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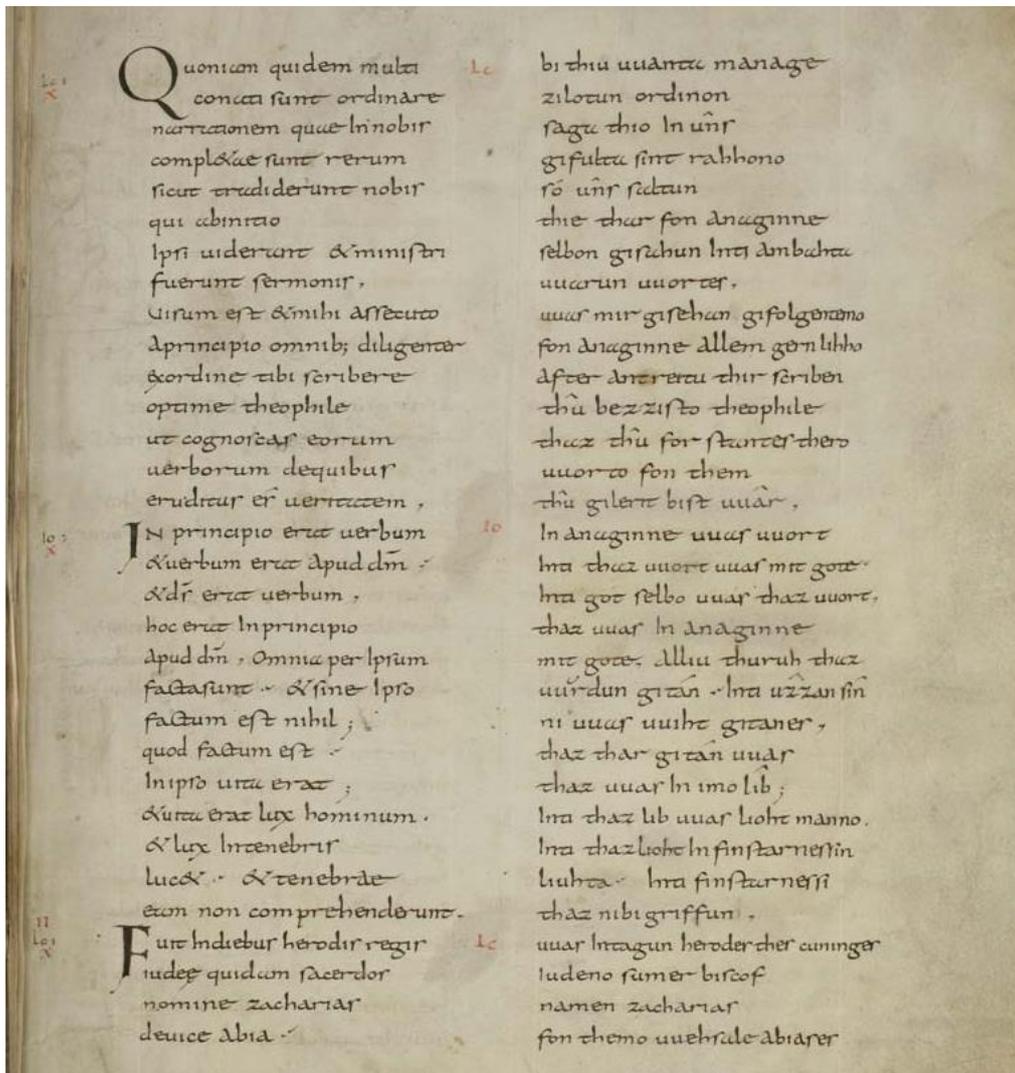Faculty of Modern and Medieval Languages

The Fate of the Instrumental Case in the History of German

Optional Dissertation in place of paper GE11 (Tripos Part II, 2014)

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Contents

Abbreviations

MHG	Middle High German
NHG	New High German
OE	Old English
OHG	Old High German
ON	Old Norse
OS	Old Saxon
PGmc.	Proto-Germanic
PIE	Proto-Indo-European

Cover image:
Taken from the Old High German Tatian *Evangelienharmonie*.
St. Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. Sang. 56, p. 25 – Evangelienharmonie des Tatian
(http://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/de/list/one/csg/0056).

Introduction

Case is a system expressing the grammatical function of nouns in phrases, clauses or sentences. By way of example, consider the following German sentence: *Der Mann gibt dem Kind den Ball.* This sentence features three nouns, whose relationship to the verb is each marked by a distinct case; the subject (*der Mann*) in the nominative, the direct object (*den Ball*) in the accusative and the indirect object (*dem Kind*) in the dative. From a broader typological perspective, case manifests itself in various ways. Firstly, languages differ in the number of formal cases they distinguish. There is a wide spectrum here; Modern Finnish, for instance, demonstrates a relatively complex nominal morphology with 15 cases[1], whilst Modern English has a 'near minimal'[2] case system. Secondly, the way in which case is marked also varies cross-linguistically. As shown above, case markings can be borne by noun dependents. Thus, in <u>Der Mann gibt dem Kind den Ball</u> it is not the nouns themselves but the inflected noun dependents, here the definite article, which mark the case distinctions[3]. Other languages demonstrate such grammatical relationships via different means. In highly inflectional languages, the nominal forms themselves suffice in distinguishing case, with or without redundant marking in the dependents. In Modern Icelandic, for instance, the same sentence would be formulated: *Maðurinn gefur barninu boltann.* Even once the inflected suffixed definite article, respectively *-inn, -inu* and *–nn*, is removed from each word, the three nouns remain grammatically distinct; *mað-ur* features the strong masculine singular nominative ending, *bolt-a* the weak masculine singular accusative and *barn-i* the strong neuter singular dative. At the other end of the inflectional spectrum, Modern English relies on features other than case, typically conventions of word order alongside additional prepositions to express similar relationships: *The man gives the ball to the child.* Unlike renderings in other languages, here the additional preposition *to* plays a crucial role in marking the direct/indirect object distinction between the otherwise grammatically ambiguous uninflected items *ball, child.*

Returning to German, we have already met three of its distinct cases; the nominative, accusative and dative. These, together with the genitive case, compose the four-case system of the modern language. Thus, in comparison to its English sister, German has retained a relatively complex case morphology throughout its diachronic development. Nevertheless German has undergone significant simplification of its own case system over time. Evidence from older stages of the Germanic languages suggests that, at least theoretically, the reconstructed Proto-Germanic system would possess a greater number of distinct cases. We can extrapolate this probability from the earliest Germanic texts. The Gothic corpus, for example, features traces of two cases absent from Modern German; the vocative and the instrumental. Although the former, marking forms of address, already appears to have merged with the nominative in some instances by the time of text production, the distinction is still maintained in some singular inflectional classes[4] (Braune/Heidermanns 2004:87). Similarly, some vestigial forms of an instrumental case, which traditionally expressed the instrument with which an action was performed, are also found in Gothic, most clearly in inflected forms of the neuter pronoun; the demonstrative pronoun form *þê*

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[1] Blake (1994:154).

[2] Blake (1994:11).

[3] Case marking on noun dependents is known as 'concordial case' (Blake 1994:7).

[4] Strong masculine a-nouns: nominative *dag-s* ; vocative *dag-* and also strong masculine and feminine u-nouns: nominative *sunu-s*; vocative *sunu-, sunau-* (Braune/Heidermanns 2004:90,100).

and the interrogative pronoun *hƿê* are two such examples (Braune/Heidermanns 2004:87). Elsewhere in Germanic, whilst Old Norse already demonstrates a reduced four-case system in which the dative typically encodes instruments[5], in Old English there remain 'significant remnants' of the instrumental: in the masculine and neuter singular of the demonstratives *se* and *Þes,* of the interrogative *hwa,* as well as in the strong adjectival declension (Mitchell 1985:3).Tracing back even further via methods of comparative reconstruction, it is often postulated that PGmc. would have possessed 6 distinct morphological cases[6], a figure which in itself represents a reduction from a Proto-Indo-European 8- or even 9-part set[7].

Clearly, case systems are not invincible to the forces of language change. Indeed, phenomena of case system simplification are widely attested typologically[8] and Clackson (2007:91) notes that such tendencies represent a 'norm in the diachronic history of most Indo-European languages.' The history of German offers an interesting example here. Whereas Modern German demonstrates a four-way case system, the earliest texts from the Old High German period display traces of an instrumental case, just as we noted for Gothic and OE above. Whilst instrumental forms are only attested in the singular (Braune/Reiffenstein 2004:182), in 8th and 9th century texts instances are still relatively common; the 9th century apocalyptic poem *Muspilli* features instrumental forms such as *lougiu* 'in flames' and *mit diu uuiru* 'with fire.' In the latter part of the OHG period, however, instrumental usage steadily declines and, as noted in Braune/Reiffenstein, by the 11th century there are merely 'verstreute Trümmer' to be found (2004:182). Indeed, lasting traces of the lost case are still etymologically disguised in New High German: NHG *heute* 'today' corresponds with OHG *hiutu* <*hiu tagu 'on this day', originally an instrumental noun phrase expressing locative meaning (Sonderegger 1979:99). NHG *heute* thus hints towards an earlier diachronic stage. Moreover, the overall narrative in the history of the German case system is characterised by simplification and reduction, as summarised by Sonderegger:

> 'Reduktion und Umstrukturierung der Endungsmorphematik hat im Bereich der fallgebundenen Wortarten Substantiv, Adjektiv, Pronomen, Artikel und Zahlwort bestimmte Auswirkungen auf das Kasussystem, bei welchem die geschichtliche Bertrachtungsweise ebenfalls eine konstante Entwicklungstendenz erkennen lässt' (1979:248).

It is this diachronic development, the simplification of the German case system and, in particular, the fate of the instrumental case, which shall be the focus of this study. We will begin with a preliminary survey of the instrumental as it manifests itself in Gothic before undertaking a more extensive investigation of the situation across early German texts and its subsequent development in later stages of the language.

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[5] Consider the ON dative construction *skjóta spjóti,* 'to throw a spear' (Gordon/Taylor 1981:311).

[6] Vocative; nominative; accusative; dative; genitive; instrumental (Ringe 2006:233-34).

[7] Vocative; nominative; accusative; dative; genitive; instrumental; ablative; locative; allative (Ringe 2006:23). Clackson (2007:90), however, casts doubt on the number of cases traditionally reconstructed for PIE, highlighting the primacy of Sanskrit in early Indo-European studies and the perhaps less than coincidental fact that the reconstructed PIE noun categories exactly reflect those of the Sanskrit noun. Moreover, the maximal case differentiation is found exclusively in the singular, the plural showing only six cases and the dual only two (Kurylowicz 1964:200).

[8] Blake notes the 'tendency for cases to merge or syncretise' (1994:172).

Form versus function

Firstly, it is necessary to examine the instrumental case itself in closer detail. Blake summarises that the instrumental case 'encodes the instrument with which an action is carried out,' as in *She wiped the screen <u>with a cloth</u>* (1994:156). He also highlights the distinction between syntactic cases (those expressing grammatical relations) and concrete cases (those expressing semantic relations), labelling the instrumental as one of the latter (1994:35). A further element of classification is that the instrumental is a 'peripheral' case, it being additional to the three 'core' cases: nominative, accusative, ergative[9] (Blake 1994:199). Returning to the above examples from OHG, however, an interesting problem arises. Whilst *lougiu* and *mit diu uuiru* do indeed express an instrument or, at the very least, the means by which an action is performed, *hiutu* is problematic; here an instrumental morphological form does not express a purely instrumental function but rather an adverbial meaning. Mitchell notes a similar blurring of means and manner in the OE case function:

> 'While on the one side the dative/instrumental of means shades into that of agency, on the other it shades into that of manner. Hence the use of the dative/instrumental to form adverbs...the lines of demarcation are inevitably hazy...'(1985:573).

Moreover, Narrog (2009:598) notes that instrumental markers are 'typically polysemous,' that is, that they commonly express multiple related meanings, as demonstrated by the adverbial examples above. Drawing on data taken from a sample of 200 languages (Narrog & Ito 2007), Narrog has also noted that markers which have an instrumental function most commonly also mark one or more other function, including locative, comitative, cause, manner and material (2009:598).The grey area between instrument and manner in particular is highlighted by the example that English *how*-questions simultaneously enquire about the instrument as well as the manner of an action, and that both are expressed via the same prepositional *with*-phrase (Schlesinger 1979:316). This is also a feature of several other languages as noted by Nilsen (1973:74-75), suggesting that instrument, means and manner commonly form a semantically hazy area.

In this context, a further crucial distinction relevant in any discussion of grammatical case must be highlighted: that between form and function. Nübling offers a concise explanation relating to inflectional morphology here, differentiating between a functional *Inhaltsseite* and a formal *Ausdrucksseite*:

> 'Wie alle sprachlichen Zeichen haben auch Flexionsendungen (-suffixe) eine Inhaltsseite, die die grammatische Information (Funktion) enthält, und eine Ausdrucksseite (Form), in der diese Information verpackt ist ' (2008:50).

Yet traditional approaches arising from Indo-European studies tended to use the term 'case' somewhat ambiguously, largely ignoring the form/function distinction, as Anderson (1977:9) has noted. In a similar vein, Blake points out the necessity of distinguishing between 'cases' (in a system of oppositions) and 'case markers' through which the cases are realised (1994:2).

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[9] The ergative case encodes the agent of the action of a transitive verb as distinct from that of an intransitive verb. Since languages with so-called 'ergative alignment' are mostly found outside Indo-European, and Germanic varieties exclusively present nominative-accusative systems, the ergative label is of little relevance here.

Returning to our initial example sentence, *Der Mann gibt dem Kind den Ball,* we can say that the definite article form *der* marks the function of nominative case, *den* the accusative and *dem* the dative. Yet, just as it is not always possible to map phonetic articulations onto sounds contrasting meaning (phonemes), the equation of single morphological forms with individual grammatical functions can be equally problematic. A single form can encode more than one grammatical function, a phenomenon known as 'syncretism'. ON offers a good example here; the dative expressed grammatical functions as diverse as position, point of time, source, cause and instrument, whilst also marking the indirect object and the direct object of a verb regarded as the instrument of the action (Gordon/Taylor 1981:311). As will become apparent, the forms etymologically identified as instrumental in early Germanic varieties in fact cover a wide range of functions and demonstrate patterns of syncretism, just as the instrumental form expressing a temporal adverbial function OHG *hiutu* indicated above. Equally, a single function can be represented by two different forms; OE instrumental marking offers an example here, for an instrumental function can be expressed by case-form alone, as in Beowulf 679 *ic hine sweorde sebban nelle* 'I shall not slay him with my sword' or by preposition plus case-form; ...*Þæt ic mid sweorde ofsloh* '...that I slew with my sword' Beowulf 574 (Mitchell 1985:334).

The instrumental in Gothic: A preliminary survey

Let us begin our survey of the instrumental case in early Germanic with a closer examination of its manifestation in Gothic, the family's earliest attested written language. As noted above, traces of the instrumental case survive in Gothic texts in inflected forms of neuter pronouns. Indeed, Gothic typically preserves archaic forms inherited from the Proto-language, which have often fallen victim to change in the other Germanic languages. A brief survey of the instrumental in Gothic, therefore, will not only offer a valuable context for our study of OHG but may well also provide additional clues as to the earliest developments in OHG case morphology. Furthermore, a valuable attribute of the Gothic corpus in terms of research purposes is its conciseness; it consists of Wulfila's 4th century Bible translation with an additional commentary on the Gospel of John, known as *Skeireins.* It is possible to carry out a comprehensive quantitative study using a Biblical concordance such as Snædal (1998) [10].

As noted above, traces of the instrumental are present in Gothic pronoun declensions. Considering first the instrumental of the neuter demonstrative pronoun, *þe;* as noted in Braune/Heidermanns (2004:134), this form is 'nicht mehr als Kasus im Gebrauch.' However, whilst it appears that the form no longer serves a purely instrumental function, it occurs relatively frequently in other syntactic contexts; with adverbial meaning and in forming conjunctions together with prepositions. Accordingly, Snædal's concordance lists only one occurrence of the stand alone form in Skeireins 4.4: *ni þe haldis,* an adverbial comparative construction, 'not the more so, by no means' (Wright, 1910:326). In fact, it appears that *Þe* occurs much more frequently in composite forms with prepositions. Snædal lists 6 occurrences of *biþe* 'after' as an adverb and 65 occurrences as a conjunction (1998:149-50), alongside other similar formations; *duþe* 'therefore' occurs 59 times in total as an adverb or as a conjunction (1998:203-04) and *jaþÞe* 'and if' in 63 instances as a

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[10] Snædal's concordance is based on Streitberg (1971).

conjunction (1998:587). Finally, *Þe* also occurs together with the relative pronoun enclitic *–ei* in *Þeei* 'because that, for that' on 4 listed occasions, each time as a conjunction. Again, the crucial distinction between form and function becomes clear; whilst the instrumental forms themselves are still present, they predominantly serve grammatical functions other than case marking per se, notably in adverbial and connective use.

Moreover, a similar manifestation concerns the interrogative pronoun in its instrumental neuter form *ƕe* 'wherewith?' Again, the form itself occurs relatively infrequently in isolation, with 10 instances listed by Snædal (1998:410). Some, but by no means all, of these instances encode a pure instrumental meaning, such as Luke 14:34 *ƕe gasupoda?* 'Wherewith shall it be seasoned?', whereas Matthew 5:47 features a comparative adverbial construction: *ƕê managizô taujiþ?* 'How much more do you do?' The former of these two examples once again draws attention to the grey area between instrument and manner highlighted by Mitchell above; just as one can pose the question 'With what shall it be seasoned?' one could easily formulate such an enquiry in terms of manner: 'How shall it be seasoned?' Returning to the occurrence of *ƕe,* as with *Þe,* this instrumental pronoun form appears to be more commonly found in composite forms with prepositions; there is one instance of *biƕe* 'whereby' (1998:146) and thirty-five instances of *duƕe* 'why, wherefore' serving in an adverbial function (1998:202). These parallel phenomena are displayed in table 1:

Table 1

	Þe	*biÞe*	*duÞe*	*jaÞÞe*	*Þeei*
Total occurrences	1	71	59	63	4

	ƕe	*biƕe*	*duƕe*
Total occurrences	10	1	35

With regards to Gothic, a final instrumental form must be mentioned; *ƕeh,* the neuter instrumental form of the indefinite pronoun *ƕazuh.* As noted in Braune/Heidermanns (2004:139), this also occurs purely in adverbial use 'in any case, only' as the 3 listed examples in Snædal demonstrate (1998:410).

So far we have considered the manifestation of Gothic instrumental forms and seen that they in fact encode a variety of different functions. However, our preliminary survey of the instrumental in this context would be incomplete without an examination from the other side of the form-function divide; it is also necessary to consider the way in which true instrumental meaning is marked. There will of course be a certain amount of overlap with the inherited instrumental forms here, but we also expect instrumental meaning to be encoded in other grammatical ways. A survey of 50 instrumental meanings from the four gospels of the Gothic bible in its digital lemmatised edition by Project Wulfila[11] can offer an insight into the additional ways, aside from instrumental case inflections, that Gothic marked instrumental functions:

Table 2

	Bare case inflection	Preposition + case inflection	Other

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[11] http://www.wulfila.be/gothic/

Means of instrumental marking	Acc.	Dat.	Gen.	Instr.	Þairh + Acc.	miÞ + Dat.	us + Dat.	in + Dat.	Adj.
Occurrences	1	36	1	4	1	1	1	4	1

As displayed table 2, it is striking that it is only in 4 of the 50 examples considered that instrumental function is marked by an instrumental form. This includes the example from Luke 14:34 listed above: *hue gasupoda?* 'Wherewith shall it be seasoned?' and similar instances such as Matthew 6:31 *hue wasjaima?* 'Wherewith shall we be clothed?' Whilst accusative and genitive forms are even rarer in this functional context, instrumental encoding through the dative case is much more common. Two such examples are found in Luke 8:16 *dishuljiþ ita kasa* 'covereth it with a vessel' and in Mark 5:5 *jah bliggwands sik stainam* 'and cutting himself with stones.' Whilst not as common as dative inflectional marking, instrumental meaning is sometimes marked by preposition plus the appropriately governed case: *Þairh* + accusative in Mark 6:2 *þairh handuns is wairþand?* 'wrought by his hands'; *miÞ* + dative in Matthew 26:72 *laugnida miþ aiþa* 'denied with an oath'; *us* + dative in Matthew 27:7 *usbauhtedun us þaim þana akr kasjins* 'bought with them [the silver pieces] the potter's field; *in* + dative Mark 1:8 *ik daupja izwis in watin* 'I have baptized you with water.' Finally, 1 of the 50 examples features an adjective serving to mark instrumental function: Mark 14:58 *ik gataira alh þo handuwaurhton* 'I will destroy this temple that is made with hands.'

In sum, it is clear that what remains of instrumental inflected forms in Gothic is in fact quite limited. Rather, most instances represent a developing trend towards two different functions: adverbial usage and conjunction formation. Furthermore, a direct one-to-one mapping of instrumental function to instrumental form is found relatively infrequently. Instead, instrumental function is most commonly encoded by other syntactic means, most commonly through dative inflectional forms. In this respect we could conclude that a certain level of case syncretism has occurred in Gothic, whereby the instrumental case has merged with the dative, the latter adopting the function originally marked by the former in PIE. Indeed, this development is acknowledged in Braune/Heidermanns, where it is stated that the Gothic dative does indeed represent several Indo-European cases, namely the original dative and the instrumental, alongside the locative (2004:87). Yet, despite the valuable availability and relevance of Gothic data, it must not be forgotten that the Gothic corpus is based only on fragmentary texts. Furthermore, sentences featuring true instrumentals are in fact quite rare when compared to those displaying other grammatical functions. This we will bear in mind as we turn now towards Old High German.

A survey of the instrumental in Old High German

Having given a brief account of the manifestation of the instrumental in Gothic, let us now turn towards the situation in OHG, which will constitute the main focus of this study. The term 'Old High German' is conventionally employed in reference to the earliest age of textual production in the southern region of the German-speaking territory, roughly coinciding with the period 750-1050 AD. Thus, in comparison to Gothic and its attestation solely from the 4th century, the OHG corpus represents a significantly later era. The most prolific period of textual production appears to have been the 9th century, from which a majority of texts stem. It was an age in which translations of religious texts into the Germanic vernacular were strongly encouraged for the purposes of Christianisation, and monastic centres were therefore major sites of textual production. In this

context, the OHG corpus is somewhat similar to Gothic, in that many texts are translations, most commonly for OHG from Latin. But equally, the OHG corpus encompasses a broader number of genres in that there also remain extant autochthonous texts; charms, heroic tales and original verse compositions.

This study will investigate four texts from this peak OHG period which are, as a whole, representative of both broad categories of texts; translations as well as autochthonous compositions:

1) The text commonly referred to as the OHG *Tatian*[12] is a translation of a Gospel harmony, originally by the early Assyrian Christian writer Tatian. Thought to have been produced in the monastery at Fulda c.830 AD, it is the first known Bible translation in the German language.

2) The second text we will consider is Otfrid von Weißenburg's *Evangelienbuch*[13]. Also from the 9th century, it is dated fifty years after *Tatian,* c.870. Also a Gospel harmony, it is in a somewhat looser translation style with an additional moral commentary. It is in rhyming verse and, with 7,104 couplets, represents the longest attested poetic work in OHG.

3) The first of our autochthonous texts is the *Hildebrandslied*[14]. This represents an older Germanic heroic tradition and likely derives from an oral source. The text features 68 lines of alliterative verse, an older poetic technique than end rhyme. The Fulda monastery has been suggested as a site of production, and the first quarter of the 9th century as an approximate date.

4) *Muspilli*[15] is the fourth and final text of our study and another example of autochthonous OHG textual production. Also a continuation of the Germanic tradition of epic poetry, it features the older alliterative verse style. The text gives an account of the end of the world and is often viewed as a Christianised version of the pagan *Ragnarök* from Norse mythology. It is of Bavarian origin and dated somewhat later than the *Hildebrandslied*, to c.870.

Instrumental forms

A survey of the four texts found a total of 6 instrumental forms in the *Hildebrandslied,* 8 in *Muspilli,* 23 in the extracts from the Tatian Gospel Harmony and 40 in the selection from Otfrid's *Evangelienbuch.* Instrumental forms are found expressing instruments, or related shades of means or manner in all four texts: Hildebrandslied *swertu hauwan* (53) 'strike with his sword'; Muspilli *uerit mit diu uuiru* (56) '(he) comes with the fire'; Tatian *fullet thiu faz mit uuazaru* (45,5) 'fill the waterpots with water'; Otfrid *irfulliit io mit gamanu* (II,9,9) 'filled with joy.' Yet in all but the *Hildebrandslied* where they dominate, such examples form a relatively small proportion of the total instrumental forms overall. Presenting a striking parallel with our preliminary findings from Gothic, instrumental forms seem to occur most frequently when directly preceded by prepositions, functioning as conjunctions or sentence adverbs. For example, the instrumental demonstrative pronoun *diu* appears in the form *bidiu* in *Muspilli*, Tatian and Otfrid with the meaning 'because' or 'therefore': Muspilli *pidiu scal er in deru uuicsteti uunt piuallan* (46) 'therefore he shall fall wounded on the battlefield'; Tatian *bithiu uuanta*[16] *ir uuuofet inti riozet* (23,3) 'because you shall mourn and

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[12] 'Tatian' in this study refers to a sub-corpus of extracts in Schlosser (1980).

[13] Similarly, 'Otfrid' hereafter refers to the extracts in Schlosser (1980).

[14] The *Hildebrandslied* version is that in Braune/Ebbinghaus (1969).

[15] The *Muspilli* text is also taken from Braune/Ebbinhaus (1969).

[16] The accompanying *uuanta* is itself far from insignificant and will later be given fuller treatment.

weep'; Otfrid *ir ni thurfut bi thiu* (V,16,45) '<u>therefore</u> you do not need me'. Similarly, *mitthiu* is found in both Tatian and Otfrid, with the sense of 'when' in the former and 'thereby' in the latter: Tatian *mitthiu ther heilant giboran uuard* (8, I) '<u>when</u> Jesus was born'; Otfrid *Er uuola iz al bithata, thaz er mit thiu nan uuihta* (II,14,33) 'he wanted to close it all, so that he would <u>thereby</u> be protected.' Otfrid also features *in thiu: in thiu uuas imo ginuagi* (II,9,33) '<u>so that</u> he was satisfied', *uuidar thiu: so skenkent sie uns then guatan uuin uuidar thiu ouh thanne* (II,9,16-17) 'so <u>on the other hand</u> they send us the good wine,' *after thiu: after thiu in uuar min, so mohtun thri daga sin (II,8,1)* '<u>after that</u>, as I truthfully report, three days passed' and *zi thiu: er iz zi thiu uurti* (IV,15,2) 'before it would come <u>to that.</u>' The variant *za diu* also occurs once in Muspilli: *so mac huckan za diu, sorgen drato, der sih suntigen uueiz* (23-24) 'so he must consider <u>this</u> with care, he who knows himself to sin.'

Furthermore, just as Gothic displayed clitic formations of prepositions plus the instrumental interrogative pronoun (recall *biƕe* 'whereby'; *duƕe* 'why, wherefore'), this phenomenon also occurs in three of our OHG texts: Muspilli *ni uueiz mit uuiu puaze* (62) '(the soul) doesn't know <u>wherewith</u> to make amends'; Tatian *in hiu selzit man iz thanne?* (24,2) '<u>wherewith</u> shall it be salted?';Otfrid *bi uuiu si thaz so zelita* (II,14,20) ,<u>why</u> she said that so'; *ziu*[17] *sint thie iuo uuizzi thes sulih firuuuizzi?* (V,18,4) '<u>wherefore</u> are you in such wonder of this?' It is important to note that instrumental-derived interrogatives are found across a wide breadth of early Germanic. Indeed, the ubiquitous modern English *why* survives as one such remnant form, an etymological derivative of OE *hwí/hwý*, the instrumental form of *hwæt* 'what.' Interestingly, *hwí/hwý* also occurs in OE directly preceded by a preposition (OE *for-hwí, forhwý*), as does the corresponding Old Saxon form *hwî* (OS *bi hwî* , *te hwî*)[18].

Adverbials derived from instrumental forms also occur, albeit more infrequently; the *Hildebrandslied* and Tatian each display one occurrence of the adverb of time *hiutu* 'today': Hildebrandslied *hwerdar sih hiutu dero hregilo rumen muotti* (61) 'which of the two of us will be able <u>today</u> to brag of the mailshirts'; Tatian *driio stunt forsehhis mih hiutu* (188,6) 'you will deny me three times <u>today.</u>' In a similar vein, the Otfrid extracts feature *mit allu*, an adverbial instrumental construction, 'thoroughly, completely': *in himile inti in erdu so uualth ih es mit allu* (V,16,19) 'in heaven and on earth I rule <u>completely.</u>' As noted in Braune/Reiffenstein (2004:183) adverbial *mit allu* continues to remain as 'ein erstarrter Rest' of the instrumental case, surviving in later texts, though weakened, as *mitallo>* MHG *mitalle.* Finally, both Tatian and Otfrid demonstrate the relatively rare occurrence of the instrumental in comparative constructions: Tatian *iu ni managiu sprihu mit iu* 'I will not talk <u>much more</u> with you' (165,7); Otfrid *thaz selba sprichu ih bi thiu, iz ist gilih filu thiu* (II,14,90) 'the same I say <u>because</u> it is very similar to him.' Thinking back to our preliminary Gothic examples, another striking parallel is presented, for instrumental forms in comparative constructions were also found here, recall: Matthew 5:47 *ƕê managizô taujiþ?* 'how much <u>more</u> do you do?'; Skeireins 4.4: *ni þe haldis* 'not <u>the</u> more so, by no means'.

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[17] *ziu < zi hiu.*

[18] Etymological information regarding OE and OS taken from OED online:

"why, adv. (n. and int.)". OED Online. December 2013. Oxford University Press. 17 January 2014 <http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/228829?rskey=9JlWBT&result=1&isAdvanced=false>.

"† forˈwhy, adv. and conj.". OED Online. December 2013. Oxford University Press. 17 January 2014 <http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/73798>.

The examples above have illustrated the various ways, beyond pure instrumental marking, in which instrumental forms typically manifest themselves in OHG texts. Perhaps the most interesting conclusions we can draw from these particular results, however, concerns the relative frequency with which these different categories occur across the four texts. This is displayed in table 3:

Table 3

Text	Instrument/ manner (occurrences/ text)	Conjunctions/ sentence adverbs (occurrences/ text)	Interrogatives (occurrences/ text)	Adverbs (occurrences/ text)	Comparatives (occurrences/ text)
Hildebrandslied	5 (83%)	0	0	1 (17%)	0
Muspilli	2 (25%)	5 (63%)	1 (13%)	0	0
Tatian	2 (9%)	18 (78%)	1 (4%)	1 (4%)	1 (4%)
Otfrid	5 (13%)	30 (75%)	3 (8%)	1 (3%)	1 (3%)

From an overall perspective, our four OHG texts display a situation regarding the manifestation of instrumental case forms which largely mirrors that in Gothic. Just as the pronouns *Þe* and *hʋe* were found relatively infrequently when compared to their derived forms *biÞe, duÞe; bihʋe, duhʋe* etc., the OHG data reflect a similar tendency; *bithiu, mitthiu, after thiu* etc. function either as conjunctions or sentence adverbs, and also tend to occur more frequently than isolated instrumental forms. Whilst by no means as common, interrogative compounds such as *mit uuiu, in hiu, ziu* etc. are also formed by a similar means, thus drawing a parallel with Gothic *bihʋe* and *duhʋe.* In addition, instrumental forms can sometimes be used in adverbial and comparative constructions, albeit relatively rarely, just as in Gothic.

Translation texts and the influence of Latin

Of course, it is possible that the figures exemplified above are risk of distortion to a certain extent, as the total sample size of instrumental forms varies considerably between the individual texts. The conciseness of *Hildebrandslied* and *Muspilli* means we are limited to somewhat meagre samples here, whilst the more extensive Tatian and Otfrid allow for larger sample sizes and perhaps more representative results. As ever in historical linguistics, we are at the mercy of those texts which have been fortuitously preserved. Equally relevant as length is genre. The autochthonous *Hildebrandslied* and *Muspilli* are more likely to preserve archaic features than the translation texts. Similarly, we would expect both Tatian and Otfrid to be at least somewhat influenced by the translation process and their original Latin sources. This last point is particularly relevant concerning the formation of instrumental-derived conjunctions which, as displayed above, appears most prevalent in Tatian and Otfrid. Schmidt offers a nice summary here; he notes the presence of ‚spürbare Einflüsse der lateinischen Grammatik' in OHG translation texts and further explains the resulting syntactic consequences:

,Dies gilt insbesondere für die Weiterentwicklung der Satzgefüge, wo durch die notwendig werdende erweiterte Bildung von Kausal- und Modalsätzen auch dem lateinischen Vorbild angemessene, verfeinterte Konjunktionen entwickelt werden mussten' (2007:83).

Similarly, Robinson has referred to the 'translation problem' implicit in this genre of OHG texts: 'This, then, was the task facing Old High German translators of Latin: To express the sophisticated grammatical and textual devices they found there in a language hitherto lacking such devices. The case of causal conjunctions was only one of many such situations...' (1993:8).

In light of such assumptions, it is worthwhile taking a closer look at the Tatian conjunctions in comparison to their counterparts in the model Latin text. The Tatian text is more appropriate for study here than Otfrid; owing to the latter being a relatively free lyrical translation, it does not replicate the Latin so strictly. Recalling our initial results, the instrumental-derived conjunctions found in Tatian were *mitthiu* 'when' and *bithiu* 'because, therefore*.' Turning first to *mitthiu,* 9 out of the 10 examples appear to be a straightforward translation of Latin *cum* 'with', for instance: *et <u>cum</u> inebriati fuerint> inti <u>mit thiu</u> sie foltruncane sint* (45,7) 'and <u>when</u> they have well drunk'; *<u>cum</u> iam ramus eius tener fuerit> <u>mit diu</u> iu sin zuelga muruuui uuirdit* (146,1) '<u>when</u> his branch is yet tender'; *<u>cum</u> producunt iam ex se fructum> inti alle bouma <u>mit diu</u> sie frambringent iu fon in uuahsmon* (146,1) 'and <u>when</u> all trees bring forth fruit from themselves.' The remaining instance is a replication of Latin *dum,* 'while': *<u>dum</u> benediceret illis> <u>mittiu</u> her in uuihita* (244,2) '<u>while</u> he blessed them.' The situation regarding *bithiu* is somewhat more complex. 6 out of the 8 instances of *bithiu* in Tatian appear to correspond to the Latin conjunction *quia,* 'because', including: *<u>quia</u> esurietis> <u>bithiu</u> uuanta ir hungeret* (23,2) '<u>for</u> you shall hunger'; *<u>quia</u> vero de mundo non estis> <u>bithiu</u> uuanta ir fon uueralti ni birut* (169,3) '<u>because</u> you are not of the world.' The remaining two instances correspond with Latin *quoniam* 'since' and *propterea* 'therefore': *<u>quoniam</u> merves vestra copiosa est in caelis> uuanta bithiu iuuar mieta ist ginuhtsam in himilon* (22,17) '<u>for</u> great is your reward in heaven'; *<u>propterea</u> odit vos mundus> <u>bithiu</u> hazzot iuuuih uueralt* (169,3) '<u>therefore</u> the world hateth you.'

Crucially, in the examples above *bithiu* is regularly accompanied by another item, *uuanta,* and indeed the story which surrounds OHG *uuanta* is an interesting and significant aspect of the overall conjunction discussion. *uuanta* was originally a question word: OHG *Benediktinerregel <u>huuanta</u> thu errahhos reht miniu indi zuanimis euua mina duruh mund dinan?* '<u>why</u> do you tell my right and my law by your mouth?' (Wunder 1965:167). During the course of the OHG period, however, such constructions developed a causal nature, and *uuanta* correspondingly came to function as a causal conjunction. To gain a closer insight into such a development, we need look no further than the NHG interrogative *warum,* which has similarly developed an additional syntactic conjunction function. Consider for instance NHG: *Ich verstehe nicht. <u>Warum</u> hat er das getan?* alongside *Ich verstehe nicht, <u>warum</u> es das getan hat.* Returning to our OHG findings, in Tatian, *uuanta* in its conjunction function regularly accompanies *bithiu* and this apparent frequency has led Eroms to view *bithiu uuanta* as an ,einheitliche Konjunktion' (1980:88). By contrast, not one of the 12 occurrences of *bi thiu* in our survey of Otfrid is accompanied by *uuanta.* Turning to our autochthonous texts, the 4 instances of *pidiu* in *Muspilli* are similarly unaccompanied by *uuanta,* although there is once occurrence where *uuanta* occurs in isolation with a causal meaning: *<u>uuanta</u> hiar in uuerolti* (30) '<u>for</u> here in the world...' The *Hildebrandslied* is exempt from comment in this context, as it features no such prepositional instrumental formations. In short, the *bithiu* plus *uuanta* combination appears to be a phenomenon

exclusive to Tatian. The perhaps surprising absence of *bithiu uuanta* in Otfrid is offered a plausible explanation by Wunder, owing to its freer translation style:

> ,Der Gebrauch der Übersetzer unterscheidet sich insofern von Otfrid, als sie öfters das stützende *bi thiu* verwenden, Tatian sogar unmittelbar nachfolgend *hwanta.* Wir möchten darin eine in der Auseinandersetzung mit dem lt. Text enstandene Form sehen, die die gelenkere Sprache Otfrids nicht verwenden konnten' (Wunder 1965:167).

Returning to *bithiu* (*uuanta*) as exemplified in the Tatian examples above, it is worth exploring the exact correspondences with the original Latin further. Whilst we found that *bithiu uuanta* appears to be the most common translation of Latin *quia,* there is also an example in our extracts where *uuanta* alone suffices in this function: *quia habetis consolationem vestram> uuanta ir habet iuuuera fluobara* (23,1) '<u>for</u> you have your compensation.' Furthermore, the ordering of the two elements when used together can also be reversed: *quoniam merves vestra copiosa est in caelis> uuanta bithiu iuuar mieta ist ginuhtsam in himilon* (22,17) '<u>for</u> great is your reward in heaven.' A further point of variation is that *bithiu* can also still occur in isolation: *propterea odit vos mundus> bithiu hazzot iuuuih uueralt* (169,3) '<u>therefore</u> the world hateth you.' The original Latin adverb *propterea* is a point of interest in itself, derived from two elements, the preposition *propter* 'because of' and *ea,* the neuter third person personal pronoun; *propterea* could thus be interpreted as 'because of these things*.'* The Latin counterpart to *bithiu* similarly consists of a preposition plus a pronominal form. Whether the Latin model influenced the Tatian translator's choice of *bithiu* here is a matter of conjecture, but nevertheless a possibility worth raising. Casting the net beyond our own selection of extracts, an interesting instance of *uuanta bithiu* occurs in Tatian (22,4): *quia ideo missum sum> uuanta bithiu bin ih gisentit.* Here, *uuanta bithiu* unusually corresponds to an original double expression in the Latin; *quia* 'because' plus *ideo* 'therefore,' and so the construction could perhaps be translated '<u>because that's why</u> I have been sent.'

At this point it is important to highlight certain shades of ambiguity area in the domain of conjunctions and adverbs which we have thus far ignored. Braunmüller has highlighted 'the flowing borderline between adverbs, both with and without pronominal/conjunctional function on the one hand, and (adverbial) conjunctions on the other' (1978:103). Quoting Hartung (1964:65), he considers one utterance in both German and English respectively: *Er ist krank. Er kommt infolgedessen nicht; He is ill.* <u>*Consequently*</u> *he does not come.* Braunmüller demonstrates that an ordinary adverb like *consequently* may perform the same function in respect of discourse reference (by means of its lexical meaning) as a typical conjunctional adverb *(infolgedessen)* in another language which is historically derived from a recategorised pronominal phrase (1978:103). This leads him to conclude that it is unsurprising that adverbs, especially those with deitic elements, often form new conjunctions. Significantly, this offers a new route of examination concerning *bithiu uuanta.* Following his own study of *bithiu uuanta* in OHG translation texts*,* Robinson has highlighted that, in most circumstances, *bithiu* cannot be classified as a true conjunction but rather a sentence adverb (1993:5); *uuanta,* on the other hand, he concretely categorises as a conjunction proper: '...the original and still largely utilized functions of *bithiu* and *wanta* were as sentence adverb and coordinating conjunction, respectively...' (1993:7).

Finally, we will briefly consider the subsequent diachronic development of *bithiu uuanta,* for a wider picture across time can offer useful insights. We have so far seen how the instrumental-derived form *bithiu* was initially a sentence adverb with causal meaning and that *uuanta,* originally an

interrogative, came to function as a causal conjunction. As noted by Eroms, in terms of its conjunctive function, *bithiu* is older than *uuanta* (1980:83). We have also noted that *bithiu,* found in isolation in *Muspilli* and Otfrid, regularly occurs in Tatian together with *uuanta,* and that this combination most likely represents one response to the challenge of translating complex Latin sentence structures. Progressing forward in time, it is interesting that *uuanta* is the item which survives, occurring frequently in MHG texts in its reduced form *wan* as a standalone causal conjunction: Iwein[19]: <u>*wan* sich gesament ûf der erde...sô manec guot ritter also dâ</u> (60) '<u>for</u> never in the whole world...had so many good knights come together.' *wan* is later supplanted in this function by *denn* by the time of Luther's 16th century writings (Dal 1962:209). This diachronic view therefore appears to present a cyclical development, as diagrammatised in figure 1:

Figure 1

> *bithiu*
> *bithiu uuanta*
>   *uuanta   (>wande, wand >wan)*

This series has similarities with the cycle proposed by Jespersen[20] concerning syntactic change in the domain of negation marking. In our context, causality can be expressed by *bithiu* alone in *Muspilli* and Otfrid, but predominantly in Tatian in combination with *uuanta.* In the course of OHG and the transition to MHG, *uuanta* takes on the function of a causal conjunction in itself, *bithiu* is consequently redundant, and thus it is *uuanta* which survives*. This trend for change and renewal within the domain of conjunctions has long been recognised by linguists. Meillet stated in 1921:

> 'Ainsi, tantôt par voie sémantique, tantôt par voie phonétique, et tantôt par une combinaison des deux ordres, les conjonctions tendent constamment à s'affaiblir et à se réduire' (1921:165).

Concerning the development of *bithiu uuanta* described above, as Henriksen states, this characteristic of renewal in the conjunctional system manifests itself in 'a replacement of elements which have lost their expressiveness by more expressive elements' (1978:60).

Conjunctions and grammaticalization

The tendency throughout the OHG period whereby instrumental forms increasingly occur together with prepositions becomes, in our eyes, somewhat more concrete with the gift of hindsight; we know how the subsequent diachronic story progresses. By the MHG period, whatever there remains of instrumental forms occurs almost exclusively together with prepositions, often in cliticized forms, for instance *ze wiu> zwiu* (Paul et al. 2007:219,352): Nibelungenlied[21]: <u>*zwiu lieze du in minnen...?*</u> (841) '<u>wherefore</u> have you let yourself be loved by him?' Indeed, a very few examples are found in Upper German varieties as late as the sixteenth century: *bey we*, *mit weu* (Schmidt 2007:431). Yet whilst the OHG instrumental-derived conjunctions are ultimately lost, similar phenomena are found

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[19] *Iwein / Hartmann von Aue.* 1981. Text der 7. Ausgabe von G.F. Benecke, K. Lachmann und L. Wolff; Übersetzung und Anmerkungen von Thomas Cramer. Berlin: de Gruyter. 3. Aufl.

[20] Jespersen (1917).

[21] *Das Nibelungenlied.* 1997. Nach dem Text von Karl Bartsch & Helmet Boor. Ins Neuhochdeutsche übersetzt und kommentiert von Siegfried Grosse. Stuttgart: Reclam.

elsewhere in the history of German, alongside evidence present in the contemporary standard today. Consider, for instance, the NHG items *indem* and *nachdem*: *Er bedankte sich, indem er Blumen schickte; Nachdem ich den Marathon gelaufen hatte, war ich müde.* In connection with our OHG findings, *indem* and *nachdem* can be viewed as a parallel phenomenon to older formations such as *in thiu, after thiu* etc; the only difference here is that whilst the featured prepositions once governed the instrumental, they now require the dative. Thus we find *dem* instead of *diu* as the demonstrative pronoun form. As noted by Dahl (1962:88), the adverbial formations with the prefix *da(r)-*, NHG *dabei, damit, dadurch* etc. are also functional successors of the extinct OHG formations *bi diu, mit diu* etc. Furthermore, looking beyond the exclusively German context, this specific type of conjunction formation appears to be a recurring Germanic feature, as Braunmüller noted: 'it can be shown that most conjunctional adverbs in Germanic languages derive historically from overt (nominal) deictic elements.' Examples cited include: NHG *nachdem* 'after', *außerdem* 'besides', *troztdem* 'although'; Modern Swedish *da* 'then,' *sedan (dess)* 'since' and *medan* 'while.' Moreover, Braunmüller also notes the existence of very few genuine PGmc. conjunctions and that only a small number in the modern Germanic languages are *not* derived from lexical items of other categories or phrases in PGmc. (1978:104).

Returning to the OHG instrumental-derived formations themselves, a significant detail is that the new formations are typically represented in two ways; separately (*bi diu*) or as one item (*bidiu*). Such orthographic inconsistencies are undoubtedly expected of texts from pre-standardisation periods. Yet, whilst we must not be tempted to read too much into them, they nevertheless offer some value to research when treated with utmost caution. We will limit this part of the study to the Tatian text, for here we have the benefit of a particularly orthographically faithful edition of the original manuscript[22]. Of the 10 examples of *mit thiu* from our extracts, there are 8 instances where the form is written separately, whereas in the remaining 2 examples it is depicted as a single item. This orthographical inconsistency demonstrates the emergence of such conjunctions in progress and can offer a valuable insight into the perception of contemporary language users. The competing forms *mit thiu* and *mitthiu*, for instance, represent two different stages on a pathway of reanalysis[23], thus playing out this ongoing process before our very eyes. Whilst *mit thiu* is maintained as two separate items in the orthography, we presume that language users still perceive the combination as two individual elements. Once cliticized forms such as *mitthiu* begin to occur, however, we witness the fusion of the two items and the smudging of the originally concrete boundary. The bigger picture here of course concerns grammaticalization, a widely attested phenomenon, and the focus of much linguistic research in recent years. The close relationship between reanalysis processes and grammaticalization is widely acknowledged: as noted in Heine et al., 'typically, reanalysis accompanies grammaticalization' (1991:217) and Hopper & Traugott state that 'unquestionably, reanalysis is the most important mechanism of grammaticalization' (1993:320).

Moreover, the developing use of instrumental forms with prepositions is very much in line with what Trask terms 'the ordinary course of grammaticalization,' whereby:

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[22] Masser (ed.) (1994).
[23] Langacker (1977) defined reanalysis as the 'change in the structure of an expression or class of expression that does not involve any immediate or intrinsic modification of its surface manifestation' (1977:58).

> 'An ordinary lexical item with an ordinary meaning comes to be used in some particular context; it is then bleached of its original meaning and becomes a mere grammatical marker in a syntactic construction; finally it is reduced to a bound morpheme, an affix, a piece of morphology' (2007:186).

In other words, between the two orthographical representations *mit thiu* and *mitthiu,* the latter demonstrates how the instrumental form *thiu* has lost its original function as a demonstrative pronoun, instead acting, together with the preposition *mit,* to an effect completely removed from its original use, thereby losing its morphological independence. Yet, significantly, not only is grammaticalization widely-occurring, the specific type of grammaticalization here appears particularly common cross-linguistically. Nübling (2005,2008) has noted that the cliticization of definite articles to prepositions is a phenomenon present in all historical stages of German. Just as OHG Otfrid displays 'Verschmelzungen' such as *zëmo< zi thëmo* and *zës< zi thës* (Braune/Reiffenstein 2004:249), Nübling, citing NHG *ins< in das, zur< zu der* etc., notes that this phenomenon 'ist noch keineswegs abgeschlossen' (2008:261-62) and, in an earlier work, that preposition-article cliticization in contemporary German provides:

> ,ein Paradebeispiel für Grammatikalisierung im Vollzug: Synchron ist das gesamte Spektrum zwischen Verschmelzungsblockade und Verschmelzungsobligatorik sichtbar...' (2005:106).

Returning our focus to conjunctions, Hopper & Traugott regard the recruitment to connective function of deictics and other demonstratives as 'typical', explaining:

> 'The motivation here is the extension of deictic reference from entities referred to in the non-linguistic world to anaphors and cataphors of NPs and then to anaphors and cataphors of propositions (clauses). In other words, deictics may be used for metalinguistic functions involving clause reference in order to achieve overt linking of clauses' (Hopper & Traugott 1993:178).

With specific regard to morphological case, Heine has noted that case inflections 'may be deployed for further pragmatic and syntactic functions, giving rise to other functional categories' and, crucially for our purposes, that 'perhaps the most salient pathway away from case marking consists in the grammaticalization pathway from case marker to clause subordinator'(2009:468). Thus we find an explanatory context for the commonly attested cross-Germanic conjunction formations noted above. Furthermore, there are also typologically attested instances beyond Germanic whereby specifically instrumental case markers develop into conjunctions. Stolz et al. (2009:604) note that instrumental as well as comitative case markers are frequently employed to form conjunctions. Of course the label comitative, denoting accompaniment, is closely related to the instrumental and indeed these two cases are syncretic with one another in many languages: consider Modern English *She played the cello with her bow* (instrumental) versus *She played the cello with her mother* (comitative). Listed in Stolz et al. (2009:604) are illustrative examples from Maltese. The comitative preposition *ma'* 'with' enters a paradigm of conjunctions with instrumental *bi* 'with', combining with the general subordinator *li* 'that' to produce: *malli* 'when, as soon as'; *billi* 'because, while' (quoting Borg & Azzopardi-Alexander 1996). The formation of these new conjunctions meaning 'when' and 'because' is, of course, strikingly similar to OHG *bithiu* 'because' and *mitthiu* 'when'.

As a final thought regarding the grammaticalization of forms such as *mitthiu* and *bithiu*, it is important to consider the consequences of this particular development for the overall case system, for this is highly relevant in considering the fate of the instrumental case as a distinct morphological

category in German. Once again reviewing the process, we summarise that instrumental case forms become specialised in the formation of adverbial conjunctions. Over time, speakers reanalyse the instrumental forms in this newly specified function as parts of words, rather than case-inflected pronouns with an independent morphological existence. Once this reanalysis is underway, the loss of the instrumental as a distinct case is ultimately inevitable. We thus posit speaker reanalysis as a plausible mechanism resulting in case syncretism.

Instrumental marking

As in our initial survey of Gothic, we must now complete our study with consideration from the functional perspective. Our survey will proceed with consideration of individual instrumental meanings from our four chosen texts; some 7 examples from the *Hildebrandslied,* 7 from *Muspilli,* 19 from Tatian and 82 from Otfrid. As in Gothic, the primary split in OHG instrumental marking is between bare case and preposition plus case. In the *Hildebrandslied,* there seems to be a more or less equal weighting between encoding through bare case and through an additional preposition; whilst there are examples such as *nu scal mih suast chind suertu hauwan* (53) 'now such a child shall strike me with its sword,' we also find the type: *mit geru scal man geba infahan* (37) 'with spear one shall receive gifts.' It is striking, however, that this equilibrium between the two different types of instrumental marking is not present in the other texts; *Muspilli,* Tatian and Otfrid each display an undeniable preference for prepositional marking over bare case, as displayed in table 4:

Table 4

Text	Bare case (occurrences/text)	Preposition + case (occurrences/ text)
Hildebrandslied	3 (43%)	4 (57%)
Muspilli	1 (14%)	6 (86%)
Tatian	2 (11%)	17 (89%)
*Otfrid**	9 (11%)	69 (84%)

**Otfrid* also features 4 instrumental meanings marked adverbially, constituting the remaining 5% of occurrences.

Notably, it is our earliest autochthonous text, the *Hildebrandslied* (c.830), which represents the anomaly here. Whilst still an original Germanic composition, *Muspilli* has a somewhat later attestation date (c.870), thus offering one possible explanation as to why prepositional marking is considerably stronger here[24]. Whilst Tatian (c.830) is contemporary with the *Hildebrandslied,* the fact that this is a translation text under Latin influence perhaps explains the strong preference for prepositional marking. The same could of course be said for the later translation work of Otfrid. However, as noted above, Otfrid is a freer translation than Tatian, and presumably less bound by Latin-source structures; the fact that prepositional marking is overwhelmingly preferred here is

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[24] Of course, with regards to the poetic texts, lexical and syntactic choices were at least somewhat dictated by metrical requirements. Whilst this may exert some influence on the bare case versus prepositional distribution, this is likely to be minimal, as prepositions themselves rarely featured in alliterative patterns.

perhaps the strongest evidence for an ongoing trend from bare case towards prepositional marking. Furthermore, we know that this is a general diachronic tendency attested in the history of German which transcends the instrumental domain. The current decline of the genitive case in Modern German offers another example, as discussed in König (2007). Bare genitive case appears increasingly replaced by prepositional marking, particularly in spoken language: *Ich freue mich des Sommers* > *Ich freue mich über den Sommer*; *Haus des Vaters* > *das Haus vom Vater* (König 2007:117). Thus we see how the move from bare case marking to prepositional constructions appears to be a common trend in German. It is also not insignificant that this seems to have affected instrumental and genitive marking most strongly, for these cases, compared to the accusative and dative for instance, encode non-core relations. As Blake notes:

> 'There is a clear correlation between the type of marking employed for a grammatical relation and the position of that relation on the hierarchy. Analytic case markers (adpositions) are more likely for the non-core or peripheral relations, especially the semantic relations. Conversely, synthetic markers (inflection) are more likely than analytic ones for the purely grammatical relations, especially the core ones' (1994:91).

Whilst interesting in isolation, this particular development also forms part of a bigger picture in the history of German: the development from an originally highly-inflective synthetic language towards analycity, prepositional case-marking being a hallmark of the analytic morphological type.

Returning to the OHG data, even the *Hildebrandslied* displays a slight preference for prepositional marking of instrumental meaning and thus can still be seen to be at an early stage in this increasing trend. Crucially, all four of the OHG texts demonstrate, at least to a certain extent, a preference for prepositional marking, a feature in stark contrast to our initial findings in Gothic if we return to the relevant statistics, shown here in table 5:

Table 5

	Bare case (occurrences/text)	Preposition + case (occurrences/text)
Data from the Gothic corpus**	42 (84%)	7 (14%)

**As in the original table above, there is also one instance where Gothic also marks instrumental meaning in one instance with an adjective, constituting the remaining 2% of occurrences.

Thus we see in the earliest OHG texts, just as previously in Gothic, that there are already two broad options for instrumental marking in competition with one another; bare case inflection versus preposition plus case inflection. Furthermore, we can perhaps conclude there to be a diachronic change in process which the texts document, even if genre in some places skews such a trend. Of course, our conclusions from the data are strongly reinforced considering that hindsight once again affords us the knowledge that it is prepositional marking which ultimately triumphs. Moreover, (Narrog & Ito 2007, quoted in Narrog 2009:594), in a study of 200 languages noted that 82 had adpositions with instrumental functions, 52 had case marking with instrumental functions, but that merely 5 had both. From a typological perspective, we can thus perhaps conclude that the dual situation in Gothic and OHG whereby instrumental meaning can be marked by both adpositions and bare case was unlikely to remain stable over time.

Now exploring each type of instrumental marking in greater depth, as noted above, some instrumental meanings are indeed marked by bare instrumental case. Reconsider, for instance: Hildebrandslied *swertu hauwan* (53) 'strike <u>with his sword</u>' and Muspilli *suilizot <u>louqiu</u> der himil* (53) 'heaven will perish <u>in flames</u>' (53). However, the instrumental is not the only case which marks instrumental meanings such. The bare dative is also found in this function, and indeed appears in all four texts bar *Muspilli*: Hildebrandslied *her fragen gistuont <u>fohem uuortum</u>* (8-9) ,he began to ask <u>with few words</u>'; Tatian *<u>niuuuen zungon</u> sprehhent* (243,2) 'they shall speak <u>with new tongues</u>'; Otfrid *sprach tho zi iru suazo ther ira sun zeizo <u>sconen uuorton</u> ubaral* (II,8,15-16) 'then the son spoke to her, friendly and <u>with kind words</u>.' Otfrid also sometimes features the genitive here: *<u>heileges giscribes</u> fol* (II,9,13) 'full <u>of the Holy Scriptures</u>' and once the accusative: *tho fuarum this ginoza <u>andara straza</u> harto ilente zi eiginemo lante* (Mystice 77-78) 'then the Magi returned together to their homeland hastily <u>by way of another road</u>.' Again, the data from each of the four texts is best compared using the following tables[25]. Firstly, bare case marking in table 6 and, secondly, prepositional marking in table 7:

Table 6

Text	Bare case (occurrences/text)			
	Acc.	Dat.	Gen.	Instr.
Hildebrandslied	0	1 (14%)	0	2 (29%)
Muspilli	0	0	0	1 (14%)
Tatian	0	2 (11%)	0	0
Otfrid	1 (1%)	1 (1%)	7 (9%)	0

Table 7

Text	Preposition + case (occurrences/text)					
	thuruh/ duruh + acc.	*mit* + dat.	*mit* + instr.	*in* + dat.	*in* + instr.	*von* + dat.
Hildebrandslied	0	2 (29%)	2 (29%)	0	0	0
Muspilli	1 (14%)	3 (43%)	2 (29%)	0	0	0
Tatian	7 (37%)	7 (37%)	1 (5%)	0	1 (5%)	1 (5%)
Otfrid	12 (15%)	47 (57%)	5 (6%)	4 (5%)	0	1 (1%)

In short, it appears from the data that the ways of encoding instrumental meaning in OHG is greatly diverse. This one grammatical relationship can be marked by both bare and prepositional case and, throughout the period, the tendency appears increasingly strong towards the latter. Encoding via etymological instrumental forms occurs relatively frequently and, as Tatian and Otfrid particularly

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[25] Percentages refer to the proportion of total instrumental markings for each text.

exemplify, instruments are marked by a range of different cases and prepositions[26], with a tentative preference for the *mit* plus dative construction which indeed later becomes the dominant means of instrumental marking.

With regards to the transition towards the dative in instrumental marking, it is important to note two things. Firstly, of the instrumental case in OHG there remained merely morphological residue; already by this point many paradigms had no distinct instrumental inflection. Remnants were exclusively preserved in the masculine and neuter singular declension and instrumental forms were completely absent in the plural. Consequently, in our sample data from all four texts, instrumental marking in the plural typically appears marked through dative plural forms: Hildebrandslied: *her fragen gistuont <u>fohem uuortum</u>* (8-9) 'he began to ask <u>with few words</u>'; Muspilli: *denner <u>mit den miaton</u> marrit daz rehta denner* (67) 'when he offends the law <u>with those payments</u>'; Tatian: *<u>niuuuen zungon</u> sprehhent* (243,2) they shall speak <u>with new tongues</u>'; Otfrid: *<u>mit sterron</u> gimalot* (II,I,14) 'decorated <u>with stars</u>.' Secondly, the related semantic category comitative, encoding accompaniment, was typically marked in OHG by *mit* plus dative, as each of our four texts also exemplify: Hildebrandslied: *hina <u>miti Theotrihhe</u>* (19) 'thither <u>with Dietrich</u>'; Muspilli: *denne heuit sich <u>mit imo</u> herio meista* (75) ,then the greatest lord sets out <u>with him</u>'; Tatian: *thaz her uuone <u>mit iu</u> zi euuidu* (164, 2) 'so that he remains <u>with you</u> forever'; Otfrid: *ih bin iamer <u>mit iu</u>* ((V,16,45) 'I am always <u>with you</u>.' In short, both plural instrumental marking and comitative marking of any kind is typically encoded through dative forms in OHG. Thus, with regards to the decline of the etymological instrumental case, we can perhaps posit two potential analogical factors that contributed to the syncretism process; firstly, analogical extension of the use of the dative in plural instrumental markings to singular instances and secondly, of the use of the dative in related comitative meanings. It is thus possible that forces of analogical levelling are at least somewhat responsible for the ultimate disappearance of the instrumental as a distinct morphological case; even in early OHG, the instrumental forms represent paradigmatic quirks and, as widely acknowledged, analogical change is a force which typically irons out such irregularities.

Conclusion

This study has demonstrated that a theoretical distinction between form and function is crucial in any consideration of morphological case. The fate of the instrumental case preserved etymologically in the earliest German texts is not, in fact, one of loss; whilst the morphological remnants do die out, their instrumental function is still marked, just via other means. In this respect, the label of case 'loss' often applied to such developments is misleading; what we are really dealing with here is case merger, or syncretism. Accordingly, we have considered the instrumental in both Gothic and Old High German from either sides of the form/function divide. From both perspectives, Old High German mirrors tendencies already present in Gothic. In both languages, instrumental forms increasingly appear in functions other than instrumental marking; as adverbs, interrogatives or conjunctions. Correspondingly, there is rarely a one-to-one mapping between instrumental meaning and form, and the former is in most instances marked by a variety of other means; the dative is the

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[26] Narrog (2009:595) has noted that languages frequently have more than just one means of marking the instrumental and quotes Lehmann & Shin (2005) in highlighting 7 different strategies which are found typologically to encode instrumental functions.

predominant successor in this function and, amongst instances of prepositional case, *mit* is preferred.

The significance of genre when dealing with texts of this period has also been demonstrated. We have highlighted the influence of Latin in Old High German translation texts, and that the formation of instrumental-derived conjunctions was likely motivated by the need for sufficient linguistic resources to replicate complex Latin constructions. A closer examination of one conjunction in particular, *bithiu,* and its frequent partner item, *uuanta,* has shown that the characteristic ongoing renewal in the conjunction domain of linguistic systems matches evidence from the history of German. Furthermore, we have noted that the formation of conjunctions from deictic elements appears to be a pan-Germanic development, of which there are still clear traces in modern German: *indem, nachdem* etc. A description of the grammaticalization pathway and accompanying reanalysis mechanism has also been offered to account for the emergence of new functional items. Finally, we have posited analogical processes as a potential factor in the increase in dative-instrumental syncretism.

From a broader perspective, we can conclude that the semantic category of instrument is typically polysemous, often overlapping with means, manner and concomitance, and that the grammatical ways of marking instrumental relationships tend to be diverse. Indeed, if we consider the situation in modern German, we find that the diversity we saw developing in Old High German still exists. Whilst *mit* plus dative frequently encodes instruments, there are also a number of other ways in which New High German achieves this grammatically. Helbig & Buscha (1994), in their semantic classification of prepositions in contemporary German, list 8 different items under the category ‚instrumental': *dank; durch; kraft; mit; mittels; ohne; per; zu* (1994:413). Also noted are several instrumental pronominal adverbs: *dadurch; damit; hierdurch; hiermit; irgendwomit; wodurch; womit* alongside pronominal-derived instrumental conjunctions: *indem; dadurch, dass; damit, dass* (1994:346,685). Diverse means of marking and polysemy are common cross-linguistic traits in the semantic category of instrumental. In light of such typological commonalities, the fate of the instrumental in the history of German can thus be located in a wider framework of typical typological tendencies.

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