evil can be remedied by state intervention." "I consider," he said, "as intimately connected with the social question the control of the education of youth while the higher education must be extended. We must beware of the danger of half education, awakening demands which the nation's economic development is unable to satisfy." The memory of Frederick III is regarded not only in Germany but throughout the world with respect and admiration. A great general, as he proved himself to be in the Austrian and French wars, he was also an enlightened statesman. He held his ground against papal aggression in 1878, and he opposed the persecution of the Jews in 1880. After the victory of Sedan, it was his duty to inspect the military forces of the south German states, and his personal popularity among them did much to inspire among the south German soldiers a loyalty to the changed order of things. To him and to his consort, the Princess Royal of England, several institutions for the encouragement of art owe their origin in Berlin; and to the princess, now known as Empress Frederick, civilization is indebted for such institutions as the Victoria lyceum, the school for the training of nurses, and the school for the higher education of women. During the wars with Austria and France, the Crown Princess had personally superintended the nursing of wounded soldiers in the hospitals. The institution for the training of nurses, which is still performing a beneficent work, was organized by her as the result of her experience during those campaigns.

William II. The eldest son of Frederick succeeded him under the title of William II. His accession was contemplated with concern and apprehension throughout all Europe, because this young prince had shown as yet no indication of the liberal spirit of his father, but on the other hand had given proof of a strong leaning toward military rule. Those fears have been greatly allayed, if not entirely overcome, by the conduct of William II, since he came to the throne. During the summer months of 1888 he visited the courts of Russia, Sweden, Denmark and Italy, and succeeded in confirming the friendly relations existing between them and Germany. During the year 1889 he still further strengthened the military and naval armament of Germany, and demonstrated his business and executive ability by settling dangerous strikes and discontent among the working men. A temporary misunderstanding between himself and the Empress Frederick relative to the disposal of some private papers of the late Emperor which she claimed as her own property, and which William thought should be deposited among the royal archives of Prussia, gave rise to some newspaper speculation as to a possible rupture of friendly relations between the governments of England and Germany; but this cloud also passed away, and in August, 1890, William made a friendly visit to his grandmother, the Queen, and his royal relatives in England. In March, 1890, an international labor conference was held at Berlin under William's auspices, presided over by Baron von Berlepsch, the Prussian minister of commerce.

International labor conference.

Under William I, Bismarck had been the absolute head of the government, and notwithstanding all his notions of kingly prerogative, the simple-hearted old soldier monarch was accustomed to lean entirely upon the advice of Bismarck. The young Emperor determined to change this system of things, and issued a cabinet order revoking that of 1852 and requiring all Ministers, Bismarck included, to report to him direct instead of making the chancellor their mouthpiece as theretofore. The chancellor felt humbled and slighted by this order; he was now no more prime minister, but a mere head of a department; he who had made and unmade other ministers was now reduced to a level with them. On the 18th of March, three days after the assembling of the labor conference, Bismarck tendered his resignation to the Emperor, alleging age and failing health as his reason. The resignation was accepted, and General von Caprivi was appointed Chancellor of the Empire and president of the Prussian ministry. William publicly thanked Bismarck for his long services to the Imperial house, and conferred upon him the title of Duke of Lauenburg. The departure of Prince Bismarck for his country home at Friedrichsruhe was the occasion of the greatest public demonstration in Berlin since the return of the victorious troops in 1871. The station was literally heaped with flowers, the Emperor and Empress each sending a beautiful floral tribute to the retiring chancellor. The crowd was so great that the police were unable to keep order. As the train passed out of the station the crowd joined in singing "Die Wacht am Rhein." In August, 1890, in virtue of a treaty with the English government, William took possession of the island of Heligoland, which will now become an important station for the German navy. England obtained as compensation the consent of Germany to her protectorate of Zanzibar, which was also ratified by France. The Emperor on taking possession of Heligoland issued a proclamation in which he promised to protect the islanders in the observance of their old customs, in their freedom of religious worship and the education of their youth. The year 1890 closes with every prospect that Germany will be able to maintain and preserve the peace of Europe, of which she has been, ever since the Berlin Congress of 1878, the recognized arbiter.

AUTHORITIES.—F. Lenormant, *Ancient History of the East;* Tacitus, *Manners of the Germans;* Kühn, *Zur Ältesten Gesch. d. Indo-German. Volker;* Cluverii, *Germania Antiqua;* Gibbon, *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire;* Pistorii, *Rerum Germanicarum Scriptores;* Freheri, *Rerum Germanicarum Scriptores;* Struvii, *Corpus Historiæ Germanicæ;* Schilterii, *Thesaurus Antiquitatum Teutonic.;* Schardii, *Opus Historicum de Rebus Germanicis;* Barre, *Histoire Generale d'Allemagne;* Fréron, *Histoire de l'Empire d'Allemagne;* Offelli, *Rerum Boicarum Scriptores;* Muratori, *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores;* Leibnitii, *Scriptores Rerum Brunswicensium Illustrationi Inservientes;* Pez, *Thesaurus Anecdotum, etc.;* *Annales Austriæ Veteris et Novæ,* of Kalles; Alison, *History of Europe;* Thiers, *Consulate and Empire;* Hillebrand, *Gesch. der Europäischen Staaten;* Janssen, *Gesch. Deutschen Volkes;* Schiller, *Thirty Years' War;* Hæusser, *Deutsche Gesch., 1648–1815;* Erler, *Deutsche Geschichte,* Stacke, same; Boettiger, same; Besse, same; Griesinger, same; Duller, same; Hahn, *Zwanzig Jahre, 1862–1882;* *Lives of William I;* Bismarck, *Frederick III;* Poole, *Index of Periodical Literature.*

PART III.—LANGUAGE.

In its ordinary sense the name German Language or *Deutsche Sprache* is now generally used to denote, in all their stages from the earliest time to the present day, the different languages and dialects of Teutonic origin spoken in the German and Austrian empires and in Switzerland, not including, however, the Frisian language, which once was spoken, and still in a few remnants survives, on the shores and islands of the German Ocean, nor the dialects of the Danish population of northern Schleswig. Flemish and Dutch, although very closely connected with German, are likewise excluded. But the word *Deutsch* has also been, and still continues to be, used in a wider sense. Jacob Grimm introduced it, in his famous *Deutsche Grammatik,* as a comprehensive name for that family of the so-called Indo-European or Aryan languages, for which English writers generally use the name of "Teutonic," and of which

the principal branches are represented by Gothic, the Scandinavian languages, English, Frisian, and German. In this Grimm has had many followers, but scarcely anywhere out of Germany; and even there the fact that the name, in this application, besides being incorrect from an historical point of view (as the word has never been used thus by any one of the people to whom it has been applied by Grimm), is also liable to be misunderstood, has caused a growing tendency towards confining it again to its original meaning described above, and using *Germanisch,* or *Germanic,* in the collective sense of the English "Teutonic." But even in the stricter sense the designation *Deutsch* is not of very long standing, nor has the word always been a real proper name for a distinct people or tribe. In Bishop Ulfilas's Gothic version of the Bible we find the adverb *thiudisko* (ἐθνικῶς), Gal. ii. 14, which is clearly a derivative from *thiuda* (ἔθνος), meaning primarily "after the manner of the people." German writers of the earlier centuries were therefore as fully justified in calling their own language *diutisc,* or, in a Latinized form, *theudiscus, theotiscus,* that is, their popular or vernacular language, as were those mediæval Latin writers of all nations who distinguished their national languages by the name of *lingua vulgaris* from Latin, the only literary language fully acknowledged in their time. It was not until the 10th century that another Latinized form frequently used in later times, viz., *teutonicus,* began to be used instead of the older *theotiscus,* of which the only rivals in former times had been such local names as *franciscus* (*frenkisc*) or *saxonicus,* which were no doubt derived from the names of single tribes, but were often also used in the same comprehensive sense as *theotiscus,* without necessarily implying any allusion to dialectal differences between the languages of the tribes they properly belonged to. The last name we have to mention here is the Latin *Germanus,* with its different derivatives in the modern languages, including the English form *German.* Many attempts have been made to elucidate the origin of this word, but as yet nothing can be taken for certain beyond the fact that it is neither of Latin nor of German origin. Most probably it was a Celtic word, and, according to what Tacitus says in his *Germania* (ch. ii.), it was originally the name of a Celtic tribe, from which, by some strange error of the Roman and Greek historians, it has been transferred to the non-Celtic inhabitants of Germany. Accordingly the name has never been used by the Germans themselves except in imitation of its use in the works of Latin writers.

As to its geographical extension the German language has undergone very great changes in the course of the last two thousand years. At the dawn of history no Germans were to be found to the left of the Rhine, and even to the right of it Celtic tribes occur in the earliest times. There were Celts also in the south of the present Germany as far north at least as the Danube and the Main; Bohemia, too, derives its name from an early Celtic population, the Boii. Only the midland and north were inhabited by Germanic nations or tribes, stretching as far east as Poland, and perhaps covering even parts of the adjoining territories of Russia, where Slavonic and Finnish tribes were their neighbours. But of these Germanic tribes and their languages some have left no equivalents in our modern German tribes and dialects. We have mentioned the Frisian language as not belonging to German in its proper sense, although the Frisians have kept their original residence up to the present day, and have always been in constant connexion and frequent intercourse with their "German" neighbours. Many other tribes have wandered from their seats and colonized other countries. It was as late as the middle of the 5th century that the Jutes, Angles, and Saxons began their voyages of conquest to England, where they founded a new people and a new language,[1] leaving their native soil open to Danish invasions. Much earlier the midland tribes had already been slowly pushing on to the west and south, and expelling or subduing and assimilating the Celtic owners of the territories they invaded. But what was gained in these parts was counterbalanced by great losses in the north and east. The territories about the lower and middle Elbe, Oder, and Vistula, abandoned by the Lombards, the Burgundians, the Goths, and some other Germanic tribes, as well as Bohemia, which for some short time had been in the possession of the German Marcomans, were soon filled up by the immigration of numerous tribes of the great Slavonic family. Without going into details of the facts which are well known to the student of history,[2] we may simply state that, since about 500 A.D., when the great migration of the nations had come to an end so far as Germany was concerned, no further change of any great importance has taken place in the western and southern parts. In the east the German population at this time did not go beyond a line that may be drawn from about Kiel to the Böhmerwald, passing near Hamburg, Magdeburg, Naumburg, Coburg, and Baireuth. As is well known, it is in later centuries that almost all the eastern districts have been recovered for the German language.[3]

In the 6th century the remains of the numerous smaller Germanic tribes, mentioned before and during the migration of the nations, had consolidated into seven larger bodies or aggregations of tribes. The Frisians still held the extreme north of Holland and Germany. Their midland and eastern neighbours were then called by the new name of Saxons, borrowed from the Saxons who had left the Continent for England. In the main parts of the Netherlands and Belgium, along both sides of the Rhine, and across Germany to the Thuringian and Bohemian Forests, the powerful Frankish confederation had established itself, and it soon incorporated the smaller and less vigorous tribes of the Hessians and Thuringians, which were surrounded by the midland or eastern Franks, the Saxons, and the Slavs. Alsatia, Switzerland, and South Germany eastward to the river Lech were occupied by the Alemannians, while the inhabitants of the remaining districts of the present Bavaria and Austria bore the collective name of Bavarians.

The history of the German language cannot be severed from the history of these tribes, for Frisian, Saxon, Frankish (Hessian, Thuringian), Alemannian, and Bavarian are the leading dialects of the Continental branch of the Teutonic family. What Dr J. A. H. Murray has pointed out about the origin of the principal English dialects[4] may equally well be said of these Continental idioms. Having no specimens of the languages of the Continental tribes for nearly three centuries after their final settlement, we cannot tell to what extent they originally agreed with or differed from each other, although there must have been some dialectal differences to begin with, which were afterwards increased and multiplied, partly by phonetic changes (most probably resulting from scarcely discernible phonetic peculiarities, which, even in the earliest times, must have prevailed in those idioms), and partly by such alterations of the inflexional systems as are known to occur frequently in all languages whose character is not merely literary. But, however scanty our means of illustrating the earliest history of these idioms may be, there is no doubt that they were not all of them related to each other in the same

[1] See the article ENGLISH LANGUAGE, vol. viii. p. 390 *sqq.*

[2] For fuller particulars see C. Zeuss, *Die Deutschen und die Nachbarstämme,* Munich, 1837.

[3] See G. Wendt, *Die Nationalität der Bevölkerung der Deutschen Ostmarken vor dem Beginne der Germanisierung,* Göttingen, 1878.

[4] See ENGLISH LANGUAGE, as above, p. 391.

degree. Three main groups are easily distinguishable:—(1) Frisian and Saxon, whose nearest relation is English; (2) Frankish, Hessian, and Thuringian; and (3) Alemannian and Bavarian. Frisian is generally considered as a separate language. From Saxon the later Low German dialects (*Niederdeutsche Mundarten*) have sprung. The members of the third group (generally designated as *Oberdeutsch*, or Upper German), combined with *Mitteldeutsch*, or the midland dialects, viz., Thuringian, Hessian, and part of the Frankish dialects, are the sources of the later *Hochdeutsch* or High German. The greatest difference prevails between the first and third groups; the second may be characterized as containing various transition dialects. The southern Frankish dialects are very closely akin to the adjacent Upper German idioms, while Dutch, the utmost offshoot of the Frankish language to the north, does not very materially differ from Saxon or Frisian in the earliest period. The most striking phonetic feature of the languages of the first group is their regular dropping of the nasal sounds before the spirants *f*, *th*, *s*, accompanied by subsequent lengthening of the preceding vowels. Thus we have in Anglo-Saxon or Old English *fīf*, *ōðer*, *cūð*, *gōs* (Mod. English *five*, *other*, (*un-*)*couth*, *goose*), in Old Frisian *fīf*, *ōthar*, *cūth*, *gōs*, in Old Saxon *fīf*, *ōthar*, *cūth*, *gōs*, corresponding to such Gothic forms as *fimf*, *anthar*, *kunths*, or the ordinary High German *fünf*, *ander*, *kund*, *gans*. Since, however, Dutch partakes of this peculiarity to some extent, we cannot easily form a decisive opinion as to the value of this fact as a distinctive mark; but more stress may be laid on a very remarkable difference in the inflexional system of the verb. Here the languages of the first group have melted together the forms of the three persons of the plural number, thus *wē*, *gē*, *hie findað*, or *fundon*, we, you, they find, or found, in Old English; *wī*, *gī*, *hia findað*, or *fundon* in Old Frisian; *wī*, *gī*, *sia findað*, or *fundon* in Old Saxon. The corresponding Old High German forms are *wir findam*, *ir findat*, *sie findant* for the present, *wir funtum*, *ir funtut*, *sie funtun* for the perfect tense. Old Dutch joins, in this case, the German branch; from *werthan*, to become, for instance, are derived *wī werthun*, *gī werthið*, *sia werthunt*, &c. The declension of the substantives shows another remarkable difference. While the languages of the first group have retained the original *s* in the nominative plural of such words as Old English *dagas*, days, Old Saxon *dagos*, or changed it to *r*, as Old Frisian *dagar*, Dutch and German have dropped it altogether, the corresponding forms being *daga* and *taga*. These facts must be taken for decisive, as it seems to be certain that they existed before any distinction of Low and High German in their modern sense (a distinction chiefly dependent on subsequent changes in their mute system) could be thought of. From a purely grammatical point of view, Dutch, although generally considered a separate language (which no doubt it is, with regard to its literary and political position), is entitled to claim a closer relation to High German than even Low German, whose non-literary character, taken along with the political union of northern and southern Germany, has led to the current opinion that it is only a dialect of "German" in its narrower sense. We do not mean to deny that there is, at present, a more conspicuous conformity between Dutch and Low German than between Low German and High German; but this is only due to the fact that High German, after the final settlement of the German tribes, has deviated much more from its original features than either Dutch or Low German. The most striking peculiarities of High German, as opposed to all other Teutonic idioms, have mainly been caused by the second or High German "Lautverschiebung," or change of mute consonants, which forms part of a long series of sound-changes generally comprehended under the name of Germanische Lautverschiebung or Grimm's Law. This Lautverschiebung began, perhaps as early as the 7th century, in the south, and thence slowly spread northward, but with decreasing vigour, and consistency, Dutch and Low German not being touched at all. It was only thus that the idiom of the Netherlands Franks of the later centuries was separated from the dialects of their "German" relations. Before, however, the first literary documents are met with, this separation is complete; and we may therefore restrict ourselves here to a short history of High and Low German alone.

The German language presents, as do most of the cognate tongues, three main stages of development,—Old, Middle, and Modern,—distinguished by their inflexional and literary character. In accordance with Mr Henry Sweet's description of the stages of the English language,[1] Old German may be defined as the period of *full* inflections (Old Low German, *dages*, *dage*, *dagu*; *dagôs*, *dago*, *dagun*; Old High German, *tages*, *tage*, *tagu*; *tagâ*, *tago*, *tagum*), while the Middle period is that of *levelled* inflections (Middle Low German, *dages*, *dage*, *dagen*; Middle High German, *tages*, *tage*, *tagen*); but it is chiefly the literary character that distinguishes Modern High German from Low German and its own earlier stages. A special form of High German is established in this period for all literary purposes, supplanting the dialects both of Low and of High German that formerly were freely used in literary intercourse. Assuming two periods of *transition* besides, we have the following divisions, with the approximate dates:

Old High German	to 1050
Early Middle High German	1050 to 1150
Middle High German	1150 to 1350
Late Middle High German	1350 to 1500
Modern High German	1500 onward.

The same divisions have to be made for Low German, but the scheme cannot be so fully carried through, as the time between 1000 and 1200 is almost destitute of literary monuments.

Old German.—The inflexional characteristics of Old German are almost identical with those of Old English. Nouns had the same five cases,—nominative, accusative (only in a few instances kept distinct), genitive, dative, and instrumental. Strong and weak declensions of nouns and their subdivisions are likewise the same. The dual of the first and second personal pronouns is almost extinct in Old High German, but is quite common in Low German. In the verb we find the same distinction of the subjunctive from the indicative mood, and the same two inflected tenses, present and past,—the former also used for the future, the latter for all shades of past time. The order of the sentence corresponds generally to the modern use, but is not kept so strictly as now, especially in the oldest prose texts, which are often materially influenced by the Latin sources from which they have been derived or translated.

The earliest extant specimen of Low German belongs to the beginning of the 9th century. It is a short formula of renunciation of the devil to be used before the ceremony of baptism.[2] It begins thus:—"Forsachistu diobole? et respondeat: ec forsacho diabole. End allum diobolgelde? respondeat: end ec forsacho allum diobolgelde. End allum dioboles uuercum? respondeat: end ec forsacho allum dioboles uuercum and uuordum, Thuner ende Uuoden ende Saxnote ende allum them unholdum the hira genotas sint." "Forsakest thou (the) devil? I forsake (the) devil. And all devil-sacrifice? And I forsake all devil-sacrifice. And

[1] See article ENGLISH LANGUAGE, vol. viii. p. 391.

[2] It has been published, along with all the minor pieces of Old Saxon still extant, by M. Heyne, *Kleinere altniederdeutsche Denkmäler*, 2d edit., Paderborn, 1877. See also K. Müllenhoff and W. Scherer, *Denkmäler deutscher Poesie und Prosa*, 2d edit., Berlin, 1873.

all (the) devil's works? And I forsake all the devil's works and words, Thuner and Woden and Saxnot and all the uncouth (beings) that their companions are."

We cannot, unfortunately, tell what special dialect of Low German this piece belonged to, nor even whether it was originally written in German, as several forms occurring in it have rather an Old English look. No more certain are the place of origin and the dialect of the most important relic of the Old Saxon language, the great poem of the *Hêliand*, or the History of our Saviour, composed in the old alliterative verse by a Saxon cleric or monk, about the year 830. We quote as a specimen the following lines from the Munich MS.[1]:—

"Quamun managa
Iudeon an thene gastseli; uuard im thar gladmod hugi
blidi an iro breostun: gisahun iro baggebon
uuesen an uuinneon. Drog man uuin an flet
skiri mid scalun, scenkeon huurbun,
gengun mid goldfatun; gaman uuas thar inne,
hlud an thero hallu, helidos drunkun."

"(There) came many Jews to the guest-hall; became to them there glad (their) mind, blithe in their breasts: (they) saw their ring-giver be in joy. Wine was borne into (the) hall bright in cups; cup-bearers walked about, went with golden vessels, joy was therein loud in the hall, the knights drank."

Much more numerous and various in age and dialect are the documents of Old High German, some of which date as far back as the 8th century. Welcome as they may be to the student of grammar, not much can be said for their intrinsic value. Almost all the prose pieces are mere translations (many of them could not be worse) from the Latin; and even such poetical works as Otfrid's *Life of Christ*[2] are no more than prose thoughts forced into bad verse. Only a very few relics of true poetry have reached us, among which the *Hildebrandslied* (in a mixed dialect), the fragments of the *Mûspilli* (a poem about the Last Judgment, in the Bavarian dialect, belonging, like the *Hildebrandslied*, to the beginning of the 9th century, and also written in alliterative verse), and the *Ludwigslied* (881 or 882, in one of the Frankish dialects) may be mentioned here.[3]

High German, as already hinted, is chiefly distinguished from the other Teutonic languages by a certain transformation of its mute system. The ordinary changes,—that is to say, those received in the modern High German literary language,—are the following:—*d* is changed to *t* in all positions; *t* to *z* (either pronounced *ts* or *ss*); *p* to *pf*, *ff*, or *f* according to its position in the word; *k* initial and following a consonant is kept, but after a vowel *k* passes into *ch* (pronounced as Scotch or Modern German *ch*). Thus we get the following comparisons:—

Old English	Old Saxon.	Old High German.	Modern High German.	Modern English.
dôn	dôn	tuon	thun	do
tô	tô	zuo	zu	to
sealt	salt	salz	salz	salt
settan	settian	sezz	setzen	set
etan	etan	ezzan	essen	eat
pund	pund	pfunt	pfund	pound
hearp	harpa	harpfa, harfa	harfe	harp
slǽpan	slâpan	slâffan	schlafen	sleep
cyning	kuning	kuning	könig	king
thencan	thenkiat	thenken	denken	think
macian	makon	machon	machen	make

[1] This MS. gives the poem in a pure Saxon dialect, while the dialect of the Cotton MS. in some respects resembles the Frankish idiom. Both texts are printed in the latest edition by E. Sievers, Halle, 1878.

[2] Otfrid, a monk of Weissenburg, in Alsace, formerly a pupil of Hrabanus Maurus, at Fulda, wrote his work (in the South-Frankish dialect) in 867 or 868. It is for the most part due to him that the rhymed stanza (imitated from that of the Latin Church hymns) was introduced into German poetry, instead of the earlier alliterative metre. The latest editions are by J. Kelle, Ratisbon, 1856, 1869, and by P. Piper, Paderborn, 1878.

[3] The minor pieces of Old High German, both verse and prose, are collected in Müllenhoff and Scherer's *Denkmäler*, 1873.

This is the state of things in the High Frankish or Eastern Frankish dialect, spoken in the south-east of the Frankish territory. In the earliest period, as may be seen from the above list, it still preserved the *th* sound in many cases; in the later stages *d* is found to have been substituted, as in Modern High German. The Upper German dialects show the same change at a much earlier time, and, in addition to this, they have also changed *k* initial and following a consonant into *ch*, and *b* and *g* initial into *p* and *k* (representing most likely voiceless soft stops, as still pronounced in South Germany and Switzerland); Bavarian admits *p* for *b* even in the middle of words. Thus we have, for instance, *denchen* for Frankish *thenken*, to think; *pitten* for Frankish *bitten*, to bid; *keban*, or Bavarian *kepan*, for Frankish *geban*, to give. In illustration of these distinctions and some other variations of spelling we may quote three contemporaneous versions of the Lord's Prayer which have fortunately been preserved[4]:—

Frankish Version.	*Alemannian Version.*	*Bavarian Version.*
Fater unser thu in himilombist, giuuihit si namo thin. Queme richi thin. Uuerdhe uuilleo thin samaso in himile endi in erthu. Broot unseraz emezzigaz gib uns hiutu. Endi farlaz uns sculdhi unsero samaso uuir farlazzem scolom unserem. Indi ni gileiti unsih in costunga, auh arlosi unsih fona ubile.	Fater unsar thu pist in himile, uuihi namun dinan. Qhueme rihhi din. Uuerde uuillo diin samaso in himile sosa in erdu. Prooth unsar emezich kip uns hiutu. Oblaz uns sculdi unsaro so unir oblazein uns sculdikem. Enti ni unsih firleiti in khorunka, uzzer losi unsih fona ubile.	Fater unser, du pist in himilum. Kanuihit si namo din. Piqhueme rihhi din. Uuesa din uuillo samaso in himile est, sama in erdu. Filipi unsraz emizzigaz kip uns eogauuanna. Enti flaz uns unsro sculdi samaso uuir flazzames unsrem scolom. Enti ni princ unsih in chorunka, uz an kaneri unsih fona allem sunton.

It is impossible to give here a sufficient idea of the variability of Old High German, as, indeed, out of several hundred pieces that have come to our knowledge, there are not two representing exactly the same dialect to all its shades or at least in exactly the same spelling. We shall therefore restrict ourselves to a short notice of the more important documents. South-western Frankish is best represented by a very old translation of a treatise by Isidorus Hispalensis, *De Fide Catholica*,[5] and Otfrid's *Life of Christ*, mentioned above. The chief source of Eastern Frankish is a translation of the *Harmony of the Gospels* erroneously ascribed to the Syrian father Tatianus.[6] For Bavarian we may quote some old glossaries,[7] for Alemannian the interlineary versions of the Benedictine Rule[8] and some Latin church hymns,[9] besides several glossaries. For later Old High German, the works of Notker Labeo, or Teutonicus, a monk of St Gall who died in 1022, are the fundamental sources.[10] What Ormin did for English phonetics, Notker may be said to have done, even more completely, for those of Germany. He not only carefully marks the quantities of vowels, but also points out the phonetic difference between such diphthongs as *ei*, *ou*, *iu*, and *ie*, *uo* by his way of accentuating them (*êi*, *ôu*, *îu*, and *îe*, *ûo*); even such phonetic minutiæ as the change of initial voiced stop consonants into voiceless stops after a pause or a voiceless consonant are duly registered, as may be seen from the following specimen.

[4] Ten different versions of the Lord's Prayer (down to the 14th century) are given, in a synoptical order, by Massmann, *Die deutschen Abschwörungs-, Beicht- und Betformeln*. Quedlinburg and Leipsic, 1839, p. 158 *sq.*

[5] K. Weinhold, *Die altdeutschen Bruchstücke des Bischof Isidorus von Sevilla de fide Catholica*, Paderborn, 1874.

[6] Latest edition by E. Sievers, Paderborn, 1872.

[7] E. Steinmeyer und E. Sievers, *Althochdeutsche Glossen*, i., Berlin, 1879.

[8] H. Hattemer, *Denkmahle des Mittelalters*, i., St Gall, 1844

[9] E. Sievers, *Die Murbacher Hymnen*, Halle, 1874.

[10] Hattemer, *op. cit.*, vols. ii., iii.

"Sanctus paulus kehiez tîen diê in sînên zîten uuândon des sûonetagen, taz er êr nechâme êr romanum imperium zegîenge únde antichristus rîcheson begóndi. Uuér zuîuelôt romanos fu uuésen állero rîcho hêrren únde íro geuuâlt kân ze énde dero uuérlte?" "St Paul assured those who in his time expected the day of judgment that it would not come before the Roman Empire was dissolved, and Antichrist began to reign. Who doubts that the Romans are the masters of all kingdoms, and that their power reaches to the end of the world?"

It will be clear from what has been said above that the main feature of the Old High German period is the total absence of a common literary language. No voluntary modifications of the form of speech are to be found, but such as are naturally involved in any attempt to adapt a spoken idiom to literary use. Nevertheless it has been suggested by K. Müllenhoff[1] and others that idioms of a more refined character than the ordinary popular dialects were spoken at the principal courts of the empire, and especially at the imperial court itself, and that the authority of these *Hofsprachen* was great enough to exercise a modifying influence on the literary productions throughout the empire, or in those parts at least where High German was the vernacular speech. But how these suppositions can be proved does not appear, or how they can be reconciled with the fact that all literary documents of the period *are* dialectal.

Middle German.—The transition to Middle High and Low German is conspicuously marked by a decided improvement in the poetic faculties of the nation.[2] While the 10th century has left only a very few specimens of poetry, and these of poor quality, the number of poems (mainly of a theological bearing) dating from the 11th century is not inconsiderable, and the 12th century shows a rapidity of literary development almost unparalleled. At first indeed religious and legendary poetry is still prevalent, but soon literature begins to take a more historical or epic turn. This tendency is clearly visible in the *Kaiserchronik*, or Emperor's Chronicle, in which the first attempt is made to give a survey of universal and German history in a poetical form. The romantic tales of Alexander the Great and of the battle of Roncesvalles were translated from the French,—the *Alexanderlied* by the Pfaffe Lamprecht, the *Rolandslied* by the Pfaffe Konrad; while old national traditions contributed fitting subjects for such epic poems as that concerning the adventures of the Lombard King Rother. Lyric poetry, hitherto altogether neglected, sprang suddenly into vigour in the remote east of Austria about the middle of the century, and soon found its way to other countries. But the most decided advance was not made till about 1180, when the new forms of social life that had crept in among the more cultivated classes, in imitation of the laws and customs of French chivalry, began to exercise a powerful reforming influence on all branches of poetry. The example set by the Netherlands poet, Heinrich von Veldeke (who for some time lived, and partly wrote, in Germany), in his *Eneit*, or *Æneid*, was soon followed by the three great epic masters of the period, Hartmann von Aue, Gottfried von Strasburg, and Wolfram von Eschenbach. About the same time the *Nibelungenlied* and other compositions of a more national character were composed, while lyric poetry was raised to a height of excellence never attained at any other period of the Middle Ages, and best represented in the songs of Walther von der Vogelweide. It is true enough that this new chivalrous poetry was not always very original in thought; indeed, most epic poems of this class, and many lyric stanzas, have been directly copied from French models; but its influence on the culture of the language was immense. It was then for the first time that Germany possessed a real literary language, undoubtedly homogeneous as far as style and metre are concerned. Whether a similar unity of the outer form of speech had already been reached at that period is a point very difficult to decide. The question was raised for the first time as early as 1820, by Karl Lachmann, in his *Auswahl aus den hochdeutschen Dichtern des XIII. Jahrh.* Lachmann's opinion was that the poets of the 13th century spoke a definite, unchangeable sort of High German, a few minor dialectal peculiarities being excepted, and that uneducated scribes had been guilty of introducing older or corrupt forms of the common speech into our manuscripts. These views were at the time unanimously accepted, and are still held (though in a somewhat modified form, admitting two literary idioms, one in the south, the other in the midland) by a majority of the German philologists of the present day. As a consequence of this, most of the "critical"[3] editions of Middle High German poetry that have appeared since Lachmann's time do not reproduce the original readings of the manuscripts, but give the texts in a "corrected" form, commonly called "correct Middle High German," which is assumed to appear in its purest form in the works of Hartmann von Aue. It is chiefly Alemannian, or Swabian, with some Frankish peculiarities of spelling in the use of the consonants, in order to produce a greater resemblance to ordinary Modern High German orthography. No manuscript, however, is known to be written in exactly the same language or orthography; nor are there any poets, except those of Swabia, who do not clearly show by their rhymes the existence of dialectal forms in their speech. All incongruities in the rhymes disappear when they are transferred to the forms peculiar to the local dialects of their authors.[3] It was therefore but natural that a reaction against Lachmann's views should ultimately have set in;[4] and this reaction appears to have been right in denying that dialectal forms were purposely and studiously avoided, even by the classic authors of the period, with a view to the approximation of their language to a certain universal idiom never existing anywhere but in the fancy of certain modern writers. How injurious to the study of Middle High German dialects the views of Lachmann, had they prevailed, must have been, it is easy to see; but on the other hand it must not be forgotten that the only method of investigating the dialects of the single authors was that followed by Lachmann, viz., to reconstruct them by a careful study of the rhymes, for the dialects of the manuscripts are often, nay in most cases, clearly different from those of the writers themselves, as shown by the rhymes. It is therefore not so much the principle of reconstruction that has been resisted by Lachmann's opponents as the way in which this reconstruction has been practically carried out. For prose writings of course no such reconstruction is possible; still, prose documents, especially such as were destined for local use only (charters, &c.), and therefore less liable to adulterations of the original, are often the main sources for German dialectology.

The prominent feature of German (Low German included) in this period is the levelling of the unaccented vowels of the inflexional and some of the derivative syllables already mentioned. As to the former there is only one exception, viz., the retaining of the termination *iu* (pronounced as Modern German *ü* or French long *u*) for the nom. sing. fem. and the nom. and acc. plur. neutr. of the adjectives (*blindiu*, while all other cases have the levelled *e*); and even this seems to be a speciality of Upper German, the corresponding Midland form being *blinde* as in Modern German. The unaccented *e* is frequently dropped in all dialects, especially in the south, where the dropping is almost regular after an *r* or *l* closing a short syllable, as in *bern*, *steln*, for *beren*, *stelen*, to bear, to steal; Old High German, *beran*, *stelan*. In the Midland dialects *i* is often written for this *e*, thus *berin*, *stelin*. The accented vowels of the root syllables are greatly changed in this period by the "Umlaut," or mutation of sounds, being an assimilation of these vowels to an *i* or *y* originally following. Thus *a*, *ā*, *o*, *ō*, *u*, *ū*, *uo* are changed to *e*, *æ*, *ü* or *ö*, *œ*, *ü*, *iu* (long *ü*), *üe*, as may be seen in the following instances:—*hant*, hand, pl. *hende*; *rāt*, council, pl. *rate*; *golt*, gold, *güldîn*, golden, or *mohte*, I might, subj. *möhte*; *grōz*, great, *græze*, size; *kus*, a kiss, *küssen*, to kiss; *mūs*, mouse, pl. *müse*; *guot*, good, *güete*, goodness. The Umlaut, however, is not always expressed in the spelling of the manuscripts, though it must have existed in the living language. Of the diphthongs, *iu* has been changed into long *ü*, but the old spelling is often retained in the MSS. (*liute*, modern *Leute*, Old High German *liuti*, people). As to the consonants, the *th* sound had nearly disappeared at the beginning of the period, and was lost entirely in its course; *sk* has passed into the *sh* sound, written *sch* as in Modern German. Spelling in general is simpler, and in some points more rigidly phonetic than in Old German. Final voiced consonants, as *b*, *d*, *g*, are generally changed into the corresponding voiceless sounds, as *p*, *t*, *c* (in High German *grap*, grave, gen. *grabes*, *pfat*, path, gen. *pfades*, *tac*, day, gen. *dages*; in Low German *graf graves*, *pat pades*, *dach dages*). Double consonants are simplified in the same position, as in Old German (*bal*, ball, gen. *balles*). The use of the letter *v* has greatly increased; in High German it means simply *f*, and is therefore quite superfluous; in Low German its pronunciation is *f* at the beginning of words, while in the middle of words it has the same sound as English *v*.

The leading dialects of the period are those of Old German, the most noteworthy difference being the accession of the dialects of the kingdom of Saxony (*Obersächsisch*, or Upper Saxon) and Silesia to the midland dialects, and those of some eastern provinces of Prussia (*Niedersächsisch*, or Low Saxon) to Low German, in consequence of the German colonization of these countries. Low German, to begin with, has retained the phonetic structure of its consonantal system unaltered, except by the loss of the *th* sound. The spelling of the vowel system is very imperfect. Umlaut is not expressed in the older manuscripts, except in the case of *a* and *e*. A long *e* corresponds to both High German *ei* and *ie*, a long *o* to High German *ou*, *öu*, and *uo*, *üe*, the only diphthong generally admitted being *ou* before a *w*, as in *houwen*, to hew. The pronunciation of *ē* and *ō* must, however, in these cases have been different according to their etymological values, for all the High German sounds mentioned above are distinctly kept asunder in the modern Low German dialects, and *ei* and *u* or *ü* are often written for *ē* and *ō* where they stand for High German *ei* and *uo* or *üe*, but never otherwise. It is most likely, judging from the present state of things, that open *e*, *o* were the equivalents for High German *ei*, *ou*, *öu*, while close *e*, *o* corresponded to High German *ie*, *uo*, *üe*. The prefix *ge* is dropped, as in English and in the Scandinavian languages (thus *bort*, birth, High German *geburt*). But the most remarkable fact in the history of Low German sounds is the restoration of *nd* or *un* for *th* after a dropped nasal sound (see above, p. 516), as in *ander* or *anner*, other, for Old Saxon *óthar*, or in *munt*, mouth, for Old Saxon *múth*. This transition cannot be explained by any phonetic laws, but must necessarily be ascribed to High German influence. As to the inflexional system, a similar influence seems to have introduced the High German terminations of the plural of verbs (*wi geven*, *gi gevet*, *se geven* we, you, they give). The Old Saxon *-s* in the nominative plural has been dropped, as in High German. The following lines quoted from the municipal laws of the town of Hamburg (written 1270) may be taken as a fair specimen of 13th-century Low German:—"Dat nement syn erue verkopen schal, he ne bede id erst synen negesten. So we syn erue vorkopen wil, dat bynnen desser stad vnde bynnen dessem wicbelde belegen is, de schal id beden twen synen negesten vrunden, dar syn erue vp vallen mach, vnde wil it erer nen kopen, so mot he syn erue wol vorkopen deme de eme dar vmme allermest geuen wil." "That nobody shall sell his inheritance, unless he offer it first to his nearest (relations). Whosoever is willing to sell his inheritance, that is situated within this town and within these precincts, shall offer it to two his nearest friends (relations), to whom his inheritance may fall, and if neither of them is willing to buy it, he must (may) well sell his inheritance to him who is willing to give him most for it."

The differences of the main dialects of High German are not very striking during the first stage of this period. Alemannian is best characterized by its rigidly keeping its original vowel qualities, some of the modern Swiss dialects showing exactly the same system as about 1200. Swabian is easily discovered by its frequent use of *au* for *ā*, as in *gaun*, to go, for *gān*. A very important change of vowel qualities is found to have taken place, at a very early time, in the Bavarian dialect. While *ie*, *uo*, *üe* were preserved as in Alemannian, *ei*, *ou*, *öu* were changed into *œi* (or *ai*), *au*, *eu* (or *áu*), and three new diphthongs, *ei*, *ou*, *eu*, sprang up from the long vowels *ī*, *ū*, *iu* (*ū*). In the Midland dialects again, *ei*, *ou*, and *ī*, *ū*, *ü* were kept, as in Alemannian (although *ü* is generally not distinguished from *u* in writing, as in most Midland manuscripts no special signs for the Umlaut vowels are used, except *e*), but *ie*, *uo*, *üe* were contracted to simple *ī*, *ū* (*ü*), differing from the old *ī*, *ū*, *iu* only in their open quality. The system of these changes may be illustrated by the following list:—

Alemann.	diep	guot	süeze	min hūs	miuse	stein boum fröude
Bavarian	diep	guot	süeze	mein hous	meuse	stain paum freude
Midland	dip	gūt	süze	min hūs	mūse	stein boum freude
Low Ger.	dēf	gōd	sōte	min hūs	mūse	stēn bōm froude
English	thief	good	sweet	mine house	mice	stone beam (joy)

As to the consonants, Alemannian and Bavarian still clung to the use of *ch* or *kch* for ordinary *k*, as *chomen*, for *komên*, to come. *P* initial for *b* is especially Bavarian, and was rather more frequent in the 14th and 15th centuries than before; *w* initial is often expressed by *b* in Bavarian manuscripts since the 13th century; thus we find *paideu*, both, for *beidiu* or *peidiu* in Alemannian, or *beide* in the Midland dialects, and *beip*, wife, or even *zbai*, two, for ordinary *wīp*, *zwei*; *k* initial for ordinary *g* went altogether out of use. In Midland orthography the two sounds of Old High German *z*, viz. *ts* and *ss*, were expressed by *cz* or *zc*, and *z* or *zz* respectively. The following specimens of the language of this period are taken from the *Schwabenspiegel*, or Swabian Law, for Alemannian (13th century); the *Spiegel deutscher Leute*, or Mirror of German People, for Bavarian (14th century); and a Midland version of the *Sachsenspiegel*, or Saxon Law[1]:—

[1] See his *Denkmäler*, Introduction.

[2] See W. Scherer, *Geschichte der deutschen Literatur im XI. und XII. Jahrhundert*, Strasburg, 1875.

[3] This has been exemplified in a most masterly manner by W. Braune, in his *Untersuchungen über Heinrich von Veldeke*; see *Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie*, iv. p. 279 *sqq.* Braune has conclusively shown that Heinrich von Veldeke never tried to write German (although he wrote for German readers), as had generally been supposed before, but simply wrote in his familiar Netherlands dialect.

[4] See especially H. Paul, *Gab es eine mittelhochdeutsche Schriftsprache?* Halle, 1873. Paul seems, however, to go too far in denying the existence of some peculiarities of style pointed out by Lachmann and his followers.

[1] The editions whence the extracts are taken are—for the *Schwabenspiegel*, that of Lassberg, Tübingen, 1840, p. 5; for the *Spiegel deutscher Leute*, that of J. Ficker, Innsbruck, 1859, p. 35; and for the *Sachsenspiegel*, that of Hildebrand, Leipsic, 1870, p. 3.

Schwabenspiegel.	*Sp. deutscher Leute.*	*Sachsenspiegel.*
Dem pabest ist gesetzet in bescheidenlicher zit ze rihten vf einem blanchen pherde, vnd der cheiser sol dem pabest den stegreif haben, daz sich der satel nit entwinde. Daz bezeichent daz, swaz dem pabest widerste des er mit geistlichem gerihte niht betwingen mac, daz sol der cheiser vnd ander weltliche rihter betwingen mit der ehte.	Dem babst ist gesetzet ze richten ze beschaidener zeit auf einen blanchem rosse, vnd der chaiser sol im den stegraif haben durch daz sich der satel icht entwende. Ditz ist dev beschaidenunge: swaz dem babest widerste, daz er mit geistleichem gerichte nicht betwingen müge, daz sol der chaiser vnd ander wertleich richter mit der echte betwingen vnd das geistleich sol twingen mit dem panne.	Deme babste ist ouch gesaezt zu ritene zu bescheidener zeit uf eime blanken pferde, und der keiser sal im den stegereif halden, durch daz der satel nicht enwinde. Daz ist die bezeechenunge: swaz deme babste widerste, des her nicht mit geistlichem gerichte getwingen mag, daz ez der keiser mit werltlichem gerichte twinge deme babste gehorsam zu wesene.

"To the pope it is set (ordained) that he shall judge at a certain time, (sitting) on a white horse, and the emperor shall hold the stirrup to the pope, that the saddle may not slide off. This means that whatsoever resists the pope, so that he cannot overcome it with spiritual censure, the emperor and other secular judges shall overcome with the proscription, (and the spiritual [court] shall exercise discipline with the ban)."

In the 14th and 15th centuries the development of the dialects rapidly advanced. The greatest changes were those occurring in the vowel system. The new diphthongs *ei*, *ou*, *eu*, for older *ī*, *ū*, *iu*, which had originated in the south-eastern parts of the Bavarian district gradually spread to the north and west; even some of the South Midland dialects, as Bohemian and Silesian, began to partake of this change, while the north Midland dialects and Alemannian remained unaltered. Short root syllables ending in a single consonant began to be lengthened in almost all dialects, as *gēben*, *nēmen*, for *gĕben*, *nĕmen*, to give, to take. Unaccented *e* was dropped in the southern dialects, especially in Bavarian, to the utmost extent possible. Such forms as *pschœch*, *gtorst*, *kœrt*, for *beschœhe*, happened (subj.), *getorste*, I durst, *gehœret*, heard (part.), began to be quite familiar. Even before a final *l* or nasal sound *e* was now and then dropped in Bavarian, as in *gebm* for *geben*, to give, *gegnt* for *gegende* country, which are exactly the forms still used in our time. Midland and Low German dialects continued to be much more conservative in all these respects. In the consonantal system we have to mention the loss of the *z* sound in all dialects, where it was a simple spirant (not *ts*); although the letter *z* was still often preserved in spelling, it was frequently confounded with *s* in the rhymes, a thing which never occurred in the earlier centuries. Alemannian is chiefly distinguished by its constant change of *sm*, *sn*, *sl*, *sw*, *sp*, *st* into *schm*, *schn*, *schl*, *schw*, *schp*, *scht*, as in *schmit*, smith, *schne*, snow, *schlahen*, to slay, *schwimmen*, to swim, *geschprochen*, spoken, *geischtlich*, "ghostly," spiritual. Late Bavarian favours such spellings as *chrankch*, *pekch*, for *krank*, *becke*. Spelling in general was much neglected, although it was not quite so bad as often in the 16th century, when there was a strong tendency towards crowding as many letters into a word as possible.

While the 15th century was thus marked by great divergencies of the spoken dialects, important steps towards gaining a greater uniformity of literary speech were made in the same period by the invention of the art of printing, and by the development of certain *Kanzleisprachen*, or literary idioms of the imperial and other chanceries. There is no need to explain how the habit of reading books printed in dialects not familiar to the reader must have obliged the learned public of the time to acquire a certain amount of knowledge of dialects in general, and must have made them better aware of the peculiarities of their own idioms than was either necessary or possible at the time when manuscripts written expressly in the local dialects of the readers were the only means of conveying literary information. Besides, writers as well as printers must soon have found it profitable to publish their works in a language readily understood by readers in all parts of the country. The principal work, however, was done in Germany by the chanceries. Among these the imperial chancery naturally held the most prominent position; and, inasmuch as its public acts were addressed to readers of all dialects existing throughout the empire, it obviously had also the greatest interest in calling into existence a general idiom. In the 14th century no difference between the language of the imperial chancery and the local idioms of the particular emperors was yet visible.[1] The public Acts of Louis of Bavaria (1314–1347) were written in the Bavarian dialect. The succession of Charles IV. (1347–1378) was accompanied by the introduction of the Bohemian dialect into the imperial charters. This dialect, as was natural from its local position, was neither purely Southern nor purely Midland. *Ei*, *ou*, *eu* for *ī*, *ū*, *iu* were frequently adopted from the Southern dialects, but *ch* for *k* and *p* for *b* were generally rejected; unaccented vowels were preserved to about the same extent as in Midland German. In the reign of Wenceslaus of Bohemia (1378–1400) the same state of things was maintained; but in the charters of Rupert, the elector palatine (1400–1410), we find the Midland dialect of the Palatinate. Sigismund (1410–1437) reintroduced the Bohemian dialect, which by this time had, with the exception of a very short period, prevailed for nearly a hundred years in the imperial chancery. It was therefore but natural that Duke Frederick of Austria should exchange the Austrian dialect of his ducal chancery (which abounded with *kch*, *kh*, *kg* for *k*, and *p* for *b*) for the Bohemian chancery dialect of his predecessors, when he succeeded to the imperial throne (1470–1493). His example was followed by Maximilian (1493–1519), but only so far as public Acts were concerned. In charters destined for local Austrian use as well as in his private correspondence he always kept his vernacular Austrian dialect, showing thus that no change of the spoken idioms had been caused as yet by the introduction of the new artificial language. In the same manner and at the same time the Midland dialect of the electoral chancery of Saxony came to be better adapted for general use by the adoption of the Southern *ei*, *ou*, *eu* for *ī*, *ū*, *iu*, and the abolition of several prominent Midland peculiarities.

Modern High German.—In the preceding paragraph we have tried to give a short sketch of the origin of literary Modern High German; and it is this very idiom of the imperial and Saxon chanceries that Luther made afterwards popular by his translation of the Bible and his numerous other writings. We may quote his own words in confirmation:—

"Ich habe keine gewisse, sonderliche, eigne sprache im deutschen, sondern brauche der gemeinen deutschen sprache, das mich beide Ober- und Niederländer verstehen mögen. Ich rede nach der sechsischen cantzlei, welcher nachfolgen alle fürsten vnd könige in Deutschland; Alle reichsstedte, fürstenhöfe schreiben nach der sechsischen vnd vnsers fürsten cantzeley. Darumb ists auch die gemeinste deutsche sprache. Kaiser Maximilian vnd churfürst Friderich, hertzog von Sachsen, haben im römischen reiche die deutschen sprachen also in *eine* gewisse sprach zusammengezogen."[2]

Luther's language, again, was soon acknowledged by German grammarians, as Sebastian Franck (1531) and Johannes Clajus (1578), and was accordingly imitated, as the

[1] The particulars which follow are chiefly taken from an able sketch by Dr E. Wülcker, *Die Entstehung der kursächsischen Kanzleisprache*. See *Zeitschrift des Vereins für thüringische Geschichte*, ix. p. 349.

[2] *Tischreden*, ch. 69. Dr Wülcker assigns these words to the year 1545.

best pattern of High German. It is true that in the 16th century many writers, especially in Switzerland and Lower Germany, still clung with great pertinacity to their native dialects. But about 1600 Luther's language was fully established as the only idiom of literary intercourse throughout Germany.[1] The changes the language has undergone since Luther's time mostly concern the inflexional system. In the strong verbs the differences between the singular and plural and the indicative and subjunctive of the past have been levelled in the course of time: thus, *ich fand*, *wir funden*, I, we found, subj. *ich fände*, or *ich schnitt*, *wir schnitten*, I, we cut, for *ich fand*, *wir funden*, *ich fände*, or *ich schneit*, *wir schnitten*. At present the verb *werden*, to become, is the only specimen left of the old regular inflexion:—*ich ward*, *wir wurden*, *ich würde*; but even here a new irregular form, *ich wurde*, has come into use and almost superseded the more archaic *ich ward*, which is now chiefly confined to poetry. Many other vowel changes have taken place besides, as in *webe*, *wob*, *gewoben*, weave, wove, woven, for Middle High German *wibe*, *wap*, *geweben*, so that the old system of "Ablaut," or vowel change in the root syllables of the strong verbs has often become quite indistinct. A great number of verbs have passed from the strong inflexion to the weak, and *vice versa*. The declension of substantives has also been greatly altered. Umlaut is now regularly used as a plural sign with most monosyllabic and many dissyllabic masculine words, as in *baum*, *bäume*, or *nagel*, *nägel*, for Middle High German *boum*, *boume*, and *nagel*, *nagele*; originally it was confined to a much smaller number of words (*i*-stems, as *gast*, *gäste*, Middle High German *gast*, *geste*). Other masculine words have adopted the plural *-er*, together with Umlaut of the root syllables, from the neuter declension, as *mann*, *männer*, *geist*, *geister*, besides frequent exchanges between the strong and weak declensions, which cannot be specified here. The strong and the weak declension of feminine words originally ending in *e* have been melted together, one form (ending in *e* or a consonant) being used for all singular, and one (ending in *en* or *n* after a consonant) for all plural cases, as *gabe*, *gaben*, *zahl*, *zahlen*, *zunge*, *zungen*, for Middle High German *gābe*, *gābe*, gen. and dat. *gāben*; *zal*, *zal*, gen. and dat. *zaln*; *zunge*, gen. dat. and acc. *zungen*, pl. *zungen* throughout. As to phonology, no change of vowel quality is noticeable in literary German. Modern High German still has the Midland sounds *ī* (often spelt *ie*), *ū*, *ü*, for Southern *ie*, *uo*, *üe*, as well as the Bavarian diphthongs *ei*, *au*, *eu* (*äu*), for the older sounds *ī*, *ū*, *iu*, the latter not being distinguished either in spelling or in educated pronunciation from the older diphthongs *ei*, *ou*, *öu*. We have thus *zwei*, *drei*, *baum*, *haus*, *freude*, *häuser*, *leute* for Middle High German *zwei*, *drī*, *boum*, *hūs*, *vröude*, *hiuser*, *liute*. Change of vowel quantity is the most prominent phonetic feature of Modern High German when compared with the earlier stages of the language. All root-syllables ending formerly in a short vowel followed by a simple consonant have now become long, either by lengthening the vowel or by doubling the consonant, thus *tāg*, *tāge*, *sāl*, *bōte*, or *gott*, *gottes*, *blatt*, *blätter*, for Middle High German *tāg* (or *tāc*), *tāge*, *sāl*, *bōte*, *got*, *gōtes*, *blāt*, *blēter*. The rules for dropping unaccented vowels have often been changed accordingly. It must not be forgotten, however, that all these rules are only applicable to the literary idiom; the dialects, and even those of the educated people, often differ very materially from the rules laid down above. There is, indeed, no such thing as a generally recognized standard pronunciation of German, except perhaps on the stage, which no doubt has exercised and still exercises a certain influence on the current opinions as to how one ought to pronounce, but has not been powerful enough to abolish all dialectal peculiarities in the case of even the highest classes. Only a very few general rules can be given. Englishmen will do well to pronounce the vowels as in Italian: *ü* and *ö* are rounded or labialized *i* and *e* sounds, formed by pouting the lips while trying to pronounce *i* or *e*. Long vowels are always pronounced simple, never as diphthongs (which is frequently the case in English, especially with *a* and *o*). Unaccented *e* is invariably dropped in the terminations *el*, *en*, the real pronunciation of such words as *handel*, *bitten*, *lippen*, *haben*, *nehmen* being *handl*, *bittn*, *lipm*, or *lippm*, *hābn* or *hābm*, *nēm* (with a lengthened *m*).[2] Among the peculiarities of the consonantal system we may mention the sound of *ch* (in two distinct varieties as in *ach* and *ich*), the *z*, which is a combination of *t* and *s*, and the *r*, which ought to be trilled with the tip of the tongue, but is often pronounced as a uvular or guttural sound. *S* initial is generally sounded like the English *z*, in stage pronunciation, but not usually elsewhere; *st* and *sp* initial are never pronounced on the stage like English *st* or *sp*, but are always *sht*, *shp*, as in *stein*, *spiel*, pronounced (to use English spelling) as *shtine*, *shpeel*. The English *w* ought to be avoided. The German *w* sound is more like English *v*, but somewhat softer; in Midland pronunciation a sound intermediate between English *w* and *v* takes its place. German *v* is simply *f*.[3]

The varieties of the German dialects of the present are too numerous to be described here. It may suffice to state that the old divisions of Low German, Midland, and Upper German dialects are still applicable. Among the first, the Western or Westphalian dialects are distinctly marked by the pronunciation of *g* initial as a *gh*, or voiced *ch* (sometimes even voiceless), and the use of numerous diphthongs, both long and short, instead of simple vowels. The principal subdivisions of Midland German are the Lower Rhenish or Middle Frankish dialect (including the German dialects of Transylvania), South-Western and Eastern or High Frankish, Hessian, Thuringian, Saxon, and Silesian. Alemannian is divided into the three main groups of Swabian, Alsatian, and Swiss, while Bavarian is constituted by several subdialects spoken in Bavaria and Austria. The study of these dialects has been carried on in Germany for a considerable time,[4] but not always very successfully, especially so far as phonology is concerned; for many observers, while well-trained in all the disciplines of the older school of philology, have been totally ignorant of the simplest laws of phonetics. It is only within the last few years that the value of phonetic studies (although they began in German researches) has been duly recognized in the country of their origin, and dialectology has not hitherto gained much by the more theoretical study of general phonetics. Some excellent beginnings indeed have been made, among which Dr Winteler's book on his native Swiss dialect holds by far the foremost rank;[5] but it is probable that a long time must yet elapse before Germany can possess so well trained and independent a school of phonetists as that which already exists in England headed by Mr A. Melville Bell and Mr Alexander J. Ellis. Not till then, however, can a real history of the German language be written. (E. SI.)

[1] For fuller particulars readers are referred to H. Rückert, *Geschichte der neuhochdeutschen Schriftsprache*, 2 vols., Leipsic, 1875.

[2] Foreigners are easily detected by their generally inserting a real vowel-sound before the *l*, *n*.

[3] For more accurate descriptions of the German sounds see E Sievers, *Grundzüge der Lautphysiologie*, Leipsic, 1876.

[4] A very full list of books referring to German dialectology has been given by C. H. Herrmann, *Bibliotheca Germanica*, Halle, 1878, p. 67 *sqq.*

[5] J. Winteler, *Die Kerenzer Mundart des Kantons Glarus*, Leipsic, 1876. This is indeed the only work that can be justly compared with Dr J. A. H. Murray's *Dialect of the Southern Counties of Scotland*, published in 1873.