactic ausbau I laid out in Chapter 4 and the development of a written well-formedness. The authors emphasize that the sentences in different writing traditions result from "conscious effort, unlike changes in spontaneous spoken language." Similarly, syntactic ausbau as I have defined it is the human-directed elaboration of once exclusively oral varieties so that they may function in the new, fully dislocated contexts that writing itself creates. Sentences result from language ausbau, whose aim is to create more grammatically and semantically coherent language, and well-formedness, which involves assessing potential ausbau structures in terms of both coherence and appropriateness. In the case of a language's first *scripti*, there are no vernacular norms surrounding how smaller linguistic units might be integrated into larger ones in the written domain. Each writer must work out for themselves how to structure their sentences. As the project of language literization progresses, writers develop a series of norms surrounding sentence construction. These norms can and do change over time. These conventions of a literized ausbau language are not innate. They must first be created; then they must be accepted on a broader, community- or society-wide level; finally, they must be taught.

The argument that writers create systems of clausal organization through conscious language ausbau connects to a broader scholarly discourse concerned with whether linguistic typologies can be taken for granted as crosslinguistic formal categories and which categories should be regarded as universal.[10] This narrative indicates that sentences are not a universal or innate formal category. If they were, they should be evident in all varieties of linguistic production. But as works like Miller & Weinert (1998) demonstrate, they are largely absent in spontaneously spoken syntax. Though the researcher can certainly identify or find sentences in the data, they are actually creating sentences based on their

[10] Newmeyer (2007), who argues for the necessity of syntactic categories for linguistic typology, provides a succinct overview of the discourse.

own ideas well-formedness, which themselves are informed by literacy. Mithun (2005: 180) expounds this view and also alludes to the consequences of assuming the presence of a sentence in data where it does not actually exist.

> Our view of the sentence as a distinctive, static, even innate category may be overly simplistic, perhaps colored by the norms of European literacy. Most of us are all too familiar with the run-on sentences typical of early student papers; in many cases, the structure of the sentence is something that must be taught. If our syntactic analyses are based uniquely on written renditions of single sentences constructed or elicited in isolation through translation, we may miss some of the subtleties of the syntactic structures we are trying to understand, as well as the forces that create them.

In the next section, I illustrate Mithun's point using data from the *Hêliand*, and demonstrate how scholars have typically approached such early data with patterns of a literate well-formedness in mind.

But what of the clause? As I have already indicated, linguists do not find it as easy to let go of the clause as a universal feature of a human competence. Consider Miller & Weinert (1998) as an example. The authors present convincing arguments in favor of the sentence's status as a culturally and diachronically variable discourse unit. Yet, they are constrained by their insistence of one competence or "language system" that underlies all linguistic production, from the most spontaneously spoken utterances to the most planned written varieties of a language. "Language behavior" is the variable production in the spoken and written media, and the vast differences between competence and performance are a matter of degree of complexity,[11] rather than of fundamentally different organizational principles (pages 28-31). So, it makes sense that the authors settle on the clause as the basic unit of grammar, rather than the sentence. Namely, it is difficult to assume the sentence as a universal syntactic category, when it is largely absent in the spoken data, especially its more spontaneous varieties. Clauses, however, are easier to find—or pick out, I would say—in written and spoken data. Furthermore, they argue, it is the "locus of the densest dependency and distributional properties, although a few dependency relations cross clause boundaries, and although, in written language, a few dependency relations cross sentence boundaries" (Miller & Weinert 1998: 46, 50).

[11]Though see §3.3.1, where I argue that "complexity" is an analytically vacuous concept that does not reference anything that cannot be more accurately and neutrally captured by the term "integration."

Miller and Weinert's decision to treat the clause as a universal category of syntax, however, is inconsistent with the spoken language data they themselves present or their own characterization of these data. For example, they acknowledge that spoken language, especially its more spontaneous varieties, often exhibits neither neatly integrated clause complexes, nor, in fact, well composed clauses, i.e., that meet the minimal standard for a clause. Instead, spoken language, especially when produced in contexts of immediacy, features "blocks of syntax with little or no syntactic linkage" (page 28). Sornicola's (1981: 20-34) data from spoken Neapolitan, which Miller & Weinert (1998) reference to illustrate how fragmented spoken syntax can be, is a good example of this more disjointed syntax. Sornicola's conclusion is that many spontaneous spoken utterances are not "coherently organized pieces of syntax," as Miller and Weinert put it, replete with fully integrated constituents and logically arranged subjects and predicates. Rather they are juxtaposed "information blocks" (page 60). Is assuming that the clause is the basic unit of an underlying competence for these orally organized utterances any more warranted than assuming neatly integrated sentences as part of the same competence? Might we be *creating* a coherently and structurally organized underlying competence, rather than *uncovering* one. And, in focusing on structure, are we perhaps neglecting to account for linguistic production itself? Miller and Weinert seem to indicate that creating a clause by, to paraphrase the authors on page 30, picking out verbs and complements is justifiable. For the authors, the clause that the analyzer pieces together out of disjointed phrases is what the speaker intended but, for presumably performance-related reasons, failed to produce. Similarly, this cobbled together clause would be what the interlocutor puts together. I prefer to view the production and processing of orally organized varieties of immediacy as shaped or determined by, not to mention suited to, their communicative context rather than hindered by it.

This contradiction in Miller and Weinert's presentation of spoken language leads us to another related one: their acknowledgment that fragmented "blocks of syntax with little or no syntactic linkage" are functional in their contexts (Miller & Weinert 1998: 60-1)[12] but also "requir[e] from the listener a larger than usual exercise of inference based on contextual and world knowledge" (Miller & Weinert 1998: 28). In other words, they imply that such spoken utterances are unmarked but sometimes perhaps also marked and more difficult for listeners to process, presumably because they are constructing more coherent clause-like structures out of them. I think these inconsistencies result from Miller and Weinert's discomfort with the theoretical implications of taking the more fragmented,

[12] See §3.3.1 for a more extended discussion of Miller and Weinert's argument.

spontaneously spoken data at face value. They are prepared to dispense with the sentence as a universal syntactic category, but not the clause. In that it is less disruptive to many modern theories of syntax to assume that spoken and written language are fundamentally the same with the same underlying competence, their reluctance is understandable. It might have perhaps struck the reader that the intonation unit introduced in my chapter 6 aligns with Miller and Weinert's description of "blocks of syntax." I see them as the same basic linguistic unit, simply described from different perspectives. The prosodic description is definitional in that spoken language will be organized primarily along prosodic lines. But each IU naturally contains syntactic material, say, a constituent, and speakers link IUs with one another either implicitly or explicitly, as I discussed in chapter 6.

These ideas are consequential for how we approach historical syntax, especially data that stem from the first attestations of a language. When one examines historical German data, for example, one will have little difficulty finding clauses that appear to conform to modern parameters. For modern German those parameters can be clearly mapped out with the topological field model (see, for example, Wöllstein-Leisten et al. 1997: 53-4).

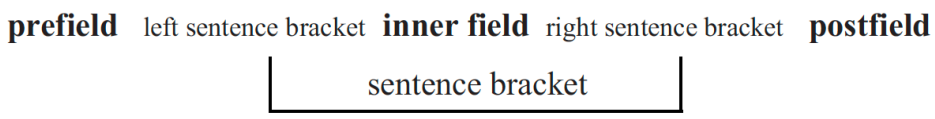

Figure 7.1: The Topological Field Model of the modern German clause

These two samples from the *Hêliand* and the *Evangelienbuch*, respectively, contain some data that are consistent with the field model's template for modern German, other data that are not.

(7) a. Tho habda eft is uuord garu mahtig barn godes
then had in turn his answer ready powerful child God.GEN
endi uuid is moder sprac
and with his mother spoke
'Then (he) had his word ready in turn, the mighty child of God, and spoke with his mother' (*Hêliand*, 2023b-24)

b. Spráh tho zi iru súazo ther ira sún zeizo
spoken then to her sweetly the her son precious

sconen wórton ubar ál so sun zi múater sca
beautiful words.DAT.PL in every respect as son to mother should
'The precious son then spoke sweetly to her with beautiful words, in every respect, as a son should (speak) to his mother' (Otfrid, II 8 15-16)

Table 7.1: (7) in the Topological Field Model

	prefield	left bracket	inner field	right bracket	postfield
a.	tho	habda	[eft] [is uuord] [garu]		[mahtig barn godes]
b. endi			[uuid is moder]	sprac	
c.		Spráh	[tho] [zi iru] [súazo] [ther ira sún zeizo] [sconen wórton] [ubar ál]		
d.		so	[sun] [zu múater]	scal	

Before discussing how well these clauses conform to the field model's template, I acknowledge that one could quibble with certain decisions that I made. For example, my placement of '*mahtig barn godes*' (Table 7.1a.) in the postfield might be controversial. If one wants to assume modern German patterns in early German data, then this subject noun phrase, as the predicate's external argument, should have been the first constituent of the inner field, as '*sun*' is in Table 7.1d. Of course, one could assume the scrambling of arguments in the inner field as a way to explain '*mahtig barn godes*' appearing as the last constituent of the inner field, rather than placing it outside of the bounds of the sentence bracket, that is, in the extraclausal postfield. The conjunction '*endi*' (Table 7.1b.) occurs in the leftmost extraclausal position, sometimes called the pre-prefield. This is

the structural slot that in generative analyses would be the landing site of any left dislocated constituents. My assigning of '*sprac*' to the right bracket rather than the left, reflects the fact that '*uuid is moder*,' the verb's complement occurs to the finite verb's left and not to the right, where one would expect it in modern German.

Here are my takeaways from this example of mapping historical data onto modern templates. First, one can fit the clauses into the template, a result that is not too surprising because many of the basic elements that people today associate with clauses are present, namely, subjects and predicates. However, the process of mapping the template onto the data involves some degree of fitting round pegs into square holes. The inner field in Table 7.1c., for example, contains six separate constituents, which is more than the three slots that the topological field model usually allocates to it. The placement of '*mahtig barn godes*' requires the analyzer to also work creatively with the template, as does the entirety of Table 7.1b., whose finite verb '*sprach*' seems to appear in the right bracket, though the left bracket is unfilled. The only example in table 7.1 in which the data easily fit the template is d.

I would also like to highlight the extent to which one must appeal to positions that are not considered part of the clause proper when working with historical data, that is, the 'pre-prefield' and the 'postfield.' For example, Sapp's (2011: 24) study of verb cluster phenomena in the history of German demonstrates that extraposition occurs about 21% of the time in his dataset of subordinate clauses drawn from medieval German prose texts. The author notes on the same page that extraposition rates, that is, the frequency at which constituents occur outside the clause's boundaries in the postfield, was high enough that Lehmann (1971: 19) argued that the basic template of the German clause was different from how it is represented in the topological field model.[13] In structuralist oriented approaches, like the topological field model and generative frameworks like X-bar theory, constituents that cannot be incorporated within the clausal template in figure 7.1 are characterized as 'extraclausal.' They are assumed to be generated within the clause and then are moved beyond its boundaries. These statements apply also to spoken language data, especially those produced in immediacy, rather than distance, contexts, where people with even excellent command of standard language norms are liable to produce non-standard forms. Recall the example of left dislocation from §4.3.2, reproduced here as (8).

[13] Sapp's (2011) conclusion that medieval German was a subject-object-verb (SOV) language is in line most other studies of historical German syntax, like Axel (2007), Axel-Tober (2012), Lenerz (1984), Lenerz (1985), among many others. Lehmann (1971), however, for an SVO clause structure.

(8) ja und **dies-en Flusslauf** dem folgen wir jetzt
yes and this-ACC river.course DAT.DET follow we now
'yes and this river course, we will follow it now'
(from Miller & Weinert 1998: 240)

pre-prefield	prefield	left bracket	inner field	right bracket	postfield
[ja] [und] [diesen Flusslauf]	dem	folgen	[wir] [jetzt]		

The integrity of the template is maintained only by scholars assuming the movement of constituents—*ja*, *und* and *diesen Flusslauf*—from their supposedly real, underlying position in the clause to some other position that is defined only by *not* being part of the clause. Countering that the pre-prefield and the postfield could be considered clausal positions in their own right strikes me as a somewhat disingenuous argument. These structural slots are generally occupied only by constituents that are not generated there but have been displaced from their underlying position for pragmatic reasons. That is, these extraclausal positions are treated as the exceptions that prove the rule of the basic clausal structure, rather than as evidence that speaks against what has been assumed to be the underlying structure in the first place.

In sum, my argument is not that early German data contain no surface order patterns or structures that resemble well-formed clauses by the standards of modern linguists, who look for elements such as subjects and predicates. Rather it is that our finding the clauses in the data by mapping them onto modern templates is not the same as those templates being the actual structure that underlie and can explain all linguistic production in the *scripti*. Considering all the various sociocultural factors I have discussed in this book so far, as well as the innovative literization process itself, it does not make sense to focus all our scholarly attention on identifying an early German competence. In the paragraphs that follow, I consider how the state of syntactic thought at the time the first German *scripti* were produced could have influenced the ausbau choices a literizer made. Their job was to shape their orally organized vernacular, which is structured around IUs, into structural units that more suitable for a graphic medium. So, how might the popular late Latin grammars of the day have affected a German literizer's reconceptualization of these discourse units, especially if that literizer decided to forge a new literary path that was distinct from their oral varieties of distance, as was the case for Otfrid von Weissenburg? Of particular interest is Donatus' *Ars Maior* and Priscian's *Institutiones Grammaticae*. Not only were the works themselves widely read and used among those educated in Latin and interested in *grammatica*, they were also an influence on important Carolingian thinkers, like Alcuin, as well as countless other anonymous scholars who wrote commentaries on Donatus and Priscian (Luhtala 1993: 145). The questions with which we

might approach these sources is the following: How had classical writers conceptualized the clause? Is there any indication that they thought of clauses in any way like the way modern syntacticians have come to conceptualize early German clauses? If the answer is yes, then the possibility that Otfrid shaped his *scriptus* into structural patterns that match modern conceptualizations of the clause becomes less remote. This finding would be interesting in the direct connection it would establish between classical linguistic thought and the conceptualization of a written German.

Of the two works, Priscian's *Institutiones Grammaticae* stands out as the more exceptional in that its seventeenth volume is entirely dedicated to syntax, something no other work to which the Carolingians had access purported to do (Luhtala 1993: 146). This does not mean that Donatus did not comment on the larger units of language that generally fall under the purview of syntax. However, as we will see just below, Donatus' approach to syntax is much different from how modern scholars approach the subject. Even Priscian's syntax-focused writings differ significantly from modern syntax and offers no definition of a clause or of the relationships between clausal constituents that we would recognize today as syntactic definitions. None of this is surprising; Schönberger notes in the article appended to his 2010 German translation of Priscian's volume, that classical syntactic thought was not so advanced to have, for example, analyzed the functional roles of the different parts of speech, that is, grammatical relations (page 497). He also offers a brief comment that I interpret as reminiscent of the point of view for which I advocate here: "Axiomatic positings (*axiomatische Setzungen*), to which we [i.e., language users] are oblivious, underlie today's grammars of the old Indo-European languages" (page 497). The grammars of older languages should remind us that there are other ways to approach grammatical structure than our modern theoretically informed methodologies and that categories that we think of as universal or give, say, the clause, might in fact not be. But instead Schönberger's quote implies that we have instead based our study of these languages around "axiomatic positings."

Donatus' treatment of syntax in the *Ars Maior* focuses on Latin's parts of speech, which according to Priscian (2010: 497), is characteristic of classical syntactic thought generally. Thus, his aim was to provide comprehensive descriptions of the different parts of speech, i.e., nouns, verbs, pronouns, conjunctions, etc. Comprehensiveness in this regard entailed determining all possible '*Akzidentien*,' or properties associated with each category. The purpose of these investigations was didactic and prescriptive. The goal was not to engage with these concepts from a theoretical point of view (Priscian 2010: 497). The details of Donatus' presentation of grammar indicate that people still conceptualized language

in phonic terms, that is, as an *essentially* oral phenomenon. For example, he begins his treatment of grammar with the smallest units of language, sound and defines these sounds in prosodic rather than phonetic terms; he lists syllables, metrical feet, syllable weight, and syllable stress as properties of sound (see pages 15; 21-37).[14]

Donatus moves on to discuss larger units of language, which he also approaches from the perspective of sound. He names the three larger units of language: the cola, the commata, and the sentence (1.6., page 39 in Schönberger), but defines them only in terms of the three types of 'breaks' or 'interruptions' that occur between them: *die Pause*, *der Einschnitt*, and *die Atempause* (page 37). The largest units of speech, i.e., sentences or periods, are divided by *Pausen* 'pauses' (1.6.1.1). Donatus offers no comment on how to define sentences, but we know that in general the Greeks and Romans defined them in terms of sound and meaning Harrison (2007: 292). Recalling my discussion in §6.3.3, for example, Aristotle offers a definition of periods in chapter 9 of his third book in *On Rhetoric*, though it is unsatisfyingly vague by modern standards. According to Aristotle, a period contains a complete thought and has a clear beginning and end. He also, however, indicates a rhythmic definition.

> I call a *period* an expression having a beginning and an end in itself and a magnitude early taken in at a glance. Such a style is pleasant and easily understood, pleasant because opposed to the unlimited and because the hearer always thinks he has hold of something, in that it is always limited by itself, whereas to have nothing to foresee or attain is unpleasant. And it is easily understood because easily retained in the mind. This is because utterance in periods has number, which is the most easily retained thing. Thus, all people remember verse better than prose; for it has number by which it is measured. But a period should also be complete in thought and not cut off, as it is in iambic lines.

As Kennedy (Aristotle 2007: 214) notes in his comments on this passage, the period is a rhythmical unit in that it "has magnitude, is limited, and has number." Its rhythmic nature prompts Aristotle to compare the period with a line of verse. The period also contains a "complete thought," which indicates a semantic definition, though admittedly not a precise one. The *Atempause*, literally 'breath-pause' (1.6.1.3, Priscian 2010: 39) is the "intermediate" break that occurs when "about half of the sentence is left, but one needs to take a breath." Finally, the *Einschnitt*

[14] All citations of Donatus' *Ars Maior* come from Schönberger's German translation (Donatus 2009). I am responsible for the English translations.

'break' (1.6.1.2, Priscian 2010: 39) occurs when not much sentence is left, yet the speaker or reader still finds it necessary to pause their speech. Donatus finally links these intermediate breaks to the cola and commata, noting that the cola whose boundaries are marked by the *Atempause* is the larger unit within the period, while the commata, which is demarcated by the *Einschnitt*, is the smaller unit.

Harrison (2007: 292) indicates that Donatus' treatment of these larger linguistic units largely represents how the classical grammarians and rhetoricians thought about clausal syntax. This is to say that their approach does not much resemble modern approaches to the same, which is perhaps why works like Luhtala (1993) state that the Carolingians were largely bereft of any classical syntactic treatises, with the notable exception of Priscian. Donatus' discussion of clausal syntax is not a syntactic approach by our standards, but it does indicate how people approached the topic of larger linguistic units: they saw them as a prosodic rather than structural phenomenon. Phrased another way, classical grammarians *did* write about syntax. They simply approached the topic in a way that reflected a more conceptually oral and less literate orientation toward language. Such an orientation makes sense if one considers the possibility that these discussions are part of the ausbau of, in Donatus' case, Latin and that Latin was also still, importantly, an oral phenomenon in the communities in which it was used. Just as Donatus' definitions of the smaller units of language were prosodic so too are his definitions of the larger units, and he highlights their intonational, not structural, boundaries. So, the fact that constituents like clauses and phrases were not self-evident to classical grammarians, does not mean that they did not discuss syntax. It simply means that they approached syntax in terms that made more sense to them than they do to modern scholars.

Priscian's volume on syntax is a step closer to, but still falls well short of, a more modern understanding of syntax. He approaches the grammar of Latin in the traditional way. Like Donatus, for example, Priscian identifies the smallest units of language as sounds and syllables (see pages 27-9 of Schönberger's translation, Priscian 2010). He also discusses the different parts of speech, as other classical treatments do. Priscian's terminology for the larger units of language are vague: he refers to the sentence as "*oratio*," which can be translated as anything from 'speech,' 'discourse,' or 'language' to 'clause' or 'sentence.' Just as Donatus' period, cola, and commata cannot be reliably linked to any modern notions of 'clause' or 'sentence,' Priscian's 'orationis' is a general referent pointing to larger units of language. However, Priscian also expresses interest in determining *how* the parts of speech link together to form a complete 'sentence,' which he asserts is a necessary discourse for the "composition of all authors"

(*expositionem*, Priscian 2010: 27). How do parts of speech connect in a sentence then? To answer this question, the modern syntactician would surely talk about grammatical relations. For example, nouns take on different functions in a clause: e.g., subject, object, and indirect object. Grammatical relations is how modern syntacticians understand cohesion within utterances. The more cohesive the utterance, the more people are processing all uttered constituents in terms of the role they play within a particular discourse. Priscian, however, finds cohesion in utterances through philosophical concepts, in particular Aristotelian categories (Luhtala 1993: 146).

Priscian's analysis leads him to an understanding of the clause/sentence—it is here where the German word *Satz*, which refers to both, is helpful—as minimally comprising nouns and verbs. He interprets the noun, in particular, as having primacy among the parts of speech, followed by the verb (pages 67-9 in the Schönberger translation). As Luhtala (1993: 146-7) states, the noun's importance stems from the fact that substance must precede action; thus, nouns must exist before verbs, and the verb is an *Akzident* or property of the substance, i.e., the noun. These ideas precede and foreshadow those of grammatical relations, subject-verb agreement, and clauses minimally comprising subjects and predicates, and one can see how these more modern concepts might emerge from Priscian's treatment. Luhtala (1993), in fact, argues that Carolingian commenters on Priscian and Donatus arrive at the concept of subjects and predicates in the later tenth century. However, when early German's first literizations start to appear, the state of grammatical thought in Carolingian Europe would not have included any notion of the functional, grammatical relations that existed between different parts of speech (see Schönberger's commentary in Priscian (2010: 495)).

Now imagine an early German literizer like Otfrid von Weissenburg consulting the *Ars Maior*, the seventeenth volume of Priscian's *Institutiones Grammaticae*, or any of the commentaries of these works for guidance on creating a *scriptus*. To remind the reader, I see Otfrid's task as one of how to effect syntactic ausbau or, in other words, how to create a more coherent variety of his spoken vernacular so that it can be more functional in the written medium. As I argued in Chapter 5, Otfrid would like to move his *scriptus* away from the trappings of the oral tradition and into the direction of becoming a great literary language, like Latin and Greek. This intention suggests that Otfrid was more inclined to pay attention to the linguistic prescriptions laid down by classical grammarians when reconceptualizing his vernacular for the graphic medium. We could hypothesize, then, that Otfrid would have aimed to avoid the unperiodic syntax of the oral tradition with its layered elaboration, which, as I demonstrated in chapter 6, does not yield clearly defined *Sätze* 'clauses/sentences.' The grammars

offer little on how to create coherence in language, however, and say nothing of the sort of grammatical coherence that a modern writer expects in a written language. What Otfrid had access to instead was ideas of prosodically and semantically defined discourse units along the lines of Donatus: *Sätze* comprise complete thoughts and are prosodically demarcated. Along the lines of Priscian, he would have learned that *Sätze* need nouns and verbs, first and foremost. Missing is any discussion of these parts of speech (or others) as syntactic categories, much less as sophisticated of a description of the *Satz* as one finds in, say, the topological field model. Also missing is any discussion of grammatical relations that would have helped Otfrid to understand words as syntactic constituents and, thus, the ways in which they relate to one another in an utterance. With little understanding of the 'syntax of a clause' as we understand it in modern terms, it would be entirely unreasonable to assume that any German literizer is conceptualizing the clause complex or sentence as a combination of clauses. If part of the challenge of early literization processes lies in reconceptualizing an orally organized language as structural units that function better in the graphic medium, then the guidance of the Latin grammars would not have directed writers anywhere close to the well-formed, grammatically coherent structures that we have been supposedly finding in the data for the past several decades.

In order to illustrate how classical prescriptions surrounding the creating of *Sätze* are evident in Otfrid's *scriptus*, I examine a short excerpt from the poet's retelling of the wedding feast in Cana, where Jesus performs his first miracle. Here is the corresponding Bible verse that relates this story. They comprise only two lines, John 2: 3-4.[15]

> 3 And when the wine failed, the mother of Jesus saith unto him, they have no wine.
> 4 And Jesus saith unto her, Woman, what have I to do with thee? Mine hour is not yet come.

Tatian's retelling of these lines in his Gospel Harmony hews closely to John's version. In (9), I gloss both the Latin and the German so that readers can compare the two.

[15]This translation is the American Standard Version of the Bible. You can access it here: https://www.biblegateway.com/passage/?search=john+2&version=ASV.

(9) & deficiente vino.' thó ziganganemo themo uúine
dicit mater Ihesu ad eum., quad thes heilantes muoter zi imo.
vinum non habent., sie nihabent uúin
& dicit ei Ihesus., thó quad iru ther heilant.
Quid tibi & mihi est, mulier? uuaz ist thih thes inti mih, uúib.
nondum venit hora mea., noh nú ni quam mín zít.
(81, 18-23 in Masser's (1994) edition of the Tatian)
& deficiente vino
and deficient.AB.SG.PARTC wine.AB.SG
dicit mater Ihesu.GEN ad eum
says mother Jesus to him
vinum non habent
wine NEG have.3.PL.PRES
& dicit ei Ihesus
and says this.NOM Jesus.NOM
Quid tibi & mihi est mulier
what to.you and to.me is woman
nondum venit hora mea
not.yet comes.PERF.IND hour my
thó ziganganemo themo uúine
then having exhausted.PART.DAT.SG.M the.DAT.SG wine.DAT.SG
quad thes heilantes muoter zi imo
said the.GEN savior.GEN mother to him
sie nihabent uúin
they NEG.have wine.ACC
thó quad iru ther heilant
then said her.DAT the.NOM savior.NOM
uuaz ist thih thes inti mih uúib
what is you.ACC this.GEN and me.ACC woman
noh nú ni quam mín zít
yet now NEG came.PRET my time/hour
'Then having exhausted the wine, the savior's mother said to him, they do not have wine. Then the savior said to her, what is this to you and me, woman? My time has not yet come.'

Compare now Tatian's version to Otfrid's. Note how the latter author reconceptualizes the passage from his own particular point of view. He expands the raw material in a way that emphasized what he thinks is important, which includes how he thinks the reader should interpret the lines.

Table 7.2: Otfrid, II 8, 11-24

	a-verse	b-verse
11	Thó zigiang thes lídes	joh brást in thar thes wínes
12	María thaz bihúgita	joh Kríste si iz giságeta
13	Ih scal thir ságen, min kínd	then híon filu hébig thing
14	theih míthon ouh nu wésta	thes wínes ist in brésta
15	Spráh tho zi iru súazo	ther ira sún zeizo
16	sconen wórton ubar ál	so sun zi múater scal
17	Wib, ih zéllu thir ein	waz drífit sulih zi úns zuein
18	ni quam min zít noh so frám	theih óuge weih fon thír nam
19	Sar so tház irscínit	waz mih fon thír rinit
20	so ist thir állan then dag	thaz hérza filu ríuag
21	Thaz thu zi mír nu quáti	inti eina klága es dati
22	mit gótkundlichen ráchon	scal man súlih machon
23	Thiu muater hórta thaz tho thár	si wéssa thoh in álawar
24	thaz íru thiu sin gúati	nirzígi thes siu báti

(10) Glossed version of II 8, 11-24
Thó zigiang thes lídes joh brást in thar thes
Then ran out the wine.GEN and was lacking them.DAT there the
wínes
wine.GEN
María thaz bihúgita joh Kríste si iz giságeta
Mary that noticed and Christ.DAT she it said
Ih scal thir ságen min kínd then híon filu hébig
I must you.DAT say my child the.ACC very much uncomfortable.ACC
thing theih míthon ouh nu wésta
situation.ACC that.I just also now discovered
thes wínes ist in brésta
the wine.GEN.SG is them.DAT.PL lacking
Spráh tho zi iru súazo ther ira sún zeizo
spoke then to her sweetly DET her son precious
sconen wórton ubar ál so sun zi múater scal
beautiful words.DAT.PL in every respect as son to mother ought
Wib ih zéllu thir ein waz drífit sulih zi úns
Woman I say you.DAT one thing what to do with such a thing to us

zuein
two
Ni quam min zít noh so frám theih óuge weih fon thír nam
NEG came my hour yet so soon that.I show.SUBJ what.I from you took
Sar so tház irscínit waz mih fon thír rinit so ist
As soon as that is made apparent what me from you.DAT touches so is
thir állan then dag-ACC thaz hérza filu ríuag
you.DAT all the day.ACC the heart very troubled
Thaz thu zi mír nu quáti inti eina klága es dati
That you to me now said and a complaint.ACC it.GEN made
mit gótkundlichen ráchon scal man súlih machon
through godly intervention must one such do
Thiu muater hórta thaz tho thár si wéssa thoh in álawar
The mother heard that then there she knew however with certainty
thaz íru thiu sin gúati nirzígi thes siu
that her DET his goodness NEG.deny.PRET.SUBJ DET.GEN she
báti
asked.PRET.SUBJ

(11) Translation of II 8, 11-24
Then the fruit-wine ran out and they were lacking wine. Mary noticed this, and she mentioned it to Christ: I have to tell you, my child, about the very uncomfortable situation that I just now also discovered. They have run out of wine. Her precious son then spoke sweetly to her with beautiful words, in every respect, as a son should (speak) to his mother: woman, I say to you one thing. What does such a thing have to do with the both of us? My hour has not yet come so soon that I may demonstrate what I have received from you. As soon as that is made apparent, what touches me from you (i.e., what I have from you), so your heart will be troubled for all days. That which you now say to me and you make a complaint about it, one must do such a thing through Godly intervention. The mother heard this, but she knew with certainty that his goodness would not deny her that for which she asked.

Before turning to structure, consider the passage from the perspective of content: Otfrid elaborates the original material, extending its length considerably. While the *Hêliand* poet elaborates material through layered elaboration, as I discussed in Chapter 6, Otfrid's version is made longer through additions that I

interpret as the poet attempting to contextualize Jesus' seemingly brusque reply to his mother. That is, the response, 'what does this situation have to do with me, woman?' seems rude. Otfrid, therefore, is at pains to make clear that Jesus was responding in an entirely appropriate manner: he is a "precious son," who answers with "beautiful words" that are warranted in "every respect." He also softens Jesus' words by having him offer Mary a few words of explanation: the revelation of my power will lead to your sadness. That is, Jesus performing his first miracle and manifesting his divinity for all to see sets in motion the prophesied series of events that leads to his crucifixion.

Let us move on now to how Otfrid structured his larger discourse units, which I will simply call *Sätze* ('sentences/clauses,' singular *Satz*) as an acknowledgment of the fact that one should not assume the presence of neatly delineated clauses and clause complexes in an early *scriptus* like that of the *Evangelienbuch*. One aspect of his *scriptus* that is consistent with classical prescriptions encouraging periodic syntax and Otfrid's desire to move away from the oral tradition is the boundedness of his *Sätze*. That is, he generally reinforces the boundaries of a *Satz* by containing it within the prosodic unit of the verse-IU. Note how in Table 7.2 most verses contain a *Satz*, or in modern linguistic terms, a clause. I have reproduced Table 7.2 in a new table, (Table 7.3) but with alternating shading of the cells to indicate where one *Satz* begins and another ends. For example, 11a contains one *Satz* and 11b a new *Satz*, while another *Satz* begins in 15a and ends with 16a.

In this short excerpt, there are sixteen verse-IUs that contain a *Satz* and feature a finite verb (11a; 11b; 12a; 12b; 14a; 14b; 16b; 17a; 17b; 18a; 19a; 19b; 21a; 21b; 23a; 23b). There are three *Sätze* that occupy two verse-IUs; in these cases, Otfrid again uses the prosodic boundaries within the poetic structure, i.e., the line, to reinforce the structural boundary of the *Satz*. Two of the remaining *Sätze* occur in the same verse-IU, 18b, where the poetic structure still serves as something of a structural boundary. The *Satz* in 24a stretches across a prosodic boundary, however, though the line is filled out by a second *Satz* whose ending corresponds with the end of the verse-IU.

It is particularly lines 15a to 16a where we see a relationship between prosodic and structural unit that is more consistent with the orally influenced *scriptus* of the *Hêliand*. Here Otfrid does not exercise the same discipline he shows elsewhere by confining *Sätze* to prosodic units and instead builds one *Satz* that stretches across multiple verse-IUs. The resultant structure is more reminiscent of the *Hêliand*, especially with its full subject noun phrase occurring in another verse-IU and the reverbalization of '*sprach*' (spoke) with '*sconen worten*' ('with beautiful words) and the extra modifying '*ubar al*' ('regarding this). The *Satz*'s

Table 7.3: Otfrid, II 8, 11-24, with shading

	a-verse	b-verse
11	Thó zigiang thes lídes	joh brást in thar thes wínes
12	María thaz bihúgita	joh Kríste si iz giságeta
13	Ih scal thir ságen, min kínd	then híon filu hébig thing
14	theih míthon ouh nu wésta	thes wínes ist in brésta
15	Spráh tho zi iru súazo	ther ira sún zeizo
16	sconen wórton ubar ál	so sun zi múater scal
17	Wib, ih zéllu thir ein	waz drífit sulih zi úns zuein
18	ni quam min zít noh so frám	theih óuge weih fon thír nam
19	Sar so tház irscínit	waz mih fon thír rinit
20	so ist thir állan then dag	thaz hérza filu ríuag
21	Thaz thu zi mír nu quáti	inti eina klága es dati
22	mit gótkundlichen ráchon	scal man súlih machon
23	Thiu muater hórta thaz tho thár	si wéssa thoh in álawar
24	thaz íru thiu sin gúati	nirzígi thes siu báti

effect is more disjointed and fragmented than the *Sätze* that surround it. I see Otfrid's approach to building *Sätze* within the prosodic confines of the verse-IU as the logical extension of Somers's (2021b) argument, which I discussed in Chapter 5. That is, Otfrid looks to prescribe good Frankish through the imposition of a regular metrical pattern. In other words, he uses his verses and lines to effect boundedness in his *scriptus*' structures and create a more 'periodic' syntax. This inconsistency in Otfrid's commitment to creating *Sätze*, that is, the fact that there are *Sätze* that are not built within the confines of his metrical units, illustrates another principle of literization and ausbau that I discussed in Chapter 6, but also the current chapter. Namely, consistency in early German written structures depends on the accomplishments of fallible humans, who were engaged in a difficult task—creating a *scriptus* for an oral vernacular—in the early medieval context of Carolingian Europe.

To reiterate a point I made earlier in this chapter, Otfrid's data also exhibit collocations that contain familiar-looking subjects and predicates. I do not intend to deny their presence. I also do not deny the presence of surface order patterns or that these patterns probably characterized early German spoken varieties. Instead, I reject the conclusion that those structural patterns are the only things that are worth investigating or that they can account for the full linguis-

tic phenomenon of the early German *scripti*. My argument is, in fact, that we cannot understand the German language's earliest history, unless we treat its attestations as sociocultural artifacts effected by the transformative processes of literization and ausbau, in particular.

7.4 If you look for well-formed clauses and sentences, you will create them.

Let us now follow up on the discussion of the introduction to the *Hildebrandslied* that we began in Chapter 6. There I demonstrated how this poem, one of the few instances of textualized orality in the early German corpus, evinces the layered elaboration that I argued was characteristic of oral varieties of distance. For example, it features verse-IUs that reverbalize and elaborate on the idea of the two referents, Hildebrand and Hadubrand. The poet also relies more on parallelism to implicitly link IUs together, rather than explicit connectors.

(12) 1 Ik gihorta ðat seggen
2 ðat sih urhettun ænon muotin
3 hiltibraht enti haðubrant untar heriun tuem
4 sunufatarungo iro saro rihtun
5 garutun sê iro guðhamun gurtun sih iro suert ana
6 helidos ubar hringa do sie to dero hiltiu ritun
7 hiltibraht gimahalta heribrantes sunu her uuas heroro man
8 ferahes frotoro her fragen gistuont
9 fohem uuortum hwer sin fater wari
10 fireo in folche

1a Ik gihorta ðat seggen
I heard that tell
2a ðat sih urhettun
that REFL.PRO challengers
2b ænon muotin
one met
3a hiltibraht enti haðubrant
Hiltibrant and Hadubrant
3b untar heriun tuem
between two armies
4a sunufatarungo
son.and.father

4b iro saro rihtun
their armor prepared
5a garutun sê iro guðhamun
readied they their fighting clothes
5b gurtun sih iro suert ana
belted REFL.PRO their swords on
6a helidos ubar hringa
heroes over rings
6b do sie to dero hiltiu ritun
PART they to the battle rode
7a hiltibraht gimahalta heribrantes sunu
Hildibrant said Heribrant.GEN son
7b her uuas heroro man
he was the more senior man
8a ferahes frotoro
life.GEN the wiser one
8b her fragen gistuont
he began to ask
9a fohem uuortum
few.DAT.PL words.DAT.PL
9b hwer sin fater wari
who his father was.PRET.SUBJ
10a fireo in folche
people.GEN.PL among the host.DAT.SG

'I have heard tell how two challengers met alone, Hildebrant and Hadubrand, between two armies, son and father, prepared their armor, they readied their fighting clothes, belted on their swords, heroes over chainmail, then/when they rode into battle. Hildebrand said, Heribrand's son, he was the more senior man, the wiser one of life, he began to ask with few words, who his father was of the people among the host.'

One can certainly carve out from these lines clauses and clause complexes, though this exercise obscures the evidence of an orally organized system of layered elaboration and instead highlights what the researcher themselves made from the data. So, one recruits *sunufatarungo* (4a.) into the following verb phrase, *iro rihtun* (4b.) as the grammatical subject, because clauses are not complete without subjects. This analysis, however, undermines the poet's layering of elaborated,

reverbalized noun phrases of *urhettun* that occupy a-verses: 3a, 4a, and 6a. If one also pulls *helidos ubar hringa* (6a.) into the preceding verb phrase, *gurtun sih iro suert ana* (5b.), the poet's parallelism between a series of noun phrases referring to Hildebrand and Hadubrand practically disappears. If one has a modern German well-formedness in mind, which requires that complete clauses have subjects, one might even think that these clauses must reflect the poet's underlying competence; that is, these clauses were what the poet intended, and we modern researchers have uncovered this intent.

According to this structurally focused view, the *scriptus* seems to result from the literizer mapping the clauses and sentences created by their grammar onto poetic units. It becomes more difficult to consider other possibilities like the following. Are the verse-IUs themselves the building blocks of this extended narrative? Might they be organized along the lines of an orally shaped system of layered elaboration? And finally, does this system yield clause-like and sentence-like utterances that literizers eventually turn into actual clauses and sentences once they reconceptualize orally organized utterances as well-formed written utterances, structured around the principle of *Satzförmigkeit*?

One can pick out clause complexes in the excerpt as well, though they, like the clauses I just described, manifest primarily through the application of modern well-formedness norms. The norms that scholars have found relevant to early Germanic data have to do with the surface similarities between the old Germanic languages and their modern literized descendants like German and Dutch, which exhibit an asymmetrical distribution of finite verbs in main and subordinate clauses, has led a number of scholars to conclude that similar grammars underlie both. For example, van Kemenade (1987) applies Government and Binding Theory to the analysis of Old English clause structure and proposes that its clauses are surface realizations of a Subject-Object-Verb template. In main clauses, the absence of a lexical subordinator in the complementizer position prompts a fronting of the finite verb from its original location at the end of the clause to COMP's clause-second slot. In subordinate clauses, the finite verb remains in its underlying clause-final position because the COMP slot is already filled. Thus, the finite verb and lexical subordinator are in complementary distribution to one another. Erickson (1997: 95) analyzes Old Saxon clause structure along similar lines, pointing out that it too has clauses that seem to exhibit the same distributional pattern as modern German and Dutch. On this basis, Erickson, like van Kemenade, concludes that similar grammars underlie all of these languages (page 104).

If we take our cue from these analyses, a particular interpretation of the IU in 6b, *do sie to dero hiltiu ritun*, becomes apparent. The IU begins with a deictic par-

ticle *dô*, which links the IU to the events described in surrounding IUs. However, the initial deictic, especially when combined with the IU-final finite verb, makes the sequence look very much like a clause, particularly a subordinate clause. If 6b. contains a subordinate clause, then the researcher is obliged to find a main clause on which the subordinate clause is dependent. Yet, finding its main clause mate is not straightforward. Part of the problem is that none of the many definitions scholars have assigned to *dô* match this token all that well. Look the word up in Schützeichel's (1974) *Althochdeutsches Wörterbook*, 'Old High German dictionary,' and one finds adverb and subordinator translations.

Table 7.4: The many translations of *dô*

Adverb	**Subordinator**
damals 'then, at the time'	als 'as, when, while'
dann 'then'	während 'while, whereas, when'
hingegen 'however'	nachdem 'after, whereas'
daher 'thus, so, therefore'	weil 'because, since'
darauf 'after that'	dadurch dass 'as a result of'
doch 'still, after all'	obgleich 'although'
da 'there, here'	da 'given that, because, since'

Thus, any translation of the clause beginning with *dô* would have to take the ambiguity in its status: 'Son and father(, they) prepared their armor (and) readied their fighting clothes, they belted on their swords, heroes over rings, when (while? as? whereas? because? although? given that? after?) they rode into battle. Selecting from the buffet of subordinate conjunction translations on offer in Table 7.4, one realizes that none of the temporal translations of *dô* are satisfying: they imply an order of operations that makes little sense in the context. Surely, one arms oneself before riding into battle, not while or after. The causal translations are better, e.g., 'because,' but not as good as the temporal adverbial translation: son and father, they prepared their armor … then rode into battle, thereupon Hildebrand speaks. Alternatively, one might instead connect 6b. to the following verse-IU: after they rode to battle, Hildebrand, the son of Heribrand, spoke. That might be the best option if one insists on analyzing 6b as a subordinate clause. In any case, note how different analyses of clause complexes affect the analysis of individual clauses.

Höder (2010: 141-4) indicates another way of looking at connectors like *dô*, however. The author describes morphemes in historical varieties of Swedish

that are reminiscent of these early German connectors. One of his examples is the polysemous subordinator *än*, which could be a conditional conjunction ('if'), an additive conjunction ('and [on the other hand])', or an adversative conjunction ('but, whereas'), among other things (page 143). Höder argues on page 144 that monomorphemic, polysemous subordinators like *än* were probably "semantically neutral" and that their function lay in simply marking two clauses as related, while the particular type or meaning of the connection would be disambiguated through context. Similar arguments have been made, Höder notes, for the oldest attestations of Old Swedish (Kotcheva 2002) and for the oldest Germanic languages generally (Braunmüller 1995). The latter work identifies Gothic *jah* and Old High German *ouh* as examples. Höder distinguishes between 'vagueness' and 'ambiguity,' arguing that such subordinators are more semantically vague than they are ambiguous (page 144). I interpret this statement as referring to how speakers process polysemous subordinators. To state that the morphemes are vague indicates that, though they are semantically neutral, language users do not interpret them as ambiguous and can glean a specific meaning from context.

I propose that Höder's argument regarding the difference between vagueness and ambiguity leads to an important point about the validity of disambiguation analyses. To begin with, Höder's claim that speakers could disambiguate semantically vague conjunctions strikes me as appropriate. For example, research on spontaneously spoken language supports this claim in that, though spoken language of immediacy features much more vagueness than, say, a written language of distance, language users do not necessarily have any issues processing its more disjointed and fragmented expressions (see §3.3.2). What strikes me as inappropriate and having the potential to yield anachronistic results is using disambiguation analyses as the means of supposedly uncovering underlying competence. To phrase this a different way, speakers are able to process without issue semantically or functionally vague constructions in their context. So, while orally organized linguistic production is vague, those who process it in the phonic medium do not find it to be ambiguous. Why then should a researcher assume that their own disambiguation analysis represents a synchronic reality for the interlocutors who had no difficulties with the vagueness in the first place? The vagueness, instead, is a problem for the researcher who insists that uncovering the underlying structure must be the goal of their investigation. It also become a problem for the literizer, who wants to move their *scriptus* away from the organizational systems of elaborated orality. This person will have to identify where the oral vagueness yields graphic ambiguity and engage in ausbau in order to make the semantic and grammatical relationships in linguistic production more explicit and specific.

In a sense, the glossaries for historical varieties like Schützeichel's for Old High German can give the modern scholar, especially one with a structuralist bent, the impression that the vague forms from early *scripti* have been disambiguated to the extent that we now know the different entries that existed in the imagined Old High German speaker's mental lexicon. Consider the Low German equivalent of *dô*, *thô*: it is comprehensively glossed in Sehrt's (1925) glossary for the *Hêliand* and features multiple sub-entries indicating that it is alternatively a lexical adverb, discourse adverb, temporal relative subordinator, or correlative particle. Each function is also associated with many meanings. For example, adverbial *thô* can be the lexical 'then' or the more semantically empty discourse particle along the lines of modern German's *nun* or *also* ('so,' 'and so'). Each entry, furthermore, contains a list of every occurrence of *thô* that the analyzer deemed to be an example of that usage. This glossary presentation gives the impression that each use of *thô* in the *Hêliand* is associated with a discrete syntactic category, i.e., adverb or subordinating conjunction, and with a particular meaning. It also implies that, though an individual morpheme might seem ambiguous to you, the modern reader—perhaps this is why you consulted the glossary in the first place—someone has already sorted out what the poet intended in that instance.

Let us bring the discussion back to *dô* in 6b's *do sie to dero hiltiu ritun*. As I indicated just above, it is possible to build a clause complex around this one clause that fits around a modern written well-formedness. This analysis requires, however, that you disambiguate the *dô*-clause by selecting from the possible translations that fit best and adjust surrounding clauses accordingly. Höder's discussion of *än*, however, raises another possibility with his idea of the semantically neutral morpheme whose function is to mark two clauses as related. Applying this notion to *dô*, which could also function as an adverb, I conclude that it is a polysemous deictic morpheme whose function was to either link ideas presented in discourse in space and time, i.e., as an adverbial, or connect IUs to each other in discourse. Listeners might have resolved the morpheme's vagueness in one of the ways I described above, namely interpreted the *dô* as an adverbial or a clausal connector. The poet might have intended one or the other—or perhaps something the modern reader cannot imagine.

What I would like to advance here is not that one analysis is definitively right and the other wrong. In line with my arguments against the deficit approach in Chapter 2, I maintain instead that it is impossible for a modern scholar to do anything more than speculate as to whether the clause in 6b was a main or subordinate clause in the poet's or the listeners' minds. In way, the question is moot

because the *scriptus* represents an orally organized linguistic production. Similarly, there is no principled way to show that the poet intended *sunufatarungo* and *helidos ubar hringa* to be subjects of their adjacent verb phrases and not parallelisms that elaborate the poem's protagonists, while only loosely connecting them to adjacent verb phrases. Instead, my proposal is that we, in such cases, leave aside these unanswerable and irrelevant questions about underlying structure. This argument suggests then that scholars spend less energy engaging in disambiguation analyses when investigating the early literizations of a vernacular and take better care not to project their modern notions of well-formedness onto historical data, where they cannot be applicable.

It is also the case that much of the literature published on historical Germanic syntax has approached the data as a disambiguation project. Somers & Dubenion-Smith (2014) is an example of this trend in that the authors begin their analysis with the assumption of the complementarity of finite verb and complementizer and then identify all clauses in the *Hêliand*-based dataset that supposedly confirm its existence as a cognitively real pattern. Linde's (2009) analysis of Old Saxon is similar in that the author begins with the assumption of a modern-like complementarity, while also seeking explanations for the clauses that remain resistant to such accounts. This study argues that information structural principles, that is, pragmatic factors, influenced the syntax of the deviating clauses and is consistent with other 'two grammar' approaches to early Germanic syntax like Lenerz (1985).[16] Such analyses, which include Schlachter (2012), Lötscher (2009), Petrova & Solf (2009), among others, are also an iteration of the deficit approach, which attempts to separate the regular, authentic clauses that the underlying grammar created from the "inauthentic" clauses. The difference is that the two-grammar approach offers some account of deviating clauses, either by referencing an inherited or poetic syntactic system, while studies that are influenced by the deficit approach often do not.[17]

Other studies, instead of offering disambiguating analyses, simply take for granted that their data contain clauses complexes comprising clearly delineated main and subordinate clauses. Works like Robinson (1997), and Axel (2007), and Fischer et al. (2000) assume at the outset that Old High German syntax, Old English syntax in the case of Fischer et al. (2000), has main and subordinate clauses, whose boundaries are so clearly delineated that no discussion of how data were sifted into one category or the other is necessary. Works like this also do not

[16] See §2.3.2 for my discussion of the 'two grammar' approach.

[17] Many studies assume that poetic and inherited grammars are one and the same based on the supposition that poetic language is archaic language. See, for example, Lötscher (2009: 315).

discuss whether the disambiguation of data is appropriate for an early medieval *scriptus* or recognize that disambiguation can be the means of an anachronistic projection of modem well-formedness norms onto historical data. Lötscher (2009), for example, begins his study on verb placement in Otfrid's *Evangelienbuch* with the assumption that sentences comprising clear main and subordinate clauses are present in the monk's *scriptus*. The author's finding, then, that "Otfrid has the same differentiation between main clauses and subordinate clauses as later stages of German" (page 281) comes as no surprise. In the absence of a discussion of how he disambiguated main clause from subordinate, one is left to wonder if the author analyzed the data with modern norms of clausal well-formedness in mind. Walkden's treatment of Old Saxon, in contrast, is more cautious (see Walkden 2014: 15-6 and Walkden 2016: 565). The author acknowledges that clause type in the *Hêliand* is often ambiguous and that disambiguation analyses run the risk of circularity and anachronism. However, he does not delve further into the question of how to resolve these problems, adopts the disambiguated clauses and sentences as they expressed in the punctuation of the Taeger & Behaghel (1985) edition, and finally noting that these orthographic decisions may be wrong.

In this way, scholars who disambiguate historical data, especially those from German's earliest attestations, have run the unrecognized risk of anachronistically shaping these data in the image of their modern well-formedness norms. Their often tacit insistence that identifying the underlying structures of a speaker's competence should be the primary goal of linguistic investigation is in part to blame for this state-of-affairs. Our neglecting of the literization process as a factor in language change has, I believe, prevented our approaching the early *scripti* as linguistic artifacts shaped by sociocultural factors, rather than simply as data to be mined for traces of competence.

I conclude this chapter by briefly noting one contrastive study of early German and English syntax that stands out for not assuming the existence of delineated main and subordinate clauses: Cichosz (2010), which takes seriously Mitchell's (1985) comments on what he refers to as clausal ambiguity in Old English syntax.[18] Mitchell (1985: 769-73) encourages scholars to admit what Walkden perhaps suspects, that is, that there are, in fact, no "infallible criteria" that can distinguish main and subordinate clauses in these early texts. Features, like word order, verb mood, presence or absence of a possible subordinator, can be suggestive but never conclusive because, Mitchell argues, subjecting early Germanic

[18] Mitchell's focus is Old English. However, the sources of ambiguity he highlights for Old English are identical to the sources of ambiguity across early Germanic *scripti* and, so, I have extrapolated his comments to early Germanic in general. Cichosz (2010) also cites Mitchell's work.

clauses to disambiguation is itself anachronistic. It assumes that early Germanic *scripti* already had sentences as they are traditionally defined and that clauses introduced by vague morphemes, like *thô* and *thâr* in Table 7.4, should be disambiguated into one of the two clausal types, subordinate or main, that make up these sentences. Mitchell notes, however, that "ambiguity is frequently of importance only to the classifier" (page 773).

Taking her cue from Mitchell (1985), Cichosz (2010) resolves to leave be the "irresolvable" ambiguities in her data. She argues that subordination was not "fully developed" in Old English and Old High German and, so, none of the clauses that seem like subordinate clauses were actually subordinate clauses in the modern sense. They were "semi-subordinated" and "neither separated [to] nor connected [with]" some other clause (page 138). Cichosz supposes, also on page 138, that literization correlated with the development of an inventory of formal clause connectors, stating that this change was influenced by "Latin with its highly developed literary style." In contrast to the current study, however, Cichosz does not indicate a causal link between literization and explicitly marked clause complexes, a consequence of that study's different objectives. That is, Cichosz's (2010) main interest is in establishing word order patterns across Germanic, with the desired end result being a description of a prehistoric Germanic grammar. This focus on identifying a Germanic competence is similar to the goals of the disambiguation studies I just discussed. Though it seems to me a step in the right direction that Cichosz did not resolve in her database what we both maintain were synchronically vague constructions. Where Cischosz and I part ways is in the significance of the vagueness. While she seems to make an evolutionary argument in stating that early medieval clauses had not yet developed fully, I reference literization and ausbau as the processes that effect more coherent grammatical constructions and ameliorate the vagueness that was synchronically present in all varieties of an exclusively oral vernacular.

8 Moving forward

In this book I have presented a narrative of the earliest attestations of German that is significantly different from how we scholars have treated them so far. I argued that our overwhelming interest in uncovering or reconstructing the structure of an early German competence has caused us to neglect several significant factors that shaped the extant *scripti*. First, we have not considered the possibility that the social and cultural context of Carolingian Europe was sociolinguistically relevant and influenced the German transmitted to us on parchment. Second, we have ignored entirely the literization process as a human innovation that fundamentally transforms language.

My argument is simple: we should no longer analyze early medieval German from the structuralist perspective alone. We must move beyond the narrow and, one should add, nationalistically minded concerns of our disciplinary forebearers and treat each *scriptus* as a precious sociolinguistic artifact and a testament to perhaps the most important developmental moment in the history of the German language, the beginning of its literization. Instead of just focusing on reconstructing the competence of early German speakers, a task that is complicated not just by the fact that they are long dead, but by their multilectalism, let us work instead on reconstructing the socioculturally guided choices a literizer made when creating their *scriptus*. This work would crucially involve considering how a literizer shaped the varieties of their exclusively oral vernacular into a *scriptus*. In order to do so, the literizer must innovate linguistically, especially if they are motivated to create a *scriptus* that does not evoke the oral tradition and is better suited to and functional in the new dislocated context of the graphic medium. If we see *scriptus*-creation as a conscious act, we can try to reconstruct how a literizer might have been influenced by the non-German writing they would have encountered as serious consumers of the Latin Bible and the Latinate tradition of literacy, which allowed them to access to God's teachings. How, for example, does classical linguistic thought influence German's early literization? Which problems of ausbau does the metalanguage of *grammatica* help our intrepid literizers solve?

There are so many new avenues of research that open up to us as researchers if we approach the study of early medieval German in this way. True, we perhaps

leave aside the goal of a comprehensive accounting of an early German grammatical system. But as Diewald (2007: 87) explains—and as I argued in Chapter 7—overspecifying a historical grammar in this way invites "anachronistic distortions," whereby current grammatical systems that are well-known to the researcher and superficially similar are "projected back onto the historical data." And there is so much to gain, including all of the early German medieval texts, even the ones that we have largely ignored for being too problematic (see chapter 2 on the deficit approach). For example, the entirety of the German translation of Tatian's *Evangelienharmonie* becomes significant, not just its *Differenzbelege*, that is, the passages in which the German translation deviates from the Latin source.

Questions that we might ask of this text that are different from the usual ones (i.e., How genuinely German is the translation's syntax? Did the spoken competence of the translator include *pro*-drop?) might include the following. What exactly was the translator's goal for the translated text? How did they manage the usual challenge that translators face of producing translations that convey both what the original says and what it means? What is the literary style of Tatian's Latin, and how was this captured in German, in which literary style and well-formedness norms are emergent? Does the resultant German itself yield a Latin-inspired biblical, literary style that affects later pre-Luther translations of the Bible?

The Latin-language texts from the period also become relevant in that they can illuminate the ausbau choices of literizers. It is astonishing that Otfrid's Latin language preface to his *Evangelienbuch*, the *Ad Liutbertum*, is hardly ever discussed in the literature, despite its being a rare metalinguistic window into an early medieval German literizer's views and composition process. That it has largely been ignored makes sense for a couple of reasons. First, if one is only interested in reconstructing an underlying German competence through its imperfect performance as the text of the *Evangelienbuch*, a Latin-language preface is irrelevant. Relatedly, in looking for those unconscious expressions of genuine competence, the metalinguistic comments of the author himself are irrelevant, unless they indicate that he was adhering to some prescriptive norm that would have obscured those genuine patterns. In this case, deficit-approach structuralists have yet another reason not to work with Otfrid's monumental, original composition. A final, and not inconsequential, reason is that we are trained Germanists, not Latinists and, so, Latin texts might be less accessible to us. The reader may remember that I worked with a translation of the *Ad Liutbertum*; I was fortunate enough to find one that hit the right balance between conveying what the original text meant and what it said.

If, however, one adopts the literization approach and finds ways of overcoming the required, but more challenging interdisciplinary view of what is relevant to the creation of early German *scripti*, texts like the *Ad Liutbertum* become important textual data. The Latin itself could even be relevant to how Otfrid shaped his German *scriptus*: Magoun (1943: 872) notes that Otfrid's Latin composition is not "always easy and, generally speaking, exhibits an inflated rhetorical style." This characterization mirrors exactly how I would describe Otfrid's German literary style. I have been working with Otfrid's text for decades and teaching it for almost as long, and I still find his overly complicated style of writing challenging. I wonder to what extent Otfrid's ideas of good Latin composition affected how he constructed his German *scriptus*, especially in light of the fact that he wanted to raise Frankish's prestige across the empire and beyond.

Another advantage, then, of adopting the literization approach is that we can examine poetic texts without worrying about the performance issues that supposedly obscure a genuine early German competence. It is particularly in the examination of *scripti* whose style was designed to evoke the layered elaboration of the oral tradition where we could conceivably have a window into a prehistoric past. However, what interests me the most about these *scripti* is how they connect to the elaborated oral traditions of other non-writing communities and how these data collectively connect to the psycholinguistics of processing linguistic production in the phonic medium. It is worth focusing on the *Hêliand* briefly, which, like the *Hildebrandslied*, represents a self-conscious adopting of this particular literary style. However, unlike the *Hildebrandslied*, its subject matter is imported, and part of the literizer's job in creating their *scriptus* was to familiarize the audience to the gospel story and its lessons. While Otfrid's project of creating good Frankish pushed him to build a *scriptus* that used ausbau constructions to build denser, more integrated language, the *Hêliand* poet was more constrained by his chosen literary style in ways that perhaps made his job more difficult. That is, the poet had to discuss these same narratives and theological topics, whose expression was rooted in and grew within this Latinate linguistic tradition, but he had to do so mimicking the basic building blocks of elaborated orality. While the verse-IU building blocks on display in the *Hildebrandslied* represented colloquial, mnemonic, and community-embedded chunks of language, the poet would have to create the verse-IUs of the *Hêliand* and link them together in ways that would hopefully prove not to effect too much ambiguity for the reader. Speaking from the point-of-view of a long-time reader of the *Hêliand*, I would say they did a fair job.

It may seem to the more structurally minded reader that I am asking them to abandon the linguistic analysis of early German entirely. Indeed, many of

the possible research questions I have posed in this conclusion will not be answered through, say, the generative analyses that have dominated in the last several decades. There are alternate ways of conceptualizing linguistic productions, however, ones that might be better suited to the early literizations of oral vernaculars, in particular usage-based approaches, as represented in the works of scholars like Joan Bybee. I can also see constructionist approaches, as represented in works like Goldberg (1995) and Goldberg (2006), as a methodology that could aid in the nuts-and-bolts analysis of an early German *scriptus*. They provide a method for analyzing linguistic patterns as constructions, that is form and meaning pairings that are created or learned and, in this way, could be more consistent with the situation of early medieval German. It remains to be seen whether such usage-based methodologies can add much in the way of explanatory power to a literization analysis.

I end this book with a final word on structuralism, which received a lot of criticism in the foregoing pages. In fact, one of the anonymous reviewers of this manuscript remarked that my "rhetoric against structure verges on being anti-intellectual/post-modernist." In maintaining that the literization approach, which I see as a sociolinguistic methodology, can more fully capture the linguistic phenomenon of the early German *scripti*, I do not deny that structure matters. That is, the linguistic intuitions of the speakers who created the *scripti* fed directly into their linguistic creations. Rather, I maintain that, first, structure cannot tell the whole story of their creation and attested patterns, and second, we have focused on historical structures alone for too long, so much so, in fact, that many diachronic linguists believe that structure is the most important, or, indeed *the only*, factor they need consider when investigating historical *scripti*. I do not think that it constitutes anti-intellectualism to argue against this view. In my future research, I will look forward to connecting these early German texts, which have fascinated me for so long, to the broader cultural, social, political, and linguistic world in which they were created, as well as the long tradition of literary German that lies at the heart of German studies.

References

Alcuin. 1895. *Epistolae karolini aevi, tomus ii*. Ernst Dümmler (ed.). Berlin: Weidmann.

Altenberg, Bengt. 1990. Predicting text segmentation into tone units. In Jan Svartvik (ed.), *The London-Lund corpus of spoken English*, 275–286. Lund: Lund University Press.

Altmann, Hans. 1981. *Formen der "Herausstellung" im Deutschen: Rechtsversetzung, Linksversetzung, freies Thema und verwandte Konstruktionen*. Tübingen: Niemeyer Verlag.

Aristotle. 2007. *On rhetoric: A theory of civic discourse*. Trans. by George A. Kennedy. 2nd edn. New York/Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Auroux, Sylvain, E. F. K. Koerner, Hans-J. Niederehe & Kees Versteegh (eds.). 2000. *History of the language sciences: An international handbook on the evolution of the study of language from the beginnings to the present / Geschichte der Sprachwissenschaften: Ein internationales Handbuch zur Entwicklung der Sprachforschung von den Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart / Histoire des sciences du langage: Manuel international sur l'évolution de l'étude du langage des origines à nos jours*. Berlin/New York: Walter de Gruyter.

Austerlitz, Robert. 1958. *Ob-Ugric metrics* (Folklore Fellows' Communications 174). Helsinki: Academia Scientiarum Fennica.

Axel, Katrin. 2007. *Studies on Old High German syntax: Left sentence periphery, verb placement and verb-second*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Axel-Tober, Katrin. 2012. *(Nicht-)kanonische Nebensätze im Deutschen. Synchrone und diachrone Aspekte*. Berlin/Boston: de Gruyter.

Bakker, Egbert J. 1997. *Poetry in speech: Orality and Homeric discourse*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press.

Baldick, Chris. 2015. *The Oxford dictionary of literary terms: Prose*. 4th edn. Oxford/New York: Oxford University Press.

Barrau, Julie. 2011. Did medieval monks actually speak Latin? In Steven Vanderputten (ed.), *Understanding monastic practices of oral communication (Western Europe, tenth-thirteenth centuries)*, 293–317. Turnhout: Brepols Publishers.

Beowulf. A new verse translation by Seamus Heaney, bilingual edition. 2000. In collab. with Seamus Heaney. Trans. by Seamus Heaney. New York/London: W.W. Norton & Co.

Best, Stephen. 2020. Walter J. Ong, Orality and Literacy (1982). *Public Culture* 32(2). 431–439.

Bostock, John Knight. 1976. *A handbook on Old High German literature.* 2nd edn. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Braune, Wilhelm. 1886. *Althochdeutsche Grammatik.* 1st (Sammlung kurzer Grammatiken germanischer Dialekte). Halle: Max Niemeyer.

Braune, Wilhelm. 2018. *Althochdeutsche Grammatik. Laut- und Formenlehre.* Frank Heidermanns (ed.). 16th (Sammlung kurzer Grammatiken germanischer Dialekte). Berlin/Boston: de Gruyter.

Braune, Wilhelm & Ernst Ebbinghaus (eds.). 1994. *Althochdeutsches Lesebuch.* 17th. Tübingen: Max Niemeyer.

Braunmüller, Kurt. 1995. Remarks on the formation of conjunctions in Germanic languages. *Beiträge zur skandinavistischen Linguistik.* 247–272.

Brown, Giles. 1994. Introduction: The Carolingian Renaissance. In Rosamond McKitterick (ed.), *Carolingian culture: Emulation and innovation*, 1–51. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Brugmann, Karl. 1925. *Die Syntax des einfachen Satzes im Indogermanischen.* Berlin/Leipzig: W. de Gruyter.

Bybee, Joan. 2002. Sequentiality as the basis of constituent structure. In Talmy Givón & Bertram F. Malle (eds.), *The evolution of language out of pre-language*, 109–132. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Bybee, Joan L. 2010. *Language, usage and cognition.* Cambridge/New York: Cambridge University Press.

Carlton, David. 2019. *Semantic shift in Old English and Old Saxon identity terms.* London, Ontario: The University of Western Ontario. (Doctoral dissertation).

Chafe, Wallace. 1980. The development of consciousness in the production of a narrative. In Wallace Chafe (ed.), *The pear stories: Cognitive, cultural, and linguistic aspects of narrative production*, 9–50. Norwood, N.J.: Ablex.

Chafe, Wallace. 1981. Differences between colloquial and ritual Seneca or how oral literature is literary. *Reports from the Survey of California and Other Indian Languages* 1. 131–145.

Chafe, Wallace. 1982. Integration and involvement in speaking, writing, and oral literature. In Deborah Tannen (ed.), *Spoken and written language: Exploring orality and literacy*, 35–53. Norwood, N.J.: Ablex.

Chafe, Wallace. 1987. Cognitive constraints on information flow. In Russell S. Tomlin (ed.), *Coherence and grounding in discourse: Outcome of a symposium, Eugene, Oregon, June 1984*, 21–51. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: J. Benjamins Pub. Co.

Chafe, Wallace. 1994. *Discourse, consciousness, and time: The flow and displacement of conscious experience in speaking and writing*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Chafe, Wallace. 2014. *A grammar of the Seneca language* (University of California Publications in Linguistics 150). Berkeley: University of California Press. xvi+234. https://senecalanguage.com/wp-content/uploads/Seneca-Grammar-Book.pdf.

Chantraine, Pierre. 1953. *Grammaire Homérique vol.2*. Paris: Klincksieck.

Ciccolella, Federica. 2008. *Donati Graeci: Learning Greek in the Renaissance*. Leiden/Boston: Brill.

Cichosz, Anna. 2010. *The influence of text type on word order of old Germanic languages. A corpus-based contrastive study of Old English and Old High German*. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang.

Clackson, James. 2007. *Indo-European linguistics: An introduction*. Cambridge, UK/New York: Cambridge University Press.

Coseriu, Eugenio. 1974. *Synchronie, Diachronie und Geschichte; das Problem des Sprachwandels*. Trans. by Helga Sohre (Internationale Bibliothek für allgemeine Linguistik 3). München: Fink.

Croft, William. 1995. Intonation units and grammatical structure. *Linguistics* 33. 839–882.

Cruttenden, Alan. 1997. *Intonation*. 2nd. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Crystal, David. 1969. *Prosodic systems and intonation in English*. London: Cambridge University Press.

Dewald, Anika. 2012. *Versetzungsstrukturen im Deutschen: Zu ihrer Syntax, Prosodie und Diskursfunktion*. Cologne: Universität zu Köln. (Doctoral dissertation).

Dickey, Eleanor. 2016. Who used the 'Hermeneumata Pseudodositheana'? Evidence for Greek speakers in the medieval West. *I Graeca Nei Libri Latini Tra Medioevo e Umanesimo. Atti della giornata di studi in ricordo di Alessandro Daneloni. Messina, 28 ottobre 2015*. Studi medievali e umanistici 14. 47–71.

Diewald, Gabriele. 2007. Konstruktionen in der diachronen Sprachwissenschaft. In Kerstin Fischer & Anatol Stefanowitsch (eds.), *Konstruktionsgrammatik. Von der Anwendung zur Theorie*, 79–103. Tübingen: Stauffenburg Verlag.

Diop, Samba. 1995. *The oral history and literature of the Wolof people of Waalo, Northern Senegal: The master of the word (griot) in the Wolof tradition.* Lewiston, NY: Edwin Mellen Press.

Dittmer, Arne & Ernst Dittmer. 1998. *Studien zur Wortstellung. Satzgliedstellung in der althochdeutschen Tatianübersetzung* (Studien zum Althochdeutschen 31). Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.

Donatus. 2009. *Die ars maior des aelius donatus: Lateinischer Text und kommentierte deutsche übersetzung einer antiken Lateingrammatik des 4. Jahrhunderts für den fortgeschrittenen Anfängerunterricht.* Trans. by Alex Schönberger. Frankfurt am Main: Valentia.

Du Bois, John W. 2014. Towards a dialogic syntax. *Cognitive Linguistics* 25(3). 359–410.

Eberhard, David M., Gary F. Simons & Charles D. Fennig (eds.). 2020. *Seneca in language cloud.* 23rd, online version. Dallas, TX: SIL International.

Edwards, Cyril. 1994. German vernacular literature: A survey. In Rosamond McKitterick (ed.), *Carolingian culture: Emulation and innovation*, 141–170. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Eggenberger, Jakob. 1961. *Das Subjektpronomen im Althochdeutschen. Ein syntaktischer Beitrag zur Frühgeschichte des deutschen Schrifttums.* Grabs, Switzerland: Offsetdruck C. Sulser & Co. Chur.

Eggers, Hans (ed.). 1964. *Der althochdeutsche Isidor. Nach der Pariser Handschrift und den Monseer Fragmenten.* Tübingen: Max Niemeyer.

Ehri, Linnea C. 2014. Orthographic mapping in the acquisition of sight word reading, spelling memory, and vocabulary learning. *Scientific Studies of Reading* 18(1). 5–21. DOI: 10.1080/10888438.2013.819356.

Einhard. 1880. *Vita Karoli Magni.* Hannoverae: Impensis bibliopolii Hahniani. https://tinyurl.com/4bma4rpu.

Ellis, Nick C. 1996. Sequencing in SLA: Phonological memory, chunking and points of order. *Studies in Second Language Acquisition* 18. 91–126.

Erdmann, Oskar. 1874. *Untersuchungen über die Syntax der Sprache Otfrids*, 2 vols. Halle: Verlag der Buchhandlung des Waisenhauses.

Erdmann, Oskar (ed.). 1973. *Otfrids 'Evangelienbuch'*. In collab. with Ludwig Wolff. 6th edn. (Altdeutsche Textbibliothek 49). Tübingen: Max Niemeyer.

Erickson, Jon. 1997. Some observations on word order in Old Saxon. In Christa Dürscheid, Karl Heinz Ramers & Monika Schwarz (eds.), *Sprache im Fokus: Festschrift für Heinz Vater zum 65. Geburtstag*, 95–105. Tübingen: Max Niemeyer.

Evans, Christine M. 2023. *Variation, change, and the left periphery: Dislocation phenomena in contemporary Northern German varieties*. Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin-Madison. (Doctoral dissertation). https://www.proquest.com/docview/2823386088?parentSessionId=8sebPFb6cUvqtrR5QZ2%2BraRMIppKPNXXJjRgEUPKr3U%3D&accountid=465.

Fischer, Olga, Ans van Kemenade, Willem Koopman & Wim van der Wurff. 2000. *The syntax of early English*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Fleischer, Jürg. 2006. Zur Methodologie althochdeutscher Syntaxforschung. *Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur* 128(1). 25–69.

Fowler, R. L. 1982. Aristotle on the period (rhet. 3. 9). *The Classical Quarterly* 32(1). 1982.

Frog. 2017. Parallelism and orders of signification (parallelism dynamics I). *Oral Tradition* 31(2). 425–484.

Frog & Lotte Tarkka. 2017. Parallelism in verbal art and performance: An introduction. *Oral Tradition* 31(2). 203–232.

Garver, Valerie L. 2009. *Women and aristocratic culture in the Carolingian world*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

Gelderen, Margreet van. 1991. Notkers Wiedergabe des Ablativus absolutus in seiner Übersetzung von Boethius 'De Consolatione Philosophiae'. *Amsterdamer Beiträge zur älteren Germanistik* 33. 39–79.

Gering, Hugo. 1876. *Die Causalsätze und ihre Partikeln bei den althochdeutschen Übersetzern des achten und neunten Jahrhunderts*. Halle: Druck der Buchdruckerei des Waisenhauses. https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=njp.32101067703197&seq=7.

Goffart, Walter. 2006. *Barbarian tides: The migration age and the later Roman Empire*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Goldberg, Adele E. 1995. *Constructions : A construction grammar approach to argument structure*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Goldberg, Adele E. 2006. *Constructions at work the nature of generalization in language*. Oxford/New York: Oxford University Press.

Gossen, Carl Theodor. 1967. *Französische Skriptastudien. Untersuchungen zu den nordfranzösischen Urkundensprachen des Mittelalters*. Wien/Graz/Köln: Böhlau in Kommission. https://search.library.wisc.edu/catalog/9910209504202121.

Graff, Richard. 2005. Prose versus poetry in early Greek theories of style. *Rhetorica* 23(4). 303–335.

Green, D. H. 1994. *Medieval listening and reading: The primary reception of German literature 800-1300*. Cambridge/New York: Cambridge University Press.

Griffiths, James. 2015. *On appositives*. Groningen, NL: University of Groningen. (Doctoral dissertation).

Grimm, Jacob & Wilhelm Grimm (eds.). 1812. *Kinder- und Hausmärchen*. 1st. Berlin: Realschulbuchhandlung.

Grundmann, Herbert. 2019. Litteratus–illitteratus: The transformation of an educational standard from antiquity to the middle ages. In Jennifer Kolpacoff Deane (ed.). Trans. by Steven Rowan, *Herbert Grundmann (1902-1970) : Essays on heresy, inquisition, and literacy*, 56–125. Melton: York Medieval Press.

Gullick, Michael. 1995. How fast did scribes write? Evidence from Romanesque manuscripts. In Linda L. Brownrigg (ed.), *Making the medieval book: Techniques of production. Proceedings of the Fourth Conference of the Seminar in the History of the Book to 1500, Oxford, July 1992*, 39–58. Los Altos Hills, Calif.: Anderson-Lovelace.

Gumperz, John J., Hannah Kaltman & Mary Catherine O'Connor. 1984. Coherence in spoken and written discourse: Ethnic style and the transition to literacy. In Deborah Tannen (ed.), *Coherence in spoken and written discourse*, 3–19. Norwood, N.J.: Ablex.

Haferland, Harald. 2010. Was the 'Hêliand' poet illiterate? In Valentine A. Pakis (ed. and trans.). Trans. by Valentine A. Pakis, *Perspectives on the Old Saxon 'Hêliand.' Introductory and critical essays, with an edition of the Leipzig fragment*, 167–207. Morgantown: West Virginia University Press.

Haiman, John. 1994. Ritualization and the development of language. In William Pagliuca (ed.), *Perspectives on grammaticalization*, 3–28. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: Benjamins.

Halliday, M. A. K. 1989. *Spoken and written language*. 2nd edn. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Harris, Alice C. & Lyle Campbell. 1995. *Historical syntax in cross-linguistic perspective*. Cambridge/New York: Cambridge University Press.

Harrison, Rebecca R. 2007. A structural arrangement of text to facilitate reading. *The Classical Journal* 102(3). 291–303.

Haubrichs, Wolfgang. 1988. Die anfänge: Versuche volkssprachiger Schriftlichkeit im frühen Mittelalter (ca. 700-1050/60. In Joachim Heinzle (ed.), *Geschichte der deutschen Literatur von den Anfängen bis zum beginn der neuzeit*, vol. 1, 3 vols., 1–159. Frankfurt am Main: Athenäum.

Haubrichs, Wolfgang. 2004. Otfrid von Weißenburg. Umrisse eines 'Lebens'. In Wolfgang Kleiber, Ernst Hellgardt & Wolfgang Haubrichs (eds.), *Otfrid von Weißenburg. Evangelienbuch. Einleitung und Apparat*, vol. 2, 2 vols., 3–11. Tübingen: Max Niemeyer.

Heath, Jeffrey. 1985. Discourse in the field: Clause structure in Ngandi. In Johanna Nichols & Anthony C. Woodbury (eds.), *Grammar inside and outside*

the clause: Some approaches to theory from the field, 89–110. Cambridge/New York: Cambridge University Press.

Hills, Lauren. 2001. *Literacy and the vernacular: A case study based on the post-colonial history of Mauritius, with particular reference to mauritian Creole*. Scotland: University of St. Andrews. (Doctoral dissertation).

Hinterhölzl, Roland & Svetlana Petrova (eds.). 2009. *Information structure and language change. New approaches to word order variation in Germanic*. Berlin/New York: Mouton de Gruyter.

Höder, Steffen. 2010. *Sprachausbau im Sprachkontakt: Syntaktischer Wandel im Altschwedischen* (Germanistische Bibliothek 35). Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag Winter.

Holm, David. 2017. Parallelism in the Hanvueng: A Zhuang verse epic from West-Central Guangxi in Southern China. *Oral Tradition* 31(2). 373–406.

Hopkins, Gerard M. 1959. *'Poetic diction'. The journals and papers of Gerard Manley Hopkins*. Humphry House & Graham Storey (eds.). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Hopper, Paul J. 1975. *The syntax of the simple sentence in Proto-Germanic*. The Hague: Mouton.

Jakobson, Roman. 1966. Grammatical parallelism and its Russian facet. *Language* 42(2). 399–429.

Jeep, John M. 1996. Alliterating word-pairs in Old High German: Approaching a rhetorical evaluation. *American Journal of Germanic Linguistics & Literatures* 8(1). 33–67.

Jensen, Minna S. 2011. *Writing Homer: A study based on results from modern fieldwork*. Copenhagen: Det Kongelige Danske Videnskabernes Selskab.

Kaivola-Bregenhøj, Annikki. 1996. *Narrative and narrating: Variation in Juho Oksanen's storytelling*. Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedeakatemia.

Kehrein, Roland. 2020. Vertical language change in Germany: Dialects, regiolects, and Standard German. In Stanley Brunn & Roland Kehrein (eds.), *Handbook of the changing world language map*, 1357–1369. Cham, Switzerland: Springer.

Kemenade, Ans van. 1987. *Syntactic case and morphological case in the history of English*. Dordrecht: Foris.

Kirk, Geoffrey S. 1976. *Homer and the oral tradition*. Cambridge/New York: Cambridge University Press.

Kloss, Heinz. 1944. *Statistik, Presse und Organisationen des Judentums in den Vereinigten Staaten und Kanada: Ein Handbuch in Zusammenarbeit mit Edith Pütter*. Stuttgart: Selbstverlag der Publikationsstelle.

Kloss, Heinz. 1967. 'Abstand languages' and 'ausbau languages'. *Anthropological Linguistics* 9(7). 29–41. (30 March, 2022).

Kloss, Heinz. 1978. *Die Entwicklung neuer germanischer Kultursprachen seit 1800*. 2nd edn. Düsseldorf: Pädagogischer Verlag Schwann.

Koch, Peter & Wulf Oesterreicher. 1985. Sprache der Nähe - Sprache der Distanz. Mündlichkeit und Schriftlichkeit im Spannungsfeld von Sprachtheorie und Sprachgeschichte. *Romanistisches Jahrbuch* 36. 15–43.

Koch, Peter & Wulf Oesterreicher. 1994. Funktionale Aspekte der Schriftlichkeit. In Hartmut Günther & Otto Ludwig (eds.), *Schrift und Schriftlichkeit. Ein interdisziplinäres Forschung*, vol. 1, 587–604. Berlin/New York: Walter de Gruyter.

Köhn, Rolf. 1986. Latein und Volkssprache, Schriftlichkeit und Mündlichkeit in der Korrespondenz des lateinischen Mittelalters. In Rolf Köhn, Karl Meinz Göller & Bernhard Schimmelpfennig (eds.), *Zusammenhänge, Einflüsse, Wirkungen: Kongressakten zum ersten Symposium des Mediävistenverbandes in Tübingen, 1984*, 340–356. Berlin/New York: de Gruyter.

Kotcheva, Kristina. 2002. Om konjunktionerna 'ok' och 'än' i fornsvenska. *Folkmålsstudier* 41. 145–155.

Kotik-Friedgut, Bella, Michal Schleifer, Pnina Golan-Cook & Keith Goldstein. 2014. A Lurian systemic-dynamic approach to teaching illiterate adults a new language with literacy. *Psychology & Neuroscience* 7(4). 493–501.

Krebs, Christopher B. 2011. *A most dangerous book: Tacitus's 'Germania' from the Roman empire to the third reich*. New York: W.W. Norton & Co.

Krohn, Kaarle. 1918. *Kalevalankysymyksia I-II* (Suomalais-Ugrilaisen Seuran Aikakauskirja 35-36). Helsinki: Suomalais-Urgilaisen Seura.

Kuhn, Hugo. 1959. *Dichtung und Welt im Mittelalter*. Stuttgart: Metzler.

Lachmann, Karl. 1876. Über das hildebrandslied. In Karl Müllenhoff (ed.), *Kleinere Schriften zur deutschen philologie*, 407–488. Berlin: G. Reimer.

Laird, Andrew. 2010. Re-inventing Virgil's wheel: The poet and his work from Dante to Petrarch. In Philip Hardie & Helen Moore (eds.), *Classical literary careers and their reception*, 138–159. Cambridge/New York: Cambridge University Press.

Langer, Nils. 2000. Zur Verbreitung der tun-Periphrase im Frühneuhochdeutschen. *Zeitschrift für Dialektologie und Linguistik* 67(3). 287–316.

Langer, Nils. 2002. On the importance of foreign language grammars for a history of standard German. In Andrew R. Linn & McLelland Nicola (eds.), *Standardization. Studies from the Germanic languages*, vol. 235 (Amsterdam Studies in the Theory and History of Linguistic Science IV), 67–82. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Law, Vivien. 1994. The study of grammar. In Rosamond McKitterick (ed.), *Carolingian culture: Emulation and innovation*, 88–110. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Law, Vivien. 1997. *Grammar and grammarians in the early Middle Ages*. London/New York: Longman.

Lehmann, Winfred. 1971. On the rise of SOV patterns in New High German. In Klaus Günther Schweisthal (ed.), *Grammatik, Kybernetik, Kommunikation: Festschrift für Alfred Hoppe*, 19–24. Bonn: Dümmler.

Lenerz, Jürgen. 1984. *Syntaktischer Wandel und Grammatiktheorie: Eine Untersuchung an Beispielen aus der Sprachgeschichte des Deutschen* (Linguistische Arbeiten 141). Tübingen: Max Niemeyer.

Lenerz, Jürgen. 1985. Diachronic syntax: Verb position and COMP in German. In Jindrich Toman (ed.), *Studies in German grammar*, 103–132. Dordrecht: Foris.

Linde, Sonja. 2009. Aspects of word order and information structure in Old Saxon. In Roland Hinterhölzl & Svetlana Petrova (eds.), *Information structure and language change. New approaches to word order variation in Germanic*, 367–390. Berlin/New York: Mouton de Gruyter.

Lippert, Jörg. 1974. *Beiträge zu Technik und syntax althochdeutscher Übersetzungen unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Isidorgruppe und des althochdeutschen Tatian*. München: Fink.

Lord, Albert Bates. 2000. *The singer of tales*. 2nd edn. Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press.

Lötscher, Andreas. 2009. Verb placement and information structure in the OHG Gospel Harmony by Otfrid von Weissenburg. In Roland Hinterhölzl & Svetlana Petrova (eds.), *Information structure and language change. New approaches to word order variation in Germanic*, 281–322. Berlin/New York: Mouton de Gruyter.

Luhtala, Anneli. 1993. Syntax and dialectic in Carolingian commentaries on Priscian's 'Institutiones Grammaticae'. *Historiographia Linguistica* 20(1). 145–191.

Magoun, Francis P. 1943. Otfrid's 'Ad Liutbertum'. *PMLA* 58(4). 869–890.

Marsden, Richard. 2004. *The Cambridge Old English reader*. Cambridge/New York: Cambridge University Press. https://search.library.wisc.edu/catalog/999961966502121.

Masser, Achim. 1989. Aufgabe und Leistung der frühen volkssprachigen Literatur. In Achim Masser & Alois Wolf (eds.), *Geistesleben um den Bodensee im frühen Mittelalter: Vorträge eines mediävistischen Symposions vom 30. September bis zum 3. Oktober 1987 auf Schloss Hofen am Bodensee*. Freiburg im Breisgau: Schillinger. https://search.library.wisc.edu/catalog/999636876302121.

Masser, Achim (ed.). 1994. *Die lateinisch-althochdeutsche Tatianbilingue Stiftsbibliothek St. Gallen Cod. 56*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.

Matthews, Peter. 1994. Greek and Latin linguistics. In Giulio Lepschy (ed.), *History of linguistics: Classical and medieval linguistics*, vol. 2, 4 vols., 1–136. London/New York: Longman.

Matzel, Klaus. 1970. *Untersuchungen zur Verfasserschaft, Sprache und Herkunft der althochdeutschen Übersetzungen der Isidor-Sippe*. Bonn: Ludwig Röhrscheid.

McKitterick, Rosamond. 1989. *The Carolingians and the written word*. Cambridge/New York: Cambridge University Press.

Meillet, Antoine. 1937. *Introduction à l'étude comparative des langues indoeuropéennes*. Paris: Hachette.

Meillet, Antoine & Joseph Vendryes. 1963. *Traité de grammaire comparée des langues classiques*. Paris: Librairie ancienne Honoré Champion.

Michaels, Sarah & Courtney B. Cazden. 1986. Teacher/child collaboration as oral preparation for literacy. In Bambi B. Schieffelin & Perry Gilmore (eds.), *The acquisition of literacy: Ethnographic perspectives*, 132–154. Norwood, N.J.: Ablex.

Michaels, Sarah & James Collins. 1984. Oral discourse styles: Classroom interaction and the acquisition of literacy. In Deborah Tannen (ed.), *Coherence in spoken and written discourse*, 219–244. Norwood, N.J.: Ablex.

Miller, George A. 1956. The magical number seven, plus or minus two: Some limits on our capacity for processing information. *Psychological Review* 63(2). 81–97.

Miller, Jim & Regina Weinert. 1998. *Spontaneous spoken language: Syntax and discourse*. Oxford/New York: Oxford University Press.

Mitchell, Bruce. 1985. *Old English syntax. Volume II: Subordination, independent elements, and element order*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Mithun, Marianne. 2005. On the assumption of the sentence as the basic unit of syntactic structure. In Zygmunt Frajzyngier, Adam Hodges & David S. Rood (eds.), *Linguistic diversity and language theories* (Studies in language companion series 72), 169–183. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Morris, Charles W. 1971. *Writings on the general theory of signs*. The Hague: Mouton.

Nagy, Gregory. 1996. *Homeric questions*. Austin: University of Texas Press.

Nemitz, Werner. 1962. Zur Erklärung der sprachlichen Verstöße Otfrids von Weißenburg. *Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur* 84. 358–432.

Nespor, Marina & Irene Vogel. 2007. *Prosodic phonology: With a new foreword*. 2nd edn. New York: Mouton de Gruyter.

Newell, Allen. 1990. *Unified theories of cognition*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.
Newmeyer, Frederick J. 2007. Linguistic typology requires crosslinguistic formal categories. *Linguistic Typology* 11. 133–157.
Nimis, Steve. 1994. The prosaics of the ancient novels. *Arethusa* 27. 387–411.
Norberg, Dag. 2023. *Manuel pratique de latin médiéval, Paris, 1968*. Trans. by R. H. Johnson. https://www.orbilat.com/Languages/Latin_Medieval/Dag_Norberg/02.html (11 August, 2023).
Nordmeyer, George. 1957. Syntax analysis of the Old High German Isidor. In Curt von Faber du Faur, Konstantin Reichardt & Heinz Blum (eds.), *Wächter und Hüter: Festschrift für H. J. Weigand*, 29–38. New Haven: Yale University Department of Germanic Languages.
Nordmeyer, George. 1958. On the OHG Isidor and its Significance for early German prose writings. *PMLA* (1). 23–35.
Oesterreicher, Wulf. 1997. Types of orality in text. In Egbert J. Bakker & Ahuvia Kahane (eds.), *Written voices, spoken signs : Tradition, performance, and the epic text*, 190–214. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.
Okpewho, Isidore. 2014. *Blood on the tides: The Ozidi saga and oral epic narratology*. Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press.
Olson, David R. 1977. From utterance to text: The bias of language in speech and writing. *Harvard Education Review* 47. 257–281.
Olson, David R. 1980. Some social aspects of meaning in oral and written language. In David R. Olson (ed.), *The social foundations of language and thought: Essays in honor of Jerome S. Bruner*, 90–108. New York: Norton.
Ong, Walter J. 2012. *Orality and literacy: The technologizing of the word*. 30th anniversary edition. New York/London: Routledge.
Palmer, Leonard R. 1954. *The Latin language*. London: Faber & Faber.
Parry, Milman. 1971. *The making of Homeric verse: The collected papers of Milman Parry*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
Pepys, Samuel. 1978. *The illustrated pepys: Extracts from the diary*. Robert Latham (ed.). Berkeley: University of California Press.
Persig, Anna. 2020. *The vulgate text of the catholic epistles: Its language, origin and relationship with the Vetus Latina*. Birmingham, UK: University of Birmingham. (Doctoral dissertation).
Petrova, Svetlana & Michael Solf. 2009. On the methods of information-structual analysis in historical texts: A case study on Old High German. In Roland Hinterhölzl & Svetlana Petrova (eds.), *Information structure and language change. New approaches to word order variation in Germanic*, 121–160. Berlin/New York: Mouton de Gruyter.

Piper, Paul (ed.). 1884. *Otfrid evangelienbuch. Mit einleitung, erklärenden anmerkungen, ausführlichem glossar, und einem abriss der Grammatik. II. Teil.* Freiburg im Breisgau/Tübingen: Akademische Verlagsbuchhandlung von J.C.B. Mohr.

Pollock, Sheldon. 2007. Hyperglossia and the division of linguistic labor as a research problem (response for third session: Power and culture beyond ideology and identity. In Seth L. Sanders (ed.), *Margins of writing, origins of culture* (Oriental Institute Seminars 2), 283–296. Chicago: The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago.

Priscian. 2010. *Priscians Darstellung der lateinischen Syntax. Lateinischer Text und kommentierte deutsche Übersetzung des 17. Buches der 'Institutiones Grammaticae'*. In collab. with Alex Schönberger. Trans. by Alex Schönberger. Frankfurt am Main: Valentia.

prose. 2023a. https://unabridged.merriam-webster.com/unabridged/prose (11 August, 2023).

prose. 2023b. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Prose (11 August, 2023).

Quintilian. 1922. *Institutio oratoria*. Harold E. Butler (ed. and trans.). Trans. by Harold E. Butler. Cambridge Mass.: Harvard University Press. http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Perseus:text:2007.01.0066:book=9:chapter=4&highlight=quintilian.

Rambaran-Olm, Mary & Erik Wade. 2022. What's in a name? The past and present racism in 'Anglo-Saxon' studies. *The Yearbook of English Studies* 52. 135–153. DOI: 10.1353/yes.2022.0010.

Ready, Jonathan L. 2019. *Orality, textuality, and the Homeric epics: An interdisciplinary study of oral texts, dictated, and wild texts*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Reichl, Karl. 2010. Heroic epic poetry in the Middle Ages. In Catherine Bates (ed.), *The Cambridge companion to the epic*, 55–75. Cambridge, UK/New York: Cambridge University Press.

Riedinger, Anita. 1985. The Old English formula in context. *Speculum* 60(2). 294–317.

Robinson, Orrin. 1997. *Clause subordination and verb placement in the Old High German Isidor translation*. Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag Winter.

Ruhfus, Wilhelm. 1897. *Die stellung des verbums im althochdeutschen tatian*. Dortmund: Druck von Fr. Wilh. Ruhfus.

Sapp, Christopher D. 2011. *The verbal complex in subordinate clauses from medieval to modern German*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Schlachter, Eva. 2012. *Syntax und Informationsstruktur im Althochdeutschen. Untersuchungen am Beispiel der Isidor-Gruppe*. Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag Winter.

Schleppegrell, Mary. 2004. *The language of schooling: A functional linguistics perspective*. New York/London: Routledge.

Schrodt, Richard. 2004. *Althochdeutsche Grammatik II: Syntax*. Tübingen: Max Niemeyer.

Schürr, Diether. 2013. 'sunufatarungo' und die Erfindung des 'Hildebrantslied'. *Amsterdamer Beiträge zur älteren Germanistik* 70. 65–86.

Schützeichel, Rudolf. 1974. *Althochdeutsches Wörterbuch*. Tübingen: Max Niemeyer.

Schützeichel, Rudolf. 1981. *Textgebundenheit: Kleinere Schriften zur mittelalterlichen deutschen Literatur*. Tübingen: Max Niemeyer.

Scollon, Ronald & Suzanne B. K. Scollon. 1981. *Narrative, literacy, and face in interethnic communication*. Norwood, N.J.: Ablex. https://search.library.wisc.edu/catalog/999521242802121.

See, Karl von. 1985. *Europäisches Frühmittelalter*. Wiesbaden: AULA-Verlag.

Sehrt, Edward H. 1925. *Vollständiges Wörterbuch zum 'Hêliand' und zur altsächsischen 'Genesis'*. Göttingen/Baltimore: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht & The Johns Hopkins Press.

Seidenberg, Mark. 2018. *Language at the speed of sight: How we read, why so many can't, and what can be done about it*. New York: Basic Books.

Selkirk, Elisabeth O. 1984. *Phonology and syntax: The relation between sound and structure*. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press.

Siegel, Jeff. 1981. Developments in written Tok Pisin. *Anthropological Linguistics* 23(1). 20–35.

Sievers, Eduard (ed.). 1935. *Heliand*. Halle (Saale): Waisenhaus.

Sievers, Eduard (ed.). 1961. *Tatian. Lateinisch und altdeutsch mit ausführlichem glossar*. 2nd edn. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft.

Simpson, Heather E. 2016. *The role of intonation units in memory for spoken English*. Santa Barbara, CA: University of California Santa Barbara. (Doctoral dissertation).

Snow, Catherine E. 1983. Literacy and language relationships during the preschool years. *Harvard Education Review* 53. 165–189.

Somers, Katerina. 2018. Verb-third in Otfrid's 'Evangelienbuch'. *NOWELE* 71(1). 56–99.

Somers, Katerina. 2021a. On the grammaticality of poetry: The asyndetic verb-late clause in Otfrid's 'Evangelienbuch'. *Journal of Germanic Linguistics* 33(4). 358–404. DOI: 10.1017/S1470542721000015.

Somers, Katerina. 2021b. Regularizing rhythms: Meter as prescription in ninth-century German. *Monatshefte* 113(1). 30–49.

Somers, Katerina & Shannon Dubenion-Smith. 2014. The intersection between syntax and meter in the Old Saxon Hêliand. *Amsterdamer Beiträge zur älteren Germanistik* 72. 83–134.

Sornicola, Rosanna. 1981. *Sul parlato*. Bologna: Societa Editrice il Mulino.

Steinitz, Wolfgang. 1934. *Der Parallelismus in der finnisch-karelischen Volksdichtung untersucht an den Liedern des karelischen Sangers Arhippa Perttunen* (Folklore Fellows' Communications 115). Helsinki: Academia Scientiarum Fennica.

Stewart, Garrett. 2018. *Prose*. Oxford University Press. DOI: 10.1093/acrefore/9780190201098.013.1084.

Suzuki, Seiichi. 2004. *The metre of Old Saxon poetry: The remaking of alliterative tradition*. Cambridge, UK/Rochester, NY: D.S. Brewer.

Sweet, Henry. 1900. *The history of language*. New York: The Macmillan Company.

Taeger, Burkhard & Otto Behaghel (eds.). 1985. *Der 'Hêliand: Ausgewählte Abbildungen zur Überlieferung* (Litterae 103). Göppingen: Kümmerle.

Thorpe, Deborah. 2015. *Clever sluggards? How fast did medieval scribes work?* The scribe unbound. https://thescribeunbound.wordpress.com/2015/10/28/clever-sluggards-how-fast-did-medieval-scribes-work/ (22 August, 2023).

Torrance, Nancy & David R. Olson. 1984. Oral language competence and the acquisition of literacy. In Anthony D. Pellegrini & Thomas D. Yawkey (eds.), *The development of oral and written language in social contexts*, 167–182. Norwood, N.J.: Ablex.

Victorinus, Marius. 1967. *Ars grammatica*. Italo Mariotti (ed.). Florence: F. Le Monnier.

Vineis, Edoardo. 1994. Medieval linguistics. In Giulio Lepschy (ed.), *History of linguistics: Classical and medieval linguistics*, vol. 2, 4 vols., 137–197. London/New York: Longman.

Walkden, George. 2013. The status of 'hwæt' in Old English. *English Language and Linguistics* 17(3). 465–488.

Walkden, George. 2014. *Syntactic reconstruction and Proto-Germanic*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Walkden, George. 2016. The HeliPaD. A parsed corpus of Old Saxon. *International Journal of Corpus Linguistics* 21(4). 559–571.

Wickham, Chris. 2009. *The inheritance of Rome : A history of Europe from 400 to 1000*. London: Penguin.

Wilhelm, Cornelia. 2002. Nazi propaganda and the uses of the past: Heinz Kloss and the making of a "German America". *Amerikastudien / American Studies* 47(1). 55–83.

Windisch, Ernst. 1869. Untersuchungen über den Ursprung des Relativpronomens in der indogermanischen Sprachen. *Studien zur griechischen und lateinischen Grammatik* 1. 201–419.

Wöllstein-Leisten, Angelika, Axel Heilmann, Peter Stepan & Sten Vikner. 1997. *Deutsche Satzstruktur. Grundlagen der syntaktischen Analyse*. Tübingen: Max Niemeyer.

Woolf, Henry B. 1937. Three notes on "widsith". *The Journal of English and Germanic Philology* 36(1). 24–28.

Wunder, Dieter. 1965. *Der Nebensatz bei Otfrid; Untersuchungen zur Syntax des deutschen Nebensatzes*. Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag Winter.

Zeller, Bernhard. 2021. Language, formulae, and Carolingian reforms: The case of Alemannic charters from St. Gall. In Robert Gallagher, Edward Roberts & Francesca Tinti (eds.), *The languages of early medieval charters. Latin, Germanic vernaculars, and the written word*, 154–187. Leiden/Boston: Brill.

How to create an early German *scriptus*

Set blurb on back with \BackBody{my blurb}