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NOMINAL COMPOUNDS IN GERMANIC

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Abbreviations

Bense.

Bergsten.

Björkman.

Borowski.

Braune.

Brugmann.
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Johannesson.

Abbreviations

Falk-Torp.

Feist.

Gering.

Gröger.

Grewolds.

Grimm.

DWB.

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Abbreviations

Magoun.

REW.

Michiels.

Noreen.

Osthoft.

Petersen.

Schönfeld.

Sehrt.

S-S.

Storch.
INTRODUCTION

THE THEORY OF THE COMPOUND AND THE DIVISION OF THE MATERIAL

In the facility with which independent words can be combined to a higher word-unit the Germanic languages possess a supple and convenient method of word-formation, the potentialities of which have been fully exploited from the time of the early alliterative poetry down to the modern technical terminology. This method is, of course, not peculiar to the Germanic languages, for it is inherited from the parent Indo-Germanic language, together with the other type of word-formation by means of suffixes, but in none of the extant Indo-Germanic languages has it been so extensively developed as in the modern Germanic languages, especially in German. In principle the two types of word-formation, combination and derivation, are not absolutely different from one another, as many derivative suffixes were originally second members of compounds which through frequent use in this position have lost their full meaning and assumed the function of derivative suffixes. There is therefore a constant transition from one type to the other, and the limits between them cannot be strictly defined. Nor is the proportion of these two types of word-formation the same in the successive periods of the history of any particular language. In Primitive Indo-Germanic formation by suffixes was in all probability as extensively used as combination. In Latin and the Romance languages an increase in the suffix formations can be observed which is accompanied by a decline in the compounds. The first records of the Germanic languages show a rich suffix system, part of which is gradually lost in the history of each Germanic language and replaced by combination. The primary reason for this increase in combination in Germanic is probably to be sought in the Germanic system of accentuation as compared with Latin and the Romance languages. The latter often require the stressing of the suffix which preserves it from
decay, whilst in Germanic the principle of the exclusive accentuation of the radical syllable led to the phonetic decay of the suffixes and the loss of their semantic force.\(^1\) The need for some substitute is thus awakened which is only partially supplied by the borrowing of foreign suffixes. In the older periods of the Germanic languages the influence of Latin, which is rich in suffixes, arrests the process of decay and delays the development of compounds, whilst at a later period in ME. and MHG. a similar influence is exerted by French. It is partly for this reason that the number of compounds in the early Germanic prose and glosses is less than in the poetry where the foreign influence is not so perceptible.

The growth of nominal compounds was further encouraged by new developments in the syntax of the Germanic languages. Whilst in Greek and Latin the freedom in word-order of the parent language was to a large extent retained, in the Germanic languages the order of words was gradually fixed. In German, for example, no alteration in the order of words in a phrase as 'der junge Herr' is permissible. Such syntactic phrases could then more easily coalesce to compounds (MHG. juncker) than in languages where the order was less rigid. It is for this reason that compounds of the type adjective + substantive were relatively rare in Primitive Germanic, whilst they increase in number in Modern German and English.

In a restricted sphere the development of nominal compounds was further encouraged by the spirit and technique of the alliterative poetry. In comparison with the Greek and Latin poets the writers of the Germanic alliterative verse show little interest in the events and actions which they describe in their poems, for they were usually traditional and well known to their hearers. The Germanic poets did not regard the action as the object of their poems, but rather as a means to an end, as a framework within which they endeavoured to exhibit their powers of description.\(^2\) This tendency is reflected in the style of the alliterative poetry where the number of substantives and adjectives, which usually denote something static, is far in excess of the number of verbs. In fact, ideas which could be expressed by a simple verb are often resolved into a phrase consisting of a verb and a dependent substantive (e.g. live = blæddaga br ā cau). The Germanic poet also likes to reflect on the nature of things, attaching distinguishing epithets to them, defining them and comparing them with each other. This leads to the practice of variation which is a so striking feature of the Germanic verse whereby an idea once expressed is taken up and repeated in synonymous terms. Now derivation affords little scope for variation, for usually a suffix cannot be altered without a fundamental change in the meaning of the word, but a compound can be varied indefinitely and without fundamental change of meaning by the substitution of synonyms for one of its members (e.g. OE. sāman, sārinc, sālīdende, merelīdende, merefara, all denoting 'sailor'). In fact, it is precisely in this way that the Germanic poets were able to show their originality. Moreover, the habit of reflecting on the nature of things encouraged the use of compounds; the poets, not satisfied with the bare names of things, defined them, naming, for example, the body, flēschama, līchama, bānloca, bāncofa, bānhts, etc. Finally, the compounds provided the alliterative poets with an easy, and sometimes misused method of obtaining the necessary alliteration. The large number of tautological compounds in OE. poetry (e.g. cērsorg, fredrihten) and of intensifying compounds with such first members as magen, dōd, etc., leads us to suspect that the Germanic poets were at times the victims rather than the masters of the alliterative technique, and that they sometimes coined otiose and cumbersome compounds in a desperate effort to provide the necessary alliteration. This tendency has, however, been exaggerated by some writers. We have seen that the frequent use of nominal compounds springs from the spirit of the language and of the alliterative poetry, and they cannot be contemptuously dismissed as Bode does as 'Lückenstopferei und höhler Wortkram.'\(^1\)

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\(^1\) In the same way at a later period the strong stressing of the first member of a compound leads to the decay of the second member, e.g. MHG. juncreme > Mod. G. junger; MHG. juncker > Mod. G. juncker; and to the reduction of the second member to the value of a suffix, e.g. -heit, -shaft, -urn, etc.

\(^2\) This point is well brought out by ten Brink, Geschichte der englischen Literatur (new ed. by A. Brandl, 1893), p. 449: 'Sie (OE. poetry) ist mehr um die Darstellung von Personen und Gegenständen oder auch Situationen bemüht als um die Darstellung von Gegebenheiten, besser

zum Schildern als zum Erzählen befähigt.' And p. 451: 'Während Homer die Bilder äusserer Dinge in Handlung umzusetzen, uns die Gegenstände dadurch anschaulich vertraut macht, dass er sagt, wie sie entstanden sind, ist das ae. Epos viel mehr bemüht die Handlung in eine Anzahl Bilder aufzulös'en.'

\(^1\) W. Bode, Die Kemningar in der angelsächsischen Dichtung, Darmstadt and Leipzig, 1886.
Although the alliterative verse was undoubtedly a factor encouraging the development of nominal compounds in the early periods of the Germanic languages, its influence in this direction on the ordinary speech was very slight. A few of the poetic compounds survive in the ME. poetry, and then gradually become obsolete, whereas the influence of the alliterative verse on NHG. was, as will be shown later, still slighter.

A study of these compounds should therefore give us an insight into the structure of the Germanic languages, the nature of the alliterative verse, and the mode of thought of the early speakers of Germanic. The object of this investigation is to compare the compounds in the older Germanic languages and to attempt to arrive at some idea of the original stock of compounds in Primitive Germanic and West Germanic, and then to trace the development of the original types, particularly in German and English, from the point of view of their structure and their stylistic use in poetry and prose.

Although much has been written on various aspects of the nominal compounds in the Germanic languages, no exhaustive review of the subject has been forthcoming since Jacob Grimm's *Deutsche Grammatik*. In many respects Grimm's clear handling of the points at issue is still a model for modern work on the subject, but whilst dealing with each of the Germanic languages in turn, Grimm only rarely compares them with each other and does not attempt to distinguish between the original compounds or even the original types and the analogues formed independently in each language. Apart from short accounts in the various handbooks of Primitive Germanic and an article by Western, giving a review of the general types existing in Germanic from the semantic point of view, no work has appeared which deals with the subject as a whole, and in which a comparison between the Germanic languages is attempted.

For the individual languages we have indeed many descriptive works and classifications of the compounds, but only rarely is an attempt made to throw light on the many problems by a comparison with other Germanic languages.

The Gothic nominal compounds have been collected and classified into types as substantive + substantive, adjective + substantive, etc., by K. F. Johansson, but no reference is made to other Germanic languages or to the question of new formations in Gothic on the analogy of compounds in the Greek Bible. The relation between the Gothic compounds and the Greek text has, however, been dealt with by Grewolds from a purely formal point of view. From this article the favourite types in Gothic emerge, and Grewolds shows that Wulfila frequently used compounds where the Greek text has derivatives, but the question as to which of the Gothic compounds were inherited from Primitive Germanic and which were new formations is not dealt with.

Little work has been done on the compounds in Old English, and although much has been written on the so-called poetic compounds and their stylistic use in OE. poetry, no attempt has been made to discover the stock of compounds from which the OE. poets could draw, or even to compare the types in poetry with those in prose. The only work dealing generally with the OE. nominal compounds from a morphological and semantic point of view is Th. Storch's *Angelsächsische Nominalkomposita* (Strassburg, 1886), which is now out of date. Despite the title Storch draws his material exclusively from poetry, and is thus led into making false generalisations which do not apply to the OE. prose compounds. Another dissertation by Bergsten deals in a general way, without aiming at completeness, with such isolated questions as the composition vowel in OE., obscured and tautological compounds, etc.

There is no general work on the compounds in Old Norse, but A. Jóhannesson's *Die Komposita im Isländischen* (Reykjavik, 1929) deals briefly with the main morphological types in Icelandic, and gives full details on the composition vowel in Old Norse and Modern Icelandic.

A similar descriptive account of the nominal compounds in Dutch has been made by J. H. van Lessen, *Samengestelde Naamwoorden in het Nederlandsch*, Groningen, 1928, in which a review of the types in Modern Dutch is given, together with notes on obscure formations.

For German we have an invaluable collection of the Old High and Old Low German compounds in the index to Gröger's

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detailed and painstaking investigation on the composition vowel in those dialects, but apart from brief accounts in the grammars by Paul and Wilmanns, the Old High German compounds have never been classified or their structure investigated. The Old Low German compound substantives, on the other hand, have been collected and classified by Hucko in his Bildung der Substantiva durch Ableitung und Zusammensetzung im Altsächsischen, Strassburg, 1904, and the compound adjectives by Roedder, Wortlehre des Adjektivs im Altsächsischen, Madison, 1901.

The majority of these studies are concerned with the classification of the compounds in the several Germanic languages, and for this purpose reference to other Germanic languages is not necessary, but there are also valuable accounts of some of the composition types in which the comparative aspect of the problems meets with due consideration. Notable amongst these is Osthoff’s valuable study on those nominal compounds, of which the first member is a verbal stem. There is also a detailed study of the so-called exocentric compound in German by Fabian which despite its title, Das exocentrische Kompositum im Deutschen (Leipzig, 1931), includes Gothic and Frisian in its survey, and whenever possible refers to similar formations in English and Norse, but although the work embraces several Germanic languages, Fabian does not attempt to arrive at any idea of the formation of the exocentric type in Primitive German.

Last’s account of the same type in English is a concise collection of the material without reference to other Germanic languages or to the details of the structure of the composition type.

Definition of the Nominal Compound and Classification of the Types

In the present work a compound is regarded from the purely grammatical point of view as a combination of two independent words to a higher word-unit, but from this volume are excluded those nominal compounds which have a prefix or prepositional

1 Otto Gröger, Die alt hochdeutsche und alt sächsische Kompositumsfuge, Zürich, 1911.
2 H. Osthoff, Das Verbum in der Nominalcomposition im Deutschen, Griechischen, Slavischen und Romanischen, Jena, 1878.
3 W. Last, Das Bahnwäh-Compositium im Altenglischen, Mittel-englischen, und Neuenglischen, Greifswald, 1925.

adverb as their first member, as they are more appropriately dealt with together with the compound verbs which are reserved for a subsequent volume. The proper nouns are also excluded except when parallel formations appear as appellatives in one or more of the Germanic languages. The definition includes, however, those second parts of compounds which have assumed the function of suffixes, as -heit, -schaft, etc., in German. When the original types were formed, these were certainly felt as full words, and it is impossible to determine exactly at what point they ceased to be regarded as such.

In the modern Germanic languages a compound can usually be distinguished from a syntactic phrase by the fact that its parts are written together, but such an orthographical device has no real grammatical significance, and the practice of hyphenation in English indicates that there is some doubt whether the parts of a compound should be written together or not. For the earlier periods of the Germanic languages the writing together of the parts offers no safe criterion to enable us to distinguish between a compound and a syntactic phrase, for the scribes, especially the OE. ones, often wrote words separately which are obviously compounds, and even divided single words. We have therefore to apply other criteria. These have been admirably set forth by Paul, who has shown that a compound is distinguishable from a syntactic phrase in that it is isolated in some way as compared with the elements which compose it. This isolation may be either semantic or formal, or both combined. Firstly, the meaning of a compound is not obtained by the addition of its parts; for instance, the meaning of the compound Grossvater is not the same as gross Vater. Some other element enters into the meaning of the compound which is not contained in the parts which compose it. This principle in itself is often sufficient to distinguish a compound from a syntactic phrase, but taken alone it would lead us to regard such phrases as das Rote Meer, Das Kap der Guten
Hoffnung as compounds, for they are semantically no less isolated than Grosswasser. We must therefore apply the second test, the isolation of form. One part of a compound may assume a form which the simple word does not have, e.g. OLG. endago (fixed day) is a compound because -dago is inflected differently from the simplex dag, or Mod. G. Nachbar is a compound because the second part, reduced from Bauer, does not appear in this form as a simple word. Or in other cases a compound may contain as one of its members a word which no longer exists independently, e.g. Brautigam, the second part of which contains a word (OHG. gomo, man) which is extinct as a simplex in Modern German. Finally, the two members of a compound may be linked together in a way which does not represent any construction possible in the syntax of the language. German Vaterland is a compound because in a syntactic phrase one noun which is dependent on another must be in the genitive case. Even when all these tests are applied there is sometimes doubt in dealing with the older periods of the Germanic languages whether a group of words must be regarded as a compound or not. This is especially the case with the group adjective + substantive where in the older Germanic languages the adjective could be left un declined, and where the semantic test of the isolation of meaning fails us. The older editors of the OLG. Helian regarded, for instance, the phrase grimm folk (l. 4826) as a compound, whilst the modern practice is to write the two words separately. Obviously, since compounds grow from such syntactic phrases, it is often impossible to tell in individual cases whether the phrase has coalesced to a compound or not. Similarly, we have no certain criterion to determine whether compounds, the first part of which consists of a substantive in the genitive case, were really regarded as such in the older periods of the Germanic languages. In connected texts the agreement of the article may afford a clue. If the article agrees with the genitive noun, the group is certainly not a compound, but if it agrees with the second noun, the group may or may not be a compound, for in the early periods of the Germanic languages the ad nominal genitive could, contrary to the practice in Modern German, stand between the article and its noun (e.g. MHG. der Kriemhildes man). On the whole, however, the uncertainty arising from these doubtful cases is not so great as might be supposed, and normally even when dealing with remote periods of the Germanic languages we are able to distinguish without difficulty between a compound and a syntactic phrase.

Most of the classifications of the compounds adopted by modern grammarians are modifications of the classification introduced by the Old Indian grammarians who divided the types of nominal compounds which are dealt with in this work into the following groups:

(i) Dyandva (now usually called copulatives), e.g. G. taubstummm (deaf and dumb).
(ii) Tatpuruṣa, corresponding to the Mod. G. type Hutmacher.
(iii) Karmadhāraya, corresponding to the Mod. G. type Grosswasser.
(iv) Dvigu, corresponding to the Mod. G. type with a numeral as the first member, e.g. Dreieck.
(v) Bahuvrīhi (now sometimes called possessive or, more accurately, exocentric compounds), e.g. Mod. G. barfuss, Rothkohlchen.

This division, although logical, fails to indicate that some of these types are more closely connected with each other than with others. Panini himself seems to have felt that something was wrong, and he grouped together types (ii), (iii), and (iv), in which one member limits the meaning of the other, under the heading Tatpuruṣa. In this way a confusion in the use of this term arose, as Tatpuruṣa is also the name of one of the types. Johansson, for instance, in his classification of the Gothic compounds refers to ‘Tatpuruṣa im weiteren Sinne’ and ‘Tatpuruṣa im engeren Sinne’. A further confusion in the use of the term arises from the fact that in the primitive Indo-Germanic language probably only verbal nouns were used as the second members of the Tatpuruṣa class, and certain modern grammarians, notably Hirt, use the term in this restricted sense and classify the compounds with a non-verbal noun in the second part (e.g. Vaterland) amongst the Karmadhāraya. This does not seem to be in accordance with the practice of the Old Indian grammarians, who knew compounds of the type Vaterland and called them Tatpuruṣa. In view of the confusion which has arisen, it is therefore advisable to abandon the terms Tatpuruṣa and Karmadhāraya altogether, and use

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instead some characteristic type-words for the various classes of compounds.

A further uncertainty has arisen in the use of the terms Dvandva and Karmadhāraya. In the former class the parts of the compound are simply added together and one part is not limited by the other, e.g. OLG. gisunfader (son and father); Mod. G. taubstumm (deaf and dumb). These compounds denote, therefore, two distinct ideas which are loosely correlated in the compound. The Karmadhāraya, on the other hand, are compounds of which one part, usually the first, denotes an attribute of the other (e.g. Grosswater), or stands in apposition to the other (e.g. OE. winedrīden, a lord who is a friend). The distinction between the two types is perfectly clear; the Karmadhāraya are determinatives in which one part of the compound is limited by the other, whilst in the Dvandva class the two parts of the compound are simply correlated. Nevertheless, some authorities such as Storch consider compounds as G. Werwolf as Dvandva, although the majority (Hirt, Wilmanns, and Kluge, etc.) have clearly recognised that these are limiting compounds, and hence Karmadhāraya. The compound Werwolf does not mean 'a man and a wolf,' and the relation between the two parts is not parallel to OLG. gisunfader (son and father), but is identical in type with compounds as G. Königsmutter, Prinzregent, Schafbock. In these compounds, which even Storch recognises as determinatives, the semantically dominant idea is expressed by one member and is limited by the other, whilst in the true Dvandva each member has equal value. Again, therefore, it is advisable to abandon the Old Indian terms and call the Dvandva 'copulative compounds,' which leaves no doubt as to the relationship between the two parts of the compounds, and to classify the Karmadhāraya together with the Tatpuruṣā as Determinatives.

A further confusion has arisen over the Bahuvrihi type owing to unsound theories on the origin and character of these compounds. It was von Schroeder\(^1\) who divided the Indo-Germanic compounds into two main classes, Immutata and Mutata. The compounds in the first class retain the character of the second member, that is, if the second member is a substantive, the compound as a whole is also a substantive. In the second class, however, the compound as a whole is an adjective, although the second member when used as a simplex is a substantive; for instance, G. barfuss is an adjective, although Fuss alone is a substantive. This so-called mutation of the second member was regarded by Schroeder as the distinctive characteristic of the Bahuvrihi compounds, and it follows, if this theory of the mutation be accepted, that the Bahuvrihi are of secondary origin formed from Tatpuruṣā or Karmadhāraya. It has, however, now been recognised that there is no difference in principle between the mutated compounds (e.g. barfuss) and compounds as G. Dummkopf, which are not mutated and hence remain substantives. The mutation is not of primary importance, and, as will be shown, represents a later development of the type. The distinguishing characteristic of the Bahuvrihi is the reference to a third idea which stands outside the two parts of the compound, e.g. Langbart does not mean 'long beard,' but 'a person having a long beard,' and the mutated Bahuvrihi barfuss does not mean 'bare feet,' but 'having bare feet.' The Bahuvrihi denote, then, a quality possessed by a substantive standing outside the compound, and it is therefore natural that they should assume secondarily the inflection of the adjective, but this does not mean that they are mutated from original substantive Tatpuruṣā or Karmadhāraya, for the Bahuvrihi type is as old as the Tatpuruṣā and Karmadhāraya, and goes back to a period before the distinction between substantive and adjective arose. The Bahuvrihi were then originally neither substantives nor adjectives, and the adjective inflection of these compounds is the secondary consequence of their attributive significance. When it was realised that the essential characteristic of the Bahuvrihi was a semantic one and not a formal one, it was also seen that the so-called imperative compounds of the type G. Tauenicht or Engl. pick-pocket belonged to the same class, since they, too, refer to a third idea standing outside the compound, and a new term embracing these and the Bahuvrihi became necessary. The term 'exzentrisch' (exocentric), suggested by Aleksandrow,\(^1\) has been widely adopted, although some writers as Last still employ the term Bahuvrihi, extending it to include the imperative compounds. In the present work the term 'exocentric' is used for the wider group, including therefore the imperative compounds and the Bahuvrihi.

\(^{1}\) L. von Schroeder. Ueber die formelle Unterscheidung der Redetleih im Griechischen und Lateinischen, Leipzig, 1874.

\(^{1}\) A. Aleksandrow. Litauische Studien. I. Nominalzusammensetzungen, Dorpat, 1880, p. 110.
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Realising that the terms Immutata and Mutata were unsuitable for the modern languages, some writers on the subject attempted other classifications. Storch, following Steinthal,\(^1\) distinguished the following classes: (a) copulatives, (b) initial determinatives, (c) final determinatives. In the second class Storch included those compounds as G. abhanden, in which the second part depends on a preposition in the first, and also compounds as G. Königin-Witwe, Hirschkuh, in which, according to Storch, the determining member, contrary to the normal type of determinative, is the first which is limited in meaning by the second. Of these two groups, the type abhanden does not fall within the present survey, and the existence of the second type in Primitive Germanic is doubtful. The type Hirschkuh is very close to, and often indistinguishable from, the type Eichenbaum in which the second member is a generic name standing in apposition to the first member which limits it. In fact, Storch can quote only four initial determinatives of the type Hirschkuh from OE. The question of the existence of the type in the early Germanic languages is discussed later, but even if such compounds do exist it is clear that they are so few in number that the distinction between initial and final determinatives is not so important as to justify Storch in making it the main basis of the classification of the compounds.

Within the group of final determinatives Storch, following von Schroeder, distinguishes between Synthetica and non-Synthetica. The former group contains those compounds which have a verbal substantive or adjective as their second member, and which arose from a syntactic phrase consisting of a verb and its dependents (e.g. G. Hutmacher). The remainder of the compounds, the non-Synthetica, do not contain a verbal noun, and in Storch's classification the group includes such diverse types as Tatpurusā, Karmadhāraya, and Bahuvarhis. This distinction does not seem to the present writer to be an important one from the point of view of Germanic, and moreover, it cannot be strictly made. Storch, for instance, regards the Engl. goldsmith as a Syntheticon arising from a syntactic phrase consisting of a verb and its dependent noun, whilst at the same time he considers that blacksmith is a non-Syntheticon. Certainly the Mod. English speaker feels no difference between the two types, and there is no reason to believe that the OE. smīd was any more closely associated with the corresponding verb, when the compound goldsmīd was formed, than it is now. Such compounds are simply compounds of two substantives, in no way different in principle from the type Vaterland, and there seems to be no reason why in dealing with the Germanic compounds a distinction should be drawn between the two types.

In the present work the compounds are divided into three main classes—copulative, determinative, and exocentric compounds—and each class is further subdivided according to the parts of speech of the members of the compounds, as indicated in the following scheme:—

A. Copulatives
   (i) substantive + substantive (type: OLG. gisunfader),
   (ii) adjective + adjective (type: G. laubstum).

B. Determinatives
   (i) substantive + substantive (type: G. Vaterland),
   (ii) substantive + substantive (type: G. Grosswarte),
   (iii) verbal stem + substantive (type: G. Schreibzeug),
   (iv) substantive + substantive (type: G. blutrot),
   (v) adjective + adjective (type: G. altklug),
   (vi) verbal stem + adjective (type: G. treffsicher).

C. Exocentrics
   (i) Imperative compounds (type: G. Taugenichts),
   (ii) Bahuvarhis,
       (a) substantive Bahuvarhis (type: G. Dummkopf),
       (b) substantive Bahuvarhis (the so-called mutated compounds (type: G. barfuss).

It will be noticed that the Old Indian type Doigu, i.e. compounds with a numeral in the first part, is not included in this classification, the reason being that the only survivals of this type in the early Germanic languages are Bahuvarhis, and they are therefore grouped in this work under C. (ii).


The first object of the investigation is to determine the stock of Germanic and West Germanic compounds, so that the subsequent development can be traced from them. For this purpose the extant compounds in the early periods of the

\(^1\) Zeitschrift für Völkerpsychologie, 6, 250.
Germanic languages, including the borrowings into Latin, Romance, Slavonic, and Finnish, are compared, for this is the only certain method which can throw any light on the comparative age of the compounds. But it is obvious that not all those formations which are found in the early periods of the Germanic languages go back to the time before the dispersion of the peoples; identical compounds can arise independently in the several languages, and it is often difficult to decide with certainty in individual cases whether a compound is an old one or a chance parallel formation. The following principles may, however, help to eliminate the newer formations:

(i) The idea denoted by the compound must not be above the cultural level of the Germanic or West Germanic peoples before the dispersion. On that account, for instance, all compounds referring to Christianity or to stone-building will be independent formations or borrowings.

(ii) Compounds containing loan-words borrowed independently into each Germanic language are obviously not old ones.

(iii) Compounds similar in form but different in meaning are not original formations unless one meaning can be derived from the other: e.g. OE. nōdlēas (spiritless) cannot be equated with OHG. nōdlōsi, as the latter glossing animostas in Gl. I, 564, 21 has the pejorative meaning of -lōs (cf. OLG. lōsword, false word), whilst the OE. nōdlēas has the negative meaning of the suffix.

(iv) If a parallel formation is found in two or more of the Germanic languages, but the same idea is expressed differently in another, the parallel is probably a chance one. For this reason it is unlikely that OHG. situsam and ON. sidsamr are derived from a common Primitive Germanic compound, as the formation is not recorded in Gothic and the idea is expressed differently in OE. (sideful). This test is, however, by no means certain, and must only be used in combination with others, as it is always possible that the original formation has become obsolete in one language and been replaced by another.

(v) If the compound can be proved to have coalesced in each language from a syntactic phrase, it is obviously not an original formation. For instance, the Germanic languages have the same formation for 'midday': OHG. mittiting, MLG. mid-standard, ON. middagr, OFris. middei, OE. middeg. In each of the Germanic languages this is a loan-translation of the Latin meridies, and in each language the compound is preceded by

the syntactic phrase adj. + noun. In the Edda the two words are always kept apart and the adjective declined, and similarly in OE. the compound does not appear until about the year 1000, and is preceded by the phrase on midde dag. In OHG. the two words are written together, but the genitive form mittes takes (H) shows that they had not coalesced to a compound. This view is borne out by the similar development of midnight, midsummer, midwinter, and the presence in Gothic of an uncompound word undauns (see Kluge-Goetze under Untern).

(vi) If the parallels in each Germanic language are not recorded until a comparatively late date, they are not likely to be original formations, although this is not a certain test as, owing to the nature of the records of early Germanic, many popular words inherited from Primitive Germanic do not appear in early texts. No dogmatic statement on this point can be made, and each compound must be tested for itself, but experience has shown that no original compound exists in the Germanic languages which is not recorded in at least one language before the 16th century as an extreme limit. Naturally, the later a compound is recorded, the less likely is it that it is inherited from early times. It has frequently been claimed that this or that compound not recorded until late in the Germanic languages is an old formation, but an examination of all these cases which have come to the present writer’s notice has shown that there is always strong evidence to the contrary. It has, for instance, been suggested that the Engl. breadwinner (recorded from the 19th century) is an old West Germanic compound in view of the parallels in Fris. brodwinna, brodwinning, and in the Jutish dialect, brodvinding. Even if the possibility of an old West Germanic compound remaining unrecorded in English down to the 19th century be admitted, the compound cannot be an old one. The only recorded West Germanic compound with the word ‘bread’ in one part is OLG. bibröd, MHG. biebrol, Fris. bijebroed, OE. bībroad (honeycomb), in which the original meaning of the Germanic brauda- (ferment) is retained. Moreover, the OE. hlāford and hlāfāige show that the idea ‘breadwinner,’ had it existed in West Germanic, would have been expressed with the Germanic hlāba-, not brauda-, in the first part. The date of the first record of a compound is in itself not decisive, and must be considered in combination with other tests for the age of the formation.

These considerations help us to determine which compounds
are of later origin when parallels are found in more than one
Germanic language. Nextly, we might consider whether there
are any criteria which will enable us to say that certain com-
ounds are inherited from Primitive Germanic or West Germanic,
even if they are recorded only in one language, for it is clear
that a Primitive Germanic compound may become obsolete in
the majority of the Germanic languages and survive in one only.
The same criteria will, of course, help us to fix an early date
for those compounds which are preserved in more than one
language.

(i) Similar formations may exist in languages other than
Germanic, and may therefore be inherited from pre-Germanic
times, e.g. Gothic hundafa(h) (centurion) is parallel to Olnd.
čata-pala, and Gothic gastifafa (duded from the Old Slav.
borrowing gospodi) is parallel to the Latin hastes. The examples
of this are, however, very rare, and the test is an uncertain one,
as the parallels may be independent formations just as those
within the Germanic group.

(ii) The compounds may reveal phonetic changes connected
with Verner's Law, and must have existed in Germanic at the
time of the operation of that Law.

(a) The compound may have grammatical change in the
Anlaut of the second member as compared with the corre-
sponding simple word. Apart from some proper names (e.g.
Hermunduri as compared with Thuringi), there is only one
example of this phenomenon in early Germanic and that
may be explained differently. The OHG. mezzirahs (food-
knife) appears to have grammatical change as compared
with the simplex saks. This may be due to the differing
accentuation of the compound and the simplex, but the
OLG. metsas and OE. meteseax suggest that the r of the
OHG. mezzirahs represents a later development to be
explained by the dissimilation of the s sounds rather than
by the operation of Verner's Law.

(b) One member of the compound may show a different
shift of the consonants in Inlaut as compared with the simplex;
e.g. Gothic naudibundi, naudipaurifs as compared
with naubs; ON. fimbultyr as compared with fift; OE.
fyderfæle as compared with Gothic fidówr (cf. Olnd. cátiş-
pad and catur-). These differing forms did not, however,
necessarily arise in the compounds, as many Germanic
simple nouns had their main stress sometimes on the
radical syllable, and sometimes on the ending. Also, if
any one compound with a different shift from the simplex
did survive, it would provide a model for later analogous
formations. For instance, not all the English compounds
with fyder- in the first part, as compared with the simplex
fæower, are necessarily original formations dating from the
time when Verner's Law operated. Such phenomena give
therefore, no certain test for the age of any one compound,
but can only support the evidence obtained by a comparison
of the Germanic languages with each other.

(iii) The compounds may preserve old stem forms which
have been lost in the simplex. For instance, OHG. auzorast
(clean to the eyes) contains as its first part an old stem form
*auziōn, which is a different form from the simplex, OHG.
ona. But again, such compounds with old stem forms may
provide the model for other analogous formations, and the only
way to distinguish between these and the original compounds
is the method of comparison between the Germanic languages.

(iv) The phonetic change known as the West Germanic
doubling of consonants may also provide evidence of the age
of a compound. The compounds with Primitive Germanic -ja,
-jó, -jan, -jón stems in the first part have in Gothic the stem
form ja after a short root syllable (e.g. alljaltikós, wajjabökós).
The a of this composition form was dropped before the West
Germanic consonantal doubling and the j changed to a vowel.
The compounds which were in existence at the time of the loss
of the a and the vocalisation of the j should not have the double
consonants in the first part.1 But again we have to reckon
with analogous formations. Clearly all the OE. compounds
with cyme- as compared with the simplex cymn are not original
formations, and the ungeminated form has been normalised in
the compounds. Nor is the presence of a double consonant in
the first part evidence that the compound was formed after the
West Germanic consonantal doubling, since a levelling out of
old compounds on the model of the form of the simplex un-
doubtedly took place.

(v) Nor can much importance be attached to the pheno-
mena of Rückumlaut and breaking in the first part of the

1 See Wilmanns, I, § 319, Anm. 1; Gröger, § 59.
compounds. It appears that in OE. and ON. the -i of the long -i stems vanished from the bridge of the compound before the Umlaut period, and the first part of compounds which were in existence at that time should therefore have the unmodified vowel, e.g. OE. sceal, but sculdæa; níd, but nèddgafol; ON. kvóin, but kvínlaus. Similarly, the -u of the long -u stems and the -a of the long -a and -o stems vanished from the bridge of the compound before the u Umlaut of a and the a breaking of e: hence ON. kottir, but kattbelgr; ðss, but Æsmundr; bjarg, but bergbu. After a short root syllable these vowels were preserved in ON. in the bridge of the compound until after the Umlaut and breaking periods; hence ON. bglviss. But again numerous analogical formations were made, e.g. ON. sparhaukr, which should have the Umlauted form spror in the first part (see OE. spearsca, ON. sporr), and such forms are therefore of little practical value in determining the age of the compounds, unless they are supported by parallels in other Germanic languages.1

Doubtless many compounds which are preserved only in one Germanic language, especially such obscured formations as OE. hiæfard, are old ones, but since the comparative method is the only one which can throw any light on the age of the Germanic compounds, the actual period when they were formed cannot be ascertained.

In Part I of this work an attempt is made to determine the stock of Primitive Germanic and West Germanic compounds by the comparative method, but to prove that a compound existed in Primitive Germanic it is not necessary to show that it is extant in all the Germanic languages, for the remnants of Gothic which have come down to us are so scanty and one-sided that the majority of the non-religious words are not recorded. Nor was a Primitive Germanic compound necessarily spread over the whole speech-area of Germanic, for it is probable that lexical differences existed in the earliest times withinPrimitive Germanic. In this work a compound is considered to be Primitive Germanic when it is found in Gothic or Norse or both, and at least one West Germanic language, excluding, of course, the borrowings within the Germanic languages and those parallels which can be shown to have been independent formations in each language. Naturally, a compound is more likely to have been an original one if it is to be found in a large number of languages, and in the following scheme the larger groups are accordingly placed first. The greatest difficulty is occasioned by those formations which are found in Norse and German only or in Norse and English. Most of the former prove to be independent formations or borrowings from German into Norse, but the Norse-English parallels may well be early compounds derived from the Germanic alliterative poetry and lost in the other West Germanic languages.

The Germanic material is therefore divided into the following groups:—

(a) Gothic, Norse, West Germanic.
(b) Gothic, West Germanic.
(c) Norse and more than one West Germanic language.
(d) Norse, English.
(e) Norse, German (either HG. or LG. or both).
(f) Norse, Frisian.

Other possible combinations of these languages have no compounds in common. The compounds in the Runic inscriptions are included under Norse and the relics of Langobardian under German. At the end of the Germanic section a list is given of early Germanic compounds borrowed into Finnish or Latin.

Nextly, the East Germanic compounds, i.e. those which are common to Norse and Gothic only are set forth. These undoubtedly go back to an early period before the migration of the Goths from the Baltic, but may have been restricted to a small area in Primitive Germanic.

The West Germanic material is divided into the following groups:—

(a) English, High German, Low German (including Dutch and the few parallels from Frisian).
(b) English, High German.

Then the smaller groups within West Germanic are considered:

(c) English, Low German (including Dutch and the few parallels from Frisian).

The compounds in this group are either old West Germanic formations which have become extinct in High German, or relatively new ones made in the Lower Rhine area before the migration of the Anglo-Saxons to the British Isles.

1 On the question of Rückumlaut and breaking in the compounds see Sievers, PBB. 27, 207 ff.; Noreen, §§ 66, 80, 95; Kluge, Ug. § 222, Anm. 3.
(d) English, Frisian.

This group, too, contains both retreating West Germanic formations, which have become extinct in Low German and High German, and new ones made in the North Sea area.

(e) German, Frisian.

This group is difficult to assess. It may contain West Germanic formations, which have become extinct in English, but most of the parallels are clearly new formations, made in High German after the Anglo-Saxons had left the Continent, and subsequently borrowed into Low German and thence into Frisian.

At the end of each section—Primitive Germanic, East Germanic, and West Germanic—a list of those parallels is given which have been rejected as not being original formations. This list is necessary as the reasons for rejection are not always obvious, and it is not without interest to observe how the Germanic peoples retain common modes of expression after the migrations.

In the lists the gender and meaning of the compounds are given but once when they are the same in each language, and notes are added on the formation and meaning whenever they require any elucidation.

After the stock of compounds has been set forth, the morphology of the types and the semantic relation between the members are analysed in Part II, and finally, in Part III, certain stylistic aspects of the compounds in poetry and prose are considered.
CHAPTER I

INTER-GERMANIC BORROWINGS

Before the original stock of Germanic compounds can be determined, those compounds must be eliminated which arose in one of the Germanic languages and were borrowed into others. There are indications that such inter-borrowing was considerable, probably more considerable than can actually be proved, for in the early periods the languages were not so differentiated as they are to-day and the borrowings often took the form of adaptation to the native language and loan-translation.

I. Gothic > West Germanic

The borrowings from Gothic into the West Germanic languages are of two distinct kinds, Christian terms carried by Gothic missionaries into South Germany and thence possibly passing into other Germanic languages, and non-Christian words coined in Gothic through contact with the higher civilisation of the Eastern Roman Empire. The last group is largely hypothetical and hazardous to assess since the vocabulary referring to this sphere of Gothic life is not extant.

• (a) Christian Terms

Since we are not concerned with the borrowing of simple words we need not consider the difficult question whether such German words as Kirche, Teufel, Engel were borrowed through the medium of Gothic or directly from Latin as they were not used in the compounds in Gothic. There are, however, two compounds which are generally supposed to have arisen in Gothic and to have been transmitted to German.

Gothic armahairs (merciful) was coined on the model of Latin misericors and borrowed into German as armahers.
is of course possible that arnwherz was coined independently in German from misericors, but the form of the word and its gradual spreading northwards from South German make a borrowing from Gothic more probable. It first appears in German in Bavarian and Alemannic texts (Pa, K, Is, M) and reaches Rhenish Franconian in the 9th century (Otfried). It does not appear in East Franconian or Low German, for in the former dialect as far as can be judged from the Tatian the loan-translation milhersi from OE. was current. Later in the German area the form barmherzig arose under the influence of the verb erbarmn. This first appears in HG. in Nw. (11th cent.), spreads into MDu. and MLG. (barmhertig), and from there is borrowed into Dan. barmhjertig and Swed. barmhertig. The form of the word also leads us to suspect a borrowing from Gothic. Contrary to the normal principle that the a of the a stems with a long root syllable is dropped in HG., K 182, 21 has unarmahers and Notker arme-, which may be a reflection of the Gothic form with the composition vowel. It has also been claimed by Frings and Braune that the OHG. armhers was taken over from the Rhine area by the Anglo-Saxon missionaries and adapted to earmheort. This conclusion seems to be doubtful. The earliest occurrence of the word in OE. is in Cura Pastoralis 209, 2: on odr wisan da earmheortan and da wæcmödan (alter admonendi sunt protervi, atque aliter pusillanium). It is clear that earmheort in this context is simply a variation of wæcmödan and means ‘pusillanimus’ not ‘merciful,’ and is parallel in meaning to the OLG. armhugd. It is true that the word appears in late OE. (Greg. Dial.) and occasionally in ME. as earmheort, armheorted, but this may well be an independent translation of misericors.

Secondly in this connection OHG. sambastag may be discussed. The first part of this compound was certainly borrowed from Gothic, but it is doubtful whether it was complicated with dag in that language, for in the Gothic Bible the first part could be declined (sabbate dagis)."
Gothic marikreits < μαρικρίτης, OE. ancora < anachoreta. Schroeder also stresses the fact that tisohah in Gothic and tiohan in the Hel. never mean to ‘draw along, lead’ but ‘pull up, educate,’ and that herisogo could not have meant in Germanic ‘army-leader’ as much claims. If the word is Germanic we may also ask what is the phrase on which it is based. As far as the present writer is aware the phrase das heri tisohah does not occur in OHG. or any other early Germanic dialect. There are, however, other compounds with a similar second part in the Germanic languages which Schroeder is obliged to explain as analogical formations. The OE. folctoga was coined, according to Schroeder, as a variation to heretoga and borrowed from the OE. poetry into the Hel. where it appears only in close association with hertigo (cf. ll. 5408-9). Secondly the ON. leidtogi (way-leader), which appears in late Norse sources subsequent to hertogi, is in all probability an adaptation and modification of OE. lâddöw made on the analogy of hertogi. When one has overcome a natural reluctance to derive the existing forms of these words in the Germanic languages from the one dialect in which they are not extant it will be seen that Schroeder’s view has much to recommend it. It seems fairly certain that maiga-sogo was not a Prim. Germanic compound, for the ‘paedagogus’ cannot be fitted into the Germanic mode of life as described by Tacitus, and once it is accepted that this word is a part translation from Greek there is no reason why the more doubtful herisogo should not be regarded similarly.

It has, however, not been recognised that if this view is accepted we are forced for similar reasons to assume Gothic origin of the G. Herberge. The original meaning of the term was ‘army shelter,’ and it first appears in OHG. (herberga) in South German glosses from the 9th and 10th centuries. It is not found in the Hel. and does not reach LG. until the MLG. period (herberge). In ON. it is mainly a prose word occurring only twice in the Skaldic poetry with the transferred meaning ‘house, home.’ 1 In English the word is equally late for it is not found until the early ME. period (herberge) and is usually considered to be a borrowing from Norse. In assuming a Gothic *harjabaigro we are on surer ground than Schroeder in his assumption of a Gothic *harjatuga, for the Gothic word was borrowed into Italian as albergo and Provençal as auberga whence it passed into Fr. auberge. 1 It seems, therefore, that this word was originally a Gothic military term coined probably in Italy when the Goths came into contact with the Roman military system, and that it was borrowed from late Gothic into German whence it passed into Norse and English.

2. The Influence of the LG. Genesis on the OE.

The OE. Genesis B, which is a translation from LG., contains several compounds which are not found elsewhere in English. Some of these may be old West Germanic formations, but in the majority of cases it seems more likely that they are loan-translations from the LG. text. A direct comparison between the two texts cannot be made as only a short passage of the LG. fragment coincides with the OE. poem, and we have therefore to fall back on the Helian existence for evidence of the forms in the original LG. poem.

The following compounds are not found outside Gen. B and have parallels in LG. or HG.:

geboscape (i. 430) = Hel. gibodskepi (command, message).

The native English term is bodscafe which is a Norse-West Germanic formation (ON. bodskap, OHG. botascaf, OLG. bodskepi).

geongordom (ll. 283, 743, etc.) = OS. Gen. jungardom.
geongscafe (i. 249) = Hel. jungarskepi.

These two compounds with the meaning ‘discipleship’ are certain borrowings from LG.

gnornword (i. 767)—probably a modification of the Hel. compound gornword (word of grief) after the OE. gnornian.

handgescafe (i. 455)—a doubtful borrowing as the compound is not found in OLG., but see OHG. hangescafe (handwork).

helodhelm (i. 444). This compound with the meaning ‘helmet which makes the wearer invisible’ is a Primitive Germanic formation the first part of which is the OHG. heldt (covering). It is found in ON. hulidshalmar, OHG. heldheltm, and OE. (Wal. 45) heolodhelm. The first part was, however, associated in OS. with helid (hero) and transformed to helidhelm (Hel.). In this form it then passed into the OE. Gen.

1 See REW. 4045. The OFr. héberger is a later borrowing from HG.
hearmscearu (ll. 432, 781, 829) = OS. (Hel.) and OHG. harmscara (affliction). Although the compound appears in OE. only in Gen. B it may have been an old West Germanic formation, for it appears also in OFris. hermskere and MDu. harmshare.

hellgedwing (l. 696) = OS. (Hel.) helligithwing (confinement in hell).

hygesceaf (l. 288) = OS. (Hel.) hygiscael (mind); certainly a borrowing in OE. where the suffix -sceaf is rare, appearing only in the archaic poetical compounds metodsceaf, wansceaf.

landscipe (l. 376) = OS. (Hel.) landskepi (region); certainly a borrowing from OS. The word does not appear in OE. except in Gen. B, and the modern Eng. landscape is, as is well known, borrowed from Du.

lofsam (l. 468) = OS. (Hel.) lofsam (praiseworthy). The word also appears in OHG. lôbesam and ON. lôfsamliðr (glorious) and may therefore be an original formation which has died down in Eng.

môdgedhel (l. 253) = OS. (Hel.) môdgithel (thought).

degnescipe (ll. 376, 744, 836) = OS. (Hel.) theganskepi. This compound is a native English formation with the meaning 'status of thane,' but in Gen. B only it has the meaning 'service to a lord' which is also the meaning of the Hel. compound. It is therefore a semantic loan from OS. rather than a loan-word.

brâsecorl (l. 737) = OS. thrâverl (tribulation).

wârlce (l. 652) = OS. (Hel.) wârlcô (truly); again a certain borrowing for the OE. wêare does not have the meaning 'true' outside the Gen. (cf. also Gen. 681 wêrum wordum = Hel. wërum wordun).

widbrâ (l. 643) = OS. (Hel.) widbrêd (widespread); also as a derivative in OHG. witpreif.

wrâdmôd (ll. 547, 815) = OS. (Hel.) wrêdmôd (angry).

3. Old English > German

The influence of OE. on both HG. and LG. is extremely varied, and probably more considerable in extent than can actually be demonstrated. On the one hand there is a direct literary influence on the OS. Helian, the OHG. Muspilli, and possibly the Tattian and other minor texts as well as transcriptions of OE. glosses into German by Anglo-Saxon scribes, and on the other an oral influence through the early Christian missionaries. The two centres of the English mission were the Lower Rhine area and Middle Germany (Fulda), and even to-day these dialects retain many of the early borrowings from OE. which have died down in other dialects. From the Fulda area the early OE. influence radiated northwards into OS. (Heliand) and southwards into such texts as Isidor and the related Monsee-Vienna Fragments, the Alemannic Benedictine Rule, and even into the early Bavarian glosses Pa. K. The latter influence has been connected by Frings (p. 20) with the organisation of the Bavarian Church by the Anglo-Saxon missionary Bonifatius in the year 739. The position of the OHG. Tatian has been shown by Braune and Frings to be of vital importance for this question. It contains on the one hand old West Germanic formations which are also found in OLG. and OE. but which have died down in South German, and on the other is the meeting-place of influences from OE. and the South German Church language.

In the following account of the OE. influence on the German compounds those words which were transmitted orally into German by the missionaries, and which are therefore not evidence of any direct literary influence, are dealt with first, and then the possibility of literary influence on the Tatian and other minor texts and the transcriptions of OE. glosses into German are considered.

(a) The Influence of the Missionaries

The OE. godspel, the first part of which is shortened from göd- and associated with god, is the OE. loan-translation of evangélium, and was borrowed into the Fulda area where it appears in the Tatian as gotspel. From there it passes into the Hel. as godspel and into Isidor and the Monsee-Vienna Fragments. Neither this word nor the South German formation guatschundl survives in German where the loan-word Evangelium is alone in use.

OE. godfader, godmôder: Frings has shown (p. 140) that these two English terms were borrowed into Dutch where they still survive as godfader, godmôder, and into ON. (gôfadar, guðmôðir), and the former into HG. where it appears in the shortened form gota which still survives in the Modern German Gote (for the Rhenish dialect forms see Frings, loc. cit.).

OE. mildehoert, which was the English loan-translation of misericors, was also borrowed into Middle German (Tatian miltherzi) but made no headway against the Gothic-South
German armherz. It is doubtful therefore whether this compound is to be included here or under the literary influence on the Tatian.

OE. ḡādūnō, the OE. coining for hūnīlis, appears in Du. as ootnoed and OHG. (Tatian, Is, O, Pa, K, Ra) as otnuot. From Fulda it passes into the Hel. (ōdnō) and Modern LG. otnōt. It was rivalled by the South German formation deonuot, which is the only one to survive in HG. (Demnu) and which passes with a characteristically HG. form into Du. deemoed. (See Frings, pp. 19-21.)

OE. sībsum (peaceful) was also taken over into the Fulda area (Tatian sībisam) although, like milthersi, this may belong rather to the literary influence on the Tatian.

In addition to these compounds, which were already recognised by Braune (op. cit. pp. 393 ff.) as borrowings from OE. and considered by him to be pre-literary, Frings quotes two others.

OE. āncaora, an adaptation of anachoreta, was borrowed into OHG. (Benedictine Rule) as einkhoran and into the Hel. as ēnkoro. Although in this case the link in Middle German is missing it seems likely that the association of ana- with ān could only have taken place in OE. (See Frings, p. 18, n. 1.)

OE. sunnanēf (Sunday eve) has been shown by Frings (p. 27) to have been an English coining for vigilia. It appears on the Continent in two separate areas, Middle German (Otfrid) sunnumbund and Frisian sunevend, both of which are the two main areas of the Anglo-Saxon mission.¹

There are, however, other coincidences between the OE. and German Christian terms which can hardly be explained as independent and chance parallel formations.

In the OE. Lindisfarne-Rushworth Gospels publicanus is translated by čawisfrīna. This compound appears in OHG. as agawisfrinārī (R. 233, 11) and achwīsisfrinārī (Benedictine Rule). Its first part contains a stem form of OHG. ouga ² and is itself a compound, OHG. augwis, OE. ēawis < *eaw-wīs, meaning 'clear, obvious.' The compound was not understood by later OE. scribes who modified it to čawisfrīna (shameful sinner), and by the scribes of the OHG. gloss Ra, 225, 22 who changed it to kīwīsfrīna. That these two terms should have originated independently in OE. and OHG. seems most unlikely, and it is probable therefore that the German compound was borrowed from OE.¹

OHG. gotchund (divinus), OLG. godkund, ON. godkunnigr, OE. godcund. The formation of compound adjectives with cund (descending from) is to be found in Primitive German (see the Runic raginakundo) and is retained in all the early Germanic languages (cf. Gothic himinakunds, airjakunds, etc.), and it has been claimed by Cahan ³ that the OHG. gotchund and its cognates was a Primitive Germanic formation which Wulfla did not adopt in his translation of the Bible because of its heathen associations, and which received a Christian connotation in OE., OLG., and OHG. In early German the word appears in Pa, K, Ra, Tatian, Ben. Rule, Otfrid, and Helian, and survives down to the 11th century in the derivative gotchundi (Nw.). In the opinion of the present writer the German forms and the 12th century Norse godkunnigr were borrowed from OE. where the compound was coined on the model of others ending in -cund to express the idea, important in the Christian Church, of the divinity of Christ. It should be noted that the pagan term for 'descended from a god' is the Runic word quoted above which survives in the Eddic reginkunnigr. Before considering the proof for the English origin of this term, attention might be drawn to another German compound which is also a modification of an English compound. This is the OE. godfyrht (godfearing) which appears in the Tatian in a modified form as gotforht. From there it passes into other Middle German texts (Otfrid) as gotforhalde and into LG. (Gen.) as godforht. The Gothic gudafawhts is an independent formation. The proof of the foreign origin of gotchund and gotforht in HG. lies in the form of the first part. In OHG. the a stems with short root vowel retain the a in the first part of compounds in early texts (e.g. glasafas). Omitting the compounds not recorded until the 11th century when the composition vowel often disappears, the following compounds with got in the first

¹ On the extent of this word in the Modern German dialects, see Frings-Niessen, loc. cit.
² For the old stem forms of ouga in the OHG. compounds, see Gröger, p. 20.
³ M. Cahan, L'adjectif 'divin' en germanique (Mélanges offerts à C. Andler, Strassburg, 1924), pp. 79 ff. ; and Remarques sur le style des adjectifs gothiques en -hundes (Mélanges offerts à M. J. Vendryes, Paris, 1924), pp. 75 ff.
part appear without composition vowel gotzhund, gotforht, gotspill, gotman. Of these the first three have parallels in OE. and are found in texts influenced by OE. where the composition vowel had disappeared; the fourth gotman has no parallel in OE. but is found only in the Muspilli which, as will be shown below, is not without OE. influence. It is claimed, therefore, that the form of these words supports the contention that they are borrowings from OE. The opposite case of the retention of the composition vowel after a long root syllable contrary to the normal principle in OHG. (unarmaherz) has been shown above to be due to Gothic influence.

In addition to these specifically Christian terms another word in the Germanic languages has recently been ascribed to the influence of the Anglo-Saxon missionaries. It was formerly thought that the OE. bödstæf, OHG. buchstap, OLG. böksztaj, ON. bökestraf represented a Primitive Germanic compound meaning originally 'beech-stave' and referring to the practice of scratching Runes on pieces of wood. It has, however, been pointed out by Hoops that the original term for the Runic letter was simply ON. staf, and that the compound böksztapr was formed after the development of meaning of the first part to 'parchment book' to distinguish the Latin letters from the Runic. In Snorri's Edda böksztar always 'Latin letter' as opposed to runastaf (Runic letter). Hoops thinks, therefore, that this compound was formed in OE. and borrowed thence into ON. and OHG. This seems to be especially probable when we remember that the compound is not recorded from Gothic where böka is used, and that such words as OHG. plah, OLG. blak (ink), and OHG. tilgen (erase) are borrowed respectively from OE. blæc and diligian. (See Frings, p. 172; Schroeder, ZfdA. 60, 246.)

In this connection there is another possible borrowing which seems to have been overlooked. The OE. bögestrån (library) appears in OHG. as puchkistırım in Rb. I, 472, 17. This gloss is contained in the 9th century Codex Carolinron August. IC, in which, as will be shown below, there is a considerable OE. influence.

1 Realelexikon der germanischen Altertumskunde, I, 349.
2 This view of the origin of G. Buchstabe is supported by Braune (loc. cit.) and Kluge-Goetze (under Buchstabe), but contradicted by the latter's remarks under lesen: 'Wie unser Buchstabe Erbe aus germanischer Zeit ist, die Runenzeichen in kleine Buchenstäbe ritzte.'

(b) Tatian

Braune claims that there is no direct literary influence on the OHG. Tatian and maintains that the OE. loans which are found there were transmitted orally by the Anglo-Saxon missionaries into the preliterary Church language of Germany. This has, however, already been denied by Baesecke and others, who have sought literary sources for the Tatian and other HG. texts. Direct literary influence on the Tatian is difficult to prove as the OE. Gospel translations are later than the HG. text, but there are remarkable coincidences with the West Saxon Gospels, which can scarcely be explained away as coincidences. In the following a list of parallels between the Tatian and the W.S. Gospels, which are not found in any other HG. text or which are found in other HG. texts where OE. influence is probable, is appended, and then a list of parallels with OE. which are probably independent formations or old West Germanic compounds, and finally the possible OE. influence on word-formation in the Tatian is considered.

kentilastap (candelabrum) = OE. candelstef (W.S. Gospels). This word translates candelabrum in the same place (Mt. 5, 15) in the two texts. It is also found in OHG. in Rd. I, 272, 12 as chandalstap. This gloss is contained in Codex Carolinrom Aug. IC, which contains a considerable OE. influence, and the form of the word with its unshifted d is peculiar for Alemannic. It has been suggested by Frings (p. 12) that the MDu. candelare shows that the OE. and OHG. compound is an old West Germanic formation, the first part of which was borrowed in pre-Christian times from Latin. It should, however, be noticed that the compound is not found in OE. outside the Gospels, and that it is there an ecclesiastical term, and that its occurrence in HG. in two unconnected texts in which OE. influence is recognisable points to a borrowing. Moreover, the parallel which Frings addsuces from MDu. is extremely doubtful, as candelare seems to be a later borrowing from O. French.

gibethás (Mk. 11, 17), domus orationis. This compound is also found in the W.S. Gospels in the same place as in the Tatian in

1 Braune, loc. cit., p. 377.
2 Baesecke, Der Vocabularius Sancti Galli und die angelsächsische Mission, Halle, 1933, p. 154 and passim.
the form gebedhūs. It is, of course, possible that the two compounds are independent formations, but at the same time remarkable that the Tatian agrees with the OE. formation whilst other HG. texts have betahūs.

tuomsedal (Mt. 27, 19), translating tribunal, corresponding to OE. dōmsēl in the W.S. Gospels. Again, other HG. texts have different formations, duomstūl, suosstūl, dinusstūl, hōstūl.

weraltwolo (Mt. 6, 24), translating mammōna. This is a remarkable coincidence with the W.S. Gospels which have in the same place wurdwuela. The compound, which can hardly be a West Germanic formation, is also found in the Hel. weraltwolo, indicating yet another connection between that text and Fulda.

wabarsiumi (Lk. 23, 48), corresponding to OE. wefersyn in the same place in the W.S. Gospels. As this compound is not a Christian term, it may be an old West Germanic formation, but again other HG. texts have a different compound, wuntarsiumi.

einrūthiko (Lk. 23, 10), translating constantēr, parallel to OE. ānūthlicē in the same place in the W.S. Gospels. The parallel is not an important one, but again other HG. texts have a different formation, einrātīg.

In addition to these there are other parallels between the Tatian and OE., some of which are independent formations and others old West Germanic compounds not found elsewhere in HG. The latter may, however, have been kept alive in HG. by the OE. influence.

ābandēt, translating vespera hora (118, 4), parallel to OE. āfentīd. As the OE. compound is not found in the Gospels, the OHG. formation may be an independent loan-translation from Latin, but it is noteworthy that the word does not occur elsewhere in OHG., although it appears in MHG., and that the ON. aptanīðir (vespers) is also a possible loan-translation from OE.

erdhībunga, translating terrae motus (145, 6 = Mt. 24, 6; 217, 1 = Mt. 28, 2) corresponding to OE. erðbēofun in the W.S. Gospels in the same places. Other HG. texts have erdhība (Otfrid), erdpūðēth (Ngl.). The compounds, the second part of which ends in -ūngan, may have existed in West Germanic for they are found in the early OE. poetry (Beowulf), but the formation does not become common in HG. until the end of the OHG. period.1 This compound also appears in one 10th-century LG. gloss (II, 717, 24) as erdhībunga (mistake for bīvunga), and this glossary has been shown by Michiels to have OE. influence.2 Nevertheless, on account of the MLG. and MDu. erdbēvinge and OFris. irtlibvinge it is preferable to regard the compound as an old West Germanic formation which dies down in HG.

erdcuning (93, 2), translating rex terrae. The corresponding OE. eordcyning is common in OE. poetry, but is not found in the Gospels. The two compounds are probably independent loan-translations, although again other OHG. texts differ from the Tatian with lantchuning, wereltchuning.

leimurīhto, translating figurus (193, 5, 6 = Mt. 27, 17). The W.S. Gospels have in the corresponding place tegelwyhrta, but the Lindisfarne-Rushworth Gospels coincide with the Tatian with lāmwyhrta. On account of the MLG. lëntverter the present writer is inclined to regard the compound as an old West Germanic formation which has become extinct in HG.

mīscas (222, 2, 4), translating pecunia. The corresponding OE. mēdsceat is not found in the Gospels, but is common enough in other texts. The formation is probably a West Germanic one which survives in the archaic Tatian, although the LG. parallels which would prove this are lacking.

winīub (167, 1, 3, 5), translating palmes. The corresponding OE. wīnīaf is found once in a gloss, and is probably an independent formation. The W.S. Gospels have in the corresponding passage twīg.

wītmāri (199, 2), translating insignis. On account of the MLG. widemāre, the OE. wīdmāre and the Tatian compound are to be regarded as old formations surviving from West Germanic.

Lastly, we have the possibility of OE. influence on those suffixes in the Tatian which were once independent words:

In OE. and ON. the adjective full assumed the function of a suffix and could be added to both abstract and concrete nouns. The formation is also found in the Hel. (mēnful), and in the earliest OHG. glosses (frīnafol Pa, K, Ra; meinfol R, Re, Jb, and later). In later HG. glosses the formation appears twice (undanfol, Gl. IV, 220, 15; urcsufol, Gl. II, 22, 26). In

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1 See below, pp. 230 ff.
2 H. Michiels, Über englische Bestandteile altdeutscher Glossenhandschriften, Bonn, 1912, p. 36.
the former case the glossary has OE. influence (Michiels, p. 58), and in the latter the reading is doubtful. The formation may therefore have been a Germanic one which dies down in early HG. and survives in Engl. and Norse. In the Tatian there are three formations of this type which may be derived from West Germanic, although one of them is more probably to be regarded as a borrowing:

firnfol (56, 2; 98, 2, etc.), translating publicanus. The compound corresponds to OE. firenful, which is not found in the Gospels and which seems to be a West Germanic formation.

surgfol (38, 6, 8, etc.), translating sollicitus, corresponding to OE. sorful (Cura Pastoralis, etc.), also a possible old formation.

ungiloubfol (2, 7; 21, 8, etc.), translating incredulus. In the corresponding places the W.S. Gospels have ungelēæfful. It will be shown later that the compound adjectives in the Germanic languages which have the prefix un- and a suffix in the second part are new formations made under the influence of Latin. The compound ungiloubfol is not a West Germanic formation and may well be a borrowing from OE. Other HG. texts have ungilubith.

In OE. the adj. fasti developed into a suffix and could be added to abstract nouns and adjectives. This formation is also found in the Hel. (wörfast) and once in an early German gloss (Pa, K, Ra 182, 83 uncamesfaste, immodestus = OE. ungemetfast). Like the formation with -fol it is therefore an old West Germanic formation which rapidly becomes extinct in HG. There are two derivatives in the Tatian from such adjectives:

liffestigón (82, 11; 88, 7), translating vivificare. In the corresponding passages the W.S. Gospels have liffæstan, but as the formations are not identical, it is preferable to regard the Tatian word as a derivative from a West Germanic adj. which is lost in HG.

rehfesti (justificatio) 2, 2 and rehfestigón (justificare) 64, 8, etc. There is no parallel to this formation in OE. and it cannot therefore be determined whether it is coined by the Tatian translator or whether it is an old formation.\footnote{1 Gutmacher, Der Wortschatz des Tatian in seinem Verhältnis zum As., Ags., und Africs. (PBB 39, 1-83; 230-89), quotes OE. rihifestendag in this connection, but this word meaning 'proper fasting day' obviously does not belong here.} Summing up it may be said that the Tatian translator (or translators) was

influenced by an English Gospel translation which is not extant but which was similar in vocabulary to the West Saxon translation of the Gospels, and that the Tatian contains archaic West Germanic formations which may have been kept alive by the OE. influence.

(e) Other HG. Texts

It is well known that various minor OHG. texts were written by Anglo-Saxon scribes on the Continent and it is possible that in this way OE. words and compounds passed into HG. Baesecke\footnote{1 Baesecke, op. cit., p. 29.} has already ascribed the form mittingart (earth) in the OHG. Isidor to the influence of OE. middengeard. The compound was a Primitive German one (Gothic midjungards) which was modified in German to mittigart (Monsee-Vienna Fragments) and mittiligard(o) (Rd, Jb, T, Hel.). The form in Isidor may well be a relic of the original Germanic formation preserved by the OE. scribe.

Muspilli. Part of this poem has been shown to have had the same source as the OE. Crisit III.\footnote{2 See v. Unwerth, PBB 40, 349 ff.; Baesecke, op. cit., pp. 124 ff.} and v. Unwerth has already suggested that the compound alfliana, which is not found elsewhere in HG., is a loan-translation from OE. ealdefond (devil) which is itself a loan-translation from the Latin phrase hostis antiquus. On gotman (l. 48) see above, section (a) under gotchund.

The OS. Taufgelöbnis (MSD. LI). This text is included here as it is a transcription into OS. from a HG. text written in Mainz by an Anglo-Saxon scribe.\footnote{3 Ibid., p. 111.} It contains such Anglicisms as 'in hölogan gást, Saxnête' and one compound diotholgold (idolatry) which is not found elsewhere in German. This is clearly a loan-translation from the common OE. déofolgold.

2nd Basel Recipe (MSD. LXII, 2). The source of this recipe, which is written in a mixture of OE. and OHG., is the same as the identical recipe in the OE. Lœcèboc. It contains one compound (aosterscalas) which is a loan-translation from OE. österscyll (oyster-shell). The first part of this word was borrowed in the Lower Rhine area from Lat. ostreum (OE. östre, MDu. oester). Apart from this example in the compound the word is not found in HG. until the 16th century when it is borrowed from LG. öster (see Kluge-Goetze under Auster).
(d) Old English > Heliand

It has already been shown that several OE. Christian terms passed through HG. into the OS. Heliand, but it is also possible that there was a direct literary influence from OE. on this poem. Certainly the translation of the OS. Genesis into OE. and the fact that one of the Hel. MSS. was probably written in England show that there was a literary intercourse between England and Germany long after the time of the Anglo-Saxon missionaries, and it is sometimes claimed that the Hel. poet modelled the technique of his verse and his vocabulary on the similar OE. Christian poems. As yet, however, no definite connection with any one OE. poem or group of poems has been established, nor does a study of the parallel compounds in the Hel. and OE. poetry lead to any definite conclusion on this question. In fact the connections between the Hel. poet and OE. poetry have been greatly overstated. It has, for instance, been claimed by Geffcken 1 that 41 per cent. of the nominal compounds in the Hel. are found elsewhere only in OE. It will be shown later that this figure is far wide of the mark, partly because Geffcken’s parallels with OHG. are far from complete and partly because she ignored the correspondences in ON. and MDu. The lists of compounds given in the following chapters show that the Hel. shares very few compounds with OE. alone which could not have been old Germanic or West Germanic formations, and that the new compounds, e.g. the specifically Christian terms, point to a connection with HG. rather than with OE. With the exception of the doubtful case of folktogo, a loan-translation from OE. can only be definitely established for one compound, bókkraft (l. 614). In the Hel. the word kraft has the meaning ‘strength, force’ except in this compound, whilst in OE. craft developed the meaning ‘knowledge, skill, art.’ 2 It seems likely therefore that bókkraft (book-learning) is a loan-translation from OE. böccraft, and if this is so it provides a welcome support to the view that OS. blak, bóksaf, and OHG. puchkistrünni are also derived from OE. This in itself does not, however, prove any literary influence, and in fact whilst the OE. compound böccraft is common enough in prose, it is found only once in poetry in the derivative böccraftig (Jul.). It is not impossible

1 Gertrud Geffcken, Der Wortschatz des Heliand und seine Bedeutung für die Heimatsfrage, Marburg, 1912.
2 See Kroesch, The Semantic Development of Craft (Mod. Phil., 26, 433 ff.).

(e) Transcriptions from OE. Glosses into German

The subject of the OE. influence on the German glosses has been treated in two monographs by Leydecker and Michiels. 1 The former deals with the OE. influence on the glosses in vol. I of Steinmeyer-Sievers, Die alt hochdeutschen Glossen, and the latter with vols. II-IV. It is difficult to describe the actual extent of this influence as there was much copying from one glossary to another, and to trace it properly one would have to know the ramifications of all the OHG. and OLG. glosses. Some of the tests for OE. influence have been set forth by Leydecker, but he and Michiels were more concerned with OE. forms in the German glosses than with loan-translations of compounds. In the following those compounds which are only found in a glossary showing OE. influence or in one which has descended from such a glossary are considered as loan-translations, provided of course that there are parallels to these formations in the early OE. glosses. The Roman numerals refer to the groups of MSS. in Steinmeyer-Sievers; the quotations from the OE. Epinal-Erfurt-Corpus glossaries are taken from Sweet, The Oldest English Texts, London, 1885, and for the other OE. glosses from Wright-Wülke, Anglo-Saxon and Old English Vocabularies, London, 1884 (abbreviated W.-W.).

XXXIX, XL, XLI, XL Nachtrag (Ahd. Gl. I, 340; IV, 255)

These MSS. contain a collection of Leviticus glosses with many interesting bird names based on an OE. glossary from which Ep-Erf-Corp. are derived. Leydecker has otherwise shown that OE. forms asnectran, meu (night-raven, seagull) have found their way into this group.

I, 340, 20 mergulus, *dopfugal; 340, 25 dolfugal; IV, 255, 7 dohfugal: over the second of these glosses is written s (saxonice). The gloss is a transcription of OE. dopfugal, the first part of which (doppa) does not exist in HG. In the later copies of the gloss the word is associated with tühlan (dive) and Germanised to tühhári. 2

2 See Kralik, Göttinger Gelehrte Anzeigen, 1914, p. 152 (a review of Suolahti, Deutsche Vogelnamen).
I, 340, 21 herodianum, waluchaefsuch. This is no German word, but is a mutilation of OE. walhhaebuc (Ep-Erf. 497), literally 'foreign hawk.' The same word is also contained in I, 496, 34, as walchefuc, wylichefuc in a glossary which also shows OE. influence. In later copies of these glossaries the word is adapted to German as waldfalcho, which is therefore nothing more than a gloss word (see Kralik, p. 153).

I, 340, 13 altes, arangroz. The history of this peculier word has been traced by Kralik (p. 158), who has shown that it is a pure gloss word in German, and is a transcription and part adaptation of OE. earngēat (Ep-Erf. 40, Corp. 233), the second part of which has been associated with groz. In another HG. gloss (I, 801, 36) the word appears as eringeos in a form nearer to the OE. compound, and in later copies is further modified to eringifr (III, 27, 68).

I, 341, 1 onocrotalus, roredumble; IV, 255, 17 roredumple. The name of this bird, the bittern, appears in many different forms in the Germanic languages: OE. rāradumbla, MLG. rāredum, roredump, MDu. rosdommel, Fris. rondump, OHG. horotumil. The second part of the compound is probably onomatopoeic, and the South German Erdrüll, Rohrbrüller suggest that the association of the first part with rārian (roar) in OE. and MLG. is the earliest form of the word. In Du. Fris. and LG. the first part has been brought together with rōr (reed), and in this form appears in the Middle German dialects and Modern German as Rohrdommel, and is borrowed into Danish as rōrdrum and Swed. as rōrdum. The three cases in which the word appears in HG. glosses (I, 341, 1; IV, 199, 60; IV, 255, 17) as roredumble are all in glossaries with OE. influence. In later copies of these glossaries the first part is associated with horo (mud), giving the HG. form horotumil.

CXV (Ahd. Gl. I, 414)

This group of Biblical glosses is contained in the same MS. (Codex Parisinus 2685) as the Leviticus glosses discussed above. Leydecker has already shown (p. 46) that they are derived from OE. glosses. The following compound occurs in them:

I, 414, 16 ligno lancetito, widubil. This compound, with the meaning 'wood-axe,' is also found in the same MS. in I, 594,

1 On this word see Suolahti, p. 383; Kralik, p. 152; Kluge-Goette under Rohrdommel.

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40, where it has s (= saxonice) written over it. It is in both cases transcribed from Ep-Erf. 430 wudubil (= Corp. 449).

CC (Ahd. Gl. I, 488)

These Esther glosses, discussed by Leydecker, p. 59, contain several words, such as wagryst (= OE. wāhrfēst), which have never been claimed as HG., but the following compound sometimes appears in HG. dictionaries and glossaries:

I, 489, 3 coccus, wyrmbaso, cornwurma. The compound wyrmbaso is clearly not HG. at all, and is transcribed from the OE. Leiden Gl. 67 coccus, wyrmbaso (purple). Nor is cornwurma a genuine German word, although it is included by Gröger in his list of OHG. and OLG. compounds. It is transcribed from Corpus 2114 vermiculus, cornwurma, which means like wyrmbaso, 'purple or scarlet dye,' not 'corn-worm,' as Sweet has it. In Gl. I, 589, 6, contained in the same group of MSS. as the word under discussion, the OE. compound is senselessly transposed to wormcorn. The compound cornwurma should therefore not be confused with the OHG. cornwurm (corn-maggot) as Gröger has done.

I, 488, 6 lectuli aurei, berian bed i. tragabetti. Leydecker (p. 61) suggests that tragabetti is a loan-translation from the OE. berian bed, but the HG. compound is also found in Notker and other glosses where OE. influence is improbable.

CCIX (Ahd. Gl. I, 496-7)

This group of Job glosses is contained in the same MS. as the Esther glosses discussed above. The glossary contains the clearly OE. fīringat (mountain goat) and wallhhaefoc, which has already been shown to have been taken from OE. In addition there is one compound which has been included by Gröger in his list of German compounds:

I, 496, 11 oriona, ebirdhring. This is a transcription from Corp. 1464 ebūrdring or Leiden 76 ebūrdnung. Striking proof of this is given by Gl. II, 341, 5, where the incorrect form of the Leiden glossary is simply transcribed as ebūrdnung. The name of the constellation is therefore OE., and means literally 'boar-throng.'
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CCCLXXVI (Ahd. Gl. I, 590)

This group of Biblical glosses contains I, 590, 40, the word *wituwil*, discussed under CXV, and the following compound which has no real existence in HG.:

I, 590, 46 *circino, gabullrand, gabolrind*. This is a transcription from Ep-Erf. 293 *gabelternd* = Corp. 468 *gabulrond* (compasses), which is itself a borrowing from O. Irish *gabolrind*.

DXIII (Ahd. Gl. II, 11)

Michiels has shown (p. 1) that some of the words in these Aldhelm glosses go back to an OE. source. Amongst them is one compound:

II, 11, 9 *paranymphus, trultigomo*. This is a transcription from Corp. 1476, 1514 *dryhtguma*, which is adapted to German on the model of *brútigomo*.

DCLX-DCLXIII (Ahd. Gl. II, 244-8)

As Michiels has already shown (pp. 12 ff.), there are many OE. forms in this group of glosses to Gregory’s *Dialogues*, amongst them two compounds which are loan-translations from OE.:

II, 244, 7; 247, 10 *flebotomum, blodsaex, blodsex*. The form of the second part of this compound shows that it is not HG. but a transcription from Corp. 896 *blodsaex*. Michiels also quotes in this connection Gl. IV, 682, 41 *blodsachs*. This, too, is no real German word, for it is copied into a 17th century MS. from Aelfric’s Glossary (W-W. 117, 38).

II, 244, 10 *rimis, bordremum* (also in 245, 42; 246, 45). This is a transcription from the OE. Leiden Glossary 112 *rimis, bordremum*. The second part of the compound is the OE. *rima* (rim). The form quoted in Gröger’s list of OHG. compounds, *bordreimo*, is therefore incorrectly associated by Gröger with OHG. *rómo* (strap); nor is the word HG. at all.

DCCLXV (Ahd. Gl. II, 716 ff.)

These LG. Oxford glosses contain many LG. words not found elsewhere, and some OE. forms, as *dun* (spadix). There are two compounds which may be loan-translations from OE., but which are more probably explained as West Germanic formations:

II, 717, 24 *terrae signum, erthbigunga* (mistake for -bivunga). As has already been shown in the section on the compounds in the Tatian, it is preferable on account of the MLG. forms to regard this compound as a West Germanic formation rather than a borrowing from OE.

II, 717, 44 *printi, fitilvot* (white-footed of a horse). The compound corresponds to OE. *fitelfóta*, and seems to be a dying West Germanic formation rather than a borrowing.\(^1\)

DCCCCXXXI (Ahd. Gl. III, 7, 21-8, 1)

It is well known that the first appendix to the early German *Vocabularius* S. Galli goes back to the same OE. sources as Ep-Erf-Corp. (see Michiels, p. 40 ff.; Baesecke, *passim*). There is one compound in the appendix which is not found elsewhere in HG. and which may therefore be a loan-translation from OE., although it is also possible that it is a relic of a dying West Germanic formation:

III, 7, 21 *colis wollameit* (distaff). This corresponds to Erf. 306 *wulmod*, Corp. 559 *wulfmod*. The OE. forms are obviously mistakes for *wullmád* (lit. wool-staff). As the German gloss has a correct German form the present writer is inclined to regard the compound as an original West Germanic formation.

DCCCCXLVI AND DCCCCLVI (Ahd. Gl. III, 423, and 430 f.)

These two glossaries containing names of personal relationships and parts of the body are a mixture of Middle German and LG. elements. They show a remarkable similarity to the so-called Aelfric’s glossary in W-W. 104-191, and in a later 11th century OE. glossary, W-W. 338-473, both of which go back to old Isidor glosses. As the German glosses contain many words which are not found elsewhere in the German area, it seems probable that the majority are simply transcriptions from OE., although some may be old West Germanic formations which are dying down in German. Certainly Gröger and Gallée\(^2\) have gone too far in accepting some of the words in this group of glosses as German.

\(^1\) Hoithausen, *Alltägliches Etymologisches Wörterbuch*, Heidelberg, 1934, quotes an OHG. *fiszilvoz* which does not seem to exist.

The following comparison of the compounds and notes on similar formations in other Germanic dialects may help to elucidate the matter:

III, 423, 1 coloni, anderes lantszan = W.-W. 111, 15 odres eardes landsæta. The German gloss is as it stands senseless and can only be explained as a transcription from OE. with the omission of eardes. The compound lantszan is not found elsewhere in HG. which has a different formation, lantasæo, lantsædælo.

III, 423, 7 oppidanus, burgseæo = W.-W. 110, 40 buhsetæ. Again this is simply a transcription which does not exist outside this glossary. The corresponding German formation is MLG. borhsæde.

III, 423, 14 dediticus, hanigengo = W.-W. deditio, handong. The German compound is not found outside this glossary.

III, 430, 8 capilli, hovethær = W.-W. 156, 30 høvdfodær. Apparently an OE. formation not found elsewhere in OHG. (but see MHG. houbethær). The original term for 'hair of the head' was OHG. fals.

III, 430, 15 crines, wiffax, wifphas = W.-W. 368, 14 wifix. Again simply a transcription from OE. not found elsewhere in German.

III, 430, 30 pinntula, orlappa = W.-W. 157, 11 earlappe. Although this compound is not found elsewhere in OHG. and OLG. the MLG. orlappe, Du. oorlapje, Fris. árlappe indicate that it is an old West Germanic formation. The Dan. orlap and Swed. örlapp as well as Mod. G. Ohröppchen are borrowings from LG.

III, 430, 33 arteriae, wintathren = W.-W. 157, 40 windæddran. On account of the ON. vinnádr this compound has been considered as a Primitive Germanic formation (see Falk-Torp under Pore), but it should be noted that it does not occur in West Germanic outside these glosses which go back to the Isidor gloss arteriae, quod per eas aer fertur. There seems to be no reason to believe that the compound is anything more than a rendering of this phrase, in which case the formation is an OE. coining which was borrowed like so many OE. medical terms into ON. The compound clearly means 'artery,' and not 'pore' as Falk-Torp have it, and not 'windpipe' as in Clark Hall.

III, 431, 17 vertibula, werfbein; 431, 32 wersban, werfban = W.-W. 159, 21 lixerban (= lixorfobæn). The form -ban in the second

German gloss indicates the Engl. origin of the term which is not found elsewhere in German. The compound denotes 'kneecap,' and has as its first part the stem of the verb hweorfan.

III, 431, 23 sacra spina, lendenbein = W.-W. 159, 23 lendenban. On account of the MLG. lendenbeen, MDu. lendenbeen this compound must be considered as an OE.-LG. formation which does not extend as far as HG.

III, 431, 48 viscera, scodliræ. This compound which does not occur in the corresponding OE. glosses but which is found in Lcd. as scotlira is not a LG. word at all and should not have been included by Gallée in his dictionary.

III, 431, 56 tori, senuliran (muscle flesh). This probably represents a lost OE. senulira as the second part does not occur in German at all.

DCCCCXCVI (Ahd. Gl. III, 457 f.)

This glossary contains a few OE. words (Michiels, p. 52) amongst them one compound:

III, 458, 24 vespertilia, radamus, rodamus. This is clearly derived from Ep. 978 hreathamus, the corresponding German term being fledarmés.

MCLXXV (Ahd. Gl. IV, 27 ff.)

This large mass of Biblical glosses contains some transcriptions of earlier OE. glosses, amongst them IV, 31, 36 the already discussed eringros, and IV, 30, 40 agnomenn, chuninam, which is not found elsewhere in OHG. and is possibly derived from the OE. cûdnoma.

MCLXXXV (Ahd. Gl. IV, 195 ff.)

This large glossary, a mixture of Middle German and LG., contains many rare words which are probably old Germanic terms and others such as eringros, roridumbil which point to OE. influence. Another compound possibly derived from OE. is:

IV, 208, 2 pansea, secfuoz (splay-footed), possibly a transcription of Ep.-Erf. 832 scelfot = Corp. scaffold.
MCXCII (Ahd. Gl. IV, 220)

The sources of this glossary have not yet been established, but Michiels has shown (p. 58) that it contains at least one OE. word, unriniz (= unruož) from OE. unroţ. The glossary also contains IV, 220, 15 undancfol = OE. undancful. It has been suggested above that some of the formations with -fol from abstract nouns are due in OHG. to the influence of OE.

MCCXXXII (Ahd. Gl. IV, 245 ff.)

Michiels has already shown (p. 59) that more than half the words in this mixed glossary are related to early OE. glosses. Amongst them are several compounds:

IV, 245, 27 arula, fyrpanne vel herd = Ep-Erf. 5 arula, fyrpannae vel herth. The compound is not found elsewhere in HG., other glosses having for arula, gluipfana.

IV, 245, 33 atramentarium, blachorn. This compound is not found in Ep-Erf., but Frings has already shown that it is borrowed from OE. (Frings, p. 171).

IV, 246, 26 pastellus, hunegapl = Ep-Erf. 830 hunaegaep. The compound is not found elsewhere in German.

DCCCCXCVIa (Ahd. Gl. IV, 356)

Michiels has already shown (p. 77) that the gloss IV, 356, 38 cicatus, segisner is derived from Corp. 464 segescere (cricket) by association of the second with snerran (snore). The compound is nothing more than a gloss word which had no real existence in German.

In the fifth volume of Steinmeyer-Sievers there are two glossaries which contain many words from the early OE. glosses:

MCLXXX and MCCXXXIIIa (Ahd. Gl. V, 46 f.)

The glosses are contained in Codex Trevir. 40, a MS. with considerable OE. influence. Amongst the OE. words there are three compounds none of which is a real German word:

V, 47, 27 acitura, ranusia gacasura. This is derived from Ep. 63 geâcae surae or Corp. 58 geaces surc (wood-sorrel).

V, 46, 22 anate, æderstitce = Ep-Erf. 116 æderstitca = Corp. 171 æderstitca (rattle-stick).

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V, 48, 7 cariscus, quecboam = Ep. 238, Corp. 368 cuicbæam (aspen). The compound does not exist in HG. outside this gloss and is nothing but a loan-translation from OE.

4. OLD NORS < OLD ENGLISH

The question of the ON. influence on English has been fully investigated by Björkman, Scandinavioan Loan-words in Middle English (Studien zur Englischen Philologie, VII and XI), Halle, 1900 and 1902. Björkman includes in his survey the Norse loan-words in OE., and a list of about 150 of these borrowings, some of them doubtful, is given by Kluge, Geschichte der englischen Sprache (Paul's Grundriss I, 932 ff.). Björkman is more concerned with the question of Norse forms in English and only touches occasionally on the question of loan-translation and the adaptation of Norse compounds to OE. This adaptation of the Norse forms makes it difficult to give an absolute proof of the borrowing, and the question is further complicated by the fact that in late OE. and ME. genuine English words and compounds may be influenced by the corresponding Norse forms. In many cases we can only say that the late occurrence of a compound and its restriction to Northern texts makes a borrowing from Norse probable. In the following lists references to Björkman and Kluge and the English dictionaries where further notes on the forms may be found are included:

OE. ænlaga, acting alone (11th cent. gloss, W.W. 491, 23) < ON. einlæg (Holthausen under laga, not in Kluge or Björkman).

OE. bôlæas, not to be atoned for (c. 1000, LL) < ON. bôlalauss (Björkman, 12 and OED. under boatless).

OE. brýðlhop, wedding (Durh. B. Rush. Chron. 1076) < ON. brûllaup (Björkman, 71 note, Kluge). The age of this compound is difficult to determine. It is not found in Gothic as the passage in the Bible dealing with the marriage at Cana (John 2) is not translated. It first appears in a different form and as a feminine in early OHG. (britihloft). It is not found in the Hel. and first appears in LG. in late glosses derived from HG. as brûledlîht and in this form appears later in MDu. as bruullocht and West Frisian as brulloft. If the compound is a Prim. Germanic one, which is doubtful, there must have been two variants, one represented by the ON. brûllaup and the other by the OHG. britihloft. Which was the original OE. form cannot be determined, as the extant
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*brýðhlop* cannot be derived from *brýðhlæap*, but must represent the ON. *brullaup* with a shortening of the second part. The occurrence of the word in Northern texts also points to a Norse borrowing.

OE. *carlfugul*, male bird < ON. *karlfugl* (Björkman, 215, Kluge).

OE. *carlmann*, male < ON. *karlnadr* (Björkman, 215, Kluge).

These two compounds are clearly borrowings, as the native word has different Ablaut, *ceorl*, and different meaning.

OE. *claélæs*, harmless. This word is derived by Kluge from ON. *klakklæst* (unhurt), but forms in the other Germanic languages make an original formation more probable; O. Fris. *klaklaes* (unhurt), Du. *klakkelos* (suddenly), LG. *klacklos* (unexpectedly, uncertain, innocent); see also OE. *claecu*, insult.

OE. *cwennfugul*, henbird < ON. *kwennfugl* (Kluge); see *carlfugol*.

OE. *eordóm*, earldom (Chron. 1053) < ON. *jaridóm* (Kluge, OED.). The word *eord* is a native OE. word with the meaning ‘warrior,’ but as a title is a late semantic loan from Norse.

OE. *féolaga*, partner (Chron. 1016) < ON. *félaga* (Björkman, 209, Kluge, Holthausen, OED.).

OE. *festermann*, guarantor < ON. *festarmadr* (Holthausen, not in Björkman or Kluge).

OE. *fríöland*, friendly land (Chron. 1097) > ON. *fríland* (Björkman, 240, Kluge).

OE. *fríðmál*, article of peace (LL) < ON. *fríðmál* (Björkman, 240).

OE. *fríöstl*, sanctuary (LL) < ON. *fríöstl* (Reallexikon, IV, 60; not in Björkman or Kluge).

OE. *gráscinnen*, grey skinned (Chron. 1067) < ON. *gráscinn* ' (Björkman, 89, Kluge).

OE. *gríghund*, greyhound. This is a doubtful borrowing, denied by Björkman, p. 66, from ON. *gríkhundr*. The difficulty is that the ON. grey means ‘a bitch’ and the compound is parallel to formations as *karlfugl*, *kwennfugl*. Possibly the Norse compound was borrowed and by a misunderstanding associated with grey.

OE. *gridléas*, unprotected (Wulfstan) < ON. *gridlauss* (Björkman, 163).

OE. *hánsçon*, attack on the house of an enemy (LL) < ON. *heimskón* (Björkman, 12, Kluge).

OE. *handæx*, Scandinavian battle-axe < ON. *handaz* (Falk, *Allnordische Waffenkunde*, p. 205; not in Björkman or Kluge).

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OE. *handfæstan*, betroth < ON. *handfesta* (Björkman, 242, Kluge, OED. under *handfasi*). The ON. verb is a derivative from the nominal compound *handfestr*. Similar compounds which seem to be independent of the Norse form occur in OHG. *handfести* (testamentum), MLG. and MDu. *handveste* (signing of a document). These seem to be loan-translation from Latin *manusfirmatio*.

OE. *hænsleu*, mancipation (W-W. 449, 29) < ON. *hænsal* (Björkman, 242, Kluge, OED. under *hænsel*).

OE. *hæsöta*, rower (Chron. 1052) < ON. *hæstti* (first part = *hár*, rowlock) (Kluge, Holthausen, not in Björkman).

OE. *hæafdesmann*, chieftain (Chron. 1076) < ON. *hógudsmaðr* (Björkman, 12, Kluge). The OE. *hæafodinnan* may be an independent formation.

OE. *herebeorgian*, lodge (Chron. 1048, in a 12th cent. MS.). This word, which does not properly belong to OE., is borrowed as already explained from the ON. noun *herbergi*.

OE. *hersuma*, captive (LL) < ON. *hernumi*. The borrowing is not recorded in Björkman, but the absence of the composition vowel as compared with the normal OE. form *here-*, and the passive meaning (one who is captured by the army), which is not found in genuine OE. compounds of this type, point to a derivation from ON.

OE. *horskweal*, walrus < ON. *hrosswæl*. The borrowing is not recorded by Björkman or Kluge, but derivation from ON. is certain as the OE. compound is found only in Alfred's account of the journey of Ohthere in his *Orosius*.1 The Norse name was also borrowed into O. French as *rokal*, and probably also into Du. where the two parts were transposed to *walros*. From Du. the compound was then borrowed into German *Walross*, Engl. *walrus*, and back into Dan. and Swed. as *hvalros* (Falk-Torp under *hvalros*, OED. under *walrus*).

OE. *húsbōnda*, householder < ON. *húsþōnda* (Björkman, 205).

OE. *húscari*, member of a king's bodyguard (Chron. 1041) < ON. *húskarli* (Björkman, 214). MLG. and OFris. *húskerl* has a different form in the second part and different meaning (house-servant), and is therefore an independent formation.

OE. *húsding*, tribunal (Chron. 1012) < ON. *húsping* (Björkman, 214, OED. under *hustings*).

OE. lacheōp, laciōp, payment for lost legal rights < ON. logkāp (Björkman, 12, Kluge). The first part of this compound is a well-known borrowing from Norse, and the form laciōp makes it probable that the whole compound was borrowed.

OE. lahmān, lawyer (LL) < ON. logmadr. The borrowing is not recorded by Björkman or Kluge. It is of course possible that the compound was independently formed in OE. with the loan-word lah-. The same applies to lahriht (ON. logrètr), lahlich (ON. loglíkr) and landlagu (ON. landslag).

OE. landcūp, landcēap, tax paid when land is bought (LL) < ON. landkaup (Björkman, 12, Kluge). Again the form -cūp points to Norse influence.

OE. leðrōwre, leper < ON. likrā (leprosy). This word is not recorded as a borrowing by Björkman or Kluge, but as is pointed out in the Realexikon (under Aussaat) leprosy was brought over to England by the Vikings. It is therefore probable that the OE. compound is modelled on the Norse formation. Other English words denoting leprosy as OE. brūsēf (Gothic prūsēf) and hrēof (OHG. hriobsuhtig) originally denoted other skin diseases.

OE. līdsmað, pirate (Chron. 1050) < ON. līsmaðr (Björkman, 164, Kluge, Holthausen).

OE. macalic, fitting, suitable < ON. makligr. This is generally accepted as a borrowing (Björkman, 250, Kluge), but the first part of the compound is a native OE. word and the formation is found elsewhere: MLG. makenlīk, OHG. gimahīk.

OE. māldāg, appointed time, covenant < ON. māldagi (Björkman, 103). The OHG. mahaltag (Williram) is an independent parallel formation with a different meaning, 'betrothal day.'

OE. mēldropha, saliva (W-W. 240, 9) < ON. mēldrop (lit. drop from the bit). The borrowing is not recorded in Björkman but the compound is clearly Scandinavian for the native OE. form of the first part is mīld (see Slutter, Anglia 42, 451).

OE. mānsloht, share of land < ON. mānshlīpir (not in Björkman or Kluge, but see Holthausen).

OE. mündēow, wash-basin < ON. munnlaug (not in Björkman or Kluge, but see Holthausen).

OE. rādesmað, adviser < ON. rādsmaðr (Björkman, 12, Kluge).

OE. ridesoh, a fever (Rush.) < ON. ridusōtt (Björkman, 161, 176, Kluge).

OE. rōfaste, firmly established (Chron. 1127) < ON. rōfastr (not in Björkman, but see Kluge and OED. under rootaste).

OE. saklaus, unchallenged, innocent (Charters, LL, MtL) < ON. saklauas (Björkman, 12, OED. under sackless).

OE. scipflyld, jurisdiction over a group of three hundreds (Charters) < ON. skipflygð (not in Björkman or Kluge, but see Realexikon, 3, 108).

OE. scepsohn = scipflyl < ON. skipsōkn (Realexikon, loc. cit.).

OE. stælihran, reindeer to entice wild ones. The compound appears only in Alfred's account of Ohthere's journey and seems to be a modification of ON. tálhreinn (see Jordan, op. cit., p. 192, and cf. hörskvæl).

OE. sumorlida, summer expedition (Chron. 871) < ON. sumarliði (Björkman, 161).

OE. tapera, small axe < ON. tāpera (Björkman, 256, Holthausen). The first part of the compound is a borrowing through ON. from the Russian tāpōr.

OE. dēnestmann, retainer (Chron. E 650) < ON. þjónustumaðr (Björkman, 223, Kluge). OHG. dionōstman and OLG. thionestman are independent and parallel formations.

OE. vāpen(ge)tas, wapentake, subdivision of a riding < ON. vāptak (Björkman, 12, 93, 222, OED. under wapentake).

OE. veðbrōðr, confederate (Chron. 1016) < ON. veðbrōðr (Kluge).

OE. veðerfaste, weatherbound (Chron. 1046) < ON. veðerfaste (Kluge).

This ON. influence on English continues into the ME period, but the majority of these borrowings are clearly later Norse formations and it is unnecessary to record them here. The few which owing to parallels with other Germanic languages could be regarded as Primitive Germanic formations are included in the following lists of the stock of compounds.

5. Old English > Old Norse

The question of the Old English influence on Old Norse has not been fully investigated and is difficult to assess as it usually takes the form of loan-translation and adaptation to Norse; nor is it restricted as the Norse influence on English is to any particular group of texts. It is therefore at times difficult to
tell whether a particular loan-translation is made from OE. or from parallel formations in MLG. The influence is mostly restricted to terms referring to Christianity and the arts and crafts brought over to Scandinavia by the Christian missionaries, although a considerable OE. influence on the Eddic poems has also been claimed by S. Bugge. It is now generally recognised that Bugge has greatly exaggerated his thesis, but he has drawn attention to similarities in the vocabulary of OE. and the Edda which as far as the compounds are concerned are restricted to three poems, *Völundarkvida*, *Helgakvida Hundingsbanna II*, and *Gudrúnarkvida I*.

(a) Edda

ON. *álvis* (being from another world = valkyrie). The compound is found in Norse only in Vkv 1, 2, 5, 5, and HH II, 12, 1. It corresponds to the poetical OE. compound *ælwíth*, and if it is a Primitive Germanic formation it is the only relic in a genuine Norse word of the Primitive Germanic adjective *alja-* (strange, foreign). On account of the restriction of the compound to these two poems and the absence of the adjective from other Norse texts a borrowing from OE. seems to be likely.

ON. *geirlaukr*, garlic (*Gpr* I, 17, 2). The compound, which is not found elsewhere in Norse, corresponds to OE. *gärðlec* and it has already been suggested by Hoops, *Waldhäuser und Kulturpflanzen im germanischen Altertum*, Strassburg, 1905, p. 644, that it is borrowed from OE.

ON. *jarknasteinn*, precious stone (*Vkv* 25, 3; 37, 3; *Gpr* I, 17, 4). Again it is remarkable that this compound is restricted to those texts which contain other suspected OE. borrowings and in the example in *Gpr* to the same strophe as *geirlaukr*. It seems likely therefore that it is a modification of OE. *eormnastán*. The first part of the word may be a Germanic adjective meaning ‘precious, genuine,’ equivalent to the Gothic *airknus*, although Sievers (*PBB* 12, 182) has derived it from the Chaldean *jarkan*, topaz.

ON. *langskip*, long ship (HH II, 12, 1). This is a doubtful borrowing, as the word is a common one in later Norse texts. According to the Saxon Chronicle (l. 897), Alfred built long

ON. *akrthund*, tithe of produce < OE. *acertéodung*. Although the two formations are not exactly parallel, the Norse compound may be modelled on the English one, as the tithe was introduced into Scandinavia in the 11th century from England.

ON. *apantspréng*, even-song < OE. *afensang* (Kahle).

ON. *apantséd*, vespers < OE. *afentid* (Fischer). Compare the OHG. *abantsít*, which is only found in the Tatian, a text which has already been shown to have OE. influence.

ON. *bersynæugr*, in Biblical texts translating *publicans* < OE. *børsynning*.

ON. *biskupsdóm*, bishopric < OE. *biscopdóm*. The formation is possibly an independent one in Norse, as it is found in other Germanic languages, OHG. *biscofstorm*, MLG. *biscofpóm*. 

ships which were different from the Viking and Frisian ships. It is suggested in *Realexikon* 4, 118 that these were imitated by the Norse invaders, and the word taken over into Norse, but this is denied by Falk, *Altnordisches Seewesen* (Wörter und Sachen IV, 101 f.), who thinks that the Norse word is an independent formation. However this may be, the compound, which may have been suggested by the Latin *navis longa*, is certainly not a Primitive Germanic one.

(b) Other Norse Texts

Some indication of the extent of the considerable OE. influence on the ON. Christian terms and the prose texts may be obtained from F. Fischer, *Die Lehnwörter des Altwesinordischen*, Berlin, 1909, and B. Kahle, *Die altnordische Sprache im Dienste des Christentums*, Acta Germanica I, 399 ff. Fischer is, however, to be used with considerable caution, for he includes amongst the borrowings such old compounds as *hagdorn*, *gudvefr*. As very little has been written on the question, an exhaustive list of the Norse compounds which may be modelled on OE. formations is given below. It is, of course, obvious that a Norse compound containing an English loan-word in the first part, as for example the compounds of *kirjhu*, is not necessarily a borrowing. The parallels with other Germanic languages which are given will indicate to what extent independent formation is possible. As with the borrowings from Norse into English references to Fischer, Kahle, and others are quoted.

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ON. biskupsrika, bishopric < OE. bisceoprice. A certain borrowing, as the word is not found outside these two languages.

ON. blekkorn, inkhorn < OE. blachorn (Fischer, Frings, 172). It has already been shown that the OLG. blachorn is also borrowed from OE.

ON. böksfell, parchment < OE. böcsfell. The compound is probably borrowed, although OHG. has bukhfell in glosses which cannot be proved to have OE. influence.

ON. böksstafr, letter < OE. böcsstaf (see the details given above, section 3).

ON. dóm(a)dagr, Doomsday < OE. dömdag. This compound is not as is sometimes claimed an old legal term in any of the early Germanic languages, but was coined to render the Latin phrase dies judicis. It also occurs in the Hel. as dömdag and in the Monsee-Vienna Fragments as tuomlag. The compound then dies down in German owing to the obsOLESCENCE of the simplex tuom. The ON. compound is included by Fischer in his list of borrowings (p. 7).

Danish edderkop, Swed. dialect ettorkoppa, spider. According to Dahlerrup, Ordbog over det Danske Sprog, borrowed from OE. ättorcopepe.

ON. frjáadagr, Friday < OE. frigedag. It is generally recognised that the ON. form of this compound must be borrowed from OE. It is likely therefore that the names of the other days of the week, except Saturday, are borrowed from the same source, although it is sometimes asserted that they were adopted into Norse from early West Germanic. As these names were formed in the Lower Rhine area, it does not seem likely that they would reach Norse immediately. Whilst it is recognised that there is nothing in the form of the Norse names of the other days of the week which points to OE. rather than to any other Germanic language, they are included here as borrowings from OE.

ON. frjáaptann, Thursday evening < OE. frigedæfen.

ON. gangdagar, Rogation days < OE. gangdagas (Kahle); but see also MLG. gangdage.

ON. gimssteinn, gem < OE. gístan. The Norse compound is found only in the Skaldic poetry, and the first part is certainly borrowed from Latin via OE.

ON. godkunnigr, of divine birth < godcund (see above under section 3).

ON. grundwellr, foundation wall < OE. grundicwall (Realexikon 2, 455, and Falk-Torp under grund).

ON. gudbarn, godchild < OE. godbeorn (Falk-Torp under gud).

ON. gudsfadir, godfather < OE. godfæder.

ON. gudtsdöttr, goddaughter < OE. goddtor.

ON. gudmódir, godmother < OE. godmódor.

ON. gudssifja, sponsor < OE. godssibb.

ON. gudssour, godson < OE. godssunu.

ON. gudspjall, gospel < OE. godspel.

ON. háälltari, high altar < OE. héaltaltir.

ON. hálshók, amulet < OE. healshóc (Fischer).

ON. handbýlla, handbell < OE. handbelle. The compound may have been borrowed as the second part was certainly taken from OE.

ON. handbök, manual < OE. handbóc (Fischer, Kahle).

ON. handkléði, mantle < OE. handcláð (Fischer, Kahle).

ON. handlin, linen sleeves. Both Fischer and Kahle derive this from OE. handlin, but it should be noted that the OE. compound means 'napkin' not 'linen sleeves.'

ON. helviti, torments of Hell < OE. hellevít. On account of the OHG. helwitsi and OLG. helwitti the Norse compound may well be an independent formation.

ON. kírd, retinue < OE. hirde (Falk-Torp and Realexikon 2, 528). This is an obscured compound which is common West Germanic; cf. OHG. kírd.

ON. hvítasunnudagr, Whitsunday < OE. hvítasunndæg; see also the parallel formation in MLG. and MDu. witsondach.

ON. hófufaðir, patriarch < OE. hæofodsáfær (Fischer).

ON. hófuførkja, cathedral < OE. hæofodcyrice.

ON. hófufóllin, linen hood < OE. hæofoldin (Fischer).

ON. imbrudagr, Ember Day < OE. ymbrendæg (Kahle).

ON. kantaradás, cope < OE. canterecappe (Kahle).

ON. kirkjubók, service book < OE. ciricbóc. This may be an independent formation in Norse as the compound is also found in other Germanic languages: MLG. kerkenbók: Fris. tserkenboek.

ON. kirkjufriðr, right of sanctuary < OE. ciricfrið. See also OFris. tserfrætha.

ON. kirkjuganga, churchgoing, churching < OE. ciricsgang. See also OHG. kirchgang, MLG. kirkgang, OFris. tserkgang.

ON. kirkjuland, church lands < OE. ciricland. See also OLG. kirkland, OFris. tserkland.
ON. réttvisz, righteous < OE. rihtwa (OED. under righteous).

This compound is probably an original West Germanic one, the original significance of which is preserved in MLG. rehtwistle (knowing the law). It also appears in early OHG. glosses in a non-Christian significance: Pa, K, 156, 39, rationabilis, rehtwistil. The compound was given a Christian significance in OE. and OHG. (Is, M), possibly under OE. influence, and was borrowed into ON. The compound is not a Primitive Germanic formation as the ON. rétr, which is a masc. -u stem, cannot be derived from the same Primitive Germanic form as the West Germanic *rehta which is a substantival adjective.

ON. stívdr, steward < OE. stigweard (Falk-Torp under stuart).
ON. sunnumadr, Sunday < OE. sunnandæg.
ON. syndfullr, sinful < OE. synful (see Kluge-Goetze under Sunné).
ON. syndlauss, innocent < OE. synlæs; also OHG. OLG. suntilós.
ON. synghbök, hymnbook < OE. sangbóc (Fischer); also MLG. sangbök, Fris. sangboek.
ON. tidasongr, canonical hours < OE. tidsang (Fischer).
ON. fjyrsdagr, Tuesday < OE. tjuwsdæg.
ON. hördsdagr, Thursday < OE. þunresdæg.
ON. vikuadagr, weekday < OE. wuedæg.
ON. windærdr, artery < OE. windædre (see p. 24).

6. The Influence of Frisian

It has been suggested by Wadstein that many ON. words which are usually considered borrowings from OE., as sekkr, klæði, frjádragr, kirkja, etc., are really taken from Old Frisian. Wadstein bases his conclusions upon a description of the trade relations between the Norse and Frisians in the early Middle Ages. Similar relations existed, however, between the English and the Norse, and as the extant records of Old Frisian are late and scanty, and the form of the Frisian words so similar to OE., the borrowings into Norse cannot be ascribed with any certainty to OFris. rather than to OE. There is, however, one compound in the Germanic languages which is in all probability of Frisian origin. The Fris. eiland (island) was borrowed into MLG. and

1 E. Wadstein, Norden och Väst-Europa i gammal tid, Stockholm, 1925; and Friserna och forntida handelstägar, Göteborg, 1920.
MDu. eilant and in the 17th century into HG. Eiland. The first part of this compound is a form, which could only have arisen in OFris., where the Primitive Germanic aue was modified to ei, of the Primitive Germanic *aufo < *agueo (watery land, island). It is further assumed by Kluge-Goetze (under Eiland) that the ON. eyland and OE. iegland are also modifications of the Frisian compound although these forms could be regular developments from Primitive Germanic. However this may be, the compound is not a Primitive Germanic one as in the earliest texts the first part alone was used in the sense ‘island’ (see Edda, where ey alone is used, and OE. ieg).\footnote{The example in Ahd. Gl. Ill. 23, 22 is in a 14th century MS.}

7. German and Norse

There were considerable borrowings from MLG. into ON., which are too extensive to include here. Many of them are late LG. formations and do not fall within the scope of this work, but those which were old West Germanic compounds are included in the West Germanic lists in the following chapters.\footnote{This explanation is given by Suolahti, op. cit., p. 314; Realexikon, I., 218; REW. 3713. Falk-Torp's attempt to derive the German words from the Late Latin gyrofaelo is hardly acceptable (Falk-Torp under geirfugl). Gamillscheg assumes a Frankish geirfalko for which there is no evidence (Gamillscheg, Romania Germana, II, 86 and 125).}

The borrowings in the opposite direction from ON. into the Continental Germanic languages are slight and of a comparatively late date. The majority do not extend beyond the MLG. area, but the following became current in other Germanic languages:

ON. vadmål, coarse linen (lit. measure of material), was borrowed into MLG. and MDu. as wätmäl, wadmæl, and later into MHG. wätmäl, Mod. German Wadmal (Falk-Torp under vadmel).\footnote{The subject of the MLG. influence on Norse has not been fully investigated, but some indication of its extent may be obtained from Fischer, op. cit.; Margnarsen, Der Einfluss des Mnd. auf das Dämische, PBB. 33, 405 ff.; Höller, Altinordische Lehnwortstudien, Arkiv, 48, 10 ff.}

ON. hrosshvalr, walrus. As already suggested, this compound was borrowed into MDu., although it is not extant there, and with the parts transposed passed into Engl. walrus and G. Walross (see p. 29).\footnote{See also Scottish wadmal from Norse.}

\footnote{1 OE. eatland (Chron.) is a later contamination of iegland with ea,* water, stream, and Old Danish eiland a borrowing from MLG., not a development from the ON. eyland.}

\footnote{2 An early Mod. German form Rosswal, Russwal is quoted by Falk-Torp under hoalros and in OED. under walrus. The only meaning given to these two words in DWB. is ‘coarse Russian leather.’ They have then nothing to do with Walross.}
CHAPTER II

THE PRIMITIVE GERMANIC COMPOUNDS

A. The Copulative

An investigation of the copulative compounds extant in the early Germanic languages does not reveal any parallels with the exception of the compound numerals 13-19, but it would be incorrect to assume that copulative compounds of the type substantive + substantive and adjective + adjective did not exist in Primitive Germanic and that they developed independently in the Germanic languages, for these types are found in cognate Indo-Germanic languages, and the examples which do occur in the earliest texts of the Germanic languages are obviously obsolescent formations. Even in other Indo-Germanic languages the copulative compounds are relatively rare, e.g. OInd. Mitrā-Vārunā, Mitra and Varuna; nētra-hṛdatām, eye and heart; matārā-pitarā, mother and father; Greek νυχθήμερο, day and night; Latin dulcamarus, bitter-sweet; O Bulg. bratū-sestra, brother and sister.

As the type is very rare in Germanic, a complete list of those compounds which are recorded in early texts is given, and the subsequent development of this mode of composition in the living Germanic languages is dealt with here. Whether any of these compounds go back to Primitive Germanic cannot be determined, although as the type was obviously not productive at the time when the earliest texts of Germanic were written down, it seems likely that they were inherited older formations.

(i) Substantive + Substantive

There are no examples of this formation in Gothic, ON. and O Fris.1 In OE. two compounds are recorded from the early poetry:

1 The type was apparently unfamiliar to Wulfila, who resolved the two copulative compounds of the Greek Bible into phrases: Mk. 1, 38, χωμούλευς, haimom jah baugtim; 2 Cor. 11, 25, νυχθήμερο, naht jah dag.

apumswerian, son-in-law and father-in-law (Beowulf 84). In the MS. the two words are written separately, and the second is an incorrect form for swēgan. The scribe evidently did not understand the compound, and associated the first part with ādum, dat. pl. of ādō (oath), and the second with swerian (swear). In the later poetry the compound is resolved into a phrase: swēgan and ādum (Jul. 65).

suitor gefedran, nephew and uncle (Wids. 46). That this mode of composition appeared unusual to the Beowulf scribe is shown by the fact that he resolved the compound into suitor-gefedran (l. 1164).²

From early German there are also two compounds of this type, both of which are recorded only once:

OE. gisunfader, son and father (Hel. 1176).

OHG. sunufatarungo, son and father (Hild. 4).² Apart from these relics, the type is extinct in early Germanic. In the modern languages geographical names can be combined in this way, e.g. Schleswig-Holstein, Österreich-Ungarn, Alsace-Lorraine, but these are quite modern, and the type has no connection with the Primitive Germanic mode of composition.

(ii) Adjective + Adjective

Although this type of compound is found in other Indo-Germanic languages, e.g. Latin dulcamaris, bitter-sweet; Greek λευκόμελας, black and white; Russian tonko-bilyj, thin and white, it is unknown in early Germanic. The few adjectives which have sometimes been interpreted as copulative compounds are really determinatives:

OE. wiðbrād. It has already been shown (p. 8) that this compound is borrowed from OS. wiðbrēd (= OHG. wiþpreit), and means 'widespread,' not 'wide and broad.'

OE. dynhliðe (W-W. 446, 24) = marcida. This, too, is to be interpreted as a determinative with the meaning 'wasted thin,' rather than as a copulative.

1 The Beowulf compound is sometimes explained as suhtorgefædran, but this is hardly possible, as the weak nouns do not normally appear with a composition vowel in OE. The division of the compound into suhtor-gefædran is even less acceptable as the OE. gefædera (OHG. gefatero) is a loan-translation from Latin compater and means 'godfather.'

2 This is sometimes rendered 'followers of son and father,' but the suffix seems to have been added like the prefix of gisunfader to weld together the two parts of the compound: cf. Greek νυχθήμερο.
In Modern German and the Scandinavian languages, but not in Modern English, the adjectives of colour can be combined to form copulative compounds, e.g. schwarzeisröt; Mod. Icelandic bláhvit, blue and white. This method of composition is quite modern, for the few combined adjectives of colour which are found in the earlier periods of German are determinatives: OE. bléorêad, purple; ON. bláhvit (Edda), bluish-white, blásvætr (Edda) coal-black; OHG. rötbrún (12th cent.) = ON. raubbrúnn, purple; OHG. brútröt (12th cent.) = OFris. bruinred, MDu. bruunroot, dark red; MHG. witzblá, light blue; rötweis, reddish-white. It was from such compounds that the Modern German type schwarzeisröt arose. In MHG. synonymous adjectives were sometimes combined, e.g. algris, heiterlieht. These are similar to the OE. dynilâne, and were probably originally determinatives, but they could be interpreted as copulative, and they may have given rise to the Modern German copulatives, some of which also stand on the borderline between copulative and determinative meaning, e.g. taubstumm, deaf and dumb; bittersüss, bitter-sweet; see also Mod. Icelandic dauð Damonblú, deaf and dumb; hraðblautar, rough and moist. In English the compound bitter-sweet, which dates from the 14th century, is on the borderline between the copulative and determinative types.

B. Determinatives

(i) Substantive + Substantive

(a) Gothic—Norse—West Germanic

1. Gothic *lausu-arriks (m.), OHG. örriing, OLG. øhrring, MDu. oorring, Mod. Fris. earring, OE. æarhRING, Norw. ørenning, Icel. eyrnahringr = earring. The Gothic compound is not extant but is deduced from the OSLav. usereg which is a borrowing from Gothic. The Scandinavian compounds are not recorded until late texts and have a genitive in the first part, but they may well be modifications of an original primary compound.

2. Gothic *bairabasi (n.), Schwed. björnbür, Norw. børnebaer, bramble-berry. The Gothic compound is not extant but is deduced from bairabags (mulberry bush) on the analogy of the Scandinavian forms. The development of meaning in Gothic to ‘mulberry’ is secondary as the mulberry was not known in Primitive Germanic times. In English the compound survives as bearberry, also with a different meaning, ‘arbutus uva ursi.’ In German the compound is extinct, but such forms as Bärentraube attest to its existence there in older times. The restriction of the formation in Scandinavian to Norwegian and Swedish as compared with the Danish brambe, which is borrowed from West Germanic, indicates that the compound is an old one retreating before the new West Germanic formation.¹

3. Gothic manleitka (n.), OHG. manalikho, OE. manlica, ON. (Edda) manulikan, effigy. The Norse formation differs from that in the other languages and appears to be a secondary development. It is suggested by Kauffmann, Deutsche Altertumskunde, i, 189, that the compound originally denoted the crenation urn made in the form of a dead person, but there is nothing to support this suggestion.

4. Gothic naudipawrofts (f.), OHG. nötthufts, OLG. nöddhurft, MDu. noodort, OFris. nöðthufts, OE. nieddear, ODan. nøddvar, OSwed. nødtharf, pressing need. Like OHG. brüthufts, ON. bruilaup this compound is found in two distinct forms, on the one hand with a fem. -t abstract in Gothic-German-Dutch-Frisian, and on the other with a fem. -d abstract in English-Norse. This seems to represent a different dialectal formation within Prim. Germ. The modern Norw.-Dan. form nøddorft is borrowed from MLG. (see Falk-Torp under nøddorft).

(b) Gothic—West Germanic

1. Gothic arbinumja (m.), OHG. erpinomo, MLG. ervename, OFris. erfnoma, OE. yrfenuma, earfednyma, heir. It has been suggested by Velten (JEGPh. 29, 342) that Gothic arbinumja is a calque from the Greek ἀρρῆμα, and that arbi was the native term. Some support is given to this view by the fact that ON. has a different term, arstaki, and that whilst the Gothic compound is a -jan formation, the normal West Germ. compound is a pure -an stem. It should, however, be noted that OE. also has a form earfedynma (Lind. Lk. 20, 14), restricted to Northumbrian, the second part of which coincides with the Gothic form, and that the compound is recorded in the earliest German glosses (Pa, 8). Moreover, the phrase arbi niman, on which the compound is based, is

¹See Loewe, Germanische Pflanzennamen, Heidelberg, 1913, pp. 12 ff.
known from Gothic. It should be noted, too, that in the Gothic Bible *arba* and *arbinumja* are not exactly synonymous, for *arba* is used in a transferred and more abstract sense than *arbinumja* in phrases as *Libinais aiweinons arba*.

The late OE. form *yfename* and the MLG. *erfename*, MDu. *erjname* are later modifications of the original compound.

2. Gothic *augadur* (n.), OHG. *ougatora*, OE. *ægdræ (*f.), window. This compound is probably the Primitive Germanic term for the window, so called because of its eye shape. Again ON. *vindaugr*, from which Engl. *window* is borrowed, is of a different formation.

3. Gothic *haimōpili* (n.), inherited land. This compound, the second part of which contains a derivative from *ōdal* (ON. = *ōdall*), is apparently equivalent to the OHG. *heimolitis*, laribus, which is recorded once in a gloss (Gl. IV, 95, 1), and to the Austrian dialect word *hoamatt*, land. It has also been equated by Vigfússon with the ON. *heimild*, legal right to possession, but this has been shown by Falk-Torp (under *hjemmed*) to be a fem. derivative from the adj. *heimill*.

4. Gothic *hafjarinnūs* (*f.* witches, OE. *hellerūne*, sorceress, OHG. *hellirūna*, magic. The Gothic compound is not extant in the form quoted above, but is deduced from Jordanes’ *haliviunanae*. Both the Gothic and OE. compounds are derivatives from a compound similar to the OHG. one meaning literally ‘secret of the underworld.’ The OHG. compound which is not recorded by Gröger is to be found in *Ald. Gl.* II, 15, 20; IV, 81, ii where it glosses *necromantia*.

5. Gothic *kunawida* (*f.*), OHG. *kunawid*, fetter. On the interpretation of the first part which is obscure see Feist. The OE. *cynewīd*, which means ‘diadem,’ is not a parallel to the Gothic and OHG. forms. The OHG. compound, which is obsolescent, is found in early glosses (Pa, K) and in the mutilated form *cuoniumīdā* in the first Merseburg Spell.

6. Late West Gothic *marshkalcs*, Langobardian *marshalk*, OHG. *marschcalh*, MLG. *marschalk*, MDu. *maerschalk* (m.), horse-groom. The Gothic and Langobardian forms are deduced by Gamillscheg, *Romania Germana*, 3, 12 and 66 from the personal names *Marescalco*, *Masacleus* and the Italian *marscalco* (smith). The first record from German is in the *Lex Salica*, and it is from Frankish that the compound passes into French, *maréchal*. The Norw. and Dan. *marskalk* is a borrowing from MLG.

7. Gothic *matibaigs* (m.), OE. *meitalcg*, food wallet. The OE. compound is found once in *LkR* 22, 35. As with *erfædnynna* Northumbrian again seems to have preserved an old form lost in the other dialects of OE. and in the other Germanic languages. In the Gothic Bible *matibaigs* translates *παιπα* and, as will be shown later, in the majority of cases where Wulfla translates a simple Greek word, which has no derivative suffix, by a compound, the compound is an old one.

8. Gothic *nauðibandi* (*f.* fetter, OHG. (only in Tatian) *nōðbentig*, captive, MLG. *nōðbend* (*f.*), fettering, OFris. *nēðbend* (*f.*), fettering. The compound is clearly an old one although it is not found in OE. or ON. It has already been pointed out in the Introduction that the grammatical change *naups*: *nauði-* suggests that the compound goes back to the time of the operation of Verner’s Law. In addition to the usual abstract meaning ‘need’ the Primitive Germanic *naupi* apparently had a concrete meaning ‘chain, fetter’ (see E. A. Kock, *Old West Germanic and Old Norse*, pp. 17-18). In this case the compound *nauðibandi* is one of the earliest synonymous compounds in Germanic.

9. Gothic *piusbroks*, OHG. *dichbruoh* (*f.*), knee-breeches. The Gothic compound, the existence of which seems to be well established, is deduced for West Gothic by Gamillscheg, *op. cit.* 3, 36, from the Prov. *trebuc*, *trabuc*, OFrench *trebu*, Late Latin *tubruci*, and for East Gothic from the Romanian *turi* (*f.*), woolen gaunters. The first part is, of course, the Germanic word for the thigh.

10. Gothic *undaurnimats* (m.), OE. *undernmete*, morning meal. The corresponding word for the evening meal, *nāhtamats*, is preserved only in Gothic. Both these compounds seem to be older than the OE. *morgenmete* (= ON. *morgenmatt*) and *ðafenmet*. (c) Norse and more than one West Germanic Language

1. ON. *aldrlag* (n.), OLG. *alderlagu* (n.pl.), OE. *ealdorlegu* (*f.*), death (lit. life’s fate). The compound is evidently an old poetical one. In OE., owing to the disappearance of the Primitive Germanic *laga-* the second part has been modified and connected with *leegan*.

1 Contained in *Studies in English Philology in Honour of Frederick Klaeber*, Minneapolis, 1929.
by the Indo-Germanic word for the horse, OE. eoh, OS. ehu, Latin equus, and the second is in OE. and OLG. a reduced form of OE. rād, OLG. rēda. The compound is evidently pre-Germanic, for it is found in Old Irish echorad, a fem. collective meaning 'horses.'

11. ON. (Edda) erðvǫrðr (m.), (Skaldic) arfuþr, OLG. erðaþað, OE. yrfeorð, heir (lit. guardian of the inheritance).

12. OLG. erðberi (n.), OLG. erðberi, MDu. erdber, Fris. erdbei, OE. erðberge (f.), Dan. jordber, Swed. jordber, Icelandic jardarber, strawberry.

13. OLG. erdburg (f.), OE. eordburh, ON. jorðborh, earthworks.

14. OLG. erdhús (n.), OLG. erthhús, MDu. erdhús, OE. eordhús, ON. jordhús, cave, underground house. Artificial caves were used in Primitive Germanic times as storehouses and spinning rooms. See Tacitus, Germania 16: solent et subterraneos specus aperire eosque mosul insuper fimo onerant, suffugium hiemine et receptaculum frugibus, and Pliny 19, 9: in Germania autem defossae atque sub terra id opus (spinning) agunt.

15. OLG. erdnus, MDu. erdnote, OE. eordnutu, Dan. jordnød, Swed. jordnöj (f.), earth-nut.

16. OLG. fedarhama (m.), OE. fæðerhama, ON. (Edda) fjæðrhamr, wings, plumage.

17. ON. fjæðaskapr (m.), OLG. fiantscað (f. and m.), OLG. fiundskepi (m.), OFr. janskip (m.), MDu. viantschap (f.), OE. fæðasceipe (m.), enmity. The age of this and other compounds with the same second part is difficult to determine, as the formation is not found in Gothic. It is to be assumed that it developed in Germanic after the departure of the Goths from the Baltic area. As this particular compound is found in early texts and is widespread, it is possible that it already existed in Primitive Germanic.

18. ON. firinweorc (Edda), (n.), OLG. firinweorc, OE. firinwerc, evil deed. The compound is only found in poetry and in ON., only once in the Edda (HH I, 43, 5).

19. ON. folcwig (m.), OLG. folcwig, MDu. volcwich, OE. volcum, OFris. folcum, warfare. The compound is not recorded in OE., but is to be assumed from folcwiga, warrior.

20. OLG. föstarmuðr (f.), OLG. föstarmuðr, MDu. voestermoeder, OE. föstermuðor, fostermother. This compound, which was apparently a Primitive Germanic formation, is the earliest and most widespread of the formations with föstir in the first part. The formation dies down in the German area, surviving only
in Du., Engl., and Norse. It was evidently extinct in OHG., for the two examples in *Ahd. Gl. I*, 318, 44 ; IV, 206, 16 are from LG. glosses. The formation is not found in MLG., but three other compounds are recorded from MDu. *voesterdochter*, -*sone*, -*kint*. For other parallels see the English-Norse section.

21. OHG. *ganhashruh* (m.), OE. *gōshafuc*, ON. *gåshaufur*, go-shawk. This compound is a Primitive German one, and is a dying formation in OHG., where it is found only once in the Lex. Baiuu.

22. OHG. *gotewebbi* (n.), OLG. *godowebbi* (n.), OE. *godweb*, OFris. *godweb* (n.), ON. *godwefr* (m.), precious stuff. The compound, which is a Primitive Germanic one, was borrowed into OSlav. godowabili. The original meaning of the term was ‘material woven by a god’ (see Greek θεό-υφαρσός).

23. OHG. *gundfano* (m.), OLG. *güdfano*, OE. *gūdfana*, ON. gunnfani, war-banner.

24. OHG. *Hadduleth* (nom. prop.), OE. *headulac* (n.), battle-play, battle, Runic (Kjølevig Inscription, 6th cent.) *hadulaika*.R.

25. OHG. *hagastalt* (m.), OLG. *hagustald*, OE. hagostaeld, ON. hogsstæld, Runic *hagustaldar*, unmarried man. This compound, which meant originally ‘possessor of a small piece of land,’ was a Primitive Germanic legal term which survives in the German Hagestolz and Norwegian dialect word hagstall, bachelor, widower. In OE. and ON. the word also assumed secondarily the meaning ‘young warrior.’ In the two Runic inscriptions (Kjølevig and Valsfjord) in which it is recorded, it is apparently a proper noun. The OHG. compound was borrowed into French, where it appears with a characteristic degradation of meaning as hétaud, cuckold.

26. ON. *hagisteinn* (m.), MhG. *hagelstein*, MLG. *hagelstên*, MDu. hagelstén, OE. hagelsten, hailstone. This compound is not recorded until late in German but may nevertheless be an old one.


28. ON. *halsmen* (n.), OLG. *halsmeni* (n.), OE. *healsmene* (m.), necklace.

29. ON. *handbani* (m.), OLG. *handbano*, OE. *handbana*, slayer by hand (as opposed to rådbani, accessory to a murder).

30. ON. *handmegin* (n.), OLG. *handmagan*, OE. *handmagen*, bodily strength.

31. ON. *handxar* (n.), OE. *handseax*, OHG. *handsax*, short-sword. The OHG. compound, which is not extant, is deduced for Frankish by Gamillscheg from OFrench *hansart*.

32. OHG. *helôthelm* (m.), OLG. *helôthelm*, OE. *helodhelm*, ON. *hliðshjalmr*, a helmet making the wearer invisible. This compound, which contains as its first part OHG. *helið*, covering, was variously modified in the Germanic languages. The original HG. form is found only in R., 205, 8; already in Re., Jb II, 316, 31 it was modified to *helanthelm*, and in the Heli. to *helôðhelm* where the first part is associated with *helið*, hero. In this form the word was borrowed into the OE. Gen. B. as *hæleðhelm*.

33. OHG. *haselnuz* (f.), MLG. *hasselnotu* (f.), OE. *hasselhutu* (f.), Norw.-Dan. *hasselnd*, Swed. *hasselnöt*, hazelnut. According to Kluge-Goetze (under *Hasselnuss*) the hazel was the only nut known to the German and therefore the word *nuz* needed no further qualification. This seems to be extremely doubtful. The compound is found at an early date in OE. (Corpus Gl.), and it has already been shown (No. 15) that the compound *erdnuz*, etc., is common Germanic.

34. ON. *hásìn* (f.), OHG. *hāhsina*, MDu. *hæssene*, OFris. *hözene*, OE. *hōhsina*, hamstring. This compound, which is obscure in some of the languages, has as its first part the Primitive Germanic *hankh*, knee-joint.

35. ON. *herfolc* (n.), OFris. *hirfolc*, OE. *herfolc*, army.

36. ON. *hermaðr* (m.), OHG. *herman*, MDu. *herman*, OE. *heremannah*, soldier. This compound, which is an old one, soon becomes obsolete in the German area for it is only found in HG. in Pa, K.


38. Primitive Germanic *harja-walda*, leader of the army. This compound is known as a proper noun from the 1st century A.D. (Tacitus, *Germania*). As an appellative the compound became early extinct in Germanic, but was borrowed into Medieval Latin and the Romance languages where it appears as Latin heraldus, OFrench (12th cent.) *heraut*, Italian *araldo*. From French it was taken back again into English and German.

39. OE. *herwilf* (m.), warrior, OHG. *Herwilf* (nom. prop.), Runic (Istaby Stone, 7th cent.) *hariwilfsar* (nom. prop.).
40. OHG. hiniltungal (n.), OLG. hiniltungal, OE. heofontungol, ON. hinintunga, constellation. It is doubtful whether this is an original compound, but it is found remarkably early in OHG. (R, and Muspilli); in OE. it is a poetical compound occurring in Crist, Daniel, and later poems; in OLG. it is found only in the Hel., and in ON. in the Skaldic poetry.

41. ON. kinnebuf (n.), OHG. kinnnebuf, MLG. kinnebën, MDu. kinnebeen, OE. cinplan, jawbone.

42. ON. lededosa (f.), OHG. lederhosa, OE. lederhousu, leather gaiters. It is doubtful whether this compound is original or an independent and parallel formation.

43. OE. liferwyr (n.), OHG. lebarwurkruit, MLG. leuerwurt, Norw.-Dan. leverurt, Swed. lefarört, Icelandic, lifrarurt, hepatica, blue anemone. The plant was so called because it was used against liver disease.

44. ON. likami (m.), OHG. likhama, OLG. likhama, OE. lchama, OFris. likhama, body (lit. body-covering).

45. OHG. manganwurc (n.), OE. magenwoerc, ON. neginwerk, mighty deed.

46. ON. manknyn (n.), OHG. mankuni, OLG. mankuni, OE. mancynn, mankind. It has been suggested by Rankin 1 that this compound is a loan-translation of genus humanum, in which case it is not a Primitive Germanic formation. It should, however, be noted that it occurs in the earliest Germanic poetry (Edda, Beowulf), and that in German the formations with -kuni seem to be dying formations rather than new ones.

OE. medowyrt (f.), OHG. metewyrz, MLG. medewurt, Dan.-Norv. mjodurt, Swed. mjödört, Icel. mjödurt, meadow-sweet. The plant was so called because it was used as an ingredient of mead. The association in English with 'meadow' is secondary.

47. ON. meineidr (m.), OHG. meernd, OLG. mënëd, MDu. meerneet, OFris. mëneth, OE. mânad, false oath, perjury.

48. OHG. meremenni (n.), OLG. merininna (f.), MDu. mereninne (f.), OE. merenni, ON. marnenn (m.), merman, mermaid. The second part of this compound contains in OHG. and OE. a neuter -ja derivative from mann in its primary meaning 'home.' In LG. the second part was associated with minna (love) and the gender changed to fem. This form appears later in MHG. merrmine and as a borrowing from LG. in OSwed. marminna, Dan. mareninde. In ON. marnennill and OE. meremennu the compound appears with an additional suffix.

50. OHG. mereswin (n.), OLG. meriscin, MDu. meerewijn, OE. mereswin, ON. maresvin, porpoise. Compare also Italian porco marino, Lat. maris sus, porcus marinus. There seems to be no reason to believe with Noreen that the ON. compound is a borrowing from MLG. 1

51. ON. morgungaf (f.), OHG. morgangeba, MLG. morgengave Langob. morgingab, OE. morgengifu, gift by a husband to his wife on the morning after the marriage.

52. ON. mordwerk (n.), OLG. mordwerk, OE. mordweorc, murderous deed.

53. ON. mòdsesi (m.), OLG. módsēba, OE. módsefa, mind; an old poetical compound which is not extant in HG.

54. OHG. müspilli (n.), OLG. midspelli, ON. Múspell, destruction of the world. On the interpretation of this compound, which may be a term from Germanic mythology, see Braune, Althochdeutsches Lesebuch, 9th ed., p. 200.

55. OHG. nabagér (m.), OLG. nabugèr, MDu. náveger, OE. nafigàr, ON. nafarr, auger (lit. nave borer). This compound is one of the few that are attested for Primitive Germanic by the Finnish borrowing napakaira.

56. OHG. quirinsten (m.), OLG. quirinsten, MDu. quernstén, OE. ceornstán, ON. kvernstinn, millstone.

57. ON. regnbogi (m.), OHG. reganbogo, MLG. and MDu. regenboge, OFris. reiboge, OE. regnboge, rainbow.

58. OHG. reganwurm (m.), OLG. reganwurm, MDu. regenworm, OE. regnewyrm, Dan. and Swed. regnworm, earthworm.

59. ON. rúnastafir (m.), OHG. rūnstab, OE. rūnstaef, magic stave, Runic letter. It has been suggested above (Chap. I, section 3) that the word bōstef was coined in OE. after the word bōc had assumed the meaning 'book' to distinguish the new Latin letters from the Runic. It does not follow from this that the compound rūnastaf was also a late formation. In fact it was in existence before the Germani adopted the Runic alphabet, and denoted the stave of wood on which certain magic symbols were scratched and interpreted by the priest (see Tacitus, Germania, 10). The compound is found only

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once in OHG. in the Benedictine Rule where it translates eulogiae.

60. ON. sñjaldborg (f.), OHG. scildburg, OE. scildburh, wall of shields, testudo.
61. OHG. stegereif (m.), MLG. stegereif (m.), MDu. stegereep (m.), OE. stigræp (m.), ON. stigreip (n.), stirrup. According to Kluge-Goetz (under Stiegereif) this is not a Germanic compound as the Germanic term would have been a root word, not a compound. There seems to be no justification for this remark, as a number of Germanic names of instruments were formed by compounds (e.g. OHG. nãbagãr, etc.), and if the compound is not original the remarkable coincidence between the Germanic languages would have to be explained by borrowing, for which there is no evidence. The stirrup appears to have been an invention of the Celts, and from them to have passed in Primitive Germanic times to the Germani.
62. OHG. stioffater (m.), OLG. stëffader, MDu. stiefvader, OFris. stïjfâder, OE. stëofadær, stepfather.
63. OHG. stiofmuotar (f.), OLG. stëfmôder, MDu. stiefmôder, OFris. stïfemôder, OE. stëofmôder, stepmother.
64. OHG. stiofsun (m.) OLG. siëfsun, MDu. stiefson, OFris. stïfssonu, ON. stïfpsunr, OE. stëopson, stepson.
65. OHG. stioflhohter, OLG. stiofdohtor, MDu. stiefdochter, OFris. stï pdohter, OE. stëopdohtor, stepdaughter. It is difficult to tell whether these formations were Primitive Germanic, or whether they were made independently in the various languages, for they are to be found in the earliest texts. Certainly the original terms were simple words, not compounds (see ON. stjôpr, stepson). The formation may have started from stjôpsunr as an explanatory compound and the others formed analogically.
66. ON. sverðfettill (m.), OHG. swertfezzil, OE. sweordfeted, sword-belt.
67. OHG. tagawerk (n.), OLG. dagwerk, MDu. dachwerk, OFris. datwerk, OE. dagwærce, ON. dag(s)verk, day's work.
68. ON. tordýf fall (m.), MLG. tortweel, OE. torment, dung-beetle.
69. OHG. turustudill (n.), OE. durystoll (n.), durystol (f.), ON. durastod (f.), doorpost.
70. ON. ðingstâdr (m.), OE. dingingde (m.), OHG. dingstat (f.), OLG. thingstedeg (f.), MDu. dincsstat (f.), meeting-place, judgment place.

71. ON. þjôðkonungur (m.), OLG. thiodkuning, OE. ðêodcyning, monarch. The compound appears to be an old Germanic poetic compound, and not a rendering of rex gentium, for it is used of Christ only once in OE. (Soul, 12), and in the OS. Hel.
72. ON. warþr (n.), OLG. warþr (n.), OE. warþr (f.), gallows.
73. ON. vûringi (m.), OE. wôræng, Langobardian, wargengus, stranger (lit. one who goes under the protection of another).
74. ON. vegnest (n.), OHG. weganest, OE. wegheast, food for a journey.
75. ON. verþjôd (f.), OHG. weroðeoda, OE. werðoð, nation, army. Evidently an old poetical compound which survives in OHG. in Isidor's werðeðeogat and in the related Monsee-Vienna Fragments werodotruitin.
76. ON. wederdag (m.), MHG. wetertac, MLG. wederdage, OE. wederdæg, fine day.
77. ON. winesisca (f.), OLG. winisca (f.), OE. winescepe (m.), friendship.
78. ON. widbeinn (n.), MLG. wedebên, OE. widobân, OFris. widubên, collarbone. The first part of this compound is the ON. vid, wreath.
79. ON. vidvindill (m.), woodbine, OLG. witewinda (f.), convol- vulus, woodbine, MLG. wedewinde (f.), ivy, woodbine, convol-vulus, OE. widowinhe (f.), convolvulus, woodbine. This compound, which has as its first part ON. vid, wreath, rope, has been confused with another, OE. wudubinhe, woodbine, Dan. vedbendë, ivy, Norw. dialect vidbend. Whether this represents a modification of the original compound through association with OE. wudu and bindan, or whether it is an independent formation is not clear. Certainly considerable changes of meaning have taken place for whilst the ON. compound meant 'woodbine' the Mod. Icelandic vidvindill denotes 'ivy.'
80. OHG. wollecamp (m.), OE. wullcamb, ON. ullkambur, comb for wool.
81. OHG. wuntarsun (f.), OE. wundorsën, ON. undsjonir (f. pl.), wonderful sight.

(d) Norse—English

The compounds in this group are mostly old poetical formations which may once have been current in the other Germanic
Nominal Compounds in Germanic

dialects. Others may have been restricted to a small area in Germanic, as in their original home in the Danish peninsula the Anglo-Saxon tribes lived in close proximity to the Norse. Owing to the facility with which the poets of the alliterative verse coined compounds it is possible that some of the following parallels are independent formations in each language, but it is scarcely possible in the majority of cases to distinguish between them and the original Germanic compounds.

1. ON. brímlíð (f.), OE. brímlâd, sea: an old poetical compound found in the Skaldic poetry and in OE. in B. and Seaf.

2. ON. bróðurbani (m.), OE. bróðorbana, fratricide (person). The Norse compound occurs in the Edda, the OE. only in Gen. 1526.

3. Norw. and Dan. doglæm, ME. dewlappe, dewlap. The first part of this prosaic compound is obscure and is possibly only secondarily connected with déw as the Norw. and Dan. for déw is déug, not dog (see Falk-Torp under doglæm and OED. under dewlap).

4. ON. fekkstafr (m. pl.), OE. féccenstafr (m.), treachery, deceit; an old poetical compound found in the Edda and the Skaldic verse and in OE. only in B. 1018.

5. ON. fjörðig (n.), OE. fæorhlegu (f.), death, murder; on the form of the OE. compound, see aldrlag (c. 1): also not found outside the poetry in ON. and OE.

6. ON. foldræg (m.), OE. foldweg, the Earth: both compounds are found only in poetry, the ON. one only in the Edda.

7. ON. fóstbröðir (m.), OE. fóstbróðor, fosterbrother.

8. ON. fóstfarðir (m.), OE. fóstorfæder, fosterfather.

9. ON. fóstsysfír (f.), OE. fóstorswæostor, foster-sister. On Nos. 7-8 see fóstrmóðir, c. (20).

10. ON. galgatr (n.), OE. gealgtraw, gallows.

11. ON. giðstóll (m.), OE. giðstöl, gift-seat: a poetical compound for a throne.

12. ON. guðhjalt (n.), golden hilt. A similar compound noun is to be presumed for OF. from the adj. goldhilled (Riddles).

13. ON. gummbord (n.), OE. gumhord, war-shield: both recorded only in poetry.

14. ON. húfudwér (m.), body-guard, OE. hæofudweard, watch over the head (Beowulf), bodyguard (LL).

15. ON. jordwegr (m.), OE. eordwég, the earth (see foldwegr).

16. ON. kong sucófa (m.), OE. gangewæfre, gangewæfre (f.), spider. The interpretation of this difficult compound is given by Falk-Torp under Kongelov. Judging from the Icelandic kongula, Norw. kongle, the first part is a derivative from a Primitive Germanic word meaning ‘web’ which is known from the Finnish borrowing kängas. As the second part also means ‘weaver’ the compound is tautological. In OE. the first part has been associated with gang and gangel, and the second part with wæfre (unsteady, flickering), and in OE. the two parts have been transposed to wæfergange. It has been suggested by Cortelyou¹ that the OE. compound may be borrowed from ON., but there seems to be no particular reason why this word should be borrowed. It is, however, peculiar that OE. and Danish coincide in another term for ‘spider,’ namely OE. ættercorpæ, Dan. ædderkop, which is borrowed from OE. (see Chap. I, section 5).

17. ON. markland (n.), forest land, OE. meardeland, borderland.

18. ON. mistileinn (n.), OE. mistiléan, mistletoe.

19. ON. mjóðbrunn (n.), OE. meduærn, banqueting hall: both compounds are found only in poetry.

20. ON. moldvégr (m.), OE. moldweg, earth: also a poetical compound (see foldwehr, jordwehr).

21. ON. ðetalorfa (f.), inherited land, OE. ðelturf, fatherland: both poetical compounds.

22. ON. rúðbani (m.), OE. rúðbana, accessory to a murder; see handbani, c. 29.

23. ON. sákonuungr (m.), OE. sæcyning, sea-king: both poetical.

24. ON. sjódýr (n.), OE. sæðér, sea-monster.

25. ON. sjódwegr (m.), OE. sæweg, sea-track.

26. ON. spårhaukr (m.), OE. spærhafoc, sparrow-hawk; possibly an old compound replaced in OHG. by sparrwari.

27. ON. steinbogi (m.), OE. stánboga, natural stone-arch.

28. ON. wælfal (m.), OE. wælfeal, fall of the slain, slaughter.

29. ON. wældreyri (m.), OE. wæledræor (n.), blood of the slain.

30. ON. wælkyrija (f.), OE. wælcyrice, valkyrie (lit. chooser of the slain).

31. ON. ælbekk (m.), OE. ealubenc (f.), ale-bench.

(c) Norse—German

The majority of the parallels in this group are clearly late formations made independently in each language. Only in a

few cases is it possible that the compounds are Primitive Germanic formations which have been lost in OE.

1. ON. halsslag (n.), OHG. and OLG. halsslag (m.), MDu. halsslach, blow on the neck. The OFris. halsslék is a different formation with the same meaning, and the compound is not recorded in OE. It is doubtful whether the compound is a Primitive Germanic formation (see Neckel, PBB. 41, 405).

2. ON. herad (n.), district, OHG. heriraita (f.), band of soldiers. The parallel is a doubtful one. The OHG. compound is found only in the Lex. Riburiaria and Lex. Baiu. The second part of the compound is usually interpreted as a collective meaning 'equipment' (see the adj. MLG. rëde, OE. rëde, G. bereit), but Falk-Torp (under herred) regards the ON. compound as a shortening from her-rëd, bringing the second part together with rëd (advice, rule).\(^1\)

3. ON. himinwanger (m.), OLG. heganwang, fields of heaven, heaven. The ON. compound is found in the Edda and the OLG. one in the Hel. It is doubtful whether the compound is an old one or a Christian formation, but the occurrence in the Edda makes the former possible.

4. Norwegian dialect veleik, OHG. wetarlech, MHG. weterleicht, MDu. wederleijc, flash of lightning. The compound is not to be equated with the ON. veðreikr, weather condition, which has the suffix -leikr (OE. -læc) as its second part (see Falk-Torp under seirlig and Kluge-Goetze under Wetterleuchten), although the ON. and German compounds are etymologically identical.

(f) Norse—Old Frisian

There are no original compounds in this group.

(ii) Adjective + Substantive

(a) Gothic—Norse—West Germanic

1. Gothic alamanams (m. pl.), OHG. Alamanni (nom. prop.), MLG. alman, MDu. alman, ON. almann (only in the gen. pl.), all men, mankind. The compound, which is an old one, is first recorded as a proper noun from the 3rd century A.D.

\(^1\) A Germanic *harja-raida* is assumed by Kock, Archiv, 21, 338 ff.; 22, 272 ff.; and Kaufmann, Deutsche Allertumschunde, 2, 254. Brate connects the ON. herad with the German Heirat (Archiv, 9, 130 ff. and 22, 206 ff.).

2. Gothic allwaldands (m.), OHG. alevalto, alawaltenti, OLG. alevald, alawaldand, OE. ealwealda, ealwealdend, ON. allvaldr, allvaldandi, the Almighty, ruler, king. There is some doubt whether this compound is a Primitive Germanic formation, or whether it is a coining in Norse and West Germanic from omnipotens, and in Gothic from παντοκράτωρ. In the OE. and OS. poetry, and in the OE. and OHG. prose both forms of the compound (ealwealda, ealwealdend, etc.) are used only of God or Christ, especially in the phrase fader ealwealda, which is clearly a loan-translation from Latin pater omnipotens. There are, however, indications that the compound is pre-Christian. In the Edda and Skaldic verse allvaldr is used of an earthly ruler, whilst allvaldendi is the purely Christian term. It seems, therefore, likely that allvaldr was the original Primitive Germanic term which was modified to allvaldandi, etc., under the influence of omnipotens. This view is supported by the use of the terms in West Germanic. In the OHG. Tatian alvalto is used of the Roman Emperor Augustus (T. 5, 11). Elsewhere in OHG. the compound is found in this form in Notker's Psalms 446, 25 und sasta in ... se aleuvalten sinero sachon where, of course, it is not a Christian term. Moreover, in OE. ealwealda is found only in poetry, whilst ealwealdend is both a prose and poetical compound.

3. Gothic mid jungards (m.), OE. middangeard, ON. midgard, OHG. mittingard (Is), mittigart, mittigari, OLG. middigard, the earth. This is an old mythological term which has been variously modified in Norse and German. The original form is seen from the Gothic and OE. compounds in which the first part is the adj. *midjuma*- (middle).

4. Gothic silbauwilis (adj.), OHG. selbwillo (m.), MLG. sulfville, OE. selfwil (n.), ON. sjalfvili (m.), freewill. At first sight the Gothic compound appears to be a calque from αὐθαίρετος, but this explanation is hardly possible for the West Germanic compounds which appear in OE. and OHG. in the early 9th century. Such early German glossings as Rb I, 411, 40 uirum ulstro rapientes, pi selbwillin nemantii and Re, Jb II, 317, 30 spone, selpuvillin do not look like loan-translations from Latin. The derivative adj. appears in different forms in Germanic, Gothic silbawilos, OE. selfwille, selfwilend, OHG. selbwilich (Ngl.), ON. sjalfviljagr, sjalfviljandi.
Nominal Compounds in Germanic

(b) Gothic—West Germanic

No parallels which are original formations.

(c) Norse and more than one West Germanic Language

1. ON. árdagar (m. pl.), OLG. érdagos, MHG. értlic, OE. árdagas, days of yore.
2. ON. einđagi (m.), OLG. éndago, OE. ándaga, fixed day.
3. ON. einwígi (m.), OHG. einwígi, OE. ânwíg, single combat, duel.
4. ON. náwist (f.), OHG. nálwist, OE. nǽwist, nearness, presence.
5. ON. punwangi (n.), OHG. tunwangi, OLG. thumwendi, MLG. dünninge, OE. ðunwæg(e), temple of the head. Although in the above forms the first part of the compound is clearly the adj. 'thin,' it is doubtful whether the formation is original as no other parts of the body were named in Primitive Germanic by compounds of adjective and noun. The OLG. variant thinung and the compound OHG. tinnabacho (temple) suggest that the first part of the compound was originally OHG. tina, forehead, temple (see Falk-Torp under tiinning).
6. ON. wisðóm (m.), OHG. wiswound (m. and n.), OLG. wisdóm (m.), OFris. wisdóm (m.), OE. wisdóm, knowledge, wisdom.

(d) Norse—English

1. ON. hásalir (m. pl.), OE. hēalselic (m.) high hall: a poetical compound found in OE. only in Beowulf 647.
2. ON. hástdr (m.), OE. hēadhstede, high place: also in OE. only in Beowulf 285.
3. ON. jormungrund (f.), OE. eormengrund (m.), the earth. The OE. compound is found only in Beowulf 859. The parallel is not an exact one as the second part of the Norse compound is a fem. meaning 'plain, field.' Probably the Norse compound represents the original form, and in OE. the second part has been associated with grund, ground, bottom.
4. ON. fornmaðr (m.), OE. fyrmann, man of olden times: in OE. only in Beowulf 2761.
5. ON. missari (n.), OE. misere, half-year. In OE. the compound, which is obscured from *mis-jari and means literally 'changing year,' is found only in poetry.

The Primitive Germanic Compounds

(e) Norse—German

There is one compound in this group which may possibly be a Primitive Germanic formation:

1. ON. alþjóð (f.), OLG. alathioda, allmen, mankind: possibly an old variant of Alamanni.

(f) Norse—Frisian

None.

(iii) Verb + Substantive

This type did not exist in Primitive Germanic.

(iv) Substantive + Adjective

(a) Gothic—Norse—West Germanic

1. Gothic faþügarms, OE. feohgeorn, ON. fægjar, covetous; the formation is not found in German, but see OLG. feugiri.
2. Gothic lustsama, OE. lústumic, OHG. lüstam, OLG. lüstam, ON. lystisamigr, desirable, pleasant. This is the only example in Gothic of a formation with -sama and apparently the starting-point of the whole group in the Germanic languages. The ON. lystisamigr has been influenced in the form of the first part by the verb lysta.

(b) Gothic—West Germanic

1. Gothic hweiluk-warðs, OHG. wilwarbig, wilwerbig, transitory. The formation is found in German in the earliest glosses (K, Ra); the Ablaut in the second part of the German compound suggests that the formation is an old one and not, as has been claimed, a borrowing from Gothic.

(c) Norse—more than one West Germanic Language

Most of the formations in this group contain in the second part of the compound words which have become suffixes, e.g. -lös -sam. As in such cases it is not possible to make a clear distinction between the original formations and the analogues, all those parallels which are not recorded until a late period in Germanic and all those which do not coincide exactly in form and meaning are excluded from the following list:
1. ON. barnlauss, OE. bearplæas, OFris. bernlæs, childless: the formation is not found in German where it has been replaced by kindlos.

2. ON. grasgronn, OHG. grasegrunni, MDu. grasgroene, OE. gærsgrene, green as grass. The formation is a fairly old one as it is found in the Epinal Glossary, but it is doubtful whether it can be claimed as Primitive German.

3. ON. handfylk, OHG. handfol, OLG. handfæl, MDu. hantool, OE. handfæl, handful: mostly as a substantivized adjective in the Germanic languages.

4. ON. heilyndi, OHG. heilant, OE. hælwende, bringing health, salutary. The second part of this compound contains a verbal adjective *wandi* meaning 'conducive to, serving, consisting of,' which was added in Germanic to abstract nouns and adjectives. The OHG. adj. is found only in K and as a derivative heilantih, salubris in K, Ra, R, 244, 12, where it is clearly an archaic formation. The ON. heilyndi is an abstract noun derived from the Primitive Germanic adjective.1

5. ON. jarofastr, OE. eordefæt, OFris. erthefet, MLG. and MDu. erdofast, German (17th cent.) erdofast, fixed in the ground.

6. ON. lofsgarn, OE. lofgeorn, OHG. lobogerni, eager for praise. The OHG. compound is an abstract noun derived from lobogern and is not found until the glosses to Notker’s Psalms where it translates jacantia.

7. ON. losfæl, OLG. losfælæ, MHG. losesafe, praiseworthy.

8. ON. mattlauss, OLG. metilæ, (fem. abstract), OE. metelæs, without food.

9. ON. meinfull, OHG. meinfol, OLG. mënful, OE. mënful, wicked, deceitful (see p. 15).

10. ON. sigslauss, OHG. sigelös, OE. sigelæs, without victory.

11. ON. skammlauss, OHG. schamalös, MLG. schamelös, OE. scamleas, shameless.

12. ON. snæhwitr, MHG. snæwiz, MLG. snæwit, MDu. sneewit, Fris. sneweet, OE. snæwuit, snowwhite.

13. ON. sorgfull, OHG. sorgfol, OE. sorhfull, full of care, solicitous. The compound is probably an old one, as the OHG. sorgfol is found only in the Tatian and is there a dying formation replaced in OHG. by sorgsam (see p. 16).


(d) Norse—English

Amongst the Norse-English parallels there are a number of compounds with ON. *lauss*, OE. *læs* in the second part which are not recorded in the other Germanic languages. These are probably independent formations, and they are accordingly omitted from the following list, although it is possible that one or two of these may have been Primitive Germanic formations which have died down in the other Germanic languages.

1. ON. fjórspjárkr, OE. feornseoc, mortally wounded. The OE. compound is found only in Beowulf 820 and the ON. one only in the Edda.

2. ON. gollbjart (Edda), OE. goldbeoht (Ruin 34), bright with gold.

3. ON. gollhroðiunn (Edda), OE. goldhroden (B. Wid.), ornamented with gold.

4. ON. gumnhvat (Edda), OE. güðhvat (Ap. 57), fierce in battle.

5. ON. hrimkaldr (Edda), OE. hrimceald (Wanderer 4), icy cold.

6. ON. kynborinn, OE. cyneboren, of royal birth; see OLG. kuniburd.

7. ON. limheill, OE. limhöl (Gu. 661), sound of limb.

8. ON. rådsmotr (Edda), OE. rådsmutter (An. 473), clever with advice.

9. ON. sverðberendi, OE. sveordberende (Gen. 1060), sword-bearing; probably an old compound; see sveordbera.

10. ON. vegfarendi, OE. wegfarende, wayfaring: probably an old compound; see OHG. (only in Tatian) wegsafar, MDu. wegvært.

11. ON. vígharðr (Skaldic), OE. wighyard (Maldon 75), brave in battle.
(e) Norse—German

There is only one compound in this group which may be original:

1. ON. oddlavæs, OHG. orthwas, sharp-pointed. The OHG. compound is found only in the earliest glosses Pa, K, R, Ra.

(f) Norse—Frisian

There are no original formations in this group.

(v) Adjective + Adjective

(a) Gothic—Norse—West Germanic

1. Gothic allawærei, ON. olvær, friendly, OHG. alawāri, kind, quite true, MLG. alwár, foolish, MDu. aetvarich, foolish, stupid. The Gothic compound is an abstract noun derived from the adj. allawērs (honest). On the development of meaning from 'kind' to 'foolish' in German and Dutch see Kluge-Goetze under albern.

(b) Gothic—West Germanic

There are no parallels in this group.

(c) Norse and more than one West Germanic language

1. ON. alhwitr, OLG. alahwēt, OE. eallhwēt, all white.
2. ON. armaskaþr, OLG. armaskapan, OE. armseceapan, wretched. In ON. where the verb skapa became weak the second part of the compound was modified after the weak past participle.
3. ON. einhlevpr, MLG. énlœpe, MDu. eenlope, OE. énlœpe, unmarried.
4. ON. leidin∂ar, OHG. leitwintig, OE. lādwende, hateful; or the formation of this compound see heilynét (p. 60).
5. ON. sjaldsémi, *sjaldsýmn, OHG. seltsáni, MDu. seltsiën, OE. selsténe, rare. The ON. form sjaldsýmn is not extant, but is deduced from the Swed. sälssynt, Norw. dialect sjeldsýnt. The compound is clearly an old one, as the second part contains different Ablaut grades. The OHG. -sáni goes back to a Primitive Germanic *sāwmi, the OE. -siēne and the ON. -sýmn to a Primitive Germanic *segwēni. In German the compound survives until the MHG. period, when it is modified to setztam (see Kluge-Goetze under setztam and Falk-Torp under setsom).

(d) Norse—English

1. ON. allbjætr, OE. eallbeorht, very bright.
2. ON. allkaldr, OE. ealcileald, very cold.
3. ON. fasthaldr, OE. fasthealh, holding fast.
4. ON. hardynði, severity, OE. heardscende, severe.
5. ON. vidku∂r, OE. widcu∂, widely known.

(e) Norse—German

1. ON. ērawakr, OHG. ērachar, early awake. In OE. the original compound has been modified to ērawacol.
2. ON. einhardr, OHG. einharti, OLG. ēnhard. The ON. and OHG. compounds have the meaning 'courageous, constant.' In the Hel. ēnhard is used in a bad sense 'hostile, evil.' The formation, which is in all probability a Primitive Germanic one, is not recorded from OE.

(f) Norse—Frisian

There are no original parallels in this group.

(vi) Verb + Adjective

This type did not exist in Primitive Germanic.

C. Exocentrics

(i) Imperative Compounds (Type: Taugenichts)

This type did not exist in Primitive Germanic. On similar formations in other Indo-Germanic languages see Hirt, Indo-germanische Grammatik, IV, § 16.

(ii) Bahuvrīhis

(ax) Substantive Bahuvrīhis (Type: Dummkopf)

There are no early parallels amongst the Germanic substantive Bahuvrīhis. On the possibility of the type existing in Primitive Germanic see Part II, Chap. I.
THE PRIMITIVE GERMANIC COMPOUNDS

this formation is a Primitive Germanic one which assumed secondarily under the influence of the Latin simplex the meaning 'simple.'

5. ON. einfôdr, OHG. eifnozi, OE. ānfête, one-footed: see OFris. fiarfête.
6. ON. einhenôr, OHG. einhentô, OE. ānhende, one-handed.
7. ON. einmêtr, MHG. einmelte, OE. ānhête, one night old.
8. ON. ferskevtr, OHG. ferscôzi, OE. féowercscîte, four-cornered.
9. Gothic twaelwîntûs, twelve years old, OE. ānwîntre, twelfwîntre, MLG., OFris. ēnter, OFris. twelfwîntre. This formation, which is clearly a Primitive Germanic one, is not recorded in OHG. or ON.

Other Adjective Bahuurhiis

To the Bahuurhiis belonged originally the formations with the suffix Gothic -leiks, etc., which was formerly a noun meaning 'body, shape.' It is clear that whilst this word had its full meaning it could only be compounded with adjectives or personal nouns, and in fact no other formations are found in Gothic. When, however, it developed into a suffix it was further added to abstracts (see OE. hêtelîc and to non-personal concrete nouns (see OE. séclîc). Of these two types the latter is a late development and was never very productive in the Germanic languages. In OHG. it is found only in glosses and texts in which the influence of Latin word-formation is considerable. Even in Gothic there are indications that -leiks was no longer felt as a full word and had already developed into a suffix. Although such formations as wairaleikô may go back to a Bahuurhiis meaning 'having a man's shape,' the meaning is already transferred in the Gothic Bible to the abstract sense 'viriliter' and the original significance of -leiks is already abandoned. Since then -leiks is already a suffix in the earliest texts of Germanic and the formations with it cannot any longer be considered Bahuurhiis compounds, they are not included in the following lists.

(a) Gothic—Norse—West Germanic

1. Gothic freihals (m.), freedom, ON. frjâls, free, OE. frêols, free, OHG. frîhals (m.), free man, OFris. frîhals (m.), freedom, Langob. frealis, free. The formation is originally a Bahuurhiis compound meaning 'having a free neck' which has been
substantived in Gothic, OHG., and OFris., and in the OE. 
frōds, freedom, peace, festival.
2. Gothic managfalþs, ON. margfǎlr, OHG. managfallt, OLG. 
managfalt, OFris. manichfalþ, MDu. menichwout, OE. manig-
falþ, manifold, varied. Although the ON. form is etymologically different from that of the other Germanic languages, the compound appears to be Primitive Germanic. It is 
possible that the ON. margfālþr is a later modification of an 
original *manegfalþ.

(b) Gothic—West Germanic
1. Gothic prūsfīls, leprous, prūsfīll, leprosy, OE. drūstfēll, 
leprosy. The formation is a Bahuvrihi compound meaning 
literally ‘having a swollen skin’ (see OE. drūtan, ON. 
drūtnn), which has been substantived in both OE. and Gothic. 
The OE. drūst has arisen by metathesis from drūs which was 
apparently an -s stem in Primitive Germanic.

(c) Norse and more than one West Germanic Language
1. ON. berfōtr, MHG. barvoz, MLG. barvoet, MDu. barvoet, 
OFRis. berfōt, OE. barfōt, barefooted.
2. ON. harðmōdr, OHG. hartmuot, OLG. hardmōd, OE. 
hardmōd, brave.
3. ON. langlīfr, OHG. langlibi, MDu. and OFris. langlivich, OE. 
langlıfe, longlived.
4. ON. skarpegg, sharp-edged, OE. scarpegede, sharp-edged, 
MLG. scharpegde, a plant name, oxygonyum.
5. ON. sūðrēg, OHG. sūrógi, OLG. sūrōgi, OE. sūrēge, blear- 
eyed; also in West Fris. sūretēg with transferred meaning 
‘unsatisfied.’
6. ON. vanheil, OHG. vanheil(f), OE. wearhēal, wanhele, weak, 
il, maimed.
7. ON. vanvīla, OHG. wanwizzi, MLG. wanwittich, MDF. 
wanwittich, Fris. wanwittich, lacking in intelligence. The ME. 
waneville, which is recorded from 1400, is a borrowing from 
Norse, although as the compound is a Primitive Germanic one, 
it must also have existed in OE.

(d) Norse—English
1. ON. dyápūdigr (Edda), OE. dēophyðig, thoughtful, pensive. 
In both languages the original Bahuvrihi compound has been 
ex tended by an adj. suffix. For the unextended form see 
OE. stōhlyng (Jul.).
2. ON. fagroðr, OE. fægerwyrde, speaking fair words.
3. ON. fastůðigr, OE. fasthýðig, constant, steadfast.
4. ON. hardeggjaðr, OE. heardeg, sharp-edged.
5. ON. tūrgulryrá (Edda), OE. tūergylfěr (Gen. 2274), with 
tearful cheeks.
6. ON. vīðfādnr, OE. wīdfānme, extensive.

(e) Norse—German

(f) Norse—Frisian

There are no original parallels in these two groups.

THE EAST GERMANIC (Gothic—Norse) COMPOUNDS

The original parallels in this group go back to the period 
before the migration of the Goths from the Baltic area and fall 
therefore within the Primitive Germanic period. It is possible 
that they once existed in the West Germanic languages and 
have become obsolete there, or they may have been restricted 
to the Gothic-Norse area in Primitive Germanic.

1. Gothic fāhufriks, ON. fōfrekr, covetous : see also faihkugairns 
(p. 59).
2. Gothic fīggragulp, ON. fīnggul, finger-ring.
3. Gothic fullaweis, ON. fūllviss, very wise.
4. Gothic fōtubard (n.), ON. fōbord, footstool : probably the 
original Primitive Germanic term which was replaced in West 
Germanic by the borrowing from Latin scamellum.
5. Gothic manauli (n.), ON. mannall, human figure. The 
etymology of this compound, which is found only once in 
Gothic and Norse, is doubtful. On the various suggestions 
which have been made to explain the second part, see Feist 
under manauli. It is possible that the compound also exists 
in the MLG. manoleken (wax figure used for magical purposes), 
but the etymology of this word is doubtful.
6. Gothic seiniguairns, ON. singjarn, selfish, miserly. This 
compound is unique in the Germanic languages in that it 
contains as its first member the gen. sing. of a personal 
pronoun.
PRIMITIVE GERMANIC COMPOUNDS IN LATIN AND FINNISH

(i) Latin

Amongst the few Germanic words recorded by Latin writers there is one which appears to be a compound: carrago, barricade of waggons, recorded by Amm. 31, 7; Trebellius Gallien. 13 and Claud. 8. The word has been explained by Kluge, UG. § 9, as a shortening from carrobagio (lit. cart enclosure).

Kluge has also tried to explain the second part of the name of the goddess Vagda-versustis as a Germanic appellative meaning 'manly virtue' on the analogy of the OLG. gumkust, OE. gumcyst (see Kluge, UG. §§ 133 and 222). This is, however, very hazardous, and it is preferable to regard versustis with Schönbach as a derivative from the Germanic werk.

(ii) Finnish

The Germanic borrowings into Finnish have been investigated by T. E. Karsten, Germanisch-Finnische Lehrwoertstudien, Helsingfors, 1915. Omitting several doubtful formations, the following Finnish compounds have Primitive Germanic elements in both parts:

kansakunta, people, nation. The first part of this compound is the Gothic hansa, group, and the second the Primitive Germanic *hunda, hundred.
kihlakunta, district. Karsten connects kihla with the Primitive Germanic *gisla, hostage.
vallakunta, kingdom. The first member of the compound is clearly the Germanic *wald-, rule.
marhaminta, bridle for a horse. The first part is the common Germanic word for a horse (OHG. marh, OE. mearh), and the second is extant as a derivative in OHG. mindal, OE. midl.;
jukorengas, yoke ring.
malloranta, soft iron: for the first part see OHG. malz, weak, for the second see ON. raud.
napakaira, auger (for the parallels to this word in the Germanic languages see p. 51).

CHAPTER III
PARALLEL AND INDEPENDENT FORMATIONS IN THE GERMANIC LANGUAGES

In this chapter are included parallel compounds which were formed independently in each Germanic language and which do not go back to Primitive Germanic. They are divided into the same groups as the Primitive Germanic compounds in the previous chapter. The Norse compounds which are borrowed from the West Germanic languages are included in the West Germanic groups in Chapters III and IV.

A. DETERMINATIVES

(i) Substantive + Substantive

(a) Gothic—Norse—West Germanic

1. Gothic dauardurs (m.), ON. duraudr, OHG. turwurt, OLG. duruwarderi, OE. durward, janitor. The formation is not identical in the several languages, for the first part of the Gothic compound contains the neuter a stem dauar, whereas the West Germanic compounds have an old u stem in the first part.

2. Gothic gudhús (n.), ON. godahús, OHG. goteshús, MLG. and OFr. godeshús, church. The parallels are certainly not original, as the Germani did not worship their gods in temples. The compound arose in the Germanic languages as a loan-translation of domus dei. The OHG. compound, which is the earliest of the West Germanic group, is not recorded until the 12th century.

3. Gothic weinarbas (n.), ON. vínber, OHG. and OLG. winberi, OE. wínberge, grape.

4. Gothic weinagards (m.), ON. vingardr, OHG. wingarto, OLG. wingard(o), OE. wineard, vineyard.

Although the Latin vinum was borrowed into Germanic in the earliest period it is hardly likely that these compounds
were formed in Primitive Germanic. It is possible that they existed in West Germanic, in which case the Gothic formations are independent and the Norse ones borrowings from West Germanic.

(6) Gothic—West Germanic

1. Gothic aisasmith (m.), OHG. ērsmid, OE. ērsmid, bronze-smith. The names of the different kinds of smiths would hardly be differentiated in Germanic, and are probably independent formations in the several languages. The Gothic aisasmith was suggested by χαλκεύς, and the West Germanic forms by fæler aevarisus. The compound is not found in LG. or Norse, and is rare in OHG. and OE.

2. Gothic astigadur (f.), OE. estÆdcworn, millstone turned by an ass. The Gothic compound is a calque from μύλος ὄνκος.

3. Gothic aurtigards (m.), OE. ortgeard, garden, orchard. Despite Tacitus' express statement (Germania, 5, 1) that the Germani did not cultivate fruit trees, it has been shown that they had a rudimentary knowledge of the cultivation of the apple-tree. Nevertheless, on account of the probable etymology of this compound it is unlikely that it existed in Primitive Germanic times. The first part of the compound is a borrowing from the Latin hortus. Another etymology has been suggested by Falk-Torp (under urt) and following them by Feist. They regard the first part as a Germanic *urti which would stand in Ablaut to OE. wyrt, MLG. wurt, etc. In this case the Gothic compound would be similar to the OE. wyrtgeard, MLG. wortgarde, MHG. wurzgarde, Swed. örtagård, herb garden. This explanation appears, however, to be unlikely, as on the evidence of the OSlov. vrutagård, which is a borrowing from Gothic, the original Gothic form was aurtagards, the a having been changed to i by palatalisation from the following g. Moreover, Falk-Torp leave unexplained the sound change in OE. from *urti to ort, and the development of meaning from 'herb garden' to 'orchard.' It is therefore preferable to regard the Gothic and OE. forms as parallel and independent compounds. The formation is not found in German where the corresponding term is OHG. boungeardo.

4. Gothic siglās (n.), OE. sigelēa, reward of victory.

5. Gothic wineadrugljōta (m.), OHG. wîntrincho, drinker of wine. The two compounds have a different form in the second part.

(c) Norse and more than one West Germanic Language

1. ON. akvark (n.), German (15th cent.) Ackverk, MLG. akverswerk, OE. acerswaerf, field work: probably an independent formation.

2. ON. akmnadr (m.), OHG. akman, MLG. and MDu. acman, OE. ascman, farmer, ploughman. Most of the compounds with man as the second member are independent formations for in Primitive Germanic the nomina agentis were formed with a suffix.

3. ON. aptstjarna (m.), OHG. abantstero, OLg. âventsterro, MDu. aovstter, OE. æfenstorra, evening star: probably a loan-translation in each language of stella vesperitina. The ON. aptann cannot be derived from the same Primitive Germanic form as the West Germanic words.

4. OLg. æridöln (n.), OFris. arbeidislönn, ON. eirfislaun, reward for work.

5. ON. asknadr (m.), OLg. ashman, OFris. ascman, pirate. See also Med. Latin ascomann. It is sometimes asserted that the OE. ascman, which is found in Chron. 921, is a borrowing from ON., but the ON. askr is a rare word and denotes only a small ship, not a warship. In the German area the term ascus is found already in the Lex Salica and seems to be native to LG. On the basis of Adam v. Bremen's statement: 'pyratae genus illi Widringos appellant, nostri Ascomannis,' the compound would seem to be the LG. term for the Norse pirates and was possibly borrowed from LG. into OE. and ON.

6. ON. badhús (n.), OHG. badhús, OE. bædhús, bathing-place.

7. ON. bårðurson (m.), OHG. bruodesunc, OLg. båðersun, OFris. brôthersun, OE. bœðorsun, brother's son. This and other compound names of family relationships are late formations, the German compound not being recorded until the 12th century, and the Engl. one until Chron. 1067. The original term was either OE. nef or suhertga.

8. ON. dagstjarna (m.), OHG. tagesterno, OLg. dagsterre, MDu. dachsterre, OE. dagstone, morning star, Lucifer.

9. ON. fólhus (n.), stall, treasury, MLg. věhús, stall, OE. feohhús, treasury.
10. ON. fiskiver (n.), fishing-ground, MLG. vischwere (n.), weir for catching fish, OE. fisower (m.), weir for catching fish. The formations are not exactly parallel, as the Norse compound is formed with the fem. fiski, fishing.

11. ON. føtspor (n.), OHG. fuospor, MLG. vötspor, MDu. voetspor, OE. føtspor, footprint. The formation is a late one in all the Germanic languages, not being recorded from German until the 12th century and from OE. until about 1000. In Primitive Germanic the idea 'footprint' would be denoted by the second part of the compound alone.

12. ON. fóðurarf (m.), OHG. faierereb (n.), OFris. federewe (n.), patrimony: probably a loan-translation from pairitum. The Germanic term for the inheritance was the ON. ðal.

13. ON. garnwinda (f.), OHG. garnwinda, MLG. and MDu. garnwinde, Fris. jernwine, OE. gernwunde, reel. The original term was probably OHG. winita, MLG. winde, Dan. vinde.

14. OHG. gethríðr (m.), OE. gäðyhrde, Swed. getherde, Dan. gedehyrde, goatherd. The compound is a late formation in each language, recorded only once in OHG. and OE.

15. OLG. goldbloômo (m.), Mod. G. Goldblume (f.), MDu. gout-bloeme (f.), marigold, Swed. guldbloem, Dan. guldbloeme, chrysanthemum. Apparently an independent formation in German and Norse. The OE. goldblóma, golden mass, is not a flower name.

16. ON. gulsmidr (m.), OHG. goldsmid, MLG. goldsmid, MDu. gostsmid, OFris. goldsmith, OE. goldsmid, goldsmith: see Gothic aizasmipa above.

17. ON. halsfang (n.), embrace, OE. healsfang, legal payment (part of the wergild), OFris. halsfang, rape.

18. ON. handwerk (n.), OHG. hantwerk, OLG. handwerk, OE. handweorc, handiwork. The compound is used in the early Germanic languages mostly as a religious term translating opera manuum. With the meaning 'trade' the ODan. handwerk is borrowed from MLG.

19. ON. haustamnundr (m.), OHG. herbstmândod, MLG. hervest-mân, MDu. herfstmaent, Fris. hjertsmoon, OE. harfeastmiond, harvest month, September.

20. ON. heitivágr (m.), MHG. heilwâc, ME. hælewi, health bringing water. The coincidence between the Germanic languages is curious, but the compound can scarcely be an original one, as it is not recorded until very late and the formations are not exactly parallel. The ON. compound appears to contain a verbal stem in the first part, whereas the composition vowel in the ME. halewi suggests that it is derived from the OE. *hâligwâg.

21. ON. heitindomr (m.), OHG. heidantum, MLG. and MDu. heidendom, OE. hændom, heathendom.

22. ON. hórfôr (m.), OHG. hasafuo, MLG. hasewôl, Engl. (16th cent.) hare's foot, a herb, trefoil: a loan-translation of leporis pecs, possibly borrowed from German into Norse and English. The corresponding OE. term was hæreft.

23. ON. herganga (f.), march, OE. herengang (m.), invasion, OFris. herengang (m.), invasion. The compound may be an original Anglo-Frisian one, although it is not recorded in OE. until Wulfstan. It can hardly be a Primitive Germanic compound, as it is not extant in German, and the Norse formation is different from the Anglo-Frisian.

24. ON. herferð (f.), expedition, OHG. herferat, OLG. hervêrê, OFris. herferf, expedition. The OE. ferd denotes a 'military expedition,' and probably represents the original Germanic term.

25. ON. herskjöldr (m.), MHG. and MLG. herschilt, MDu. herschilt, Langob. arischl. The original meaning of this compound, which is probably a German formation, is preserved in MHG. 'shield as a sign of a levy.' From this it develops in Langob., MLG., and OFris. the meaning 'band of followers,' and later in German and Dutch the meanings 'warfare, coat-of-arms.' In the former of these two meanings it is then borrowed from MLG. into Norse. With the meaning 'war-shield' (as opposed to friðskjöldr) the Norse compound may be an independent formation.

26. ON. herweð (f. pl.), OE. herewôd (f.), MHG. hergewôde (n.), MLG. herewôde (n.), MDu. herwâde (n.), equipment, armour. On account of the different formation in OE. and ON. on the one hand, and German and Dutch on the other, the compound cannot be a Primitive Germanic one.

27. ON. himiniriki (n.), OHG. himilrici, OLG. himilrîki, OFris. himirlîke, OE. heoforince, Kingdom of Heaven: a loan-translation of regnum coeli.

28. ON. hornbogi (m.), OE. hornboga, MHG. hornboge, bow with horn tips. According to Falk, Allnorðsche Waffenkunde, 91, bows of this kind used in Scandinavia were all of foreign manufacture, and the term is therefore probably borrowed.
29. ON. hornfiskr (m.), OE. hornfisc, Mod. G. Hornfisch, garfish.  
   On account of its late occurrence in German, the compound can  
   hardly be considered an original one.
30. ON. hunangseimr (m.), OHG. honigeim, MLG. honichsém,  
   MDu. honicheam, Fris. hunichesam, honeycomb. The compound  
   appears late in OHG., where it replaces the West Germanic  
   bikróf, and it is probably borrowed from German into Norse.
31. OHG. hüsloucha (m.), MLG. hüslók, MDu. husluoc, Engl.  
   (15th cent.) houseleek, Icel. húslautr, Norw. and Dan. husleg,  
   Swed. huslók, houseleek, sempervivum tectorum. The plant  
   was so called because it was planted on roofs as a protection  
   against thunder and lightning. It was introduced into  
   Northern Europe by the Romans, and the term ‘houseleek’  
   seems to have been coined in HG., and has been borrowed  
   from LG. into Engl. and Norse. The native OE. term for the  
   plant is dunorcyr.
32. ON. hvetikorn (n.), OE. hvätiscorn, MLG. wëtenhorn, Mod.  
   G. Weizenhorn, corn of wheat.
33. ON. hvetimmel (n.), MHG. weizemel, MLG. wëtemel, OE.  
   hvétemel, flour: for the original term see Gothic hvatleis.
34. ON. hufudborg (f.), OHG. houbiburg, OE. hæofdburh,  
   capital: a loan-translation of urbs capitalis.
35. ON. hufudgull (n.), MHG. houtegold, MLG. hövetgolt, OE.  
   hæofdagold, head ornament, crown.
36. ON. hufudmaðr (m.), OHG. houtiman, MLG. hovetman,  
   MDu. hovetman, OFris. høvedmon, OE. hæofdmann, captain,  
   chief : the compound was probably formed to translate  
   the Latin capitanus.
37. ON. hufudståðr (m.), OLG. hôbidstedi (m.), OHG. houbistat  
   (f.), MDu. hovestat (f.), OE. hæofdstede (m.), chief place,  
   capital.
38. ON. hufudstöl (m.), chief seat, financial capital, MHG.  
   houbestuo, financial capital, MLG. hoveststöl, financial capital,  
   OE. hæofdstöl, chief city. In the second of its two meanings  
   the Norse compound is borrowed from MLG.
39. ON. åral (n.) reckoning by years, OHG. járzala (f.), number  
   of years, OLG. gërtal (n.), gërtala (f.), one year, MDu. jaertal  
   (n.), number of years, OFris. iertel (n.), one year, OE. geartel,  
   (n.), number of years. The compound does not seem to be an  
   original one, as it has varying forms and meanings in the  
   several languages. A Primitive Germanic compound of this
40. ON. järnsmidr (m.), OHG. tsarsmid, MDu. isersmit, OE.  
   tšersmid, blacksmith.
41. ON. järdbýggjaði (m.), tenant, OE. eorðbûend, OLG. eorð-  
   bûandi. The OE.- and OLG. compounds, which have the  
   meaning ‘man’, are loan-translations of terricola.
42. ON. jörfall (m.), landslide, OHG. erdfal, landslide, MLG.  
   erdfal, fall to the ground, OFris. erthfal, fall to the ground.
43. ON. jàrdriki (n.), OHG. erðrichi, OLG. erthriki, MDu.  
   erðrikhe, OFris. erþrihe, OE. eorðrice, earthly kingdom, earth:  
   the compound is a loan-translation of regnum mundi.
44. ON. kaupmaðr, OHG. kaufman, MLG. köpmann, MDu.  
   coopman, OFris. kápmón, OE. cæapmann, merchant.
45. ON. kaupskip (n.), OHG. koufsef, MLG. köpschif, OE.  
   cæapschip, merchant ship.
46. ON. kaupsdár (m.), market-town, OHG. koufstat (f.),  
   marketplace, OLG. kópsdëti (m.), marketplace: compare OE.  
   cæapstów.
47. ON. kunungdóm (m.), OLG. kuningdóm, OE. cyningdóm,  
   kingdom. There is only one example of this compound in  
   OE. (Dan. 568), where the usual term is cynedóm, and the  
   formation is not found in HG. until the 18th century, when  
   it was coined by Wieland (Königtum) from the Fr. royauté  
   or the Engl. kingdom. The more original term was OE.  
   cynerice, OHG. kunirichi.
48. ON. konungrikhi (n.), OHG. kuningrikhi, OLG. künungrikhi,  
   MDu. coningriekhe, OFris. kiningriekhe, OE. cyningrikie, kingdom.  
   Although the compound is widespread in Germanic, it does  
   not seem to be an original formation. It is not found in OE.  
   until Chron. 1067, and it is late and rare in ON. In German  
   the compound is found at an early period (Hildebrandslied),  
   but on the evidence from OE. seems to be less original than  
   chunirichi. Kingship was known to the majority of the  
   Germanic tribes, but the king certainly did not possess a  
   ‘realm’ in Primitive Germanic times.
49. ON. kornhúss (n.), OHG. and OLG. kornhúss, OE. cornhúss,  
   granary.
50. Dan. kvaekgræs (n.), Du. kwiekgres, Engl. (17th cent.)  
   quickthgrass. The first part of the compound is a substantiva-  
   tion of the adj. OE. cwic, and the combination with ‘grass’  
   is evidently an independent development in each language.  
   See the Mod. G. uncompound Quecke.
51. ON. landkaup (n.), purchase of land, MLG. and MDu. lanthóp (m.), OFris. landhóp (m.). The OE. landhóp is a borrowing from Norse (see p. 30).

52. ON. landsmaðr (m.), OHG. landman, MLG. lantman, OE. landmann, fellow countryman: possibly a loan-translation from patriota.

53. ON. landsréttr (m.), law of the land, OHG. and OLG. landrecht (n.), OFris. landriucht (n.). The OE. landriukt (n.) has a different meaning, 'right to own land.' The ON. réttir cannot be derived from the same Primitive Germanic form as the West Germanic recht, as the former is a masc. stem and the latter a substantivised neuter adj.

54. ON. landsidr (m.), OLG. landsidu, MHG. lanisite, OE. landsidu, custom of a country.

55. ON. landskap (m.), OHG. landschaft (f. m.f.), OLG. landschepe, OE. borrowed from LG.) landschepe, region.

56. ON. leidsagt (m.), MHG. and MLG. leisage, MDu. leisaghe, pilot: probably a LG. formation borrowed into Norse: see leitestern, p. 111.

57. ON. manbôð (f. pl.), MLG. manbôle (f.), OE. mannbôt (f.), fine paid to the lord of a man slain: a legal term.

58. ON. manskap (m.), manhood, valour, MHG. manschaft (f.), body of men, duty of a man to his overlord, MLG. manschôp (f.), body of men, duty of a man to his overlord, OE. manscipe (m.), kindness, humanity.

59. ON. marmarastein (m.), OHG. marmilstein, OE. marm(an)síán, piece of marble.

60. ON. meinsvari (wk. adj.), perjuring, OHG. meinswero (m.), perjurier, OE. mánswara (m.), perjurier. The compound may be a Primitive Germanic one, but the indications are that it is a later coalescence. The OHG. meinswero is formed with the Ablaut grade of the present tense and is not recorded until the 11th century Ngl. 338, 24, where it translates perjurus. In MLG. the two parts have not yet coalesced to a compound (méné sweren). Moreover, the corresponding nomina actionis in West Germanic are not identical: OE. mánswaru, OHG. meinswur.

61. ON. morgustjarna (m.), OHG. morgenstern, MLG. and MDu. morgensterr, Fris. moarnstjère, OE. morgenstærre, morning star: see dagstjarna (No. 8).

62. ON. náttkræfn (m.), OHG. náthraban, OLG. nátram, MDu. nachtraven, OE. níthkrafn: a loan-translation of the mythical bird-name nocticorax.
77. ON. regnskur (f.), G. (16th cent.) Regenschauer, MDu. regenscher, OE. regnscur, shower of rain.
72. ON. sēborg (f.), seaside town, OE. sæburh, seaside town, OFr. sēburch, sea-dyke.
73. ON. sjōfiskr (m.), MLG. sēvisch, MDu. seevisch, Fris. sēfisk. OE. sōfisc, sea-fish: see OHG. merefisch.
74. ON. (nom. prop.) Sjōland (n.), OHG. sēland, Du. zeeland, OFr. sēland, OE. sēland, land near the sea.
75. ON. sjōmār (m.), Mod. G. Seemann, MLG. sēman, Fris. sēman, OE. sēmann, sailor.
76. ON. sjōvarstrēnd (f.), MLG. sēstrant (m.), OE. sæstrand (n.), sea-shore.
77. ON. saltfat (n.) saltwater, OHG. salafaz, OLG. salifat, OE. sealifet, saltcellar.
78. ON. saltsteinn (m.) rocksalt, OHG. salastein, pillar of salt, OE. sealstīn, pillar of salt, rocksalt. The compound is not an original one as the Germanic obtained salt only from springs and the sea.
79. ON. sandkorn (n.), OE. sandcorm, Mod. G. Sandkorn, grain of sand.
80. ON. silfrismōr (m.), OHG. silbersmīt, MLG. sulversmīt, MDu. silversmit, Fris. sulversmit, OE. seolfrismōr, silversmith.
81. ON. skēlfiskr (m.), shellfish, OE. scīfisc, shellfish, MLG. and MDu. schelvisch, haddock, Mod. G. (16th cent.) Schellfisch, haddock. The compound is not an original one as in OE. sciall alone meant 'shell-fish.' With the meaning 'haddock' (so called from its scale-like flesh) the compound is a LG. formation and was borrowed from there into HG.
82. ON. skipaherr (m.), MLG. schiphere (n.), OE. sciphere, fleet: see OHG. herisecf.
83. ON. skipferd (f.), voyage, OHG. sciffart, navigation, MLG. schippart, MDu. schippart, voyage, navigation, Fris. skipfart, voyage, OE. skipfērd, naval expedition.
84. ON. skipmār (m.), OHG. scifman, MLG. and MDu. schipman, OE. and OFris. scipmann, sailor.
85. ON. steinhūs (n.), MHG. steinhūs, MLG. stēnhūs, OFris. stēnhūs, Mod. Engl. stone-house.
86. ON. stōdhrass (n.), OHG. stuottos, OE. stōdhors, stud-horse, stallion: the original term was probably the OE. stēda.
87. ON. styrimaðr (m.), MHG. siuroman, MLG. and MDu. stūrmann, OE. stōrmann, steersman. The compound is not an original one as the Primitive Germanic term for the 'steersman' would be formed by means of a suffix: cf. OE. stēora.
88. ON. sumardagr (m.), MHG. sumertač, MLG. somerdach, Du. zomerdag, OFris. sumersdei, Engl. (14th cent.) summerday: a late compound in all the languages.
89. ON. sumarhītī (m.), MHG. sūnerhīzze (f.), OE. sumorhītī (f.), summer heat.
90. ON. sumartīd (f.), OHG. sumarzit, MLG. and MDu. somertid, ME. sumertid, summer-time.
91. ON. swēnkīrðr (m.), OHG. (12th cent.) swēnkhirde, OLG. swēnkirdī, OE. (circa 1100) swēnkhirde, swineherd.
92. ON. systurbedn (m.), MHG. sweusterbarn, OFris. susterbren, OE. sweostorbarn, sister's child.
93. ON. systurswōn (m.), OHG. sweustarswōn, OFris. susterswēne, OE. sweosterswōn, sister's son: see brōðurson (No. 7).
94. ON. sjōulbogī (m.), OHG. satulbogo, MLG. sadelbog, OE. sadolboga, saddlebow.
95. ON. pegnuskapr (m.), honour, liberality, OE. degeuscipe, status of thane, valour, body of retainers, OLG. thagenscept, service to an overlord.
96. ON. þinghūs (n.), OHG. dinghūs, OLG. thinghūs, law-courts: not Germanic as the Thing met in the open.
97. ON. pingmāðr (m.), member of the thing, OHG. dingman, advocate, MLG. dinkman, advocate, OFris. thingmon, advocate.
98. ON. þjūnstumāðr (m.), OHG. dionöstman, OLG. thonestman, OFris. thianestman, retainer, servant. The OE. dēnestmann is a borrowing from Norse (see p. 31).
99. ON. þjōðvegr (m.), OHG. diotweg, MLG. dētwege, OE. dōðweg, highway: possibly a loan-translation of via publica.
100. ON. varmāðr (m.), OHG. wartman, MLG. wartman, OE. wærdrmann, guard.
101. ON. verkdagr (m.), MHG. werktac, MLG. and MDu. werkdag, Fris. wirkdei, OE. wœrcdei, workday.
102. ON. verkhūs (n.), OHG. werchūs, MDu. werchus, OE. weorcūs, workshop, officina.
103. ON. verkmāðr (m.), OHG. wercmman, MLG. werkm, OE. weorcmann, workman, labourer.
104. ON. wigmādr (m.), OHG. wigman, OLG. wigm, OE. wigmann, warrior: for the older term see OHG. wigand, OE. wīgend.
105. ON. vinfat (n.), OHG. wincas, MLG. winfat, OE. winfæt, wine-vat.
106. ON. vínhús (n.), OHG., MLG. and OE. wínhús, tavern.

(a) Norse—English

1. ON. akrgærð (n.), OE. acerceard (m.), enclosed land.
2. ON. akrrækar (m.), OE. aecerwil, ploughman, reaper.
3. ON. aldrðagrar (m. pl.), everlasting time, OE. ealdordæg (m.), day of life.
4. ON. aldormar (m.), sustainer of life (kenning for 'fire'), OE. ealdormeru (f.), life's safety, refuge.
5. ON. bekkpiti (n.), OE. bencel, wainscoting where the benches are.
6. ON. bjórslæðr (m.), OE. bœorsele, banqueting hall: not an original compound as the Norse bjór is borrowed from West Germanic.
7. ON. blástrbelgr (m.), OE. blæstbelg, bellows: not original, as the form of the first part of the compound is not the same in the two languages.
8. ON. borgarstæðr (m.), site of a town, OE. burhstæde, town.
9. ON. borðjak (n.), covering of planks, OE. borðaaca (m.), boards for roofing, covering of shields.
10. ON. brjóstbýg (f.), breastplate, OE. brêostbeorh (m.), bulwark.
11. ON. brōðurdétir (f.), OE. brōðordhōtir, brother's daughter.
12. ON. brōðurgjeld (n.), OE. brōðorgield, payment for slain brother.
13. ON. daudadagr (m.), OE. dædadæg, death-day.
14. ON. dómhus (n.), OE. dômhs, law-courts.
15. ON. fyrgrjaf (m.), one who saves another's life, OE. feorhgrafa (m.), giver of life, Christ: the OE. compound is a loan-translation of largitum vitae.
16. ON. fjorrð (n.), plotting against another's life, OE. feorhræð (m.), salvation.
17. ON. figr (n.), OE. ficr, fig-tree.
18. ON. folkland (n.), land occupied by a 'folk' = fylki, OE. folcland, land held by freemen.
19. ON. folkrótt (f.), band of warriors, OE. folcdryht, multitude of people.
20. ON. fóstland (n.), native land, OE. fóstorland, land granted for the support of the recipients.

PARALLELS IN THE GERMANIC LANGUAGES

21. ON. fóstlaun (n.), reward for fostering, OE. fóstelæn, payment for maintenance: the OE. compound has nothing to do with fostering.
22. ON. fótwerk (m.), OE. fœtwærc, gout.
23. ON. frédülgsjafr (m.), freedman, OE. fréolsgif, giver of freedom.
24. ON. fótburgjarð (m.), OE. fædergeard, father's house.
25. ON. godmægin (n.), OE. godmaeg, divine power.
26. ON. heimsfær (f.), return home, OE. hāmsfær, forcible entry into a house.
27. ON. herð (n.), warcry, OE. herewōp (m.), lamentation of an army (Ex. 460).
28. ON. heruvān (n.), OE. herewēpen, weapon.
29. ON. himinjötmi (m.), OE. heofonēona, heavenly light.
30. ON. hórkon (f.), OE. hørkæwen (f.), harlot: not original, as the Primitive Germanic term was a derivative, OE. hōre, ON. hóra.
31. ON. hugrun (f. pl.), magic runes, OE. hygerūn (f.), secret of the mind.
32. ON. huugpoki (m.), OE. hyggēance (m.), thought, mind: the formations are not identical, as the OE. compound is a weak, and the OE. a strong, masc.
33. ON. húshruni (weak m.), OE. hūshryne (strong m.), burning of a house.
34. ON. hufudbaug (m.), chief ring in the wergild, OE. hēafodbēah, crown.
35. ON. hufudbein (n.), OE. hēafodbēan, skull.
36. ON. hufudsvinni (m.), OE. hēafodsvīna, dizziness.
37. ON. hufudverkr (m.), OE. hēafodwær, headache.
38. ON. hufudwîndr (m.), OE. hēafodwind, wind from one of the cardinal points.
39. ON. hœrpustreng (m.), OE. hearpstreng, harp-string.
40. ON. hœrpuslagr (m.), OE. hearpsslæge, harp-playing.
41. ON. jœladagr (m.), OE. geohholæg, Yule-day. The first part alone originally denoted 'Yule-day.'
42. ON. jœlamánudr (m.), OE. geohholmōnæd, December: for the more original term see OE. Ær ðōla, December.
43. ON. karlfolc (n.), OE. ceorfolc, common people.
44. ON. kinnbýg (f.), OE. cinberg, cheekguard: not a part of the armour in Primitive Germanic times.
45. ON. lifdagrar (m. pl.), OE. lifdages, days of life: German has a different formation, MHG. lebetac.
46. ON. íkmaðr (m.), grave-digger, OE. licmann, pall-bearer.
47. ON. ljóðsogngr (m.), song of several strophes, OE. léodsang, song.
48. ON. mannfór (f.), travelling, OE. mannfaru, expedition.
49. ON. morgunnatr (m.), OE. morgenmeth, breakfast: see undarnimats (p. 43).
50. ON. möðurkyn (n.), mother’s kin, OE. mödorcynn, maternal descent.
51. ON. niðvirk (n.), villany, OE. niðweorc, battle.
52. ON. ðskabarn (n.), adopted child, OE. wüschearn, adopted or dear child. The meaning of the OE. compound, which is found only in Jn. Lind. 19, 33, is doubtfull.
53. ON. sárþór (f. pl.), OE. sárþul (f.), compensation for a wound.
54. ON. sáttýrngr (m.), porter, janitor (prose compound), OE. seleweard, hall-guardian (poetical).
55. ON. sóðtými (m.), OE. sóldýma, sowing time.
56. ON. segþreði (n.), OE. seggerðe, sail-tackle.
57. ON. sigrbákn (n.), beaconing of victory, OE. sigorþeacen, emblem of victory, the Cross. The ON. bákn is a borrowing from Fris.
58. ON. skíptstjóri (m.), OE. scípstêora, pilot.
59. ON. skóðþegr (m.), OE. scóðhwang, shoe-thong. The OE. compound is rare and late, the idea usually being expressed by a phrase, dwang scöes.
60. ON. smíðbelgr (m.), OE. smíðelg, bellows.
61. ON. steinborg (f.), OE. stânburh, stone fort.
62. ON. stýþþar (n.), stepchild, OE. stéþþearn, orphan.
63. ON. stóðmerr (f.), OE. stóðmere, brood-mare: see stóðhross (p. 78).
64. ON. svíkidóm (m.), OE. swícdoðm, treason, deception.
65. ON. þegniþild (n.), OE. þegniþylde, wergild for a thane.
66. ON. þjóðland (n.), OE. þeodland, empire.
67. ON. vínþelgr (m.), OE. wînþelg, wine-bottle.
68. ON. vínþryl (m.), cupbearer, OE. wînþyrle, innkeeper.
69. ON. vínþré (n.), OE. wînþreow, vine.
70. ON. ðálhús (m.), OE. ðálhús, ale-house.

(e) Norse—German

The large number of parallels between Norse and MLG. which are borrowed into Norse, are not included in this list.

1. ON. ármánúdr (m.), month of the year, OHG. jármánúd, January.
2. ON. badstofa (f.), heated room, sitting-room, OHG. badestube, bathroom, MLG. badestove, bathroom.
3. ON. blóthís (n.), heathen house of worship, OHG. (Pa, K, Ra, only), blóthas, temple. The compound cannot be an original one as the Germani did not worship their gods in buildings. The compounds were probably formed in Christian times in each language to designate the heathen temple.
4. ON. bökhlist (f.), OHG. buohlis, booklearning.
5. ON. bilalnd (n.), homeland, OLG. bilalnd, cultivated land, MDu. boulant, cultivated land.
6. ON. dauðabænd (n. pl.), OHG. dðband (n.), death bond. The OHG. compound is found only in Himmel und Hölle where it translates vincula mortis.
7. ON. eggstéinn (m.), sharp stone, OHG. eckistein, corner-stone, MLG. and MDu. eggstén, corner-stone.
8. ON. ervíðiswerk (n.), OLG. ærvíðwerk, hard work.
9. ON. fríðmenn (m. pl.), persons of a peaceful country, OHG. frídoman, peaceful man.
10. ON. feðurland (n.), fatherland, OHG. faterlan, MLG. vaderln. The compound is late and rare in ON. and is probably borrowed from German where faterlan was formed as a loan-translation from patria in the 12th century.
11. ON. gastgaf (m.), MHG. gastgebe, host.
12. ON. guilband (n.), golden necklace, OHG. goldbant, nimbus, MDu. goudbant, diadem.
13. ON. halsbeina (n.), OHG. halsbein, MLG. halsbén, MDu. halsbeen, neckbone.
14. ON. herhorn (n.), OHG. herihorn, trumpet, bugle.
15. ON. herskap (n.), harrying, warfare, OHG. heriscafé(t), OLG. heriscep, retinue.
16. ON. herskip (n.), OHG. herisce, warship.
17. ON. himinhíringer (m.), ring of the heavens, OHG. himulring, orb.
18. ON. hijarnskáld (f.), OHG. hirmescála, skull: probably an independent formation as the second part alone originally meant 'skull.'
19. ON. hjartð (f.), OHG. herzáðara, OLG. hertáðera, MDu. hertadere, main artery, vena mediana.
20. ON. hofstáðr (m.), sanctuary, OHG. hofstat (f.), court, OLG. hofstedi (m.), court, MDu. hofstede (m.), court.
21. ON. húscona (f.), OHG. húschina, house-wife.
22. ON. walfskr (m.), OHG. walfisc, MLG. and MDu. walsisch, whale. The original term was the simplex ON. hvalr. The Engl. walefysch, which dates from 1511, is probably a borrowing from LG. or Du. (see Llewellyn).
23. ON. járnagni (weak m.), OHG. isarnagi (m.), iron nail.
24. ON. kornwist (f.), OHG. kornwist, store of corn: the OHG. compound is found only twice, both in Notker's Psalms.
25. ON. krossurt (f.), OHG. crüseweurs, MLG. krusewort, cardus benedictus: the Engl. crosswort (1578) is a loan-translation from LG.
26. ON. kvennmaðr (m.), woman, OHG. quenoman, uxorious person.
27. ON. landbúi (m.), tenant, OHG. landpäve, husbandman.
28. ON. land(s)skyld (f.), OHG. and MDu. lantschuld, OLG. landskuld, rent paid on land.
29. ON. linnormr (m.), OHG. linneworm, MLG. and MDu. linneworm, dragon, serpent. The compound is a tautological one, and is probably a German formation which was borrowed into Norse.
30. ON. mailleidi (m.), OHG. mailleidi (f.), fastidiousness.
31. ON. morgunstund (f.), OHG. and OLG. morganstunda, MDu. morgenstond, morning hour.
32. ON. möðurbrjóst (f.), OHG. mütterbrust, mother's breast.
33. ON. náttfugl (m.), OHG. nahtfogal, night-bird: probably a loan-translation in German of noctua or nocticorax.
34. ON. náttwig (n.), fight in the night, OHG. nahtwig. The OHG. compound is a euphemism coined by Notker for labor coeundi.
35. ON. råbukkér (m.), OHG. rýchbock, MLG. rébok, roebuck. The Engl. roebuck, which dates from the 15th century, is a borrowing from LG.
36. ON. siggrgeo (f.), OHG. sigegeba, offering for victory. The OHG. compound is found only in Notker, translating triumphantalis largitio.
37. ON. sigsteinn (m.), MHG. sigsteiwn, stone bringing victory.
38. ON. skipherra (m.), OHG. scifiëro, MLG. schiphère, captain of a ship. As the second part of this compound is borrowed from German into ON. the compound cannot be original.
39. ON. sporhundr (m.), OHG. spurihunt, OLG. spurihunt, MDu. spwronhaít, bloodhound. The compound cannot be original, as the ON. spor and the OHG. spuri are different stems.
40. ON. steinafin (m.), stone-oven, OHG. steinfan, stone-pot.
41. ON. súðuklæði (n.), MHG. satikeltei, saddle-cloth. The compound cannot be original, as the second part of the Norse compound is borrowed from OE.
42. ON. dómstöll (m.), OHG. duomstuol, judgment seat: see the different formation (dömselt) in OE.
43. ON. várðberg (n.), outlook, OHG. wartperch (m.). The OHG. compound is found only in Ngl., where it translates mons syon.
44. ON. várðhús (n.), OHG. warthüs, MLG. wardehüs watch-house.
45. ON. vatnssölt (f.), OHG. wassarsuht, OLG. watersucht, dropsy. The ON. form is possibly a loan-translation from LG.: see the different formation (weterald) in OE.
46. ON. wéidimadhr (m.), OHG. weidiman, huntsman.
47. ON. vígssk (f.), prosecution for murder, OLG. wigsaka, fight.
48. ON. vingud (m.), OHG. wingot, OLG. wingod, MDu. wijngod, Bacchus.
49. ON. vínkiallari (m.), OHG. winkellari, MLG. winkeller, wine-cellar; a possible borrowing into Norse from MLG. The ME. wyncele is not to be equated with these compounds as the second part of this compound is borrowed from French.

(f) Norse—Old Frisian
1. ON. foðurfaáð (m.), OFris. fadersfader, grandfather.
2. ON. foðurfráðá (m.), OFris. federfriend, kinsman on the father's side.
3. ON. foðurmódí (f.), OFris. fadersmóder, father's mother.
4. ON. módurfaád (m.), OFris. móderfeder, mother's father.
5. ON. módurfráá (m.), OFris. móderfrínd, kinsman on the mother's side.
6. ON. módurmódí (f.), OFris. módermóder, grandmother.

(ii) Adjective + Substantive
(a) Gothic—Norse—West Germanic
Nothing.
(b) Gothic—West Germanic
Nothing.
(c) Norse and more than one West Germanic language

1. ON. blíðskapr (m.), MHG. blídесchaft (f.), MLG. bídeschop, MDu. blídeschop, OFris. blíski, joy.
2. ON. hóðarg (n.), OHG. hòmborg (m.), OE. hêahbeorg (m.), high mountain. The OHG. compound, which is obviously a coalescence of the declined adj. and noun, is found only in Ngl. translating lybaum.
3. ON. halfréðir (m.), German Halbrüder, MDu. halfbroeder, OFris. halfbroêer, ME. halfréðer, halfbrother.
4. ON. halsystur (f.), German Halbschwester, MLG. hâlsuster, OFris. hâlsusterne, ME. halfsuster, halfsister.

These two compounds with half- are late coalescences of an adj. and noun which first appear in ME., MLG. and ON. They do not spread to HG. until the 17th century. For the original formations see the compounds with stjûp- (p. 52).

5. ON. jafnuði (n.), MHG. ebenacht (f.), MLG. und MDu. evennacht (f.), OFris. evennacht (f.), OE. efenniht (f.), equinox. The Germani did not observe the equinox which was of no practical importance to them. The compound is a loan-translation from equinox.

6. ON. middagr (m.), OHG. mîttilag, MLG. and MDu. middach, OFris. mıtdei, OE. mîdag, midday: probably a loan-translation from meridies. The compound is a coalescence, made independently in each language, of an adj. and noun, the original Primitive Germanic term being Gothic undarn, OHG. untor, OE. undern. In the Eddic miðr dagr the two parts have not yet combined, and in OE. the compound is preceded by the phrase on midde dag.

7. ON. mîndnìti (n.), OHG. mitthinaht, MLG. and OFris. mîndnacht (f.), OE. midniht (f.), midnight: see the Eddic mið nôtt, OE. on midde neah, OHG. in mitterna naht.

8. ON. mîdsumar (m.), MHG. mittesuner, MLG. mitsomer, MDu. middesomer, OFris. midsumer, OE. midsumor, midsummer.

9. ON. midvetr (m.), MHG. mittwinter, MLG. mütwinter, MDu. middeventer, OE. and OFris. midwinter, midwinter. See the phrases ON. at mîdwinter, OE. on midde winter, OHG. in mîttmer wintre which precede the compounds in each language. The Primitive Germanic term for the midwinter festival was the ON. jôl.

10. ON. nàmâgr (m.), OE. nêahmâg, MLG. námâge, near relation.

11. ON. sannyðr (n. pl.), OLG. sóðword (n.), OE. sóðword, true word.
12. ON. villidýr (n.), OHG. (12th cent.) wîldtor, OE. wîldedór, wild animal.

(d) Norse—English

1. ON. argskapr (m.), OE. eargscipe, cowardice.
2. ON. breîtôx (f.), OE. bráðæx, broad battle-axe. The OE. compound, which appears only in glosses, is possibly borrowed from ON. (see Fahl, Allnord. Waffenkunde, 109). The Modern German Breitaxt is a separate formation.
3. ON. einstig (m.), OE. ástig (f.), narrow path.
4. ON. einvalði (m.), sole possessor, einvaldr, monarch, OE. áuwealda, monarch. The OE. compound, which is not found in poetry, is a loan-translation of monarchus.
5. ON. einstapi (m.), a kind of fern, OE. ánstapa, lone wanderer. The compounds are identical in form, but quite different in meaning.
6. ON. hêáfîd (f.), OE. hêahflód (m.), high tide. The second part of these compounds contains two different stems which cannot be reduced to the same Primitive Germanic form.
7. ON. náfrêndi (m.), OE. nêahfréond, near kinsman.
8. ON. sóldandi (n.), OE. sóldland, broad lands.

(e) Norse—German

1. ON. sjálfskat (n.), OHG. selfscon, MLG. sulfschat, bow which goes off itself: possibly a borrowing in Norse from MLG.
2. ON. sjûðdônr (m.), OHG. sîhtuwet (m.), MLG. sêkedom (m.), sickness: see the different OE. formation sêocnes.
3. ON. villibrûð (n.), OHG. wîldbræd, venison. The first part of this compound is a substantived adj. The MDu. wildbræd and the Dan. wildbræd, Swed. wildbrâd are borrowings from HG.

(f) Norse—Old Frisian

1. ON. kvikfê (n.), OFris. quikfia, livestock. The compound is an independent coalescence: see the OLG. quikka fê.

(iii) Verb + Substantive

There are a few correspondences of this type between the modern Scandinavian languages and OHG. and OE., e.g. Dan. brændejærn, Icelandic brennijærn, OHG. brennisarn, OE.
Nominal Compounds in Germanics

bærnisen, branding iron, but they are all clearly late formations in Norse, and it is unnecessary to record them here.

(iv) Substantive + Adjective

(a) Gothic—Norse—West Germanic

1. Gothic andilaus, ON. endilauss, OHG. endelōs, OLG. endelōs, OE. endelēas, endless, eternal. The Gothic compound is clearly a calque from ἀνέπαιρνος, the original Gothic term being aiweins. The OHG. compound is not recorded until the 11th century.

(b) Gothic—West Germanic

1. Gothic airpakunds, OE. eordcund, of earthly birth: probably a loan-translation of terrigenus.
2. Gothic blōparinnandeit, OE. blōdierndeit, OFris. blōdrennand, having an issue of blood. If this compound were an original formation, it would be the only one of the type noun + pres. part. in Primitive Germanic. See the different formation in MLG. bidruntich.
3. Gothic gudasaunhst, OE. godfyrht, OHG. gotforht, OLG. godforolt, god-fearing: on this compound see p. 11.
4. Gothic handuwaurhts, OE. handwurht, handmade. The Gothic compound is a calque from χειροποιητός, and the OE., of which there is only one example in the West Saxon Gospels, Mk. 14, 58, of manu factum.
5. Gothic himinakunds, OE. heofoncund, of heavenly birth.

(c) Norse and more than one West Germanic Language

1. ON. blōdráuðr, German (10th cent.) blutrot, OE. blōdred, bloodred.
2. ON. daglangr, MHG. tagelanc, OE. daglang, all day long. None of the formations with -lang and a time word in the first part is found in HG. before the MHG. period, and they are therefore probably independent formations in each language. In Primitive Germanic the idea would have been expressed by a Bahuvari formation: see OE. féowerdēgor.
3. ON. frēndilauss, OHG. friunlōs, OE. frēondēas, without kinsman. The ON. form contains a different Ablaut in the first part from the West Germanic forms.

Parallels in the Germanic Languages

4. ON. friðlauss, MHG. vridełōs, MLG. vredelōs, OFris. fretholās, OE. friðlēas, outlawed: a late formation in German.
5. ON. friðsamr, OHG. friðsam, OLG. friðsam, Du. vreedsam, Fris. freedsum, OE. friðsum, peaceful: scarcely original as the stem of the first part of the German compound is different from the Norse and English formations.
6. ON. fæderlās, OHG. faterlōs, OE. fæderlēas, fatherless. The compound is a late formation in each language; the OE. compound is not recorded until Wulfstan and the OHG. one until Notker.
7. ON. gründulauss, OHG. grundlōsi (fem. abstract), MLG. grünlus, Du. grondelos, Fris. grunleas, OE. gründēas, bottomless: hardly original, as in Primitive Germanic the idea would have been designated with a Bahuvari formation: see Gothic afgrundīpa.
8. ON. handlās, OHG. (12th cent.) handelōs, OFris. handlās, without hands.
9. ON. heilsamr, OHG. heilsam, MLG. heilsam, Du. heilsam, OFris. heilsam, ME. holsom, wholesome. The compound may be an original formation, but it is not recorded until late in OHG. (Notker) and not at all in OE. For the original Primitive Germanic term see heilynds (p. 60).
10. ON. hjálplauss, OHG. hselfelōs, OFris. hselfelās, ME. helse, helpless. Also a late formation; the OHG compound is not recorded until Notker.
11. ON. húslās, MHG. hůslōs, OFris. hūslās, without a house.
12. ON. hufulōs, OHG. hovulōs, MLG. hōvelōs, MDu. hoefeloo, OFris. hvedelōs, OE. hēafedelōs, headless.
13. ON. hunangœdr, MHG. honescüeze, MDu. honischot, Fris. hunichswiet, OE. hunigswetē, sweet as honey; not recorded until late in German and Engl. (1000).
14. ON. ískaldr, MHG. ískalt, MLG. ískolt, Du. ijskoudl, Fris. íiskald, OE. ísecalel, icy cold. Also a late compound in German and in OE. not recorded until about 1000.
15. ON. klakklæser, unhurt, LG. klaklos, sudden, innocent, Du. klakkels, sudden, OFris. klaklās, without harm, OE. clæclēas, unhurt. The OE. compound may be a borrowing from ON. (see p. 28).
16. ON. līftlauss, OHG. lībelōs, MLG. līftōs, OFris. līftās, OE. līftēas, lifeless.
17. ON. lōfsamligr, OHG. lobesam, OLG. lōfsam, MDu. lovesam, praiseworthy: the OE. lōfsam is borrowed from OLG. (see p. 8).
18. ON. *mannlauss*, without men, without husband, MLG. *manlós*, without men, OE. *manlēas*, uninhabited.
20. ON. *mōðurlauss*, MLG. *mōderlōs*, OE. *mōdorlēas*, motherless.
21. ON. *nātlanlōg*, MHG. *nachlānc*, OE. *nīhtlāng*, lasting one night: see daglāng (No. 2).
22. ON. *ordspāki*, MHG. *wortsēhe*, OLG. *wordspähi*, clever in words. The ON. *spāki* has a different stem and different Ablaut from *spāhi*.
24. ON. *sumarlangr*, long as in summer, the whole summer long, MHG. *sumerlānc*, long as in summer, OLG. *sumarlang*, long as in summer, OE. *sumorlāng*, long as in summer.
25. ON. *tanllauß*, OHG. *sandlōs*, OE. *tölēas*, toothless: both the OHG. and OE. compounds are not recorded until late.
26. ON. *trūllauß*, infidel, OHG. *trulōs*, faithless, OLG. *treulōs*, faithless, MDu. *troweles*, faithless, OFris. *trowewelēs*, faithless, OE. *trowelēas*, infidel, faithless: the ON. *trū* has a different Ablaut from the West Germanic word.
27. ON. *vpāplauß*, MLG. *väplenlōs*, OE. *väplenlēas*, weaponless.
28. ON. *vindrūkkinn*, OHG. *wintrunchan*, OE. *windruncen*, drunk with wine.

(e) Norse—German

1. ON. *frēndholmr*, faithful to one’s kinsmen, OHG. *freunhold*, friendly.
2. ON. *grunfastr*, fast aground (of a ship), OHG. *grunfest*, basis, fundament, MLG. *gruntvast*, fixed in the ground, MDu. *grontvest*, fixed in the ground: the Engl. *groundfast* (17th cent.) is a borrowing from Du. (see Bense).
3. ON. *handlami*, OHG. *handlām*, with injured hand.
4. ON. *hantstekr*, OHG. *hantstarekh*, strong-handed. The OHG. compound is found only in Williram where it translates *manusfortis*. The idea of both Nos. 3 and 4 would have been expressed in Primitive Germanic by a Bahuvihi formation.
5. ON. *lidalauss*, OHG. *lidēlōs*, limbless. The OHG. compound is found only in Notker translating *carens membrorum*.

(f) Norse—Old Frisian

1. ON. *bōtlauß*, OFris. *bōlōs*, getting no recompense: the OE. *bōlēas* is apparently a borrowing from ON. (see p. 27).

(v) Adjective + Adjective

(a) Gothic—Norse—West Germanic

None.

(b) Gothic—West Germanic

1. Gothic *niujasatiþs*, newly converted, OHG. *niuzaat*, newly planted. The Gothic compound is an obvious calque from *veósuros*.

(c) Norse and more than one West Germanic language

1. ON. *almdūtgur*, OHG. and OLG. *almahtig*, OFris. *elmechtich*, OE. *ealmihtig*, almighty. The compound seems to the
present writer to be a loan-translation of *omnipotens*. In O.E. poetry it is used only of God or Christ, and it is a late and mainly ecclesiastical term in ON. The Norse phrase *hinn almæki ðás* (of Thor) does not disprove the Christian origin of the term, as Christian epithets were often applied to the heathen gods.

2. ON. *einhornu*, OHG. *einhoran*, O.E. *ãnhoren*, only begotten; a loan-translation of *unicanus*: see Gothic *ainabaur*, translating *homunwaid*.

3. ON. *halfdœdr*, OHG. *halbtôt*, O.E. *healsdœd*, half-dead: the OHG. compound is found only in Gl. II, 442, 43, translating *semincecum*. In Primitive Germanic the idea would have been expressed with the prefix *sàmi-* as the first part of the compound.

4. ON. *jafnbreidr*, OHG. *ebanbreit*, O.E. *efenbrâd*, as broad as long. This example is quoted for the many compounds of *jafn* + adj., none of which go back to the Primitive Germanic period. Although these formations are found early in German, English, and Norse, they are in German Latinisms modelled on the Latin adjectives with the prefix *co-* or *con-*, and they do not survive the OHG. period. None of the German compounds of this type, which have parallels in other Germanic languages, is recorded before Notker.

*(d) Norse—English*

1. ON. *aðfynadr*, easily perceived, O.E. *æadfynde*, easily found.
2. ON. *aufgêtt*, O.E. *æadgête*, easily got. The formations with *aud-* and a verbal adjective are not found in German and appear to be later coalescences.

*(e) Norse—German*

1. ON. *halfbrunnin*, OHG. *halbrunnan*, half-burnt. The OHG. compound is found only in Gl. II, 434, 40, translating *semiustulatus*.
2. ON. *ljúfsamligr*, OHG. *liubsam*, desirable: see the different formation with a noun in the first part in O.E. *lufsum*.
3. ON. *raudbrûnn*, OHG. *rötrûn*, purple: see OFris. *brûnrâd*. None of the compound adjectives of colour is Primitive Germanic. The OHG. *rötrûn* is not recorded until the 12th century.

*(f) Norse—Old Frisian*

None.

*(vi) Verb + Adjective*

None.

**B. EXOCEUTRICS**

*(i) Imperative Compounds*

There are no parallels in the early periods of the languages.

*(ii) Substantive Bahuvrîhis*

There are no parallels in the early periods of the languages. On the parallels from later periods see Part II, Chap. I.

*(iii) Adjective Bahuvrîhis*

Numeral as First Member

It is difficult to distinguish between the original compounds of this type and the later analogues, but the following are probably independent formations:

1. ON. *twihôfdaðr*, OHG. *zwihoubit*, O.E. *twieðhâcefde*, two-headed. Although compounds of this type are common in ON. and OE., *zwihoubel* is the only one recorded in OHG., and there it is a Latinism translating *biceps*.

2. ON. *einhyrning*, OHG. *einhorn*, *einhörno*, O.E. *ãnhorn*, MDu. *eenhorn*, unicorn. The compound is a substantived Bahu-vrîhi adjective modelled on the Latin *monoceros* or *unicorns*: see also OHG. *zwihurno* (Gl. II, 679, 63), *bicornis*. The ON. *gullhyrndaðr* (golden horned) and *þrihyrndaðr* (three-horned) seem to be genuine Norse formations uninfluenced by Latin.

**Other Adjective Bahuvrîhis**

*(a) Gothic—West Germanic*

1. Gothic *filuwaudei* (fem. noun), O.E. *felawyrde*, ON. *fiolordr*, loquacious. The Gothic compound appears to be a loan-translation of *πολυλόγια*, and the OE., which is not recorded until Wulfstan, of *multiloquus*. See the different formation in OHG. *filusprâhhi*.

2. Gothic *kraínjahairs*, ON. *kreinjhartadr*, OHG. *reinherzi*, pure-hearted. The compound is obviously a Christian formation. In Gothic it translates *καθαρὸς τῇ καρδίᾳ*. The OHG. compound is found only in Ngl. 171, 24, translating *mundi corde*, and the ON. compound only in Gospel translations.
3. Gothic lausawurds, prattling with empty words, ON. lausordr, prattling with empty words, OLG. lôsword, false word. Despite the agreement with the Norse compound, the Gothic compound is a loan-translation from μαραλάγια. The OLG. lôsword is not a Bahuvihrî formation, and has a different meaning from the Gothic and Norse words.

(b) Gothic—West Germanic
1. Gothic *harduairsts, OE. heardheort, MDu. harthertich, hard-hearted. The Gothic compound is found only in the derivative harduahairtei, which is modelled on the Greek ἁληροκαρβία.
2. Gothic hauhairs, OE. hēahheort, proud. The Gothic compound translates αὐθάδης, ἀπερφαίον. The OE. hēahheort is found only in Dan. 549, and the formation is not recorded in German.
3. Gothic *laggamôps (deduced from laggamôdei), OHG. langmuot, MLG. and MDu. langmôdich, OE. langmôd, patient, long-suffering. The Gothic compound is a loan-translation from μακροθυμία, and the West Germanic formations from longanimus. The compound is borrowed from MLG. into Dan. and Swed. langmôdich.
4. Gothic ubiluaards, slanderous, OE. yfelwyrd, evilspeaking. The Gothic compound seems to be a back-formation from ubiluaursdjan, which is modelled on κακολογήσατι. The OE. yfelwyrd is found only once in the 11th century.

(c) Norse and more than one West Germanic Language
1. ON. berbeinn, MHG. barbein, MLG. barbênds, MDu. baerbeens, bare-legged. The compound is a late formation, possibly modelled on the earlier ON. barfôtr, OHG. barfus. The Engl. barebones (16th cent.) is a substantive Bahuvihrî, which has different meaning from the Norse and German formation.
2. ON. berhofti, MHG. barhoubet, MDu. barhoost, Engl. (16th cent.) bareheaded. Scarcely an original formation, as it is not recorded until late in the West Germanic languages.
3. ON. einmôdiga, OHG. einmuot, MLG. ênmodîg, OE. anmôd, unanimous: a loan-translation of unanimitas. See the different formation in Gothic, ainamundirp."}

PARALLELS IN THE GERMANIC LANGUAGES

ánrâð, constant, determined, unanimous, agreed. The compound does not seem to be a Primitive Germanic one, as the meaning in ON. differs from that of the West Germanic languages. The idea ‘constant, determined,’ was expressed in ON. by a different formation, einrâðinn. The compound may be a West Germanic one, and is included in the West German lists.

(d) Norse—English
1. ON. hardráðr, tyrannical, OE. heardrðr, steadfast. As the compounds do not agree in meaning it is preferable to regard them as independent formations.
2. ON. stuttordr, short of speech, OE. stuntweard, speaking foolishly.

(e) Norse—German
1. ON. godwilfrage, OHG. guotwillich, OLG. gödwillig, MDu. goetwillich, good-willed. It is doubtful whether this compound goes back to a Bahuvihrî formation, as it is found only with the derivative adjective suffix, but the formation is certainly not a Primitive Germanic one, for it is modelled on the Latin benevolens. See the different formation in OE. gödwillende.
2. ON. gulfazi, golden-haired (name of a horse), OHG. goldfaks, golden-haired. The Ogh. compound is found only in Notker, where it translates auricomus.
3. ON. samvitugr, MHG. samwitzze, MLG. samwitich, conscious of: a loan-translation of Lat. conscius.

(f) Norse—Old Frisian
None.

THE EAST GERMANIC (Gothic-Norse) PARALLELS

1. Gothic burgsweaddius, ON. borgarvegg, wall of a town.
2. Gothic gudalaus, ON. gudlaus, godless. The Gothic compound is a loan-translation of ðôsos. The adjective exists also in West Germanic, Engl. godless, G. gottlos, Du. goddeloois, but is there a modern formation.
3. Gothic samakuns, ON. samkynja, of the same family: possibly an original formation, but the Gothic compound is parallel to the Greek σοφός, of which it may be a loan-translation.
CHAPTER IV
THE WEST GERMANIC COMPOUNDS

A. Determinatives

(i) Substantive + Substantive

(a) English—High German—Low German (including Frisian)

1. OE. ēweāerð (m.), OHG. ēewart, OLG. ēward, priest (literally, guardian of the law).

2. OE. bānwyrt (f.), OHG. beinwurt, MLG. bēnwort, celidonia minor, senecion.

3. OE. bealudād (f.), OHG. balotāt, OLG. baludād, evil deed.

4. OE. bedstrēaw (n.), OHG. bettistrō, OLG. beddistrō, MDu. beddestro, straw for bedding.

5. OE. bēobrēad (n.), MHG. biebrō, OLG. bibrōd, Fris. biebroed, honeycomb.

6. OE. bēoceare (m.), beekeeper, MDu. siecaer (m.), beekeeper, OHG. biikaer (n.), beehive, OLG. bikar (n.), beehive. The OE. and MDu. compounds seem to be ja derivatives from a compound represented by the OHG. and OLG. forms. See PBB. 53, 304; 54, 159; 55, 73.

7. OE. bēomodēr (f.), OHG. bimüder, OLG. bimōder, MDu. bienmooeder, queen-bee.

8. OE. bodcke (m.), OHG. botasca(f) (f.), OLG. bodsceti (m.), MDu. bootscap (f.), OFris. bodskip (n.), message. The OHG. bodskapr (m.), ordinance, seems to be a different formation derived from the impersonal noun bod, whereas the West Germanic compounds are formed with the personal noun OE. boda, etc.

9. OE. bogefōdār (m.), OHG. bogefōdoter (n.), OLG. bogenuwōder (n.), quiver.

10. OE. brāmeliherie (f.), OHG. brāmberi (n. and f.), OLG. brāmberi (n.), Du. braambezze, blackberry. The compound is a West Germanic formation which has been modified in

OE. (see also for the OE. forms LG. brummelbeere, Fris. brummelbee). The West Germanic compound was borrowed into Dan. bræmbær, Norw. brember, Swed. brumbär, brambär (raspberry). The change of meaning in Swed. is due to the survival there of the original Primitive Germanic term for the 'blackberry,' björnbär (see p. 42). 1

11. OE. brēostrocc (m.), OHG. brustrock, OLG. brustrocc, breast-clothing. In OHG. the compound was transferred in meaning to 'breast-plate.' (See Maschke, ZfdPh. 51, 162.)

12. OE. brēddie (n.), OHG. brūtbeoti, OLG. brūtbedde, MDu. bruutbedde, bridal bed.

13. OE. cāserdōm (m.), OHG. keisartuom, OLG. kēsurdōm, empire. It is doubtful whether this compound goes back to the Primitive West Germanic period or whether it is an independent formation in each language. The compound is also found in ON. as keisaradorm, but is there a borrowing from German.

14. OE. cīsfōdōm (m.), OHG. (Trier Glosses) kebisdōm, MDu. kewsdoom, fornication.

15. OE. cīntōd (m.), OHG. kinnisan(d), OLG. kinnitan, front tooth.

16. OE. colmāse (f.), MHG. koleneise, MDu. koolneeze, titsmouse. The Dan. and Norw. kulneise, and Swed. kolnes are borrowings from German.

17. OE. cīsfat (n.), OHG. kāsfaz, OLG. kēsevat, MDu. caesvat, cheese-vat. The first part of this compound was borrowed from Latin before the English left the Continent, and the compound may therefore well be a West Germanic formation: see also cīsflyb (p. 106).

18. OE. dāgewurwm (m.), OHG. towurwm, MLG. douwworm, Du. dawworm, Fris. dauwworm, ringworm (lit. dew-worm).

19. OE. ēdwele (m.), OHG. ētwala (f.), OLG. ēdwelō (m.), riches.

20. OE. ēagappel (m.), OHG. ougaphul, MLG. ogappel, MDu. ogeappel, OFris. ogapell, eyeball. The Dan. and Norw. veable are borrowed from MLG.

21. OE. ēagbrōw (m.), OHG. ougbrōwa (f.), MLG. ēgenbruñ, MDu. ēgbebra, OFris. ēgbrê. The compound originally meant 'eyelid,' and this meaning is retained in the OE. ēagbrōw, and the MDu. ēgbebra. In OHG. the meaning was transferred

1 On this compound see Loewe, Germanische Pflanzennamen, Heidelberg, 1913, p. 14.
to 'eyelash' and later in MHG., MLG. and OFris. to 'eyebrow'. The ON. augabrun, eyebrow, is borrowed from MLG.: see also eaghlid, p. 130.

23. OE. eaghring (m.), OHG. ougring, MLG. õgenring, OFris. ágring, eye-socket. The word was also used in MLG. and OFris. to denote 'eyelid.'

24. OE. eorforswin (n.), MHG. eberswin, MLG. everswin, boar.

25. OE. eorðeapeal (m.), OHG. erdaphul, MLG. erdappl, Du. aardappel, Fris. ierdappel; the term was used for various roots in the early West Germanic languages. In OHG. it glosses pepe, and in OE. denotes 'cucumber, mandragora.' The Dan. and Norw. jordæble is a borrowing from MLG.

26. OE. eorðbeafung (f.), OHG. erdbibunga, OLG. erßhibunga, MDu. erdibewinge, OFris. erthbivinge, earthquake. The OHG. compound is found only in the Tatian, and the OLG. one only in a gloss with OE. influence (see pp. 14, 23); nevertheless the existence of the compound in MDu., MLG., and OFris. suggests that it was an original West Germanic formation.

27. OE. fæderdol (m.), OHG. fartuodal (n. and m.), OLG. faderðöl (m.), father's land, patrimony. The OLG. compound is found in Hel. 4497, that he scolde gifaran is faderzőil. In the editions of the Hel. the two words are usually written separately. The OHG. compound is found in the Tatian and later glosses.

28. OE. fældestól (m.), OHG. faltistol, OLG. faldistól, MDu. vouwstoel, folding stool (see Kauffmann, Deutsche Altertumskunde I, 163).

29. OE. færebædd (n.), OHG. fæarbætti, OLG. fæterbedde, OFris. færrebæd, feather-bed.

30. OE. firinBODY (f.), OHG. frinntat, OLG. frinndad, crime.

31. OE. firinBODY (m.), OHG. and OLG. firinlust, sinful desire.

32. OE. fisket (n.), MHG. vischnetzet, MLG. vischnette, Fris. fisknet, fishing-net. The ON. fiskenet is a different formation with the fem. fiski (fishing).

33. OE. fugellim (m.), OHG. fogallim, MLG. vogellim, bird-lime.

34. OE. frioneiske (m.), OHG. frientscalf (f.), OLG. friundsẹci (m.), OFris. frientskip (n.), MDu. vriendschap (f.), friendship.

35. OE. goldsæt (n.), MHG. goltvaz, OLG. goldsæt, golden vessel.

36. OE. goldsinc (m.), German Goldfinke, Du. goudvink, goldfinch: possibly an independent formation, as the compound is not recorded until Mod. German. The Dan. and Swed. guldfinke is a borrowing from German.

37. OE. goldswyr (f.), OHG. goldswurz, MLG. goltwurt, MDu. gouldwytel, celidonia: also in OE. heliotrope.

38. OE. hagtes (f.), OHG. haguissa, MLG. and MDu. hagettes, witch, OFris. hoxnæ, bewitch. On the etymology of this word see ZfdPh. 31, 497; PBB. 18, 155.

39. OE. harsecaed (n.), harelip, German (14th cent. nom. prop.) Hasenscharte (later as an appellative), MLG. hasenscharde, millefolium (plant-name), OFris. hasskerde, harelipped. It is difficult to tell when this and similar compounds based on folklore were formed, as similar designations appear in other European languages (Lat. labium leporinum, French bec de lièvre). The native term in the Norse languages seems to be Norw. haremynt, Swed. harmynyt, and the Dan. hareskaar is in all probability a borrowing from German. The Engl. harelip, which also appears in the Du. hazelip, is a later modification of the original compound.

40. OE. hæðberie (f.), OHG. heidbera (n. and f.), Du. heidebees, Fris. heideber, bilberry.

41. OE. hæmstedæ (m.), OHG. heimstat (f.), MDu. heemstede (f.), OFris. hêmstede (f.), homestead. The OHG. compound is found only in the 11th century gloss, Gl. I. 671, 18, in hirt-heimstatin, in pastoralibus, and is clearly a dying formation in German. The Mod. German Heimstätte is a modern formation, made independently of the older term. The ON. heimsstof (f.), which occurs only in Vþslsp, 56, 2, is similar in meaning to the West Germanic compound, but is formed with a different second part (ON. stof = OE. stæd).

42. OE. hancræd (m.), OHG. hanacrát, OLG. hanokrãd, MDu. hanencraet, cock-crow.

43. OE. handgrype (m.), OHG. hantgrif, MLG. hantgrepe, grasp of the hand.

44. OE. hæfodbend (m.), OHG. houbibant (n.), OLG. høbitjand (n.), MDu. houebant (n.), crown, diadem. This compound is evidently the original West Germanic term for 'crown'; it is found in HG. in the earliest glosses (K, Ra, R) and in LG. in the Hel.
45. OE. healsbeorc (f.), OHG. halsberga, OLG. halsberga, MDu. halsberch. The compound is an old West Germanic one which denoted originally 'neck-cloth'; see the OHG. 9th century gloss, I, 618, 39, munitlia, halspiriga, and for the meaning of the second part II, 521, 62, bogus, kelbirga. Later in each language the meaning was transferred to 'armour,' and still later to 'hauberk.' The ON. halsbyrg is a borrowing from MLG. (See Maschke, ZidPh. 51, 176, and for a similar development of meaning bröstrock, No. 11.)

46. OE. hearncwice (m.), OHG. harmquitt, OL G. harmquidi, calumny. In HG. the compound is a dying formation, found only in R. 69, 13.

47. OE. hegedræsi, OHG. hegidruos (f.), MLG. hagedröse (f.), MDu. haechdrosse (f.), inguinal gland. The OE. compound is found only in Erfurt 1181 in the mutilated form hregresi. The first part of the compound is connected with the verb, G. hecken, Engl. hatch (see Kluge-Goeze under Hecke).

48. OE. herbeæcæn (n.), OHG. heribouchan, OL G. heribókan, standard, ensign: for the older term see gunnfan (p. 48).

49. OE. hindberge (f.), OHG. hiniberti, OL G. hindbri, Du. hinnebesie, Fris. hinnhebei, raspberry. This West Germanic compound was borrowed into Dan., Norw. hindbær; it is also found in Swed. hindbär, but only in the originally Danish provinces of Schonen, Halland, Blekinge (see Loewe, Germanische Pflanzennamen, p. 152).

50. OE. hindcelf (n.), OHG. hiniklaf, OL G. hindkalf, MDu. hindcalf, fawn: possibly earlier than West Germanic: see ON. hindarkalf.

51. OE. kryegbān (n.), OHG. krukeibein, OL G. ruggebēn, OFr. regbēn, backbone.

52. OE. kryegbrād (pl.), OHG. ruggebrāto (m.), MLG. and MDu. ruggebrade, flesh on each side of the spine.

53. OE. hūstede (m.), OHG. hūстат (f.), OL G. hūstedi (f.), MDu. and OFr. hūsted (f.), place where a house is built.

54. OE. kypbān (n.), OHG. kufbein, OL G. hubbēn, MDu. heupbeen, hip-bone.

55. OE. lāmweyrht (m.), OHG. leimweurhto, MLG. lēmwerter, potter. In OHG. the compound is found only in the Tatian, translatingīgulus, and in OE. only in Lind. Mt. 27, 7; 27, 10. The OHG. compound may be borrowed from OE., but the MLG. lēmwerter suggests that it was originally a West Germanic formation which has become obsolete in HG.

56. OE. landsēta (m.), OHG. lantsāzo, MLG. and MDu. lantsate, OFris. londāsia, colonist.

57. OE. landsēdla (m.), OHG. lantsidilo, MLG. lantsdel, colonist. It is doubtful which of these two compounds (Nos. 56 and 57) is original. The second is found in OHG. in the earliest glosses (Pa, K, Ra).

58. OE. lendenbān (n.), OHG. lendenbein, MLG. and MDu. lendenbeen, loin-bone, sacra spina.

59. OE. lendenbrāde (f.), OHG. lentihrāo, OL G. lendibrādo (m.), flesh on the loins.

60. OE. lōðsčipe (m.), OHG. liutosc (f.), OL G. liudskęp (n.), nation, people.

61. OE. lōðstefn (m.), OHG. liustam, OL G. liudstam, race, tribe.

62. OE. lōðifset (n.), OHG. liōhtfas, OL G. liōhtfat, MDu. liichtvat, lamp.

63. OE. liñferu (f.), OHG. liñnara, OL G. liñnara, MDu. liñiere, food, sustenance. See with different Ablaut the ON. liñning. The Dan. lināre sig and the Swed. liñnāra sig (live) appear to be borrowings from MLG.

64. OE. gelōdwyrt (f.), silverweed, MHG. lodwurz, MLG. lotwort, pimpernel.

65. OE. magencraft (f.), OHG. magankraft, OL G. megankraft, great strength.

66. OE. magōd (m.), OHG. magadheīt (f.), OL G. magadheī (f.), virginity.

67. OE. mædelssteðe (m.), OHG. mahalstat (f.), MLG. måldste (f.), MDu. maaldstat (f.), place of assembly.

68. OE. mōndād (f.), OHG. meintū, OL G. mēndā, crime.

69. OE. manslāga (m.), OHG. and OL G. manslago, OFris. mansla, murderer.

70. OE. manstieht (m.), OHG. and OL G. manslahta (f.), OFris. manslachta (f.), MDu. mansschlaht (f.), murder.

71. OE. meledēaw (m., n.), OHG. militōn (n.), OL G. milīdon (n.), mildew. The Dan. meldug and the Swed. mjöldugg are borrowed from MLG. The first part of this compound contains the Primitive Germanic word for 'honey' (Gothic milīp). Owing to the obscurity of the first part the compound became obscure, and was replaced by MDu. hondichau, MHG. honigtau, Engl. (16th cent.) honey-dew, ON. huaningsdigg. Possibly the Engl. and Norse compounds are borrowed from German or Dutch.
Nominal Compounds in Germanic

72. OE. meolcsæt (n.), OHG. mütchfaz, MLG. melväk, milk-pail.
73. OE. meredēor (n.), OHG. meritiir, OLG. meridier, seal-animal.
74. OE. metseax (n.), OHG. massahs, OLG. meas, OFris. mes, food-knife.
75. ME. moldwærp (m.), OHG. moltwerf, OLG. moldwærp, MDu. moldwærp, mule. In Norse the term was originally restricted to Dan. and South Swed. (Dan. muldwarp, OSwed. muldwarper), and was there a borrowing from MLG. It is therefore improbable that the ME. moldwærp is a borrowing from Norse, as it is sometimes suggested.
76. OE. mnōnædag (m.), OHG. månetag, MLG. måndach, MDu. maendach, OFris. mōnendei, Monday; a loan-translation of dies lunae. The ON. månadagr is borrowed, probably from OE.
77. OE. mundbora (m.), OHG. munbloro, OLG. mundbora, guardian.
78. OE. mundbyrd (f.), OHG. muntpurt, OLG. mundburt, protection.
79. OE. nihtegale (f.), OHG. and OLG. nahtigala, MDu. nachte-gale, Fris. nachtegael, nightingale. The Dan. nattergal and Swed. nättergal are borrowed from MLG.
80. OE. nihiscada (m.), OHG. nahtscaio, MLG. nachtschade, MDu. nachtschade, deadly nightshade. The Dan. natskade and the Swed. nattskatta are borrowed from MLG.
81. Engl. needfire (17th cent.), OLG. nødfyr, MHG. nötvur (n.), fire made from dry wood by rubbing. The Engl. needfire probably goes back to an OE. *nœdfyr: see also Dan. nedid.
82. OE. nødfreuond (m.), OHG. nōsfrunt, MLG. nōtwurnt, MDu. noortwint, close relation, close friend.
83. OE. ordfruma (m.), OHG. ortfrum, OLG. ordfrum, creator.
84. OE. ranbēah (m.), OHG. ranbouh, OLG. ranbóh, boss of a shield.
85. OE. regudropa (m.), OHG. regantropfo, MDu. regendrop, Fris. reindrop, raindrop.
86. OE. regnweeter (n.), OHG. reganwazzar, MLG. and MDu. regenwater, Fris. reinwetar, rainwater.
87. OE. söldendæ (m.), OLG. söldändi, OHG. (Hildebrandslied) söldiandi, sailor: an old poetical compound.
88. OE. scaraseax (n.), OHG. scarasaks, OLG. skarasaks, razor (see Kauffmann, Deutsche Altertumskunde, I, 147).

The West Germanic Compounds

89. OE. scinbæn, OHG. scinehein, MLG. schenehein, Du. schenen-been, Fris. skenbiin, shinbone. The Dan. skineben and Swed. skenben are borrowed from MLG.
90. OE. sculdēla (m.), OHG. sculdheiz(e)o, Langob. sculdhais, OLG. skuldhétio, MDu. schoutete, OFris. skelteta, bailiff. According to Kluge-Goette (under Schuldheiss) this term, denoting 'bailiff,' first appears in Langobardian, later at the end of the 8th century in Alemannic from where it spreads to Bavarian and Franconian. The compound must, however, be earlier than this, for it appears in the OE. Corpus Glossary 799, exactor, sculheta. Moreover, the absence of Umlaut in the first part of the OE. compound as compared with the simplex scylt suggests that the compound is an old one (see Introduction, p. xxxiv). The original meaning of the West Germanic compound must have been 'one who orders the fulfilment of obligations.'
91. OE. setlgang (m.), OHG. sedalgeng, OLG. selhelgang, setting of the sun.
92. OE. seglyrd (f.), OHG. segalgerta, OLG. segelgerd, sailyard.
93. OE. seglōð (f.), OHG. segelruota, MLG. segelröde, sailyard.
94. OE. gesīðscipe (m.), OHG. kisintscaf (f.), OLG. gisithskepi (n.) followers, society.
95. OE. smerucwyr (f.), German dial. schmewurwa, MDu. smeervort, smearwart, plant the sap of which is smeared on wounds.
96. OE. springwyr (f.), OHG. springwurza, MLG. spinkwurt, wild caper. The first part of this compound is not a verbal stem: see OHG. springa, wild caper.
97. OE. stafsweord (n.), OHG. stafswert, OLG. stafswerd, MDu. stafsweerd, javelin.
98. OE. stânbucca (m.), OHG. steinboc, Langobard. stainboc, OLG. sténbuc, MDu. steenboc, Fris. stienboc, mountain goat. It is suggested by Jordan, Die altenglischen Säugetiernamen, p. 142, that the OE. stânbucca, which is found only in Aelfric, is a borrowing from German. There is, however, no evidence for this. The compound may have denoted originally the wild goat and have been applied later to the ibex or mountain goat. The Dan. stenbuk is a borrowing from MLG.
99. OE. stëorðor (n.), OHG. stiurruder, OLG. stiurôder, MDu. stierroeder, rudder.
100. OE. sunnandæg (m.), OHG. sunnuntag, OLG. sunnundag MDu. somendach, OFris. sunnandei, Sunday; a loan-translation of dies solis. The ON. sunnudagr is borrowed, probably from OE. (see p. 37).
101. OE. tiwesdaeg (m.), OHG. ziestag, OFris. tyesdei, Tuesday; a loan-translation of Martis dies. The ON. tydsagr is borrowed, probably from OE.
102. OE. toðwyrn (m.), OHG. zanewurn, MLG. tenenwurm, toothache.
103. OE. dunuresdaeg (m.), OHG. donrestag, MLG. donerdacl, MDu. donerdach, OFris. thunresdei, Thursday; a loan-translation of Tuias dies. The ON. þörsdagr is borrowed, probably from OE.
104. OE. dödistel (m.), OHG. sidistel, OLG. dithistel, Westphalian auditory, sow-thistle. The first part of this compound is of unknown origin, and has been associated with OHG. and Mod. Engl. with G. Säu, Engl. sow.
105. OE. watræaf (n.), spoil from the slain, OHG. waltrowbâe, sloop of the slain. The compound is not recorded in LG. but the ON. warg of is a borrowing from MLG. and may be used as evidence of the existence of the compound there.
106. OE. waterfaet (n.), OHG. wassarfaet, MLG. and MDU. wertoraf, flagon.
107. OE. waterwyræt (f.), OHG. wassarwurs, MLG. waterwortel, starwort.
108. OE. wealdweaxo (f.), OHG. wallowalsy (m.), MLG. and MDU. wildewasse (f.), OFris. wallweaxe, spinal cord, backbone.
109. OE. webbeam (m.), OHG. woppiboum, LG. weveboom, weaver's beam.
110. OE. wegbriode (f.), OHG. wegebrieta, MLG. and MDU. wegebriade, Fris. weibré, way-bread, plantain. The Dan. webré is borrowed from OE. or MLG.
111. OE. werwild (n.), OHG. weragelt, MLG. wergeelt, MDU. wergerelt, OFris. wereld, compensation for a man's life: see the different formation in the ON. manngjöld.
112. OE. werewulf (m.), OHG. (nom. prop.) Weriswulf, MHG. werwolf, MLG. warwulf, MDU. werwulf, Fris. waerwulfe, werwolf. The Dan. and Norw. varulv and the Swed. varulf are borrowed from MLG. The West Germanic compound was borrowed from Frankish into Med. Latin guerulfus and from there into OFrench garoul (see Mod. French loupgarou). The ON. vargulfur which as Falk-Torp have shown (under varulv) occurs only in the Strengleikar, translated from French, is a modification of the West Germanic compound.
113. OE. willcumna (m.), welcome guest, OHG. (adj.) willikono, welcome, MLG. wilroke, MDU. wulkecome, Fris. wolkum. The ON. velkominn is a modification of the MLG. compound.
114. OE. winberge (f.), OHG. and MLG. winberi, MDU. wijnere, grape: possibly a West Germanic compound; on the ON. vinber and the Gothic weinabassee see p. 69.
115. OE. winscot (f.), OHG. winscota, MLG. windscufla, winnowing fan. The OE. and German compounds have different Ablaut forms in the second part.
116. OE. wingeard (m.), OHG. wingarto, MLG. wingardo, MDU. wijngeart, vineyard: on the ON. vingardr and the Gothic weinagard see p. 69.
117. OE. gewitscepe (m.), OHG. givitsceaf (f.), OLG. giwitskepi (m.), testimony.
118. OE. wândesdaeg (m.), MLG. wodensdacl, MDU. wœnsdaeg, OFris. wœrmisdei, Wednesday; a loan-translation of Mercurii dies. The compound is not recorded from HG. where it has been supplanted by Mittwoch. The ON. ðëmsdagr is a borrowing, probably from OE.
119. OE. wôhrana (m.), OHG. orrehano, MDU. woerhane, mountain cock. The OE. wör, Du. woer, and the OHG. orrestand in Ablaut relation to each other. The first part of the compound itself denoted the male bird and the compound is therefore tautological (see ON. or). In the OHG. uhrane, MLG. ärhane the first part of the compound has been associated with ërochso, and it is in this form that the compound was borrowed into Dan. urhane, Norw. aarhane (see Falk-Torp under aarfulg and Kluge-Goetze under Auerhahn).
120. ME. wandelic, OHG. witewol (m. and f.), MLG. and MDU. wedewale, Fris. widewol, woodwall, Golden Oriole.
121. OE. wundortácem (n.), OHG. wuntarseichan, OLG. and OFris. wundértêken, miraculous sign.
122. OE. wynsang (m.), joyful song, OHG. winnesang, joyful song, Fris. winnasangh, bridal song.
123. OE. wyrmwyrt (f.), OHG. wurmes, MLG. wernmowr, wormwort.
124. OE. wyrtscâla (f.), OHG. wurtsela, MLG. and MDU. wertele, root. The compound, which means literally 'plant-staff,' is obscured in German.
(b) English—High German

The compounds in this group are old West Germanic formations, which are not recorded in LG. or Dutch.

1. OE. ǣglāc (n.), trouble, distress, misery, OHG. aigilaihi (n.), phalanx. The OHG. compound is found only in Pa, K 142, 37. The etymology of the compound and its original meaning are obscure, but there seems little doubt that the OE. and OHG. formations are connected with each other despite the difference in meaning. On the etymology see Holthausen, IF. 20, 316, who connects the first part with the Greek αἰγιλάς, lance.

2. OE. ārfaet (n.), OHG. ārfaet, bronze vessel.

3. OE. bānbeorge (f.), OHG. beinberga, leg-armour; probably originally 'leggings': see healsbeorg (section (a), No. 45).

4. OE. bānris (n.), OHG. beinreis, leggins. The OHG. compound is found only in Rf. I, 665, 15; 665, 20.

5. OE. brūdboda (m.), OHG. brūdebodo, paranymph, bridesman.

6. OE. cnereis (n.), OHG. kniereis, kneeshoe. The OHG. compound is found only in Gl. II, 371, 55; see bānris (No. 4).

7. OE. cymerce (n.), OHG. kumirce, nation, king's rule.

8. OE. cydself (n.), OHG. kāzelipp, rennet: see with different Ablaut MHG. kāselab, Du. kásleib.

9. OE. fæderseol (n.), Langob. faderfio, dowry paid by the father.

10. OE. fugolcynn (n.), OHG. fgalchunni, birds. The OHG. compound is found only in Pa, K, 48, 25.

10a. OE. goldwine (m.), generous friend, prince, MHG. goltwine, vassel.

11. OE. guman (m.), OHG. goman, man: not a tautological formation, as is sometimes claimed, as the second part has the meaning 'homo': see OE. wifmann.

12. OE. healsbeag (m.), OHG. halsboueg, necklace.

13. OE. herelud (f.), OHG. herikunna, booty. The OHG. compound is found only in Rd, Jb, I, 282, 48; 287, 24.

14. OE. hireid (m.), OHG. hīrī (m. and f.), family: on the ON. hírō, which is borrowed from OE., see p. 35.

15. OE. hrifwund (adj.), wounded in the belly, OHG. (Lex Alem. and Baiu.) ireuauat (f.), wound in the belly.

16. OE. lēċedōm (m.), OHG. lāhtuom (m. and n.), medicine. The OHG. compound is found in the earliest glosses (Pa, K, Ra). The ON. læktidōm is borrowed from OE. (see p. 36).

17. OE. landbūantz (m.), OHG. lantpūantz, husbandman. The OHG. compound, which is an old formation, is found only in the earliest glosses, Voc. III, 8, 19; R, 77, 16.

18. OE. meitsceall (m.), OHG. mietscas (m.), payment, reward. The OHG. formation survives only in the Tatian (see p. 15).

19. OE. nyðgestella (m.), OHG. nōdigistallo, comradeship in need.

20. OE. nōtnym (m.), OHG. nōtnyma, violator.

21. OE. nūdnēm (f.), OHG. nōtnēma, forcible seizure. In OHG. this compound was replaced by the formation nūtnum, which was borrowed into MLG. and Fris.

22. OE. sceattwyrph, to make the payment to the bridgroom on which the bride passes to his power from that of the father, OHG. sceawurp (m.). The OHG. compound which is found only in Gl. II, 120, 39, translates manumissio. The OE. verb is a derivative from a compound noun *sceattwyrp. On this old West Germanic legal term see Schroeder, ZvglSph. 48, 270.

23. OE. scīnlāc (n.), OHG. scinnech, magic; clearly an old West Germanic formation found in German only in the early glosses, R, Re, Ib.

24. OE. scoflēd (n.), OHG. scofleod, poem.

25. OE. seolferst (n.), OHG. silbarfaz, silver vessel.

26. OE. sīmsēs (f.), OHG. sīsmūs, doormouse.

27. OE. sperescaft (m.), OHG. sperscaft, spear-shaft.

28. OE. sunngihet (f.), solstice, MHG. sunegih, excorisation of the sun at the time of the solstice.

29. OE. defandorn, dŷfærn (m.), OHG. depandorn. The etymology and meaning of this compound are obscure. In OE. it appears to mean 'buckthorn, hawthorn'; in OHG. it is found only once in R, 237, 34 where it glosses rammus.

30. OE. diseltinga (m.), OHG. distelzwang, thistle-finch. The second part of this compound is a verbal noun to OE. twengan, OHG. zwengan; see also Swabian Distelzwinglein.

31. OE. diseltwige (f.), OHG. distelwige (n.), thistle-finch. The second part of the compound is a verbal noun to OHG. zwigen, pluck, which in both languages has been associated with OE. twiG. OHG. zwIg. A more original form of the German compound is found in Gl. III, 296, 13 distelwIzo < *distelzwIzo. In addition to these two names of the bird (Nos. 30 and 31) the common term in OHG. is distelfinko,
which appears in MLG. as thiselwinc, MDu. distelwink. The
Engl. thistlefeich, which is recorded from 1589, may be a
borrowing from LG. or Du. (see Suolæhti, Deutsche Vogel-
namen, p. 115 f.).
32. OE. wæfersyn (f.), OHG. wabarsiuni (n.), spectacle. The
OHG. compound is found only in the Tatian, but can hardly
be considered a borrowing from OE. on account of the differ-
ing form and gender. The formation appears to be an old West
Germanic one which survives in the archaic Tatian.
33. OE. wæderæp (m.), OHG. wdæreif, halyard: an old com-
 pound which survives in OHG. only in R, 242, 16.
34. OE. wæternædre (f.), OHG. wassarnälera, water-snake;
recorded in the earliest German glosses K, Ra, and later.
35. OE. wiægdorm (m.), OHG. wiægtuorm (m. and n.), prophecy.
36. OE. wiædora (m.), Langob. vante poro, orator, prophet.
37. OE. wiædusin (f.), OHG. wiæsina, pile of wood.
38. OE. wullmæd (m.), OHG. wollameit, distaff. The OHG.
 compound is found only in Voc. III, 7, 21.
39. OE. wrohtstaef (m.), OHG. ruogstab, accusation. The two
compounds are not identical in form. The OE. wrohtstaef
is formed with the fem. wroht as the first part, whereas the
German compound seems to have been associated with the
verbal stem of ruogan. Nevertheless, the formation is an
old one, as the compounds with stab in the second part and
abstract meaning are archaic in OHG.: ruogstab is found
only in Tatian and Otfrid.
40. OE. wynlæst (f.), OHG. wunnilæst, sensual pleasure.
41. OE. wyrmyrn (n.), OHG. wurmnunn, reptiles. Like
fagalchunn (No. 10 above) this compound is found only in
the earliest OHG. glosses, Pa, K, Ra.

(c) English—Low German (including Frisian and Dutch)

The compounds in this group are either old West Germanic
formations which have become obsolete in High German, or
new formations made in the Lower Rhine area before the migra-
tion to England. In this list are included compounds of the
latter type which spread later to High German.

1. OE. æleþu (f.), MDu. aalpouit, eel-pout. See also with
transposed parts, MDu. puitaal, OFris. puitaal, MLG. pütəl.
The HG. term is Allepou.

2. OE. bæcbord (n.), MLG. backbord; Du. baakboart, Fris.
bakboart, larboard. Although the term refers to the Primitive
Germanic method of steering a ship, it is probably an English-
Low German formation. The HG. Backbord is a modern
borrowing from LG. The ON. bakkordi (m.) cannot be
derived from the same compound as the West Germanic
forms, and is probably a modification of the MLG. com-
 pound: see also störbord (No. 76 below).
3. OE. hæggifa (m.), OLG. bøggebo, giver of rings; a kenn-
ing for king. The compound is an old West Germanic poetical
compound, found only in the Helian and OE. poetry.
4. OE. bedreda (m.), bedridden person, MLG. and MDu. bedede, bedridden. The compound is probably an old West Germanic
one, replaced in OHG. by a different formation, betetiriso.
5. OE. bedscipe (m.), OLG. bediscpe, cohabitation: an old
compound found only in OE. poetry and the Helian.
6. OE. bæh歆panne (f.), MLG. bægenpanne, MDu. bægenpanne,
OFris. bægipanne, skull. Possibly an old compound as the
second part was borrowed from Latin before the Anglo-
Saxons left the Continent. OHG. has a different formation,
hîrnescâula.
7. OE. bærosicaru (f.), OLG. briosthara, anxiety; a poetical
compound found only in OE. poetry and the Helian.
8. OE. cýseliþág (n.), MDu. caswei, whey: see the OHG.
hástiwaazâr.
9. OE. dæðhanor (m.), LG. duthoamer, sedge. (See Engl. Stud.
41, 165.)
10. OE. dyrulfoic (n.), OLG. dyrulfołk, troop: an old poetical
compound: see also ON. folkdrott.
11. OE. dyrulscipe (m.), OLG. dyrulscopi, lordship, rule: the
compound is found only in poetry.
12. OE. ðæsping (m.), OLG. ðæsþpe, fountain, spring.
13. OE. ðæstræm (m.), OLG. ðæstram, river. The OE.
compound is found only in Da. 385, the OLG. one only in the
Hel.
14. OE. ealufæt (n.), OLG. aüfat, ale-jug.
15. OE. ærlæppa (m.), MLG. œrlæppa, Du. œrlæppje, OFris.
œrlæppa, lobe of the ear. The HG. Oërlæppchen, the Dan.
and Norw. œrlæpp, and the Swed. œrlæpp are borrowed from
LG.
16. OE. egis(f)grima (m.), terror-mask, ghost, MLG. egisgrimol, demon. The MLG. compound is found only in G. IV, 178, 27.
17. OE. *ellendæð* (f.), OLG. *ellundad*, heroic deed: found only in poetry.
18. OE. *feolscæt* (n.), OLG. *fehuskat*, money. The OE. compound is found only in Da. 774, the OLG. one only in the Hel.
19. OE. *feorhcuðæð* (f.), OLG. *feralhquða*, death, killing: both compounds are found only in poetry.
20. OE. *folcynning* (m.), OLG. *folcynning*, king of a nation: both compounds are found only in poetry.
21. OE. *folcseip* (m.), OLG. *folcseip*, nation: both compounds are found only in poetry.
22. OE. *folcweoras* (m. pl.), OLG. *folcweoras*, men of the same people: both compounds are found only in poetry.
23. OE. *freōswæð* (f.), OLG. *frīðuwaða*, covenant: both compounds are found only in poetry.
24. OE. *garshoppa* (m.), LG. *grashupper*, Du. *grashopper*, Fris. *grashüpper*, grasshopper. The Dan. and Norw. *grashopp*, and the Swed. *gräshoppa* are borrowed from MLG. The compound is not found in OHG, where the corresponding term is *heruiserecho*. The Mod. German provincial *Grashüfer* has spread from LG.
25. OE. *gæsstele* (m.), OLG. *gastsele*, hall for the followers (not ‘guest-hall’ as in Clark Hall; see Neckel, PBB. 32, 565): both compounds are found only in poetry.
26. OE. *gærmaiðum* (adv.), year by year, MLG. järmál (n.), period of a year, MDu. *jaermael*, OFris. *jërmel*. The Dan. and Norw. *aaremaal* is borrowed from MLG.
27. OE. *gielpcweide* (m.), OLG. *gelpquidi*, boastful speech: both compounds are found only in poetry.
28. OE. *gumcyn* (n.), OLG. *gumkuni*, mankind: a variation on *mannycyn*: both compounds are found only in poetry.
29. OE. *gumcwyst* (f.), OLG. *gumkust*, bravery, excellence: both compounds are found only in poetry.
30. OE. *hámstittende* (m.), OLG. *hëmsittendi*, home-possessor (in OLG. a kenning for ‘prince’).
31. OE. *handcraf* (f.), strength of the hands, handicraft, OLG. *handkraft*, strength.
32. OE. *handwyrst* (f.), MLG. *hantrost*, OFris. *hondriust*, wrist.
33. OE. *hëadwon* (f.), OLG. *hëbadwunda*, OFris. *hëvedwunde*, head-wound. See the Gothic *hauþpund*, wounded in the head.

34. OE. *helmberend* (m.), OLG. *helmberend*, helmeted warrior: see also ON. *hjalmberi*; the OE. and OLG. compounds are found only in poetry.
35. OE. *hererinc* (m.), OLG. *heririnc*, warrior: both compounds are found only in poetry.
36. OE. *hornrese* (m.), OLG. *hornresi*, house the gables of which are decorated with horns. The OE. compound is found only in Gen. 1821, and the OLG. one only in Hel. 3686.
37. OE. *huscowd* (n.), OLG. *huscowrd*, insult: both compounds are found only in poetry.
38. OE. *invinitid* (m.), OLG. *invicinid*, cunning hostility: both compounds are found only in poetry.
39. OE. *lagustréam* (m.), OLG. *laguström*, sea: both compounds are found only in poetry.
40. OE. *lëðwerd* (m.), OLG. *lëðwerk*, evil deed: both compounds are found only in poetry.
41. OE. *orleghwil* (f.), wartime, OLG. *orlaghwila*, fateful time: both compounds are found only in poetry.
42. OE. *legerbedd* (n.), OLG. *legrbed*, sick bed.
43. ME. *leodfolc* (n.), OLG. *liudfolk*, nation, people. The ME. compound is found only in Layamon, and may well be an old formation, not recorded in OE.
44. OE. *leodsceada* (m.), OLG. *liudskodo*, public enemy (in OLG. a kenning for Satan): both compounds are found only in poetry.
45. OE. *leoddwera* (m. pl.), OLG. *liudwero*, men: both compounds are found only in poetry.
46. OE. *leoddwored* (n.), OLG. *liudwerod*, host of people: both compounds are found only in poetry.
47. OE. *leodubend* (m. and f.), OLG. *lëdobendi* (f. pl.), fetter: both compounds are found only in poetry.
48. OE. *licwund* (f.), OLG. *lëcwunda* (f.), body wound: both compounds are found only in poetry.
49. Engl. (14th cent.) *loadstar*, MLG. *leidestern*, MHG. *leitstern*, Du. *leidstar*, loadstar. The compound, like many of the Germanic nautical terms, is probably an Engl.-LG. formation which spread from LG. into MHG. *leitstern*, and into ON. *leiddarstjarna* (see Falk, Altnord. Seewesen, p. 16). The first part of the compound was originally a noun corresponding to the OE. *læd*, which has been associated in German with the verb *leiten*.
50. OE. *mëdland* (n.), MLG. *mëdeltan*, OFris. *madeland*, meadowland.
51. OE. mægwine (m.), OLG. mægwini, relative who is a friend: both compounds are found only in poetry.

52. OE. magenfolc (n.), OLG. meginfolc, large company: the compound is found in OE. only in Cr. 877, and in OLG. only in the Hel.

53. OE. mandryhten, OLG. mandrohtin, lord, master: both compounds are found only in poetry.

54. OE. mænsceada (m.), OLG. mënscado, enemy, sinner (kenning for Satan): both compounds are found only in poetry.

55. OE. mænsyld (f.), OLG. mënsculd, crime, sin: both compounds are found only in poetry.

56. OE. mænweorc (n.), OLG. mënwerch, Fris. mënwerch, crime.

57. OE. manweord (n.), OLG. manverod, troop, company.

58. OE. mædumgifu (m.), OLG. mëdøjgeda, giver of treasure, king: both compounds are found only in poetry.

59. OE. mæðumhord (n.), OLG. mëðumhord, treasure-hoard: both compounds are found only in poetry.

60. OE. merestræm (m.), OLG. meriström, sea: both compounds are found only in poetry.

61. OE. metodgesceaf (f.), OLG. metodigiscæf (n.), fate, doom: both compounds are found only in poetry.

62. OE. mædcaru (f.), OLG. mëðhara, sorrow: both compounds are found only in poetry.

63. OE. nidiscipe (m.), OLG. nidiscipi, hatred, enmity.

64. OE. porlæc (n.), MLG. porlōc, MDu. porlo, leek. The first part of the compound is borrowed from the Latin porrum, and the compound may have been formed before the Anglo-Saxons left the Continent (see also ymnelēc, No. 98 below). The Dan. and Norw. purrelag and the Swed. purjolōc are borrowed from MLG.

65. OE. ræradumbla (m.), MLG. raredump, bittern; on this compound and the modifications in HG. Rohrdommel, MDu. rosdommel see p. 20.

66. OE. regnūðef (m.), OLG. reginθiθief, arch-thief: both compounds are found only in poetry.

67. OE. sateri(n)esdēog (m.), MLG. satersdach, MDu. saterdach, OFris. saterdei, Saturday: a loan-translation of Saturni dies.

68. OE. sēstrēam (m.), OLG. sëostrëm, sea.

69. OE. sēʒō (f.), OLG. sëozia, sea-wave.

70. OE. scearnwibba, scearnwifel (m.), MLG. schaernwivel, dung-beetle. The ODan. skarnvippe, skarnvippe is probably a modification of the MLG. compound: see also ON. tordýfill, p. 52.

71. OE. sigedryhten, OLG. sigidrohtin (m.), victorious lord, God. The compound is not necessarily a Christian formation, as it is used once in Beowulf of an earthly ruler.

72. OE. slēdhorn (m.), OLG. slēðhorn, MDu. sleeedhorn, black-thorn. The compound Schleidhorn is found late in HG., and judging from the examples quoted in DWB., mainly in North German writers. The Dan. and Norw. slaaetorn is borrowed from MLG. (see also the different formation in Swed. slåbär).

73. OE. bismerspræc (f.), OLG. bismerspræca, mockery.

74. OE. sprehehand (f.), MLG. sprehehant, MDu. speerhant, OFris. spirihond, male side. The corresponding term for the female side appears only in MDu. spindelhant. The MLG. spillside, OFris. spindelsida, OE. spinheelhant seem to be later modifications of the original compound which survives in MDu.

75. OE. stōnfæt (n.), OLG. stënfaet, stone vessel.

76. OE. stōrbord (n.), MLG. stürburt, Du. stuurbord, OFris. stjurbord, starboard. The HG. Steurboard, which is not recorded until 1480, is borrowed from LG. The ON. stjörn-bordi (m.), which cannot be derived from the same compound as the West Germanic forms, is also in all probability a loan-translation from LG. The Dan. styrbord is certainly a borrowing from MLG. and not a descendant of the ON. compound: see also baebord (No. 2 above).

77. OE. sylax (f.), MLG. sülæxe, double-edged axe.

78. OE. trewuloga (m.), OLG. treulogo, traitor: the compound is found in OE. only in B. 2847, and in OLG. only in Hel. 4620.

79. OE. dēodguma (m.), OLG. thiodguma, man, warrior: both compounds are found only in poetry.

80. OE. dēodseada (m.), OLG. thiodscado, criminal (in OLG. a kenning for the Devil).

81. OE. wæglēnd (m.), OLG. wæglēnd, sea-farer: both compounds are found only in poetry.

82. OE. wēpenberend (m.), OLG. wāpenberend, weapon-bearer: see also OE. wāpenbora.

83. OE. wērolga (m.), OLG. wārlogo, pledge-breaker: both compounds are found only in poetry.

84. OE. wamdaed (f.), OLG. wamdd, Du. wandaad, < *wamdaed, crime, sin.

85. OE. wansceada (m.), OLG. wanscado, enemy, devil: both compounds are found only in poetry.
86. OE. wundewezter (f.), MLG. wandworp, windeworp, mole: see also mouldwarp, p. 102.
87. OE. willispell (n.), OLG. wilispel, good tidings: both compounds are found only in poetry.
88. OE. winsele (n.), OLG. winselfi, banqueting hall: both compounds are found only in poetry.
89. OE. winetrów (f.), OLG. winitrewe, faithfulness of a friend or lover: both compounds are found only in poetry.
90. OE. winteregel (n.), OLG. wintargital, number of years: both compounds are found only in poetry: see also ON. vetratal
91. OE. witewamm (m.), OLG. (Lex Sax.) wilitwam, OFris. wilitwam, disfigurement of the face.
92. OE. wōdewistle (f.), MLG. wédewesele, hemlock. The compound, recorded in Gl. III, 596, 31 as wédewesle, is in a LG. glossary.
93. OE. wordwicde (m.), OLG. wordquidi, speech.
94. OE. wundorweorc (n.), MLG. wunderwerk, OFris. wunderwerk, miracle.
95. OE. wraescid (m.), OLG. wræcsid, journey into exile, misery, persecution.
96. OE. wyrdgesceapum (adv.), by chance, OLG. wurdgiscapu (n. pl.), decree of fate. The OE. compound is an adverbial dative plural of a compound noun.
97. OE. yfesdrype (m.), dropping from the eaves, ground between the line where the water falls from the eaves and the building, MDu. oosdrup (the same as the second meaning of the OE. compound), OFris. äsedropta, eaves-sput. A similar formation, but with a weak masc. in the second part, exists in ON. upsardropi, drip from the eaves.
98. OE. ynalæc (n.), LG. ulk, onion. The first part of the compound was borrowed in the Lower Rhine area from the Latin unio. The formation spreads in late OHG. to Middle Franconian where it appears as unelouh (see Frings, p. 103).

(d) English—Frisian

The majority of the compounds in this group are probably old West Germanic formations which have become obsolete in German. A few may be new formations made in the Anglo-Frisian area before the Anglo-Saxons left the Continent.

1. OE. bæarnþēam (m.), OFris. bernþām, procreation, issue.
2. OE. dēadgēdēl (n.) separation by death, OFris. dāthdēl, killing; on the disappearance of the prefix in the second part of the Fris. compound, see PBB. 14, 234.
3. OE. feaxfang (m.), OFris. faxfang, seizing by the hair: an old legal term.
4. OE. fenland (n.), OFris. fenlond, fenland.
5. OE. friðād (m.), OFris. frethēk, oath of peace.
6. OE. gēarrim (m.), OFris. ierrim, number of years.
7. OE. hearthana (m.), OFris. herthama, pericardium.
8. OE. hlīnbedd (n.), OFris. hlenbed, sick-bed: an old compound, found in OE. only in B. 3034.
9. OE. lēodwīta (m.), OFris. liudwīta, wise man of the people.
10. OE. lundlaga (m.), OFris. lundlaga, kidney.
11. OE. nosþyrl (n.), OFris. nosterl, nostril.
12. OE. dēohscaanca (m.), OFris. thiachskunk, thigh-bone.
13. OE. strotbolla (m.), OFris. strotbolla, larynx.

(e) German—Frisian

Owing to the lateness of the Frisian texts the compounds in this group are difficult to judge. Certainly most of the parallels between German and Frisian are late formations made in German and borrowed through MLG. into Frisian. Some of them may, however, be old West Germanic formations, which have become obsolete in Engl., and others early formations made after the Anglo-Saxons left the Continent. The following are in all probability early formations:

1. MLG. bailemunt (n.), OHG. palemund, OFris. balumond, unfaithful guardian.
2. OHG. brūdestul (m.), MLG. brūstul, MDu. bruustol, OFris. brestul, bride's chair: see also ON. brestarstol.
3. OLG. dagething (n.), OHG. tagading, MDu. dading, OFris. deithing, legal term: probably an old West Germanic compound which has died down in OE. The ON. dagðing (conference) is borrowed from MLG.
4. OHG. dingstul (m.), MLG. dinkstul, MDu. dingstoel, OFris. thingstol, judgment seat.
5. OHG. ęsago (m.), OLG. ěsago, OFris. ěsea, law-giver, judge.
6. OHG. fēstslag (m.), MLG. vūstslach, MDu. wuustslach, OFris. fētslsek, blow with the fist. The compound does not appear in OE., but see OE. fyöstlagen, struck with the fist.
7. OHG. gríswartered, OLG. griedward, MDu. griedwaerde, OFris. grietwerder, arenac custos, herald.
8. OHG. harmscarā (f.), OLG. harmskarā, MDu. harmschare, OFris. hermschere, afflicion, punishment. The OE. hermscearc, which is found only in Gen. B., is probably a borrowing from OLG., although as the compound is probably an old West Germanic formation, it must once have existed in OE.
9. OHG. heðstādt (f.), MLG. herdstat, MDu. hertsted, OFris. hertlstede, hearth-place.
10. OLG. hērbebendi (f. pl.), OFris. herebende, heavy fetters.
11. OHG. hrērumb (m.), MLG. rērōf, MDu. reeroot, Langob. rairuub, OFris. hrērōf (n.), spoil from the slain: see also wētrēaf, p. 104.
12. OHG. kinnibacho (m.), OLG. kinnebako, MDu. kinnebake, OFris. kinbaka, jaw-bone. The Dan. kindbakke and Swed. kinbakke are borrowed from MLG.
13. OHG. liklāwine (f.), MLG. liklāwe, MDu. liclauwe, OFris. likiēwe, scar on the body. The second part of the compound is obscure.
14. OHG. moctwilloc (m.), MLG. mōdwill, MDu. moetwille, OFris. mōdwiilla, wish, intention.
15. MHG. nōtraup (m.), MLG. nōdrōf, OFris. nēdrōf, violent robbery.
16. MLG. walsene (f.), OFris. waldsine, spinal cord; possibly an old compound: see wealdwease, p. 104.

In addition to the above groups there are no doubt early West Germanic compounds which have survived only in the High German—Low German—Dutch area, but as with the exception of the Heliland and Genesis the Low German and Dutch texts are late and considerably influenced by High German, it is scarcely possible to distinguish between the old West Germanic compounds and those which were formed in High German and borrowed into Low German and Dutch. Moreover, an examination of the parallels between the earliest Low German texts (Heliland and Genesis) and Old High German shows that there are very few compounds recorded only in the German area which could be old West Germanic formations, and that their number is no greater than the probable old formations recorded only in one Germanic language. It does not seem, therefore, that any useful purpose would be served by recording the parallels between High German—Low German—Dutch.
11. OE. hollēac (n.), OHG. hollouch, OLG. hollák, onion.
12. OE. gemēnscipe (m.), OHG. gimeinscāf (l.), MLG. mēnschaf (l.), MDu. gemeenscap (f.), Fris. geminscep (f.), community. The formation is an old one, as it is recorded in the earliest German glosses, Pa, K, Ra.
13. OE. midgern(e) (m.), OHG. mittigarni (n.), OLG. midgarni, intestinal fat.
14. OE. nēah(e)būr (m.), OHG. nāhgbūr, OLG. nābūr, MDu. nagebuur, Fris. neibur, neighbour: compare the different formations in ON. návbó, nágarni.

(b) English—High German
1. OE. ēdelgīelp (n.), OHG. ēlghelf (m.), vainglory. It is doubtful whether this compound is an original West Germanic formation, as it is found only once in OHG. in Gl. II, 320, 15, glossing inanis gloria.
2. OE. saemwist (f.), OHG. samewist, living together. The OHG. samantwist, living together, and the OE. samowist, a being one with, are independent formations.
3. OE. smaelbearnas (m. pl.), OHG. smaeltherme, small intestines; the OHG. compound is found only in the late gloss, III, 722, 26.

(c) English—Low German (including Frisian)
1. OE. fyrndagas (m. pl.), OLG. forndagos, days of yore.
2. OE. midlhrif (m. and n.), MLG. middeirif, Early Mod. Du. middeirif, OFris. midhre, midriff, diaphragm. The original compound appears to have been modified in MLG. and MDu. The Engl. middeirif, which is recorded from 1599, is a borrowing from MLG. (see Bense).
3. OE. midlhrīde (n.), MLG. middere, OFris. midhirthe, midriff, diaphragm: apparently a variant of No. 2.
4. OE. openērs (m.), MLG. apenärseken (n.), medlar. The compound is hardly a Bahauvrihi formation, but rather a metaphorical transference of a determinative. The first part is clearly the adj. 'open,' and not as Fabian suggests (p. 30) the noun 'ape.' This term for Mespilus germanica was coined in the Lower Rhine area before the Anglo-Saxons left the Continent (see Frings, 99; Hoops, Waldbäume und Kulturpflanzen, 577 f.).
5. OE. sōdspel (n.), OLG. sōspel, true saying, true story.

6. OE. wanscaeft (f.), OLG. wanscefti (f. pl.), misery: both compounds are recorded only in poetry.
7. OE. waleÓnutu (f.), MLG. walnut, MDu. walnut, Fris. walnut, walnut. The compound is a loan-translation of nux gallica, made in the Lower Rhine area before the Anglo-Saxons left the Continent. Later the compound spreads to High German, where it is recorded from 1716, and is also borrowed from MLG. into ON. valnótt (see Kluge-Goetze under Walnuss, and Hoops, loc. cit.).

(d) English—Frisian
There are no parallels in this group.

(e) German—Frisian
All the parallels in this group, recorded on p. 149 f, are either German formations borrowed into Frisian or independent formations.

(iii) Verb + Substantive
It has already been shown that this type did not exist in Primitive Germanic, and it is generally assumed that it developed independently in the Germanic languages. It should, however, be noted that examples of the type are found in the earliest English and German glosses (see scribisaern, Pa, K, 24, 23), and that there are early parallels between English and German. It is therefore possible that the type was already present in West Germanic.

1. OE. bærnsen (n.), OHG. brennisarn, MLG. berniseren, MDu. berniser, branding iron. The Mod. Dan. brandejsær may be an independent formation.
2. OE. hævestän (m.), OHG. wæzststein, MLG. and MDu. wëststén, whetstone.

(iv) Substantive + Adjective
(a) English—High German—Low German—(including Frisian)
1. MHG. appelgrā, OLG. appelgrā, MDu. appelgrau, OFris. appelgrē, English (from 14th cent.) dapple-grey, dapple-grey. It is doubtful whether the formation is an old one, as the
English compound may be borrowed, like the ON. apalgrár, from MLG.
2. OE. ärîlæs, OHG. ärîlîs, MLG. ärîlîs, MDu. eerlos, OFris. ärîlîs, without honour.
3. OE. erwerdig, OHG. erwîrdîg, MLG. erwerdîch, MDu. eerwerdich, OFris. erwerthîg, honourable.
4. OE. ãgsîyn, OHG. ãgsîtunîg, MLG. ãchsîn, MDu. ãgesiene, OFris. ãgsîun, visible to the eye, clearly visible. The compound has been substantived in the OHG. ãgsîtunî (n.), and the OFris. ãgsîun. The form ãsîyn, which is found in the OHG. Tatian, has a different Ablaut in the first part. The ON. ãgsîyn is borrowed from MLG.
5. OE. iesenhearde (f.), OHG. iesenhart, MLG. iesenhard, MDu. ieszart, vervain. The compound is a substantivized adjective: see OE. iesenheard, hard as iron.
6. OE. leodwîc, OHG. lidoweich. MLG. ledewîc, flexible. In MLG. the compound has been substantived, and denotes the Beta silvestris: see Mod. German Gliedweich.
7. OE. rihtwîs, OHG. rehtwîs, MLG. rehtwîse. The original meaning of this compound is preserved in MLG. ‘learned in the law’; it also appears in the earliest German glosses in a non-Christian significance: Pa, K, 156, 39, rationabilis, rehtwîsth. The compound was given a Christian significance in OE. (righteous) and in later German texts (Is, M), possibly under OE. influence. The ON. rîttwîs (righteous) is borrowed from OE.
8. OE. språclîs, OHG. språkhâlîs, MLG. språkelîs, Du. sprakeloos, Fris. sprakeleas, speechless.
9. ME. (1377) weatherwise, MHG. weterwîs, OLG. (Hel.) weterwîs, MDu. wederwîs, weather-wise.
10. OE. wirsum, OHG. willasam, MLG. wilsam, MDu. wilsam, desirable.
11. OE. wintereald, OLG. wintarkald, MHG. winterkalt, cold as in winter.
12. OE. wynsum, OHG. wunnisam, OLG. wunsam, pleasant, delightful.

(b) English—High German
1. OE. ëawis, OHG. agawis, æhtwis, augwîs, clear, obvious. On the different forms of the first part of this compound, which is the OE. ëæge, OHG. ūga, see Gröger, p. 20. The OE. compound is derived from an earlier form ëaw-wîs. A similar formation appears in the Polish oezwîs and Old Prussian aktwîsî, which suggests that the compound is pre-Germanic.
2. OE. folcfrîg, Langob. fulcfree, having full rights.
3. OE. fremful, OHG. fromofol, beneficial. Although the two compounds are not exactly parallel, the first parts standing in Ablaut relation to each other, the formation is an old one. The German compound is found only in the earliest glosses Pa, K, 84, 25; R, 55, 31.
4. OE. fremsum, OHG. frumusam, kind, gracious; the German compound is found only in the Monse-Vienna Fragments.
5. OE. freñful, OHG. frinfol, sinful; possibly an old West Germanic formation, as the type is archaic in HG. (see p. 15 f).
6. OE. wilhwende, OHG. wilwentîg, temporary: for an earlier formation with this meaning see hwælanhwîtrbe, p. 59.
7. OE. ëfstast, living, OHG. livfestîg, bring to life. The OHG. compound is found only in the Tatian and represents a dying type in HG. (see p. 16).
8. OE. ungemefast, OHG. uncamesefast, excessive, immoderate. The OHG. compound is found only in Pa, 182, 24: Pa, K, 182, 27, and is replaced in later texts by ungimeshaft.
9. OE. genyhtsum, OHG. ginuhtsum, sufficient.
10. OE. wilhrîmîg, OHG. willîrôm, rejoicing in a fulfilled wish. The OHG. compound is found only in GL, 19, 9, translating voti composit. The adjective is possibly a derivative from a compound noun: see OHG. willerum.
11. OE. ferwisgeornnis (f.), curiosity, OHG. ferwisgern, inquisitive: an old formation found in OE. in the Ep-Erf-Corp. Glossaries, and in OHG. in 10th century glosses and Notker.

(c) English—Low German (including Frisian)
1. OE. ealdorlang, OLG. aldarlang, OFris. alderlang, lifelong.
2. OE. ellenrôf, OLG. ellianruof, famed for strength.
3. OE. heorudrêor, OLG. herudrêor, blood-stained: possibly a derivative from a compound noun, see OE. heorudrêor, sword-blood: both compounds are found only in poetry.
4. OE. heorugrîm, OLG. herugrîm, savage, fierce: both compounds are found only in poetry.
5. OE. helegrîm, OLG. hetigrîm, fierce, cruel: both compounds are found only in poetry.
6. OE. legerfast, OLG. legarfast, bedfast.
7. OE. wīdmǣre, OHG. wittmāri, MLG. wittmēric, MDu. wittmerich, far-famed: an old formation which is found in OHG. only in the Tatian.

(b) English—High German
1. OE. ealgeor, OHG. aelgaro, quite ready. The formation may be an independent one, but it is found in OHG. in the Tatian, and in OE. in poetry.
2. OE. fēalōg, destitute, OHG. fahlgī, rarity. The second part of this compound is in OE. an adjective to the verb lōgtian, place, arrange. The OHG. formation is an abstract noun derived from an adjective *fōhlōg.
3. OE. sāmheal, OHG. sāmheil, infirm: an old formation, found in OHG. only in the early glosses, Ra, K, Rf.

(c) English—Low German (including Frisian)
1. OE. ædelboren, OHG. adalboran, of noble birth. It is suggested by Neckel, PBB. 41, 385, that this is an old Germanic formation consisting of a substantive and adjective. Neckel equates it with the ON. adalborinn, a variant of ððalborinn (native), but in that case we should expect to find the form ædelboran, not ædelboran in OE. It is preferable to regard the first part of this compound as the West Germanic adjective *adali-, noble. See also the OHG. (Hel.) compound edelgīburd which clearly has an adjective in the first part.
2. OE. leosēle, loving, beloved, of good repute, MLG. lēftaI East Fris. lēftallig, MDu. tieghetal, tieftal, of good repute. The formation of this compound is not clear, and owing to the different quantities of the vowels in the OE. and LG.-Du. compounds it is doubtful whether the two formations are connected. The second part of the Du. compound appears to be a Bahuvrihi adj. formed from the noun tal (speech), like the OHG. gēhr, gēlp, gēvar (see also the MDu. phrase līf tēt gētal, and the compound geotghetal, of good repute). The existence of the forms, MLG. lēftaI and MDu. tieftal, and the total absence of any forms ending in t make it unlikely that the second part of the compound is a past participle to the verb tēllen. If this etymology of the Du. compound is correct, the correct form of the OE. compound is lēftaI, and the second part is connected with talu, speech. According to Lessen (p. 141), the quantity of the
vowel in the second part of the OE. compound can only be established as long in one case: in suide leofstēle mid lēoda duguðum (high in favour with the best of men), Sol. 366. It is possible that the original form of the OE. compound was lēofstēl, and that by association with tēl (calumny) it was modified to lēofstēle.

(d) English—Frisian
1. OE. allēwe, OFris. eltē, complete, healthy, sound.

(e) German—Frisian
There are no original West Germanic formations in this group.

(vi) Verb + Adjective
The type did not exist in West Germanic. The formation OE. (ge)hlersum, OHG. gihōrsam, MLG. (ge)hōrsam, MDu. gehuorsam, Fris. hârsam, obedient, is an old West Germanic one, consisting of the stem of the verb OE. hieran, and the Primitive Germanic adjective *sama, but by the time it was made *sama had already become a suffix. The existence of this word is therefore no proof that the type verb + adjective occurred in West Germanic.

B. EXOCENTRICS

(i) Imperative Compounds
This type did not exist in West Germanic.

(ii) Substantive Bahuvrihis
The early parallels of this type in the West Germanic languages are loan-translations from Latin (see p. 154 f.).

(iii) Adjective Bahuvrihis
Numerical as First Member
The only addition to the types already existing in Primitive Germanic seems to be the Bahuvrihi formation with the word ‘year’ in the second part, e.g.:
OE. trìgēare, three years old, lasting three years: cf. OHG. zwižari, MLG. txejariich, MDu. txejariich, two years old, lasting two years. For the Primitive Germanic formation with this meaning, see twalibwintus, p. 65.

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Other Adjective Bahuvrihis
(a) English—High German—Low German (including Frisian)
1. OE. ânrâde, steadfast, constant, MDu. eenradich, steadfast, OHG. einrâti, agreeing, MLG. einradich, agreeing. The meaning of the compound differs in OE. and Du. as compared with German, but the OE. meaning appears once in the Tatian in the derivative, einrâdíluho. On the ON. einrádr (self-willed) see p. 94 f.
2. OE. ânwille, OHG. einwilli, MDu. eenwillich, obstinate. The formation appears in German only in the early gloss, R, 227, 17; in later texts it is modified as in MDu. to einwilig. The Bahuvrihi adjective is not found in ON., but see the noun einwilî, obstinacy. The corresponding noun in OHG. einwilli and OE. ânwilnes is a derivative from the adjective.
3. OE. fæstmôd, OHG. fastmuot, MLG. vastmôdich, OFris. festmôdich, constant.
4. OE. gâlmôd, OLG. gêlmôd, wanton, licentious: the Bahuvrihi is not found in this form in OHG., but see the reversed Bahuvrihi muotgeil (Gl. II, 715, 49).
5. OE. gladmôd, OLG. gladmôd, OHG. glatamuati, cheerful: an obsolete formation in HG. found only in the Benedictine Rule.
6. OE. hæamôd, OHG. höhumuot, MLG. hûmdich, MDu. homedich, high-spirited. The OHG. noun höhumuot, which is first found in the glosses to Notker’s Psalms, is a back-formation from the adj. höhumuotig. This is borrowed from HG. into MLG., MDu., and Fris., and further from MLG. into Dan. hovmod, Swed. högmod.
7. OE. lèohmôd, OHG. lihmutig, MDu. lichtmoedich, fickle.
8. OE. midfear (m. and n.), middle age, OHG. mittiferí (f.), OLG. midfiri (adj.), middle-aged. The formation is probably an old Bahuvrihi compound which has survived in OLG. and been substantived in OE. The OHG. mittiferí is a derivative from an adjective.
9. OE. scelôhthe, OHG. schélougi, MDu. scheelloge, squinting.
10. OE. stearcôd, OHG. stachmuot, OLG. starkmôd, MDu. starmoedich, strong-minded (in OE., stubborn).
11. OE. tornmôd, OHG. tornmuotig, MLG. tornmôdich, MDu. (noun) torenmuot, angry. The first part of this compound is a substantiated adjective in the West Germanic languages.
12. OE. wâcmôd, OLG. wêkmôd, OHG. weímuotî, weak-minded.
(b) English—High German

1. OE. elearord, OHG. elirartér, speaking a foreign language: the formation is an obsolescent one in OHG., where it is found only once in the early gloss R, 55, 14.
2. OE. gleánumód, OHG. (adv.) klauumóto, sagacious, careful: in OHG. the formation is found only in Gl. II, 762, 35, translating suspecto animo.
3. OE. hātheort, furious, wrathful, OHG. heizherzi (fem. noun). The formation is evidently an old one, as it is found in German only in the earliest glosses Pa, K; Rd, Jb. In later texts it is replaced by heizmuot, which is not recorded in OE.
4. OE. heardsēlig, OHG. hartsēlic, unhappy. This compound can hardly be a compound of heard and the adj. sēlig, as that would not give the negative meaning 'unhappy.' It appears to be a solitary relic of a Bahuvrihi formation with the OE. sēl (fortune) in the second part, and the original meaning is therefore 'having a hard lot.' The compound is recorded only once in OHG. in the 11th century gloss II, 627, 11.
5. OE. tidhelhende, MHG. tidhelhende, empty-handed: possibly an old formation, although it is not recorded until late in German (see Gothic laushandja, which has the same meaning).
6. OE. langfēre, OHG. langfēri, long-lived: the formation is obsolescent in HG., where it is found only once in the early gloss R, 204, 12.
7. OE. sparhende, OHG. unsparahenti, parsimonious: also an obsolescent formation in OHG. found only once in the early gloss Ra, 231, 4.
8. OE. toreniege, OHG. soranougi, blar-eyed: recorded only once in OHG. in Gl. II, 11, 24. The first part of the compound is a past participle to OE. teran, OHG. zeran.
9. OE. wēdenheort, OHG. wōtanherz, tyrannical. The OHG. compound is recorded only in the early glosses K, Ra, 258, 21. It is suggested by Fabian (pp. 121 and 299) that the first part of the OHG. compound is the present participle wōtani, but no other examples of this type of Bahuvrihi consisting of a pres. part. + noun are found in Primitive German or West Germanic, and it is unlikely that the t of the OHG. and the d of the OE. present participle would disappear in both languages. It is preferable to regard the first part of the compound as an adj. formed from the noun, OHG. wōt, OE. wōd, with the Germanic suffix -ina: see OHG. wārin, OE. gilpen, OLG. nīthin, Gothic ahmeins.

(c) English—Low German (including Frisian)

1. OE. bealuhydīg, OLG. beluhugdig, evil-minded: both compounds are found only in poetry.
2. OE. fītelfōt, OLG. fītelfōt, white-footed. The first part of this compound is of obscure origin.
3. OE. gēōmarmōd, OLG. jāmarmōd, sad.
4. OE. grāmhēort, OLG. grāmhērt, hostile-minded: both compounds are found only in poetry.
5. OE. grāmhīdyg, OLG. grāmhīdyg, hostile, malignant: both compounds are found only in poetry.
6. OE. hrōewigmōd, OLG. hriuwigmōd, sorrowful: both compounds are found only in poetry.
7. OE. sārgīmōd, OLG. sērgīmōd, mournful.

(d) English—Frisian

(e) German—Frisian

There are no original Bahuvrihi formations in these two groups.
CHAPTER V
PARALLEL AND INDEPENDENT FORMATIONS IN THE WEST GERMANIC LANGUAGES

A. Determinatives

(i) Substantive + Substantive

(a) English—High German—Low German (including Frisian)

1. OE. acedfæt (m.), OHG. ezzihsaz, MLG. etkvwat, vinegar vessel.

2. OE. afentid (f.), OHG. åbandzit, MLG. aventit, MDu. avontijds, Fris. jountid, evening time. The compound is a tautological one, and is not recorded until late in OE. and only once in OHG. (Tatian). The ON. aptantid is probably modelled on the OE. compound.

3. OE. ægscill (f.), OHG. eiesscal, MLG. eierschelle, eggshell. The formation is not identical, as the OE. scill < *skalja is formed from a different stem from the German scala. The compounds are not recorded until late in the various languages.

4. OE. ambihthús (n.), OHG. ambahthús, MLG. ambachthús, workshop.

5. OE. ambihmann (m.), OHG. ambahman, OLG. ambahman, MDu. ambachtsman, OFris. ombechtman, manservant.

6. OE. bêowryt (f.), OHG. biniwurt, OLG. biniwurt, balm-mint. The compounds are independent formations rendering the Latin melispila (see Björkmann, ZldWortf. II, 202 ff.).

7. OE. biscoepdóm (m.), OHG. biscoftuom, MLG. bishopdöm, MDu. bishopdöem, bishopric.

8. OE. blästbelg (m.), OHG. and OLG. blästålg, MDu. blasbalch, bellows. The formations are not identical, as the OE. compound has as its first part the noun blæst (see the early form blästålg and the ON. blästrbelgr), whereas the German-Dutch formation has a verbal stem in the first part.

9. OE. blödrinne (m.), OHG. blüttrinne (f.), MLG. blôtrinne, MDu. bloetrenne (f.), OFris. bliödre (m.), bloody flux, wound running with blood. The formations are not identical, as the English-Frisian compounds contain a masc. i-stem as the second part, whereas the German-Dutch formations have a fem. ð-stem.

10. OE. blöþwyr (f.), OHG. blütwurz, MLG. blôtwört, bloody dock. The formation was made independently to render the Latin sanguinaria (see Björkmann, loc. cit.).

11. OE. brôderscipe (m.), OHG. brüoderscaft (f.), OLG. brôdar- skep (m.), MDu. broederschap (f.), OFris. broerschip (f.), fraternity, brotherly love. The formation was made independently in the Germanic languages to render the Latin fraternitas.

12. OE. brýþsang (m.), OHG. brütesang, MLG. brûtsanz, MDu. bruulsang, epithalamium. The compound is found mainly in glosses where it translates the Latin epithalamium.

13. OE. burhléod (m.), OHG. burgliut, OLG. burugliutá, citizens.

14. OE. burhriht (n.), OHG. burgreht, MLG. borchrecht, civil law.

15. OE. (ge)burhscipe (m.), OHG. gipurcscaft (f.), MDu. borch- schap, township.

16. OE. burhwäre (m.), OHG. burgári, OLG. burgáiri. MDu. borger, citizen. In German and Dutch the second part of this compound has been obscured and associated with the suffix -åri (see Kluge-Goetze under Bürger).

17. OE. burhweg (m.), OHG. burgweg, MLG. borchwech, private road, road to a town.

18. OE. butterfleege (f.), OHG. butterflich, MDu. botervliege, LG. buttelfleg, butterfly; see also MLG. botterfleugel. As the first part of this compound was not borrowed from Latin until after the Anglo-Saxons had left the Continent, the formation cannot go back to West Germanic times and must be an independent formation in the several languages based on folk-lore (see Kluge-Goetze under Schmetterling).

19. OE. cawelstoc (m.), OHG. kôlstoc, MLG. kôlstock, MDu. coolstoc, cabbage stalk.

20. OE. cederbêam (m.), OHG. cederboum, MLG. cederbôom, MDu. cederboom, cedar.

21. OE. ceeselstân (m.), Mod. G. Kieselstein, MDu. keselsteen, gravel; hardly an original compound, as it is not recorded until late in German.

22. OE. cirisbêam (m.), OHG. kersboum, OLG. kersbôm, MDu. kersseboom, cherry-tree.
23. OE. cistenbēam (m.), OHG. kestenbōnum, MDu. kastanenbōm, Fris. kastanjebeam, chestnut-tree: on the differing forms of the first part of this compound see Frings, pp. 67 f.
24. OE. kristendōm (m.), MHG. kristentum (n.), MLG. kris-
tendōm (n.), MDu. kersitijndom, OFr. kerstendom, (m.), Christianit, Christendom. The ON. kristinnndōmr is bor-
rowed from OE.
25. OE. cyrigang (m.), OHG. kirihgang, MLG. kerkgank, MDu. kerkcang, OFr. kerkgang, church-going, churching.
26. OE. dægotid (f.), day-time, OHG. tageit, day-service (horae), MLG. and MDu. dagetit, day-time, Fris. deitiid, day-time (see No. 2 above).
27. OE. dōmdag (m.), OHG. tuomtag, OLG. duomdag, OFr. dômesdei, MDu. doemsdach, doomsday, judgment-day: on this compound, which is a loan-translation of dies judicij, see p. 34.
28. OE. ēagang (m.), OHG. ahagang, MLG. āgan, water-course.
29. OE. āghlid (n.), MHG. ougelit, MLG. āglith, MDu. ooglid. OFr. āghlid, eye-lid. The existence of the OE. compound is queried by Bosworth-Toller and not recorded in Clark Hall, but the formation certainly existed in ME. The compound is an independent and late formation in each lan-
guage, made after the change of meaning of ēagbrōw (see p. 97).
30. OE. ēarslege (m.), blow that strikes off the ear, OHG. ērslag, blow on the ear, OLG. ērslegi, blow on the ear, MDu. oorslach, blow on the ear: possibly an original formation, but the meaning is different in English on the one hand, and German-
Dutch on the other.
31. OE. ēasterdāg (m.), OHG. östertag, MLG. österdach, Easter Sunday.
32. OE. elieberge (f.), OHG. oliberi (n. and f.), MLG. oliebere, olive.
33. OE. elefat (n.), OHG. olifar, MLG. olievat, oil-vessel.
34. OE. elpenbān (n.), OHG. elpantbein, MLG. elpenbēn, MDu. elpenbeen, Fris. elpenbien, ivory.
35. OE. eordcyning (m.), OHG. erdcuning, OFr. erthkening, earthly king. The compound is found in OHG. only in the Tatian, translating rex terrae.
36. OE. eordgælla (m.), OHG. erdgalla (f.), OLG. erthgalla (f.), earth-gall, lesser centaury. The compound is a loan-transla-
tion from the Latin fei terrae.

37. OE. feldminte (f.), OHG. feldminza, MLG. veltminte, wild
munt.
38. OE. ficbēam (m.), OHG. fīgboym, MLG. vīgenbōm, MDu. vīgeboom, Fris. figbeaen, fig-tree.
39. OE. flēschmangere (m.), MHG. vleiischmanger, MLG. flēs-
menger, butcher.
40. OE. flōhnet (n.), OHG. fliegezezi, MDu. vliegennette, mosquito
net.
41. OE. fōtsceanol (m.), OHG. fvozscamun, OLG. fōtscamol, MDu. voetschemel, footstool. The ON. fōtskemil is borrowed from MLG. The compound is not original as the second part is borrowed independently into the West Germanic languages from Latin, and the native term is Gothic fōtnubaurd (see p. 67).
42. OE. gæsthūs (n.), OHG. gastehus, OLG. gastehus, MDu. gast-
huus, OFr. jesthus, inn: see the different formation with a gen. pl. in the first part in the ON. gæstahūs.
43. OE. gærmarcet (n.), OHG. järmarkat (m.), OLG. järmarkat (m.), MDu. jaemarket (m.), OFr. iermarked (m.), annual fair.
44. OE. geogudhād (m.), MHG. jugundheit (f.), OLG. jugudhād (f.), youth. The compound can hardly be an original one as it is not recorded until late in HG.
45. OE. godhād (m.), OHG. gotheit (f.), MDu. godeheit (f.),
divinity: a late Christian formation.
46. OE. goldfell (n.), MHG. and MLG. goltvel, gold leaf.
47. OE. goldfinge (m.), OHG. goldfinge, MDu. goutzinger, OFr. goldfinger, ring-finger: the compound, which is not recorded until late in the several languages, is a loan-transla-
tion from the Latin digitus annularis.
48. OE. hārsfē (n.), OHG. hārsfīb, OLG. hārsif, hair-sieve: a late formation in each language.
49. OE. hāddenscipe (m.), paganism, OHG. heidanscaft (f.), paganism, MLG. heidenschop, the heathen, Fris. heidenscip, paganism.
50. OE. hēafodhēr (n.), MHG. houbethār, MLG. hōbethār, MDu. hovethar, hair of the head: on the OLG. hovethar see p. 24.
51. OE. hēledor (n.), OLG. helldor, Du. helledeur, Fris. helldoor, gate of hell. The OHG. compound helleturi has a different stem in the second part.
52. OE. hēlefyr (n.), OHG. hēlfīfur, OLG. hēlfīfur, Fris. hellefjur, hell-fire.
53. OE. hellegundr (m.), OHG. helligrund, OLG. helligrund, MDu. hellegroot, pit of hell.
54. OE. hellehund (m.), OHG. hellihund, MLG. hellehund, hellhound, Cerberus.
55. OE. hellewite (n.), OHG. helliwiti, OLG. helliwiti, torments of hell. The ON. helviti is borrowed from OE. (see p. 35).
56. OE. heosfancing (m.), OHG. himilcunung, OLG. hebancunung, himilkunung, OFris. himelkunung, king of heaven: a loan-translation of rex caeli.
57. OE. heofonwolcen (n.), OHG. and OLG. himilwolkan, cloud in the sky: possibly an original formation, but it is not recorded in HG. until the glosses of Notker's Psalms where it translates nubes caeli.
58. OE. herestréð (f.), OHG. heristrâsa, MLG. herestrâle, MDu. herstrate, OFris. herestrêle, military road: a loan-translation of via militaris.
59. OE. hnutbæam (m.), OHG. nuzboum, MLG. notebom, Du. notenboom, Fris. nuebæam: the compound denotes in OHG. and OE. various foreign nut-trees, as the almond and walnut.
60. OE. hofwærð (m.), OHG. hofewart, OLG. hofward, æidle: hardly an original formation, probably coined to translate the Latin ædile.
61. OE. horsëamb (m.), OHG. roscamp, OLG. ros camp, currycom: hardly an original formation, as it is recorded only in late glosses.
62. OE. hundes flõge (f.), OHG. huntfloge, hundesflöge, MDu. hontsvleie, dog's parasite: a late coalescence.
63. OE. hundes tunge (f.), OHG. hundesszunga, OLG. hundestunge, a plant: a loan-translation of cynoglossa. The compound is a determinative used metaphorically, hardly a Bahuvihi formation.
64. OE. hungorgær (n.), OHG. hungarjär, MDu. kongerjar, OFris. hungerier, year of famine.
65. Engl. (1576) icle-bone, MHG. isbien, OLG. isbên (n.), Fris. iisbaen, MDu. isbeem, ice-bone, hip-bone. The formation is a Low German one which is borrowed into Engl. and HG. and into Mod. Dan. (isben). According to Kluge-Goetze the word does not occur in HG. until 1539, but see the 13th century gloss ispem, Gl. III, 440, 3.
66. OE. landlêod (m.), OHG. lantlitut, MDu. lanliède, Fris. lanstiu, country people.
67. OE. laurbêam (m.), OHG. lörboum, MLG. lörberenbôm, MDu. lauwreboom, laurel tree.
68. OE. laurberige (f.), OHG. löbere, MLG. lörber, MDu. lauwberes, laurel berry.
69. OE. losfång (m.), OHG. lobesang, OLG. losfang, MDu. and OFris. lovesang, hymn, psalm. The compound appears in the early periods of the West Germanic languages only in Christian texts, and was probably coined to translate the Latin hymnus. The ON. losfongr is borrowed from OE. (see p. 36).
70. OE. lungenwyrt (f.), MHG. lunchuwurz, MLG. lungwort, lungwort. The compound was coined to translate the Latin pulmonaria, which was so called because of the shape of the plant. The Dan. and Norw. lungurt, and the Swed. lungört are borrowed from MLG.
71. OE. messebôc (f.), OHG. mesebuoh (n.), MLG. missebôk, missal.
72. OE. màxwyrt (f.), Mod. G. Maischwurze, MLG. méschewert, infused malt. The compound is a late tautological one, not an original formation.
73. OE. merefissc (m.), OHG. merefisse, Du. meervisch, Fris. marfisch, sea-fish: recorded early in OE. (Beowulf), but not until the glosses to Notker's Psalms in HG. and there translating piscis maris.
74. OE. merewif (n.), water-witch, OHG. merewib, MLG. merwif, MDu. meerwif, mermaid. The formation is a late one in G. not being recorded until the 12th century. For the original Germanic term see meremenni, p. 50.
75. OE. mûrbêam (m.), OHG. mûrboum, OLG. mûrbâm, MDu. moerboom, mulberry tree.
76. OE. mûrberige (f.), OHG. mûrbere (f.), MLG. mûrbere, MDu. moerbeste, Fris. moerbei, mulberry. The Dan. and Norw. morbær is borrowed from MLG.
77. OE. mordêdd (f.), MHG. mortât, MLG. mordât, MDu. mordâet, OFris. morthdëde, murder: a late pleonastic formation.
78. OE. mylenstân (m.), OHG. mulinsttein, OLG. mulinsten, MDu. molensteen, millstone.
79. OE. müsfealle (f.), OHG. and OLG. müsfalla, MDu. muusvalle: possibly an original formation, but not recorded until late in the several languages.
a pure gloss word, see Gl. II, 679, 23, Heliosis campos, sunnfeld. Heliosis is apparently taken by the glossators to be connected with helios.

97. OE. tigelstän (m.), OHG. cégalstein, MLG. tégelstén, MDu. tegelsteen, tile.

98. OE. wæpenhús (n.), OHG. wáfanhús, MLG. wäpenhús, armoury.

99. OE. Wendelsæ (m.), OHG. wentsilsoe, MDu. wendelsee. The German-Dutch compounds are apparently different formations from the OE. one. The OE. compound denotes the Mediterranean and the first part is usually explained as the proper noun 'Vandal.' This may also be the etymology and meaning of the OHG. wentsilso which is found only in the Hildebrandslied, but on the evidence of the MDu. wendelsee, OHG. wentsilmeri, MLG. wendelmere (ocean) it is usually explained as 'the winding sea,' that is the sea which winds round the earth.

100. OE. wendelstän (m.), OHG. wentilstein, OLG. windelstén, MDu. wendelsteen, spiral staircase. This is a curious coincidence between the several languages which can hardly represent an original formation, as the term is taken from the technique of stone-building which was learnt from the Romans after the Anglo-Saxons had left the Continent. In OHG. the compound also means 'shell of a snail,' but as this meaning is not found in the other Germanic languages, it is probably a secondary development. The Dan. vinkelsten (spiral staircase) is borrowed from MLG.

101. OE. woruldecyning (m.), OHG. weraltcunung, OLG. weroldkuning, earthly king. This compound is obviously formed in contrast to the Christian term heofoncyning (see p. 132).

102. OE. woruldlust (m.), OHG. weralllust, OLG. weroldlust, worldly pleasure.

103. OE. woruldrìce (n.), OHG. weraltrich, OLG. weroldriki, earthly kingdom, world.

104. OE. wurulsacu (f.), worldly strife, OHG. weraltsahha, worldly affairs, OLG. weroldsaka, worldly affairs.

105. OE. wighús (n.), OHG. wighús, OLG. wighús, MDu. wijchhuus, fortified tower.

106. OE. wintertið (f.), OHG. winterzit, MLG. wintertit, MDu. wintertiid, Fris. wintertiid, winter-time: a late pleonastic compound.
107. OE. wyrmmeleu (n.), dried and powdered worms, OHG. wūrmmeleu, MLG. wūrmmele, decay in the teeth: see OE. tōdhwyrn, etc., p. 104.
108. OE. wyrtageard (m.), MHG. wūrzgarte, MLG. wörtagearde, herb-garden. The formation is a late one in German. The ODan. urtegard and the Swed. òrtegården are borrowed from MLG.
109. OE. yfelaid (n.), OHG. (12th cent.) erbelant, OFris. erfland, inherited land. The original term for 'inherited land' was the OE. ǣędel, OHG. wēdal, etc.

(b) English—High German
1. OE. ǣfenlæf (n.), OHG. ðāntlōh, evening service. The OHG. compound is found only in the Benedictine Rule.
2. OE. æsprind (f.), OHG. aspūrnīna, aspen bark: a late secondary formation in OHG.
3. OE. āȝswyrð (n.), OHG. eidswarte (f.), swearing of an oath: the formations have different Ablaut in the second part and are of different gender.
4. OE. ðēhūs (n.), OHG. betahūs, oratory.
5. OE. biscoþphād (m.), OHG. biscoφheit (f.), office of bishop.
6. OE. blǣshorn (n.), OHG. blāshorn, trumpet. The formations are not identical as the OE. compound contains a nominal first member, the OHG. one a verbal stem: see blāsbeig, p. 128.
7. OE. bōcelfl (n.), OHG. buohfel, parchment. The ON. bōkflfl is borrowed from OE. (see p. 34).
8. OE. brōðorslage (m.), OHG. broderslecka, fratricide. The formations are not identical, the second member of the OE. compound being a simple -an stem, whereas the German compound has a -an stem as its second member. The compound is possibly a coning from the Latin fratricida, replacing the Primitive Germanic term brōðurbani (see p. 54).
9. OE. brūgifu (f.), dowry, espousals, OHG. brūgifba, dowry.
10. OE. gebūrsċip (m.), civil district, OHG. gibūrscafti, civil.
11. OE. burgweard (m.), guardian of a city, OHG. burgwartere, sentinel.
12. OE. gebyrddæg (m.), OHG. giburtītag, birthday. The compound is not recorded until late in OE. and is apparently a loan-translation from the Latin dies natalis. The forms without the ge- prefix are later developments not recorded in either language until the 13th century. See also the late ON. būðardagr.

13. OE. camphād (m.), OHG. kamfheit (f.), warfare: not an original formation, as -hād and -heit were added only to personal nouns in West Germanic.
14. OE. cæfweig (n.), OHG. chapfweig, fight. The two compounds were probably formed independently, although the OHG. chapfweig is recorded at an early date from the Lex Baiu. (see also MHG. kampfweic, duel). The OE. compound is found in Jud. 333.
15. OE. cāwelicyrn (m.), OHG. kōlwurm, caterpillar.
16. OE. cīfshād (m.), OHG. kebīheit (f.), formation. The compound is a rare gloss word, and as it is not recorded from LG. is probably not an original formation.
17. OE. cnihtād (m.), youth, OHG. knehtheit (f.), courage, strength.
18. OE. cornappla (m. pl.), OHG. kornaphel, pomegranate: a loan-translation, found only in glosses, of malum grānatum.
19. OE. cysicweard (m.), OHG. kirchwart, churchwarden. The ON. kirkjukvort is borrowed from OE. (see p. 36).
20. OE. daegmēt (m.), OHG. tagemas, meal during the day: in OHG. recorded once (GL II, 50, 24) glossing refection.
21. OE. dālhelmēn (m.), participator, OHG. teĩnemante (f.), participation: both formations are loan-translations from the Latin participator and participatio: see also OHG. teĩnum, teĩnemunga.
22. OE. drenchūs (n.), OHG. tranchūs, drinking-house: a gloss word, rendering potionarium.
23. OE. dryncfæt (n.), OHG. trinfaz, drinking vessel. The formations are not identical, as the first member of the OE. compound is the noun drynca, whereas the OHG. compound has a verbal stem in the first part.
24. OE. āgeself (f.), OHG. oualsba, eye-salve: a late gloss word.
25. OE. ēarfinger (m.), OHG. ōrfinger, little finger. The compound is a late gloss word, translating auricularis.
26. OE. ēasterfōn (m.), OHG. ostārdbant, Easter eve.
27. OE. ēastermānōd (m.), OHG. ostārmānōd, April.
28. OE. eordoyn (n.), OHG. erkhummi, human race: a loan-translation of the Latin tribus terra.
29. OE. erdhīf (n.), OHG. erdebuhs (m.), ground ivy: probably a loan-translation of the Latin hedera terrestris.
30. OE. faderslag (m.), OHG. faterslahe, faterslecko, partridge: see brōðorslag (No. 8 above).
31. OE. *færscætt* (m.), OHG. *feriscaz*, passage-money, fare.
32. OE. *ficæppel* (m.), OHG. *fīgaphul*, fig.
33. OE. *fīcwyr* (f.), OHG. *figwurz*, fig-wort.
34. OE. *fīschūs* (n.), place where fish is sold, OHG. *fīskelūs*, place where fish is kept.
35. OE. *fölscæart* (f.), people, nation, OHG. *folhscara*, troop: hardly an original formation, as the OHG. compound is a gloss word, recorded only in Gl. IV, 213, 48, whereas the OE. compound appears only in poetry.
36. OE. *gārbēam* (m.), spear-shaft, OHG. *gēboun*, lotos: not an original formation, as the meanings of the two compounds are quite different.
37. OE. *glasfēat* (n.), OHG. *glasafaz*, glass vessel: not an original formation, as it is not recorded from LG. and does not appear until late in HG. and OE.
38. OE. *godgielf* (n.), idol, OHG. *gotegelt*, worship of God.
39. OE. *græfhās* (n.), OHG. *grahēhs*, grave. The compound is recorded once in OE. (Sat. 708) and once in OHG. (M. 18, 8).
40. OE. *grundweall* (m.), MHG. *grundwol*, foundation wall.
41. OE. *heāndengeld* (m.), OHG. *heidadel*, idolatry.
42. OE. *hāmweyr* (f.), OHG. *heimwurz*, houseleek: see *huislouch*, p. 74.
43. OE. *handgescaeft* (f.), OHG. *handgiscaft*, handwork. The OE. compound is found only in Gen. 455 and may be a borrowing from LG. (see p. 7) although it is not recorded there. The OHG. compound is found only in the late Ezzos Gesang.
44. OE. *hēafodbolster* (n.), OHG. *houbitpolstar*, pillow.
45. OE. *hellgod* (n.), OHG. *hellgit* (m.), god of the lower world, Pluto.
46. OE. *heofonfyr* (n.), OHG. *himifur*, heavenly fire. The OHG. compound is found only in Notker, translating *flamma caelestis*.
47. OE. *heofonlēoh* (n.), OHG. *himillheid*, heavenly light. The OE. compound is found only in An. 976, the OHG. one only once in N. I, 723, 7, where it translates *stellantis poli lumen*.
48. OE. *hrīðherlyrd* (m.), OHG. *rīndhirte*, herdsmen.
49. OE. *hundescyrmen* (m.), OHG. *hundwurm*, dog’s parasite: a loan-formation in both languages.
50. OE. *landbegenga* (m.), OHG. *lautpigeng*, husbandman.
51. OE. *lēonfēl* (m.), OHG. *lōwinoz*, lion’s foot (plant): a loan-translation of *leontopōdium*.

52. OE. *lygespell* (n.), OHG. *lugispel*, falsehood. The two formations are not identical, as the OE. compound has the masc. *lyge* as its first member, whereas the OHG. compound is formed with the fem. *lugin*. The OE. *lygespell* is found only in WW. 449, 2, the OHG. *lugispel* only in the Bamberg Confession.
53. OE. *någlōft* (m.), OHG. *någslōft* (f.), murder of kin.
54. OE. *messehecele* (f.), OHG. *messehachul*, mass vestment. The ON. *méssehukull* is borrowed from OE. (see p. 36).
55. OE. *magisterdōm* (m.), OHG. *meistartuom*, office of teacher. The ON. *meisteradbør* is a late borrowing from German.
56. OE. *martyrđōm* (m.), OHG. *martartuom*, martyrdom. The two formations are not identical, as the first part of the OE. compound is the masc. *martyr*, whereas the OHG. compound is formed from the fem. *martara*.
57. OE. *mōdlufu* (f.), OHG. *muotluca*, love.
58. OE. *mōsdorfh* (f.), OHG. *muotsorzh*, sorrow. The OE. compound is found only in poetry, whereas the OHG. compound is recorded only once in a gloss (II, 321, 14) translating *vagatio mentis*.
59. OE. *mōdorslag* (m.), OHG. *muoterslahe, muoterslecko*, matricide: see *brōdorslaga* (No. 8 above).
60. OE. *morgenleoh* (n.), OHG. *morgenleht*, dawn.
61. OE. *mögconet* (n.), OHG. *muckrezz*, mosquito net.
62. OE. *niddōda* (m.), one who acts under compulsion, from *niddōd* (f.), act done under compulsion, OHG. *nōltōd*, act of violence. On account of the different meaning the two compounds can hardly be considered original formations.
63. OE. *pīmefeder* (f.), OHG. *phīmefedera*, down.
64. OE. *rādhors* (n.), OHG. *retiros*, horse for riding. The OE. compound has a substantive as its first member, the OHG. one a verbal stem.
65. OE. *restedag* (m.), OHG. *restilag*, day of rest, Sabbath.
66. OE. *sēnet* (n.), OHG. *sēneszi*, net for sea-fishing: a gloss word in both languages.
67. OE. *sēcwatere* (n.), OHG. *sēowazzer*, sea-water: possibly an original formation, but not recorded in OE. until the 11th century.
68. OE. *selmescap* (m.), OHG. *salmescap*, psalmist.
69. OE. *saltlūs* (n.), OHG. *salzhuš*, place where salt is prepared or kept. The compound is a gloss word translating *salmentarium*. 
70. OE. sæamhors (n.), OHG. soumros, pack-horse: also a gloss word translating equus sagnarius.
71. OE. sæamsadal (m.), OHG. soumsatl, pack-saddle.
72. OE. sigelēð (n.), MHG. sigelit, song of victory: possibly an old formation, but the compound is not recorded until late in German.
73. OE. sleghryðer (n.), OHG. sleigirind, cattle for slaughter: a late compound in both languages.
74. OE. snidisen (n.), OHG. snitisarn, lancet. The first member of this compound is a noun, but in MLG. it has been brought together with the verbal stem and modified to snidisern.
75. OE. stānhol (n.), hole in a rock, OHG. steinhol, grotto, cave.
76. OE. stencfæt (n.), OHG. stancfaz, vessel containing aromatic herbs. The compound is a gloss word rendering the Latin olfactorium.
77. OE. stōrnægl (m.), OHG. stiurnagel, the nail on which the rudder turns. The OE. compound is of doubtful genuineness, as the MS. has (W-W. 312, 4) clausus, steersceofol odde nagl. Even if the assumption of an OE. stōrnægl is justified on the basis of this gloss, the compound is not a West German formation, but rather a slavish translation of the Latin clausus (see Falk, Altnord. Seewesen, p. 17, note).
78. OE. sunnancriorn (n.), OHG. sunnenkorn, gromel: a loan-translation of the Latin milium solis, or grana solis.
79. OE. sunstede (m.), MHG. sunnenstat (f.), solstice: a loan-translation of solstitium: see also the ON. sölstdr.
80. OE. swineslīs (f.), OHG. swineslīs, pig’s parasite: a gloss word, possibly formed from vermis porci.
81. OE. tæfstān (m.), OHG. zablestein, gambling stone.
82. OE. dēowhād (m.), OHG. dēohet (f.), humility, service. The OHG. compound is found only in the Benedictine Rule.
83. OE. āhtisang (m.), OHG. āhtisang, matins. The ON. āhtisangr is borrowed from OE. (see p. 36).
84. OE. waterēðote (f.), OHG. wazzardieso (m.), torrent, cataract. The compound is not recorded in OE. until Aelfric, and in OHG. not until Notker.
85. OE. weaxhlīf (m.), OHG. wahsleib, wax tablet.
86. OE. wicdag (m.), OHG. wehhatag, day of the week, and (in OE.) week-day as opposed to Sunday. The ON. vikudagr is borrowed from OE. (see p. 37).
87. OE. wēstensella (m.), OHG. wēstansedalo, hermit. The OE. compound is recorded in Aelfric and late glosses, the

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OHG. one in the earliest glosses, Pa, K. The two formations are apparently independent, and were suggested by the Latin eremita.
88. OE. wifhād (m.), womanhood, sex, OHG. wibheit (f.), sex: hardly an original formation, as the compound is not found in LG. and is recorded only once in HG. (Gl. II, 271, 24).
89. OE. wigelēð (n.), MHG. wikelit, battle-song. The OE. compound is found only in Ex. 221. The two compounds were probably formed independently: see also sigelēð (No. 72 above).
90. OE. wīlēaf (n.), OHG. wīnloub, vine-leaf. The OHG. compound is found only in the Tatian, but reappears in the 14th century as wīnloub.
91. OE. woruldār (f.), OHG. weraltēra, worldly honour.
92. OE. woruldercraf (f.), secular art, OHG. weralkraft, worldly power.
93. OE. worulddād (f.), OHG. weraldād, worldly business.
94. OE. woruldeonde (n.), OHG. weralenti, end of the world. The OE. compound is recorded only in B. 3083, the OHG. one only in Otfrid. Both are probably Christian formations.
95. OE. woruldgōd (n.), worldly good, OHG. werilkuot, worldly possessions.
96. OE. woruldлиз (n.), OHG. weraltāt, life in this world.
97. OE. woruldnan (m.), human being, layman, OHG. weraltman, human being.
98. OE. woruldniēd (f.), OHG. weraldinōt, tribulation of this world.
99. OE. woruldsīlfa (f.), earthly blessings, OHG. weralsīdā, worldly pleasures.
100. OE. woruldēng (n.), worldly affairs, riches, OHG. weralt-thing, worldly affairs (only in Otfrid).
101. OE. wundercraf (f.), marvellous power or skill, OHG. wuntarkraft, marvellous power. The OHG. compound is found only in the Bamberg Confession.
102. OE. wyrbed (n.), OHG. wurzbette, bed of herbs: not recorded in OHG. until Williram, and in OE. until Lchd.

(c) English—Low German (including Frisian)
1. OE. cōstētā (m.), MLG. kōstētē, MDu. cossate, cottage dweller, villein: a late medieval legal term. The Mod. G. Kossat is borrowed from LG.
2. OE. cyrīcōc (f.), MLG. kerkenbōk (n.), Fris. tserkeboekken, manual of the church service.
3. OE. ciricland (n.), OLG. kiricland, Fris. tsjerkelânden, land belonging to the church.
4. OE. eorðgræf (n.), hole in the earth, OLG. erthgræf, grave.
5. OE. eorlscipe (m.), courage, OLG. erlscipti, followers, people.
6. OE. fyrpanne (f.), OLG. fyrpanna, pan for burning aromatic herbs (glossing arula). The Mod. G. Feuerpfanne is a late and independent formation.
7. OE. gildscipe (m.), MLG. gildeschap, MDu. gildeschap (f. and n.), OFris. jeldskipe, guild.
8. OE. hæofdpanne (f.), Du. hoofdpan, brain-pan. The compound also exists in the ODan. hovedpanne, OSwed. huvudpanne, possibly a borrowing from OE. or LG., although the compound is not recorded in MLG. For an older term see brægøpanne, p. 109.
9. Engl. (15th cent.) head-stall, MLG. hövetstel, Du. hoofdstal, Fris. haeedstal, halter. The formation is probably a Low German one, borrowed into English, as stall in this sense is not native to English (see also fingerstall (1483), which may also be a borrowing, although it is not recorded in MDu. or MLG.).
10. OE. heofonweard (m.), OLG. hevanward, heaven's keeper, God.
11. OE. holmcìf (n.), sea-cliff, OLG. holmklif, rock, hill. The compounds must be independent formations, as the OE. holm means 'sea,' whereas the OLG. holm means 'rock, hill.'
12. Engl. humblebee (15th cent.), MLG. hummelbè, Du. hommelbij, bumblebee. The compound is a late Low German formation which was borrowed into Dan. and Norw. as humlebij, and possibly also into Engl. In HG. the first part remains uncompounded as Hummel.
13. OE. húsþot (f.), MLG. húßbëte, repair to a house, OFris. hüsboete, payment for violation of a house.
14. OE. merenáðre (f.), sea-adder, lamprey, OLG. merinádra. The OLG. compound is found in Gl. IV, 206, 35, glossing a plant-name opimachus. It is possible that the glossator misunderstood the meaning of the lemma, in which case the OE. and OLG. compounds may represent an original formation.
15. OE. módbræcu (f.), courage (Beowulf 385), OLG. módbræka, grief (Hel. 4773).
16. OE. nádrewinde (f.), snakeweed, OLG. nádarwinda. The OLG. compound is recorded in the same place as mericwinda (see No. 14 above), glossing opimachus. Since the OE. merewinde is an animal name and nádrewinde a plant-name, it is clear that the OLG. merinádra and nádarwinda cannot be parallels to the OE. compounds and at the same time a correct gloss to opimachus. Evidently some confusion has taken place, and it can no longer be determined which of the compounds, if either, is an original formation.
17. Engl. (14th cent.) pole-axe, LG. polexe, MDu. polaex, pole-axe. The compound, which is a LG. formation, denoted originally 'head-axe.' It was borrowed into Engl. where the first part was associated with pole, and also into OSwed. polyxé, ODan. polaxe.
18. OE. sadolfaet (n.), MLG. sadelvat, saddle pocket.
19. OE. scytefinger (m.), MLG. scotvinger, OFris. skotfinger, finger which holds the arrow in shooting, first finger. The formation cannot be original, as the first member of the OE. compound is different from that of the LG-Fris. compound.
20. OE. wintunne (f.), MLG. wintunne, MDu. wijtunne, wine-cask.
21. OE. woruldstund (f.), OLG. weroldstunda, earthly life.
22. OE. wordgemanec (n.), definition in words, OLG. wordgínerki (n.), letters.
23. OE. ylfa gesceot (n.), Engl. dialect auffshot, lumbago, MLG. aifshot, eye-disease. The formation, which has not coalesced to a compound in OE., is based on folk-lore (see G. Hexenschuss). The Norw. dialect word aluskot (cattle disease) may be borrowed from MLG. or an independent formation.

(d) English—Frisian

1. OE. böcland (n.), freehold land, OFris. bökland, land given to the Church and entered in a book.
2. OE. ciricpæð (m.), OFris. kerkpath, path to a church.
3. OE. hýr(e)mann (m.), retainer, OFris. hëremann, farmer.
4. OE. húsbrice (m.), OFris. hüsbrëke (f.), burglary. The two compounds have a different stem in the second part, and the parallel is therefore not an exact one.
5. OE. lódgeard (m.), a poetical compound for 'country,' OFris. liogard, enclosed common land.
6. OE. wagufaru (f.), chariot-journey, OFris. wainfere, carriage-way.
7. OE. weaxgescot (n.), OFris. waxschot, church tax paid in wax.
(e) German—Frisian

In this group are included early parallels between German and Frisian. There are in addition a large number of parallels between Modern German and Modern Frisian, but these do not fall within the scope of this work and are not quoted here.

1. OHG. altarlachen (n.), MDu. alternaken, OFris. alterleken, altar-cloth.

2. OHG. brūthūs (n.), MLG. brūthūs, OFris. breidhūs, bride's chamber or house: see the formation with a gen. in the first part in ON. brūðarhūs.

3. OHG. dingfrist (f.), OFris. thingferst, legal term.

4. OHG. dingreht (n.), judgment, OFris. thingreich, law. The OHG. compound is found only in Ngl. translating judicium.

5. OHG. dingzt (f.), MLG. dinktz, MDu. dingttz, OFris. thingtid, judgment time.

6. OHG. diofasta (f.), OFris. thiadesta, fast of the whole people.

7. OHG. dienestliu (m.), MLG. dientliude (m.), MDu. dienstlude (m. pl.), OFris. thianestiode (m. pl.), servants.

8. OHG. fatermāg (m.), OFris. federmet, relative on the father's side.

9. OHG. and OLG. figbōna (f.), OFris. fikbāne, MDu. fijcbone, lupin: probably a HG. formation borrowed in to LG., Du., and Fris.

10. OHG. halsgold (n.), OLG. halsgold, OFris. halsgold, necklace: possibly an old West Germanic term, but the compound is not recorded in OE.

11. OHG. hantdāt (f.), MLG. and OFris. hantdediz, MDu. hantdadv. The OHG. compound is found only in Notker's Psalms translating opera manuum, and is different in meaning from the LG.-Fris. formation which means 'violent.'

12. OHG. hantschau (m.), MLG. hantsche, MDu. hantscwe, OFris. hantskōch, glove. The formation is a HG. one which is borrowed into LG., Du., and Fris., and from LG., into the ON. hanski.

13. OHG. halstuoch (n.), MDu. halsdoc, OFris. halsdōk, neckerchief.

14. OHG. hantfano (m.), MDu. and MLG. hantvane, OFris. handsvana, maniple.

15. OHG. heripan (m.), MLG. heriban, MDu. herban, OFris. heribann, levy: possibly a West Germanic formation, but not recorded in OE.

16. OHG. herizeichen (n.), OFris. heretēken, MDu. heerleken, banner, coat of arms.

17. OHG. himilfart (f.), MDu. hemelvaert, OFris. himelfert, ascension to heaven. The compound appears first in Notker, and spreads from HG. to Du. and Fris. It is not recorded from MLG.

18. OHG. hofeman (m.), MLG. and MDu. hoveman, OFris. hofman, farmer, retainer, and (later) courtier. In the last meaning the compound was borrowed from MLG. into ON. hofmār.

19. OHG. huobitsunta (f.), MDu. hovetsonde, OFris. hāvedsende, cardinal sin.

20. OHG. huorhūs (n.), MLG. and OFris. hōrhus, MDu. hoerhuus, brothel.

21. OHG. huerkind (n.), OFris. hōrkind, illegitimate child.

22. OHG. hāshēéro (m.), MLG. and MDu. hāshēre, OFris. hāshēra, master of a house. The second part of this compound is a HG. formation which was borrowed into LG. and Fris.; the compound was further borrowed from MLG. into ON. hāskērra.

23. OHG. hūsman (m.), MLG. and MDu. hūsman, OFris. hūsmon: a late formation with the meaning 'householder, commoner.'

24. OHG. hīsweirt (m.), MLG. and MDu. hīswert, OFris. hīswērda, master of a house.

25. OHG. houfliu (m.), MLG. and MDu. kōplude (m. pl.), OFris. kāpliode (m. pl.), merchants.

26. OHG. kirichhiéro (m.), MLG. and MDu. kerkhēro, OFris. zerlihēra, pastor.

27. OHG. kirikman (m.), MDu. kerkmān, OFris. zerkmān, pastor.

28. OHG. kirihspil (n.), MLG. and MDu. kerkspeil, OFris. zerkspeil, parish. Apparently a HG. formation borrowed into LG., Du., and Fris.

29. OHG. kristheitt (f.), OLG. kristhenēd, MDu. kerstenheit, OFris. kerstenhēde, Christendom.

30. OHG. lanthēro (m.), MLG. and MDu. lanthēre, OFris. landhēra, holder of land.

31. OLG. legrastē (f.), MHG. legerstat, MDu. legerstēde, OFris. legerstēde, burial-place, grave: possibly an original formation, but see the different formation in OE. legerstōw.

32. MHG. lidemæs (n.), MLG. and MDu. litmate, OFris. līthmāta, limb. The formation is apparently a High German one borrowed into the other dialects.
33. OHG. lidið (m. n.), OFris. lithuldt, joint of the limbs.
34. MHG. liethnesse (f.), OLG. liethmis, MDu. liethmis, OFRis. liethmis, Colmolas: see the different formation in OE. candelmassae.
35. OHG. meisterschaft (f.), MLG. meisterscop, MDu. meestersch, OFRis. møster, mastery.
36. MHG. morthbrant (m.), MLG. and MDu. morthbrant, Fris. morthbrand, murder by setting fire to an enemy’s house. The compound is a HG. formation which was borrowed into LG., Du., and Fris., and further from MLG. into ODan. and OSwed. mordbrand.
37. MHG. muoterma (m.), OLG. mòdarmög, OFr. mòdermei, relative on the mother’s side.
38. OHG. palmboom (m.), MLG. and OFr. palmbom, MDu. palboom, palm-tree: see the different formation in OE. palnitró.
39. OHG. giselliscraft (f.), OLG. selscepi, MDu. geselschap, OFr. selskip, society.
40. OHG. sképfes (n.), MDu. schaephuus, OFr. sképhus, sheep-pen.
41. OHG. sallheit (f.), MLG. and MDu. schalheit, OFr. skalheith, knavery. The ON. skalheith (mockery) is borrowed from MLG.
42. OHG. skalhwérch (n.), OFr. skalwerk, work of a servant. The OHG. compound is found only in Ngl. 335, 25, translating servilia opera, and is probably formed independently of the Fris. compound.
43. OHG. sláphus (n.), MLG. sláphus, MDu. slaepehus, OFr. sléphus, dormitory.
44. OHG. stiofchind (n.), MLG. stéflkint, OFr. statiokint, step-child.
45. OHG. sunnesedel (m.), OFr. sunnnesedel, sunset.
46. OHG. sunesefritdo (m.), OFr. sonefretre, reconciliation.
47. MLG. swertside (f.), MDu. swertside, OFr. swerdsd, male relatives. The compound was borrowed from MLG. into Dan. and Norw. as swertsd, and appears also in Mod. G. as Schwertseite. For the original term see sperhand, p. 113.
48. OHG. swertchempho (m.), OFr. swerdhempe, swordsmen.
49. OLG. wikkers (n.), OFr. wikkers, war-horse.
50. MHG. willekûr (f.), MLG. willkor, MDu. willecork, Fris. wilker, free will, free decision. The formation appears first in HG. and is borrowed into LG., Du., and Fris.; from

MLG. the compound is further borrowed into Dan. and Norw. vilkaar, and Swed. vilkor.

(ii) Adjective + Substantive

(a) English—High German—Low German (including Frisian)
1. OE. änsella (m.), OHG. einesdalo, OLG.-inchía, MDu. eenesdele, hermit. The formation is probably a loan-translation from monachus, made independently in Engl. and German. Fabian (p. 253) considers the compound to be a substantive Bavarian formation, but it is possible that it is formed from OE. *änesela, OHG. *eingsedalo: see OE. gesella, OHG. gisedalo. 1
2. OE. wicceoselfor (n.), OHG. quescilbar, MLG. quicsilver, MDu. quicsilver, quicksilver: a loan-translation of argentum vivum. The ON. kvíksilfr is a borrowing from MLG.
3. OE. fróðom (m.), freedom, OHG. frítuwam, free-will, MLG. vridóm, freedom, MDu. vridom, freedom, OFr. fridóm, freedom. The compound is possibly an old LG-Engl. formation. The OHG. frítuwam is recorded only once (Gl. IV, 315, 2), translating arbitrium.
4. OE. frómman (m.), OHG. friman, MLG. vrman, free man. The OHG. compound is recorded only once in the late gloss III, 396, 62, translating liber homo.
5. OE. göddéd (f.), OHG. guottát, MLG. göttàt, MDu. goetaet. Fris. goédded, good deed: possibly a loan-translation of beneficium. Another formation with an adverbial first part is recorded in the Gothic wailadës, a loan-translation of eveypcia, and in OE. weldód, OHG. volatát, MLG. woldát, MDu. woldat, Fris. woldid.
6. OE. höldgóm (m.), holiness, sanctuary, OHG. heiligtwoum (n.), sanctuary, MLG. hëlädoum (m.), sanctuary, MDu. heilichdoom (n.), sanctuary, OFr. hélidóm (m.), sanctuary.
7. OE. halfmann (m.), OHG. halbman, MDu. halfman, ‘half-man’: a late gloss word in OE. and OHG., translating semivir.
8. OE. rædstán (m.), OHG. rótstein, MLG. rótstén, ruddle.
9. OE. rítém (m.), power, kingly rule, OHG. ritthuom (m. and n.) riches, OLG. rikidoum (m.), power, MDu. rikédóm (m.),

1 On the dropping of the prefix ge- from the second member of compounds, see Behagel, Geschichte der deutschen Sprache, 4th ed., Strassburg, 1916, § 205. 4, and van Helten, PBB. 14. 234.
(b) English—High German

1. OE. druncenæð (m.), OHG. trunkenheit (f.), drunkenness. The formation is not recorded in either language until the 11th century and is not found in LG.: see MLG. drunkenschap.

2. OE. felasprēc (f.), OHG. filosprāhha, loquaciousness: a loan-translation of multilogium. See also the derivative adj. OE. felaspriċe, OHG. filosprāhhi, MDu. veelsprakich.

3. OE. hēahfaeder (m.), OHG. höhfater, patriarch, a loan-translation of patriarcha.

4. OE. hǣlisett (n.), OHG. höhsedal (n.), throne, high seat. This compound is possibly a West Germanic one, but it is not recorded from LG., and is not found in OE. until late (Aelfric).

5. OE. hēahgetimbru (n. pl.), OHG. höhgisimbar, höhgisimbru (n.), high building. The compound is a poetic one in OE. but in OHG. is recorded only in late glosses. See also the ON. verb hátimbra, build high.

6. OE. holdsceip (m.), OHG. holdscāft (f.), loyalty: a late formation in both languages, not recorded until the 11th century.

7. OE. nēaksibb (f.), near relationship, OHG. nāhsippa, near relatives.

8. OE. nīcwumen (m.), OHG. niuchomen, neophyte: the compounds are substantivized adjectives. See also the different formation in OHG. niuquemo.

9. OE. wildgos (f.), OHG. wildegans, wild goose: a late coalescence: the early OE. glossary Corpus 450 has the uncompound wīldes gōs.

10. OE. sūrmelc (f.), MHG. sūrmelisch, MLG. and MDu. sūrmelk, sour milk: apparently a late coalescence.

11. OE. yfelidēd (f.), OHG. unblātād, MLG. uveldād, MDu. eveldet, evil deed: a loan-translation of maleficium: see göddēd (No. 5).

(d) English—Frisian

There are no independent parallel formations in OE. and OFris.

(e) German—Frisian

1. OHG. almeinē (f.), OFris. elmēnte, common land. The OHG. compound is formed from *alagiminiada: on the dropping of the ge- prefix, see p. 147, under ärsettla.

2. OHG. alenamo (m.), OFris. allanoma, full name. The OHG. compound is recorded once in N. I, 687, 5.

3. OHG. bōsheit (f.), MDu. boosheit, OFris. bōshēd, badness. The compounds of adj. + heit do not go back to West Germanic times (see p. 364 f.), and the majority of the formations of this type were made in German and borrowed into Fris.

4. OHG. freiheit (f.), MLG. and MDu. vriheit, OFris. friēhēd, freedom: apparently a HG. formation, recorded first in N., which spreads to LG. and Fris. and supplants the original LG. formation vriđēm: see frīōdēm, p. 147.

5. OHG. frūtheit (f.), MLG. vrūheit, MDu. vroetheit, OFris. frōdhēd, wisdom, intelligence.

1 Sehr. Vollständiges Wörterbuch zum Helianti, Göttingen, 1925, equates the OE. heolodcynn (n.) and the OLG. helökunn, but the meanings of these two compounds are quite different. The OE. heolodcynn is found only in Crist 1542 and means 'concealed tribe' (a kenning for the devils in Hell), whereas the OLG. helökunnin (Hel. 1411, 2624) means 'human beings.'
6. OHG. giriçheit (f.), MLG. giriçheit, MDu. giierichheit, OFris. gierehêd, greed.
7. OHG. hérschaft (f.), OLG. hérsepi (m.), MDu. heerschap (f. and n.), OFris. hérskið (n.), authority, rule. The Dan. and Norw. herschap is borrowed from MLG.
8. OHG. heîlichkeit (f.), MDu. heitlichheit, OFris. hêlichêd, holiness.
9. OHG. reînighheit (f.), MLG. reînheît, MDu. reinheite, OFris. hrêînheîd, purity.
10. OHG. jungfrouwe (f.), MLG. jungkrouwe, MDu. joncfrôwe, OFris. jungfrouwe, unmarried young woman, virgin. The compound was formed in HG. where it is first recorded in N., and spread into LG., Du., and Fris., and from MLG. into the ON. jungfrô.
11. MHG. junccher (m.), MLG. juncker, MDu. jùncher, OFris. joncêre, young man of noble birth. This compound like the preceding one is a HG. formation which was borrowed into LG., Du., and Fris., and from MLG. into ON. jùnhêrria.
12. OHG. krânkheit (f.), MLG. and MDu. krânkheit, OFris. krânkheîd, weakness, illness.
13. OHG. løsheit (f.), MLG. løsheit, MDu. loosheit, OFris. løshêd, knavery, deceit.
14. OHG. mildigheit (f.), MLG. and MDu. mildheît, OFris. mildichêd, gentleness.
15. OHG. sâlighheit (f.), MLG. and MDu. sâlîheit, OFris. sélîheîd, happiness, bliss, piety.
16. OHG. tumheît (f.), OLG. dumphêd, MDu. dompeîht, OFris. dumphêd, folly, stupidity.
17. OHG. wârheît (f.), OLG. wârheîd, MDu. waerheît, OFris. wôrheîd, truth.
18. OHG. welîluf (f.), MLG. wellûst, MDu. wellûst, OFris. wellûst, pleasure, joy: a HG. formation which spreads into the other dialects.
19. OHG. wisheit (f.), MLG. and MDu. wisheit, OFris. wisheîd, wisdom.

(iii) Verb + Substantive

The parallels of this type are so few in number in the West Germanic languages that they may be listed together.

1. OE. bæcûs (n.), OHG. bachûs, MLG. backûs, MDu. bachûs, Fris. bakhûs, bakery.
2. OE. erniwege (m.), OHG. renniwege, race-course. The OHG. compound is of doubtful genuineness, but is recorded by Grimm and Osthoff.
3. OHG. jagakhunt (m.), OFris. jaghund, hunting dog. The first part of this compound may be a substantive (see MHG. jage), but only the verb is recorded in OFris. (see the notes on OHG. laitiuhunt, spirtuhunt, p. 185 f.). On the OHG. blåsbalg and blåshorn, see p. 179.

(iv) Substantive + Adjective

(a) English—High German—Low German (including Frisian)

1. OE. bôtwyreðe, atonable, OHG. buoxwîrdig, worthy of atonement, MDu. boetwêrdich, obliged to pay recompense, OFris. bûtwerdich, worthy of atonement. The MLG. bûtwerdich, ready to atone, may be a similar formation which has been associated with verdich, ready.
2. OE. craðtîlæs, unskilful, OHG. krafeldôs, weak, MDu. crachte-loos, weak.
3. OE. earfodsâlig, unhappy, unfortunate, MHG. arbeitsêlic, living in need, made happy by work, rejoicing in difficulty, Du. arbeidsâlig, busy, industrious. The Du. compound is generally supposed to be a borrowing from MHG. (see van Wijk, and Lessen, p. 125).
4. OE. göðlæs, evil, OHG. guotelôs, poor, MLG. gütelôs, poor, MDu. goetelôes, poor.
5. Engl. (15th cent.) meadsweet, meadow-sweet, German Medêsês, meadow-sweet, MDu. medesote, marigold. The formation is a compound adjective meaning originally 'sweet as mead' which has been substantivised and in Engl. associated with 'meadow.'
6. OE. récelês, MHG. ruochêlsôs, MLG. rékelôs, MDu. roekeloos, reckless, careless. The Engl. formation, which contains as its first part a ja-stem or the stem of the verb rêcan, is different from the German-Dutch formation, which has a fem. ô-stem in the first part. The Dan. and Norw. røgelôs is a borrowing from MLG.
7. OE. slåpêlæs, OHG. slåflôs, MLG. slåpelôs, MDu. slapeloos, sleepless: possibly an original formation, but it is not recorded until late in the OE. and OHG. periods.
8. OE. syndêlæs, OHG. suntilôs, OLG. sundilôs, innocent. The ON. syndlauss is probably borrowed from OE. (see p. 37).
9. OE. wassarêlæs, OHG. wazarlôs, MDu. waterloos, without water. The compound is not recorded until the time of Notker in OHG. and there translates sine aqua.
10. OE. wertesōc, OHG. wassarsoh, MLG. wersēk, dropsical: a rendering of the Latin hydropticus. See also the different formation in the MLG. wersuchitich.

11. OE. woruldwis, OHG. *werāltwis, deduced from weralwistum, MLG. werlwīs, MDu. wereltewis, worldly wise.

12. OE. wyrmaēt, OHG. wurmásīg, MLG. wormētich, worm-eaten.

(b) English—High German

1. OE. déofolēsōc, OHG. tiufalsiuh, possessed by devils.
2. OE. cystīlēas, OHG. kustelōs, worthless, bad.
3. OE. earmsrango, OHG. armstrenghe, strong of arm. The OHG. compound is found only in MS. A of Williram translating manufortis. The other MSS. have hanstarch.
4. OE. gīmelēas, OHG. gomelōs, careless, neglected. The formations are not identical, as the OE. compound has a ja-stem or verbal stem in the first part, whereas the OHG. compound is formed with a fem. b-stem: see also récelesas.
5. OE. handiam, OHG. hanzam, tamed by hand.
6. OE. heortēsōc, MHG. herzesiech, having heart disease.
7. OE. hornlēas, OHG. hornlōs, healthless.
8. OE. mōdbīnō, undiscerning, OHG. muotblinding, a gloss word translating ‘caecitas mentis’.
9. OE. mōdlēas, spiritless, OHG. muotlōs, insolence. The formations are not identical in meaning, as in the OHG. compound -lōs has pejorative meaning, whereas in the OE. compound -lēas has the usual negative meaning of this suffix.
10. OE. mōdsōc, sick at heart, OHG. muotstich. The OHG. compound is found only in Notker and is there a free rendering of infirmanbor: see also the OHG. muotstucht.
11. OE. mōndōsōc, OHG. mändōsich, lunatic. The compound is not a West Germanic one, but is an independently formed rendering of lunaticus. See the different formations in MLG. månsuке, MDu. maenstic.

(c) English—Low German (including Frisian)

1. OE. ealdorēas, MLG. alderlōs, MDu. ouderloos, OFris. alderlās, parentless.
2. OE. gelēafsum, OLG. gelōfsam, MDu. geelofsam, believing, faithful.
3. OE. stōrēlas, MLG. stūrēs, wild, uncontrolled.
made in the 16th century by Turner. Similarly the Dan. eibe is modelled on the LG. compound.

3. OE. *fifteng* (f.), MLG. *viftinger*, German (15th cent.), Fünffinger, cinquefoil: possibly a free rendering of the Latin *quinquipolium*, or an independent formation. See also the more exact translations of *quinquipolium*, OE. *fiftæfe*, OHG. *fifflat*, and for the formation, Greek *πέντεψάγχυλος*.

4. Engl. (1598) *hornnose*, German (18th cent.) Hornnose, a loan-translation with a reversal of the two members of the compound from *rhinoceros*. The form *Nashorn* is recorded earlier from the 17th century.

5. OE. *hundredhafod* (n.), OHG. *hundthoubot* (n. and m.), snapdragon: a loan-translation from the Latin *conocephalus*. The formation may be considered as a Bahuvrhi or as a metaphorical transference of a determinative like *hundstunge* (see p. 132).


8. Engl. (15th cent.) *redbreast*, German (18th cent.) Rotbrüsten, MLG. *röþorstken*, MDu. *roodborgsten*, robin: apparently an independent formation in Eng. and German (see also the French *rouge-gorge*).

9. OHG. *rötoage* (n.), MLG. *rödöge*, Engl. red-eyes, rubecula, a kind of fish with red rings round its eyes. The Engl. compound is recorded from 1672. The second quotation in OED. (dated 1704) has: ‘the Rootaug . . . the Redeeye,’ which suggests that the Engl. compound may be a loan-translation from German.

10. Engl. (16th cent.) *redtail*, German (18th cent.) Rotzgel, redstart. The formation is apparently an independent one (see French *rouge-queue*).

11. Engl. *redstart* (16th cent.), German *Rotstern* (17th cent.), MLG. *röstert*, Du. *roodstart*, Fris. *roodstir*, redstart. The formation appears to be a LG. one which was borrowed into Eng. The second part of the compound appears in the OE.
steort and becomes obsolete in the 14th century. It re-
appears in the 15th century in Promp. Paru., which contains
many LG. words (see wagsstart, below; ploughstart, p. 77).
The MLG. compound was also borrowed into Dan. rödsjärn, 
Swed. rödstjärn.
compound, which first appears in Promp. Paru., is borrowed
from LG. In addition to the above parallel an OHG. weg-
starze, spicieclua, is recorded in Gl. III, 28, 25. This is inter-
preted by Fabian (p. 104) as 'a bird which has its tail on
the ground.' It is, however, more likely to be a transcription
from LG. or an independent formation (see Mod. G. Wegesterz).

In addition to the above parallels there are in German and
English a number of Bahuvrihi formations referring to human
beings. None of these goes back in either language earlier than
the 15th century, and the majority are quite modern coinings.
The following few parallels will illustrate the type:

1. Engl. greybeard (16th cent.), G. Graubart (18th cent.).
2. Engl. longbones (15th cent.), G. Langbein (17th cent.).
3. Engl. redbeard (17th cent.), G. Rotbart (16th cent.).
4. Engl. whitebeard, Du. witbaard, G. Weissbart: all recent
coinnings.

Fabian includes amongst the substantive Bahuvrihi for-
mations a number of plant-names with -wurz in the second part
(e.g. OHG. holzwurz, swartzwurz, witzwurz). It should, however,
be noted that the term wurz and the corresponding Engl.
wort mean, in addition to 'root,' 'plant,' and as the plant-names
are so frequently transferred in meaning, it cannot be decided
with any certainty what the exact original significance was.
It is therefore preferable to regard such compounds as
determinatives.

(iiß) Adjective Bahuvrihis

Numeral as First Part

No new formations of this type develop in the early periods
of the West Germanic languages. For the substantive
Bahuvrihis with numerals in the first part see the section
above.

Other Adjective Bahuvrihis

The parallels of this type are so few in number that they
may be listed together.

1. Engl. (14th cent.) bleareyed, LG. blêrdged: probably a LG.
formation borrowed into Engl. The Dan. pliroiet is also a
borrowing from LG.
2. OE. glesenêage, grey-eyed, OHG. glesenouger, glassy-eyed.
The OE. compound is found in WW. 416, 1, glossing glaucus.
The OHG. glesenouger is a late modification of glasaugi,
albusignem, Gl. I, 353, 59.
3. OE. lytelmôd, OHG. luzillimuati, pusillanimous: a loan-
translation from the Latin pusillanimis.
4. OE. micelmôd, OHG. michilmuot, magnanimous: a loan-
translation from magnanimitas. The compound is recorded
in the earliest G. glosses (K, R), but not until the late Paris
Psalter in OE.
5. OE. riththeort, OHG. reithherzi, righteous. The OE. compound
is recorded in the early Vespasian Psalter, but the OHG.
compound is not recorded until Notker's Psalms. Both
formations are Latinisms rendering rectus corde.
6. OE. yfel wil, OHG. ubil wil, malevolent: a loan-trans-
lation of malevolens (see also ON. gôd wiljgr, etc., p. 95, and
the OHG. noun ubil wiljo, malice).
PART TWO

THE STRUCTURE OF THE COMPOUNDS
CHAPTER I

THE TYPES AND THEIR DEVELOPMENT

In Part I of this work it has been shown that the following types of nominal compounds existed in Primitive Germanic:

Copulatives, consisting of substantive + substantive.
Determinatives, consisting of (a) substantive + substantive, (b) adjective + substantive, (c) substantive + adjective, (d) adjective + adjective.
Exocentrics: adjective Bahuvrihis with numeral, adjective, or substantives as the first member.

All these types are represented in the later West Germanic languages, and in addition to them the beginnings of a new type consisting of verb + noun can be traced in early West Germanic. There are also other types which are found in other Indo-Germanic languages cognate to Germanic and which probably existed in the parent Indo-Germanic language, but which have been lost in Germanic. The comparison of the existing compounds in Germanic has not revealed the presence of any copulative adjective compounds (e.g. G. *tubstummi*) in Primitive Germanic or West Germanic, although a few of these do develop in the later history of the Germanic languages (see p. 42). Nor does the comparison reveal the presence in early Germanic of any Imperative Compounds (e.g. Engl. *pick-pocket*) or any Substantive Bahuvrihis (e.g. G. *Dummkopf*), although, as will be shown below, the latter type almost certainly existed in Primitive Germanic.

The stock of compounds is not equally distributed amongst the various types, and the proportion does not remain the same in the later history of the Germanic languages. It is evident that certain types are only just developing in Primitive Germanic and West Germanic, whereas others which are fully represented in the early periods disappear from the more modern languages. The following table giving the number of parallels recorded as original compounds in Part I may serve to illustrate
the frequency of the compounds in each group and the development from Primitive Germanic to West Germanic. In the Primitive Germanic lists all the compounds in Chapter II of this work have been included, together with the Norse-Gothic parallels which date from an early period, and the early borrowings from Germanic into Latin and Finnish. The West Germanic lists include all the compounds recorded in Part I, Chapter IV, although some of these may not have been current throughout the whole speech-area of West Germanic, together with those Primitive Germanic compounds which have survived in one or more of the West Germanic languages. The figures quoted must, of course, not be taken absolutely, but only as some indication of the frequency of each type.

| Copulatives: |  |  |
|-------------|  |  |
| (a) subst. + subst. | 0 | 0 |
| (b) adj. + adj. | 0 | 0 |

Although there are no early parallels of the Copulatives consisting of subst. + subst. from the early periods, it has been shown (p. 41) that the examples of this type in the early Germanic languages are archaic in character. It is to be assumed that the type existed in Primitive German and West Germanic and that it began obsolete at an early date in the history of the independent languages. There is no evidence to show that the type adj. + adj. existed in Primitive Germanic.

| Determinatives: |  |  |
|----------------|  |  |
| (a) subst. + subst. | 136 | 417 |
| (b) adj. + subst. | 10 | 34 |
| (c) verb + subst. | 0 | 2 |
| (d) subst. + adj. | 34 | 68 |
| (e) adj. + adj. | 15 | 26 |
| (f) verb + adj. | 0 | 0 |

| Exocentrics: |  |  |
|--------------|  |  |
| (a) Imperative Comp. | 0 | 0 |
| (b) Subst. Bahuvrihis | 0 | 0 |
| (c) Adj. Bahuvrihis | 16 | 44 |

If these types are compared with those existing in the modern Germanic languages, it will be seen that the only new development amongst the Determinatives is the emergence of a type consisting of verb + substantive or adjective, the beginnings of which can be traced back to West Germanic. Also the nominal compounds with an adjective as the first member were but few in number in early Germanic and have increased enormously in modern times. It is amongst the Exocentrics that the main new developments take place in the subsequent history of the Germanic languages. On the one hand, the modern languages develop the Imperative Compounds (Type: pick-pocket) and the Substantive Bahuvrihis (Type: G. Dummkopf), whereas on the other hand, the Adjective Bahuvrihis decay until there is only one left in Modern German (barfuss).

Inaccurate though the figures in the above table may be, they do cast some light on the much-discussed question of the origin of the Bahuvrihis. It was formerly thought that the Bahuvrihi type arose from the Determinatives consisting of adj. + subst. by a so-called mutation—hence the term mutated compounds. This view is found in Schroeder, *Über die formelle Unterscheidung der Redetelle* (1874), p. 197, Osthoff, *Das Verb in der Nominal-Composition* (1878), p. 128, Brugmann, *Grundriss*, II, i, 87 f.\(^1\) and even as late as 1904 in Johansson, *Nominalsammansättningar i gotiskan*. It has, however, now been recognised that the Bahuvrihi type is equally as old as the Determinative type and that both types date back to the pre-inflection period of the parent Indo-Germanic language. The above table shows that the Germanic Bahuvrihis could not have arisen from the Determinatives consisting of adj. + subst., for the latter type is in its infancy in Primitive Germanic and does not become common until the later periods of the Germanic languages. The Adjective Bahuvrihis in Primitive Germanic and West Germanic were, as far as can be determined from the parallels, more numerous than the type from which they were formerly supposed to have arisen.\(^2\) Moreover, an examination of the independent parallel formations of these types in the West Germanic languages reveals the fact that the type adj. + subst. is alive and developing (number of independent parallel formations 43), whereas the Adjective Bahuvrihis are already dying down (number of independent parallel formations 6).

\(^1\) Brugmann modified his original explanation of the type in IF. 18 (1905), pp. 59 ff.

\(^2\) It should be remembered that the figures in the table do not include the Adjective Bahuvrihis with a numeral as the first member.
that several compounds of this type were in existence in early Germanic which are not recorded in our texts. Also it will be shown below that certain kinds of Bhuvrhiñ compounds are not found at all amongst the Determinatives, as e.g. those Bhuvrhiñ which have a productivity suffix in the first part (OE. haswigfred, särigmöd), or those which have a past participle in the first part (OE. bolgenmöd, wundensfeax). Lastly it has been shown in Part I that there existed in Primitive Germanic Adjective Bhuvrhiñ with a numeral as the first member. This type of compound is never found amongst the Determinatives in the early periods of Germanic. It is therefore clear that the Germanic Bhuvrhiñ compounds could not have arisen from the Determinatives by a mutation of those compounds.

**Substantive Bhuvrhiñ**

More modern theories on the origin of the Exocentric type throw some light on the question of the existence in Primitive German of Substantive Bhuvrhiñ (e.g. G. Dummkopf) and the question of the relation between them and the Adjective Bhuvrhiñ. In a brilliant essay on the origins of the Exocentric compounds Petersen has shown that the same principles were at work in the formation of these compounds in the primitive languages as in modern times, and has demonstrated that the type arose from the method of name-giving. In all languages persons are named from some striking characteristic or action of the bearer. To quote the example given by Petersen, one might say of a person who has a striking red beard: *Sieg mal den roten Bart*. From such a phrase it is an easy step to identify the person with the characteristic named and say: *Sieg mal den Rotbart*. Such Substantive Bhuvrhiñ were therefore not derived from Determinatives. They were an original type of compound distinguished in the parent Indo-Germanic language from the Determinatives by their exocentric meaning and by their accentuation. The Bhuvrhiñ had the main stress on the first member of the compound, whereas in the Determinatives the main stress lay on the second member, e.g. OInd. rāja-putras, having a son as king, rāja-putras, son of a king. The next step in the development of the Bhuvrhiñ was that they were used in apposition to a proper noun (e.g. G. Harald Schönhair). From the beginning the Bhuvrhiñ had what has been called ‘hidden adjective character (heimlicher Adjektiv-character),’ although this adjective character was not formally expressed as the type originated in the pre-inflection period, and even later there was little difference between the substantive and adjective inflection. In Germanic, however, the Bhuvrhiñ assumed the adjective inflection (e.g. OE. gālmöd, Gothic armahairs). The Adjective Bhuvrhiñ are therefore mutated, but they are mutated not as Schroeder and others thought from Determinatives, but from Substantive Bhuvrhiñ. The type then developed further. In all the Indo-Germanic languages the discrepancy was felt between the adjective character and declension of these compounds and the substantive declension of the second member when a simplex. In Germanic the Adjective Bhuvrhiñ were modified in two ways, either by the addition of adjective suffixes as -ja, -jō, -ig, -isk, -lēc, or the past participle endings -ed, -od, or they were substantivised by the addition of the ending -an (e.g. OE. wansōa, pelican). In this way the Adjective Bhuvrhiñ cease to be mutated compounds and no longer have exocentric meaning, since the idea of ‘having, possessing’ is expressed by the suffix. With the decay of the Adjective Bhuvrhiñ the Substantive Bhuvrhiñ are revived in the modern Germanic languages and the original type of Bhuvrhiñ compound which existed in the parent Indo-Germanic language is thus restored. As yet there is no tendency in the modern Germanic languages to mutate the Substantive Bhuvrhiñ, that is to use them as adjectives with adjective inflection, partly because the substantive and adjective inflections are no longer identical, and partly because of the existence of certain adjective suffixes to express the idea of ‘having.’

If this account of the origin of the Bhuvrhiñ type be correct, it follows that there is no difference in principle between the Substantive and Adjective Bhuvrhiñ. The difference is simply a question whether their ‘hidden adjective meaning’ is formally expressed or not. It has frequently been claimed that all the Bhuvrhiñ in the early periods of the Germanic languages were mutated, and that the Substantive Bhuvrhiñ did not exist in Primitive Germanic. Bergsten, for instance, doubts their existence in OE. (p. 159): ‘As regards substantival bhuvrhiñ,

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1 Petersen, *Über den Ursprung der Exozentrischen*, IF. 34. 254 ff.

2 The extension of the Bhuvrhiñ by suffixes is dealt with below, pp. 252 ff.
they seem not to have existed in the older stages of English. Storch does not give a single instance; nor have I come across any.' Similarly, Paul states (Deutsche Grammatik, V, § 25): 'Im Allgemein. finden wir Substantiva von der beschriebenen Art nur unter den Personennamen.' The type, certainly existed in the proper nouns (OHG. Hartmut, OE. Widsith) and the compounds with the prefix ge- (OE. gesið, OHG. gibar, ginde), although the tendency in the Germanic languages was to extend the latter type by the weak ending (e.g. Gothic gahlaiba).

We may then consider whether there is any evidence for the existence of Substantive Bahuvihris in the early Germanic languages apart from the proper nouns and the prefix compounds.

In OE. there are a number of plant-names which are on the border-line between Bahuvihris and Determinatives used metaphorically. It seems probable that a plant-name as hundestunge, cynoglossum, is simply a metaphorical transference of a Determinative hundestunge, dog's tongue, since the plant-name can hardly be interpreted as 'a plant which has a tongue like a dog's.' The following two names may, however, be original Bahuvihrigh formations: 1

fiflēaf (n.), cinquefoil, a loan-translation of quinquefolium.

The name is also recorded with the extension by the weak noun ending: fiflēafe (f.).

hundeshēafod (n.), snapdragon, a loan-translation of cenocephalus.

This name may be like hundestunge, a metaphorical transference of a Determinative.

In addition there is one animal-name of this type: ānhorn (n.), unicorn, a loan-translation of unicornis.

Other animal or bird-names as wanfōla, réadmūda, etc., are substantivised adjectives.

The Substantive Bahuvihris do therefore exist in OE., but they are very rare and are all loan-translations from Latin.

The evidence for the existence of Substantive Bahuvihris in OHG. and OLG. has already been collected by Fabian (pp. 41, 60 f., 85, 120 ff.), but many of Fabian's examples may be explained otherwise. The material may be divided into the semantic groups: plant-names, fish and animal-names, names of human beings.

1 It is not surprising that uncertainty should exist with the plant-names, since the plants receive their names like human beings from some striking characteristic.

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**PLANT NAMES**

einbère (f.), a plant which has one berry, Paris quadrifolia. This plant name, which cannot be a metaphorical transference from a Determinative, since Determinatives consisting of a numeral and a substantive did not exist in early Germanic, is recorded in OHG. from the 9th century. There is no evidence to suggest that it is a loan-translation from Latin. On the Engl. and Norse borrowings see p. 154 f.
einkorn (n.), an inferior kind of corn: common in OHG. glosses rendering halicastrum.
erősblat, fragelfolium (Gl. III, 520, 13). Fabian (p. 120) considers this compound to be a Substantive Bahuvihi, with the meaning: 'a plant which has leaves like those of a pea.' This is quite incorrect. The compound is a loan-translation of fragelfolium and is shortened from erősberesblat (cf. Gl. III, 315, 25; 488, 32).
finsblat (n.), cinquefoil, a loan-translation from quinquefolium.
goldwürs (f.), celidonium. It is difficult to decide with any degree of certainty whether this and similar formations with -würs are Bahuvihris or Determinatives, as würs can mean either 'root' or 'plant.' In this case goldwürs may well mean 'a plant with flowers like gold,' and it is therefore included under the Determinatives in the lists in Part I (p. 99).
herblat (n.), a plant with heart-shaped leaves (Parnassia palustris) recorded in the 14th century gloss, III, 519, 26.
holwürs (f.), a plant with a hollow root (Corydalis cava).
hundhoubet (n.), snapdragon, a loan-translation of cenocephalus: also in the extended form hundhoubet.
heilhoubet (n.), erba dactila: also in the extended form heilhoubet. Both forms are recorded from the 13th century.
krusewürs (f.), a plant with cross-shaped root, Cardus benedictus: recorded from the 13th century.
luggicwürs (f.), aconite, a plant with a poisonous root: recorded from the 11th century.
nátewürs (f.), Basilica serpentaria. Fabian (p. 60) regards this compound as a Bahuvihi, meaning: 'a plant with an adder-shaped root.' It seems more likely that it is simply an explanatory compound rendering the Latin serpentaria (see the section on the explanatory compounds, pp. 325 ff.)
sibinblat (n.), cinquefoil (Gl. III, 490, 40); probably a false translation arising through a confusion of Pentafillon with Heptafillon.

swarezwurz (f.), a plant with a black root.

trachenwurz (f.), Vincetoxium officinale. Fabian (p. 60) considers this compound to be a Substantive Bahuvrihi meaning 'a plant which has a dragon-shaped root,' but again like nitronwurz it is an explanatory compound translating the Latin dracaena.

tüsentbleiter (n.), a loan-translation of millefolium.

wizwurz (f.), Dictamnum album, a plant with a white root.

FISH AND ANIMAL NAMES

einhorn (n.), unicorn, a loan-translation of unicornis.

cudilhouget (n.), a fish, capideo, gobio (literally a fish with a bullet-shaped head); recorded in German from the 13th century (Gl. III, 369, 32).

niñouga (n.), a fish, murenula; recorded in German from the 10th century. On the parallels in other Germanic languages, see p. 155.

rötouga (n.), a fish, rubacula; recorded in the 13th century gloss (III, 369, 36). On the Engl. red-eyes, see p. 155.

NAMES OF HUMAN BEINGS

frihals (m.), a free man; recorded as a noun in the 8th century gloss K, 208, 8. On the corresponding mutated adjective, see p. 65.

krimbein (n.), a person with crooked legs, recorded in the 13th century gloss (III, 363, 31).

manahoubit (n.), a slave (literally, a person with a human head, as compared with the cattle); recorded in the 8th century gloss K, 207, 16.

wotanhters (n.), tyrant; recorded in K, Ra, 258, 21, translating tyrannus. This example is a significant one. The old Substantive Bahuvrihi is retained in this early German gloss, whereas the later OE. wōdenhēor is has been mutated.

In addition to these there is one other Substantive Bahuvrihi in OHG.:

drinuus (m.), tripod, obviously a loan-translation of tripus.

The majority of the Substantive Bahuvrihi in OHG. are not recorded until late glosses, and many are like the OE. comp-

ounds of this type loan-translations from Latin. There are, however, a number of significant examples recorded in the earliest glosses as frihals, manahoubit, wotanhters, and some early plant and fish names as einberi, niñouga which cannot be explained by the Latin influence.

The evidence from ON. as to the existence of the Substantive Bahuvrihi in early Germanic is not decisive, as the ON. texts date from the period when the type was definitely revived. There are, however, two examples in the Edda which may be quoted: bersker (m.), langbarðr (m.).

Considering therefore the early formations of this type in OHG. combined with the evidence from the personal names and the prefix compounds, it is scarcely possible to resist the conclusion that the Substantive Bahuvrihi existed in Primitive Germanic, and that they lay latent in the languages until they were revived in the 14th and 15th centuries. The reason why so few of these formations are recorded in early times lies in the nature of these compounds. They belong primarily to the vulgar or non-literary stratum of the Germanic languages (compare such popular formations in Mod. Engl. as clodpate, brasshat, rubberneck, or German, Großbauch, Langmaul, Langnase). They are not formations which one would expect to find in the translation prose of early Germanic (hence their total absence from Gothic) or in the alliterative poetry with its heroic style far removed from everyday speech. For the same reason they are avoided by the ME. and MHG. poets to whom they appeared as vulgar formations. It was not until the rise of a more popular literature in the 14th and 15th centuries that these popular Substantive Bahuvrihi gained an entry into literature. A few are found in the MHG. poetry, characteristically in the more popular poems:

blatnuos (m.), a flat-footed person (König Rother 1871, Herzog Ernst 4671, 5422 Var.).

einouge (n.), cyclop (Kaiserchronik 3, 492).

einstern (m.), cyclop (Herzog Ernst 4520).

grisbart (m.), a greybeard (Lexer I, 1088, from Malagis).

lasterbalc (m.), a term of abuse, used of a person in Rosengarten 814.

1 This is a substantive, not an adjective as in Gering’s glossary. See Gr II, 20, 4, langbars lijar.
nominal compounds in Germanic

micsbart (m.), a person with a moss-like beard (Rosengarten 1508).
platuof (m.), one who has a flat hoof (Herzog Ernst 1467).
silberslunt (m.), a miser (Renner 1488).
sundermunt (m.), a person who does not speak to others
    (Willehalm 399, 28).

It will be seen that with the exception of the last one these
compounds are recorded only in the more popular poetry of the
MHG. period. They are entirely avoided by the Court Poets
as Hartmann von Aue and Gottfried von Strassburg, and only
one is to be found in Wolfram von Eschenbach who has
connections with the popular poetry of his time.

There is then a direct line leading from the original type of
Substantive Bahuvarhis in the parent Indo-Germanic language
through Primitive Germanic, where the traces are almost
obliterated, down to the modern representatives of this type.
Paul (Deutsche Grammatik, V, § 25) in quoting a list of Sub-
stantive Bahuvarhis from Modern German denies any causal
connection between the Modern German formations and those
in older times. It has been shown above that examples of the
type are recorded in German from the earliest glosses and that
the type was never extinct at any period of German. The
present writer cannot agree with Paul, especially when he finds
in Paul's list of new formations such compounds as Neunauge,
which is recorded in OHG. (10th cent.) niunouga, and MHG.
niunouge (Lexer II, 90).

Imperative Compounds

Compounds of the type pick-pocket, in which the second part
stands as an object of an imperative verb in the first part, are
found in the early records of the Indo-Germanic languages,
but there are no traces of any similar formations in Gothic, OHG.,
ON., or OE.2 This type, however, reappears in German in the
early MHG. period, and about the same time in English proper
names. It is generally assumed that the modern representatives
of this type are entirely new formations having no connection
with the earlier formations in other Indo-Germanic languages,
and various theories have been advanced to explain their
emergence at a comparatively late period.1 It was suggested
by Osthoff (pp. 125-36) that the Exocentric Imperative Com-
pounds were mutated from Determinatives consisting of a verbal
stem and a noun of the type of the German Schreibezeug. This
theory is to be rejected for, as has already been shown, the
Exocentrics are not mutated Determinatives, but an entirely
different formation. A modified version of this theory is given
by Fabian who considers that the Imperative Compounds were
formed on the analogy of those Substantive Bahuvarhis which
had as a first member a verbal stem which could be either trans-
itive or intransitive. An Imperative Compound like Schleppfuss
(a person who drags his foot behind) would be formed on the
analogy of the Substantive Bahuvarhi Schleppfuss (a person
with dragging feet). It should, however, be noted that such
Substantive Bahuvarhis with verbal first member are rare in
MHG. and MLG.,2 rarer than the Imperative Compounds.
Moreover, such early examples in the personal names as Hebestril,
Schiuchdenphluog, Ruckestuol can hardly have arisen in the way
Fabian suggests. Nor does Fabian's theory take into account
the rise of the Imperative Compounds in English, in which lan-
guage the Substantive Bahuvarhis with verbal first member are
very rare.3 This explanation of the origin of the Imperative
type fails to account also for the French compounds of similar
formation, since in French Determinatives and Substantive
Bahuvarhis with verbal first member are quite unknown.4 It

1 Jacobi, Compositum und Nebensatz, 1897, p. 74, does suggest that
such Imperative Compounds may have lived on the language of the
ordinary people: 'Sie waren gewissermassen sprachliche Tiefsee-
bewohner, die durch irgend einen Zufall vielleicht an die Oberfläche der
Literatur gebracht werden.' But he admits later (p. 81) that the
Germanic languages offer no basis for any such assumption.
2 Fabian (pp. 300 and 306 f.) quotes only five from MHG. and MLG.
some of which are doubtful formations.
3 Last (p. 83) suggests without aduding any evidence that the
Substantive Bahuvarhis with verbal first member were formed on the
analogy of the Imperative Compounds—the opposite to Fabian's
theory.
4 Paul, Deutsche Grammatik, V, § 26, rejects this explanation of the
Imperative Compounds.
has further been suggested, particularly with regard to English, that the Imperative Compounds in the Germanic languages arose through the influence of similar formations in French. These compounds are first recorded in the ME. period (picepearse, lettegaeme in Chaucer, and cutteporse, pikeporse, pikelhermes in Langland), and from German in the 13th century, but they are found much earlier in the English and German personal names. It is true that the earliest examples of this type of personal names in English are the Anglo-French names in the Doomsday Book, but purely English formations (e.g. Wagtail) are recorded from the 12th century, and the French influence is scarcely sufficient to account for the popular MLG. and MHG. names which date from the 11th century.

It has also been suggested by Behagel that the first parts of these compounds are not imperatives but mutilated forms of the first person singular of the verb, that a compound as Habeimsichts arose from the phrase 'ich habe nichts.' Although this may be true of some modern formations which have been secondarily associated with the first person singular of the verb, Behagel's theory cannot be made the basis for the explanation of the whole group. In a compound as Vergissemieinacht the first member cannot be anything but an imperative.

Like the Substantive Bahufrhis the Imperative Compounds were originally popular formations restricted to the proper names and popular prose. Only a few are to be found in the poetry of the MHG. period and those are significantly restricted to the popular poets. Omitting the proper names, the following formations of this type are found in MHG. poetry:

Vüll-en-sac, a robber (Renner 9035).
habe-den-schaden, field produce (v. dem Türlin's Willehalm).
Lær-en-huetel, a robber (Renner 9035).
Lær-en-napf, a drinker (Renner 16153).
lecke-spitze, a gluton (15th cent. Christmas Play, Lexer, I. 1851).
riume-gasse, a sword (Neidhart von Reuenthal 49, 20).
schaber-nack, a foreign wine (Pseudo-Neidhart 47, 12).

1 See especially Jespersen, A Modern English Grammar, Heidelberg, 1914, II, 8, 61, and Last, p. 83, 'Umsmehr wären die englischen Imperativbildungen diesem Einfluss zuzuschreiben.' Wilmanns, II, § 304, suggests a similar influence of the French compounds on German.
2 On the English personal names see E. Weekly, Surnames, London, 1917, Chap. XII, and on the German ones, Socin, Mittelhochdeutsches Namenbuch, Basel, 1903, Chap. XX.
3 O. Behagel, Von deutscher Sprache, Lahr, 1927, p. 238 f.

The whole character of these compounds suggests that they are taken from the proper names, and their explanation is to be sought like that of the Substantive Bahufrhis in that process of name-giving described by Petersen. It has already been shown that some striking visible characteristic of a person may be taken and the person named from it, and that this process gave rise to the type known as the Substantive Bahufrhis. Just in the same way a person may be named from some frequent saying, fictitious or otherwise, attributed to him. In this way a person may be named Larenbietel, Fürchtetot, Gotselfetun, Rühr-mich-nicht-an. Petersen further points out (p. 279) that such names may also originate from some phrase called out to a person. Thus the Olnd. Trasădasys, 'make the enemy tremble,' arose not because the person himself used the phrase, but because these words were frequently addressed to him. A similar example from German might be seen in the name of the MHG. poet Suachenwirt.

The combined evidence from the Germanic languages and from French is that the Imperative compounds originated from an imperative verb and its dependents, and there is no need to seek any other form of the verb in the first part as Behagel will, or to explain them as analogical formations made on the model of such Determinatives as Schreibzeug which do not exist in French and are rare in English. The Imperative Compounds like all other Exocentrics arise from the process of name-giving which is the same in modern languages as in the parent Indo-Germanic language. Most of the compounds of this type are jocular and abusive, and it is possibly for that reason that they are not recorded until late in the history of the Germanic languages. It has already been shown that the Substantive Bahufrhis lay latent in the Germanic languages until the emergence of a popular type of literature. It is possible that the Imperative Compounds, which are similar in formation to the Substantive Bahufrhis and which appear in literature at approximately the same time, were never really extinct in Germanic although we have no record of them earlier than the proper names of the 11th century.

1 See the example from Goethe quoted by Petersen, p. 259: 'Er hat das Aussehen eines vornehmen Rühr-mich-nicht-an.' An excellent example of the way in which such names are given is quoted by Darmesteter, Traité de la formation des mots composés, Paris, 1894, from a report in the Daily News, 21st March, 1878: 'A known thief, who went by the name of 'Have a liquid,' that being a common salutation by which he accosted all acquaintances.'
Finally there is a third type of exocentric compound, similar in origin to the Substantive Bahuvrihis and the Imperative Compounds, which is found amongst the Germanic languages only in Norse. This consists of a present participle together with a dependent substantive, the whole compound having exocentric meaning. The following examples from ON. will serve to illustrate the structure of the type and afford a basis for the discussion of its prevalence and origin:

**lñggvandbaugi**, an epithet meaning 'breaker of rings,' applied to the Danish saga-king Hrorek.

**hwindandorði**, epithet applied to Thórir in the Heimskringla.

**kastanrassi**, epithet applied to Asbjørn in the Flateyjarbók.

**henganajapti**, a woman who lets her jaw hang (name of a giant's wife).

**sloengvanbaugi**, an epithet meaning 'strewer of rings,' applied to Hrorek in the Eddic song, Hdl. 29, 2.

**sviælanjapti**, one who waggles his jaw.

**Vellankata** (nom. prop.), literally 'kettle-boiler.'

These compounds, which are few in number, are momentary formations recorded only once each. Some are poetical (e.g. **lñggvandbaugi**), others (e.g. **kastanrassi**, **hwindandorði**) are of a more jocular and vulgar character. In origin they were phrases consisting of a present participle and a dependent substantive used in apposition to a proper noun, and they are to be explained like all other exocentrics by that process of name-giving which has produced the Substantive Bahuvrihis and the Imperative Compounds. By these compounds a person is named from some customary and typical action or mannerism, just as in the case of the Substantive Bahuvrihis he was named from some physical or mental characteristic, and in the case of the Imperative Compounds from some customary saying.

No similar formations are recorded in any of the other Germanic languages, nor are any examples known to the present writer from the modern Scandinavian languages. The type is evidently a purely Norse development which did not survive the ON. period.²

¹ On the dropping of the final *d* in the first part of some of these compounds, see Norse, § 291, 2.

² A similar type is found in OInd. and OIran.: see OInd. **kñjâd-vira**, ruler of men, **tavaddvêças**, conquering enemies, OIran. **vanat-peîana**, winning battles. Like the ON. compounds, these are used as epithets to proper names (see Hirt, *Indogermanische Grammatik*, IV, p. 36).

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**Determinatives of the Type Schreibzeuge**

The origin and development of this type of Determinative in the Germanic languages has been fully discussed by Osthoff (*op. cit.*). Osthoff's theory, which is in principle correct, is that the type verb + noun was formed in the Germanic languages on the analogy of those compounds which had a verbal noun in the first part. According to Osthoff a compound such as **sláðhús** was originally a purely nominal compound, and the first part was secondarily associated with the verb **sláfan**. It is obviously impossible to tell when the association actually took place, as even in Modern German such compounds as Schlafzimmer can be considered either as verbal or nominal.

Osthoff inclines to the view that the association with the verb had not taken place in Primitive German or in West Germanic, but that the verbal compounds are formations made independently in each Germanic language. It has, however, been shown in Part I of this work that although there are no early parallels of this type between Norse and West Germanic, two such compounds (OHG. **brennisarn**, OE. **bernišan**: OHG. **wezistain**, OE. **hvecestan**) are recorded from relatively early texts in OE. and OHG. If then the type can be shown to be in existence in the earliest texts of English and German, there seems to be no reason why it should not be attributed to Primitive West Germanic.

The chief difficulty in dealing with the problem lies in distinguishing between the verbal and purely nominal compounds. Gröger (*op. cit.*) has attempted to investigate the problem from the point of view of the composition vowel, but admits that little light is thrown on the question by this method of approach and that it can only be solved by a consideration of the semantic relationships between the two members of the different types of compounds. Theoretically one would expect the OHG. compounds with a strong verb in the first part to have no composition vowel, the -*an* verbs to have *i* (later reduced to *e*), the -*on* verbs to have *o*, and the -*en* verbs to have *e* or *o*, but the question is complicated by the fact that the nouns from which the weak verbs are often derived may have the same composition vowel-in the first part of the compounds, and by the fact

¹ This opinion is also held by Paul, *Deutsche Grammatik*, V, § 18: "Zusammensetzungen mit Verbum als erstem Gliede gab es im Idg. und auch in Urgerm. noch nicht. Dieser Typus hat sich erst im Deutschen allmählich entwickelt."
that the composition vowel is subject to the assimilatory influences of neighbouring vowels which may obscure its original character. In the majority of cases Gröger states simply that the first part of the compounds may be nominal or verbal, and he does not attempt to come to any conclusions about particular instances.

Since then absolute certainty cannot be obtained from the composition vowel, we may turn to the semantic aspect of these compounds and investigate the semantic relationship between the members, firstly in OHG. and OLG. where the type is common, then in OE., Gothic, and ON.

In Modern German the two parts of the verbal compounds may stand in the following relationships:

(a) The first part may indicate the purpose of the second, e.g. Bindsfaden, Schreibzeug. On the analogy of compounds of this type which have a noun denoting a place in the second part (e.g. Badesimmer), others are formed in which the first part denotes an action carried out in the place denoted by the second part (e.g. Sichtsieber).

(b) The first part stands in the relation of a predicate to the second (e.g. Brennessel). These can be translated into English by a present participle and noun (e.g. stinging nettle) or a relative sentence (nettle which stings).

(c) The type has become so common in Modern German that other compounds have been formed in which the relation is so loose that they can hardly be classified (e.g. Streichmusik).

Turning now to the material in OHG. and OLG. we may first consider those compounds the first part of which can only be a verbal stem and cannot be connected with a noun. From these we may determine the semantic types, and then try to decide which of the doubtful cases are nominal and which are verbal.¹

Strong Verbs

jettsarn, weeding implement (10th cent.). This is a modification of the earlier nominal compound jetisarn (9th cent.).

¹ The derivatives in -ith, sam, etc., are not included in the following

It is possible, as Osthoff and Gröger point out, that the compound may be purely nominal (see the Bavarian jet (n.), and the Swiss jet (n.)).

lesarihit, construction (11th cent., Ngl.). Osthoff attempts to demonstrate the possibility of this compound being purely nominal by referring to the ON. les (n.), a lesson, but no such noun exists in German. Certainly this interpretation cannot be upheld for the following compound with the verb lesan which is not quoted by Osthoff.

lesesestock, garnering stick (13th cent.). Gröger (§ 27) refers the first part of this compound to lesa (l.), but this is semantically impossible as lesa glosses the Latin rüga.

mellfas, melckubbin, milking pail (10/12th cent.). The first of these compounds is a modification of the earlier purely nominal mittifsas. The first part can only be the stem of the strong verb mellkan. Again it is semantically impossible to explain the first part as the adj. melk (lactans) as Osthoff will (pp. 85, 92).

niesswurs, a plant used as snuff (11th cent.); the first part has the stem of the verb niosan.

redestab, rotabulum (11/12th cent.); the first part is the stem of the verb redan, cribbrate.

sersachs, razor (10/11th cent.); the first part has been modified by association with the verb sceran from the earlier scarasachs (see p. 102, No. 88).

spanaword, tempting words (10/11th cent.); the first part is the stem of the verb spanan, hardly the derivative spano, suadus, which is recorded only once in OHG.

sprekhüs, curia (LG. 11th cent.); a modification of the older nominal form spräkhüs.

swefresta, couch (Heliand 4356); the first part is the stem of a strong verb not extant in German, but recorded in OE.

swefan.

trincovas, goblet (10th cent.).

trincheller, inn (12th cent.).

webisarn, weaving implement (11th cent.); a late modification of the earlier nominal weppisarn.

-Jan Verbs

brennfruscung, aferbrennonker, burnt offering (Notker).

brenne-braìma, -brùl, -wurs, names of stinging plants recorded from the 12th century.
denilachan, tent (9th cent.); the first part contains the stem of the weak verb *dennen*.

dráisarn, lathe (9th cent.); the first part contains the stem of *dräen*, turn.

hessehund, hunting hound (11/12th cent.), *hessezöhe*, hunting bitch; see the MHG. *hessen*, hunt.

heribesemó, sweeping broom (12th cent.); the first part contains the stem of the verb *kerien*, sweep.

beneimschrift, will, last testament (Notker); the first part has the stem of the verb *beneimen*, prove.

raichivias, serving goblet (12th cent.); the first part has the stem of the verb *reichen*, serve, reach.

renniwec, race-course (not in Osthoff or Gröger, but quoted by Grimm, 2, 681).

ruogemán, rower (12th cent.); the first part has the stem of the MHG. *ruogen*.

scenkivias, goblet (9th cent. Tatian).

scepfiivas, bucket for drawing water (11/12th cent.).

sleiszeicht, oak for felling (11th cent.); the first part contains the stem of the verb *sleisen*, fell.

welszeist, antes (12th cent.); the first part contains the stem of the verb *welsen*, roll.

wezzeist, whetstone (9th cent.); the first part contains the stem of the verb *wezen*, whet.

Considering now the semantic relationships in the above compounds, we see that the two main types which exist in Modern German were already present in OHG.

The first part of the compound may denote the purpose of the second (cf. *scersahs, scenkivias, svefresta, wezzeist*). This type is recorded in OHG. and OLG. from the 9th century (Tatian and Helian), and all the compounds with strong verbs in the first part, which cannot possibly be nominal compounds, belong to this group.

The first part of the compound may stand in a predicative relationship to the second. There are few compounds of this type in OHG. (e.g. *brennebráma, ruogemán*) and none of these is recorded before the 12th century.

In view of the fact that the two parallels with OE. (*bernsen, hvveetstán*) belong to the first class in which the first part of the compound denotes the purpose of the second, and the fact that this class is the only one to be found in early OHG. texts, we may conclude that the verbal compounds developed on analogy of those purely nominal compounds in which the first part denotes the purpose of the second.

Bearing these principles in mind, we may now turn to the examination of those compounds in OHG. and OLG. which according to Osthoff and Gröger may be either nominal or verbal. In accordance with his theory of the nominal origin of these compounds Osthoff is inclined to explain them as purely nominal whenever possible, that is whenever a simple noun exists similar in form to the first part of the compound. A comparison between the meaning of this simplex and the compound reveals, however, that the two are often unrelated and that the compound is more accurately explained as a verbal one. Gröger (§§ 114-120) comes to no decision on the question, and quotes a large number of stems which may be either nominal or verbal, but again a consideration of the meaning of the compounds leaves no doubt that certain compounds can only be nominal.

**Strong Verbs**

*bachhús* (bakery), *bachisæn* (baking implement), *bachscirri* (baking utensil), *bakhweiga* (baking trough). Osthoff refers the first part of these compounds, which are recorded from the 10th to the 12th century, to the MHG. *bæc* (m.), that which is baked at once, a baking. This explanation is possible but more forced than the simple explanation that the compounds have the stem of the strong verb *bachan* in the first part especially when it is remembered that similar verbal compounds exist in OE. *bacerring, baccern*.

blástbelg, bellows (9th cent.), *bläshorn*, trumpet. These compounds were probably originally nominal (see OE. *blástbelg*, ON. *blástrbelgr*), although they may have been associated with the verb in OHG.

*bintrimé*, strap (late OHG.). Osthoff does not quote this compound, and Gröger does not decide whether the first part is nominal or verbal (see OHG. *bínda* (f.), and the verb *bindan*). In view of the fact that the compound is a late formation and that the first part denotes the purpose of the second, it seems more likely that the compound contains the verbal stem in the first part.

*blozhús*, temple (8th cent.). The compound is in all probability a purely nominal one (see OHG. *bluostarhiís* and ON. *blókiús*).
brätwurst, a kind of sausage. Gröger does not decide whether the first part is nominal or verbal, but the compound does not mean 'a sausage to be fried,' and there is no doubt that the first part is the noun bräto (flesh).

brätbira, pear for roasting (late OHG. gloss). The meaning of the compound, which glosses crustumius, leaves no doubt that the first part contains the stem of the verb brätan and not the noun bräto.

büland, cultivated land (Heliand). Gröger does not decide whether the first part of this compound is the noun bü or the verb büan. In view of the fact that the first part does not indicate the purpose of the second and in view of the existence of the purely nominal compound büland in ON., there is no doubt that the first part of the OLG. compound is the noun bü.

búman, farmer. The compound is not recorded until the 12th century and may be either nominal or verbal, but the former is more likely in view of the ON. búmar, búkona.

deksisarn, flail (late glosses). Gröger does not decide whether the compound is nominal or verbal, but the simplex deksa means 'axe,' and it is therefore more likely that the first part is the stem of the verb deksan, thresh.

fallstuol, folding stool. This old West Germanic compound (on the parallels, see p. 98) was certainly a purely nominal compound when it was formed, although the first part may have been associated with the verb fallan in OHG. (but see the nominal fallstuol).

fallturi, folding door (10th cent.). It cannot be decided whether this compound is nominal or verbal, but in view of the preceding compound and the doublet falltilturi, nominal origin is likely.

gebegern, generous (deduced from gebegern). As gern was tending to become a suffix in OHG. with the meaning 'inclined to,' the meaning of the compound does not give any clue to the problem whether the first part is the noun gebe or the verb geban, but in spite of the ON. gjafmildr, which Osthoff quotes, verbal origin seems to be more probable (see Notker’s rechegern, almost certainly a verbal compound).

henglachan, tapestry (9th cent.). Gröger associates the first part of this compound with the weak verb hengen. It should however be noted that this weak verb does not mean 'hang' in early OHG., but 'to give way to, follow' (cf. Mod. G. nachhängen). Similar compounds are found in OE. hengeclif,
III, 5, 44) is certainly not a verbal compound as the meaning is probably 'year with an insertion.'  
*sceltwurt*, words of abuse (9th cent.). The compound may be either nominal (see *scella*) or verbal (see *scelian*).

*scrib-azzusi, -isarn, -sahs, -ziug, -zowa*, writing implements, *scriblhëhere, pen, scriblhorn*, ink-horn. Both Osthoff and Gröger maintain that the first part of these compounds may contain the noun *scrib* and not the stem of the verb *scriban*. The noun *scrib* glosses *forma*, and this meaning obviously does not fit in with all the above compounds, whereas all the compounds can easily be interpreted as containing the stem of the verb which denotes the purpose of the second part of the compound. Some of the above formations are found in very early texts (*scribibarn*, Pa, K, *scribazzusi, scribsahs*, Tatian), and if as seems likely they are verbal compounds, the type must have been very productive in 8th-century German, and must go back to an earlier period as *scriban* is a foreign word and could only have been introduced into the nominal compounds on the analogy of similar German formations of an earlier date.

*scribïsarn, scribïmeszer*, scalpel (late glosses); either to the noun *scrib*, or more likely to the verb *scribl* (see also *seabemeszer*) with the same meaning.

*scêidjudo*, Pharisee (Ngl.), *scêidmachingri*, scismaticus (Ngl.). Osthoff does not quote these compounds. Gröger does not decide whether they are nominal or verbal. The meanings of the compounds, the first part of which does not denote the purpose of the second, leave no doubt that the first part is the noun *scêit*, discissio, and not the verb *scêidan*. A verbal compound of the type *scêidmachingri* is quite impossible.

*scêilenih*, spectre, delusion (8th cent.). Osthoff does not quote this compound, but again Gröger considers the possibility of *sein* being a verbal stem. The compound is an old West Germanic one (see OE. *seinclac*), and there is no doubt that the first part is simply the noun *sein*.

*schlawurz*, a plant: not quoted by Osthoff, and again Gröger considers the possibility that the first part may be nominal (but see *nieswurz*).

*scrimdi*, *scriminez*, step (8th cent.), *scritescuoht*, walking shoe. Gröger quotes these compounds without deciding whether they are nominal or verbal. The meaning of the first two leaves no doubt that they are purely nominal compounds. The form of the second indicates that it was originally a purely nominal compound which in later glosses (*scritescuoht*) may have been associated with the verb, in which case the vowel of the first part is to be marked long.

*slißstein*, grinding stone (8th cent.). The form found in K, 260, 5 *slißstein* < *slißhstein* suggests that the first part of this compound was originally the *i* stem *sliß*. In later glosses the first part may be associated with the verb, in which case the vowel of the first part is to be marked long.

*slingcol*, clematis (12th cent.). The compound is not quoted by Osthoff, and Gröger considers that the first part may be nominal or verbal, but the first part can hardly be brought together with *slinga*, sling, and the compound is clearly a verbal formation similar to the other 12th-century formations *brennebrâma*, etc.

*slob*: Gröger does not distinguish between verbal and nominal formations. In *slöfmacrhig*, *slöfsguht* the first part is clearly nominal. Other formations as *slöfhus*, *slöfkamera*, which are recorded from the 11th century, were probably originally nominal formations which may already in OHG. have been associated with the verb.

*spaltchorn*, spelta. The formation is certainly not a verbal compound, although Gröger again allows the possibility. The compound is an explanatory formation to *spella*.

*span*: Gröger does not decide whether the formations with this initial member are nominal or verbal. The earliest compound *spanmali*, cubitus (8th cent.) obviously has as its first part the noun *spanna*, cubitus, palma, whereas later formations as *spanhetti*, *spannagil* are formed with the verb *spanan*, stretch.

*stöswalch*, herodius (late gloss): a purely nominal formation (see MHG. *stöswihe*, horned cattle).

*stößsán*, propuratorium (12th cent.): may be nominal or verbal, more likely the latter, as the formation is a late one.

*strit*: Gröger considers that the formations with this word may be nominal or verbal, but the meaning of *stritloufo*, racer (Notker), *stritloufi* (Notker), *striltluðgi*, courage in battle (Heliand), *striltëra*, heresy (11th cent.) leaves no doubt that they are all nominal formations, as in none of them does the first part indicate the purpose of the second.

*traga*: Gröger does not distinguish between the nominal and verbal formations with this first member. The simplex
traga means ‘nurse,’ and it follows that tragadierna (9th cent.) must be a purely nominal compound, whereas tragabetti (Tatian), tragafadam, tragastuel are verbal formations from tragan in which the first part indicates the purpose of the second.

walt-: Gröger again does not decide whether the formations with this first member are nominal or verbal. The meanings of the compounds waltambaht (Tatian), gewaltpoi (Ngl.), waltewahso (9th cent.), waltboho (10th cent.) leaves no doubt that none of them is a verbal formation, as the first part does not indicate the purpose of the second.

werfscafla, threshing implement. Gröger does not decide whether the first part of this compound is the noun werf or the stem of the verb werfan. As the compound is a late modification of the nominal werfscafla, and the first part denotes the purpose of the second, it seems likely that it has been associated with the verb.

wig-: Gröger maintains that the compounds with this first member may be nominal or verbal. There seems to be no reason to deviate from Osthoff’s view that all the compounds are purely nominal. The formations wig-got, -guin, -horn, -man (Notker), -saca (Heliand), -stat (Muspilli) are certainly nominal, and there is no reason why the others (wig-gigaraui, -hers, -hás), in which the first part does denote the purpose of the second, should be interpreted any differently.

wintisen, winch (12th cent.). This compound may be nominal (see OHG. winta), as Gröger suggests, but as it is a late formation it is more likely that it was formed with the verbal stem of wintan.

-Jan Verbs

The association of the nominal compounds with -ja nouns in the first part with the corresponding -jan verbs was most easy, and it is probable that the verbal compounds developed from this type (see the two early parallels with OE. bernisæn, hwecestæn, which have -jan verbs in the first part). It is scarcely possible to decide in each individual case whether the first part of such compounds is nominal or verbal. Gröger gives a list of formations which could be either nominal or verbal (Gröger, § 115), claiming only that in the early period such compounds were felt as purely nominal formations, but again Gröger has ignored the semantic aspect of the problem and the parallels with other

Germanic languages. Taking these factors into consideration, it can be definitely asserted that certain formations are purely nominal:

fruni-gift, -kid, -rifi, -wahst, -scaft. Gröger is led by the unusual composition vowel in these compounds to assert that they may be formed with the stem of the verb frummen, benefit, in the first part. Semantically this is quite impossible. In all the formations the first part means ‘early, first,’ and nowhere denotes the purpose of the second part of the compound. It is more probable that fruni- arose from fruma- in those compounds with i in the second part (e.g. frumigift) and was then transferred into others (see Gröger, p. 67). Osthoff (pp. 37 and 52) suggests that the first part of these formations is a non-extend fruni, but this is quite impossible, for, as will be shown later, such abstracts were not used in the first part of the compounds in early German.

gerisarn, goad. This compound may be nominal (see OHG. gerta) or verbal (see gerten), as Gröger suggests, but geriauwz is clearly a nominal formation, the plant being so called from its shape.

hevisarn, hevessamill (12th cent.). Gröger considers that these compounds may contain in the first part the abstract hvei or the stem of the verb heffen. The latter explanation is more likely in such late formations. Gröger should, however, not have included in this group hefewarz, the first part of which has nothing to do with either the abstract or the verb, but is simply the noun hefo (Mod. German Heße).

leitikunt, bloodhound. Osthoff and Gröger associate the first part of this compound with the abstract leiti (leading) or the verb leiten. Although the compound may have been associated secondarily with the verb, the etymology of spurtikunt (see below) and the parallel formation leidexoa, which glosses odorissequa, suggest that the first part was originally the noun leita (OE. læd), track.

leidesterre, loadstar (12/13th cent.). Gröger is certainly wrong in suggesting that the first part of this compound is either the noun leiti or the verb leiten. The Engl. loadstar indicates clearly that the first part was originally the noun OHG. leita, OE. læd.

Gröger also includes in his Index the noun leifaz under this group of nouns which may have a verbal first member. This
is quite incorrect, as the first part is the noun MHG. *leitê, vatir* and the compound is therefore a tautological formation.

*chetefinger*, first finger (Notker). Gröger suggests that the first part of this compound is either the abstract *quei*î, salutation, or the verb *quetten*. The compound, which is not verbal, translates *digitus salutaris*, and the first part is the masc. i-stem *quei*î.

*sendipwax*, epistle (9th cent.). Osthoft and Gröger suggest that the first part is the abstract *senî*î (see OHG. *farsantî*). It will be shown later that it is unlikely that abstracts of this type were used in the first part of the compounds in early OHG., and it is therefore preferable to accept Gröger's alternative suggestion that the first part is the stem of the verb *senden*.

*spurhunh*, bloodhound. Gröger suggests that this compound contains in the first part either the i-stem *spuri* or the verb *spuren*. The compound is found in the Lex Bai.: *qui in legamine vestigium tenet, quem spurhunh dicunt*, which suggests that *spuri* is a noun translating *vestigium*. See also the ON. *sporhundr* and the OHG. gloss II, 706, 50, *odoriscus*, *spurhunh*, *tutilag*, feast day. Gröger suggests that this may be a verbal compound, but this is quite impossible. The first part is a genitive sing. and the whole compound is modelled on the names of the days of the week which contain genitives in the first part (see p. 313). The compound is a loan-translation of *dies festi*. Gröger also suggests that the first member of *restitag* may be a verbal stem, but again it is more probable that the compound contains a genitive sing. modelled on the names of the days of the week.

-Eh Verbs

Osthoft and Gröger have already shown that the -en verbs were not used in the compounds in OHG. and OLG., although derivatives with -*leth* were formed from them (see *werelschô*, lasting, *folegilidhô*, obediently).

-On Verbs

If the -on verbs appear in the first part of the OHG. and OLG. compounds, we should expect the composition vowel to be o, but there are in OHG. a number of purely nominal formations which also have o in the bridge of the compound (e.g. *tagostettero*.

namohaft, *wunnoharto*), so that the appearance of this vowel in the bridge of the compound is no certain criterion of verbal or nominal composition. Osthoft denied that any -on verbs were used as the first parts of compounds in OHG. and OLG., but Gröger (§ 115) suggests that in the following cases originally nominal compounds were modified by association with -on verbs. The following notes will show that other explanations of these compounds are possible:

*arnogisit*, harvest time (Otfrid), *arnomandôth*, harvest month (11th cent. gloss). Whilst the influence of the verb *arnôn* is possible in these compounds, since the first part may be interpreted as indicating the purpose of the second, it is also possible that the first part was originally the noun *arnôt*. For parallel cases of the dropping of a t from the first part of compounds, see *frihof* (Lips. 346), *houbibant* (Gl. II, 39, 19), *róphellin* (Gl. II, 349, 30), and Gröger, §§ 129, 7; 132, 3.

*betohôs*, house of prayer (Otfrid, II, 11, 21 P): MSS. VF have beta-. This compound, which is a loan-translation of the Latin *domus orationis*, contains a genitive singular in the first part, and it is unnecessary to assume influence from the verb *betôn* (see Notker's *gibohôs*).

*betoman*, person who prays (Otfrid). In Otfrid, II, 14, 68, *thôk quimit noh thera zit frist, iht si ouh nu gegimwirtig ist, thas betont ware betoman then fater geistlichô fram*, influence of the neighbouring verb *betont* does seem to be possible, although the compound was originally purely nominal. It should also be noted that the word *man* in OHG. has sunk almost to a suffix denoting nomina agents, and suffix derivatives from the -on verbs are at all times possible.

*érotac*, feast day (Jc. IV, 11, 31). This compound, too, is a formation with a genitive in the first part formed on the analogy of the names of the week (see also *tutiltag*).

*frrotag*, Sabbath (Ngl.); also a genitive compound translating *dies sabbati*.

*grabohôfô*, grave mound (N. I, 46, 22). There is a tendency in Notker's writings to introduce the nominative form of the weak nouns into the first part of the compounds instead of the normal form of composition ending in e (see also the purely nominal *sámogeba*, N. I, 815, 23). Moreover, in this particular instance *grabo* comes at the end of one line of the MS. and *hüfo* at the beginning of the next. Possibly the scribe forgot he was dealing with a compound.
spilohús, gymnasium (Gl. I, 700, 7). This compound is a common one in OHG. glosses, and with the exception of this particular one is clearly a nominal formation appearing as *spilehús, *spilihús. An influence of the verb is possible, but much attention cannot be paid to the aberrations of a single glossator.

spilogern, playful (N. I, 758, 7); possibly a verbal derivative (see also rechegerm).

spiloman, player (Gl. II, 113, 17, and Notker): again like betoman more of a derivative than a compound.

disctouollib, life of contemplation (Ngl.): clearly a genitive compound not influenced by the verb (see wunnoilib, N. I, 760, 10).

weidopurg, urbs tabernaculum (Gl. I, 326, 5); also a genitive compound.

weidogutin, Diana (N. I, 826, 28); also a genitive compound. See also the formation weidegutin, N. I, 827, 14.

wilosálda, temporal fortune (N. I, 707, 31). This form is found only once in Notker, the normal form being wilsállda, and it is evidently only a scribal aberration.

seigoruta, virga (N. I, 24, 8). This compound may have been influenced by the verb zeigón, although it is again worth noting that the two parts are written separately in the MS. which is rather strange if the first part is a verbal stem which has no independent existence.

In addition to these there is the doubtful fiedromústro, to the first part of which there is no corresponding noun. Kluge-Goetze (under Fiedermaus) derive the first part of the compound from the verb fiedaron and interpret as 'flying mouse.' If this is correct, that type of verbal compound in which the first part stands in a predicative relationship to the second (e.g. Bremnessel) is not a late 12th century type as has been suggested above. It should, however, be noted that the earliest forms of this compound have no o in the bridge of the compound (fiedormus Voc. III, 5, 58), and that the verb fiedaron itself is probably a derivative from a noun. It is therefore preferable to regard this compound as a nominal formation which may have been influenced in late glosses by the verb.¹

It will have appeared from the above facts that most of those formations, which Grüber explains as nominal compounds influenced by -ôn verbs, can be explained otherwise. Some are genitive formations and others may be scribal aberrations. It does seem that those formations which are half-way between compounds and derivatives were influenced by the -ôn verbs (e.g. betoman, spiloman, spilogern), and that by analogy other similar formations may have been influenced in the same way (e.g. spilohús, seigoruta).

Summing up the position in OHG. and OLG., it may be said that compounds of a verbal stem and a noun, in which the first part denoted the purpose of the second, existed from the time of the earliest records of German, and since words of foreign origin were used in these compounds in the earliest glosses (e.g. Pa, K scribilsarn), that the type was well established in early OHG. Compounds consisting of verb + noun, in which the first part stands in a predicative relationship to the second, are a later development appearing first (with the exception of the doubtful cases, betoman, spiloman) in the 12th century. The verbs in the first part of such compounds are either strong or of the -jan class. The evidence that verbs of the -ôn and -ôn classes appeared in the nominal compounds is doubtful, and most of the supposed examples of this type may be explained otherwise.

Old English

The type verb + noun is not common in OE. or in the later periods of the English language, for there a new type arose consisting of a verbal noun ending in -ing (ung) in compounds in which the first part denoted the purpose of the second (see p. 221). As Osthoff gives only a few examples of these formations in OE., the type is here dealt with in full. As with the material in OHG. we may begin with those examples which cannot be purely nominal formations and then pass to the doubtful cases:

bacern, bakery; bachus, bakery, bacering, gridiron (all in late glosses). Of these three formations, the first two contain the stem of the verb bacan in the first part. The third may be a similar formation, although a composition vowel is unusual with the strong verbs in OE. Holthausen suggests that it is a derivative from a non-extant verb cognate with the Du. bakeren, warm.

¹ There are also derivative formations from -ôn verbs which are not dealt with here, e.g. gerohaft, kerolihho, lobosam.
Nominal Compounds in Germanic

corfaa, axe (Alfred), corfaasax (11th cent.): clearly a verbal formation with corfaa.

hlaedweol, wheel for drawing water (W-W. 347, 7), hlaedrendel, wheel for drawing water (late gloss): formed with the stem of hlaedan in the first part.

wærageorn, greedy (W-W. 102, 13): see the similar formations ræchegeorn, spilogeorn in OHG.

writbræd, writing tablet, writbren, style, writseax, style, pen (MtL. 2, 18): see similar formations with scrib- in OHG.1

Weak Verbs

ærneweg, race course. The first part of this compound contains the stem of the verb ærran (see also OHG. rennewec).

andræcfeæt, wine press (W-W. 123, 37); for the first part see the verb ærecan.

bædæwæg, drinking cup (Gu. 958): with the stem of the verb bædan in the first part.

bærnisen, branding iron.

bærneleac, burnt offering (Paris Psalter).

hwætestæn, whetstone. The compound is recorded as hwætestan in the early gloss Ert. 294, in which the i represents the j ending of the verb, reduced in later texts to e.

hyspful, ridiculous. As -ful had become a derivative suffix in OE., this late gloss word is hardly to be regarded as a compound.

ræcelæs, reckless. Also a derivative from ræccan rather than a compound. See the early form recicleas with the original stem ending in Corp. 1646.

rithebæd, rule, measure (late glosses); the first part contains the stem of the verb ritban (see also writbæd).

stepecsæh, slipper (W-W. 277, 29); the first part contains the stem of the verb stepepan, slip.

spyremænn, tracker (late Charters); possibly an originally nominal formation which has been associated with the verb spyrian (see OHG. spurrhun).

stepecsæh, slipper (Corp.); the first part contains the stem of the verb stepepan.

1 ridwiga, mounted soldier (W-W. 110, 28), may have the stem of the verb ridan in the first part, or may be an appositional compound with the noun ridan in the first part.

The Types and Their Development

tyrnegæt, turnstile (late Charter); the first part contains the stem of the verb tyrnan.

weccætec, emetic (Lchd.); the first part contains the stem of the verb weccan.1

It is apparent from the above details that the type verb + noun goes back to the earliest records of English (huetistan in Erf., steppeschæ in Corp.). Also the earliest examples of the type have the same semantic relation between the two parts of the compound as the early examples from OHG. and OLG., that is, the first part denotes the purpose of the second. The other type, in which the first part stands in a predicative relation to the second, is a later development both in OE. and OHG. In the above list the only compounds which belong to this type are spyremænn, tyrnegæt, and possibly ridwiga. With regard to the form of the first part in OE. the strong verbs appear without composition vowel (with the possible exception of beaceræ which may not be a compound). The weak verbs have the composition vowel e (with a few relics of the original j in the earliest glosses appearing as i).

Turning now to those compounds the first part of which may be either nominal or verbal, we may apply the principles already determined from the certain examples of the type in OE.:

Strong Verbs

delfsan, spade (Aelfric); either to delf (digging) or delfan.

etelænd, pasture land (Charter). According to Bergsten the first part of this compound contains the stem of the verb etan, but, as has already been shown, the strong verbs do not have a composition vowel, and it is therefore preferable to explain the first part with Holthausen as a non-extant noun cognate with the Gothic atisk, seed.

1 In addition to these compounds there are in OE. a number of obscure bird and animal names which may have verbal elements in the first part, but many of them are early formations and may originally have had verbal nouns in the first part which were later associated with the actual verbs when the verbal nouns became obsolete (for a similar formation in German see the notes on fedarmæl). OE. hræademæ ð (bat): the first part is apparently cognate with the MHG. rülen, shake; hræademæ ð (bat), the first part of which belongs to hræan, shake; ląpe- wince (lapwing), possibly connected with hreapan, run, but see also North Fris. liap; ræreduml (bittern), possibly connected with rærian, roar: scierfemæ (shrewmouse), the first part of which is connected with scorfan, know.
The combined evidence on this type of compound from OHG. and OE. suggests that the type was in existence before the Anglo-Saxons left the Continent, and was not, as is sometimes asserted, an independent development in each language. Verbal compounds exist in the earliest records of both these languages with the same semantic relation between the two parts. It is therefore possible that the type existed in Primitive West Germanic and that the two early parallels (OE. bærdipan = OHG. brennisarn, OE. havesestan = OHG. weheisestin) quoted in Part I of this work represent the starting-point of the whole type.

**Old Norse**

As the extant Old Norse texts are comparatively late they provide but little evidence on the origin of the type of compound under discussion. Also in many cases as with OHG. it is practically impossible to decide whether the first part of the compound is a weak verb of the -jan class or a fem. -ni abstract or neuter -ja noun.

**Strong Verbs**

There are no examples in the Edda of compounds with strong verbs in the first part, which seems to support the suggestion made above, that the type started with -jan verbs in the first part. From later texts we may quote: grafti, engraving implement; lesðið, church service book; lesðján, deacon who reads the lesson (these two compounds with les- may, however, contain the noun les (n.), lesson read in church); skerð, cutting board; dragnet, trawling net; drageir, halyard.

**-Jan Verbs**

There are in ON. a large number of compounds with the -jan verbs. The majority have a long root syllable and i as composition vowel. The few examples with a short root syllable which are recorded have no composition vowel. As a complete list of these compounds has already been given by Falk only a few examples of the type are quoted here.

The following are recorded in the Edda:

leysisgaldr, liberating magic (Gg. 10, 3): a conjecture by Bugge, not accepted by all editors.

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1 Falk, Arkiv, IV, 359 ff.
Nominal Compounds in Germanic

Išsigull, shining gold (Ls. 11): in the prose introduction to the Lokasenna, either to the verb Išja (shine) or the noun Iši. sendimadr, messenger (Am. 4, 3; F. 5, 4); with the stem of the verb senda in the first part.

It will be seen that it is by no means certain that real compounds of this type are to be found in the Edda: leysigaldr is a conjecture not recorded elsewhere; Išsigull may be a purely nominal compound; sendimadr is hardly a full compound as madr almost assumes the function of a derivative suffix in the early Germanic languages (see OHG. betoman, spiloman).

There are, however, many examples from other Norse texts:

fellisa, epilepsy (see OE. fellescéocnes), felliveit, hard winter in which the cattle has to be slaughtered, festiband, strap. lærtfadir, teacher, renniseið, race-course, steikisteinm, roasting spit.

Falk does not quote any examples of -jan verbs with short root syllable, and indeed they are very rare in the ON. compounds. The following may, however, be noted:

brytkjak, brytskalm, brytæx, food-knife: formed with the stem of the verb bryja, cut, the j ending being dropped after the short root syllable.

giimaðr, seducer: formed from giija, seduce.

hrynhenda, a kind of verse: formed with the verb hrýnja, fall.

Also there are two formations with dagi in the second part which are to be regarded as derivatives rather than compounds: bardagi (fight), from barja, spurdagi (question), from spyrja.

-Ón Verbs

The compounds with the stem of -Ón verbs in the first part are rare in the Norse languages. There is one formation in the Edda which seems to belong here: snapsiiss, clever at snapping up (Ls. 44, 2). This is apparently a coining of the Lokasenna poet made for the sake of the alliteration: snapsiiss snapir.

There are a few examples of the type in Modern Icelandic: karilamb, new-born lamb (from karra (clean)), with the influence of the -jan verbs on the vowel in the bridge of the compound. rasgjarn, apt to stray, rasgjof, hasty gift (from rasa wander). ratviss, clever at finding the way (from rata, find the way).

The Types and Their Development

Summing up the position in ON. we may say that the type is rare in the early poetry, but common enough in the sagas. The verbs found in the first part of these compounds belong to the -jan class with long root syllable, and these apparently provided the starting-point of the type, although other verbs in the first part of the compounds are not unknown. The semantic relation between the two parts of the compounds is the same as in the other Germanic languages, that is, the first part may denote the purpose of the second (e.g. ON. skerborð), or may stand in a predicative relation to the second (e.g. ON. lýsighull). There are no early parallels between Norse and the West Germanic languages to suggest that the type was in existence in Primitive Germanic.

Gothic

There are two compounds in Gothic which Osthoff (p. 12), Wilmanns (II, § 403), and others consider to have been influenced by verbal forms on account of the irregular composition vowel and the absence of any noun to explain the first part: piupiqiss, blessing, which may have been associated with piupjan.

wintiskāura, winnowing shovel, which may have been associated with diswinjan.

Semantically, verbal compounds are possible, as in the second example the first part clearly denotes the purpose of the second, and in the first the meaning may be 'words to bless.'

The former compound has no parallels in other Germanic languages and is apparently a coining by Wulfa, but there are similar formations to the latter in OHG. wintscufula, wintworfa, which have as their first part the noun wint.

Osthoff, in accordance with his theory of the origin of the verbal compounds, maintains that the first part of these two Gothic compounds was originally a -jan noun which has been associated with the corresponding verb, but there is no trace of any such ja nouns in any Germanic languages. It seems to the present writer more likely that the i of the first part of the compounds has arisen from a by assimilation to the i of -qis and winp, combined with the influence of the interdental spirant p which tends to front the following vowel (for similar cases in Gothic see the notes on andalau, seinaigairnai, nahtamats, p. 278).
Summing up the whole question, it may be said that there is no evidence to show that the type verb + noun existed in Primitive Germanic, but it is possible that verbal forms had begun to influence the purely nominal compounds in Gothic, and the early parallels between OE. and OHG. suggest that the type was already in existence in West Germanic.

CHAPTER II

THE MORPHOLOGY OF THE COMPOUNDS

Triple Compounds

The nominal compounds in Primitive Germanic and West Germanic consist of two members only, and the parallels do not reveal the presence in these early periods of compounds of more than two parts. Such compounds develop, however, at an early date in the independent languages, and there two types are found. An existing compound may enter into composition with a simplex which forms the second part of the triple compound (e.g. G. Kirchhofsmauer which consists of Kirchhof + Mauer), or the simplex may form the first part of the triple compound (e.g. G. Rheinschiffahrt which consists of Rhein + Schiffahrt).

No compounds of either type are recorded in Gothic.

OLD HIGH GERMAN AND OLD LOW GERMAN

(a) Compound + Simplex

This type of triple compound is not uncommon in OHG. and OLG., but is rare in early texts. The following are recorded from the 9th century:

erthibgiscap, fate of life on earth (Hel.); gommanbarn, boy (T.); gotweppiroc, coat of precious material (Jc. IV, 6, 17); weradheodagot, Lord of Hosts (Is.), weradeotruhtin, Lord of Hosts (Is. and M.); wroukhoum, storics (tree), Rd. Jb. I, 291, 5; wihrouhbrunst, incense burning (T.).

A few more are recorded in Notker:

éowartpoh, Book of Leviticus (Ngl.); gommanchind, male child; guotwercih, active life (Ngl.); hasalnuzcherno, hazel-kernel; lantmesseil, lines for measuring land; suozstarchper, Lebanon (Ngl.).

The only compound of this type from texts earlier than the 9th century is agawisfrināri (R. 233, 11) which has an obscured compound in the first part. Similar obscured compounds as wearl are not included in this treatment of the question.
There are, in addition to these examples, many compounds of this type in the OHG. glosses which it is unnecessary to record here. The whole type is, in fact, mainly restricted to glosses, and is not found in the OHG. poetry, although there is one example from the LG. Helian. The first parts of these compounds are without exception compound nouns, and there are no examples of compound adjectives used in the triple compounds.

Compounds of this kind are common in Modern German, and there is a tendency there to indicate the bridge of the triple compound by the genitive ending -s or -en. This tendency is already observable in OHG. where many of the triple compounds have the first part in the genitive form (e.g. erdberstlou, hasalnuzecherno leihmanesroc, mérhurrensun, kataatrahascrifo, manslaktispil, neroadehdhagot). It may be due to a similar tendency to indicate the bridge of the compound that the inorganic vowel ɪ was introduced into erthlibigiscapu in MS. M of the Helian as compared with the MS. C form erthlibigiscapu.

(b) Simplex + Compound

Triple compounds of this type are comparatively rare in OHG. and OLG. The only ones recorded from 9th century texts are:

adalordfrumo, noble creator (Hel.); makannoldurft, great need (Freising Paternoster).

A few more appear in Notker:

albrendopher, holocaust (Ngl.); alferbrennopher, holocaust -(Ngl.); werltherschaft, secular power (Ngl.); werlturngfarts, temporary, transitory; werltrihtuom, worldly riches.

Other examples of the type from glosses and texts later than Notker are:

vordirsatboge, front pommel; kintersatboge, back pommel; gastherberge, inn; swarmsmansaf, black poppy juice; wiltknoboloun, wild garlic; wiltoloboun, wild olive tree.

All these are recorded only in glosses from the 12th century onwards.

It will be seen that the majority of the examples of this type of triple compound have in the first part an adjective or a strengthening noun (e.g. makannoldurft, werlturngfarts), although examples of nouns with full meaning in the first part of the

compounds are found (e.g. werltherschaft, gastherberge). It should, however, be noted that the second part of werltherschaft is a derivative rather than a full compound and that of gastherberge was by the time the compound is recorded (12th cent.) no longer felt as a compound.¹

OLD ENGLISH

(a) Compound + Simplex

As with OHG., this type of triple compound is not uncommon in the OE. prose, but there are only a few examples in the poetry:

eaforhēafodseg, boarhead banner (Beowulf, 2152). Most editors assume that this is a triple compound, and as examples of this type are found in OLG. poetry and other OE. poems, such a formation is not impossible. In his edition of Beowulf Klaeber assumes that eafor and hēafodseg stand in apposition to each other, but is unable to offer any satisfactory explanation of the meaning of the latter word.

hagostealdmann, unmarried man, warrior (Ex. Rd.): possibly the first part of this compound was obscured when the triple compound was formed.

wulfhēafodhrēow, gallows (Rd.).²

Compounds of this type are found in prose from the 9th century onwards:

dōefolgyldhūs, heathen temple (Alfred); godspellbōc, gospel book; godspellbōdung, gospel preaching; godwebcyn, purple cloth; godwebcyrhta, weaver of purple; goldhordhūs, privy; weaxhlafsealf, wax salve, etc.

As in OHG., the first members of such compounds are without exception compound nouns, but contrary to OHG., there is

¹ Grimm, II, 924, quotes OHG. pounwurahmeistor (faber lignarius) as the only OHG. compound of this type, but this may well be a compound of pounwrah + meistor (see pounwrah, Gl. I, 332, 65). A similar formation is holzwerchman, Gl. III, 82, 47, etc. (see holzwerch, Gl. I, 332, 61).

As the type is so rare in OHG., it is unlikely that weroltrteuhs (Muspill, 37) belongs here, as has been claimed. It is rather a compound of weroltrteht + wis, and means in contrast to gotman (line 48), 'learned in secular law.'

² As with OHG. obscured compounds as āglēc-, etc., are not included in this account.
no tendency observable in OE. to use the genitive form in the first part (see, however, the solitary example of this type dægmælispilu, gnomon of a dial, W-W. 126, 31).

(b) Simplex + Compound

Examples of this type of triple compound are commoner in OE. than in OHG., and contrary to the practice in OHG. nouns are found as frequently as adjectives in the first part. The type occurs only in prose from the 9th century onwards. The following examples will serve in illustration:

adelferdingswyrt, stitchwort (Lchd.); bispophæasoldin, bishop’s head-ornament (W-W. 152, 23); eastersunnanæg, Easter Sunday (WS. Gospels); nēahnunnanmynster, neighbouring convent (BH.); nihtbuttorflæsge, moth (W-W. 121, 13); portherepad, road to a town (Charter); sealtherepad, road to a salt works (Charter), etc.

Compounds consisting of four parts do not develop in OE. or Mod. Engl.

OLD NORSE

(a) Compound + Simplex

There are two compounds of this type recorded in Gering’s glossary to the Edda, but both are of doubtful genuineness:
eintrormeitis, destroyer of the poisonous rope (kenning for a serpent), Hym. 40, 4; the MS. has eitt hornemiti, and the triple compound is a conjecture by Bugge.
stagstjórnmar, horse with rope steering (kenning for ship), HH I, 30, 4.

Both these formations are highly doubtful, for as far as the present writer has been able to observe, triple compounds of this type appear in the later prose and verse invariably with the genitive form in the first part, e.g. godspjallamadr, apostle; heimferdarleyfi, permission to go home; háldbardagar, feast days; varðaldsmadr, guardian.

This secondary mode of composition is so common in ON. that compounds appear with the genitive form in both parts of the triple compound, e.g. gudstreidiswerk, act rousing the anger of God sæmdarordalauss, without fame; Mod. Icelandic hværsdagsbúningur, workday clothes. Compounds of this type are not unknown in German (e.g. Reichsfahneiträger), but they do not develop there until modern times. In MHG. such groups do not appear in composition, e.g. wibes ougen süeze, erden wünsches überwal.

(b) Simplex + Compound

In ON. this type of compound is rare, and most of the examples of it have an adjective or strengthening noun in the first part:

allvigmóðr, very weary with battle; alldáðugofugr, very famous; meginmeiningar, very malicious, kofrðugjaf, chief counsellor.

Other compounds with a noun in the first part having its full meaning are found but are very rare (e.g. palmsunnudagr, paskahátđ). As in German compounds of more than three parts develop in Mod. Icel., e.g. skyn-semis-rann-sókrn, investigation on the nature of reason; yfir-rétta-la-fræslu-mádr, lawyer of the Higher Court.

Past Participles in the First Part of the Compounds

Apart from past participles where the connection with the verb has been lost (e.g. OE. ceald, etc.) there is only one parallel between the West Germanic languages with a participle formation in the first part, namely the Bahuvihi, OE. iorôñige, OHG. soranougi.

This type of compound is not found in Gothic and does not develop any further in OHG. where the only compounds recorded are the late formations: gehetengistman < *gelengisteman, rider; couffetscale, bought slave. Both of these are recorded in a 13th century MS. of Heinrici Summarium.

In Low German, however, the type is found in the Helian: hurnidskip, ship with horn-shaped prow (Hel. 2266, 2907). neglidskip, nail-fastened ship (Hel. 1186).

Many examples of this type of compound are to be found in OE., mainly in poetry:

(a) Strong Past Participle

bolgenmóð, enarged (B. And. Gu.).
blandenfeax, grey-haired (B. Gen. Chron.).
brōðenmūl, damascened sword (B.).
bundenheord, with bounden tresses (B.).
bundestefna, with ornamented prow (B.).
collenferð, proud, bold (B. And. El., etc.).
écencreftig, enormous (B.).
flohtenfóta, web-footed (Lchd.).
gewealdenmód, self-controlled (Cra.).
sáwenige, blear-eyed (CP.).
scéadennmæl, damascened sword (B.).
toreñege, blear-eyed (CP.).
wollentæra, with flowing tears (B.).
wundenfeax, with twisted mane (B.).
wundenheals, with twisted prow (B.).
wundenlocce, with braided locks (Rd. Jud.).
wundenmæl, damascened sword (B.).
wundenstefna, with curved prow (B.).

(b) Weak Past Participle or Denominative Participle Formation
belcedswëora, having a swollen neck (Rd.).
belydþræst, puff-breasted (Rd.).
féledhelýr, with cheek ornaments (B.).
fótledsinc, beaten gold (And.).
hringedstefna, with curved prow (B.).
hynnednebba, horn-beaked (Jud. Chron.).
nægledbord, with nailed sides (Rd. Gen.).
nægledcnearr, nail-fastened vessel (Chron.).
siærcseterð, stout-hearted (And. Jul. El.).

The above list shows clearly that the use of the type in OE. has certain limitations. All the compounds, with the exception of three (flohtenfóta, sáwenige, torenége), are found only in poetry, and of the poetical formations half are found in B. alone. With the exception of five (bryðenmæl, sceadennmæl, wundenmæl, fótledsinc, nægledcnearr) they are all Adjective Bahuvrihi or substantivised Bahuvrihi. It seems likely therefore that the type was originally restricted to the Bahuvrihi formations and that the substantives were formed on the analogy of these. With the exception of gewealdenmód all the formations appear without the ge- prefix of the past participle which is also evidence of the archaic type of the whole group. As already remarked, the type does not survive in German, but such extended Bahuvrihi formations still survive in Mod. Engl., e.g. brokenhearted, wingedfooted, swelledheaded.

1 Compounds with wèpned- are not included in this list, as the word is a substantivised past participle.

In ON. the type is also obviously archaic, and is restricted to the Bahuvrihi formations or their derivatives:
aldinfalda, woman with old-fashioned head-dress (Edda).
bundinfôti, person with bound feet (Porkell in the Landn.).
borginnmôdi, one who hides his mind (name of a raven).
borginnordr, careful in speech.
hanginlukla, woman with keys hanging at her waist (Edda).
horfinheilla, person deserted by fortune.
hróksinnkína, person with shrunken skin.
kanginrôð, mocking words (a derivative from *kanginnord with an obscure participle formation in the first part; see kankast, jeer), recorded in the Edda.
sveipinfalda, giantess with a head-dress wound round (Skaldic).
þollinnmôdr, long-suffering (possibly an obscure past participle in the first part; see the adj. þöllinn, persevering).1

The combined evidence of the Germanic languages reveals that compounds with past participles in the first part were used originally only in the Bahuvrihi formation. The type is archaic and mainly poetical in the older periods of the languages, and is already extinct in the OHG. prose, surviving only in the archaic gloss word soranougi, and the nonce formations from Heinrici Summarium recorded above.

Present Participles in the First Parts of Compounds

Present participles are not often found in the first parts of the compounds in the Germanic languages with the exception of those which have been substantivised (e.g. OHG. fiaunt, friunt). The type is, however, found in early OHG. texts:
perantpaum, arbusta (Pa, 50, 29); possibly a mutilation of peripaum (K, Ra, 51, 29).
helanthelm, latibulum (Re. Jb. II, 316, 31); a modification of the Primitive German compound helóthelm (see p. 49, No. 32).2

There is then no evidence from OHG. or OLG. to suggest that

1 Compounds with substantivised past participles as eigin- are not included in this list.

2 In view of the rarity of this type in OHG. and the fact that the two examples of it are probably modifications of compounds of another type, it is probable that wunotanher is a secondary modification of an older compound with a derivative adjective in the first part (see OE. wèdenheort) and not, as Fabian suggests (p. 299), an original participle formation.
present participles could be used in the first parts of the compounds in Primitive Germanic, or that the type was ever alive in German.

The examples of this type of compound are equally rare in OE, where, apart from substantived formations as ágend-; wealdend-, only four compounds are found: helpendrāp, opiffera (W-W. 463, 35); probably a mistake for helpendiære.
scéawendspæc, buffoonery (W-W. 533, 4).
scéawendwise, buffoon's song (Rd. 9, 9).

The first part of these two compounds is probably a substantived pres. part. which is not recorded in OE.
sweorcendserhā, sombre (Jud. 269).

In ON a Bahuvihi formation with pres. part. in the first part is found (e.g. sveiflandkjåst), but, as has already been shown above (p. 174), this is in all probability an independent Norse development. The other examples of the type in ON contain a substantived pres. part. in the first part (e.g. þíandkarl, þíandmadur, þugandmadur). Similar analogical formations are to be found in Mod. Icelandic, e.g. farandkennari, wandering teacher, framandfræði, praiseworthy knowledge, verandheimur, the objective world, viðandheimur, the subjective world.

Summing up the evidence from the Germanic languages, we may say that present participles were not used in the first parts of compounds in Primitive Germanic, and that the type has never been productive in the Germanic languages.

Comparatives and Superlatives in the First Part

The only comparative or superlative adjectives used in the first part of the compounds in the Germanic languages are those to which the positive is not extant, or those which have been dissociated from the positive. There is one early parallel of this type (ON. árdagar, OE. ãrdagas, MHG. ãrtëgig), the first part of which is formally a comparative, but which has developed the meaning 'early.'

In Gothic the only formations of this type are the derivatives anparleik, anparleikēi.
In OHG. and OLG. the type is also rare. Adverbial formations with ander- are found (e.g. anderhalb, anderstunt, anderwís,
and (OLG.) ãdråseriðu). Notker has one nominal compound with ander-, namely anderveiskal (I, 491, 24). Compounds with ãder are not found in OE., and the only formations with this word in ON are the adverbial annanstradur, annanvegar, etc.

Compounds with ér are rare in OHG. and OLG., the only ones being recorded being érachari (see ON. ærvar) and the OLG. ærdagos. In OE. and ON. this formation is, however, extensively used, and in OE. the word has developed into an intensifying prefix in which all connection with the primary meaning is lost. See ON. ærdagar, former days, ærgali, cock (lit. early crower), ærbæinn, ready early, ærssull, early-rising: OE. ærdagas, former days, ærfæder, forefather; and with intensifying meaning ærglæd, very bright, ærgōd, very good.

The superlative érist is used in OHG. only in the two compounds éristorban, a loan-translation of primogenitus, and éristwirilt, the beginning of the world (N. II, 77, 17). No such formations are found in the other Germanic languages.

The comparative mær- is used in the compounds in OHG. and OLG. only in mærhuaré, adultery (MSD. LVI, 42), mærmasch- tig, tyrannical (as D, 108, 7), and in the derivative mærheit, majority (N. I, 463, 13). No similar formations are found in the other Germanic languages.

The OHG. furist- appears in compounds rendering the Latin prefix archi-: furistpoto, archangelus (Ngl.), vanstengel, archangel (Gl. III, 182, 15), furischunderi, archangelus (Ngl.), furistzissenzo, architractus (T.).

Again, this formation is not recorded in other Germanic languages. In addition to the above there is one other formation of this type in OE. bætboren, of higher birth (LL.).

Past Participles in the Second Parts of the Compounds

Compounds with an adjective and a past participle appear in all the Germanic languages and call for no special comment, but the type substantive + past participle is rarer and unproductive in certain dialects.

There are two early parallels of this type from OE. and ON. (OE. goldbroden, ON. guðbroðin, ornamented with gold; OE.

1 OHG. furistuom and furstheid (Himmel und Hölle) are formed with the substantived furisto, prince.
The type is equally rare in MDu. (only gevelaten), and in Mod. Dutch appears in formations as gevelgeleerd, gevelvergeven, schelphigeeld, which are in all probability borrowings from the HG. religious prose.

The type is found much more frequently than in OHG. in OE. poetry and prose.

From the poetry are recorded:
beakbroden, adorned with rings (B. Rd. Jut.).
verbongen, beset by danger (B.).
goldhada, adorned with gold (Fin.).
goldhroden, ornamented with gold (B. Wid.).
handloem, joined by hand (B.).
lyngeswencen, driven by the wind (B.).
seorobunden, cunningly fastened (Rd.).
swegebsealden, heaven girt (Sat.).
wondoragafen, wondrously engraven (And.).

From the prose:
coeriboren, low-born (LL.).
cifesboren, bastard (Gl.).
cyniboren, of noble birth (Aelfric).
elebacen, cooked in oil.
fyllsigten, struck with the fist (W.-W. 396, 33).
handwurth, handmade.
heofcenned, heaven-born (DHy.).
degnboren, well-born (LL.).
dowboren, not free-born.
winfyllen, blown down (LL.).
windhada, windy.
windtruncen, drunk with wine (and in poetry).
wulbergegogen, evil spirit, lit. one who has fled from glory (Lchd.).

It is evident that this type of compound is an old one, and that it is productive in OE. The formation survives in ME. where the following are recorded in the alliterative poetry: bokilled, chesvesboren, grundfyllen, grundhada, windtruncen and the type survives in ordinary Mod. Engl. prose, e.g. sunburnt, windblown, windswept.

In addition to these there are in OE. a number of denominative formations as goldhilded, hringmolcd, seaxgjeled which are extended Bahuivrhi compounds or analogical formations of these.

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1 It is doubtful whether the latter of these parallels can properly be considered to belong to this type, as cyn- functions as a prefix in OE.
2 Adelung, Lehrgebäude, II, 465, recognised a few, e.g. eschervogen, pflichtvergessen, kunsterverfahren, but objected to the majority of these formations.
3 It has been suggested above, p. 123, No. 1, that adelboren (OE. adelbore) contains an adjective not a substantive in the first part.
It will be seen from the above lists that these compounds appear normally in the West Germanic languages without the ge- prefix of the past participle, but not as Grimm asserts (p. 593) invariably so (see byfigeswenced, wuldorgeflogena).

This type of compound is common in ON. and the modern Scandinavian languages. In fact, there are no less than 23 such compounds in the Edda alone, as compared with the 9 formations in the whole of the OE. poetry. It will be sufficient, therefore, to give a few examples from the Edda in illustration of the type:

`baugvardr`, adorned with rings, `blödrekinn`, bespattered with blood, `eitrlæni`, mixed with poison, `goldvardr`, adorned with gold, `goldhroðinn`, ornamented with gold, `hernumin`, captured by the army, `jarnfinn`, woven with iron.

There is in ON. a peculiar and rare subdivision of this type which calls for some comment. In the majority of the Norse compounds of noun and past participle, and in all the West Germanic ones, the first part of the compound denotes the cause of the action, or the instrument (e.g. OE. windfyllede, blown down by the wind, `goldhroðen`, ornamented with gold), but in a few instances of this type in ON. the past participle in the second part of the compound stands as an attribute to the noun in the first part, and the whole compound has exocentric meaning (e.g. `föstfinn`, weak-legged; `visstolinn`, with bereft wits). The relation between the two parts of these compounds is exactly the same as in the Bahuvihris with past participle in the first part (e.g. `bundinfjöt`). It seems, therefore, likely that the type `föstfinn` is a reversed Bahuvihris or an analogical formation on the model of reversed Bahuvihris like `föðhrum`, weak-legged, `fögtali`, golden footed.¹

From compounds of this peculiar type and from the other compounds consisting of a substantive and a past participle back-formations can be made in Norse with the -an ending of the weak nouns, e.g. from `hernumin` is formed `hernumi` (a person captured by the army); from `visstolinn` is formed `visstoli` (a person with bereft wits). There is only one example of this type known to the present writer from the West Germanic languages, OE. `hernuma`, a person captured by the army (appearing in late Laws). It seems, therefore, likely that this OE. compound is a borrowing from ON., a view which is supported by the abnormal absence of the composition vowel in this word, and by its late appearance in OE.

This view of the origin of the type `hernumi`, `visstoli` coincides with the explanation given by Wessen, Zur Geschichte der germanischen n- Deklination (Uppsala, 1914), p. 135 ff., but a different explanation is suggested by Bloomfield (JEGPh. xvi, 142) in a review of Wessen’s book. Bloomfield considers that the types `visstoli`, `hernumi` were original exocentric formations with suffix extension, modelled on compounds like `stöðhög` which had both exocentric and non-exocentric meaning, and that the types `hernumin`, `visstolinn` are later formations made from the personal nouns `hernumi`, `visstoli`. To the present writer this seems impossible. The Bahuvihris `stöðhög` has the limiting adjectival element first, so that `visstoli` could not have been modelled directly on this type. Moreover, if `visstoli` is an extended Bahuvihris formation, what part of the verb is `stol`? It has been shown above that the type `hernumin` is a Common Germanic formation, and may well have been Primitive Germanic. It is certainly a more widespread and more original type than `hernumi`, of which there is only one example in OE., and there is no doubt that OE. formations as `windfylled`, `elebacan` could not possibly have been formed from personal nouns with passive meaning like `hernuma`. All the available evidence suggests that the compounds of noun and past participle were the original ones, and that the ON. personal names with passive meaning are formed from this original type.

Compounds with Present Participles in the Second Part

There are several early parallels in the Germanic languages amongst the compounds with a present participle in the second part which suggest that the type existed in Primitive Germanic:

(i) Gothic `allwaldendes`, OHG. `alawaltenti`, OLG. `alowaldand`, OE. `eawaldend`, ON. `alowalde` (see p. 57, No. 2).

(ii) OE. `hæmsittende`, OHG. `hemsittandi` (see p. 110, No. 30).

(iii) OE. `helmberend`, OHG. `helmeran` (see p. 111, No. 34).

(iv) OE. `landbiænd`, OHG. `lantpæant` (see p. 107, No. 17).

(v) OE. `sælindend`, OHG. `sæliandanti`, OLG. `sælihandi` (see p. 102, No. 87).

(vi) OE. `swæordberende`, ON. `sverðberandi` (see p. 61, No. 9).

(vii) OE. `wæglænd`, OHG. `wäglænd` (see p. 113, No. 81).

(viii) OE. `wæpanberand`, OLG. `wpanberan` (see p. 113, No. 82).

(ix) OE. `wegfarende`, ON. `vegfaran` (see p. 61, No. 10).

¹ On the reversed Bahuvihris see p. 266 f.
Most of the examples are from the West Germanic alliterative poetry, but the parallels with ON. and Gothic show that the type goes back to an earlier period.

In addition to the compound alciwaldonds there are two other formations of this type in Gothic: blöparinnande, a calque from αμμορρόοσα, and gardawaldonds, a calque from οἰκοδεσπότης, but although these two examples are calques from Greek they do demonstrate the existence of the type in the Gothic prose.

In OHG. the type is rare, but the examples of it show that it is an old one which is becoming obsolete in HG.¹

The following are recorded in OHG. texts and glosses:
alawallentti, a Primitive Germanic compound which survives only in Is. O. and the late poem Judith.
eintrantentti, atroci, surviving only in the early glosses Pa, K, Ra, 12, 19.
ebannwettentti, equally (Bamberg Glaube und Buichte).
fiusisstizentti, a calque from architriclinus (Tatian).
grunforsgentti, a scrupulous person (in the late Heinrici Summarium, Gl. III, 259, 68).
guachtundentti, evangelicus (Ben. Rule).
heilbrinkantti, healthy (in the 9th cent. Gl. II, 141, 57).
himifleugentti, bird (rendering volucribus caeli in Is.).
kindarperantti, bearing a child (in the 10th cent. Gl. II, 764, 14).
lantzpentti, husbandman (in the 8th cent. Voc. III, 3, 19); see also the form with adjective declension lantzpantti, R, 77, 16.
lisiragenentti, skilful (in the early 9th cent. gloss Rb. I, 474, 21).
lauszpentti, vomiting flames (in the 9th cent. gloss Ja. II, 350, 3).
umneszpantti, importunate (Pa, 110, 28), and ummàszpentti (K, iii, 28).
niuplenttenntti, newly bleeding (Pa, 78, 8; Ra, 79, 10).
ginószefendtii, sociable (K, 206, 14).
rehilárente, orthodox (in the 9th cent. Gl. II, 342, 2).
sebfurántti, navigating (on the 10th cent. Gl. II, 21, 41).
scuósfurántti, scaly (in the 10th cent. Gl. II, 21, 60).
seolócntti, sailor (Hild.).

¹ Compounds with flant and friunt in the second part are not included in this treatment of the question, as they were no longer felt as present participles in OHG.

² There are no examples of this type in Nothker. Gröger quotes högbünde from N. I, 301, 10, but the two parts are written separately in the MS. In the editions of OHG. texts phrases consisting of noun and present participle are often written separately, although these may in some cases be compounds, e.g. gasf wesant (T, 152, 4), töl perant (K, 202, 17), kneht perant (Ra, 233, 25).
(a) Compounds with old nouns as buend, berend, wigend, which appear as kennings in poetry and which retain the old consonantal inflection of the second part.

(b) Compounds in poetry arising from phrases consisting of a present participle and a dependent noun. Most of these have the adjective inflection of the present participle.

(c) Prose formations modeled on Latin words, most of which retain the old consonantal inflection of the noun forming the second part, unless they are like derbtvingende substantival adjectives.

It is unnecessary to give a complete list of these compounds, as that has already been done by Kärre, but the question of the inflection of the type may be considered further. The difference between the forms with substantive and those with adjective inflection is not one of chronology. The substantive inflection survives in late poems (notably the Paris Psalter), whereas the adjective inflection appears in early poems (Beowulf, for example, has the plural sallit climde according to the noun inflection, and sallit dend according to the adjective inflection). The difference is rather one of origin: compounds of the type (a) are formed with old nomina agents, and those of the type (b) are formed from phrases used in variation of some noun.

During the course of the OE. period the inflection of the compounds of the first type is, however, influenced by the adjective inflection of the second type, and we may consider the question as to how far this influence has gone in the OE. poetry. The difference between the two inflections is only apparent in the nominative and accusative plural where the substantive inflection has no ending, and the adjective inflection the ending -e. The following compounds in poetry can be shown to have retained the old substantive inflection:

æscberend, spear-bearer (nom. pl. in And.).
aegbuend, islander (nom. pl. in Edg.).
 oorðbund, earth-dweller (nom. and acc. pl. in Gen. Cri. and Ps.);
 also as oorðbunden in Gen. Ex. Ps. and Met.
 fœrbund, a person dwelling afar (pl. in B.).
 foldbuend, earth-dweller (nom. and acc. pl. in B. Gu. and Ps.);
 also as foldbuend in Cri. B. Ei. Met. Sal.
gærberend, spear-bearer (nom. pl. in By.).
gærwigend, spearman, warrior (acc. pl. in B.).
gæstberend, living person (nom. and acc. pl. in Rd. Cri. and Cra.).

helmbuerend, helm-bearer (acc. pl. in B.).
hearncrewed, calumniator (acc. pl. in Ps.).
landbuend, land-dweller, earth-dweller (acc. pl. in B.); also landbuenden in Sat. and Jud.
 reordberend, human being (nom. and acc. pl. in Cri. Dan. and And.); also as reordberend in Cri.
salidend, sailor (nom. pl. B.); also as salitden in the same poem.
selerœnd, hall-ruler (nom. pl. in And.); also as seleðerend in B.
sundbuend, sea-dweller, man (nom. pl. in Cri.); also as sundbuiende in Met.

From this short list it is apparent that the majority of the compounds of this type have assumed the adjective inflection, and that those which have retained the old substantive inflection are few in number. All of the above compounds, with the exception of hearncweled, have an old nomen agentis in the second part, and they are normal compounds of noun + noun. Those, on the other hand, which have a real present participle in the second part are substantival adjectives, and retain from the beginning the adjective inflection (e.g. fleitstvingende, granhjælpe, etc.); only in the case of hearncweled does this type seem to have been influenced by the substantive declension.1

Kärre (p. 124) notes a further peculiarity of this type of compound in OE. poetry. According to the figures quoted by him, there are only 55 examples of these compounds in the sing., as compared with 316 in the plural, whereas compounds with a weak nomen agentis in the second part (e.g. hörbora) appear 55 times in the singular and only 10 times in the plural. For instance: byrnumga appears twice in the sing. and once in the pl., whilst byrmiend appears only in the pl.; gærnumga twice in the sing., gærmiend once in the pl.; landuwa once in

1 The double declension of compounds of this type has given rise to discrepancies in the quotation of the nom. sing. in the dictionaries of OE. Grein and Clark Hall, for example, quote a nom. sing. gœðfræmende, which is recorded in the gen. pl. in B. 299. The compound belongs to the second type discussed above, formed from a present participle, and has adjective inflection. The nom. sing. should therefore be quoted as gœðfræmende (see mœðfræmend). Similarly, Grein quotes as nom. singulares foldhærend (but moldhærend) and hungrærend, although both belong to the second type and have in all the forms in which they are recorded adjective inflection.
the sing., lindwìgend four times in the pl.; sàlìda five times in the sing., sàlìdend once in the sing., six times in the pl.

Something similar is observable in OLG. and OHG., although there are in these dialects no parallel formations to these compounds with weak nomina agentis in the second part. Omitting alosvåländ, which is a special case, no less than 6 of the 8 compounds of this type recorded in OLG. are found only in the plural, and the one example from the OHG. poetry (séòlidánti) is also in the plural.¹

Kàrr suggests that there is a difference in meaning between the compounds with a present participle formation in the second part and those with a weak nomen agentis. According to him, sàlìda means 'an individual sailor,' whilst sàlìdend means 'seafaring people.' This difference is, however, always possible in the significance of the sing. and the pl. of any two nouns, and is not a characteristic difference between the two types. An examination of all the examples of these two types does not reveal any such fundamental difference as Kàrr suggests. There is, for example, no difference in meaning between lindwìga and lindwìgend. The fact that the present participle type was not used predominantly in the plural in OE. prose suggests that the plural formations with the adjective inflection were exploited in the poetry for metrical reasons. A compound of the type hàmsìtìtend with its adjective inflection was easy to fit into the D type of verse, and could, in fact, fill the whole of a short line. This may, indeed, be the reason why such compounds were influenced by the adjective inflection in the poetry and not in the prose. A compound like sàlìdend was in itself insufficient to fill one half of the alliterative line, whereas sàlìdendt required no other word to complete the half line.

Kàrr has given a complete account of the compounds of this type in OE. prose, and has shown that the majority are calques from Latin. These formations are nearly all made with the old nouns bùënd, wìgend, etc., in the second part, and they retain the consonantal declension. Even the obviously new formations from a present participle and a dependent noun assume the substantive inflection, e.g. bærcleònsend, endèfæsènd, rìhtscìrifend, yrfeòurtend, unless they are present participles of compound verbs, e.g. dàðìtìntend, dàðìntìntend, etc.

This type of compound is found in ME. prose, e.g. dalneòmìndì weòfeòrmìnd, welìvìlìnde, but it is already rare in the ME. alliterative poetry, e.g. bìriìbìlikìndì, sàlìdìndì, and disappears with the obsolence of this form of the present participle in English.

Compounds of a participle formation and a dependent noun are not uncommon in ON. poetry and prose. The following are recorded in the Edda: folkìtìndì, warrior (Fm. 41, 2); göltìmundì, kenning for a prince (Hlr. 11, 1); sàmìhyggìjìndì, person of the same opinion (Ghv. 5, 4).

From the Skaldic poetry: blàkkìrìndì, horse-rider; blìkìmeòndì, blìkrìrándì, bìkìstrìndì, kennings for 'man'; bjòrìstòfìndì, kenning for a poet, gìnìpìsìndì, warrior, valìkìjòsìndì, kenning for Odin.

Similar examples are not so common in the ON. prose, but the type is not unknown there, e.g. fògìgìgìndì, pedestrian; sjòfìsìllìndì, person who follows his own wishes; vegìfìgìndì, wayfarer.

An examination of the compounds in the Edda and the Skaldic poetry reveals the fact that they are not used predominantly in the plural, unlike the similar compounds in OE. and OLG. This suggests that their use in the plural in the poetry of the latter dialects was due to metrical reasons which do not apply to the ON. compounds.

Summing up the evidence on this type of compound, we may say that compounds with the old consonantal nouns as bùënd, wìgend, were formed at an early period in the Germanic languages, and there is no reason why this type should not be assumed to have existed in Primitive Germanic. Similar formations with a living present participle in the second part developed in the early alliterative poetry, and for metrical reasons the type was particularly productive in OE. poetry. Both types are rare in OHG. and had no vitality there, but the examples which do occur in early texts and glosses (e.g. séòlìdándì, hìnìfìliùëgìndì, lantìplant) show that the type was an early formation which goes back into the period of the common unity of the Germanic languages.

¹ The evidence from the early OHG. texts and glosses is hardly relevant, since the use of the sing. or pl. there depends on the Latin text, but it might be noted that two of the earliest examples appear in the pl.: hìnìfìliùëgìndèm (Is.), lantìplant, translating indigenas (Voc. III. 8, 19).
Compounds with Nomina Agentis and Low Ablaut Grade

Compounds with nomina agentis and low ablaut grade in the second part are very old, and probably represent the original type of determinatives. The second parts of these compounds were originally verbal nouns which have lost their independent existence in Germanic, and which survive only in the compounds, but this does not mean that all compounds of this type are old and original formations, for many are clearly formed on the analogy of existing models.

The parallels between the Germanic languages reveal that the following were early formations:

(i) Gothic arbinunja, OHG. erpinomo, MLG. ervename, OFris. erfinoma, OE. yrfeunum, earfedynum, heir (see p. 43, No. 1).
(ii) OE. bedreda, MLG. and MDu. beddere, bedridden person (see p. 109, No. 4).
(iii) OE. mundbora, OHG. munthoro, OLG. mundbora, guardian (see p. 102, No. 77).
(iv) OE. treowloga, OLG. treulogo, traitor (see p. 113, No. 78).
(v) OE. wealcyrgja, ON. valkyrja, valkyrie (see p. 55, No. 31).
(vi) OE. wærloga, OLG. wârlgo, pledge breaker (see p. 113, No. 83).
(vii) OE. wilcuma, OHG. willikom, MLG. wîkome, MDu. welwelome, Fris. wolkom, a welcome guest (see p. 105, No. 113).
(viii) OE. wâðbora, Langob. vantepora, orator, prophet (see p. 108, No. 39).1

It will be seen that all the compounds of this type receive in Germanic the addition of the suffix -jan or -an, but there is no reason to believe that either of these two formations is earlier and more original than the other, although each language shows the tendency to normalise one or the other type. In Gothic, for example, all the compounds of this type have the ending -jan, whereas the ON. formations normally have -an, although the -jan ending is found in Norse in a few early formations (e.g. valkyrgja).

1 Compounds with an independent noun in the second part as OE bryðboda are not included in this treatment as they are ordinary determinatives consisting of two substantives. The OHG. herizogo and its parallels would belong to this group if it were an original formation (see p. 5 f.).

Although the type is undoubtedly old and existed in Primitive Germanic, there is only one certain example of it in Gothic, arbinunja. Other similar formations as weindrugkja, duiga-haitja, waidedja are probably denominative formations.2

In the other Germanic languages there are many examples of this type of compound, but they are clearly archaic and dying formations which are gradually replaced by nomina agentis in the second part with full ablaut grade.

The following are recorded from OHG. and OLG.:

ārunþoro, messenger (Pa, K, 136, 35; K, Ra, 250, 12).
bettirisa, bedridden person (Otfrid and late glosses); surviving in the MHG. adj. beteris, and the MLG. beddere.

elëbor, alien; probably a loan-translation of alienigena (Rd., Jb. I, 271, 3).
erpinomo, heir; a Primitive Germanic compound surviving only in Pa, K, 68, 25, and in MLG.

jolkiogo, leader of the army; probably a borrowing from the OE. folcota (see p. 6).

herizogo, leader of the army (see p. 5 f.).
cumpalboro, standard-bearer (only in K, Ra, 203, 3).
maguzoho, teacher (see p. 5).
muntbora, guardian (a Primitive Germanic formation which survives in the MHG. munthor).

odojoro, stork, lit. a bringer of wealth. This formation probably does not belong to this type, as the o of the second part may have arisen from -ber by assimilation to the preceding vowels.

sedalkomo, a doubtful formation as the compound glosses an impersonal noun thronus in Rb. II, 310, 21, and Re. Jb. II, 318, 1.
siginomo, victor (only in Pa, K, Ra); replaced already in the 9th century by siginomo with present ablaut vowel.

sceþprocho, shipwrecked person. This formation, which unlike all the other compounds of this group has passive meaning, may be denominative (see the denominative verb broðhôn). The compound is recorded only in K, 124, 18, and the related gloss Pa, 124, 18 has a different formation sceþpraoro.

treulogo, traitor (Hel.).

1 See Grewolds, op. cit., p. 145 f.
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wirleog, pledge breaker (Hcl.).
willikomo, a welcome guest (common throughout OHG.).¹

These compounds are evidently relics of older formations, and the majority become obsolete in the 9th century. They are all formed with the suffix -an and there are no examples of the -jan suffix amongst them.³ These compounds do not develop in OHG., and the suffix -ar is never added to them. They are replaced by formations with the vowel of the present, and there are indications that this process began in Primitive West Germanic (see OHG. nóntemo (8th cent.), OE. néadnimo).

Many of the old verbal nouns which form the second part of compounds of this type are preserved in OE., although they had become obsolete in the earliest periods of the other Germanic languages, and the type remains therefore productive in OE. New compounds can still be formed there with nouns as lida (sailor), wiga (warrior), etc., as well as analogical formations made on the model of existing compounds, the second member of which has become obsolete as an independent word. As the type is common both in poetry and prose, it is unnecessary to give a complete list of these formations, and it will be sufficient to remark that the majority contain the same second members as the similar formations in OHG. and OLG., i.e. -hora, -cuma, -loja, -numa, -loga. The following formations are, however, not found in other West Germanic languages: -brytta (in sinckrutfya and winbryutta, in late prose texts); -floga (in gudflaga, lyfjsflaga, ühflaga, all of which are recorded only in Beowulf); -liida (in sölida, yöliida); and also wælcyrge, which is also recorded in Norse. Although the type is alive in late OE. very few survive into ME.; the only compounds of this type recorded in the ME. alliterative poetry are heretoge (Lay.) and wedlowe, pledge-breaker (in The Departing Soul's

¹ Compounds from reduplicating verbs as sculadheseo are not included here, as they may be formations from the vowel of the present, or may be denominatives. Similarly, formations with -sazo are not included in this group, as they have the vowel of the Dehnstufe.

² The -jan suffix is used in OHG. with the reduplicating verbs (e.g. sculadheseo) and the verbs with Dehnstufe (see MHG. truhtsázé). Cluge, NS. § 14, quotes a OHG. nóntemo, taken apparently from Graff. § 1074. The compound is found only in the gloss III, 19, 54, where it is recorded by Steinhmeyer-Sieviers er the note that the last three letters are illegible. Steinhmeyer-Sieviers quote the compound as nóntemo. Cluge also quotes a munifüria. This is recorded in Steinhmeyer-Sieviers III, 425, 39, as munifüro (see munifüro in Gl. II, 502, 58; II, 443, 46).

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Address to the Body). As with OHG. the formation never receives the nomen agentis suffix -ere in OE.

Formations of this kind are not uncommon in the early Norse poetry, although in the Skaldic poetry compounds with a participle formation are more frequently met with. The following are recorded in the Edda: arþegi, heir, balirbi; bold rider; baugbrott, ring-breaker (kenning for a prince); eðbrota, oath-breaker, erfnyti, heir, hringbrott, ring-breaker (kenning for a prince); mykríða, woman who rides in the dark, witch, pinglogi, one who remains away from the Thing, valkyra, valkyrie.¹ Later examples of the type in the Skaldic poetry are: austbrott, kenning for a prince; fríbrott, peace-breaker; fúðfogi, pledge-breaker. As in the West Germanic languages compounding of this type are archaic, and do not survive into the Modern Scandinavian languages. The majority of the ON. formations are -an stems, although the -jan stems are not unknown, e.g. erfnyti, valkyria.

Suffixes in the First Part of the Compounds

It has already been pointed out by Wilmanns (II, § 388) that productive suffixes are not often used in the first parts of compounds in the early Germanic languages, and that the possibility of compounding any two words in Germanic is therefore limited by the form of the first member of the compound. This statement needs, however, some qualification. An examination of the original parallels recorded in the first part of this work reveals the fact that, although no substantives with productive suffixes were used in the first part of the compounds in Primitive Germanic and West Germanic, derivative adjectives could be so used in the Bahuvrihi compounds. The following parallels will illustrate this:

(i) OE. hréowigmód, OLG. hriuowigmód (see p. 127, No. 6).
(ii) Gothic managfals, OHG. managfalt, OE. manigfald, etc. (see p. 66, No. 2).
(iii) OE. särigmód, OLG. sérigmód (see p. 127, No. 7).
(iv) OE. tærighig, ON. thrughigar (see p. 67, No. 5).
(v) OE. wédenheort, OHG. wéðanheors (see p. 126, No. 9).

Apart from managfals, quoted above, no other example of this type of compound is recorded from Gothic.

¹ Compounds with passive meaning, e.g. hernum, are not included here, as they are of different origin (see p. 208 f.).
In the ON. Edda the word konungr is used in the first part of the compound in konungborinn, as in all probability by the time this compound was formed the word was dissociated from the one from which it is formed. Adjectives with productive derivative suffixes appear in the following compounds:

đefrúnar, eternal runes (the first part of this compound is also dissociated from the noun from which it is a derivative).
gollinbursi, having golden bristles.
töruhíðr, having tear-stained cheeks.
trögphypja, woman having ragged clothing.
addríhtýra, having tear-stained cheeks.

The evidence from the ON. Edda supports the contention made above, that the first part of the Germanic compounds could only have a productive suffix in the Bahuvrihi formation, unless the derivative is dissociated from the noun from which it is derived, either by the obsolescence of the original noun or by a change in meaning of the derivative.

We may now turn to the question of the development of these formations with productive suffixes in the West Germanic languages, particularly in English and German. It has already been shown (pp. 201 ff.) that the past participle formations, both weak and strong, were used originally in the Bahuvrihi compounds in early West Germanic, and were then extended to a few determinatives in OE. and OLG. formed with similar second parts to the Bahuvihi compounds. It has also been shown (p. 204 f.) that the comparatives and superlatives were used in the first parts of compounds only when the positive to these formations had become obsolete, or when they no longer had comparative or superlative meaning. Such formations belong to the group of compounds under discussion, and bear out the conclusions on the limitations of these compounds made above.

**Noun Suffixes**

(i) -ing

The suffix -ing is used in the first part of West Germanic compounds only when the derivative is dissociated from the

1 Throughout this treatment of the question the compounds with second members which became derivative suffixes are ignored, e.g. konungdóm, konungligr. Such formations appear in the early records of each Germanic language.

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word from which it is derived. Of these there are only three formations in OHG. and OLG. gaduling, kunig, pzening, all of which are recorded as the first parts of compounds in poetry and prose from the earliest record of German. Apart from the derivative cyningdön (Dan. 568) and the compound selingdriz (Wid. 92) similar compounds are found in OE. only in prose, and the following words appear in the first parts: cyning, héring, penning, wicing.

(ii) -ung

There is only one example in OHG. of a compound with an -ung derivative in the first part, hamaluncest, Calvariae locus (Ec. IV, 6, 18). This appears in the 9th century Codex Ox. Jun. 25, a MS. which contains considerable OE. influence, and as this type of compound developed at an early date in OE. and was very productive there, it seems likely that hamaluncest was coined under the influence of similar formations in OE., although there is no exact parallel to it in that language. It is also worthy of note that this same glossary contains a compound with an -ung noun in the second part (wistihruunga), a type which was also rare in early OHG. but common in OE. (see pp. 230 ff.). Even in MHG. no compounds with -ung nouns in the first part are recorded, but they appear in the 16th century, e.g. Wurungschrift (Luther), ratungsmann, beswurungs- ban, etc.

These formations are, however, common in OE. prose, where they are recorded from the earliest times (two in The Oldest English Texts (ed. Sweet), earunghús, tabernacle (VP), fastingmán (Ct.)). A few of these prose formations pass into poetry: earungstow, dwelling-place (Ps. Soul), langunghwul, time of weariness (And. 125), learingcraft, learning (El. 380). In the OE. formations of this type the first part serves frequently to denote the purpose of the second, e.g. cenningsþan, offringdisc, stempringþen, and the development of this type in OE. prevents the rise of the type consisting of a verbal stem and a noun which is rare in OE. as compared with OHG.

1 In view of this principle, it seems unlikely that ON. konungriki, OHG. kunigricht, OE. cyngingrice represent a Primitive Germanic formation (see p. 75, No. 48), as in Primitive Germanic the first part of this compound was in all probability still associated with the noun *kunja- from which it was formed.
(iii) OHG. -āri, OE. -ere
There are no compounds with these two suffixes in the first member in OHG. and OE., but they become common in MHG., e.g. dörperdelt, jegermeister, rütirertuol.

(iv) OHG. -uisa, OE. -nes
There are no examples of this type in OHG. or MHG., but the -nis nouns may form the first part of compounds in Modern German, e.g. Erkenntnisvermögen. Two examples of compounds with a -nes noun in the first part are recorded in OE., one of which is surprisingly found in Beowulf: hātīnesgrid, privilege attached to a sanctuary (late Laws), leafnesword, permission (B. 245).

(v) Diminutive Suffix -ina
Nouns with this suffix are used in the compounds only when the diminutive significance has been abandoned, e.g. swīn-. OE. magdēn-. Similarly, in Modern German words like Mädchen or Kaminchen can be used as first members of compounds, as they are no longer felt as diminutives, but it is impossible to form a compound with a living diminutive formation.

(vi) Diminutive Suffix -l
Again, in the early Germanic languages diminutives of this type are used in the compounds only when the diminutive significance is no longer felt, e.g. OHG. enhiltiuf (10th cent.); OE. gīcelstān. A few compounds with living diminutives are found in the glosses published by Steinmeyer and Sievers, but these all belong to the 13th or 14th century, and are therefore MHG. compounds: e.g. ringblūom, ringlūwe, ringlūwser, vriedelouge, vriedelwurz.

(vii) Collectives ga- ... -ja
The collectives with the prefix ga- and the suffix -ja are not found in the first part of the OE. compounds, and there is only one example of this type in OHG. gesmīdesiēreda, jewel ornaments (Williram MS. O).

The question of the use of the feminine -in stems in OHG. in the first part of the compounds is complicated by the fact that several different formations, not all of which are equally productive, have been combined into this class of noun. The class includes, (a) the adjective abstracts ending in ī, (b) nomina actionis derived from verbs, (c) the secondary form, ending in ī, of the -injō stems, e.g. burā, burōin. According to the principle determined above that productive suffixes are not used in the first part of the compounds in OHG., we should not expect to find any adjective abstracts ending in ī in that position. The question has been considered by Gröger (§109) from the point of view of the composition vowel, and although Gröger admits the possibility of other explanations, he does claim that there are compounds of -ī abstracts in OHG. and OLG. The principle which we have already established makes this, however, very unlikely, and it is preferable to seek other explanations of the irregular composition vowels. Gröger quotes the following list of compounds with alleged ī abstracts:

frauwīlōs, Pa, Ra, 176, 3, possibly with frauī in the first part.
As Gröger himself points out K has in the same place frauwīlōs, which is certainly an analogical formation after the common phrases consisting of lōs and a gen. pl., e.g. enstō lōs, and it seems likely that K has the original form of the compound from which frauwīlōs is shortened. The compound is also found in a 9th century gloss (IV, 223, 32) as frauulōsi. It should be noted that this formation is more of a derivative than a compound, and the principle that nouns with a derivative suffix are not used in the first part of the compounds does not apply to the derivatives, so that the principle would not be disproved even if this word does contain the adjective abstract frauī.

kruumbīnāsā, simius (GL II, 683, 69). Gröger considers that the first part of this compound, which is recorded elsewhere as kruumbīnāsā contains the adjective abstract kruumbī. This is quite impossible, for as will be shown later no abstracts of
any kind are used in the first part of the Bahuunih compounds in OHG. The irregular composition vowel which occurs only in one gloss is probably to be explained by the phonetic resistance of the group of consonants mbn (see p. 302 f.).

**hertimánót**, December (11/12th cent. glosses). As the -ja adjectives with long root syllable normally lose the final vowel in the compounds, Gröger considers that the first part of this and other similar compounds is an adjective abstract, but many of the compounds in late glosses have forms in the first part influenced by the nominative sing. of the noun or adjective especially when the first part is an adjective, and this is in all probability the explanation of the irregular hertimánót.

**reisiiár, annus jubilaeus** (Gl. II, 299, 9; 10th cent.). It is doubtful whether this is a compound at all, and the first part is certainly the adjective reisí, not the abstract reisí as Gröger suggests.

**emizelouf, emeszechbi** (Notker). Gröger himself points out that it is not certain that the adj. which may form the first part of this compound is a -ja stem, and it cannot therefore be proved that the compounds are contrary to the normal principles of composition in OHG. It is accordingly unnecessary to refer the first part to the abstract emisí.

Gröger further quotes a number of formations ending in -heit, -tuom, -ith which have irregular composition vowel, e.g. iernihéd, súmiheit, héríduam, klauauilho, virdilichen and which may have adjective abstracts in the first part. As these are not really compounds they need not detain us here, and it is sufficient to point out that Gröger himself demonstrates the possibility of other explanations.

A similar irregular composition vowel appears in compounds with -gern, e.g. lihtigern, semsfiegern. It has already been shown in the section of compounds with a verbal first member that gern had become a derivative suffix in OHG. (see recheiger, spillogern, pp. 181, 188), and we cannot therefore expect the normal composition vowel in these cases. There are also compounds with gern which have an irregular composition vowel and which cannot have an adjective -i abstract in the first part, e.g. ruomigern, rawogern, unmiotegern. As Gröger has already suggested, the irregular composition vowel in all the compounds with -gern may be explained by the phonetic resistance of the consonants in the joint of the compound (see below p. 302 f.).

There is therefore no certain example of an adjective -i abstract in the first part of a full compound in OHG, and it is not likely that any such formations were used in that position.

The other two classes of -i abstracts (nomina actionis to weak verbs and secondary forms of the -injó stems) were already dying formations in OHG, and these may have been used in the first part of the compounds. Gröger gives (§ 110) a list of such compounds which may have a nomen actionis in the first part, remarking, however, that it is impossible to distinguish between compounds with a verbal stem in the first part and those with a nomen actionis. Some of the compounds in Gröger's list have already been discussed in the section on the verbal compounds (see the notes on leitezó, leidesterre, chétefinger, restittag, p. 185 f.) where a view contrary to Gröger's has been taken. The remainder quoted by Gröger probably have a verbal stem in the first part, and it is in no case necessary to assume a noun ending in -i. In fact in some cases, e.g. ernemánót, selehoft, snewarh, no such nouns are recorded in OHG, and verbal composition seems therefore to be the more natural explanation.

Gröger has already shown (§ 111) that the -injó nouns appear with the composition vowel i in the compounds, the u being dropped. It is therefore impossible to tell whether the first parts of such compounds have the -injó stem or the -i stem, e.g. lentibrádo may have in the first part the -injó stem lentin, or the secondary form lent.

There is therefore no certain evidence to show that -i stems of any kind were used in the first parts of the compounds in OHG.

A similar question does not arise in OE. where the old -i abstracts have assumed the ending -u from the -a declension. Such nouns are, however, rare in the nominal compounds. The following compounds, obviously new formations, are recorded: hálubinem, Christ (Cris.), hálutid, prosperous time (Chrom. 1065), snyttrucråft, sagacity (Cris.), snyttruhiås, house of wisdom (Ps.).

It will be noticed that none of the noun suffixes which developed from independent words as OHG. -heit, -tuom, etc., is used in the first part of the compounds in OHG, OLG., or OE.
Adjective Suffixes

(i) -ag, -ig

It has already been shown that adjectives with this suffix were used in the first part of the Bahnvihr compounds in Primitive Germanic and West Germanic. Examples of this type are not recorded in OHG, but a few survive in the OLG: Heland, e.g. helangferah, hriawigmód, sēragmód. In late OHG, however, a few new formations are found, not of the Bahnvihr type, with derivative adjectives in the first part: heiligmach(a) (Ngl.), heiligmachunga (N), heiltigeineda (N), suntrigizimbri (Gl. IV, 351, 13; 11th cent.). Of these the latter, which translates secreta domus, is a doubtful compound. This type of compound does not develop in MHG, where the only example known to the present writer is mūkescegenger. In Modern German also they are found only in a few coalescences like Heiligkraftung, Heiligsprechung.¹

Bahnvihr compounds with a derivative -ig adjective in the first part are very common in OE. poetry where the following are recorded:

blōdigtōd, bloody-toothed (B.).  
dōawīgīfēter, dewy-feathered (Ex. Gen.).  
drōørīgīfer, sorrowful (Cri.).  
drōørīghīlōr, sad of countenance (Wa.).  
drōørīgmōd, sorrowful (Gen.).  
fōmigībōrd, with foaming banks (Met.).  
fōmigībōsm, with a foamy bosom (Ex.).  
fōmigīheals, foamy-necked (B. And.).  
frōörīgīfer, sad (Gu.).  
frōörīgmōd, sad (Gu.).  
haswīgīfētēra, grey-feathered (Ph.).  
hriawigmōd, sorrowful (Gen. Jud.).  
īsīgīfētera, with frosted wings (Seaf.).  
rōerīgmōd, mournful (Gu. Whale).  
rōōīgmōd, savage (Met.).  
salwīgīfētera, having dark plumage (Gen.).  
salwīgīpād, having dark plumage (Jud. Chron. Wy.).  
sārīgīferhō, sad-hearted (B. Gu. Cri.).  
sārīgmōd, sorrowful (B.).

¹ The adjective mānig is not included in this account as it is an obscured formation in German and English.

(ii) Suffix OHG. -isc

A few formations with an -isc derivative are found in OHG, glosses from the 11th century, but it is doubtful whether they are all compounds or whether they are phrases consisting of an adjective and a noun: pocheschul (11th cent.), hōntiscwurz (14th cent.), irdisceboran (11th cent.), umgerischwurz (14th cent.), rūmischgras, rūmischclé, rūmischgras, rūmischkōl, rūmischsāme (14th cent.). Such formations were never really alive in German, and even in Mod. German it is only possible to form loosely connected co-ordinate compounds with the -isch adjectives, e.g. herrisch-gewaltig in many of the letters, unless the adjective is no longer felt as a derivative, e.g. deutsch-, welsch-.

No similar formations are recorded in OE.
(iii) Suffix -in

The suffix -in was used in the first part of Bahuvihi formations in West German (see OE. wédenheort, OHG. wólanherz). Apart from this compound, the formation survives in OHG. only in the late gloss word glesenoughér, but it seems to have been alive in OE., although the examples of it are not very numerous: ætremmóð, malignant (Ge. E. 163), glesenencing, grey-eyed (W-W. 416, 1), gyldensêax, golden-haired (W-W. 348, 35), gyldennhêwe, golden-hued (late gloss), gyldenmûda, golden-mouthed (GD. 94, 24). This type of compound does not survive in German, but is still common in the extended Bahuvihi formations in Mod. Engl., e.g. golden-haired.

In late German glosses from the 11th century onwards -in adjectives are sometimes found written together with a noun, but it is doubtful whether such combinations can be considered compounds. The following are recorded: gerstenbrōt, gerstenmelo, habeninbrōt, irdínfa, iwinboam, iwinholz, innaseckilen, linendwoch, lininhrûge, lininpruoch, dinklinbrōt, walsinkerze, weidenphellâld, weidenroch, weidendâh. Except for substantived adjectives like Leinen, which are no longer felt as derivatives, formations of this kind do not survive in Modern German, and even in the earlier periods of the language the type was never alive.

Determinatives with a similar adjective in the first part are rare in OE., and as in OHG. the type was never productive. The following are recorded: ówenbrôðor, brother by the same marriage (W-W. 415, 29), gyldenbêag, golden crown (Aelfric), linenhrâgl, linen cloth (LL.), linenwead, dressed in linen (LL). It will be seen that the new adjective suffixes as OHG. -ith, -sam, -haft, etc., are never found in the first member of the compounds.

Derivative Suffixes in the Second Part of the Compounds

In the Modern Germanic languages derivative suffixes of all kinds may be used in the second part of the compounds, but in the earlier periods certain restrictions in the use of suffixes in this position are noticeable.

1 Compounds with ðæðere-, ðæðere- belong to this type, but they are to be regarded as substantived adjectives (see the Gothic ðæðrein).

(i) OHG. -âri, OE. -ere

Although this suffix is common Germanic, and was borrowed from Latin at an early date, it does not appear in the second part of the compounds in the ON. and West Germanic alliterative poetry. One example (witodalaisareis, teacher of the law) is, however, found in the Gothic prose, and the formation appears in the early prose and glosses of the West German languages.

The following examples are recorded from the 8th and 9th centuries in OHG.; with the exception of the last all of them appear only in prose or glosses:
adhaisangheri, noble singer (Is.).
agawisfîrînári, publican (R. 233, 11; B.).
accarbigengiri, husbandman (T.): occurring only once in this text, compared with five examples of accarbigego.
fenningwantalari, money-changer (T.).
himilscouðri, astrologer (Rb. II, 309, 35).
nahwaülâri, watcher in the night (Jc. IV, 23, 71).
nótnumfâdri, violator (T.).
rehblebhâri, law-breaker (Gl. II, 148, 7).
turiswârdri, janitor (Rb. I, 463, 46).
wisísâdenâri, law-giver (O.).

Although this formation becomes commoner in the 10th and 11th centuries, it is still mainly restricted to glosses, and is rare in connected texts. Of the 20 compounds of this type recorded in Notker's works, only six can be ascribed to Notker himself, the remainder being found in the glosses to Notker's Psalms. It seems, therefore, that the formation was avoided by Notker in favour of the Germanic suffix -an.

This type of compound is not found in early OE., at least no example is recorded in The Oldest English Texts (ed. Sweet), but a few do occur in 9th century prose texts:
årgêtere, brass-founder (AO.), feohgîtere, miser (CP.),
rêdæaeeltere, counsellor (AO.), stôsrerîtere, historian (AO.),
wordsaedere, rhetorician (CP.), wrôhtsáedere, sower of strife (CP.).

These compounds are similar to the 9th century formations in OHG., except that the latter are in many cases denominatives,
whilst all the OE. compounds have a nomen agentis derived directly from a verb in the second part.

(ii) OHG. -unta, OE. -ung

The use of words with this suffix in the second part of the compounds presents a difficult but interesting problem in West Germanic linguistic geography. The suffix, as is well known, is not found in Gothic, but is common to Norse and the West Germanic languages. Judging from the fact that there are no parallel formations between ON. and the West Germanic languages, compounds with -ung in the second part were not used in Primitive Germanic, but there is one early parallel between the West Germanic languages: OE. eordbeothing, OHG. erdhibunga, OLq. erthbivunge, MDu. erdbevinge, OFris. irthbivinge, earthquake (see p. 93, No. 25). We may then consider whether compounds of this type existed in West Germanic and trace their development in OE. and OHG.

With the exception of gerihtwæsung (justification), which is a derivative from the verb gerihtwæsan, compounds of this type are not found in the earliest OE. prose and glosses, but they become common in the 9th century, e.g. eordbeothing, earthquake (AO.), nieddraufung, reproof (CP.). Contrary to the practice in ON. and OHG. these formations are found, however, in OE. poetry from the earliest poems to the end of the OE. period. The following record of the examples in OE. poetry will serve to illustrate the type and afford a basis for comparison with the OHG. formations:

breóstweordung, breast-ornament (B.).
daegweordung, feast day (El.).
gärmittung, fight (Chron.).
halswaurung, thanksgiving for safety (Ex.).
hämweordung, ornament of a home (B.).
hæahhornung, deep grief (PPs.).
hæahdegung, important function (Ex.).
hordweordung, honouring by gifts from a treasure (B.).
hringweordung, honouring by a gift of rings (B.).
lódgiting, poem (And.).
módbysung, anxiety (Dom.).
nédweordung, zealous honouring (PPs.).
nilseorung, shelter at night (Gen.).
sincweordung, costly gift (And. El.).

unrihtfoðung, unrighteous hate (Met.).
wisgewordung, idolatry (B. Jul.).
wordbeotung, promise in words (B.).
woruldisung, worldly business, trouble (Met.).
woruldisung, covetousness (Met.).
wuldornytting, glorious service (Rd.).

It will be noted that these poetical formations are not derivatives from compound verbs or other compound nouns, but are ordinary determinatives consisting of a substantive or adjective together with an -ung noun. The frequency of the examples in OE. poetry suggests that the type is an old one, although no parallels to these poetical formations are found in other Germanic languages.

The use of this suffix in the OHG. compounds is quite different from that in OE. It has already been pointed out by Gutmacher (op. cit., p. 57) and Lindqvist (FBB. lx, 46) that compounds ending in -unta are rare in certain early sources (T., Is., M., H., Rb., Rd., Jb.), but that they are found in Upper German records from B. to Notker. This statement needs, however, some modification, for as it stands it gives a false impression of the distribution of the -unta compounds in OHG. It is true that -unta compounds are found in early Upper German texts and only a few in Franconian texts, but these early Upper German compounds are all derived from verbs compounded with a prefix, and are not compounds of a substantive or adjective and an -unta noun similar to those recorded above from OE. Nominal compounds in the sense in which the term is understood in this work are not found at all in the early texts referred to by Lindqvist. There are in fact only two nominal compounds ending in -unta recorded in 9th century OHG.:

erdhibunga, earthquake (T.); and in the late LG. gloss II, 717, 24.³

wisithruunga, pastha (Jc. IV, 11, 6).

The occurrence of these two compounds in early OHG. would normally settle the question whether this type existed or not.

¹ In addition to these compounds the derivative gristbiling, gnashing of teeth, is also found in poetry.
² Except gristrimman (K, 252, 27), which is derived from an obscured compound.
³ The MS. form of this gloss word is erthbirunga, probably a mistake for erdhbivunga.
in early German, but in this case there are curious circumstances. Firstly, as will be shown below, the compounds ending in -unga in late OHG. are of a different type from those two in the 9th century, and secondly the two compounds occur in a text and glosses where OE. influence has been suspected. It has already been shown above that some of the compounds in the Tatiæn were borrowed from OE. (see pp. 13 ff.), and that the LG. Vergil glossary in which ertihrungunga is found also contains OE. influence (see p. 23). But the occurrence of this compound in MLG., MDu., and OFris. leads one to suspect that it is an old West Germanic formation, which is becoming obsolete in HG. and which survives only in the archaic Tatiæn where so many dying West Germanic formations are found. The gloss wisithruungunga occurs in an Affatim glossary contained in the Codex Ox. Jun. 25 (9th cent.). Other parts of this Codex contain borrowings and loan-translations from OE., but no direct borrowings can be traced in this particular Affatim glossary (Gl. IV, 1-25). The glossary is, however, remarkable in more than one respect; the glossator has attempted to embellish the glossary by introducing compounds modelled on the poetic formations of the old alliterative poetry, and has coined the only compound in OHG. with an -unga noun in the first part, hamaluncstat. Possibly the glossator was an Anglo-Saxon monk who was influenced by the methods of word-formation in OE. and who coined the compounds hamaluncstat and wisithruungunga on OE. models. It is therefore possible that compounds ending in -unga existed in West Germanic and that they became obsolete in early OHG., surviving only in texts and glosses influenced by OE.

No other compounds of this type are found until the time of Notker, and an examination of the records recorded then shows that these new formations were derivatives from existing nominal compounds or from denominate compound verbs. The matter is of sufficient importance to justify an analysis of all the compounds of this type in OHG.:

alcestenungu, universum dedicativum (N. I, 599, 15); clearly a coining by Notker compounded of al and vestenungu.
argwûningu, suspicion (Hein. Sum.); a derivative from argwànen.
brûtsamîningu, glossing ecclesia (Ngl. II, 8, 21, etc.); a compound of brût and samîningu.
dienuotunge, humiliation (N. III, 265, 24); a derivative from diomuoten.
NOMINAL COMPOUNDS IN GERMANIC

NOTES

nötsamenunga, synagoge (Ngl. II, 265, 22); a compound of not and samenunga (see bruftsamenunga).

rådfragunga, questioning (Hein. Sum.); derived from rådfragón.

stanchmachunga, fragrance (N. I, 760, 4); coined by Notker to translate halitus.

teilnemunga, participation (N. I, 862, 16); derived from teilneman.

gewärrachunga, syllogism (N. I, 596, 4); derived from gewär-

rachón, N. I, 606, 19, etc.

werlchnostunga, devastation of the world (Ezzos Gesang).

wilsamenunga, glossing ecclesia (Ngl. 211, 21; 212, 20); a

compound of wih and samenunga.

wissprachunga, disputaion (N. I, 107, 30); derived from

wissprachón, N. I, 107, 30.

witspentunga, dispensation (Ngl. II, 290, 7); a compound of

wit and spentunga.

It will be observed that these compounds are different in

formation from the two recorded in the 9th century and those

found in OE. poetry and prose. The latter were compounds of
two independent nouns, whereas with the exception of

austenunga all the compounds which can be ascribed to Notker
himself are derivatives from compound verbs or coalescences
modelled on Latin abstracts. Not until the 11th century
(Ngl. and Nw.) do we find compounds of two independent words,
the second of which has the -unga suffix.

There are then two strata of compounds ending in -ung in

the Germanic languages. Firstly, there is an older group con-
sisting of two independent nouns. This type survives in OE.
poetry and prose, but with two exceptions becomes obsolete in
early OHG., and for this reason, not because the type was a
new one, there is only one parallel between the early West
Germanic languages. In the Upper German area where this
original type first became obsolete, new formations were made
from verbs compounded with a prefix. Later, in the same
area, these derivatives were extended to compound verbs, the
first part of which was a nomen and which were themselves
derived from compound nouns. This is the position reached
in Notker. In the 11th century and afterwards this mode of
word-formation spread to Middle German, and new compounds
were formed, each part of which had an independent existence,
on the analogy of the derivatives from compound verbs, e.g.

THE MORPHOLOGY OF THE COMPOUNDS

bruftsamenunga (Ngl.), wilsamenunga (Ngl.). With this the
same position is reached as in the compounds in OE.

(iii) OHG. -nissa, OE. -nes

The suffix -nes is very commonly used in OE. to form abstract
nouns from compound nouns or adjectives, e.g. rümmônes,
godwrecnes, but in OHG. -nissa is never used in this way, as
abstracts are there formed from already compounded nouns or
adjectives by the suffixes -i and -ida, e.g. éhalti, éhaltida. Words
ending in -nissa are occasionally used in the second part of
compounds in Franconian texts only, e.g. eberchillähnissa,
identity (ls.), erdgihrurnessi, earthquake (T.), werlthinstmessi,
tenebrae mundi (Williram).

(iv) Composition Suffixes in the Second Part

The suffixes which developed from independent words are
not often added to compound words or used in the second part
of the compounds in the early periods of the Germanic languages
with the exception of the suffix OHG. -ilh, OE. -lic, which, as
has already been shown, was one of the earliest of these suffixes
to develop. Possibly the reason for this is that these suffixes
were still felt in early OHG. and OE. to be different from the
original suffixes, and there was in the early periods a reluctance
to form triple compounds (see pp. 197 ff.). The frequency of
these composition suffixes in the final members of compounds
may then give some indication as to the extent to which they
were regarded as independent words.

(a) OHG. -heit, OE. -hâd

It will be shown later that this suffix developed at a rela-
tively late period, and that it was still felt as an independent
word in OE., where it is rarely used to derive words from
existing compounds. Only three examples are found: áglâhâd,
misery (Rd.), with an obscured compound in the first part;
hägesteadhâd, unmarried state (hægesteadl was probably an
obscured compound in late OE.); dêocdænnhâd, service (BH.);
by the time this compound was formed -döm had certainly
developed into a suffix so that dêocdöm can hardly be regarded
as a compound.

Similarly, in early OHG. -heit is never added to compound
words, but in late OHG. it could be used to derive abstract
nominal compounds in germanic

nouns from compound adjectives. The first example of this is found in Notker, einluzgeheit, N. I, 276, 17, and it becomes commoner in the 11th century: ebenewigheit, ubelwilligkeit, wolawilligkeit.

(b) OHG. -sam, OE. -sum

This suffix is never used to derive adjectives from existing compounds in OHG. or OE., and there is only one example of its use in the second part of a compound in OHG. alegeminalsano, N. I, 707, 5.

(c) OHG. -caft, OE. -scipe

In OE. this suffix is never used to derive an abstract noun from a full compound, but it is found once in the second member of a compound (woroldeirdscipe, worldly honour, a compound of worold and worldsceipe), and once making an abstract noun from a word which already had a composition suffix (ealdordooniscipe, office of alderman, Chron. 983). In OHG. -scaft appears only three times as the final member of compounds: heriganoscaft, troops (Gl. II, 758, 43; 10th cent.); huorwinisciacht, forgamation (Ngl. II, 277, 14); werlherscaft, worldly power (Ngl. II, 277, 15). Of these the last is certainly a compound of werl and herscaft, and the first two may be regarded as being of similar structure or as derivatives from existing compounds heriganze, huorwini.

(d) OHG. -tuom, OE. -döm

Contrary to the practice with the other composition suffixes discussed above, the OHG. -tuom and the OE. -döm are used to derive abstract nouns from existing compounds from the time of the earliest texts. This seems to indicate that in early OHG. and OE. the suffix had lost its connection with the independent word tuom and döm, and that it was one of the earliest composition suffixes to develop.

Two early examples of derivatives from existing compounds are recorded in OHG.: elilenntuom, misery, captivity (9th cent. Rb. I, 584, 58); évaratuom, priesthood (Bened. R.); and from later texts herzogtuom, choriscopituom, werlrituom.

Similar examples from OE. are: ëfenbëowdöm, lâllëowdöm, rihtliéforddom, woroldbëowdöm, woroldwisdöm.

The morphology of the compounds

Those composition suffixes which developed independently in OHG. and OE. as OHG. -haft, OE. -lac, -rædnæ, etc., are never used to derive words from full compounds.

Second Part of the Compounds Declined differently from the Simplex

It has often been pointed out that a compound in the Germanic languages may have a different declension from that of the simplex which forms its second part, although the matter has not been fully investigated and the conditions under which such a change could occur have not been determined. There are, in fact, three different types of this phenomenon in the Germanic languages: (a) the compound may have the weak declension and the simplex a strong declension, e.g. OHG. grunfrosto, compared with frost; (b) the compound may have the -Jó declension, the simplex a different strong declension, e.g. Gothic piudangardi, compared with garðs; (c) the compound may have the -ja declension, the simplex a different declension, e.g. OHG. folmûni, compared with mâno.

(a) Compound Weak, Simplex Strong

Kluge regards the -u ending (i.e. the weak declension) of these compounds as a compound forming suffix similar in character to the Latin suffix -ium in proverbium, biennium, etc., and speaks of the compound having an ending which the simplex does not have. It should, however, be noted that in the majority of cases weak forms of the simple nouns do exist and the compounds may be formed with these. There is for instance nothing peculiar, as Kluge seems to suggest (NS. § 80), in a compound as OHG. wingarto, since the simplex garto is common enough in OHG., and the weak ending of this and similar compounds cannot be regarded in any way as a composition suffix. There are, however, other cases where the simplex cannot be shown to have or have had the weak declension. Some of these, as will be shown below, are analogical formations; others in the opinion of the present writer were formed from adjective Bahuvrihi compounds, which naturally had the weak adjective declension, or on the analogy of adjective

1 On this type see Kluge, U.), p. 231; Kluge, NS. § 80; Hirt, Handbuch des Urgermanischen, II, § 53.
Bahuvrihis. A few remain unexplained, and these may have been formed from a weak simplex which is no longer extant.

There are early parallels between the compounds of this type which show that the phenomenon under discussion dates back to Primitive Germanic:

ON. eindagi, OE. āndaga, OLG. ēndago, one fixed day. As far as the present writer is aware, the second part of this compound cannot be shown to have had the weak declension at any time, but it should be noted that in early Germanic the word is found in the Bahuvrihi compound (see with different stem Gothic ahtaudage, and with suffix extension OE. āndage). It seems therefore likely to the present writer that the form -dagi, etc., arose from the adjective Bahuvrihi compounds.

Gothic manelika, OE. manlica, OHG. manalihho, effigy. The most likely explanation of the weak declension of this compound as compared with the simplex leiks is that it is a substantived Bahuvrihi compound (see OE. manlice, OHG. manalih).

Gothic augadauro, OHG. ougatora, window. The second part of this compound is formed from an old weak stem (see Gothic dawrons, fem. pl.).

Klug also quotes as an early example of this type of compound the Latin borrowing from Germanic, carrago, which he derives from *carra-hago, comparing the second part with the strong OHG. hag. But again there are weak forms of this second part in other Germanic languages: OE. haga, ON. hagi, and the compound may have been formed with this old weak stem.

We may now turn to the investigation of the phenomenon in the individual Germanic languages.

In addition to the examples quoted above, there are two compounds in Gothic which at first sight appear to have a different declension from that of the second member when a simplex:

aitasmīpa, bronze-smith. The second part of this compound is not recorded as a simplex in Gothic, and the word is a strong masculine in the other Germanic languages (OE. smiid, OHG. smid, ON. smiðr), but since so many personal nouns have both strong and weak declension in Germanic (cf. OHG. ganôs, ganôzo ; wart, wardo), there is no reason why the existence of a Gothic smīpa should not be assumed.

lukarnastāpa, candlestick; compared with the strong simplex stalp. The OHG. stado (bank, landing-place) and the ON. stadi, hayrick, demonstrate the existence of a weak noun in Germanic with which the Gothic compound may have been formed.

OLD HIGH AND OLD LOW GERMAN

Compounds with gart or garto.—As both weak and strong forms of this noun existed in OHG. there is nothing peculiar about the use of the weak or strong form in the compound. The noun was originally a masc. -i stem (cf. Gothic gards), but a weak variant is found in Gothic (garda) and German. It is therefore to be expected that the oldest compounds with this word will have the strong form in the second part, and it is significant that the only compound in OHG. which has exclusively the strong form is mittigart, mittingard, which has been shown above to be a Primitive Germanic formation (see p. 57). The following compounds in OHG. appear in both the weak and strong forms: boungart(o) (also OLG. bōngardo), heimgart(o), mittigart(o), woundigart(o), wīngart(o). All these are found in texts earlier than the 10th century. The following later formations appear exclusively in the weak form: buumgarto (Notker), houigarte (Hein. Sum.), hopfgarto (11th cent. glosses), hurbigarto (11th cent. glosses), wuegarto (Williram), oligarto (9th cent. one example), pīregarto (12th cent.), rōsgarto (11th cent.), tiergarto (12th cent.), zarigarto (Ngl).

Compounds with -hama.—Klug (NS. § 80) includes the OHG. compounds with -hama amongst those which have changed the declension as compared with the simplex, quoting the ON. -hmar as the original strong form of the simplex. The OE. hama shows that a weak variant existed, and the OHG. and OLG. compounds may have been formed with it. The following are recorded with this second member in OHG. aschama, gundhamo, likhamo, and in OLG. likhama, fedarhama. There is no trace of the strong declension in the West Germanic languages.

Compounds with -lag, -lago.—It has been shown above that this word was used in the weak form in the second part of the compounds in Primitive Germanic. These double forms exist both in compounds in which tag(o) is a full word and in those in which it has lost its full meaning and become a suffix (see Kluge, NS. § 163). It has been suggested above that the weak forms may have developed from the adjective Bahuvrihi
compounds, but once the type with a weak noun in the second part was established analogical formations were possible which were not derived from Bahuwrēihs. Omitting these compounds which have the normal strong form of tag in the second part, the following formations are recorded in OHG. and OLG.: giburttag, birthday (Gl. I, 713, 37); kiburttago (Rd. Jb. I, 285, 11).

Endago, fixed day (Hel.).
Endadago, last day, death day (Otfrid); cf. OE. endedag.
Firttag, saint's day, sabbath (usually strong in OHG. but weak in Ngl. II, 136, 7, and Gl. II, 230, 39).
Lhooktag, beast of the tabernacles (Gl. IV, 178, 58; 12th cent.); possibly a plural not a weak sing.
Nakoidag, nakedness (Otfrid); necettago (St. Gall Confession II).
Siohtago, sickness (Williram).
Stuhatag, Last Judgment Day (Muspili).
Suontag, Last Judgment Day (usually strong in OHG. but in the weak form suontago in MSD. 54, 18 and 55, 9). That there is no difference in meaning between the weak and strong forms and no dialectal difference is shown by the use of both forms in the same text (Exhortatio ad Pleblem Christianum, MSD. 54, 18 and 21).
Tulitetag, feast day (Notker and the Bamberg Confession).
Tultitago in K, 53, 31; 68, 38; Ra, 53, 24; Ngl. II, 334, 20.

It will be seen that as the weak and strong forms occur in the same word and sometimes in the same text, no principle is observable governing the use of the two forms.

Other OHG. compounds:
Antichristo (Muspili, Otfrid); compared with the simplex Christ. This compound appears to have been formed on the analogy of substantive Bahuwrēihs like gabūro, etc., and is further evidence of the connection of some of the compounds of this type with the Bahuwrēihi formations.
Gruntfrosto, ground-frost (K, 165, 36); compared with the simplex frost and the compound gruntfrost (Ra, 165, 36). No weak variant of the second part of this compound is found in the Germanic languages, but see the ON. hrimi compared with the West Germanic hrīm.
Halbstiorno, being half beast, half man (Gl. II, 457, 21); formed on the analogy of substantive Bahuwrēihi compounds (see Antichristo).

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hounándo, July (Gl. III, 609, 24); wintemándo, December (Gl. III, 609, 29); compared with the strong simplex mándō. These compounds, occurring only in one glossary, are formed on the analogy of other names of the months with weak declension: merzo, abrello, maio, brachedo, etc.
Johhalmo, tug-strap (Gl. I, 437, 8; I, 443, 25; 506, 68, etc.); in the strong form johhalmo in other glosses. The second part of this compound was originally a weak masc. identical with the OE. helm and the MLG. helm, holm, shaft. The word does not therefore become weak in the compound as Kluge suggests, but was originally weak and later associated with the strong holm. The earliest form of the compound in German, giochelino (Rb. I, 585, 17), shows clearly the connection with the OE. helma.¹
Kniorado, knee-cap (Gl. I, 233, 13; K, Ra, etc.); compared with the strong simplex rad. This is possibly an old weak formation similar to other names of parts of the body which are often weak, e.g. ON. kalfi, calf (from kalfi); OE. gōma, palate (compared with the ON. gömr).
Ougatara, window (Voc. III, 1, 47), (see above).

It will be seen from the above evidence that these words do not become weak in the compound as Kluge suggests, but that the compounds preserve in many cases old weak stems which are obsolete as simple words, whilst others are modelled on the weak Bahuwrēihi formations.

Old English

In almost all the alleged examples of a strong noun becoming weak in the compounds in OE. a weak variant is found, and it is with this that the compounds are made:

Andaga, fixed day (see above).
Æfenglóma, gloaming; compared with æfenglóm and glóm. Strong forms of the second part of this compound certainly exist in OE., but it should be noted that other examples of nouns with a -m suffix are weak masculines in the Germanic languages, and glóm was in all probability originally weak (cf. OE. swim, slúma, OHG. skimo, ON. tími, skími, Gothic ahma).

¹ There is also a compound tobehalmo, furor, in a late gloss III, 239, 26, which is obscure to the present writer.
bordbaca, testudo. Kluge compares the second part of this compound with the German Dach and the OE. tec, but a weak variant baca is common in OE., and it is with this that the compound is formed.

bordhaga, cover of shields. Again Kluge compares the second part with the OHG. hag, but there is no change of declension in the compound as the second part is the OE. haga.

-hama. On the compounds byrnhama, cildhama, lichama, see the notes on the OHG. lihhamo.

-hrœða in bordhrœða, shield-ornament; scildhrœða, testudo. The second part of these compounds is not extant as a simple word, but there is no reason why the existence of a noun hrœða from hrœðan, adorn, should not be assumed, as the names of weapons and ornaments are often formed from other words by the weak ending, e.g. OE. barða, ship's prow (from beard), MHG. halse, necklace, ON. skeggja, halberd (from shegg).

hoppâda, cope (W-W. 188, 14); compared with pæd (f.) coat. In this case there is certainly a change in declension, but the compound is found only in one gloss and has an obscure element in the first part which possibly led to a misunderstanding on the part of the glossator.

hônancs, couch (W-W. 280, 12). Kluge compares the second part of this compound with the strong noun bence, but see the OE. simplex banca and the ON. bakk.

ongnora, corner of the eye. The compound is found in the weak form only in W-W. 415, 22, in the strong form as ongnere in W-W. 423, 34. Kluge associates the second part of this compound with nosu (nose), but it is more likely to be a derivative from nearu (narrow), and it is therefore not certain that any change of declension has taken place.

wytrtruma, root, origin; compared with the strong wytrtrum and the simplex trum. Since trum was originally an adjective, there is no reason why a substantivized weak form truma should not be assumed (see the double forms getrum and getruma, troop, array).1

1 Kluge also quotes an OE. eostanwinda which he compares with the simplex wind. The only compound with these two members recorded in OE. is in W-W. 143, 36, subsolanus, easten wind. There is then no evidence for a compound with a changed declension.

THE MORPHOLOGY OF THE COMPOUNDS

OLD NORSE

The only certain examples of a change of declension in the ON. compounds are the formations with -dagi in the second part, e.g. eindagi, bardagi, skildagi, spurdagi (see above). Kluge also quotes (Ug., p. 231) the ON. râdstafi, arrangement, shelter, comparing it with the simplex stafri, but the word is a weak derivative from the verb râdstafr, not a compound of râð and stafir with a change of declension in the compound. On the ON. lihkami, compared with ëlikamr, and fjœðrhœðr see the notes on the OHG. lihhamo. Many ON. nouns appear in a weak form as compared with strong forms in the West Germanic languages, e.g. ON. dreyrø, OE. dêor; ON. brœmi, OE. hrêm. Compounds with these words naturally have the weak declension, and it is not necessary to assume any change or any addition of a composition suffix.

The evidence recorded above has shown that in the majority of the alleged cases of a change of declension in the compounds the weak stems can be explained as old forms of the simplex which existed side by side with the strong forms. Others have been shown to be analogical formations made on the analogy of substantivized Bahuvrihis. It is true that in a few cases no weak form of the simplex is recorded in any Germanic language, but the overwhelming evidence of the other examples suggests that weak variants of these words may once have existed and have disappeared without trace.

(b) Compound Assumes the -jó Declension

The only examples of words assuming the -jó declension in the compounds are from Gothic:

aihratundi, bush; compared with the simplex tunþus (tooth). piudangardi, kingdom; compared with gards.1

It is to be noted, however, that the words do not simply change their declension in the compound, but they receive a suffix which changes their meaning; for instance the meaning of piudangardi is not obtained simply by adding the meanings of piudans and gards, and the compound means something

1 See Kluge, Ug., p. 231. Kluge also quotes Gothic pûsund, compared with hund, but this as a numeral does not fall within the scope of the present work.
different than a compound *piudangards*. Moreover, the compound *aihrami*di, which consists of *aihm* (horse) and a form of *tunbus* (tooth), is a Bahuvrihi formation meaning really ‘that which has a horse’s tooth (i.e. thorn).’ It seems likely therefore to the present writer that the compound is simply a derivative from a Bahuvrihi formation similar to the OE. *blōdīgōd*, bloody-toothed. It is true that *piudangardi* cannot be proved to go back to a Bahuvrihi formation since the word *gards* is not used in the second part of the Bahuvrihi compounds in Germanic, except possibly in the Gothic *ingardja* (person in the same house), but this compound may be claimed to have a similar possessive meaning to the Bahuvrihi compounds, i.e. ‘that which has a royal palace, a kingdom.’

(c) **Compound Assumes the -ja Declension**

The assumption of the -ja declension in the compound is a method of word-formation which the Germanic languages share with Latin (e.g. Latin *jugum*: *conjugium*: *annus*: *biennium*, etc.) and which dates therefore from pre-Germanic times. It is on that account unlikely that a satisfactory explanation of all the cases of this change can be given from an investigation of the Germanic languages alone, but the usage in Germanic does throw some light on the origins of the type.

There are in Germanic three classes of compounds which have the -ja declension differing from the declension of the simplex which forms the second part of the compound:

(a) derivatives from adjective Bahuvrihis, e.g. Gothic *galeiki*, derived from *galeiks*: *lausawards*, derived from *lausawaurs*. As derivatives from a different type of compound these formations do not belong to the subject under discussion, but it may be noted that many of the alleged changes in declension of compound words may be derivatives from lost Bahuvrihis as this type is preserved only in decaying remnants in Germanic. It seems, for instance, likely that the Gothic *fidurragini* was formed on the analogy of derivatives from Bahuvrihis since the numerals

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1 Grewolds (op. cit., p. 175) includes *aihm atundi* amongst the Bahuvrihi compounds, and compares the OInd. *phāladati*, which is morphologically an exact parallel to the Gothic compound. It seems likely that *aihrami*di is a residue of an old method of word formation which is almost extinct in Germanic.
altwiggi, footpaths (Pa, K, 86, 16, and Würzburger Markbeschreibung); formed with *weg in the second part. On account of the plural meaning (glossing *colles in Pa, K) the second part of the compound is to be regarded as a collective with the *ga-prefix dropped (see also kiwichi, driwichi).

bachscirri, baking iron (Gl. III, 167, 12; 213, 5); the form bachgescirri (Gl. III, 324, 20) shows that bachscirri is a formation with a collective in the second part.

belltstreuni, bed-straw (Gl. III, 618, 66); see the collective bettigistrouni) Rb. I, 336, 68.

bluomendii, violaria (Gl. II, 621, 23); certainly a collective in the second part (see galenti, Graff, 2, 231).

brustpeini, breast (Rb. I, 287, 59). There are many compounds with beini in the second part in OHG, but no similar formations are found in other Germanic languages. It seems probable that the whole group developed from the use of the collective gibeini in the second part. In this particular instance brustpeini glosses *pectusculum and denotes the whole breast, not ‘a breastbone.’

dingwati, toga (Gl. II, 474, 10). Although this compound has no clear collective significance, it is undoubtedly formed from dinckiwati (Gl. II, 413, 13).

einwigi, single combat (Otfrid); possibly a derivative from einwiga.

ewiendlendi, pasture land (aPs. 107, 7); a collective formation (see Bluomendii).

folcurni, translating plenum frumentum (T.). This compound is clearly a loan-translation from Latin made by the Tatian translator, and as the second part could not have been formed at that time from corn, it must be a shortening of gikurni.

follii, plena brachia (N. I, 695, 20; Gl. II, 267, 5); a derivative from the Bauhvríi follii (N. I, 746, 29); see also the derivatives with different suffix, gansidi, scaritidi. Morphologically these compounds are parallel to the Gothic group, lausawaurds, lausawaurdi, lausawaurdei.

folmáni, time of the full moon; modelled on the Latin pleniunium (Gl. IV, 120, 5; 155, 42).

gruonendi, violaria (Gl. II, 621, 21 and 25); (see Bluomendi).

höhsetti, throne (Is.). In this case no collective significance is perceptible, and the compound may therefore be an old coalescence inherited from the time when the -ja suffix was used to make compounds.

hreinkurni, hrénkurni (Gl. II, 47, 17, etc., and Hel.), sifted corn; an old collective formation made like folcurni.

hufbeini, hipbone (Gl. II, 370, 42), and without the -ja suffix hufbein (Gl. III, 431, 29); (see brustpeini above).

kinnibeini, chinbone (Gl. I, 28, 65, etc.), and without the -ja suffix, kinnibeini (Gl. I, 512, 3, etc.). The OE. parallels cinbán, hypbán suggest that the original formations were -a stems and that the German -ja formations are secondary developments, possibly from the collective gibeini.

Kochmuosi, food (Gl. IV, 160, 39, etc.) and kochmuus (Re. Jb. II, 315, 29); probably a collective formation.

liumále, stigma (Gl. III, 287, 41); again probably a collective formation (see ougmádi, ougimádi).

merimann, sirens; a collective formation translating the pl. sirènes in Rb. I, 619, 57, etc., and then used with singular meaning (see especially the ON. formation in -menni, discussed below).

mitigarni, mitilgaruni, intestinal fat (K, R, 17, 11, etc.); probably a derivative from an old Bauhvríi as the meaning is exocentric, ‘that which the intestines have in the middle.’ See also the OE. miegerne.

niuitleni, new lands (Gl. I, 522, 56, etc.); a collective formation; compare nietigtleni (Gl. III, 646, 19; 646, 7).

niuriuni, newly cleared land (Gl. I, 526, 34, etc.); also a collective formation (see niuigrú (Gl. I, 627, 3)).

örwensi, cushion (Gl. I, 644, 17; III, 621, 28, etc.). This formation hardly belongs here, as the second part exists as a simplex wensi and the compound is formed from it, not from wanga.

ótmáli, riches (Pa, K, Ra, 162, 18, etc.); a collective formation with plural meaning (see ougmádi).

ougmádi, mark on the eye (Gl. II, 202, 11; 210, 5); a collective formation in the second part with the ga-prefix dropped: see ougkimádi, Gl. I, 456, 29.

ougstimi, spectacle (M. 33, 1); a derivative from a compound adjective (OE. éasýne, OHG. ougstimi). See also the derivative ougstimi (T.) with a different suffix, the whole group being parallel in formation to the Gothic lausawaurds, -waurdi, -waurdei.

ruckibeini, backbone (Gl. I, 515, 52, etc.), and ruckibein in the same gloss.

scritimádi, step (R. 253, 1), and scritimádi (K, Ra, 253, 1, etc.); (see ougmádi).
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tagadini, fixed day (Gl. I, 715, 31, etc.), and tagading (Gl. I, 421, 36, etc.) ; possibly formed originally with a ga- formation in the second part (see gadingi).

tömnuor, stagnant lake (Gl. IV, 50, 44; 138, 44), from the simplex nuor; probably a collective formation in the second part.

wabarstuni, spectacle (T.); a derivative from a compound similar in form to the OE. wafersyn (f.).

witwaldi, desert (Gl. I, 554, 15); possibly a collective formation in the second part although no givaldi is recorded.

wüstwaldi, desert (O.); (see witwaldi).

wuntarsiuni, miracle (Re. II, 317, 57); a derivative from wuntarsius (R., 252, 22); (see OE. wundorsyn).

wuntmål, scar (Gl. II, 366, 15) and wumtmal (N.); (see ougmål).1

OLD ENGLISH

Compared with OHG. the formations with a -ja suffix in OE. are few in number, and clearly represent an archaic type which is no longer productive:

meremenn, siren, mermaid; an old collective formation in the second part (see OHG. merimanni and the ON. compounds in -manni).

migerne, intestinal fat; formed from gearn. Holthausen regards this compound as a feminine, but see the OHG. mitsigarni.

mildhrôre, diaphragm; formed from hreðer in the same way as migerne from gearn.

smaldearmas, small intestines; compared with smæðearmas and ðearm: also probably a collective formation in the second part.

missere, half-year; probably a derivative from a Bahuvrilhi (see ON. missari).

OLD NORSE

The formations in ON. cast most light on the origin and development of the type under discussion, as the compounds recorded there are either derivatives from Bahuvrilhi or have

1 Kluge (Ug., p. 231) includes the OHG. müsari and sparwari amongst the formations which have changed the declension in the compound, comparing them with the simplex aro, but these are probably to be explained as formations modelled on the nomina agentis ending in -ari, although they may have been compounds originally.

a collective noun in the second part formed originally with the ga- prefix, which has disappeared in ON., and the -ja suffix. These collectives develop secondarily a singular meaning, and the evidence from ON. is therefore a welcome support to the view suggested above that the OHG. formations in -manni, -beini originally had collective meaning, and developed later a meaning identical with that of the compounds without the -ja suffix. The clearest examples of this process are supplied by the ON. compounds ending in -menni all of which have both collective and singular meaning:

illmenni, rogues, rogue; rikmenni, rich men, rich man; stór-menni, great men, great man; ungmenni, young men, young man.

Similar formations also developing from collectives are:

illifjöll, bird bringing ill-luck; illkvell, dangerous whale (from hvale); illræði, slave; illgresi, weeds, weed; merhryss, mare (compared with merhross); pekniriki, heroic deed (compared with verki), rúmsvæði, broad channel.

Other formations with a -ja suffix may have been made in this way, but are more probably derivatives from Bahuvrilhi: e.g. hadærð, stórærði, heipyrði, kangiyrði, sáryrði (see the frequent Bahuvrilhi formations ending in -áðr, -órð), jafnátt, equinox (formed on the model of equinocxiun) midnátti, midnight, missari, half-year (see OE. missere), hádagi, midday.1

The combined evidence of the Germanic languages suggests that the compounds with a -ja formation in the second member as compared with a simplex of another declension were formed originally with collectives in which the ga- prefix, which is characteristic of the collectives, was suppressed, or were -ja derivatives from other compounds, mostly Bahuvrilhi. It is true that all the formations of this type cannot be shown to have collective meaning, and the existence of a collective cannot be demonstrated in all cases (e.g. OHG. hössetti), but the ON. compounds of this type show clearly that collective formations frequently assume singular meaning along with the original collective one. If this account of the origin of the type be correct, it follows that one cannot call this phenomenon simply

1 On the ON. formations of this type see Heiðqvist, Arkiv, 7, 31 ff., and E. Ekwall, Suffixe -ja i senare leden af sammansatte substantiv inom de germ. språken, UUÄ. 1907; filos. 3, 1 ff.
a change of declension as Kluge does, since such compounds are not formed with the simple nouns with which Kluge compares them, but with the collectives to these nouns. It has already been shown that the examples which Kluge quotes of a noun becoming weak in the compound can be explained as old weak stems of which have become obsolete as simple words in that particular Germanic language in which the compounds are recorded. The results arrived at from an investigation of these two types support each other. In both cases the compounds are formed with an existing simple noun without any change of declension.

 prefixes in the Second Part of Compounds

In the foregoing section many examples have been quoted of the dropping of the ga- prefix or its non-appearance in the second part of compounds, and we may now turn to a further examination of cases of that nature. Before we can determine which prefixes were dropped in the second part of the compounds it is necessary to find out whether any prefixes were used in that position in Primitive and West Germanic. This task is rendered more difficult by the fact that most of these prefixes have disappeared in ON, and the lists of parallel compounds recorded in Part I of this work do not disclose therefore any prefixes in the second part of the compounds. In Gothic there are three examples of such formations, all of which are clearly new coinings: aglaitgastalds, flugawaurki, flugalufs. There are also two early parallels between OE. and OHG. with the ga- prefix in the second part: OE. nīȝdesteall, OHG. nōlgistallo, OE. nēahgebur, OHG. nāhgbūr. The available evidence does not justify therefore any further statement than that the prefix ga- could be used in the second part of the compounds in 4th century Gothic and West Germanic.

With the exception of this ga- prefix only a few prefixes are found in the second part of the compounds in OE. and OHG., and these are all prefixes to verbal derivatives. There are no examples of purely nominal prefixes in this position in the early West Germanic languages or in Gothic.

It does not always follow that a compound like bluomlendi was preceded by a form bluomgelendi. Analogical formations on the model of pairs like minilti, minitlidi are always possible, and in such cases one would speak of the non-appearance rather than the dropping of the prefix.
unwiss there are no examples of this phenomenon in Gothic. In the West Germanic languages many examples are recorded of the dropping of the _ga_-formative from collective nouns forming the second part of compounds, and as these have been recorded in the preceding section they need not be repeated here. Other examples of the type are:

OFris. *dáithdél* (compared with OE. *dáoggeða*); OHG. *nótslallo* (Ludwigslied), compared with *nóigistallo* (Otfrid) and OE. *nyngestella*. This last example suggests that formations like OHG. *wóstansedalо*, OE. *wéstensa*; OHG. *einsedalo*, OE. *ánsetta*; OHG. *landsedalо*, OE. *landsetla* were formed originally with the Bauhuvian *gisedalo* in the second part.1

The dropping of the prefix is by no means invariable in the earliest texts of OE. and OHG. (see *eingindíti*, K, R; *náhigibúro*, Pa, K), and no principles can be determined according to which the prefix would be dropped or retained. It is possible that the prefix was always dropped in the formation of a compound in Primitive Germanic and West Germanic, and was restored in the extant texts on the analogy of the simplex. The loss of the prefix in this position in early Germanic was probably caused by a loss of stress when it was placed between two strongly stressed syllables (cf. OE. *rihtwislice* from *rihtwislice*, Bülbring § 404b).

**Extended Bauhuvian**

In the general discussion of the Bauhuvian type in the preceding chapter it was suggested that the Bauhuvian compounds developed in Indo-Germanic before the rise of inflection. These compounds were then originally neither substantives nor adjectives although they always had what Petersen calls a 'hidden adjective character.' Later in the history of the Indo-Germanic languages this adjective character was expressed morphologically by the adjective inflection. Such Bauhuvian compounds, of which the Gothic *armahairs* may be taken as an example, have been termed 'pure Bauhuvirs (*reine Bauhuvirs*).1 The second member of the pure Bauhuvirs had as a simplex the substantive inflection, and in the course of time the discrepancy

began to be felt between the substantive inflection of the simplex and its adjective inflection in the Bauhuvian compound, and to remove this discrepancy the substantive Bauhuvir was either substantivized or its substantive character was expressed by the addition of certain adjective suffixes. This type of Bauhuvir has been termed 'extended Bauhuvir (erweitertes Bauhuvir).'

In Germanic there are five suffixes used to extend the Bauhuvirs: (a) the pure Bauhuvir may be substantivized by the addition of the ending of the weak nouns, -an, (b) the substantive suffix -ja, (c) the adjective suffix, Gothic -ogs or eigs, (d) the composition suffix, OHG. -līh, OE. -īc, (e) the participle ending, OE. -ed(e), ON. -adr, MLG. -ede. This process of the extension of the pure Bauhuvirs began in pre-Germanic times, and it has been claimed by Wackernagel that it dates back to the parent Indo-Germanic language.1 Of these various extensions the first could take place at any time and may well have occurred in the parent language. The last two (-līh and the participle extension) are found in Germanic only and are probably an independent development in the several languages. The third (Gothic -ogs, -eigs) has been ascribed by Wackernagel and Hirt to the parent Indo-Germanic language as it is found in Sanskrit and Old Persian as well as Germanic, but as will be shown below there is evidence to suggest that this method of extending the Bauhuvirs did not exist in Primitive Germanic. The remaining suffix -ja was certainly pre-Germanic: cf. Latin *acupèdius*; Gr. ἰμον-πάρπος; Olnd. *dās-māsjas*, every ten months; Lith. *oškabarūdis*, having a goat's beard.2

In Germanic the pure Bauhuvirs survived and were productive of analogical formations, but in the course of the history of the several Germanic languages they were gradually supplanted, firstly by the -ja formations and then by the fuller suffixes, so that the original type of pure Bauhuvir practically


2 The suffix -s, which was common in Latin, e.g. *forma*: *multiformis*, *lingua*: *trilinguis*, may have existed in Germanic, but it fell together there with the -ja suffix.
disappeared. In some instances this gradual extension may be traced step by step, e.g. Gothic armahairts; OHG. unarmherz (Pa, K); unarmherzi (R); armelirzig (Ngl., Nw.), but in the majority of cases the older pure Bahuhrhihs survive alongside the extended forms and are still productive in late OHG. and late OE., so that the whole group of Bahuhrhihs compounds cannot be neatly divided into the various classes outlined above and each assigned to a certain period. Also the gradual suffix extension of the type makes it difficult to determine how far the extension had gone in Primitive Germanic, since the compounds may survive only in the extended form. A parallel like the ON. eineggjard, MDu. eenegget does not prove that the compound existed in this extended form in Primitive Germanic, and in fact in this case the OE. öneige, OHG. zwecke, suggest that the type goes back to an older -ja formation and that the participle addition is a later extension made independently in Norse and Dutch. Instead of examining the parallels it is therefore preferable to consider the formation of the Bahuhrhihs type in the oldest extant Germanic language, Gothic, and then to see how far the extension has developed in the later records of the Germanic languages.

Gothic

Apart from the prefix compounds, e.g. gaklaiba, the only Bahuhrhihs compound substantived with the -an suffix is manleiba which is certainly a Primitive Germanic formation: cf. OE. manlica, OHG. manalthko.

The -ja formation is found in Gothic only in those Bahuhrhihs formed with a noun which already had a -j suffix, i.e. the nouns of the -ja, -jö, and -jan declensions, and the nouns of the -u declension. The latter type appears in the -ja declension in the Bahuhrhihs compound as the adjective -u declension had disappeared from Gothic:

aijakuns, of a different origin (formed from kuni).
fullatjís, perfect (formed from taui, gen. tójís).
grindafrahtís, mean-minded (formed from fraptí).
laushandja, empty-handed (formed from handus).
samafrahtís, of the same opinion (formed from frahtí).
samakuns, of the same origin (formed from kuni).
silbawiljís, voluntary (formed from wilja).
twaltwintrus, twelve years old (formed from wintrus).
tubítjís, evil-doing (formed from taui, gen. tójís).

There is also one example of a -ja suffix from a fem. -ö noun: taihuntewis, in a series of ten (formed from têca, arrangement), but it should be noted that this compound, recorded in 1 Cor. xv, 6, is a later addition to the MS. by a glossator. It will be shown below that in West Germanic the numeral compounds form an early exception to the general principles governing the structure of the Bahuhrhihs in that they receive the -ja suffix regardless of the character of the substantive forming the second member of the compound. This process had evidently begun in late Gothic, and may in fact date from an earlier period.

All other Bahuhrhihs in Gothic have the normal -a declension, that is they are pure Bahuhrhihs. The following second members are recorded: -dógs, -falps, -fills, -hairs, -hals, -laups, -leiks, -móps, -qírs (formed from an -a stem, cf. ON. kvídr, not from the Gothic qíþus), -saiwals, -waurs.

The evidence from Gothic is then quite clear. The Bahuhrhihs compounds receive the -ja suffix only when the substantive with which they are formed already has a j suffix, although there are traces of a tendency to add the -ja suffix to Bahuhrhihs formed with a numeral.1 There is no trace in Gothic of the addition of any other suffix to the Bahuhrhihs, and it seems likely therefore that these suffix additions are a later development. The Bahuhrhihs may be transformed into substantives in Gothic as in all other Germanic languages by the addition of the suffix -an.

Turning now to the West Germanic languages we find that this principle that the -ja declension is used only with those nouns which have a j ending no longer holds good. The suffix has there been extended to most of the numeral compounds and to those Bahuhrhihs which have a feminine noun in the second part, and, particularly in OHG., to certain masc. and neuter nouns which do not have the j suffix when used outside the Bahuhrhihs compounds. Before we examine this matter we may consider the substantivisation of the adjective Bahuhrhihs in West Germanic and Old Norse.

1 There is also one example of a prefix compound with the -ja suffix formed from a fem. -ö noun: uskarja, carefree (formed from kara).
Old High German and Old Low German

einhorn(s), unicorn (Gl. I, 357, 15); from einhorn, or probably more correctly from eingehurnio; (see eingehurnio (Gl. IV, 355, 17).

farhurno, a calque from tauricornis (Gl. II, 449, 27; 481, 49).

heithwúhto, colchicum autumnale (Gl. III, 105, 61; 471, 11); an extension of the substantive Bahuvrihi heithwúhtit (Gl. III, 519, 53).

hunthwúhto, cenoccephalus (Gl. III, 76, 40); an extension of hunthwúhtit (Gl. III, 226, 8, etc.).

manaltiko, effigy (Pa, K, 186, 37, etc.); see Gothic manleika.

mihifalsko, crinitus (Gl. II, 648, 8).

vélítido, hermaphrodite (N. I, 727, 17); see the Bahuvrihi adj. follíti (N. I, 746, 29).

zvithwúhto, a calque from biceps (R. I, 57, 10, etc.).

zvihurno, a calque from bicornis (Gl. II, 679, 63). 2

Old English

It is sometimes difficult to distinguish between a substantivised Bahuvrihi used in apposition to a noun and an adjective Bahuvrihi in the weak declension, but the following OE. compounds are usually regarded as substantivised compounds and quoted with the -a ending in the dictionaries:

ánhorna, unicorn (also in the unextended form ánHora).

belcásweðora, one having a swollen neck (Rd.).

bunndestfn, ship with an ornamented prow (B.).

déawifedora, dewy-feathered bird (Gen.).

físfingræ, cinquefoil.

gylldenfæxa, a calque from auricomus (W-W. 348, 35).

gylldennmūxa, Chrysostum (GD. 94, 24).

haswifedora, grey-feathered bird, phenix (PH.).

heardneðora, bird with a hard beak, raven (AEH.).

hringestfæna, ring-prowed ship (B.).

1 In this list are included a few formations with the -am suffix which are extensions of original substantive Bahuvrihis, as well as the extension of the adjective Bahuvrihis.

2 Fabian (p. 253) also includes filolihto, praecucens (Gl. II, 615, 35), but this probably is an adverbial formation. The compounds wóstansedalo, eimusdado, which Fabian regards as substantivised extended Bahuvrihis, have been shown above (p. 252) to have been formed with the noun gisedalo.

The Morphology of the Compounds

hyrnedæbba, horny-beaked bird, eagle (Jud. Chron.).

isegedora, bird with frosted wings, tern (Seaf.).

lytelfola, one who is small-footed (W-W. 161, 29).

salwifedora, bird with dark plumage, raven (Gen.).

seofonlæfe, septfoil (Lchd.).

drītale, trefoil (W-W. 133, 22).

urifedora, dewy-winged bird, eagle (Scaf. Jud. El.).

wanfða, pelican (W-W. 287, 10).

wundenstfn, ship with curved prow (B.).

Old Norse

The substantivisation of Bahuvrihi compounds is very common in ON. The following few examples from the Edda may serve to illustrate the type:

fagríiti, wood (lit. that which has beautiful branches).

gietakyrfta, woman with a goat's skin dress.

gengilbeina, woman with crooked legs.

golínbursti, with golden bristles.

truglyphpja, woman with ragged clothing.

Pure Bahuvrihis in OHG.

The majority of the Bahuvrihi formations in OHG. receive the -ja suffix, but a few compounds of the original type do survive and provide the model for analogical formations until the end of the OHG. period.

Weak nouns.—The only pure Bahuvrihi with a weak noun in the second part in OHG. is the compound unarmhériz (Pa, K, 182, 21); already in R and in later texts the compound appears in the extended form unarmhérzi. 1

Masc. or Neuter -a declension nouns:

ebanslæo, a literal translation of the Latin conclave (Gl. II, 738, 18).

falarja, blond (Gl. II, 404, 53).

goldfæs, a calque from auricomus (N. I, 706, 1).

hartmuat, obstinate (Jc. II, 50, 59).

crumbein, crooked-legged (or a substantive Bahuvrihi?), (Gl. III, 363, 31).

1 The OHG. compound is a calque from the Gothic armahairs, which is probably the reason why it differs from the usual structure of the Bahuvrihi compounds in OHG. which have a weak noun in the second part.
nominal compounds in germanic

langfachs, long-haired (Gl. II, 436, 31; 692, 1, etc.).
langzip, long-lived (K, Ra, 204, 12); in later texts langlibi.
langmuot, long-suffering (Pa, K, 44, 39; Gl. I, 521, 32).
mikhilmuot, magnanimous (K, R, 206, 25, etc.).
oilmot, humble (Pa, 2, 12); in all other texts in the extended
form.
slehtmuat, simple (Pa, 8, 6); in K, Ra, 8, 6, in the extended form
-moati.
wanahel, infirm (T.B.N.).
wanuwafan, unarmed (K, 189, 3); a calque from nerrmis.1

It will be seen that there are only a few relics of the original
pure Bahuvrihi compounds in OHG, and that the type is kept
alive by loan-translations from Latin (e.g. goldfahs, mikhil-
muot, langmuot, from auricomus, magnanimus, longanimus).
Apart from unarmherz, which as a borrowing is a special case,
all the extant pure Bahuvrhis have a masc. or neuter -a noun
in the second part. All nouns of other declensions and all Bahu-
vrhis with a numeral as the first member receive in OHG a
suffix extension.2

The pure Bahuvrihi formation survives in the MHG. period,
e.g. barmuoz, barhoubet, valevahs, vrómuet, kleinmuot, wankelmuot,
but the type is rare. In Modern German these formations are

1 If the adjective appears in the inflected form, it is impossible to
tell whether it is a pure Bahuvrihi or an extended -ja formation.
Fabian (pp. 216 ff.) includes the following a stems in his list of pure
Bahuvrhis: vierort, four-cornered; driotert, triangular; driszozia,
N. I. 458, 19; fiorschob, four-cornered (in the inflected forms in Gl. II,
29, 39, and N. I. 458, 19); manigscob, many-cornered (in the form
manigscobin, N. I. 807, 31). It should be noted that all these compounds
have numerals or words like numerals in the first part, and these norm-
ally receive the -ja ending in OHG. (with the exception of those ending
in -falt which had become a suffix). Since the form of these words
does not allow us to judge to which declension they belonged, it
should be assumed that they obey the usual principle governing the
numeral Bahuvrhis in West Germanic and were declined according to the -ja
decension.

2 Fabian again includes some inflected forms with a weak noun in
the second part under the pure Bahuvrhis: zwichamor, bicorpor
(Gl. IV, 40, 33): blehenouge, lippus (Gl. IV, 69, 5, etc.); but see MHG.
blehenouge: einoug, lippus (Gl. III, 434, 46); siroaug, lippus (Gl. I,
344, 50), but see sirougi; wehenouge, lippus (Gl. IV, 257, 44); drizina
three-pronged (N). Again, since there is no clear example of a pure
Bahuvirihi formed with a weak noun in OHG., these formations should
be considered as -ja stems, and in fact it can be shown in some cases
that the -ja stems did exist (e.g. sirougi, blehenouge).

the morphology of the compounds

no longer productive and isolated remnants survive only in the
words barfuss, barhaupt, and the suffixes -falt, -facht.

pure bahuvrihi in olg.

It will have been noticed that the pure Bahuvrhis are not
found in the OHG. rhyming verse, but the OLG. Helien
and Genesis, which are more archaic in this respect than Otfried,
preserve many examples of this original type:
dolmod, foolish (Hel. 3722, 5237).
fronmod, joyful (Hel. 1163, 2062, etc.): cf. OHG. frawamuati.
geilter, insolent (Hel. 221, 5572): Fabian (p. 218) quotes an
OHG. geilherz which he deduces from geilherzi. As
the weak nouns have the -ja suffix in the Bahuvrihi compound,
it is more likely that the OHG. form was geilherzi.
geilmod, insolent (Hel. 3928): also in the extended form geilmódig
(Hel. 4948).
gladmod, joyful (Hel. 2007C, 2737): in the extended form
 Gladmoud, Hel. 2007M (cf. OHG. glatamuati).
gramhert, hostile (Hel. 2321).
hardmód, bold (Gen. 120): the Hel. has the extended form
hardmódig.
helagerah, pious (Hel. 2801).
hruuwigmod, sorrowful (Hel. 4446, 4718).
jamarmod, sorrowful (Gen. 59, Hel. 2800, etc.).
séragmod, sorrowful (Hel. 822, 1114, etc.).
slémód, cruel (Hel. 630, 703, etc.): also in the extended form
slémódig, Hel. 5247.
starkmód, valiant (Hel. 5221).
twirsmód, bold (Hel. 4737, 4870).
wekmód, afraid (Hel. 4692).
wrémód, angry (Hel. 5210).

And from the LG. glosses:
fitiföt, white-footed (of a horse), Gl. II, 717, 44.

The type was therefore productive in OLG. and it will be
noticed that the second members are limited to masc. and
neuter -a nouns and nouns of the consonantal declension. As
would be expected from the usage in Gothic there are no nouns of
the -ja, jā, jan declensions in the second part and no feminines.
A few isolated remnants of the pure Bahuvrhis survive in
MLG.: barvōt, vērkant, vērort, ōlmot.
SUFFIX EXTENSION IN OHG. AND OLG.

It has already been shown that there are certain Bahuvrihis which are regularly extended in OHG. and OLG., namely the numeral compounds, those formed with a fem. noun or one of the -ja, or -jan declension in the second part, and with the exception of OHG. armherz, OLG. gelhart, gramhert, those formed with an -an declension noun in the second part. But this suffix extension has also influenced the pure Bahuvrihis with a masc. or neuter -a declension noun in the second part, and in fact this becomes the normal type in the earliest records of OHG. (e.g. dionuotit, K, Ra, B). The examples of the -ja extension in OHG. are too numerous to quote in full, but we may examine the usage in the Heliand and Genesis, and compare it with that in Otfrid. The following -ja extensions are found in the OLG. alliterative poetry:

ënwordi, enwurdi, agreed, unanimous (Hel. 3043, 4169, 5173).

The Bahuvrihis with the neuter -a noun word in the second part seem to have been transferred to the -ja declension in Primitive West Germanic. It will be shown below that all the Bahuvrihis of this type in OE. except byrneword have the suffix extension, and there is one example of the type in OHG. wârwurti (Tatian). 1 Although the extension is common West Germanic, it does not go back to Primitive Germanic (see the Gothic formations in -waurds, and the ON. in -ordr).

elilendi, foreign (Hel. 345), also common West Germanic: see OHG. elilenti, OE. elinde.

gladmuot, joyful (Hel. 2007M): see OHG. glatamuot, but OLG. gladmod, and OE. gladmod.

göd spraki, speaking well (Hel. 567): see OHG. gosprâhhi.

madmunuti, gentle-minded (Hel. 1305): see OHG. mammunuti.

midfrî, middle-aged (Hel. 3476): see OHG. mittiferali, but compare OLG. hélagferal.

ôdmôdi, humble (Hel. 1556): see OHG. ôtmuot, but OE. êadmod.

slîdwordi, speaking evil words (Hel. 549): see enwurdi.

In Otfrid this suffix extension by -ja forms the normal type, and with the exception of ôtmuotig no other suffix extensions are found there. The -ja extension survives in MHG. where there are a large number of examples (see Fabian, pp. 274 ff.), but is obsolete in Modern German. It seems to have died down earlier in LG. as there are only two examples from MLG. ellande, ôtmôde.

-ig Extensions in OHG. and OLG.

It has been suggested by Wackernagel and Hirt that the -ig extensions of the pure Bahuvrihi go back to Primitive Indo-Germanic, but it has already been shown that there are no examples of this type in Gothic. Although the type becomes very common in late OHG., there are only three examples in 8th and 9th century texts: einstrîlig (Rb. I, 374, 28; Jc. II, 51, 55); einwilîlig (Rb. I, 318, 8; Re. Jb. II, 317, 34); ôtmuotig (Is. T. O.). Of these three examples the first is doubtful as it may be a derivative from the noun einstrît (Re. Jb. II, 316, 55) and not an extension of the Bahuvrihi einstrît. The third is borrowed from OE. and may on that account have been treated differently from the normal type. Only the second cannot be interpreted other than as an extension of the Bahuvrihi einwilît (R, 227, 17). In late OHG. the -ig extension becomes very common and is the only type which survives and is still productive in Modern German.

Although the Heliand and Genesis preserve the original pure Bahuvrihis, they are less archaic than the 9th century OHG. texts in that the -ig extension is found there:

elilandig (Hel. 5139); gélmôdîg (Hel. 4948); hardmôdîg (Hel. 3137); stîdôdîg (Hel. 5247), and all compounds in -hugdîg (arm-, balo-, gram-, nîð-, wrêð-).

In the use of the extended form -hugdîg the OLG. poetry is in line with OE. and ON. where only one unextended form is recorded (OE. stîdôyd, determined, Jul. 654). Extended forms in -môdîg are found in OE. and ON. poetry but are not common, and the extension can hardly be ascribed to Primitive Germanic.

Participle Extensions in OHG. and OLG.

The extensions by the participle ending are not found in OHG. or OLG. or at any later period in HG. 1 The participle

1 The OHG. wârwortër (R, 263, 15) may be a form of wârwort or wârworts.
extension is, however, found in MLG. and MDu., e.g. MLG. schariegge, MDu. eingenget, and although similar formations are recorded in OE. and ON., they can hardly be ascribed to Primitive Germanic or Primary West Germanic, and are to be regarded as an independent development in each language.

**-līh Extensions in OHG.**

The -līh extensions of the Bahućrīhis never became a common type in HG. and are not recorded at all in OLG., but the few examples in OHG. are found, curiously enough, in early texts and not in late ones. The available evidence, although scanty, suggests that the extension was first made by the adverbial suffix -līh, and the adjectives may be back-formations from these adverbs:

*diomualiltīhō (B.), ebanamualiltīhō (Rb.), einvādtīhō (T.), ein-streitlichō (K. and 10th cent. glosses).*

There is one clear adjective formation: *frīhaltsīh (R, 201, 22),* but this may be a derivative from the substantive Bahućrīhi *frīhalts (K.B.)* and not an extension of the adjective Bahućrīhi.

**Pure Bahućrīhi in OE.**

The pure Bahućrīhi are very numerous in OE. and the type was alive and productive until the end of the OE. period. In fact, unlike OHG. the suffix extensions are less numerous in OE. than the pure Bahućrīhi. The reason for this is that the original type survives in the archaic alliterative poetry, although as in OHG. it is not entirely obsolete in prose. The following second members are recorded in OE.:

(a) masc. or neuter -a stems: *-bōrd (only in fāmigbōrd), -bōsm (only in fāmoglobms), -brōst (only in byledbrōst), -fex, -ferō, -hād (in sāmhād, wānhāl), -heals, -heord, -hilt (an old -i declension noun, only in seolofhilt), -hīlōr, -lāst, -loc, -mōld, -ød, -rōd, -reord (only in elreord), -sceaf (only in langscscafe), -sīd, -stefn, -ṣēar, -sword (only in byrhwotor).

(b) old consonantal stems: *-fōl, -lōd.*

(c) weak masc. and neuters: *-hoort, -ham (only in sīcrham).*

(d) fem. -ō stems: *-fōm (in gearofōm), -pād (in hasūpād, salūpād), -wamō (in dyreīvwamō) and possibly -fōrm in swīōwōrm.*

(e) fem. -ī stems: only stōhyg (but hygē is also a neuter in OE.).

**The Morphology of the Compounds**

The evidence from OE. is in line with that from Gothic. By far the majority of the examples are formed with masc. or neuter -a stems in the second part, and only a few remnants of the pure Bahućrīhi with weak nouns or feminine nouns in the second part survive in the archaic alliterative poetry. All the Bahućrīhi formed with numerals and all those with -ja, -jō, or -jān stems have a suffix extension.

**-ja Extension in OE.**

The -ja extension is found along with other extensions in all numeral Bahućrīhi, and all fem. or weak nouns not recorded above (e.g. -tege, -hende, -sprēce), and all -ja nouns (e.g. -hīwe), but unlike OHG. only a few of the masc. and neuter -a stems receive this suffix extension, and it is significant that they are mostly recorded in prose only:

*ellende (in poetry only in the late Met.), ēadmēde (in poetry only in the late Ps.), letrēde (CP.), langlife (not in poetry), samnēlē (not in poetry), samswēge (not in poetry), sídfēxē (not in poetry), -wyrde (in poetry only in faegervoerde in the late poem FT.) compare the poetic formation byrhtwoorde.*

In addition there are three -ja extensions in prose of the old consonantal noun fōt: *clīferfēte, flæxfēte, flōhtenfēte.* The -ja extension in OE. is therefore mainly a prose formation; the OE. alliterative poetry preserves almost intact the pure Bahućrīhi with a masc. or neuter -a stem in the second part which have disappeared from the OHG. rhyming poetry and were already on the decline in the OLG. alliterative poetry.

**-ig Extension in OE.**

The -ig extension is rare in OE., although it is found in early poetry in the compounds with -hīdig. The other examples

1 Bahućrīhi formed with a -ja or -jō noun with the West Germanic consonantal doubling, e.g. -neb, -egī, cannot be proved to have had the -ja formation, since they have been transferred to the -a declension along with the adjectives of similar formation, e.g. mid, gesēb.

2 Compounds with -fēdēme in B. and other early poems cannot be considered an exception to this principle, as the simplex fēdēmi is both feminine and masculine.

3 Bahućrīhi with this second member invariably have the -ig extension in OLG. and ON. If it were not for the existence of the OE. stōhyg, one would be inclined to doubt whether these compounds do go back to pure Bahućrīhi. Some of them may indeed be derivatives from compound nouns, e.g. ON. iltōdrīgr.
of the extension in OE are: ēadmōdīg (Cri. and prose); elreordīg (And. and prose); gearowyrdīg (late prose); tilmōdīg (Gen.) and probably hearðstālīg, wansālīg, although no pure Bahuvrihis with sæl are extant.\footnote{Storch (p. 61) regards the compounds in -ēadīg, cearīg, -craefīg, -spēdīg as derivatives from Bahuvrihis, but no pure Bahuvrihis with these second members are found, and some of the formations may be derivatives from compound nouns, e.g. OLG. mōdkarā, mōdkarag. It is possible that facencraefīg is a Bahuvrihi extension, since the formation contains a past participle in the first part (see pp. 201 ff.).}

\textit{-īc Extension in OE.}

The -īc extension is rare in OE. and the few examples which are recorded occur only in prose: ānnōdlīc, ānrādīlic(e), ēadmōdlīc, fasrādīliche, langmōdlīc, rūmmōdlīc(e). Some of the formations are found only with the adverbial ending, and as in OHG. the type may have developed from the adverbs.

\textit{Participle Extension in OE.}

The participle extension is the normal mode of extending the Bahuvrihis in OE., and it survives down to modern Engl. where it is still productive. The formation is found mainly in prose, but there is one early example in poetry from Beowulf. As far as can be observed there is no limitation in the type of Bahuvrihi which may be extended in this way. Storch asserts (p. 69) that no numeral Bahuvrihis are extended by the participle ending, but the following record of the formations in OE. will show that that is not the case:

\begin{itemize}
  \item anēgode (AE.), ānteled (Lchd.), blæceaxede (AE. H.), gold-hilled (Rd.), hwihtilced (Rd.), ilgocced (W.-W.), langswored, micelhēafdede (W.-W.), rēadstałe (Lchd.), searcpeced (AE.), sceolhēađede (AE.), siđađned (B.), siđeaxede (AE.), siexhyrnede (W.-W. 179, 13), twiheafdede (AE.), ðriheafdede (AE.), wōhhandede (W.-W.), wōhfordede (W.-W.).
\end{itemize}

\textit{Pure Bahuvrihis in ON.}

As the ON. texts are relatively late they afford little evidence on the original form of the Bahuvrihi compounds, but it is noticeable that the pure Bahuvrihis which do survive all have strong masc. or neuter nouns of the -a or -i declensions in the second part, e.g. berbeinn (Edda), ðogglītr (Edda), flāðrōr (Edda), gaghals (Edda), lāðeinn, hāleggr, hādrāðr (Edda), mjōbeinn, snarrāðr (Edda), mjōkordr, rētordr, þufjallr (Edda).

\textit{-ja Extension in ON.}

As the -ja adjectives have become identical with the -a declension adjectives in ON. the -ja extension can only be detected from the Umlaut of the root syllable, e.g. einhendr, einnātr, mjōeygr, vagleygr, etc.

\textit{-igr, -ugr Extension in ON.}

The extension of Bahuvrihis with this suffix is rare in the early Norse poetry, but the examples are similar in character to those in OE. and OLG. The following appear with suffix extension in the Edda: all compounds with -ūdīg (see OE. -hūdīg, OLG. -hūdīg), hādmōdūgr, prūdmōdūgr.

\textit{Participle Extensions in ON.}

As in OE. the participle extension is the normal form of the extended Bahuvrihis in ON. and is well represented in the Edda: bjarthaddādr, bjartītādr, fjölhosfādr, frōðgēmdādr, grāserjādr, hārdhūgdādr, kaldrīfjādr, langhosfādr, mjōŋngrādr, sexhosfādr, stōrhūgdādr, svinnhūgdādr, ulfhūgdādr, þrūhfosfādr.

This formation survives into the modern Scandinavian languages where the examples are innumerable.

The consideration of the Bahuvrihi extensions in the Germanic languages has shown that the -ja extension was first used with those nouns which already had a j suffix, and this formation undoubtedly goes back to Primitive Germanic. The -ja suffix was later added to weak nouns of the -an class and then to feminines of the -ō declension. Most of the extensions of the masc. and neuter -a nouns took place independently in the several languages, although the process may have begun in Primitive West Germanic (see formations in OE. -wyrde, OHG. -wurti). The -ig extension is rare in early texts and is not found at all in Gothic, so that there is no reason to suppose that it was used in Primitive Germanic. The other suffix extensions are probably independent developments of the several languages.
Reversed Bahuvrīhis

Another method which was adopted to remove the discrepancy between the declension of the simplex and that of the Bahuvrīhi compound was the remodelling of the compound on the analogy of the compounds consisting of a substantive and an adjective. These formations have been termed 'reversed Bahuvrīhi,' e.g. OE. glæwuð, mōdglēaw, German Ratkehlchen, Kehlrotchen. It is difficult to decide which compounds in the early periods of Germanic arose in this way as some of the formations may be recorded only in the reversed form (e.g. OE. compounds in hyge-), and once the type was in existence many analogous formations were made which did not go back to older Bahuvrīhi compounds. It is, for instance, likely that the numerous compounds ending in OHG. -lōs, OE. -lēas, etc., arose in this way (see Gothic lausawaurs, etc.). Grewolds has already pointed out that all the Gothic compounds in -laus with the exception of andilaus translate Greek Bahuvrīhi formations.

The following account of the reversal in the Germanic languages may give some idea of the extent to which this method of word-formation was used.

The certain examples from OHG. and OLG. are rare, but the following can be proved to be reversals:

mutozgal, insolent (Gl. II, 715, 49), compared with OLG. gēlmōd, OE. gālmōd.

mōdstark, hostile (Hel. 4122), compared with OLG. starkmōd, OHG. starcmuot.

nasacrumb, crooked-nosed (Gl. III, 384, 41), compared with crumbnasi (Gl. II, 683, 69, etc.).

hugiderbi, valiant (Hel. 2121); hugi- is found only in the reversed form in West Germanic, but see the ON. samhugi, agreed, ofrīhugi, a courageous person.

wordspáhi, eloquent (Hel. 563, etc.); wordvísi, eloquent (Hel. 1433); not found as Bahuvrīhi, but see the numerous compounds in West Germanic with -word, -wuri in the second part.

fahsfalo, blond (Gl. IV, 203, 12), compared with fahofahs.

Old English

The following can be proved to be reversed Bahuvrīhi:

ferhōglēaw, prudent (El. Jud.), compared with glēawferhō.

ferhōwērig, soul-weary (El.), compared with wērigferhō.

mōdgermonor, sorrowful (B. And.), compared with gemonmōd.

mōdglēaw, joyful (Gu.), compared with gladmōd.

mōdglēaw, wise (Sol.), compared with glēawmōd.

mōdhwacæt, brave (Exod. Dan.), compared with hweatmōd.

mōdswēt, resolute (Ps.), compared with swōdmōd.

mōdseoc, sick at heart (Gen.), compared with scentmōd.

rēdfast, resolute (AE.), compared with fastrād.

Old Norse

Reversed Bahuvrīhi are very common in ON., especially in poetry, although the original formations with which they may be compared are not often extant. The following may serve to illustrate the type:

hārfragr, fair-haired (compared with fagrhār), orðóðr, kindly in speech (compared with göðorðr), orðóþr, boasting (compared with stórðorðr), hugblaur, hugblódur, ráðsnor, ráðspakr, ráðsviðr, ráðviss.
CHAPTER III

THE COMPOSITION VOWEL

The comparison between the early Germanic compounds has revealed that no secondary compounds (i.e., compounds with a case form in the first part) existed in Primitive Germanic. The Primitive Germanic compounds were all primary compounds, the first part of which appeared in the pure stem form without case ending (e.g., Gothic matibalgs (-i stem), fōtubaurd (-u stem)). How far there were exceptions to this principle will be shown by an examination of the composition vowel in the extant texts of Germanic, but it may be said at once that in Primitive Germanic the -n stems which should have no composition vowel adopted the vowel of the -a stems (e.g., Gothic gumakunds). This analogical influence appears to have taken place in pre-Germanic times, and it is not likely that any light will be thrown on the matter by a consideration of the Germanic material alone. A similar analogical influence took place in Greek ἀκρότον: ἀκμών, and Olind.: rājan, from rājan. The reason for this, suggested by Hirt, is that the suffix -en is a secondary addition to the -a stems, and that these had established themselves in the compounds before the development of the -n stems.

The treatment of this composition vowel in the several Germanic languages is by no means uniform and the most varying explanations for these irregularities have been advanced. Before discussing the later developments in the composition vowel, we may endeavour to obtain some idea of the form of the vowel in Primitive Germanic and the principles governing its appearance or disappearance by an examination of the earliest evidence from the Runic inscriptions and the Germanic personal names preserved in Latin and Greek sources.

1 Hirt, Indogermanische Grammatik, IV, § 30a.
vowel is lost and the j changed to i, but this development belongs to the history of the Norse languages.

-i stems: The only evidence for the treatment of the -i stems is provided by two compounds from the 6th and 7th cent. where the stem-vowel i is retained after a short root syllable:

kunimiu(n)du, nom. prop. (Tjurkö Bracteate, 7th cent.). The first part of this compound is the -i stem kun (not the -ja stem kunja- (see the East Gothic name Cunigastus, and the ON. kon).

saligastir, nom. prop. (Berga Stone, 6th cent.).

-u stems: The vowel u of the -u stems was retained in the bridge of the compound in the earliest inscriptions. It was dropped after long stems by the 8th century:

ansugisalas, nom. prop. (Kragehul Lance, c. 400).

hagustaldaR, nom. prop. (?)(Kjölevig Stone, 6th cent.).

hadulaikar, nom. prop. (Kjölevig Stone).

elvst-pewar, nom. prop. (Torsbjerg Scabbard, c. 300).

wodurde, nom. prop. (Tune Stone, 5th cent.); for the first part see Gothic wōdā, OE. wōd.

Vowel dropped:

asmu(n)tl, nom. prop. (Sölvesborg Stone, 8th cent.).

-ō stems: There are no examples of the -ō stems in the first part of the Runic compounds. Jōhannesson includes here the compounds with hadu-, but this is a -u stem (see ON. Hōdr, OE. head). On faruysa, the first part of which has been connected with the OHG. fara, see above under the -a stems. There is, therefore, no justification for Jōhannesson's statement (op. cit., p. 7) that in Primitive Norse the -ō stems had the vowel u in the compounds. In fact the evidence from the other Germanic languages proves that the original vowel was o, later a.

1 Jōhannesson, Die Komposita im Isländischen, p. 6, includes under the -i stems naseu, naum (Eggjum Stone, c. 700). The reading is doubtful, but if the words are compounds the first part is the -wa stem ON. nádr, Gothic nās, corpse. Jōhannesson also includes under the -i stems the compound rhōaðr, nom. prop. (Vatn Stone, 8th cent.). This name is, however, formed with the ON. hrōdr (-a stem) in the first part (see also OHG. Hruodagar, Hruodawini). The word is an -i stem only in OE. hrōd.

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-wa stems: These were presumably treated like the -a stems. The only certain example is fraðaradur, nom. prop. (Møjabro Stone, 6th cent.), for the first part see OHG. frō, ON. frár.

-u stems: The only certain example is anuana, nom. prop. (Norwegian Stone, c. 600), the first part of which is the OHG. anón (forefather). It will be shown later that the composition vowel disappeared in early Germanic before a word beginning with a w, which was vocalised between two vowels (see the nom. prop. Gornarius, 4th cent.).

The evidence from the Runic inscriptions shows that the composition vowel was dropped first after a long stem syllable. This process began in Primitive Norse about A.D. 600 and belongs therefore to the history of the Norse composition vowel. In the earliest inscriptions, and presumably in Primitive Germanic, the vowel was always retained (except before a vowel or vocalised w) and there is nothing to suggest, as is sometimes asserted (see below, p. 274 f.), that another type of primary compound existed in Primitive Germanic in which the vowel was dropped.

Early Proper Names 1

The evidence of the early proper names on the composition vowel must be used with considerable caution as they were written down by Latin and Greek writers who may have modified the forms according to the principles of word-formation in their languages. Also the proper names are often handed down in a traditional form, and the treatment of the composition vowel in them may not be a true reflection of the spoken language. On this account the names are more useful in the determination of the original form of the composition vowel rather than in the dating of the loss of the vowel.

It has already been pointed out by Schönfeld that in the names recorded before the second half of the first century A.D. the vowel of the -a, -ja, and -ō stems appears as o, e.g. Marcomannus, Ariovistus. It is suggested by Schönfeld that this vowel is the original Indo-Germanic o, which in stressed syllables had become a. 2 Later appearances of this o Schönfeld

1 The account of the early proper names is based on the collection in Schönfeld, Allgermanische Personen- und Völkernamen, Heidelberg, 1911.

2 Schönfeld, p. xvii. See also Kluge, U.K., § 22; Hirt, Handbuch des Urgerm., I., § 31. These early names have been collected by Bremer, IF. 14, 363, who explains them as Celticisms.
explains as traditional spellings, or as Greek or Latin sound-
substitutions, or as assimilations to neighbouring vowels. It
has, however, been pointed out by Eulenburg (IF. 36, 35)
that the o is most frequently retained before a following labial
sound (e.g. Langobardi, Ballomarius, Bainobaudes), and it is
suggested that the Indo-Germ. o may have survived in this
position in OHG. and OLG. (e.g. gotowebbi, alomahtig). The
matter will be further considered in the discussion of the OHG.
and OLG. composition vowel, and it may be sufficient to note
here that the possibility of the retention of the o in traditional
compounds in OHG. and OLG. exists.1

-a stems: The -a stems have o or a in the bridge of the
compound, e.g. Dagobertus, Dagalaisus, etc. This vowel may
be dropped before h, w, or another vowel, and if it follows an
unstressed syllable, e.g. Roteldis (from Rothildis), Dagualdis,
Baudulfus. The dropping of the vowel after the unstressed
syllable is not invariably, but is found in the earliest names:
Ermunduri (1st cent. b.c.), Ermenrichus (Amm. Marc. 4th cent.),
but compare Athanaricus (4th-6th cent.); Athalaricus (6th cent.).

-ja stems: The composition vowel is normally retained
together with the j as jo or ja. From the 4th century onwards
examples of forms without a composition vowel after a long stem
syllable, and from the 6th century after a short stem syllable are
found. If the vowel is dropped, the preceding j is vocalised to i.
Examples: Hariobaudes (4th and 5th cent.), Chariovalda
(Tacitus), Inguiomerus (Tacitus), Ariaricus (4th to 6th cent.).
Examples of dropped vowel after long syllable: Arumlauzi
(4th cent.) from *armja (sleeve), Hunimundus (6th cent.);
after a short syllable: Altiberga (6th cent.), Chariberus (6th cent.).
The vowel is also dropped in early texts under the same
circumstances as the -a stems, i.e. before h, w, or a vowel,
and following an unstressed syllable, e.g. Angrivarrii (Tacitus).

-wa stems: There are no certain examples of these stems in
the first part of the compounds. A possible formation of this
kind is Artvagastes (5th cent.).

1 Kluge, Ug., § 22, tries to establish a dialectal difference between
Gothic names with a in Amm. Marc. and non-Gothic names with o,
e.g. Alalicus, Alalicus, Ariaricus, compared with Gundomadus, Chono-
domarius, Hariobaudes, Vadomarius, Mallobaudes, Teutomerus, but it
should be noted that all the examples of the o forms which he quotes
have a labial following the vowel, and the difference is therefore a
phonological one rather than a dialectal one.

THE COMPOSITION VOWEL

-ø stems: The fem. -ø stems have the vowel o or a in
the bridge of the compound, e.g. Theodoricus (down to 7th cent.),
Theodobertus (6th cent.), Theodagunda (6th cent.).

-wø stems: The only certain example is Badvarius (6th cent.),
the first part of which is the Germanic *badbo. In this ex-
ample the composition vowel has been dropped before the
vocalic Anlaut of the second member.

-jø stems: The only example of a compound with a short
stem syllable is Aquilus (5th cent.) in which the vowel has been
dropped before the vocalic Anlaut of the second member.
After a long root syllable the vowel is dropped from the 6th
cent. onwards: Hildibertus (6th cent.), Heldefredus (6th cent.),
Hildirix (6th cent.), Gundibadus (6th cent.).

-i stems: The -i stems keep the i of the stem in the comp-
ounds: Cunigastus (6th cent.), Conimundus (6th cent.).

-u stems: The only certain -u stems which appear in the
first part of the compounds have the stem vowel i, and this
appears to have influenced the composition vowel which appears
as i, e.g. Fili-, Sidi-, Sisi-, Vidi-, Visi-. The Gothic name
Fripareiks contains an old -a stem in the first part (see OE.
frið, ON. frið).

-s stems: As far as we can judge from the scanty material,
the -s stems had no composition vowel in the compound, e.g.
Dagistheus (5th cent.), Thorismodus (6th cent.), Sigimerus,
assimilated from Sigismerus (Tacitus).

-n stems: The -n stems were rare in the compounds, the
only certain example being Arahararius (4th cent.) from aro
(eagle). In Gomoarius (4th cent.) the first part is possibly the
Gothic guma (man) with the original composition vowel retained
as o.

From the early Runic inscriptions and personal names it is
evident that the composition vowel was retained in Primitive
Germanic except before h, w, or a vowel, and in the third syllable
of a polysyllabic word. The -a, -wa, -ja, -ø, -jø, and -n stems
always had the vowel o or later a in the bridge of the compound;
the -i stems had i, and the -u stems u, whilst the -s stems had no
composition vowel. In these early sources there is no trace
of any dropping of the composition vowel, except under the
conditions mentioned above, until about the 4th century.

1 Forms as Gundobadus, Gunthamundus are formed with an -ø stem
*gunpod, not with the -jø stem. See Wilmanns, I, § 319, and the notes
on gundisano, gudhano, p. 306 below.
There is therefore no need to assume the existence in Primitive German of another type of compound in which the composition vowel was lost. It will be seen when the Gothic composition vowel is examined that certain writers have assumed a type of compound in Primitive Germanic which like the OInd. compounds bore the accent on the second part, and have explained in this way the loss of the composition vowel in Gothic. An elaborate scheme of the accentuation of the Germanic compounds was drawn up by Kremer 1 who tried to prove that certain Germanic Determinatives—which, Kremer did not precisely define—were oxytoned. The above examination of the composition vowel in the earliest Runic inscriptions and personal names shows that there is no need for any such assumption, and in fact no evidence in its favour. 2 The loss of this composition vowel belongs to the history of the several Germanic languages, and for that reason it is impossible to fix a definite time when it began from the evidence of the personal names. It has been shown, however, that there was a clear tendency to drop the composition vowel after a long syllable, and we may now turn to the independent Germanic languages and see whether the views expressed above are borne out by the treatment of the composition vowel there.

1 J. Kremer, Zur Behandlung der ersten Compositionsglieder in der germanischen Nominalcomposition, PBB. 8, 377 ff.
2 Kluge, Ugr., § 222b, speaks of a 'younger shortened type of compound without composition vowel,' which was already in existence in Primitive Germanic. He quotes as examples: carrago, Ernumunduri, Sathchamiae, Boiheimum. It will be noted that in all these examples the composition vowel preceded a h, or stood in the third syllable. Kluge also quotes the name Vagdauercustis, explaining the second part as weraksustis (see OLG, gumkust), but the etymology is doubtful. Schönfeld, e.g., explains veercustis as a derivative from the German werka, and not as a compound. Even if Kluge's etymology is correct, special conditions obtain, as veercustis would be the second member of a triple compound in which the accent might be shifted on to -custis, but it would be quite incorrect to assume from this example the existence of a type of compound with the accent on the second member. Kluge is supported by Much, ZsgA. 55, 284, who also quotes as early examples of the loss of the composition vowel: Albruna (Tacitus) and Gutfusida (Gothic Calendar). The former is a fiction of the editors of Tacitus for the MS. form Aurinia, and the latter is a late Gothic name which belongs to the history of the Gothic composition vowel.

The general principles governing the composition vowel in Gothic are as follows. 1 The -a, -á, and -ú stems have the vowel a in the bridge of the compound, e.g. akrualaus, airjukunds, gumakunds. The -ja and -jó stems have ja after a short stem syllable, i after a long, e.g. wadjuböks, andilaus, pásunifás. The -i stems have i after a short stem syllable, e.g. matibals, and judging from the one example recorded this i may disappear after a long stem syllable, e.g. brúfás.

The -u stems retain the u invariably, e.g. qipulafts, handuwaurts.

The -s stems have no vowel following the s, e.g. sigistaun, ķrutsfíll.

Judging from brūpruubón the -r stems had the weakest form of the stem with the composition vowel u.

There are certain irregularities in the treatment of these composition vowels which will be discussed later, and divergent views have been advanced in explanation of them. It is sufficient to note at the moment that there is with certain stems an indubitable connection between the loss or retention of the composition vowel and the length of the stem syllable.

Two theories have been advanced to explain the loss of the composition vowel in certain Gothic compounds.

According to the first theory which derives ultimately from Kremer's article in PBB. 8, 317 ff., the vowel is lost in those compounds which had the main stress on the second member. 2 The theory rests on an unprovable hypothesis which cannot be absolutely refuted. The treatment of the prefix andan- in the verbal compounds, e.g. andebeita, compared with the nominal compound andanéni, shows that the shifting of the accent on to the second member would cause the loss of the vowel in the bridge of the compound, but the treatment of the nominal compounds in the alliterative poetry shows beyond

1 See Streitberg, Golisches Elementarbuch, 6th ed. § 233.
2 See especially Hirt, Handbuch des Urgerman. I, § 80, and R. C. Boer, Over i en u syncope in het Golisch, Neophil. 2, 266 ff. See Boer, p. 271: 'In compotitum zijn beide vocalen na den hoofdtoon bewaard, maar er is reden om te vermoeden dat zii in toonloze syllaben onmiddellijk voor den hoofdtoon gesyncopeerd zijn.' Hirt finds support for this theory in the shifting of the main stress on to the second member of compounds in Swedish investigated by Kock, Die alt- und neuschwedische Akzentuierung, 1901.
doubt that they were invariably stressed on the first member.\footnote{This point is discussed in Part III, Chap. iii.} Moreover, there are examples of the disappearance of the vowel in certain Bahuvrhi compounds in Gothic, e.g. lasintajus, anafalps, lausqips, which in Primitive Indo-Germanic were undoubtedly stressed on the first member (see Hirt, Indogerm. Gramm. IV, § 17). If, therefore, it is possible to advance another reasonable explanation of the loss of the composition vowel in these Gothic compounds, it is to be preferred to the unproved hypothesis that certain Germanic compounds—which, has never been precisely defined—had the main stress on the second member.

A second theory has been advanced by Kroesch\footnote{S. Kroesch, The Formation of Compound Words in Gothic, Mod. Phil. 5, 377-82.} who maintains that the composition vowel was dropped in Gothic after long stem syllables or polysyllabic stems, and was retained after short stems. Exceptions to this rule are, according to Kroesch, later formations made when the original principle was not understood.\footnote{This is accepted with a few modifications by Streitberg, loc. cit., and by Jöhannesson, Die Komposita im Isländischen, p. 5.} There are, however, grave objections to this generalisation, although there is undoubtedly a connection between the loss or retention of the composition vowel and the length of the stem syllable. Firstly, Kroesch explains all the examples of the retention of the composition vowel after a long stem as new formations made on the model of Greek compounds or single words. In Part I of this work the following Gothic compounds have been proved by the comparison with other Germanic languages to be old formations: nautipaurits, augadaur, naudiband, figgragulph, jötubaurd. We are asked by Kroesch to believe that these and similar compounds are new formations made on the analogy of Greek words. Secondly, Kroesch does not explain why, if the vowel was dropped after a long syllable, the nominal compounds with the prefix anda invariably retain the vowel. Although there is some truth in Kroesch’s statement, it is clearly a too wide generalisation.

We may now turn to the examination of the irregularities in the treatment of the Gothic composition vowel and try to determine the principles which were at work.

(a) The composition vowel may disappear before a vowel in the Anlaut of the second member of the compound:

allandjō, haimopl, and the prefix compound andaugiba. The only exception to this is the new coining galiuga-apautialus.

(b) The composition vowel may disappear before a h in the Anlaut of the second member:

frethals, gudhís, laushandjá, haubahirts, puthaurn.

It has been shown by Streitberg, IF. 27, 156 and Got. Elementarbuch, § 27b, that h in this position was weakly articulated and often disappeared, and similar disappearances of the composition vowel have been observed in the discussion of the personal names.

(c) The composition vowel may disappear after a polysyllabic stem especially when the second syllable is short:

anparleiki, agliaigastaldands, manafalps, nädjungard, Mikilpáhts, haubahirpunda, piudangard, übiliitis, übilwaurds.

Certain new formations retain the vowel in this position, e.g. akranalaus, himinakunds, eisarnabandi.

(d) In a few new formations the form of the first part appears to have been influenced by the simplex, especially by the accusative form when the second member is a verbal noun:

agliaigastaldands, allivaldands, gudblóstreis, piupspillón, weinundrückia.

In addition to these examples there are other cases of the irregular disappearance of the composition vowel, the explanation of which is uncertain:

ainfals, ainlíf: possibly formed on the analogy of the other numeral compounds which have no composition vowel.

brúfals: This example may be explained as the beginning of the disappearance of the vowel of the -stems after a long stem syllable similar to the invariable rule governing the -ja stems.

haupitáhts: possibly formed on the analogy of mikilpáhts.

lausqips: possibly influenced by laushandjá.

piusaugs, niuklaus: in these two words the first part has a vocalic Anlaut which may have been responsible for the disappearance of the vowel.

In certain other cases the composition vowel which does appear is irregular, and these may be explained as formations on the analogy of other stems or due to vowel harmony:
audalaus (Codex B), compared with the normal form audilaus (Codex A). This irregular form is certainly due to the influence of the *a* of the stem syllable.

brūþrawbón (R, 12, 10), compared with the regular form brūþ-
      rulubón (Th. 4, 9). It has already been suggested by Streitberg
      that this compound has been remodelled on the analogy of
      the -a stems.

gardawaldands, mibgardawaldands : gards is an -i stem in Gothic
      and should have the composition vowel i. In this compound
      garda- may be a relic of an -a stem (OE. geard), but as the
      formation is a new one (see p. 385) it is preferable to explain
      the a as due to vowel harmony.

hrainjahairts : obviously a new formation influenced by
      the inflected forms of the -i stem adjectives to which hrains
      belongs.

lausawaurdai (Codex A) : clearly vowel harmony (see the normal
      form lausawaurdai in Codex B).

manamaurþja, manaséþps : The consonantal stems should have
      no composition vowel, and these formations have been in-
      fluenced like the -u stems by the -a nouns. The original
      formation is found in the old compound manleika.1

nahlamats : again the consonantal stem has been influenced
      by the -a nouns.

seináigairnai : a clear case of vowel harmony.

piþpíqiss, winþiskauro : these two compounds with -a stems
      in the first part may be explained by vowel harmony, or it
      is possible that they have been influenced by verbal forms
      (see p. 195).

From Gothic texts later than the Bible there is one other
example of an irregular composition vowel: frahuhilab enlarged
The first part of this compound is not extant in the Gothic
texts, but was probably an -i stem. The vowel can only be
explained by the influence of the numerous -a stems.

Despite these irregularities the treatment of the composition
vowel in Gothic is more uniform than in any other Germanic
language. This vowel, as has been shown, is normally retained,
but it dropped in the -ja and -jó stems after a long stem syllable.
This practice seems to have been extended to certain long -i

1 In view of the parallels in other Germanic languages (OHG.
manaliho, O.E. manalica) it is strange that Streitberg, Got. Elenkb., § 233,
should take the opposite view that manleika is a new coining, and that
the compounds with mana- represent the older type.

THE COMPOSITION VOWEL

stems (brūþþaps) and to a few -a stems. We have already seen
that there was similar evidence from the Runic inscriptions and
the early personal names that the composition vowel disappeared
first after long stems. The beginnings of this process are to be
observed in Gothic, and it is further developed in the West
Germanic languages. The loss of the composition vowel is
a new development which did not exist in Primitive Germanic,
and there is, therefore, no need to explain the compounds
without the composition vowel as representatives of an older
type which had the main stress on the second member.

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The old composition vowel disappears in ON. without
exception. Vowels which do appear in the bridge of the
compound are either case endings, or in compounds with -ja and -jó
stems with a long stem syllable, the vocalised j of the suffix,
e.g. erfiyja, erfiydr, hildileikr, hildimeidr, viliðyr, viliþrdr.1
But despite the absence of the composition vowel certain
conclusions can be drawn as to the time and conditions of its
disappearance from the Umlaut and breaking of the root vowel:

(a) The i Umlaut of a long syllable took place in the 7th
century. It follows therefore that compounds like kválaus,
compared with the simplex kvárn must have lost the i in
the bridge of the compound before the period of the i Umlaut (see
Noreen, § 66).

(b) The u Umlaut of a took place in a long root syllable
between the years 700-900. In cases like katthbeigr,
compared with kegr, the u of the long -u stems must have disappeared
from the compound before the period of the u Umlaut. The u
Umlaut of a in a short root syllable occurred about the year 900,
and at this time the u of the short -u stems must have been
preserved in the compounds, e.g. belviss < *bealu (see Noreen,
§ 80).

(c) The a and u breakings of *g in a long stem syllable took
place in the period 650-900. Therefore in compounds as
spellvirki, compared with spjall, and bergbui, compared with
bjarg, the composition vowel a must have disappeared from the

1 The existence of this vowel after long stems does not disprove the
contention made above that the composition vowel disappeared earlier
after a long stem than after a short one, since the vowel is not the stem
vowel.
bridge of the compound before the breaking period. The breaking of a short stem syllable took place about 900, and the a or u must have been retained in the compounds at that time since they show the breakings, e.g. gjaðmildr, fjölkunnigr (see Noreen, § 95).

This conclusion that the composition vowel disappeared first after a long stem syllable is supported by the evidence already discussed from the Runic inscriptions and from Gothic.

It has been claimed by Jóhannesson that certain vowels which appear in the bridge of the compound in ON. represent Primitive Norse forms and in some cases the original composition vowel.

Jóhannesson suggests that the compounds hœrðafjöl, hœrðalag, etc., have the old vowel of the -a stems. It is, however, hardly likely that this vowel should survive in one word, and it is therefore preferable to explain these compounds as gen. pl. forms made on the analogy of compounds like fœlafjöl, fœlabrik, fœlahhatr.1

Further there is a group of compounds in ON. with u in the bridge, e.g. bœkkjunautr, mœtunautr, skuldunautr, sessunautr, rœðunautr, etc.2 Jóhannesson maintains that the first part of these compounds contains an old instrumental form and derives a compound like skuldunautr from a Primitive Norse *skuldu-ganautaR. No such forms with instrumentals in the first part can be shown to have existed in Primitive Norse, and Jóhannesson has failed to notice that most of the compounds ending in -nautr were borrowed from MLG. (see MLG. schüdenote, MHG. madenöse rätengeröse). The compounds themselves are therefore not Primitive Norse. The explanation of the u forms is as follows. The weak feminines normally appear in the ON. compounds with the gen. case ending, e.g. tungutak, kirkjugarðr. This very popular type influenced the weak masculines in the compound, e.g. mánudagr, the fem. -ð stems, e.g. forunautr, spókudalgr,3 and finally the masc. and neuter -a stems, e.g. rœðunautr, sessunautr, etc.

1 See Jóhannesson, Die Komposita im Isländischen, p. 10.
2 For a more complete list see Jóhannesson, p. 9.
3 Jóhannesson, p. 12, considers that the u in these compounds may be the Primitive Norse composition vowel of the -ð stems, but there is no evidence to show that it ever was the composition vowel of the -ð stems. The forms gjaðmildr, gjaðfinr, quoted by Jóhannesson in support of this contention, are later analogical formations after the nom. gjað, the historically correct forms being gjaðmildr, etc.

Lastly in the compounds of an adjective and noun the first member appears often with the vowel a. This is not a composition vowel, but simply the weak nominative form of the adjective, e.g. hvítabjörn, langafasta, kaldakol, etc. The vowel u in the adjective compounds with -ligr is also not a composition vowel, but has arisen from the ending -ug, e.g. heifstuligr, hörnuligr, listuligr, risuligr.

OLD ENGLISH

As far as the present writer is aware no complete account of the OE. composition vowel has yet been given, although the general principles have often been stated.1 There are, however, many abnormal forms in the OE. texts which may be due to the most varied causes:

(i) an old composition vowel may be abnormally retained in early texts,
(ii) a sporadic glide-vowel may appear in the bridge of the compound (this explanation of the abnormal vowel applies to late texts rather than to early ones),
(iii) the formation of the compound may be influenced by the nom. form (see especially the dropping of the e of the -i stems in Northumbrian texts),
(iv) the influence of foreign languages (especially ON. in late northern texts),
(v) the influence of the secondary compounds with a genitive in the first part,
(vi) assimilation to the stem syllables.

In addition to these factors Borowski has attempted to explain the appearance or disappearance of the composition vowel from the accentuation of different types of compounds. In the following an account is given of the facts and an explanation of the abnormal forms offered, and then a criticism of Borowski's theories follows.

Before entering upon this investigation the conditions under which a sporadic glide-vowel developed in OE. may be

1 See especially Bülow, Anglistisches Elementarbuch, §§ 397, 398; N. Bergsten, A Study on Compound Substantives in English, Uppsala, 1911, pp. 31 ff.; B. Borowski, Zum Nebenakzent beim altenglischen Nominalcompositum (Sächsische Forschungsinstitute in Leipzig: Anglist. Abt. Heft II), Halle, 1921 (deals with the question from the point of view of the accentuation).
Nominal Compounds in Germanic

Considered, as in the present writer's opinion the glide vowel plays a greater part in the formation of the compounds both in OE. and in OHG. than has generally been recognised.

(a) A glide-vowel develops frequently in the combination of $t$ or $r$ and another consonant through inexact articulation. In the present writer's opinion this is one of the reasons for the very frequent abnormal development of a vowel before the suffix -le in OE. (for similar phenomena in OHG. see Gröger, § 12, who, however, gives a different explanation of the vowel).

(b) A similar glide develops between a front and back consonant, especially between $t$, $d$, or $d$ and $g$, or $k$, e.g. godcund, godecund. Similar phenomena have been observed in OHG. and OLG. by Schmid, SfdA. 51, 280 ff., who explains the vowel as arising from the phonetic resistance between groups of consonants, e.g. OHG. nahtigala. It is true phonetic resistance in heavy consonantal clusters may have played a part, but in combinations as $tg$, $dg$, etc., it is preferable to regard the vowel which develops as a glide between the front and back consonant due to the slack articulation whilst the tongue is passing from one point to another.

Substantive -a Stems

The Primitive Germanic stem vowel is normally dropped in the OE. compounds, but in early texts, especially in the Ep-Erf-Corp. Glossaries, there are several examples of vowels in the bridge of the compounds which may be regarded as relics of the old stem vowels:

dwergesost (Ep-Erf.), dwergesostile (Corp.).
gundeswilge (Ep-Erf.), gundsweisile (Corp.).
haebreblote (Ep-Erf-Corp.); in later texts haebere-
stånegella (Vesp. 101, 7); in later texts stån-.

1 See especially Jespersen, Lehrbuch der Phonetik, p. 193: 'Ebenso werden wir überall da eine Vermehrung der Silbenzahl erhalten, wo durch ungenaue Artikulation ein auch noch so kurzer Augenblick mit größerer Schallfülle in der Umgebung entsteht; das ist häufig der Fall bei den Verbindungen von $t$ and $r$ mit anderen Konsonanten; wenn z. B. im englischen Henry die Zunge nach der Aussprache des $n$ eine Spur weiter für das $r$ herabgließt als unbedingt nötig ist und daher zu diesem Laut wieder hinaufgehen muss, so wird das Wort sofort dreisüßig: (henori); ebenso wenn die Zunge bei der Öffnung des Lippenverschlusses in Gibraltar sich dem Zahnspalt nicht rasch genug nähert: (dzioro'ita) oder andern Fällen des Vokaleinschubs.'

The Composition Vowel

It is possible that the $a$ in the bridge of the compounds in Ep-Erf. represents a transition sound between the original $a$ and the $e$ of the Corp. Gl.

In other later examples the $e$ which appears is in all probability a glide:

ölþite (W-W.); äldgelot (AE. Gl.); biderip (LL.), from the normal berrip; kolleetweep (W-W.); cletreors (AE. Gl.); dægescor (Jud. 266), probably a mistake for dæges weorc; fridelas (El. 127); gangewæfre; godcund (DR. 184, 8; 198, 16), compared with the normal god-; godveget (common from Bede onwards in place of the earlier godwecb); goldefrētew (Wulfstan, 263, 3D); Ærflæd (later Laws), compared with the earlier and normal wer; Æwæculf (invariably with the vowel, but not recorded until the 11th cent.). Lastly in three compounds with the $a$ stem haft a composition vowel appears: hæfe-

clomun (Chron. 942A), hæftedöm (Met.), hæftendād (PPs.). In all three cases the compounds appear in verse and the vowel is metrically necessary. It is probably of phonetic origin like the other sporadic vowels.

Adjective -a Stems

It is at times difficult to distinguish between a compound consisting of an adjective and noun, and a syntactic phrase, especially when the words occur in glosses. In some of the following cases the compound may have arisen by the coalescing of the declined adjective and its noun:

brædatec (Ep.), bradelic (Corp.).
fulætreu (Ep.), fulætreo (Corp.).

Whether the vowel in these two cases is a composition vowel or is the weak ending of the adjective can hardly be determined.

In the following cases the vowel is probably a glide:

barefot (Wulfstan, 181, 1C).
deoregress (AE. Gl.), hælewende (Vesp. D. XIV, 55, 3; 101, 17), rēdestan (W-W.), stærblīnd (Shr.), normally stārblīnd.

1 Bergsten includes the compounds with hafte under the -ja stems, and is of the opinion that the forms have been influenced by the verbal compounds. Borowski (§ 69) thinks that the hafte- forms arose from the noun hafte with the syncopation of the $n$. Both explanations are possible, although neither seems necessary.
Otherwise the adj. -a stems lose the composition vowel in OE. like the corresponding substantives.\(^1\)

### -i Stems

The -i stems with a short stem syllable retain the stem vowel in the compound in the reduced form e; those with a long stem or with polysyllabic stems lose the vowel.

(a) **Short Stems**

In the earliest texts there are examples of the original stem vowels retained as i: hygtoncum (Leiden Riddle, North. MS.), meniscillingas (Erf.), compared with meene- in Corp., scything (Ep.), compared with scyte- in Corp.

The only irregularities which occur in the treatment of this composition vowel concern the dropping of the vowel. This phenomenon is a characteristic of Northumbrian texts where the simplex was similarly shortened (see Sievers, *Grammar of Old Engl.* § 263, 5), although it is sometimes found in other dialects. The earliest examples of it occur in the personal names of the Liber Vitae, e.g. Hygbeald, Hygbercht (see Sievers, PBB. 10, 463).

In the following appellatives the e is dropped:

**bire** : The vowel is normally retained but lost in berland (one example in a Charter), bertun (a late form in Wulfstan).

**cwida** : dropped in cwidan (two examples in the Cotton MS. of CP.).

**gyfeorn** (LL.); compare gytesöl, gytestræm.

**hepe** : The vowel is normally retained, but sometimes dropped, probably through confusion with the weak noun haga which loses its vowel in the compound, e.g. hegesuge (W-W.), hagsugge (Hpt. Gl.), hegestæf (W-W. 205, 31); hegestaw (Charter).

**hyge** : dropped only in higelest (Homl. Th.).

**hype** : The treatment of this word in the compound is peculiar. The following forms occur: hupban (W-W. 380, 6, 11th cent.; 439, 28), hypeban (Lchd. AE. Gl.), hupsea (Jud. Cra.), hype-

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1 In ealdefeard, ealdmodor and compounds with hyle- (e.g. clafre, -cyle, -gos, -hafu, -laec), the vowel has developed from the declined adjective. Borowski (§ 71) maintains that the vowel in medemicel (Greg. Dial.) and gemetemicel (DR. 50, 5) is a sporadic vowel. This is not so, as the forms have developed from medemmicel, gemetummicel, with the loss of the m of the ending em, um.
nominal compounds in germanic

stige: dropped in stigrāp (W-W. 332, 11, 11th cent.).

The vowel is also lost when the second member begins with a vowel, e.g. metern, rugern, etc.

(b) Long Stems

The vowel of the long -i-stems is lost in OE. and judging from the absence of Umlaut in compounds as sculdīhta, the vowel was lost before the Umlaut period.

The only irregularity is the sporadic appearance of a vowel in the bridge of the compound:
drecesfet, drincelēan, drecesfēd: either a sporadic vowel or the influence of the verbal compounds.
gemyndlevrēð: either a sporadic vowel or a gen. compound.
yldemāg (Gen.), yldelēas (Dan.).

In all these cases of possible sporadic vowels it will be noticed that the compounds have a heavy consonantal cluster.1

Substantive -ja Stems

The substantive -ja stems normally have the form of the nom. sing. in the compound: that is, the short stems, which became long by the West Germanic consonantal doubling, lose both the stem vowel and the j, the long stems retain the j as i.

The dropping of the stem vowel and the change of the j to i took place before the West Germanic consonantal doubling (see OHG. elileni, OLG. kunihbür, and the petrified OE. prefix cyne-; Sievers, PBB. 12, 489, Gröger, § 59).

In the Epa-Ep-Corp. glosses the original i is still kept in these compounds: cymilām, enistāb, flyctīlād, gecynelītan, lempihall, ùecīcyrt, hauīblauum, rēcīlēas, styccēlīum, ynnīlēc.2

The only irregularity which occurs is the dropping of the vowel e from the long stems and the short stem here:

1 aerelond (early Kentish Charter), mihteseth, mihēlēas, wāderāp are almost certainly gen. compounds. Compounds with feile- have been influenced by the verb Brydeguma (W-W. 171, 7), which is often quoted as a gen. compound in OE. and compared with the OHG. br的角色. has been shown to be a copying mistake made by Junius, and the compound should be Bregumna (see Anglia, 8, 451).

2 Other compounds with i may be formed with the stem of the -jan verbs. See hwēlitān, bregipanna, and p. 192.

The composition vowel

endvær (Lchd.): the vowel is dropped in this late text before a w.
cise: The vowel is normally retained but lost in the late formations, cysgerum, cysfēt, cyslybb (but see cysfēt).
here: The vowel is normally retained, but there is an early example of the loss in Ekl. 1100, haresearum. The reason for the dropping of the vowel in this compound is not clear, but as it is the only example in these early texts, it is probably a scribes mistake. The vowel is also invariably dropped in the compound herno, but it has been shown above (p. 208) that there is reason to believe that this compound was borrowed from ON. hernum. In late Charters and the poem Judith the compound herepad often loses its vowel and appears as herpad. It is possible that this is due to the frequent use of this compound in the second member of triple compounds, e.g. beodherpad, wīcherpad.

(y)e)mārē: For some reason which is not apparent the vowel is invariably dropped in compounds with this word, e.g. mārbrc, mārdrí, mārpyt, etc. It is true the compounds occur only in Charters where many irregular forms of compounds are found.

styce: dropped only in stīcēlīum (AE. Hom. Th.) compared with the earlier and normal styccēlīum.

yrfe-: The vowel is sometimes lost in the compound yrfearead, yrfearead. It has been suggested by Weyhe (PBB. 30, 55 ff.) that the forms without the e may have arisen from the derivatives erfewordnis, etc., in which the secondary accent was withdrawn from the second member of the compound on to the suffix (see also the weakening of word to word). This seems to be borne out by the forms in Aelfric: yrfearead, yrfeareadyns, yrfearydys. This explanation is, however, not certain, as the forms erfewordnis, erfewordnis occur. It is possible that the accentuation alone is not responsible for the loss of the vowel, but that it is lost through the weakening of the i in the Anlaut of the second member (see stīcwír and the examples from the personal names).

Also the vowel is invariably dropped from the polysyllabic -ja stems, e.g. cāserdom, ārendseg.

Adjective -ja Stems and Old -i Stems

Short stems.—The vowel is invariably dropped from the short -ja stems, e.g. elcīh, elīnde. In late texts a sporadic vowel appears in the latter compound: eland (PPs. Aelfric).
Long -ja stems (and old -i stems).—The vowel is normally dropped in the compound, e.g. *swētumete*, but there are many examples of the retained vowel. Some of these may be due to a differing treatment of the -ja and -i adjectives, although there is no evidence to show that this was the case, but the majority of the examples are certainly influenced by the nom. form of the adjective and have arisen by late juxtapositions of the declined adj. and a noun:

*bliðe:* This word retains its vowel in the compound *bliðemōð*, but loses it in *bliðheart* (before a h in the second member).1

dyrne: The vowel is normally dropped, e.g. *drynhiēmende*, *drynagnā*, but is retained in *dyrneforlēger*, *dyrnelegilīger*, *dyrnelegilīger*. These are clearly late juxtapositions, and it is doubtful whether they are all compounds.

greīne: The vowel is retained in *grēnehāwen* (W-W. 203, 1), but see *grēnhāwen* (W-W. 379, 24).

*lāðwendumōd*, only in Gen. 488.

rēde (just), retained in *rēdehygdis* (Alm. 2).

rēde (cruel), retained in *rēdemōd* (Gen. Dan.), but dropped in the derivatives *rētlīc*, *rētscīpe*.

smēlā: The vowel is retained in the two compounds in which the word occurs, *smētsegold*, *smētegylfen* (W-W.).

wēde: The original *i* of this -ja stem is preserved in *woedēberga* (Ep-Erf.), in later texts it is reduced to *e*, *woedeberge* (Corp.); *woedēhund* (Lchd.) is a late juxtaposition.

wilde: The vowel is usually dropped in the compounds, e.g. *wildōgūs*. The compounds in which a vowel occurs are probably late juxtapositions of the declined adj. and noun: *wildēcyn* (W-W.), *wilnedēor* (MkL.), *wildeflōd* (Junius Ps. 28, 10).

yrre: The vowel is retained in the two compounds *yrremōd* (B.) and *yrreweorc* (Sat.).

The reason for the irregularity in the treatment of the -ja adjectives seems to be that the majority of the OE. nominal compounds have the same form as the nominative in the first member. It is quite natural then that the -ja stems should be influenced by the nominative form, especially as phrases consisting of an adjective and noun exist side by side with the compounds.

1 Borowski (§ 37, note) explains *bliðemōd* and *yrremōd* as arising from a phrase in the instrumental case, but there is no evidence for this.

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The Composition Vowel

-ð Stems

The feminine -ð stems appear without composition vowel. The only exception to this rule is provided by the old adj. abstracts in -i which have been transferred to the -ð declension. Such words rarely appear in the compounds in OE. (see p. 225), and they are all obviously new formations: *hēlubērne* (Cri.), *hēluitid* (Chron.), *snytrucrafit* (Cri.) *snytruhūs* (PPs.).

The old Germanic compound *nafugār* also presents some difficulty. In all the Germanic languages the first part is a fem. -ð stem (see OHG. *naba*, OE. *nafa*), and the compound should therefore have no composition vowel in OE. and the vowel *a* in OHG. It appears, however, in OHG. from the 8th century in the form *nabugēr*. Grøger suggests (§ 31, 5) that the *u* may be a relic of the old composition vowel of the -ð stems which has escaped the influence of the -a stems, or that the compound may have been influenced by the nominative form of the simplex at a time when it ended in -u, but in view of the early borrowing into Finnish as *nabagaira* and the ON. *nafarr* both these explanations seem unlikely. In later OE. texts the compound appears in the reduced form *nafugār*, and on the analogy of this reduced form *nafēbor* (Anglia. 9, 263) is modelled.

-wa and -wō Stems

These stems, both noun and adjective, appear in the compounds in the form of the nom. sing, e.g. *bealuclōm, beadhufolm*.

In a few late compounds the *u* or *o* appears in the reduced form *e*, especially under the influence of an *e* in the stem syllable: *melehuēs* (W-W. 185, 21), *sinewind* (W-W. 332, 25), *smēreman- gestre* (LL.), *smērewyrt* (W-W. 296, 18), compare *smeorweyrt* (W-W. 53, 7).

-jō Stems

The OE. -jō stems normally appear in the compounds in OE. without composition vowel, e.g. *ecgbana*.

An interesting exception to this rule is provided by the poetical compounds formed with *hild*. It has been shown by Weyhe1 that the form of this word in the compounds varies according to the form of the second member of the compound. If the second member is a word with a metrically long stem *hild* has

1 H. Weyhe, PBB. 30, 79 ff.
a composition vowel, e.g. hildebill, hildebord, hildecyst, etc. The only exception to this is hildbedd styred (And. 1092), which would be metrically improved by the insertion of an e in the bridge of the compound. If the second member contains two short syllables hild appears without composition vowel. The only exception to this is hearde hildefræcan (B. 2205) which would also be metrically improved if the e is omitted. This evidence is further supported by the treatment of the personal names, e.g. Hildeburh, Hildwini, and one example Hildfrid also suggests that the vowel was retained when the second member contained one short closed syllable. There is nothing parallel to this in the other Germanic languages, and it is suggested by Luick¹ that the usage in OE. poetry and the personal names are relics of a period when the i of the -jó stems had disappeared before a short syllable, but was preserved before a long one. If this is so, it is strange that no relic of a similar usage has been preserved in any other Germanic language or in any other personal names formed with -jó stems. It has been shown that two other -jó stems, OHG. gund- and unit-, appear without the normal composition vowel in OHG. and it seems likely that these go back to old -ó stems (see p. 273, note; Gröger, § 56; Sturtevant, MLN. 41, 188 ff.; Wilmanns, I, § 319; Noreen, § 384, note (i)). Although there is no evidence from the appellatives to suggest the hild was formerly an -ó stem, a number of OHG. personal names show a composition vowel which properly belong to the -ó stems: Hiltabret, Hiltalind, Hiltamáðr, Hiltpold, and without composition vowel, Hiltbreh, -bóð, -prant, -gart, -gér, etc. (see Gröger, § 147). It is therefore possible that hild was an old -ó stem, and that the normal form without composition vowel has established itself in certain compounds. It should be noted that the evidence which Weyhe adduces for the dropping of the vowel in the personal names is very scanty, and rests solely on the name Hildwini. It has, however, been shown above that the composition vowel may disappear before a w (see also Bülbright, § 435, note). The disappearance or retention of the composition vowel seems, therefore, to be ametrical phenomenon. It is possible that originally double forms existed, made with the -jó and -ó stem respectively, and that the differences between the two formations were normalised by the poets for metrical purposes. Even

¹ Luick, Historische Grammatik der englischen Sprache, Leipzig, 1914, § 305, note.
of which there are traces in the OE. compounds in *hagudorn* (Ep-Erf-Corp.); in later texts the word is influenced by the weak stem and appears as *hagordn* (AE. Lchd.) and in Northumb. as *hagordn* (MtL. 7, 16). In *hagosteal* the original *-u* stem survives throughout the OE. period, possibly because the compound became obscure. The by-form *hagosteal* shows association of the first part with *haga*.

**-s and -r Stems**

The *-s* and *-r* stems appear in the OE. compounds in the form of the nominative sing., e.g. *æger-, hrider-,(sigor-, bröðor*. Compounds like *ægemon, hrithoerd* are not formed from the *-s* stems, but from new by-forms of these declined according to the *-a* declension.

**Weak Nouns**

The weak nouns appear in the compounds in OE. without composition vowel, the *a* which had been introduced from the *-a* stems in Primitive Germanic having been dropped before the time of the earliest texts. Sporadic forms with the vowel *e* or *a* in the bridge of the compound do appear throughout the OE. period. Some of these, especially the compounds with weak fems. which often appear with *e* in the compound, are due to the influence of the nom. form which was different from the composition form. Others which have *a* in the bridge have been influenced by the nom. of the weak masc. or neuter nouns, or have arisen from genitive compounds by the dissimilation of the *n*, e.g. *hramascreop, hramascreop*. These *a* forms are especially common in Northumbrian texts where the simple weak nouns had discarded the *n* in the oblique cases. In a few instances the *a* forms may have been influenced by corresponding ON. compounds.

**(a) Masc. and Neuter**

*Æwdamann* (LL.); probably the nom. *Æwda* in the first part.

*berascinn* (Charter); either from *beran*, or influenced by the numerous Norse compounds in *a*- (see the Norse borrowing in the second part).

*bogamet* (AE.), *bogamet* (AE.), *bogefödder* (W-W. 143, 19); either formed from genitive compounds (see *bogestreng*) or with the nom. form.

*böndeland* (Chron. 777E); almost certainly influenced by the ON. compounds in *bóna*.

**THE COMPOSITION VOWEL**

*ærenguer* (W-W. 307, 3), *ærelipprica* (MkL), *ærelipprica* (MtL), late Northern forms with a nom. sing. in the first part.

*gælgatréow* (Dr.), compared with the earlier *gælgatréw*. The Northern form *gælga*- is either reformed from the nom. or is influenced by the ON. *gælgatré*.

*hareycyt* (W-W.), from *haronycyt* (Lchd.).

*harasteorra* (W-W.); either from the gen. or with the nom. form in the first part.

*hramasacrop* (Ep-Erf.), from *hramasacrop* (Corp.).

*hearniscinnen* (Chron. 1075); either with the nom. form or influenced by the ON. compounds.

*nómcud* (12th cent.), replacing the earlier *nómcud*.

*plesgestow* (W-W. 411, 45), compared with the normal *plegestow*; influenced either by the verbal compounds or the reduced nom. form.

*scádesel* (Lchd.); with a reduced form of the nom. in the first part.

*wanaðeám* (W-W. 270, 18; 405, 22) from *wanaðeám* (W-W. 23, 29; 409, 33).

*gewuñtlice* (CP.), *gewuñtlice*, *gewuñulíc* (DR.) from *gewuna*. The forms *gewuñtlice*, *gewuñulíc* both show an assimilated vowel in the bridge.

In Northern texts the indeclinable *hoga* sometimes appears with a composition vowel: *hogaest* (MtL.), *hogascipe* (MtL., DR.), but see *hogaest* (MtL.), *hogafultum* (MtL.).

**(b) Feminines**

The weak feminines often appear with the vowel *e* in the bridge of the compound which represents either the nom. form or the gen. with the *n* dissimilated:

*aesseceswáþ* (Charter); probably a sporadic vowel due to the consonantal cluster *seg*.

*býmesangere* (AE. Gl.).

*cipelícac* (W-W. 380, 29).

*ciricweard* (Chron. 1000), otherwise *ciricweard*.


*kierstepane* (CP. W-W.); probably influenced by the verbal compounds.

*hitpeburna* (Charter), *hitpegeat* (Charter); probably influenced by the verbal compounds (see also, without composition vowel, *hitpegeat*).
NOMINAL COMPOUNDS IN GERMANIC

hosebend (Hpt. Gl.).
massa. This word appears invariably with the composition vowel, probably owing to the fact that it was a borrowing from Latin and did not conform to the normal laws governing the treatment of the genuine OE. nouns (see also the compound *magdalatrénun*).
millswarc (Lchd.), but millswarc and millcudu in the same text.
milleséoc (W.W. 113, 11).
millrestrethits (W.W. 186, 2).
perewōs (W.W. 128, 20), also a borrowed word in the first part.
pisccenun (Lchd.); the first part is also borrowed from Latin.
sunnébēam (Chron. 678), compared with the normal sunnēbēam.
tungebrun (Lchd.); possibly a sporadic vowel due to the consonantal cluster ngdr.
úhtutid, úhtetid; late Northumbrian forms found in the Lindisfarne Gospels; compare úhtid, úhtantid.
wigetunge (W.W. 148, 19); possibly a glide between the g and t, or simply the nom. form.
wascesce (W.W. 181, 7).
vice: The vowel of this word is never dropped in the compounds, but it appears only in the late formations: wiccedom (late Homilies), wicecraf (A.E. LL.). In both cases the vowel may be a glide between the heavy group of consonants or simply the nom. form.
vice: The vowel is normally dropped from this word, but in late texts a vowel appears, influenced by the different nom. forms: wicubot (LL.); see Sievers, 278, note 1; wucedeg (Anglia, 13, 387).
while (well, spring): The vowel of this word, which also appears as a strong masc. will, and as a weak masc. willa, is frequently retained in the compounds. It is probably a glide which often arises in the neighbourhood of l, although in some cases the compounds may have been influenced by the nom. form: willeburne (Gen.), willecarse (Lchd.), willestréam (Ph.), willeweater (Lchd.), willleweg (Charters), but see also willfted, willspring.

Feminine nouns ending in -re normally drop the e in the compounds, e.g. ðederseax, nãdrewyrt, but sometimes appear with the full nominative form, e.g. nãdrewyr (Lchd.), nãdrewynge (W.W. 287, 16).

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Other Consonantal Stems

ealu: The vowel of this old consonantal stem is normally retained in the compounds (ealubent); in late texts the form eala appears, influenced by the late nominative form: ealahus, ealascop.
huhtu loses its vowel in the compound.
mele appears in meledēæw, normally with the vowel, but see also muldeæw (W.W. 455, 19).
niht appears normally without vowel, but in the compound nihtegale the vowel is never absent. This like the OHG. nahtigala is a sporadic vowel arising as a glide between the consonantal cluster hlg. See also the early form in Ep. netigala, where the vowel has been palatalised by the following g. A sporadic vowel also appears in nihetlic (Ben. R. MS. A).

Compounds with -lic(e)

The compounds with -lic(e) often have a vowel contrary to the principles governing other compounds in OE., and they are dealt with separately here as the conditions under which this vowel appears are in some respects different from the other compounds. It may firstly be a reduced form of the adjective ending -ig, e.g. cstiglic, cystelic; mōdiglice, mōditlce, mōdeltce, but not all the vowels in compounds with -lic(e) can be explained in this way. There is, for instance, no -ig form corresponding to holdelic (Chron. 1065), swiftelic (Hom. Th.), giftelic (Cleop. Gl.), etc. It is possible, of course, that these forms may have been influenced by the reduced -ig compounds and that they may be explained simply by analogy, but it is most noticeable that the vowel appears very frequently between a d or t and the -lic suffix, and it is likely that in these cases it is simply a sporadic glide-vowel.¹ It would be impossible to decide in each particular instance whether the vowel is a reduced form of -ig, or whether it has been introduced by analogy, or whether it is a glide-vowel, and no useful purpose would be served by a record of all the forms. An account of the treatment of the -ja adjectives in combination with -lic may, however, be given in illustration of the type. These adjectives normally appear in other compounds without a composition vowel, and examples are found of this usage when the adjectives are combined with -lic, e.g. clānlīc, sēftīc, stīnlīc, and the -lic derivatives from the present

¹ For similar instances before the OHG. -ilh see Gröger, § 12.
participle, but in by far the majority of cases the *ja adjectives retain the vowel when combined with *-ic:

blidelic (AO. W. DR.) but blödic (Bl. Hom.); edelic (Bd. CP.), edellic (PPs.); ételic (Vesp. Bd. AE.); ételic (CP.), ételijke (And.); geycnalic (Ep-Erf.), geycnalic; gedaftelic (CP.), gedaftliche (Bd.); gedäfliche (Bd.); gemänelic (CP.), gemänelic; gerödelic; gesinelic (Bd. Rd. Bl. Hom.); gescroapelc (Bd.); gesprödelic (AE.); gesvoelic (Bd.); lãnelic (Bl. Hom.); ïtidelic (sixteen times in CP., compared with one ïtdelic, and ïduryde); milidelic (AO.); smylelic (Shrine), compared with smylelic (Rd.); stidelic (Cant. Ps.); drîelic (CP.); drïelic; ungefrägelic; ungewödelic; wyrdelic (Bd.).

It will be seen that all these formations cannot be explained as reduced -ig formations as in many cases the -ig adjective does not exist, and it seems likely that most of the e forms are to be regarded as glides which frequently appear before a l sound.\footnote{1}

Finally, an account may be given of Borowski's attempt to discover the underlying principle governing the appearance or disappearance of the composition vowel in OE.\footnote{2} Borowski deals only with the composition vowel of the -i, -ja, and -jó stems, and certain sporadic vowels appearing in the bridge of the compounds with -a stems in the first part, and as the title of his work indicates, he attempts to explain the composition vowel from the position of the secondary accent in the compounds. He starts from the well-known fact that when a heavy suffix is added to a compound, the secondary accent which normally rests on the second member of the compound may be withdrawn to the suffix. This seems to be established by the treatment of the following forms: rümödl, but rümelic; seofesfeld, but seofesfullic (Lind.); manigfeald, but monigfulsumnisse. The same principle of accentuation is responsible for the reduction of the -ig adjective suffix in dřoric, but dřorictic, etc., and the loss of syllables in compounds as dřofilitic > dřofilic, orgelic > orgliche. Borowski also draws attention to the reduction of the second members of compounds after a long stem syllable which indicates a weakening of the secondary

\footnote{1}{In addition to the compounds discussed in this section there are a few with first members whose stem form is obscure: hreademus, hagospind, sißemus, ñejandorn, wandewerpe.}

\footnote{2}{B. Borowski, Zum Nebenzent beim allenglischen Nominal-compositum, Halle, 1927.}

stress on the second member, e.g. hlafweard > hlaford, heardhara > hearðara. From these recognised principles of accentuation Borowski attempts to derive the general rule that if the composition vowel is retained or a sporadic vowel develops when the secondary accent lies on a syllable immediately after the bridge of the compound, but the composition vowel is dropped or a sporadic vowel does not develop when the secondary accent is withdrawn from the syllable immediately following the bridge of the compound. Although this principle seems to be true of the triple compounds and those with a heavy derivative suffix, e.g. -lice, the present writer is unable to follow Borowski when he argues that certain case endings, as the dat. pl. ending -um, could also cause a withdrawal of the secondary accent. It must be emphasised that the accentuation of the compounds in the alliterative poetry does not reveal any such withdrawal of the secondary accent on to the ending. Moreover, when Borowski applies his principle to the composition vowel he involves himself in the most contradictory assertions. Firstly, Borowski attributes the loss of the composition vowel in the -i stems in such words as cwidbocum, stópnalum, metseacsum to the withdrawal of the secondary accent on to the heavy case ending, but as already remarked, there is no evidence that these compounds were accented on the ending. Further, Borowski attributes the loss of the vowel in hyþbæn, hyþcild, sticwarc, sticewyrt to the loss of the secondary accent from the second member, but it has already been pointed out above (p. 284 f.) that these reduced forms are Northumbrian in which dialect the -i stems lost their final vowel, or that special conditions obtain (see notes on hyþban, sticwarc, etc.). Similar principles are applied by Borowski to the substantive -ja stems and the treatment of hilde-, hilde (see above, p. 289 f.).\footnote{1} In his treatment of the -ja adjectives and the long -i stems Borowski contradicts his own principle, for he states (§§ 40, 42, 52) that the vowel of these stems is retained when the syllable following the vowel in the bridge of the compound is unstressed, and quotes as examples mildhóþt, but mildlíc, nähtgalán. Borowski

\footnote{1}{It is difficult to see how Borowski can argue that the second members of compounds with hild- had lost their stress in face of examples as Beowulf 2365: fram båm hildescrecan which must be accented on the second member. The uncertainty of the accent theory is well illustrated by the fact that Bülbring, § 435, attributes the loss of the vowel in erfward from erfweard to the heavy stress on the second member of the compound—exactly the opposite to Borowski.
himself admits (§ 54) that this is irregular, but suggests that
the composition vowel may have been stressed in Primitive
German. With this he arrives in the realm of hypotheses
into which it is unnecessary to follow him any further.

There is much that is valuable in Borowski's treatment of
the question, especially in the emphasis which he lays on the
withdrawal of the stress in triple compounds and those with
a heavy derivative suffix, but he has failed to establish a causal
connection between the loss of stress and the loss of the com-
position vowel, and his theory does not find any support in the
treatment of the compounds in the alliterative verse, the surest
source for the determination of questions of accentuation.

OLD HIGH GERMAN AND OLD LOW GERMAN

The OHG. and OLG. composition vowel has already been
investigated in elaborate detail by Gröger. It only remains,
therefore, to state the main principles and to consider one or
two aspects of the question which have not been sufficiently
stressed by Gröger.

In both OHG. and OLG. the substantive and adjective -a,
-β, -i, -u, -an, -r, and -s stems with a long stem syllable appear
in the compounds without composition vowel, e.g. armbeg, beintberga, bidekaib, banclachan, brüühlouf, scitlburg, örfinger,
bruodersleko, rindhirti.

The short -a, -β, -an, -ön stems have a in the bridge of the
compound in early OHG. which by the end of the period (Notker)
is reduced to e, except when protected by an a of the stem
syllable, e.g. glasofaz, scamáls, botuscaf, compared with Notker's
gotedehiti, betestima, botescaft, but charasang, namahaft, statahás.
In OLG. the vowel of these stems disappeared with but a few
exceptions: godorasta, godowebbi, navugér, honauward, and the
compounds with ala- (for other examples see Gröger, § 47).

The substantive -ja, -jö, -jan, -jön stems have in early OHG.
the vowel i in the bridge of the compound, which was reduced
to e in Notker, e.g. erbinomo, hulitlachan, willirbmac, but in
Notker erbescrift, hellesreisa, willervarba. In OLG. this vowel
(i) was retained after a long stem syllable and in the word heri

1 See also in addition to the usual handbooks, Sänger, Der Vokal in
der Kompositionsfuge in den ältesten ahd. Sprachdenkmälern, Freiburg,
1910; Weismann, Form und Verbreitung des Kompositionsvokals bei
Notker, Nürnberg, 1911; Bader, Die ahd. Fugenvokale in den ältesten
Eigennamen, Leipzig, 1909. None of these adds anything to Gröger.

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(army), e.g. erbiward, sundilós, hildiscal, heridóm, heririnc.
After an original short syllable and one which became long by
the West Germanic consonantal doubling the vowel is normally
dropped, although waverin appears when the stem ends in
u or l, e.g. hedgicudá, helstó, helldor, bu kuniburd, helligthwing,
helliporta (Gröger, § 68).

Contrary to the treatment of the -ja nouns, the -ja adjectives
with a long stem syllable appear without composition vowel in
OHG. and OLG. (see the similar treatment of the -ja adjectives as
compared with the nouns in OE.), e.g. kleinstimm, reinkurn, hréirkurn, slámod. The reason for this difference in
treatment between the adjectives and nouns seems to be
that the -ja adjectives contain many old -i and -u stems which
would normally lose their vowel in the compound and these
have influenced the original -ja stems.

The -ja adjectives with a short stem syllable have i in the
compound in OHG. and OLG., e.g. elilanti, elithiða, kiriðhho.

The treatment of these -ja stems in the compounds gives
us a clue to the chronology of the composition vowel. The
stem vowel a disappeared after a short stem syllable and the
j was vocalised to i before the West Germanic consonantal
doubling— hence elithiða, kuniburd, beniuvuda, etc. (Gröger,
§ 59).

The short -wa, -wð, -wan, -wön stems drop the stem vowel
and retain the w as u or o in OHG. and OLG., e.g. baludá, balu-
hugid, although this vowel is often levelled out with the stem
syllable in early texts, e.g. balurð, garðihho. The long stems
lose the vowel and the w in the compounds, e.g. úlufugal.

The short -i stems retain the i in early OHG. and OLG.,
e.g. stetthafa, turivar, wiuinscaft. In late OHG. and OLG. the
i is reduced to e, e.g. merefisc, turestal.

The short -u stems are early transferred to the -i stems in
OHG. and often appear with the vowel i, but the u forms survive
in OLG. and occasionally in OHG. e.g. fríudarn, magynjung,
hagustald, and in OHG. fridoman (Notker), hagustall, sigwalo.

We may now consider some aspects of the OHG. and OLG.
composition vowel which have not been fully treated by Gröger.

Gröger suggests in the Introduction to his work (p. 3) that
if the stock of Germanic and West Germanic compounds were
determined, it might be shown that traditional compounds
retained the composition vowel in a purer form than new for-
mations. A careful examination of the composition vowel in
those compounds which in Part I of this work have been shown to be old formations does not suggest that the original compounds are more conservative in this respect than the new formations, but there are nevertheless isolated examples of irregular vowels which can be explained as old formations or as relics of old stems which are extinct in the simplex.

(i) The composition vowel appears as ə instead of a in the -a, -o, and -an stems. It has been suggested above (p. 271) that the Indo-Germanic ə was retained in unstressed syllables after it was changed to a in Germanic in stressed syllables, especially when followed by a labial sound or protected by an o in the stem syllable. There are now several examples of this o in OHG. and OLG. from 8th and 9th century texts:


Similar forms are found in the OLG. Helian and Genesis:  

ahospring (Hel. 3968M; C has aha-), godowebbi (Hel. 3330M; C has godu-), hanocrád (Hel. 4990M; C has hana-), and certain compounds with ala, ało. The form ała- is found exclusively in alakát, alajung; ał- alone occurs in ałohé (2332M; C has ał-) and ałowalat; both ała- and ałowalat are found in alamahít, aławalad. In addition almahít, ałwaldó, alawaló, ałimahít are found in C only. With regard to the distribution of the forms between the two MSS. ała is found 8 times in C, 3 in M; ałó 38 times in C, 45 in M; ał 7 times in C; all twice in C; and ałlo once in C. The forms without a composition vowel are taken from the long stem all and require no special comment.

Throughout these examples Old German or West Germanic compounds are found together with obviously new formations (see the old compounds gotowebió, ordofirma, ałowaló, and relatively new formations, alamahít, scadوها, ahospring), and the ə can therefore appear in compounds which are not derived from Primitive Germanic. It seems therefore likely that the ə vowel has arisen by assimilation to the stem vowel of the first or second member of the compound, and is not a relic of the Indo-Germanic ə. In the case of the ał- compounds

in OLG. the following labial (except in ałohé) seems to be responsible for the ə forms. The only compounds which cannot be explained in this way are scadوها, which occurs only in one gloss and may have been influenced by the nominative form, and ahospring, ałohé, hanocrád, which are found in MS. M of the Helian only. They are apparently analogical formations after the other compounds with ə in the bridge.  

(ii) The vowel of the -a and -o stems is sometimes omitted in early texts. Gröger has shown that by far the majority of these cases occur before a vowel in the Anlaut of the second member or between two identical consonants (Gröger, § 30, 2), but there are other examples for which this explanation does not hold good. The vowel disappears in four early compounds with got-, e.g. gotforht (T.), gotchund (Pa, K, B. T.), gotman (Muspilli). It has been suggested above (p. 11) that these compounds may have been borrowed from OE. or influenced by OE. forms. In later compounds of got-, mostly recorded in Notker, the first member has been influenced by the accusative form: gotvirgæze, gotreizæhi, gotscæta, gotanawartæri. The vowel is also absent in certain early compounds of lob-: in loppnuoht it has disappeared between two identical consonants; in lobhuft before a weakly articulated h (see the spelling lobufl); in lobosang (Ra, H.) the first member may have been influenced by the phrase lob singan (see the 11th cent. compound lobsingt). The vowel also disappears in wanhielt (B.T.) before the weakly articulated h (compare wanawesiti). Finally the vowel is absent in a few isolated words: paktikaraavi (K, Ra, 255, 32), which is probably explained by the fact that the second member begins with an unstressed syllable (but see pada in 9th and 10th cent. glosses); bogföder (Gl. II, 143, 17) in a 9th century Middle Franconian glossary, which follows the principles of the composition vowel in OLG.; samwist (Is.), in which the vowel disappears before the a of the second member (see the examples from the personal names, p. 272 f.). There remain five other examples of a disappearance of the vowel which are unexplained:  

pirpaum (Gl. II, 159, 3); scarsaks (Rd. Jb. I, 285, 24);  

betohú, betoman, spilohú may be influenced by the verbal compounds (see p. 187 f.); werdheoda, although an old compound recorded only in Is. and M., may be influenced by the genitive pl. of wer.

1 The compounds of metodó- and regano- in the Hel. are discussed below. The late OLG. godobedí, godorasta, gewonohé clearly have an assimilated vowel in the bridge with the possible additional influence in the first two cases of the gen. pl. Kluge, IF. 4, 311, attempts to explain the ał- forms as a relic of an old *aìwa-stem, but this has not found general acceptance.
smalfrithihi (Ja. I, 543, 25); smalsdt (Jc. IV, 24, 53); wecnest (Jc. IV, 23, 61; 24, 53).

It has been suggested by K. Helm (Literaturblatt, 35, No. 1), particularly with reference to the compounds with ala (al) in OHG., that the vowel disappears when the second member begins with an unstressed syllable. Helm points that when the second member begins with a stressed syllable the adj. appears in 70 per cent. of the cases in the form ala or ale, and only in 30 per cent. of the cases in the form al-. On the other hand, when the second member begins with an unstressed syllable the adjective appears without vowel in 62:5 per cent. of the examples and with the vowel in about 37 per cent. of the examples. The evidence is, however, by no means conclusive. There are certain compounds, e.g. almahitig, which appear in the early part of the OHG. period invariably without vowel, and these as already suggested developed from the long stem alla-. Moreover, certain writers normalise one particular form irrespective of the nature of the second member (e.g. Otfrid has invariably ala-), and with the possible exception of patikkarawi there is no trace of any similar loss of the composition vowel in the compounds which have a substantive first member. Again as with OE. the theory that the composition vowel depends on the accentuation of the compound is unproved.

(iii) An abnormal vowel may appear after those long stems which normally drop the composition vowel. In this case there are three possibilities, and it is not always easy to say to which group a particular word belongs: (a) the vowel may be a glide, (b) the vowel may be a case ending, (c) the vowel may be a relic of the Primitive Germanic composition vowel which has survived in traditional compounds. It is with the last group that we are particularly concerned here, but a few words may be said about the first group. The appearance of a sporadic vowel in the bridge of the compounds has been fully treated by Schmid, who has shown that a sporadic vowel develops in OHG. between a t or d, especially when preceded by another consonant, and a l, s, t, b, g or k. If a sporadic vowel does not develop, then one of these consonants is often dropped. The glide vowel is normally e, but under the influence of a following g it may be palatalised to i. There is no doubt that such glides did exist, and such names as OHG. Hruotgär, MHG. Rüedegär, Mod. G. Rüdiger cannot be explained in any other way, but in

1 P. Schmid, Nachtigall, Bräutigam, ZsdA. 51, 280 ff.

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the appellative compounds a glide of this kind is identical with certain case endings, and it becomes impossible, therefore, to distinguish between the compounds with a glide vowel and those which have a case form in the first part. Schmid has, however, made it probable that the following compounds have a glide vowel, although some of them were later interpreted as secondary compounds with a case form in the first part:

buruguisetu (Gen.) with the glide assimilated to the stem syllable; elibarn (Hel.); erdiligiscapu (Hel.); hantasilgón, (R, 225, 26); hentikissip (Ra, 171, 17); ndétigisalio (O.); nahitigala; metedigiscapu (Hel. 2190M: C827M: C has metod-); metedigiscapu (Hel. 2210C); reganogiscapu (Hel. 3347M: C has reginu) and reginogiscapu (Hel. 2593C: M has regan); wurdigiscapu (Hel. 512, etc.), note the form wurgiscapu in C3602 with the dropped consonant compared with wurdegiskeft in M; compounds with -germ, e.g. lihtigerm senstigern (but see the secondary compound ràwogern in Notker).

The case of brüdigen is doubtful. It was certainly a primary compound in Primitive Germanic, and the vowel may have developed as a glide and been interpreted later as a genitive form. The later compounds with brüti are certainly secondary compounds, possibly formed on the analogy of brüdigen. Trüdigen, which is probably borrowed from OE., may also have its vowel on the analogy of brüdigen.

Having disposed of this group, we may now turn to those compounds which have an irregular composition vowel after a long stem, and see whether there are any traces in OHG. of the retention of the Primitive Germanic stem vowel, or even of pre-Germanic forms:

augatora (Voc. III, 1, 7): almost certainly an abnormal retention of the Primitive Germanic composition vowel after a long stem in an archaic compound (for the parallels see p. 44, No. 2).

augazorah (Ja. I, 560, 33), ougosoritón (T.), aukazorah (K, 233, 11), aukazorah (K, Ra, 224, 36). Although there are no parallels to this compound in the other Germanic languages, the compound appears to be an old one, and the vowel is the old stem vowel, assimilated in the augo and auku forms to the neighbouring vowels.

unarmahers (K, 182, 21), armiharzida (B.), armehers (N.).

The vowel in this compound cannot be the Primitive Germanic
stems, as the compound did not exist at that time. In the early texts (B. K.) it is probably a reflection of the Gothic stem vowel (armbrairits), from which language the compound was borrowed. In the example from Notker it is impossible to tell whether the vowel is a relic of the older one, or a new sporadic vowel (see armelth, Notker).

pōhastap (Pa, 160, 32). It has been suggested above (p. 12) that despite the parallels in OE. and ON this compound is not a Primitive Germanic formation, but was coined by the early Christian missionaries. It is generally suggested that the coinage took place in OE., but the form of this word, if any reliance can be placed on it, supports the contention made by Hirt (Handb. des Urgerm. I, § 81) that it existed in Gothic as *pōkastapā where it was shortened to bōka. The evidence is very doubtful, but if it is correct pōhastap is a borrowing from Gothic preserving like unarmaherz the Gothic composition vowel.

elinames (K, 268, 9). This compound cannot be proved to be an old one, and in view of the retention of the vowel in Notker (eliname) the vowel may be a glide.

luiliberig (Ra, 267, 25), but see williberig (K, Ra, 261, 3). The compound is an old one (see Gothic kreiliberigs) and the i may well be a relic of the composition vowel a assimilated to the stem vowel of wilā. It has been suggested that the OHG word was borrowed from Gothic, but the Ablaut forms wiliberig make this improbable.

mētanemo (K, Ra, 235, 30). In view of the Ablaut form of the second part and the absence of parallels in the other Germanic languages the compound is hardly an old one, and the irregular vowel may be explained from the influence of the phrase metā neman, from which the compound is formed.

ordofrume (Pa, 46, 35); possibly a retention of the old stem vowel a assimilated to the o of the stem syllable in a compound which certainly goes back at least to Primitive West Germanic.

sigesnemo (H). This is the only example of an old -s stem with the s retained in the compound. The formation cannot be shown to be an old one (but see the low Ablaut grade in siginomo), and it is therefore suggested by Gröger that the first part is a gen. of the -i stem sigi, but if this is so, sigesnemo is the only secondary compound in early OHG. with a nomen agentis in the second part. The possibility remains therefore that the s is the old stem ending, similar to the Gothic sigislaun.

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leigatrog (R, 117, 4). The compound is recorded only in OHG., and it is therefore uncertain whether the a can be regarded as a relic of the old stem vowel.

wallitawhso. This compound never appears without a vowel in the bridge in OHG., and in view of the fact that it is an old West Germanic formation and that the earliest form is wallitawhso (see Gröger, § 23), it is likely that the i is the stem vowel of the -i stems retained to avoid the juxtaposition of the heavy consonantal cluster lwf.

winarepa (R, 245, 3); certainly not an old compound. Gröger has shown (p. 49) that the foreign words in the compounds are frequently treated differently from the native words (see also OE. magdalathrow).

wollameit (Voc. III, 7, 21); an old compound (see OE. wullmōd) with the original stem vowel retained.

Gröger has pointed out (§ 9) that in a number of early texts words with the suffix -l often have a composition vowel contrary to the normal rule that the vowel disappears after a long stem syllable, e.g. mittlilacarni (Pa, 16, 11), mittlilatag (Pa, K, 48, 3), mittlilagzi (T. Musp. Gl. I, 285, 36), mittilomōt (R, 45, 31), kentilastab (T). The group contains both old and new formations. It is possible that in the older ones the a represents the old stem vowel, but it seems more likely that it has arisen as a glide after the l (see above, p. 282).

Consonantal Stems with the Vowel i.—It has been shown by Specht and Hirt 1 that the old consonantal stems often appear with an i in the bridge of the compound in Old Indian, Greek, Latin, and Germanic, e.g. OInd. dasīt, but in the compounds dasi: Greek ἀδής, but ἀπορρόφος, Latin denuitrigibulum, regifugium. Specht has pointed out that several early compounds in the Germanic languages show a similar vowel, e.g. OE. egisigrīna (Ep-Erf.), later egisgrama. This compound contains as its first part the old -s stem egis and not the extended form egesa which is not found in full compounds, and the formation dates back at least to West Germanic (see OLG. egisgrinol). The vowel in the bridge of the compound may well be therefore a relic of a pre-Germanic formation.2 A further example of


2 Specht also tries to establish a similar form in the OLG. eiselik (nPs. 65, 3, and Lips. Gl.), but this may be a late sporadic vowel which often appears before the suffix -ilk.
this vowel is found in the bridge of the two compounds augiwis, akiwis (Ra, 224, 37; K, 224, 17; 254, 2) and awarzorah (Ra, 224, 36), reduced to awarzorah (Ra, 233, 11, and Gl. II, 248, 43). Of these compounds the former has been shown to be pre-Germanic (see p. 120, No. 1) and the latter is also in all probability an old formation.

Whilst there is evidence that the compounds discussed above retain a pre-Germanic usage, the present writer is unable to agree with Specht and Hirt when they include amongst the examples of this formation such compounds as herzisulth, herzischist, orismero. None of these is recorded before the 11th century, and it has been shown by Gröger (§§ 36-38) that in late glosses and occasionally in connected texts the e in the bridge of the compounds was changed to i. This practice is found with all kinds of stems, e.g. goti-, grasi-, elkri-, stabi-, wegi-, and it is therefore very probable that the late compounds with herzi-, öri- are similar developments from herze and öre (see especially herzischist in Nw., as compared with herzischist in N.).

(iv) The compounds may retain old stem forms which are extinct in the simplex.

ahospring (Hel. 3968M). Gröger suggests (§ 47) that the o of this compound, the first part of which is normally an -is stem in OLG., may be the w of the old -wó stem (see Gothic abn), but the MS. M of the Heliand frequently has o in the bridge of the compound when the other MS. has a (see p. 300).

Compounds with gund- (battle) and und- (wave) have no composition vowel in OHG. although these stems are -jó formations which should have the vowel i. It has already been suggested that these two words go back to old -ó stems which would normally lose the stem vowel in the compounds (see p. 290).

kinni: This word is a -ja stem in OHG. and normally appears with the vowel i in the compounds, but the form chinnapahko appears in the 8th century gloss (Gl. III, 9, 9). This may be explained as an assimilation to the stem syllable of the second member, but it is more likely that it represents a stem kinna from *genuo (Gröger, § 58, 2).

mân: This old consonantal stem should appear without composition vowel in OHG. (see manslaih, T. 0), but in the majority of cases the composition form has been influenced by the -a stems, e.g. manabitcho. In one early gloss (Pa, 84, 26)

the form manulîup appears, which Gröger (§ 5) explains as a relic of the Indo-Germanic *manu-*, but this is by no means certain as the u may simply have arisen from a by assimilation to the iu of the second member.

The stem mênôp lost its final consonant in OHG. in the nominative, but retained it in the oblique cases. These two forms were then normalised throughout the whole paradigm and the meanings differentiated, mânô assuming the meaning 'moon,' and mânôd, 'month.' The old stem mânôd is, however, preserved in a number of compounds with the meaning 'moon': mânôdisk (T.), mânôadwilg (Gl. II, 740, 24), mânôadwillu (Gl. I, 714, 42), mânôdtulodo (Gl. I, 714, 42), all of which were coined to translate the Latin lunaticus.

dunnî: This -ja adjective was originally a -u stem (see Latin tenus), and the compound dunsuéngi which is demonstrably a Primitive Germanic formation appears to retain the old stem vowel, although again the assimilatory influence of the w of wengi may be responsible for the u in the bridge of the compound. (Gröger, § 72.)

u in the -ó stems. In a few compounds the vowel of the -ó stems appears as u instead of the normal a. It has been suggested by Gröger (§ 31, 5) that these forms may have been the regular development of the Primitive Germanic o, or may have been transferred from the nom. sing. at a time when it ended in u. The second explanation is possible, but as far as the present writer is aware there is no evidence to suggest that the -ó stems normally developed the vowel u in the bridge of the compounds. In Primitive Germanic the vowel was in all probability o, shortened from ò, and this fell together with the original Indo-Germanic o which was retained in an unstressed syllable after it had changed to a in a stressed syllable (see p. 271 f.). The examples which occur are: nabugôr (Gl. III, 11, 34, 8/9th cent., etc.), petupar (Ra, 99, 49), almost certainly a mistake for petapûr (Pa, K), kisvaruilo (Jc. IV, 21, 3), carrusát (Gl. II, 145, 67), statulama (Rd. Jb. I, 285, 2).

In the last three cases the u is probably due to assimilation. The compound nabugôr remains a mysterious formation (see OE. nafogôr).

1 It is usually stated that the -ó stems were modelled in the compounds on the analogy of the -a stems, but if the above explanation is accepted there is no need to assume any analogical influence.
It will have been noticed that the evidence for old stems and the abnormal retention of the Primitive Germanic composition vowel is in most cases doubtful, and alternative explanations are often possible. The composition vowel was exposed to influences from the surrounding vowels, and its true character is often obscured. Nevertheless, there is evidence to suggest that the compounds inherited from Primitive Germanic or West Germanic retained in the earliest OHG. texts a vowel that was normally abandoned.

CHAPTER IV

SECONDARY COMPOUNDS

The Germanic languages along with other Indo-Germanic languages possess two different classes of nominal compounds:

(a) An older type inherited from Primitive Indo-Germanic and still surviving in the modern Germanic languages. Characteristic of the compounds belonging to this group is the fact that the first member appeared originally in the stem form without case endings. This type Jacob Grimm called 'eigentliche Composita.' In English they are usually called 'real compounds,' but the term is not particularly well chosen, and it is preferable to call them 'primary compounds.'

(b) A younger type not inherited from Primitive Indo-Germanic, but developing independently in the several languages belonging to the Indo-Germanic family. Characteristic of these compounds is the fact that the first member is a case-form of a nomen. They were termed 'uneigentliche Composita' by Jacob Grimm, but in this work are called 'secondary compounds.'

There is no reason to doubt that the principles governing the formation of secondary compounds in the modern Germanic languages are in any way different from those obtaining when the type first originated, and it is obvious from the modern languages that secondary compounds arise from a syntactic phrase consisting usually of a nomen and an attributive genitive or a noun together with a declined adjective. In Primitive Germanic

1 This distinction between primary and secondary compounds is one which is justified and worth drawing, but it should be remembered that when the primary compounds arose in Primitive Indo-Germanic the stem form also functioned for certain cases—hence the term Casus indefinitus which is sometimes applied to it.

2 The secondary compounds consisting of an adjective and a noun are rare in Modern German (see Langeweile) and non-existent in English (but see OE. middansumer, etc.), but they are common in Norse (see
an attributive genitive normally and traditionally stood before
the nomen on which it depended, and the alliterative poetry
shows that each member of such a syntactic phrase bore a main
stress. The first step in the development of such a group to
a secondary compound was the unification of the group under
one main stress which lay on the attributive genitive. The
majority of secondary compounds remained in this phase, and
as the accentuation in the older Germanic languages is fre-
quently unascertainable, it is often impossible to tell whether
the syntactic group has coalesced to a compound or not. Finally
an isolation of meaning may occur, and the compound is thus
clearly distinguished from the syntactic group on which it
is based (see especially the plant-names, OHG. *huoteszunga,*
*pfaffendūmo*, etc.). This is, however, not the only source of
the secondary compounds, although it is the original one.
It has been shown in the previous chapter that the primary
compounds which had lost their stem vowel frequently developed
in Germanic a sporadic vowel, especially between heavy con-
sonantal clusters. Such forms may later be interpreted as
secondary compounds. It is, for instance, possible that the
vowel of *britigamo* developed as a glide between the *t* and *g,*
and was later interpreted as the genitive singular of *brīt.* A
third source of the secondary compounds was the transformation
of primary compounds into secondary ones on the analogy
of existing formations. Such secondary compounds are then
not based on a syntactic phrase (see ON. *borgstār,* *borgarstār;*
*verknamār,* *verkanamār,* etc.) and the relation between the two
members need not be a genitive one. It is in this way that
the original type of secondary compound based on the genitive
relation was extended to other semantic categories which
properly belonged to the primary compounds.
The development of the secondary compounds was also
encouraged by the fact that in the primary type the relation
between the two members of the compound was not clearly
expressed, and doubt could arise as to what the precise meaning
of the compound was. In the original secondary compounds
the relation between the members of the compound was brought
out by the case form of the first member, although when the
type was extended to semantic categories other than the genitive,
this advantage was lost and the relation between the members
was then no clearer than in the primary compounds.
The parallels between the Germanic languages do not reveal
the presence of any secondary compounds in Primitive Germanic,
but there is no doubt that they existed in Primitive West
Germanic and Primitive Norse.
The earliest recorded example of the type in the Germanic
languages is the Gothic *baurgswaldjus* (city-wall), 1 but this can
hardly have been the starting-point of the whole formation, as
secondary compounds are found in the other Germanic languages
amongst the early place-names and plant-names. In fact, it
is suggested by Grimm that the secondary compounds were
formed on the analogy of names of this kind, 2 and such early
German place-names with old stems in the first part as
*Kelbiesbach,* *Pletiersbach* suggest that the type dates back to
an early period in West Germanic. In OE. the secondary
compounds are common amongst the place-names, but relatively
rare amongst the appellatives.
The earliest example of a secondary compound in Norse
is *veladaudr,* insidious death (Björketorp and Stentofta Stones,
7th and 8th cent.), the first part of which appears to be the
genitive plural of the ON. *vél* (cunning). Also certain ON.
compounds with archaic forms in the first part suggest that the
type dates back to Primitive Norse, e.g. *hjalsnamár,* *Hisingsbúlar*
(Noreen, § 390, 2); *ánsátt* (Noreen, § 404, 2). In the earliest
ON. prose and poetry the secondary compounds are very

1 J. Grimm, *Deutsche Grammatik,* p. 598, also quotes the Gothic
*prágrijil* and *sigijlaus* as genitive compounds, but these are primary
compounds formed with *-s* stems. Another example of the secondary
compounds quoted by Grimm may be *daligisciðul,* but the two words
are written separately in the MS., and as is shown below, it is unlikely
that any secondary compounds were formed with nomina agentis in
the second part in early Germanic.

2 J. Grimm, *op. cit.,* p. 409: 'Durch nomina propria, benennungen
der bäume und pflanzen scheinen sie vorzüglich herbeigeführt worden
zu sein.'
common, and it is no longer possible to trace the semantic type from which they developed. In fact, the genitive formation has invaded the compounds with an adjective or prefix as the first member, e.g. *alisbærr, einstigr, medalsdagr*. A classification of the secondary compounds in ON. would hardly serve any useful purpose, but we may consider in more detail the emergence of the type in West German.

The West German secondary compounds have been classified by Jacob Grimm, and his classification may still serve as a model, although it is now possible to formulate the semantic categories more precisely than Grimm did.¹

The earliest parallels amongst the secondary compounds in the West Germanic languages are the names of the days of the week which were formed in the Lower Rhine area about the 4th century on the model of the Latin names, but these can hardly have been the starting-point of the type and must have been formed on the analogy of existing secondary compounds.

**Old High and Old Low German**

A precise distinction between primary and secondary compounds in OHG. and OLG. cannot be drawn, as in many cases it is doubtful whether the vowel in the bridge of the compound represents a case ending or whether it is a glide between awkward groups of consonants. Moreover, Grøger has shown that there was a tendency in late OHG. to discard the *s* or *n* of the genitive ending in the secondary compounds and to refashion them on the model of the still powerful group of primary compounds. These later analogical formations are, however, of value because they prove that the genitive phrases had coalesced to a word-unit and were no longer felt as a syntactic group.²

In the following account the possible OHG. and OLG. secondary compounds from the 8th to the 10th century are quoted in full, but from later texts only a few examples are given, as the type was by that time extended beyond the original semantic categories, and owing to the numerous analogical formations it is hardly possible to make any longer a clear distinction between the primary and secondary formation.

¹ See J. Grimm, *op. cit.*, pp. 600 ff. Grimm's classification has been adopted with some modifications by Grøger, §§ 16-17, from whom the following account is largely drawn.

² See Grøger, § 16, and Schröder, *ZfdA.* 37, 124 ff., who explains compounds with *sunna-, sunno-, sunni-, sunne-* from forms with a genitive in the first part, the genitive ending *n* having been dissimilated.
(vi) Names of dwellings and their parts, especially when the first member denotes the possessor, or the second a part of the whole denoted by the first member: 9th century: brüichamara (Jc.), hellephorta (T.), snechinhds; 10/11th century: bruestosol (N.), akbutothás (Gl.), godobedi (Gl.), gedorasta (Gl.), kuningeshof (Gl.), burgeter, (N.), risönburg (N.); the last example is doubtful as the two words are written separately in the MS.

(vii) Compounds with -líth or -líth. The first member appears in the genitive plural form in the earliest examples, but in later texts the vowel is reduced to e, and the compounds of this type are then distinguished from the primary compounds only by their meaning. The secondary compounds of this type denote 'each member of a class' or 'the regular repetition of an event.' There is one example of this type in the early glosses: sesavánitíth (Rb.), but they become frequent in Otfrid: friuntíth (each friend), guatálíth (each good thiing), leidalíth, lidolíth, mannilíth, wibíth, wortolíth, worlogíth. Other examples from Notker are: díngolíth, díetíth, endegelíth, guotíth, rossolíth, járogetíches, etc. The formation is found in HG. only, and is absent from OLG. and OE.

(viii) Compounds with -lós. These compounds which are found in the earliest texts obviously arise from a syntactic phrase consisting of the adjective lós and a dependent genitive. The gradual coalescence of such a group is well illustrated by the Hel. where the MS. C has four times sundílos, compared with sundea lós or sundeemo lós in MS. M. Other examples of the type are: 8/9th century: gounílos (Pa, K, O), furgoumolísen (T.), kúlítós (and Ps.), kanátílos (H.), ruukhalílos (B.), drostílos (O.); 10th century: ázalísi, krefílos, mótílos, all in glosses; and from Notker: brútelos, guotelíos, hefelís, hówetolíos, etc.

(ix) Compounds with -ern or -erní. The bridge vowel in these compounds was probably originally a sporadic vowel, but there is no doubt that in late OHG. (N.) secondary compounds with -ern existed. There are two examples of compounds with an irregular vowel, which is probably sporadic, from the 10th century: lihtigern (MSD. 96, 20), ruomigern (MSD. 77, 16).

Secondary compounds
Later examples from Notker are: unnietegern, râwogern, wísegerm.

(x) Compounds with -heit, -schaft, -tum; 8/9th century: kissetinsceaf (K.), thiarnudham (O.); 10/11th cent.: purgintum, purintum, helletium, hersegentum, kindeshcit. It is possible that the Hel. compounds erdlibiscapu, metodiginiscapu, reganogiscapu, guotiniscapu also belong here although the vowel may have developed originally as a glide before the g.

In his account of the secondary compounds Gröger also includes a class of compounds the first member of which is an old -s stem (see Gröger, §§ 17 and 20, 1). There is, however, no need to distinguish any such category, as the old -s stems originally appeared in OHG. as primary compounds without composition vowel, e.g. rinstdal (Rd. Jb. I, 271, 4). Not until the 10th century do the -s stems appear in the first part of secondary compounds, and the examples from that period can be accommodated in the categories distinguished above, e.g. rinstdal (10th cent. Gl.), rinstdazung (11th cent. Gl.), etc. The only possible exception to this is sigezemo (H.) which Gröger considers to be an old secondary compound. It has been suggested above that this is a primary compound retaining the old -s stem in the first part (see p. 304), and it should be noted that nomina agentis do not appear in the second part of the secondary compounds in early OHG. Not until Notker do we find examples of secondary compounds with nomina agentis in the second part: fuorogebo, naturosagin, guadófnáha, sâmogeba.

Gröger also points out that certain first members of compounds regularly appear in the inflected form, e.g. compounds with brút and sunna, but all the examples before the 10th century can be grouped in the categories distinguished above, and later examples as brútelob (N.), brútesang (N.), brútelovt (12th cent.) are due to the analogical extension of the type to semantic categories other than the original ones.

Gröger also distinguishes a class of secondary compound, the first part of which is a foreign word, but these do not appear until the 11th century glosses and the majority of the examples can be placed in the original semantic categories, e.g. phaffendümo, phaffensoe, phaffenszib, harphensnar, etc.

Lastly Gröger gives a list of compounds dating from the 8th to the 10th century which do not fall within the groups which
he distinguishes: pōhastap (Pa), elinames (K), mētanemo (K, Ra), hentikiscrīp (Ra), burugisettu (Gen.), ērgreht (O.), nōtigisall (O.), bukeestaf, thiadekunn (Gl. Lips.), bāgostrid, manslahtispil, spēlisist (9th cent. Gl.); hornobero, gotesgel, kātadrahhascripo, spiinempeppi (10th cent. Gl.). Some of these have already been explained as sporadic vowels; the remainder are secondary compounds formed on the analogy of the normal types.

The first part of the OHG. and OLG. secondary compounds is normally a genitive singular, but plural forms do occur in early texts, e.g. werodheodagot (Is.), werodheoadruhtin (Is. M.), fītukōměrī (K), and possibly the Hel. compounds eldībarn, liudibarn, metodogiscapu, reganogiscapu, and the genitive plural compounds with -lih or -gilh. In 10th and 11th century texts and glosses such formations become more frequent, although they are still relatively rare as compared with the genitive singular compounds: abkutiohūs (Gl. II, 763, 17); afgodohūs (Gl. II, 577, 58), godobedī (Gl. II, 583, 19), godorasta (Gl. II, 584, 13); in these last two examples the vowel o may have arisen as in godowebebi by assimilation to the stem syllable, although it may have been interpreted later as the gen. pl. ending; wiþohosa (Gl. I, 596, 18), marchōnhuotel (N.), guadōnflēka (N.), hornobero (Gl. Arg.) and the compounds with the petrified genitive plural frōmo which date from the 10th century.

It will be seen that the first part of the secondary compounds consisting of two substantives is in the majority of cases a personal noun or an animal name, and the whole type clearly arises from a syntactic phrase consisting of a substantive and a dependent genitive denoting a possessive relation.

OLD ENGLISH

The secondary compounds are relatively rare in OE. as compared with OHG. or ON., and although such compounds exist in Modern English they are normally hyphenated, which suggests that the two members are felt as being more loosely connected than in the primary compounds.

The same difficulty of drawing a precise distinction between the primary and secondary compounds in OE. is experienced as with OHG. On the one hand, the unusual vowels which appear in the bridge of the compounds may originally have been sporadic vowels and may have been interpreted later as case-endings, and on the other, the final s or n of the genitive

ending may have been dissimilated so that the first part of the secondary compounds may not have a clearly genitive form. It has, for instance, been suggested above (p. 292) that the compounds with a weak noun in the first part and a or e in the bridge may originally have been secondary compounds, in which the final n has been dropped, or that they may simply have been influenced by the nominative form of the simplex. In the following account of the secondary compounds these formations are not quoted again, since it is impossible to tell in each individual case whether the compound is primary or secondary, but it may be noted that the majority of the formations fall within the semantic groups distinguished below and may therefore quite well be secondary compounds. A further difficulty is experienced with the OE. compounds arising from the prevalent practice in OE. of writing the two members of the compounds separately which makes it practically impossible to distinguish between a syntactic group and a secondary compound.

The following categories of secondary compounds may be distinguished in OE.:

(i) Names of the days of the week and analogical formations, sunnanedag, etc. Other analogical formations are: gebyrdetdag (Hom. Th. I, 32, 13), restedag (Bd. Ex. W-W.), sunnanlēoma (GD. 171, 172), sunnanscam (MF. 173), sunnansetgong (Chron. 773), úhtantud (Bd. W-W. 53, 7), úhtuntud (MkR. 13, 35), úhtantīna.

(ii) Personal relationships: áhemann (AE.), áhetswān (LL.), (either a genitive in the first part or a sporadic vowel), gātakirdle (LL.), hyldemōg (Gen.), (either a genitive or a sporadic vowel), lanemsan, oxuncell (AE.), oxanhird (W-W.), rōdesmann (EC), probably borrowed from ON., scīremann (LL.), scīrecilla (W.), tūnsmann (LL.), stōresmann, hēáfdesmann (Chron. 1052), borrowed from ON. 1

(iii) There are a large number of secondary formations amongst the OE. plant-names, which, although they are written separately, must on account of the isolation of meaning be considered as compounds. The following do appear with the two members written together: gāetrēow, gāledyrne, haranhige, haranspecel, harantwērt, hēnnebelle,

1 On the alleged brīdiguma (W-W. 171, 7), see p. 286, note i.
Hennewol, müsepse, oxanslyppe, wulfesfist, wulfesfæst, wulfescamb. Other plant-names of the same type but always written separately are: dæges ðæge, foxes ðlöfa, geaces sære, hrafnes fōt, etc.

(iv) Parts of the body: gāelhær, ylpesbān.

(v) Names of implements: bogenstreng, byttelhīd, tunnebotm, wēdērāp, dagmālsplīu.

(vi) Names of dwellings and their parts, especially compounds in -land formed on the analogy of place-names (e.g. Englandland): ðōteland, ærdeland, fœrmelhám, mædeweland, nunnanmynster, gālahūs. To this group belong also most of the compounds with helle-, e.g. hellehūs, hellegeat, hellegrund, hellesēad, and possibly the two compounds with hilpe- in late Charters: hilpeburna, hilpegeat, which are modelled on the numerous secondary compounds amongst the place-names.

(vii) Compounds with -lēas (see the similar but more numerous group in OHG.): hyldeleas (Dan.), mihyleleas (Chron. 1053).

(viii) Compounds with -wyrde: gemyndewyrde (BH.), rōdewyrde (HL).

(ix) Compounds with -hād: fœmmanhād, papanhād, wuduwanhād.

Other secondary formations not falling within the above groups are: ðēweweard (Bl.), mihtesl (EETS. 34, 301), rindeclīfer (W.-W.), rōdegealga (MD.), rōdehængen (AE.), rōdelāct (a loan-translation of signum crucis), sibbecoss (ES. 33, 176), sibbegeðriht, marmansān (And. Horn. Th. Bl.).

It will be observed that all these secondary formations, which do not fall into the usual semantic categories, are found only in late texts (with the exception of marmansān), and that in many cases, especially the compounds of rōde-, mihtesl, and rindeclīfer, the vowel may be a sporadic one.

The OE. secondary compounds are, therefore, very similar to those in OHG. and OLG. They can be grouped in similar semantic classes, and as in OHG. and OLG. the most numerous ones are found in the first three classes and the sixth. We may therefore assume that the secondary compounds in West Germanic were formed to denote the days of the week, personal relationships, plant-names, and names of dwellings, the latter being formed on the analogy of the place-names.

CHAPTER V

THE SEMANTIC TYPES

It has been suggested in the Introduction that the writing together of two words is not a sure test of a compound, as especially in the older Germanic languages words which have clearly entered into composition are frequently written separately. In many cases, however, the compound is isolated either in form or meaning as compared with its members, and the compound is, therefore, not identical with the sum of its parts. Although the logical relationship between the parts of the compound may be defined and stated by a syntactic phrase, such a definition will not always give the meaning of the compound as a whole. It would, for instance, be impossible to define the meaning of the compound Johanniswürmchen by stating the logical relation of Johannis to würmchen, and even if the meaning of a primary compound can be defined by a syntactic phrase, the compound cannot be identified with it and has certainly not arisen from it. It is clear that since the relationship between the parts of the primary compounds is not expressed morphologically, the compounds are more vague and less precise than syntactic phrases. This may at times cause ambiguity, but what the compounds lose in precision, they gain in flexibility and suggestiveness, and for this reason combination is a method of word-formation which is peculiarly suited to poetry. Also certain ideas can be brought out by compounds which could only be expressed syntactically by a long and cumbersome phrase. A compound such as 'rainbow' expresses with the minimum amount of effort an idea which could only be brought out otherwise by a sentence. From all this it follows that although an attempt may be made to classify the compounds from a semantic point of view, it would be impossible to state all the relationships which do occur, and to
assign each compound to a particular class. Nevertheless certain main categories may be distinguished.¹

In general the compounds may be divided into four semantic types:

(i) The two members may be co-ordinate, e.g. sumofatarungo, gisunfader. These compounds were named Duandva by the Old Indian grammarians; their occurrence in the Germanic languages has already been dealt with in Part I, Chap. 2, of this work, and no further remarks on the type are necessary.

(ii) The first member may limit the second and may stand in a case or prepositional relationship to it. This class, which was named Taipuruša by the Old Indian grammarians, includes in Germanic compounds of noun + noun, noun + adj., verb + noun, verb + adj.

(iii) The first member may denote an attribute of the second. These compounds, named Karmadhāraja by the Old Indian grammarians, include formations of adj. + noun, adj. + adj., verb + noun (e.g. G. Stinstein), Bahuvarhis, and compounds of two nouns, e.g. OHG. goldfas.²

(iv) The relationship between the two parts may be appositional, each part denoting a different aspect of the same thing, e.g. OLG. mágrunin, a person who is a friend and relative. In this group are also included the compounds, in which the first part denotes the species and the second the genus proximum, e.g. OHG. hasalnis, and the so-called

pleonastic compounds, in which no new idea is added to the simplex when it is combined with another word, e.g. wāteryð, in which the meaning of the first member is already contained in the second. The appositional compounds may finally merge into tautological compounds in which two synonyms are combined. In this group of appositional compounds may also be included those formations of noun + noun or adj. + adj. in which the second part is compared to the first, e.g. OHG. grasergnuni, green as grass. Although the relation between the two members of these compounds is not strictly appositional, they may be included here as the first member does not stand in a case or prepositional relation to the second.

In various compounds belonging originally to types (ii), (iii), and (iv) the first or second member may lose its full significance and develop into an intensifying prefix or into a suffix. These do not represent a different semantic type from the other determinatives, but morphologically they are on the borderline between compounds and derivatives and in the following account are dealt with separately after the main semantic categories have been discussed.

We may now examine the main semantic types in more detail, and see how they are distributed amongst the various classes of compounds.

A. SUBSTANTIVE + SUBSTANTIVE

(i) Case or Prepositional Relationship

In the majority of the determinatives consisting of two substantives the first member stands in a case or prepositional relationship to the second, and within this group the following logical categories may be distinguished.

(a) The second member may be a nomen actionis from an intransitive verb, and the first may be the logical subject of the action. Judging from the parallels between the Germanic languages this type did not exist in Primitive Germanic, and no examples of it are found in Gothic. There are, however, two early parallels of this type in West Germanic: OE. eorðeōfing (p. 98, No. 25), hancrēd (p. 99, No. 42),³ although neither of

¹ The fullest account of the semantic types which occur in Germanic has been given by Jacob Grimm in the second part of his Deutsche Grammatik. Grimm formulates the relationship between the two parts of the compounds by means of Modern German prepositions, but admits (p. 439) that many of the compounds he classifies could be interpreted differently. Since the time of Grimm the semantic aspect of the Germanic compounds has been neglected, although the matter has been dealt with in a short article by A. Western, Om Nominalkomposita i Germansk, saerlig i Norsk, Maal og Minne, 1919, pp. 45 ff., and the Gothic compounds have been classified semantically by K. F. Johansson, Nominalsammansättnings i gotiskan, Nordiska Studier tillnegade Adolf Noreen, Uppsal, 1904.

² Grimm (p. 431) includes the last group under the relationship aus, interpreting goldfas as 'a vessel made of gold.' Such a class certainly existed, and it is impossible to tell in each particular instance whether the first part is to be regarded as an attribute of the second, or whether it stands in a prepositional relationship to it. In fact, a precise distinction between Taipuruša and Karmadhāraja can no longer be drawn in Germanic.

³ Here and in the following account only one example of each parallel is quoted. The other parallels may be found by reference to Part I of this work.
these formations can be proved definitely to have existed in Primitive West Germanic. In the several Germanic languages compounds of this type are rare, and the logical relationship in question was usually expressed by a genitive phrase, but examples are found: OE. deofoldan, heregæn, sunbryne; OHG. erdfal, erdgruornnessi, erdbaba, aharunst, bluogang, hererfart; ON. blóðfall, munnanfall, vatnsfall, hererð.

(b) The second member may be a verbal noun, and the first may be the logical object of the action. This type is very common in all the Germanic languages and certainly existed in Primitive Germanic, e.g. arbinumja (p. 43, No. 1), ON. erfglygrdr (p. 47, No. 11), OHG. hagastalt (p. 48, No. 25), ON. tordryf (p. 52, No. 68), ON. valkyrja (p. 55, No. 31); or with a nomen actionis in the second part: OE. mundbyrd (p. 102, No. 78), mansið (p. 101, No. 70), OHG. heinberga (p. 106, No. 3), scastwurf (p. 107, No. 22), Gothic broþulubo.

(c) The first part of the compound may indicate the place where the second part is or for which it is intended. This type is common in all the Germanic languages, and a few examples of early formations may suffice to illustrate it: ON. armbaugr (p. 46, No. 2), brandrœisl (p. 46, No. 3), OHG. erdhus (p. 47, No. 14), erdnur (p. 47, No. 15), OE. healssene (p. 48, No. 28), heofontungoi (p. 50, No. 40), Gothic wiktstainas.

(d) The first member may denote the place from which the second comes. As the compounds generally serve to denote the connection between two concepts rather than the separation, this type is rare in the Germanic languages, and its existence in Primitive Germanic cannot be demonstrated by the parallels. Amongst the West Germanic parallels there is only one formation which could be included here, and it is doubtful whether it is an original West Germanic compound: OE. yfesdæ type, drip from the eaves (p. 114, No. 97). A few formations of this type are, however, found amongst the Germanic languages: OE. heofonfor, fire from heaven, herefysma, deserter; OHG. himitlos, drew from heaven, ON. landflotti, exile.

(e) The first part may denote the goal of an action, the second part being a verbal noun. Compounds of this type are

\[\text{not very numerous in the Germanic languages. There is only one early parallel amongst them, OE. wærgænna (p. 53, No. 73), and there are no examples of the formation in Gothic. The type is fairly well represented in the West Germanic languages, although again there is only one early parallel, OHG. sedalgang (p. 103, No. 91). Other examples of independent formations in the Germanic languages are: OHG. kirimhgang, himilfart, OE. cirigang, helað, ON. kirkjuferð.}\]

(f) The first part of the compound may denote the time when the second part takes place. The type is quite common in early Germanic, and the following Primitive Germanic formations may suffice to illustrate it: Gothic undaurnimats (p. 45, No. 9), ON. norgangjof (p. 51, No. 51), OHG. tagawerk (p. 52, No. 67); and from West Germanic: OHG. nahtigala (p. 102, No. 79), OHG. nahtcato (p. 102, No. 80).

(g) The first part may denote the purpose for which the second is used. This type is very common in all the Germanic languages, and there is no doubt that it existed in Primitive Germanic, e.g. Gothic augadauro, window, literally 'door for the eye' (p. 44, No. 2), matibals (p. 45, No. 7), OE. meoweryt, (p. 50, No. 47), ON. nasfar (p. 51, No. 55), ON. guunborð (p. 54, No. 13), OHG. steigereif (p. 52, No. 61). In addition many of the compounds which have been included under (c) above, e.g. ON. armbaugr, could be regarded as belonging to this type.

(h) The first part may denote the implement or the means with which an action is carried out, e.g. ON. handbani (p. 48, No. 29), OE. handgripe (p. 99, No. 43), and the following independent formations: ON. fjölespor, OHG. handwerk, hangtät.

(i) The first part may denote the substance from which the second part is made or the thing with which it is formed. The formation is very common in all the Germanic languages, and examples are found in Primitive Germanic: ON. jardbork (p. 47, No. 13), OLG. fædrboamo (p. 47, No. 16), OE. lenerhosu (p. 50, No. 42), ON. skjaldborg (p. 52, No. 60), Gothic eisarnabandi. The compounds of this type may also be considered as attributive compounds, in which the first part has the same logical relation to the second as in the compounds consisting of an adjective and a noun.

(j) The compound may consist of two non-verbal nouns, in which the first member stands in the relation of a possessive genitive to the second. Compounds of this type are very
common in all the Germanic languages, especially when the two parts denote persons or parts of the body. The following Primitive Germanic compounds will illustrate the type: ON. brúðgami (p. 46, No. 6), OHG. brustbein (p. 46, No. 4), OE. hōksinu (p. 49, No. 34), ON. kannni (p. 50, No. 41), OE. lītham (p. 50, No. 44), OHG. swertfewhil (p. 52, No. 66), ON. valdreyri (p. 55, No. 31).

It will be seen from the above examples that the compounds express a more intimate and permanent connection between two concepts than the prepositional phrase. A compound such as armnaug denotes a ring which is always or generally on the arm, and it is impossible to make a compound of two words between which there is no permanent relation; e.g. an idea such as 'a sparrow on the roof' cannot be expressed by a compound 'roof-sparrow' (see Grimm, op. cit., p. 439).

(ii) Attributive Relationship

The attributive relationship between two substantives is found only in those compounds the first part of which denotes a substance from which the second part is made, e.g. goldfæs, golden vessel. It is, however, doubtful whether such compounds are to be included here or whether they are to be regarded as Tatpurusa, and included under (i) of the previous section.

(iii) Appositional Relationship

The compounds of two substantives in apposition to each other form the most interesting group from the semantic point of view, and the most varied types are found.

(a) The first part of the compound denotes a concept with which the second part is compared.

It is stated by Grimm (p. 440) that this relationship is not often found amongst the substantive compounds, but Grimm has apparently not realised that many plant-names are to be included in this category. The following Primitive Germanic and West Germanic parallels show that the type was well represented in early Germanic: Swed. bjørnbaer, blackberry, i.e. berry black as a bear (p. 42, No. 2), OHG. ganskapuh, goshawk, i.e. hawk like a goose (p. 48, No. 21), OE. bānwyrt (p. 96, No. 2), colmāse, titmouse, i.e. tit as black as coal (p. 97, No. 16), goldfīsc (p. 99, No. 36), OHG. goldwurs (p. 99, No. 37), hindberi, raspberry, so called from the thorns which are compared to the antlers of a stag (p. 100, No. 49), mīśīīou, mildew, i.e. dew like honey (p. 101, No. 71), OE. ālēpū, eel-pout, i.e. a fish like an eel (p. 108, No. 1). See also OE. healswyrt, sperewyrt, OHG. nīðartwīs, G. Lautfrosch, Staubregen.

To this group belong also the plant-names, the first member of which is an animal or personal name, e.g. OHG. haninfuōs, gallicrus, i.e. a plant like a cock’s foot. These cases of the so-called comparativa compendaria are very similar to the Bavurhri compounds as their meaning is exocentric, but they are different from the real Bavurhrihs in that they arose as metaphorical transfers of existing Tatpurusa compounds, e.g. the compound haninfuōs may have meant originally ‘a cock’s foot,’ and may have been metaphorically transferred to the plant-name. Originally the relation between the two parts was simply that of the possessive genitive, but when they were transferred to the plant-name a change in the relationship takes place. The plant-name haninfuōs means literally a ‘plant with a foot (used metaphorically) like a cock’s foot.’ In the early Germanic languages most of the formations of this kind were loan-translations from Latin as the following examples from OHG. will illustrate: berenclawe (branca urina), fogalszunga (lingua avis), haninfuōs (gallicrus, gallipes), haninhoubet (caput galli), haninchopf (caput galli), hasenōra (auricula leporis), hirzeszunga (lingua cervina), chalbesfīuōs (pes vituli), scăfessunga (berbicena lingua).

(b) The first part of the compound may denote the species and the second the genus proximus.

This type of compound is very common in the Germanic languages at all periods. To it belong, for instance, many of the compounds ending in -baum (bukbaum, eschelbaum), -beri (kerseberi), -stein (OE. ceosolstān, OHG. giroistein), -nus (hasalnus), -kunni (fogalkunni, mankunni, wurmknunni), -fīsc (OE. āfīsc), -tir (tigertir) and many of the sex compounds which are treated in the next section. It is particularly noticeable that these generic names are often added to foreign nouns, and the addition of a native element serves to explain the foreign name. Such formations may be termed explanatory compounds.

The following are recorded from OHG.:
-aphel: figaphel, mirtilapel, pinaphel. 1
-berti: kerseberi, kurbizberi, kurnīberi, lōberi, mūrberi, olīberi.

1 In many cases the Latin words from which compounds of this kind are formed denoted both the tree and the fruit, and the addition of aphel, beri, or bōm in German serves to distinguish the two.
-boum: buhsboum, cédirboum, cupresboum, kurbsboum, dahsboum, eschiboum, figboum, kesteneboum, curneboum, lorichboum, miirtilboum, mespliboum, mürboum, palmboum, papelboum, pireboum, pinboum, prümbrünboum, sevinboum, ulnboum.
-stein: agatstein, marmilstein, tufstein.
-tier: damatlier, pantirtier, tigertier (all from the 12th cent.).
-wurs: This word is frequently added to foreign plant-names and the foreign word modified by popular etymology, e.g. drählenwurs (dracontea), engelfwurs (angelica), scelliwurs (chelidonium).

Other explanatory additions to foreign words are: asclouh (asclonion), rösebluoma, tavernhus, turültübe, unilouh (unio).

Similar explanatory additions to foreign words are also common in OE:
-bēam or trēow: boxbēam, cir sbēam, cirstrēow, cisentbēam, elebēam, eletrēow, fītrēow, laurbēam, lautrēow, mōrbēam, palntrēow, pīnēam, pintrēow.
-berie: eberie, laurberie, mōrberie.
-lēac: cipelēac, porrelēac, yunelēac.
-stān: marmanstān, pumicstān.
-dēor and wyrt do not seem to be added to foreign words in OE.

The addition of an explanatory generic term in this way is, of course, not restricted to foreign words, although the formation is oftenest found with them. Similar explanatory additions are made to native words especially when the first element has become or is becoming etymologically obscure. It is, for instance, probable that the ON. compound sị̄j̆opnær and its Germanic equivalents (see p. 52, No. 64) was formed in this way, and that the other compounds denoting a similar relationship were formed on analogy with it (see also OE. wīkhana, OHG. orrehano, p. 105, No. 119; and G. Schwiegermutter, Schwäher-vater). The formation of explanatory compounds of this type frequently results in the obsolescence of the simplex, e.g. G. Maütter (from Latin mulus), ELentier, Walfisch (already in OHG.), Windhund (MHG. wind), Schermaus (MHG. scher), Turtelauke, Buchsbaum, Kichererbe (MHG. kicher from Latin cicera), Engl. mulberry, reindeer.1

(c) Sex words and diminutives formed by combination.

This group of appositional compounds is very similar to the one discussed under (b), as the second element of the compounds denoting the sex of a person or animal is frequently a generic term which is limited by the first member. In all the Germanic languages (except Gothic where no examples of these compounds are found) two types of sex and diminutive compounds are observable, (a) the sex word or diminutive word may stand first, or (b) the sex word or diminutive element may stand last. The former seems to have been the normal method in early Germanic, although examples of the latter are not lacking. This freedom in the position of the sex word is retained by the Modern Germanic languages, e.g. Engl. maid-servant or servantmaid; dogfox, dogtoter, ecelamb, but peacock, peaken, turkeycock, turkeyhen, buckgoat, but roebuck, roodeer.

In German the sex word usually stands in the second position: Hirscluh, Ziegenbock, Reihtze, Rehziege, Gemsbock, Schafbock, but a relic of the older type may be seen in Eberschwein, Ochsenrinde.

Turning now to the older Germanic languages we find that in OE. the sex word is normally placed before the generic term: 1 carlfugol, carlmann (both borrowed from ON.), cilforlam (ewe-lamb), cinhtcold (boy), cúæalf (cow-calf), eunfugol (female bird), borrowed from ON., éowelhenele (female hop-plant), the only sex compound amongst the early Germanic plant-names, eoforswīn (boar, male pig, possibly a West Germanic formation, see p. 98, No. 23), fearhrīðer (bull), gunnam (man), a West Germanic formation, see p. 106, No. 11, which is not as is sometimes asserted a tautological compound, since man in this compound means ‘human being,’ meagaman (maiden), madencild (girl), oxancealf (male calf), wēpnedmann (male, man), wīfmann (woman).

A few examples of the opposite formation with the sex word last are found in OE.:

assmyre (she-ass), gālbuca (lie-goat), heoribucc (roe-buck), olfendmyre (female camel), rādhīor (roe-buck).

The Modern Schermans. Homophones may have encouraged the formation of explanatory compounds of this kind, and may often have been the cause of the obsolescence of the simplex, but it cannot be responsible for formations as Turtelauke, Tiger-tier, OE. ðifisc, porrelēac, yunelēac.

1 Some cases are ambiguous, e.g. OE. cúæalf may be regarded as a feminization formation to cæal or a diminutive to cā.
English *roe buck*, which is also found in German and Norse, is probably a borrowing from LG. and not a Primitive Germanic formation, see p. 84, No. 35.

The young of an animal or person is usually formed in OE. as in the other Germanic languages by the addition of a word to a generic name, thus forming the second part of a compound, e.g. OE. *hindcealf*, *lónhælpe*, but there is one example in OE. of the diminutive element forming the first member of the compound: *stéoroxa* (young bull).

In OHG. and OLG. the sex word usually stands first, especially in older texts:

*bérswin*, male pig (asD. 35, 34), *bérfarh*, male pig (Gl. III, 10, 32),
*gönman*, male (Pa, K, etc.), *gömmanbarn*, boy (T.), *gömman-
chind*, boy (Gl. I, 805, 73), *köswin*, sow (asD. 24, 11, etc.),
*theugkind*, boy (T.): see also MHG. *eberswin* (OE. *eoforswin*).

A few formations are found, however, with the sex word last:

*réboc*, roebuck (Gl. II, 352, 34, etc.), *réhegis*, doe (Gl. I, 386, 35, etc.), *réhiga*, doe (Gl. III, 445, 38), *windsóha*, greyhound bitch (Gl. III, 80, 68, etc.).

The diminutives are formed in German with the diminutive element invariably in the second position: OHG. *hinikalb*, fawn (Gl. I, 539, 15, etc.), *réhkalb*, fawn (Gl. III, 33, 38, etc.), *réktissi*, fawn (Williram).

In ON. the male of an animal or personal name is formed with *karl* and the female with *kvin* in the first part, e.g. *karl-
maðr*, karlfugl, karlbarn, kvennmaðr, kvennmór, etc. The com-
-pound *róbücker* (roe buck), which is an exception to this, is a late
formation and may be borrowed from MLG. The diminutives are
formed in Norse by the addition of *kalf*, e.g. *hindarkalf* (fawn).

(d) Another type of appositional compound consists of
two substantives each of which denotes a different aspect of
the same thing, e.g. *Königinmutter*, *Prinzgemahl*. These
formations are included by some authorities amongst the
*Duanda*, but they are different from them in that they do not
denote as the *Duanda* do two unconnected and independent
things or persons. The parallels between the Germanic com-
ounds do not reveal the presence of any such compounds in
Primitive Germanic, but as they occur in West Germanic, e.g.

OE. *werewulf*, a person who is both man and wolf (see p. 104,
No. 112), OLG. *mágwini*, a person who is both friend and rela-
tive (see p. 112, No. 51) and in other Indo-Germanic languages,
it is probable that the type is old and already existed in Primitive
Germanic. Most of the compounds consist of two personal
nouns, and some of the examples are closely related to the
group (b) above formed with a generic name in the second part.
There are numerous examples of this formation in OE. poetry,
although the type is also found in prose:

ágendfréa, lord and owner, *ealdorfreá*, lord, chief, *ealdorbiscop,*
*biscopealdor*, chief bishop, *ealdormann*, alderman, ruler, chief,
ealdordegn, retainer, chief attendant, drýmann, sorcerer,
*dryhtenweard*, lord and guardian, king, *frédryhten*, lord and
winemág, relative and friend, *magurin*, youth and warrior,
majudegn, vassal, retainer, nunnfáinne, nun, hiédryhten,
and protector, *ðéowénapa*, servant, *ðéowmann*, servant,
*deghnyse*, attendant, retainer, *ðéwdamann*, witness, *esnewyrhta,*
hireling.

Formations of this type are rarer in OHG. and OLG. but a few
do occur: OHG. *arzaitgot*, Aesculapius (N. I, 694, 13), *kebeswib,*
concubine (Gl. III, 65, 47, etc.), *huorwini*, prostitute (Gl. II,
22, 43), *wibhóorra*, prostitute (MSD. 49, 2, 2); *hagastalman*,
bachelor (Gl. II, 286, 32), *leihman*, layman (K, 205, 25); OLG.
*mágwini*, relative and friend. Similar formations from ON. are
*mundjófull*, a person who is both devil and man, *mankundr*,
a person who is both man and dog.

It will be seen that many of the compounds of this type,
especially those ending in *man* or *wib* could be included in group
(b) above, in which the relation between the two members is
that of the species to the genus, but there remain a number,
e.g. *fréawine*, which certainly do not have that relationship,
and which can only be considered as appositional compounds each
part of which denotes a different aspect of the same person.
Some of these compounds are very close to the tautological
compounds discussed below, e.g. *dryhten* and *weard* are both
syonyms for 'lord' or 'king,' and the compound *dryhtenweard*
could therefore be considered tautological.

(e) Pleonastic compounds. By the term pleonastic com-
ounds is understood those formations in which the meaning of
one member is already contained in the other member of the
compound, and in which, therefore, the meaning of the whole compound is not essentially different from that of one of its parts, e.g. OE. wæterfæd does not contain any new element of meaning as compared with fæd. At first sight many of these compounds appear to define the meaning of the simplex more precisely, but their frequent occurrence in poetry, especially in OE. poetry, leads one to suspect that many were coined for the sake of the alliteration, or to fill up the alliterative line. It would be impossible to record all the pleonastic compounds here, and to decide in each particular case whether a compound is pleonastic or not, it would be necessary to know the precise meaning of each of its parts; for example a compound as 'water-wave' in Modern English would not be considered pleonastic since other formations as 'heat-wave,' 'light-wave' can be made, and to decide whether an OE. compound as wæterfæd is really pleonastic or not, it would be necessary to know whether fæd could be used in OE. in any other meaning than the primary one. A few examples of such formations in OE. and OLG. may, however, be quoted: OE. eordestede (earth), eordweag (earth), lagustræam (sea), sæstæam (sea), compounds ending in -cwæde, -dæd, -weorc, -word, e.g. gielcpæwæd, eallandæd, frindæd, lædæorc, mænæorc, bætword, bæmræword; OLG. biætæwæd, gælpæwæd, hæftædæd, læðæwæd, mæordæwæd, spotwæd, wæmdæd.1

To the pleonastic compounds belong also the compounds of species and genus recorded above under (b) and most of the sex compounds under (c).

(f) In many of the compounds recorded in the above groups, especially in those the two parts of which denote two different aspects of the same thing or person, the meanings of the two members may be so closely related that the compounds express the same idea twice over. Such formations are termed 'tautological compounds.' Probably complete semasiological identity between the two parts was rare in early Germanic as it is in the modern Germanic languages, and if it exists, would be difficult to prove as we do not know the exact field of meaning of each word in the older Germanic languages. Nevertheless, it can be asserted that a compound is tautological when each part can be used as a synonym for the other, e.g. from this

1 The full treatment of this subject must await further work on the semantics of the various words involved. As yet only a beginning has been made: see particularly L. L. Schücking, Untersuchungen zur Bedeutungslehre der ags. Dichtersprache, Heidelberg, 1915.

point of view OE. dryhtenweard may be considered a tautological compound, since each part is used as a synonym for 'king, ruler,' although the original and primary meanings of the two words are different. Most of the tautological compounds are found in OE. poetry, and as will be shown, it is probable that they were formed in many cases for the sake of the alliteration or to fill the alliterative line, but they also occur in the early Germanic prose, and there is no doubt that the type goes back to Primitive Germanic. The following parallels indicate their presence in Primitive Germanic:

ON. mjödset, OLG. mjödseðo, OE. mjödswe, mind (p. 51, No. 53). Gothic naudibandi, fetter, OHG. nöbtentig (T.), MLG. nöbende, OFris. nöbbende (p. 45, No. 8). This compound may be interpreted as a 'fetter with force,' but it has been shown by Kock1 that the Germanic *naubi- had a concrete meaning 'chain, fetter' in addition to the abstract meaning 'need, force': see Volundarkvida, II: høfgar naudir (heavy chains). Moreover, in the Gothic Bible naudibandi translates dánons which is rendered in other passages by eisarnabandi, kunawida, and there seems therefore no reason to assume that any idea of 'force' enters into the meaning of the compound. In the OHG. Tätian nöbentig translates the simple vincus.

Gothic naudipaurfis, need, OHG. nödturft, OLG. nödturft, MDu. nootdorft, OFris. nödturft, OE. nödtarfe, ÖDan. nohtarv, ÖSwed. nödtarv. The two parts of this compound can be taken to mean the same thing, and they were probably combined to intensify the meaning of the simplex.

ON. verpfjôð, nation, army, OHG. werodheoda, OE. werodeð.2

In addition to naudibandi and naudipaurfis other tautological compounds are found in Gothic:
aurtigards, garden. This is one of the earliest examples in Germanic of a tautological addition to a foreign word, similar to the explanatory pantirir, tigerr in OHG. The first part is generally supposed to be borrowed from the Latin hortus, but other etymologies have been suggested (see p. 70, No. 3), and if these are correct the compound is not tautological.

1 E. A. Kock, Old West Germanic and Old Norse, contained in Studies in English Philology in Honour of Frederick Klæber, Minneapolis, 1929.
2 ver and fjôð are, of course, not semantically identical, but it should be remembered that in this and similar compounds the first part has plural meaning in the compound.
Nominal Compounds in Germanic

marisaius, sea, translating λιμνη in Lk. 8, 22, 23, 33, which is rendered in Lk. 5, 1, 2 by the simplex 'saius.

piumagus, servant, translating παῖς in Mt. 8, 6, 8, 13; Lk. 1, 54, 69; 7, 7, which is rendered in Lk. 2, 43; 9, 42; 15, 26 by the simplex magus.

Tautological compounds are not uncommon in the OHG. prose and glosses. Many of the formations are explanatory additions to foreign words:

kämbrittel, horse's bit (Gl. I, 538, 15; N. II, 105, 24, etc.); the first part of this compound is borrowed from the Latin clamus, and brettel is added in explanation of the foreign word.

curtlachchan, curtain (Rb. I, 336, 25); the first part is borrowed from the Latin curtina.

phlænfedera, down (Gl. III, 15, 38; III, 203, 3); the first part is borrowed from the Latin pluma which is semantically identical to federa.

sonkilank, anchor (Gl. III, 370, 8); in this case the native word is added to the beginning of the foreign word ancora.1

There are also in OHG. many tautological compounds formed with native elements, sometimes to intensify the meaning and sometimes because the simplex is becoming obsolete or is etymologically isolated in the language.

ambalittesest, service, translating ministerium (N. I, 28, 8); the first part of this compound is, it is true, a foreign word borrowed from Celtic, but by the time this tautological compound was formed the word was completely naturalized.

bagostrid, controversy (Gl. II, 142, 11).

dietliu, Gentiles (Ngl. II, 302, 10).

ferheih, ilex (Gl. I, 612, 57; II, 701, 38); possibly formed because the meaning of the first part, which is etymologically identical with the Latin quercus, was transferred to 'fir.'

fleischbrat, flesh, translating carnium in Ngl. II, 339, 12.

kievovora, pine (Gl. III, 39, 10); see Kluge-Goetze under Kiefer.

letifas, cask (Gl. III, 644, 24; IV, 292, 58); for the first part see NHG. leite, cask, tub.

1 The late OHG. soumros, pack-horse, is described as a tautological compound by Götze, Trübers Deutsches Wörterbuch (under Saum), but the first part of this compound is soum, pack-saddle, not the noun soum, pack-horse, which is shortened from soumdri. See the OE. stæamhors, in which language stæam has only the meaning 'burden, load.'

The Semantic Types

lindwurm, dragon (Gl. III, 17, 63; 82, 9, etc.).

magankraft, power, strength (H. N. 150, 6, etc.): an intensifying formation which is common West Germanic.

nödbant, letter, assumed from nödbentig (T.): see above.

nödburft, pressing need (B.O.T., etc.).

ginöbgesel, companion (Gl. IV, 169, 30).

ōtwala, riches (N. I, 59, 18; 96, 19, etc.): a West Germanic formation: see OE. ēadwela.

salewiode, willow (Gl. III, 386, 12; 594, 31); the first part of this compound contains a Germanic name for the 'willow': OHG. salaha, OE. sealh, ON. selja.

sangleih, chant (N. I, 224, 25, etc., Will.).

strampe, sorel (Gl. III, 522, 1; 524, 40, etc.); both parts of this compound contain a substantival adjective meaning 'bitter.'

walaed, possessions (Is.): probably an old compound: see OE. ōhtwela.

werodeoda, army (Is. M.): see above under the Primitive Germanic tautological compounds.

wunmiust, pleasure (B. R. II, 318, 35; N. I, 168, 29, etc.): a West Germanic formation: see OE. wynlust.

Similar tautological formations are equally common in OLG., especially in the Heliand and Genesis:

ahaström, river (Hel. 1153): see also the pleonastic compounds laguström, meriström.

beniwanda, wound (Hel. 4879): not necessarily 'death wound' as it is translated by Sehrt in his Heliandwörterbuch: see OE. benv, wound, Gothic banja.

druhtfola, people (Hel. 978): see OE. dryhtfolc.

felhuscatto, coins (Hel. 1546, 1648, 1854): fehu and the sing. scat are not tautological since the latter meant 'a single coin' in early Germanic, and not a 'treasure' like the Mod. G. Schatz, but the compound felhuscattos is used only in the plural, and may therefore be considered tautological: see also OE. feohscattum, Dan. 744.

firinsundia, sin (Hel. 3659; Gen. 185): possibly a strengthening compound, but firina itself is used with the meaning 'sin.'

gadulingmág, relative (Hel. 838).

inwintid, enmity (Hel. 4924): see OE. inwintid.

klústarbená, letter (Hel. 2723): an example of an explanatory addition to a foreign word: klústar is borrowed from the Latin claustrum.
liudwerod, people (Hel. 2899, 4157): see OE. lēodwerod. The
Hel. compound liudwerod does not appear to be tautological
in the one passage where it occurs, as it has the meaning
'people of the same country.'
liudfolc, people (Hel. 1367).
meginkraft, power (Hel. 156, 2173, etc.): see OHG. magankraft.
meginstrengi, might (Hel. 4354); like meginkraft an intensifying
tautological compound.
ménsclád, sin, crime (Hel. 1609, 1620).
módisebo, mind (Hel. 386, 879, etc.); a Primitive Germanic
tautological compound.
méðamhord, treasure (Hel. 1643, 1676, etc.). The simplex
méðom means a 'jewel' in OLG., but see OE. módum, treasure, 
jewel, and the reversed compounds hordmáðom, máðomhord,
both meaning 'treasure,' suggest that there was little dif-
ference in meaning between the two parts.
ódwela, possessions, riches (Hel. 1105, 1540, etc.); a common
West Germanic tautological compound: see OHG. ótwala, 
OE. ðætswela.

The examples of tautological formations in the OLG. glosses
are rare, but the following are recorded:
kámbriddel (asD. 85, 18): see OHG. kámbrittel.
nóðthwurft (asD. 16, 26): see OHG. nóðdurft.
thistilkarda, thistle (asD. 110, 20); the second part of this com-
 pound is borrowed from the Latin carduus and the native
 thiistik is added in explanation of it.

Many of these tautological compounds survive into Mod.
German and new ones are formed at all periods:
MHG. kämpfweic, fight (an example of an addition to a foreign
word), German Kienförhe, Habergeiss, Lindwurm, Diebstahl,
Salweide, Sauerampfer.

The richest source for the tautological compounds in the
Germanic languages is the OE. alliterative poetry. As far as
the present writer are aware these have not been collected, and
a full list is therefore given: ¹

æhtgesteald, possession (Jul.).
æhtgestreōn, possessions (Ph.).

¹ An incomplete list of tautological compounds is given by
E. Koeppep, Tautological Compounds in the English Language, contained
in An English Miscellany presented to F. J. Furnivall, Oxford, 1901,
pp. 201 ff., and by Bergsten, op. cit., pp. 143 ff.
Nominal Compounds in Germanic

holtwudu, a wood (B. Ph.) : see also wuduholt in prose.
hordgestrôn, treasure (B. An. Jul. Met.).
hordmâdm, treasure (B.) : see mãdmhord and the OLG. médom-
hord.
inwinið, enmity (B. Hy.) : see OLG. inwidnið.
lêódweras, people, men (Ex. Gen.).
lêódwerod, people (Ex.).
mægcraeft, strength (B. Cr. Gu. Met.).
mægenellen, strength (B.).
mædelcwide, discourse (Gu. Sol.).
mãdmhord, treasure (Ex.) : see hordmâdm.
mâdmgestrôn, treasure (B.).
mânbealu, crime (Dan.).
mâncyl, crime, sin (Hy.).
môdgehyð, thought (B. Ps.).
môdgemyn, mind, thought (An. El. Met.).
môdsfæa, mind (B. An. Gen. Gu. Sol., etc.) : see OLG. môdseda,
ON. môdsfæi.

niðhete, enmity (Dan.).
rimgetæl, number (Gen.).
rímitæl, number (El.).
sâholm, sea (An.).
sincgestrôn, treasure (B. An.).
sincmâdm, treasure (B.).
sorgearu, anxiety (Gu.).
suwylidæð, death (Ps.).
symbelgereord, feast (Sol.).
werððod, people, nation (Exod. An. Gen. El., etc.) : see ON.
 werþþod and OHG. werodheodha.

Similar tautological compounds in the OE. prose are much less numerous:
bœrweord, pledge (W-W. 279, 16).
brytenfæl, barrel : an explanatory addition to the foreign word
byden.
bûrcot, bedchamber (CP.).
castellbûrc, castle : an explanatory addition to a foreign word.
clûstorphoc, prison : also an explanatory addition to the foreign
word clûstor from the Latin claustrum.
cneôwsibb, generation, race : see cnéow, which has in addition
to the usual meaning 'step in a generation' the subsidiary
meaning 'generation.'

Cnihûtugod, youth (A. 8, 299).
corenbâg, crown (A. 9, 172) : another explanatory addition to
a foreign word.
crætwân, chariot (AO.).
crochwæer, earthen pot.
êoredgerid, troop of horsemen (W-W. 229, 1) : the primary mean-
ing of êored is 'troop of horsemen,' but it is also used in OE.
with the meaning 'company, band,' and the four compounds
êoredheap, êoredmenig, êoredrêal, êoredweorð could therefore
be considered tautological.
gerintæl, number : see rimgetæl, rimulau.
haesergâl, goat : see G. Habergeiss. This compound could
however, be considered as a sex-compound forming a masculine
from gâl.
hrægelgewæde, dress (W-W. 430, 33).
hrimforst, hoar-frost (LPs.) : possibly a compound of the type
species and genus.
hwilletum, sometimes : an adverbial dat. pl. to the non-extant
hwiltid.
locfæx, hair (W-W. 379, 42).
locgewind, hair (W-W. 199, 7).
mægenstrengðu, great strength : an intensifying formation.
mægenstreuðu, great strength.
mægôsibb, kindred (HGL. 523).
nieddæraf, need, necessity.
orgægard, orchard : see Gothic autrigarðs above.
plûmfæðer, down.
racentæh, chain.
rêdgedæhü, counsel, consultation.
sandceosol, sand, gravel (AE.).
scrêwæn, chariot.
spearlíra, calf of the leg.
tîtstrycel, teat (W-W. 158, 44).
willspring, spring.
wisiwete, food, sustenance.
wudhuð, a wood.
wudhuweal, a wood.
wynbiss, joy.
wynlust, pleasure.

In later periods of English tautological compounds are rare
and are mostly explanatory additions to foreign words, e.g. ME.
leodfolc (Lay.), love-amour, love-drury, wonder-mervaille, ciferoun.
Contrary to the practice in the OE. poetry tautological compounds are not often found in ON. verse. There are in fact only two formations of this type in the ON. Edda:

dröttmegir, followers (Akv. 2, 1): possibly better considered as a pleonastic formation, although megin, which means literally ‘sons, youths,’ is also used in the sense ‘followers’ in the ON. poetry; folkárði (Hym. 36, 4), band of warriors; see OE. folceard;

From the later Norse poetry the Primitive Germanic formation môðsef may also be considered tautological: see OLG. môðsefô, OE. môðsefa.

The prevalence of appositional, pleonastic, and tautological compounds in the West Germanic poetry as compared with their relative infrequency in prose and in the ON. Edda suggests that many of these formations were made for the sake of the alliteration by the West Germanic poets whose skill was unequal to the demands which the alliterative verse made upon them. It will be shown in Part III of this work that the Eddic poets are sparing in comparison with the West Germanic poets in their use of recurring first elements in the compounds, and that they met the demands of the alliterative verse without having recourse to such devices. It would be impossible to give absolute proof of the assertion that appositional, pleonastic, and tautological compounds were coined to provide the necessary alliteration or to fill the alliterative line, but some support is given to it by the fact that such compounds are often reversed without change of meaning. It is true that this reversal of the members of the compounds is found amongst animal and fish names which are prose words, but it is most frequently met with in the OE. poetry, and does not occur in the ON. Edda or the OHG. rhyming poetry.

The following animal and fish names appear in a reversed form:

OE. Òlepute (eelpout), MDU. aalpuit but also MDU. purtâl, OFris. purtal, MLG. pâtal.

1 bjôreig and giveig are species and genus compounds (veig = intoxicating drink). In his glossary to the Edda Gering interprets þjôkrôdr (Am. 61, 1) as a tautological compound, bringing the first part together with the Gothic puy, but similar tautological adjectives are not found in the other Germanic languages, and it is more likely that the first part of this compound is the noun þjôk used in an intensifying sense (see ON. þjôuleir, þjômarr, and p. 349 below.

The semantic types

German Aalqualle (eelpout) and reversed, German Quabbaal, Du. kvaab.

German Aalraupe (eelpout) and in the reversed form with a diminutive suffix, MLG. rufolke, Middle and Lower Rhenish dialects rufolke.

OE. dopfugel (water-fowl), reversed as fugeldoppe.

OE. gangecæfe (spider), reversed as weifergerane.

MDU. cuopen pin (spider), reversed as spinneceop (the Engl. copepin which is recorded from 1483 is borrowed from Du.).

ON. hrossvalr (walrus), borrowed into Du. walros and in this form further borrowed into HG. Walross, Engl. walrus.

Also there is one example of a reversal in Engl. of a compound denoting a part of the body: MLG. riblesper, borrowed into Engl. (1654) as ribspear and in the reversed modern form sparerib.

The reversal of appositional compounds of this kind is, however, unconnected with the frequent reversal of the appositional and tautological compounds in OE. poetry: beaelcwælm, violent death (B.), reversed without change of meaning to cwælmbealu (B).

bêotword, boast, threat (B. Jul.), reversed as wordbêot (Gen. Hy.).

cearsorg, anxiety (Gen.), reversed as sorgeauru (Gu.).

dryhtfolc, people (Ex. Cr. Rd.), reversed as folceard (Gen. Cr.).

see also OLG. druhtfolk, ON. drôttfolk.

fyrweal, fire-wave (B.), reversed as weimfyr (Cr.).

holbud, wood (Ph.), reversed in prose as wuduhol.

hordmâðm, treasure (B.), reversed as mâdmhord (Ex.).

mâgsibb, relations (prose), reversed in a slightly different form as sibgemâgas (Ex.).

mågwine, friend and relative (B. Gen. Ex. Sol.), reversed as winemåg (B. El. Gen., etc.): see OLG. mågwini.

rimgetel, number (Gen.), reversed as getelrîmu (Sol.).

Examples of this phenomenon are rare in prose: OE. biscopealdor, high priest, as compared with ealdorbiscope.

There are no examples of an actual reversal of the parts of a compound in OHG. and OLG., but compare OHG. wäladht possessions (Is.) with OE. Òhtxela; OLG. mèðonhord with OE. mädmhord, hordmâdm; OLG. druhtfolk with OE. druhtfolic, folceard.
B. ADJECTIVE AND SUBSTANTIVE

The relation between the two parts of compounds consisting of an adjective and substantive is invariably an attributive one and requires no further comment.

C. VERB AND SUBSTANTIVE

The semantic relation between the parts of those compounds which have a verbal stem as the first member has been discussed in detail in Part II, Chap. I, of this work where the morphology of the type was examined. It has been shown that the first part may denote the purpose to which the second is applied (e.g. G. Schreibfeder), or may denote an attribute of the second part (e.g. G. Stinksstein).

D. SUBSTANTIVE AND ADJECTIVE

The relationship between the compounds consisting of a substantive and adjective is in the majority of cases clearly defined and depends on the nature of the adjective.

The following are the main types which existed in early Germanic:

(a) Substantive and Present Participle (on this type see pp. 209 ff.). In these compounds the first member usually stands as the object of the second part, e.g. OE. galdorgalend, singing incantations, yfelwyrcende, evil-doing.

(b) Substantive and Past Participle (on this type see pp. 205 ff.). The substantive in the first part of these compounds usually denotes the cause of the action or the means by which it is carried out, e.g. OE. goldhroden, ornamented with gold, Gothic handwauhrhts, made by hand, OHG. wintrunkan, drunk with wine.

(c) The relation between the substantive and adjective may be one of comparison similar to the compounds of two substantives described under (iii) above, e.g. OE. goldfinc.

Compounds of substantive and adjective of this type are not found in Gothic, and in OHG. not until the 12th century. Nevertheless, they occur at an early period in the other Germanic languages, and may have existed in Primitive Germanic. In most of the early parallels the adjective in the second part of the compound is the name of a colour, e.g. ON. grasgrønn, green as grass, OE. gærsréne, MDu. grasgroene, OHG. (12th cent.) grasguoni.

ON. snækwit, OE. snæckwætt, MHG. snëcziz, etc. (see p. 60, No. 12), snow-white.

ON. hrinkaldr, OE. hrinceld, cold as frost, icy cold.

Similar parallels attest the presence of the type in West Germanic:

OLG. appelgrå, dapple-grey (see p. 119, No. 1), OE. isenhearde, vervain, lit. as hard as iron (see p. 120, No. 5), OE. winterceld, cold as in winter (see p. 120, No. 11).

Other examples of the type which are probably independent formations in the Germanic languages are: OE. isceld (see p. 89, No. 14), cildgeong, OLG. kindjung, magjuung.

(d) The adjective may denote an attribute of the substantive in the first part of the compound. This type probably arose as reversed Balto-Virnian (see p. 260), and judging from the parallels was rare in Primitive Germanic, but see ON. ordiuss, with wise words (p. 61, No. 18), OHG. orthucas, sharp-pointed (p. 62, No. 1), OE. seorhsæoc, mortally wounded (p. 61, No. 1), ON. línthjöll, with sound limbs (p. 61, No. 7).

(e) The relationship between the two parts of the remaining compounds of a substantive and adjective depends upon the case which the adjective takes in the syntactic phrase. The commonest types are those formed with adjectives denoting 'desire' or 'loss'; see the numerous formations with OHG. -gern and -lós in the second part.

E. ADJECTIVE + ADJECTIVE

The evidence of the early parallels between the Germanic languages shows that, with the exception of intensifying formations with all- and eim-, and compounds with words which have lost their independent existence and which are approaching the function of suffixes, the compounds of two adjectives in Primitive Germanic invariably have a verbal adjective in the second part which is limited by the adjective in the first part: e.g. ON. armshakapadr (p. 62, No. 2), einhliypr (p. 62, No. 3), sjaldséum

1 Compounds as ON. daglangr, ndíllangr do not belong to this group, as their primary meaning is 'all day long,' 'all night long,' and they arise from adverbial phrases. Later, it is true, some of these compounds develop a different meaning, e.g. ON. sunarlangr, long as in summer.
(p. 62, No. 4), fatthaldr (p. 63, No. 4) 3. On the analogy with these, compounds of purely nominal adjectives appear in West Germanic and the later Germanic languages: e.g. OHG. starablinit (p. 122, No. 6), vitmari (p. 123, No. 7).

F. Adjective Bahuvrihis

The Adjective Bahuvrihis contain an adjective or substantive in the first part standing in an attributive relation to the second, e.g. ON. gulfsaxi, golden-haired, Gothic freihals, freedom (substantivized from an Adjective Bahuvrihi), OHG. harkmut, OE. sūrgē, etc.

Unlike the other nominal compounds there are certain semantic limitations to the formation of Bahuvrihi compounds in Germanic. The second part of Bahuvrihi compounds must be a substantive referring to a living being or something closely associated with a living being, as the name of a weapon or clothing, e.g. ON. bersaltar (p. 66, No. 1), OHG. harkmut (p. 66, No. 2), ON. skarpeggr, sharp-edged (of a sword), (p. 66, No. 4). The early parallels between the Germanic languages do not reveal any compounds referring to clothing except the numeral formation ON. ferskeytr (p. 65, No. 8), but see the OE. compounds in -påd and the ON. tagrughypja (woman with ragged clothing).

This limitation is broken through in the OE. and ON. poetry where Bahuvrihis were formed with the names of parts of ships, the reason for this being that such names were frequently personified in the early poetry, e.g. OE. brandstefn, hækstefn, fámigheals, wundenheals; Edda, langhófðaðr, with a long prow (Grp. II. 20, 4); Skaldic verse, bjartveggjaðr, with shining sides, hárbrýnaðr, with hard planks, hóbrýnaðr, hýbrýnaðr, with high sides. These formations do not appear in West Germanic and are undoubtedly coined independently in each language.

In addition to this group Bahuvrihis are sometimes formed in OE. and ON. to denote attributes of other personified objects, e.g. OE. sweartlást, having a black track (of a pen), Rd. 27, 11. This is the only example in OE. of an extension to an inanimate object other than the name of a weapon, ship, or clothing, but examples are commoner in ON. e.g. fagrliðmi, that which has

1 OHG. wënuwëfan, unarmed, is not an exception to this, as it denotes an attribute of a person, and it is different from the OE. formations as hringmål, langsceaf.

1 This limitation does not apply to the numeral Bahuvrihis, e.g. Gothic taituntwéis, ON. einnáttar, OE. twelfwihtre, etc.
CHAPTER VI

INTENSIFYING COMPOUNDS AND COMPOSITION SUFFIXES

In the preceding account of the semantic relations between the parts of compounds reference has frequently been made to intensifying formations. These are compounds, the first member of which has lost its primary meaning and is used to intensify or strengthen the meaning of the second part, thus approaching the function of an intensifying prefix. Similarly, through frequent use in the second parts of compounds a word may lose its full meaning and develop the function of a suffix. Suffixes of this kind are called composition suffixes.

I. INTENSIFYING COMPOUNDS

The intensifying compounds arose from full compounds, the first member of which stood in an appositional or case relationship to the second, but it is difficult to trace the intensifying formations back to the compounds from which the intensifying meaning developed. In fact in the majority of cases the intensifying meaning did not develop from one compound, but because of the frequency with which a certain first member was used in the compounds, and the intensifying formation is therefore due to a whole group not one particular compound. In a few cases it is, however, possible that the tautological compounds were responsible for the development of the intensifying formations, e.g. in all the Germanic languages except Gothic the word *magan* (power, might) develops intensifying meaning, and it is possible that this developed at least in the West Germanic languages from the tautological compound *magankraft*, in which when the compound was formed each member may have had its full meaning. Later owing to the tautology the first member sank to an intensifying element, and the compound developed the meaning 'great strength.'

1 It is hardly possible to be certain on this point: *magan* may have had intensifying force in West Germanic, and the compound *magankraft* may have been coined originally as an intensifying formation.

Judging from the early parallels between the Germanic languages no intensifying formations, except those made with *all- or ein-*, existed in Primitive Germanic, and no examples are found in Gothic, although the same words develop intensifying meaning in several Germanic languages. In the following account those which are common to more than one Germanic language are dealt with first, and those which are peculiar to one language. It will be seen that most of the compounds of this type, although not all, are found in the alliterative poetry, especially in OE., and there is little doubt that the exigencies of the alliterative verse were to some extent responsible for the development of the type, although the exact scope of this factor cannot be precisely estimated.

(a) Intensifying Substantives

ON. OHG. OLG. *firin-*, OE. *fren-*:

The original meaning of this word in Primitive Germanic was 'deed of violence' or 'deed which exceeds the limits of the law,' and this full meaning is preserved in the pleonastic Primitive Germanic compound *firinwark* (p. 47, No. 18) and in the similar West Germanic *firinâd* (p. 98, No. 29). In West Germanic the simplex develops the meaning 'crime, sin,' and appears with this meaning in the early compounds *firinfol* (p. 121, No. 5) and *firinlust* (p. 98, No. 30) which may date back to West Germanic times. From formations of this kind the word develops in Norse and West Germanic the meaning 'excessive, great, very.'

This development is already seen in the Eddic compound *firinliðr*, very bad (Sk. 33, 3), although it is combined there only with an adjective similar in meaning to that of *firin*. Other examples of the formation are common in the Skaldic verse and the ON. prose: *firinbjâgr*, very bent; *firinðjarfr*, very mad; *firindókkrr*, very dark; *firinafrst*, great frost; *firinnmikil*, very large.

In West Germanic the word normally retains its full meaning 'sin,' but is used as a strengthening element with two nouns: OE. *firendearf*, dire distress (B. 14), OLG. *firinquáld*, excessive torment (Hel. 4918). In the OHG. *firinwauchar*, usury (Rd. Jb. I, 204, 54) it is possible to see a similar strengthening

1 The simplex also is similarly weakened in OE. and OLG. in the adverbial dative plural form *fírnæ*, exceedingly, very.
compound, but as this would be the only example of an intensifying firin in OHG. it is preferable to regard the first part as having the normal meaning ‘sin.’

ON. hofuð, OHG. houbið, OLG. hóðið, OE. hēafod:

This word with the primary and original meaning ‘head’ is used in Norse and West Germanic in compounds with the meaning ‘chief.’ It is unlikely that this meaning developed in Primitive Germanic as there are no examples in Gothic, and many of the early compounds of this type in the other Germanic languages are loan-translations from Latin phrases consisting of a noun and the adjective capitalis, e.g. OHG. houbisunata, crimen capitale; houbiburg, urbs capitalis, etc. The formation survives in the Modern Germanic languages and requires no special comment.

ON. megin, OLG. and OHG. megin, OE. mægen:

The primary meaning of this word in the Germanic languages is ‘might, power, force,’ but in Norse and West Germanic it is used as an intensifying element with the meaning ‘great,’ or when added to adjectives, ‘very.’

The only parallel between the Germanic languages, which may represent a Primitive Germanic formation is ON. meginverk (p. 50, No. 45) in which the word has its primary meaning. From West Germanic are recorded OHG. magenkraft (p. 101, No. 65) and OE. magenfolc (p. 112, No. 52). In all these formations the first part may have had originally its full meaning, but it is easy to see that from formations of this kind the word may develop the meaning ‘great,’ and in fact in OLG. meginfolk (Hel. 1220, 1827) it has lost its original significance and means simply ‘great in number.’ This intensifying use of megin may therefore go back to West Germanic.

In the ON. Edda there are already many compounds in which megin is simply an intensifying element: meginðómar, great events; meginfjall, high mountain; meginþyggjar, great caution; megintrir, great fame; meginþarfar, pressing need. In the Skaldic verse this intensifying use of the word is further extended to the compounds with adjectives: megin-

1 On the meaning of the word firin- in the Germanic languages see J. Weisweiler, Beitrage zur Bedeutungslehre germanischer Wörter für sittliche Begriffe, II. 41, 29 ff.

Formations with mægen in the first part are very common in OE., and it is difficult to tell whether any trace of the original meaning of the word is present in compounds as magenþæpp, powerful band (?) or great band (?); mægenrōf, vigorous in strength (?) or very strong (?). The word seems, however, simply to have intensifying force in: mægenþyreðen, huge burden (B.), magenearefede, great misery (Cr.), magenfolc, mighty company (Cr.), magensfulum, great help (B.), magenspēd, great virtue (An. Gu. Ps.); magenþyrm, great glory (Ex. El. Ps., etc.); magenþundor, great miracle (Cri.), and possibly in the tautological formations magenþrafta, magenþellen, magenþrengu.

In addition mægen is also added to adjectives in OE. as in the ON. Skaldic poetry. In examples as mægenþæcen, mighty, mægenrōf, vigorous, magenþrafta, of great strength, some trace of the original significance of the word is still perceptible, although all of these compounds could be interpreted as intensifying formations. In mægenþeard, very strong (Run. 5), the first part seems to be purely intensifying.

In OHG. mægan or megin is certainly intensifying in makau-

nöldurfti, great need (MD. 55, 26); magensil, great pillar (N. I, 150, 7); maganwetar, violent storm (Jc. IV, 22, 48). Also in late OHG. (Notker) the compounds magenþrafta, meginwerch certainly developed intensifying force. In this connection a quotation from Notker may be of interest: Also wir in demo hüs hēsæn magensil, dìa mēstān sīl. ih mēno. dìu den first trëget. sō hies tiu chräft tero consulium. aldë dero regum. aldë dero dictatorum magenþrafta. wāndā sī dìu mēsia wās. (N. I, 150, 6 ff.). This shows quite clearly that in the two compounds magensil, magenþrafta the first member had by Notker’s time the meaning ‘great’; the same is to be assumed for maginwerch which in N. II, 592, 25; 594, 7, translates magnificentia.

In the OLG. Helian megin has a similar intensifying meaning, although unlike OE. it can only be added to substantives: meginfolk, great company; meginþrafta, possibly with the full meaning of megin in the sense ‘strength’ in Hel. 2268, 3216, etc., but certainly intensifying in the sense ‘great company’ in Hel. 2173, 2734; meginþundia, great sin (Hel. 2508); meginþiða, both in the meaning ‘powerful band’ (Hel. 1126) and ‘great crowd’ (Hel. 2307, etc.); meginþiðof, great thief (Hel. 3400); see reginþiðof (Hel. 1644). In meginþraft, military expedition (Hel. 4322), and meginþrengi, great strength (Hel. 4354), some trace of the original of the word may be perceived.
Strengthening compounds of this type become obsolete in German after the OHG period, surviving only in the NHG, *magenkraft*.

ON. OLG. *regin*, OE. *regen*:

Like *megin* the primary meaning of this word was originally ‘power, authority’ and in the early Germanic poetry it was applied to the gods. Traces of this original mythological meaning are preserved in the ON. *ginnregin*, the mighty gods (Edda) and *drymnregin*, the powerful gods (Skaldic), and in the OLG. *regangiscapu*, decrees of the gods, fate (Hel. 2593, 3347).

In other ON. compounds there is some doubt whether the word is merely intensifying or whether the original mythological meaning survives:

*reginkuðr* (Höv. 79, 5): the compound is applied in the Edda to the runes, which were supposed to be of divine origin, and the compound probably retains this mythological sense in this passage as it is preceded by *ginnregin* (79, 2), and is not to be translated with Vigfusson by ‘world-known.’

*reginkvanýr* (Hm. 24, 1): the compound is applied to a king and may mean ‘descended from the gods’ (Gering), although Fritzner regards the first part as merely strengthening and translates it by ‘very clever.’

*regindómr* (Vsp. 65, 1): this compound may mean simply ‘great judgment’ and be a Christian formation, although some sense of the heathen mythological flavour of the word may have been felt as it is used in the description of the *ragna rok*.

*regingjöt* (Grt. 20, 2); probably simply an intensifying compound meaning ‘mighty rock’ (Gretti’s mill), although Sturtevant translates ‘magic mill,’ seeing in the first part a relic of the mythological meaning of *regin*.  

*reginnaglar* (Eybyggja Saga): this compound is used of the nails driven into the high seat, and may be translated simply by ‘great nails’ or ‘nails of the gods.’ Fritzner leaves the question open, but refers to the *clavi sacris* of the Romans. Vigfusson regards the compound as a mythological one, translating by ‘sacred pegs,’ and in this is followed by Egilsson and Gering (in his edition of the Saga).

It will be seen that there is no certain evidence to show that the ON. *regin* could be used with intensifying force, and it is possible to see in all the compounds with this word some trace of its original mythological meaning.

In OE. *regin* appears only in two poetic compounds in which it has intensifying meaning: *regheard*, very hard (B.); *regnóef*, arch-thief (Ex. Gen.): see OLG. *regnthof*.

In German *regin* is found in proper names and in the OLG. Heliand in a few compounds, in all of which, with the exception of *regangiscapu* (decrees of the gods), it has intensifying meaning: *regnblind*, stoneblind (Hel. 3554); *regniskaðo*, arch-robber (Hel. 5398, 5497), followed in 5400 by *meginthlief*; *regnthlief*, arch-thief (Hel. 1644). In all of these compounds there is no need to consider the first member as anything more than a strengthening element, although early editors of the Heliand (e.g. Piper), Lagenpusch (Walhallaklänge im Heliand, Königsberg 1896) and Vilmar (Deutsche Allerläufer im Heliand, Marburg, 1845) see in these formations relics of mythological notions, interpreting *regnblind* as ‘blind by decree of the gods,’ and *regniskaðo* and *regnthlief* as applying originally to Loki. This interpretation is quite unnecessary, and in fact is the consequence of an over-estimation of the heathen element in the Heliand.

ON. *Þjóð*, OHG. *diota*, OLG. *thiod*, OE. *ðæð*:

The original and primary meaning of this word in the Germanic languages is ‘people, nation,’ but in all of them it develops intensifying force with the meaning ‘general, great,’

Judging from the only parallel between Norse and West Germanic with *Þjóð*, etc. in the first part, i.e. ON. *Þjóðkungr*, king of the nation, the word had not developed intensifying meaning in Primitive Germanic, although it is obvious that formations of this kind could develop the meaning ‘great king.’ Parallels between the OE. and OLG. alliterative poetry suggest that this intensifying meaning had developed in West Germanic, e.g. OE. *ðæðguma*, OLG. *thiodguma*, excellent man, warrior; OE. *ðæðscæða*, OLG. *thiodskæða*, great criminal (a kenning for the Devil).

The intensifying meaning is already found in the ON. Edda in compounds of *Þjóð* with a substantive or adjective:

*Þjóðgdr*, very good (Am. 61, 1); *Þjóðkvar*, well-known (Sg. 38, 4), originally ‘known to the whole nation’ (?) ; *Þjóðlædr*, much hated (Gpr. I, 23, 2), originally ‘hated by the whole
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nation (?); hódół, friendly invitation (Höv. 4, 2); hódmarr, very famous (Fj. 35, 4); hövegr, main road (Grt. 13); höð, great stream (Gg. 8, 1). Similar examples from the Skaldic poetry are: högladr, very glad; högnur, very useful; höstkr, very strong; hövel, very good.

In OE. there are many similar compounds, in some of which some trace of the original meaning may be perceived, but in others all connection with the primary meaning of ðeod is lost:

ðeodbeal, great calamity (Cr. And.); ðeodegesa, general terror (Cr.); ðeolfsæ, arch-hind (Wulfstan); ðeodguma, warrior (Jüd.); ðeolda, arch-lair (Wulfstan); ðeodseca, great criminal, great pest (B. Cr. And.); ðeodræa, general distress (B.); ðeodwiga, great warrior (panther), (Pa); ðeodwundor, great wonder (Cr.).

It will be seen that these formations are mainly poetical in OE., although they are found in Wulfstan who takes them over from the poetry.

In the OHG. prose and glosses intensifying formations with diot are rare: diotburg, great city; diotfesta, general fast, and even in these two compounds it is possible to see some trace of the original meaning of diot.

In OLG. the use of thiud as an intensifying element is very common: thiudarbed, great trouble; thiudgod, almighty God; thiudgumo, excellent man; thiudskæo, great criminal (the Devil); thiude, highest possession, bliss.

It will be noted that in West Germanic this word cannot be added to adjectives, although this usage is common in Norse. The type survives in German until the MHG. period, e.g. dietdegen, famous warrior; dietschale, arch-rogue; dietswaste, general fast; dietsage, arch-coward.

ON. undr, OHG. wuntar, OLG. wundar, OE. wundor:

The use of this word which has the primary meaning 'wonder, miracle,' as an intensifying element is common in Norse and West Germanic, although the usage does not date back to Primitive Germanic. There are also no examples in the Edda, and only one, wundarqulta (great torment), in the OLG. Helian. It is principally in the late Norse prose and the OHG. prose and glosses that the word is used as an intensifying element to adjectives, e.g. OHG. wuntarguo, very good; wuntarwas; very sharp; wuntarchunnig, very clever (in Notker translating

doctissima, wuntariteb, very dear; wuntarnikhil, very large; wuntartiti, very dear; ON. undradsjarfr, very bold. This combination is found only once in OE. in wundaragren, wondrously engraved, and in this example the original meaning of the word is to some extent preserved. The strengthening meaning of wunder is preserved in Mod. German in well-known compounds as wunderschön, etc.

OE. fisel, ON. fimbul:

This word exists independently in OE. with the meaning 'giant,' and in the Edda and OE. poetry is used as an intensifying element in a few compounds:

OE. fiselstræm, ocean (Met.); fiselvág, ocean (El.); ON. fimbulfanbi, great fool (Höv. 102, 5); fimbuljóth, powerful song (Höv. 141, 1); fimbulver, fearful winter (Vim. 44, 4); fimbulþur, chief poet, Odin (Höv. 79, 3; 143, 3).

OE. heoru, OLG. heru:

Words connected with warfare are frequently used in the Germanic alliterative poetry as intensifying elements with the meaning 'fearsome, dangerous, cruel.' The primary meaning of this word is 'sword,' but it is used without connection with its original meaning in a number of compounds in the OLG. and OE. alliterative verse:

OLG. herubendi, cruel fetters (Hel. 4917, 5224, 5488); herusel, fearsome rope (Hel. 5167). Other compounds of heru are closer to the primary meaning of the word: herudræg, bloody with the sword (Hel. 4878); herugrim, fierce with the sword, or very fierce (used of Satan), (Hel. 4653), heruthrum, power of the sword (Hel. 5705).

Similarly, in OE. poetry heoru is used as an intensifying element in: heoracombul, standard (El.); heorufædn, deadly grasp (Ex.); heorufá, deadly arrow (LFs. 56, 5); heorugfre, greedy for slaughter (B. Cr. Jul.); heorugrædig, bloodthirsty (of cannibals), (An.); heoruhócilt, savagely barbed (B.); hearuscroep, war-equipments (Hel.); heorserce, coat of mail (B.), heorscetic, hawk (Wy.); heornsceallende, gushing with destruction (B.); hearuscearg, bloodthirsty wolf (B.); hearuswulf, hostile speech (FT.); hearuwulf, fierce warrior (Ex.).

In addition to these strengthening elements which are common to more than one Germanic language, there are others
which occur only in one language. Of these the majority are found in the OE. poetry:

OE. *beadu*:

In the OE. poetical compounds this word normally has its full meaning 'battle,' but in Andreas 1704 *headuwerðlan* is used with the meaning 'violent death,' not 'death in battle.'

OE. *cyne*:

This noun, which developed into a prefix in OE. with the normal meaning 'royal,' appears as an intensifying element in a few compounds some of which occur in prose:

*cynegeð, excellent (Gen. Dan. Wid.); cynerof, very renowned (An. Jud.); cynestræl, public road (W-W. 71, 6), originally 'road belonging to a king' (?); cyneword, fitting word (Rd.).*

OE. *dryhten*:

Normally *dryhten* has its full meaning 'ruler, lord' in the compounds, but in *dryhtenbeatu*, great misfortune (Gu. Wy.), it is used simply as an intensifying element.

OE. *fær*:

The OE. *fær* has the meaning 'sudden danger, peril,' and in the majority of the compounds this original meaning is retained, but in a few formations the word appears to approach the function of an intensifying first part:

*færbræne, intense heat (Ex.); færccyle, intense cold (Gen.); færgrýre, awful horror (B. Dan.); færspell, dreadful tidings (Ex. Gu. An., etc.).*

OE. *folc*:

The OE. *folc* is occasionally used as an intensifying first member, probably on the analogy of the older use of *ðëod*:

*folcbeatu, great tribulation (Men.); folcegsa, great terror (PPs.); folcfiren, great crime (Gen.)*

OE. *headu*:

The OE. *headu* (battle) is used as an intensifying first member without any trace of its primary meaning in the following compounds:

*headufyr, cruel fire (B.); headugrim, very fierce (of the wind and hunger) (B. PPs.); headuwylm, fierce flame (B. Gen. Ex. An., etc.); headusweng, cruel stroke (B.)*

OE. *hilde*:

Like *headu* this word for 'battle' is also used as an intensifying first element in:

*hildeðdoðful, demon (PPs.); hildeðlēoma, destructive flames (B.); hildeðswät, destructive vapour (of the dragon's breath), (B.)*

OE. *lēod*:

Probably on the analogy of *ðëod, lēod* (people) is used with intensifying force in:

*lēodbeatu, great calamity (B.); lēodgrýre, general terror (Sol.); lēoddwæt, very valiant (El.)*

OE. *nearu*:

This word has the meaning 'danger, distress, difficulty' as a noun in OE., and 'narrow, confined, strict, severe' as an adjective. In the majority of the compounds, in which it forms the first member, these original meanings can be perceived, but in the following formations it appears to be an intensifying element:

*nearofāh, intensely hostile (B.); nearonýd, urgent need;SEARCHU, great cunning (El.); nearosorg, great distress (El.); nearordearf, urgent need (Cr.).*

Apart from the examples quoted above intensifying formations are rare in the OLG. poetry.

OLG. *man*:

On the analogy of *thiod* this word is used as an intensifying element in OLG.:

*manarbedi, great trouble (Hel. 3601M); MS. C has in this place thiodarbedi.*

*mansterbo, great plague (Hel. 4326).*

As the intensifying compounds are found mainly in the alliterative poetry there are few examples of the type in OHG.

OHG. *werolt*:

This word meaning 'world' is used as an intensifying element in the MHG. *werltsage*, great coward, etc., but it is doubtful whether any of the OHG. compounds with *werolt* have intensifying force. The only possibility is *wereltrát*, riches of the world (?) or great riches (?) (N. II, 71, 11).

The use of full words of this kind as intensifiers continues
throughout the history of German and is very common in Modern German, e.g. haarscharf, steinreich, stockfinster, blitzenblank, hundekalt, Höllenangst, Sauglück, Mordsrausche, etc.\footnote{On compounds of this type in Modern German see O. Hauschilt, \textit{Die verstärkenden Zusammensetzungen bei Eigenschaftswörtern im Deutschen}, Prog. des Wilhelm-Gymn. in Hamburg, 1899.}

Unlike the West Germanic poetry few intensifying formations are found in the Edda and the ON. Skaldic poetry which have no parallels in other Germanic languages. As with the tautological compounds this again suggests that the intensifying formations were exploited by the OE. poets in order to obtain the necessary alliteration. The following words are, however, found in a purely intensifying sense:

ON. galgr:  
This word meaning 'gallows' appears to be used as an intensifying element in the Eddic compound galgegr, dangerous way (Gg. 9, 2).

Kock (op. cit., p. 17) also quotes the Eddic vigband, heavy fetter (Vsp. 35, 1), as an intensifying compound. The compound is used of the fettering of Loki, and has no connection with the primary meaning of vig, warfare, war. This is certainly an intensifying compound, but it should be noted that it occurs in an interpolated line which is not properly a part of the poem. Kock also quotes the Skaldic vigtar, which he interprets as 'bitter tear,' but here there is some connection with warfare and the word is perhaps more accurately interpreted as 'tears over one who has fallen in war.'

\textit{(b). Intensifying Adjectives}

The adjectives all and ein are used with intensifying force in the first parts of Primitive Germanic compounds, thus approaching the function of prefixes.

The adjective all is very commonly added to adjectives in early Germanic, but rarely to substantives: e.g. ON. alhtir (p. 62, No. 1); allbjartr (p. 63, No. (a) 1). There are three early parallels of compounds with substantives, but it is doubtful whether they can be considered as intensifying formations: e.g. Gothic alamannans, all men, mankind (p. 56, No. 1); allwaldands, the Almighty, a ruler, king (p. 57, No. 2); ON. alþjód, mankind (p. 59, No. 1).

In addition to alamannans and allwaldands the adjective is further used in Gothic in combination with a substantive in alabraunts which is a loan-translation of διάκανωμα.

In early OHG. and OLG. all is combined with substantives only in the traditional compounds alwalts, alalhti, and formed on the analogy of alalhti or Alamann, alkuwel (Gl. I, 697, 6), and in adverbial compounds as in alandt, alahalb. In Notker new formations with all are made which are either back-formations from adjectives, e.g. alemalt (N. I, 87, 13), or loan-translations from Latin, e.g. albrandopher, holocaustum, alferbrenopher, holocaustum, alvestenunge, universal dedication. In Modern German compounds of all and a substantive survive only in back-formations from adjectives denoting an attribute of the Deity, e.g. Allgegenwart, Allgewalt, Allmacht, and in Allwater which is borrowed from Norse.

In OE. eall is very common in combination with adjectives, but is found only rarely together with a substantive:

eallmægen, great effort (Met.); eallmint, omnipotence (PPs.);
eallofrung, holocaust; eallweald, the Almighty; eallwundor, great miracle (Ex.).

These do not survive into Mod. Engl. where all is compounded only with adjectives denoting an attribute of the Deity, e.g. all-knowing, all-righteous, almighty, all-seeing, and in the adverbial already.

ON. compounds of all and a substantive appear in the Edda only in alwaldr, and in the Skaldic verse only in almena. Other formations as allgdr, alheimr, aladtr are found in prose, but they never become frequent and in Modern Scandinavian are limited to categories similar to those in German.

ON. OHG. ein, OLG. én, OE. án:

The word ein was used as an intensifying element in combination with adjectives in Primitive Germanic, e.g. ON. einhardr, OLG. énhard, OHG. einharti, very resolute, very hostile (p. 63, No. 2).

This strengthening meaning of ein survives in OHG. mainly in early texts, and in one example einkriege (very quarrelsome) until the MHG. period. The following examples are recorded from OHG.: einharti, very resolute (Pa, K, Ra, 110, 16; Ra, 227, 9, etc.);
einchtuodil, very famous (Ra, Jb. I, 282, 6; Gl. I, 341, 38).
einnâri, very famous (Pa, K, Ra, 128, 19; O.).
einsel, very brave (K, Ra, R, 269, 32).
einstrüti, obstinate (Pa, K, Ra, 6, 29; B., etc.).
einstriantî, very savage (Pa, K, Ra, 12, 19).
einzeihkanör, a loan-translation of insignis (Pa, K, Ra, 174, 17).

This intensifying use of ein appears to be obsolete in OE. except in one example anstræc, very resolute (CP.), but numerous examples are found in ON.: einskîr, very pure; einsârr, very clear, obvious; eintiiti, very joyful.

Certain other adjectives develop intensifying force independently in the Germanic languages:

OE. ēr:

The primary meaning of this word in OE. is 'early, soon, lately,' but it is used simply with intensifying force in a number of compounds: ērglæd, very bright (Ex.); ērgod, very good, or originally 'good from old times' (B.); ērleðof, very dear (OEG. 56, 296).

OE. geazo:

The OE. geazo, ready, prepared, appears to have developed intensifying meaning in gearosnotor, very skilful, very wise (Cr. El.).

OE. hēah:

This adjective meaning originally 'high' is used in all the Germanic languages in names of ranks with the meaning 'chief,' especially when translating Latin words with the prefix archi. This is to be considered more as a metaphorical use of the word than a development to intensifying meaning, but in certain OE. compounds it is used with purely intensive force:

hēahgescæft, noble creature (Gen.); hēahgestrōn, great treasures (B. An. Sol.); hēahgwærc, magnificent work (PPs.); hēahlīfe, great love (B.); hēahmægen, great power (El. Jul. Aelfric); hēahsōl, great happiness (PPs.); hēahtrōw, solemn compact (Ex.); hēahsearft, great need (PPs.); hēähðōd, great people (prose); hēahdīn, great glory (Gn.).

Similar intensifying compounds with hōh are not found in OHG. or OLG. where the adjective either has its primary meaning or is used to translate the Latin archi, but see Mod. G. hochfein, hochrot.

OHG. umnes:

This word meaning 'immoderate' is used in OHG. in combination with adjectives and substantives as an intensifying element. It is naturally impossible to determine in each particular case whether the adjective has its full meaning 'immoderate' or whether it is reduced to 'very,' but the following examples will serve to illustrate its use:

umnesall, very old, translating senex (Pa, K, Ra, 160, 36).
unmesfōd, great flood, translating diluvium (Pa, K, 80, 35).
unmescâli, great haste (Gl. II, 321, 49).
unmessmanag, very many (Gl. II, 501, 1).
unmesznichil, very large (R, 185, 7, etc.).
unmestief, very deep (N. II, 603, 4).
unmeszwil, very wide (N. II, 626, 10).
unmeszevizzo, philosopher (Pa, Ra, 52, 5).

In the editions of the OLG. Holm and ümnel is usually printed separately from the following adjective or noun, but there seems to be no reason in view of the existence of the type in OHG. why umnetgrōl, great very great (Hel. 3299, 4329) and umnetlēt, great heat (Hel. 3437), should not be considered as compounds. Similarly, in the Hildebrand Smith ummetirrī, very angry, may be considered as a compound.

2. Composition Suffixes

The origin and function of the composition suffixes in the Germanic languages have already been fully described in various works on word-formation, and in the following it will suffice to consider these formations in the light of the parallels set forth in Part I, and to offer some remarks on aspects of them which have been little considered. Those which are common to Norse and more than one West Germanic language are dealt with first, then those common to Norse and German or English, and finally those found only in West Germanic or one of the Germanic languages.

1 On the comparative aspect of the suffixes see Kluge, Nominal Stammbildunglehre der altgermanischen Dialekte, 3rd ed., Halle, 1926; on those in German, Wilmanns; on OE., Theile, Die konsonantischen Suffixe der Abstrahlin des Alteingeschen, Darmstadt, 1902, and E. Schön, Die Bildung des Adjektivs im Alteingeschen, Kiel, 1905; on Norse, A. Jónahessson, Die Suffixe im Islandischen, Halle, 1927.
(a) Substantive Suffixes

West Germanic döm, ON. dömr :

This word exists independently in the Germanic languages and develops suffix function in West Germanic and ON, but not in Gothic. According to Kluge this suffix function starts from döm in combination with personal nouns where it has the meaning ‘fame, honour’ (Kluge, NS. § 165). The word has, however, various other meanings in the Germanic languages, e.g. OE. dom, judgment, sentence, power, might, dignity, glory, honour, etc.; OHG. tuom, judgment, custom, power, rule; ON. dömr, judgment, court. It should be noted that the meaning ‘judgment’ is the only one common to ON., OE., and OHG., and the only compound common to ON. and West Germanic with this word in the second part, which may have existed in Primitive Germanic is ON. visdömr (p. 58, No. 6), which may have meant originally ‘wise judgment’ and which cannot be explained from the meaning ‘fame, honour.’ It is, however, unlikely that the suffix function developed from this compound with an adjective, as the adjective derivatives with döm are rare in the Germanic languages as compared with the substantive derivatives, and judging from this single parallel it seems that the word had not developed suffix function in Primitive Germanic.¹

Compounds with döm and a personal noun are first found in West Germanic: cäserdöm (p. 97, No. 13), (the ON. keisaradömr is borrowed from German); cifesdöm (p. 97, No. 14); lökedöm (p. 106, No. 16), (the ON. lökiddömr is a borrowing, probably from OE.), witegdöm, prophecy (p. 108, No. 35). It is difficult to see how it is possible to explain these compounds as starting from the meaning ‘fame, honour,’ and to explain the development of meaning from lökedöm, ‘fame of a leech’ to ‘medicine,’ and it seems therefore preferable to start from the meaning ‘judgment,’ i.e. judgment of a leech, or witegdöm, judgment of a prophet. This meaning, it is true, does not fit well into cäserdöm and cifesdöm, but the formation hardly started with a foreign word as cäser in the first part, and if these compounds are really old West Germanic formations, döm must have developed suffix function and lost its primary meaning in Primitive West Germanic.

¹ ON. konungdömr, etc. (p. 75, No. 47) is also a Common Germanic formation, but did not exist in Primitive Germanic, and cannot be made the starting-point of the type.

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The suffix is further added to impersonal nouns in OHG. and OE. e.g. OE. campdöm, suódöm, döwoldöm, drynådöm, OHG. wkundituo, martartuo, zollantuo, but these formations are very rare and none of them dates back to Primitive West Germanic.

In combination with an adjective ON. visdömr is the only formation which may date back to Primitive Germanic, and when it was formed döm was not yet a suffix. Other early parallels but not original formations are ON. sjikdömr, sickness, OHG. siöhtuo (p. 87, No. 2), OE. háligdöm, holiness, sacrament, sanctuary, OHG. heilagtuom (p. 147, No. 6).¹

ON. skapr, OE. scipe, OHG. scaf, OLG. scepi :

This word is a verbal noun connected with the Gothic skapjan (create), and it is found as an independent word in OHG. with the meaning ‘form,’ and in ON. with the meaning ‘mind, sense, inclination.’ It is used as an abstract forming suffix in West Germanic and Norse, principally in derivatives from personal nouns. There seems to be some doubt as to the original meaning of the word in the compounds from which the suffix function arose. The majority of writers on the subject (e.g. Kluge, Paul, Jóhannesson) explain such compounds as OHG. botascafh as ‘nature, state of a messenger,’ but whilst the original meaning of the suffix allows this, it is difficult to explain how so many of these formations (e.g. botascafh) came to mean the result of an activity. Wilmanns (§ 293) starts, therefore, from the meaning ‘activity, relationship,’ explaining botascafh as ‘activity of a messenger.’ From such an explanation it is of course easy to arrive at the meaning ‘result of an activity,’ but it has already been shown above (p. 321) that as far as can be judged from the parallels, there were no compounds in Primitive Germanic in which the first part denoted the logical subject of an action indicated by a verbal noun in the second part, and even if a few examples of such compounds did exist, which are not revealed by the parallels, it is unlikely that the large group of scaf formations developed from compounds with

¹ Thiele (p. 127) quotes OE. eald棰, OHG. altituo, old age, but this was probably a derivative from eald (see Gothic aldåd) which was associated with döm in the same way as the Modern German Armut has been associated with Mut. Thiele also quotes OE. fréedöm, freedom and OHG. frituom, but the latter is found only in one gloss (GI. IV, 315, 2), and is a compound meaning ‘free will,’ not a derivative with the suffix tuom.
This suffix soacf was supplanted in OHG. by a different formation skaft, a verbal noun to the same verb as soacf. The only parallels with this word in the second part of the compounds are between OLG. and OE.: metodscæft, decree of fate, doom (p. 112, No. 61) and wanscæft, evil fate, misery, illness (p. 119, No. 6).¹

ON. leitr, OE. læc, OHG. leid:

This word is a verbal noun to the Gothic laikan, OE. læcan, leap, jump, play, and it developed the function of a suffix in early Germanic, although it remained alive and productive only in OE. and ON. In these two languages it is also commonly used in poetry as a kenning for 'fight, battle,' and in compounds with this meaning can hardly be considered as a suffix (e.g. OE. beadulæc, headulæc; ON. eggleitr, hildileitr). Despite the evidently archaic nature of such compounds there are no parallels between Norse and West Germanic with leitr in the second part, and it is therefore difficult to determine from which compounds the word developed its suffix function. Parallels are first found in West Germanic:

OE. áglæc, misery, distress; OHG. aigilaih, phalanx (see p. 106, No. 1). This word appears to be an old kenning for 'battle,' which has survived in the earliest German glosses (Pa, K, 142, 37), and which has developed subsidiary meanings in both languages. In this compound læc did not have suffix function when the formation was first made.

OE. scinlac, OHG. scinletr, magic (p. 107, No. 23): also an old formation surviving in German only in R, 212, 11, and Re., Jb. II, 316, 42, in which the original meaning of the second part is still perceptible.

OHG. hileich, MDe. htwelc, marriage. In this compound, which probably meant originally 'marriage dance,' the second part does appear to be weakened to a suffix. The formation is probably an old one, although parallels outside German and Dutch are not found, and it is the only one with this suffix which survives beyond the earliest OHG. texts (see MHG. hileich).

In other OHG. compounds, e.g. charaleich, claflleich, sangleich, wintelich, wetarleich (see p. 56, No. 4) the second part has its full meaning and is not a suffix.

¹ OE. kygescæft, mind, heart (Gen. 288) is borrowed from OLG. (see p. 8).
In OE. the suffix -læc is rare, and is used only to form abstract nouns denoting an activity. In all the formations, traces of the original meaning of læc are perceptible:

bodlæc, decree; brydlæc, marriage; hæmedlæc, sexual intercourse; lyblæc, witchcraft; ræflæc, robbery, booty; wedlæc, marriage; wæflæc, cohabitation; wætelæc, punishment; wordlæc, speech; wæthlæc, calumny; wundlæc, wounding, wound.

In the modern Germanic languages the suffix survives only in Norse, where it is used to form abstracts from nouns or adjectives: ON. sannleikr, truth; stóreikir, pride; heitagleikr, holiness; fárleikr, damage, ruin; Mod. Icel. skyldleikr, relationship.

ON. staf, OE. staf, OHG. staf, OLG. staf:

This word, meaning originally ‘staff, stave,’ developed suffix function in early Germanic from compounds referring originally to the runic staves. In this function it remains alive in OE. and ON., but is found only in two relics in German which suggest that the development to a suffix preceded the dispersion of the Germanic peoples:

ON. eiddstaf, OE. ēostaf, OLGV. ēostaf, OHG. eōstaf, oath (p. 46, No. 8). This compound, obviously an old one, is recorded only once in OHG. and curiously not until the time of Notker (N. II, 482, 15).

OE. wēorthstaf, OHG. ruogstaf, accusation (p. 108, No. 39); also apparently an old compound recorded in OHG. only in T. and O. where it has been associated with the stem of the verb ruogan, accuse.

In addition there is one early parallel between OE. and ON.

OE. fæcennstaf, ON. feiknstafir, deceit (p. 54, No. 4).

Although this word clearly develops suffix function in OE. and ON. it has not been dealt with by Thiele or Jónnesson, and a full account of the formations, in which it can be regarded as a suffix, is therefore given here.

In OE. the suffix formation is found only in poetry, except in ēostaf (oath) where, however, the original meaning of the second part may be perceived (see G. den Eid staben):

ärstaf, assistance, kindness, benefit (B. Rd.).
gebregdastaf, knowledge (Sol.).
glitstaf, reproach (PPs.).
endestaf, end, ruin (B. An. Wy. Sol. Jul.).

fæcennstaf, deceit (B.).
glitstaf, melody (Wa.).
gyrmstaf, injury (Jul.).
hearmstaf, harm, tribulation (Gen. Gu.): see also hearmtan.
inviststaf, evil (PPs.): see also inocrün.
särstaf, abuse, insult (Gu.).
sorgstaf, sorrow (Jul.).
wöhtstaf, accusation (El.).
yyrdstaf, decree of fate (Gu.).

In ON. the word staf is used in addition to its literal meaning as a kenning for a man (e.g. auðstafir, hjalmstafir), and in such compounds is, of course, not a suffix. In other formations the word retains in the compounds its connection with the Runes, e.g. blundstafir, runes which cause sleep (Edda); liknstafir, runes bringing health (Edda); bólstafir, baneful runes (Skaldic); dreyrastafir, bloody runes (Skaldic); helstafir, death-bringing runes. From compounds such as these the suffix is used to form abstracts from other nouns.

The following are already found in the Edda:

feiknstafir, deceit (Grm. 12, 4); lastastafir, insults (Ls. 10, 3, etc.); leidstafir, crimes (Ls. 29, 2); liknstafir, favour, popularity (Hv. 8, 2), but in Sd. 5, 3, 2, in the original sense ‘runes bringing health’; meinstafir, insults (Ls. 28, 2).

A few other examples are found in the Skaldic poetry:

fierbarstafir, falsehood; kveinistafir, sorrow, mourning.

Germanic daga-, daga-:

This word, meaning ‘day,’ was used in the compounds in Primitive Germanic with its primary significance, e.g. ON. endadagr, last day (p. 46, No. 9); eindagi, fixed day (p. 58 No. 2), and from such time-compounds it develops in Norse and German the function of an abstract forming suffix. Examples in OHG. are found in the 9th century and later: nachottag(o), nakedness (O. MSD. 89, 4); siehtago, sickness (Will.); MHG. irretcar, error; lanntac, injury; wētac, grief, pain. In addition to similar derivatives from adjectives the suffix can be used in ON. to form abstracts from verbs, e.g. bardagi, fight; skildagi, agreement.1

1 For further details on the use of this suffix see A. Lindquist, Urgermanisch dagan-, daga- (Lund, 1918).
West Germanic *haihd:

This word, which is used as a suffix in all the West Germanic languages, exists independently in Gothic *haiddus, nature, way, OHG. *heit, OLG. *heid, OE. *hād, position, character. It is clear that its development to a suffix started from compounds with a personal noun, although there is only one compound which can with any certainty be ascribed to Primitive West Germanic: OE. *mægdhād, virginity (p. 101, No. 66).²

In Engl. and German the suffix is mainly used to form abstractions from personal nouns, although in the early periods a few derivatives from impersonal nouns are found, but none of these goes back to Primitive West Germanic.

The following are recorded from OE.: camphād, warfare (see OHG. kampfheit, but as the first part is a foreign word, the formation can hardly go back to Primitive West Germanic); nēadhād, force.³

In OHG. similar formations are more frequent, although they have not survived into Mod. German. A full account of them is given here, as they do not appear to have been treated in detail. Examples are found from the 9th century and earlier: kampfheit, warfare (B. Gl. I, 731, 57); gelpfheit, insolence (O.). In later texts a few other examples are found particularly in the glosses to Notker’s Psalms: durfheit, poverty (Ngl. 420, 19); kustheit, skill (Gl. II, 67, 50); lugheit, falsehood (N. II, 88, 3); magenheit, mighty deeds (N. II, 454, 9); mahtheit, majesty (Ngl. 341, 14); nuuzheit, utility (Ngl. 359, 19); unscheinheit, shamelessness (Gl. IV, 313, 61); trugheit, deception (N. II, 124, 3, etc.); tugheit, skill, virtue (N. I, 132, 8; II, 600, 30); tuomheid, magnificence (N. II, 479, 13); unvirevandheit, immutability (MSD. 34, 1, 9); wechselheit, mutability (N. II, 142, 13); witheit, trifle (N. I, 691, 15, and glosses); zentrheit, doubt (N. I, 693, 29, etc.).

There are no certain examples of the use of this suffix to derive abstract nouns from adjectives in OE., and it appears, therefore, that this formation which is common in OHG. is an independent development there and does not date back to Primitive West Germanic.¹ This view that adjective abstractions with -heit did not exist in Primitive West Germanic is supported by the fact that no examples of this formation are found in the OHG. Tatian which in this respect as in so many others retains the old West Germanic methods of word-formation. Adjective abstractions of this kind are first found in South German texts of the 8th century, and by the 9th century the formation had spread to LG. where one example is found in the Heliand, namely lēfhd, weakness, sickness (Hel. 1214, 1842).²

The following adjective abstractions are found in OHG. in the 9th century and earlier: bosheit (O.), fäusheit (H. Rb.), kristenheit (Is. M., etc.), knuheit (O.), githeheit (Gl. II, 165, 17), gameheit (Pa. K., O.), sichurheit (O.), snelheit (M.), wēnagheit (Re. Jb. O.), wisheit (Re. Jb. O.), wizzanheit (H. Re.), giwonaheit (B. O.), zagaheit (O.).³

For the composition suffixes which are found only in one Germanic language it may suffice to refer to the various works on word-formation, as no new light can be cast on their use from a comparison of the Germanic languages: on the OE., rāden see Thiele, p. 120; on the ON. -dita Jóhannesson, p. 23, and Falk, Arkiv 4, 356 ff.

Some account may, however, be given of the ON. composition suffix -ord which is not dealt with by Jóhannesson. From frequent use in the second part of compounds the word develops in ON. abstract forming function. The original meaning is still apparent in formations as heitord, promise (lit. word given as a promise); loford, permission. More abstract but still

¹ In the OE. hēahhād, religious order, the second member is not a suffix, and druncenhad, wörpedhād are in all probability formed from substantivised adjectives.


³ In view of the early occurrence of these formations in OHG. it is scarcely possible to call them ‘junge Bildungen,’ as Lindqvist does (Wörterbildung und Wortwahl im Ahd., PBB. 60, 47). Lindqvist further makes the statement that such formations are found mainly in the didactic prose and glosses, but no less than 8 of the above 13 derivatives are found in Otfrid.
connected with the original meaning ‘word’ are: bônord, woowing; gjaford, marriage. Finally orð becomes simply an abstract forming element without connection with its original meaning in: godorð, priesthood; legorð, fornication; metorð, estimation.\footnote{On this suffix see Sturtevant, Certain ON. Suffixes, Mod. Phil. 26, 149 ff.}

The Influence of the Proper Names:

In the Germanic languages certain suffixes are used to form personal appellatives, plant-names, and occasionally names of things, which are abstracted from the second members of compound proper names. These may be included under the composition suffixes, although derivatives with them do not arise from determinatives like the normal composition suffixes, but are analogical formations made on the model of a related type of compound noun.

The parallels between the Germanic languages do not reveal the presence of any of these formations in Primitive Germanic or in West Germanic, and they are rare in the earliest periods of the Germanic languages. They are, therefore, in all probability independent formations which are relatively young.

OE. -ulf, OHG. -ulf:

In OE. and OHG. a few derivatives are made with this suffix which is abstracted from the numerous personal names ending in OE. -wulf; OHG. -wulf.

Only one example of the type is found in OE.: feóndulf, gallows rope, but similar formations are more numerous in late OHG. and MHG.: nátulf, nocturnus (name of a heathen god), N. I, 735, 21; 738, 14; ríðholf, rich man (used of the rich man who goes to Hell), Ngl. II, 186, 22; wíllOLF, consus (name of a heathen god), N. I, 737, 25; MHG. ammOLF, fosterfather; ginolf, fool; triegolf, deceiver; wánolf, credulous person; wortolf, fishing net (a modification of the Latin veritulum with a German suffix). On the analogy of formations of this kind a few other words receive the -olf suffix without any apparent change of meaning, e.g. MHG. biskolf, bishop, and possibly the OFRis. frieudolf, lover, although the latter has been explained as a compound of friudel and liaf (see PBB. 48, 465).

1 The word normally translates the Latin suddar or suddar in the OHG. glosses, and has there non-personal significance, but see also Gl. IV, 174, 8, where it translates pigilius, which Kluge, NS. § 32, renders by Knieps, pigmy.
it can have influenced the colloquial and jocular formations recorded above.

OE. -ric, OHG. -rich, MLG. -rik:

The word ric, originally meaning 'king, ruler,' appears as a suffix particularly in personal names and plant-names in OE. and early German. Of these formations there is only one example in OE.: gāric, savage person (Rune Casket), but they are more numerous in OHG.: balderith, girdle (Nw. III, 222, 15; Gl. III, 152, 14; 418, 32, etc.); formed from the Latin balleus; wegerith, plantain (Ra, 234, 18, etc.); wuorith, savage person (Gl. II, 79, 77, etc.); and from MHG. sudrich, master-cook.

OE. -hild:

This suffix is the only one taken from compound feminine names, and appears only in OE. and ME. Two examples are recorded from late OE. nēahgebyrild, neighbour (LkL. 15, 9); færelid, cognata (LkL. 1, 36), but such formations do not become common until the 13th century, e.g. fosfrild, nutrix; madelild, sermocinatrix; grucchild, murmuratrix; motild, disputatrix; sunjild, female sinner, etc.¹

(b) Adjective Suffixes

The adjectives, which develop suffix function in the second parts of compounds, are more numerous than the substantive composition suffixes and several of them were already present in Primitive Germanic. The meaning and functions of the majority of these suffixes are fairly clear and have already been investigated in the works on word-formation quoted above. In the following account a few notes are added on the comparative aspect of the question; dealing firstly with those formations which are common to Norse or Gothic and West Germanic, then with those common to the West Germanic languages, and finally with those which are found only in one Germanic language.

Primitive Germanic fasta-:

In Primitive Germanic the adjective fasta was added only to concrete nouns (see ON. jardfasstr, p. 60, No. 5), and in such formations its full meaning 'fixed, fast.' In West Germanic, however, the word is added to abstracts, and assumes the function of a derivational suffix meaning 'having,' e.g. OE. līffast (p. 121, No. 7); sōðfast (p. 122, No. 9); ungemetfast (p. 121, No. 8).

In OHG. the suffix is archaic and unproductive,¹ and in OLG. occurs only in the two compounds inherited from West Germanic: sōðfast, wārfast (see OE. sōðfast, wārfast).

The adjective develops into a productive suffix in OE., where in addition to being added to abstract nouns it was used to form derivatives from adjectives, e.g. gīnfasstr, generous; wisfasstr, clever; wītigfasstr, beautiful.

Although this use of fasta- as a derivative from abstract nouns does not date back to Primitive Germanic times, it is occasionally found in ON., e.g. grūðfasstr, peaceful; frūfasstr, religious; vinfasstr, friendly, constant in friendship; but in all these formations the original meaning of the word can be perceived, and it cannot be said that it has developed into an adjective forming suffix.

Primitive Germanic fulla-:

This Primitive Germanic adjective appears in the second parts of compounds with concrete and abstract nouns in its original meaning 'full,' e.g. ON. meinfullr (p. 60, No. 9); sorgfultr (p. 60, No. 13) In similar compounds it survives and is very common in Modern English and Scandinavian, and although the original meaning can always be perceived, it approaches the function of a derivational suffix in such words as OE. gelēafful, believing; scylidful, guilty. In OHG. the combination of the adjective fol with an abstract noun is very

¹ Plant-names as OHG. gumdrum, mangolt, and the MHG. dieterich (burglar's jemmy) are not included here as the whole compound is a metaphorical transference of a proper noun and not a suffix derivative from an appellative. The same may apply to the OHG. hederith (wild mustard) which is explained by Loew (PBB. 60, 166 ff.) from the proper name Hadurith, although the word is usually regarded as a modification of the Latin heðeraeae with the native suffix -rik. On the whole subject of the influence of the proper names, see Kluge, NS. §§ 32, 52, and Schatz, PBB. 49, 125 ff.

¹ For the examples of the OHG. suffix fast see the account of the OE. influence on the Tatian, p. 16. In addition to the formations quoted there it is possible that cāfastl, testamentum (Gl. II, 341, 17); see OE. ēfast, pious, married; and eifesthōn, jure jurando (Gl. I, 742, 40) are formed with this suffix, although the latter, not recorded until the 12th century, may be a compound of eif and festhōn modelled on the Latin iure jurando.
rare and archaic (for the examples see the treatment of the OE. influence on the Tatian, p. 15 f.).

Primitive Germanic hafta:

This old participle formation meaning originally ‘having, furnished with’ is found only in Gothic and OHG. in the early periods of the Germanic languages. In the two compounds in which it is used in Gothic it still has its full meaning: audahtafts, having good fortune; qipulafts, pregnant; but in the earliest OHG. texts it forms derivatives from adjectives in addition to its normal function of forming adjectives from abstract nouns: e.g. haerhaft, exorabilis (Pa, K, Ra, 136, 7); hrainhaft, pure (Pa, K, Ra, 66, 4); sâlîchafi, happiness (Pa, 54, 27). In such formations -haft has developed fully into a derivative suffix and can no longer have its primary meaning ‘having.’ Derivatives with -haft formed from personal nouns do not appear until the MHG. period, e.g. törhaft, foolish; schalkhaft, cunning.

From HG. this suffix spreads to LG. where two examples are found in the Hel.: treuhaft, faithful (OHG. trúuhaft); stedîhaft, fixed (OHG. unstatahaft).

Primitive Germanic kunda:

This word appears in its full meaning ‘descended from, born from’ in the Runic raginakundo (of divine origin) and the Gothic compounds gunakunds, himinakunds, airpakunds, qinakunds. In OHG. and OLG. it survives only in the borrowed gotchund (see p. 11) and gommanchunt, masculinum (Gl. I, 733, 26), but in OE. it loses its original meaning and develops into an adjective forming suffix: álloflecund, fiendish; anglecund, angelic; eorcunc, of noble birth; eorcunc, earthly; gasteunc, spiritual; godcund, divine; helcund, hellish; hircund, domestic; metunc, metrical; sâwolcund, spiritual; yfelcund, evil; wþoroldcund, worldly. In some of these formations the original significance of the word is still perceptible (e.g. godcund, helcund), but hardly in gasteunc, metunc, sâwolcund, yfelcund.

Primitive Germanic lausa:

This word meaning originally ‘free from, deprived of’ was commonly used in Primitive Germanic to form adjectives from all kinds of substantives. Its meaning and function are clear and require no further comment, but it may be noted that some formations with -lûs in OHG. have the meaning ‘excessive, bad,’ e.g. OHG. môtîldûs (Gl. I, 564, 21), which unlike the OE. môtîldæs does not mean ‘lack of spirit’ but ‘animosity’; OHG. frouûldûs (Gl. IV, 223, 22) which does not mean ‘joylessness’ but ‘temerity.’ This formation seems to have a different origin from the common type of adjective ending in -lûs, and probably arose by the reversal of Bavurhiri compounds with lûs in the first member (see Gothic lausaucarðs, talking with empty words; OE. leasmundes, instability; and the reversed Bavurhiris, p. 266 f. above).

Primitive Germanic lika:

The noun lika, meaning originally ‘body, shape,’ was used in Primitive Germanic to form Bavurhiri compounds, and the first part of compounds with this word was therefore either an adjective or a personal noun. It has been shown above that the word had developed into a suffix in the earliest Germanic texts, and on that account the formations with -lica were not included in the lists of compounds in Part I of this work. It is, however, possible to determine certain chronological groups in the -lica formations. The original type would be formed, as already remarked, with adjectives or personal nouns in the first part. Then when the original meaning of -lica was completely lost, the suffix was used to derive adjectives from abstract nouns and non-personal nouns. No examples of the former type are found in Gothic, although they occur in all the other Germanic languages and may have existed in Primitive West Germanic. Further, -lica was used in OHG., ON., and OE. to derive adjectives from concrete nouns, although no examples are found in the Edda, in Beowulf, or in the Helian and the OHG. rhyming poetry. We may assume therefore that derivatives from concrete nouns are the youngest group of derivatives with this suffix. It has been claimed by Schmid that such formations do not occur at all in OHG., but the following details will show that this statement is quite incorrect, although it is true that they are restricted to the glosses and the prose texts which keep closely to the Latin originals, and may not have belonged to colloquial OHG.1

The following derivatives from concrete nouns are recorded in the early texts and glosses: anchalith, reaching to the ankles (Rb. I, 317, 22); eralith, earthly (T.M.); boumlith, glossing patibulum (Ra I, 225, 37); kirilith, catholic (R, 73, 19); herd- 

lith, rusticus (Ra, 11, 16); iihamlih, corporal (B.T.); munis- 

trilith, belonging to the monastery (B.); sülith, maritime (R, 

213, 15; T.).

In the whole of Notker’s works only four examples of this 
type are found, e.g. eiterilith, helileith, rucilith, wädilith, and the formation was therefore still rare in late OHG. Other examples 

from late glosses are: biuomilith, briewilith, dorflith, reilith, isilith, 

carcelilith, cornilith, etc.

The type is, of course, common in Mod. G., e.g. briefilich, 

dandilich, häslich, klösterlich, schriftlich.

Schmid has also shown that the derivatives from adjectives 

are not used in Gothic or in Otfrid as attributes of persons, e.g. Otfrid uses the adjective armlith as an attribute of persons, but 

armilith with non-personal nouns as suht, lust, willo, dát, etc., 

and similarly in Gothic ibualeiks, liubaleiks, samialeiks, sidaleiks 

are never used as persons. The same applies to the derivatives 

from abstracts in Otfrid; formations as egisilith, sunmilith, etc., 

are not used as attributes of persons. From this Schmid 

concludes that the usage in the Gothic Bible and in Otfrid 

represents an original restriction in the use of these adjectives 

which is not observed in other OHG. texts or in the OLG. 

Heliand. It should, however, be remembered that the -lith 

derivatives were originally Bahuvarhsis, and it has been shown 

above (p. 342 f.) that the Bahuvarhsis were formed in the Germanic 

languages with substantives denoting mainly a part of the body 

or mind and signified attributes of persons or personified objects. 

It would therefore be strange if the -lith Bahuvarhsis formed with 

adjectives in the first part were an exception to this and denoted 

originally attributes of non-personal nouns, and were only 

applied later to persons. Moreover Schmid’s conclusions are 

not supported by the usage in the Edda, in Beowulf, or in the 

OHG. Tatian, in which text the word-formation is more archaic 

and nearer to Primitive West Germanic than Otfrid.

In the Edda the -ligr derivatives from adjectives are used 
exclusively of persons: ämdaligr (HH. I, 40, 2); auumligr (Rm. 

2, 3); gåiligr (Am. 6, 2); gophysligr (HHv. 5 pr. 5), and this un- 
doubtedly represents the original treatment of these adjectives.

In Beowulf the -líc adjectives are used both of persons and 
things, e.g. of persons frêuilec (641); geatolic (1401); gëonoric 

(2444); grýreltic (1441); leöftic (2603), etc., and the same applies 
to the OLG. Heliand where distilk, frilikh, gödlitk, munilik are 

used as attributes of persons.

In the OHG. Tatian ebaunlich, giuogilich are used of persons, 
whilst timallilich, leidilich, giunplilich, giuranilich are applied to 
non-personal substantives.

It would then be strange if Otfrid, who does not show any 
other archaic features in his treatment of the compounds, 
preserved a more original usage than the whole of the Germanic 
alliterative poetry and the archaic OHG. Tatian, and the 
present writer cannot, therefore, agree with Schmid’s contention 
that the -litha derivatives from adjectives were originally used 

of non-personal nouns and only secondarily applied to persons. 

It is true that Schmid’s view is supported by the practice in 

the Gothic Bible, but the examples there are few in number and 
are not necessarily any more archaic than those in Beowulf and 
the Edda.

Primitive Germanic wandi-:

This suffix, which is not preserved as an independent adjective 
in the Germanic languages, was used to form adjectives 

from abstract nouns or substantived adjectives with the meaning 
‘consisting of, conducive to.’ Examples are found in Primitive 

Germanic, e.g. OE. hâtwende, health giving (p. 60, No. 4); 

ON. leitánder, hateful (p. 62, No. 4); and in West Germanic, 

e.g. OE. hâtwende, temporary (p. 121, No. 6). The suffix 

was productive in OE. where it was sometimes added to adjectives 

which were not substantived, e.g. hâtwende, hot; leófwende, 

kind, loving. Only a few of these formations survive in OHG., 

e.g. heilantti (K.); wítowendti, fortune; leidowendti, calamity; 

missawendti, error (N. III, 393, 22); arcawendti; sin (N. III, 

393, 22); and in MHG. nötwendti, necessary, and OLG. mänuht- 

wendti, lunatic. In ON. the suffix appears in the adjective 

formations fajfnýdr, impartial, leðynýr, hateful, but more 

frequently in the abstract nouns derived from adjectives: 

hardýndi, heiltyndi, rangendti, sannendti, fagrendti, úsendliti, etc. 

(for further examples see Jönhessson, p. 38).

Primitive Germanic sama-:

This suffix forms adjectives in all the Germanic languages 

from abstract nouns with the meaning ‘inclined to,’ and was 

probably used in this way in Primitive Germanic, since the
nominal compounds in Germanic

formation, Gothic *lustusans* (p. 59, No. 2) is common to all the Germanic languages. Further parallels from West German are OE. *fremswum* (p. 121, No. 4); *genymhtum* (p. 121, No. 9). In the West Germanic languages and ON, the function of the suffix was further extended to form derivatives from adjectives, and this usage may date back to Primitive West Germanic, e.g. OE. *langsum* (p. 122, No. 3), (ON. *langsamlega* is borrowed from MLG); OHG. *gemeinsam* (p. 122, No. 4). Also there is one formation common to West Germanic which appears to be a derivative from a verbal stem: OHG. *gihorsam* (p. 124, No. 1).

The addition to an adjective or verbal stem is common in OHG, but rare in OE: from adjectives only *gemömsum* (deduced from *gemömsumian*); *laetsum, ansungum, gecwënsum,* *gemödsun* (deduced from *gemödsunnes*); from verbs *gehiersum, mishealdsum, gegegensum.*

west Germanic -bäri:

This suffix, which is a verbal adjective to *beran*, is found in all the West Germanic languages, but as no parallel formations between OE and OHG. are found and the suffix is not recorded in OLG., it does not appear to date back to Primitive West Germanic.

In OE, it appears in the second part of compounds with a concrete or abstract noun, and in all of these its original significance ‘bearing, producing’ is still perceptible, e.g. *appelbære, apple-bearing; cweildbære, cwealmbære, pestifer; léohbære, lucifer; see especially the doublets cornbære, cornberende; blöstmbære, blöstmberende; federbære, federberende; léohtbære, léohberende.* It is clear that the adjective did not develop fully into a suffix in OE.

Although the -bäri formations must have started from compounds with concrete nouns, there is only one example of this type in OHG., *liubbärI, public (N.). Derivatives from abstracts are, however, common, e.g. *danchbärI, grateful; lasarbärI, sinful;* and two derivatives from adjectives are found: *offanbärI, clear, obvious (10/11th cent. glosses); suntarbärI, private (10th cent. glosses), which prove that the original meaning of -bäri is no longer felt, and the word has therefore developed into a suffix. In late MHG. the suffix is further added to verbs, e.g. *unerforshbære, helbære, lachebære,* and this becomes in Mod. G. the commonest type of -bar derivative.

West Germanic -ndi:

This word was used in the West Germanic languages to form Bahuhriths with the meaning ‘of the size of,’ but none of these formations goes back to Primitive West Germanic and they are rare in the early periods. From OE are recorded *byrðenmëtle, burdensome; pundmëtle, of the weight of a pound;* and from ME. *evenneote, of the same size.* From OHG. only two certain examples are known: *fuodermäsi, of the size of a ‘Fuder’; eballmäsi, of the same size;* but formations with this suffix become more frequent in MHG. *engelmaësc, honecmaësc, risenmaësc,* etc.

OE. -heald:

The adjective *heald* exists independently in OE. with the meaning ‘inclined,’ and preserves this original meaning in compounds with an adverb, e.g. *niderheald, forðheald,* but it also appears in combination with two substantives in which it approaches suffix function: *frëondheald,* friendly; *scytelheald,* inclined, precipitous.

OE. -wiele:

This adjective is connected with the verb *weallan* (boil, seethe) and meant originally ‘bubbling over, rich in.’ Traces of this meaning are usually perceptible in the compounds of *wiele* and a substantive, e.g. *fascwiele,* rich in fishes; *fugolwiele,* rich in birds; *rümwiele,* spacious; *lifwiele,* living (of water); but as a derivative from adjectives it has developed fully into a suffix: *dëadwiele,* barren; *hårwiele,* hoary.

OHG. -luomi:

The adjective *luomi,* which meant originally ‘frequently visited by, well provided with,’ is used in the second part of compounds only in early OHG., and in the majority of the formations its original meaning can still be detected, although in others it approaches suffix function: *gastluomi,* hospitable, frequently visited by guests (Gl. I, 790, 29; 790, 53; IV, 116, 4; 145, 31); *scateluomi,* shady (Gl. II, 325, 44; 681, 37, etc.); *scazluomi,* glossing commodius (Rf. I, 445, 39; Gl. I, 441, 59); *statuluomi,* locupletatus (Rd. Jb. I, 283, 2); *un-manalomI,* enormous, frightful (Pa, K, Ra, 184, 15; Pa, 184, 18).
PART THREE
THE COMPOUNDS IN POETRY AND PROSE
CHAPTER I

THE GOTHIC COMPOUNDS

One of the much-discussed problems relating to the Gothic Bible is the extent to which Wulfila was influenced in his translation by the syntax and word-formation of the Greek original. It is sometimes claimed that the language of the Gothic Bible is a kind of translation Gothic, far removed from the colloquial language of the time. It is certainly true that Wulfila does at times follow the Greek text slavishly and use idioms which do not seem to be native to Gothic, but on the other hand he often deviates from the Greek text, and his native Gothic breaks through the literalness of the translation. This is seen particularly in the frequent use of the partitive genitive, e.g. *all bagme* (πᾶν δένδρον), the preference for nominal constructions where the Greek text has verbal, e.g. *bīreikaj waurpu* (ἐκπλήκτην), and in the use of expressive nominal compounds where the Greek text has a simplex, e.g. *naudibandi* (ἀλωνία). Some light may be thrown on the nature of the language recorded in the Gothic Bible by an examination of these nominal compounds and their relation to the Greek words which they translate.¹

The parallels between some of the Gothic compounds and those in other Germanic languages prove without doubt that Wulfila made use of formations inherited from Primitive Germanic. In this, however, he does not differ from any other prose writer in early Germanic, and the question is rather how far Wulfila seeks to heighten the pathos of his prose by the use of expressive compounds inherited from the alliterative verse or reminiscent of it, and how far he coins new compounds on

¹ The morphological aspect of this question has already been investigated in detail by Grewolds, *Die gotischen Komposita in ihrem Verhältnis zu denen der griechischen Vorlage*, ZvglS. 61, 145 ff., and certain stylistic aspects have been considered by Kauffmann, *Der Stil der gotischen Bibel*, ZfdPh. 48, 174 ff.
the model of the Greek originals, which do not belong to the native tradition. A comparison between the morphological structure of the Greek compounds and the Gothic ones does not cast much light on these questions as the Greek compounds are so few in number that coincidences with the Greek text are rare. Even when the compounds in the two texts do coincide morphologically as e.g. arbinumja (χαρπονόμος), it is by no means certain that the Gothic compound is modelled on the Greek one. The safest criterion of an old compound is always the comparison with the other Germanic languages together with a consideration of the meaning of the compounds. This has already been done in Part I of this work where the parallels with the other Germanic languages have been set forth, but it may be considered certain that there are several other old formations in the Gothic Bible to which there are no parallels in the other Germanic languages. There is no sure method, as far as the present writer is aware, by which these may be detected, but a consideration of the Gothic compounds in their relation to the Greek words which they translate leads one to suspect that certain groups of words were native Gothic ones and were not suggested by the Greek text, although some of them may have been coined by Wulfila.

It is noticeable that Wulfila sometimes translates a Greek word or phrase by a compound in one passage and by a simplex in another without any significant change of meaning, and it may be assumed that the compound was introduced to make the passage more expressive and to heighten the style of the prose. It will be seen that in the majority of these cases parallels with the other Germanic languages show that some of the compounds are old ones, and it may be assumed that when there are no such parallels the compounds are at least native Gothic and not calques from Greek.

In the following cases the Gothic compound is varied in another passage by a simplex:

arbinumja (heir), which has been shown above (p. 43, No. 1) to be an old compound, translates χαρπονόμος in Lk. 20, 14; Mk. 12, 7; G. 4, 1, and is varied in G. 3, 29; 4, 7 by arbja.

1 The value of this factor has been much over-estimated by Kroesch, The Formation of Compound Words in Gothic, Mod. Phil. 5. 377-382, and Velten, Studies in the Gothic Vocabulary, JEGPh. 29, 332 ff. and 489 ff.

with a slight change of meaning; arbinumja is the legal term, whilst arbja is used in a more abstract sense (see libainais aitineins arbja).
drauhinboh (warfare) translates ortparela in I T. 1, 18, and is an expressive heightening of the simplex appearing as a derivative in II Cor. 10, 4, drauhinassus, and translating the same Greek word.
gumakund (male); qinakund (female): in Mk. 10, 6 the Greek ἄρσων καὶ ἰδίων is translated simply by gumin jah ginein, but in G. 3, 28 by gumakund niiq qinakund. Neither of these compounds has a parallel in the other Germanic languages, but both are probably old and are certainly formed in the native tradition (see OE. eordcund, godcund, etc., and the Runic raginakundo).
halsaga (neck), translating τράχυος in Mk. 9, 42, which is rendered in Lk. 15, 20 by the simplex hals.
hainophile (possessions in land). This old Primitive Germanic compound (see p. 44, No. 3) translates ἄγρος in Mk. 10, 29, 30, which is rendered in Mk. 5, 13 by the simplex hains.
laushandja (empty handed), translating κενός in Mk. 12, 3, which is rendered in the parallel passage in Lk. 20, 10, 11 by laus.
manaseps (world, mankind), translating κόσμος in J. 7, 7, etc.; but in Lk. 9, 13 the word is used in the meaning 'crowd' to translate the Greek λαος, and this is varied in Lk. 1, 10; J. 18, 14 by the simplex managei.
manleika (image), translating εἰκόν in Lk. 20, 24; Mk. 12, 16; I Cor. 15, 49. This old Germanic compound is varied in I Cor. 15, 49 by frisahits, which renders the same Greek word.
marisatis (lake); a tautological compound translating λίμνη in Lk. 8, 22, 23, 33 and varied in Lk. 5, 1, 2 by the simplex sawis.
nauipawfis (necessity); also an old tautological compound (see p. 43, No. 4) used in the phrase nauipawfis nu man. ἀναγχαῖον οὖν ἡγισάμην (II Cor. 9, 5). With this may be compared pawfis, which translates ἀναγχαῖος, in I Cor. 12, 22; Ph. 1, 24, and pawfis munda, translating ἀναγχαῖον ἡγισάμην in Ph. 2, 25.
seinaigirns (selfish); probably an old Germanic compound (see p. 67, No. 6) found in a gloss to II Tim. 3, 2 where the text has sik frijondans which renders the Greek ἕλαυναν.

1 Despite the OE. eordcund the Gothic aipakund and himinakund are calques, although they too are modelled on idiomatic Gothic words.
ING COMPOUNDS IN GERMANIC

παιδαγάρδι (kingdom), translating βασιλεία in Lk. 7, 25; Mt. 5, 19, etc., and varied in Mt. 6, 10, etc., by παιδαγαρδία which translates the Greek βασιλεία.

παρούγας (servant); a tautological compound, translating πατώς in Lk. 1, 54; 1, 69; 7, 7; Mt. 8, 6, 8, 13, and varied in Lk. 2, 43; 9, 42; 15, 26 by the simplex παρός.

πολυαυρός (trumpet). This compound, which translates the Greek σάλπυγις in I Cor. 15, 52; Th. 4, 16, is not varied by a simple noun, but see the significant variation of the denotative verbs ξαυρίζει (Mt. 6, 2; 9, 23); πολυαυρίζει, (I Cor. 15, 52), both of which translate the same Greek word σάλπιγγας.

It is not likely that in the majority of the above examples of old formations the Gothic compound translates a Greek simplex, and we may make the further generalisation that a compound is likely to be an old one, if it translates a Greek simplex, even when there are no parallels in other Germanic languages and it is not varied or contrasted in the way described above. It would appear therefore that the following are native Gothic terms: alaphar (in the phrase digann alaphar wairpan ήταν όστερειθάς); hriðafjar, hriðafjörð, Mt. 2, 19; Lk. 5, 34, 35, etc.; fulleá, téléós, Ph. 3, 15, etc. (compare the old formation fulleów, téléós, p. 67, No. 3); hunsladó, hunsladó, Th. 5, 23, 24; Lk. 1, 11; I Cor. 10, 18; lausgiþr, lausgiþa, Mt. 8, 3; skaudaraþr, skaudaraþs, Lk. 3, 16; Mk. 1, 7; stauastos, stauastos,略, Mt. 27, 19; Rom. 14, 10; II Cor. 5, 10; winplal, winplal, Lk. 3, 17; balwasi, balwasi, I Cor. 5, 8; lubjaleís, lubjaleís, p. 55, No. 13 (gloss to liudal).

In contrast to these old compounds inherited from Primitive Germanic times Wulfila coined a large number of compounds on the model of similar ones in the Greek text. Many of these are religious terms referring to Christianity or the Christian virtues, but others are purely secular words referring to the Hellenic state organisation.

(a) Christian Terms

ainabaur (only begun), Sk. 5, 21, translating μονογενής (see also frumabaur, first-born (πρωτοτοκός)).

alabruntis, burnt-offering, translating άλοκαντάμα in Mk. 12, 33.

In the following account only those which are direct calques from Greek, or in a few cases from Latin, are included. In other cases Wulfila undoubtedly coined compounds to express ideas which were foreign to Gothic without modelling them after similar formations in Greek, e.g. galiuguguda (I Cor. 10, 19) was coined to express the Greek εξώκοντα, but was obviously not modelled on the Greek word.
armakairtei, mercy, modelled on the Latin misericordia.
gudhus, temple, probably modelled on the Latin donus dei, the native term being alis.
galiugapastaustus, false apostle; galiugabropar, false brother, galiugaveitwops, false witness, galiugaxristus, false Christ, liugnapraestus, false prophet. All the compounds with galiug or liugu in the first part with the exception of galiugaguda were modelled on Greek formations with ψευδο.
nyiasatis, convert, modelled on νεόφυτος, I Tim. 3, 6.
piupiqiss, blessing, modelled on ἑυλογία, I Cor. 10, 16.
waitaqiss, blessing, modelled on ἑυλογία, II Cor. 9, 5.
piupspillon, bring good tidings, modelled on ἑαγγελιζέωσθαι, Lk. 3, 18.
waitaspillon, bring good tidings, Lk. 8, 1: a variation of piupspillon and modelled on the same Greek word.
wailamerjan, bring good tidings, Mt. 11, 5; Lk. 1, 19, etc.; also modelled on ἑαγγελιζέωσθαι. The derived noun wailamereins, which translates κηρύγμα in I Cor. 1, 21, is clearly modelled on ἑαγγελιζομαι.
wajamerejan, blaspheme; wajamereins, modelled on βλασφημεῖν and βλασφημία.

(b) Other Terms
aglaigastalds, greedy for gain, modelled on αἰχμοκερός, Tit. 1, 7; I Tim. 3, 8.
aglaigawarudei, slander, modelled on αἰχμολογία, I Cor. 3, 8.
aljakuns, foreign, modelled on ἀλογόνης, Lk. 17, 18. Similarly, the opposite samakuns (of the same family) would appear to be modelled on σωφρόνης Rom. 9, 3.
bropruluba, brotherly love, translating φίλαδελφία in Rom. 12, 10; I Th. 4, 9.
adawawardei, foolish talk, modelled on μωρολογία, Eph. 5, 4.
faihuskula, debtor, modelled on χρεωφειλέτης, Lk. 16, 5.
filawawardei, loquaciousness, modelled on ποιμανολογία, Mt. 6, 7.
frapjamarseins, self-deception; occurring in the phrase frapjamarseins ist sik silbin (G. 6, 3) which despite, the German nominal construction is modelled on the Greek ἑαυτόν φανερατά.
frapamaldajai, kindly affectioned, modelled on φιλοστόργος, Rom. 12, 10.

gabawriwaurd, genealogy, modelled on γενεαλογία, I Tim. 1, 4, but adapted to idiomatic Gothic in that the concrete wawurd (written record) is used instead of the Greek abstract construction.
gardawaldands, master of the house, modelled on οἰκοδέσποτης, Lk. 14, 21; Mt. 10, 25; in Mk. 14, 14, the same Greek word is translated by hēlēfaujā which may have been the native term.
godakiwis, of good birth, modelled on εὔγενης, Lk. 19, 12.
grindafrapiris, mean-minded, modelled on ὁλυγόφυχος, I Th. 5, 14.
handawaurhts, made by hand, modelled on χειροσυντότος, Eph. 2, 11; Mk. 14, 58 (see also unhandawaurhts, Mk. 14, 58; II Cor. 5, 1).
hardahairtei, hardheartedness, modelled on σκληροκαρδία, Mk. 10, 5.
hilprastakeins, festival of the tabernacles, modelled on σκηνοφηνία, J. 7, 2.

(br) Other Terms
aglawaliluhs, insolent, modelled on ἀπειθέανος, Lk. 1, 51.
migardawađ+bis, dividing wall, modelled on μεσότοχον, Eph. 2, 14.
silbasteins, eye-witness, modelled on αὐτοπτής, Lk. 1, 2.
samafrapijs, agreeing, formed from τὸ ἐν φρονοτητεῖ, Ph. 2, 2.
ubitjsis, evil-doer, modelled on κακοποιός, and κακοβρογός, J. 18, 30; II Tim. 2, 9.
ubilawarjën, slander, modelled on κακολογεῖν, Mk. 9, 39; see also ubinawaurs, speaking evil, which translates λοιδόρος in I Cor. 5, 11, and which was probably taken from the Gospel passage where ubilawarjën is used.
wailalefs, boon, benefit, modelled on εὐεργεσία, I Tim. 6, 2.
waurdajjuka, argument, modelled on λογομαχία, I Tim. 6, 4.
weinrauqjā, wine-bibber, modelled on οἰνοποτής, Lk. 7, 34.1

1 Velten (op. cit.) also includes allwaldands, faihufris, faihuqairns, sibawilo, and arbinumia as calques from Greek, but the parallels to these formations in other Germanic languages, which have already been recorded in Part I of this work, suggest that they are native formations.
Amongst the new compounds but not necessarily calques from Greek are those compounds which have a foreign word in one part. Except for the compounds with galiuga or liugna-
(e.g. galiugapaustaulus, galiugaprafetus, liugnaprafetus, galiugaxristus) the foreign words are found only in the first part of the compounds.\(^1\)

It is most noticeable that the majority of the compounds with a foreign word in the first part translate a Greek simplex, and it seems likely that Wulfila took them from the ordinary Gothic speech and did not coin these formations. The following examples are recorded:

- *alewabagms*, translating *âlaâa* in Lk. 19, 37; Rom. 11, 17, 24.
- *aurtigards*, vineyard, translating *χήρα*, J. 18, 1, 26.
- *asilugairms*, mill driven by an ass, formed from *μύλος ὄνικος*, Mk. 9, 42, and possibly coined by Wulfila.
- *Iudaialand*, Judaea, rendering *Ἰουδαία* in Mk. 1, 5.
- *kaisarigild*, tax, translating *κῆριος*, Mk. 12, 14.
- *lukarnastafa*, candlestick, translating *λυχνία*, Mt. 5, 15.
- *swanagofapa*, ruler of the synagogue; probably coined by Wulfila to render the Greek *Δρυσάνδρος*, Mk. 5, 35, 36, 38.
- *weinabasi*, wine-berry, translating *σταφυλή* in Mt. 7, 16; Lk. 6, 44.
- *weindrugkeja*, wine-bibber; probably coined by Wulfila (see above).
- *weinagards*, vineyard, translating *ἄμπελον* in Lk. 20, 9, etc.
- *weinatriu*, vine, translating *ἄμπελος* in J. 15, 1, 4, 5.

Summing up, we may say that Wulfila made use of traditional and archaic compounds inherited from Primitive Germanic, and that he occasionally varied them in a way which is reminiscent of the Germanic alliterative poetry, but when his native vocabulary failed him he coined compounds on the model of those provided by the Greek text in order to express the new ideas of Christianity. Judging then from the compounds the language of the Gothic Bible is a mixture of idiomatic Gothic and a literary Gothic which is far removed from the colloquial language.

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\(^1\) The type *galiugaxristus* with a proper name in the second part, although in this case a calque from Greek seems to be in the native tradition: see ON. *maln-Oöinn, folk-Baldr, her-Baldr, gný-Njórdr.*

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**CHAPTER II**

**THE OLD HIGH GERMAN PROSE TEXTS**

The OHG. prose texts are mostly translations from Latin, and the translators keep closely to their originals. Only here and there do we see any attempt to embellish the style by the introduction of expressive compounds or by the variation of compounds.

**ISIDOR**

The Isidor translation is usually considered one of the best of the OHG. prose texts, and it is thought that the translator did make some attempt to adapt his translation to the German idiom. Although this may be true of the syntax of this text, it cannot be said that the translator has any connection with the old alliterative poetry in his use of nominal compounds. Certainly there are old Germanic compounds in Isidor, but these with very few exceptions are prose words, and only occasionally are they varied by other compounds or by simple words.

The following are, however, in the Germanic tradition, even if they are not all old formations:

- *höksesli*, throne, translating *throne, solium, sedis* in 20, 4; 36, 19; 36, 21; 38, 2; varied by the simplex *sedhal* (sedis) in 4, 14.
- *himifleugendêm*, birds of the air, translating *volucribus coeli* in 2, 17; possibly a coining of the translator's, but the type is an old one which was becoming archaic in OHG. (see p. 210).
- *muotwillo*, mind, translating *cor* in 42, 7. The compound, which is probably an old West Germanic formation, is common in OHG. prose, but the translator varies it by *muot* (cor) in 28, 8, and *herza*, 3, 23.
- *valuðli*, possessions, translating *possessio* in 32, 4; possibly an old poetic formation (see OE. *ãhtwela*) which survives only in this text.

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The Isidor translator is equally sparing in his coining of new compounds on the model of those supplied by the Latin original:

adhalsangheri, coined from egregius psalta, 10, 7.

einwerc, coined from cooperatio, 15, 12.

erdhchunni, coined from tribus terrae, 33, 21.

erdhriithhi, coined from regnum terrae, 6, 1.

erdhwaso, coined from moles terrae, 19, 11.

oostarrithhi, coined from regnum orientis, 35, 13.

weralchiwaltida, coined from potestas seculi, 41, 8.

TATIAN

The OHG. Tatian translation follows the Latin original slavishly in the syntax, and is generally supposed to be inferior to Isidor, but there are signs here and there of an attempt to heighten the style by the use of archaic compounds, which may have been inherited from the West Germanic alliterative poetry, and to introduce a compound when a simple word would have been sufficient to express the meaning.

The following cases of variation occur:

fateruutil, translating patria in 78, 2, 4, 5, varying uodil in 87, 1.

The compound is an old West Germanic formation (see p. 98, No. 26).

gomman, man, male, translating vir in 5, 7; 87, 5, etc., and varied by the simplex man. This variation is not of much significance as gomman is often found in the OHG. prose, but it is worth noting that it occurs only in poetry in OE.

riobsuhtig, leprous, translating leprosus in 78, 8, and varied in 44, 5; 46, 2, etc., by riob.

nötbentig, fettered, translating vincus in 199, 1, and varied in 199, 2 by nöthaf. In this case the translator certainly makes use of an old formation (see p. 45, No. 8) which is not recorded elsewhere in HG.

nöthurfì, necessity, translating necessarium in 63, 4; 67, 12, etc., and varied by thurfì in 80, 12. Although nöthurfì is

an old compound (see p. 43, No. 4) it is common in OHG. prose, and the variation is not particularly significant.

mielscas, payment, translating pecunia in 222, 2, 4 and varied by scas in 44, 6; 106, 4, etc. The compound is an old one, recorded elsewhere only in OE. (see p. 107, No. 18).

theogankind, boy, translating puer in 9, 2, which is rendered elsewhere by kind. Although there are no parallels to this compound in other Germanic languages, it may well be an old one introduced by the translator to embellish his style.

wärwurti, truthful, translating verae in 104, 5; 126, 1, which in 21, 7; 131, 9 is rendered by wär.

wegeart, journey, translating iter in 87, 1, and varied in 12, 3 by weg. The compound, which is not recorded elsewhere in OHG. (but see MHG. wegevart, MDu. wegevart), is probably an old one (see OE. wegfarende, ON. jegfarende).\(^1\)

In addition to these formations, which are varied in this text, there are many archaic compounds to be found in the Tatian, but these are simply archaisms such as are to be found in other OHG. prose texts, and it cannot be shown that they were introduced in any conscious attempt to heighten the style.

The vocabulary of the Tatian presents some of the most interesting problems in West Germanic word-geography. There are, on the one hand, words and compounds in this text which were borrowed from OE. and on the other, archaic formations which have not survived elsewhere in OHG. but which are also found in OLG. or OE. The subject of the OE. influence on the compounds has already been treated on pp. 13 ff. of this work, and it will suffice here to repeat a list of these borrowed formations: kentilastab, gibethús, tuomsedal, weraltwolo, ungioubfol, gotforht, gotcund, gotspell, miltherzi, ödmuoti, sibbisam, buhoelstap.

The Tatian compounds, which are not found elsewhere in OHG., have already been recorded by Gutmacher,\(^2\) in order to demonstrate the archaic character of the vocabulary of the Tatian and its connection with OE. and OLG. Gutmacher included, however, in his list several formations which reappear in MHG. and which are, therefore, no evidence for any

\(^1\) wegevart occurs in an alliterative phrase, giweigif fon doro wegeforti (faugatus ex itinere), but this cannot be the reason for the use of the compound as the simplex weg would also have alliterated.

\(^2\) Gutmacher, Der Wortschatz des Tatian in seinem Verhältnis zum Ags. As. und Alfriz., PBB. 39, 1-83; 230-289.
particular connection of the Tatian with the old West Germanic vocabulary. They are missing from HG. only because of the scanty nature of the records. Gutmacher's record may then be repeated with some modifications and some additional notes.

The following compounds, which appear only in the Tatian in HG. and also in OE. or LG., are in all probability old West Germanic formations which are becoming obsolete in HG.:

*erdibíunga*, earthquake; found also in OE. *eordbeowung* and as *erhibíunga* in the OLG. gloss, Gl. II, 717, 24.

*leimwurhito*, potter: see OE. *læmwyrrhta*, MLG. *lêmwerter*.

*mietseasc*, reward (OE. *mædscealt*).

*nóbentig*, fettered (see above).

*wabarswun*, spectacle (OE. *wafersyn*).\(^1\)

Other compounds, which are recorded only in the Tatian in HG., but which despite occasional parallels with OE. cannot be proved to be old West Germanic formations, are:

*accarbigengiri*, *accarbigengo*, husbandman; probably a coining from *agricola*.

*arnzil*, harvest time; possibly coined from *tempus messis* (but see Otfrid's *arnozit*).

*biminssalba*, translating *aroma* in 212, 7; 216, 2.

*bruohkház*, zona (13, 11; 44, 6); possibly an old formation.

*bürdref*, knapsack (166, 1, 2); also possibly an old compound, although there are no parallels in other Germanic languages.

*ebansjungiro*, a calque from *condiscipulus*, 135, 8.

*ebansscale*, a calque from *conservus*, 99, 3, 4, etc.

*eitbært*, iusiurandum, 4, 15; possibly an old formation.

*erdisquirrelness*, earthquake; probably a calque from *motus terrae*, but see OE. *eordhrërnas*.

*erdcuning*, a calque from *rex terrae*, 93, 2. Other OHG. texts translate this phrase by *lanticuning*, *weraltcuning*, but see OE. *eordcyning*.

*fartstat*, accessible place, rendering the Latin in *penetalibus*, 145, 18.

*fenningvantaleri*, money-changer, rendering the Latin *nummularius*, 117, 2.

*fluobargeist*, rendering *paracletus*, 171, 1.

*folburni*, probably a calque from *plenum frumentum*, 76, 2.

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\(^1\) Formations with composition suffixes are omitted from this account of the stylistic aspect of the compounds, as they were not felt as full compounds in OHG.

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*folrunkan*, drunk, rendering *inebriatus*, 45, 7.

*furistsizzento*, a calque from *architrucinus*, 45, 6, 7.

*garotag*, rendering *parasceue*, 198, 3; compare OE. *gearwungdag*.

*gommanburh*, boy, rendering *masculinum*, 7, 2; compare *gomsmanhinch* in other texts.

*grabastat*, sepulchre, rendering *sepultura*, 193, 5.

*riobshuítig*, leprous, 78, 8; compare *riob* in other passages.

*hruomgiscrib*, rendering *phylacterium*, 141, 3.

*šcafrúcérin*, a calque from *probatica piscina*, 88, 1.

*scatolesilda*, Feast of Tabernacles, rendering *seconopecia*, 104, 1.

*stalwirt*, rendering *stabularius*, 128, 9, which is translated by *stallere* in other OHG. texts.

*tresofas*, rendering *thesaurus*, *corbana*, 8, 7; 193, 4.

*thekkiziel*, tile, rendering *tegula*, 54, 3.

*ubilcaurhto*, malefactor, 194, 2; compare Gothic *ubilděđa*, OHG. *ubildido*, OE. *yfelděđa*.

*wallambahl*, rendering *centuria*, 212, 5, which is translated in 201, 1 by *huneri*: compare Gothic *hundafaps*.

*wihroukbrunst*, incense, rendering *incensum*, 2, 4, which is translated in other passages and other texts by *wihrouk*.

*woriblidī*, proverb, translating *proverbium*, 175, 3, which is rendered in other passages by *biwarti*, and in O. by *biltī*.

*zivusceasc*, rendering *didagma*, 93, 2.

*wintrincho*, a calque from *potator vini*, 64, 14; compare Gothic *weindrugjka*.

This division of the compounds peculiar to the Tatian into two groups, those representing old West Germanic formations which have parallels in OE. or LG. and those which despite occasional parallels in OE. cannot be proved to be old formations, shows that the claim that the vocabulary of the Tatian is a retreating West Germanic does not apply to the compounds. An equally long list of compounds which are found only in one HG. text and OE. or LG. could be prepared from the majority of OHG. texts. It is true that the word-formation in the Tatian is archaic—see especially the restriction of the suffix *-heit* to personal nouns, and the use of the suffixes *-fol*, *-fest* with abstract nouns—but it is not any more archaic than the earliest OHG. glosses.

In the search for old West Germanic formations in the Tatian, scant attention has been paid to those compounds which are common to the Tatian and later OHG. texts, and whilst regarded from one point of view the vocabulary of the Tatian is archaic,
it may also be considered as the beginning of a development towards a OHG. prose. In the following an account is given of the Tatian compounds, which are recorded in later or contemporary texts, in order to demonstrate the fact that the links of the Tatian with later OHG. prose are much stronger than those with OE.:¹

*abandmus*, supper, translating *cena*, 110, 4, etc., and recorded also in B. and Gl. II, 299, 24.

*bändsit*, vespera, 118, 4: not recorded elsewhere in OHG., but see MHG. *bändsit*, MDu. *avnitijd*, OE. *áfentid*.

*alcalt*, rendering Augustus, 5, 11: an old Germanic formation which survives in OHG. only in this passage and N. II, 446, 25.

*balard*, malice, translating *nequitia*, 84, 9: not recorded elsewhere in OHG. but surviving in MHG. *balrít*.

*béresboto*, tares, translating *zizania*, 72, 2, 5, 6: probably an old compound which survives in mutilated forms, *versboto*, *chursboto*, *merispoto*, in OHG. glosses.

*belisisoh*, translating *paralyticus*, 22, 2: possibly an old compound recorded elsewhere only in Ja. IV, 221, 6.

*bratigomo*, bridgroom: a very common formation in OHG.

*brutihlouft*, marriage: an old Germanic formation which survives throughout the OHG. period.

*burglüüt*, citizens, rendering *cives*, 97, 2; 151, 3. The formation is also found in OE. *burglóed*, but does not date back to Primitive West Germanic. It is found frequently throughout OHG.

*einougi*, one-eyed, translating *lucus*, 95, 5: probably an old compound (see OE. *ánlega*) which is common in the OHG. glosses.

*elilenti*, strange, foreign, translating *peregrinus*. The compound is common West Germanic and survives into Mod. G.

*ercunni*, a calque from *tribus terrae*, 145, 19, appearing elsewhere only in Os. and OE. (*eordcynn*).

*erdíkhi*, a calque from *regnum terrae* common in OHG. and OE. *érfas*, bronze vessel, translating *aeramentum*, 84, 4, appearing elsewhere only in Jc. IV, 17, 1, and OE. *érfea*.

*erístporan*, a calque from *primogenitus*, 10, 13, which also appears in N., H., and late glosses.

*érwirdig*, honoured, rendering *honorus*, 110, 3: probably a West Germanic formation (see OE. *áweorðe*) which survives into Mod. G.

¹ Borrowings from OE. are not included here.
huniskreko, rendering locusta, 13, 11: a common OHG. formation which survives as Heuschrecke in Mod. G.
hornigbruoder, leper, 137, 2: possibly an old compound which appears elsewhere only in O.
houbtphilucy, pillow, rendering cervical, 52, 3: a HG. formation which is recorded elsewhere only in glosses, Gl. II, 5, 3, etc.
libnara, food, rendering victus, 13, 18; 118, 1: an old West Germanic formation which survives in OHG. down to Nw.
lihhamo, body; a Primitive Germanic compound which survives into Mod. G.
lihtfas, lamp, 148, 1, 4, etc.: an old West Germanic compound surviving throughout OHG.
mündsioh, lunatic, 22, 2; 92, 2: probably an old compound which is recorded elsewhere in HG. only in Gl. I, 349, 15 (see OE. mündsioh).
manslago, murderer, 26, 1, etc.: common in OHG. and OE.
manslah, murder, 84, 9, etc.: also common in OHG. and OE.
meineid, perjury, 30, 1: a Primitive Germanic formation which remains common throughout the OHG. period and into Mod. G.
mihitilgarlo, earth, rendering mundus, 104, 1, 2. The compound is a Primitive Germanic formation (see Gothic midjungards), but appears here with the modification of the first part by an -l suffix which is characteristic of HG.
naktwacinta, watch in the night, rendering noctis vigilia, 6, 1. The compound is not found elsewhere in OHG., but appears in MHG. as nachtwacht.
nôtunfur, violent robbery, rendering rapina, 83, 2; 141, 19. This formation is a characteristically HG. compound which is frequently found throughout the OHG. period.
nôthsurf, need; a Primitive Germanic compound which is common in OHG. and survives into Mod. G.
olivoum, olive-tree, 145, 1, etc. This compound too is common in OHG. and appears also in OE. as an independent formation (elebetham).
ougstunt, countenance, rendering species, 88, 12. This compound, a derivative from an old West Germanic formation, survives in OHG. down to N.

ougazorahn, clear, manifest, rendering manifestus, 69, 8: a formation which is not found outside OHG. and appears there only in this text and early glosses.
quirustain, mill-stone. In this case the Tatian translator instead of rendering the Latin mola asinaria by a calque adopts an old Germanic compound which survives throughout the OHG. period in glosses.
rwostab, accusation, rendering accusatio, 194, 1. Also a Primitive Germanic formation which survives elsewhere in OHG. only in O.
salbfas, rendering alabastrum, 138, 1: a compound which is peculiar to HG. and is recorded elsewhere only in glosses.
seckifias, rendering parapsis, 141, 19, 20: also peculiar to HG. and recorded there only in this text and glosses.
scribsaks, rendering pugillares, 4, 12: recorded elsewhere only in Gl. I, 625, 19.
scodheitza, rendering villicus, 108, 1, 2: a West Germanic compound which survives into Mod. G.
sueizilahkan, rendering sudarium, 220, 4: recorded elsewhere only in the late Middle Franconian gloss, Gl. III, 716, 46.
sueiziloh, rendering sudarium, 151, 7; 135, 26: a formation peculiar to HG. and recorded throughout the OHG. period.
taglon, day's pay, 109, 1: not found elsewhere in OHG., but see MHG. tagelön, MDu. dachlohn.
tagamus, rendering pondium, 110, 4; 125, 6: found elsewhere only in O.
tragabettl, rendering gravatum, 88, 3, 4: a compound peculiar to HG. which is recorded also in glosses and N.
tresohüs, a calque from gasophylactum, 118, 1: a compound which is frequently found in HG. glosses and also in the LG. Hel.
turixart, janitor, 133, 6; 147, 6: found also in OE. and ON. and recorded in HG. down to N.
turitillukba, turtle-dove, 7, 3: common throughout OHG. and surviving into Mod. G.
thegankind, rendering puer, 9, 2: recorded in HG. also in glosses and O.
thunghus, rendering praetorium, 195, 1; 197, 7, etc. This compound is recorded in ON., although it does not date back to Primitive Germanic, and is common in OHG.
wanaheil, dechilis, 95, 4, etc.: a Primitive Germanic compound which survives in OHG. down to N.

würzurti, rendering verax, 104, 5; 126, 1: a rare compound which appears elsewhere only in R, 263, 15 in the form würzurtër.

wassaff, rendering hydria, 45, 4; 87, 7: a compound common to OE., OLG., and OHG. and frequently recorded throughout the OHG. period.

wassarstok, rendering hydropicus, 110, 1: probably a calque from Latin, recorded in OE. as wastersoc, and in HG. also in Gl. I, 818, 22; III, 276, 43.

wegefart, iter 87, 1: probably an old compound, which is not recorded elsewhere in OHG. but which reappears in MHG. wegefaert, and MDu. wegefaert.

wermeistar, rendering faber, 78, 3: common in OHG. glosses and as a feminine, wermeistara in N.

winiheri, rendering wina, 41, 3: a common Germanic formation which survives into Mod. G.

winihat, rendering palmes, 167, 4: recorded elsewhere only in OHG. glosses.

wingarto, rendering vinae: a common Germanic formation which survives in all the Germanic languages.

wineba, rendering vitis, 160, 3: very common in OHG. and surviving into Mod. G.

winloub, rendering palmes, 167, 3, 5: not recorded elsewhere in OHG., but reappearing in MHG. winloup and found also in OE. winlaf.

wintari, rendering insignis, 199, 2: an old West Germanic formation, not recorded elsewhere in OHG., but reappearing in MHG. winmare.

wolaqueti, a calque from benedicatio, although translating salutatio in the text (3, 3): appearing elsewhere only in Gl. IV, 307, 6.

worsphçwala, rendering ventilabrum, 13, 24: a HG. formation recorded elsewhere only in Gl. III, 169, 52, but compare wurcçwala, Gl. I, 709, 40; II, 495, 52.

It will be seen from this list that by far the greater part of the compounds in the Tatian belong to the common vocabulary of OHG., and that these links with the later vocabulary of OHG. are far more numerous than those with OE. and LG. In fact, no less than twenty-seven of these compounds survive into Mod. G. and many more into MHG. It may be asserted then that despite the fact that the Tatian translator keeps closely to the Latin text his vocabulary is on the whole idiomatic German, and in this respect he compares favourably with other OHG. prose writers.

Notker

It has been shown in the previous sections that only a few traces of an attempt to embellish the style by the use of traditional, expressive compounds derived from the alliterative poetry can be found in the early OHG. prose-texts, Isidor and Tatian. In the writings of Notker of St. Gall at the close of the OHG. period these links with the old alliterative poetry are still weaker, and the vocabulary is much further removed from colloquial, idiomatic German than that of the Tatian. Notker wrote his translations of Boethius, Martianus Capella, Aristotle, and the Psalms for use in the monastery school, and as far as the modern reader can judge, was little concerned with elegance of style. It is true that occasional alliterating and rhyming phrases are found in Notker's works, e.g. sin lant joh sine liute; heine alde in herige; chena unde chint, but as Naumann has shown, these are drawn from earlier and contemporary OHG. prose and cannot be regarded as establishing a direct connection between Notker and the older poetry.\footnote{See H. Naumann, Notker's Boethius, Untersuchungen über Quellen und Stil, Strassburg, 1913, pp. 95 ff.}

Further, it is well known that Notker translated the same Latin word differently in different passages, but these variations have no connection with those in the alliterative poetry, and indeed arise from quite different motives. The variations in the alliterative poetry are repetitions of the same idea, introduced to heighten the pathos of the verse and to impress the meaning on those who were listening to the recitation of the poem. They are made possible by a wealth of synonyms in the poetical language of the time. Notker's variations, on the other hand, are evidence of his inability to express the difficult religious and philosophical conceptions of his originals with the existing resources of the German language. In varying his translations of the same Latin word or phrase Notker is seeking the 'not juste,' striving for precision in expression, and attempting to bring out more precisely the meaning of the Latin terms in each particular context. Frequently Notker coins a compound or derivative to designate some concept unusual in German, only to abandon it immediately in favour...
of some more appropriate term. In illustration of his methods we may consider some of his attempts to translate the religious and philosophical terms of his Latin originals by compounds, although as Notker's sources are not fully known, it is not always possible to define the precise relationship between the German and Latin texts:

caelicola. This word occurs in Martianus Capella, and in the first passage in which it is found (693, 5) Notker attempts a literal translation, himilbō, which is modelled on the Latin compound but reminiscent of lanbō (agricola) in earlier German texts. Apparently dissatisfied with this coinage, which would convey no precise idea to his German readers, Notker varies it in the next passage (734, 4) by himelsdō. He then uses his new formation to translate caelītes (793, 6) which had been previously rendered by himelisken or gota. The translation of this word affords one of the most characteristic examples of Notker's attempts to find a precise German term which will bring out the meaning of the original. In the first passage in the Psalms where the word is found (450, 4) Notker uses the simple German word reht, but in the second passage he attempts an explanation of the term and a more expressive translation, 500, 29: Waz sint justificationes. Æne aber mandata quaе justos faciamt? Waz sint sic hilt sanctus Augustinus dēn facta justitiae. opera justorum quaе imperat deus? Ziu heizent sie aber sinе. anе das er sie recchet? Pe diu mugen wir sie diuten frumereht, alde werchreht. These two compounds are then varied in later passages: frumereht, 501, 15; 508, 25; werchreht, 502, 15; 503, 5; 504, 28; 506, 15, 21; 513, 31. In 507, 20 he attempts a combination of the two as frumewerch, but finding this and his other coinings unsatisfactory, from 515, 7 adopts a simple derivative from reht, namely rehltunga which he uses no less than twenty times.

1 On this subject see especially Luginbühl, Studien zu Notkers Übersetzungskunst, Weida, 1933.
2 Luginbühl (p. 20) considers that stwoladszō was the model for this formation, but lantsdōz (agricola) would be a more appropriate comparison.
3 Luginbühl (p. 21) quotes another example of caelicola in 845, 6: diu undro goto magezohu waz, but this renders Vesta. deum nutriti. In this passage omnis ordo caelicolum is translated by altero gotelōth (845, 7) which was suggested by the goto (deum) of the previous line.

magnificentia. In the first passage in which this word occurs in the Psalms (20, 22) Notker tries a coining werchmahitgi, reversing the order of the members of the Latin compound. Possibly because the German adjective derivative did not express an action in the way in which magnificentia does, Notker abandons this coining in the next passage (90, 7), and forms a new word mihelwerchungа, which is a literal translation of the Latin original. Then he falls back on two derivatives, mihellichi (262, 12; 277, 24) and tsunneh (479, 13), but finally abandons the attempt to form an abstract noun and adopts (592, 25) the concrete magemwerch which he repeats in 594, 7.

fortuna. The commonest translation of this word in Notker's writings is sālda, varied by sālda joh unsālda, saligkeit, but although the German language in this case afforded a satisfactory translation, Notker as a Christian monk attempts to bring out the transitoriness of earthly fortune by a number of compounds which he himself coined, even when the Latin original suggests no such idea. Especially frequent is wilsālda (I, 48, 26; 704, 8; 704, 23; 709, 8, etc.), but other terms occur: werlsālda (I, 107, 21; 127, 13, 22); suftesālda (I, 710, 11); trugesālda (I, 36, 25); viletwendiši (I, 40, 13).

psalmus. In the Psalms this word is often translated by the German noun sang or by the foreign salmo, but other variations are found. In 597, 7 Notker attempts a combination of these two words as psalmnsang and follows it in 597, 11 by höhnsang (and also in 281, 21). Further in 92, 10 Notker attempts a new coining, frōsang, which he repeats in 242, 2, 11 and 246, 6; see especially the variation in 242, 2: An Christum siehet davidis salmo. der sin frōsang ist. The variation is clearly not a stylistic one, but has a purely didactic aim, namely to indicate to the German reader the meaning of the foreign salmo.

sanctuarium. In the early part of the Psalms this Latin word is translated simply by hūs, but from 294, 23, apparently regarding this translation as insufficient, Notker uses the:

1 Luginbühl regards this compound as a coining by Notker (p. 39), but see OE. magennuore, ON. (Edda) meginnork.
2 In using these two compounds Notker may have been drawing from the traditional Alemanic rendering of psalmus: salmsang is found in B. and Rb., and höhnsang in Rd. Jb. For the explanation of the latter see also N. II, 409, 24, vox psalmi, höhni stimma.
compound *wielhus*, which may have been known to him from the early German glosses.

* testamentum*. This word is translated in various parts of the Psalms by the traditional *die* and by the derivative *beneimeda*, but in 190, 12, where *testamentum* refers to the Holy Scriptures, Notker coins the more concrete term *beneimscrif*. Similarly, in 479, 24 the abstract *erbe* is used and is varied in 210, 4; 366, 15 by *erbeiscrif*.

In the cases analysed above Notker seems to be seeking a precise term to bring out the exact meaning of the Latin words in their context, but in other examples there seems to be no particular point in the variations:

- *pugillatores vel cursores* is translated in I, 452, 4 by *fäschemfen unde striltloupfen*, and immediately afterwards (I, 452, 18) by *cinnut Rede unde striltloupfen*.
- *frumentum* is translated in II, 339, 12 in the phrase *ex adipe frumenti* by *chornewiste*, and in 600, 26 by *chorinwuscheris*.
- *novella* is translated in II, 559, 9 by *niufünsdt* and in 591, 14 by *niussaet*.

It has been shown in the discussion of the translation of *fortuna* that Notker sometimes adds to the Latin text in order to stress his personal attitude to the term he is translating, and in other cases he adds to the Latin text in order to make the meaning clearer to his readers. One of the most characteristic examples of this harping on the same term in order to drive in its meaning is seen in the translation of *caput anguli* in II, 496, 14 ff.: *Der stein . . . der ward ze houbete des wincheles. das chit ze houbetsteine. Der houbetstein. das ist der winchelstein . . .*

Other examples, in which Notker is more precise than the Latin original, or indicates his attitude to the ideas he is translating by the use of limiting compounds are:

- *jumentum*: Notker usually translates this word in the Psalms by *jelio* or *rinder*, but in 319, 21 uses a more precise compound *stalfelo*.
- *sculptile*: In the first passage in which this word occurs in the Psalms (321, 19), Notker uses the compound *abgotpilde*, apparently coined by him, but later attempts to bring out the meaning 'sculpture' by *graftipilde*, 407, 5 and *grabewerch*, 454, 1.
- *coemptio*: Notker makes the meaning of this word more vivid to his readers by translating it as *chornchouf*, I, 27, 1.

*murus*: In II, 199, 1 Notker translates *muri ierusalem* by *die burgnuira ierusalem*, again making the meaning more precise.

*porta*: In the phrase *cum loquentur inimicis suis in porta* (558, 13) Notker again makes the meaning more precise by translating: *so sie iifen burgetor sprechent ze tro fienden.*

*bellum* is rendered in I, 297, 29 by the more precise compound *burgwig*.

*numen* is translated variously in Notker's works as *got*, *goteite, gotees mahl, chraft*, but in I, 54, 17 Notker indicates his personal attitude to the heathen term by rendering it as *trutelievel*.

All these variations and additions to the Latin text show that Notker was pursuing a purely didactic aim. He does not vary his terminology for the sake of introducing synonyms to relieve the monotony of the translation, but solely to make his meaning clear. It cannot, therefore, be asserted that there is any connection between the variations in Notker and the use of expressive synonyms which are characteristic of the German alliterative verse.

Nextly we may consider the compounds which Notker coined on the model of his Latin originals, and try to find out what Notker drew from his predecessors and how far he enriched the German vocabulary by coining new compounds. Naturally Notker used many compounds which were drawn from the common vocabulary of OHG. and some of which were inherited from Primitive German, but his Christian and philosophical terminology owes very little to those who preceded him in the OHG. period. A few common Christian terms, as *armherzig, dienuot, ehenewig, erdrihki, goteite, heltehora, himeirichi, höksang, lichamhaft, salmosang*, are found in earlier texts and were probably known to Notker, but the majority of the Christian terms in his writings were coined by Notker himself. For the philosophical terminology there was practically nothing except a few derivatives like *wézhit, wistweum* and a few compounds denoting mental states as *ehanmuotig, langmuotig* on which Notker drew. The remainder he coined himself from the Latin text. As far as the compounds are concerned this was done by modelling compounds on Latin ones or by combining Latin phrases. This process we may consider in some detail, although for reasons already indicated it is not always possible to define...
precedes the relation between Notker’s text and his Latin originals.1

(a) Compounds Modelled on Latin Ones

ebanfar, of the same colour, coined from concolor: recorded
also in two 11th century glosses, Gl. II, 6, 8; 7, 21, also
translating concolor.
ebenmäsi, equal, coined from coaequalis, II, 642, 17: see also
MHG. ebennase.
einfar, a solitary wanderer, coined from solitavia, I, 732, 30.
fridomachig, peace-making, coined from pacificus, II, 134, 17.
goldfaks, golden-haired, coined from auricomus, I, 706, 1.
hallgot, demigod, coined from hemiheus, I, 822, 9: also in
Gl. II, 396, 79; 405, 51 (12th cent.), translating semidius.
hantstarch, strong-armed, translating manusfortis, II, 39, 8;
56, 27: also recorded in Williram. See also hantstarchi,
fortitudo manus, II, 143, 18.
helegmachinga, sanctification, coined from sanctificatio, II,
403, 19.
helegmaineda, sacrament: either an etymologising formation
from sacramentum, which it translates in II, 70, 1, or shortened
from *helegmaineda and suggested by sacra communio.
heimbriga, a calque from domiduca, I, 815, 15.
helioiwas, a calque from uetiovis, I, 738, 10.
himelbíu, dweller in heaven, coined from caelica, I, 693, 5.
himelíado, dweller in heaven, coined from caelica, I, 734, 4.
egelhnamig, of the same name, coined from equinocac, I, 368, 15.
ttehshkhi, avoiding the light, coined from lucifuga, I, 802, 8 :
see I, 756, 8, where the word is translated by nahilik.
manesio, cannibal, translating ambromes in, I, 787, 15, but
suggested by antropofagi in the commentary.
manegtāgig, having many opinions, coined from multivida,
I, 782, 4.
manegnamig, many-named, coined from plurivoca, I, 371, 16.
manegschó, many-angled, coined from multiangulis, I, 807, 31.
gemeinmuoi, agreement, coined from concordia, I, 814, 11, but
see the adverb gimeinmuato in Otfrid.
gemeinnamig, having the same name, coined from uni voca, I,
368, 22.

1 The compounds discussed in the following account are, unless
stated otherwise, found only in Notker in OHG.

(b) Compounds Coins from a Latin Phrase consisting of a
Substantive and Dependent Gentic

betestimma, in the phrase minero betestimmo, voice of my prayer,
translating voci orationis meae, II, 12, 3.
bigscuzz, flash of lightning, translating fulgurum jactus, I, 698, 9.
bruot, neckerchief, translating pepo pectoris, I, 739, 27, but
recorded also in 10th century glosses, Gl. I, 597, 15; 626, 55.
erdring, ring of the universe, coined from orbis terrarum, II,
74, 15, etc., but also recorded earlier in OHG. (Otfrid).
erdewiri, a plant, coined from faenum terrae, II, 286, 11.
erdewirist, manure, coined from stercus terrae, II, 344, 22.
erdsáma, seeds of the earth, coined from terrarum semina, I,
757, 15.
erdwochner, fruit of the earth, coined from terrae fructus, I,
91, 15; II, 448, 27, etc.
fahssceilela, crown of the head, translating verticem capilli, II,
258, 26.
feldscoi, beauty of the fields, translating pulchritudo agri, II,
192, 2.
hanstarchi, strength of the hands, translating fortitudo manus,
II, 143, 18 (see hantstarch, above).
helbelwasser, waters of Hell, rendering flegeton in I, 824, 5, but
suggested by fluvius inferi in the commentary: also recorded
in the 12th century Gl. I, 504, 18, where it translates cocyli.
herzegarev, coined from preparatio cordis, II, 30, 26.
herzerihti, coined from directio cordis, II, 501, 9.
higot, god of marriages, coined from deus nuptiarum in the
Remigius commentary to I, 688, 7.

hisámo, coined from veneris semen, I, 831, 17.

himelaksa, axis of the universe, coined from axem caeli, I, 839, 19.

himelbrōt, manna, coined from panis caeli, I, 449, 20; recorded
also in Gl. IV, 159, 34, and Ezzos Gesang.

himelgibel, pole, translating polus, i. vertices caeli in I, 839, 17,
and the simple polus in I, 291, 11; 765, 12; 789, 15.

himelhérōt, rule of the gods, translating deorum imperium, I,
799, 1; 837, 4.

himelisicht, fire from the heavens, coined from poli lumen,
I, 723, 7.

himelurri, doors of heaven, coined from januas caeli, II, 315, 20.

hornscal, sound of the horn, translating vox tubae, II, 179, 9.

houbeskimō, coined from capitis radios, I, 748, 10.

järring, circle of the year, coined from circulus anni, I, 797, 2.

lantichunian, earthly king, coined from reges terrae, II, 5, 8; 603,
17.

libregula, rule of life, coined from regulae vitae, II, 70, 2.

liutchuo, coined from vaccas populorum, II, 261, 10.

lōrbat, laurel leaf, coined from folis lauris, I, 702, 15; also
recorded in the 13th century, Gl. III, 541, 50.

lobofriscing, coined from hostiam laudis, II, 492, 21.

lūfisámo, seed of the air, coined from aeris semina, I, 712, 25.

merefrisc, sea-fish, translating pisces maris, II, 22, 8.

mereflos, estuary, translating aestuarium maris, I, 299, 18.

meremuskaela, sea-shell, translating conchae maris, I, 343, 16.

merewarzser, waters of the sea, translating aquae maris, I, 291, 13;
II, 74, 19, etc.

mereweg, path across the sea, translating semitas maris, II, 22, 8.

nahzfarewo, colour of night, translating atrae noctis nigredine,
I, 743, 30.

nahztiserno, star of the night, coined from sidere noctis, I, 758, 18.

nātmachunga, coined from causa necessitatis, I, 327, 13, but see
also I, 316, 10, where the compound translates the simplex
necessitas.

ogenlieht, light of the eyes, rendering lumen oculorum, II, 138, 4
(see Mod. G. Augentlich).

fāwenfedera, peacock's feather, rendering pavonum pennis, I,
741, 29 (see Mod. G. Pfauenfeder).

ruoderskef, rowing-boat, translating remi navis, I, 429, 14 (see
Mod. G. Rulerschiff).

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santhūfzo, heap of sand, translating cumulus harenis, II, 495, 9.
suhtstuo, coined from cathedra pestilentiae, II, 3, 12.
sunmerseichen, rendering signa aestatis in the Remigius com-
menary, I, 749, 6.

waldpum, forest-tree, translating ligna silvarum, II, 405, 6 (see
Mod. G. Waldbaum).

walddtir, beast of the forest, translating bestiae silvae, II, 439, 4;
439, 13; 603, 13.

wasserfart, coined from exitus aquarum, II, 463, 27, with different
meaning therefore from the Mod. G. Wasserfahren.

wassersessa, seething waters, rendering tempestas aquae, II, 267,
20 (see also the same compound in I, 824, 1, translating
fluenti aestu).

werlimendi, worldly joy, coined from mundi gaudia, I, 721, 4.

wetlnaht, darkness of the world, coined from nox huius saeculi,
II, 225, 10.

werlbrīch, the rich of this world, coined from divites saeculi,
II, 72, 9; 75, 20.

wolchensül, pillar of cloud, coined from columna nubis, II,
413, 7.

(c) Compounds Coined from Latin Phrases consisting of an
Adjective and a Noun

ābentopher, evening sacrifice, coined from sacrificium vespertinum,
II, 583, 22; also in NgI. II, 243, 5.

alfestenunga, general dedication, coined from universale dedi-
caitum.

argwillo, malice, coined from miserae voluntatis, I, 254, 26,
but also translating neguittitae in II, 209, 5.

burgseldia, inhabited city, coined from civitatis habitaculi, II,
460, 3.

emiselounft, frequent running, coined from crebis discursibus, I,
695, 18.

erdītir, earthly animal, coined from terrena animalia, I, 103, 22.

fahspendel, hair ribbon, coined from vitta crinalis, I, 722, 25.

flugegerta, staff of Mercury, coined from volatilium virgam, I,
701, 20.

goldzcrez, golden sand, coined from aureis harenis, I, 196, 8.

ehellevinita, Eumenides, suggested by furiae infernales in the
Remigius commentary to I, 812, 2.

himelstifur, fire from heaven, translating ignes superos, vim
superam in I, 782, 16; 783, 13; 811, 10.
themgelust, desires of the gods, coined from *appetitiam caelitum*, I, 767, 17.

himelfalenza, heavenly hall, coined from *aulam caelitum*, I, 739, 4.

himeltou, dew from heaven, coined from *superni roris*, I, 826, 15.

himeltougeni, secret of heaven, coined from *secretum caelestis*, I, 734, 6.

himelswunne, pleasures of the gods, coined from *voluptates aethericas*, I, 693, 20.

kareleicht, lament, coined from *flebilis modis*, I, 222, 28.

karasang, lament, coined from *mesios modos*, I, 7, 6.

liutsalda, mortal happiness, coined from *populari fortuna*, I, 268, 2.

lugebrief, mendacious letter, coined from *mendacios litteris*, I, 31, 4.

gemeinwerche, common term, coined from *communem terminem*, I, 402, 21; 403, 9; 405, 6.

merchunt, canis maritimus, I, 549, 12: also in the 12th century, Gl. III, 84, 23; 202, 32, translating the same Latin phrase.

merewad, sea-water, translating *maritima inundatione*, I, 756, 7.

metersang, verse song, coined from *metrici carminis*, I, 274, 10.

metrewunne, delight from poetry, coined from *delicias meleasis*, I, 773, 1.

meterswurca, Muses, coined from *poeticas musas*, I, 11, 7.

muotrawa, peace of mind, coined from *mentem quietam*, I, 715, 6.

naitforhta, night terror, coined from *timor nocturnus*, II, 384, 16, also in W.

naitsculd, sins of the night, coined from *nocturna admissa*, I, 835, 1.

naitlwig, a euphemism for *sexual intercourse,* translating *in bello coenunci* in I, 815, 24, but suggested by *nocturna bella* in the Remigius commentary.

opherbuot, blood offered as a sacrifice, coined from *immolato sanguine*, II, 196, 4.

opherwin, sacrificial wine, coined from *vinum libaminum*, recorded also in 13th century glosses, III, 155, 30, etc.

chelshinger, index finger, coined from *digitum salutari*, I, 763, 14.

rughstang, smell of smoke, coined from *fumida aura*, I, 798, 5.

sigegeba, gift for victory, coined from *triumpha largetione*, I, 75, 10.

scefacig, naval battle, coined from *navale bellum*, I, 529, 4; 533, 29; II, 182, 18.

trugelefs, deceitful lips, coined from *labia dolosa*, II, 33, 22; II, 101, 1.

tuomgot, greater god, coined from *sumnum deum*, I, 185, 16.

wekeselit, transitory things, coined from *mutabilium naturum*, I, 274, 22.

(d) Compounds Coined from Latin Ones consisting of a Noun and Adjective or from Phrases consisting of an Adjective with a Dependent Noun.


buozwirdig, ready for penance, translating *supplicio dignum*, I, 114, 12: recorded also in 10th century glosses and see OE. *bówvrede*.

hantstarch, strong-handed, coined from *maunfortis*, II, 39, 8; 56, 27: recorded also in Williram.

hersechstig, of contrite heart, coined from *contritos corde*, II, 597, 24.

grethherse, righteous, coined from *recte corde*, II, 408, 6, etc.: see also OE. *rīhtheorht*.

withende, spacious, coined from *spaciosum manibus*, II, 439, 27.

(e) Compounds Coined from other Latin Phrases

ackergang, cultivation of the field, translating *causa colendi agrī*, I, 308, 5.

erdecot, hero, translating *heroes*, I, 822, 9, but suggested by the following phrase, *die fone hera das chitl terra*, *heroes*.

lanttrethare, judges, coined from *qui judicatis terram*, II, 7, 4.

stedewesel, change of place, translating *mutatio secundum locum*, I, 491, 17.

spilosgen, translating *prorus in petulantia*, I, 758, 7: recorded also in the 10th century, Gl. II, 330, 37.

strillefou, race, translating *curreri in stadio*, I, 246, 11.

treuinnergebo, translating *luses, quia deludent homines dormientes*, I, 823, 25.

werlbreithwund, worldly wealth, translating *in saeculo divitiae*, I, 289, 15.
The majority of these compounds are obviously non-formations which were never a part of the common OHG. vocabulary, and very few survive into Mod. G. As far as can be observed from these lists Notker did not enrich the German vocabulary by any coinings of philosophical and religious terms which became a part of the ordinary German vocabulary.

In addition to those recorded above there are a few other compounds not modelled directly on Latin compounds, or phrases, which first appear in Notker and which do survive into Mod. German:

arglist, deceit, rendering malo, II, 28, 21; and astutia, NgI. 219, 17: not recorded elsewhere in OHG., but see MHG. arclist.

bosewihl, villain, recorded in I, 398, 3 (no Latin): not found elsewhere in OHG., but see MHG. bosegwihl.

brandopher, burnt-offering, translating holocaustum, II, 146, 22: see Mod. G. Brandopfer.

himlwsa, ascent to heaven; the compound may have the modern meaning in II, 619, 1, although elsewhere in Notker, e.g., I, 14, 5; I, 608, 10; I, 802, 25, it means 'movement of the spheres.' The modern meaning is also found in the 12th century Münchner Glaube und Beticke and commonly in MHG. jungenwasa, virgin, translating virgo, I, 828, 4; recorded also in Williram and 12th century glosses.

mittweche, Wednesday, rendering quarta sabbati, I, 393, 11: recorded also in 12th century glosses and commonly in MHG. regentrope, rain-drop, rendering stilla, II, 625, 1: not found elsewhere in OHG., but see Mod. G. Regentropfen.

regenwasser, rain-water, translating madorem, I, 796, 23: not recorded elsewhere in OHG., but see MHG. regenwasser.

spiegeglas, mirror, recorded in I, 341, 13 (no Latin): see MHG. spiegeglas.

tageslicht, daylight, translating lux, II, 12, 12, and lumen, II, 602, 16: see Mod. G. Tageslicht.

It is doubtful whether Notker coined any of these terms, as they are mostly names of common things. The group includes only one Christian term, himlwsa, and no philosophical ones. It is true that a few philosophical and Christian formations with composition suffixes as friheit, einigkeit, ewigkeit, merheit, minnerheit, seinbarte, tagedhaft appear for the first time in Notker, but these can no longer be regarded as compounds, and it may be asserted therefore that the Christian and philosophical terms in Mod. G., which are expressed by compounds, are in no way derived from Notker, and that his example in adapting the German language to the Christian and philosophical terminology of the texts which he translated was without influence on the subsequent development of the German language.

Nevertheless it is unlikely that Notker's extensive works passed entirely unnoticed in the OHG. period, and it has been shown by Bach \(^1\) that a few of the late OHG. Boethius glosses are influenced by Notker's translation of Boethius. Of these the Boethius glosses in the St. Gall MS. 845 (Steinmeyer-Sievers, II, 54 ff.) are especially important for our purpose as they have a few compounds in common with Notker's translation and their dependence on Notker can be proved from the translation of the Latin diversitate. In N. I, 113, 20, diversitate logeuendium tum insolentia commertii is rendered by fone unchundero sprácho. sum fone ungewoneheite choufes, that is diversitate is translated by unchundero and ungewoneheite kept for insolentia. In St. Gall 845 (S-S. II, 59, 27) Notker's ungewoneheite is senselessly taken over as a gloss to diversitate. Other compounds which these glosses have in common with Notker are:

55, 10 elementum, buochstaba (see N. I, 10, 31).

56, 7 respublicas, chuneriche (see N. I, 168, 27, but translating regnis): probably an old compound (see below); recorded elsewhere in OHG. only in the Boethius glossary, IV, 315, 30.

56, 23 provincialitam, lantiuto (see N. I, 26, 23).

59, 25 area, hovestat (see N. I, 112, 31).

62, 18 solitaria, einstwolde (see N. I, 277, 3): found elsewhere only in Gl. II, 71, 62, and IV, 317, 36 (both Boethius glosses), and in the glossary described below.

A later copy of similar Boethius glosses is found in the 11th century Codex principum de Wallerstein (Steinmeyer-Sievers, II, 66 ff.). The influence of Notker, probably indirectly, is seen on the following compounds:

66, 25 elementum, buochstabe (N. I, 10, 31).

68, 63 solitaria, einstwolde (N. I, 277, 3).

It has also been shown by Steinmeyer \(^2\) that the glosses to Porphyrii Liber isagogarum in the 11th century Codex Vindob.

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2 E. Steinmeyer, Anz. 13, 298.
NOMINAL COMPOUNDS IN GERMANIC

311 (Steinmeyer-Sievers, II, 366) were inspired by Notker. In this glossary Notker's system of accents is used, and the following compounds are found only here and in Notker:

366, 15 cicutrix, wüntmâle (see N. II, 136, 12 wüntmâle).
366, 17 alteratio, änherlich (see N. I, 491, 10, etc.).
367, 6 assignant, knôtmesont (see N. I, 67, 19, etc.).
367, 27 unioce, êinluuigto (see N. I, 705, 22, but translating unisonae).

Although Notker's influence on these glosses is indisputable, it does not appear to extend to any of the connected texts in late OHG. and early MHG. There are, it is true, formations which are common to Notker and Williram, but as the following list will show, the coincidences are not sufficient to establish any relationship between the two writers.

Common to Notker and Williram are:

hanstarch, stronghanded, translating manufortis in MS. G, 58, 11 of Williram (see N. II, 39, 8). The compound is, however, also recorded in MHG. hanstarch.

hérstual, throne, translating thronus, W. 62, 13, and N. I, 74, 26, etc., but see also MHG. hérstual.

jungfrouna, virgin, W. 4, 1; 53, 1, etc.; N. I, 828, 4: also common in MHG.

nâlforhta, night terror, translating timor nocturnus, W. 51, 6; N. II, 384, 16: but see MHG. nachtworde.

reitwagen, chariot, translating curribus, W. 15, 2, and vehiculum in N. I, 699, 25: but see MHG. reitwagen.

sangiehl, chorus, translating choros, W. 110, 2, and carmine in N. I, 224, 25. This compound is recorded elsewhere only in the glosses to Notker's Psalms.

verlawheit, trouble of this world, W. 52, 23: recorded elsewhere only in the glosses to Notker's Psalms (II, 250, 8) which were not written by Notker.

werlwînste, darkness of this world, W. 46, 12; 58, 9, etc., and in N. I, 231, 10 (nocem terrarum), and II, 33, 13.

In contrast to the relatively new formations discussed above there are a few archaic compounds in Notker's work, although it cannot be asserted that there is any definite archaic tendency. Naturally Notker uses compounds inherited from Primitive Germanic or West Germanic along with every prose writer of the time, and such compounds as magenschraft, nuotwil, nôldurft, wortzeichen, which are certainly old formations but which

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survive into MHG., cannot be called archaisms as they are found in other contemporary prose writers. The following, however, do appear to be obsolescent compounds inherited from earlier times:

alecalt, translating principem, II, 446, 25: an old Primitive Germanic formation (see p. 57, No. 2), which survives in German only in the OLG. Hel., T., and Notker.
eidstab, oath, II, 482, 15: also a Primitive Germanic formation (see p. 46, No. 8), which is not found elsewhere in OHG.

chneveric, kingdom, N. I, 168, 27: possibly a West Germanic formation (see OE. cnyric), recorded elsewhere only in two glosses, II, 56, 7; IV, 315, 30, both of which are derived from Notker (see above).
hûsstat, site of a house, N. I, 405, 25, 27: possibly a West Germanic formation (see p. 100, No. 53), not recorded elsewhere in OHG.

nôfthewfrend, close friend, translating amici in I, 122, 31: a West Germanic formation (see p. 102, No. 82), which is also found in glosses contemporary with Notker (Gl. I, 501, 24; 700, 1) but which does not survive in HG.
mogenwerch, mighty deed, translating magnificantia, II, 592, 25; 594, 7: possibly a Primitive Germanic formation (see p. 59, No. 43), which is not recorded elsewhere in German.
orprovno, creator, translating auctor, N. I, 160, 11, and Ngl. II, 285, 29. This West Germanic poetical compound (see p. 102, No. 83) survives in late OHG. glosses and in MHG. ortprovobre, but was probably becoming obsolete in Notker's time, as the usual word in Notker for ' creator ' is skypfo.

bîwala, wealth, translating opes, I, 59, 18; 96, 19; 142, 6; II, 127, 15. The compound is an old West Germanic formation (see p. 97, No. 19), which is recorded in HG. only in Notker.

ougsiume, countenance, translating vultum, II, 65, 21: an old West Germanic formation (see p. 120, No. 4), which is found in HG. only in M., T., and Notker, although the adjective ougiawig survives into the late OHG. glosses.1

1 It is suggested by Naumann (p. 104) that a tradition from the OE. prose translations may survive as far as Notker. In support of this Naumann quotes the compounds meterwerkhs, poeticas musas (see OE. metergemowe) and helgod, Plut. arbor ememarum (see OE. helgod), but both of these compounds are formed from the Latin phrases in the way which is so common in Notker and which has been discussed above. There is certainly no reason to assume OE. influence and the assertion that it is present cannot be supported by other examples.
CHAPTER III

THE COMPOUNDS IN THE GERMANIC POETRY

The nominal compounds form one of the most striking and significant elements in the diction of the Germanic alliterative poetry, and their aesthetic value has been varyingly assessed by modern critics. Some writers, e.g. Bode and Magoun, see in the excessive use of nominal compounds, especially in OE. poetry, a weakness of technique, and they regard them merely as devices to fill the alliterative line or to provide the necessary alliteration, whilst to others they are rather evidence of the vivid imagination and originality of the Germanic poets, judiciously introduced to heighten the rhetoric of the poems. It is, however, dangerous to generalise in this way, as the technique of the alliterative poets differs in the treatment of nominal compounds, and each poem or group of poems should be considered on its own merits. It is possible that a detailed comparison of the compounds in the alliterative poems will enable us to gain an insight into the actual technique of composition and form a basis for a judgment on the aesthetic qualities of the Germanic verse.

I. FREQUENCY AND REPEETITION OF COMPOUNDS

The frequency with which the nominal compounds are used is by no means uniform in the Germanic poetry, and it has already been observed that they were exploited most intensively in the OE. poetry. Some valuable statistics on the nominal compounds in Beowulf, Exodus, Elene, Crist, Judith, and Maldon have been worked out by Krackow,¹ and these with certain modifications and additions may be used as a basis for a comparison with alliterative and rhyming poems in other Germanic languages.

¹ Otto Krackow, Die Nominalcomposita als Kunstmittel im alt-englischen Epos, Weimar, 1903.

In Beowulf two nominal compounds (including repetitions) are found in every four lines, and this high proportion is exceeded in OE. poetry only by a few short poems, and of the longer ones only by Exodus. The following table, taken from Krackow, will serve to give some idea of the relative frequency of the nominal compounds in the more important OE. alliterative poems:

\[
\begin{align*}
2:3 & + Bi \text{ manna Cræ. } ; \text{ Bi manna Wy. } ; \text{ Exodus.} \\
2:4 & + Beowulf ; \text{ Judith } ; \text{ Panther } ; \text{ Whale } ; \text{ Gūsλíc II.} \\
2:4:5 & + Andreas. \\
2:5 & - Azarias. \\
2:5 & + Elene. \\
2:6 & + Finsburg, Juliana, Creation. \\
2:6 & + Crist, Daniel, Metra, Phœnix. \\
2:7 & - Genesis, Gūsλíc I. \\
2:8 & - Riddles, Psalter. \\
2:8 & + Partridge, Pharaoh. \\
2:9 & - Solomon and Saturn. \\
2:9 & + Maldon. \\
2:11 & + Christ and Satan, Be Dōmes Dæge. \\
\end{align*}
\]

Compared with these figures the frequencies in the German alliterative and rhyming poetry are very low:

\[
\begin{align*}
2:10 & + Heliand. \\
2:12 & + Hildebrandslied, Genesis. \\
2:16 & + Muspilli. \\
2:20 & + Otfrid. \\
\end{align*}
\]

Although these figures give some indication of the relative poverty in nominal compounds of the German alliterative and rhyming poetry as compared with OE., and particularly of the decay of the nominal compounds in the rhyming verse (Otfrid), their value is very limited and in some cases they give a wrong impression. In some poems many compounds are frequently repeated, and it is obvious that a poet might use a large number of compounds in every few lines and yet be deficient in originality. For this reason the OE. Genesis and Metra stand much higher

¹ The first figure denotes the number of compounds in proportion to the number of long lines indicated by the second figure. A + sign denotes that the number of lines is to be put somewhat higher, and a − sign that it is to be put somewhat lower. A few of the shorter poems, for which Krackow (p. 56) gives statistics, have been omitted from this list.
in the list than they really deserve, and the Heliand poet appears to be no less skilful in his use of compounds than some of the OE. poets, notably those of Maldon and Christ and Satan. A mechanical counting of the total compounds used may therefore lead to false results, and it is preferable to consider the number of different compounds in relation to the length of the poem. In this way some idea of the originality of the several poets and their skill in varying the compounds may be gained. For this purpose the following representative selection of OE. poetry has been made:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No. of Lines</th>
<th>Total No. of Compounds</th>
<th>No. of Different Compounds</th>
<th>Proportion</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Exodus</td>
<td>592</td>
<td>376</td>
<td>314</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beowulf</td>
<td>3182</td>
<td>1539</td>
<td>1069</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Judith</td>
<td>350</td>
<td>164</td>
<td>152</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elene</td>
<td>1321</td>
<td>535</td>
<td>395</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crist</td>
<td>1663</td>
<td>579</td>
<td>412</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Genesis A</td>
<td>2320</td>
<td>659</td>
<td>447</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maldon</td>
<td>325</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Similarly in the German poetry the proportions are:

| Hildebrands   | 68                     | 11                          | 11         |
| Muspilli      | 103                    | 13                          | 13         |
| Heliand       | 5983                   | 1135                        | 440        |
| Genesis       | 337                    | 56                          | 38         |
| Otfrid        | 7739                   | 190                         | 2:17:5     |

( approx. )

Regarded in this light the difference between the Heliand and the OE. poetry is immediately apparent, although it should be remembered that the Heliand is about twice as long as Beowulf, and the longer the poem the more difficult it is to avoid repetitions. Nevertheless, the repetition of the same compound is relatively rare throughout the OE. poetry, whilst in the Heliand the majority of the compounds are used more than once. The table reveals too in a striking manner the complete failure of Otfrid to vary his diction, and it is evident that the Germanic tradition of varied compounds and kennings is practically extinct in the German rhyming poetry of the 9th century.

It will be seen that the frequency in the OLG. Genesis is 2:17:5, much lower than any original OE. poem which has been examined, and it will be of some interest to observe how far this low frequency of the German alliterative poetry is reflected in the OE. Genesis B which is a translation from LG., and how far Genesis B is different in this respect from the main body of OE. poetry. The fragment translated and interpolated in Genesis A consists of 616 lines in which 103 compounds occur. There are, therefore, two compounds to every twelve lines, the same proportion as in the OLG. Genesis. The total number of different compounds in the fragment is 60, that is a proportion of 2:20. This proportion is even slightly lower than that of the OLG. Genesis (2:17:5) and considerably lower than that of any other OE. poem which has been examined. We may assume therefore that in his treatment of the compounds the translator kept close to his original without attempting to adapt it to the prevalent style of the OE. poetry.

In the OE. alliterative poems the majority of the nominal compounds appear only once and a frequent repetition of the same compound is rare. In Beowulf, for example, only 233 of the 1069 compounds (i.e. 12 per cent) are repeated and of these only 25 per cent. are repeated more than once. The following fairly high frequencies are found: repeated five times, goldgýfa, goldwine, guðcyning, guðrinc, hilderinc, lichana, mancynn, medubenc, möðsefa, winedryhten; six times, ellenwerc, guðgewéde, hildesdor, hordweard, magudegn; seven times, dýðcyning; ten times, mandryhten.

In other OE. poems the following proportions of repeated compounds occur:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Exodus</th>
<th>40 compounds repeated out of 314, i.e. 12 per cent.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Maldon</td>
<td>314</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Judith</td>
<td>152</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crist</td>
<td>412</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elene</td>
<td>395</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gen. A</td>
<td>447</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In these poems the following repetitions, five times or more, are found:

Judith, Exodus, and Maldon. There are no high frequencies in these poems, but it should be remembered that they are relatively short.

Crist: 5 times, ælbeorht, heofornece; 8 times, moncynn, söðfaet; 11 times ælmihtig; 12 times lichana, middangeard.

Elene: 6 times, heofornece, sigeræ; 7 times, ælmihtig, ferhösefa, middangeard, sigebæam; 9 times, only the derivative widsom.

Gen. A: 5 times folscearu, hæacyning; 6 times ædelturf, witelbeorht; 7 times, ælmihtig, frumbearn, middangeard, moncynn; 8 times, cnéoriss, eorðbæred, mægburg, woruldrice; 9 times, frungár.
It will be observed that Beowulf compares well in this respect with other OE. poems which are much shorter and in which it was therefore easier to avoid repetition. The compounds which are repeated in the poems other than Beowulf are those which are important for the Christian religion, although not all of them are necessarily of Christian origin, e.g. ālmihtig, heofonrice, lichom, mauczyn, middangeard.

The OE. poets succeed therefore in varying their diction and in avoiding excessive repetition, and all of them compare favourably with the OLG. Helian poet who repeats no less than 208 of his 440 compounds (45 per cent.) — a proportion which is far in excess of anything found in OE. poetry. Moreover, the frequencies in the Helian are very high: the following are repeated 7 times, elithioda (or elithiodeg), meginskraft, mēnskaðo, mōdkara(g), slīmōd(īg), wundarquåla; 8 times, mūnd-burd, wamiskaðo; 9 times, énfald, kindąjung; 10 times, möd-githākt, műndoro, dōmōti; 11 times, ħeðanwanga, meginithioda, wårsgo; 12 times, irminithioda; 13 times, eldibarn, frinwerk; 17 times, alomahtig; 19 times, heritiogo; 20 times, frīðubarn; 24 times, kimirlikt; 25 times, mōsēbo; 30 times, ħeðanriki; 34 times, mänkūni; 36 times, älowalda; 38 times, middilgard; 40 times, lîkhamo; 53 times, ħeðankūning.

The Helian poet is clearly unequal to the task of varying the Christian ideas which he is handling. He operates with a small body of compounds — 440 as compared with 1060 in Beowulf, which is much shorter — which he repeats again and again instead of providing effective variations as the OE. poets did. It is true that he repeats the same kind of compounds as the poets of Crist, Elene, and Genesis A, but the frequencies are far higher and the repetitions more numerous. It is evident both from the number of compounds used and the frequency with which the same compounds are repeated that the traditions of the Germanic poetry were decaying fast in Germany at a time when they were still alive in England.

A comparison of the treatment of the nominal compounds in the West Germanic poetry with the Edda is difficult to make partly because of the corruptions and interpolations in the Eddic text and partly because the Edda is an anthology of short poems written in different styles by different poets. It is clear that generalisations based on the whole of the Edda might give a false impression of individual poems and vitiate the results of a comparison with the West Germanic poetry. Excluding the prose passages the Edda contains about 7000 lines of verse in which 866 different compounds are used 1174 times. There are therefore two different compounds to every 16 long lines — a proportion which is lower than anything found in OE. poetry, but higher than that in the Heliand. This generalisation is, however, of doubtful value as they are considerable variations of technique between the Eddic poems, and a more accurate impression of the treatment of the nominal compounds would be gained by a consideration of some typical poems.

In the earlier poems the frequency with which nominal compounds are used is relatively low, but it rises in the later poems where it is as high as in the OE. poetry.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No. of Lines</th>
<th>No. of Compounds</th>
<th>No. of Different Compounds</th>
<th>Proportion</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Prymskiða</td>
<td>128</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vplundarkiða</td>
<td>156</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vplussk</td>
<td>284</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lókasenna</td>
<td>185</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HH. II</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hymiskiða</td>
<td>160</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Atalakjóða</td>
<td>176</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>69</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Viewed in this way, it is certainly not true that the high frequency of nominal compounds in Beowulf is nowhere reached in the Edda, as is sometimes stated.3

The above evidence has shown that whilst there is a fall in the frequency of compounds in the later OE. verse and in the OLG. Helian as compared with early poems as Beowulf or Exodus, there is a rise in the frequency in the younger Eddic poems. The correct interpretation of these facts would seem to be that compounds were relatively rare in the Primitive Germanic Lieder, and that this original state of affairs is preserved in the early Eddic poems and in the German Hildebrandslied. The compounds were then developed as a mannerism in the early OE. epics, but certain later poets and the Helian poet, who probably modelled his diction on that of the OE. epics, were unequal to the task of maintaining the intensive use of varied nominal compounds throughout their longer works. The rise in frequency in the late Eddic poems appears to be

1 The formations with composition suffixes are not included in these statistics.

2 See Krackow (p. 14) with reference to the compounds in Beowulf:
'Das ist eine ausserordentlich hohe Zahl, die auch in den relativ späten jüngeren Eddaliedern nicht erreicht wird.' The same claim is made by Hulbert, A note on compounds in Beowulf, JEGPh. 31. 504 ff.
unconnected with the West Germanic practice, and is in all probability explained by the influence of the Skaldic poets.

Repetitions of compounds in particular Eddic poems are relatively rare and high frequencies are never reached, but it should be remembered that the Eddic poems are short and that there was therefore little opportunity for repetition. For the sake of a comparison with the West Germanic poetry the repetitions in the Edda as a whole may be considered. Of the 866 different compounds 172 (i.e. 19 per cent.) are repeated—a proportion which is remarkably close to that of Beowulf (12 per cent.) and quite different from the Helian (45 per cent.).

High frequencies are rare, the following compounds occurring five or more times: 5 times, aldrlag, bróðorbani, hrímpars, midgárdr, alsvíðr; 6 times, hugumstórr; 8 times, einheri, siglivaðr; 10 times, manuí, saltkaðir, ãrðkonungr (repeated 7 times in Beowulf); 11 times, jotunheimr; 13 times, árdagar. With regard to these figures it should be remembered that the Edda is about twice as long as Beowulf, and that the poems are written by different persons, so that it cannot be claimed that the repetitions show a failure of any individual poet to vary his diction.

It has frequently been observed that the poets of the Germanic alliterative verse, whilst skillfully varying the compounds as a whole, repeat again and again certain first members, and it has been claimed by Magoun that a comparison between Beowulf and the Edda in this respect shows the Beowulf poet in a most unfavourable light. Magoun compiled the following comparisons which may be repeated here:

### 1. Words Occurring in Five Different Compounds

**Beowulf**

- bord (borð, 2)
- dryht (drátt, 1)
- ealdor, life (aldr, 8)
- eðel (óðal, 1)
- freodo, friodo, frido (fríðr, 1)
- fyrm (forn, 1)
- morgen (morgen, 1)
- stan (stein, 1)
- wæg (vágr, 1)
- wid (víðr, 2)
- worold (verold, 0)
- yð (uðr, 0)

**Edda**

- langr (lang, 2)
- regen (regn, 1)
- söl (not in West Germanic)
- södr (sóð, 0)
- vargr (weark, 0)
- vurr (wer, 1)

### 2. Words Occurring in Six Different Compounds

**Beowulf**

- bau (bein, 0)
- bæg (bangr, 3)
- bréost (brjóst, 1)
- ellen (eljou, 1)

**Edda**

- gær (geirr, 4)
- gryre (not in ON.)
- heall (holl, 0)
- tren, tsern (tsarn, jarn, 4)
- ende (ende, 0)

### 3. Words Occurring in Seven Different Compounds

**Beowulf**

- brin (brim, 3)
- fyrd (ferð, 0)
- gum (gumi, 0)
- hæah (hófr, 5)
- hring (h ringr, 4)

**Edda**

- land (land, 4)
- lif (lif, 0)
- nàðn (niðmar, 0)
- möð (mórð, 2)
- sele (sár, 7)
- wundor (undr, 1)

### 4. Words Occurring in Eight Different Compounds

**Beowulf**

- salr (seal, 7)

**Edda**

- òl (elau, 4)
- òss (not in appellatives in West Germanic)
show clearly that the higher the compounding frequency, the greater is the discrepancy between the two works. Magoun maintains that the temptation to make use of recurring elements no doubt arose in seeking alliterative words, and that the Beowulf poet repeats his stock-in-trade of first elements because he is less skilful in meeting the demands of the alliterative verse than the Norse poets. This conclusion the present writer regards as false, and it has already been sharply contradicted by Hulbert.¹ We have already seen that the Beowulf poet does not repeat whole compounds any more than the Edda poets, and it is incredible that, although varying his stock of compounds so skilfully, the Beowulf poet failed to vary single members. Magoun has considered these repetitions of first elements solely in relation to the length of Beowulf and the Edda, but it should be remembered that the total number of different compounds used in Beowulf is much larger than that in the Edda (Beowulf 1069, Edda 866), and that it is therefore quite natural that there should be a greater number of repetitions of single members. It will be noted that the words which are frequently repeated in Beowulf refer to warfare, and the poet links up everything with this, his favourite theme. His repetition of favourite words is not due to any failure to master the demands of the alliterative verse but to his enthusiasm for warfare.² Moreover, an examination of the repetitions in other OE. poems shows that the Beowulf poet was not violating the prevalent idiom of OE. In other poems the same words are repeated as in Beowulf, although as they are much shorter than Beowulf, the repetitions are not so frequent. The following account of the repetitions of first members in Exodus, Elene, Judith, and Maldon will illustrate the similarities in technique.³

Exodus
5 times gūd (30), hēah (7), mægen (9), mere (9); 6 times fōlc (10), gār (6), hēoson (0); 7 times lēod (8); 10 times here (14), sē (19).

¹ J. H. Hulbert, A note on compounds in Beowulf, JEGPh. 31, 504 ff.
² This point has already been made by Krackow, who says (p. 41): 'Diese viechäe Verwendung desselben Wortes zur Bildung mehrer Composita ist nicht auf eine Erhauung der Phanastie des Dichters zurückzuführen... Man sieht, es ist nicht Erschöpfung, sondern über- sprudelnde Begeisterung für alles, was den Kampf angeht.'
³ The figures in brackets indicate the number of times the word is used as a first member of compounds in Beowulf.
that there are only 440 different compounds in the Heliand as compared with 1069 in Beowulf. On the contrary, an examination of the repeated first elements in the Heliand supports the conclusion made above that the Heliand poet fails to equal the skill with which his English contemporaries handled the nominal compounds.

The following first members are used in four or more compounds:

**Heliand**

4 times *erd*, *harm*, *hunting*, *friðu*, *mød*, *regin*, *wár*;
5 times *hefan*, *heru*, *hödil*, *land*, *mód*, *sínu*;
6 times *hand*, *helli*; 7 times *ałal* (*etil* twice), *balu*, *fírin*, *himil*, *líud*, *man*, *megin*, *thiod*, *word*.
10 times *werold*; 11 times *mén*.

A sign of the failing technique in these repetitions is the frequent use of intensifying elements as *regin*, *heru*, *balu*, *man*, *thiod*, and the complete absence of some of the favourite conceptions of the Beowulf poet as *gold*, *medo*, *beado*, *wig*, *heado*, *wæl*, *hilde*, *gód*, the majority of which are also frequently repeated elements in the Eddic verse, shows that the old traditions are becoming extinct. It is frequently claimed by German critics that the Heliand poet adapted his Christian subject to the spirit of the Germanic poetry, but the treatment of the nominal compounds in this poem gives no support to the claim.

Similar repetitions of first members of compounds are also found in the OHG. rhyming verse, and the frequencies are fairly high in Otfrid considering the fact that only 196 different compounds are recorded in the *Evangelienbuch*. The following repetitions occur: 5 times *daga*-, *erd*-, *gote*-, *lant*; 7 times *ált*; 10 times *drút*; 28 times *werolt*. This list displays in a remarkable way the difference between Otfrid and the writers of the alliterative verse. There is not a single trace of the Germanic traditions and the outlook of the Christian monk is well characterised by the large number of compounds combined with *drit* (dear, well beloved), a conception which is foreign even to the spirit of the OE. Christian poems. Such compounds as *dritliut*, *dritman*, *dritsút*, etc., reveal the failure of Otfrid to vary his diction or even to visualise the appearance of the persons he is describing.

A similar study might be made of the repetition of second members of compounds in the Germanic verse, but this would
do little more than reveal the semantically dominant conceptions in each poem, and this question may more profitably be studied in relation to the compounds as a whole (see pp. 441 ff., below). It may, however, be pointed out here that the frequent use of the same words in the compounds led to their petrification to suffixes. In Beowulf very high frequencies are not reached, but the following are repeated in 8 or more different compounds: 8 times man; 9 times wudu (spear, ship); 10 times beala, mód, weard (watcher); 11 times cyning, deag, sceadu; 12 times fah, sele. In later poems the elements man, weard, and mód provided a convenient method of making compounds, e.g. weard is found 9 times in Exodus, man 5 times in Maldon, and mód no less than 10 times in Judith. If one considers the fact that the poet of Judith also used -dencol in 4 different compounds, -ferhod in 5, together with -mód in 10, all of which have the same meaning, it is clear that this addition to an adjective denoting a mental state is a mannerism which is overworked and which points to a decaying technique.

In the Helian similar repetitions are very frequent and the following favourite second members deserve special notice:

-mód is used in 14 different compounds (together with -hugdig, 5 times); -werk also in 14 (together with -dod, 7 times); -word in 11 different compounds (together with the semantically almost identical -spráka, 5 times, -quidi, 4 times).

The majority of the compounds made with these second members are pleonastic—see especially those with -mód, e.g. fráhmód, gélmod, sérámód, etc.—and it seems hardly possible to resist the conclusion that they were often added to the first members simply for the sake of making a compound.

2. THE COMPOUNDS AND THE ALLITERATION

The compounds are semantically the most important words in the alliterative line, and it is quite natural that they should normally stand in the alliteration and on that account do not appear in the second stave of the second short line. It has, however, already been observed by Fuhr that certain compounds, which have not got two semantically significant parts and which he calls 'Composita von einfacher begrifflicher Kraft,' may stand outside the alliteration in Beowulf.1 This group includes

1 Fuhr, Studien zum westgerm. Alliterationsvers, Marburg, 1892, pp. 17 ff.

proper names, prefix compounds, intensifying compounds with eall-, obscured compounds, e.g. háfford, géasegg, nátleyc, etc., formations with composition suffixes as fast, dém, etc. A brief discussion of this question has also been given by Kaluza 1 who has suggested that these compounds were first used in the second stave of the second half of the long line and that their extension to the first half of the long line was a later development.2

Before we can consider the extent to which compounds were used outside the alliteration in the Germanic verse it is necessary to investigate the possibility of any such compounds alliterating with their second member. Such an investigation will also serve the purpose of describing the extent to which a shifting of the main stress on to the second part of the compounds had developed in the early Germanic languages.

A shifting of the metrical stress is certain only in those cases where the second part of the compound is the only word in the half line which alliterates. Examples of this are not uncommon in OE. poetry:

Beowulf 1756 sé þé unmurnlice mádmas déleþ
   (but see 449 eted ángenga unmurnlice),
   2000 þæt is undyne drýhten Higelac
      (but see 127 and 2911).

In both cases the alliteration seems to indicate that a shifting of the main stress has taken place, although this may be nothing more than a metrical licence and not a reflection of a similar shifting in ordinary speech.

In other OE. poems the following examples are found:

Gen. 440a unwurðlice; 2690a unfrondlice.
Crist 388a unôdatendum; Jul. 50a unwédllice; 193a unwællice;
492a ungebêlsade; Elene 466a unásegendlice; 529a unweax-enne.

2 The truth of this assertion is demonstrated by the following details: Heuser's statement (Deutsche Vergeschichte, Berlin and Leipzig, 1925, I. § 143). 'Ist das zweite Nomen im Anvers ein Kompositum von doppelt begrifflicher Kraft, so fordert es Stab. Steht an dieser Stelle ein Kompositum von einfach begrifflicher Kraft, so kann es auf den Stab verzichten. Die Gruppe ist dann auch dem Abvers zugänglich,' is not quite accurate with its implication that compounds of simple conception were originally used in the first half of the long line.
Riddles 41, 75a unlihtel; Metra 10, 10 unwišan; 20, 146a unscæolts; 20, 148a unwiša; 24, 43a unwæædflecs.
Paris Psalter 52, 1a ungæawicæ 52, 1a; onscœomendlicæ 54, 19b unwæædflecs; 63, 3a unscæolte; 68, 5a unwæædflecs; 68, 6b unwiša; 68, 8a unwæædflecs; 76, 9a gæawendwæædflecs; 81, 2a ongišæ; 87, 8b unscæolte; 106, 17b unwæædflecs (metrically corrupt).

It is clear from these details that the phenomenon was rare in the early poetry and does not become common until the end of the OE. period, when, however, metrical corruption must be taken into account. The examples fall into three clearly marked groups, (a) compounds with un- and a lic(e) suffix where the accent has been withdrawn on to the second syllable of the compound owing to the influence of the heavy suffix, (b) compounds of un- and a participle where the influence of the stressing of verbal compounds was the cause of the shifting, (c) a few compounds of on- and a participle. There are in addition a few other cases especially in the late poetry which do not fall into these three classes. Apart from two examples in corrupt lines of the Paris Psalter such shifting of stress are to be found only in the first half of the long line.

In the German alliterative poetry there is only one example of a clear shifting of stress:

Hel. 5661 unqueæandes só filo antehmnian scolda.

Similar to these examples are the un- compounds, the second part of which alliterates with another word in the same half-line, e.g. Hel. 3454a unspud forspahan. It has been stated by Hammerich (Zur deutschen Akzentuation, p. 14) that this type of line does not afford absolute proof of a shifting of stress as the alliteration is already fully provided for by the word in the second stave, and that the un- compound in the first stave may therefore be considered as standing outside the alliteration. Hammerich considers that Hel. 3454a may be read as an E-type with the main stress on the prefix un-, but such a scanning would be contrary to the principle that the first main stress in the alliterative line must alliterate. The un- compounds, which appear in the first stave, always do alliterate, either on the prefix or the second part, and one can hardly resist the conclusion that the alliteration of the second part is intentional and indicates that the main stress in the compound lies on the second member. If this view be correct examples as Heliand 3454a would have to be read as C-lines.

We will now consider the examples of this shifting in the West Germanic poetry:


Genesis: 812a unwered wædo (= OLG. Gen. 21a), and one example of a shifting of the stress on a compound with on-, 167a onrælæ rene.

Crist: 1482a unswyræ bismlic; 1916a sæo unclæne gecynd.

Güglæc: 913a ungeblæstood bad; 1007a unlaæ laces.

Juliana: 590a ungæawæ mbæl.

Andreas: 1371a unfyrn faca.

Whale: 59a unware wæorude.

A Bad Character: 25a ungæawæned mæd.

Riddles: 21, 35a ungōd geæld.

Paris Psalter: 100, 1 on unweæmæum wege.

There is also one peculiar example in Maldon of a full compound alliterating on the second part: 242a scylbdurh ðæbrocn, which is quite abnormal in OE. poetry, although similar phenomena are found in the Edda.

Similar examples are also found in the Heliand and OLG.

Genesis:

Hel.: 70a suido unwanda wini; 1427a unlæþas an theæumæ lïhtæ; 1728a unbiæaftæ thing; 1818a ungewiætæon were; 75a unscæolte scælcæ; 345a unspud forspahan; 372a unholæ on hægiæ; 408a unspæiæ suek.

Gen.: 21a unwered mid giwæði.

Again this usage is restricted to the first half line, and since it has been shown that the un- compounds in that position may bear the stress on the second member, it can hardly be doubted that these examples of double alliteration indicate that a shifting of the main stress has taken place.

Less certain as evidence of a shift in the stress are the un- compounds and proper names standing in the second stave of the first half line and alliterating on the second member with a word in the first stave, e.g. Gen. 117a graæs ungræne. Here a shift in the stress seems probable in view of the phenomena discussed above, but is not absolutely certain as the alliteration in the first stave is sufficient, and as already pointed out such compounds of simple conception need not alliterate at all.

The examples of this usage are:

Beowulf 445 mægen Hræðmanna. Na þa minne þearft.
Here the alliteration of the second part of the compound may be due to chance, but as proper names are compounds of simple conception and need not alliterate, there is no need to adopt Schücking's suggestion that the line should be emended to magenhrēd mænna.

Genesis: 581a tīhō me untrēowda (a defective A-type); 117a græs ungrēne; 183a wer wænwundō; 229a godes ðeðngāst.

Crim: 721a mæged unmēle.

Phys: 71a gōd ungynēde; Phænix: 181a wunad ungeryred; 625a micel unmiēte.

Soul and Body: 1, 29a metod ælmihtig.

Malden: 266 He was on Nørhynnbron hearde cynnes.

Metra: 31, 6a cūd and uncūd.

Paris Psalter: 63, 3a sweorde efenscearpē and heore swēðne bogan (a doubtful example as the alliteration seems to be sw); 104, 4a sæcēd his anyne symble georne (a defective A-type); 99, 3a huntum unholdum.

Helland and OLG. Genesis: no examples.

In some of these cases the alliteration of the second member of the compound may mean that the stress is shifted, and it is therefore possible to read græs ungrēne as an A-type, but this is quite impossible in examples as godes ðeðngāst, and such compounds must therefore be considered as standing outside the alliteration. It will be shown below that such kennings need not alliterate.

Lastly, before turning to the question of non-alliterating compounds, we may consider the few cases in which the second part of the compound has cross alliteration:

Crist: 274 Helm ælwīhta kreddan wille; 336 godes spelboda

Gabriel brōhte; 687 cyning ælwīhta cæstum weordap.

Andreas: 1603 cyning ealwīhta cæstum wealdō.

Judith: 84 Bearn ælwaldan biddan wylle.

Some writers are of the opinion that this alliteration of the second members of the compounds was a conscious device, and that such compounds cannot be considered as non-alliterating. It will be shown below, however, that the compounds spelboda, ælwīhta, ælwaldan are compounds of simple conception and that they frequently do not alliterate on either member. The cross alliteration of the second member seems therefore to be mere chance.

Having established as far as is possible the extent to which the second member of a compound may bear the alliteration, we are now in a position to consider the use of compounds in the alliterative verse which do not alliterate at all. In the earliest OE. poems prefix compounds and proper names appear outside the alliteration in the second half of the long line and very occasionally in the first half. Other types of compounds of simple conception quoted by Fuhr, e.g. compounds with eal-, formations with composition suffixes, and obscured compounds appear in the early poems only in the second half of the long line.

In the following a complete account of the non-alliterating compounds in OE. poetry is given, excluding, however, the proper names. Of these it may be remarked that they appear outside the alliteration more frequently in the second half of the line than in the first (in Beowulf 22 in the first half, 46 in the second).

Beowulf

(a) In the Second Half of the Long Line

unlytel 127; unfeor 2068; unferæg 727; unfrōd 2821; unwærawn 741; ungesfēde 2921; ungemet(s) 1792, 2420, 2721, 2728; unswāda 2578, 2881; unhēlo 120; unlēof 2863; unhīore 2413, 2120; unlytel 885; unrōd 3148.

(b) In the First Half of the Long Line

unlytel 498, 833; unrime 3012.

With the exception of ealowēge (ale-cup), which for some obscure reason is used outside the alliteration although a compound of double conception, all the above examples are compounds of simple conception.
Nominal Compounds in Germanic

Exodus

(a) In the Second Half of the Long Line

andsaca 503; anmōd 203; angetrum 334; unforhtē 328; alwihta 421; dēodscipe 529.

(b) In the First Half of the Long Line

andsaca 15.

It will be observed that the usage in Exodus does not differ in any important respect from that in Beowulf. In fact if there is any difference, Exodus observes the distinction between compounds of double and those of simple conception better than Beowulf. It is clear from these details that the use of non-alliterating compounds of simple conception began in the second half of the long line and was in the early poems rare in the first half, and there is also no doubt that the practice began with the prefix compounds and then spread to other compounds, one member of which was semantically weak. There is therefore no support for Krackow's suggestion¹ that the use of non-alliterating compounds can be traced back to the phrase god almihtig which was introduced into the alliterative line mechanically from deus omnipotens. The evidence from Beowulf, which has been described above, combined with that from the Edda, proves beyond doubt that the practice is older than the Christian phrase god almihtig. It has also been asserted by Krackow (p. 75) that non-alliterating compounds are found in the first half line in all OE. poems except Beowulf and Elene.² Krackow has been misled to this statement owing to his uncritical distinction between the prefix compounds. He includes in his survey compounds with and- and an- but not those with un-, a distinction which cannot be upheld and which only distorts the facts. Moreover, Elene is not an exception to the general practice in OE. as Krackow maintains, for in this poem we find in the first half line compounds of un- and in 392a ānōrēn outside the alliteration.

It is unnecessary to quote from the remainder of the OE. poetry all the examples of the prefix compounds outside the

¹ Loc. cit., p. 75.
² Krackow, p. 75: 'In allen Denkmälern (Elene ausgenommen) finden wir auch im ersten Halbverse nicht alliterierende Composita. Im Beowulf liess sich das gar nicht nachweisen.'

The Compounds in the Germanic Poetry

Alliteration as the practice is common to all poems. The other compounds may, however, be quoted in full.

Waldere

elenrōf II, 11b (possibly regarded as a compound of simple conception meaning 'brave, strong').

Caedmon's Hymn

allmectig 9b—the first example of the use of this word outside the alliteration which becomes very common in later poems.

Daniel

elmihtig 400b; 477a; 493a; alwihta 14b; 283a; aldorfrēa 46b; landgesceaf (creature) 359a; spelboda, 229b; 464b; 743a (also in 352a with cross alliteration).

It will be observed that in this poem the non-alliterating compounds have spread to the first half line. The poem also provides the first examples of kennings outside the alliteration. The kennings do indeed contain two ideas, but they refer to a single thing or person, and their primary meaning could be expressed by a simple word. The fact that the kennings were used so often outside the alliteration in late OE. poetry suggests that they were handed down traditionally and that their full semantic significance was not felt.

Azarias

eordwela 84b, 97b—a kenning for 'wealth.'

Christ and Satan

alwihta 669b, 696b; enderīm (number) 12b; mancynn 309b, 358b, 697b.

Genesis A

elmihtig 5a, 116a, 150a, 173a, 852b, 904a, 1359b, 1427b, 1779b, 2355b, 2711b, 2760b.
ealwihta 193a, 978a, 1290b; ārēas 2549b; ērfeasta 2488a; eardfaest (domestic) 2835b; ellnerōf 1116b; ellorfūs 1609a; moncynn 111a, 1254a; ēdelland (country) 1379b, 196b; ēdelsiol (country); 1748a; hēahdērēa (a kenning for God) 2547b; spelboda 2496b; rāsborā (adviser) 1811a.
It is apparent that there is in this poem a considerable increase in the use of compounds outside the alliteration, and on that account the poem would appear to be of later date than Beowulf.

Genesis B

handgescaeft (creature) 455a; handgeweorc (creature) 241b.

Crist

ælmihtig 121b, 215b, 320b, 331b, 395b, 1218a, 1378b; ðeliht 410a; geornlice 262a (the first example of a ðeliht(e) derivative outside the alliteration); wundorlic 905a; grimlic 918a; igelesic 1021b; lāðlic 1275b; endelēs 1631b; wisdōm 1551b; lēofaēl 912b; wilsō (MS. doubtful)—joyous journey (of the sun) 26b; burglond (city) 51b; ordfruma 227a; wōðhora (prophet) 302b; spelboda 335a; ᵃdælastōl (cf. Gen. A.) 516b; ðeōdland (region) 306b; ānboren 618a; goldhord (lit. golden treasure, but used in this context as a kenning for Christ) 787b; middangeard 881b; hellefurm (in its literal meaning a compound of double conception, but used frequently as a synonym for ‘hell’) 1269a; flēschoma 1297a; līcsār (pain) 1429b.

Gūðlāc

ælmihtig 504b, 794b; wynlic 796b, ēaland 1299b; spelboda 11b.

Elene

ælmihtig 868b, 1083b, 1090b, 1456b; ānboren 392a; ðeōwdom 201b; sidfæt (journey) 229b; frēobearn (a kenning for Christ) 672b.

Juliana

mancynn 317b, 630a.

Fates of the Apostles

mancynn 29b.

Andreas

ælmihtig 902b; ðeliht 118b; gryelic 1551b; gāstlic 1628a; endestāf (ruin) 135b; sidfæt 902b; mancynn 540b, 846b.
Nominal Compounds in Germanic

Solomon and Saturn
älmihtig 34b; egeslice 26b; heardllice 131b; hlæford 382b, 390b; leofoxmancrau 463b (in a faulty line).

Riddles
gryrellic 34, 3b; moncynn 41, 27b; eglond 1, 5a; hagostealdmon 13, 2a; ealdorburg (citadel) 60, 15a.

Be Domes Dage
moncynn 7b.

Metra
älmihtig 9, 49a; 20, 67a; 20, 227b; 20, 271b; 21, 43; alcuhta 20, 253b; almen 29, 3b; faesta 6, 16b; weordlice 20, 226b; geedafelic 31, 21a; feñénah 18, 4b; moncynn 17, 9a; 20, 43b; frunseach 17, 25b; bibrēd (honeycomb) 12, 9a; gærseg 16, 21b (an obscured comp.); lagastreðam (sea) 11, 3b; 20, 111b; ealdgewore (world) 11, 40b; 20, 116b.

Paris Psalter
In the Paris Psalter the number of compounds outside the alliteration increases considerably, but the distinction between the two types, compounds of double and simple conception is still fairly well observed:
älmihtig: very many examples which is unnecessary to quote in detail: wællice 64, 5a; licentlice 67, 16b; 68, 13b; 140, 8b; 149, 4a; weordlice 88, 27b; egeslice 98, 3b; wællice 117, 21b; wællice 118, 37b; seldlice 125, 3b; hræwulic 108, 9b; genetihum 71, 7b; 84, 4b; 91, 9b; 121, 7b; 127, 3b; 143, 3b; endestef 72, 3b; soðfas 83, 11b; 85, 14b; 93, 18a; 93, 20b, etc., etc.; tréowafast 110, 5b; elvenwæð (zealous) 68, 9b; moncynn 77, 25b; 116, 2b; stéopceld 81, 3b; 108, 9b; eorwær 81, 8b; mildheort 84, 14b; 11, 5b; 135, 1b; 144, 8b; eadmēdu 89, 3b; eadbede 89, 15b; gærseg 96, 1b; frunbearn 104, 31b; 134, 8b; 135, 10b; spelboda 105, 10b; wyrncynn 135, 2b.

From this survey it will be seen that it is hardly possible to trace any one line of development in the use of compounds outside the alliteration. It is true that the number tends to increase in the later poems and the distinction between the two types is not always strictly observed towards the end of the OE.

The Compounds in the Germanic Poetry
period, but there are other late poems (e.g. Brunanburh) in which all types of compounds invariably alliterate. Probably the later poets had the earlier poems as models before them, and it depended on their skill whether they were able to handle the compounds properly and observe the difference between the two types we have distinguished.

Turning now to the German alliterative poetry we find as may be expected that the Hildebrandslied shows a usage parallel with that of the earliest OE. poems. Only two compounds are used outside the alliteration, and both are found in the second half of the line: irmindeot 13b; unweahsan 21b.

The Hel. and Genesis show, however, a further development similar to that in the Cynewulfian poems. In addition to the prefixes which occur outside the alliteration in both halves of the line we find:

Heland
alomahtig 214a, 1619a, 1766b, 2168b, 2337a, 2957b, 4038b; alowalde 690b, 813a, 1297a, 1334a, 1922b, 3149b, 3296a, 3937b, 3954b; alethioda 4746b; frilika 3967b; gæwitskep 3270b, likhanno 4755b, ambauhtan 2007b, 2699b; Rûmburg 5205a; wîrôg 674a (possibly a compound of simple conception as each part has not got its full significance).

Genesis
heðanrîki, mighty in heaven, 191b, 202b, 217b, 229b: this word is used in the phrase god heðanrîki which was apparently coined as a variant to god alomahtig, and the compound heðanrîki was used outside the alliteration by the Genesis poet on the analogy of alomahtig.

In proportion to its length there are few compounds used outside the alliteration in the Heland, and in this respect the poem compares well with contemporary OE. poetry.

Edda
A comparison of the non-alliterating compounds in the West Germanic poetry and the Edda is made difficult by the many corruptions and interpolations in the latter text and by the fact that different metrical forms are used in the Edda as compared with West Germanic poetry.

Before discussing the question of non-alliterating compounds
it is again necessary to decide whether any nominal compounds (including prefix compounds) alliterate on the second member.

With a few exceptions alliteration of the second member of a nominal compound is found only in the full line of strophes written in the ljóðaháttr, e.g. Ls. 31, 2 ógott of gala; Fm. 38, 4 einvaldi vesa; but as in such lines the alliteration can be borne by the second stressed word, a shifting of stress cannot be assumed.¹

A curious type of line with alliteration on the second member of a compound is also found in the Hövamál, e.g. 70, 1 Betra’s lifðum an sé öldum, but this cannot be regarded as anything more than a metrical licence peculiar to this poem.² The same poem also has one example of a full nominal compound alliterating on the second part, similar to that in Maldon 242a discussed above: Höv. 110, 1 Baugvið Óðinn hykk a umnit haf, but this one example cannot be regarded as indicating a shifting of the main stress on the full nominal compounds. It will be shown below that non-alliterating compounds cannot stand in this position in the Höv., and the alliteration of the second member must therefore be considered intentional.

Turning now to the non-alliterating compounds, we find that the conclusions reached from the investigation of the phenomenon in OE. poetry are supported by the practice in ON. In some poems, both early and late, the compounds invariably alliterate. In another group of early poems only prefix compounds are found outside the alliteration and these invariably in the second half line. In later ones these were extended to the first half line, and the practice also arose as in OE. poetry of using the kennings outside the alliteration.

The following is a complete account of the use of non-alliterating compounds in the Edda with the poems arranged as far as possible in approximate chronological order.

All the compounds including the prefix compounds alliterate in Vm., Grm., Skm., Vkv., þrk., Fm., Hlr., Fj., Gg., Sd., Gpr. III.³

¹ For other examples of the same phenomenon see Höv. 29, 4; 160, 4; Skm. 19, 4.
² See also with cross alliteration Höv. 146, 1; 146, 3. Another example is found in an interpolated strophe in Fm. 29, 1; Högum es beira an sé öldum.
³ In Skm. 34, 3 ásíðar does not alliterate, but the line is interpolated. In Gg. 4, 1b farvegar has cross alliteration, and in Gpr. III, 10, 1a armíhti does not alliterate, but the whole strophe is faulty and interpolated.

In another group only compounds with prefixes and similar weak first members are found outside the alliteration:

Lokasenna: 48, 1b árdaga; 60, 3b einheri.
Baldrs Draumar: okanna 5, 1b; andskoti 11, 3b.
Góðránarkviða I: misseri 7, 3a; 8, 2a.
Góðránarkviða II: misseri 14, 3b; andvana 43, 2a.
Góðránarvög: óblanda 18, 2a.

The last three of this group are late poems in which the practice of using non-alliterating prefix compounds has spread to the first half line.

In other poems the kennings come to be used outside the alliteration:

Völuspá: andskoti 34, 2b; ökkvöðum 56, 4b; frangengna 39, 4b; valkyrjum 31, 6b; sigtrina (Gods of battle) 44, 4b; sigtopter (a kenning for Valhalla) 62, 3b; valtrina (Gods of battle) 52, 2b.

The strophes in which these kennings are used are generally supposed to be late interpolations into the original poem. It will be noted that all the non-alliterating compounds are restricted to the second half line.

Hóvamál: hringlegnum (coiled) 86, 2b; nýfeldum (recently felled) 87, 2b—at the end of an incomplete strophe; þáfdjali (mountain with melting snow) 90, 5b—in a corrupt strophe; sijírnlauðu (rudderless) 90, 4b—in a corrupt strophe; fjölkyngr (very wise) 137, 6b—in a corrupt strophe.

These compounds are certainly not ones of simple conception, but the whole poem is full of interpolations, and as has been noted above metrically irregular.

Hymiskviða: In this poem, in which the influence of the Skaldic verse is perceptible, the compounds outside the alliteration become more frequent, but the practice is still restricted to the second half of the line:

lofgvelli (kenning for ‘kettle’) 6, 1b—in a line with faulty alliteration and an incomplete strophe; sibbunn, ready late 10, 1b; andskoti 11, 3b, 13, 4b; fullmiðkiill 16, 2b; råðbani 19, 3b—hardly a compound of simple conception, although in this context used as a kenning for Thor; hnit-bródir, a kenning for the Midgardsormr, 24, 4b; ògsvaki, a kenning for a ship, 28, 2b.
THE COMPOUNDS IN THE GERMANIC POETRY

Rigspula: andlit 8, 3b; salkytra 3, 3b; 5, 4b; 19, 4b; 32, 3b; 29, 3b; sóljuminn 10, 3b; svangrífja (slender-waisted) 39, 3b; bláfán (blue spotted) 28, 4b.

Atlamjó: ofnikill 71, 4b; óváguinn 92, 1b; ofrikr 69, 1b ágætism 66, 3b; íbratta 63, 2b; víðfarar (treatment) 84, 1b, ofrehúsdir 72, 2b; gíllkubr 26, 4a; skaptig 86, 4b; marbiti 3, 1b; naðmundi (husband) 22, 2b; dagurger (kenning for ‘heroes’) 61, 3b; halsmenjun (necklace) 68, 3b; skammr (short-lived) 26, 4b; skjapauði (doomed by fate) 57, 3b; fárhugi 83, 1b; tilkvestum (kenning for ‘toe’) 62, 1b; stórræði (insolence) 83, 3b; stórröðr (insolent) 87, 2b.

It will be observed that although all these compounds are not compounds of simple conception, they are still restricted to the second half of the line even in this late poem. In the last poem to be considered, the Atlakviða, which is the richest in compounds of all the Edda poems, this principle is no longer observed. Compounds of all types are found outside the alliteration in both halves of the line.

Atlakviða: oglikti 24, 3a; 26, 3a (in the latter example even in the first foot of the first half line, which is quite irregular); óneisir 12, 1b; 18, 3b; ókunnan 5, 2b; 13, 2b; algrona 13, 4b; aringreypr (surrounding the hearth) 1, 4a; 3, 4a; 17, 2a (in the last two examples with cross alliteration); gollthorn 4, 2a (a doubtful reading); valtrœdr 4, 3b (doubtful reading); melgrep 4, 4b; preftýs (prominent tooth) 11, 3b; skjaldeyjar (battle-maid) 17, 5a; 43, 4b; pygyl (battle-hall) 31, 4b—in a corrupt strophe; nísfarna (kenning for ‘dead’) 36, 4b; rógporum (kenning for sword) 31, 2a—in a corrupt strophe; valríðar (carrion) 39, 3b; vinhlögr (heavy with wine) 37, 1b.

On the whole the Edda poems keep more closely to the original principle that compounds of simple conception are used outside the alliteration in the second half line much more closely than the OE. poetry. It is true that many compounds of double conception do not appear in the alliteration, but it must be remembered that the Edda text is very corrupt and that in many cases it is impossible to distinguish between the later interpolations and the original text.

The combined evidence of the Germanic poetry shows unmistakably that the full semantic significance of the kennings was not felt by the poets, who treated these compounds as...
compounds of simple conception, although this practice was a late development not found in Beowulf, Exodus and the early Eddic poems.

3. SELF-ALLITERATING COMPOUNDS

The occurrence of self-alliterating compounds, i.e. compounds the two members of which alliterate with each other, in West Germanic poetry has already been made the subject of a full investigation by Schröder,¹ and it will suffice to give a summary of Schröder’s results, without quoting the full details, and to compare them with the practice in the Edda.

Schröder has shown that the poets were conscious of the fact that such compounds alliterated and that they were therefore not used in the second half of the alliterative line where double alliteration was not permitted. Also Schröder points out that the majority of the self-alliterating compounds were nonce-formations, created by the several poets, which did not become a part of the common poetic vocabulary of OE. They are most numerous in the early poetry, and the later poets lost the facility of creating such compounds. Those which do appear in late poetry, e.g. bitrēad, firenful, widerward, weoruld-wela in the Metra, and bitrēad, micelmōd, etc., in the Paris Psalter are prose words or formations inherited from the earlier poetry quite different in type from the alliterating compounds in Beowulf, e.g. cwealmeuna, goldgif, hildhelm, etc.

On the basis of this criterion Schröder comes to the conclusion that the Heliand poet was not a great coiner of words. Of the thirteen self-alliterating compounds, which he uses, all except two (adalarfro, adalandbâr) are found in other Germanic languages and were inherited from West Germanic. It will be shown in the following chapter that the Heliand poet shows no great originality in the compounds which he coined, and that the greater part of his vocabulary was inherited from the West Germanic poetry or belonged to the ordinary speech of his time.²

² The conclusion reached by Schröder helps to invalidate Geffcken’s statement in *Der Wortschatz des Heliand und seine Bedeutung für die Heimatfrage*, Marburg, 1912, p. 31: ‘Dies beweist (namely the large number of compounds found only in the Heliand) dass der Heliand-dichter bei der Verwendung der Komposita durchaus schöpferisch verfuhr.’

Compared with the West Germanic poetry self-alliterating compounds are rare in the ON. Edda. Probably they appeared too pretentious and over-elaborate to be used in the simpler diction of the Lieder. With the exception of drōss Ls. 41, 1b, which is obviously a prose word not chosen for the sake of the alliteration, all these compounds appear in the first half line or in the full line of the ljóðaháttar, and as in the West Germanic poetry they are normally the sole bearers of the alliteration.

The following are recorded in the Edda:
drōss (river mouth) Ls. 41, 1b; baungroti (ring-breaker, a kenning for a prince) HH. I, 18, 4a; bergbui (mountain-dweller) Hym. 2, 1a; brōðirban (fratricide) Höv. 89, 1; Ls. 17, 4; Skm. 16, 4; Sd. 35, 3; fimbulvandi (arch-fool) Höv. 102, 5a; gunnargjarn (eager for battle) HH. I, 35, 4a; heimhagt (home) Höv. 156, 5 (a doubtful compound, cf. MS. heimhug); hardhugdr (obstinate) prk. 31, 2a; Ghv. 1, 3a; Grp. I, 5, 3a; 10, 3a; heimhamrr (natural skin) Höv. 156, 4; hermdarkurg (embittered mind) HH. I, 32, 4a (a doubtful compound, possibly two words); hrænholvar (kenning for a giant) Hym. 37, 4a; sumblsamr (fond of drink) Hym. 1, 2a; vanarsvâl (beggar’s staff) Höv. 76, 2; verndarvâr (helpless) Fj. 2, 4.

In the forms in which they are recorded the compounds illâð, Vkk. 21, 2a, and illâðigr, Am. 13, 1a, are self-alliterating, but as in both cases there is another word in the same half line which alliterates, it is to be assumed that when the poems were composed, the initial h of the second member (i.e. ill-hugð) was still preserved, and the compound were at that time not self-alliterating. Conversely, it is also to be assumed that hardhugdr Grp. 27, 4a was a self-alliterating compound when the poem was first composed.³

4. THE SEMANTIC ASPECT

The compounds are the most significant words in the alliterative verse, since they are normally the bearers of the alliteration and are of their very nature more weighty and fuller of meaning than the simple words. A study of the semantic categories to which they belong would reveal the predominant interests of the poets and throw some light on their outlook and

³ Since these compounds are used only in the first half line, Simons’ conjecture bjôðbjôgr in Grp. II, 25, 2b is not acceptable.
their mentality. It is true that the vocabulary of the alliterative poems must be determined to some extent by the subject matter, but the West Germanic poets in particular had every opportunity in their longer epic poems to dwell on subsidiary episodes and characters, to introduce descriptive passages, and so to indicate the subjects in which they were personally interested. Even when the vocabulary is determined by the subject-matter the poets indicate their personal attitude by the character of the compounds which they repeat or vary, leaving without variation those which they cannot avoid introducing but which are without interest to them.

The semantic aspect of the compounds in the Germanic alliterative poetry has not been fully investigated, although a beginning was made some time ago by Krackow (op. cit.) who grouped the compounds in Beowulf, Exodus, Elene, Judith, and Maldon into semantic categories. In the following Krackow’s system is adopted with some slight modifications and applied to the Edda and the Helian. Eight semantic categories are distinguished: I, Compounds referring to the appearance, thoughts, and actions of men and women; II, Compounds referring to human society, to ranks, classes, and professions; III, Warfare and Weapons; IV, the Sea; V, Animals; VI, Other aspects of the visible world; VII, Mythology and Religion; VIII, Art and Learning. The placing of individual compounds may at times be somewhat arbitrary and several of them could be placed in more than one class, e.g., the names of fabulous animals in the Edda could be put in V or VII, but the grouping is only intended to give a general idea of the distribution of the compounds and the figures which are quoted must not be taken as absolute.

The following table indicates the incidence of the compounds in Beowulf, Exodus, Elene, Edda, and Helian.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class</th>
<th>Beowulf</th>
<th>Exodus</th>
<th>Elene</th>
<th>Edda</th>
<th>Helian</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>250 (25%)</td>
<td>72 (20%)</td>
<td>130 (25%)</td>
<td>262 (34%)</td>
<td>150 (41%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II</td>
<td>130 (22%)</td>
<td>95 (18%)</td>
<td>100 (20%)</td>
<td>105 (14%)</td>
<td>81 (22%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III</td>
<td>80 (22%)</td>
<td>80 (22.5%)</td>
<td>90 (19%)</td>
<td>78 (10%)</td>
<td>13 (3.5%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV</td>
<td>60 (6%)</td>
<td>30 (8%)</td>
<td>20 (4%)</td>
<td>24 (3%)</td>
<td>10 (3%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td>11 (1%)</td>
<td>4 (1%)</td>
<td>4 (0.8%)</td>
<td>39 (5%)</td>
<td>1 (0.9%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VI</td>
<td>65 (18%)</td>
<td>65 (13%)</td>
<td>195 (25%)</td>
<td>56 (13%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VII</td>
<td>40 (11%)</td>
<td>38 (7%)</td>
<td>43 (12%)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VIII</td>
<td>3 (0%)</td>
<td>0 (0%)</td>
<td>8 (2%)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
the heroine of the poem is seen in Judith, where Holofernes is described by 28 compounds and Judith by only 12. This feature of the OE. poetry is reflected to a much greater degree in the Heliand. Only once does the Heliand poet describe the external appearance of a woman by a compound, 5b28 wílitíscni wíf (Mary and Martha), and the weakness of the epithet may be judged from the fact that the poet uses the same compound of the world, 3578 wílitíscni werold. Twice the Heliand poet refers to the state of mind of a woman; she is armhugdīg (Mary) and armshkapan (Mary and Martha): occasionally he refers to her descent, e.g. 297 adáknósles wíf (Mary). The practice in the West Germanic poetry is in marked contrast to the Edda. There are there numerous kennings for “woman,” e.g. getakylta (woman dresses in goatskin), gengilheina (bow-legged woman), hanginluka (woman with keys hanging from her waist), men-skogul (valkyrie of the necklace) and no less than 28 compound adjectives referring to her appearance, e.g. bráhvit (with white eyelashes), fagrunaríðr (beautifully adorned), bangvanir (adorned with rings), gollhjartar (shining with gold), hvítarmr (white-armed), mjóhugraðr (slender-fingered), sölhit (bright as the sun), svangriðr (slender-waisted), etc. The differing treatment of women in the Germanic poetry reveals in a striking way the realism of the Eddic poets, especially in comparison with the abstractions of the Heliand.

In the West Germanic poetry the mental states described by compounds are predominantly ones of trouble, pain, and grief. Krackow gives the following figures for Beowulf: joy 13, trouble and care 21, fear 5, mourning and complaint 10; and for Elene: joy 7, trouble and pain 19. This tendency is again exaggerated in the Heliand, although it must be admitted that the subject-matter demanded it to some extent. Evil thoughts and actions predominate in this poem (60 compounds, compared with 18 referring to morally good thoughts and actions). Evil speech is more often met with than good words (17 compounds, compared with 7), and sorrow predominates over joy (12 compounds compared with two (frómod), glámdr) referring to joy). Again the Eddic poems show a marked contrast to this tendency. There evil and good, sorrow and joy are about equally balanced. Compounds as barrnætr (joyful as a child), hreðarglādr (rejoicing in fame), mnurð (favourite desire) betoken a joy in life, which could be paralleled by similar formations from OE. poetry, but which we seek in vain in the Heliand.

All the Germanic poets show a marked preference for compounds denoting ranks, professions, and human relationships, and in this respect the Heliand poet is no exception to the general practice. He is fond of stressing the noble descent of the figures who appear in his epic; even the disciples are aðalvölar (of noble birth), Mary is a adáknósles wíf (woman of noble family), the Israelites are æðlsfólki (people of noble descent). It is possible to see in this interest in the family a relic of the Germanic spirit, but the compounds, which the Heliand poet forms to indicate this aspect of life which is evidently of interest to him, are stereotyped with their monotonous repetition of aðal (æðl) in the first member.

The predominant interest in warfare in OE. poetry and the Edda has already been touched on. There are in Beowulf alone no less than 64 kennings for ‘warrior,’ 40 for ‘battle’; armour is described by 35 compounds, the sword by 30, the helmet by 12, the shield by 11, and the spear by 9. Similarly, in the Edda the most elaborate and expressive compounds are those referring to warfare. The warrior is a dolgrongr (battle-god), heglástōr (destroyer of armies), heitimör (giant of the spear); the battle is a hörgastfona (meeting of swords), naddē (shower of shots), vánpsyngr (song of weapons); the sword is a benlogi (wound flame), bennfóðr (wound rod), blöðormr (blood snake), etc. Compared with these highly poetical compounds the formations referring to warfare in the Heliand are most colourless. The warrior is described there in quite general terms as helimberand, heririnc, hildiscale, sverđhegan, wápanberand; the spear and sword are not described by compounds at all and the helmet only by one (helíðheim).

Although the sea is described in Beowulf only in subsidiary episodes, the poet succeeds in introducing over 50 compounds, amongst them poetical formations as brimwýlm, ságorstrevám, ýgeblond, ýdegwinn, hronrād, segrád, svararād. Similarly, in the Edda, although the total number of compounds referring to the sea is but small, the formations are most colourful and poetic; for instance a ship is described as a brimdr (beast of the waves), hlumgöti (steed of the rolling waves), rakkarjótr (stag of the mast ring), vágmarr (steed of the waves). Again in comparison with Beowulf and the Edda the Heliand poet is prosaic. The sea is referred to by compounds which are obviously mechanically varied as lagustrón, merístrón, sícstrón, sícúðia. The sailor is a lagulíðándi, sélíðándi, wáglíðándi,
and the ship is designated only by two compounds: *hurnadskip* and *neglidskip*.

One of the most striking differences between the Edda and West Germanic poetry lies in the treatment of animal names. With the exception of six compounds (*hrornsk, meredar, merfax, saðar, saðraca*) referring to fabulous animals, which could be included in group VII, there is only one compound in Beowulf designating an animal: 1368 *hödstapa* (stag), together with four compound adjectives denoting qualities of the battle-steed: *æppelfeatu* (apple-fallow), *fætedilær* (with ornamented cheeks), *sadalbeorht* (saddle-bright), *wundenfeax* (with braided hair). Similar compounds are equally rare in later OE. poetry, and the only compound in the Helian which could be included here is *hanokrád* (cockcrow). In contrast to the West Germanic poetry the Edda has most elaborate kennings for animals. The wolf is a *hreingalkn* (enemy of the reindeer), the serpent a *lyngfískr* (fish of the heather), *vísafískr* (fish of the wood). In addition to these there are many expressive compound adjectives applied to animals: *áfæskr* (greedy for food)—of the hawk; *éifsár* (poisonous)—of the snake; *dreyrfíddr* (blood-stained)—of the snake; *gåghals* (with neck bent back)—of the stag; *hradfjorr* (running quickly)—of the horse; *stjörnbulldr* (led by the bit)—of a horse. Again these compounds reveal the realism of the Eddic poems and the interest of the poets in other aspects of life than human thoughts and actions.

There are similar marked differences between the Germanic poets in their treatment of other aspects of the visible world. The Beowulf poet is predominantly interested in riches and ornaments (39 compounds) and in festivites (33 compounds referring to the banquetting hall and 10 to the drinking goblet). It is therefore the artificial, man-made aspect of the visible world which holds his attention, and in comparison with these the compounds referring to nature are few in number (cliffs 10 compounds, fields 6, caves 4, fire 8, swamps 4). A similar preponderance of compounds referring to artificial things can be observed in later OE. poems, and it is most noticeable that there is a complete absence throughout OE. poetry of compounds referring to flowers and plants. The Eddic poets show a like interest in riches and ornaments (22 compounds), drinking (13 compounds), and buildings (25 compounds), but unlike the West Germanic poetry there are in the Edda numerous compounds referring to trees and plants, e.g. *geirlaukr* (garlic), *tríslaukr* (noble leek), *mistiþeinn* (mistletoe branch), *trískapad* (of noble growth)—of the ash; *fangriinn* (with beautiful branches)—of a wood. Similarly, the sky, clouds, mountains, and rocks are often designated by compounds: *vedmegin* (weather-power)—a kenning for cloud; *winflot* (plaything of the wind)—a kenning for cloud; *winheintr* (home of the wind)—a kenning for sky; *jofjall* (mountain on which snow is melting), *veggberg* (rock face), *meginsjall* (huge rock), etc. Compared with Beowulf and the Edda there is a most marked and significant decrease of interest in the external world in the Helian (only 13 per cent. of the compounds). Riches and ornaments hardly interest the poet (9 compounds); for terms referring to drinking he uses only three compounds (*allof, godfa, stenhaf*), for buildings 11 compounds (*hornsei, häisstei, fridhöf, fridowik, seliküs, tresuirüs, hóðsstei, gastsei, sténewerk, wínsel, thinghüs*). Plants and trees are only introduced when the sources demand it and the only compounds used are *bögordo, wingardo, hren-korni*, which are certainly not poetical formations. For the clouds the poet has two compounds, *himilvukan* and *volkanzio*; for the stars also two, *himltingal* and *kúningsterro*, the latter denoting the star which announced the birth of Christ and not introduced because the poet was interested in this aspect of nature; for rocks the poet has also two compounds, *holmkilf, steinholl*. There can be no question than that the Helian poet did not wish or was unable to describe the things which he saw around him, and the present writer cannot agree with Ehrismann's dictum: *Man spürt einen regen Sinn für die Umwelt; das Fühlen mit der Natur verleibt dem Gesamteindruck mehr Fülle und Leben.*

The treatment of the compounds referring to religion and mythology need not detain us long. There are naturally few in Beowulf, more in the Edda and the later OE. Christian poems, and it is surprising to find so few compounds belonging to this group in the Helian. The reason for this is presumably that the poet was unable to vary the Christian conceptions which were the subject of his poem or to coin new compounds for them. Occasionally he has recourse to conceptions taken over from the heathen poetry (see especially *múlspeili, aldarlagu, metodiscapu, regangiscapu, wurgiscapu*). For the Christian idea of heaven the poet can find only three compounds, *hebauriki,*

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helisamwang, hinsiporta, but it is in keeping with the sombre character of the poem and the poet’s predominant interest in evil and sin that he finds nine compounds to describe aspects of hell (balawiti, ferndalu, helldor, hellitihwating, hellifiur, helli-ground, helliporta, helliwitti, helsid).

Our investigation of the semantic categories predominant in the compounds in the Germanic poetry has revealed significant differences between the Edda and West Germanic poetry and between OE. poetry and the Heliand. The Eddic poets are on the whole more realistic—see especially the numerous compounds in the Edda referring to women, animals, and plants—whilst the West Germanic poets are interested only in those aspects of the external world which are man-made. Nevertheless, the Eddic and the OE. poets coincide in their predominant interest in warfare, riches, and ornaments, and festivities. In comparison with them the Heliand seems abstract. The visible world almost disappears in the Heliand and there is nothing to be seen of that Germanic love for the trappings of warfare, for ornaments and festivities. Some trace of the Germanic spirit may be detected in the large number of compounds referring to rank and descent, but it has already been shown that the Heliand compounds which fall into this group are not distinguished by any great originality or by any vividness of imagination. This claim, which is in contradiction to the statements of many German critics, receives further support from an investigation of the compounds which the Heliand poet may be supposed to have coined.

CHAPTER IV

THE HELIAND COMPOUNDS

The compounds in the OLG. Heliand have already been classified in their relationship to other Germanic languages by Gertrud Geffcken ¹ with the object of indicating the position of Old Saxon in the grouping of the West Germanic languages and at the same time demonstrating the originality of the Heliand poet. It is now generally recognised that Geffcken’s work is inaccurate and faulty,² but although minor corrections have been made, notably by Frings and Sparnaa, it is still used as a basis for generalisations on the Heliand and in works on West Germanic linguistic geography, and no general correction of the section on the compounds has been made. Geffcken divides the Heliand compounds into the following sixteen groups: I. Heliand, MLG., OHG., OE., OFris.; II. Heliand, MLG., OHG., OE.; III. Heliand, MLG., OHG., OFris.; IV. Heliand, MLG., OHG.; V. Heliand, MLG., OE., OFris.; VI. Heliand, MLG., OE.; VII. Heliand, MLG., OFris.; VIII. Heliand, MLG.; IX. Heliand, OHG., OE., OFris.; X. Heliand, OHG., OE.; XI. Heliand, OHG., OFris.; XII. Heliand, OHG.; XIII. Heliand, OE., OFris.; XIV. Heliand, OFris.; XV. Heliand, OE.; XVI. Heliand alone. From these Geffcken makes various deductions on the common West Germanic vocabulary, on the existence of an Anglo-Frisian-Low German vocabulary, on the extent to which the Heliand is representative of Low German, and from the last group, on the originality of the poet. Apart from the numerous inaccuracies the lists have serious defects and their value is weakened by the failure to distinguish between original formations, inherited by the Heliand poet, and independent parallel formations. This distinction has already

¹ Der Wortschatz des Heliand und seine Bedeutung für die Heimatfrage. Marburg, 1912.
² See especially Sparnaa, PBB. 60, 384, who refers to ‘die grossen Mängel und Fehler der Geffchenschen Listen.’
been drawn in Part I of this work and need not be repeated here. A further serious defect is the ignoring of the parallels with ON., and especially since the object was to demonstrate the position of OLG. in the West Germanic languages, the omission of the MDu. parallels and the failure to consider the possibility of the survival of old compounds in ME. and MHG. To include all these in separate groups would indeed complicate Geffcken’s lists unduly and increase an already too large number of classes, but some attention must be drawn to them in so far as they are relevant. In the following account of the Helian compounds Geffcken’s sixteen groups are retained and reference made to parallels in other Germanic languages ignored by Geffcken.¹

I. Hel., MLG., OHG. (or MHG.), OE. (or ME.), OFris.  
aldsader, alomhaftig (and in ON.), ambahntan, bodskepi (and in ON.), brōðarskepi, brūdigomo (and in ON.), dagwerk (and in ON.), dōmdag (and in ON.), dvilendi, énfald (and in ON. and Gothic), erðriki (and in ON.), fiundskepi (and in ON.), friundskepi (and in ON.), harmskara (OE. probably borrowed from LG.), herioti (ON. and OE. possibly borrowed from German), landrēth, ljōľos (and in ON.), lēkam (and in ON.); managafald (and in Gothic), manslahta, mēnēd, rādgarð (and in ON.), gewitskepi, wundarlēkan, lofsang.  
Total number of compounds 25 (Geffcken 18).

II. Hel., MLG., OHG. (or MHG.), OE. (or ME.)  
bōkstaf (and ON.), fūskamel (and ON.), ḥāgastāld (and ON. and Runic), heriskepi, hofward, hanokkrād, kōpsēdi (and ON.), landskepi (and ON.); OE. borrowed from LG., landsitū (MHG. lausstite, and in ON.), liōhtfat, līfnara, mānkumni (and ON.), mēndād, mūndborō, ōdmōdi, starkmōd, stēnweg, stīngstedi (and ON.), treulōs (MHG., not in OHG.); wingardo (and in Gothic and ON.); wintarkalād (MHG. winterkalā, not in OHG.).  
Total number of compounds 21 (Geffcken 12).

¹ The parallels themselves may be found by reference to the index of this work. The total number of compounds listed differs from that in Geffcken’s work, as the prefix compounds have been omitted and the Genesis compounds, which Geffcken included in accordance with the view, now abandoned, that the Helian and Genesis were written by the same poet.

THE HELIAND COMPOUNDS  

III. Hel., MLG., OHG. (or MHG.), OFris.  
dagthingi (ON. borrowed from LG.), gěrtal.  
Total number of compounds 2 (Geffcken 12).

IV. Hel., MLG., OHG. (or MHG.)  
bōngardo, frīdhof, göddwilig, grīstgrimmo, kniōbeda, mágskepi (MHG. māgschaft), mānkraft (MHG. mānkraft), thinghūs (and ON.), treulähr, sakswaldan (MHG. sakhvalte), wārsago, werdskepi, wīhrōk (borrowed from HG.).  
Total number of compounds 13 (Geffcken 14).

V. Hel., MLG., OE. (or ME.), OFris.  
No parallels (Geffcken 0).

VI. Hel., MLG., OE. (or ME.)  
fasinfet, seastrōm, stōnfat.  
Total number of compounds 3 (Geffcken 0).

VII. Hel., MLG., OFris.  
No parallels (Geffcken 0).

VIII. Hel., MLG.  
dagskimo, landskādo, paschadag (borrowed into ON.), suhtbeddi, wibodo.  
Total number of compounds 5 (Geffcken 10).

The Helian compounds in these first eight groups survive into MLG. and belong to the common LG. vocabulary. It is unnecessary therefore to indicate which of them are also recorded in MDu., but the parallels with MDu. must be taken into account in the following groups which include compounds not surviving into MLG.

¹ Geffcken includes this compound amongst those peculiar to the Helian, but see MDU. cnībede (prayer on the knees), and the denominative verbs in MLG. knōbeden and MHG. kniēben. The parallel which Sehrt (Heliandwörterbuch) draws with the ON. knīōdr, is clearly inaccurate, as the latter means ‘kneeling cushion.’
IX. Hel., OHG. (or MHG.), OE. (or ME.), OFris
godwæbbi (also in ON.), heñbankuing or himilkuning (also in ON.), heñranriki or himmingliki (also in ON. and MDu.), hüsstedi (also in MDu.), rikidöm (also in ON. and MDu.).

Total number of compounds 5 (Geffcken 1).

X. Hel., OHG. (or MHG.), OE. (or ME.)

telóra (also in ON.), baluddā (see MDu. baldaděch), burgriti (also in MDu.), elithudig, endilős (also in ON. and MDu.), éðstaf (also in ON.), erbicard (also in ON.), fadaróðil, frinuddā, godkund (also in ON.), godspell (borrowed from OE., also in ON.), goldfat, gladmód, handgiwerk (also in MDu.), harmquida, helidhelm (also in ON.), helligrunt (also in MDu.), helligwili (also in ON.), himiltungaf (also in ON.), himiťwolcan, hardmód (also in ON.), hōbidband (also in MDu.), hōbidstedi (also in MDu.), irminlitho, jugudhēd, kēsurdöm (also in MDu. and ON.), liudskepi, magađhēd, meginkraft, mēnful (also in ON.), middilgard (ON. midgdard, Gothic midungards), morgenstranda (also in MDu.), ndvelo, orďfrumo, sāniqūk, sēoliedandi (HG. only in the Hildebrandslied), gesīdkepi, sumarlan (MHG. not in OHG., also in ON.), sundilős (also in MDu. and ON.), wedarweis (MHG., ME., and also in MDu.), wēkmód, weroldkuning, weroldlust, weroldrichti (also in MDu.), weroldshaka, weroldvelo, wībrēd, wordvits (OE. in a derivative wordvīsa, MHG. not OHG., also in MDu. and ON.).

Total number of compounds 48 (Geffcken 27).

XI. Hel., OHG. (or MHG.), OFris.

beđdgīćādi, ēosago, môdarmāg (MHG. not OHG.), nūdrūf (MHG. not OHG.).

Total number of compounds 4 (Geffcken 1).

XII. Helianth, OHG. (or MHG.)

adalkunni, énhard (also in ON.), énwordi, drugiğhing, frömôd (see MDu. tromoeedischer), géilhert, gödspārki, handmahal, hardburi, hērdöm, himelfader (MHG. also in ON.) himilkraft, (MHG. not OHG.), himilporta (MHG. not OHG.), hōbidskat, hērēnorn, kristinfolc, kunningstōl (also in MDu., see OE. cynestōl), landwīsa, liudstemen, lofsālīg (MHG. not OHG., also

in ON.), lōngeld, mēnsprāka, mūdspeili (also in ON.), rōkfat, sælīhās, skapward, stēdihāft, svērdhīkegan, tresurhīs, wērdhērro, wōrdspāhi (MHG. not OHG.), wōrdēkan.

Total number of compounds 32 (Geffcken 39).

XIII. Hel., OE., OFris.

aldarlang, hōbidwunda (also in MDu.).

Total number of compounds 2 (Geffcken 2).

XIV. Hel., OFris.

arbidlō (also in MDu. and ON.), herubendi.

Total number of compounds 2 (Geffcken 3).

XV. Hel., OE. (or ME.)

adālboran, adālkuning, ahastrōm, ahaspring, alahwit (also in ON.), aldarlagu (also in ON.), alofat, armskapan (also in ON.), baluhugāi, bedāskēpi, gībōskēpi, bismersprāka, bōggēbo, bōrkraft, brōiskāra, druhtfolk, druhtskepi, elišandā, ellianröf, eorid (also in ON.), erlskepi, erōbrāndi, erōgrāf, ēndag (also in ON.), ērdagos (also in ON.), ēfaharno, fēhuskat, ferahquāla, fērīmek (also in ON.), ferweg, fōłkikungung, fōlskepi, folktōgo, folkwēser, fōrdagō, fōrdūwāra, gāsteselī, glēpquāi, glēmōd, gōrnweord, gramhērt, grammhūgdāi, gunkunnī, handbanō (also in ON.), handkraft (also in MDU.), halsmēni (also in ON.), hebanward, heldor, hēligithkwing (probably borrowed into OE.), helmerberand, ērīrīnk, ērōdrōgar, ērīgrīm, ērīmūttandāi, holmklīf, hornselī, hoskward, hrīuwmīgōd, huķiṣaft, (probably borrowed into OE.), inviniōtīd, jāmarmōd, jūngarōd (borrowed into OE.), jūngarskepi (borrowed into OE.), kuningdōm (also in ON.), lagusrōm, legerbeord, legarfest, lēðwerk, liudskādo, liudfōlck (ME. not OE., see also MDU. liudevolk), liubōndāi, liukwīnda, mandrōhtin, manwert, māvgīnti, meginkīnto, meginteŋni, mīgēmwerk, mēnwerk, mēnkskādo, mēnkskul, merisstrōm, metilīsī, metodigiskefti, mēdōmgebo, mēdōmhārd, mēdgīthāku, mōdēkara, mōdēsēbo (also in ON.), mōdhārka, mōrantsdī (also in ON. and MDU.), mōrīwerk (also in ON.), nīthudugāi, nōdzkepi, orlaghīwīla, ēstarcēng (also in ON.), regin-thiφ, sēōudīa, sērmāgd, sigīrōltin, sōdfast, sōdspēl, treulo, theganskepi, thīdāguna, thīdōkunung (also in ON.), thīdāwerk, wamādā, wamskādo, wamskefti, wāgīlīndāi, wāpānberand,
XVI. Helian alone

adálandbári, adálkészur, adálknósal, adalordfrumo, alajung, alohol, alásidu, baluspráka, balusúit, balawerc, balucísís, benruncinda, bithevord, bógwini, bókspáhi, brósthugi, brósthúhú (see OE. bróostgodanc), diopúgíhú (see OE. dépödanc), dolmód, dolífok, doligíbur, elusík, elíbári, eorífok, erlíčiszkapú, ércord, égróhúl, érthungan, fehúgíri, féruðalú, féruinvidi, férinword, frínspráka, frínsundida (but see OE. freinsynng), frírivord, fríðubarn, fríðugumó, fríðúhú, gádulínagós, gérífand, géreti, golowélo, gráhnard, grímerk, gunseviki, hanubéba, harmgívurt, harmerk, hébánriki (adj.), hemgívústeo, hélsí, herídóm, héldiukuni, hértakara, herúsl, herúthrum, hélasférak, hóðimóld, hóðgísetu, húrmíuskrip, hróbed, hrógtuvádi, inuídrá, inuírspráka, írmúmnan, índjúng (see OE. Íldegon), klústrabendi, kúniburd, kuningsterru, kuningwisa, laquliundandi, landmág, løfléð, lídokasp, líðútastum, lítubarn, lítukuni, lófrword, lóswerc, mágújung, manarbarí, mansterðo, megíñfard, megínsundida, megíþíoda, megíþíthof, metígédía, metódigískapú (but see metódigísket under XV.), ménghúhú, ménvíúto, ménñhuv, móerdhúgi (see OE. mórdhygenda), módspláhi, módstark (see OE. stearcmóð), níðfok, níðhút, níðhúgi, ráðburð, regánigoskapi, regínglubí, réngískado, sílduvskat, sílduvóg, síldúmd, sílduvúrdu, sorgspell, spáhword, sténgráf, sténholm, stríðkugi, gísunfader (but see OHG. sunufatarungo), svefresta, thiódarbei, thiòdgod, thiödquála, thiödweílo, thristmód, thrístword, wálldé, wélif, wérlókésur, wérdalit, wískumo, wígsaka, wíldag, wólkansko, wórdhelpa, wórðeti, wóðhúgígi, wúndargúla.

Total number of compounds 130 (Geffcken 213).

To these sixteen groups may be added another containing compounds found in the Helian and in ON. or MDu.

XVII. Helian, ON. or MDu.

alothíoda (ON. alþjóð), ambaltskepi (MDu. ambachtschap), arþídwerk (ON. erþídíswerk), bíland (ON. bíland, MDu.
to 22 per cent. of the total. It is true that this figure is not great, but again the different character of the sources must be taken into account. The vocabulary of the Heliand is largely archaic, drawn from the common West Germanic stock of poetic compounds, and it is quite natural that few of these formations survive in later prose. The absence of the majority from later texts does not prove anything.

It is sometimes asserted that the Heliand poet modelled his diction and technique on contemporary OE. Christian epics. It is possible that this is so, but an examination of the compounds common to the Heliand and OE. does not reveal any striking connections with any one OE. poem or group of poems. The majority of the parallels between the Heliand and OE. represent compounds derived from the common West Germanic stock.

Finally, Geffcken points out that the number of compounds, which are found in the Heliand alone, is as great as all the OE. parallels, and from this she concludes that the author of the Heliand was an independent and original poet. This statement is in contradiction to what we have learnt of the Heliand poet from our investigation of the frequency and repetition of compounds in the poem, and from the examination of the semantic categories into which the compounds may be divided. The statement is, moreover, very wide of the mark. The revised statistics show that only 130 compounds—30 per cent. of the total—are found in the Heliand alone, whilst there are 233 parallels with OE. It is most unlikely that the Heliand poet coined all these, and approximate parallels in other languages suggest that he did not, e.g. kindjun (see OE. cildgeorg), magjun (see OE. magugeord), morhugi (see OE. morðyegende), modstark (see OE. stærmod), gisunfader (see OHG. sunufatarungo), etc. Nevertheless, it may be assumed that he coined some of them, and an examination of his methods may cast some light on the mentality of the poet.

Remarkable in the list of compounds in group XVI. is the large number of formations made with recurring first elements, e.g. adal (or edili) is repeated six times; balu, firin, megin, thiord each four times; ala, mën, each three times; heru, man regin,

1 See Geffcken (p. 32) : 'Das Altsächsische dagegen zeigt noch in höherem Masse anglofränkische Züge, die vermuten lassen, dass das Niederdeutsche ursprünglich zu dem Anglofränkischen oder Ingvönikischen in nähster Verwandtschaft gestanden habe als zu dem Hochdeutschen.'

2 See Geffcken (p. 36) : 'Und zwar überwiegt das Anglofränkische in ziemlich bedeutendem Masse, was die nähere Berührung des alten Niederdeutschen mit der anglofränkischen Sprachgruppe im Gegensatz zum späteren Mittelniederdeutschen deutlich macht.'
etc., each twice. It is noticeable that the majority of these words are mere intensifiers which have lost their full meaning. The poet obviously uses these words as a convenient method of forming compounds and providing the necessary alliteration.

Several other compounds are formed from phrases which by comparison with OE. and other parts of the Heliand can be shown to have belonged to the West Germanic stock of formulae, e.g. adalordfrun (see OE. ædæle ordfruna), elddarn (see OE. elda bern and Hel. 408M eldo barn), diopgithâht (see Hel. 4704 diopa githâht), grimmewerk (see Hel. 3229 grimmun werk), liudibarn (see OE. lêda barn), thristword (see Hel. 2549, 5340, etc., thristun wordon, OE. thristum wordum). In juxtaposing common phrases of this kind and so coining new compounds the poet cannot be said to display any great originality of diction.

Many of the compounds in group XVI. are obvious variants on original West Germanic formations which the poet uses once or twice and then abandons. The following examples may serve to illustrate his methods:

bóggewa (OE. béaggisa), a West Germanic formation used in 2738 and varied immediately afterwards in 2756 by bóggwini.
mankunnâ, varied in 1615 by liudkunnâ.
wâglîndini (OE. wæglîndende), used in 2913 and varied immediately afterwards in 2818, 2964 by lagulîndani.
wrâdmôd (OE. wrâdmôd), varied by wrâdhugdíg 5201.

Other compounds recorded in group XVI as appearing only in the Heliand are found only in one MS., the other MS. having a variant, and these may quite well be scribal forms and not the work of the poet, e.g. mënigwio appears only in 5064M where C has mënkwat; manarbêti in 3601C is certainly a scribal variant of thiodarbêti in M; liudibarn appears in M, C having in both cases (1868, 1971) liudeo barn; wâldîd is found only in 2607M, C having wêldâd.

If all these factors are taken into consideration and combined with the evidence adduced in the previous chapter, the final judgment on the Heliand poet cannot be a favourable one. He did not succeed in avoiding monotonous repetition of his stock of compounds, nor did he equal the OE. poets in the vividness and concreteness of their diction. The compounds which he coined are less numerous than those which he inherited from others, and are not distinguished by any great originality of thought.

CHAPTER V

THE SURVIVAL OF POETIC COMPOUNDS IN MIDDLE ENGLISH AND MIDDLE HIGH GERMAN

At no period in the history of the German languages have nominal compounds been coined with such facility and used with such frequency as during the time when alliterative poetry was in vogue, and this method of word-formation seems to have been peculiarly suited to the slow-moving rhythms of the verse and the mentality of the poets themselves. It has already been pointed out that there are but few traces of those resounding and expressive nominal compounds of the Germanic verse in the OHG. rhyming poetry and in OHG. prose, and that the frequency with which compounds are used there is much lower than in the alliterative verse. The frequent use of nominal compounds seems therefore to be intimately connected with alliteration or with the themes of the Germanic poetry.

In the ME. period there was a peculiar and interesting revival of the alliterative verse, and at the same time in MHG. the old Germanic legends, which had been kept alive during the OHG. period by wandering Spielesagen, were transformed into long epic poems, although the old verse forms were no longer used. It is possible that with this revival of old forms and old themes some of the spirit of the Germanic poetry might have been recaptured and the facility, with which nominal compounds were coined, regained. An investigation of the compounds in ME. alliterative verse and in the MHG. popular epics might show that there was an unbroken line of development from OE. epic poetry to ME. and from the early Germanic verse to MHG.

MIDDLE ENGLISH ALLITERATIVE POETRY

The continuity of the alliterative tradition from OE. to ME. has recently been ably demonstrated by Oakden 1 who finds

not recorded in OE. The following compounds in the early ME. alliterative works have parallels in other Germanic languages, but are not recorded in OE.: gledred, flame-red (ON. glóðrásdr); halewi, balm (ON. heilivágr, MHG. heilitvágge, health bringing water); hellebarnes, children of hell (MHG. hellebarn); heorteblod, blood of the heart (MHG. herseblütot, ON. hjartblöð); moderbern, mother’s child (MHG. muoterbarn); moderburh (OHG. muoterburg), capital, recorded only in one gloss, Gl. II, 141, 66). Of this list hellebarnes, moderbern, and moderburh are certainly not Primitive Germanic formations; gledred, halewi, and heorteblod may be inherited from Primitive Germanic, but their late appearance both in English and German makes this unlikely.

There are in addition to these a few compounds in the early ME. alliterative works which, although not recorded in OE., are formed with OE. elements and are at least in the epic tradition, e.g. baledrinc, deadly drink; bālondes, cruel bonds; brestater, poison of the breast; soulehus, dwelling of the soul; wasid, time of woe.

The evidence of survival and continuity is, therefore, not strong, but as Oakden points out, these minor ME. alliterative poems are more closely connected with the Old English homilies and popular verse than with epic poetry.

There are, however, most significant traces of a connection with OE. epic poetry in Layamon’s Brut. The following 26 compounds are clear survivals of OE. poetic formations: baluside, evil fate (OE. bealustid); bláðesfæst, famous (OE. bláðesfæst); brestaspân, mind (OE. brestaspân); dríhtfolc, retinue (OE. dríhtfolc); feondræs, attack of the enemy (OE. feondræs); feondascaðe, enemy (OE. feondascaða); fæðerhorme, wings (OE. fæðerhorma); folcings, king of the people (OE. folcyning); gleodreme, song (OE. gleodreme); goldafah, ornamented with gold (OE. goldafah); hereburne, armour (OE. herebyrne); huswærd, taunt (OE. huscwærd); leodking (king of the people (OE. leodcyning); modkare, sorrow (OE. mödcæres); modsorh, sorrow (OE. mödsorh); mörkla, shout of men (OE. mörkla).

1 Obvious borrowings from ON. are not included in this list, e.g. blámon, negro (ON. blámon); nowcin, distress (ON. náscssyn); wundræd, suffering (ON. vandræði). Oakden also regards weimers, lamentation (Hal. Meidhád 300) as a parallel to the Gothic wajamrs, blasphemy, but the latter word is probably a calque from Greek, and the meaning is quite different from the ME. word which seems rather to be connected with the West Fris. wemersang, dirge.
mandrêam; saelot, fleet (OE. sæflot); sælíndende, seafarers (OE. sælíndende); seiæstreme, sea (OE. sæstrêam); sæwærie, weary of a sea-voyage (OE. sæwærig); sarinuod, sorrowful (OE. saríngnôd); welsestream, stream (OE. wyllestrêam); wildages, welcome days (OE. wildagas); wîlspel, welcome news (OE. wîlspell); winemæs, loyal kinsman (OE. winemæg); wundercraft, magic (OE. wundercraft).

As in the minor alliterative poems there are also compounds in Layamon which have parallels in other Germanic languages, but which are not recorded in OE., and some of these may provide evidence of the continuity of the traditions: heorteblod, blood of the heart (ON. hjartblôd, MHG. herzblood); leadfolc, people (OLG. liudfolk, MDu. liedvolc); nutescalen, nutsheils (MHG. nuaschel, MDu. notescale); swordbroper, comrad in arms (MHG. schwertbruoder, MLG. swordbroder); tæzelbrehed, gaming board (OHG. zabelbrei); wodæi, day of woe (MHG. wêlac, but with different meaning, ‘pain, grief’); winischence, draught of wine (MHG. winschanc); wunderfeole, very many (MHG. wunderfol); wundergod, very good (OHG. wuntarguc); wunderkuene, very bold (MHG. wunderkuene). Of these the three formations with wunder- are of no significance and are hardly inherited from Primitive Germanic; winischence and tæzelbrede are also independent formations as they contain foreign words in the first part; nutescalen is a prose word both in English and German and provides no support for the theory of the continuity of poetic traditions; wodæi is different in meaning from the MHG. parallel which is formed with the composition suffix tac (see above p. 363). We are left, therefore, with heorteblod, leadfolc, and swordbroper as three possible survivals, and these can hardly be considered as weighty evidence.\footnote{Oakden gives (p. 132 note) a list of compounds, which have parallels in Germanic languages other than OE., which differs from the above account. He includes纠纷broad, firebrand, comparing it with German Feuerbrand, but this is not recorded until the 17th century, and can hardly be a survival of a Primitive Germanic formation; further, ifûndagen, days of yore, but see the common OE. prose word gefûndagen and forûndagen which is frequently found in poetry; richedom, but see OE. ricedóm, a common prose word; stangrafen, stone-pits, but the OLG. stengraf, with which Oakden compares this, means ‘grave in a rock’ (referring to Christ’s sepulchre); wîlspel, but see OE. wîlspell, Elenë 984, 994.}

Nevertheless, there are numerous compounds in Layamon which, although not recorded in OE. or in other Germanic languages, are in the spirit of the epic poetry, e.g. balûraes, deadly attack; dæþbûd, death journey; fîcêsìd, death; morðspelle, tidings of destruction; sorhîsites, misfortunes. These combined with the evidence of the compounds which have survived from OE. may rightly be considered as a support for the theory that an unbroken line of development leads from OE. epic poetry to the ME. alliterative verse.

Middle High German

In the OHG. period there is no considerable body of alliterative poetry, and the only trace of the survival of the Germanic heroic legend is the fragmentary Hildebrandslied and the Latin Walthariëlied. Although the Christian monks did their utmost to destroy the heathen traditions, they were never completely obliterated, and the themes of the Germanic lays were handed down orally until in the MHG. period they were extended by skilful combination and expansion into long epics. Unlike ME. there was, however, no revival of the alliterative technique, but it is possible that some of the poetic compounds of the alliterative verse survived the change of form and outlived the alliterative verse itself. In the following an account is given of the poetic compounds in three MHG. epics, the Rolandslied, the Nibelungenlied, and Kudrun. The first of these, it is true, does not deal with a Germanic subject-matter and is not derived from earlier Germanic Lieder, but it has been included in this account as the connections with early Germanic poetry seem to be even stronger in this poem than in the later Nibelungenlied and Kudrun.

The frequency with which nominal compounds are used is very low in all these poems, but it is difficult to make accurate comparisons because of the differing metrical forms. Taking the long line of the Nibelungenlied and Kudrun as approximately equivalent in length to the long line of the alliterative verse, and two lines of the rhyming couplets in the Rolandslied as equivalent to one long line, we find the following frequencies: Rolandlied: 171 different compounds in 9094 short lines (4547 long lines), that is one compound to every 27 lines. Nibelungenlied (excluding Die Klage): 139 different compounds to 9264 long lines, that is one compound to every 66 lines. Kudrun: 106 different compounds to 6820 long lines, that is one compound to every 64 lines.
The frequency in all these poems is therefore lower than in the Heliand, and in the Nibelungenlied and Kudrun (but not in the Rolandlied) lower than in Otfrid. It is evident then from these figures that there can be very little, if anything at all, of the Germanic traditions left in MHG. poetry.

There are in fact very few poetic compounds in the MHG. epics which are survivals from older verse, although it must be remembered that owing to the scanty records of OHG. the comparison can only be made with other Germanic dialects as OE., OLG., and ON.

Nevertheless, there are a few significant survivals in the Rolandlied which suggest that the Germanic traditions are not entirely extinct. In this poem three poetic compounds are found which occur in the alliterative verse: 

- *goltwine* (OE. *goldwine*)—a very significant survival; *goltwaz* (OE. *goldfat*, OLG. *goldfat*)—recorded only in poetry; *wiclet* (OE. *wiglōd*). These are not numerous, but there are many compounds in this poem which, although not recorded in early alliterative poetry, are in the Germanic tradition. The most significant of them is the compound *goltgewunden*, wound with golden rings (lines 869, 5068): it has already been shown that compounds of a substantive and past participle are very rare in OHG. and that the type was almost extinct there, but that they are a common feature of the ON. and OE. alliterative verse. Other compounds which are in the epic manner are *helmthikke*, a kenning for ‘battle,’ meaning literally ‘throng of helmets’; *volthegen, thiethegen*, popular hero (but both compounds are found in other MHG. poems); *sigesdīch*, blessed with victory (but also found in the court epics), for the formation compare ON. *lofskoll*; OLG. *lofság*; *swærtwæhs*, with a sharp sword, for the formation see ON. *oddhvoss*, sharp-pointed; *swærginn*, fierce in anger (recorded also in the Kaiserschronik); *swærскоп*, eloquent (see OLG. *wordsψπας*). Notable in this poem in addition to these poetic compounds are the formations with *walt*, e.g. *wäbluot*, blood shed on the battle-field; *wälsstat*, battle-field; *wälsstrade*, way across the battle-field; *wälsbū̄s*, stream of blood on the battle-field. These are reminiscent of the numerous compounds with *walt* in OE., but much significance cannot be attached to them, as the word *walt* was common enough in MHG., although it is remarkable that there is nothing to compare with this group in the Nibelungenlied. The evidence for

the continuity of the traditions of the poetic compounds is not very strong, but such significant formations as *goltwine*, *goltgewunden*, *goltwaz*, and kennings like *helmthikke* suggest that Konrad, the poet of the Rolandlied, had some knowledge of the older alliterative poetry.

If such a tradition did exist, it was extinct by the time the Nibelungenlied and Kudrun received their present form. There are no poetic compounds in either of these poems which have parallels in the early alliterative poetry. It is true that there are a few compounds of a substantive and adjective in both these poems, which are reminiscent of the compounds in epic poetry, e.g. *sturnkiene*, *strilkienê*, *wegemiede, wassermiede*, *swertgrimmiug, verchgrimmiu*, but these are not peculiar to the popular epics and similar formations could be found in the court epics. Occasionally in the Nibelungenlied (but not in Kudrun) the poet varies his epithets in a way which is reminiscent of the alliterative verse, e.g. *sturnkiene* (strophe 200)—*strilkienê* (strophe 201); *snēcis* (380)—*snēblanc* (384); *sturnmiede* (186)—*strillmiede* (1877); *rēwunde* (2237)—*tōwunde* (2238). These variations are, however, by no means numerous, and it is a far cry from them to the highly poetic kennings of the OE. and ON. verse.

The revival of the Germanic legends was, therefore, not accompanied by any revival of the older poetic compounds. These were lost to the German language probably at the time of the transition from alliterative to rhyming verse. If we may judge from the differences between the ME. alliterative poetry and the MHG. popular epics in this respect, it would seem that those resounding and expressive nominal compounds, which are so striking feature of the alliterative verse, were in some way intimately connected with the technique of alliteration and not with the themes of Germanic poetry.

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1 The compound *swartdegen*, recorded both in the Nibelungenlied and Kudrun, is not an exception to this generalisation. It is found in the Heliand (*swartdegen*), but also occurs in glosses, e.g. Gt. III. 135, 38, and is therefore not a poetic compound in the sense in which the term is used in this work.

2 The references are to Lachmann's edition of the poem.
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