



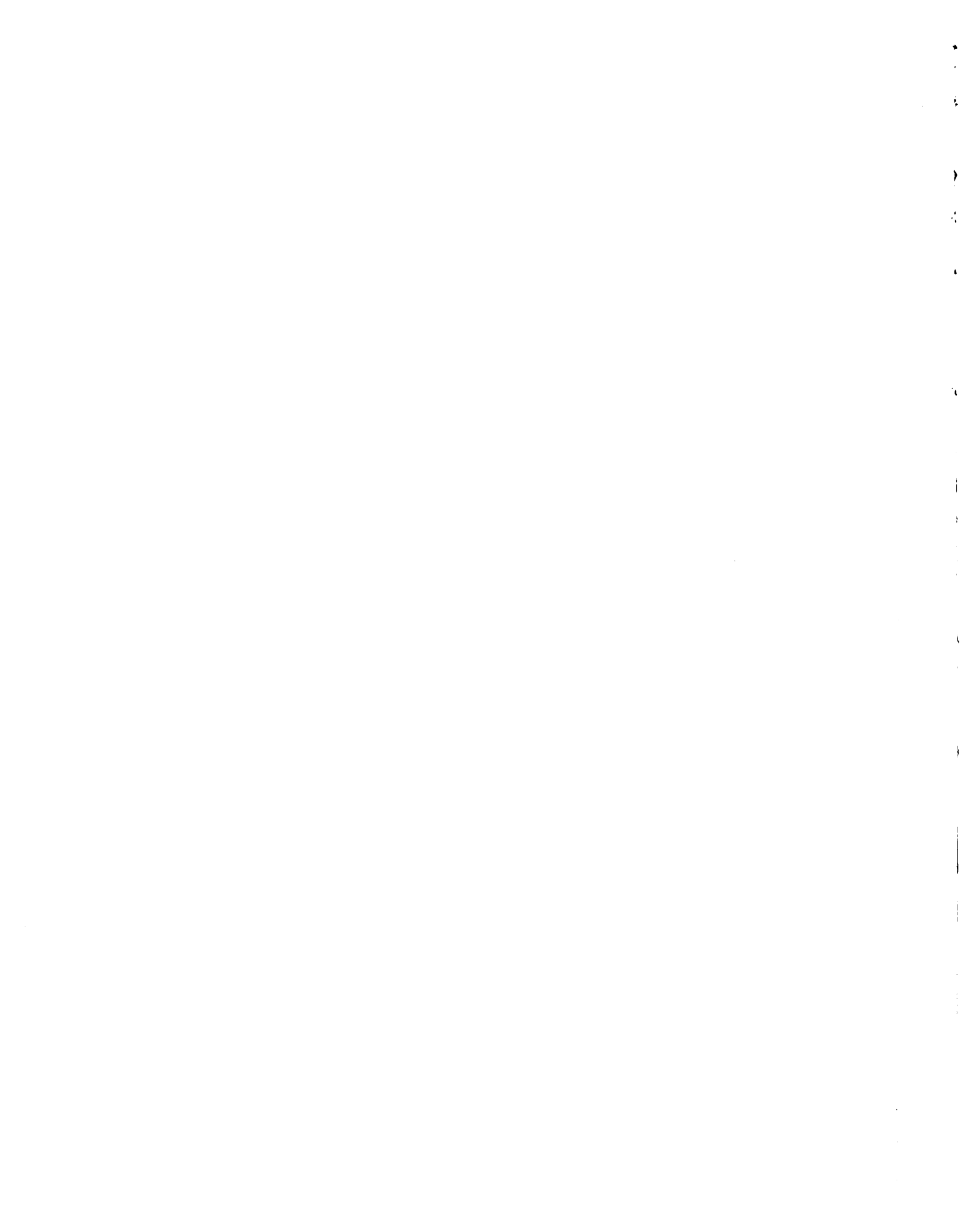
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MAJOR OLD HIGH GERMAN CLAUSE
STRUCTURES IN ISIDOR AND TATIAN

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THESIS





MAJOR OLD HIGH GERMAN CLAUSE STRUCTURES
IN ISIDOR AND TATIAN

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Portia Adams Brown

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CHAPTER 1: Introduction

Old High German was spoken from about 600 A.D. (when it evolved from Proto-Germanic) to approximately 1100 A.D. (by which time it had developed into Middle High German) in the area where High German dialects have been spoken ever since then, present Southern Germany, Switzerland, and Austria (Braune, Althochdeutsche Grammatik, pp. 1-2).

Our knowledge of Old High German is limited to what can be reconstructed linguistically and a few manuscripts, most of them very short. The four sizeable manuscripts are Isidor, Tatian, Otfrid, and Notker. Isidor, Tatian, and Notker are close translations of Latin theological works. Otfrid is original Old High German poetry. Isidor and Tatian are dated around 800, Otfrid 860-70, and Notker about 1000. Previous research in Old High German has produced detailed accounts of its phonology and morphology (Braune, Althochdeutsche Grammatik) and also some information on syntax (Behaghel). An interesting fact is that there were only two tenses native to Old High German, present and past, future actions usually being expressed in the present tense (Brinkmann, pp. 28-32 and 61 and Lawson, p. 64). The numerous spelling variations in different manuscripts reflect the phonological variations in different dialects.

There are two major Isidor manuscripts, found at Paris and Monsee (near Salzburg) and presently located in the national libraries in Paris and Vienna. The original Old High German translation was made between 790 and 800 into either the Rhine Franconian

or the Alemannic dialect (Eggers, pp. V-XX).

The primary Tatian manuscript, dating from 850-900, was found at the monastery library in St. Gallen, Switzerland, and is still there. It is a translation into the East Franconian dialect of a 2nd Century Latin manuscript, which has been in the monastery library at Fulda since the 6th Century. The manuscript at St. Gallen is believed to be a copy of the original translation made by several persons at Fulda about 830 (Sievers, "Einleitung" to Tatian).

The Old High German Isidor and Tatian are respectively about 35 and 140 pages long. My analysis is based on about the first 150 clauses of Isidor and the first 100 of Tatian. Hence, it includes most of the clause types used, especially the most common ones, but probably not all clause types appearing in the manuscripts. Although there are great spelling differences between Isidor and Tatian, I could find no differences in clause structure in my data. With minor exceptions due to limited data, I found exactly the same clause types and tagmemes in both. For example, each manuscript contains at least one clause of each type listed on the following clause chart: declarative, interrogative imperative, relative, transitive, transitive passive, etc. For all clauses of which I have more than three or four examples, formulas made separately for each manuscript would be essentially the same (at least the nuclear tagmemes, potential tagmeme fillers, and basic syntax). Possible variant orders of tagmemes listed after formulas occur in both manuscripts, not just one. Since both are close translations from Latin, there is some Latin influence on the syntax, but there is little more of this apparent in Tatian than in Isidor, although Tatian is a more literal translation.

Even in Tatian the predicate is the first or second tagmeme in independent clauses as opposed to the final position of the predicate in the Latin (Ruhfus, pp. 24-25). The only noticeable difference I found between the two manuscripts was that in Tatian the present participle is used more freely and in a greater number of places within the clause. This is presumably due to the greater use of participles in Latin.

All the assumptions in the above paragraph are based entirely on my data. They are presumed to be true for the whole manuscripts but easily may not be. There are certain differences in frequency of clause types due to content. Isidor is a theological treatise and so contains, for example, more "if" clauses and questions than Tatian, which is a gospel harmony.

My clause structure analysis of parts of these two manuscripts is based on the tagmemic theory of linguistics as outlined by Pike (Language in Relation to a Unified Theory of the Structure of Human Behavior), Longacre (Grammar Discovery Procedures; "The Notion of Sentence"), and Lind ("Clause and Sentence Level Syntagmemes in Sierra Popoluca"). I have considered one nuclear difference plus one of the following: one non-nuclear difference, one potential transform difference, or one distributional difference, as minimum criteria for judging any two clauses to be of separate types.

The following chart shows the clause types I found in Isidor and Tatian. Numbers indicate the number of clauses I found of each type.

	declarative	interrogative	imperative	relative
transitive	48	3	3	10
transitive passive	22	1		6
appellative	2			1
appellative passive	4			
quotative	41	1	4	3
quotative passive	8			3
dative			2	1
intransitive	21		3	1
stative	14	1		1
descriptive	46	6		6

Except perhaps for the imperative ones, I am sure that the blanks in the chart are due to lack of data. Exactly what is meant by these various types of clauses is explained in Chapter 2.

Use of the subjunctive in Old High German is often connected with what verb is used (Frank, p. 69). Since I could find no difference, except for the mood of the verb, between indicative and subjunctive clauses, I combined them into one declarative clause type.

Even nuclear parts of any of the clauses may be deleted if the clause is in the latter part of a sentence and the deleted parts are obvious from context. For example:

SC₃²:G?pn StPr₁:StVP S₃topic:NNP

1. wala nu auh¹ hwes / mac / dhesiu
 well now also whose can this

Pr cont SC₁:GNP

stimna/ wesan /nibu¹ dhes nerrendin
 voice be if not of the saving

druhtinees (I,III.9)³
 Lord

Well now, whose can this voice be, if not
 that of the saving Lord?

Here the whole nucleus of the dependent clause has been omitted (Longacre, "The Notion of Sentence," pp. 19-20).

The above example also serves to illustrate sentence level conjunctions. The first three words, "wala nu auh," serve to link the following clause to whatever precedes. Hence they are fillers of sentence level tagmemes and irrelevant to the clause structure (Longacre, "The Notion of Sentence," p. 15). The following words have been analyzed as sentence level conjunctions and therefore omitted from the clause structure: aur 'but', dhanne 'then', nu 'now', wo 'as', auh 'also', endi 'and', ioh 'and', inu 'now', oh 'also', wala 'well', see 'behold', and tho 'then'. There are some exceptions to this, since some of these words are not always used as sentence level conjunctions.

1. Underlined words in examples are fillers of tagmemes above or below clause level and not considered in the clause structure.

2. See Appendix II for explanation of subscripts.

3. Isidor, Chapter III, Paragraph 9; references to Tatian are similarly indicated.

Nu 'now' is used as a time word in Tatian:

T₁:t StPr₁:StVP S₁topic:Npn SC₁:pres part

2. nu /wirdist /thu /suigenti (T, Luke 1:20)
now become you dumb

Now you will become dumb.

Endi and ioh are used frequently to link not only clauses but also individual words and phrases. In the latter cases they have still been omitted from the clause structure, because they always link two coordinate fillers of the same slot, and hence fill tagmemes at the phrase level:

S₁topic:Npn StPr₁:StVP B₁:Dpn SC₁:AdjP

3. her /ist / thir / gifeho inti
he is to you joy and

blidida (T, Luke 1:14)
exultation

He will be a joy and exultation to you.

S₁topic:NpnP StPr₁:StVP M₁:m

4. dhaze ir selbo Christ/ ist / chiwisso/
that he same Christ is surely

SC₁:NNP

got ioh druhtin (I, III.1)
God and Lord

that He, the very Christ, is surely God and Lord

So can also be used as an adverb in various positions, sometimes coming into the clause structure as the filler of a manner slot:

Ref₁:RefP TrPasPr₁:TrPasVP M₁:m Pr cont
 5. umbi dhiz/ nist / so / chiscriban/
 about this not is so written

L₁:LP

in dhero siibunzo tradungum (I,III.3)
 in of the seventy translation

It is not so written about this in the Septuagint.

AO₁goal:Apn TrPr₁:TrVP S₁actor:NNP
 6. mih / deda / got /
 me made God

AO cont

so selp so dhih (I,III.10)
 as well as you

God made me as well as you.

Conjunctions relating dependent and independent clauses are also fillers of sentence level slots, since their purpose is more to connect the two clauses than to be a part of one of them. Which conjunction is used to introduce a dependent clause has no effect on the syntax of this clause, and, if a clause can be preceded by one of these conjunctions, it can be introduced by any of them (with limited exceptions for negation). The subordinating conjunctions and conjunctive phrases are: dhoh dhiu hwederu 'which (of two)', hweco 'how', so 'as', aefter dhiu dhazs 'after', dhazs 'that', ibu 'if', bidhiu 'because', धार 'where', dhoh 'although', hwanda 'because', ni 'not' (subjunctive introducer), ribu 'if not', mit thi 'while', and dhuo 'when'. Of these only so, mentioned above, is used in other positions. Following is an example of a sentence containing a dependent clause introduced by a conjunction:

S₁actor:NNP TrPr₁:TrVP AO₁goal:Apn
 7. thes hoisten megin / biscatuit / thih
 of the Highest power overshadows you

S₁topic:NpnP StPr₁:StVP
bithiu thaz thar giboran/ wirdit /
 because that there born becomes

SC₁:AdjP

heilag (T, Luke 1:35)
 holy

The power of the Highest will overshadow you
 because that which is born there will
 be holy.

The only difference between the clauses
 introduced by a subordinate conjunction and independent
 declarative clauses is that the predicate is usually
 final in dependent clauses and usually not final in
 independent clauses (Holmes, p. 198; Behaghel, pp. 45-6).
 Therefore I have considered these two as one clause
 type. For example, consider the following sentence:

StPr₁:StVP B₁:Dpn S₁topic:NNP
 8. ni ward / in / sun / bithiu wanta
 not was to them son because

S₁topic:Nn StPr₁:StVP SC₁:N pres part
 Elisabeth / was / unberenti (T,Luke 1:7)
 Elisabeth was un-bearing

They didn't have a son because Elisabeth
 was barren.

Here bithiu wanta is the subordinating conjunction
 introducing the second clause, but this second clause,
 "Elisabeth was unberenti," could be an independent
 declarative clause in another context.

Because dependent declarative clauses
 are separated from the main clause and because they

are placed in no particular position in relation to the main clause, they are considered to fill sentence level slots. Hence, in the example above, the dependent clause is not part of the main clause (see Lind, esp. pp. 352-3).

Dependent purpose clauses are declarative clauses and so do not fill clause level slots. Infinitive phrases expressing purpose have the same function, since they comment on complete clauses and sometimes on more than one clause. Hence they are regarded as clause modifiers on the sentence level and omitted from the clause structure. Following is an example of a purpose infinitive phrase modifying two clauses:

S_{lactor}:Npn IntrPr₁:IntrVP L₁:LP

9. inti her / ferit / fora inan /
 and he / goes / before him

M₁:MP

in geiste inti in megine Heliases/ thaz
 in spirit and in power of Elijah that

S_{lactor}:Npn TrPr₁:TrVP AO_{1goal}:ANP

her / giwente / herzun fatero /
 he / turn / hearts of fathers

L₁:LP AO cont

in kind / inti ungiloubfolle/
 to children and unbelievers

L₁:LP

zi wistuome rehtero garwen truhtine
 to wisdom of just to make ready to Lord

thuruhthigan folc (T, Luke 1:17)
prepared people

And he goes before him in the spirit and in the power of Elijah, that he may turn the hearts of fathers to their children, and the unbelievers to the wisdom of the just, to make ready for the Lord a people prepared.

Since vocatives also comment on a whole clause, they also are assumed to be sentence level.

Any tagmeme filled by more than one word, especially a predicate, may be discontinuous. In this case the two parts of the predicate are both indicated in the formula. It is never obligatory, as in modern German, that predicates filled by more than one word be discontinuous. In addition, one clause may contain two separate manner tagmemes, usually filled by one manner phrase and one manner word. For example:

TrPasPr₁:TrPasVP M₁:m L₁:LP

10. so chisendit ward / chiwisso/ zi dheodum/
 so sent was surely to people

M₁:MP

after dheru sineru gotnissa guotliihhin(I,III.9)
 according to of the his deity glory

So He was surely sent to the people according
 to the glory of His deity.

In the following three chapters I will discuss the various clause types in detail, starting with the most common, declarative, clauses, and going on to interrogative, imperative, and relative clauses. The appendices should help especially in understanding my formulas and examples. These appendices contain all the abbreviations, slot-fillers, and clause formulas mentioned in the main body of the thesis.

CHAPTER 2: Declarative Clauses

The term "declarative" is used to distinguish these clauses from interrogative, imperative, and relative clauses, which are all different in distribution. Interrogative and imperative clauses fill interrogative and imperative slots in the discourse structure, and relative clauses must be embedded in another clause, while declarative clauses fill declarative slots in discourse. Declarative clauses are also distinguished by other factors. They cannot contain relative or interrogative pronouns or interrogative manner words. One of the first of these must occur in every relative clause and one of the last two in every interrogative clause.

There are nine kinds of declarative clauses, as indicated on the chart in Chapter 1. These are distinguished mostly by having different types of predicates.

Transitive Active Clauses

The declarative transitive active clause is so named because it must contain a direct object, which will be in the accusative case. The only other declarative clauses containing accusative objects are the appellative active and quotative active clauses, each of which contains a tagmeme not found in the transitive clause. The appellative clause contains the name tagmeme and the quotative clause the reference tagmeme. The transitive active clause is also distinguished from all other indicative clauses by having a unique predicate filler class and function. Its formula is as follows:

$$\text{DcTrCl} = \begin{matrix} \pm S_{\text{lactor}} & +\text{TrPr}_1:\text{TrVP}_a & \pm B_1 & \pm\text{TrPr}_1^*:\text{TrVP}_b \\ & +\text{AO}_{\text{lgoal}} & \pm I_1 & \pm M_1 & \pm T_1 & \pm L_1 \end{matrix}$$

S after Pr, B, or AO

B before Pr

B after M or AO

AO before Pr

AO after L

M before Pr or B

*In Tatian the predicate can be discontinuous with the second part being a present participle occurring in this slot.

The statements below the formulas indicate possible variation in syntax, meaning "S may occur after Pr, B, or AO," etc. In all declarative clauses the predicate is usually final if the clause is introduced by a subordinating conjunction (see pp. 7-9). The following are examples of declarative transitive active clauses:

$S_{\text{lactor}}:\text{Npn}$ $\text{TrPr}_1:\text{TrVP}$ $B_1:\text{Dpn}$
 11. ih / wendu / imu /
 I turn to him

$\text{AO}_{\text{lgoal}}:\text{ANP}$

chuningo hrucca (I, III.2)
 of kings backs

I turn the backs of the kings towards him.

4. Since all slots designated the same way in my formulas have the same fillers, I have listed the fillers in a separate Slot-Filler List (Appendix II) in order to avoid rewriting them in every formula. Only the fillers of predicate slots, which vary considerably, are listed in the formulas.

AO₁goal:ANP B₁:Dpn TrPr₁:TrVP

12. dhiu chiborgonun hort / dhir / ghibu⁵(I,III.2)
 the hidden treasure to you I give

I give you the hidden treasure

TrPr₁:TrVP AO₁goal:Apn M₁:MP

13. sendida / mih / after guotliihhin/
 he sent me in glory

B₁:DP

zi dheodom dhem euwih biraubodon (I,III.8)
 to people who you robbed

He sent me in glory to the people who robbed
 you.

5. One might suspect that geban 'to give' would be different from other transitive verbs in having an obligatory dative beneficiary. Although my data is too limited to throw light on this problem, I have found an example from later in Tatian, where geban appears without a beneficiary:

TrPr₁:TrVP AO₁goal:ANP

gibu / dezemon allero thero ih in ehti
 I give tenth of all of which I in possession

bihaben (T, Luke 18:12)
 own

I give a tenth of all I possess.

While geban can occur without a beneficiary, it is still possible that clauses with geban are of a different type, since two beneficiaries are semantically possible; i.e. "The doctor gave the nurse the medicine for the patient."

TrPr₁:TrVP S₁actor:NNP L₁:LP
 14. regonoda / druhtin / fona druhtine ubar
 rained Lord from Lord over

AO₁goal:ANP

Sodomam endi Gomorram/ swebil endi
 Sodom and Gomorra sulphur and

fyur (I,III.6)
 fire

The Lord rained sulphur and fire from the
 Lord over Sodom and Gomorra.

Transitive Passive Clauses

The declarative transitive passive clause is the passive transform of the preceding clause. The filler of its predicate differs by being obligatorily in the passive voice. The clause may also contain an agent tagmeme common only to passive clauses. Since it has an agent tagmeme and a unique predicate, there are at least two factors that distinguish it from all non-passive clauses. It differs from appellative and quotative clauses in the same ways as its active counterpart: it can contain no name or reference tagmeme. The declarative transitive passive clause formula is as follows:

$$\text{DcTrPasCl} = \text{+I}_1 \text{+Ag}_1 \text{+TrPasPr}_1^* \text{:TrPasVP}_a \text{+S}_1\text{goal} \\ \text{-B}_1 \text{-M}_1 \text{-T}_1 \text{-L}_1 \text{+TrPasPr}_1^* \text{:TrPasVP}_b$$

S before Pr or Ag
 L before Pr
 T before Pr

*In passive clauses the predicate always consists of two verbs, one of them auxiliary (wesan or werdan). If the predicate is discontinuous, the auxiliary verb occurs in the first predicate slot and the other, a past participle, in the second. If the predicate is continuous, it may occur in either slot. This is true for all passive clauses.

The following are declarative transitive passive clauses:

- S_{1goal}:NNP I₁:IP TrPasPr₁:TrPasVP
15. alliu / thuruh thaz / wurdun gitan (T,John 1:3)
 all through that was made

All things were made through that.

- T₁:TP TrPasPr₁:TrPasVP
16. in themo sehsten manude/ gisentit ward /
 in the sixth month sent was

S_{1goal}:NNP Ag₁:AgP L₁:LP

engil Gabriel/ fon gote/ in thie burg
 angel Gabriel from God to the city

Galilee thero namo ist Nazareth zi
 of Galilee of which name is Nazareth to

thiornun gimahaltero gommanne themo
 virgin engaged to man to whom

namo was Ioseph (T, Luke 1:26)
 name was Joseph

In the sixth month the angel Gabriel was sent by God to the city of Galilee named Nazareth to a virgin engaged to a man named Joseph.

- L₁:l TrPasPr₁:TrPasVP S_{1goal}:Nn
17. dhar / ist / Christ /
 there is Christ

Pr cont

chizeihnit (I,III.2)
 indicated

There Christ is indicated.

- $T_1:TP$ $TrPasPr_1:TrPasVP$
 18. in dhemu daghe/ werdhant /
 in the day become
- $S_{lgoal}:NNP$ Pr cont
 manego dheodun/ chisamnoda/
 many people gathered
- $L_1:LP$
 zi druhtine (I,III.9)
 to Lord
 In that day many people will be gathered
 to the Lord.

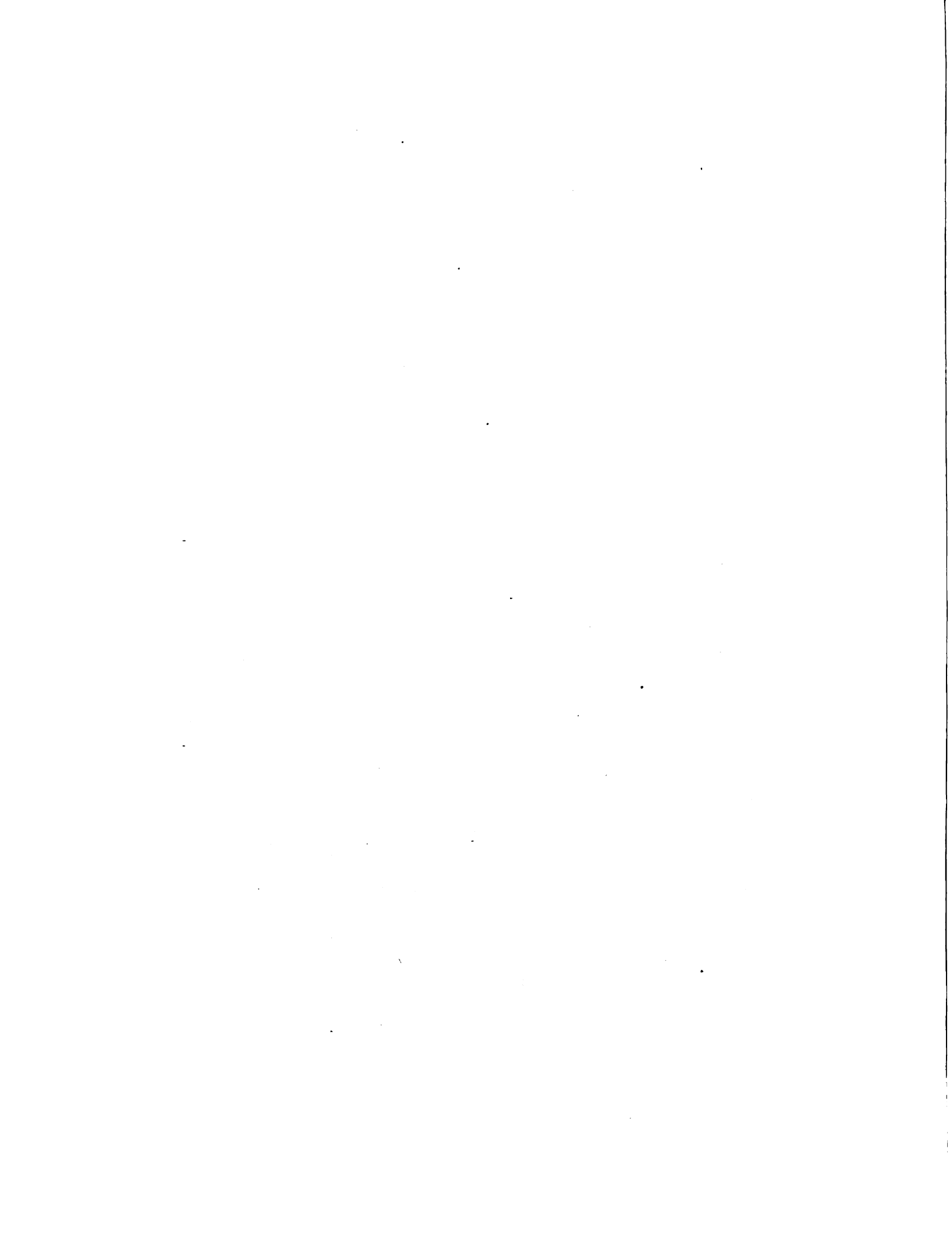
Appellative Clauses

The fillers of the predicates of the declarative appellative active clauses are only verbs meaning to name or call. Therefore these clauses have unique predicates that separate them from all other declarative clause types as well as an obligatory name tagmeme. Besides the obvious transform difference between the two appellative clause types, they also differ in that only the active may have an accusative object. The appellative active clause formula is as follows:

$$DcApCl = +ApPr_1:ApVP \text{ } ^+S_{lactor} \text{ } +AO_{lben} \text{ } +Name_{lgoal}$$

An example of this clause type is as follows:

- $ApPr_1:ApVP$ $AO_{lben}:ANP$ $Name_{lgoal}:An$
 19. ginemnis / sinan namon/ Heilant (T, Luke 1:31)
 you name his name Savior
- You will call His name Savior.



The appellative passive clause formula is as follows:

$$\text{DcApPasCl} = \overset{+}{-}M_1 \overset{+}{-}I_1 \overset{+}{-}S_{1ben} + \text{ApPasPr}_1 : \text{ApPasVP}_a \\ \overset{+}{-}T_1 + \text{Name}_{1goal} + \text{ApPasPr}_1 : \text{ApPasVP}_b \\ \text{Name before Pr}$$

Following are appellative passive clauses:

$S_{1ben} : \text{Npn} \quad \text{ApPasPr}_1 : \text{ApPasVP} \quad \text{Name}_{1goal} : \text{Nn}$

20. thaz / wirdit ginemnit / gotes barn(T, Luke 1:35)
that becomes named God's child

He will be called the Son of God.

$S_{1ben}^{\text{Npn}} \quad \text{Name}_{1goal} : \text{Nn}$

21. ther / thes hoisten sun /
he of the highest son

$\text{ApPasPr}_1 : \text{ApPasVP}$

ist ginemnit (T, Luke 1:32)
is named

He will be called the Son of the Highest.

Quotative Clauses

Quotative clauses are characterized by verbs of speaking, writing, or knowing and a unique tagmeme indicating what is referred to (i.e. phrases like umbi dhiz 'about this', umbi dhen 'about whom (or which)', fon them 'about whom (or which)'). Quotative clauses always have a potential subordinate clause indicating what was said. The subordinate clause indicates what was said; the reference indicates what (or whom) it was said about. There is a potential transform difference between the active and passive quotative clauses, since each can be transformed into the other. Each quotative clause type has a unique predicate distinguishing it from

all other declarative clause types. Following is the declarative quotative active clause formula:

$$\text{DcQC1} = \overset{+}{\text{Ref}}_1 \overset{+}{\text{L}}_1 \overset{+}{\text{T}}_1 \overset{+}{\text{AO}}_{1\text{goal}} \overset{+}{\text{M}}_1 \overset{+}{\text{I}}_1 + \text{QPr}_1:\text{QVP} \\ \overset{+}{\text{S}}_{1\text{actor}} \overset{+}{\text{B}}_1$$

I after S
 Ref after S
 AO after Pr
 S after B
 S before Pr or T
 B before AO or Pr

Following are quotative active clauses:

$\text{QPr}_1:\text{QVP}$ $\text{S}_{1\text{actor}}:\text{Nn}$ $\text{B}_1:\text{DP}$

22. quad / Zacharias / zi themo engile(T,Luke 1:18)
 said Zechariah to the angel

Zechariah said to the angel.

$\text{Ref}_1:\text{RefP}$ $\text{QPr}_1:\text{QVP}$

23. umbi dhesan selbun Christ/ chundida /
 about this same Christ witnessed

$\text{S}_{1\text{actor}}:\text{NNP}$ $\text{I}_1:\text{IP}$

almahitic fater / dhurah Isaian (I,III.2)
 Almighty Father though Isaiah

The Almighty Father witnessed about this
 same Christ through Isaiah.

$\text{M}_1:\text{m}$ $\text{QPr}_1:\text{QVP}$ $\text{S}_{1\text{actor}}:\text{NNP}$

24. sus / quhad / dher gomo dhemu iza firgheban
 thus said the man to whom it given

ward adhalsangheri Israhele /
 was noble-singer of Israel

$\text{Ref}_1:\text{RefP}$

umbi Christan Iacobes got (I,III.7)
 about Christ of Jacob God

Thus said the man to whom it was given, the
 noble singer of Israel, about Christ, the
 God of Jacob.

QPr₁:QVP B₁:Dpn S₁actor:NNP

25. quad / iru / ther engil (T, Luke 1:30)
said to her the angel

The angel said to her.

S₁actor:Npn QPr₁:QVP

26. er / sculut bichennen⁶(I,III.8)
you shall know

You shall know.

S₁actor:NNP B₁:DP QPr₁:QVP

27. ingangenti thie engil/ zi iru/quad (T,Luke 1:28)
in-going the angel to her said

Going in, the angel said to her.

This is the declarative quotative passive clause

formula:

$$\text{DcQPasCl} = \overset{+}{\text{Ref}}_1 \overset{+}{\text{T}}_1 \overset{+}{\text{L}}_1 \overset{+}{\text{M}}_1 \overset{+}{\text{I}}_1 + \text{QPasPr}_1 : \text{QPasVP}_a \\ \overset{+}{\text{S}}_{1\text{goal}} \overset{+}{\text{B}}_1 + \text{QPasPr}_1 : \text{QPasVP}_b$$

L after Pr

M after Pr

Following are quotative passive clauses:

6. Although bichennen is not a verb of speaking, I have classified it as quotative because it can take a dependent clause indicating what is known. Here, for example, it is followed by dhazs werodheoda druhtin mih sendida 'that the Lord of Hosts sent me'. I would guess that bichennen could also take a reference tagmeme stating about whom (or what) it is known, but I have no example of it.

Ref₁:RefP QPasPr₁:QPasVP M₁:m
 28. umbi dhiz / nist / so /
 about this not is so

Pr cont L₁:LP

chiscriban/ in dhero siibunzo
 written in of the seventy

tradungum (I,III.3)
 translation

It is not so written about this in the
 Septuagint.

M₁:m QPasPr₁:QPasVP L₁:LP

29. chiwisso/ chiscriban ist/ in Genesi (I,III.6)
 surely written is in Genesis

Surely it is written in Genesis.

Intransitive Clauses

The declarative intransitive clause has a unique predicate filler class and function. It is different from all other declarative clauses also because it cannot have tagmemes present in the others, such as accusative object, name, reference, and subject complement. It differs from the stative clause because an intransitive clause may contain an instrumental tagmeme but a stative clause cannot. The declarative intransitive clause formula is as follows:

$$\text{DcIntrCl} = \overset{+}{\text{S}}_{\text{lactor}} \overset{+}{\text{IntrPr}}_1 : \text{IntrVP}_a \overset{+}{\text{I}}_1 \overset{+}{\text{M}}_1 \\ \overset{+}{\text{L}}_1 \overset{+}{\text{IntrPr}}_1^* : \text{IntrVP}_b \overset{+}{\text{T}}_1$$

T before Pr
 S after Pr
 L before Pr or M
 M before Pr

*In Tatian the predicate may be discontinuous with the second part a present participle occurring in this slot.

The following are declarative intransitive clauses:

- $S_{lactor}:NNP$ $IntrPr_1:IntrVP$
 30. manage Israheles barno / giwerbit /
 many Israel's of children turn

$L_1:LP$

zi truhtine gote iro (T, Luke 1:16)
 to Lord God their

Many of the children of Israel will turn
 to the Lord their God.

- $T_1:TP$ $IntrPr_1:IntrVP$
 31. after then tagon/ entfieng /
 after the days conceived

$S_{lactor}:NnP$

Elisabeth sin quena (T, Luke 1:24)
 Elizabeth his wife

After the days Elizabeth his wife conceived.

- $S_{lactor}:NNP$ $M_1:MP$
 32. manage / in sinero giburti/
 many in his birth

$IntrPr_1:IntrVP$

mendent (T, Luke 1:14)
 rejoice

Many will rejoice at his birth.

- $S_{lactor}:NNP$ $L_1:LP$
 33. thaz licht / in finstarnessin/
 the light in darknesses

$IntrPr_1:IntrVP$

liuhta (T, John 1:5)
 shined

The light shined in the darkness.

Stative and Descriptive Clauses

Actually the predicates of the stative and descriptive clauses are the same, and they are different from those of all other declarative clauses. Their fillers are forms of wesan and werdan, meaning 'to be' and 'to become'. Among other differences, these two clauses are both also separated from all other declarative clauses by having the subject as topic rather than as actor or goal. The most obvious way in which stative and descriptive clauses differ from each other is that the descriptive clause has an obligatory subject complement, which the stative clause cannot have. The other difference is that the subject is obligatory in the descriptive clause but optional in the stative.⁷ This is the declarative stative clause formula:

$$DcStCl = {}^+M_1 +StPr_1:StVP {}^+B_1 {}^+T_1 {}^+S_{1topic} {}^+L_1$$

T before Pr
S before Pr
L before S or Pr

Following are declarative stative clauses:

	T ₁ :TP	StPr ₁ :StVP	S _{1topic} :NNP
34. in anaginne / in beginning	/ was was	/ wort (T, John 1:1) word	

In the beginning was the Word.

7. Due to lack of data it is possible that this statement is incorrect and the subject is not obligatory in descriptive clauses. Hence, with enough data, one might find that stative and descriptive clauses are only one clause type.

StPr₁:StVP B₁:Dpn S₁topic:NNP

35. ni ward / in / sun (T, Luke 1:7)
not was to them son

They didn't have a son.

S₁topic:NNP StPr₁:StVP L₁:LP

36. thaz wort / was / mit gote (T, John 1:1)
the word was with God

The Word was with God.

StPr₁:StVP L₁:LP

37. ist / in adhesem dhrim heidem /
is in these three Persons

S₁topic:NNP

ein namo dhes unchideiliden meghines(I,IV.1)
one name of the undivided power

There is in these three Persons one name
of undivided power.

The declarative descriptive clause formula is as
follows:

$$DcDsCl = \overset{+}{T}_1 + S_{1topic} + StPr_1:StVP \overset{+}{M}_1 \overset{+}{B}_1 + SC_1 \overset{+}{L}_1$$

M before Pr
S after Pr
B after SC
SC before Pr

The following are declarative descriptive clauses:

S₁topic:Npn StPr₁:StVP SC₁:AdjP

38. ih / bim / alt (T, Luke 1:18)
I am old

I am old.

S₁topic:Nn M₁:MP

39. Christus / in dhēs fleisches liihhamin/
Christ in of the flesh body

StPr₁:StVP SC₁:NNP

sii / Davides sunu (I,III.7)
is David's son

Christ is in the body of flesh David's son.

T₁:t StPr₁:StVP S₁topic:Npn

40. nu / wirdist / thu /
now become you /

SC₁:Npres part

suigenti (T, Luke 1:20)
dumb

Now you will become dumb.

S₁topic:Npn StPr₁:StVP SC₁:ZiP

41. sie / werdant / zi scaahche/
they become booty

B₁:DRCl

dhem im aer dheonodon (I,III.8)
to whom them earlier served

They become booty to those who earlier served them.

S₁topic:infP

SC₁:NNP

42. dhazs so zi chilaubanne/ mihhil wootnissa/
that so to believe great insanity

StPr₁:StVP

ist (I,III.5)
is

So to believe that is great insanity.

CHAPTER 3: Interrogative and Imperative Clauses

Interrogative clauses are distinguished from all other clause types by filling interrogative slots in discourse structure and having an obligatory question word included in the filler of the first tagmeme in the clause, which may be anything except the predicate.

I found only five types of interrogative clauses, which differ from each other in the same ways as their declarative counterparts (see Chapter 2). There was only one "yes-no" question in my data, which was not enough to analyze.⁸ The transitive active interrogative clause formula is as follows:

$$?TrCl = \overset{+}{-}M_3 \overset{+}{-}TrPr_1^* : TrVP_a \overset{+}{-}S_3actor \overset{+}{-}AO_3goal \\ \overset{+}{-}L_3 \overset{+}{-}T_3 \overset{+}{-}TrPr_1^* : TrVP_b$$

S before Pr
M after L

*The predicate may be formed with the modal verb magan 'can'. In this case the modal appears in the first predicate slot and an infinitive in the second. If magan is not used, the predicate is continuous and occurs in the first slot. This situation was also found in descriptive and stative interrogative clauses.

8. This example is as follows:

(sentence level) S₃:NNP StPr₁:StVP
inu / ni angil/ nist¹ /
no angel not is

M₃:MP

anaebanchiliih gote (I,III.5)
just like God

Is any angel like God?

Inu indicates that the following clause is a question expecting a negative answer. Except for inu the syntax is the same as for a stative declarative clause.

The following are examples of transitive active interrogative clauses:

$M_3: ?m$ $TrPr_1: TrVP$ $S_{3actor} Npn$
 43. wanan/ weiz / ih /
 how know I

$AO_{3goal}: Apn$
 thaz (T, Luke 1:18)
 that
 How do I know that?

$S_{3actor}: NNP$ $TrPr_1: TrVP$ $AO_{3goal}: ANP$
 44. hwelih druhtin/ regonoda / fyur /
 which Lord rained fire

$L_3: LP$

in Sodoma fona druhtine (I, III.6)
 on Sodom from Lord

Which Lord rained fire on Sodom from the Lord?

This is the transitive passive interrogative clause formula:

?TrPasCl = $^+I_3$ $^+Ag_3$ $^+M_3$ $+TrPasPr_1: TrPasVP_a$ $^+S_{3goal}$
 $^+B_3$ $^+T_3$ $^+L_3$ $+TrPasPr_1: TrPasVP_b$

Following is my only example of this clause type:

$M_3: MP$ $TrPasPr_1: TrPasVP$
 45. zi hwes chilihniissu/ wardh /
 in whose likeness was

$S_{3goal}: NNP$ Pr cont
 man / chiscaffan (I, III.5)
 man created

In whose likeness was man created?

Following is the quotative active interrogative clause formula:

$$?QCl = {}^+Ref_3 \ {}^+M_3 \ {}^+B_3 \ +QPr_1:QVP \ {}^+S_{3actor} \ {}^+L_3 \ {}^+T_3$$

Following is my only example of this clause type:

Ref₃:RefP QPr₁:QVP S_{3actor}:Nn
 46. umbi hwenan/ quhad / David /
 about whom spoke David

L₃:LP

in chuningo boohhum (I,III.7)
 in of kings books

About whom did David speak in the Books
 of Kings?

This is the stative interrogative clause formula:

$$?StCl = {}^+M_3 \ +StPr_1:StVP_a \ {}^+T_3 \ {}^+S_{3topic} \ {}^+L_3 \ {}^+StPr_1^*:StVP_b$$

*See footnote to transitive interrogative clause formula.

This is my only example of this clause type:

M₃:?m StPr₁:StVP S_{3topic}:Npn
 47. wuo / mag / thaz /
 how can that

Pr cont

sin (T, Luke 1:34)
 be

How can that be?

The descriptive interrogative clause formula is as follows:

$$?DsCl = +SC_3 \ +StPr_1:StVP_a \ +S_{3topic} \ {}^+StPr_1^*:StVP_b$$

*See footnote to transitive interrogative clause formula.

Following is a sample of this clause type:

SC₃:N?pn StPr₁:StVP S₃topic:NNP

48. hwer / ist / dher druhtin (I,III.6)
 who is the Lord

Who is the Lord?

I found only four types of imperative clauses: transitive active, quotative active, intransitive, and dative. Since these are only the general clause types where the subject is the actor, it is possible that others do not exist. However, I would suspect that the others are possible, as in English, but rare for semantic reasons. Imperative clauses are easily distinguished from other clauses because they are used to fill an imperative slot in the discourse structure and they have a different type of predicate filler, always in the imperative mood. The first three imperative clauses are distinguished from each other in the same ways as declarative clause types (see Chapter 2).

The transitive active imperative formula is as follows:

$$\text{ImpTrCl} = +\text{TrPr}_2:\text{ImpTrVP} \text{ } ^+\text{L}_1 \text{ } +\text{AO}_{1\text{goal}} \text{ } ^+\text{M}_1 \text{ } ^+\text{T}_1$$

Following is an example of this clause type:

TrPr₂:ImpTrVP AO_{1goal}:Apn

49. frewi / thih (I,III.9)
 rejoice yourself

Rejoice!

This is the quotative active imperative clause formula:

$$\text{ImpQCl} = ^+\text{M}_1 \text{ } +\text{QPr}_2:\text{ImpQVP} \text{ } ^+\text{B}_1 \text{ } ^+\text{S}_{1\text{actor}}$$

Following is an example of this clause type:

M₁:m QPr₂:ImpQVP

50. ziware/ firnim (I,III.2)
 truly understand
 Understand truly.

This is the intransitive imperative clause formula:

$$\text{ImpIntrCl} = +\text{IntrPr}_2:\text{ImpIntrVP} \overset{+}{\text{S}}_{\text{lactor}} \overset{+}{\text{M}}_1 \\ \overset{+}{\text{L}}_1 \overset{+}{\text{T}}_1$$

The following is an intransitive imperative clause:

$\text{IntrPr}_2:\text{ImpIntrVP}$ $\text{L}_1:\text{LP}$

51. sitzi / azs zesuun halp miin (I,III.7)
sit at right half my

Sit at my right side.

Although I found only three of them, dative clauses are definitely different from other clause types. They have a unique predicate function and filler class, verbs which take direct objects in the dative case. They also cannot undergo the passive transformation like transitive clauses. This is the dative imperative clause formula:

$$\text{ImpDCl} = +\text{DPr}_2:\text{ImpDVP} \overset{+}{\text{S}}_{\text{lactor}} \overset{+}{\text{DO}}_{\text{lgoal}}$$

Following is a dative imperative clause:

$\text{DP}_2:\text{ImpDVP}$ $\text{S}_{\text{lactor}}:\text{Npn}$ $\text{DO}_{\text{lgoal}}:\text{Dpn}$

52. ni forhti / thu / thir (T, Luke 1:13)
not fear you yourself

Do not fear.

I found only imperative and relative dative clauses in my data. Since dative clauses do not occur very frequently, I would assume that declarative and interrogative dative clauses are possible.

CHAPTER 4: Relative Clauses

There is a distributional difference between relative clauses and other clause types because relative clauses are always parts of other clauses and other clause types never are. Relative clauses also have an obligatory relative pronoun which must be included in the filler of the first slot in the clause and have an antecedent in the main clause. Relative clauses may fill the same slots filled by nouns or adjectives in the main clause, but the relative pronoun must be in the case appropriate for the given slot.

I found eight relative clause types, which are distinguished in the same ways as declarative clause types. The transitive active relative clause formula is as follows:

$$RTrCl = {}^+S_{2actor} +AO_{2goal} {}^+M_2 +TrPr_1:TrVP$$

AO before S

Following are examples of this clause type:

	AO _{2goal} :ARpn	S _{2actor} :Npn	TrPr ₁ :TrVP
53.	dhen which	/ ir he	/ chiscuof (I,III.4) made

which he made

	S _{2actor} :GRpn	AO _{2goal} :ApnP
54.	dhes who	/ iza al it all

TrPr₁:TrVP

chiscuof (I,III.5)
made

(of him) who made it all

The transitive passive relative clause formula is

as follows:

$$\text{RTrPasCl} = \overset{+}{-}\text{B}_2 + \text{TrPasPr}_1 : \text{TrPasVP}_a \overset{+}{-}\text{S}_{2\text{goal}} \overset{+}{-}\text{L}_2 \\ \overset{+}{-}\text{Ag}_2 \overset{+}{-}\text{I}_2 \overset{+}{-}\text{M}_2 \overset{+}{-}\text{T}_2 + \text{TrPasPr}_1 : \text{TrPasVP}_b$$

L before S

Following are clauses of this type:

$\text{S}_{2\text{goal}} : \text{NRpn}$ $\text{Ag}_2 : \text{AgP}$

55. dher / fona werodheoda druhtin/
who by of mankind Lord

$\text{TrPasPr}_1 : \text{TrPasVP}$

ward chisendit (I,III.8)
was sent

who was sent by the Lord of Hosts

$\text{L}_2 : \text{LP}$ $\text{TrPasPr}_1 : \text{TrPasVP}$

56. fora dhemu / sindun /
before whom are

$\text{S}_{2\text{goal}} : \text{NNP}$ Pr cont

dheodun ioh rihi / chihneigidiu/
peoples and kingdoms bowed down

$\text{M}_2 : \text{MP}$

in ghilaubin (I,III.3)
in belief

before whom peoples and kingdoms are bowed
down in their belief

This is the appellative active relative clause formula:

$$\text{RApCl} = \overset{+}{-}\text{S}_{2\text{actor}} + \text{AO}_{2\text{ben}} \overset{+}{-}\text{Name}_{2\text{goal}} + \text{ApPr}_1 : \text{ApVP}$$

My only example of this clause type is as follows:

$S_{2actor}:NRpn$ $AO_{2ben}:Apn$ $ApPr_1:ApVP$
 57. dher / dhih / nemniu (I,III.2)
 who you name

(I) who name you

The quotative active relative clause formula is as follows:

$$RQC1 = \overset{+}{T}_2 \overset{+}{L}_2 \overset{+}{Ref}_2 \overset{+}{M}_2 + QPr_1:QVP \overset{+}{S}_{2actor}$$

The following is my only example of this clause type:

$Ref_2:RefP$ $M_2:m$ $QPr_1:QVP$
 58. fona dhes gotnissa/ sus / quhad /
 of whose deity thus said

$S_{2actor}:Nn$

Job (I,III.10)

Job

of whose deity Job spoke thus

This is the quotative passive relative clause formula:

$$RQPasC1 = \overset{+}{B}_2 \overset{+}{Ref}_2 + QPasPr_1:QPasVP_a \overset{+}{S}_{2goal} \\ + QPasPr_1:QPasVP_b$$

Ref after first Pr

Following are sample clauses of this type:

$Ref_2:RefP$ $S_{2goal}:Npn$ $QPasPr_1:QPasVP$
 59. fon them / thu / gilerit
 about which you taught

bist (T, Luke 1:4)
are

about which you are taught

B₂:DRpn S_{2goal}:Npn QPasPr₁:QPasVP
 60. dhemu / iza / chibodan ward /
 to whom it revealed was

Ref₂:RefP

umbi Christan Iacobes gotes (I,IV.2)
 about Christ of Jacob of God

to whom it was revealed about Christ of
 the God of Jacob

This is the dative relative clause formula:

$$RDC1 = {}^{\dagger}S_{2actor} + DO_{2goal} {}^{\dagger}T_2 + DPr_1:DVP$$

Following is my only example of this clause type:

S_{2actor}:NRpn DO_{2goal}:Dpn T₂:t
 61. dhem / im / aer /
 who them earlier
 DPr₁:DVP
 dheonodon (I,III.8)
 served

(to them) who served them earlier

The intransitive relative clause formula is as follows:

$$RIntrCl = {}^{\dagger}S_{2actor} + IntrPr_1:IntrVP {}^{\dagger}L_2$$

Following is my only intransitive relative clause:

S_{2actor}:NRpn IntrPr₁:IntrVP
 62. thie / azstante /
 who stand

L₂:LP

fora gote (T, Luke 1:19)
 before God

(I) who stand before God

The stative relative clause formula is as follows:

$$RStCl = {}^{\dagger}T_2 {}^{\dagger}S_{2topic} + StPr_1:StVP$$

The following is my only example of this clause type:

T₂:TP S_{2topic}:Npn StPr₁:StVP
 63 in themo/ thisu / werdent (T, Luke 1:20)
 in which these become

(the day) in which these things will be

The descriptive relative clause formula is as follows:

RDsCl = +S_{2topic} ⁺T₂ ⁺L₂ ⁺M₂ +SC₂ +StPr₁:StVP
 SC after Pr

Following are examples of this clause type:

S_{2topic}:NRpn T₂:t SC₂:AdjP
 64. dher / simbles/ fona dhemu fater
 who always from the father

StPr₁:StVP

chisendit chiwon/ ist /
 sent used is

SC cont

fona himile nidharquheman endi
 from heaven descend and

uphstigan (I,III.6)
 ascend

who, sent from the Father, is always accustomed
 to descend from heaven and ascend

S_{2topic}:NNP StPr₁:StVP SC₂:Nn
 65. themo namo / was / Ioseph (T,Luke 1:27)
 to whom name was Joseph

whose name was Joseph

CONCLUSION

Presumably we will never know for sure exactly what the clause structure of spoken Old High German was. We know that Latin, as the language of the rulers and the educated, had a sizeable influence on the writing of Old High German, as well as on the spoken language, but we cannot be sure how great. Since what remains to us of Old High German is mostly close translations from Latin, we have no way of knowing exactly how many similarities are due to poor translating and how many are examples of linguistic borrowing or coincidental similarities between the two languages.

I have tried to show that the clause structures found in Isidor and Tatian are basically the same, although they represent different dialects. If this is true, it indicates that Tatian, although a more literal translation, is not noticeably closer to Latin syntax than Isidor. Although I have not discussed this, it is obvious from glancing at the parallel texts that there are major structural differences between the German and Latin clauses. A more accurate picture of Old High German clause structure could be obtained by comparing the structures found here to those of Otfrid and shorter original Old High German works.

APPENDIX I: Abbreviations

A - accusative
AO - accusative object
AdjP - adjective phrase
Ag - agent
AgP - agent phrase
AinfP - accusative infinitive phrase
An - accusative name word
ANP - accusative noun phrase
Ap - appellative
ApPasPr - appellative passive predicate
ApPasVP - appellative passive verb phrase
ApPr - appellative predicate
ApVP - appellative verb phrase
Apn - accusative pronoun
ApnP - accusative pronoun phrase
ARpn - accusative relative pronoun
B - beneficiary slot
ben - beneficiary
Cl - clause
cont - continued
D - dative
Dc - declarative
DcApCl - declarative appellative clause
DcApPasCl - declarative appellative passive clause
DcDsCl - declarative descriptive clause
DcIntrCl - declarative intransitive clause
DcQCl - declarative quotative clause
DcQPasCl - declarative quotative passive clause
DcStCl - declarative stative clause
DcTrCl - declarative transitive clause
DcTrPasCl - declarative transitive passive clause
Ds - descriptive
DRCl - dative relative clause
DNP - dative noun phrase
DO - dative object
DP - dative phrase
Dpn - dative pronoun
DRpn - dative relative pronoun
DPr - dative predicate
DVP - dative verb phrase
GNP - genitive noun phrase
Gpn - genitive pronoun
GRpn - genitive relative pronoun
G?pn - genitive interrogative pronoun
(I) - example from Isidor
I - instrumental
IP - instrumental phrase
Imp - imperative
ImpDCl - imperative dative clause
ImpIntrCl - imperative intransitive clause

ImpDVP - imperative dative verb phrase
 ImpIntrVP - imperative intransitive verb phrase
 ImpQCl - imperative quotative clause
 ImpQVP - imperative quotative verb phrase
 ImpTrCl - imperative transitive clause
 ImpTrVP - imperative transitive verb phrase
 InfP - infinitive phrase
 Intr - intransitive
 IntrPr - intransitive predicate
 IntrVP - intransitive verb phrase
 L - locative
 l - locative word
 LP - locative phrase
 M - manner
 m - manner word
 MP - manner phrase
 Name - name slot
 n - name word
 Nn - nominative name word
 NNP - nominative noun phrase
 NnP - nominative name phrase
 NRCl - nominative relative clause
 Npn - nominative pronoun
 NpnP - nominative pronoun phrase
 Npres part - nominative present participle
 N?pn - nominative interrogative pronoun
 NRpn - nominative relative pronoun
 Pr - predicate
 Pas - passive
 PasPr - passive predicate
 PresPart - present participle
 Past PartP - past participial phrase
 PresPartP - present participial phrase
 Q - quotative
 QPasPr - quotative passive predicate
 QPasVP - quotative passive verb phrase
 QPr - quotative predicate
 QVP - quotative verb phrase
 R - relative
 Ref - reference slot
 RCl - relative clause
 RApCl - relative appellative clause
 RDCl - relative dative clause
 RDCl - relative descriptive clause
 RIntrCl - relative intransitive clause
 RQCl - relative quotative clause
 RQPasCl - relative quotative passive clause
 RStCl - relative stative clause
 RTrCl - relative transitive clause
 RTrPasCl - relative transitive passive clause
 RefP - reference phrase
 Rpn - relative pronoun

S - subject
SC - subject complement
St - stative
StPr - stative predicate
StVP - stative verb phrase
T - time
(T) - example from Tatian
t - time word
TP - time phrase
Tr - transitive
TrPasPr - transitive passive predicate
TrPasVP - transitive passive verb phrase
TrVP - transitive verb phrase
TrPr - transitive predicate
VP - verb phrase
ZiP - phrase beginning with 'zi'
? - interrogative
?Cl - interrogative clause
?m - interrogative manner word
?DsCl - interrogative descriptive clause
?QCl - interrogative quotative clause
?StCl - interrogative stative clause
?TrCl - interrogative transitive clause
?TrPasCl - interrogative transitive passive clause
?pn - interrogative pronoun
/ - tagmeme boundary
‡ - obligatory
- - optional

APPENDIX II: Slot-Filler List

Ag: Dpn/ AgP
AO: Apn/ ANP/ AinfP/ An
B: Dpn/ DNP/ DP/ DRCl
DO: Dpn
I: IP
L: LP/ l
M: MP/ m
Name: Nn/ An
Ref: RefP
S: Npn/ NNP/ NRCl/ Nn/ InfP/ Dpn/ Gpn
SC: Npn/ NNP/ ZiP/ AdjP/ InfP/ Gpn/ PresPartP/
PastPartP/ Nn/ GNP
T: TP/ t

Subscripts on all slot symbols except predicates indicate the following:

1. Fillers may not contain relative or interrogative pronouns (except in embedded relative clauses).
2. Fillers may contain relative pronouns but not interrogative pronouns.
3. Fillers may contain interrogative pronouns but not relative pronouns (except in embedded relative clauses).

Subscripts on predicates indicate the following:

1. Filler is indicative or subjunctive.
2. Filler is imperative.

Examples of Slot-Fillers

1. AO:Apn

TrPr₁:TrVP AO₁goal:Apn S₁actor:NNP
 chisalboda/ dhih / got dhin got/
 annointed you God your God

I₁:IP L₁:LP

mit freuwidha olee/ fora dhinem
 with of joy oil before your

chilothzssom (I,III.1)
 consort

(transitive declarative clause)

God, your God, annointed you with the oil of
 joy before your consort.

2. AO:ANP

ApPr₁:ApVP S₁actor:Npn AO₁ben:ANP
 nemnis / thu / sinan namon/
 name you his name

Name₁goal:An

Iohannem (T, Luke 1:13)
 John

(appellative declarative clause)

You will name his name John.

3. AO:AinfP

S₁actor:NpnP AO₁goal:AinfP QPr₁:QVP
 ir almahtic got/ sih / chundida /
 He Almighty God Himself witnessed

AO cont

wesan chisendidan fona dhemu almahtigen
 to be sent from the Almighty

fater (I,III.9)
 Father

(quotative declarative clause)

He, Almighty God, witnessed Himself to be sent
 from the Almighty Father.

4. AO:An

TrPr₁:TrVP S₁actor:NNP Pr cont
 was / thaz folc / beiti /
 was the people expecting

AO₁goal:An

Zachariam (T, Luke 1:21)
 Zechariah

(transitive declarative clause)

The people were expecting Zechariah.

5. Ag:Dpn

TrPasPr₁:TrPasVP Ag₁:Dpn Pr cont S₁goal:InfP
 was / mir / gisehan/ gifolgentemo fon
 was by me seen following from

anaginne allem gernlihho after antreitu
 beginning all gladly in order

thir scriban (T, Luke 1:1)
 to you to write

(transitive passive declarative clause)

It was seen by me to write to you everything
 gladly and in order, starting from the beginning.

6. Ag:AgP

S_{2goal}:NRpn Ag₂:AgP

dher / fona werodheoda druhtin/
 who by of mankind Lord

TrPasPr₁:TrPasVP

ward chisendit (I,III.8)
 was sent

(transitive passive relative clause)

who was sent by the Lord of Hosts

7. B:Dpn

StPr₁:StVP B₁:Dpn S_{1topic}:NNP

ni ward / in / sun (T, Luke 1:7)
 not was to them son

(stative declarative clause)

They did not have a son.

8. B:DNP

AO_{1goal}:Apn QP₁:QVP S_{1actor}:NNP

dhiz / quhad / druhtin /
 this said Lord

B₁:DNP

minemu christe Cyre (I,III.2)
 to my annointed one Cyrus

(quotative declarative clause)

This the Lord said to my annointed one, Cyrus.

9. B:DP

QPr₁:QVP S₁actor:Nn B₁:DP

quad / Zacharias / zi themo engile (T,Luke 1:18)
 said Zechariah to the angel

(quotative declarative clause)

Zechariah said to the angel.

10. B:DRC1

S₁topic:Npn StPr₁:StVP SC₁:ZiP

sie / werdant / zi scaahche/
 they become booty

B₁:DRC1

dhem im aer dheonodon (I,III.8)
 those who them earlier served

(descriptive declarative clause)

They will become booty to those who earlier served them.

11. DO:Dpn¹

S₂actor:DRpn DO₂goal:Dpn T₂:t

dhem / im / aer /
 who them earlier

dheonodon (I,III.5)
 served

(dative relative clause)

(to those) who served them earlier

1. The unusual case of the subject in this and the clause in example 26 is because the whole clauses are filling dative or genitive slots in the main clause (see 10).

12. I:IP

Ref₁:RefPQPr₁:QVP

umbi dhesan selbun Christ/ chundida /
 about this same Christ witnessed

S₁actor:NNPI₁:IP

almahtic fater / dhurah Isaian (I,III.2)
 Almighty Father through Isaiah

(quotative declarative clause)

The Almighty Father witnessed about this same
 Christ through Isaiah.

13. L:LP - see 1

14. L:l

S₁actor:NNPIntrPr₁:IntrVP S cont

al tniu menigi/ was / thes folkes /
 all the crowd was of the people

L₁:lPr cont T₁:TP

uzze / betonti/ in thero ziti thes
 outside praying at the time of the

rouhennes (T, Luke 1:10)
 incense

(intransitive declarative clause)

All the crowd of people was outside praying
 at the time of incense.

15. M:MP

M₁:MPTrPr₁:TrVP AO:Apn

chiliihhan gote/ chifrumida/ dhen (I,III.4)
 like God created him

(transitive active declarative clause)

(He) created him like God.

16. M:m

$M_1:m$ $TrPasPr_1:TrPasVP$ $S_1:Nn$

chiwisso/ ist / Christus/
surely is Christ

$I_1:IP$ Pr cont

in dheru selbun salbidhu / chimeinit (I,III.2)
in the same anointing meant

(transitive passive declarative clause)

Surely Christ is meant in the same anointing.

17. Name:Nn

$I_1:IP$ $ApPasPr_1:ApPasVP$ $T_1:t$

in andra wiis / ni wardh / eo /
in another way not was before

$S_{1ben}:NNP$ $Name_{1goal}:Nn$

einic in Israhelo rihhe / Cyrus /
any in of Israel kingdom Cyrus

Pr cont

chinemnit (I,III.3)
named

(appellative passive declarative clause)

Otherwise no one in the Kingdom of Israel was
named Cyrus before.

18. Name:An - see 2

19. Ref:RefP - see 12

20. S:Npn - see 2

21. S:NNP - see 14

22. S:NRC1

S₁actor:NRC1 TrPr₁:TrVP

dher euwih hrinit / hrinit /
 whoever you touches touches

AO₁goal:ANP

sines augin sehun (I,III.8)
 of his eye pupil

(transitive declarative clause)

Whoever touches you touches the pupil of his eye.

23. S:Nn - see 16

24. S:InfP - see 5

25. S:Dpn - see 11

26. S:Gpn

S₂actor:GRpn AO₂goal:ApnP TrPr₁:TrVP

dhes / iza al / chiscuof (I,III.5)
 who it all made

(transitive relative clause)

(of him) who made it all

27. SC:Npn

SC₃:N?pn StPr₁:StVP S₃topic:NNP

hwer / ist / dhese chisalbodo got
 who is this annointed God

fona gote (I,III.2)
 from God

(descriptive interrogative clause)

Who is this annointed God from God?

28. SC:NNP

S₁topic:NNP StPr₁:StVP
 rehnissa garda / ist /
 of righteousness scepter is

SC₁:NNP

garde dhines riibes (I,III.1)
 scepter of your kingdom

(descriptive declarative clause)

The scepter of righteousness is the scepter
 of your kingdom.

29. SC:ZiP - see 10

30. SC:AdjP

S₁topic:Npn StPr₁:StVP SC₁:AdjP
 ih / bim / alt (T, Luke 1:18)
 I am old

(descriptive declarative clause)

I am old.

31. SC:InfP

SC₃:InfP StPr₁:StVP S₃topic:Npn
 hwemu / ist / dhiz /
 to whom is this

SC cont

zi quhedanne (I,III.5)
 to say

(descriptive interrogative clause)

To whom is this to be said?

32. SC:Gpn

SC₃:G?pn StPr₁:StVP S₃topic:NNP
 hwes / mac / dhesiu stimna/
 whose can this voice

Pr cont
 wesan (I,III.9)
 be

(descriptive interrogative clause)

Whose voice can this be?

33. SC:PresPartP

S₁topic:Nn StPr₁:StVP SC₁:PresPartP
 Elisabeth / was / unberenti (T, Luke 1:7)
 Elizabeth was un-bearing

(descriptive declarative clause)

Elizabeth was barren.

34. SC:PastPartP

S₁topic:NNP (StPr₁ understood) SC₁:PastPartP
 beidu / framgigiengun
 both far-gone

in iro tagun (T, Luke 1:7)
 in their days

(descriptive declarative clause)

Both (were) advanced in their days.

35. SC:Nn

S₁topic:NNP StPr₁:StVP SC₁:Nn
 ira namo / was / Elisabeth (T, Luke 1:5)
 her name was Elizabeth

(descriptive declarative clause)

Her name was Elizabeth.

36. SC:GNP

(S and Pr understood) SC₁:GNP

dhes nerrendin
of the saving

druhtines (I,III.9)
Lord

(descriptive declarative clause)

(It is) of the saving Lord.

37. T:TP - see 14

38. T:t - see 17

APPENDIX III: Clause Formula List

$$\begin{aligned}
 \text{DcTrCl} &= \overset{+}{S}_{1\text{actor}} +\text{TrPr}_1:\text{TrVP}_a \overset{-}{B}_1 \overset{+}{\text{TrPr}}_1:\text{TrVP}_b \\
 &\quad +\text{AO}_{1\text{goal}} \overset{+}{I}_1 \overset{+}{M}_1 \overset{+}{T}_1 \overset{-}{L}_1 \\
 \text{DcTrPasCl} &= \overset{+}{I}_1 \overset{-}{A}g_1 +\text{TrPasPr}_1:\text{TrPasVP}_a \overset{+}{S}_{1\text{goal}} \overset{-}{B}_1 \\
 &\quad \overset{+}{M}_1 \overset{+}{T}_1 \overset{-}{L}_1 \overset{+}{\text{TrPasPr}}_1:\text{TrPasVP}_b \\
 \text{DcApCl} &= +\text{ApPr}_1:\text{ApVP} \overset{+}{S}_{1\text{actor}} +\text{AO}_{1\text{ben}} +\text{Name}_{1\text{goal}} \\
 \text{DcApPasCl} &= \overset{+}{M}_1 \overset{+}{I}_1 \overset{+}{S}_{1\text{ben}} +\text{ApPasPr}_1:\text{ApPasVP}_a \overset{+}{T}_1 \\
 &\quad \overset{+}{L}_1 +\text{Name}_{1\text{goal}} +\text{ApPasPr}_1:\text{ApPasVP}_b \\
 \text{DcQCl} &= \overset{+}{\text{Ref}}_1 \overset{+}{L}_1 \overset{+}{T}_1 \overset{+}{\text{AO}}_{1\text{goal}} \overset{+}{M}_1 \overset{+}{I}_1 +\text{QPr}_1:\text{QVP} \\
 &\quad \overset{+}{S}_{1\text{actor}} \overset{-}{B}_1 \\
 \text{DcQPasCl} &= \overset{+}{\text{Ref}}_1 \overset{+}{T}_1 \overset{-}{L}_1 \overset{+}{M}_1 \overset{+}{I}_1 +\text{QPasPr}_1:\text{QPasVP}_a \\
 &\quad \overset{+}{S}_{1\text{goal}} \overset{-}{B}_1 +\text{QPasPr}_1:\text{QPasVP}_b \\
 \text{DcIntrCl} &= \overset{+}{S}_{1\text{actor}} +\text{IntrPr}_1:\text{IntrVP}_a \overset{+}{I}_1 \overset{+}{M}_1 \overset{-}{L}_1 \\
 &\quad \overset{+}{\text{IntrPr}}_1:\text{IntrVP}_b \overset{+}{T}_1 \\
 \text{DcStCl} &= \overset{+}{M}_1 +\text{StPr}_1:\text{StVP} \overset{-}{B}_1 \overset{+}{T}_1 \overset{+}{S}_{1\text{topic}} \overset{-}{L}_1 \\
 \text{DcDsCl} &= \overset{+}{T}_1 +\text{S}_{1\text{topic}} +\text{StPr}_1:\text{StVP} \overset{+}{M}_1 \overset{-}{B}_1 +\text{SC}_1 \overset{-}{L}_1 \\
 \text{?TrCl} &= \overset{+}{M}_3 +\text{TrPr}_1:\text{TrVP}_a \overset{+}{S}_{3\text{actor}} +\text{AO}_{3\text{goal}} \overset{-}{L}_3 \overset{+}{T}_3 \\
 &\quad \overset{+}{\text{TrPr}}_1:\text{TrVP}_b \\
 \text{?TrPasCl} &= \overset{+}{I}_3 \overset{-}{A}g_3 \overset{+}{M}_3 +\text{TrPasPr}_1:\text{TrPasVP}_a \overset{+}{S}_{3\text{goal}} \\
 &\quad \overset{-}{B}_3 \overset{+}{T}_3 \overset{-}{L}_3 +\text{TrPasPr}_1:\text{TrPasVP}_b \\
 \text{?QCl} &= \overset{+}{\text{Ref}}_3 \overset{+}{M}_3 \overset{-}{B}_3 +\text{QPr}_1:\text{QVP} \overset{+}{S}_{3\text{actor}} \overset{-}{L}_3 \overset{+}{T}_3 \\
 \text{?StCl} &= \overset{+}{M}_3 +\text{StPr}_1:\text{StVP}_a \overset{+}{T}_3 \overset{+}{S}_{3\text{topic}} \overset{-}{L}_3 \overset{+}{\text{StPr}}_1:\text{StVP}_b \\
 \text{?DsCl} &= +\text{SC}_3 +\text{StPr}_1:\text{StVP}_a +\text{S}_{3\text{topic}} \overset{+}{\text{StPr}}_1:\text{StVP}_b \\
 \text{ImpTrCl} &= +\text{TrPr}_2:\text{ImpTrVP} \overset{-}{L}_1 +\text{AO}_{1\text{goal}} \overset{+}{M}_1 \overset{+}{T}_1 \\
 \text{ImpQCl} &= \overset{+}{M}_1 +\text{QPr}_2:\text{ImpQVP} \overset{-}{B}_1 \overset{+}{S}_{1\text{actor}}
 \end{aligned}$$

APPENDIX III: Clause Formula List

$$\begin{aligned}
 \text{DcTrCl} &= \text{+S}_{1\text{lactor}} \text{+TrPr}_1:\text{TrVP}_a \text{-B}_1 \text{-TrPr}_1:\text{TrVP}_b \\
 &\quad \text{+AO}_{1\text{goal}} \text{-I}_1 \text{-M}_1 \text{-T}_1 \text{-L}_1 \\
 \text{DcTrPasCl} &= \text{-I}_1 \text{-Ag}_1 \text{+TrPasPr}_1:\text{TrPasVP}_a \text{-S}_{1\text{goal}} \text{-B}_1 \\
 &\quad \text{-M}_1 \text{-T}_1 \text{-L}_1 \text{-TrPasPr}_1:\text{TrPasVP}_b \\
 \text{DcApCl} &= \text{+ApPr}_1:\text{ApVP} \text{-S}_{1\text{lactor}} \text{+AO}_{1\text{ben}} \text{+Name}_{1\text{goal}} \\
 \text{DcApPasCl} &= \text{-M}_1 \text{-I}_1 \text{-S}_{1\text{ben}} \text{+ApPasPr}_1:\text{ApPasVP}_a \text{-T}_1 \\
 &\quad \text{-L}_1 \text{+Name}_{1\text{goal}} \text{+ApPasPr}_1:\text{ApPasVP}_b \\
 \text{DcQCl} &= \text{-Ref}_1 \text{-L}_1 \text{-T}_1 \text{-AO}_{1\text{goal}} \text{-M}_1 \text{-I}_1 \text{+QPr}_1:\text{QVP} \\
 &\quad \text{-S}_{1\text{lactor}} \text{-B}_1 \\
 \text{DcQPasCl} &= \text{-Ref}_1 \text{-T}_1 \text{-L}_1 \text{-M}_1 \text{-I}_1 \text{+QPasPr}_1:\text{QPasVP}_a \\
 &\quad \text{-S}_{1\text{goal}} \text{-B}_1 \text{+QPasPr}_1:\text{QPasVP}_b \\
 \text{DcIntrCl} &= \text{-S}_{1\text{lactor}} \text{+IntrPr}_1:\text{IntrVP}_a \text{-I}_1 \text{-M}_1 \text{-L}_1 \\
 &\quad \text{-IntrPr}_1:\text{IntrVP}_b \text{-T}_1 \\
 \text{DcStCl} &= \text{-M}_1 \text{+StPr}_1:\text{StVP} \text{-B}_1 \text{-T}_1 \text{-S}_{1\text{topic}} \text{-L}_1 \\
 \text{DcDsCl} &= \text{-T}_1 \text{+S}_{1\text{topic}} \text{+StPr}_1:\text{StVP} \text{-M}_1 \text{-B}_1 \text{+SC}_1 \text{-L}_1 \\
 \text{?TrCl} &= \text{-M}_3 \text{+TrPr}_1:\text{TrVP}_a \text{-S}_{3\text{actor}} \text{+AO}_{3\text{goal}} \text{-L}_3 \text{-T}_3 \\
 &\quad \text{-TrPr}_1:\text{TrVP}_b \\
 \text{?TrPasCl} &= \text{-I}_3 \text{-Ag}_3 \text{-M}_3 \text{+TrPasPr}_1:\text{TrPasVP}_a \text{-S}_{3\text{goal}} \\
 &\quad \text{-B}_3 \text{-T}_3 \text{-L}_3 \text{+TrPasPr}_1:\text{TrPasVP}_b \\
 \text{?QCl} &= \text{-Ref}_3 \text{-M}_3 \text{-B}_3 \text{+QPr}_1:\text{QVP} \text{-S}_{3\text{actor}} \text{-L}_3 \text{-T}_3 \\
 \text{?StCl} &= \text{-M}_3 \text{+StPr}_1:\text{StVP}_a \text{-T}_3 \text{-S}_{3\text{topic}} \text{-L}_3 \text{-StPr}_1:\text{StVP}_b \\
 \text{?DsCl} &= \text{+SC}_3 \text{+StPr}_1:\text{StVP}_a \text{+S}_{3\text{topic}} \text{-StPr}_1:\text{StVP}_b \\
 \text{ImpTrCl} &= \text{+TrPr}_2:\text{ImpTrVP} \text{-L}_1 \text{+AO}_{1\text{goal}} \text{-M}_1 \text{-T}_1 \\
 \text{ImpQCl} &= \text{-M}_1 \text{+QPr}_2:\text{ImpQVP} \text{-B}_1 \text{-S}_{1\text{lactor}}
 \end{aligned}$$

$$\begin{aligned}
\text{ImpIntrCl} &= +\text{IntrPr}_2:\text{ImpIntrVP} \quad \dagger S_{1\text{actor}} \quad \dagger M_1 \quad \dagger L_1 \quad \dagger T_1 \\
\text{ImpDCl} &= +\text{DPr}_2:\text{ImpDVP} \quad \dagger S_{1\text{actor}} \quad +\text{DO}_{1\text{goal}} \\
\text{RTrCl} &= \dagger S_{2\text{actor}} \quad +\text{AO}_{2\text{goal}} \quad \dagger M_2 \quad +\text{TrPr}_1:\text{TrVP} \\
\text{RTrPasCl} &= \dagger B_2 \quad +\text{TrPasPr}_1:\text{TrPasVP}_a \quad \dagger S_{2\text{goal}} \quad \dagger L_2 \quad \dagger Ag_2 \\
&\quad \dagger I_2 \quad \dagger M_2 \quad \dagger T_2 \quad +\text{TrPasPr}_1:\text{TrPasVP}_b \\
\text{RApCl} &= \dagger S_{2\text{actor}} \quad +\text{AO}_{2\text{ben}} \quad \dagger \text{Name}_{2\text{goal}} \quad +\text{ApPr}_1:\text{ApVP} \\
\text{RQCl} &= \dagger T_2 \quad \dagger L_2 \quad \dagger \text{Ref}_2 \quad \dagger M_2 \quad +\text{QPr}_1:\text{QVP} \quad \dagger S_{2\text{actor}} \\
\text{RQPasCl} &= \dagger B_2 \quad \dagger \text{Ref}_2 \quad +\text{QPasPr}_1:\text{QPasVP}_a \quad \dagger S_{2\text{goal}} \quad +\text{QPasPr}_1:\text{QPasVP}_b \\
\text{RDCl} &= \dagger S_{2\text{actor}} \quad +\text{DO}_{2\text{goal}} \quad \dagger T_2 \quad +\text{DPr}_1:\text{DVP} \\
\text{RIntrCl} &= \dagger S_{2\text{actor}} \quad +\text{IntrPr}_1:\text{IntrVP} \quad \dagger L_2 \\
\text{RStCl} &= \dagger T_2 \quad \dagger S_{2\text{topic}} \quad +\text{StPr}_1:\text{StVP} \\
\text{RDsCl} &= +S_{2\text{topic}} \quad \dagger T_2 \quad \dagger L_2 \quad \dagger M_2 \quad +\text{SC}_2 \quad +\text{StPr}_1:\text{StVP}
\end{aligned}$$

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