LIVE FAST, DIE EVEN YOUNGER:
THE AFINITE CONSTRUCTION IN MIDDLE LOW GERMAN*

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ABSTRACT The afinite construction, that is, the ellipsis of a finite auxiliary from a verbal complex in a syndetic subordinate clause, curiously appears in Early New High German (ENHG) in the second half of the 15th century, and disappears again ca. 250 years later, though the ellipsis of perfect auxiliaries remains possible, at a much lower frequency, for longer. The same type of ellipsis has also been reported for Middle Low German (MLG) by Magnusson (1939), and the first attestation predates the ENHG one by about 200 years. Härd (2000) repeats Magnusson's observation and adds that the ellipsis becomes "very frequent" from the 13th century onwards. Based on the newly available reference corpora of MLG, the current paper shows that while Magnusson's finding can be confirmed, Härd's claim cannot be substantiated. All in all, the afinite construction is only scatteredly attested in MLG, but there is great variation between texts. The current paper will attempt to identify the determining factors behind this variation. The new data furthermore afford a new assessment of the origin of the afinite construction, and lend support to the hypothesis that ENHG and MLG underwent independent developments.

1 INTRODUCTION

The afinite construction, that is, the ellipsis of a finite auxiliary from a verbal complex in a syndetic subordinate clause (1), rather suddenly appears in the second half of the 15th century in Early New High German (ENHG), and curiously disappears again ca. 250 years later, though the ellipsis of perfect auxiliaries remains possible, at a lower frequency, for a little longer (Admoni 1967, 1980, Ebert, Reichmann, Solms & Wegera 1993, Demske 1990, Breitbarth 2005).

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* Place your thanks here.

(1) *solt   er yecz sterben das er nit mer   czuo beichten*
    should he now die   that he NEG anymore to   confession
    west [_]   . *das wer ain frommer cristen   mensch nit*
    been [is/was] that were a   devout Christian person NEG
    'Should he die now, without having been to confession anymore, he
    would not be a devout Christian.'
    (Geiler von Kaysersberg, *Bilger*, 1494, 34,6–9)

The same type of ellipsis has also been reported by Magnusson (1939) for Middle Low German (MLG). Magnusson cites (2) from the *Sächsische Weltchronik* from the second half of the 13th century as (one of) the earliest attestations, already 200 years before the construction emerged in ENHG. Härd (2000: 1459) adds to Magnusson's observation that the ellipsis becomes "very frequent later".

(2) *de   marcgreve Albrecht   gewan wider Brandenburch van   den*
    the margrave Albrecht won   again Brandenburg from the
    Weneden, dat   se   eme afgewunnen [_]
    Wends   which they him won-off   [had]
    'Margrave Albrecht won Brandenburg back from the Wends, which
    they had taken from him'
    (*Sächsische Weltchronik* 221; Magnusson 1939: 20)

The first aim of the current paper is to test Härd's claim based on data from the new *Referenzkorpus Mittelniederdeutsch und Niederrheinisch* (ReN-Team 2017).

The second aim is to take a closer look at the causes of the emergence of the afinite construction. The new MLG data will be compared to the ENHG data collected by Breitbarth (2005), as well as (Blum 2018) and shown to afford new insights into the origin of the afinite construction. Based on this new evidence, it will be argued that the the afinite construction in MLG represents an independent development from ENHG.

2 THE AFINITE CONSTRUCTION IN ENHG: STATE OF THE ART

2.1 Characteristics

The afinite construction in ENHG (Admoni 1967) is the ellipsis of finite auxiliary verb from a periphrastic verb form, most frequently with a past particple, i.e. (plu)perfect *sein* (3 a) and *haben* (3 b) or passive *sein* (3 c) and *werden* (3 d), less frequently also *sein* (3 e) and *haben* (3 f) in modal constructions with a *zu*-infinive and copular *sein* (3 g).

(3) (a) *eins teils darum-/   dz   jnen der   dingen jr   lễbē*
one part because.of that them these things their life

lang nichts   sonders begẽgnet   [_]
long nothing special encountered [is]

'For one part, it is because no such thing has ever happened to them in their whole life'

(Lavater (1578; 12r,25-12v,01); Breitbarth 2005: 52)

(b) *Als   nun die Storcken ausgelacht   [_],*
when now the storks   finished.laughing [had]

gerahtschlagt sich Gargantua mit   seim Hofgesind was   zu
deliberated   REFL G.   with his   domestics what to

thun sey.
do   is.SUBJ

'When the storks had finished laughing, Gargantua deliberated with his domestics what to do'

(Fischart (1590;302,22-23); Breitbarth 2005: 1)

(c) *Kễnig Dieterich were   nicht gut   gnug/   das er*
king   D.   would.be not   good enough that he

oder sein Haußfraw   verbễndtnis mit   jhm machen solten/
or   his   house.wife coalition   with him do   should

dann   er vnehelich   geboren [_]   /
because   he illegitimately born   [was]

'King Dieterich or his wife would not be good enough to make a coalition with because he was born as an illegitimate child.'

(Bange (1599; 21r,09-10); Breitbarth 2005: 3)

(d) *als   nun den dritten Tag/ der Hauptman von allen*
when now the third   day   the major   of   all

Officirn vnd Herrn von   Hoff ins   Closter   zu den
officers and sirs   from court into.the monastery to the

Augustinern   zur   begrebnis begleitet   [_]
Augustinians to.the   funeral   accompanied [became]

'when on the third day the captain was accompanied to the funeral in the monastery of the Augustinians by all officers and noblemen of the court ...'

(Aviso (1609; 3¹,30-32); Breitbarth 2005: 3)

(e) *das   also nichts   sonders inn der Jnsel/ dieweil sie nit*
that thus nothing   special in   the island while   it   not

bewohnet   wirt/ zufinden [_] / dann allein die wilde
inhabited is   to.find   [is]   than alone   the wild

3

Capparen
capers

'that thus on this island, which is not inhabited, nothing special can be found apart from wild capers'

(Rauwolf (1587; 12,27-29); Breitbarth 2005: 3)

(f) *dessen   er sich in seinem Stand im   wenigsten nicht*
which.GEN he REFL in his   class in.the least   not

zu beschämen   [_]
to be.ashamed had

'of which he in his class would not have to have been ashamed in the least'
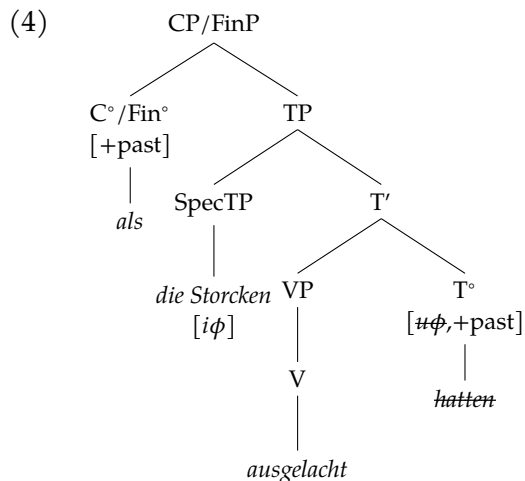
(Andreae (1614/16; 24,10-11); Breitbarth 2005: 4)

(g) *da er nun schŭldig [_]/ wird gewißlich ein ernstlich*
if he now guilty   [is] will certainly a   serious

Exempel   an jhme statuirt werden.
example of him   made   become

'If found guilty, he will certainly be punished rigorously.'

(Aviso (1609; 3^6,1-2); Breitbarth 2005: 4)

The ellipsis, argued to take place at Spell Out (Breitbarth 2005: 126), is formally licensed because the information of the silent auxiliary can be recovered through overt material: the ϕ-features of the overt subject, checking the uninterpretable ϕ-feature of the finite (auxilliary) verb in T, and a finite complementizer or relative pronoun, spelling out the finiteness and temporal features of C/Fin, as shown in (4) (Breitbarth 2005: 126).

(4)

```
                    CP/FinP
                   /       \
          C°/Fin°           TP
          [+past]          /   \
            |         SpecTP     T'
           als          |       /  \
                  die Storcken VP    T°
                      [iφ]     |   [uφ,+past]
                               V       |
                                     hatten
                               |
                           ausgelacht
```

As variously observed in the literature (Admoni 1967, Demske 1990, Demske to appear, Breitbarth 2005, Senyuk 2014), the ellipsis of the finite auxiliary in ENHG has the function of marking the containing clause as dependent. As argued in Breitbarth (2005), not spelling out the finite auxiliary reduces the overt expression of finiteness information, 'M-finiteness' (Lasser 1997), which serves to anchor a proposition in space and time. Using forms such as infinitives or participles in subordinate clauses that express fewer finiteness distinctions (Tense, Mood, Aspect, Person and Number) than forms used in independent clauses is a cross-linguistically common *deranking strategy* (cf. Cristofaro 2002, Breitbarth 2005: 134). Not spelling out its carrier therefore works as a deranking strategy marking subordination.

2.2 The diachronic development and regional variation

In the — manually compiled — corpus of Breitbarth (2005), charting the diachronic development in five subperiods of fifty years of ENHG and one period of a hundred years of early Modern German (five texts per period),[1] it can be seen that the frequency of the afinite construction first increases rapidly, but then decreases even more rapidly after reaching its peak in the first half of the 17th century. Most of the texts in Breitbarth's (2005) corpus are from the Upper German area; only six out of the 25 texts between 1472 and 1678 (i.e., the ENHG period proper) are Central German. There is substantial individual variation between the texts, as the boxplot in Fig. 1 shows; the individual frequency of the afinite construction may deviate from the median frequency per period, but do not do so not in a uniform way: the two

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1 The subperiods were 1451–1500, 1501–1550, 1551-1600, 1601–1650, 1651–1700 and 1701-1800.
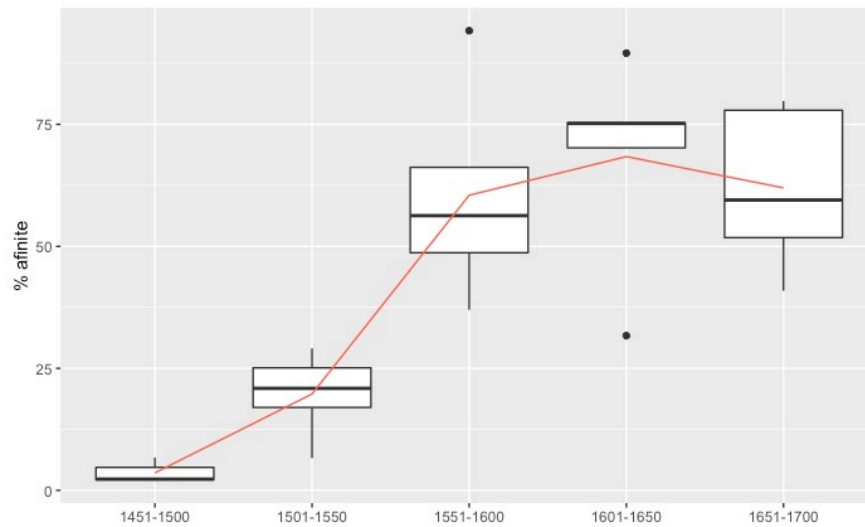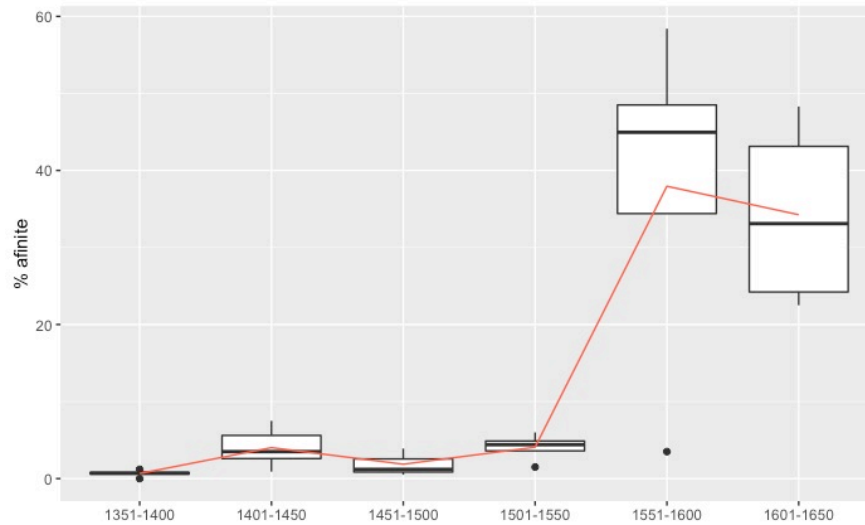
Figure 1   Diachronic and individual variation in the frequency of the afinite
construction in the ENHG texts in Breitbarth's (2005) corpus

outliers in the first half of the 17th century are both Central German texts, the
*Aviso* with 89.6% and Opitz' *Poeterey* with only 31.7%, see Fig. 1.

In Blum's (2018) data, based on a version of the later published Potsdam
Treebank of ENHG (Demske 2019), and covering six 50-year subperiods be-
tween 1350 and 1650, contains at least one text per region in each 50-year time
segment.[2] The frequency of the afinite construction is generally lower than
in Breitbarth's corpus, as seen in Fig. 2.[3] If one distinguishes Upper and Cen-
tral German as larger regions in Blum's data, it becomes clear that – apart
from the first half of the 16th century – Upper German texts tend to exhibit
the afinite construction more frequently. The difference is particularly evi-
dent in the second half of the 16th and the first half of the 17th century, i.e.,
the periods when the increase in use of the construction really gains speed,
cf. Fig. 3.

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2 For some subperiods, Blum's corpus contains more than one text for certain regions. Demske
(to appear) seems to be based on a larger corpus, the Potsdam Treebank as well as an addi-
tional (not publically available) treebank based on an ENHG newspaper corpus; however, the
frequencies are only presented in aggregated form, so information regarding regional distri-
bution of and frequencies in individual texts cannot be retrieved.

3 For possible reasons for this difference cf. Blum (2018: 66).

Figure 2 Diachronic and individual variation in the frequency of the afinite construction, based on Blum's (2018) data
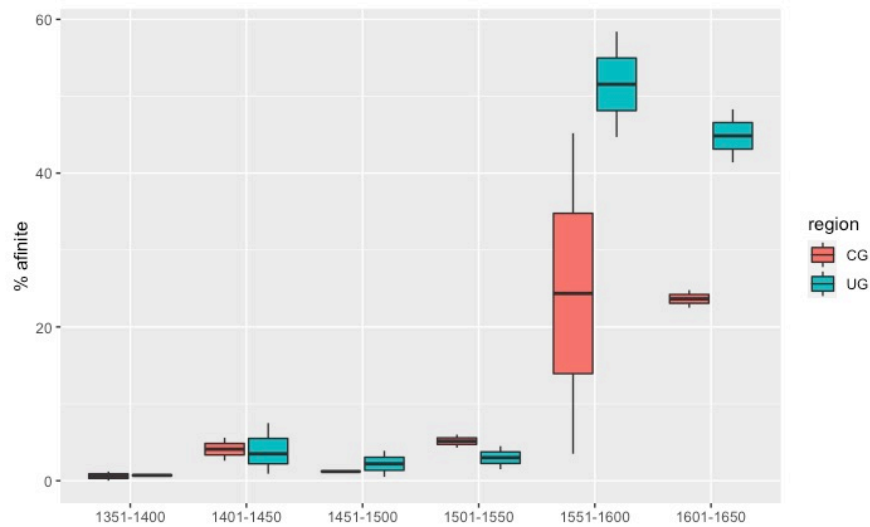
Figure 3 Regional variation in the frequency of the afinite construction, based on Blum's (2018) data

Given the scarcity of the currently available data — one text per subperiod and region —, and the variation between individual texts, as evident from the boxplots, it is not easy to conclude much about the regional variation. But it seems that Upper German texts tendentially favoured the afinite construction, certainly in the last hundred years of the ENHG period. As there is only one text per region and subperiod in the Postdam Baumbank, little can be said about the influence of genre. The differences between Blum's and Breitbarth's data might in part be attributable to a difference in text types included, but more research will be needed taking into account data from a larger and more balanced corpus.

2.3   On the origin of the construction

Regarding the causes for the afinite construction in ENHG, several hypotheses have been advanced in the literature, cf. Breitbarth (2005: 48–67) and Blum (2018: 20–44) for an overview. With a view to provide a background for the discussion of the new MLG data in the next section, we focus on only one scenario here.

Biener (1925) proposed that the afinite construction in ENHG originated in a reanalysis of finite past tense verb forms that were homophonous with past participles, and later spread to non-homophonous cases. Of particular importance for this hypothesis is the fact that before its establishment as a marker of past participles with a stressed first syllable in German, *ge-* was a morpheme marking perfective aspect, and as such could also combine with finite verbs. Besides, though not specifically addressed by Biener, such a reanalysis of finite past tense forms would have been possible with verbs with other perfective non-separable prefixes like *be-* in (3 a), whose participles cannot combine with *ge-*. According to Biener (1925: 296–7), this reanalysis was restricted to embedded clauses because in the absence of fronting of the finite verb, both the finite verb and the non-finite product of such a reanalysis are found in clause-final position. The hypothesis that the afinite construction arose through a reanalysis of homophonous finite form has recently been taken up again by Blum (2018). According to him, the basic requirements for such a reanalysis are (i) morphological, (ii) syntactic, and (iii) semantic ambiguity, all of which he finds present.

Regarding semantic ambiguity, Blum (2018: 55) refers to Dal & Eroms (2014: 156f) regarding the increasing ecroachment of the perfect upon the functional domain of preterite from the 15th century onwards.

Morphologically, weak verbs in the first and third person singular may be ambiguous with participles, as can be strong verbs in the first and third person plural. In the latter case, the strong verb forms need to share the same

stem vowel in the preterite and the perfect, as is for instance the case with *vertrieben* 'expelled', *entflohen* 'fled', *gesungen* 'sung', *beschrieben* 'described', *funden* 'found', or *bissen* 'bit/bitten'. Also *worden* 'become' can be ambiguous in dialects where the past tense vowel is lowered ($u > o$). In the former case, with weak verbs,such an ambiguity can arise if (a) if the verb forms show *e*-apocope in the preterite and (b) if an aspectual prefix *ge-* on a finite form is reinterpreted as a participial prefix. The option of *ge-* combining with finite verbs is on its way out of the language in the 15th century Ebert et al. (1993: 386), which may have further encouraged a reanalysis. The apocope of final *-e* in preterite forms is a mainly Upper German development. Potentially ambiguous weak verb forms are *gemacht* 'made', *erkannt* 'recognized', *vermeint* 'thought', *bracht* 'brought', or *regiert* 'governed' (Blum 2018: 46). While *e*-apocope increases the number of syncretic forms that could either be preterite or perfect, the loss of the preterite exactly in those dialects that have the apocopated preterite forms (*bracht* < *brachte* 'brought') reduces them around the same time, in the second half of the 15th century (Ebert et al. 1993: 389, cf. also Blum 2018: 47).[4]

Blum uses the syntactic ambiguity that could lead to the reanalysis seen in (5) (from Blum 2018: 53) as the main argument for the reanalysis scenario: only in embedded clauses do finite past tense forms in clause-final position, and can they not be disambiguated from a participle whose finite auxiliary has not been spelled out. This, according to Blum, would account for the restriction of the afinite construction to embedded clauses.

(5)   (a)   Finite embedded clause:

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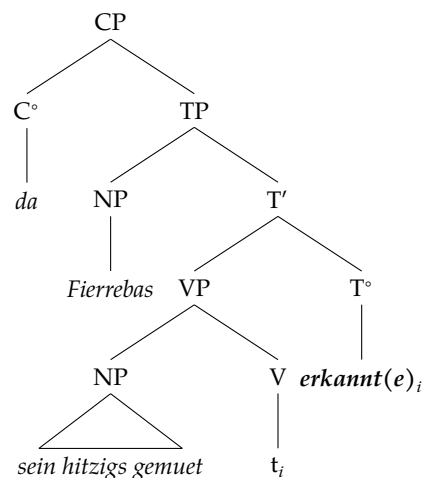
4 Whether or not there is in fact a causal connection between the rise of the apocope and the loss of the preterite, is a different question, cf. Dal (1960).

(b) Afinite construction:

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                    CP
              /            \
           C°               TP
           |           /          \
           da        NP            T'
                      |         /        \
                 Fierrebas   VP           T°
                           /     \
                         NP       V      (hat)
                        / \       |
                       /___\   erkannt
                  sein hitzigs gemuet
```
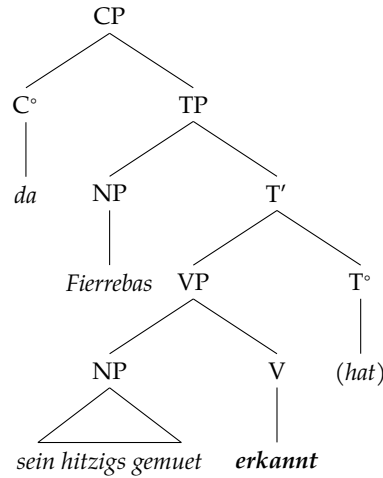
As argued by Breitbarth (2005: 52–3), a necessary precondition for a reanalysis on all three grounds — morphological, syntactic, and semantic — however, is the availability of a fully grammaticalised perfect construction, with which the afinite construction is in complementary distribution. Blum therefore recognises this as a fourth conditioning factor. All four factors would temporally coincide to make such a scenario plausible. However, as Blum (2018: 59) himself points out, a reanalysis of finite forms as perfect participles might predict that the afinite construction should first emerge with perfects. Blum (2018: 68) admits that the data available so far (wether his own or those of Breitbarth 2005) do not support this prediction; Biener (1925: 292), too, concedes – with a measure of surprise – that the first example he found is in fact a passive. From early on, passive auxiliaries (3 c)/(3 d), the copula *sein* 'be' (3 g), as well as *sein* in the modal passive with *zu*-infinitive (3 e) are attested. We will return to this point in Section 4.

3 The afinite construction in MLG

3.1 *Methods*

In order to test Härd's (2000) claim that the afinite construction became very frequent in MLG after first emerging in the 13^th century, the newly available *Referenzkorpus Mittelniederdeutsch und Niederrheinisch* (ReN) (ReN-Team 2017) was searched for relevant structures. As the corpus is not parsed, one cannot search for embedded clauses directly.[5] The only way to restrict the

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5 Part of the ReN has been parsed as part of the *Corpus of Historical Low German* (CHLG) (Booth, Breitbarth, Ecay & Farasyn 2020) and is searchable online on www.chlg.ugent.be. However,

query is to search for a subordinating complementizer (POS-tag KOUS) or a relative pronoun (POS-tag DPRELS) and a perfect/passive participle (POS-tag VVPP) within the same sentence-span, which thankfully is part of the ReN-annotation.[6] This covers at least a large part of the contexts in which the afinite construction is found in ENHG – complement clauses, most syndetic adverbial clauses, and relative clauses, and returns (plu)perfect as well as passive constructions. Subsequently, the data were cleaned up. Tokens with non-auxiliary aspectual verbs combining with past participles such as *stan* 'stand' or *bliuen* 'remain' (6) were removed, as were clauses introduced by the conjunction *wente* 'as, for, because, until', unless they clearly showed clause-final verb placement. Most clauses with *wente* are like (7), with clear V2 order after the conjunction, as shown by fronting of the object *dyne werke* and inversion of the subject and the finite verb (*hefstu* instead of *du hefst*), and were consequently removed.[7]

(6) (a) *also dar   enbovene screuen <u>steit</u>*
          as   there above   written <u>stands</u>

          'as is written above'

          (Nowgoroder Schra II, Rigaer Hs., spätestens 1297)

     (b) *Meuen Dat vnse Stath mit   folke   Jo   bewaret*
          but   that our   city   with people   PRT protected

          <u>bliue</u>
          <u>stay.SBJN</u>

          'but that our city including its inhabitants may remain protected'

          (Oldenburg, Urkunde, 1301–1350)

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as parsing is much more time-intensive, the CHLG covers fewer texts than the ReN. Therefore, in order to gain as complete a picture as possible, the ReN was chosen for the present study.

6 The queries used here were (i) and (ii):

       (i) `pos=/KOUS/ & pos=/VVPP/ & bound_sent & #3 _i_ #1 & #3 _i_ #2`
       (ii) `pos=/DPRELS/ & pos=/VVPP/ & bound_sent & #3 _i_ #1 & #3 _i_ #2`

The data were manually cross-checked with a query for ellipses of finite verbs (which do not have to be auxiliaries):

       (iii) `comment = /Ellipse des Finitums/` It should become possible to search for the explicit absence of a tag within a given context with (one of) the next release of ANNIS, however, this feature is not currently available yet.

7 Regarding the the double character of *wente* as coordinating and subordinating conjunction, cf. Schröder, Barteld, Dreessen & Ihden (2017: 49) or Booth et al. (2020: 773)

(7) *wente dyne werke hefst=u   vaken vorkeret*
     for   your works have=you often turned-around

'For you have often turned around your works'

(*Des dodes dantz*, Lübeck, 1489)

There are a (small) number of cases of afinite constructions in coordination structures. Only cases where neither conjunct has an overt auxiliary (8 a) or where the coordination is asymmetric in the sense that non-identical auxiliaries are dropped (8 b) were counted as cases of afinite constructions.

(8) (a) *Jtem   Welker jemandes dorch schantschriffte to latine*
        furthermore which someone by pasquill   in Latin

        libell famŏsz   ghenant (de   he vthgebreydet [_]   /
        libel famously called   which he distributed [has]

        vnde syk na   ordeninge der rechte nicht jnschribeert
        and REFL after ruling   of the law NEG

)   vnrechtliker   vnnd vnschuldiger wyse   /
        submits unlawful.GEN and innocentGEN manner

        schande laster vnde ouel tomet   ...
        shame libel and evil attributes

        'Furthermore, whoever by pasquills, in Latin famously called libel, which he distributed [has] and (who) does not submit himself to the rule of law and attributes shame, libel and evil in unlawful ways to innocent people ...'

        (Bamberger Halsgerichtsordnung von 1507, mnd. translation Rostock 1510)

    (b) *deme   de dŏtsleger   vth fryem willen vnde*
        whom the manslaughterer by free   will   and

        vnghenŏdiget nagefolget [_]   / vnde ene eerst jn der
        uninvitedly   followed [be]   and him only in the

        nafolginge   erslagen hedde
        consequence slain   has

        '... whom the manslaughterer [had] ([were] in MLG) followed out of free will and without invitation, and had only slain him afterwards.'

        (Bamberger Halsgerichtsordnung von 1507, mnd. translation Rostock 1510)

Cases where an overt auxiliary is present in one of the conjuncts were not

analysed as afinite constructions (9 a), even in cases that do not obey the directionality that holds in present-day German (9 b).

(9)   (a)   *It   ne   ware   also   dhat   he   enen   morth   .   ofte   enen*
              it   NE   were   thus   that   he   a   murder   or   a
              rof   ghedan   hebbe   .   ofte   ene   kerken
              robbery   commited   have.3sg.sbjn   or   a   church
              ghebroken   [_].   ofte   enen   morthbrant   ghedan   heuet .
              burgled   [has]   or   an   arson   committed   has
              'Unless he had committed a murder or a robbery, [has] burgled a church or coimmited an act of arson'
              (Stader Stadtrecht, 1279)

      (b)   *dat   de   HERE   darsoůluest   vorweret   hadde   aller*
              that   the   Lord   there.self   confused   had   all.gen
              lande   sprake   /   vnde   se   vorstrouwet   [_]   van
              countries   languages   and   them   scattered   [had]   from
              dar   jn   alle   lande   .
              there   into   all   countries
              '... that the Lord had confused all the languages there (in Babel) and [had] scattered them from there into all countries'
              (Bugenhagen-Bibel, Lübeck 1533 [1534])

The filtered data, 7399 clauses in total, were then manually analysed, as to whether or not the finite auxiliary was omitted and whether the form of the pariciple was potentially ambiguous.

3.2   Results

The first observation that can be made on the new data from the ReN is that indeed, the afinite construction emerges early, in the second half of the 13th century. In this respect, the present study confirms Magnusson's (1939) finding. However, it cannot be said that it ever becomes very frequent after that, contradicting Härd's (2000) claim.

    First of all, there is great variation between the individual texts in the ReN corpus. While in most of them (108 out of 146, i.e. nearly three quarters), finite auxiliaries are never omitted at all, in some the ellipsis seems to occur comparatively frequently. Generally, the absolute numbers are very small, however. Table 1 gives the counts and frequencies aggregated by subperiods of 100 (13th and 17th centuries) or 50 years (remaining periods).[8] Given the

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8 As there was only one text from the first half of the 13th century, it was grouped together with

extremely low numbers, it was not attempted to find differences between the scribal languages of MLG.[9]

| period	# afinite	% afinite	total
1201–1300	1	0.2	588
1301–1350	4	0.3	1369
1351–1400	3	0.6	532
1401–1450	4	0.8	508
1451–1500	25	0.9	2655
1501–1550	61	4.7	1288
1551–1600	52	19.0	274
1601–1700	6	3.2	185

Table 1 Diachronic development of the afinite construction in MLG

As Fig. 4 shows, the median frequency in each period stays rather low, there is great variation within periods, and there are significant outliers (black dots) deviating from the median.[10] In the first half of the 16th century, when the overall frequency begins to rise, the construction is only found in six out of 13 texts, with frequencies varying between 1% and 18.4%. Only in the second half of the 16th century do most texts (four out of six) exhibit at least some cases of the afinite construction, though the frequency varies enormously, between 3.5% and 40.2%. As a result, the average frequency (red line) shows a slight rise in the 16th century, around the time when the afinite construction became more frequent in ENHG, too. Given the fact that most texts do not have the afinite construction at all, the average frequency peaks at a much lower value compared to ENHG, though. Only one text, the *Chronica der Stadt Bremen* (1583), shows a frequency comparable to some ENHG texts (40.2%).

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the second half of the century. Likewise, as there were only three texts from the 17th century, one from the first half of the century, and two from the second, the numbers for the 17th century were aggregated.

9 Westphalian, Eastphalian, North Low Saxon, East Elbian, South Markish, and Baltic.
10 The full details are given in the appendix.
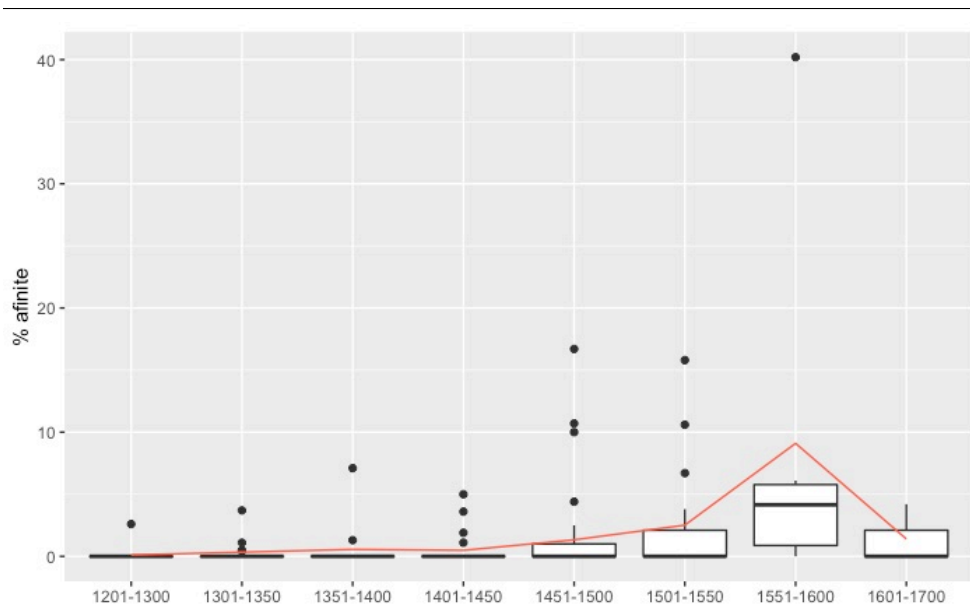
Figure 4   Diachronic and individual variation in the frequency of the afinite construction in the MLG texts in the ReN

3.3   Discussion

Given the very scattered attestation of the afinite construction in MLG, it has to be concluded that while Magnusson (1939) correctly observed that the ellipsis of finite auxiliaries did emerge (much) earlier in MLG than it did in ENHG, already around 1300, it never really caught on, certainly not in the fashion observed for ENHG.

In the earliest attestations in the ReN, the verb forms tagged VVPP in potential afinite constructions are often ambiguous with present tense forms, (10). Five out of the eight afinite constructions until 1400 are of this kind. In some cases, it is not clear whether the verb tagged VVPP is not mistagged, as a present tense interpretation certainly seems plausible: 'as one *repays* other damages described in this book' (10 a), 'whoever *tastes* this...' (10 b), or 'as it *befits*' (10 c).[11]

(10) (a) *he   scal   it beteren also me   andere broke   beteret*
          he shall it better   as   one other   damages better[ed]

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11 Unlike in other cases, the comments on the annotation to not indicate an ellipsis of the finite auxiliary here.

> [_]   *de   in desssen boke   bescreuen   stat*
> [has] that in this   book described   stand
>
> 'He shall repay it as one repays/has repaid other damages that are described in this book.'
>
> (Oldenburger Bilderhandschrift des Sachsenspiegels (Codex picturas Oldenburgensis), Kloster Rastede 1336)

(b) *we   des   <u>ghesmaket</u>   [_]   den   ne   dorstet*
    who this.GEN tastes/tasted [has] the.ACC NEG thirsts
    nicht mere
    NEG   anymore

    'Whoever tasted/tastes this, he will not be thirsty anymore'

    (Niederdeutsche Apokalypse, ca. 1400)

(c) *to mynem rechte so seck dat   <u>bebort</u>* ([_])
    to my   right   as REFL that <u>befits</u> ([has])

    'to my right, as it is / has been appropriate'

    (Briefe des Hansekaufmanns Hildebrand Veckinghusen, 1413–23)

Ambiguity with past tense forms, as argued by Biener and Blum for ENHG, is not found. This not surprising, considering that in MLG, there was much less potential for confusing finite weak preterite verbs with participles, because unlike in Upper German dialects, there is no *e*-apocope. (11) can serve to illustrate this. These are two cases where the participle could be a past tense form, but *only if* the *-e* ending of the weak past tense form were apocopated. But as the forms *make<u>de</u>* 'made' in (11 a) or *for<u>de</u>* 'led' in (11 b) make clear, *e*-apocope is not found in weak preterites in MLG, only allowing the analysis of *spaert* 'saved' and *erkandt* 'recognised' as past participles. In these particular two examples, it can be seen that the exigences of rhyme and metre seem to encourage the ellipsis of the auxiliary (as well as the extraposition of *alleynn* in (11 a), which seems to be part of the PP *vor my* (*alleynn*) 'only for myself', lit. 'for me alone', and should therefore not normally extract from it).

(11) (a) *Szo ick ydt vor my   <u>spaert</u> [_]   alleynn Vnd*
       as   I   it   for myself <u>saved</u> [had] alone   and
       *ydeeman   nicht make**de** gemeynn*
       everyone NEG   made   common

       'as I had saved it for myself alone, and did not make [it] common with everyone'

       (Burchard Waldis, De Parabell vam vorlorn Szohn, Riga, 1527)

(b) *Do*   *he tholast syn sůnde erkandt*   [_]   *For**de** ohn*
     when he at.last his sin   recognised [had] led   him
     GOT wedder ynn syn landt
     God   back   to   his   country
     'When at last he recognised his sin, God led him back to his country.'
     (Burchard Waldis, De Parabell vam vorlorn Szohn, Riga, 1527)

But also ambiguity with strong plural past tense forms – which can be ambiguous with participles in the ablaut classes I–III[12] – is hardly found. (12) might be a case in point.

(12) *dath weren mene lude*   *de*   *myt erer wyszheyt*
     that were mean people who with their wisdom
     vnderstunden de resen ouerwunnen ([_]?)
     sometimes   the giants won.over   [had]
     'Those were regular people who with their wisdom ([had]) sometimes overpowered the giants.'
     ([Saxo Grammaticus:] De denske kroneke)

In the ablaut classes V–VII, the stem vowel of the participle is the same as in the present, but here, too, very little ambiguous cases, like (13), are found, mostly because the subject is singular, or because a temporal complementiser (like *do* in (11 b)) makes it clear that a present tense reference is excluded.

(13) *vnd is de dudingh*   *dat vaken orlege vnde stride komen*
     and is the interpretation that often war   and fight come
     ([_]?) *van eyner blomen*
     [are]   from one   flower
     'And the interpretation is that often, war and fight (have) come from a single flower.'
     (Cronecken der sassen, Mainz: Peter Schoeffer, 1492)

That is, while there is syntactic ambiguity (clause-final position of the ambiguous verb form) and morphological ambiguity, mainly with singular present tense forms of weak verbs, considerably less with plural present or past tense

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12 Particularly if, as is relatively common in MLG, the participial *ge-* is omitted. It must be conceded that the prefix does occur more in the MLG texts in the ReN than one would expect from the present-day dialects, but the fact that it hardly occurs in texts representing spoken language such as the comedy *Teweschen Hochtiet* points to the fact that *ge-* was not a genuinely Low German feature.

forms of strong verbs, there is little semantic ambiguity. In case of stative verbs such as *bebort* in (10 c) the present tense has a meaning that is close to the result state of a perfect, and in case of perfective verbs such as *komen* in (13), together with the adverb *vaken*, both the perfect ('often in the past until now') and the present ('often in general') overlap semantically.

The first unambiguous cases of the afinite construction in the ReN are not found in perfect, but in passive constructions (14), echoing the observations of Biener (1925) and Blum (2018) for ENHG. In fact, the very first (and only) attestation from the late 13th century (14 a) is of this kind.

(14) (a) *Nu hir echt eyn ander vnderscheit ghescriuen*
now here legally a different difference written

[_] wo men richten moghe
[is/became] where one judge may

'Now there [has] been written a different legal difference, where one may judge ...'

(Rüthener Statutarrecht, Hs. L, ca. 1300)

(b) *sint der tit dat he to vronenboden koren [_]*
since the time that he to bailiff chosen [was]

'since the time that he was elected/chosen as bailiff ...'

(Sachsenspiegel, Bremer Handschrift, 1342)

(c) *in der tyd dad em bremen afwŭnen [_]*
in the time that them Bremen off.won [was]

'in the time that Bremen was taken from them'

(Bremer Urkunden (ASnA), 1351–1400)

In the 15th and 16th centuries, clear cases of ellipsis become more frequent, but remain restricted to individual texts. For instance, 17 out of 258 dependent clauses in the MLG translation of the *Bamberger Halsgerichtsordnung* (1510) contain afinite constructions (15).

(15) *Jtem so de vordacht bewyset worde / dat he vorgyfft*
equally if the suspect proven was that he poison

gekofft [_]
bought [had]

'Equally, if it was proven about the suspect that he had bought poison ...'

(Bamberger Halsgerichtsordnung von 1507,
mnd. translation Rostock 1510)

This may point to a potential transfer from Upper German in this translation, but there are two more texts with even higher frequencies in the same period, where such an influence is much less likely, viz. the Lüneburger *Liber Memorialis* (1501-1519) with 25 afinite constructions with participles in 158 dependent clauses and *Reynke de Vosz de olde* (Rostock 1539) with 13/123. While we do not know the linguistic socialisation and scribal education of the writer(s) adding documents to the Lüneburger *Liber Memorialis*, *Reynke de Vosz de olde* is based on an earlier MLG translation (Lübeck 1498; no afinite constructions; cf. appendix) of the story of the fox Reynard, which in turn is based on Middle Dutch sources. In the second half of the 16[th] century, the *Chronica der Stadt Bremen* (1583) stands out in particular, being the one text with the highest frequency of the afinite construction in the entire corpus with 40.2%. Here, a potential High German influence might stem from the fact that the author, Johann Renner, worked for a number of years as a sollicitor in Speyer (Rhineland-Palatinate) at the border between the Central and Upper German language areas. The afinite construction traditionally being considered a feature of chancery style (Ebert 1986), he might have picked up the habit there.

The influence of individual texts (and writers) on the overal frequency of the afinite construction in the ReN corpus should therefore not be underestimated. The three texts mentioned in the previous paragraph account for 58 out of the 68 occurrences of the afinite construction in the first half of the 16[th] century, the remaining are distributed over five more texts; eleven texts in that sub-period do not show a single occurrence. In the second half of the 16[th] century, the *Chronica der Stadt Bremen* (1583) alone contributes 45 out of the 58 afinite constructions.

All in all, the afinite construction appears much less frequently in MLG than in ENHG, and its attestation is much more scattered and less regular, with a large number of texts not showing the construction at all. The peak of its frequency lies around the same time as in ENHG, in the first half of the 16[th] century, and is mainly the result of a higher frequency of the construction in very few individual texts. This raises the question whether the scarce appearance of the afinite construction in MLG might be the result of transfer from ENHG, or alignment with certain ENHG stylistic conventions. We will look into this question in the next section.

4 Synthesis

The new MLG data presented in this paper contribute clear evidence for an independent development of the afinite construction in ENHG and MLG.

First of all, the afinite construction is completely unattested in the majority of the MLG texts in the ReN, and even at a time when it becomes more widespread, it remains extremely rare. This contrasts with ENHG, where even considering regional differences, it becomes robustly attested at least in the 16[th] century. Secondly, looking further at the regional distribution, as far as the still limited data from ENHG allow, it appears that particularly Upper German texts favoured the afinite construction. More Central German texts from the entire ENHG period will be needed to confirm this, which not yet possible at the current stage, as the *Referenzkorpus Frühneuhochdeutsch* (*ReF*) is still under construction.[13] Looking at these first two points, the new data discussed in the present paper therefore allow us to firmly reject a possibility considered – and considered unlikely – by Blum (2018: 24–7), viz. that the afinite construction could have spread from MLG, after it emerged there earlier than in ENHG.

Finally, the new data point to a similar but distinct scenario for the emergence of the construction. While a reanalysis of finite preterite forms as past participles lacking an overt auxiliary in clause-final position is at least possible for ENHG, as argued by Blum (2018), where as a consequence of *e*-apocope in weak preterites there was synchretism between 1sg and 3sg weak preterites and participles, as well as 1pl and 3pl strong preterites and participles with certain stem vowels, such a scenario is much less likely for MLG, as the weak preterites are not affected by *e*-apocope. Strong participles that could be ambiguous with plural forms (present or past, depending on the ablaut class) are hardly attested, or for other reasons not ambiguous (e.g. because of a singular subject). Rather, the earliest attesttations are amiguous with (weak) present tense forms. That is, while a reanalysis scenario is likely to also hold for MLG, it is a different form that caused the reanalysis from ENHG.

Even though for practical purposes, the ReN was only searched for perfect and passive participles in embedded clauses, meaning that afinite constructions with other types of predicates as they are attested in ENHG were not searched, the new data also afford a new perspective on the question raised by Blum (2018) as to why the afinite construction does not first only emerge in perfects, but is from the beginning attested with passives, in copula constructions, or with *zu*-infinitives. Just as in ENHG, the first unambiguous cases (and in MLG, the first case in the ReN *tout court*) of the afinite con-

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13 https://www.ruhr-uni-bochum.de/wegera/ref/

struction are in fact passives. I submit that this in fact supports the reanalysis scenario. As variously argued in the literature (such as Timberlake 1977), a syntactic reanalysis arises first in a context of structural ambiguity. Timberlake calls this the *actuation* of the change. At this point, the reanalysis is not yet discernable due to the surface ambiguity. Only when the new structure starts being used in contexts outside the original context of reanalysis does it become clear that the underlying reanalysis has occurred, and that speakers extend the new structure to other, similar contexts. Timberlake calls this *actualisation*, in the grammaticalisation a similar process is known as *extension*. It is only at the point when actualisation occurs that the underlying change becomes apparent. In both ENHG and MLG, this happens when the possibility to drop the finite auxiliary with a past participle extends to passive constructions, but also to perfect constructions where the subject cannot be analysed as agreeing with a potentially finite verb in person and number. In these cases, ambiguity with the finite present or past tense forms is no longer possible.

Given the scarcity of the afinite construction in the MLG corpus, and the great individual variation between texts, however, we also need to consider what factors may determine the extreme differences in frequencies between MLG texts, and compared to ENHG. First, we can observe that until ca. 1400, the afinite construction only occurs very sporadically, mainly in legal texts. After that, it begins to be used in literary texts, also infrequently at first. In the second half of the 15th century, one (legal) text sticks out, the MLG translation of the Bamberger Halsgerichtsordnung, after that it is mainly literary texts again, a chronicle and a translation of Reynke De Vos. At this point, it is useful to look a little further north. Johannisson (1945, 1960) proposes that ellipsis of finite auxiliaries in syndetic subordinate clauses in Swedish is a syntactic loan from German, which piggy-backed off the the possibility already available in the language to omit an auxiliary from a coordination structure even if the overt auxiliary is not identical with the deleted one. It is borrowed into Swedish from ca. 1670 onwards and rapidly becomes the dominant form, while in German, it already begins to decline and ultimately disappear again (cf. Härd 1981; Breitbarth 2005). The fact that the afinite construction only appears in few individual texts in MLG, and only becomes a little more frequent in the first half of the 16th century, particularly in literary texts or texts translated from ENHG, suggests a possible imitation of a Central or Upper German stylistic fashion, piggy-backing, as it does later in Swedish, on an option already present in the grammar, viz. (asymmetric) coordination ellipsis, as well as the possibility to drop the auxiliary in passive constructions, helped along by an ambiguity of weak present tense forms and participles.

5 Conclusion

With an eye on the initial aims of this paper, we can conclude that the data from the ReN do not confirm Härd's claim that the afinite construction ever became very frequent in MLG.

Regarding the emergence of the afinite construction, the MLG data suggest that similarly to what has recently been argued again for ENHG by Blum (2018), after it was first proposed by Biener (1925), a reanalysis of morphologically and syntactically ambiguous finite forms as participles with a dropped auxiliary in cases where the context does not allow to semantically discriminate between either analysis. Unlike what Biener and Blum hypothesed for ENHG, the ambiguous forms giving rise to the reanalysis in MLG are not past tense forms (weak singulars or strong plurals with matching stem vowels), but present tense forms (mainly weak verbs, hardly strong verbs). As in ENHG, the first unambiguous cases of the afinite construction appear to be passives, where an interpretation of the participle as a finite verb form is excluded. I have argued that the fact that perfects are not initially the exclusive context in which the afinite construction appears is in fact expected under a reanalysis approach. In the original context of reanalysis, the old and new forms are ambiguous. Only once the reanalysis actualises and extends to contexts that only allow the new underlying structure, which is the case most notably in passives, does it become visible.

I also briefly touched upon the question of why the afinite construction is only so sporadically attested in individual texts in MLG. One possibility is that the little used grammatical option of dropping the finite auxiliary, which had developed relatively early compared to ENHG, became reinforced by a stylistic fashion later on, at a time when it had become nearly ubiquitous in ENHG texts.

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The afinite construction in MLG

A   Data

text	# afinite	% afinite	total
1201–1300			
Braunschweig Stadtrecht, Ius Ottonianum, 1227/1231	0	0.0	6
Blankenburger Urkunden 1290	0	0.0	21
Braunschweig Stadtrecht, Bestätigung Ius Ottonianum, 1265	0	0.0	5
Braunschweig Stadtrecht/Duderstadt 1279a,b	0	0.0	17
Das erste Hallische Schöffenbuch, 1266-1300	0	0.0	11
Goslarer Kramerrecht, 1281	0	0.0	15
Hildesheimer Münzvertrag, 1300	0	0.0	2
Lübeck: Chronik Albrechts von Bardewik, 1298	0	0.0	13
Lübeck: Schiffsrecht, ca. 1300	0	0.0	14
Nederrijns Moraalboek 1. Teil	0	0.0	56
Nederrijns Moraalboek 2. Teil	0	0.0	31
Nederrijns Moraalboek 3. Teil	0	0.0	68
Nowgoroder Schra II (Rigaer Hs.)	0	0.0	51
Osnabrück, Sühne (= Koldenbeker Urkunde), ca. 1288	0	0.0	6
Rüthener Statutarrecht, Hs. L (ca. 1300)	1	2.6	38
Ravensberger Urkunde	0	0.0	2
Sachsenspiegel-Fragm. 22	0	0.0	6
Sachsenspiegel-Fragm. mgf 750, Bel. 1-2	0	0.0	8
Stader Stadtrecht, 1279	0	0.0	151
Stadtrecht Hildesheim	0	0.0	66
Urkunde Hermanns von Neheim (= Werler Urk.)	0	0.0	1
1301–1350			
1 Hamburger Urkunde (ASnA), 1301–1350	0	0.0	1
2 Berliner Urkunden (ASoR), 1301–1350	0	0.0	3
4 Rigaer Urkunden (ASoR), 1300–1350	0	0.0	15
4 Stralsunder Urkunden (ASoR), 1301–1350	0	0.0	17
5 Bremer Urkunden (ASnA), 1301–1350	0	0.0	24
5 Oldenburger Urkunden (ASnA), 1301–1350	0	0.0	14
Braunschweig, ältestes Degedingbuch der Altstadt	0	0.0	15
Bremer Stadtrecht, 1303/04, Abschrift	1	0.5	194
Bremer Stadtrecht, 1303/04, Originalhandschrift	0	0.4	226
Briefe des Hansekaufmanns Hildebrand Veckinghusen	1	3.7	79
Das ältere Hamburger Schiffsrecht, 1301	0	0.0	115
Hamburger Stadtrecht, 1301	0	0.0	95
Goslarer Stadtrecht (Ratskodex), ca. 1350	1	0.6	160
Oldenburger Bilderhandschrift des Sachsenspiegels 1336	2	1.1	173
Sachsenspiegel-Fragmente (Braunschweig), 1. H. 14. Jh.	0	0.0	23
Sachsenspiegel, Bremer Handschrift, 1342	0	0.0	129
Sächsische Weltchronik (Hs. 16), 1. H. 14. Jh.	0	0.0	40

text	# afinite	% afinite	total
1351–1400			
10 Rigaer Urkunden (ASoR), 1351–1400	0	0.0	49
10 Bremer Urkunden (ASnA), 1351–1400	1	1.3	80
10 Oldenburger Urkunden (ASnA), 1351–1400	0	0.0	31
11 Stralsunder Urkunden (ASoR), 1351–1400	0	0.0	26
14 Hamburger Urkunden (ASnA), 1351–1400	0	0.0	54
2 Berliner Urkunden (ASoR), 1301–1350	0	0.0	10
8 Berliner Urkunden (ASoR), 1351–1400	0	0.0	13
Berliner Stadtbuch, 16 ausgew. Einträge 1351–1400	1	0.0	55
Gerart van Rossiliun, Prosaroman, Fragmente, ca. 1400	0	0.0	16
Herforder Rechtsbuch 1375	0	0.0	107
Niederdeutsche Apokalypse	1	7.1	14
Revaler Handwerkerschragen 1351–1400	0	0.0	9
Soester Schrae im Statutenbuch, ca. 1367	0	0.0	41
Stralsunder Frieden von 1370	0	0.0	20
Wunstorfer Urkunden 1290 und 1303	0	0.0	8
1401–1450			
2 Bremer Urkunden (ASnA), 1401–1450	0	0.0	5
2 Hamburger Urkunden (ASnA), 1401–1450	0	0.0	6
2 Rigaer Urkunden (ASoR), 1401–1450	0	0.0	10
3 Oldenburger Urkunden (ASnA), 1401–1450	0	0.0	13
3 Stralsunder Urkunden (ASoR), 1401–1450	0	0.0	15
7 Berliner Urkunden(ASoR), 1401–1450	0	0.0	20
8 Rigaer Urkunden (ASoR), 1451–1500	0	0.0	5
Arnt Buschmann: Mirakel, Greifswalder Hs.	1	1.1	88
Berliner Stadtbuch, Ende 14. Jh., 12 ausgew. Einträge 1401–1450	0	0.0	5
Brandan, Helmstedter Sammelhs.	0	0.0	24
De deif van brugghe, Stockholmer Handschrift (Hs. Cod. Holm. Vu 73)	0	0.0	8
De vorlorne sone, Stockholmer Handschrift (Hs. Cod. Holm. Vu 73)	0	0.0	31
Dietrich Engelhus: Chronica nova (Weltchronik), 1435	1	1.9	54
Erste mnd. Eintragungen im Lübecker Niederstadtbuch, 1418	0	0.0	6
Flos vnde Blankeflos, Stockholmer Handschrift (Hs. Cod. Holm. Vu 73)	0	0.0	25
Ludolf von Sudheim, Reisebericht	2	10.0	20
Revaler Handwerkerschragen (insg. 14), 4 Schragen von 1401–1450	0	0.0	37
Schweriner Stadtbuch, 10 ausgewählte Einträge von 1401–1450	0	0.0	16
Theophilus-Spiel	0	0.0	10
Theophilus, Helmstedter Sammelhs.	0	0.0	10
Valentin vnde Namelos, Stockholmer Handschrift (Hs. Cod. Holm. Vu 73)	0	0.0	14
Van Alexander, Helmstedter Sammelhs.	0	0.0	15
Van flosse vnde blankeflosse, Helmstedter Sammelhs.	1	3.6	28
Zeno, Helmstedter Sammelhs.	0	0.0	43

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text	# afinite	% afinite	total
1451–1500			
Jacobus de Cessolis: Schachbuch, übers. v. Meister Stephan, Lübeck	0	0.0	65
Saxo Grammaticus: De denske kroneke, Lübeck	1	0.0	159
Sebastian Brant: Dat narren schyp. Lübeck 1497	0	0.0	11
5 Berliner Urkunden (ASoR), 1451–1500	0	0.0	5
7 Oldenburger Urkunden (ASnA), 1451–1500	0	0.0	26
7 Stralsunder Urkunden (ASoR), 1451–1500	0	0.0	26
8 Bremer Urkunden (ASnA), 1451–1500	0	0.0	32
8 Hamburger Urkunden (ASnA), 1451–1500	1	2.8	36
8 Rigaer Urkunden (ASoR), 1451–1500	0	0.0	7
Arnt Buschmann: Mirakel, Wolfenbütteler Hs.	5	4.4	117
Bürgersprache der Stadt Greifswald (1451),	0	0.0	12
Bibel, Köln (Ku), ca. 1478	0	0.0	45
Biblia, Lübeck 1494	1	1.2	83
Bilderhandschrift des Hamburger Stadtrechts, 1497	2	0.9	213
Bordesholmer Marienklage, 1475/76, Hs.	0	0.0	18
Cronecken der sassen, Mainz, 1492	1	0.9	108
Des dodes dantz, Lübeck, 1489	3	3.8	80
Göttinger Liebesbriefe	0	0.0	6
Gandersheimer Reimchronik	3	3.8	79
Henselynsboek, Lübeck, ca. 1498	0	0.0	6
Hermen Bote: Boek van veleme rade. Lübeck, ca. 1493	3	10.7	28
Historienbibel, Hs. L, 1470	0	0.0	83
Jacobus de Voragine: Passional, Lübeck, 1488	0	0.0	70
Jean de Mandevilles Reise in das gelobte Land (Lüneburg), (StaBi mgf 204)	0	0.0	73
Johannes Gerson: Monotessaron	0	0.0	42
Johannes Veghe: Predigten, ca. 1492	0	0.0	33
Jutisch Lowbok, Lübeck, 1485	0	0.0	132
Lübecker Bibel, sog. Bugenhagen-Bibel, Lübeck, 1533 [1534]	1	1.0	96
Münster, Johannes Veghe, 3 Autographe	0	0.0	1
Magdeburger Prosa-Äsop, Magdeburg, ca. 1492	1	1.5	63
Prosa- und Versdichtungen, Medingen, 3. Drittel 15. Jh.	1	4.2	24
Psalter, Lübeck, ca. 1473–1475	1	1.6	64
Qvatuor Evangeliorum versio Saxonica, 2. H. 15. Jh.	1	0.5	213
Redentiner Osterspiel	0	0.0	49
Revaler Handwerkerschragen 1451–1500	1	1.4	70
Reynke de vos, Lübeck, 1498	0	0.0	92
Rostocker Liederbuch, 2. Hälfte des 15. Jahrhunderts	2	16.7	24
Schweriner Stadtbuch, 9 ausgew. Einträge 1451–1500	2	10.0	20
Speygel der leyen. Lübeck 1496	0	0.0	120
Sunte Birgitten openbaringe, Lübeck 1496	0	0.0	118
Thomas von Kempen: Dat myrren bundeken, Münster, 1480	0	0.0	107

text	# afinite	% afinite	total
1501–1550			
Bamberger Halsgerichtsordnung 1507, mnd. Übersetzung, Druck, Rostock, 1510 [BC 474]	17	6.7	258
Boccaccio, Historie van veer Koepluden, Druck, Hamburg 1510 [BC 470]	0	0.0	37
Agneta Willeken, Hamburg: Brief von 1535	0	0.0	10
Amerigo Vespucci: Van den nygen insulen und landen, Magdeburg, 1506	1	2.5	40
Briefe der Brüder Gottschalk aus Goslar	0	0.0	8
Burchard Waldis, De Parabell vam vorlorn Szohn, 1527 [BC 930]	3	3.2	95
De Schapherders Kalender, Ludwig Dietz, Rostock, 1523	1	1.0	100
Duisburg: Chronik Wassenberch, 1518	0	0.0	77
Emmericher Süsternbuch, 1503	0	1.8	110
Griseldis (nebst) Sigismunda und Guiscardus, Druck: Hamburg, 1502 [BC 362]	1	0.9	109
Halberstädter Bibel, 1522, 1. Mose Kap. 1 V. 1 bis Römer Kap. 7 V. 12	0	0.0	50
Hermen Bote: Braunschweiger Schichtbuch, 1514	0	0.0	35
Joh. Cincinnius (Krushaer), Van der Niderlage drier Legionen, Köln, 1539	0	0.0	7
Joh. Cincinnius, Liudger-Vita, 1512	4	7.7	52
Lüneburg: Liber memorialis (augew. Einträge Kanzleiordnung 1501-1519)	25	15.8	158
Revaler Handwerkerschragen 1501–1550	0	0.0	20
Reynke de Vosz de olde, Druck: Rostock, 1539 [BC 1312]	16	12.9	124
1551–1600			
Bürgersprache der Stadt Rostock (1580)	0	0.0	3
Chronica der Stadt Bremen, Johann Renner, 1583	45	40.2	112
De Hörnen Sifrit, Dre kortwilige Historien, Hamburg, ca. 1560 [BC 1785]	2	9.1	22
De Rese Sigenot, Dre kortwilige Historien, Hamburg, ca. 1560 [BC 1785]	3	5.3	57
Köninck Laurin, Dre kortwilige Historien, Hamburg, ca. 1560 [BC 1785]	8	11.9	67
Seekarte, ost und west tho segelen, Hamburg, 1577 [BC 2157]	0	0.0	15
1601–1700			
Teweschen Hochtiedt, Hamburg, 1640 [BC 3284]	0	0.0	40
Johann Lauremberg, Druck von 1652 (HAB Wolfenbüttel, Sign. Lo 4314)	8	5.6	143
Märkisches Hochzeitsgedicht, Druck: 1654	0	0.0	2