THE SEMANTIC SYSTEMS OF THE PREPOSITIONS OF SEPARATION IN GOTHIC, OLD HIGH GERMAN, AND OLD SAXON

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THESIS

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-- to my parents
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<td>OHG</td>
<td>Old High German</td>
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<tr>
<td>OS</td>
<td>Old Saxon</td>
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<tr>
<td>[ ]</td>
<td>semantic/grammatical features</td>
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<tr>
<td>+</td>
<td>positive value of binary variable</td>
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<tr>
<td>-</td>
<td>negative value of binary variable</td>
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<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>optional</td>
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<tr>
<td>{ }</td>
<td>choice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>→</td>
<td>'is to be rewritten as'</td>
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<tr>
<td>t</td>
<td>capable of undergoing transformation</td>
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<tr>
<td>*</td>
<td>non-sentence</td>
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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

Prepositions, although very frequently used, are little understood. They seem to have a dual nature. They sometimes occur as independent meaning-bearing entities which can change the meaning of a sentence:

(1) George is at the table.
(2) George is under the table.

Sometimes they appear as fixed collocations, in which their presence is specified by a particular grammatical construction, e.g. nominalization of a verb (3) and designation of the agent in a passive sentence (4).

(3) The burning of leaves reminds one of autumn.
(4) This house was designed by Frank Lloyd Wright.

Sometimes two prepositions seem to be synonymous; even those having literal meanings which are quite different from each other can be used to express the same function.

In learning a foreign language, prepositions are often the cause of much confusion. One can learn the lexical meanings of each preposition, but as soon as a figurative meaning is required or a preposition is used for some fixed collocation, one is never quite sure whether the rules which one has learned for the native language will also apply to another language.
In order to fully understand the nature of a preposition, one must know each one of its literal and figurative meanings (1) and (2) and in which fixed collocations it appears (3) and (4). The relative synonymy of two prepositions can be determined by a comparison of the various meanings and functions which each perform.

Difficult though this process may be, a comparison of the meanings and functions of the prepositions in historical languages is even more challenging. Such a comparison of the prepositional systems of Gothic, Old High German and Old Saxon could provide information as to the relationship between these languages. The relationship between Gothic, Old High German and Old Saxon has been much disputed. Ferdinand Wrede postulated (1919, 1924) that there was a strong linguistic influence exerted on southern German by the Goths even after they had migrated and settled in their separate areas. This influence was so great, that Wrede termed Old High German "gothisized Ingvaeonic". As evidence for this influence, Wrede cited linguistic features which Gothic and Old High German had in common. Theodor Frings (1957), on the other hand, maintained that these similarities occurred when Gothic and Old High German shared the same area in the North (Chapter Two).

Previous studies on prepositions in Gothic, Old High German and Old Saxon are found in dictionaries, glossaries, grammars and monographs, most of which treat one or a small
number of prepositions. The most comprehensive study in the case of Gothic is a monograph by Jan van der Meer, *Die Bedeutung und die Rektion der gotischen Praepositionen* (1930), which compares the Gothic prepositions found in the translation of the Bible with the Greek ones used in the original version. His purpose is to determine, by means of this comparison, to what extent the Gothic translation reflects the actual state of the Gothic language and how much of it is a direct translation of the Greek original. While this study provides valuable information on Gothic prepositions, most of the comparisons drawn are between Greek and Gothic rather than between the Gothic prepositions themselves.

The Old High German data are obtained from a glossary of *Otfrid* by Johann Kelle, *Glossar der Sprache Otfrids* (1881) and from a study of Old High German prepositions, *Die althochdeutschen Präpositionen* (1824), compiled by E. G. Graff. Both works are similar, in that they cite lexical meanings for each preposition, specify the case governed, and include examples. There is no comparison between prepositions in Kelle and very little in Graff. Only superficial, piecemeal comparison of a few similar prepositions is found in these sources.

A complete dictionary of the *Heliand* and a grammar of Old Saxon supply the information for the Old Saxon study. Edward Sehrt's *Vollständiges Wörterbuch zum Heliand und zur
altsächsischen Genesis (1966) cites every occurrence of each preposition which is then grouped under various general, unspecified classifications for the prepositions. The Old Saxon grammar, Altsächsisches Elementarbuch by F. Holthausen (1921) also describes the various broad groupings of each preposition with but a sampling of possible occurrences.

Although the meanings of the prepositions in Gothic, Old High German and Old Saxon have been described in the past, they have eluded exhaustive description. In addition, very little comparison between prepositions has been carried out and no efforts at all have been directed toward understanding the system of the prepositions of separation, a system chosen because of its intricacy as the object of study in this investigation (Chapter Two).

For current general linguistics, the preposition has attracted the attention of principally three schools of thought, Chomsky, Fillmore and Jacobs and Rosenbaum, and Brekle. The former two viewpoints are intent on determining the nature of the preposition in the deep structure, while Brekle concentrates more on the lexical surfacing of the underlying relations. Brekle, however, does not explain why one preposition is chosen at the surface in preference to another of the same subsystem (Chapter Two).

In order to discriminate between surface manifestations of the prepositions of separation this study undertakes to ferret out all the meanings and all the functions performed
by a single preposition and assign it a bundle of semantic features. These features are referred to by names which most closely designate the meaning or function. The preposition and their meanings are then displayed on a grid both emically and etically. Similarities and dissimilarities in meaning as well as shared functions are indicated in this fashion.

A preliminary study of the entire Gothic, Old High German and Old Saxon prepositional systems reveals such a complexity of interwoven meanings and common functions, that a study of an entire prepositional system is too unwieldy to illustrate the nature of an individual preposition and the workings of a prepositional subsystem with any degree of clarity (Appendix A, B and C). The prepositional system of a language is composed of subsystems, a semantic field, that is, groups of prepositions which are somewhat related in meaning. A study of the individual members of a prepositional subsystem and their interaction among themselves and with members of other subsystems provides a clear and concise paradigm for the way an entire prepositional system operates.

When prepositions are viewed within their subsystem, for each language, Gothic Chapter Three, Old High German Chapter Four, Old Saxon Chapter Five, one can see which relationships are expressed by the subsystem and which prepositions perform them. The degree of synonymy between prepositions is also made apparent by noting the number of
semantic features shared by the individual prepositions.

More about the nature of prepositions is revealed when the same subsystem is compared in several languages. Such a comparison can supply the answer to many questions: Will the same number of prepositions be used to express all the meanings and serve all the functions in each language? Will the same combination of meanings and functions present in one preposition occur in a counterpart in another language? Will the same kind and number of semantic features be present in each of the subsystems, or will some of these meanings and functions be performed by other syntactic means?

This dissertation sets out to provide cogent answers to these and related questions as well as to supply possible further evidence for the dialect relationships postulated by Wrede and Frings (Chapter Six).
CHAPTER TWO: BACKGROUND

2.1 Gothic, Old High German, Old Saxon

Since it is necessary, due to the wealth of material, to delimit both the semantic field of the prepositions as well as the corpora in which the prepositions occur, Gothic, Old High German and Old Saxon are chosen as source languages for the prepositions of separation.

The relationship between Gothic, Old High German and Old Saxon has long been disputed. The controversy centers mainly on the question of whether or not Gothic had a close linguistic relationship with southern German after the migration from the North and settlement in different parts of the continent. Such a relationship is indeed possible, since the geographical distance is not great: The Goths settled near the mouth of the Vistula River, the Franks on the Weser and Rhine Rivers, the Saxons in the coastal area along the North Sea, and the Elbe Germans in the Mittelgebirge, border areas of the Roman Empire, and Bohemia. The presence of other groups between them need not exclude the possibility of contact. It remains to be seen to what extent the physical proximity fostered linguistic interchange between Gothic and High German.

Ferdinand Wrede (1919, 1924) postulated that High German is essentially gothisized Ingvaeonic, i.e. Old English,
Old Saxon and Old Frisian. This view was much disputed, especially by Theodor Frings (1957) who maintained that the connection between Gothic and High German goes back to the time when they shared a common area in the North. Frings postulated sets of features separating German with Gothic from Ingvaeonic. These include such features as:

a) Ingvaeonic innovation

1. A single form for the dative and accusative in Ingvaeonic as opposed to two forms for German and Gothic

OE, OS mi di
OHG mir/mich dir/dich

2. The loss of the nasal before voiceless spirants f, þ, s with compensatory lengthening of the preceding short vowel in Ingvaeonic

OE, OFris. fif
Goth. fimf OHG finf

b) Forms dating back to the time when the Goths and the Germans shared the same area in the North

1. OE, OS he
   Goth. is OHG er

2. Eng. how
   Goth. hwaiwa OHG hweo

(Frings, 1957).¹

The purpose is not to take issue with Frings' and Wrede's isoglosses but to point out the existence of such features

¹.
held in common by Gothic and German.

Geographical evidence also supports such an influence, since around the time of Christ the southern Germanic people were spreading out, widening their area, and loosening their close contact with each other while at the same time, coming into closer contact with the Goths. This does therefore indicate that there was some linguistic exchange between the Goths and the southern Germanic people, although the degree of this exchange remains unknown (Rösler, 1962: 53-56).

The position of Old Saxon relative to Gothic and Old High German is of particular interest since although Old Saxon is Ingvaenic in origin (cf. Rauch 1970), its major documentation, the Heliand manuscripts, attest to strong influence from Old High German. Thus, for example, Frings' division of Goth. hwaiwa and OHG hweo 'how' in contrast to the remaining Germanic dialects (cf. above) is not without exception in view of OS hweo in manuscript M. By including Old Saxon in the trilingual comparison of the prepositions of separation we may obtain further evidence as to its North-South allegiances as well as to Frings' postulated division versus that of Wrede with regard to Old High German and Gothic. However, the isoglosses of themselves posited by Frings and Wrede are not of immediate interest in this work. Rather this dissertation aims through its primary investigation and postulation of trilingual systems of
prepositions of separation, to shed light on theories of the interrelationships of these three Germanic dialects.

2.2 Sources

Studies dealing with prepositions in Gothic, Old High German and Old Saxon are of three main types: glossaries and dictionaries of each language, grammars, and monographs studying the prepositions of a particular language or studying one or several prepositions diachronically.

The glossaries and dictionaries include etymologies of the prepositions and related forms in other Indo-European languages. The possible meanings of each preposition and the case it governs are given, followed by examples grouped according to the meaning they illustrate. No contrast or comparison between prepositions is made. References of this type provide the raw data for the present study: Feist, Vergleichendes Wörterbuch der gotischen Sprache (1939) and Streitberg's glossary in Die gotische Bibel (1960) supply the material for Gothic; Kelle, Glossar der Sprache Otfrids (1881) provides examples for Old High German; and the Old Saxon data are obtained from Sehrt Vollständiges Wörterbuch zum Heliand und zur altsächsischen Genesis (1966).

The grammars are much like the dictionaries in that they cite meanings, etymologies and case governed. Other syntactic information and limited comparison of some prepositions are also included. The grammars consulted are Jacob
Grimm Deutsche Grammatik (1890), Wilmanns Deutsche Grammatik (1899), Streitberg, Gotisches Elementarbuch (1920), Kelle, Die Formen- und Lautlehre der Sprache Otfreds (1869) and Holthausen, Altsächsisches Elementarbuch (1921).

Of the monographs, van der Meer's Die Bedeutung und die Rektion der gotischen Praepositionen (1930) provides excellent information on Gothic prepositions. In addition to defining and citing examples of the prepositions, it also supplies a limited amount of comparison between prepositions. The purpose of van der Meer's study is to illustrate that the language in Wulfila's Bible translation was, at least to some extent, a reflection of the Gothic language and not strictly a literal translation of the Greek original. His method is to compare the Gothic prepositions used in the translation with those in the Greek source. Any discussion of Gothic prepositions in relation to each other is only done when such a comparison provides information on the correlation between the Gothic and Greek prepositions. His study, therefore, supplies little comparison and contrast of the prepositions in Gothic as a system. Another study on Gothic prepositions, Winkler Germanische Casussyntax (1896), gives less detailed information than van der Meer. It does, however, provide some limited comparison between certain prepositions but on an individual basis rather than as a whole system.
Graff's study of Old High German prepositions, Die anltdhochdeutschen Präpositionen (1824) is similar to that of the grammars and dictionaries. Again, it cites every possible meaning of each preposition, but does not include any comparison between prepositions. Edman's Zur Reaction der deutschen Präpositionen (1879) includes a diachronic study of certain prepositions in the older Germanic dialects. Scattered monographs containing diachronic studies of one or two prepositions for Gothic, Old High German and Old Saxon can be found, but none study the prepositional field investigated in this dissertation, namely the prepositions of separation.

Clearly, then, the extant sources for the synchronic understanding of the prepositions of separation yield little more than dictionary glossing or grammatical co-occurrence constraints. It can, therefore, reasonably be stated that the main sources for the postulation of the three systems of prepositions of separation were the primary texts themselves, the Wulfilá Bible translation, the Old High German Otfrid and the Old Saxon Heliand. The dictionary glossings and the grammatical co-occurrence constraints served as initial clues and on occasion erroneously or misleadingly so when each occurrence of the prepositions involved was studied within its discourse.
2.3.0 The Preposition in Current Linguistic Method

The current linguistic attitude towards prepositions manifests itself in three main tendencies: that of considering the preposition as a feature of a noun in the underlying structure (Jacobs and Rosenbaum 1968, Fillmore 1968), that of viewing the preposition as a segmental lexical category as exemplified by Chomsky (1965), and as a combination of these two (Brekle 1970).

2.3.1 The Preposition as a Feature of Nouns

According to Jacobs and Rosenbaum (1968), prepositions are distinguished from particles in that prepositions are represented as features of nouns in the deep structure, and particles are represented in the deep structure as features of verbs. Consider the following sentences:

(1) The chemist shook up the mixture.
(2) The telegraph operator bawled out the clerk.
(3) The chemist walked up the street.
(4) The telegraph operator walked out the door.

If the preposition is to be considered a particle (a word having a close association with the verb), then it can be moved around to the other side of the object:

(1) The chemist shook up the mixture.
(5) The chemist shook the mixture up.
(2) The telegraph operator bawled out the clerk.
(6) The telegraph operator bawled the clerk out.
The other two sentences contain prepositions, not particles, and cannot be put after the object:

(3) The chemist walked up the street.
(7) *The chemist walked the street up.
(4) The telegraph operator walked out the door.
(8) *The telegraph operator walked the door out.

Another syntactic distinction between prepositions and particles is that prepositions may be moved to the front of the sentence for a question:

(3)=(9) Up what did the chemist walk?
(4)=(10) Out of what did the telegraph operator walk?

These may sound awkward, but they are clearly grammatical. Sentences (1) and (2) however, contain particles and the same process produces ungrammatical constructions:

(1)=(11) *Up what did the chemist shake?
(2)=(12) *Out whom did the telegraph operator bawl?

After the distinction has been made between prepositions and particles, it still remains a moot question whether prepositions are themselves constituents or features of constituents in the deep structure. All noun phrases in the deep structure seem to have prepositions associated with them, even though the preposition is frequently deleted. Sentences like:
(13) The army destroyed the fortress.

seem to have prepositions when the sentence structures are
nominalized and changed into noun phrases:

(14) The army's destruction of the fortress.

This is a noun phrase as indicated by the following tests:

(15) The army's destruction of the fortress was
ruthlessly carried out.

and:

(16) What was ruthlessly carried out was the
army's destruction of the fortress.

The preposition of can be assumed to be present in the deep
structure and deleted in the first sentence:

(13) The army destroyed the fortress.

On the other hand, the preposition of can be considered to
be inserted during the nominalization transformation: i.e.
the change from:

(13) The army destroyed the fortress. to
(14) The army's destruction of the fortress.

If this were the case, this would make two nominalization
transformations necessary: One which entails no preposition:
(17) The mathematician concentrated on the problem.

nominalized to:

(18) The mathematician's concentration on the problem.

rather than:

(19) *The mathematician's concentration of on the problem.

or even:

(20) *The mathematician's concentration of the problem.

which changes the meaning. The other nominalization transformation is for sentences like:

(13) The army destroyed the fortress.

In sentences such as these, no preposition is associated with the object noun phrase therefore requiring insertion of the preposition of. If of is considered to be part of the deep structure, only one nominalization transformation is required. The same transformation can be used for sentences in which there is a preposition associated with the object noun phrase as well as for those having no
preposition. Having only one nominalization rule rather than two is preferred, since it is more efficient.

Considering the preposition as being a feature of the noun segment also explains why there are prepositional constructions in which the choice of the preposition seems to be dependent on the noun. For example:

(21) The tournament is on Monday.
(22) The tournament is at noon.
(23) The tournament is in May.

The choice of particular prepositions seems to depend on verbals as well as on nouns. Example:

(24) Vance flew to Bombay.
but: (25) Vance approved of Bombay.
not: (26) *Vance approved to Bombay.
nor: (27) *Vance flew of Bombay.

The hypothesis that prepositions originate as features on noun segments helps to account for the varied restrictions on prepositions. Verbals are quite commonly chosen on the basis of the nouns surrounding them which serve as subjects, objects, and indirect objects: For example:

(28) Napoleon smiled.
but not: (29) *The salt smiled.
(30) Cleopatra lifted the silver.
but not: (31) *Cleopatra lifted the metabolism.
Smile needs a noun with the feature [+human], lift needs a noun with the feature [+concrete]. The selection of a verbal depends upon the features of the noun segments surrounding the verbal, namely the subject noun segment, the object noun segment, and the noun segment which may follow the object noun segment (the indirect object).

(26) *Vance approved to Bombay. is a non-sentence because the verbal approve requires an object noun with the feature [+of] and no other preposition feature. If a test for noun phrase is applied to the phrase of the city in the sentence

(32) John approves of the city., we get: (33)*What John approves is of the city. and the preposition of is shown to be not a part of the noun phrase. The phrase of the city is itself a constituent called Prepositional Phrase (PP).

The tree diagram for the above sentence is:

```
S
   NP
      VP
         N  VB  PP
            P  NP
do

of  the city
```

In Fillmore (1968) prepositions are treated as markers for case relationships. Fillmore's treatment of syntax
involves linguistic universals with which he aims at a universal base component, placing the individual features of each language at the surface level. One of his universals in the deep structure is case, not in the sense in which we now understand the term, but case as signifying an intrasentence relationship of the type referred to in usual discussions of case systems, but without mention of case affixes, a relationship which has comparable relationships in other languages and which has some predictive or explanatory use. Fillmore views case as "the underlying syntactic-semantic relationship" (1968: 21) and the term case form means "the expression of a case relationship in a particular language--whether through affixation, suppletion, use of clitic particles or constraints on word order" (1968: 21).

Case grammar contains in the deep structure "the propositional nucleus [P] of sentences in all languages [which] consists of a V and one or more NP's, each having a separate case relationship to the P (and hence to the V). The most straightforward deep-structure commonalities between languages are to be sought at this 'deepest' level" (1968: 51-52). The other features are language specific and are to be realized at the surface level. Fillmore's 1968 grammar differs from Chomskian grammar in that according to the latter, case is not present in the deep structure but is the "inflexional realization of particular syntactic relationships" (1968: 14). Some of these syntactic relationships may be relationships
which are defined only in the surface structure, such as a
surface subject taking the nominative form after a passive
transformation has been applied (1968: 14).

On the other hand, according to Fillmore, two basic
assumptions must be made: The first one is the centrality
of syntax. Instead of words being classified according to
their morphological structure such as case and inflexional
endings, the forms of words are specified with respect to
syntactic concepts. Thus a word is classified "adverb" if
its syntactic function and not its form is that of an adverb.
The other assumption is the importance of covert categories.
The same grammatical features appear in various forms in
different languages and even within the same language. An
example of an adverb having different surface forms is:

(34) Er kommt heute. (adverb)
(35) Er kommt nächsten Freitag. (noun in the
      accusative case)
(36) Er kommt in einer Woche. (prepositional
      phrase)

An example of two different "case" (Fillmore's usage) re-
relationships having the same surface form is:

(37) John paints nudes. (houses)

The two meanings are different because a paraphrase of one
of the meanings will not fit the other meaning:
What John does to nudes is paint them.

Such a paraphrase for the other meaning, that of painting pictures of nudes, is not possible.

Fillmore's case grammar postulates many such semantically-relevant syntactic relationships (covert categories) concerning nouns and the structures that contain them. Although for the most part covert, these relationships can be discovered empirically, they form a specific finite set, and have cross-linguistic relevance. These relationships are called case relationships.

"The sentence in its basic structure consists of a verb and one or more noun phrases, each associated with the verb in a particular case relationship" (1968: 21). It consists of a modality constituent and a proposition:

\[
\text{Sentence } \rightarrow \text{ Modality + Proposition} \\
S \rightarrow M + P
\]

(1968: 24)

The modality constituent contains negation, tense, mood and aspect (perfect and progressive aspects) which are applied to the sentence as a whole. The proposition is "a tenseless set of relationships involving verbs and nouns (and embedded sentences, if there are any)" (1968: 23).

The proposition (P) is then expanded as a verb plus one or more case categories, none of which appears more than once:

\[
P + V + C_1 + \ldots + C_n
\]
A later rule will include a noun phrase (NP) in each case category unless the case category is realized as an embedded sentence (S).

The case categories, e.g. agentive, instrumental, dative, factitive, locative, objective, "comprise a set of universal, presumably innate, concepts which identify certain types of judgments human beings are capable of making about the events that are going on around them, judgments about such matters as who did it, who it happened to, and what got changed" (1968: 24).

Verbs and nouns in the lexicon are marked with their frame features. For example, a noun in an agentive or dative phrase must have the feature [+animate]. Verbs are marked to indicate which case frames of a sentence they could fit into. The case frame for the verb run would be [______ agentive], for give, it would be [______ objective + dative + agentive]. Each verb would also be marked in the lexicon for its transformational properties. Some of the most common transformations are: 1) the choice of a particular noun phrase to become the surface subject or object whenever such a choice has not already been determined by a general rule; 2) the choice of a preposition to go with a certain case whenever the choice depends upon the properties of a certain verb rather than on a general rule; and 3) other special transformational features, such as the inclusion of words like that, -ing, for to for English verbs with sentence (S)
complements and the later transformations for these elements.

The deep structure is converted into surface sentences through a number of procedures including: selection of surface case forms (by suppletion, affixation, addition of prepositions or postpositions), registration of particular elements in the verb, subjectivalization, objectivalization, sequential ordering and nominalizations.

In English, rules may be made for insertion of prepositions according to case in the deep structure: by for agentive; by also for instrumental, providing that there is no agentive, if there is an agentive, then with for instrumental; zero (Ø) for objective and factitive; for for benefactive; to for dative; locative and time prepositions are either semantically nonempty (in which case they are introduced as optional choices from the lexicon, or they are selected by the particular associated noun [on the street, at the corner (=intersection of two streets), in the corner (of a room): on Monday, at noon, in the afternoon.] These general rules may be rejected in the case of verbs requiring certain prepositions. The verb blame, for example, uses for for objective and on for dative. The changes are carried out by transformations, some of which delete prepositions, i.e. replace them with zero (Ø) for surface subjects and direct objects, and others may form possessive nouns by replacing the assigned preposition with of or by removing the preposition and attaching the _s suffix.
To include the preposition in the grammar, the case categories are rewritten as:

\[ K + NP \quad \text{whereas} \quad K \ (\text{Kasus}) \quad \text{represents not only prepositions but postpositions and case affixes, all of which are realizations of the same underlying element.} \]

Subjectivalization in a sentence with an objective case illustrates what happens to the preposition when the case becomes the subject. If the sentence contains only one case category, this category becomes the subject. It is moved to the front and placed directly under the S (sentence).

A subject-preposition rule is then applied which deletes both the preposition and the case level. The tense
is next incorporated into the verb. There is also an object-preposition deletion rule yielding sentences such as:

(39) John gave the books to my brother.

There is no preposition for the books in (39). For this rule, verbs must be categorized as to whether or not they delete the preposition of the following case category. This rule may be modified by a transformation if necessary.

2.3.2 The Preposition as a Segmental Lexical Category

According to Chomsky (1965: 101-03), the preposition is a constituent in the base component, which can be realized through a subcategorization rule of the verb if it is closely allied to the verb, e.g.:

(1) He decided on the boat.

In this case on the boat is a prepositional phrase which is generated off the verb phrase, decide on=choose. Compare, however, the sentence:

(2) He decided on the train on the boat.

in which the train is chosen while the subject is located on a boat. In the latter case, on the boat is not a subcategory of the verb, but is rather derived from the predicate phrase.
2.3.3 The Preposition as a Relations Constant

On the one hand, building on Chomsky's surface realization of place and time adverbials, Brekle (1970) views prepositions as the lexical surface realization of deep-lying relations constants. On the other hand, Brekle's relations constants remind one of Fillmore's underlying cases or relations: LOC (local = spatial relationship, typically represented by the prepositions on, in, at ...), TEMP (temporal relationship, expressed by the prepositions at, from ... to, etc.), INSTR (instrumental relationship) or FIN (final relationship). Prepositions are the relations constituent elements of a language (1970: 90). They specify the relation between participants (or arguments), i.e. names of entities or classes of entities usually belonging to the class called nouns and predicates, typically verbs or adjectives. One-place predicates, have as their domain, only a single participant. This relation is expressed in symbolic logic as \( P(x) \) or \( (x)P \) and is read: \( P \) of \( x \) which means 'The predicate \( P \) is asserted of the participant named \( x \).'

In (1), \textbf{John} is the participant and \textbf{arrived} the predicate.

(1) John arrived.

The notation for a two-place predicate is \( P(x,y) \) or \( (x)P(y) \) and means: 'The predicate \( P \) is a relation asserted to hold between two arguments named \( x \) and \( y \).' This relation is of the type:
(2) John loves Mary.

in which loves is the predicate and John and Mary are the participants (Stockwell 1977: 10-12). In two-place predicates, the predicate P applies to the first participant (x) as subject and the second (y) as object. In English, the subject noun phrase normally precedes a transitive predicate, and the object noun phrase normally follows it. Thus case, nominative and accusative, is marked by word order. Case may also be marked in English and in German by specialized function words called adpositions, which are prepositions and postpositions. These case-marking devices, word order and adpositions, function as lower predicates. Lower predicates are predicates which are subordinate to the main predicate expressed by the verb. They define explicitly the role of the noun phrase participant in the higher predicate. In other words, they are predicates over a complex domain consisting of the noun phrase (NP) to which they are attached and the main predicate. This relationship is represented by the symbols:

\[ K (NP, Pred) \]

If K represents the dative case, \[ K (NP, Pred) \] means 'the noun phrase functions as receiver of the action expressed by Pred.' An example containing several case relations is:

(3) He is sending her to finishing school for two years.
The subject and object relations are expressed by cases (here, word order determines nominative and accusative), and the local relation, to finishing school and temporal relation for two years are expressed by prepositions. Using only one marking system for comparison, the sentence can be paraphrased in the following manner:

- The act of sending is by him. (he in 'subject case')
- The act of sending applies to her. (her in 'object case')
- The action is directed to the finishing school. (to marking goal)
- Her stay will last two years. (for marking duration)

The relations may also be paraphrased as:

```
by him
<p>| |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| sending
|   |
| of her
|   |
| to school
|   |
| for two years
```

(Stockwell 1977: 60-61)

It was stated earlier, that predicates are usually classified by grammarians as verbs or adjectives. Prepositions are surface realizations of lower case predicates and therefore similar to other predicates, namely verbs. This similarity can be illustrated by the following sentences from Lakoff (1968):
(4) John killed Bill with a knife.
(5) John used a knife to kill Bill.

In (4) the instrumental relation is marked by the preposition with, in (5) the verb use performs this function. A similar example is found in Becker and Arms (1969: 7):

(6) We went across the river.
(7) We crossed the river.

The features motion and location are expressed in two words, a verb and a preposition (go + across) in (6), and by a single word in (7) closely related to the preposition (cross). The underlying structure of both can be assumed to be the same with the possibility of two different surface realizations. Becker and Arms point out another similarity between verbs and prepositions by noting that prepositions are frequently used as imperatives:

(8) Down, Spot!
    Out, out, damned spot!
    Up, up and away!

Their verbal function is not restricted to the imperative, however:

(9) He upped his rating.
    He downed the ball.
Further evidence that prepositions are lower case predicates and that the prepositional phrase is a self-sufficient underlying sentence within which the preposition is the predicate is given by Rauch (1979) as an explanation for extraposition of the German prepositional phrase outside the sentence frame.

2.3.4 The Preposition as a Surface Manifestation Within a System of Separation

Like Fillmore and Brekle, this study recognizes certain relationships in the deep structure which may have many different surface realizations. The relationship may be expressed in the surface structure by case, word order, adverbials, or one of several prepositional phrases. While Fillmore postulates the deep structural existence of a single preposition to mark a particular case, he does not explain the various surface realizations of the preposition except to appeal to convention within a given context. His understanding here remains purely syntactic, i.e. a given preposition occurs at the surface because it is bound to a particular syntactic class. Similarly, Brekle cannot account for the choice of one preposition over another for the purpose of expressing a given relations concept.

The goal of this investigation is not the role of the preposition within deep structure, but the semantic relationship expressed by prepositions, their surface manifestations, their function within a system, and their
interaction with prepositions outside the system of separation. Complete semantic feature grids of all prepositions in Gothic, Old High German, and Old Saxon are to be found in the Appendices.

Distinctive semantic features are ascribed to each preposition, depicting their primary spatial meaning. The feature or combination of features is unique to a particular preposition and distinguishes it from all other prepositions within the system. These features are therefore emic features. Secondary features are added to express meanings which are not included in the description of the primary meanings. For example, [+temporal] indicates that a particular preposition can also be found in expressions of time, and [+origin] states that the idea of origin is also signified. Secondary features are etic features. The emic feature inventory represents the denotative meaning and will be present in each occurrence of a particular preposition. Not all of the etic features, on the other hand, will be realized in every instance of a given preposition. The etic features are possibilities of meaning which may be called upon as the context dictates.

Distinctive features are used because of their precise descriptive nature and because they indicate relationships between prepositions. The relationship between two prepositions which are opposite in meaning can be signified by the use of the same feature for both prepositions. The
preposition *in*, for example, has the feature "plus interior" [+interior]. To indicate the relationship of "opposite", the preposition *out* has the feature "minus interior" [-interior]. A single feature may also be shared by several prepositions within a system, signifying a certain interrelationship within the prepositional system. The feature "cause", for example, is common to several prepositions. Distinctive features also show the full extent of the meanings of a preposition, which is very useful in comparing the individual prepositional systems for a diachronic study, as well as showing interrelationships within a single dialect.

To account for situations in which a preposition no longer expresses its primary meaning, but seems to have taken on a different function, semantic transformations are performed. Through a transformation the primary emic features are changed to etic features. The context in which the preposition occurs determines the selection of a particular secondary feature from the etic feature inventory. This feature then becomes the sole emic feature of the preposition when used in a certain context. The spatial features are now etic. If there are two or more prepositions which undergo the same transformation, the choice of one preposition over another may be based on the "connotative meaning" of that preposition, i.e. the etic feature inventory.

Sometimes the use of a preposition with a particular noun or verb is a matter of convention. The choice, then,
of this particular preposition will be triggered by the presence of the noun or verb in the correct environment. In Modern German, **an** is the preposition associated with the verb *glauben* 'believe' when the object of this belief is to be designated. Several other prepositions also designate the topic of believing, but **an** is selected from among them when the verb *glauben* is specified. Such expressions were cited in this study whenever there was sufficient evidence of their existence.

Instances in which prepositions are actually particles as defined by Jacobs and Rosenbaum (cf. 2.3.1) are not treated in this study. **Up** in (1) is a particle.

(1) The chemist shook up the mixture.

It can be placed after the noun phrase,

(2) The chemist shook the mixture up.

and must occur after the noun phrase, if the object is a pronoun:

(3) The chemist shook it up.

The particle may not, however, be placed at the front for a question:

(4) *Up what did the chemist shake?
Examples such as those given in both prepositional phrases of:

(5) He decided on the train on the boat. = He opted for the train while on the boat.

are included. Although Chomsky derives each of the two by separate means, they both are more closely associated with the noun than is (1) and have a different set of restrictions from the particle. A preposition does not allow movement to the other side of the noun phrase:

(6) *He decided the train on.
(7) *He decided the boat on.
(8) *He decided it on.

A preposition can, however, be placed at the front for a question.

(9) On what did he decide?

Similarly, separable prefixes are considered more closely allied to the verb than to the noun phrase and are also not a part of this discussion.
Note to Chapter Two

¹For further features shared by Gothic and German, cf. Karstien (1939: 14ff) and Bach (1970:§49.2).
CHAPTER THREE: GOTHIC

3.0 The Gothic Source

Material for the discussion of Gothic prepositions was taken from Streitberg's edition of *Die gotische Bibel* (1960). This Bible translation from Greek into Gothic was undertaken by Bishop Wulfila (311-383), who lived and worked among the Goths south of the Danube near the foothills of the Balkan Mountains. Although influenced by the Greek original and Wulfila's knowledge of both Latin and Greek, the purpose of the translation was to communicate with the Goths, who themselves had no knowledge of the classical languages.

How well Wulfila's translation reflects the actual state of fourth century Gothic has been the subject of much investigation including the study by Jan van der Meer (1930) which compares the Gothic prepositions used in Wulfila's translation with those of the Greek original. Noting the many and varied discrepancies, van der Meer concludes that the prepositional usage in the translation is so different from the Greek original, that it probably represents the actual Gothic usage. While van der Meer's study provides valuable lexical information, comparison between Gothic prepositions is strictly incidental, since van der Meer's primary concern is to compare Gothic prepositions with those of Greek used in the original.
3.1 The Gothic Prepositional System of Separation

The prepositions af 'of, 'from' (cf. 3.2), fram 'from' (cf. 3.3), us 'out of', 'from' (cf. 3.4) and fairra 'far from' (cf. 3.5) all express separation of a subject, i.e. an actor from an object, i.e. person, place, thing, and therefore all have the feature [-direction]. This feature indicates motion or position away from an object. They are semantically distinctive, however: af denotes separation, indicated by the feature [-direction]; fram indicates that the object from which the subject is separated is the origin, hence fram has the features [-direction, +origin]; us indicates that the subject is separated from the interior of the object and has the features [-direction, +interior]; and fairra specifies that the separation is a distant separation, represented by the features [-direction, +vicinity] (cf. 3.5).

3.2 af 'of', 'from' [+dative, -direction]

Af is used with the dative case, and a feature [+dative] is therefore posited. There are also three instances in which af appears with the genitive case:

(1) qam manna gabigs af Areimabaias
    'there came a rich man from Arimathea'
    Matthew 27:57

(2) Iosef af Areimabaias
    'Joseph of Arimathea'
    Mark 15:43
The nouns used with *af* in these instances were in the genitive in the Greek original text. When they were translated into Gothic, they were mistaken for so-called indeclinables and left in their original form, the genitive case, rather than changed to the dative case (van der Meer, 1930:11§2). Because these are frozen forms, a feature [+genitive] is not posited for *af*.

The primary meaning of *af* is 'from'. It is usually used with verbs of motion and indicates that the subject is moving in a direction away from the object. This yields the feature [-direction].

(4) Jah undgripun sumana manne, Seimona Kwreinaiu, qimandan *af* akra

'And they seized a certain man, Simon Cyrenius, coming from the field'

Mark 15:21

The object of *af* is usually a thing (although it can also be a person) and is often the name of a city or place. Although *us* 'out of', 'from' (cf. 3.4) is also used with the names of places, *af* is the more frequent choice (van der Meer, 1930:12§3). When the object of *af* is a person, the person usually does not take an active part in the action:
(5) ḏaruh is gaḇ: taitok mis sums; ik
auk ufkunḇa maḥt usgaggandein af mis.
'But he said: someone touched me; for
I perceive the power going out of me.'
Luke 8:46

In a parallel situation, us (cf. 3.4) is used instead of af:

(6) jah sunsaiw Iesuṣ ufkunḇa in sis
silbin ḏo us sis maḥt usgaggandein
'and immediately Jesus realized that
a power had gone out of Him'
Mark 5:30

Perhaps af instead of us is used in (5), because the participle
usgaggandein 'going out' precedes it. Since the participle
already contains the meaning 'out', i.e. [-direction, +interior],
the preposition needs only to supply the direction 'of', 'from',
i.e. [-direction], and the meaning 'out of' will be complete.¹
Of the three prepositions meaning 'from', af, fram and us, af
is the one which indicates pure separation. In sentence (6),
the participle comes after the preposition, so the preposition
itself must contain the meaning 'out'. Thus us 'out of' is
used rather than af 'of', 'from'. Another possible explanation
may lie in stylistic considerations. Due to the close proximity
of usgaggandein and af in sentence (5), af may have been used
instead of us for variation. On the other hand, the fact that
us and usgaggandein (6) are separated by other sentence elements,
renders the avoidance of us unnecessary. When the object of fram (cf. 3.3) is a person, however, the person is actively engaged in the action. This is especially true in passive sentences, in which case the person is the agent (31).

Van der Meer states that there is only one instance of af being used with a person who is actively engaged in the action (1930:12§4). The example he cites, however, is not a passive sentence, as van der Meer believes. It is perhaps parallel to the non-activity of the personal object in (5) and (6).

(7) af fraujin nimiḥ andalauni arbjis
    'you will take an endless inheritance
    from the Lord'

Colossians 3:24

If the sentence is interpreted as: 'you will receive an endless inheritance from the Lord', then the personal object, "the Lord", does play an active part in the action. Since af is not normally used with the person who is the principal actor in the sentence, sentence (7) could be considered to be an exception. This is not an exception, however, because the sentence is written: 'you will take (obtain) an endless inheritance from the Lord'. The object, "the Lord", does not take part in the action, that of "taking" or "obtaining", and af in (7) precedes an inactive person as it does in (5) and (6).

If separation is to be emphasized rather than the place
from which a person is separated, *af* is used rather than *fram* or *us*, since its primary meaning is separation [-direction]. For this reason, *af* is often used in conjunction with verbs and adjectives expressing separation:

(8) jah ñamma nimandin *af* ñus wastja,
    jah paida ni warvais
    'and from the one taking the tunic
    *from* you, do not protect the coat
    either'

Luke 6:29

That the primary meaning of *af* is separation, can be illustrated by comparisons with the Greek original. Sometimes the dative, genitive or accusative cases rather than a preposition are used in Greek to indicate separation. Some of these instances are translated into Gothic by *af*. For example Greek *αποστραφήναν με παυεῖς*, which yields Gothic (9):

(9) waist batei afwandidedun sik *af*
    mis allai þaiei sind in Asiai
    'you know that all those who are in
    Asia turned away *from* me'

2 Timothy 1:15

In other instances, the same Greek preposition *ἀπό* 'from' is translated into Gothic by the dative or genitive cases or by the preposition *af*. If the primary meaning of *af* contained
some other semantic feature in addition to separation [-direction], it would not be possible to use the dative and genitive cases to perform the same function as af. In the following examples, the same verb, galausjan 'to free', is used with both the dative case alone (10) and with the preposition af (11):

(10) galausips is qenai, ni sokel qen.
'If you are free from a wife? Do not seek a wife.'
1 Corinthians 7:27

(11) abban jabai gaswiltip aba,
galausjada af bamma witoda abins.
'but if the husband dies, she is free from the law of the husband.'
Romans 7:2

Verbs which express a freeing or healing are often used with the preposition ἀπό 'from' in the Greek original, but appear in Gothic with the genitive case alone (12) or with af (13):

(12) ḫaiei qemun hausjan imma jah hailjan sik sauhte seinaizo
'those who came to hear Him and to be healed of their illnesses'
Luke 6:18
(13) sijais haila _af_ ḩamma slaha ḩeınamma
   'be healed of your disease'
   Mark 5:34

In some situations _af_ 'of', 'from' is used when _us_ 'out of' seems to be more appropriate:

(14) ḩaброh qimib diabulus jah usnimib
   ḩata waurd _af_ hairtin ize
   'then the devil comes and takes away
   the word _from_ their heart'
   Luke 8:12

(15) ataugida <sik> frumist Marjin ḩizai
   Magdalene, _af_ ḩizaiei uswarp sibun
   unhulbons
   'He first showed himself to Mary
   Magdalene, _from_ whom he had cast
   out seven devils'
   Mark 16:9

Since the verbs in (14) and (15) contain the proclitic _us-_ 'out of' (_usnimib_ in (14) and _uswarp_ in (15)), the feature [+interior], i.e. inside something, as well as [-direction] is supplied by the proclitic. The preposition is needed only to show the direction [-direction] and does not need to include the feature [+interior] as well. Therefore, _af_, when used with the proclitic _us-_ is sufficient to indicate
the meaning 'out of', since the meaning 'out' [-direction, +interior] is supplied by the verbal proclitic. Van der Meer also notes that the Greek text contains the preposition ἀπὸ 'from' instead of ἐκ 'out of', 'from' which he would have expected. He explains the use of af instead of us in these examples as either influence of the Greek original, where ἀπὸ is usually translated as Gothic af, or the emphasis on separation, since af is used most frequently to express separation only, rather than emphasis on the place out of which something is removed (1930:14). However, the presence of the proclitic us- also seems to be a significant factor in the choice of af over us. Since the proclitic us- contains the same semantic features as the preposition us, [-direction, +interior], a repetition of the [+interior] feature in the preposition is not necessary to express the meaning 'out of'. This, added to the other factors mentioned by van der Meer, namely influence of the Greek original and emphasis on separation, may have been the reason for the use of af instead of us.

3.2.1 [+temporal]

Af can be used in a temporal sense to mean 'since', and thus has the feature [+temporal]. The temporal meanings of prepositions are considered to be extensions of the spatial meanings. The relationships expressed by temporal prepositions are the same as those expressed by their spatial counterparts, but they are applied to points in time rather
than to points in space. If the spatial meaning of *af* 'from' is applied to an expression of time, *af* indicates a separation from a point in time:

(16) 𐤉𐤄𐤃𐤂 *af* anastodeinai gaskaftais gumein jah qinein gatawida guḇ
'But from the beginning of creation God made man and woman'
Mark 10:6

(17) juzei ni ḫatainei taujan, ak jah wiljan dugunnuḇ *af* fairnin jera 'you not only began to do, but also to desire since the previous year'
2 Corinthians 8:10

3.2.2 Prepositions used with sis silbin
In combination with *sis silbin* 'himself', *af* is used more frequently than *fram* or *us*:

(18) sa weinatains ni mag akran bairan *af* sis silbin 'the branch cannot bear fruit of itself'
John 15:4

*Us* is used in the following example:
(19) unte ik us mis silbin ni rodida,
ak saei sandida mik atta, sah mis
anabusn atgaf
'for I have not spoken of my own
accord, but He who sent me, the
Father, gave me the command'

John 12:49

Perhaps the Greek preposition which was used in the original,
ἐκ 'out of', 'from', may have influenced the choice of us.
Gk. ἐκ 'out of', 'from' is usually translated with Goth. us,
whereas Goth. af corresponds to Gk. ἀπὸ 'from'. In examples
with fram, fram sis silbin 'from himself' is preceded by the
expression fram guda 'from God'. Fram is usually used with
gub 'God', even though the preposition in the Greek original
is ἐκ 'out of', 'from', which would more closely correspond
to us 'out of'. Van der Meer believes that fram is used in
connection with gub 'God', because fram emphasizes origin,
and the use of fram with gub 'God' would emphasize that God
was the origin. He further suggests that fram was used with
sis silbin in these instances instead of af due to the in-
fluence of fram guda (1930:19). Fram in connection with sis
silbin in the following examples translates Gk. ἀπὸ 'from'
which is usually translated into Gothic as af 'from'. 
(20) ik **fram** guda urrann jah qam; nih  
þan auk **fram** mis silbin ni qam  
'I proceeded and came forth **from**  
God; I did not come of my own accord,  
(i.e. **from** myself)'

John 8:42

(21) ufkunnaiþ bi þo laissein **framuh** guda  
sijai, þau iku **fram** mis silbin rodja.  
saei **fram** sis silbin rodeiþ, hauhiþa  
seina sokeiþ;  
'he shall know whether the teaching is  
**from** God, or whether I speak on my own  
authority, (i.e. **from** myself). He who  
speaks on his own authority, (i.e.  
**from** himself), seeks his own glory'  

John 7:17,18

Unless **us** or **fram** are used for stylistic reasons or to  
emphasize the [+interior], **us**, or [+origin], **fram**, meanings,  
**af** is the usual preposition used with **sis silbin**. The use  
of **af** with **sis silbin** is a convention much the same as the  
use of Eng. **in** with names of months and Eng. **on** with the  
names of days in the English language. The Gothic phrase  
**sis silbin** will be marked in the lexicon to yield the prepo-  
sition **af** rather than **us** or **fram** unless the feature [+interior],  
yielding **us**, or [+origin], yielding **fram**, is desired as well  
as [-direction].
3.2.3 Summary of af

The semantic features of af may thus be adduced as [+dative, -direction and +temporal], the emic feature being [-direction]. A feature [+genitive] was not posited for af, since the only occurrences of af with the genitive case were indeclinables, cf. (1), (2) and (3).

3.3 fram 'from' [+dative, -direction, +origin]

Both af (cf. 3.2) and fram are used with the dative case and show separation from an object. Therefore both have the features [+dative, -direction]. Af merely states this separation, but fram designates the object as being the origin, and thus has the feature [+origin].

(22) jah galisiḥ bans gawaiđans seinans
    af fidwor windam fram andjam airpos
    und andi himinis *
'and then He will assemble his chosen ones from the four winds, from the ends of the earth and the end of heaven'
Mark 13:27

A parallel example using the same verb, lisan 'to select', employs af rather than fram:

(23) lisaŋa af baurnum weinabasja aiľbau
    af wigadeinom smakkans
'selecting grapes from thorns, or figs from thistles'

Matthew 7:16

In (22) the origin aspect is emphasized and fram is used, as fram contains the features [-direction, +origin]. In (23) the act of separating is more important than designating the origin, and af, [-direction], is used instead of fram, [-direction, +origin].

In order to designate God as the origin of something, "from", in the phrase "from God", is usually translated as fram, cf. 3.2.2, (20) and (21):

(24) huarjizuh swesa giba habai$p$
fram guda
'each has his own gift from God'
1 Corinthians 7:7

Although fram, rather than af, indicates origin, af is usually used if the place of origin is a geographical location:

(25) Lazarus af Bêpanias
'Lazarus of Bethany'
John 11:1

(26) jah hansa mikila manageins af allamma Iudaias jah Iairusalem
'and a great multitude of people from all Judea and Jerusalem'
Luke 6:17
Van der Meer cites one example of *fram*, rather than *af*, being used with a geographical place of origin (1930:20§21 Note):

(28) Filippau, bamma *fram* Beś̄saeida Galeilaie
    'Philip *from* Bethsaida in Galilee'
    John 12:21

As a general rule, therefore, nouns denoting geographical locations will be used with *af* to express separation, even though the separation may be from the place of origin. Such nouns will be marked in the lexicon to yield [-direction], i.e. *af*, whenever [-direction, +origin], *fram*, is required.

There are also other occurrences of *af*, rather than *fram*, being used to indicate origin. The use of *af* with *sis silbin* 'himself' has already been discussed in 3.2.2, where it was stated that *af* is the usual preposition meaning 'from' used with *sis silbin*. Other instances involve *af* in connection with nouns expressing origin. Since the object from which the subject is separated is the origin, one would expect to find *fram* in these examples.
(29) ainshun plat snagins niujis ni lagjid
ana snagan fairnjana, aipbau jah sa
niuja aftaurnid, jah þamma fairnjin ni
gatimid þata af þamma niujin
'no one lays a patch of a new garment
on an old garment, otherwise he will
also tear the new, and the old will
not match that from the new'
Luke 5:36

(30) Pawlus, apaustaulus, ni af mannam
'Paul, an apostle, not from men'
Galatians 1:1

It may be the case that af [-direction] was chosen to
emphasize the separation rather than fram [-direction,
+origin] which would emphasize the origin.

3.3.1 [+agent in passive]
When the object of fram is a person, the person is
often the originator of the action. With passive verbs, the
personal object of fram is the agent.

(31) dupe qap izwis þatei ni ainshun
mag qiman at mis, nibai ist atgiban
imma fram attin meinamma
'for this reason I told you that no
one can come to me, unless it is
granted to him by my Father'
John 6:65
(32) ni in waihtai afagidai fram
↳aim andastapjam
'nott frightened in anything
by opponents'

Philippians 1:28

Since fram is used to designate the agent of a passive
sentence, it is assigned the feature [+agent in the passive].

3.3.2 With Verbs of Hearing

In combination with verbs of hearing, fram is used to
indicate the source of the utterance:

(33) ibai witoŋ unsar stojiŋ mannan, ni-
bai faurbiŋ hauseiŋ fram imma jah
ufkunnaŋ hua taujai?
'Does our law judge a man without
first hearing from him and learning
what he does?'

John 7:51

In a similar situation, the same Greek preposition μπά
'beside' which is used in (33) is translated as Goth. at
'at':

(34) frisaht habands hailaize waurde,
þoei at mis hausides
'having the example of sound
words, which you have heard from me'

2 Timothy 1:13
Although Goth. at designates the source when used with verbs of taking or learning, the object is not emphasized as being the source. The primary function of at is to express close physical proximity between the subject and an object. A parallel example in English illustrating the difference between Goth. at and Goth. fram is:

(35) learning something at your mother's knee
(36) learning something from your mother

3.3.3 [+topic]

In some instances fram indicates the person about whom something is learned:

(37) jah hausjandans fram imma bokarjos
    jah anþarai usiddjedun gahaban ina
    'and the scribes and others hearing about Him went out to seize Him'
    Mark 3:21

(38) jah atwpjands ina qaþ du imma:
    duhue þata hausja fram bus?
    'and calling him he said to him: What is this that I hear about you?'
    Luke 16:2

Fram designates the topic of the action stated by the verb, and the feature [+topic] is therefore posited.
When used in combination with *hausjan* 'to hear' and *meri.fa* 'rumor', both *fram* and *bi* 'by' are used to translate Gk. *περί* 'around', 'about':

(39) jah usiddja meri.fa *fram* imma and allans stadins *bis* bisunjane landis
'and rumor of Him went out into every place of the region'

Luke 4:37

(40) jah gawandida sik Iesus in mahtai ahmins in Galeilaian, jah meri.fa urrann and all gawi bisitande *bi* ina
'and Jesus returned in the power of the Spirit into Galilee, and rumor of Him went out through all the regions of the area'

Luke 4:14

Goth. *bi* is used with words of speaking and thinking to designate the [topic] of the utterance (van der Meer, 1930: 100§150). It is a figurative use of the spatial meaning of *bi* 'by'. However, *fram* can also be used to designate the [topic], cf. (37) and (38). Van der Meer suggests that *fram* is used in (39) to place more emphasis on the separation, i.e. the spreading of the rumor, since *fram* has the feature [-direction]. The use of *bi* in (40) would put the emphasis on identifying the [topic] of the rumor (1930:21§22). Since
there are other instances of *fram* being used to designate the [topic of activity], however, the use of *fram* in (39) may not be to emphasize motion away from something, but solely to designate the [topic]. Then again, the use of *fram* in (39) may be an extension of the meaning of [origin]: *meriβa fram imma* 'rumor of him', i.e. he is the source of the rumor, since what he had done gave rise to the rumor about him.

In addition to *fram* (39) and *bi* (40), other prepositions can also be used to designate the [topic]. When used with the verb *bidjan* 'to pray', 'request', the person for whom the praying is done is designated by either *fram*, *bi* 'by', or *faur* 'by':

(41) _WEAPON\_BASE\_1 \_WEAPON\_BASE\_1 \_WEAPON\_BASE\_1

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Luke 6:28

(42) _WEAPON\_BASE\_1 \_WEAPON\_BASE\_1 \_WEAPON\_BASE\_1

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Matthew 5:44
(43) saei ist in tainswon gudis, saei jah bidjiß faur uns 'He who is at the right hand of God, He who also prays for us'
Romans 8:34

The object of the petition is designated by either bi or in 'in':

(44) jah insandidedum Teimaŭbaiu, brobar unsarana jah andbaht gudis in aiwaggeljon Xristaus, ei izwis gatuigjai jah bidjai bi galaubein izwara 'and we sent Timothy, our brother and a servant of God in the gospel of Christ, to strengthen you and to pray for your faith'
1 Thessalonians 3:2

(45) apban bidjam izwis, brobrjus, in qumis fraujins unsaris Iesuis Xristaus 'we beseech you, brethren, concerning the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ'
2 Thessalonians 2:1

The use of fram, faur and in to designate the [topic] of the activity is found not only in combination with
As illustrated in examples (37) through (48), the prepositions *fram*, *faur*, *in* and *bi* can be used solely to designate the [topic] of the activity expressed by the verb. Accordingly, the feature [+topic] is ascribed to each of these prepositions. Compare, e.g. contemporary English which also has a multiplicity of prepositions for this purpose.
In many instances, the choice of the preposition used to designate the [topic] is governed by the verb. In English, the preposition *for* is used with the verb *pray*, *of* is used with *boast*. There is an idiomatic relationship between the verb and preposition, i.e. a particular preposition is used with a certain verb by convention. Modern English and German have more of these prepositional idioms than attested Gothic, as indicated by the use of *fram*, *bi* and *faur* with *bidjan*, cf. (41) to (43). Although *fram*, *faur*, *in*, and *bi* may be used for the same purpose, i.e. to designate the [topic] of the activity, they do not lose their individual primary meanings. The individual meanings are still present and can be exploited if so desired by the speaker, cf. discussion of (39) and (40).

When used to express the [topic of verbal activity], *fram*, *bi*, *faur* and *in* undergo a transformation which changes the emic features representing their primary spatial meanings to secondary etic features. The formerly etic feature [+topic] then becomes their sole emic feature.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{fram} & \rightarrow [-\text{direction}, +\text{origin}] \\
\text{bi} & \rightarrow [+\text{proximity}] \\
\text{faur} & \rightarrow [+\text{surface}, +\text{front}] \\
\text{in} & \rightarrow [+\text{interior}] \\
\end{align*}
\]

\[\rightarrow [+\text{topic}] / \text{topic of verbal activity}\]
3.3.4 [+temporal]

The distinction between \textit{af} and \textit{fram} in the spatial sense is also maintained in temporal expressions. In contrast to \textit{af}, which indicates a separation from a point in time, \textit{fram} expresses the origin in time of a state or action; i.e. \textit{fram} expresses a point in time at which something begins and then continues into the present. It is therefore frequently used with durative or iterative verbs.

(52) jah \textit{fram} bamma daga ei anabau\textsuperscript{p} mis
ei weisjau fauram\textsuperscript{\textsc{bleis}} ize in Iudaia
'and from the day on which (the king) commanded me to be governor in Judea'

\textit{Nehemiah 5:14}

(53) i\textsuperscript{p} si, \textit{fram} bamm\textsuperscript{e} innatiddja, ni
swaif bikukjan fotuns meinans
'but she, from the moment she entered,
has not ceased to kiss my feet'

\textit{Luke 7:45}

When \textit{fram} is used in connection with verbs denoting a momentary activity, it designates the beginning of the state or condition expressed by the verb:

(54) runos ðizos gafulginons \textit{fram} aiwam
'the mystery which has been hidden
\textit{from} time immemorial'

\textit{Ephesians 3:9}
This is especially true in combination with *wairban* 'to become', in which case, *fram* designates the end point of the verbal activity, i.e. 'becoming', and thus the beginning of the resulting state.

(55) *fram* saihston Ḥan Ḥeilai warp riqis
ufar allai airbai und Ḣeila niundon
'then from the sixth hour it became
dark over all the earth until the
ninth hour'

Matthew 27:45

(56) jah ganas so qino *fram* Ḧizai
Ḥeilai jainai
'and the woman was made well
from that time'

Matthew 9:22

3.3.5 Summary of *fram*

The following distinctive features may thus be concluded for *fram*: [+dative, -direction, +origin, +agent in passive, +topic, +temporal], the emic features being [-direction, +origin] or [+topic].

3.4 *us* 'out of', 'from' [+dative, -direction, +interior]

*Us* is similar to *af* (cf. 3.2) and *fram* (cf. 3.3) in that it also expresses motion away from an object, [-direction], but it differs from them in that the motion is from the inside of an object. This feature is designated as [+interior].
Us is usually used to translate the Greek preposition ἐκ 'from', 'out of'. Sometimes us is also used to translate Gk. ἀπό 'from', which is usually translated as Goth. af 'from'. However, when us is used to translate ἀπό 'from', the relationship is always purely spatial.

(57) gaqemun sik du imma Fareisaieis jah sumai Ḳize bokarje, qimandans us Iairusaulwmim 'the Pharisees gathered together to Him and some of the scribes, who had come from Jerusalem'

Mark 7:1

(58) bokarjos bai af Iairusaulwmai qimandans 'the scribes, coming from Jerusalem'

Mark 3:22

Although af is usually used to designate the geographical location from which the subject is separated (cf. 3.2), us was used for this purpose in (57). Perhaps us was used in this example to emphasize the motion away from the interior of something, in this case Jerusalem, rather than af (58) which is the conventional preposition for expressing motion away from a geographical location.

Us is frequently used with verbs of motion and translates Gk. ἐκ 'from', 'out of' and ἀπό 'from'. The object out of
which the subject is separated may also be a group of people.

(59) galaib in gard us bizai managein

'he had entered the house and left the people' (i.e. from out of the multitude)

Mark 7:17

Thus us is opposite in meaning, not only to Goth. in 'in' but also to Goth. mib 'with', 'among'. This interrelationship is indicated by the feature [+interior] which is posited for us, in and mib.

3.4.1 [+origin]

Us, while indicating motion away from the interior of something, may at the same time also indicate origin, cf. (57) and (59). A feature [+origin] is therefore posited for us. In most of these instances, the primary meaning of us, [-direction, +interior] is still apparent. Sometimes, however, us seems to be used more as a stylistic variant of fram or af rather than to specify that the motion is from the interior.

(60) huarjizuh swesa gibahabai fram guda

'but each has his own gift from God'

1 Corinthians 7:7

(61) gatimrjon us guda habam

'we have a building from 'God'

2 Corinthians 5:1
As stated in 3.3, fram is the usual preposition expressing [-direction] used with gup 'God'. The use of us for this purpose (61) seems to be a stylistic variant. Another example of us and fram with similar functions is (62):

(62) dupe Moses atgaf izwis bimait, 
    ni ṣatei fram Mose sijai, ak us 
    attam

'Moses gave you circumcision; not that it is from Moses, but from the fathers'

John 7:22

The us in us attam, however, might have been chosen to indicate separation from within a group of people, cf. (59). Example (63) shows af (cf. 3.2) and us in a parallel situation.

(63) Lazarus af Beḥanias, us haimai 
    Marjins jah Marbins

'Lazarus of Bethany, the village of Mary and Martha'

John 11:1

In this example, af and us are used in apposition to one another. The use of af in af Beḥanias is expected, as af is usually used with geographical names. In the phrase us haima 'of the village', as in us Iairusaulwmim 'from Jerusalem' (57), us may have been chosen as a stylistic
variant which would also indicate motion from the interior of a city or village.

In some examples, the primary meaning of *us*, i.e. 'out of', is applied in a more figurative sense when it is used to designate the origin:

(64) du Kaurinpium ·b· melip ist *us*  
Filippai Makidonais  
'to the Corinthians the second is written in Philippi of Macedonia'

2 Corinthians  (signature)

Since *us* is not the usual preposition employed for the agent in a passive sentence, the [origin] meaning was perhaps being expressed here rather than merely denoting the agent.

(65) Raibaïkka *us* ainamma galigrja habandeï  
Isakis, attins unsaris  
'Rebecca had conceived children by one man, our forefather Isaac'

Romans 9:10

*Us* can be used to designate the person or place from which something is taken or received. Many of these situations are in accordance with the primary meaning of *us* 'out of' and indicate motion from the interior of a group.
(66) atwopiđa siponjans seinans jah
gawaljands us im twalib
'He called his disciples, and chose
from them twelve'
Luke 6:13

(67) banzei jah labɔda uns ni ḫatainei
us Iudaium, ak jah us biudom
'even us whom He has called, not from
the Jews only but also from the
Gentiles'
Romans 9:24

(68) ni auk us ḫaurnum lisand smakkans,
nih ḫan us aihuatundjai trudand weinabasja
'for figs are not gathered from thorns,
nor are grapes picked from a bramble
bush'
Luke 6:44

In some examples the meaning 'out of' is used as a metaphor:

(69) ḫu us wistai usmaitans ḫis
wilpɛins alewabagmis
'you have been cut from the existence
of being a wild olive tree'
Romans 11:24
Another more figurative extension of the meaning 'out of' is the use of us to designate the material out of which something is made.

(70) hlaiwa, batei was gadraban us staina
'a tomb which had been hewn out of the rock'

Mark 15:46

(71) jah ṭai gadrauhteis uswundun
wipja us ṭaurnum
'and the soldiers plaited a crown of thorns'

John 19:2

(72) ṭata qibands gaspaw dalap, jah
gawaurhta fani us ṭamma spaiskuldra
'as He said this, He spat on the ground and made clay of the spittle'

John 9:6

When us is used to designate a single person as the origin of something, it always translates Gk. ἐκ (van der Meer 1930:27§35):

(73) kaurban, batei ist maiqms, ṭishuah
batei us mis gabatnis
'what advantage you receive from me is Corban, that is, a gift'

Mark 7:11
(19)=(74) ik us mis silbin ni rodida
'I have not spoken on my own authority' (i.e. from myself)

John 12:49

3.4.2 With sis silbin

As mentioned in 3.2.2, example (18), af is the usual preposition used in combination with sis/mis silbin 'himself'/ 'myself'. The Greek preposition in this phrase is usually ἀπό 'from', which can be translated as Goth. af, fram or sometimes us. In (74) Gk. ἐκ 'out of' was used instead of ἀπό and was translated as Goth. us, since the usual translation for Gk. ἐκ is Goth. us. This may account for the use of us with sis/mis silbin (74) rather than the expected af. Once, Gk. ἐκ was translated as Goth. af, but this was probably due to the fact that af is normally found in this phrase and that an ἀπό phrase translated as af directly preceded the ἐκ phrase.

(75) ni ṣatei wairbai sijaima ṣaqkjan hua
af uns silban (αφ εαυτων), swaswe af
uns silbam (εξ εαυτων)
'not that we are sufficient of ourselves
to claim anything as coming from ourselves'

2 Corinthians 3:5
3.4.3 [+cause]

In some instances, us designates the cause:

(76) huarjizuh swaswe fauragahugida hairtin,
    ni us trigon aippau us naubai
    'each one must do as he has made up his
    mind, not reluctantly (i.e. out of dis-
    inclination) or under compulsion
    (i.e. out of force)'

    2 Corinthians 9:7

(77) ... izwara misso, niba ðau us
    gaqissai hue hueilo
    '[do not refuse] one another except perhaps
    by agreement (i.e. out of agreement) for
    a season'

    1 Corinthians 7:5

(78) ni wairpiþ garaihts us waurstwam
    witodis ainhun leike
    'by works (i.e. out of works) of the
    law shall no one be justified'

    Galatians 2:16

In each example of us indicating cause, (76) to (78), the
primary meaning, 'out of', is still apparent, and a feature
[+cause] is not posited.
3.4.4 [+partitive]

A very frequent extension of the primary meaning is the use of *us* to designate a part of a whole. A secondary feature [+partitive] is posited for *us*. Although this use of *us* may be due to the influence of the Greek original, which uses έΚ 'out of', van der Meer feels that the partitive use of *us* is idiomatic in Gothic. He cites as evidence the frequency of its use and the fact that the preposition for 'out of' is used in a partitive sense in many other languages (1930:28§37). The partitive Gk. έΚ phrase is translated into Gothic as either a phrase with Goth. *us* or as a partitive genitive. Many parallel situations can be found suggesting that the partitive *us* phrase and the partitive genitive are stylistic variations of the Gothic partitive which parallels the Greek partitive using έΚ (1930:28§37).

(79) jah suns þragida ains us im
jab nam swamm
'and one of them ran and took a sponge'
Matthew 27:48

(80) jah ains ize ni gadriusip ana airþa
inuh attins izwaris wiljan (genitive case)
'and not one of them will fall to the ground without your Father's will'
Matthew 10:29
(81) ei huaiwa in aljana briggau leik mein
jah qanasjau sumans us im
'in order to make my fellow Jews
jealous, and thus save some of them'
Romans 11:14

(82) akei sind izwara sumai, baiei ni
galaubjand
'but there are some of you that do
not believe'
John 6:64

There are also examples of partitive Gk. ἐκ translated into
Gothic by a partitive genitive with no parallel example
employing Goth. us.

(83) ip huas izwara maurnands mag anaaukan
ana wahstu seinana aleina aina?
'and which of you by being anxious
can add one cubit to his span of
life?'
Matthew 6:27

The use of the partitive genitive and/or partitive us to
translate partitive Gk. ἐκ implies that both were idiomatic
in Gothic and apparently stylistic variants (van der Meer
1930:28§37).
In the following example (84), one Gk. ἓκ phrase is translated with the genitive case and another is translated with us:

(84) jabai qibai fotus ἓκei ni im handus,
    ni im ἄλλοι leikis, nih at ἄλλοι leika;
    nist us ἄλλοι leika?
    'If the foot should say, "Because I am not a hand, I am not (a part) of the body, nor on the body", isn't it still (a part) of the body?'

1 Corinthians 12:15

This same alternation of the genitive case with an us phrase is repeated in the next verse as well:

(85) jabai qibai auso ἓκei ni im augo, ni
    im ἄλλοι leikis, nih at ἄλλοι leika; nist
    us ἄλλοι leika?
    'and if the ear should say, "Because I am not an eye, I am not (a part) of the body, nor on the body"; isn't it still (a part) of the body?'

1 Corinthians 12:16

Van der Meer believes that there is syntactic difference in meaning. The genitive case was used to translate the first ἓκ phrase 'of the body' in order to emphasize the belonging
relationship of the foot and ear to the body. The us phrase was used for the second ἐκ phrase to indicate that the body was the origin of these parts (1930:2530). However, this alternation of the genitive and us to translate a Greek ἐκ phrase may not be a syntactical difference in meaning but another example of stylistic variation between the partitive genitive and us, cf. (79) through (82). It is difficult to see the distinction which van der Meer makes in this verse between the belonging relationship expressed by the genitive and the origin relationship indicated by the use of Goth. us. The Greek original did not make a distinction between these two relationships and represented both of them by a prepositional phrase with ἐκ. After stating that there was a distinction between the belonging relationships represented by the genitive and the origin relationship expressed by us, van der Meer then cites an example which uses the preposition us rather than the genitive to express a belonging relationship:

(86) λίπζυς allai us leika ἅμμα ainamma, managai wisandans, ain ist leik, swa jah Kristus.
'all the members of the one body, being many, are one body, so it is with Christ.'

1 Corinthians 12:12
In another example, the genitive case alternates with the use of a preposition in different translations of the same passage:

(87) sumaim dauns us daupau du daupau,
sumaimup-ðan dauns us libainai du
libainai
'to one a fragrance from death to
dead, to the other a fragrance
from life to life'

2 Corinthians 2:16

One manuscript of the Gothic text contains two prepositional phrases dauns us daupau 'fragrance from death' and dauns us libainai 'fragrance from life' to translate two corresponding prepositional phrases in the Greek text ὤξυ ἐκ θαυμάτου
'fragrance from death' and ὤξυ ἐκ ζωῆς 'fragrance from life'
(Sextuagint ABC minuskel). A second Greek text uses the genitive case rather than a prepositional phrase ὤξυ θαυμάτου
'fragrance of death' and ὤξυ ζωῆς 'fragrance of life'
(Streitberg 1960: 286). Another Gothic manuscript employs the genitive case for the first expression and a prepositional phrase with us for the second, i.e. dauns daupaus 'fragrance of death' and dauns us libainai 'fragrance from life'
(Streitberg 1960: 287). As in the case of the partitive, the genitive seems to be in free variation with the use of us and does not necessarily indicate a syntactic difference, as was suggested by van der Meer.
Van der Meer also cites two examples which he believes illustrate an instrumental meaning of *us*.

(88) gafullidedun ·ib· tainjons gabruko
     *us* fimf hlaibam ·baim barizeinam
     'they filled 12 baskets with fragments from the five barley loaves'
     John 6:13

(89) *us* þamma filu mais siponjans fullafahida
     'more disciples were made satisfied from that'
     Skeireins 7:20

Van der Meer feels that if an instrumental genitive is used with words meaning 'full', *gafullidedun* 'they filled' in (88) and *fullafahida* 'made satisfied' in (89), then *us* also has an instrumental meaning (1930:27§36). While it may be the case that an instrumental genitive is used in (88) *gabruko* 'with fragments', a feature [+instrumental] is not posited for *us*. The relationship expressed in (88) and (89) can be explained satisfactorily by the features [-direction, +interior] which have already been posited for *us* and display a greater degree of generalization; this renders the feature [+instrumental] redundant. The 'out of', 'from' relationship of *us*, [-direction, +interior] is also the primary relationship expressed by the examples in (88) and (89). The fact
that this 'out of'-relationship also expresses the means by which the baskets and disciples were filled is a secondary consideration. Another reason for not positing the feature [+instrumental] is that us is never used solely to express an instrumental relationship.

In a similar situation, us, while designating motion from within a group, i.e. part of a whole, also designates the means.

(90) jah Iohanna, qens Kusins, fauragaggjins
    Herodes, jah Susanna jah anărros managos,
    ñozei andbahtededun im us aiginam saínaim.
    'and Joanna, the wife of Chuza, Herod's steward, and Susanna and many others,
    who provided for them out of their means.'

Luke 8:3

(91) usbauhtedun us ñaím (skattam) ñana
    akr kasjins
    'they bought with them (silver coins)
    the potter's field'

Matthew 27:7

A feature [+means] is not posited for these examples, because they are actually examples of a partitive relationship which has already been represented by the feature [+partitive]. There are also no examples of us being used solely to represent means.
3.4.5 [+modal]

A frequent use of us is to express the [manner] in which an activity is performed. This relationship is designated by the feature [+modal].

The claim that us has a modal function is supported by the apparent free variation of an us-phrase, us dailai 'in part', with an adverb, suman 'once', 'partly', to translate the same Greek prepositional phrase έκ μεροῦς 'in part':

(92) nu wait us dailai
    'now I know in part'
    1 Corinthians 13:12

(93) suman kunnum jah suman praufetjam
    'in part we know and in part we are prophesying'
    1 Corinthians 13:9

Since an adverb is often used to express the manner in which an activity is performed, the fact that a prepositional phrase with us alternates with an adverb indicates a modal function of us.

An us phrase is also used to translate other Greek adverbs and prepositional phrases having an adverbial function. Us is used in (94) to translate the Greek adverb ψηλογεύων 'sparingly':

...
(94) saei saijip us gabagkja, us gabagkja jah sneibip
'hewho sows sparingly will also reap sparingly'
2 Corinthians 9:6

This verse continues in a parallel fashion, but the Greek text now uses a prepositional phrase instead of an adverb ἐπὶ ἑν ἐυλογίαις 'in bounty' which is translated into Gothic first with a prepositional phrase using in 'in' then with a phrase using us:

(95) jah saei saijip in biubeinai, us biubeinai jah sneibip
'and he who sows bountifully will also reap bountifully'
2 Corinthians 9:6

The complete verse (94) and (95) illustrates that us can not only be used to translate a Greek adverb, but that it can also alternate with in to translate the same Greek phrase. The alternation with in indicates that us in (95) is being used less in its spatial sense and more as an expression of modality, since the spatial meaning of us is the opposite of in. In another passage, us alternates with in in the two Gothic manuscripts of the same Greek prepositional phrase ἐν δόξῃ 'in splendor':
(96) und filu mais ufarist andbahti
garaihteins us wulbāu (Ambrosianus B)
und filu mais ufarist andbahti
garaihteins in wulbāu (Ambrosianus A)

'far greater in splendor is the
dispensing of righteousness'

2 Corinthians 3:9

There is another example of us being used to translate Gk. εν 'in':

(97) gibib auk ḫus frauja frabi us allaim

'for the Lord will grant you understanding

in everything'

2 Timothy 2:7

Streitberg believes that the translator wrote us instead of
the expected in either because of the influence of giban
'to grant', or as an error, possibly due to the presence of
us in the next verse (Streitberg 1920: 434-35). Van der Meer,
however, does not agree with Streitberg. He feels that the
use of us was not an error, but an indication that us and
in in their figurative application had lost so much of their
primary spatial meaning, that they could be used inter­
changeably to translate the same Greek preposition (1930:
29§38). As further evidence of interchangeability of us
and in in a modal function, van der Meer cites the passage
already mentioned in (95) in which Gk. ἐν 'in' is first translated by Goth. in, then by us.

Us alternates not only with in but also with bi 'by' in a modal function. In the following example, us and bi are used to translate Gk. κατά 'in relation to':

(98) ip inu þein ragün ni waiht wilda
taujan, ei ni sawswe bi nauþai þiuþ
þeinsijai, ak us lustum
'but I did not want to do anything without your consent in order that your goodness might not be by compulsion, but of your own free will'

Philemon 14

In the Ambrosianus A manuscript, the phrase us lustum 'voluntarily' is glossed in the margin by the Gothic adverb gabaurjaba 'willingly', further emphasizing the adverbial function of us. Another example of us as a translation of Gk. κατά 'in relation to' is:

(99) þandei guþ þans us gabaurþai astans
ni freidida, ibai aufto ni þuk freidjai
'for if God did not spare the natural branches, neither will he spare you'
(i.e. from birth)

Romans 11:21
While there are some instances of Goth. us being used to translate Gk. ἐν 'in' and κατὰ 'in relation to', us usually translates Gk. ἐκ 'out of'. In many of these examples, the primary spatial meaning of us, 'out of', is still apparent, although used figuratively to express modality:

(100) frijos fraujan gup þeinana us
    allamma hairtin þeinnama jah us
    allai saiwalai þeinnai jah us allai
    mahtai þeinnai jah us allai gahugdai
    þeinnai

'you shall love the Lord your God
with all your heart, and with all your
soul, and with all your strength, and
with all your mind'

Luke 10:27

In other examples, the meaning 'out of' is less visible:

(101) aþban us managai aglon jah aggwiþai
    hairtins gamelida izwis þairh managa tagra
    'for I wrote to you in much affliction
    and anguish of heart with many tears'

2 Corinthians 2:4

Although the modal use of us is, in many instances, an extension of its primary meaning, 'out of' and a translation
of the Gk. ἐκ 'out of', there are several reasons for positing the feature [+modal]. Its modal function can clearly be seen in the close association with adverbs. Us alternates with a Gothic adverb in translating the same Greek prepositional phrase, and is often used to translate a Greek adverb. Us occurs in free variation with other prepositions in a modal function. It is used to translate not only Gk. ἐκ 'out of', but Gk. κατὰ 'in relation to' and ἐν 'in' as well. Us also alternates with Gothic in 'in' and bi 'by' in translating the same Greek adverb or phrase. This seems to indicate that the modal meaning of us was felt strongly enough by the translator to use us in situations which did not require the primary meaning of us, i.e. 'out of'. Such situations include the use of us for translating Greek adverbs and prepositions not usually translated by us and for stylistic variation with Goth. in 'in' and bi 'by' in a modal function. In these situations the modal function of us takes precedence over the spatial function. The feature [+modal] becomes the emic feature of us and the formerly emic spatial features, [-direction, +interior], become etic features. This transformation of emic features is represented by the following rule:

$$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{us} \quad [+\text{interior}, \text{-direction}] \\ \text{bi} \quad [+\text{proximity}] \\ \text{in} \quad [+\text{interior}] \end{array} \right\} \rightarrow [+\text{modal}] / \frac{[\text{manner}]}{[\text{manner}]}$$
This rule is simplified to the following:
\[
\begin{align*}
\left\{ \begin{array}{l}
\text{us, in } [+\text{interior, } -\text{direction}] \\
\text{bi } [+\text{proximity}]
\end{array} \right\} & \rightarrow [+\text{modal}/ [\text{manner}]
\end{align*}
\]

The modal function of us is assigned a feature [+modal] primarily because [+modal] may undergo a transformation and become the emic feature of us in an environment which expresses manner. As prime evidence of the emicity of [+modal] is the fact that us, when used in a modal function, can occur in free variation with two other prepositions having different spatial meanings, i.e. in 'in' and bi 'by'. The features [+instrumental] and [+means] are not posited for us, because these features always remain etic and the instrumental and means functions can be included in the features [-direction, +interior] and [+partitive], respectively. These features afford greater generalization than would [+instrumental] and [+means].

3.4.6 [+temporal]

Us can also occur in a temporal function and translates Gk. ἐκ 'out of', κατά 'in relation to', and ἀπό 'from'. This function is designated by the feature [+temporal]. Like fram (cf. 3.3), us indicates the starting point of an activity. As a means of distinguishing the two, van der Meer compares the Gk. ἐκ expressions which are translated by us with those translated by fram. The expressions using us are:
Van der Meer further states that this comparison of Gk. \( \epsilon \kappa \) phrases translated by us with those translated by fram substantiates Winkler's theory that us more strongly emphasizes the starting point of the activity (1930:30§39). Van der Meer maintains that us in us frumistja 'from the beginning' designates a more distant point of time than fram in fram fruma 'from the first' (1930:30§39). It is difficult to see this distinction, however, since both us frumistja and fram fruma translate the same Greek phrase \( \xi \kappa \delta \rho \xi \zeta \zeta \zeta \) 'from the beginning':

\[
(104) \text{wissuh \( \ddot{b} \)an us frumistja Iesus}
\text{h\( \ddot{a} \)rjai sind \( \ddot{b} \)ai ni galaubjandans}
\text{'for Jesus knew from the beginning}
\text{who those were that did not believe'}
\text{John 6:64}
\]

(105) i\breve{b} \( \ddot{b} \)ata izwis fram fruma ni q\( \ddot{a} \), unte mi\breve{b} izwis was
'I did not say these things to you from the first, because I was with you'

John 16:4

While *us* usually occurs with certain temporal nouns and *fram* with others, cf. (102) and (103), both *us* and *fram* are used with *anastodeins* 'beginning':

(106) ὅσον φαίνεται ὧν ἀναστόδειναι
garaidon garehšn
'the plan already determined before from the beginning'

Skeireins 1:18

(107) διαβελαὶ ὧν ἀναστόδειναι οὐ
naubjandin, ak uslutondin mannan
'the devil from the beginning had not forced man but had deceived him'

Skeireins 1:14

In the examples with *anastodeins*, (106) and (107), van der Meer admits to not finding a distinction between *us* and *fram*. He does suggest, however, that the *ga* of *garaidon* 'to determine' in (106) renders the sentence full of meaning possibilities (30§39). As a more plausible explanation, *us* is used with some words and *fram* with others by convention, cf. (102) and (103). In the case of *anastodeins*, *us* and *fram* are apparently in free variation. As further evidence of a
temporal meaning of *us* which could not have been a direct
translation of a Greek prepositional phrase is an example
with *us* which translates a Greek adverb *παιδίον* 'from
childhood':

(108) jah frah ḫana attan is: ḫan lagg mel
    ist ei ḫata warp imma? ḫ is qab:
    *us* barniskja.

'and Jesus asked his father, "How long
has he had this?" And he said, "From
childhood."'

Mark 9:21

In addition to translating Gk. *ἐκ* 'out of', *us* is used to
translate other prepositions in a temporal function which
are not usually translated by *us*: *ἀπό* 'from' is usually
translated by *af* 'from' (cf. 3.2) and *κατά* 'in relation to'
is usually translated by *bi* 'by'. This is an indication that
the use of *us* in a temporal sense is idiomatic in Gothic and
not merely a translation of the Greek preposition *ἐκ*, since
*us* translates other prepositions as well as *ἐκ*.

An example with *ἀπό* is:

(109) *us* barniskja waihos bokos kunibes

'from childhood you have been acquainted
with the sacred writings'

2 Timothy 3:15
Us has also been used to translate kára 'in relation to', cf. example (99).

3.4.7 Summary of us

In summary, the following features have been posited for us: [+dative, -direction, +interior, +origin, +partitive, +modal and +temporal]. Of these features, [-direction, +interior] are the emic features. When used in an environment expressing the [manner] in which an activity is carried out, the emic features for us, [-direction, +interior], undergo a transformation, and [-direction, +interior], are rewritten as [+modal]. [+modal] becomes the emic feature in this environment, and [-direction, +interior] become etic features.

3.5 fairra 'far from' [+dative, -direction, +vicinity]

Fairra 'far from' is used with the dative case and hence has the feature [+dative]. It expresses not only separation, but includes information on relative proximity of the goal or position in respect to the subject. Af, fram and us indicate separation, but fairra specifies that this separation is a distant separation. The extent of separation is not specified by af, fram or us. Therefore, fairra has the primary features [-direction, +vicinity]. The feature [vicinity] indicates that the distance between the subject and object is relatively great when compared to [surface] which is touching, or close enough to be touching and
[proximity] which is a relatively short distance away, not close enough to be within reach but closer than what would be considered far or distant.

Fairra is generally used with verbs of separation. It can be used as a means of intensifying the desire for separation as in (110) and (111):

(110) afleipibp fairra mis, jus
     waurkjandans unsibjona
     'depart from me, you evildoers'
     Matthew 7:23

(111) gaggiib fairra mis, jus fraqipanans
     'depart from me, you cursed'
     Matthew 25:41

Af or fram could have been used in these examples, but the use of fairra with its feature [+vicinity] emphasizes the speaker's desire for the object to leave by indicating the extent of the separation. Usually, however, fairra is used to indicate that the separation between subject and object is a great distance:

(112) jah galaiib fairra izai sa aggilus
     'and the angel departed from her'
     Luke 1:38
(113) soh ni afiddja **fairra** alh fastubnjam
'she did not depart *from* the temple'
Luke 2:37

(114) jah manageins sokidedun ina jah qemun
und ina jah gahabaidedun ina, ei ni aflibi **fairra** im
'and the people sought Him and came to
Him, and would have kept Him from
leaving, *from* them'
Luke 4:42

The verbs of separation used with **fairra** often contain a
proclitic which itself indicates separation, cf. **af-** (110),
(113) and (114). The verb **skaidan** 'to separate' has the
meaning of separation contained within itself, cf. (115).
In these cases, the function of **fairra** seems to be more to
indicate the distance of separation rather than to indicate
the separation itself. When used with **gaggan** 'to go' (111)
and **galeibann** 'to come', 'go' (112), **fairra** indicates
separation as well as distance. The separation expressed
by **fairra** may also take on a figurative sense:

(115) ḫɔam liugom haftam anabiuda, ni ik,
ak frauja, ʧenai **fairra** abin ni skaidan.
iβ jabai gaskaidnai, wisan unliugaidai,
aibbpu du abin seinammat afram gagawairppjan
'to the married I give charge, not I but the Lord, that the wife should not separate from her husband (but if she does, let her remain single or else be reconciled to her husband)'  

1 Corinthians 7:10,11

When used with wisan 'to be', fairra indicates a position far from the object:

(116) wasuh pan fairra im hairda sweine managaize haldana  
'there was far from them a herd of many swine grazing'  

Matthew 8:30

3.5.1 Summary of fairra

In summary, the features ascribed to fairra are [+dative, -direction, +vicinity].

3.6 Summary of the Gothic System

Although all four prepositions of separation, af, fram, us and fairra are alike in indicating motion away from an object, they are also distinctly different from one another. All three are used with the dative case [+dative], indicate separation [-direction] and, with the exception of fairra, can be used in temporal expressions [+temporal]. Both fram and us can indicate origin [+origin], but us carries the
added meaning that the origin is from within an object or
group of people. This added meaning is represented by the
feature [+interior]. Fram is the only preposition of the
four to mark the agent in passive sentences [+agent in
passive] and to mark the topic of an action [+topic]. Us
is used to indicate a part of the whole [+partitive] and the
manner in which an activity is performed [+modal]. Fairra
stipulates that the separation is distant and has the
feature [+vicinity] as well as [-direction].
Note to Chapter Three

The proclitics on verbs are not considered as prepositions per se in this study. This does not preclude the possibility that they may play a lead role as semantic conditioners of prepositions, in which case they become an integral part of the discussion, as above; cf. Chapter Two; cf. also William H. Bennett, "Prosodic Features in Proto-Germanic" in Toward a Grammar of Proto-Germanic, ed. by Frans van Coetsem and Herbert L. Kufner (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer, 1972), p. 107, §1.9.1: "In describing Go. forms like at-giban ..., it has become customary to refer to elements like at- ... as prefixes of compound verbs. In Go., however, such elements were still proclitics of verb phrases."
4.0  The Old High German Source

The Old High German data were taken from Otfrid of Weißenburg's Evangelienbuch. Completed in the year 868 in a monastery in Alsace, it is a verse retelling of the gospels, written in the Franconian dialect. The work is considered to be representative of the language, as it was Otfrid's purpose to bring the message of the gospels to the people in their own tongue and in the engaging style of epic poetry, popular at that time. Although subject to certain restraints placed upon it by its verse framework, it is most likely that these restraints had little influence on the choice of prepositions used in the work.

The two works containing extensive treatments of the prepositions in Otfrid are a glossary of the Evangelienbuch by Johann Kelle (1881) and a discussion of Old High German prepositions by E. G. Graff (1824). Kelle gives numerous examples of each preposition, grouping them under general categories of meaning. The magnitude of examples cited gives the impression that this is an exhaustive study, or at least, a representative sample. The information in Graff confirms that of Kelle, although far fewer examples are given. Neither work, however, contains any attempt at comparison of the prepositions within a system.
4.1 The Prepositional System of Separation

The most frequently used preposition of separation in Otfrid's system is *fon* 'from', 'out of'. It is used far more extensively than the other three prepositions *ir* 'out of', 'from', *ûzar* 'out of' and *ûzana* 'out of', 'except for'. The latter three prepositions appear to be in free variation, except when *ûzana* is used to mean 'except for'.

4.2 *fon* 'from', 'out of' [+dative, -direction]

Old High German *fon* 'from' is used with the dative case and has the feature [+dative]. It designates the position or movement away from an object, which can be a place, thing or person. Its primary (emic) feature is [-direction].

(1) *fon* Egypto fuaran

'they came from Egypt'

III. 15, 12

(2) Thaz wir gangen heile *fon*

themo bade reine,

'that we go healthy and pure

from the bath'

I. 26, 13

(3) Tho quam boto *fona* gote

'then came a messenger from God'

I. 5, 3
Fon is used with verbs of motion, cf. (1) through (3), and separation and with those expressing protection or freedom from someone or something.

(4) Firdrib fon ums in thrati allo missodati
'drive out from us ardently all sin'

II. 24, 33

(5) Tho er unsih hiar so nerita, fon
fianton irretita
'when He saved us here, saved (us)
from enemies'

V. 1, 3

Fon is also used with verbs of asking, demanding, expecting, hoping and receiving.

(6) Thia zit eisgota er fon in
'He asked of them the time'

I. 17, 43

(7) Ni gilouptun, so se scoltun, thie
thaz fon imo woltun
'they did not believe as they should have,
those who wanted that of Him'

III. 15, 25
(8) **Fon** theru selbun henti thiu tod
giscankt iu enti, **Fon** theru intfahent
(theist ouh wib) nu thaz ewiniga lib
'from the same hand which previously
had presented you death, from her (that
is [from] woman) they now receive
eternal life'

V. 8, 55, 57

4.2.1 [-direction, +interior]

The object from which the subject is separated may be
a group of people or things. In such cases, **fon** not only
indicates separation, but can also signify separation from
within a group. The feature [+interior] is added to
[-direction] to express the meaning 'out of'.

(9) Thanne ouh **fon** ther menigi sprachun
thara ingegini
'then others from the group spoke
contrary to that'

III. 20, 63

(10) Ni drinku ih rehto in wara thes
rebekunnes mera **fon** themo wahsmen
furdir, thaz giloubet ir mir
'I will truly no longer: drink of
the fruit of the grapevine, believe
you me'

IV. 10, 5-6
(11) Thu findist fol then salmon fon
thesen selben thingon
'you will find the psalm full of
these same things'

IV. 28, 23

4.2.2 [+origin]

In a figurative extension of the meaning 'out of',
fon is used to designate the material out of which something
is made.

(12) es wiht ni quam imo ouh in wan,
theiz was fon wazare gidan
'it didn't enter his mind that it
(the wine) was made from water'

II. 8, 40

In addition to indicating the substance from which an
object is made, fon also designates the source of an activity,
the origin, starting point or birthplace. These are all
extensions of the meaning 'out of', but due to their great
frequency of occurrence and for comparative purposes, an etic
feature [+origin] is posited.

(13) Yrkenn er thesa lera joh sehe tharana
in wara: si fon gote queme thir, od ih
sia eigine mir
'he may recognize this teaching and might truly see therein whether it comes to you from God, or whether I ascribe it to myself'

III. 16, 17-18

(14) Thaz kind ouh thaz wurti fon gommannes giburti;
' the child that was of man'
I. 14, 15

(15) Thiu blinti uns, wan ih, wurti fon Adames giburti
' Our blindness, I mean, stems from Adam's birth'
III. 21, 11

(16) fon Nazareth ther heilant
' the Savior from Nazareth' 
IV. 4, 64

4.2.3 Comparison with ir

Another preposition ir (cf. 4.3) has 'out of' as its primary spatial meaning and is found in examples parallel to those with fon. Kelle cites seven examples of ir used in its spatial sense (1881: 309-10). The nouns used as objects in these examples also occur with the preposition fon.
(17) Er sprah tho worton luten thara
    zi themo doten, zi themo fulen
    thegane, er stuanti ir themo legare
    'He then said with loud words to the
dead man, to the decaying warrior, he
should arise out of the burial place'

    III. 24, 97-98

The noun legar 'resting place' is also found with fon.

(18) Thie selbe irstantent alle fon thes
    lichamen falle, fon themo fulen legere,
    iro werk zi irgebanne
    'These same (people) all arise from
physical death from the resting place
of decay to report their deeds'

    V. 20, 25-26

Ir like fon, cf. (13) through (16), can also be used
to indicate the starting point or homeland. Some nouns occur
with either preposition, such as riči 'region, country'.

(19) Tho sprachun sumiliche ouh ir
    themo riche
    'Then some from the region also spoke'

    III. 24, 73

(20) Quadun sumiliche fon themo selben
    riche:
'Then some of them from the same country said:

III. 16, 49

Another noun which is found with both ir and fon is himil 'heaven'.

(21) Tho quam boto fona gote, engil
    ir himile
    'Then came a messenger from God, an angel from heaven'

I. 5, 3

(22) "Giloubistu in then gotes sun,
    ther quam fon himile herasun?"
    '"Do you believe in God's son, who came down here from heaven?"'

III. 20, 173

Both ir and fon can be used to denote a change from one state to another. In the following examples they are used with the verb neman 'take', 'rescue'.

(23) Pilatus was tho in flizi thaz er nan firliazi, ... joh nami ir thera noti
    'Pilate then tried to release Him (Christ) ... and rescue from the danger'

IV. 24, 1-2
Druhtin, fon then stankon ... mih nim ..., so Lazarum thu dati 'Lord, save me from the smell of decay as you did Lazarus'

III. 1, 19-20

Fon and ir are found in an even more similar environment:

Krist stuant ir then restin 'Christ arose out of the resting place'

V. 4, 29

joh sie giwisko ouh westin thaz er stuant fon then restin. 'and they certainly also knew that he had arisen from the resting place.'

V. 11, 38

In examples (25) and (26), fon and ir occur not only with the same noun, resti 'resting place', but with the same verb and subject as well, Krist stuant 'Christ arose'.

Both fon and ir occur with another noun hand 'hand' as does a third preposition of separation ûzar 'out of' (cf. 4.4).

Incloub man mit then suerton thaz kind ir then hanton 'they tore away with swords the child out of her hands'

I. 20, 17
(28) Tho er unsih hier so nerita, fon fianton irretita, nam uzar herten banton, fon fianto hanton; 'Then He (Christ) saved us here, saved (us) from enemies, took (us) out of oppressive bonds, from the enemies' hands'

V. 1, 3-4

(29) Gibarg er sih zi ware joh giang ouh uz tho sare uzar iro hanton fon sinen fianton 'He, in truth, hid himself and also went out immediately (from the temple) out of their hands, from his enemies'

III. 18, 73-74

It may be the case, that fon is used to merely indicate separation, and ir and uzar indicate separation from a space which is considered to be somewhat enclosed, i.e. an enclosure made by the hands. The distinction between fon on one hand and ir and uzar on the other, can be illustrated by the English sentences: He tore the child from their hands. and He tore the child out of their hands. The first sentence expresses separation, and the second indicates that the location from which the child is being separated is felt to be some sort of enclosure.
In examples (28) and (29) both ūzar and fon are used in parallel phrases. Fon may have been used to avoid a repetition of ūzar in example (26), and the reverse may be true in example (27). There are, however, other examples of fon and ūzar occurring with the noun hand.

(30) Ni nimit se mennisgen haz ... unz anan wɔroltenti fon mines fater henti!
'the hate of man will not take them from my father's hand until the end of the world'

III. 22, 27-28

(31) Fahan sie nan woltun, ... er giang sar then stunton ūzar iro hanton
'They wanted to capture Him, ...
(but) He quickly went out of their hands'

III. 22, 65-66

Four prepositions are used with the noun grab 'grave'.

(32) Quek ward sar imo thaz muat, joh fon themo grab er stuant
'his (Lazarus') spirit became alive,
and he arose from the grave'

III. 24, 101
(33) sie scrigtin fon theru baru, ...
      joh stuantun ir then grebiron!
      'they (the dead) sprang up from
      the stretcher ... and arose out of
      the graves!'  
      IV. 26, 19-20

(34) ... er nan tode binam, hiaz uzer
      themo grave gan
      'He (Christ) tore him (Lazarus) from
      death, commanded (him) to go out of
      the grave'  
      IV. 3, 16

(35) (Maria) stuant uzana thes grabes
      '(Mary Magdalene) stood outside
      the grave'  
      V. 7, 1

The use of ir, fon, ūzar and ūzana in parallel examples
indicates that the difference in meaning between them is
slight. Ir, ūzar and ūzana are perhaps preferred to fon
when the meaning 'out of' is to be emphasized. However,
since there are far more examples of fon cited by Kelle
than examples of ir, ūzar and ūzana, the preposition fon
may have started to take over the function of expressing
'out of' as well as 'from', or alternately, the need to
indicate that the separation was out of some enclosed space
was not felt strongly enough to be indicated. Even in examples in which the separation is clearly out of some enclosure, i.e. grave in (32) to (35), the examples with fon cited in Kelle far exceed the examples of either ir, ûzar or ûzana. Often the adverb ûz 'out' is used in connection with fon, eliminating the need for ir, ûzar or ûzana.

(36) Thie selbe irstantent alle fon thes lichamen falle, ... Ûz fon theru asgu, fon theru falawisgu
'They all arise themselves from physical death ... out of the dust, from the ashes'

V. 20, 25, 27

(37) Thanana er nan fuarta in eina burg yuata, fon then stetin thanana uz zi themo druhtines hus.
'He then led him from here into a holy city, out of that place to the Lord's house.'

II. 4, 51-52
4.2.4 [+temporal]

When used in a temporal sense, fon designates the starting point of a state or activity. This function is represented by the feature [+temporal].

(38) Fon jare zi jare ih iamer frawo thare, fon ewon unz in ewon mit then saligen selon!
'May I always rejoice there from year to year from eternity until eternity with the blessed souls!'
I. 2, 57-58

(39) Fon anagenge worolti unz anan ira ziti zeli thu thaz kunni, so ist einlif stunt on sibini.
'From the beginning of the world until her time, count (the members of) that family, thus it is eleven times seven.'
I. 3, 35-36

4.2.5. [+means]

Fon can also be used to indicate the [means] by which an activity is performed.

(40) er fon thes fater henti tho thar dot wurti
'He would then die there by the father's hand'
II. 9, 44
(41) Wio Krist nam finf leiba joh zuene 
fiska tharazua, fon then gab follon 
muases finf thusonton mannes. 
'How Christ took five loaves and 
two fish besides, and gave from 
them five thousand men their fill 
of food.'

III. 6, 3-4

(42) Thaz ih giscribez hiar so fram, 
theiz thir io wese lobosam, 
thineria krefti, fon thines selbes 
gifti; 
'That I write it here so powerfully, 
that it might be to you ever praise­ 
worthy, of your power, from your 
own gift;'

IV. 1, 39-40

The relationship expressed by fon in (40) through (42) is 
represented by the feature [+means].

In addition to fon, the prepositions in 'in' and 
thuruh 'through' are also used to indicate the [means] by 
which an activity is performed. Kelle cites almost three 
times as many examples with thuruh as with in or fon 
(1881: 631, 295, 141). As in the case of fon, the examples 
with in have a variety of nouns as objects, i.e. wort 'word'.
werk 'work', 'act', dât 'deed', koufe 'price', fiur 'fire'.

Those with thuruh, however, mainly refer to the Divinity, attributes of, or other nouns associated with the Divinity: ther heilego geist 'the Holy Spirit', sun 'son (of God)', guatî 'goodness', krefti 'power', ginàda 'grace', miltî 'mercy', dolk 'destruction', dôtî 'death', wunnî 'bliss', kruzi 'cross' and forasago 'prophet'.

(43) Er spenit unsih alle zi mihilemo falle in worton joh in werkon; "he (the devil) entices us all to great destruction with words and with deeds;"

II. 4, 87-88

(44) Thie jungoron iro zilotun, in koufe in muas tho holetun 'The disciples made haste to obtain with money, food for themselves'

II. 14, 11

(45) Er doufit thih ... thuruh then heilegan geist 'He will baptize you with the Holy Spirit'

I. 27, 61

(46) bimiden thesô grunni thuruh thio ewinigon wunni
'(we) will avoid these misfortunes by means of eternal bliss'
I. 28, 14

Through the power of the cross and namely Christ's power, so might now further come to my mind, how He arose from the grave;
V. 4, 1-2

The above examples (40) - (47) show that three prepositions, each having different primary features, are used to indicate the means by which an activity is performed. The primary feature of fon is [-direction], in [+interior] and the primary features of thuruh are [+interior, +spread]. From the examples given by Kelle, no reason could be found for the choice of one preposition over the other two. Each object was either mentioned only once, or when mentioned more than once, it was used with the same preposition. The only distinguishing factor is that thuruh was the only preposition used with nouns relating to the Divinity or abstract nouns, but the large number of thuruh examples relative to examples with in and fon may account for this. The overwhelming
number of *thuruh* examples, however, would seem to indicate that *thuruh* was the most frequently used preposition for expressing \[means\].

The following rule transforms the emic features of *fon*, *in* and *thuruh* from their spatial meanings to the meaning 'by means of'.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{fon [-direction]} & \rightarrow [+\text{means}] \\
\text{in, thuruh [+interior, a spread]} & \rightarrow [+\text{means}]
\end{align*}
\]

4.2.6 [+cause]

In addition to indicating \[means\], *fon* also designates the \[cause\] of an action. It is therefore ascribed the feature \[+cause\].

(48) *Fragetun tho thanana thie sine holdun thegana, oba thiu selba blinti fon sunton sinen wurti*  
'they asked then, they His loyal followers, if the same blindness resulted from his sins'  

III. 20, 3-4

(49) *Wizit thaz ouh filu fram, theih fon mir selbemo ni quam*  
'you know that also quite well, that I did not come of my own accord'

III. 16, 63
The next example, classified by Kelle as expressing [cause] or [means], expresses [cause], [means] or [origin]:

(50) Quad, allaz thaz gizami fon selben gote quami; joh ther heilogo geist - fon imo wehsit iz meist.
'(the angel) said, everything that happened came from God himself; and the Holy Spirit - from Him especially it originates.'

I. 8, 23-24

The most frequently used preposition for designating [cause], however, is thuruh 'through'. Kelle cites nearly 70 examples of thuruh in this function (1881: 631-32), about 40 examples of bi 'by' (30), and 3 examples of fon (141).

An examination of the nouns used with thuruh, bi and fon in the above examples did not indicate any distinction between these three prepositions when used to express [cause]. Thuruh had by far the greatest variety of nouns, but this might well be expected, due to the comparatively large numbers of examples cited. The nouns used with bi and fon were also varied, some of which were also used with thuruh.

(51) Wanta manag man in war giloubta thuruh inan thar, thuruh theso dati in selben gotes guati
'For many a man truly believed through Him thereby, through these deeds, in the goodness of God himself'  

IV. 3, 11-12

(52) **Bi suslichio dati so ahtun sin thio liuti**;

'because of such deeds, the people persecuted Him;'

III. 14, 105

In (51) and (52), **dati** 'deeds' appears with both **thuruh** and **bi**. The noun **sunta** 'sin' appears with all three prepositions; **thuruh**, **bi** and **fon**:

(53) **Ni maht avur thaz gimachon, thara ingegin rachon, wio managfalto wunta hiar thulten thuruh sunta**:  

'You can, however, never do it, on the contrary, you cannot express how many wounds we suffer here because of sins:'

V. 23, 133-34

(54) **Wio thu thultos wizi, thaz honlicha kruci, in managfalten wunton bi unseren sunton**
'As you suffered pain, the degrading cross, the multitudinous wounds because of our sins'

IV. 1, 43-44

(48)=(55) Fragetun tho thanana thie sine holdun thegana, oba thiu selba blinti fon sunton sinen wurti 'they asked then, they his loyal followers, if the same blindness resulted from his sins'

III. 20, 3-4

Other examples show thuruh, bi and/or fon with nouns which are not the same, but have a similar meaning:

(56) Ir ni thultut thuruh got thaz ih giangi nachot 'you did not allow through God that I might go naked'

V. 20, 75

(50)=(57) Quad, allaz thaz gizami fon selben gote quami; joh ther heilogo geist - fon imo wehsit iz meist. '(the angel) said, everything that happened came from God himself; and the Holy Spirit - from Him especially it originates.'

I. 8, 23-24
(58) quam tho thara ingegini mihil
worolmenigi Nales then meinon
bi druhtinan einon, suntar sie
in then fertin ouh Lazarum irkantin;
'then a great crowd came there, but
truly not because of the Lord
alone, but they, in this opportunity,
might also see Lazarus,'

IV. 3, 2-4

Thus thuruh is used with got 'God' (56), fon is used with
imo 'Him', referring to God in the preceding line (57), and
bi is used with druhtin 'Lord' (58).

(59) Siu bluun iro brusti thuruh thio
angusti
'They beat their breasts out of
fear'

IV. 26, 9

(60) Sie tho luto irharetun thuruh
thia suarun forahtun
'They cried out because of
great fear'

III. 8, 25

(61) Ni sprachun ... worton offonoro
bi forahtun thero Judeono
'They did not speak in open words
out of fear of the Jews'

III. 15, 47-48

Thuruh was used with angust 'fear' in (59) and with forahta 'fear' in (60). The preposition bi also appears with forahta (61).

In two examplesthuruh and bi are used in parallel constructions:

(62) Wio thu thultos wizi, thaz honlicha kruci, in managfalten wunton bi unseren sunton, Thuruh unser ubili joh managfalto fravili

'As you suffered pain, the degrading cross, the multitudinous wounds because of our sins, because of our evil deeds and numerous transgressions'

IV. 1, 43-45

(63) Thaz thult er in then stunton bi unseren sunton, al io theso fravili thuruh thio unsero ubili!

'This He suffered at this time because of our sins, all these transgressions, because of our evil deeds'

IV. 19, 75-76
In these examples, **thuruh** seems to be used to avoid repetition of **bi**, which was used in the preceding parallel phrase. In any case, the use of **thuruh** and **bi** in examples (62) and (63) illustrate the similar function of these two prepositions.

As indicated in examples (48) through (63), three prepositions in Otfrid's system, **fon**, **thuruh** and **bi**, are used to denote the [cause] of an action. When used in an environment expressing the [impetus] of an action, these three prepositions, **fon**, **thuruh** and **bi**, undergo a transformation in which their respective emic spatial features become etic, and [+cause] becomes their sole emic feature.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{fon} & \quad [-\text{direction}] \\
\text{thuruh} & \quad [+\text{interior, +spread}] \\
\text{bi} & \quad [+\text{proximity}] \\
\end{align*}
\rightarrow [+\text{cause}] / [+\text{impetus}] \\
\]

4.2.7 [+agent in passive]

Another function of **fon** is to mark the [agent in a passive sentence]. This relationship is represented by the feature [+agent in passive].

(64) Giletit ward tho druhtin Krist
thar ein einoti ist, in steti filu
wuaste fon themo gotes geiste.

'Then the Lord Christ was led into
a desert, into a place very desolate
by the spirit of God.'

II. 4, 1-2
(65) joh wurtun sie inliuhte fon
himilisgen liahte
'and they were illuminated by
a heavenly light'
I. 12, 4

(66) Sie wurtun slafente fon
engilon gimanote
'while sleeping, they were
warned by angels'
I. 17, 73

4.2.8 [+topic]

When used with verbs of speaking and hearing, fon
designates the [topic] of verbal activity. This function,
represented by the feature [+topic], corresponds to Latin
de 'of'.

(67) Inti thu ni hortos hiar in
lante fon themo heilante
'And you have not heard here in
(this) country about the Savior?'
V. 9, 23

(68) Waz quis thu fon themo man
'What do you say about
the man?'
III. 20, 71
(69) Haar lisis thu ouh gizami ander seltsani, harto mihil wuntar fon selben Kriste ouh suntar.
'You read here also fittingly another miracle, a very great miracle, especially about the same Christ.'
V. 12, 31-32

Fon is also used to mark the [topic] of verbal activity when used in conjunction with the adjective giwissi 'certain'. In the expression giwissi wesan 'to be assured of something', the thing of which one is assured can be designated not only by the preposition fon, but also by the preposition in 'in' or by the genitive case.

(70) Thaz wir sin giwisse fon themo irstantnisse
'That we may be assured of the resurrection'
IV. 37, 43

(71) So sie sin mer tho wialtun, thaz grab ouh baz bihialtun: so wir io mer giwisse in themo irstantnisse
'the more they had Him (Christ) in their power and the better they watched the grave, the more we are certain of the resurrection'
IV. 36, 21-22
(72) Nist wiht in themo boume thaz
    friuntilih giloube, thes
    mannilih giwis si, thaz thar
    ubbiges si.
'There is nothing of the wood
(cross) - let everyone believe this,
let everyone be certain of this -
that would be superfluous.'

V. 1, 23-24

With the phrase einan giwissi duan 'instruct', 'inform', fon
alternates with the genitive case in designating the [topic]
of verbal activity.

(73) duent unsih giwisse fon
    themo irstantnisse
'they (the angels) inform us
about the resurrection'

V. 8, 12

(74) gidua mih thes giwissi waz
    si thaz warnissi
'inform me about that which
may be the truth'

IV. 21, 36

Bi 'by' is another preposition which is often used to
designate the [topic] of an activity. It, like fon, is used
with verbs of speaking, but with a smaller number of these verbs than occurs with fon. Bi is also found in combination with other verbs not used with fon. The verbs sprechan 'speak', sagen 'say', zellen 'tell', quedan 'say', and fragen 'ask' are used with both fon and bi.

(75) Tho sprachun sie alle fon
in: "ja ih iz, druhtin, ni bin?
'Then they all spoke about themselves, "It is not I, Lord?"

IV. 12, 19

(76) Joh er tho sprah ubar al bi
fruma thia si thar firstal.
'And he then spoke immediately about the act which she had secretly committed.'

III. 14, 39

(77) frageta sie mit minnon fon then
woroldmannon
'(he) asked them affectionately about the men of the world'

III. 12, 2

(78) Fraget er nan sare bi jungoron sine
'He (the bishop) first asked Him about his disciples'

IV. 19, 5
With the verb *frage*n the person or thing asked about is
designated by the preposition *fon* (77) or *bi* (78) or by the
genitive case (79):

(79) Fragetun zi ware unsan druhtin sare
     therera selbun dati
     '(They) first asked our Lord about
     this very deed'

III. 17, 11-12

With the verb *zellen* 'tell', the [topic] of this verbal
activity is designated by the prepositions *fon*, *bi* and *ufan* 'about'.

(80) ... andere iz thir sagetun joh
     thir *fon* mir iz zelitun?
     'did others say it to you and tell
     it to you about me?'

IV. 21, 8

(81) nu sie *bi* mih so zellent, so
     harto missihellent!
     'because they talk about me thusly,
     so strongly they disagree!'

III. 12, 22

(82) Zalt er managfaltaz guat ufan
     sia joh thes ginuag
     'He told much good about it (love)
     and abundantly of it'

V. 12, 89
There is, however, only one example cited by Kelle of *ufan* in the [topic] function, whereas there are several examples of both *fon* and *bi*. With the verb *quedan* 'say', the [topic] is designated by *fon* if it is a person, and by *bi* if it is a thing.

(83) Waz quit *fon* mir ther liutstam?
    'What do the people say about me?'
    III. 12, 7

(84) Quistu *bi* thio siuchi
    'You speak about illnesses'
    V. 23, 251

The use of *fon* to designate a person and *bi* to designate an object as the [topic] may be a conventional use pertaining only to the verb *quedan*. As there are only three examples of *fon* and four examples of *bi* in connection with *quedan* cited by Kelle, the evidence may be too sparse to make any conclusive statement. There was no evidence of such a distinction in the use of *fon* and *bi* with *zellen*, *sprechan* or *fragen*.

Although not generally used with the same groups of verbs, the prepositions *fon*, *bi* and *in* are frequently used to indicate the [topic] of the verbal activity. *Fon* is used with verbs of hearing and speaking, *bi* with verbs of speaking, thinking and being happy or surprised, and *in* with verbs of believing, hoping and trusting. Their use with certain verbs
may be conventional, but the fact that they can occur with the same verbs with no apparent difference in meaning, cf. (67) to (71), (73), (75) to (78), (80), (81), (83) and (84), indicates that their respective spatial meanings are not as important in this function as is the means for indicating the [topic] of whatever activity is expressed by the verb. A transformation changing the primary spatial features of these prepositions to [+topic] is therefore posited. The preposition ūfan is also included in this transformation, cf. (82). Its infrequent occurrence in Otfrid may account for the lack of further examples which illustrate its [topic] designating function.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{fon} &\quad [-\text{direction}] \\
\text{bī} &\quad [+\text{proximity}] \\
in &\quad [+\text{interior}] \\
\text{ūfan} &\quad [+\text{surface}, +\text{top}] \\
\end{align*}
\]

\[\rightarrow [+\text{topic}] \quad \text{[topic of verbal activity]}\]

4.2.9 Summary of fon

The features posited for fon are [+dative, -direction, +interior, +origin, +temporal, +means, +cause, +agent in passive, +topic], the primary feature being [-direction] which by transformation can yield [+means], [+cause] or [+topic].

4.3 ir 'out of', 'from' [+dative, -direction, +interior]

The preposition ir is used with the dative case and has the feature [+dative]. Its primary spatial meaning is
'out of', and it is thus ascribed the features [-direction, +interior].  It is used far less frequently than fon, and each of its functions is also performed by fon (cf. 4.2).

In its strictly spatial sense, it is used to express position or motion out of an enclosed place such as a grave grab, resting place, i.e. grave legar, resti, or an enclosure made by the hands, henti.

(33)=(85) sie scrigatin fon theru baru, ...
joh stuantun ir then grebiron!
'they (the dead) sprang up from the stretcher ... and arose out of the graves!'

IV. 26, 19-20

(17)=(86) Er sprah tho worton luten thara
zi themo doten, zi themo fulen
thegane, er stuant i r theno legare
'He then said with loud words to the dead man, to the decaying warrior, he should arise out of the burial place'

III. 24, 97-98

(27)=(87) Incloub man mit then suerton
thaz kind ir then hanton
'they tore away with swords the child out of her hands'

I. 20, 17
The preposition *fon* is also found with each of these nouns, cf. 4.2.3 (18), (26), (28), (30), (32). The preposition *ûzar* 'out of' (cf. 4.4) in addition to *fon* is used with *henti*; and *fon*, *ûzar* and *ûzana* 'outside of' (cf. 4.5) all occur with *grab*, cf. (32) through (35).

4.3.1 [+origin]

Another function of *ir* is to express the starting point of an activity or to designate the homeland of a person. This function is represented by the feature [+origin].

(88) sie brahtun imo in hanton
dreso *ir* iro lanton
'(in their hands) they (the Magi) brought Him treasure from their countries'

II. 3, 18

(89) Er stuant *yr* themo muase tho
zi themo abande
'He (Christ) now got up from the meal at evening

IV. 11, 11

In the other two examples of this function cited by Kelle, the same nouns *rîchi* 'region', 'country' and *himil* 'heaven', also occur with *fon*, cf. 4.2.3 (19) through (22).
(19)=(90) Tho sprachun sumiliche ouh *ir*
   themo riche
   'Then some *from* the region also spoke'
   III. 24, 73

(20)=(91) Quadun sumiliche *fon* themo selben
   riche:
   'Then some of them *from* the same
country said:'
   III. 16, 49

(21)=(92) Tho quam boto fona gote, engil
   *ir* himile
   'Then came a messenger from God,
an angel *from* heaven'
   I. 5, 3

(22)=(93) "Giloubistu in then gotes sun,
   ther quam *fon* himile herasun?"
   '"Do you believe in God's son, who
came down here *from* heaven?"
   III. 20, 173

*Ir* like *fon* occurs in a more figurative use of the
meaning 'out of' to indicate a change from one condition
to another, cf. (23) and (24).
Pilate then tried to release Him (Christ) ... and rescue from the danger'

'Lord, save me from the smell of decay as you did Lazarus'

'Then he (Pilate) washed his hands; ... he very ceremoniously wanted to free himself from the shame'

Only one example is cited by Kelle of ir being used to indicate separation from a group. This function is more frequently performed by fon, cf. 4.2.1 (9) through (11).

'no one among men succeeds in gathering grapes from thorns'
4.3.2 Summary of \textit{ir}

As indicated in the above examples, the use of \textit{ir} is limited to that of showing motion from the interior of an object. Its emic features are therefore [-direction, +interior]. Other functions of \textit{ir} are figurative extensions of its primary meaning and are represented by the etic features [+dative], [+origin]. Each function of \textit{ir} is also performed by \textit{fon}, with \textit{fon} being the more frequently used preposition of the two. When used to express motion from the interior of an object, \textit{fon} and \textit{ir} are in free variation.

4.4 \textit{\textcircled{U}}zar 'out of' [+dative, -direction, +interior]

\textit{\textcircled{U}}zar 'out of' indicates motion out of an enclosed space and has the primary features [-direction, +interior]. It is used with the dative case and is therefore ascribed the feature [+dative]. The number and variety of examples cited by Kelle (1881: 652) is slightly smaller than those with \textit{ir} (cf. 4.3) and much smaller than the number of examples of \textit{fon} (cf. 4.2).

\textit{\textcircled{U}}zar is used to express motion out of an actual enclosed space such as a grave, grab, and a fortress, burg.

(34)=(98) \ldots er nan tode binam, hiaz \textit{u}zer

\textit{themo grabe gan}

'\ldots He (Christ) tore him (Lazarus) from death, commanded (him) to go out of the grave'

IV. 3, 16
"Wer ist", quadun, "therer man ther unsih dritit hiar so fram, mit heri uns sus hiar engit joh uzar ther burg thringit?"

"Who is this man", they said, "who comes here to us so near, (who) thus closes in on us with his followers and drives (us) out of the city?"

IV. 4, 61-62

The other prepositions meaning 'out of', 'from' also occur with these nouns. Burg appears with fon as well as with ûzar, and grab also appears with fon, ir and ûzanà.

Sie iltun tho bi manne fon theru burg alle, iltun al bi gahin, thaz sie nan gisahin.

'They all hurried there man by man from the city, they all hurried immediately, so that they might see Him (Christ).'

II. 14, 93-94

Quek ward sar imo thaz muat, joh fon themo grab er stuant

'his (Lazarus') spirit became alive, and he arose from the grave'

III. 24, 101
"they (the dead) sprang up from the stretcher ... and arose out of the graves!"

IV. 26, 19-20

'(Mary Magdalene) stood outside the grave'

V. 7, 1

When used to express separation from the interior of an object, uzar occurs in environments similar to those of fon, ir and uzana. It appears, therefore, that the difference between these four prepositions is slight when used in this spatial function.

In a more figurative sense, uzar is used with the nouns hand 'hand' and bant 'bond' to depict separation or escape.

'I wanted to capture Him, ... (but) He quickly went out of their hands'

III. 22, 65-66
(28)=(105) Tho er unsih hiar so nerita,
fon fianton irretita, nam uzar
herten banton, fon fianto hanton;
'Then He (Christ) saved us here,
saved (us) from enemies, took (us)
out of oppressive bonds from the
enemies' hands'
V. 1, 3-4

As seen from Example (105), hant also occurs with the
preposition fon and with a third preposition ir.

(27)=(106) Incloub man mit then suerton
thaz kind ir then hanton
'they tore away with swords the
child out of her hands'
I. 20, 17

Kelle cites one example of uzar indicating change
from one state to another.

(107) Ja ist iu in thesa ziti zi giwonaheiti,
ih uzar themo wize iu einan haft firlaze;
'It is the custom for you at this time,
(that) I release a prisoner from
punishment for you;'
IV. 22, 9-10
This function is performed more frequently by fon and ir.

(108) Er werd unsih gibliden io zen
goumon sinen, hungere biwerien
joh ouh fon tode nerien!
'He (Christ) will make us happy, ever
in his care, keep (us) from hunger
and also save (us) from death!'

III. 7, 89-90

(23)=(109) Pilatus was tho in flizi thaz er nan
firliazi, ... joh nami ir thera noti
'Pilate then tried to release Him
(Christ) ... and rescue from the
danger'

IV. 24, 1-2

Sometimes the separation indicated by ûzar is
separation from a group of people or things. Fon and ir
also express this type of separation.

(110) Sar thuzar theru menigi sceithist
thin githigini so laz mih, druhtin
min, mit ñruton thinen iamer sin!
'When (you) choose your followers
out of the masses, then let me, my
Lord, always be among your friends!'

I. 2, 39-40
In one figurative extension of the meaning 'out of', ʿazar is used to indicate the [means] by which an activity is carried out.

(113) Ih bin selbo zi thiu joh thar
ouh sprichu ʿazar iu,
'I (Christ) will myself be present there and will also speak there out of you (his disciples)'

IV. 7, 25

However, this is the only example given by Kelle of ʿazar in this function. Since there are no other examples of ʿazar being used to express [means], and since this one example is a figurative extension of the primary spatial meaning 'out of', a feature [+means] is not posited.

The features posited for ʿazar are [+dative, -direction,
+interior], distinguished from ir by the absence of the etic feature [+origin], and from fon by the absence of the features [+origin, +temporal, +means, +cause, +agent in passive, +topic].

4.5 Ûzana 'outside' [+genitive, -direction, +interior]

As a preposition, Ûzana is used with the genitive case [+genitive] and designates position outside an object [-direction, +interior].

(35)=(114) (Maria) stuant uzana thes grabes
'Mary Magdalene) stood outside
the grave'

V. 7, 1

In this meaning, Ûzana occurs in parallel examples with fon, ir and Ûzar, cf. 4.2.3 (32) to (34). Only one example of Ûzana as a preposition having the meaning 'outside' was cited by Kelle (1881: 652) and Graf (1824: 67).

4.6 Ûzana 'except for' [+accusative, -association]

Kelle and Graf cite another example of Ûzana having the meaning 'except for'.

(115) Thoh sie sih westin reinan Ûzana
then einan
'however they knew themselves to be
innocent except for one of them'

IV. 12, 21
Only one example of this meaning occurs. Ûzana is used with the accusative case and thus has the feature [+accusative]. Its primary feature is [-association]. Since the two examples of Ûzana have two different emic feature inventories, they belong to two different sememes. The first sememe is Ûz in which Ûzana is an alloseme, and the second sememe is Ûzana.

4.7 Comparison of ir, Ûzar and Ûzana

No significant distinction can be found between ir, Ûzar and Ûzana in their primary spatial meaning. All have the emic features [-direction, +interior]. A difference does occur, however, in the figurative extensions of this primary meaning: ir is used to designate the [origin] of a person or activity, and Ûzar occurs in one example designating the [means] by which a verbal activity takes place. Since these features are figurative extensions of the primary meaning 'out of', and are present in only some and not all of the examples, the features used to designate them are etic and not emic. The feature [+origin], for example, is not an emic feature of ir, because not all of the examples with ir contain this feature, and the [origin] meaning can be described by the emic features of ir alone: [-direction, +interior]. The overall paucity of examples with ir, Ûzar and Ûzana may account for the presence of a particular etic feature in one preposition and its lack in another. Since there is no emic difference between ir, Ûzar and Ûzana, these
three prepositions are considered to be free variants or allosemes of the same sememe, which, in this study, will be called  ünl 'out of'.

4.8 Summary of the Old High German System

In Otfrid's system, there are four prepositions of separation. The preposition fon, found in the greatest number of examples, expresses not only 'from' but 'out of' and several figurative extensions of these meanings as well. Its primary emic feature is [-direction] and it has the secondary etic features of [+dative, +interior, +origin, +temporal, +means, +cause, +agent in passive and +topic]. Through transformations, some of these etic features become emic: [+means], [+cause] or [+topic].

The other three prepositions ître, ûzar and ûzana, occur in a small number of examples and have the emic features [-direction, +interior]. In addition, ître has the etic feature [+origin]. Because these prepositions have the same emic features and occur in several parallel examples, they are allosemes of the same sememe  bgcolor="#252525"; 郾z. A second meaning of  bgcolor="#252525"; 郾zana 'except for' indicates a separate sememe for this meaning [-association] and is not a part of the system of separation.
Notes to Chapter Four

1 All citations are taken from Oskar Erdmann's edition of Otfrid's Evangelienbuch (1957).

2 The expression in worton joh in werkon 'with words and with deeds' is formulaic, cf. discussion of Old Saxon in Chapter Five, 5.2.6.

3 Cf. (54).

4 Not found in Otfrid.
CHAPTER FIVE: OLD SAXON

5.0 The Old Saxon Source

The largest known work written in Old Saxon is the Heliand. Comprising over 6000 alliterative verses, it is a retelling of the New Testament in the style of a heroic Germanic epic. Whether it was written for a large audience to help convert the Saxon people to Christianity or for a small circle to pay homage to Christ is not known for certain. What is known is that it was written by a single author probably around the year 830. Further details about the author, the source of the work, and the language used has been the topic of much discussion in recent years (cf. Eichhoff and Rauch, 1973).

A companion piece containing material from the Old Testament was written by a different author, but in a language similar to that of the Heliand. It is called the Old Saxon Genesis, because the largest extent fragment contains material from the Book of Genesis. Only about 330 alliterative verses in three fragments remain of this ninth century work.

The data concerning the prepositions of Old Saxon were taken from Behaghei's edition of Heliand und Genesis (1965). Extensive information concerning the prepositions of Old Saxon was contained in Sehrt's Vollständiges Wörterbuch zum Heliand und zur altsächsischen Genesis (1966) and a grammar

As stated by the title, it was Sehrt's goal to include and define every occurrence of every word in the *Heliand* and *Genesis*. These citations are grouped under the various meanings of each word. Although Sehrt provided a thorough corpus of data, his definitions were often too general for the purpose of this study. It was therefore necessary to read and more narrowly classify each occurrence of the prepositions within the system of separation. The information supplied by Holthausen's grammar of the Old Saxon language concurred for the most part with that from Sehrt. Again, Holthausen gave only general lexical meanings, and no attempt was made by either Sehrt or Holthausen to compare prepositions within a system.

5.1 The Old Saxon Prepositional System of Separation

The prepositions of separation in the Old Saxon system are *fan* 'from', 'out of', *af* 'from', 'out of' and possibly *fram* 'out of'. The most frequently used preposition of separation and the one with the widest range of usage is *fan*.

5.2 *fan* 'from', 'out of' [+dative, -direction]

*Fan* is used with the dative case and has the feature [+dative]. It can be used to designate motion or position away from a person, object or place. This function is represented by the feature [-direction].
(1) ... uuas im sêr hugi, thes sie *fan*
    iro drohtine dêlien scoldun.
    '... their hearts were troubled
    because they (the disciples) had to
    part from their Lord.'

4771-72

(2) ne he ni mahte gebiddien, that man
    imu thes brôdes tharod gidragan
    uueldi, thes thar *fan* themu diske
    nider
    'he (Lazarus) could not ask that one
    might want to carry over to him some
    of the bread which fell down from
    the table under their feet'

3341-42

(3) ... uueros gnornodun, thia *fan*
    Galilea mid im gangan quêmun
    '... the men mourned, they who had
    come with Him (Christ) from Galilea'

5515-16

5.2.1 [+origin]

*Fan* can also be used to indicate that the place,
person or object from which the subject comes is the origin
of that subject. A feature [+origin] is therefore posited.
(4) ... he is fan Galileo lande,
    fan Nazarethburg....
    '... He (Christ) is from Galileo,
        from Nazareth....'

4847-48

5.2.2 [-direction, +interior]
In some instances the object is an enclosed space.

(5) ... (he) hêt ina standen up ia
    fan themu grabe gangan....
    '... He (Christ) commanded him
        (Lazarus) to get up and go out of
        the grave....'

4097-98

(6) ... endi geng imu thô gibolgan
    thanen the man fan theru menigi
        an môdkaru
    '... and he (Peter) went angered
        from there, the man from the crowd
        in sorrow'

5001-02

In these examples, fan indicates motion from the interior
of an object. This function is expressed by the features
[+interior, -direction].
5.2.3 Comparison with af and Other Prepositions

The meanings 'from' and 'out of' which are expressed by fan are also expressed by the preposition af, although there are far fewer examples of af (cf. 5.3). Sehrt cites over ten times as many examples of fan as of af in this meaning (1966: 3; 115 ff.). In two examples, fan is used in one manuscript of the Heliand (Cottonianus) and af is used in the same place in another (Monacensis).

(7) He uuardə garu sâno, stòp fan C (af M) themu stamine endi strîdiun geng fordə te is frôian.
'He (Peter) got ready immediately, climbed from the stem (of the boat) and eagerly went forth to his Lord.'

(8) ... biûtan that man iru Iohannes ... hôbid gâbi alôsid fan C (af M) is lîchamon.
'... (she wanted nothing) except that one would give her the head of John separated from his body.'

Both fan and af can occur with the same nouns: werold 'world', flôd 'river', 'water' and nôd 'need', 'misery'.
(9) ... he ina alôsian, ër hit thit
liohgt agebeb, uuendie fan thesoro
uueroldi.
'... he might not redeem himself,
before he might give up the light,
go from this world.'

2148-49

(10) ... he ni môsta ër thit liohgt
ageban, uuendean af thesoro uueroldi
'... he should not give up the light
beforehand, go from this world'

470-71

The fact that af is another manuscript of the Heliand
and that af and fan can occur with the same objects, seems
to indicate that the difference between fan and af in the
meaning 'from', 'out of' is slight, if there is a difference
at all.

In a more figurative application of the meaning 'from',
i.e. in connection with verbs of taking, saving and freeing,
fan occurs in environments similar to the ones in which af
occurs. Both are used with alôsian 'take away', 'free' and
atômian 'free'.

(11) ... thigida ina gerno, that hie
muosti alôsian thena likhamon Cristes
fan themo crûcie,
'... (Joseph) implored him (the duke) urgently, that he must free the body of Christ from the cross'

5723-25

The second example of alôsian in conjunction with af and fan employs af in one manuscript (M) and fan in another (C), cf. (8) above. In the following examples, af and fan appear with the same verb atômian 'free'.

(12) Nu biddiu ik thi, uualdand frô min,
... that sie af sulicum suhtiun atômies
'Now I ask you, my Lord, ... that you free her from such sickness'
2990-91

(13) ... ina fan naglon atuomda
'... (he) freed him from the nails (of the cross)'
5732

Af and fan also occur with nerian 'save', 'free'.

(14) neri thik fan thero nôdî
'save yourself from misery'
5569

(15) ... quad that he thar quâmì endi
that kind uueldì nerean af theru nôdî.
"... (Christ) said that he would come there and wanted to save the child from misery."

2101-02

Two other prepositions an 'at' and wid 'against' are also used with the verb nerian.

(16) Nu uuilliu ik ... nerien thi an thesaru nódi
'Now I want to save you from this danger'

2956-57

(17) ina nerida god ... wid thes flôdes farm
'God saved him (Noah) from the assault of the flood'

4364,66

In the examples above, (14) through (16), fan, af and an are used with the same object nóð 'need', 'misery' as well as with the same verb nerian 'save'.

As seen from examples (14) through (17), four different prepositions can occur with the verb nerian to indicate the meaning 'from'. Two of these prepositions, fan and af have 'from' as their primary meaning. The other two prepositions, an and wid, have different primary meanings, i.e. 'at' and 'against', respectively. They, however, function in the same
way as do _fan_ and _af_ when occurring with _nerian_.

In conjunction with certain other verbs of taking, freeing, asking, receiving and learning, the meaning 'from' is expressed by prepositions other than _fan_, _af_ or _fram_. Two of these prepositions, _an_ and _at_, have the primary meaning 'at' and merely indicate the location of the activity expressed by the verb. The primary meaning of a third preposition, _te_ 'to', is opposite to its meaning when used with _namin_ 'take', i.e. 'from'. The fourth preposition, _wid_ 'against', has the primary meaning of indicating reciprocation.

Contrary to the practice in Modern German and English, a preposition with the primary meaning 'from', i.e. _fan_, _af_, _fram_, is not used with certain verbs of taking. Instead, _an_, _at_ and _te_ are used. _An_ is used with the verb _farstelan_ 'steal'.

(18) ... that ina is iungron thar ne
farstelan _an_ themo stêne
'so that his disciples there do not steal Him from the stone (tomb)'
5757-58

_An_ also occurs with the verb _githingon_ 'negotiate'. _At_ 'at', another preposition which merely indicates the location of verbal activity, is used instead of _an_ in another manuscript of the same passage.

(19) ... that he habdi thea scattos
thar _gethingod_ _at M_ (an C) theru thiod
... that he had contracted the money there from the people'

4592-93

With the verb thiggean 'receive', at is used in the meaning 'from'.

(20) ... thu giuualð haðes, huat thu
    at thesaru thiodu thiggean uuillies
    '... you shall have free choice, what
    you want to have from these people'

4485-86

In another example with thiggean, at is used in one manuscript and an is used in another.

(21) sume sôhtun sie that uualdandes
    barn, ... that sie im thar at M (an C)
    theru menigi mates endi drankes,
    thigidin at M (an C) theru thiodu
    'some sought the ruling son (Christ)
    so that they might receive there for
    themselves from the crowd food and
    drink, from the people'

1222, 1224-25

In conjunction with the verb gitichan 'pull', an occurs in the Monacensis manuscript and af in the Cottonianus.
(22) (Sîmon Petrus) uuarp an thene sêo
innen angul an ûñeôn endi up gitôh
fisk an M (af C) flôde
'(Simon Peter) threw (his) fishing-hook
into the lake, into the waves, and
pulled up a fish from the water'

In an example with tiohan 'pull', fan is used to describe
the same occurrence as did an and af in (22).

(23) suliken sô thu thar êrist mugis
fisk gifâhen, ... sô teoh thu thene
fan themu flôde te thi
'such fish which you can first catch
there, ... take from the water to
yourself'

There seems to be no difference in meaning between an, af
and fan in (22) and (23). With the verb niman 'take', te,
at and an are used. An occurs more frequently than either
te or at, both of which occur only once.

(24) thoh nam is mêda gehue fulle te
is frôian
'nevertheless each received his
full, entire reward from his Lord'
This use of te, at or an in connection with niman is contrary to the practice in Modern German and English of using 'from' with this verb.

Since an, at, te and wid are used in the meaning 'from' in conjunction with certain verbs, and since some of them alternate with a word for 'from', i.e. in examples with nerian and gitiohan (16), (17) and (22), it would seem that an, at, te and wid in an environment of separation also belong to the Old Saxon prepositional system of separation. They do not merely form prepositional verb relationships with these verbs, because some verbs occur with two of these prepositions, niman occurs with three, and some verbs also occur with af and fan. If the verbs in question were prepositional verbs, one would expect them to occur with only one preposition to express one meaning. In the examples above, the same meaning is expressed...
by one verb in conjunction with one of two or three prepositions. It is also possible, however, that the function of an, at, te and wid in the above examples is not to express separation of the subject from the object but merely to indicate the location of the activity being expressed by the verb. As stated previously, the primary meaning of an and at is that of expressing location, and the primary meaning of wid is to designate the second member of an activity. When used with verbs of taking, the second member of this activity is the person or thing from which the subject is taken. In the case of te, its primary meaning is to indicate direction to an object. It, however, can also be used to designate the place at which an activity takes place, although this function is most frequently performed by an and at.

(27) thó uuarð thiu tîd cuman, that sie thar te Hierusalem, Iudæo liudi iro thiodgode thionon scoldun 'then the time came when they there in Jerusalem, the Jewish people, should serve their almighty God'

787-89

Rather than including an, at, te and wid in the system of prepositions denoting separation and having to specify the environment for this function, i.e. in conjunction with certain verbs, it is more likely that these four prepositions
are merely indicating the place or second party involved in the verbal activity of taking or saving. It is our Modern German and English idiosyncrasy which requires the use of "from" instead of "at" for this same purpose.

5.2.4 [+topic]

When used with verbs of speaking, fan can be used to designate the topic of discussion. This function is represented by the feature [+topic].

(28) Huuat sculun uui them uuerode fon thi seggean te sôdon?
'What in fact should we say to the people about you?'

(29) Than uualdandi Crist mënda im thoh mëra thing, thoh hie obar that manno folc fan them uuîngardon sô uuordon sprâki
'The Lord Christ meant however more, when he spoke thus with words over the crowd about the vinyard'

In addition to fan (29), two other prepositions, umbi 'around' and bi 'by', are used with the verb sprekan 'speak' to express the meaning 'about'. 
Umbi and bi can occur with other verbs of speaking to designate the topics which do not occur with fan. Fan is used with seggian 'say', brömian 'boast', sprekan 'speak' and wilspel brengian 'bring the news'. Umbi is used with seggian 'say', sprekan 'speak', tellian 'say', quedan 'speak', 'say', gornon 'complain', huggian 'think' and other verbs which mean to trouble oneself. Bi is used with sprekan 'speak' and lugina ahebbian 'start lies'.

Although not used in parallel environments with fan, other prepositions besides umbi and bi also indicate the [topic] function. When used with the verb huggian 'think', three prepositions umbi 'around', te 'to', and an 'at' as well as the genitive case can be used to designate that which is being thought about.
(32) the hër al haBâd qiuendid an thene uueroldscat uuilleon sînen, ... endi ni hugid umbi thie maht godes '(the rich man) who has here completely turned his thoughts to worldly possessions and does not think about the power of God'

(33) Bethiu ni gornot gi umbi iuuua gegaruuui, ac huggage te gode fasto 'Therefore do not complain about your clothing, but think firmly of God'

(34) Managa sind thero, thea ... hrôpad thar te helpu endi huggage an ôdar 'There are many who call there (to God) for help and think about other things'

In the examples listed by Sehrt (1966: 275), umbi and an were used only once each, te was used twice in parallel examples, and the genitive case was also used twice. The genitive case was used with abstract objects, i.e. fâr 'persecution' and spel 'words', 'speech', an was used with ôdar 'other things', umbi with thie maht godes 'the power
of God', and te was used with words for God: hêrá 'Lord' and god 'God'. The use of te may have been due to the fact that te is also used with the verbs bedon 'pray' and biddean 'ask' to indicate the person prayed to or asked. Since this person is frequently God, te was often used in connection with words for God. Thus, the use of te with bedon and biddean could have been extended to huggian when the object was likewise a word for God.

In addition to huggian, te is used with another verb meaning 'think', thenkian.

(35) 'Hebenrîki uuîrðíd', quad he,
'garu gumono só huuem, só ti gode
thenkid
"Heaven will come", he said "ready
to that one of men who thinks of God'
956-57

Both examples of thenkian te cited by Sehrt are used in connection with a word for God as are the examples with huggian te, cf. (33).

Due to the small number of examples, it is difficult to state with certainty whether or not umbi, te and an occur in free variation when used with the verb huggian. Although te is used with both huggian and thenkian whenever the object is a word for God, umbi is used in connection with an attribute of God, i.e. the power of God, cf. (32). It is doubtful that te is used exclusively when the object is a
word for God, since both umbi and an also occur with words for God, even though they may occur with verbs other than huggian.

(36) ef thu umbi thînes hêrren ruokus
     'if you care about your Lord'
     5366

(37) manag gêst ... an uualdand
     Krist fasto gilôðean
     'many souls firmly believe in
     the ruling Christ'
     1015, 1017-18

It is more likely that umbi, an and te are in free variation when used with the verb huggian. With the other verb for 'think' thenkian, only te was used. In both examples cited by Sehrt (1966: 594), god 'God' was the object. The lack of examples with umbi and an may be due to the paucity of examples with thenkian in general. In view of the available data, however, te would be listed in the lexicon along with -thenkian as a prepositional verb, since no other prepositions are used with thenkian to indicate the [topic].

When used with the verb gilôðian 'believe', two prepositions signify the [topic] of verbal activity. Both te and an designate that which is believed.

(38) Ik thoh, frô mîn, te thi
     liohto gilôðiu
'I, however, my Lord, believe firmly in you'

An example of an with gilobian can be seen in (37) above. Sehrt cites a few more examples of gilobian with an than with te (1966: 347), and although both are used with objects referring to the Divinity, the objects appearing with an have a greater variety. Te is only used with mi 'me' in reference to Christ and once with thi 'you' in reference to God. An also appears with thi 'you' and with Krist 'Christ', is craft 'his (God's) power', is hêlagun uuord 'his (Christ's) holy words', and is uuerc 'his (Christ's) work'. A third preposition aftar 'after' occurs twice with gilobian.

(39) uuili thesaro thioda te filu gilobian aftar is lêrun 'too many of the people wanted to believe in His (Christ's) teaching'

Since, however, aftar can also mean 'according to', it is more likely that aftar has that meaning in (39) and is not signifying the [topic] as do te and an when used with gilobian. Since the objects used with te and an all refer to God, Christ, or something belonging to the Divinity, they seem to be in free variation. An explanation for the apparent
synonymy of these two prepositions having different spatial meanings may not be so difficult if one considers that te designates the goal or end point 'to', and an indicates not only the place of verbal activity 'at', but motion to that place 'to', or the end point of motion. The verbal activity designated by gilobian, i.e. thinking, has as its goal that which is being thought of, thus an is likewise used to designate the [topic] of thought. It is interesting to note that at 'at' which occurred in free variation with an in connection with verbs of separation, cf. (21), (25) and (26), is not used to designate the [topic]. This may be due to the fact that an is used far more frequently than at. Sehrt cites only two examples of at being used to indicate motion to the place of verbal activity (1966: 36), whereas over a hundred are listed for an (23-27). In Modern German, an is now used exclusively with glauben 'believe' to indicate the [topic] of believing while Modern English uses in.

With the verb truon 'trust', 'believe', only one preposition, an, is used to indicate the [topic].

(40) truodun síc síðor thiu mèr an is mundburd, that hi habdi maht godes 'they then trusted more in His protective rulership, that He (Christ) had the power of God'

2069-70
Since there are no other prepositions used with trûon to indicate the [topic], trûon an will be listed in the lexicon as a prepositional verb, that is a collocation between a particular verb and a particular preposition (Heaton, 1965: 93).

As illustrated above, the [topic] of verbal activity is expressed by several prepositions, including fan. When used with verbs of speaking, fan, umbi and bi are all used to denote that which is spoken about. All three occur with the verb sprekan 'speak', fan and umbi occur with seggian 'say', and umbi is used with a variety of other verbs meaning to speak or to say, as well as to trouble oneself. Because of this versatility, umbi seems to be the main preposition to express the [topic] function. However, fan is used more frequently than umbi with the verb seggian. Sehrt lists five examples with fan (1966: 448) and only one with umbi (624). With sprekan, umbi is used twice and fan once (497). It thus appears that fan, umbi and bi occur in free variation when used to designate the [topic] of verbs of speaking. In this environment, they undergo a transformation in which their primary spatial features become secondary or etic, and one of their secondary features [+topic] becomes primary or emic.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{fan} & \quad \text{[-direction]} \\
\text{umbi} & \quad \text{[+proximity, +spread]} \\
\text{bi} & \quad \text{[+proximity]} \\
\end{align*}
\]
With verbs of thinking, umbi, te and an are used to express the [topic]. The frequency of occurrence with the verb huggian 'think' is evenly divided among the three prepositions. It is interesting to note that te is only used in examples in which the [topic] indicated is a word which refers to God and that it is also used in this relationship with the verb thenkian 'think'. The only examples of this verb occurring with a preposition to denote the [topic], have as their object a word for God and as the designating preposition te. Te, however, does not have the exclusive function of designating the [topic] when the topic is God, since both umbi and an also occur with objects referring to God, although not with verbs of thinking. Since umbi, te and an occur with the same frequency in connection with huggian, and since there doesn't appear to be a reason for the choice of one over the others in respect to their objects, they seem to be in free variation in this environment. The only other verb of thinking cited by Sehrt which occurs with a preposition to designate the [topic] is thenkian. Since thenkian occurs only with te, it is listed in the lexicon as a prepositional verb, thenkian te. When umbi, te and an are used with huggian for the purpose of indicating that which is thought about, they undergo a transformation in which their primary spatial features become etic and the secondary feature [+topic] becomes emic.
The [topic] function in Old Saxon is not performed by one set of prepositions but by three, depending upon the verb used in conjunction with them. With verbs of speaking fan, umbi and bi can perform this function. With verbs of thinking, only two verbs are used with prepositions to designate the topic of thought. One of them, thenkian, only occurs with te, and the other, huggian, can occur with umbi, te or an. There are likewise only two verbs of believing used with a preposition...
to denote the [topic]. Trûon is only used with an, and gilobian can be used with either te or an. The following chart illustrates the specialization and interrelationship of the prepositions having the [topic] function.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ENVIRONMENT</th>
<th>fan</th>
<th>umbi</th>
<th>bi</th>
<th>te</th>
<th>an</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>verbs of speaking</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>huggian 'think'</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gilobian 'believe'</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5.2.5 [+cause]

In another figurative extension of the meaning 'from', fan is used to express the [cause] of an action or event.

(41) ... aslâpan uuas Lazarus fan
them legare
'... Lazarus was dead from the sickness'
4005-06

(42) ... that im thea uuardos uuiht ne
antdrédin lêdes fon them liohta
'... (the angel said) to them (the shepherds) that there was nothing
they would fear of evil from the light'
396-97

In addition to fan, Sehrt ascribes a "causal" meaning to many other prepositions in the Old Saxon system, namely bi 'by', thurh 'through', umbi 'around', for 'in front of',
biforan 'before', te 'to', mid 'with', an 'at' and at 'at'.

Holthausen agrees with Sehrt in ascribing a causal meaning to some of these prepositions but not to all of them. The prepositions bi, thurh, for and an are described as "kausal" by Holthausen as well as by Sehrt. Although Holthausen doesn't describe te or biforan as causal, he does give them the same definition as does Sehrt, i.e. determining purpose in the case of te and meaning "wegen" 'because of' in the case of biforan. Umbi is described as being causal by Sehrt and modal by Holthausen, but both define it as "wegen" 'because of' or "in Betriff" or "betreffs" 'concerning'. (Sehrt: wegen, in Bezug auf, in Betriff, p. 624; Holthausen: um, wegen, betreffs, p. 184). Mid and at are given a causal meaning by Sehrt but not by Holthausen.

After a thorough examination of each example cited by Sehrt as being causal, however, it was found that while some of these prepositions do perform the [cause] function as defined in this study, others actually serve in some other capacity. Those prepositions expressing [cause] are bi and thurh, which appear to be in free variation with fan when performing the [cause] function. The "causal" examples of for and biforan cited by Sehrt, seem actually to be examples of their primary spatial meanings 'in front of' and 'before'. The sole "causal" example of umbi could also mean 'concerning' and probably means this in the single "causal" example as well. Te indicates [purpose] rather than [cause], mid and an express [means] as well as [cause], and at in Sehrt's
"causal" example means 'in regard to' denoting [topic] rather than 'because of', which would have denoted [cause].

The prepositions which, along with fan, indicate [cause] are bi 'by' and thurh 'through'.

(43) Sô he ina thô gehungrean lêt, that ina bigan bi thero, menniski môses lustean 'Thus He (Christ) let himself go hungry so that He began to desire food because of His human nature'

1059-60

(44) sô cumid it al fan uðile eldibarnun, that erl thurh untreuua ôdres ni uuili uuordo gelôbian 'thus it all comes from the evil of men, that one doesn't want to believe the words of another because of lack of faith'

1525-27

Although both Sehrt and Holthausen ascribe the meaning 'because of' (wegen) and 'concerning' (in Betriff, betreffe) to the preposition umbi 'around', only one example could possibly have the meaning 'because of':
(45) Oft sculun gi thar for rîkea thurh thius mîn rehtun uuord gebundane standen endi bêdiu gethologean, ge hosc ge harmquidi: umbi that ne lâtað gi iuuan hugi tuîflon
'Often you will have to stand there bound in front of the ruler because of these my true words and suffer both, mockery and abusive language: don't let your hearts despair because of (about) that'

1894-96

In the other examples of umbi cited by Sehrt as [causal] in meaning, umbi means betreffs 'concerning'. This could also be the meaning of umbi in (45) as well. There is other evidence that umbi in (45) more likely means 'concerning' and thus denotes [topic] rather than [cause]. Notice that in example (45), thurh is used prior to umbi to designate the [cause] of an action. If the phrase umbi that was intended to mean 'because of that' (signifying [cause]) instead of 'about that' (signifying [topic]), umbi may have been used for signifying [cause] instead of thurh to avoid a repetition of thurh. If this were the case, however, it would have been more likely to use bi or fan to designate [cause], since they are used for this function in other examples. The only other example of umbi that cited by Sehrt
(Heliand, 1. 2285) expresses [topic] rather than [cause]. Since there is only one example of umbi in a function which only possibly designates [cause], and since this example could also be interpreted as having another function, namely that of expressing the [topic] of the verbal activity, umbi is not included among the Old Saxon prepositions having the feature [+cause].

The greatest number of examples of the [cause] function are found with bi (Sehrt, 1966: 47). Both bi and fan occur with two of the same nouns in this function, wliti 'glow' and word 'word', 'speech'.

(46) endi im fan them uulitie quâmun,
    them idison sulica egison tegegnes
    'and such horror came to the women
    from the glow (of the angels' robes)'

5811-12

(47) ne mahtun an thia engilos godes bi
    themo uulite scauuon: uuas im thiu
    uuânami te strang
    '(the women at the grave) couldn't
    look at the angel of God because of
    the glow: the shine was too strong
    for them'

5845-46
(48) Ic hebbiu fon is uuorde mid mi stranga stemna
'I (John the Baptist) have with me a strong voice because of His (Christ's) word'
933-34

(49) ni uuas iro sô sikur ênig, that he bi themu uuorde themu uuîe gedorsti stên an uuernationalpen
'not a single one of them was so certain (of being free from sin) that he dared because of these words to throw a stone at the woman'
3875-77

There does not appear to be a reason for the choice of bi over fan in the above contexts. Nor does there seem to be any reason for the use of bi instead of fan in any of the other examples in which these two prepositions express [cause]. Thus bi and fan appear to be in free variation when used in the [cause] function.

A third preposition mid 'with' also occurs with the noun word in two examples which Sehrt defines as indicating the basis or cause (1966: 383).

(50) hie mid is uuordon habît dôces gisculdid
'He (Christ) has made himself guilty of death with his words'
5330-31
Since the primary meaning of *mid* is to indicate [association] between the subject and object, it is frequently used to designate the [means] by which an action is carried out. In the above examples, (50) and (51), *mid* indicates the [means] by which Christ makes himself guilty, which could also be interpreted as being the [cause]. As will be discussed below, all the examples Sehrt gives of *mid* expressing [cause] can likewise be interpreted as indicating [means]. Because the expression of [means] is a frequent function of *mid* -- it is an extension of its primary meaning [+association] --, and since there are no examples of *mid* expressing [cause] without also expressing [means], *mid* will not be further included in the analysis of the preposition expressing [cause].

Another noun occurring with more than one preposition expressing [cause] is *sundea* 'sin', which is found with *bi* and *thurh*. Sehrt lists four examples with *thurh*, and one with *bi* (1966: 621, 47).

(52) *uuras thar ɔc bi sinon sundion giheftid*  
'he (Barabbas) was imprisoned there  
because of his sins'  
5401
There does not appear to be any difference between the meaning of *bi* in (52) and that of *thurh* in (53); nor between *bi* in (43) and *thurh* in (44). Thus we may conclude that *bi* and *thurh* are in free variation when used to express [cause].

The noun *minnea* 'love' is likewise used with two different prepositions to express [cause]: Sehrt cites ten examples with *thurh* and two with *an* 'at' (1966: 390). There are only two examples of *an* in this function, and both of these examples can also be explained as a figurative extension of *an*'s spatial meaning, rather than as a transformation denoting [cause]. As seen in the discussion of *an* in regard to the feature [-direction] above (cf. 5.2.3), *an* is often used as a link between verb and noun and adds no meaning of its own. That is the reason it has so many different meanings when translated into Modern German or English. The meanings differ depending on the context in which *an* appears. The "meaning" of *an* is its function as a link.

(54) that sia iâro gihuem *an* godes  
    minnia an them hêlagon dage ênna  
    haftan mann abiddian scoldun, that  
    im iro burges uuard, iro folctogo  
    ferah fargâbi.

(53) Uuit hier bêdia tholod sêr  
    *thuru* unca sundiun  
    'We both here suffer much  
    because of our sins'
'that they (the Jewish people) each year out of love for God on the holy
day should ask their ruler to give an
arrested man that was in their city
life.'

5405-08

(55) Óc uuârun thar uuôf mid iro an
sô mahtiges minnia cumana -
'Also women had come with her (Mary)
out of love for the Powerful One'

5609-10

In the two examples with minnea in which an expresses [cause],
an serves to connect the action expressed by the verb with
the noun minnea 'love' for God or Christ by stating that the
action is being done in the presence (possession) of love for
God. This analysis is also in keeping with the many examples
cited by Sehrt in which an is used to denote a state of mind
or emotion or, more generally, the activity, form, or condi-
tion in which a person or thing is found (1966: 20-22).

(56) Uuas im thoh an sorgun hugi, that
sie erbiuward êgan ni môstun
'Their mood was in sorrow, that they
could not have an heir of their own'

85-86
Thus in examples (54) and (55), to do something in a state of love for God could also be interpreted as doing it \textit{because of} love for God, just as an action carried out in a state of fear is a result of the fear itself. Since there are no other examples of \textit{an} being used to denote \textit{[cause]}, and since these examples in which \textit{an} could be interpreted as meaning \textit{[cause]} can also be explained as two more examples of the very frequent usage of \textit{an} as a link between verb and noun to denote the presence of a state or emotion, \textit{an} is not included in the set of prepositions signifying \textit{[cause]}. The other preposition occurring with \textit{minnea} in a \textit{[cause]} function, \textit{thurh}, has already been shown to be included in the set of \textit{[cause]} prepositions.

In view of the fact that \textit{fan}, \textit{bi} and \textit{thurh} are all used to express \textit{[cause]}, since there does not appear to be a reason for the choice of one preposition over another, and since more than one of these prepositions can occur with the same noun to express \textit{[cause]}, these three prepositions seem to be in free variation when used to express the \textit{[cause]} of an action. When used for this purpose, \textit{fan}, \textit{bi} and \textit{thurh} undergo a transformation which changes their primary \textit{emic} spatial features to secondary \textit{etic} features, and the \textit{etic} feature \textit{+[cause]} becomes their sole \textit{emic} feature:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{fan} & \quad [-\text{direction}] \\
\text{bi} & \quad [+\text{proximity}] \\
\text{thurh} & \quad [+\text{interior}, \quad +\text{spread}] \\
\end{align*}
\Rightarrow [+\text{cause}] / [+\text{impetus}] \]

5.2.6 [+means]

The instances in which fan is used to express the [means] by which an activity is carried out are grouped by Sehrt along with those expressing the [cause] of an action (1966: 118). After separating from this group those expressing [cause] (cf. discussion above, 5.2.5), five examples remain. One of these seems to be an example of fan expressing separation from a group, represented by the features [+interior, -direction], rather than an expression of [cause]:

(57) uuurtun thar giscerida fan theru
scolu Iudeono uueros te theru uuahru
'they were chosen for the guards from among the group of Jews'

5760-61

Another example could be interpreted as expressing [cause] or [means]:

(58) ac cumid fan alloro bâmo gehuileicumu
sulic uuastom to thesero uueroldi, sô
im fan is uurteon gedregid, ettha berht
ettha bittar
'From each one of the trees comes such fruit into this world as it (the tree) produces by means of (because of) its roots, either sweet or bitter'

1748-50
Sehrt has this example in the group listed as showing [cause] or [means], but since there are separate discussions for [cause] and [means] in this study, this example is placed under [means]. Since all trees have roots, and these roots are used as agents to transport moisture and minerals to the rest of the tree, it is felt that this example is more an expression of [means] than [cause]. In the third example, fan does express [means]:

(59) sô that lêstean uuili, that fon
      uualdanðes uuorde gebiuidid
      'so that they want to carry out,
      that which he is commanded by
      the word of the Ruler'
      1073-74

Fan also expresses [means] in another example, and in so doing, designates the [agent in a passive sentence]:

(60) thiu uuerc frummiën, thea thar
      uuerdad ahlûdid fon therò hêlogun
      tungun, fon them galme godes
      'they (shall) carry out the work,
      that was announced by the holy
      tongue, by the voice of God'
      1070-72

A separate feature [+agent in passive] is, however, not
posed for the Old Saxon system as was for the Gothic and Old High German systems (cf. 3.3.1 and 4.2.7). Sehrt does not list the function of being the [agent in a passive] sentence for any of the Old Saxon prepositions of separation or for any other preposition in the Old Saxon system. An examination of the listings in Sehrt under werđan and wesan, revealed a grouping specifically for the use of this verb to express the passive (1966: 656-59, 677-81), but very few of the examples cited, included anything that could possibly be considered an agent. Of these few citations, those occurring with the preposition fan were also listed by Sehrt under fan but interpreted as having the spatial meaning 'from' rather than a causal or instrumental meaning which would indicate that fan was being used to designate the agent.

(61) hiet that ic thi thoh gicūdi,
that thi kind giboran, fon thînera
alderu idis ôdan scoldi uuerđan
'(He) commanded that I announce to you, that a child shall be born to you, presented from your old wife'

123-25

(62) allaro barno bezta, thero the io
  giboran wurđi magu fon môdar
  'the best of all the children that was ever born, son from a mother'

835-36
These examples do not provide convincing evidence that fan, as used here, designates an [agent] rather than the [origin] of an activity. The only example found to have this function unambiguously is (60). Since this example can also be explained as an example of the [means] function, and there are far more examples of fan being used to express [means], the feature [+agent in passive] is not posited for Old Saxon fan. The examination of passive sentences listed under uuerdan disclosed very few examples containing any preposition at all. In most examples, no agent seems to be given.

The fifth example of fan in a [means] function is evaluated by Sehrt as being a probable one ("wohl hierher", 1966: 118):

(64) sulica gambra, sô im scolda gelden
gihue helîto fon is hÔeda
'such a tax which each of the people should pay per capita'

355-56
Four other prepositions in addition to fan are used in the Old Saxon system to express [means]: mid 'with', thurh 'through', bi 'by' and an 'at'. The majority of the examples cited by Sehrt of a preposition expressing [means] occur with mid 'with'. Mid is used over three times as often as the next most frequently used preposition to express [means], thurh 'through'. The nouns used with mid in these examples are mostly actual instruments: tools, tangible objects, parts of the body and groups of people used as implements, although a few abstract nouns are also used. There are also certain nouns occurring quite frequently with mid which seem to form idiomatic expressions with this preposition: mid wordun 'with words', 'in words', mid werkun 'with deeds', 'in deeds', and ni mid wihti 'in no way'. The nouns used with the other four prepositions, thurh, bi, an and fan, are generally of a more abstract nature. The nouns used with thurh refer mainly to the Divinity: gibod godes 'God's commandment', lêra 'teaching', maht godes 'power of God', handmegin 'power of the hands', dâd 'deed'. The expression thurh is craft 'through His power', cited over 20 times by Sehrt and more if one includes variations, is representative of the nature of nouns used with thurh. Bi is used to express [means] less frequently than mid or thurh. About a third as many examples occur with bi as occur with either mid or thurh. The nouns occurring with bi are varied and do not lend themselves as readily to classification as do those with mid and thurh. Most of the examples were of
abstract nouns; those which include concrete nouns usually
differ from the examples with *mid* in that the nouns for the
most part do not represent tools or implements.

(65) mag he *bi* bôcstaboûn brêf geuuirkean,
namon qiscriûn

'he can make a document with letters
of the alphabet, write the name'
230-31

Some nouns were used several times with *bi* and seemed to
be idioms: *bi namon* 'by name' and *bi* *biliðiun* 'in parables',
since these nouns did not occur frequently with the other
prepositions expressing [means].

(66) Nemnida sîe thô *bi* naman

'He (Christ) called them (the
disciples) by name'
1255

(67) he im filu sagâa be *biliðiun*

that barn godes

'He told them much in parables,
the child of God'
2370-71

While the nouns used with *mid* were definitely some
sort of tool or tangible instrument, those used with *thurh*
and *bi* were mostly abstract, although a small proportion were
also concrete objects. *Thurh* and *bi* also formed idioms with certain nouns, but otherwise seemed to be in free variation.

The preposition *an* is the most diverse of the five expressing [means]. It sometimes appears in conjunction with a verb and a noun as do the other four prepositions, and in this respect, is similar to *fan*, *thurh*, *mid* and *bi*.

(68) that mugun uui *an* thinumu gibârie gisehan, *an* thinun uuordun endi *an* thînaru uuîson

'that we can see by your appearance,
by your words and by your nature'

4973-74

In some examples, the nouns were actual implements, revealing a similarity to *mid* as well. In these examples, however, there is also a strong feeling of location in addition to [means]. The preposition *an* could be interpreted not only as indicating [means] as stated by Sehrt, but also as citing the proximity of a noun associated with the verbal activity that was taking place. This is not surprising, as the primary meaning of *an* 'at' is to show close proximity [+surface].

(69) than ik geheftid uuas, *an*

lidokospun bilokan

'when I was bound, locked up
with (in) fetters'

4426-27
There are several other examples of bilûkan 'lock(up)' used in conjunction with a preposition. With one exception, the preposition associated with bilûkan is an. In each example of bilûkan an, an can be interpreted as either showing means, or as in (69), physical proximity to a noun. The one example in which the preposition following bilûkan could only be translated as showing [means] and not [proximity], was the preposition mid instead of an.

(70) mid ênu felisu belucun allaro
    graðo guodlîcost
    'they closed the most splendid of all graves with a rock'

Other similar examples of an described by Sehrt as indicating means can likewise be interpreted as describing the location of the activity stated by the verb as well as indicating [means].

(71) uuas ... an hrêobeddion bihelid
    '(Lazarus) was wrapped with (in)
    a shroud'

(72) that sie ûs hêr an speres ordun
    spildien môstin
    'that they should kill us here with (on) the points of spears'
Some examples indicate close proximity of an abstract noun:

(73) thius uuerold uuas sô suiđo
    besmitin an sundiun
    'this world was so very much
defiled with sin'

Genesis 36-37

Here, an can only be translated as 'with', but the close proximity of sin and the world is still felt. In the following example, an indicates [means] but not [proximity]:

(74) that undar sô aldun tuêm ôdan
    vurði barn an giburdeon
    'that among two such old ones was
    presented a child in birth'

204-05

The above example resembles more closely another group of examples in which an joins a noun to the verb that is so close in meaning to the verb that the resulting prepositional phrase can almost be considered redundant.

(75) it rotat hîr an roste
    'it rusts here to rust'

1644

The most striking characteristic of an, however, is its use in constructions involving an adjective or a past
participle used as an adjective. These examples are numerous and rarely occurred with the other four prepositions representing [means].

(76) Úuas ò that an ò is uuordun scìn iac an
is dâdian só same, that he drohtin uuas
'(it) was apparent by his words and by
his deeds the same, that He was the
Lord'

1207-08

(77) than ne sí he imu eo só suuuíò
an sibbiun bilang
'then may he never be so very much
related to him by family'

1494

Although it is not characteristic of the preposition mid to
occur with an adjective in the [means] function, mid was also
used with the same adjective, bilang 'related':

(78) Hie ni uuas thoh mid sibbeon bilang
'He, however, was not related by
family'

64

As shown above in (70) and (78), mid and an occur in
similar environments. The other prepositions expressing
[means], fan, thurh and bi, likewise appear in environments
similar to each other. Fan and bi are used with the same noun hófde 'head', cf. (64) above:

(79) ne suuerea bi is seilès hôfde
'(he) should not swear by his own head'

Thurh, bi and an all occur with the phrase kraft godes 'power of God', although the largest number of examples occur with thurh. Dād 'deed' and lēra 'teaching' can occur with mid or thurh, and an also occurs with werkun 'deeds' and wordun 'words', although they are most frequently used with mid.

To express the [means] by which an activity takes place, five prepositions can be used: mid, thurh, bi, an and fan. The choice of one preposition over another seems to follow certain tendencies: If the object is an actual tool or part of the body, mid is the most frequent choice; if the object is an abstract noun, thurh is used most frequently, especially if the object refers to the Divinity; if the verbs wesan 'be' or werdan 'become' are used in conjunction with an adjective or past participle, an is generally used; and some individual nouns occur almost exclusively with one of the five prepositions in idiomatic expressions. These, however, are just tendencies and not strict rules. As mentioned above, each of the five prepositions occur in environments similar to those in which at least one other preposition can also be found, indicating that
these prepositions are in free variation with each other when used to express [means]. When used for such a purpose, mid, thurh, bi, an and fan undergo a transformation in which their diverse primary or emic features become secondary or etic and their formerly etic feature [+means] becomes their sole emic feature.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{mid} & \quad [+\text{association}] \\
\text{thurh} & \quad [+\text{interior}, +\text{spread}] \\
\text{bi} & \quad [+\text{proximity}] \\
\text{an} & \quad [+\text{surface}] \\
\text{fan} & \quad [-\text{direction}] \\
\end{align*}
\]

\( \rightarrow [+\text{means}] / [+\text{means}] \)

5.2.7 [+temporal]

In another figurative extension of the meaning 'from', fan is found in temporal expressions and has the feature [+temporal].

(80) Than uuas im Iohannes fon is iuguđhêdi auuahsan an ênero uuôstunni 'At that time John had, from his youth, grown up in a desert'

859–60

5.2.8 Summary of fan

Fan is used with the dative case [+dative]. Its primary function is to show position or direction away from a person.
or place [-direction]. Fan can also indicate that the object is the origin of the subject [+origin] and that the motion is emanating from the interior of the object [-direction, +interior]. When used with verbs of speaking, fan can be used to designate the topic of discussion [+topic]. It can also be used to express the cause of an action or event [+cause] or the means [+means] by which an activity takes place. Fan also occurs in a few expressions of time [+temporal].

5.3 af 'from', 'out of'

The preposition af 'from', 'out of' does not occur as frequently as fan.

5.3.1 [+dative, -direction]

Af is used with the dative case and therefore has the feature [+dative]. In its spatial sense, af indicates motion or position from a place or person. In this function, it has the feature [-direction].

(7)=(81) He uuard garu sâno, stôp af themu stamne endi strîdiun geng forď te is frôian.
'He (Peter) got ready immediately, climbed from the stem (of the boat) and eagerly went forth to his Lord.'

2939-41
... he should not give up the light beforehand, go from this world'

5.3.2 [-direction, +interior]

Sometimes the separation is from the interior of the object, hence the meaning of af is 'out of', which is represented by the features [-direction, +interior].

'(Simon Peter) threw (his) fishing-hook into the lake, into the waves, and pulled up a fish from the water'

His soul was sent ... the spirit was out of the body'

Example (82) may also fit here.

In three examples, af is used to denote separation of one part of the body from the whole. Each example contains
the verb lɔsian 'separate' or alɔsian 'separate', 'take off'
and the noun phrase is lîchamon 'his body'.

(8)=(85) ... biûtan that man iru Iohannes
... hôbid gâbi alôsid af is lîchamon.
'... (she wanted nothing) except that
one would give her the head of John
separated from his body.'

2774-76

In a figurative extension of the meaning 'from', af
expresses a saving or freeing from an existing condition.
Three of the five examples cited by Sehrt contain the same
verb nerian 'save', 'free' and noun nôd 'need', 'misery'.

(15)=(86) ... quad that he thar quâmi endi
that kind uueldi nerean af theru
nôdi.
'... (Christ) said that he would
come there and wanted to save the
child from misery.'

2101-02

The other two examples express similar contexts, employing
the verbs lɔsian 'separate', 'free' and atômian 'free' and
the nouns lêfhêd 'illness' and suht 'illness', 'disease'.
(12)–(87) Nu biddiu ik thi, uualdand frô min,
... that sie af sulicum suhtiun atômies
'Now I ask you, my Lord, ... that you
free her from such sickness' 2990-91

5.3.3 [+origin]
There is one example in which af is used to designate
the material from which something is made.

(88) behuuî ni hêtis thu than uuerêan,
... brôd af thesun stêun?
'Why don't you then command bread
from these stones?'
1065-66

This example indicates that af can be used to designate the
[origin], although this is the only example of af in this
function. Nevertheless, the feature [+origin] is posited.

5.3.4 Summary of af
fan has all the same functions as af and occurs in
environments similar to those of af with the exception of
(88) (cf. 5.2.3). In some examples, fan is used in one
manuscript and af is used in the same place in another manu-
script, cf. examples (7) and (8). Therefore, fan and af
seem to be in free variation, although af occurs far less
frequently and in a more limited number of environments than
fan.
The semantic features posited for *af* are [+dative, -direction, +interior, +origin], the emic feature is [-direction].

5.4 *fram* 'out of'

Sehrt labels *fram* an adverb and lists only two examples (1966: 149). Holthausen (1921: 184) includes *fram* in his discussion of prepositions and states that it occurs only once. His example is one of the two also cited by Sehrt.

(89) that imu mahlidin *fram* môdaga uuihti
    'that the evil spirits spoke out
    from him'

*Fram* does indeed seem to be an adverb in this sentence, since 'from him' is expressed by the dative case *imu* 'him', and *fram* is used to intensify this meaning. Accordingly, arguments for a postposition fail (cf. further discussion in Lehmann, 1970). The second example unambiguously indicates that *fram* is an adverb.

(90) than is erlo gehuuem ôdar betara,
    ... that he ina *fram* uuerpa
    'then for each of the people the
    other is better ... that he throw it
    (the offending hand) away'

1486-87
Since there were no examples of *fram* used as a preposition, *fram* is not included in the system of prepositions expressing separation.

5.5 Summary of the Old Saxon System

In the Old Saxon system of separation, *fan* has assumed all of the functions and occurs far more frequently than *af*. It not only indicates separation 'from' or 'out of' an object, and, in so doing, can designate [origin], but also in certain environments undergoes a transformation to signify [cause], [means] or the [topic of discussion]. Although other prepositions are used more often than *fan* to indicate [cause], [means] and [topic of discussion], there is a significant number of examples with *fan* to conclude that these too are actual functions of *fan*.

The preposition *af* is used infrequently and performs only those functions connected with its primary meaning 'from', 'out of'. It undergoes no transformations and hence does not operate outside the system of separation.

No examples of *fram* as a preposition were found, and therefore, *fram* is not included in the Old Saxon system.
Note to Chapter Five

1Fram is listed here initially because Holthausen includes it; cf. however discussion of fram 5.4.
CHAPTER SIX: CONCLUSION

In conclusion, the emic and etic system grids for the prepositions of separation are:

Table 1. The Gothic System

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<th>dative</th>
<th>direction</th>
<th>temporal</th>
<th>origin</th>
<th>agent in passive</th>
<th>topic</th>
<th>interior</th>
<th>partitive</th>
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Etic Features

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Table 3. The Old Saxon System

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| Emic Features |
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Of the three prepositional systems of separation, the Gothic system (Table 1) is the largest and the most specialized. It has the greatest number of distinctive prepositions, and the function of each is more clearly defined than in Old High German and Old Saxon. Although there is the same number of prepositions in both the Gothic and Old High German systems, three of the four prepositions in Old High German belong to the same sememe, that is, they are variants of the same preposition, since no difference in meaning can be found among them.

The division of labor in the Gothic system takes the following form: One preposition, *af*, merely expresses separation. If that separation is from an object which is to be specified as the origin, *fram* is used. A third preposition, *us* designates separation from the interior of an object, and the fourth preposition, *fairra*, stipulates that the separation is at a great distance. There are some instances in which one preposition will take on the function of another, for example *af* or *us* is used instead of *fram* to express [origin] (cf. 3.3), but the general tendencies are usually followed.

In the Old High German and Old Saxon systems, one preposition, *fon* (OS *fan*), when compared with Gothic, seems to have taken over all of the functions. OHG *üz* with its allesemes and OS *af* are used far less frequently than *fon* and do not perform any function which *fon* does not also perform.
In Old High German and Old Saxon, one preposition undergoes all the transformations; in Gothic, there are two. *Fram* undergoes the [topic] transformation (cf. 3.3.3), and a second preposition, *us* undergoes the [modal] transformation (cf. 3.4.5).

The prepositional systems in Old High German and Old Saxon perform more functions than their Gothic counterpart. In addition to the [agent in passive] and [topic] functions expressed in the Gothic system (cf. 3.3.1 and 3.3.3), OHG *fon* and OS *fan* express the [cause] of some activity (cf. 4.2.6 and 5.2.5). They also express the [means] by which an activity is performed (cf. 4.2.5 and 5.2.6), whereas the Gothic preposition *us* has a [modal] meaning instead.

The Old High German system contains four prepositions, but actually only two distinct ones (Table 2). The prepositions, *ir*, *ûzar* and *ûzana*, occur in environments that are so similar to each other that they appear to alternate freely with each other. These prepositions are ascribed to the same sememe *ûz*. *ûz* itself is found sporadically in a few documents in Old High German but not in Otfrid. Accordingly, it is considered here reconstructed for the purpose of this dissertation. *ûz* differs from the dominant preposition *fon* in that it mainly expresses separation from an enclosed space (cf. 4.7). *Fon* also performs this function and with greater frequency, as well as expressing purely separation. *Ir* has the added feature of indicating [origin], but this
meaning is not present in each occurrence of \( \text{ir} \) and is therefore not an emic feature (cf. 4.3.1).

The Old Saxon system contains only two prepositions (Table 3). As with the Old High German system, one of these, \( \text{fan} \), is dominant and, as compared with Gothic, has taken over all the functions. The second preposition \( \text{af} \) is in free variation with \( \text{fan} \), and is often found instead of \( \text{fan} \) in a different manuscript of the Heliand.

In addition to alternating with prepositions within their own systems, all three languages have prepositions which alternate with members of other systems. This alternation occurs in the functions of expressing [cause], [means], [topic], and [modality]. Both Gothic and Old High German have prepositions which signify the [agent in a passive sentence], \( \text{fram} \) in Gothic 3.3.1 and \( \text{fon} \) in Old High German 4.2.7, but Old Saxon does not. Agents of passive sentences simply aren't designated in the Heliand (cf. 5.2.6). When used for these purposes, the prepositions of separation undergo a transformation in which their spatial meaning becomes secondary, and their function of expressing [cause], [means], etc. becomes the primary meaning (cf. 4.2.5, 4.2.6, 5.2.5 and 5.2.6). The spatial meaning features retreat to the background and may play a role as the connotative meaning in the selection of this particular preposition over the others in a function which could be expressed by any one of several prepositions.
Sometimes the prepositions share the same function with a grammatical case. The most striking evidence of this can be seen in an example from Gothic in which the preposition *us* is used at one time to translate a Greek prepositional phrase with *εκ*, and the Gothic genitive case is used at another time to translate the same Greek prepositional phrase.

(1) jah suns ḫragida ains *us*
    im jah nam swamm
    'and one of them ran and took a sponge'

    Matthew 27:48

(2) jah ains ḫe ni ḫadriusib ana airba
    inuh attins izwaris wiljan (genitive case)
    'and not one of them will fall to the ground without your Father's will'

    Matthew 10:29

A Gothic prepositional phrase also alternates with the genitive case in two different translations of the same passage. One Gothic translation has two prepositional phrases with *us*:

(3) sumaim dauns *us* dauḇau du dauḇau,
    sumaimuḇ-ḇan dauns *us* libainai du
    libainai
'to one a fragrance from death to death, to the other a fragrance from life to life'

2 Corinthians 2:16

and another uses the genitive case for the first expression, dauns daubaus 'fragrance of death' instead of the prepositional phrase dauns us daubau, and a prepositional phrase, dauns us libainai, for the second (Streitberg 1960: 286-87).

Because the individual prepositions in the Gothic system were more specialized, the system as a whole seemed to have a greater power of expression. Shades of meaning could be achieved, that of specifying separation or origin, for example, through the use of the preposition reserved for that purpose or by deliberately avoiding the expected choice. Prepositions in the Gothic system also undergo fewer transformations than do those of Old High German and Old Saxon. This seems to indicate that the prepositions in Gothic were more often employed in their primary spatial sense than in a figurative or purely functional usage. The Old High German and Old Saxon systems are dominated by one preposition which could be used for every function of the system, thus necessitating the use of other means to achieve the sense of origin or even separation from the interior. Since Old High German and Old Saxon are less inflected languages than Gothic, one might expect the opposite to be true, namely that
the prepositional systems in these less inflected languages would have more expressive power to compensate for the lack of inflection than does the system in Gothic. On the other hand, the relative differentiation of the Gothic prepositions may lend support to the interpretation which holds prepositions to be cases, relations, or lower predicates (cf. 2.3); in this case the lack of ambiguity of prepositions correlates with a preserved inflectional system.

A comparison of the etic feature charts for all the prepositions of these three languages (cf. Appendices) reveals the complexity and interweaving of prepositional systems illustrated by the detailed discussion of the systems of separation. This study has also shown how the systems of prepositions are interrelated to adverbials, cf. 3.4.5 (92), (93) and cases, cf. 4.2.8 (70), (72) and 3.4.4 (89).

Notable is the change in frequency and function of the individual prepositions within the various systems. Af, active in Gothic with a meaning all its own, occurs in free variation with fan in Old Saxon. The Old High German cognate aba however, is found in only a few documents and not at all in Otfrid. When it does occur, it is limited to its literal meaning 'from' and alternates freely with fon (Graff 1824:213). In Modern German, it occurs as the separable prefix ab. Fram, again quite important to the Gothic system, occurs only now and then in High German glosses (Graff 1824: 213) and not at all as a preposition in Old Saxon.
Gothic us occurs in Old High German as ir with the same meaning 'out of'. Although used by Otfrid, ir does not appear in all Old High German works. In Modern German, it exists as the inseparable prefix er-. Instead of ir, Old High German ûz (ûza), which is the Gothic adverb ût, occurs more frequently. This is Modern German aus. Developing from this system and related in meaning are Old High German ûzar and ûzana, which are used as prepositions in Old High German but as adverbs in Gothic and Old Saxon. In short, the Gothic preposition us (OHG ir) was replaced by the Gothic adverb of the same meaning ût which is used as a preposition in Old High German (ûzs, ûzar, ûzana) but adverbially in Gothic (ût, ûtana) and Old Saxon (ût, ûtan, ûtar) (Graff 1824: 57-61).

Although of secondary importance to this study, it is nonetheless worthy of note that af, which played an important role in the Gothic system is also prevalent in Old Saxon. On the other hand, its function in Old High German is restricted to a few documents; it does not occur in Otfrid. While Old High German preserves Gothic us as ir and adds ûzar and ûzana to its system, Old Saxon does not show any less degree of influence with its adverbs ût, ûtan and ûtar to parallel Gothic adverbs ût, ûtana as well as the preposition us. Intriguingly, Old Saxon would then seem to face two directions, that of Gothic af but also that of OHG fon. However, the etic features of OS af are precisely those of OHG ir, that is
ûz. Accordingly, OS af may be solely a lexical relic of a former contact in the sense of Wrede (cf. 2.1). However, the link of Old High German with Gothic is equally superficial, since the etic features of the allosemes of OHG ûz do not coincide with those of Gothic us, so that Frings' view (cf. 2.1) is not supported either by the prepositions of separation. What is striking is the undifferentiated system for Old Saxon. As observed above, such lack of differentiation may correlate with a generally less differentiated inflectional system.

The implications proceeding from this study are many and varied. A great many larger and smaller subsystems potentially suggest themselves from the total inventories represented in the Appendix grids. The subsystem of direction, for example, would also make an interesting topic of investigation in any of the three dialects, related dialects, and/or at different time periods. Consider e.g. the complexity of the Modern German subsystem containing zu, nach, an, auf, all expressing the meaning 'to' depending upon the context. A study of the many relationships expressed by prepositions also suggests an investigation of other means by which these same relationships are expressed. Many of these alternate methods, including cases, adverbs, adjectives, verbs, alternate with prepositions within a discourse.
BIBLIOGRAPHY


Meer, Marten Jan van der. 1930. *Die Bedeutung und die Rektion der gotischen Praepositionen*. Amsterdam: Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen.


## APPENDIX A: Gothic Etic Features

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*Note: The table above lists features and their corresponding values across different grammatical and semantic categories.*
### APPENDIX C: Old Saxon Etic Features

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VITA

Donna Ann Zych was born on February 25, 1944 in Chicago, Illinois. She attended public elementary schools in Chicago and high schools in the suburbs. She graduated from Thornridge High School, Dolton, Illinois, in 1961. In 1965, she received an A.B. cum laude in German from Monmouth College in Monmouth, Illinois. Her A.M. degree in German literature is from the University of Illinois where she studied and was a teaching assistant from 1965 to 1967. For the next four years she taught German in high school in Palos Hills, Illinois. The summer of 1968 was spent at a NDEA Institute in Munich, Germany, for which she had been awarded a scholarship. During the academic year 1971-72, she studied Germanic linguistics at the Philipps-Universität in Marburg, Germany. From 1972-81, she again attended the University of Illinois, specializing in Germanic linguistics. She held a teaching assistantship in the Department of Germanic Languages and Literatures from 1972-77 and in the University's Curriculum Laboratory High School from 1977-81. She received her Ph.D. in German from the University of Illinois in 1981.