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The treatment of consonants in the "Ambraser Heldenbuch"

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University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 1993

THE TREATMENT OF CONSONANTS
IN THE *AMBRASER HELDENBUCH*

BY

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A.B., University of Illinois, 1984
A.M., University of Illinois, 1986

THESIS

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Abstract

The orthography of the Early New High German period has occasionally been misinterpreted in the scholarship, and has consequently been described as being characterized by chaos, arbitrariness, and a proliferation of letters that has no phonological basis. This perceived chaos derives from attempts of the last century to reconcile the writing systems of vastly different dialects with a supposed standard language. Recent scholarship has shown that orthographies of the period can be shown to be systematic if individual dialects are treated separately.

The *Ambraser Heldenbuch* is a parchment codex of the early 16th century. It contains 25 works of courtly, heroic and minor epic literature, of which 15 works are unique to the manuscript. The codex is also unusual in that the identity of the scribe who copied it is known. Hans Ried, sometime Revenue Collector in Bozen and member of a South Tyrolean 'Ministerialenfamilie', copied the manuscript between 1504 and 1516 at the behest of Emperor Maximilian.

The bulk of the dissertation is an analysis of the consonantal orthography of the unica in the *Ambraser Heldenbuch*. Through this analysis and a comparison with the consonantal phonology of the modern Tyrolean dialect, I show that the peculiarities of Ried's orthography can be explained on the basis of the Tyrolean dialect.

For my wife Melissa

Mir ist wohl bei höchstem Schmerze,

Denn ich weiß ein treues Herze.

Acknowledgments

I would like to express my thanks first of all to Professor Elmer H. Antonsen for his guidance, great patience, and support, without which this project could not have been completed. Professor Marianne E. Kalinke deserves my thanks as well, for having first suggested that I make the *Ambraser Heldenbuch* the subject of my study. I would also like to thank Professor James W. Marchand for his help in solving a number of computer-related problems in the early stages of my work, and Professor Norman R. Spencer, who first interested me in the Early New High German period.

I owe a special debt of gratitude to the University of Illinois Library. The facsimile edition of the codex from which I worked was purchased, at no small expense, that I might undertake this study. I am grateful, also, to the staff of the Rare Book Room whose kindness helped to ease a difficult and sometimes burdensome task.

I must also thank all those whose pleasant company and good friendship helped me to maintain a semblance of sanity in the midst of great chaos: Christian Gutleben, John Meredig, Steve Peter, Shelly Wright, Jim Hall, Bill and Sarah Freyman, Fred an Rosemarie Lawrence and all the rest with whom I have raised a glass.

Finally, I would like to thank my parents whose affection and support I have never found lacking, and Emmerich Koller who first taught me what a direct object is.

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1.0 Introduction

In the last 50 years, that is, since the publication of V. Moser's *Grammatik des Frühneuhochdeutschen* (1951) and Schirokauer's *Frühneuhochdeutsch* (1957), interest in the German language between 1300 and 1700 has greatly increased. I.T. Piirainen's bibliography (to 1980) does not comprise many more entries than can be found in annual bibliographies for the years 1980 to the present. A study of these bibliographies shows that the greater part of the phonological studies of the Early New High German period treat the vowel system, and that treatments of the consonantal system are rare.

The bulk of the scholarship before 1950 deals with Luther and his part in the normalization of the German language, and with the rise of the German language from his dialect, East Middle German. Frings and his students have done more than their part in perpetuating the notion of Luther as *Sprachschöpfer* and East Middle German as the cradle of the New High German language. Schirokauer, however, points out that Luther had very little real influence on the rise of a standard language in Germany:

Luther war kein Zustand, sondern ein Sonderfall, ähnlich dem Isidorübersetzer am Hofe Karls des Großen. Von einer Wirkung Luthers auf das Lautbild kann nicht, auf den Wortschatz kaum gesprochen werden. Von seinem Satzbau sagt sich das 17. Jh. gänzlich los. Man sucht seine Bedeutung für die Sprachgeschichte zu retten

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durch den Hinweis auf die "innere Sprachreform". Aber sie ist, wo sie großartig ist,

souverän und entzieht sich also der Fassung in allgemeine Regeln. (Sp. 908-909)

The notion that the East Middle German dialect area served as a "Musterland-schaft" in the formation of New High German (Eggers 1986:2.19-20) has also, in more recent years, been challenged (Besch 1968, Skála 1970, Diersch 1972, Schulte 1972, Erben 1975,). Where then is one to seek the germ of New High German? Besch (1973:429) writes:

> Es scheint nicht länger möglich zu sein, hauptsächlich nur vom Ostmd. quasi als
>
> einer 'Modell-Landschaft' [für das Frnhd.] auszugehen; die Forschung muß auch die
>
> übrigen Sprachlandschaften mit einbeziehen und tut es auch zunehmend,

thus implying that Early New High German was not a unified language in the sense that New High German is, that it was a collection of dialects that, through time and normalization, strove toward unification. A unification, I might add that has and has not yet been achieved, as the coexistence of the standard language and regional dialects attests.

Thus, the scholarship shows us that any attempt to represent Early New High German as a unified language is doomed to failure for the simple reason that Early New High German was *not* unified, just as Middle and Old High German were not. Furthermore, the notion that the German language developed in an uninterrupted flow

from Old to Middle to New High German is equally invalid (cf. Abbé 1950). Indeed, as Schirokauer (1957) points out, the emergence of Early New High German is characterized not so much by a collapse of the quasi-standardized language of the aristocracy that we call Middle High German, as by the rise of dialects in written documents that accompanies the rise of the cities in Central European society:

> Mönchs-, Ritter- und Städter-Deutsch bezeichnen das spezifische Gewicht von Sprachzuständen, deren Bezeichnung als ahd., mhd., frnhd. ein bloßes Nacheinander feststellt, das übrigens nicht einmal im engsten historischen Sinn zutreffend ist. (Sp. 859)

If one accepts Schirokauer's point of view, then one must admit that the study of a unified Early New High German language is meaningless, that we ought instead to study Early New Bavarian, Early New Franconian, etc., for, just as we must consider the Upper German dialects separately from the Middle German ones in Old High German, a study of Early New High German must, as Besch points out (see above) take into account the dialect distinctions that still hold in much of German-speaking Europe.

In his treatment of the consonants, Kehrein (1856), not unexpectedly following in the tradition of Grimm by discussing *Buchstaben* rather than phonemes, fails, in general, to take the dialect of his texts into account. He constantly compares the Early New High German forms to the corresponding New High German, that is Standard

German, forms, without considering the dialect landscape. The resulting work is a sort of catalogue of 19th century Standard German graphemes and their correspondences in the dialects of the entire High German area. Though such a work can be useful in certain undertakings, it does not give the reader a clear picture of the processes going forward in the language. Indeed, it gives a false impression of complete and utter chaos in the phonological, as well as orthographic systems of Early New High German.

When one considers that this was the only grammar covering the Early New High German period until the publication of V. Moser's *Historisch-grammatische Einführung in die frühneuhochdeutschen Schriftdialekte* in 1909, it is less than surprising that Brooke (1955:xliii-xliv) should write that "Spelling remained arbitrary throughout the period." Given the wide range of dialect areas to be taken into consideration and certain representations of "the" phonological structure of the Early New High German language (Painter 1989:175, Philipp 1980:27ff, Penzl 1984:43-44, 59-60), it is difficult to imagine any other conclusion than that the orthography of this Early New High German language was largely chaotic.

Moser, in his *Einführung* (1909) and unfinished grammar (1929, 1951), does not challenge the notion that Early New High German orthography was largely arbitrary. In the grammar, he introduces the consonants with the statement (I.1.39):

Häufung und Verdoppelung der Konsonantenzeichen ohne innere lautliche Begründung, die ein Hauptcharakteristikum der frnhd. Orthographie bilden,

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beginnen nach einigen wesentlich frühern Ansätzen bereits seit der zweiten Hälfte

des 13. Jhs. stärker hervorzutreten.

In his *Einführung*, however, after a short enumeration of some justified and unjustified

"wortungeheuer," as he calls them, Moser writes:

Was die drucke betrifft, so ist die ausdehnung der konsonantenhäufung kaum

geringer als in den kanzleien -- selbst ein Brant achtet ihrer nicht; *doch weisen diese*

nach den dialektgebieten manche eigenheiten auf. [emphasis mine]

These "eigenheiten" are precisely what one must study if one desires to understand the

orthography of Early New High German, for until one understands the writing traditions

of the dialect areas that comprise the Early New High German language, it is impossible

to make sense of their development into a truly unified Standard German. Precisely this

has been the focus of much of Early New High German scholarship in recent years (see

Hans Moser 1986)

V. Moser's treatment is far more valuable to us than is Kehrein's, for even though

he does not treat the dialects independently of one another, he does often indicate whether

or not a form is restricted to a particular dialect area. This is most helpful to the student

of Modern German dialects who might seek to uncover a pattern in the modern spoken

dialect to explain the orthographic quirks of the Early New High German written dialect.

Most recently Herbert Penzl treated Early New High German in his *Frühneu-hochdeutsch* (1984). Though he purposely treats a corpus of texts from various dialects and time frames in an attempt to present the reader with the "Hauptzüge des Frühneu-hochdeutschen", Penzl seems in his phonlogical analysis to oversimplify in an effort to systematize the phonology of Early New High German. Though the work is, in all other respects, an excellent study, Penzl's representation of a single phonological system (pp. 59-60) for his diverse texts is problematic.

In describing certain orthographic characteristics of the p,eriod Penzl writes quite rightly (p. 41):

Die frühnhd. so überaus häufige Doppelschreibung ist nicht, wie manche Handbücher behaupten, eine sinnlose "Konsonantenhäufung", auch kaum mehr außerhalb von Zusammensetzungen die Bezeichnung phonetischer Konsonanten-länge.

If one accepts this view -- and I can find no reason not to --, one is left with two alternatives: to continue in the path of the earliest scholarship and seek a system for this proliferation of consonants in a simultaneous study of all of the dialects of Early New High German, or to seek the system of the "Konsonantenhäufung" in the dialects separately. I have chosen the latter alternative and have further restricted myself to the Tirolean dialect area.

Scholarship concerning the *Ambraser Heldenbuch* does not suffer from a superfluity of linguistic studies. As one might expect, literary studies of the works contained in the codex abound. Ried's *Kudrun* copy alone has generated volumes of scholarly discourse. This is hardly surprising, given the number of works transmitted uniquely in this manuscript.

Of the editions I was able to inspect, the vast majority contain nothing that could be classified as a linguistic discussion of the manuscript. Bäuml (1969:32) points out in his excellent introduction to his diplomatic edition of *Kudrun:*

> Bisherige Untersuchungen der sprachlichen Eigenschaften des Kudruntextes hatten
>
> -- mit nur einer Ausnahme -- eine Herstellung des normalmhd. Textes zum Ziel,
>
> wobei die Sprache der Handschrift nur als von sekundärer Bedeutung in Betracht
>
> kommt.

The exception of which he writes is, of course, Thornton's (1953) dissertation.

Where linguistic topics are discussed, it is the Middle High German (normalized) text that is treated, not the language of the manuscript. Indeed, Otto Warnatsch, in his edition of *Der Mantel* (1883:2) goes so far as to state that: "Eine Darstellung der Sprache und Schreibweise der genugsam bekannten Handschrift wäre überflüssig". Some notable exceptions to this approach are Bäuml's (1969) edition of *Kudrun,* Fischer's (1969) edition of the Herrand stories, and Wolff's (1972) edition of Hartmann's

Klagebüchlein and the so-called *zweites Büchlein*. The linguistic discussion in the last two works is limited to a few paragraphs. Wolff (1972) limits himself to a discussion of the alternation of initial *b - p, s - sch* before consonants, and the fate of MHG *tw*. Fischer devotes one paragraph to the procedure he used in normalizing the text.

Bäuml's (1969) is, by far, the most detailed discussion in any edition. He devotes 10 pages to his linguistic discussion of Ried's work. His emphasis falls on a treatment of the vowels in Ried's *Kudrun* copy. His discussion of the consonants is brief, but adequate. He treats certain phonological and orthographic developments that are characteristic of New High German: the change of *s* to *sch* before certain consonants, *mb* to *mm, tw* to *zw,* as well as the orthographic innovation of writing *b, d, g* for what was final *p, t, k* in Middle High German. An incomplete list of editions of the works treated in this dissertation is included as Appendix B.

The bulk of the present study is an analysis of the consonantal orthography of those works that are unique to the *Ambraser Heldenbuch,* (see the listing of the contents in "The Manuscript") a codex of the early 16th century, copied in Tyrol by the scribe and sometime revenue collector Hans Ried. Through this analysis I hope to show that Ried's orthography was, indeed, systematic, and that the apparent chaos in his orthography can be given order by considering his orthography in the light of the Modern Tyrolean dialect.

2.0 Method

Hans Ried spent the last 12 years of his life copying out the *Ambraser Heldenbuch.* It should come as no surprise that I found it impossible to transcribe and study the entire MS in three years. Even with the aid of the computer, the transcription of the entire manuscript, which would be necessary for the type of study I am undertaking, would be a Herculean task. Not only are there no diplomatic editions of many of the works that comprise the codex, but those editions we do have are meant not for a linguistic analysis, but for a literary one: words that are written together in the MS are separated for the reader's (modern editor's) peace of mind, diacritics are treated as meaningless decorations, in short, the exactness of the transcription often leaves much to be desired. Thus I found it necessary to create my own line-for-line edition of those texts I intend to treat.

With one eye to the future and one on the normalized editions of the unica, I decided that my efforts might best be spent on an edition of those works unique to the MS, for it seemed to me absurd that such works should be studied, in normalized, and often radically emended form, when the language of the MS is so accessible to the modern reader. I hope that by treating the unica, my preliminary work will fill a gap that has existed far too long.

I considered further, that a treatment of works also contained in other MSS would oblige me to take into account differences among those other manuscripts and the present

one, further complicating an already complicated task. Although such a comparison would undoubtedly have been a meaningful undertaking, it would have required a great deal more time than was available to me. Simplicity and time constraints thus pointed toward the treatment of the unica as a reasonable objective.

In the end, however, I believe that the choice of a different subset of texts from this manuscript would not have resulted in a different conclusion, for Ried's orthography is so regular -- indeed, I could discern no difference in the orthography of Ried's *Biterolf* copy and the Herrant von Wildonie stories for which Unterkircher assumes a different Vorlage (1973:8) --, that I think there can be no doubt that he consciously changed the orthography of his copy-text in order to present the reader with a unified system.

It was my intention from the beginning to use the computer in my analysis of the manuscript. Until recently, those working in this area could not avail themselves of this valuable tool and were therefore restricted to a smaller scope or more superficial treatment. Biener's works (1927/8, 1929), for example, are little more than a catalogue of "interesting" forms that shed more light on what interested Biener than on the language he was studying. Thornton's dissertation (1953) suffers likewise from the necessarily limited scope of his corpus. With the aid of the computer, I have been able to treat a large corpus in great detail.

The first step was, of course, to create a machine-readable edition of my corpus. I did this with a laptop computer in the Rare Book Room of the University of Illinois

Graduate Library where I was able to transcribe directly to disk from Unterkircher's (1973) photo-facsimile edition of the manuscript, which the Library had purchased for this purpose. As I finished transcribing works, I proofread each twice against the facsimile.

Next I used a pair of "word-cruncher" programs called BYUIndex and BYUView to prepare my text for analysis. The first program indexes each word in the text for use with the other program, BYUView, that creates an on-the-fly concordance of the text. Using this program, one is able to find all instances of a desired phrase, word, or letter in the text. In order to do this, the program generates a number of files. The most useful to my work was the "frequency file," an alphabetical list of all the unique words in the text and the number of times they occur.

I soon found that the BYUView program was not ideal for searching and creating lists of letters in my text. The process of creating a list requires that a key be struck for each word to be added. Unfortunately, the program does not allow for automation of this process. I therefore used a program called GREP.EXE to sort the frequency file. I soon found, however, that this program, too, was not suited to my needs, as it could not manipulate extended ASCII codes in the necessary manner. I was forced to write several short BASIC routines to sort the BYU frequency file, to find various combinations of letters, organize them into lists, and save these lists as files (see "Appendix A"). My conclusions are based on an analysis of these lists. This stage was complicated by a quirk

in the index program that is not mentioned in the program's documentation. I am indebted to Profesor James W. Marchand for his help in solving this problem.

The final stage was the analysis. Using the BYU on-line concordance and the lists generated by BYU and my own programs, I tried to discover a system behind Ried's orthography in the *Heldenbuch*. It seemed most meet to study all examples of aggregation of consonants (Konsonantenhäufung) that I could find, in order to see whether they could be fitted into any semblance of a system. By comparing Ried's vocabulary to the Germanic roots from which they derive, I found that there was a system underlying the apparent "Verwahrlosung der frnhd. Orthographie" (V. Moser, 1929, I:4) in Ried's work, and I then felt I could likewise assume a system for all of the consonants in the codex, and set out, using the same methods, to discover just what it was.

The few facts we know concerning Ried's life led me first to compare the system derived from my analysis of the manuscript to the system of the Tyrolean dialect. This comparison of Ried's orthography and the phonological system of the Tyrolean dialect (as represented by Schatz, 1903) led to results that I feel bear out my hypothesis concerning the systematic nature of Ried's orthography.

I found a model for my comparative method in Hans Moser's *Die Kanzlei Maximilians I.: Graphematik eines Schreibusus* (1977), in which he subjects four distinct corpora of texts to exhaustive synchronic and diachronic analyses in order to discern a system in the usage of the Habsburg chancery of the early 16th century. As ambitious as this project is, it suffers from a lack of similar preliminary studies of the

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smaller chanceries from which Maximilian's scribes were drawn. In dealing with the *Ambraser Heldenbuch,* the work of a highly accomplished scribe of the Tyrolean chancery, I have restricted myself to a synchronic analysis of the text, which, I hope, may someday prove helpful in understanding the development of the language of the Habsburger Hofkanzlei.

3.0 The Scribe

Of Hans Ried we know very little, yet this is considerably more than we know about the scribes of most other important manuscripts. He is first mentioned in 1496 in connection with a reward for services rendered, and his name surfaces occasionally in chancery documents until May, 1516, in a supplication to the emperor from his widow. Ried is mentioned in connection with the manuscript no less than 7 times. In April, 1504, he is first mentioned as the scribe of the *Heldenbuch.* In June of that year, the government in Innsbruck is ordered to pay him and supply him with materials. In June, 1505, Ried is given leave to travel to Innsbruck during the hot summer months in order to speed his progress on the book. In December, 1507, an official in Bozen is instructed that he is to allow Ried to travel wherever he desires in order to work on the manuscript, and that the official is to create no difficulties for the scribe and should let the assistant revenue collector carry out Ried's office until he has finished copying the manuscript. In September, 1509, the government in Bozen is twice ordered to pay Ried 10 Gulden per quarter. In November, 1511, Ried is informed that he will be allowed to remain in Bozen to work on the *Heldenbuch* until January 1, at which time he must report to Innsbruck to take up other duties. Finally, in June, 1515, the government in Innsbruck is ordered to present Ried with an *Ehrenkleid.*

From this and other evidence, Martin Wierschin (1976) and Helmut Weinacht (1979) have been able to arrive at the conclusion that Ried was born ca. 1460/70 to a

South Tirolean noble family whose ancestral home was the Burg Ried on the Talfer River, and who had been vassals to the lords of Wangen since the first half of the 13th century (Tennant 1985, pp. 165-174). They also determined that Ried had, by the time of his first appearance, already risen to the position of *Rat* in the chancery at Innsbruck, and that he had begun his career in the chancery where Maximilian himself learned to write: that of Duke Siegmund of Tirol, whom Maximilian succeeded in 1489. Indeed, Wierschin (1976:500) has suggested that Hans Ried and the young Maximilian may well have been taught by the same teacher, and that in this way Maximilian became aware of the scribe's talent, a talent that secured for him not only the lucrative task of copying the *Ambraser Heldenbuch,* but the continued favor of the Emperor as well.

Ried's accomplishment is most remarkable. Working from at least two sources (Unterkircher 1973:8-9) over a span of 12 years (Menhardt 1958), Ried created a document of 476 pages that uses the same orthographic conventions throughout. Not only did he have to concern himself with accurately copying the texts at hand, he did, in effect, "translate/transliterate" them as well. The result is a manuscript of unparalleled consistency.

The magnitude of Ried's accomplishments has, however, escaped the grasp of scholars from time to time. Michaeler, in his 1786 edition of *Iwein,* writes (Vol. I:63-65 [cited in Unterkircher 1973:7]):

Dieser mein Grundtext bestand in einer dem ersten Anscheine nach schönen

Handschrift auf Pergament: daran viele Buchstaben zweifelhaft ausgedrückt, und

alle überhaupt nach altfränkischer Form so gestaltet waren, dass sie erst ins

Leserliche nach unserem heutigen Alphabethe mussten übertragen werden ... In den

immer fortlaufenden breiten Zeilen waren nicht nur keine Reime untergetheilet,

oder sonst angezeiget, sondern auch keine Unterscheidungszeichen zum Behufe der

Verständlichkeit des Sinnes irgends beygesetzt.

Reading this, I wonder if the good professor has perhaps gotten Ried's text mixed up with

some other. His description does not fit our manuscript at all, for the lines are not

broad, as he describes them (the average length of a line is approximately 67 mm), nor

is the hand difficult to read, nor does Ried leave any doubt as to where each verse ends:

he faithfully indicates the end of each with one or two raised dots.

Yet in 1883 Ried's efforts still go unrecognized. Oswald Zingerle tacitly assumes,

in his article "Das Heldenbuch an der Etsch", that all of the errors and inconsistencies

in the manuscript originate with Ried. Having accepted this as one of his givens, he

catalogues a few of the instances where the text has been misread (Zingerle blames Ried,

though there is no reason why another, earlier scribe might not be responsible, see

Unterkircher 1973:10), then concludes (p.141-142) that Ried worked from a single copy-

text that can be dated to the first half of the fourteenth century.

dazu stimmen noch andere aus lesefehlern sich ergebende buchstabenformen [which the author fails to describe]. auf grund dessen ist man wol berechtigt [...] anzunehmen dass das Heldenbuch an der Etsch wesentlich desselben inhalts wie die von HRied angefertigte hs. war, was ausserdem noch durch den wortlaut von Maximilians schreiben und die **gruppierung** der dichtungen unterstützt wird. dem einfachen kanzleischreiber darf man dieselbe kaum zutrauen.

This offhand dismissal of Ried's talents seems, like a weed, to have taken root in the scholarship.

In more modern times, in an article in *Nachrichten von der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen,* Edward Schröder (1931:213) rails against Ried in a rather lengthy tirade:

Der Grund[,] der den Kaiser Max resp. seine Ratgeber veranlaßt hat, gerade den Zollschreiber von Bozen mit der Herstellung des großen Heldenbuches zu beauftragen, kann einzig und allein in dessen kalligraphischer Kanzleihand gefunden werden, die sich in Erlassen und Diplomen gewiß gut ausnahm und im Buchbild, für das sie von vornherein kaum geeignet war, doch immerhin den Reiz der Moderne hatte. Hans Ried selbst brachte der Aufgabe kein Bildungsinteresse und keine Neigung entgegen, und da die Leistung selbst nicht eben glänzend honoriert wurde, so hielt er sich für berechtigt, die übrigen Vorzüge des Vortrags gehörig auszunutz-en: Stellung eines Vertreters im Zollamt, regelmäßige Sommerfrische fern von dem

heißen Bozen — und vor allem eine beständige Hinauszögerung des Abschlusses. So hat er schließlich die Zeit von 1504 [...] bis 1515 oder 1516 dazu gebraucht, und daß dieser raffinierter Faulpelz in seiner Arbeitsweise sich nicht zu allen Zeiten gleich geblieben ist, scheint von vornherein selbstverständlich. Nur in einem Punkte blieb er stets derselbe: sein Interesse und sein Verständnis gegenüber den von ihm zu kopierenden Dichtungen war am Schlusse ebenso stumpf wie am Anfang.

As surprising as these accusations are to someone who is familiar with the manuscript, more surprising still is the fact that such statements have been tacitly accepted ever since Zingerle's attempt to date the *Heldenbuch an der Etsch* on the basis of Ried's copying errors.

Though Schröder, et al., have impugned Ried's abilities and suggested that he took advantage of his position to gain for himself summer "vacations" in more temperate Innsbruck, when one follows the pertinent chancery documents, it becomes clear that it was ill health that prompted Ried's entreaties, not laziness, for by March of 1514 Ried has to be relieved of all chancery duties due to his failing eyesight.

Indeed, Thornton (1953) seems to have been the first to entertain the notion that Ried might possibly have been dealing with a *Vorlage* already fraught with errors. I do not possess the words to defend Ried against centuries of accusation, so I will use Thornton's (1953:12):

[Ried] verschreibt sich selbstverständlich oft, aber das zerstört nicht den Gesamteindruck von einem Manne, der sich der Wichtigkeit seiner Arbeit bewußt war. Ried blieb seiner Aufgabe treu und hat der Nachwelt eine prachtvolle HS. geschenkt, in einer einheitlichen Orthographie, ohne den Wortlaut besonders verrenkt zu haben. Kann viel mehr gesagt werden für die modernen Gelehrten, die normalisierte Textausgaben machen? Wenn Schröder, der von einer "verwilderten Schreibweise" redet, sich die Mühe gemacht hätte, den Tatsachen nachzugehen, hätte er in Ried einen der regelmäßigsten Schreiber der Zeit gefunden.

The *Ambraser Heldenbuch* is a linguistic monument without parallel in German literature. Not only is the 238-leaf codex the work of a single scribe whose identity is known, but of the 25 works contained in the codex, 15 are unique to the manuscript.

The importance of the codex derives from the works that are unique to it. Along-side such works as *Iwein, Ortnit, Das Nibelungenlied,* and *Erec* (of which this is the only complete manuscript), are 15 unica, including *Kudrun, Moritz von Craon, Biterolf,* and *Wolfdietrich A.* Considering the great value of the manuscript, I find it quite surprising that in the more than 200 years since Prof. Karl Joseph Michaeler rediscovered it in 1776 (Unterkircher 1973:11), there has been no attempt at a linguistic analysis of the entire manuscript aside from Thomas Thornton's 1953 Johns Hopkins dissertation, which is based on 'representative' excerpts (20 lines from each work) rather than on a more substantial portion of the document.

The *Ambraser Heldenbuch* is first mentioned in an official document from Emperor Maximilian's Innsbruck chancery, dated 15 April 1502 (Schönherr 1864:382), in which he instructs his *Staberlmeister* Wilhelm von Oy, in Innsbruck, to send to Paul von Liechtenstain, at that time resident on the Etsch River, a certain scribe who is to copy the so-called 'helldenpuch an der Etsch' for the Emperor. The document does not name the scribe, who almost certainly is not Hans Ried, for, according to other Chancery documents, the latter was already in Bolzano collecting tariffs for the Emperor, not in the

service of Wilhelm von Oy. Indeed, Ried is not named in conjunction with the Heldenbuch until two years later, 14 April 1504, in another document, in which Hans Ried, Zöllner am Eisack, is said to be working on the book, though no official documents of appointment have been found to date, a fact that has led to the assumption by Unterkircher (1973:5) that Ried was assigned the task orally by the Emperor himself.

Ried's progress on the codex can be traced in a series of documents from the Innsbruck Chancery (Maximilian's "Österreichische Kanzlei"). Between April, 1504, and June, 1515, Ried is mentioned in connection with the *Heldenbuch, Riesenbuch,* or *Buch in Pergament* no less than 7 times (see "The Scribe").

4.1 Physical Description

The Codex consists of 238 leaves of parchment, 460 mm x 360 mm. The parchment is blocked and lined in black ink to give a writing field of 360 mm x 235 mm. This area is further divided into three columns of 66-68 lines, each approximately 67mm long. There are marginalia at the beginning of most works, and elsewhere throughout the MS. The leaves of text are numbered in Ried's hand with Roman numerals from the first page of text (I) to the end (CCXXXVIII)[1]. Leaf 238 has been cut out, but two

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[1] For ease of reading (and in agreement with Unterkircher's facsimile) I have used arabic numerals in my discussion.

leaves are numbered 153, thus there are 238 leaves in all. The second leaf 153 was modified to read 153* in the 19th century. The five leaves of the table of contents, left unnumbered by Ried, were numbered in pencil I*-V* in the 19th century. The "Tabula des Heldenpuchs," in Ried's hand, is on the first 4 leaves. It is written in two columns and contains 120 titles (of works and "Abentheuer") with page references.

The manuscript's binding, which dates from the 19th century and bears the signature "Ser. nov. 2663," is the work of the Viennese bookbinder F. Krauss (fl. 1800-1850). It consists of 10mm-thick cardboard covers measuring 485 x 365 mm, covered with brown calfskin onto which remnants of the old leather binding are glued. Written on the back in gold lettering are the words "Das Heldenbuch" at the top, "1517" in the center, and "Nr. 73" at the bottom. The insides of the covers have marbled endpapers. There are two flyleaves (*Vorsatzblätter*) in front, three in back.

The manuscript is made up of 31 quires, most of which are quaternions (4 sheets folded = 8 leaves). The first quire, a binio (2 sheets folded = 4 leaves), was left unnumbered until the 19th century and contains the "Tabula des Heldenpuchs". To this is glued a single leaf, the recto of which is blank, the verso of which bears an illumination depicting two armored men and the Tyrolean eagle. Quires 2-13, 15-16, 18-27, and 30 are all quaternions. Quires 14 and 17 (leaves 105-111 & 129-135) each have one page cut out and are thus 7 leaves. Quire 28 is a quinternio (5 sheets folded = 10 leaves), and quire 29 a ternio (3 sheets folded = 6 leaves). The last leaf of quire 30 is glued to the first of the three paper flyleaves (Unterkircher 1973:13-14).

The codex contains 25 separate works, though not all are complete, of which 15 (those marked with an asterisk) are unique to the manuscript:

1.* 1ra-2rb *Der Frawn lob.* Der Stricker, "Frauenlob"

2.* 2va-5^{vc} *Von künig Nero ainem Wüettrich der auch wie ein fraw Swanger wolt fein. Vnd fein Müeter auffchneiden lieffe. von feins fürbitz.* "Moritz von Crâôn"

3. 6ra-22^{rc} *Von künig Artus Hochzeit. auch von feinem Recht. def-gleichen Hofgefind. vnd gefchäfften als von Calogriant. Chaÿ her Yban vnd anndern.* Hartmann von Aue, "Iwein" (MS d).

4.* 22va-26va *Ein fchöne Difputatz. Von der Liebe. fo einer gegen einer fchönen frawen gehabt vnd getan hat.* Hartmann von Aue, "Das Büchlein" ("Die Klage").

5.* 26vb-28rb *Ein klag einer Frawen fo fÿ der lieb halb tuet.* "Das [2.] Büchlein" (Attributed to Hartmann on Aue).

6.* 28^{rc}-30rb *Aber von künig Artus vnd feinem Hofgefind. auch Helden vnd handlungen. Als von her Gabein. Khay. Yrecken. eins Mantls halben. fo künig Artus hauffraw. vnd ander frawen anlegen müeften. dardurch man Ynnen ward Jrer trew. Sünderlich von Erick.*

vnd ſeiner hauffraẅen ein tail ain ſchön leſen. (Attrib. Heinrich von dem Türlin, see Kratz 1977), "Der Mantel"

7. 30rb-50vb No heading. Hartmann von Aue, "Erec" (most complete MS)

8. 51ra-75ra *Von Dietwart. Kůnig in Rȏmiſchiñ Lanndt. Vnd darnach von ſeinem Sŭn Perner Diettrich. Vnd auch Erenreich ſeinem vngetrewen Vetter.* "Dietrichs Flucht" (MS d). -

9. 75rb-92rb *Aber von dem Perner. Vnd kůnig Erennreich ſeinem vnge-treŭen Vettern.* "Die Rabenschlacht" (MS d).

10. 95ra-127ra *Ditz Puech Heẙſſet Chrimhilt.* "Das Nibelungenlied" (MS d).

11. 131ra-139vb *Ditz puech hayſſet klagen.* "Die Klage" (MS d) (complete only to verse 4403).

12.* 140ra-166ra *Ditz puech iſt von Chautrŭn.* "Kudrun."

13.* 166rb-195^{vc} *Abentheŭr. Von Pitrolffe Vnnd ſeinem Sun Dietlaibe.* "Biterolf."

14. 196ra-205vb *Kůnig Ottnides Puech hebt ſich an.* "Ortnit" (MS A).

15.* 205vb-214^{vc} *Das iſt Wolffdiettrichs puech wie Er gepoꝛn ward. Vnd die fraŭen nam ze weibe. die Otnides was.* "Wolfdietrich A."

16.* 215ra-216vb *Das puech von dem V̄beln weibe.* "Die böse Frau."

17.* 217ra-217ra *Ditz pŭechel hayſſet die getrew Kone.* Herrant von Wildonie, "Die getreue Gattin".

18.*   217vb-218^{rc} *Das püechel hayſſet der verkerte Wirt.*   Herrant von Wildonie, "Der verkehrte Wirt" ("Der betrogene Gatte")

19.*   218^{rc}-219^{vc} *Das püechel iſt von dem ploſſen kayſer.*   Herrant von Wildonie, "Der nackte Kaiser."

20.*   219^{vc}-220ra *Ditz püechel iſt von der katzen.*   Herrant von Wildonie, "Die Katze."

21.*   220ra-225rb *Ditz puech hayſſet der Ytwitz.*   Ulrich von Liechtenstein, "Frauendienst" ("Frauenbuch").

22.   225vb-229rb *Das puech iſt von dem Maÿz Helmpʒechte.*   Wernher der Gartenære, "Helmbrecht" (MS A).

23.   229rb-233vb *Hie hebt ſich an Phaff Amis der clüge vnnd der weyſe man.*   Der Stricker, "Pfaffe Amis" (MS W).

24.*   234ra-235rb No heading.   Wolfram von Eschenbach, "Titurel" (MS H).

25.*   235va-237^{vc} No heading.   "Priester(könig) Johannes".

It is generally accepted (Janota 1978, Unterkircher 1973) that these works are organized into three groups: Courtly, Heroic Epic, and Minor Epic. Unterkircher (1954:4) further divides the last group into two clusters: one consisting of Herrant's works with those of his father-in-law Ulrich von Lichtenstein, and one consisting of the fragments *Titurel* and *Priester Johann*. Thornton (1953) suggests yet another division that differs from Unterkircher's in that it recognizes the first two works, *Frauenlob* and

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Moritz von Cråôn, as a group unto themselves, and groups *Meier Helmbrecht* and

Pfaffe Amis with *Titurel* and *Priester Johann*.

In discussing the Vorlage for the manuscript, both Unterkircher (1973:8) and

Menhardt (1958:320) refer to manuscript O of the Nibelungelied in Berlin as a possible

fragment of the Heldenbuch an der Etsch. Menhardt states that O is, without a doubt,

a fragment of the Heldenbuch an der Etsch, while Unterkircher is more conservative in

his estimate (1973:8): "Mit großer Wahrscheinlichkeit hat sich sogar ein Rest dieses

Buches erhalten." Both men rely heavily on the unpublished dissertation (Vienna 1930)

of Rudolf Zimmerl.

Because all or most of the Vorlage for the *Ambraser Heldenbuch* has been lost,

it cannot be known with certainty whether the book was copied from one or many

Vorlagen. Menhardt (1958:318-319) argues that the first seven works must have come

from a different Vorlage than the rest, because these first seven are not heroic, but

courtly in nature, and thus would not have been included in a "Heldenbuch".

Unterkircher (1973:9) too assumes that Ried worked from more than one Vorlage and

bases his hypothesis, on technical considerations. He takes the fact that Ried began his

copy of *Dietrichs Flucht* in the middle of a quire as an indication that the first seven

works of our manuscript were, contrary to Menhardt' opinion, present in the Vorlage for

Dietrichs Flucht as well, reasoning that Ried would have begun writing in a new quire,

had he begun copying from a different manuscript. Unterkircher does, however, assume

a different Vorlage for the last ten works (16-25) in the manuscript (1973:9):

Für die Verserzählungen der Texte 16-25 hatte Ried wohl Vorlagen die mit dem Heldenbuch an der Etsch nichts zu tun hatten. Es gibt so viele Möglichkeiten, daß er selbst diese Vorlagen fand, oder daß sie ihm von Maximilian oder von einem seiner literarischen Ratgeber zur Verfügung gestellt wurden, daß es ohne urkundlichem Beleg unmöglich ist, eine bestimmte Vermuting zu äußern.

The assumption that Ried used more than one Vorlage is, I think, lent further credibility by the fact that pages 122^v, 124rb-125^{rc}, and 127ra-131^{rc} of the *Nibelungenlied* were left blank, presumably because Ried knew of manuscripts he could use to supplement the main manuscript from which he copied.

Rather than simplifying the matter, the documentary evidence complicates the problem of provenance. Chancery documents make reference to a "helldenpuech an der Etsch," a "Puech in pergamen," and a "Riesenpuech." There has been some debate concerning just what each of these epithets refers to, whether they refer to Ried's copy, to his Vorlage, or to a number of Vorlagen (Unterkircher 1954:12). In a document dated April 15, 1502, Emperor Maximilian writes to Wilhelm von Oy (Unterkircher 1973: Regest Nr. 6):

Getrewer lieber Wir haben vnnserm lieben getrewen Paulsen von Liechtenstain beuolhen, vnns das helldenpuch an der Etsch ausschreiben Zulassen dartzu er dan deines schreibers notturftig wurdet. Emphelhen wir dir mit ernnst, das du demselben von Liechtenstain deinen schreyber furderlich hinein an die Etsch beruerts

heldenpuch daselbst abtzuschreiben Zuschigkesst vnd des nit lassest. So wirdet In

bemelter vnnser Marschalh mit Zerung vnnd annderm wie sich geburt versehen vnd

vnnderhallten. Vnd du thust daran vnnser ernnstliche Mainung. Datum Füessen den

XV tag Aprilis Anno XV^c vnd Im anndern.

It is clear, I think, that the "helldenpuch an der Etsch" is the work *to be* copied. In a

document dated April 14, 1504, von Liechtenstain writes to the government in Innsbruck

(Unterkircher 1973: Regest Nr. 7):

Edlen Ersamen gelerten vnnd lieben getrewen Wir haben vnnserm getrewen Hannsen

Ried vnnserm Zollner am Eysackh Zu Botzen beuolhen vnns ain Puech in pergamen

Zu Schreiben, vnnd Im dauon Zu Sold Zu geben Zugesagt benanntlichen hunndert

vnd Sechtzigk gulden Reinisch. ...

The phrase "in pergamen" is ambiguous here. Does it refer to a book written on

parchment that Ried is to copy? Does it refer to a particular "Book on Parchment" (a

rather unlikely interpretation considering the use of "ain")? Or does it refer to the fact

that Ried was to use parchment for his copy, a detail that must not have gone unnoticed,

considering the scope of the undertaking and the ready abundance of other, cheaper

writing materials? Excluding the possibility that the phrase refers to a book known as the

"Buch in Pergament," we are left with two interpretations that are equally useless in

determining whether one or more Vorlagen were copied.

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I have not been able to gain access to transcripts of those documents that refer to a "Riesenpuech," dated September 20 and 22, 1509, and thus am not able to address them authoritatively. From the synopses of these documents in Unterkircher's commentary (1973:25), however, it seems that "Riesenpuech" refers not to the Vorlage, but to Ried's copy, The *Ambraser Heldenbuch*.

4.3 Paleography and Graphic Inventory

The manuscript is written in a rather distinct mixture of chancery cursive and fraktur, which Unterkircher suggests should be called "Heldenbuchschrift" (1973:20). He points out that seven scripts in Leonhard Wagner's early 16th-century *Proba centum scripturarum* (1963) are similar to Ried's "Heldenbuchschrift," but that none of them exactly corresponds to it. Of these seven scripts, five are gothic cursives: Compostorialis [sic] maior (p. 16 [6v]), Compostericalis [sic] minor (p. 66 [31v]), Literalis simplex (p. 24 [12r]), Literalis cursalica (p. 52 [24v]), and Cursiua literalis (p. 101 [49r]); one is fraktur: Rotalis minor (p. 14 [5v]); and one is chancery script: Auersalicana media (p. 30 [13v]).

Ried is not consistent in his use of majuscules. In general he sets the majuscule in proper nouns, at the beginning of a sentence, in numbers, and for the 3rd. sing. masc. and fem. pronouns. He often, though not always, highlights majuscules with a vertical

stroke of red ink. Unterkircher (1973) and Bäuml (1969:23-30) discuss the forms of Ried's letters at length with the following results:

Minuscules:

a chancery script.

b chancery script.

c Fraktur, but always easily distinguishable from *t*.

d two varieties: 1. chancery script, 2. cursive in which the upright loops downward and is closed where the bow and the upright meet. Ried uses these forms in free variation, though the cursive form is by far the less common.

e Fraktur, occasionally similar to *o* in that the pocket is closed by a diagonal stroke down and to the left that meets the downstroke below the middle point.

f Fraktur.

g chancery script in which the bottom loop curves far to the left and back, terminating at the front bow of the downstroke.

h two varieties: 1. chancery script, 2. Kurrentschrift. The two types vary freely, though Ried often uses the chancery script form when there is a lack of space available.

i chancery script. The downstroke is bent at the top and bottom. The dot is often to the right of the letter, sometimes left off altogether. Ried varies *i, j* and *y* freely, though he clearly prefers *i* in word-medial position.

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j always a cursive majuscule.

k Fraktur in which the upper loop often curves so far to the right and down that it touches the next letter, sometimes even the second letter.

l chancery script.

m chancery script. The last stroke is always bent upward.

n chancery script, often very similar to *u.*

o Fraktur.

p Fraktur.

q Fraktur.

r two varieties: 1. Basic form of textura with a split vertical which Bäuml calls the precursor of the German cursive *r,* 2. cursive *r*-rotunda, often connected to the preceding or following letter. The cursive form is used most often, though by no means exclusively, after *b, o, p* and at the ends of lines. Ried uses the two forms in free variation.

s three varieties: 1. Textura-form long *ſ* with the spindle shape typical for Fraktur; 2. round *s;* 3. German cursive final *ſ*, sometimes with a horn-like off-stroke. Ried sets long *ſ* in word-initial and word-medial position, regardless of the letter's position with regard to open juncture. He varies *s* and *ſ* freely in word-final position.

t Fraktur. The crossbar is usually left out when combined with *z.*

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u chancery script. This letter is rarely used in word-initial position and varies freely with *v*.

v chancery script. This letter is rarely used in word-medial position and varies freely with *u*.

w chancery script.

x chancery script.

y chancery script.

z Fraktur. The loop curves quite far below the line.

Majuscules:

A, B, C, D, G, H, K, L, N, O, P, R, S, and *T* are Fraktur majuscules.

E sometimes is a Fraktur form, sometimes an uncial.

F has the form of a Fraktur minuscule. It is distinguished from the minuscule in that the downstroke curves to the left below the line.

I is a bastarda form, being a bow concave on the left side.

J is a cursive form with a loop under the line.

M is a bastarda form and looks much like a left-leaning *H*, but has a diagonal on-stroke running up and to the right.

V, W and *Z* have the form of the fraktur minuscule and are distinguished merely by size. *Z* is also distinguished by the upward diagonal of the top stroke, rather than the downward curve of the minuscule.

The only punctuation marks used in the text indicate the ends of verses, though Ried does occasionally make errors. On leaves 1-22ʳ the scribe uses a raised dot; on leaves 22ᵛ-92ʳ a colon, rarely a raised dot; and on leaves 95ʳ-238ᵛ a raised dot. Unterkircher assumes that Ried maintained the puncuation of his Vorlagen and views the scribe's usage of the raised dot versus the colon as evidence that he was copying from more than one Vorlage (1973:15).

To indicate that a word has been divided between lines, Ried uses a slanted double dash. He occasionally omits this mark, most notably after the prefix *ge-*.

Ried uses abbreviations sparingly, and almost always near the ends of lines. He sets a tilde *(ˉ)* over vowels, *n,* or *m* to indicate that a nasal has been omitted; a vertical tilde *(ꞌ)* to indicate that an *-(e)r-* has been left off; and a swallow-shaped stroke *(˜)* to indicate *-ra-* in *ſprach.*

Ried uses 4 different diacritic marks in the manuscript: �῁, ᵃ, ˜, and °. The use of these marks is facultative. The case of *w* and *y* most dramatically illustrates this status in the manuscript. These letters can appear with any diacritic in any position to represent any of the values associated with them: *w* and *y* with diacritic can represent /u, w/ or /i, j/ respectively.

The diacritics ῁ and ᵃ can occur over all vowels (including *v* which is simply a graphic variant of *u*) in free variation. When written over *a, e, o,* or *u* these diacritics indicate the umlauted form of Middle High German short /a, o, u/ or long /ā, ō/ (the

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umlaut of Middle High German long /ū/ is, of course, represented by a diphthong: *aw,*

ew, åw, eẘ, etc.).

The other two diacritic marks (˘, °) pose some problems. The superscript "o"

occurs most frequently over *u* to indicate the vowel that derives from MHG *uo* (as in

fûren, gûte, zû), but occasionally occurs over other vowels as well (*frômbden, tåt,*

fchône, gefchåhe, tôdten)

The superscript half circle is generally used to indicate umlaut, as are ˙˙, and ᵃ.

Indeed, this symbol is far more prevalent than either of the other two as an umlaut

marker, contrary to Thornton's claim (1962:63 n. 3, 66 n. 15) that the *a*-shaped mark

is Ried's preferred notation. It would be an over-simplification, however, to say that this

mark is used exclusively to indicate umlaut, for it often occurs over a *u* where one would

expect an *û.* It is possible that Ried used diacritical markings that were visually similar

to those in his Vorlage, but that Ried's understanding of the values of the diacritics in

question, and thus the diacritics' distribution in the text, differed from that of his

Vorlage, creating some confusion.

4.3.1 Summary

Analysis of the preceding discussion yields the following distinct consonantal graphs:

⟨*b, c, f, g, k, l, m, n, p, q, t, w, x, z*⟩ all without allographs.

⟨d⟩ with two allographs (cursive and chancery forms) in free variation.

⟨h⟩ with two allographs (fraktur and chancery forms) in free variation.

⟨i⟩ with three allographs (i, j, y) in free variation

⟨r⟩ with two allographs (textura r and round ꝛ) in free variation.

⟨s⟩ with three allographs: round s and Kurrent ſ in free variation with one another, but in complementary distribution with long ſ which occurs in word-initial and word-medial position.

⟨v⟩ with two allographs (u, v) in free variation.

5.0 Introduction to the manuscript evidence

In the following discussion all Proto-Germanic forms are identified as such by the abbreviation PG, pre-High German forms by pre-HG. For the sake of simplicity, however, these forms are not preceded by an asterisk, as to do so would seem redundant. I have used asterisks in the lists of examples to indicate that an example below illustrates the use of a different letter than does the example above.

The lists of examples given are not exhaustive, though I did use exhaustive lists in my analysis. The number of examples is so large as to make it completely impractical to include them all. I have included in the lists here those words that appeared with the greatest frequency in the manuscript.

5.1 Germanic Fricatives

5.1.1 Germanic /f/

Ried sets *f* (22%) and *v* (76%) (as well as *u* [5%]) for PG /f/ in initial position. *f* is by far the more common variant, keeping in mind that the prefix *ver-* accounts for more than half of the instances of consonantal *v* in the text:

16x *beualch* 'commanded'
222x *dauon* 'from there'
12x *geuallen* 'please'
1x *geuatter* 'godfather'

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2x *valcken* 'falcon'

1x *vanen* 'flags'

26x *varn* 'travel'

68x *fanen* 'flags'

22x *farn* 'travel'

10x *gefar* 'danger'

9x *herfart* 'expedition'

66x *vaſt* 'almost'

145x *vater* 'father'

59x *veinde* 'enemy'

34x *verdagen* 'be silent'

101x *verre* 'far'

16x *voꝛchte* 'fear'

11x *foꝛchte* 'feared'

13x *viel* 'fell'

1975x *vil* 'much'

57x *vol* 'full'

24x *volgen* 'follow'

2454x *von* 'from'

470x *voꝛ* 'before'

6x *erfechten* 'get by fighting'

17x *fewꝛ* 'fire'

48x *funden* 'found'

165x *für* 'for'

96x *fürſten* 'prince'

1x *fůſ* 'foot'

In initial position before liquids *f* is again Ried's usual spelling (95%) for PG /f/.

He also sets *v* before *l* (41%) and only twice before *r* (less than 1%):

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2x *frêuel* 'wantonness'

1x *frone* 'lord'

3x *gefliffen* 'striven'

8x *gefraget* 'asked'

9x *junckfraẅen* 'maiden'

15x *vnfro* 'unhappy'

102x *fro* 'happy'

7x *fliehen* 'flee'

70x *fragen* 'ask'

295x *frawen* 'lady'

42x *freÿ* 'free'

1x *vƺäfel* 'wantonness'

1x *vƺandebare* 'holy'

13x *vleiffe* 'effort'

5x *vlieffen* 'flow'

Ried's usual spelling for PG /f/ after /n/ is *ff* (83%), in word-medial as well as in word-final position, though he does occasionally use a simple *f*-spelling (17%). I could find no examples of *v* spellings in this position.

2x *fûnff* 'five'

3x *kunfft* 'arrival'

22x *ſanffte* 'soft'

1x *fûnfte* 'fifth'

1x *kunftig* 'future'

6x *ſanfte* 'soft'

After liquids the single *f* (21%) is less common than the *ff* spelling (79%), in all positions. Again, I could find no examples of *v* spellings in this position.

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10x *bedarff* 'needs'	1x *bedarf* 'needs'
7x *Pitrolffes* 'Biterolf's'	1x *Pitrolfes* 'Biterolf's'
47x *wolff* 'wolf'	13x *wolf* 'wolf'
7x *wolffe* 'wolf'	1x *wolfe* 'wolf'
6x *zwelffe* 'twelve'	1x *zwellfe* 'twelve'
24x *zwelff* 'twelve	2x *zwelf* 'twelve'

Single PG /f/ appears in the manuscript as *f* (62%) or *u* (38%) in medial position, and as *ff* (25%) before open juncture.

8x *aindlif* 'eleven'	8x *aindliff* 'eleven'	
2x *bʒüeffte* 'tested'		1x *bʒüeuet* 'tests'
2x *pruefet* 'tests'		1x *prüuen* 'test'
1x *gʒaf* 'count'		16x *graue* 'count'
		54x *marggraue* 'margrave'
106x *hofe* 'court'		
1x *nefe* 'nephew'		23x *neue* 'nephew'
		13x *neuen* 'nephew'
2x *zwelf* 'twelve		
		2x *frêuel* 'wantonness'

Ried prefers to write *ff* (88%) to *f* (12%) before PG /t/.

6x *affter* 'after'	
85x *crafft* 'power'	10x *craft* 'power'

1x *hefftel* 'haft'

3x *kunfft* 'arrival' 1x *kunftig* 'future'

9x *lufft* 'air' 1x *lufte* 'air'

66x *offt* 'often' 2x *oft* 'often'

59x *ritterfchafft* 'chivalry' 2x *ritterfchaft* 'chivalry'

22x *fanffte* 'soft' 6x *fanfte* 'soft'

28x *fchafft* 'shaft' 4x *fchaft* 'shaft'

Summary

Ried represents PG /f/ in initial and medial position with *f* or *v*, while after nasals and before /t/ he sets *ff*, sometimes *f*. The fact that he distinguishes PG /f/ from PG /p/ in medial position (cf. "Germanic /p/") supports the assumption that the two sounds were, indeed, distinct and had not, as in Modern German, fallen together. Though in clusters, Ried often doubles letters yielding a unit that would normally be reserved for a sound with a different historical derivation (*ff* for PG /f/ rather than PG /p/), the evidence for an *f-ff* distinction in Ried's orthography is so strong, that I would rather posit a neutralization in the case of clusters than accept the alternative: that Ried does not distinguish *f* and *ff*, and that the distribution in intervocalic position is purely coincidental.

5.1.2 Germanic /þ/

The dental fricative appears in the manuscript as *d* in initial position before vowels. Ried consistently sets *t* in *taufent*, *teutfch*, and *tach* but otherwise does not set *t* in this position. Kranzmayer (1956:§27c) attributes these *t*-forms to the operation of E. Schröder's Law of Assimilation under which initial lenes become fortes if a medial fortis follows as in *teutfch* and *tach* (less than 1%).

9x *alda* 'there'

3703x *da* 'there'

10x *bedarff* 'needs'

3x *bedeüte* 'means'

18x *dancken* 'thank'

309x *dann* 'then

320x *degen* 'warrior'

257x *dein* 'thine'

81x *dienen* 'serve'

579x *durch* 'through'

71x *gedacht* 'thought'

19x *piderbe* 'excellent'

1x *tache* 'roof'

2x *tach* 'roof'

102x *taufent* 'thousand'

1x *teütfch* 'German'

In initial position before liquids, Ried sets *d* for PG /þ/ without exception.

15x *dʒeÿ* 'three'

16x *dringen* 'press'

16x *verdzieſſen* 'annoy'

After nasals PG /þ/ appears as *d* prevocallically, and as *d* (40%), *dt* (29%), and *t* (31%) before open juncture.

85x *anndern* 'other'		
50x *ander* 'other'		
1x *frombd* 'foreign'		
22x *frðmbden* 'foreign'		
74x *geſinde* 'servants'		
25x *hinder* 'behind'		
110x *kind* 'child'	77x *kindt* 'child'	51x *kint* 'child'
69x *kinde* 'child'		
24 *kund* 'news'	13x *kündt* 'news'	32x *kunt* 'news'
160x *kunde* 'news'		
19x *münd* 'mouth'	2x *mündt* 'mouth'	1x *münt* 'mouth'
9x *munde* 'mouth'		
1x *tugend* 'virtue'		38x *tugent* 'virtue'
39x *tugende* 'virtues'		
1x *zand* 'tooth'		

The few examples of geminate /þ/ in the manuscript are spelled *tt*.

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2x *ſpotte* 'mockery'

For PG /þ/ after liquids, Ried sets *d* in all positions, as well as *dt* (1%) and *t* (57%) before open juncture.

34x *erde* 'earth'   . 4x *erdtreiche* 'world'

3x *ermoʒdet* 'murdered'   3x *ermoʒt* 'murdered'

220x *helde* 'hero' 13x *heldt* 'hero' 270x *helt* 'hero'

8x *ſålde* 'salvation'

597x *ward* 'became' 20x *wardt* 'became' 22x *wart* 'became'

139x *werden* 'become'

Ried normally (95%) represents single postvocalic PG /þ/ with *d* (with *t* 5% of the time), but also sets *dt* (12%), and *t* (44%) before open juncture.

2x *adelhart* 'Adelhart'

8x *aid* 'oath'

6x *aide* 'oath'

159x *baide* 'both'

30x *bʒueder* 'brother'

106x *edel* 'noble'

49x *freüde* 'happiness'

22x *frŏmbden* 'foreign'

22x *genade* 'mercy'

10x *hayden* 'heathen'

220x *helde* 'hero'

150x *laid* 'suffering'   1x *laidt* 'suffering'   14x *lait* 'suffering'

76x *laide* 'suffering'

9x *neid* 'envy'   1x *neidtlichem* 'envious'   2x *neit* 'envy'

91x *nider* 'down'

324x *oder* 'or

8x *ſålde* 'salvation'

10x *tod* 'death'   89x *todt* 'death'

25x *tode* 'death'

35x *weder* 'neither'

Summary

The reflex of PG /þ/ is written *d* in all positions, as well as *dt* and *t* before open juncture, as an indication of Auslautverhärtung. Only in the words *Dach, Tausent,* and *Deutsch* does Ried write *t* in initial position.

5.1.3 Germanic /h/

Not surprisingly, Ried always represents PG /h/ after open juncture with an *h*.

30x *allenthalben* 'everywhere'

43x *behalten* 'retain'

18x *dahin* 'thither'

13x *hail* 'salvation'

7x *haim* 'home'

10x *halben* 'half'

23x *halt* 'just'

717x *han* 'have'

10x *hayden* 'heathen'

17x *haÿſſen* 'be called'

251x *heer* 'army'

59x *helm* 'helmet'

127x *hertze* 'heart'

495x *hie* 'hier'

230x *hin* 'thither'

3x *vnhail* 'calamity'

PG /h/ in initial position before consonants is always lost.

7x *erlachte* 'laughed'

2x *los* 'lot'

3x *lauffen* 'run'

9x *naiget* 'gnaw'

3x *raben* 'raven'

37x *raine* 'pure'

17x *ring* 'ring'

1688x *was* 'what'

Ried spells the reflex of PG /h/ after liquids *ch* (96%) or, far less often, *h* (4%).

16x *beualch* 'commanded'   1x *beualh* 'commanded'

                                       6x *beuolhen* 'commanded'

579x *durch* 'through'

4x *ferch* 'life'

1x *folcher* 'such'   21x *folher* 'such'

16x *vozchte* 'fear'

2x *welche* 'which'   23x *welhe* 'which'

                                       1x *verhe* 'life'

                                       1x *zwerhen* 'mix'

Single postvocalic PG /h/ appears in the manuscript as *h* intervocalically or, in clusters or before open juncture, as *ch* (99% of the time), and is never absent.

579x *durch* 'through'

                                       1x *dehfe* 'axe'

3x *emphach* 'received'   27x *emphahen* 'receive'

                                       1x *emphahn* 'receive'

1x *erwachfen* 'grow up'

1x *fleücht* 'flies'   1x *fleühe* 'flee'

                                       1x *fleuhet* 'flees'

90x *gefchach* 'happened'   14x *gefchahe* 'would happen'

                                       163x *gefchehen* 'happened'

38x *hoch* 'high'   39x *hohen* 'high'

1x *leÿch* 'lend'   6x *leyhen* 'lend'

131x *nahen* 'near'

392x *ſach* 'saw'　　　　　75x *ſahen* 'saw'

7x *ſache* 'saw'　　　　　108x *ſehen* 'see'

58x *ſicht* 'sees'

1x *ſpechte* 'spied'　　　1x *ſpehe* 'spy'

1x *ſpechten* 'spied'　　3x *ſpehen* 'spy'

　　　　　　　　　　　1x *ſtahelgewāt* 'armor'

　　　　　　　　　　　2x *ſtahle* 'steel'

9x *wŭchſ* 'grew'

　　　　　　　　　　　24x *zehen* 'ten'

For PG /h/ before /t/ Ried usually writes *ch* (99%) or *h* (1%), though he does occasionally use an *h*-less spelling for *nit*.

29x *bꝛachten* 'brought'

6x *erfechten* 'achieve'

2x *flucht* 'flight'

1x *fŭrbꝛacht* 'brought forward'

26x *knecht* 'servant'

28x *leicht* 'light'

1748x *nicht* 'not'　　1x *niht* 'not'　　　134x *nit* 'not'

2x *ſlecht* 'simple'

106x *tochter* 'daughter'

16x *voꝛchte* 'feared'

33x *zucht* 'decorum'　1x *zuht* 'decorum'

Summary

Ried vacillates in his representation of PG /h/ between *ch*, before and after consonants and before open juncture, and *h* in all positions.

5.1.4 Germanic /s/

Ried always writes *s* for pre-vocalic Germanic /s/ in initial position.

51x *geſach* 'saw'

80x *geſait* 'said'

392x *ſach* 'saw'

213x *ſagen* 'say'

112x *ſam* 'as'

83x *ſaſs* 'sat'

1605x *ſein* 'his'

106x *ſelber* 'oneself'

85x *ſelten* 'seldom'

273x *ſint* 'are'

632x *ſol* 'should'

97x *ſorgen* 'care'

10x *ſünde* 'sin'

471x *ſÿ* 'she, they'

For PG /s/ in initial position before sonants and /w/, Ried vacillates between *s* and *sch*, but does not clearly prefer one form to the other. before *l* he prefers *s* 66%-34%, before *m* he prefers *sch* 76%-24%, before *n* he sets *sch* 72% of the time, and before *w* he prefers *s* 63%-37%.

32x *erſlagen* 'slay'	12x *erſchlagen* 'slay'
2x *geſnitñ* 'cut'	5x *geſchniten* 'cut'
17x *ſlaffen* 'sleep'	1x *ſchlaffen* 'sleep'
6x *ſlecht* 'simple'	4x *ſchlecht* 'simple'
59x *ſlůg* 'struck'	51x *ſchlůg* 'struck'
1x *ſmiele* 'smile'	2x *ſchmielen* 'smile'
7x *ſnee* 'snow'	8x *ſchnee* 'snow'
7x *ſnelle* 'quick'	9x *ſchnelle* 'quick'
4x *ſwaches* 'weak'	3x *ſchwaches* 'weak'
25x *ſwâre* 'difficult'	28x *ſchwâre* 'difficult'
46x *ſwert* 'sword'	55x *ſchwert* 'sword'
1x *verſmahen* 'disdain'	24x *verſchmahen* 'disdain'
4x *verſwigen* 'be silent'	3x *verſchwigen* 'be silent'

In initial and medial position before PG /t/ and /p/, Ried always writes *s* for PG /s/. For PG /sk/ he always writes *sch*.

4x *geſpil* 'played'	62x *beſtan* 'endure'	163x *geſchehen* 'happen'
12x *geſprach* 'spoke'	48x *biſt* 'are'	148x *ſchaden* 'injury'
11x *ſpat* 'late'	96x *fürſten* 'prince'	95x *ſchar* 'host'

31x *ſper* 'spear'   23x *geſtaine* 'rocks'   75x *ſchiere* 'quite'

22x *ſpeÿſe* 'food'   67x *ſtan* 'stand'   97x *ſchone* 'beautiful'

31x *ſpil* 'game'   30x *ſterben* 'die'   44x *ſchulden* 'debts'

1000x *ſprach* 'spoke'   14x *ſtille* 'quiet'   10x *valſche* 'false'

                            37x *ſtoltzen* 'proud'   5x *vnkeůſche* 'unchaste'

                            29x *ſtraſſe* 'street'

                            71x *ſtůnd* 'hour, stood'

                            6x *ſtÿmme* 'voice'

Ried's normal designation for post-vocalic PG /s/ is single *s*, only very rarely does he set *ss* (2%) and then he does so exclusively before open juncture.

2x *eÿſen* 'iron'

1x *erkos* 'chose'

61x *geneſen* 'recovered'

19x *giſel* 'hostage'

17x *hawſe* 'house'   4x *hawſs* 'house'

12x *kieſen* 'choose'   1x *erkoß* 'chose'

6x *loſen* 'solve'

1x *pueſem* 'breast'

1x *půſem* 'breast'

1x *půſm* 'breast'

18x *raÿſe* 'journey'   1x *reyß* 'journey'

102x *tauſent* 'thousand'

24x *verlieſen* 'lose'

129x *weſen* 'being'

Ried represents intervocalic geminate pre-HG /ss/ with *ss*. When the geminate is part of a consonant cluster, however, Ried often sets simple *s* (23%) instead of *ss* (77%).

9x *gewiſſen* 'conscience'   5x *wiſte* 'knew'

6x *küſſen* 'kiss'   4x *kuſte* 'kissed'

2x *miſſet* 'misses'

25x *roſſe* 'horse'

For PG /s/ after /r/ Ried consistently sets *s*, with the exception of a single occurence of *gierſchait*, which would seem to indicate that the sound may have been realized /š/.

3x *durſt* 'thirst'

1x *gewirſet* 'made worse'

1x *girſheit* 'greed'   1x *gierſchait* 'greed'

1x *wierſte* 'worst'

5x *wirſer* 'worse'

Germanic /s/ is written *s* in all positions. Before resonants and /w/ it can be written *sch*. Before /p/ and /t/ Ried never sets *sch*, which he always sets for PG /sk/. From this evidence we can assume that initial PG /s/ before consonants was realized as /š/, which is supported by evidence of the modern dialect. From this evidence it is impossible, however, to determine the value of the reflex of PG /s/ in medial position before consonants, though the phonology of ,the modern dialect would indicate an alveopalatal fricative.

Before open juncture Ried occasionally sets *ss* for PG /s/, undoubtedly an indication of Auslautverhärtung. The geminate pre-HG /ss/ is represented by *ss*, as well as by *s* before open juncture and consonants, again, probably an indication of fortition, and thus a neutralization of the fortis-lenis opposition, before open juncture. Pre-HG /tt/ and /ss/ have fallen together.

5.2 Germanic Voiceless Stops

5.2.1 Germanic /p/

Not surprisingly, PG /p/ in initial position is represented by *ph* (84%) or *pf* (16%), the former being by far the more common variant.

3x *phaffen* 'priest'

2x *phande* 'collateral'

6x *phant* 'collateral'

4x *phârd* 'horse'

13x *phelle* 'pelt'

1x *phullm* 'pillow'

2x *phunt* 'pound'

4x *pfaffe* 'priest

1x *pfundt* 'pound'

2x *pfeffer* 'pepper'

1x *pfeÿffen* 'whistle'

For PG /p/ in initial position before resonants, Ried writes *ph* (99%) and *pf* (1%). The more common variant is clearly *ph*. In fact, the one occurrence of *pflag* 'attended to' is the only case in which Ried writes *pf* in this position.

86x *phlegen* 'attend to'

4x *phlicht* 'duty'

2x *phlûg* 'plow'

2x *phlüme* 'plum'

1x *phnach* 'snorted'

1x *phnurret* 'puffs up'

1x *pflag* 'attended to'

Ried sets *ph* (97%) and *pf* (3%) in medial position for PG /p/ after nasals.

1x *gelimphet* 'made appropriate'

1x *gerumphen* 'wrinkle'

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2x *glimph* 'appropriate'

1x *kamphe* 'battle'   1x *kempfen* 'fight'

1x *kamph* 'battle'

                              1x *krampf* 'cramp'

9x *ſchimph* 'jest'   1x *ſchimpf* 'jest'

1x *ſtamphe* 'stamp'

Ried represents the geminate of PG /p/ by *ph* (64%) and *pf* (36%).

1x *klophet* 'knocks'

1x *knophe* 'button'   1x *knopfe* 'button'

                              1x *knopf* 'button'

2x *koph* 'head'   2x *kopfe* 'head'

1x *kupherſ* 'of copper'

1x *opher* 'victim'   1x *opfer* 'victim'

2x *ſchepher* 'creator'   1x *ſchepfer* 'creator'

1x *trophen* 'drop'

                              2x *topfe* 'pot'

After liquids, however, Ried's normal spelling for the reflex of Germanic /p/ is *ff* (71%), though he does occasionally set single *f* (29%). Only in the case of the proper nouns *Helpferick* and *Gelfrat* does Ried consistently set *pf* after *l*, but even then he does set *f* elsewhere in the manuscript. This is presumably the result of Ried's sometimes following his Vorlage closely and sometimes with less attention.

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2x *Gelffrat* 'Gelfrat'	1x *Gelfrat* 'Gelfrat'	5x *Gelphrat* 'Gelfrat'
16x *halff* 'helped'	10x *half* 'helped'	
31x *helffen* 'help'	1x *helfen* 'help'	
1x *Helfferigk* 'Helferich'		5x *Helpherigk* 'Helferich'
		2x *Helpferig* 'Helferich'

3x *ſcharff* 'sharp'

4x *ſcharffen* 'sharp'

13x *warff* 'threw'

4x *werffen* 'throw'

1x *warf* 'threw'

Postvocalic single PG /p/ is represented by *ff* (87%) and before open juncture occasionally by *f* (13%). Only in the word *wafen* does Ried set single *f* for medial PG /p/

	1x *auff* 'up'	750x *auf* 'up'
5x *begriffen* 'seized'	2x *begriff* 'seized'	1x *gʒif* 'seized'
2x *getauffet* 'baptized'		
10x *kauffen* 'buy'	1x *kauff* 'buy'	1x *kaufleute* 'merchants'
13x *lieffen* 'ran'	26x *lieff* 'ran'	8x *lief* 'ran'
4x *offen* 'open'		
4x *pfaffe* 'priest'	1x *pfaff* 'priest'	
9x *rüeffen* 'called'	2x *rüeff* 'called'	2x *rů̊f* 'cry'
14x *schiffen* 'ships'	7x *schiff* 'ship'	19x *schif* 'ship'
9x *ſchaffen* 'achieve'	5x *geſchů̊ff* 'made'	3x *ſchů̊f* 'made'
17x *ſlaffen* 'sleep'	2x *ſlaff* 'sleep'	5x *ſlaf* 'sleep'

2x *ſtraffen* 'taut'

20x *tieffen* 'deep'   5x *tieff* 'deep'

54x *waffen* 'weapons'   1x *wafen* 'weapon'

After /s/ PG /p/ is always spelled *p*.

12x *geſprach* 'spoke'

8x *ſpannen* 'span'

4x *ſparn* 'spare'

31x *ſper* 'spear'

22x *ſpeÿſe* 'food'

31x *ſpil* 'game'

1000x *ſprach* 'spoke'

6x *ſpringen* 'jump'

Summary

Germanic /p/ clearly shows the effects of the High German Sound Shift in the

manuscript. In initial position, as well as after nasals and in gemination, PG /p/ has

shifted to the affricate /pf/ and is written *ph* or *pf*. After resonants or in medial position

when single, PG /p/ has been shifted to the fricative /ff/, which Rieds spells *ff*, though

before open juncture he alternates between *ff* and *f*.

Again, this seems to indicate a neutralization of the fortis-lenis opposition before

open juncture (cf. "Germanic /f/"). In two proper nouns Ried writes *ph* - *pf* after /l/,

but also writes these same names with *ff* - *f*, indicating that in some instances (probably accidentally) his own spelling took precedence. After /s/, PG /p/ remains unshifted and is spelled /p/. Only in the treatment of PG /p/ after liquids does Ried's orthography conflict with the supposed results of the Consonant Shift given in the handbooks (V. Moser 1909:§96; Philipp 1980:8-10; Braune & Eggers 1975:§87; Paul/Wiehl/Grosse 1989:§86-91), which maintain that PG /p/ was shifted to /pf/ in this position. Braune & Eggers (1975:§87) maintains that it was characteristic of the Upper German dialects of Old High German to display the affricate in this position, while Paul/Wiehl/Grosse (1989:117-18) maintains that the Upper German dialects showed simple *f* in the 9th century.

5.2.2 Germanic /t/

Ried distinguishes two variants for PG /t/ in initial position. In word-initial position he sets almost exclusively *z* (though never *tz*), whereas after open juncture in the second element of a compound or complex stem he vacillates in his representation of initial /t/ between *tz* (54%) and *z* (46%). In foreign words and in *cefwen* Ried also uses *c* (less than 1%) to indicate the affricate /ts/ before front vowels, i.e., in those positions where affrication has occurred in Latin.

12x *allenzeiten* 'always'   9x *allentzeiten* 'always'

1x *allze* 'all too'

3x *bezwingen* 'subdue'

15x *darzů* 'in addition'   123x *dartzů* 'in addition'

8x *gezelt* 'tent'

1x *herzoge* 'duke'   14x *hertzoge* 'duke'

3x *vertzagen* 'despair'

1x *vnuertzaget* 'undaunted'

1x *cefwen* 'right'

1x *cefar* 'Caesar'

1x *ciperpavmen* 'cyprus trees'

Initial PG /t/ before /r/ is spelled *t*.

1x *auftrůg* 'bring forward'

21x *betragen* 'behave'

5x *entraůn* 'not to trust'

41x *getragen* 'carry'

19x *getrewe* 'faithful'

3x *getröften* 'comfort'

1x *trachtein* 'lord'

118x *tragen* 'carry

14x *traib* 'drove'

3x *tranck* 'drank'

5x *trauren* 'to grieve'

7x *traůt* 'familiar'

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40x *trewen* 'fidelity'

32x *troſt* 'solace'

122x *trůg* 'carried'

6x *trunckenhait* 'intoxication'

12x *vngetrewe* 'unfaithful'

6x *vertreiben* 'drive away'

PG /t/ after /n/ appears everywhere as *tz* with one exception.

3x *gantz* 'completely'

1x *krantz* 'wreath'

1x *müntze* 'coin'

1x *rantzte* 'jumped around'

78x *ϑntz* 'until'   2x *vnz* 'until'

Ried spells the geminate, PG /tt/, most commonly *tz*, though he does set *z* in forms of *ittwitzen* (4x = less than 1%).

1x *antlitz* 'countenance'

1x *haitzen* 'to heat'

1x *katz* 'cat'

24x *lützel* 'little'

3x *ſetzen* 'to set'

36x *ſitzen* 'to sit'

12x *witzen* 'wits'   1x *itwizen* 'reproach'

1x *ittwitzen* 'reproach'

1x *itweÿzzen* 'reproach'

1x *itewiſſen* 'reproach'

PG /t/ after liquids appears in the manuscript as *tz*, only once, probably erroneously, as *z*.

3x *artzet* 'physician'

127x *hertze* 'heart'   1x *herzen* 'heart'

6x *holtz* 'wood'

1x *ſaltze* 'salt'

37x *ſtoltzen* 'proud'

2x *ſwartz* 'black'

2x *ſchwartz* 'black'

Ried sets *ss*, *sz*, *z*, and *zz* for PG postvocalic, single /t/. The *z*-spellings are so rare (less than 2%) that one can safely assume that in these cases the Vorlage has influenced Ried's orthography. In the case of *daz*, Ried uses this form almost exclusively for the conjunction, while using the form *das* for the pronoun.

2x *aſſ* 'ate'   1x *erloſzt* 'redeemed'   2x *beſlozzen* 'decided'

23x *beſſer* 'better'   1x *goſz* 'poured'

13x *befeſſen* 'possessed' 2x *grüeſzte* 'greeted'

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13x *eſſen* 'eat'   1x *kreyſz* 'circle'   1x *gemazzen* 'is appropriate'

44x *genieſſen* 'to enjoy'

101x *groſſen* 'great'   1x *geſezzen* 'seated'

39x *haÿſſet* 'is called'   1x *hazzent* 'hate'

256x *hieſs* 'was called'

52x *lieſſen* 'let'   3x *laſz* 'let'

14x *lieſ̃* 'let'   *

29x *müeſſen* 'must'   1x *mÿeſz* 'must'   1x *beſlozſen* 'decided'

40x *müſs* 'must'

83x *ſaſs* 'sat'

29x *ſtraſſe* 'street'   *

12x *ſüeſſe* 'sweet'   3x *laz* 'let'

1x *trugkſäſſen* 'seneschal'

27x *wayſs* 'know'

76x *wiſſen* 'to know'

For PG /t/ after fricatives Ried sets *t*.

5x *acht* 'eight'

4x *achtzigk* 'eighty'

85x *crafft* 'power'

4x *ellenthaffte* 'powerful'

6x *erfechten* 'get by fighting'

1x *foꝛcht* 'fear'

6x *fürchten* 'fear

4x *geſellſchafft* 'society'

1x *hefftel* 'haft'

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3x *kunfft* 'arrival'

9x *lufft* 'air'

66x *offt* 'often'

22x *fanffte* 'soft'

11x *fenffte* 'soft'

1x *fchriffte* 'writing'

Summary

As with PG /p/, PG /t/ clearly shows the effects of the High German Consonant Shift, though after liquids it shows no further or anomalous development.

In inital position it is written *z*, in word-medial position *tz*, and *c* before front vowels in foreign words and *cefwen*. After resonants and in gemination it is written *tz* or, very rarely *z*. In the case of PG /tt/ in *itwitz - itewiffen* it seems clear that Ried was unfamiliar with the word and did not know how to interpret the symbol used in his Vorlage: whether to analyze it as *Witzen* or *Wissen*. Germanic /t/ after fricatives remained unshifted and is represented by *t*.

5.2.3 Germanic /k/

Ried sets *k* (95%), *ch* (4%), and *kh* (1%) for PG /k/ in initial position. He also sets *q* exclusively in the root of *qual* (8x).

5x *kammerere* 'chamber-lain'		1x *chammerer* 'chamber-lain'
1x *kebσ* 'concubine'		1x *chebσ* 'concubine'
12x *kiefen* 'choose'		3x *chiefen* 'choose'
364x *komen* 'come'		3x *chomen* 'kome'
6x *küffen* 'kiss'		1x *chüffen* 'kiss'
71x *kûene* 'bold'	6x *Khaÿ* 'Kay'	10x *Chaÿ* 'Kay'
	1x *khüene* 'bold'	3x *chûene* 'bold'
	1x *khiele* 'keel'	2x *chunftenobele* 'Con-stantinople'

In initial position before /l/ Ried writes PG /k/ as *k* (60%), *c* (40%). Before /r/ he writes *k* (37%), *c* (42%), and *ch* (21%).

17x *klagen* 'lament'	40x *clagen* 'lament'
13x *klaider* 'clothes'	34x *claider* 'clothes'
38x *knaben* 'boy'	
31x *knechte* 'servants'	
4x *knie* 'knee'	
1x *knopf* 'button'	

1x *knůbel* 'finger'

1x *knůttel* 'knot'

1x *kreůtze* 'cross'

37x *krone* 'crown'   2x *creutze* 'cross'   1x *chᴣadem* 'noise'

1x *crone* 'crown'   11x *chrimhilde* 'Kriemhild'

14x *creffte* 'powers'   1x *chᴣifolituʃ* 'chrysolite'

4x *criʃtenliche* 'christian'

For PG /k/ after nasals, the scribe sets *ck* (88%), *ch* (less than 1%), *ckh* (6%), *gk* (4%), *gkh* (less than 1%), and *k* (less than 1%). Because the last occurs only once in the corpus, it would seem to be an error.

7x *angker* 'anchor'   1x *angkher* 'anchor'

1x *blanch* 'white'

1x *hengkhet* 'hangs'

2x *krancken* 'sick'   1x *kranchen* 'sick'

7x *fchencken* 'give'

7x *trincken* 'drink'   1x *trinckhen* 'drink'

3x *wancken* 'vacillate'   1x *wanketen* 'vacillated'   1x *wanngkh* 'vacillation'

1x *wingkt* 'waves'

The geminate pre-HG /kk/ appears as *ck* (89%), *gk* (4%), *gkh* (5%), *ckh* (1%), and *gg* (less than 1%).

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1x *acker* 'cultivated field'   3x *agker* 'cultivated field'

2x *buckel* 'buckler'   1x *bugkele* 'buckler'

3x *decke* 'cover'   1x *deckhen* 'cover'

111x *dicke* 'fat, thick'   6x *dickh* 'fat'

1x *erwecken* 'awaken'   1x *wegken* 'wake'   1x *weckhen* 'waken'

8x *gelücke* 'happiness'

                                1x *genigkte* 'bowed'

1x *gezucket* 'twitched'   2x *gezugket* 'twitched'

7x *plicke* 'catch sight of'   1x *pligkt* 'caught sight of' 1x *plickht* 'saw'

222x *recken* 'warriors'   5x *regken* 'warriors'   13x *reckhen* 'warriors'

8x *ſtucken* 'pieces'

1x *verrucke* 'remove'   1x *verrugket* 'insane'   *

                                                            6x *zugkhet* 'twitches'

Ried spells the reflex of PG /k/ after liquids *ck* (24%), *ch* (74%), *ckh* (1%), *kh* (1%) and, in foreign words, *c* (less than 1%).

1x *barcken* 'barques'   1x *barch* 'barque'

                                1x *barche* 'barque'

                                3x *dürchl* 'perforated'

5x *marck* 'march'   30x *march* 'march'

                                25x *tennemarche* 'Den-mark'

7x *marſchalck* 'marshall'

                                54x *ſtarche* 'strong'   1x *ſtarckh* 'strong'

41x *volck* 'people'

2x *werck* 'work'   9x *werch* 'work'

2x *wûrcken* 'work'   5x *wûrchen* 'work'

6x *wolcken* 'clouds'   1x *wolckhen* 'clouds'

                                                           *

                                                           1x *markhen* 'marches'

                                                           *

                                                           1x *bulcanuσ* 'Vulcan'

Postvocalic, single PG /k/ appears as *ch*, never as *h*.

1x *aichen* 'oaks'   1122x *auch* 'also'

14x *entweichen* 'yield'   16x *billich* 'fair'

2x *erraicht* 'achieved'   4x *dach* 'roof'

6x *erwachet* 'awoke'   261x *dich* 'thee'

2x *frechen* 'insolent'   336x *doch* 'nevertheless'

23x *machen* 'make'   3x *endelich* 'finally'

83x *michel* 'great'   3x *habich* 'hawk'

7x *prechen* 'break'   3327x *ich* 'I'

2x *raichen* 'reach'   1x *lauch* 'leek'

3x *riechen* 'smell'   832x *mich* 'me'

7x *ficher* 'certain'   8x *pach* 'brook'

3x *ftechen* 'stab'   7x *mûelich* 'troublesome'

5x *fûchet* 'sought'   7x *puech* 'book'

5x *wachen* 'watch, wake'   1000x *fprach* 'spoke'

2x *waichen* 'soft, weak'   2x *plaich* 'pale'

After /s/ PG /k/ always appears as *ch*.

1x *afche* 'ash'

1x *erwünfchen* 'desire'

2x *fleifch* 'flesh'

90x *gefchach* 'caught sight of'

163x *gefchehen* 'happened'

4x *keufche* 'chaste, chastity'

12x *maifterfchafft* 'superiority, great power'

12x *menfchen* 'people'

59x *ritterfchafft* 'chivalry'

148x *fchaden* 'damage'

95x *fchar* 'host'

63x *fchein* 'appearance'

75x *fchiere* 'simply'

47x *schilde* 'shield'

97x *fchone* 'beautiful'

44x *fchulden* 'debt, to owe'

15x *tifche* 'table'

8x *vifche* 'fish'

5x *vnkeûfche* 'unchaste'

5x *wunfch* 'wish'

14x *zwifchen* 'between'

Germanic /k/ displays the same level of shifting as PG /t/. In initial position, Ried clearly indicates the affricate /kx/ with the spellings *kh* and *ch*, though his normal spelling is *k*. In initial position before consonants he sets *k*, *c*, and, only before /r/, *ch*. This last is unusual in that, contrary to the belief that this spelling derives from the Latin practice of designating Greek χ with *ch*, Ried never uses *ch* in *Christ* or related forms.

After sonants and in gemination, Ried uses "simple" and complex graphs (i.e., graphic combinations concluding or not concluding with *h*) to spell the reflex of PG /k/: *ck*, *gk*, and *gg*; and *ch*, *kh*, *ckh*, and *gkh*. His use of augmented graphs, ie. graphs with *h* appended, suggests that the sound in question is an affricate, rather than a simple stop. This is precisely what one should expect in this position for PG /k/.

Ried's use of the grapheme *ch* in this position, however, causes some problems. This grapheme is Ried's usual representation of intervocalic PG /k/ and post-consonantal PG /h/ and as such must represent /x/. If one considers the fact that Ried always spells *stark* with *ch* and that in the modern dialect of Imst, PG /k/ after liquids is represented by /x/, the value of PG /k/ after liquids in the manuscript becomes uncertain.

Ried writes *ch* for the reflex of post-vocalic single PG /k/. For the cluster PG /sk/ he writes *sch*.

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5.3 Germanic Voiced Obstruents

5.3.1 Germanic /b/

For the reflex of PG /b/ in initial position, Ried writes *p* (36%) and *b* (64%), and very rarely (less than 1%) *w*. Ried shows a slight preference for *p* as the reflex of PG /b/ in this position, though he consistently spells the prefix *be-* with *b*, except in the case of *piderb* where he evidently does not recognize the first element as a prefix (cf. MGer. *bieder*).

13x *erparmen* 'have mercy'	84x *burge* 'castles'
66x *gepot* 'commanded'	9x *biderbe* 'distinguished
8x *pach* 'brook'	1x *bilde* 'image
5x *paine* 'bones'	1x *enbieten* 'summon'
2x *payʒlant* 'Bavaria'	2x *bayʒlant* 'Bavaria
15x *perge* 'mountains'	159x *baide* 'both'
78x *peſte* 'best'	45x *balde* 'soon'
19x *piderbe* 'distinuished'	139x *bas* 'better'
6x *pilde* 'image'	7x *beheim* 'Bohemia'
31x *piten* 'request'	336x *bey* 'by'
133x *poten* 'messenger'	16x *billich* 'fair'
7x *puech* 'book'	4x *redebare* 'honest'
6x *pueſſe* 'contrition'	3x *ymbis* 'snack'
24x *purge* 'castles'	
7x *verpoʒgen* 'hidden'	

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In initial position before consonants, Ried represents PG /b/ by *p* or *b*. Ried prefers *p* before /l/ (85%) and *b* before /r/ (52%).

2x *armpʒuften* 'crossbows'

3x *erplichen* 'paled'   1x *blaichen* 'pale'

10x *gepʒaft* 'burst'   1x *bʒaft* 'burst'

3x *plint* 'blind'

                                          1x *bla* 'blue'

12x *ploʒ* 'simply'   2x *bloʒ* 'simply'

10x *plůmen* 'flowers'

23x *plůt* 'blood'

7x *prach* 'broke'

24x *prait* 'broad'   1x *brait* 'broad'

7x *prechen* 'break'   13x *bʒach* 'broke'

2x *prennen* 'burn'

2x *pringen* 'bring'   69x *bʒingen* 'bring'

                                          70x *bʒacht* 'brought'

8x *pʒot* 'bread'

1x *zerplaůen* 'bruise'

6x *zerprochen* 'broken

                                          11x *bʒief* 'letter'

                                          30x *bʒueder* 'brother'

PG /b/ after nasals has apparently been lost, though Ried does occasionally indicate it by setting a *b* (4%).

32x *kumber* 'misery'   1x *kummer* 'misery

10x *tumben* 'dumb'   1x *tummen* 'dumb'

197x *vmb* 'around'   1x *vm* 'around'

1x *wambes* 'doublet'   2x *wammeʒ* 'doublet'

                              1x *zÿmmere* 'room'

                              6x *ſtÿmme* 'voice'

                              1x *kamme* 'comb'

The geminate PG /bb/ is spelled *pp* everywhere except in the words *sippe* and

üppig and related forms where it is occasionally indicated by a single *p* (16%).

1x *duppelt* 'double'

1x *krippe* 'crib'

1x *rippe* 'rib'

6x *ſippe* 'clan'   1x *ſipe* 'clan'

2x *ϑppige* 'luxurious'   1x *ϑpiger* 'luxurious'

Ried consistently sets *b* for PG /b/ after liquids. On rare occasions (less tha 1%)

he does, however, set *w* in this position.

1x *alb* 'fairy'   1x *garwe* 'sheaf'

30x *allenthalben* 'everywhere'

9x *baidenthalben* 'on both sides'

9x *biderbe* 'distinguished'

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18x *derselben* 'the same'

24x *erbe* 'inheritence'

14x *erstoꝛben* 'deceased'

19x *erwerben* 'acquire'

10x *erwoꝛben* 'acquired'

21x *silber* 'silver'

1x *sparbare* 'sparrow'

13x *verderben* 'ruin'

3x *verdoꝛben* 'ruined'

26x *werben* 'strive after'

Single, postvocalic /b/ appears in the manuscript as *b*. Before open juncture and before voiceless stops it also appears as *p* (1%).

263x *aber* 'but, again'

26x *dietlaib* 'Detlev'   11x *dietlaip* 'Detlev'

120x *gab* 'gave'

23x *hůb* 'raised'

11x *eben* 'even'

113x *geben* 'give'

11x *gelaüben* 'believe'

271x *haben* 'have'

27x *haubt* 'head'

38x *knaben* 'boy'

201x *leben* 'live'

.

28x *lebt* 'lives'   1x *lept* 'lives'

138x *liebe* 'love'   2x *lieplichen* 'affectionate'

5x *obes* 'fruit'

4x *ſweben* 'hover'

14x *traib* 'drove'

62x *vber* 'over'

321x *weib* 'woman'   3x *weip* 'woman'

5x *zauber* 'magick'

Summary

In initial position, Ried vacillates between *b* and *p* as a designation for the reflex

of PG /b/. Clearly, the opposition of /b/ and /p/ has been neutralized in this position,

as is to be expected of a text of Austro-Bavarian origin.

Though Ried sometimes writes *b* for PG /b/ after /m/, it is clear from the *mm*

spellings, as well as from hypercorrect spellings (cf. "Germanic /m/"), that PG /b/ has

been assimilated to /m/ in this position. Thus *mb* can be seen as an allograph for *mm*.

The geminate pre-HG /bb/ appears as *pp*, rarely as *p*, and in these cases, always

intervocalically. It should be noted that in intervocalic position, *b* does not contrast with

p, thus Ried's *p*-spellings in this position are unambiguous.

For PG /b/ after liquids, Ried writes *b* or, very rarely, *w* (cf. "Germanic /w/")

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Ried writes *b* for post-vocalic single PG /b/. Before open juncture (and once before *t*), he also sets *p* (Auslautverhärtung).

5.3.2 Germanic /d/

Ried writes initial PG /d/ *t*, or occasionally *th* (10%).

2x *betaubet* 'deafened'	
308x *getan* 'done'	
19x *getar* 'dare'	
167x *tag* 'day'	
76x *tail* 'part'	
26x *taten* 'did'	
175x *tet* 'would do'	4x *thet* 'would do'
11x *teüfel* 'devil'	
11x *tewʒe* 'dear'	
20x *tieffen* 'deep'	
15x *tiſche* 'table'	
106x *tochter* 'daughter'	
89x *todt* 'dead, death'	
18x *tu* 'do'	40x *thů* 'do'
10x *tumben* 'dumb'	4x *thumben* 'dumb'
39x *tugende* 'virtue'	

In initial position before /r/ PG /d/ always appears as *t*.

21x *betragen* 'behave'

2x *ertrincken* 'drown'

1x *getrauret* 'lamented'

1x *getraẅmet* 'dreamed'

118x *tragen* 'carry'   -

14x *traib* 'drove'

5x *trawʒen* 'lament'

1x *treůget* 'betrays'

7x *trincken* 'drink'

2x *tropfe* 'drop'

2x *truebe* 'dreary'

1x *vertraib* 'drove away

After nasals PG /d/ appears as *d* everywhere. Before open juncture, Ried sets *d* (61%), *dt* (8%) and *t* (31%).

12x *befonnder* 'special'

39x *ennde* 'end'

4x *freůnd* 'friend'   6x *freůnt* 'friend'   18x *freundt* 'friend'

32x *freunde* 'friend'

48x *funden* 'found'

8x *hand* 'hand'   150x *hant* 'have'   107x *handt* 'hand'

47x *hannde* 'hand'

25x *hinder* 'behind'

40x *lannd* 'land'	203x *lant* 'land'	171x *lanndt* 'land'
229x *lannde* 'land'		
20x *ſchande* 'shame'		1x *ſchandt* 'shame'
10x *vand* 'found'	163x *vant* 'found'	
59x *veinde* 'enemies'		1x *veindt* 'enemy'
84x *vnnder* 'under'		1x *vnndter* 'under'
30x *weygande* 'warrior'		
12x *winde* 'wind'	32x *wint* 'wind'	3x *windt* 'wind'
46x *wunden* 'wounded'		10x *wündt* 'wounded'
	34x *weigant* 'warrior'	
	8x *geſunt* 'healthy'	
	1x *geſunte* 'healthy'	

Ried writes the pre-HG geminate /dd/ with *tt* (97%) and *t* (3%).

15x *dꝛitte* 'third'	
9x *ettlichen* 'some'	1x *etlich* 'some'
1x *gerette* 'save'	
2x *geſtattet* 'allowed'	
2x *hůette* 'protect'	
8x *mitten* 'amid'	
5x *pitten* 'request'	31x *piten* 'request'
219x *ritter* 'knight'	
2x *ſchutten* 'pour'	

Ried's treatment of PG /d/ after liquids is somewhat unusual. After /r/ he consistently sets *t* or, finally, *dt*, whereas after /l/ he vacillates between *d*, *dt*, and *t* in medial (*d:* 33%; *dt:* 1%; *t:* 65%) as well as final position (*d:* 3%; *dt:* 1%; *t:* 96%).

2x *dulten* 'endure'		6x *dulden* 'endure'
6x *garte* 'garden'		
1x *garten* 'garden'		
3x *gürtl* 'belt'		
126x *hart* 'hard'	4x *hardt* 'hard'	
29x *herten* 'hard'		
18x *milte* 'generous'		1x *milden* 'generous'
38x *schilt* 'shield'	2x *schildt* 'shield'	47x *schilde* 'shield'
171x *folte* 'should have'		1x *folde* 'should have'
9x *vierden* 'fourth'		
10x *wartet* 'waits'		
2x *wartman* 'guard'		
235x *wirt* 'host'		
14x *wirte* 'host'		
31x *woʒt* 'word'		
22x *woʒten* 'words'		
		45x *balde* 'soon'
		25x *bald* 'soon'

For postvocalic, single PG /d/ Ried generally sets *t* (94%), though *tt* (6%) spellings are not uncommon.

56x *berait* 'ready, readied'

14x *beraiten* 'ready'

121x *damit* 'with that'

14x *gemüete* 'spirit'

8x *gemüet* 'mood'

347x *got* 'God'

35x *gotes* 'God's' 3x *gottes* 'God's'

33x *guete* 'good' 1x *güette* 'goodness'

21x *laute* 'loud, pure' 1x *laütte* 'loud'

67x *leüte* 'people' 1x *leutte* 'people'

195x *not* 'need'

4x *note* 'need'

38x *ſiten* 'customs' 2x *ſitten* 'customs'

6x *stete* 'places' 7x *ſtétte* 'place'

2x *ſtreÿte* 'conflict' 1x *ſtreytte* 'conflict'

11x *teten* 'did' 33x *tetten* 'did'

2x *veter* 'cousin' 2x *vetter* 'cousin'

4x *witbe* 'widow' 2x *wittben* 'widow'

Summary

For the reflex of initial PG /d/, Ried sets *t* or *th*, the latter chiefly in forms of the verb *tun*. For PG /d/ after nasals he writes *d*, or *dt* or *t* before open juncture. He writes *t* and *dt* after liquids in all positions, but occasionally sets *d* after /l/.

In general, Ried sets *tt* for pre-HG geminate /dd/, though rarely he sets *t* before open juncture or after short syllables.

The reflex of single PG /d/ is much more troublesome. Ried seems to prefer *t* for this sound, but often sets *tt* intervocalically so that the inconsistency cannot be attributed to fortition before open juncture.

5.3.3 Germanic /g/

Ried sets *g* for PG /g/ in initial position. I have found no *k* spellings in the manuscript.

2x *angee* 'approach'
170x *began* 'do'
120x *gab* 'gave'
2x *galgen* 'gallows'
355x *gar* 'quite'
113x *geben* 'give'
71x *gedacht* 'thought'
41x *geet* 'go'
28x *gefangen* 'captured'
94x *gegen* 'against'
11x *gelten* 'be valid'
28x *gemaine* 'common'

115x *genůg* 'enough'

274x *gerne* 'gladly'

127x *geſte* 'guests'

471x *gůt* 'good'

23x *vergeſſen* 'forget'

19x *vngerne* 'reluctantly'

In initial position before resonants PG /g/ appears as *g*.

8x *begraben* 'buried'

2x *begriff* 'concept'

2x *glantz* 'sparkle'

5x *glůt* 'heat'

10x *graben* 'dig'

5x *gral* 'grail'

26x *graſ* 'grass'

16x *graue* 'count'

2x *greiffen* 'sieze'

12x *greÿffen* 'sieze'

6x *grieſſen* 'greet'

7x *grůeſſen* 'greet'

101x *groſſen* 'great'

3x *grůene* 'green'

8x *grunde* 'ground'

18x *grÿmme* 'grim'

54x *marggraue* 'margrave'

Ried represents PG /g/ after nasals most commonly by *g*, though before open juncture he also uses the variants *gk* (2%), *ck* (2%), and *ckh* (1%).

1x *anfang* 'beginning'   1x *anefangk* 'beginning'

4x *begangen* 'committed'

55x *ding* 'thing'

58x *dingen* 'things'

12x *erklingen* 'resound'

4x *gang* 'path'

1x *gangen* 'went'

3x *hangen* 'hang'

4x *hunger* 'hunger'

9x *jŭng* 'young'

75x *junge* 'young'   1x *iunck* 'young'

5x *klang* 'noise'   8x *junckfraw* 'maiden'

41x *lang* 'long'   3x *klangk* 'noise'

35x *lannge* 'long'   3x *langk* 'long'

17x *ring* 'ring'

42x *ringe* 'rings'   1x *ringk* 'ring'

31x *ſprang* 'sprang'

1x *twang* 'impelled'   1x *geſpꝛangk* 'sprang'

2x *twingen* 'impel'   1x *zwanckſal* 'coercion'

*

1x *iŭnckhfrawen* 'maiden'

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The geminate /gg/ appears in the manuscript as *ck* (14%), *gk* (62%), or *gkh* (24%).

1x *ecke* 'corner'	6x *egke* 'corner'	
1x *pʒucken* 'bridges'	2x *prugke* 'bridge'	
1x *rucken* 'back'	8x *rugke* 'back'	
1x *zuckte* 'twitched'	1x *zugket* 'twitches'	1x *rugkhen* 'back'
	1x *hengket* 'hangs'	6x *zugkhet* 'twitches'

PG /g/ after liquids is written *g* (65%), *ch* (30%), and *gk* (5%), the latter two being found only before open juncture.

41x *burg* 'castle'	1x *burch* 'castle'
84x *burge* 'castles'	1x *burgkfraẅen* 'lady'
	11x *march* 'marrow'

4x *karg* 'niggardly'

2x *kargen* 'stingy'

109x *moʒgen* 'morning, morrow'

15x *perg* 'mountain'

15x *perge* 'mountains'

12x *foʒg* 'sorrow'

97x *foʒgen* 'sorrow'

7x *verpoʒgen* 'hidden'

24x *volgen* 'follow'

6x *volg* 'follow'

Postvocalic, single /g/ appears in all positions as *g* (70%), before open juncture as *gk* (2%) and *k* (28%).

4x *achtzig* '	13x *viertzigk* 'forty'	
320x *degen* 'warrior'		
32x *erſlagen* 'slay'		
1x *ewig* 'eternal'	2x *ewigklichen* 'eternal'	1x *rainklich* 'purely'
2x *ewige* 'eternal'	3x *gewaltigklichñ* 'violent'	4x *gewaltiklich* 'violently'
19x *klage* 'lament'		
10x *klag* 'lament'		
308x *kunig* 'king'	1x *kůnigkleiche* 'royal'	
85x *lag* 'lay'		*
36x *lagen* 'lay'		1x *achtzick* 'eighty'
329x *mag* 'may'		
194x *manigen* 'many a'		
26x *můgen* 'may'		
58x *phlag* 'cared for'		
86x *phlegen* 'care for'		
7x *triegen* 'betray'		
122x *trůg* 'carried'		
9x *vogl* 'bird'		
60x *weygant* 'warrior'		

Ried uses *g* to represent PG /g/ in initial position. For PG /g/ after nasals he sets *g*, or *gk*, *k*, *ck*, or *ckh* before open juncture. This last variant is troubling as a representation for PG /g/, since it normally indicates an affricate.

For the pre-HG geminate /gg/, Ried writes *ch*, *gk*, and *gkh*. Again, the affricate grapheme *gkh* is problematic as a representation of PG /gg/, since it seems to betray a confusion of PG /kk/, which one expects to develop into /kx/, and PG /gg/, which one expects to become /kk/.

The reflex of PG /g/ after liquids is written *g*, or *gk* or *ch* before open juncture.

Ried writes *g* for post-vocalic single PG /g/. Before open juncture he also writes *gk* and *k*.

5.4 Germanic Resonants

5.4.1 Germanic /m/

Germanic /m/ shows very little variation in the manuscript. In initial position it is always represented by *m*:

121x *damit* 'so that'

43x *gemach* 'room'

52x *gemůt* 'mood'

23x *machen* 'do'

329x *mag* 'may'

46x *maifter* 'master'

2304x *man* 'man'

194x *manigen* 'many'

229x *mâre* 'news'

929x *mein* 'my'

832x *mich* 'me'

2029x *mit* 'with'

109x *moʒgen* 'morning'

165x *mÿnne* 'love'

In post-vocalic position the only remarkable phenomenon with regard to PG /m/ is Ried's occasional doubled spellings. With the exception of the doublings after /r/ and the verb 'ziemen', Ried's doubled spellings coincide with modern German orthography. In the case of *frummen,* one can clearly see that false analogy with words such as *tumb - tummen* is at work:

9x *cammerere* 'chamberlain'   1x *camer* 'chamber'

                                     1x *kamerere* 'chamberlain'

2x *erparmmen* 'mercy'

15x *frummen* 'pious'   8x *frumb* 'pious'

2x *gezÿmmet* 'is seemly'   1x *zÿmet* 'is seemly'

43x *iammer* 'misery'   3x *iamer* 'misery'

26x *kemmenaten* 'chamber'

2x *kummen* 'come'   364x *komen* 'come'

147x *nÿmmer* 'never'   5x *nÿmer* 'never'

1x *parmmunge* 'mercy'   13x *erparmen* 'mercy'

                                           1x *parmunge* 'mercy'

1x *sturmmen* 'storm'   14x *sturmen* 'storm'

1x *zeſammen* 'together'   10x *zeſamen* 'together'

In intervocalic position, PG /m/ occurs most frequently as *m* (93%), and infrequently as *mm* (7%).

28x *bekomen* 'receive'

16x *dahaÿme* 'home'   1x *haÿmme* 'home'

6x *frumet* 'is fitting'

108x *genomen* 'taken'

1x *getzimet* 'is seemly'

20x *haÿme* 'home'

19x *himele* 'heaven'

3x *iamer* 'suffering'   1x *himmel* 'heaven'

364x *komen* 'come'   43x *iammer* 'suffering'

84x *namen* 'name'   1x *v̆berkummet* 'overcomes'

10x *plůmen* 'flower'

10x *schame* 'shame'   4x *summer* 'summer'

                                           2x *zÿmmet* 'is seemly'

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Summary

Ried writes *m* for PG /m/ everywhere. After /r/ he often sets double *mm*, as well as after short syllables and almost always in agreement with Modern German orthography.

5.4.2 Germanic /n/

As with PG /m/ there is little remarkable about Ried's treatment of PG /n/. In initial position *n* is set exclusivly:

33x *benomen* 'taken'

5x *erneren* 'nourish'

96x *genant* 'called'

542x *nach* 'after'

57x *nemen* 'take'

91x *nider* 'down'

295x *nie* 'never'

503x *noch* 'still'

195x *not* 'need'

147x *nÿmmer* 'never'   .

138x *vernomen* 'perceived'

1x *vnnutze* 'useless'

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Before open juncture Ried will occasionally double an *n* (less than 1%), though this is by no means a usual occurrence:

1x *redenn* 'speak'	12x *reden* 'speak'
1x *reytenn* 'ride'	13x *reyten* 'ride'
1x *roſſenn* 'horses'	18x *roſſen* 'horses'
1x *ſagenn* 'say'	213x *ſagen* 'say'
1x *ſehenn* 'see'	108x *ſehen* 'see'
1x *ſtechenn* 'stab'	3x *ſtechen* 'stab'
3x *vonn* 'from'	2454x *von* 'from'

The pre-HG geminate /nn/ occurs in the manuscript as *nn*, sometimes as *n*. Ried represents the geminate with a single *n* chiefly before open juncture or when it is the first element of a cluster. In the case of *gewīne* it seems likely, due to the relative scarcity of abbreviations in the manuscript, that Ried set the tilde to correct what he must have perceived as an incorrect *n*-spelling.

23x *bekannt* 'known'	72x *bekant* 'known'
25x *gewinnen* 'gain'	1x *gewīne* 'gain'
9x *gunnen* 'grant'	
22x *mann* 'man'	2304x *man* 'man'
14x *sunnen* 'sun'	
24x *wunne* 'bliss'	1x *wŭnen* 'bliss'

In intervocalic position, PG /n/ occurs most frequently as *n* (95%), and infrequently as *nn* (5%).

104x *ainem* 'a'	1x *kûenne* 'bold'
46x *ane* 'without'	
31x *gedienet* 'served'	
28x *gemaine* 'common'	
71x *kûene* 'bold'	
308x *kunig* 'king'	
33x *lone* 'reward'	
144x *maniger* 'many a'	
1x *monat* 'month'	
37x *raine* 'pure'	
99x *schone* 'beautiful'	

When PG /n/ appears as the first element of a consonant cluster, Ried's usage fluctuates between *nn* and *n*, the former being slightly more common. It is clear that in this position he recognizes no distinction between *nn* and *n*:

85x *anndern* 'other'	14x *andern* 'other'
12x *befonnder* 'special'	1x *befonder* 'special'
11x *danncken* 'thank'	18x *dancken* 'thank'
14x *ellennde* 'miserable'	20x *ellende* 'miserable'
6x *emphanngen* 'receive'	21x *emphangen* 'receive'
39x *ennde* 'end'	35x *ende* 'end'

2x *ennge* 'narrow'   3x *enge* 'narrow'

3x *ganntz* 'completely'   3x *gantz* 'completely'

10x *gewannt* 'garment'   72x *gewant* 'garment'

83x *hanndt* 'hand'   107x *handt* 'hand'

229x *lannde* 'land'   51x *lande* 'land'

35x *lannge* 'long'   19x *lange* 'long'

28x *fannde* 'sent'   47x *fande* 'sent'

10x *fchannde* 'dishonor' 20x *fchande* 'dishonor'

1x *fehennden* 'seeing'

63x *vnnd* 'and'   4266x *vnd* 'and'

527x *vnns* 'us'   37x *vnʒ* 'us'

As with PG /m/, Ried show the same penchant for doubling PG /n/ (37%) after /r/:

1x *doʒnnen* 'thorns'   1x *doʒn* 'thorn'

1x *ernnft* 'earnest'   3x *ernft* 'earnest'

1x *hochgeboʒnner* 'high-born' 1x *hochgeboʒn* 'high-born'

7x *lernnen* 'learn'   3x *lernen* 'learn'

1x *stirnnen* 'brow'   1x *stirne* 'brow'

                              2x *ftierne* 'brow'

1x *warnnen* 'warn'   1x *warnen* 'warn'

2x *zoʒnn* 'anger'   65x *zoʒn* 'anger'

4x *zoʒnne* 'anger'   38x *zoʒne* 'anger'

1x *zürnnet* 'is angry'   3x *zürnet* 'is angry'

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The prefix *ent-* shows assimilation to *em(p)-* before labials:

1x *enntwencken* 'be unfaithful'	14x *empern* 'do wothout'
1x *entplenndet* 'blinded'	27x *emphahen* 'receive'
2x *entrunnen* 'flowed away'	28x *empot* 'summoned'

The assimilation of final /m/ to /n/ when it is an inflectional element (Dat. Plur. -*en*, 1. Sg. Pres. Ind. *han, bin*) is fully realized (cf. Braune 1975 §124). In addition, final /m/ in unstressed syllables does not regularly show development to /n/:

1x *chɜadem* 'din'

3x *gadem* 'room'

1x *fadem* 'thread'

1x *pueſem* 'breast'

1x *půſem* 'breast'

1x *půſm* 'breast'

Summary

Ried sets *n* for single PG /n/, *nn* for pre-HG /nn/, which he also spells *n* before open juncture. He often writes double *nn* for single PG /n/ before consonants and after liquids.

5.4.3 Germanic /l/

After open juncture, PG /l/ remains unchanged and is represented by *l*:

80x *beleiben* 'remain'

11x *erlaubet* 'allows'

12x *gelait* 'accompanied'

24x *gelegen* 'lay'

150x *laid* 'suffering'

229x *lannde* 'land'

201x *leben* 'life'

366x *leib* 'body'

138x *liebe* 'love'

73x *lob* 'praise'

8x *miſſelingen* 'fail'

24x *verlieſen* 'lose'

Ried writes *l* for post-vocalic single PG /l/. He infrequently sets *ll* (12%) and then chiefly in consonant clusters or after short vowels:

1x *gallt* 'held'	9x *galt* 'held'
1x *hellfen* 'help'	11x *helffe* 'help'
2x *hellme* 'helmet'	33x *helme* 'helmet'
4x *hellt* 'hero'	270x *helt* 'hero'
2x *Hilldebꝛande* 'Hildebrand'	4x *Hildebꝛande* 'Hildebrand'

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34x *ſullen* 'shall'

1x *vnzellich* 'uncountable'

1x *willden* 'wild'

1x *wollauf* 'hi ho!'

1x *zwellfe* 'twelve'

44x *wilden* 'wild'

1x *wolauf* 'hi ho!'

6x *zwelffe* 'twelve

2x *zelet* 'counts'

Ried regularly writes *ll* for pre-HG /ll/, except before open juncture, where he sets

l (12%) as well. He never sets *l* for /ll/ in medial position, and minimal pairs of *l* and

ll can be found in this position:

438x *alle* 'all'

4x *ellenthaffte* 'powerful'

12x *geuallen* 'please'

19x *helle* 'bright'

13x *ſchalle* 'resonance'

9x *ſchnelle* 'quick'

13x *vollen* 'full'

56x *welle* 'will'

132x *willen* 'will'

4x *helen* 'conceal'

1x *ſchale* 'cup'

1x *ſchnel* 'quick'

57x *vol* 'full'

648x *wil* 'want, shall'

For intervocalic PG /l/, Ried writes *l* (98%), and, very rarely, *ll* (2%).

2x *dieweile* 'because'

32x *edele* 'noble'

3x *erholen* 'recover'

8x *eylen* 'hurry'

3x *beuollen* 'commanded'

34x *sullen* 'shall'

1x *wollan* 'tally-ho'

1x *wollauf* 'well!'

4x *fayle* 'for sale'

3x *gemale* 'spouse'

4x *helen* 'conceal'

6x *kyele* 'keel'

3x *quale* 'torment'

18x *selig* 'saintly'

13x *verholen* 'concealed'

1x *zalen* 'count'

Summary

Ried writes *l* for the reflex of PG single /l/, but also *ll* in clusters, and rarely after short vowels. For pre-HG geminate /ll/ he generally writes *ll*, though he often sets *l* before open juncture.

5.4.4 Germanic /r/, /z/

In initial position Ried always sets *r* for PG /r/

56x *berait* 'ready'

15x *geraten* 'counselled'

119x *rait* 'rode'

18x *raÿfe* 'journey'

222x *recken* 'warriors'

29x *rieten* 'guessed'

75x *roſs* 'horse'

For the pre-HG geminate /rr/ and for PG /rz/ Ried sets *rr*. Before open juncture he also sets *r* (less than 1%).

1x *beſperzet* 'locked'

1x *durre* 'dry'

7x *gewirret* 'was confused'

1x *harre* 'lie in wait'

120x *herz* 'lord'   147x *her* 'lord'

255x *herre* 'lord'

2x *irret* 'erred'

6x *jrre* 'crazy'

1x *phnurret* 'puffs up'

In intervocalic position, Ried writes single *r* for PG /r/, very rarely he writes *rr* (less than 1%) in this position.

11x *bewaren* 'preserve'   2x *gewerre* 'defend'

238x *ere* 'honor'   1x *sparren* 'beams'

25x *ewren* 'your'   1x *werre* 'defend'

31x *fůeren* 'lead'   1x *werren* 'defend'

110x *here* 'noble'

40x *hören* 'hear'

8x *iare* 'years'

241x *mâre* 'story'

9x *oren* 'ears'

78x *schiere* 'sheer'

245x *sere* 'very'

318x *waren* 'were'

5x *ziere* 'attractive'

Summary

Germanic single /r/ appears in the manuscript as *r*, as does PG /z/ where it has been retained. The pre-HG geminate /rr/ and PG /rz/ have fallen together and are written *rr*, and also *r* before open juncture.

5.5 Germanic Glides

5.5.1 Germanic /w/

Initial PG /w/ is represented in Ried's orthography by *w*, rarely by *b* (1%). The latter variant, with one exception *(beÿbeʒ)*, occurs exclusively when open juncture follows a liquid:

11x *antwurt* 'answer'

21x *bewegen* 'move'

19x *erwerben* 'gain'

171x *gewan* 'won'   2x *erban* 'gained'

7x *sarwat* 'armor'   2x *farbat* 'armor'

54x *waffen* 'weapons'

101x *wee* 'distress'

321x *weib* 'woman'   1x *beÿbeſ* 'woman's'

221x *wider* 'against'   1x *albegen* 'always'

43x *wille* 'will'

215x *wo* 'where'

31x *woʒt* 'word'

62x *wunder* 'miracle'

10x *wurm* 'worm, snake'

With one exception where he sets *w* (and rhymes with *gilbe)*, Ried consistently writes *b* for PG /w/ after liquids:

1x *gilbe* 'yellow'   1x *[m]ilwe* 'mite'

1x *marbes* 'tender'

1x *ſparbere* 'sparrow'

2x *valbe* 'fallow'

17x *varbe* 'color'

Summary

Ried sets *w* for initial and intervocalic PG /w/, for which he sometimes writes *b*. He very rarely sets *b* in initial position, and then chiefly when it is the second element of a compound and follows a liquid. After liquids (without intervening open juncture), Ried always sets *b*, except in *wilwe* (in *die böse Frau*), where his understanding of the text is questionable. The correct reading is *milbe*.

5.5.2 Germanic /j/

Ried recognizes 3 spellings for PG /j/ in initial position: *i* (18%), *j* (64%), *jh* (less than 1%), and *y* (18%). By far the least common is *jh*, while *i* and *y* are nearly equally distributed overall, though Ried clearly has preferences as to which variant is appropriate to a given root. It is interesting to note that, although the spellings with *h* are quite rare, they are not restricted to any one text (or to either of the two Vorlagen that Unterkircher posits [see "The Scribe"]), but are scattered throughout the manuscript (1 in *die Klage*, 8 in *Biterolf*, 3 in *Kudrun*, 1 in *Wolfdietrich A*, 1 in *der nackte Kaiser*, 1 in *die böse Frau*, and one in *Titurel*.)

10x *beiagen* 'hunt'

4x *geiaid* 'hunt'

2x *ie* 'ever'   1x *jhe* 'ever'   234x *ye* 'ever'

6x *iene* 'that'   2x *jhene* 'that'   2x *yene* 'that'

                                                           15x *yetzlicher* 'current'

43x *iammer* 'misery'

157x *ja* 'yes'

37x *jar* 'year'

75x *junge* 'young'

Germanic /j/ after consonants sometimes caused gemination and has been reduced to /ə/ (cf. Braune 1975:§§96-99).

Summary

Ried sets *i*, *y*, and *jh* for initial PG /j/, the last variant being quite rare.

⟨*b*⟩

bp occurs only twice: *liebplichen, weÿbplich*. This construction could be construed as an indication of the voiceless nature of the /b/, just as the *t* in many *dt* spellings has been. The rarity of this spelling, however, considered together with the abundance of *pl* spellings for the bound root /-lix-/ after nasals, indicates that it is either epenthetic or that -*plich*- is considered an allomorph of the bound root /-lix-/. The latter seems more probable since Ried does not otherwise indicate devoicing of /b/ with *bp* but with *p*.

bb, a spelling for which one would expect *pp* in Bavarian (Moser 1951:119), occurs twice in *abbt*. The etymology of the word, however, neatly explains this spelling: from Church L. *abbās,* acc. *abbātem.*

⟨d⟩

dh Ried uses this spelling frequently in *dhain-(dhein-)* 'none' which he spells thus 311 times, as opposed to 90 *kain-(kein-)* spellings. Thornton (1953) assumes that this is purely a spelling convention for this word. The fact that this grapheme does not occur elsewhere supports this assumption.

dw occurs once for NHG /zw/ in *dwerhes*, otherwise it is the result of normal development (syncope, etc.): *dweders* < MHG *deweders*, *Ludwig-*.

dt occurs frequently for final /d/: *brandt, enhanndt, erdtreich, fandt.* In this position it seems to be an indication of devoicing since it occurs in this position only for the phoneme /d/ never for /t/.

Additionally, Ried uses this spelling for verbal forms ending in /-dət/ that have undergone syncope: 1x *gepadt*, 7x *redte.* In fact, Ried's use of *dt* in *riedt* indicates that he may have construed the spelling as a verbal ending, regardless of whether the root syllable ends in /d/ or not.

Finally, Ried sets *dt* once for Gmc /d/ medially after /n/ and liquids *(vnndter).* One could attribute this to the influence of the Vorlage, for in this position MHG /d/ has become /t/ in the Tirolean dialect. If we assume a *d* spelling in Ried's copy-text, then

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it is hardly surprising that he set *dt*, an alternate spelling for /t/. One could also attribute

this spelling to a neutralization of the fortis-lenis distinction in this position, such as

Schatz (1897:19-20) describes as operating in the dialect of Imst.

⟨*f*⟩

ff occurs intervocalically (and after liquids) only for Gmc. ˙/-p-/, never for Gmc.

˙/-f-/. It also occurs frequently before /t/ e.g., in the bound root /-šaft-/, and in word-

final position where fortis and lenis would naturally be confused due to Auslautverhär-

tung. Ried uses this spelling in *durffen*, though this form could be explained as

levelling from those forms that have no ending. See "Germanic /p/" and "Germanic /f/"

⟨*g*⟩

gk occurs frequently for /g/ before open juncture, presumably as an indication of

devoicing. It stands for Gmc. ˙/kk/ in free variation with *ck*, apparently as a result of

the High German Consonant Shift causing the merger of Gmc. ˙/gg/ with Gmc. ˙/kk/.

This assessment, however, is problematic, since Gmc. /kk/ should develop into /kx/ in

Ried's dialect, and Gmc. /gg/ into /kk/. The expected opposition of /kk/ and /kx/ is not

displayed in the manuscript and in some cases Ried even uses affricate spellings for the reflex of simple Gmc. /g/. See "Germanic /g/"

⟨k⟩

Single k is used primarily in initial position for the reflex of Gmc. ˈ/k/. In addition, Ried uses this spelling before the bound root /-lix/ - /-leix/, and in words of foreign origin: *baldekain - paltekin, ekunares, mautekein, milkem, ykaria, zirkare;* Exceptions to this rule seem to be: *Neitkeres, wanketen, werken.*

The Use of single k for /g/ in the combination /ig + l(e)ix/ is by far the most prevalent in the MS. Ried uses this spelling 297 times while using *gk* only 15 times, and *ck* never. Given the great frequency with which these two morphemes (/-ig/ and /-lix/) occur together, it is probable that the combination has been falsely analyzed, that the allophone [k] of /g/ has been analyzed as belonging to the morpheme /-lix/, thus giving an allomorph [-klix] of /-lix/. If this is the case, then the [k] would be construed as the first element of the bound root /-lix/ and would thus need to be spelled with a simple k rather than the *ck* that Ried usually uses. It is also possible that Ried uses simple k, because the phonetic value devoiced /g/ is not identical to /k/ which, I believe, is best interpreted as /kh/.

Ried regularly uses *ck* to indicate the reflex of Gmc. */k/ in post-consonantal

position as well as for Gmc. */gg/, for which he uses the spelling *gk* as well. Thus *ck*

occurs precisely where the affricate /kh/ is to be expected in a dialect that is *streng*

oberdeutsch.

The spelling *ck* is not to be considered a senseless proliferation of consonants as

it is often called in the handbooks (Brook 1955:xliii-xliv; Moser 1929:I.1.39). It is

rather to be seen as a levelling of the geminate form in preference over that of the initial

or post-consonantal form.

⟨*n*⟩

nn occurs frequently after *r*, after short vowels (*tennemarch, Annen* 'Ahnen' <

MHG *an(e)*), and in consonant clusters /nt, nd, nk(x)/. It is normal in the form *annder-*.

⟨*s*⟩

Ried regularly uses *ss* to indicate the reflexes of OHG /zz/ and Gmc. */ss/ which

correspond to the fortis /s/ in the dialect. Ried often uses this spelling before open

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juncture, regardless of the origin of the phoneme in question, to indicate final "devoicing" of the lenis /z/. Schatz 1897 discusses the character of final consonants at some length and maintains that in the dialect of Imst all final consonants are realized as semi-fortes and are in fact somewhat longer in duration than their lenis counterparts. Such a semi-fortis realization would account for the spellings found in the MS.

⟨z⟩

Ried almost always distinguishes the pronoun *das* and conjunction *daß* in the manuscript as *das* and *daz*. As Thornton 1953 points out, this is perhaps the earliest attestation of such a consistent distinction between conjunction and pronoun.

Ried occasionally writes *z* for /s/ (see "Germanic /s/", "Germanic /t/") but such cases are rare and should probably be attributed to the Vorlage.

6.0 Conclusion

6.1 Graphic Analysis

From the preceding discussion, one can create the systematic overview of Ried's graphic usage found in figure 1. This system of graphs is further simplified, if one takes those graphs that occur in free variation to be allographs of a common grapheme. Thus, since *dt* always occurs in free variation with *t*, these graphic units can be said to be allographs of the grapheme ⟨*t*⟩. Similarly *f* and *v*, *ph* and *pf*, *ch* and *h* in medial position, and *b* and *p* in initial position can be said to be allographs of ⟨*f*⟩, ⟨*ph*⟩, ⟨*ch*⟩, and ⟨*b*⟩, respectively.

In the case of *ch* it is difficult to determine whether the graph represents the fricative /x/ or the affricate /kx/ in medial position after liquids, and thus whether it is indeed in free variation with *ck*, *gk*, *gg*, *kh*, *ckh*, and *gkh*. In his *Tirolische Mundart* (1903:11-12) Schatz maintains, as does Kranzmayer (1956:109), that after /r/ and /l/, PG /k/ is shifted to /x/ in the Tyrolean Dialects, while after nasals it is shifted to /kx/. Ried's usage does not seem to be consistent with this state of development. He often uses *ch*-spellings for PG /k/ after /r/, which could be interpreted as indicative of development of the Proto-Germanic phoneme to /x/ in this position. If we are indeed dealing with the phoneme /x/, then Ried's use of *ck* is troubling, as it is used elsewhere to signify the affricate /kx/.

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	/f/	/þ/	/h/	/s/
Init.	⟨f~v	d→(t)	h	s→sch[6]
Non-Init.	f~v→ff[1,2]	d→dt~t[2]	ch~h	s→ss[2]
Gem.		tt	ch	ss→s[2]⟩

	/p/	/t/	/k/
Init.	⟨ph~pf	z→tz,→c	k~kh~ch~c[6]~q
Non-Init.	ff→f[2], ph~pf[3]	ss, tz~(z)[3,4], t[9]	ch, ck~gk~gg~ch~kh~ckh~gkh[3,4]
Gem.	ph~pf	ss→s[2]	ck~gk~gg~kh~ckh~gkh⟩

	/b/	/d/	/g/
Init.	⟨b~p	t→(th)	g
Non-Init.	b→p[2], (w)[4]	d[3]→dt~t[3,2],	g→gk~k~ck~ch~(ckh)[2]
		t~dt[4], t~(tt)	
Gem.	pp→(p)	tt→t[2]	ck~gk~(gkh)⟩

	/m/	/n/	/l/	/r/, /z/
Init.	⟨m	n	l	r
Non-Init.	m→mm[2,4,7], n[8]	n→nn[1,4]	l→ll[1]	r
Gem.	mm→m[2]	nn→n[2]	ll→l[2]	rr→r[2]⟩

	/w/	/j/
Init.	⟨w~(b)	i~(jh)
Non-Init.	w~(b), b[4]	i⟩

Figure 1.
Graphs in Relation to Proto-Germanic

Parentheses indicate that the graph is rare as a reflex of the Proto-Germanic phoneme in that position. I am holding to Hans Moser's (1977:58-59) convention of using dashes to indicate oppositions, tildes for neutralizations, and arrows to indicate oppositions that may be neutralized in one direction: ⟨ai⟩→⟨ei⟩ means that ⟨ai⟩ can also be written ⟨ei⟩. Superscript numbers indicate further restrictions on the position in which the graph corresponds to the Proto-Germanic phoneme (note that these restrictions apply to *all* graphs in a set of neutralized graphs):

[1] In clusters.
[2] Before open juncture.
[3] After nasals.
[4] After liquids.
[5] Before fricatives.

[6] Before resonants.
[7] After short vowels.
[8] When an inflectional element, and in the prefix *ent-* before labials.
[9] After fricatives.

Further evidence against positing /x/ after liquids is the total absence of *ch*-spellings after /l/. One could argue that the lack of examples of PG /lk/ in the text (only in the roots of *falcken, volck,* and *wolcken)* gives a skewed impression of the phonetic situation, and that Ried uses *ck* as a graphic variant of *ch* in this position. Such an argument, however, does not address the fact that the normal spelling in this position, *ck*, is by far the most common representation of the affricate in the manuscript. If we consider also, that there existed a tradition of using *ch* to designate the affricate (Braune 1975:§173; Paul/Wiehl/Grosse 1989:§157-70; Schatz 1907:§62, Moulton 1989:73), but no such tradition of indicating the fricative with *ck*, then it becomes increasingly less likely that we are dealing with a fricative in this position.

Ried also sets *ch* after /n/, where it must designate the affricate (Schatz 1903:11), as well as for PG /g/ after /r/ before open juncture, where, as the result of Auslautver-härtung, it must designate the affricate (Kranzmayer 1956:§27d; Braune 1975:§149, Anm. 5). Considering that there are no hypercorrect *ck*-spellings for PG /h/ after /r/, which we should expect if *ck* is simply a graphic variant of ⟨ch⟩ in this position, it is clear that PG /h/ and PG /k/ have not fallen together after liquids, and that Ried's use of *ch* in this position should be viewed as a conservative retention of the spelling *ch* for the affricate /kh/. Thus we can say that *ch* is an allograph of ⟨k⟩ in this position.

Ried's *h*-augmented spellings both for the affricate reflexes of PG /k/ and for the reflex of geminate pre-HG /gg/ are also problematic. The Modern Tyrolean counterparts of these phonemes, /kx/ and /k/ (Wiesinger 1990:458), show that these phonemes have

not merged. Ried, however, seems not to distinguish between them, using the same graphs for both phonemes. Closer inspection reveals that what appears to be arbitrariness on Ried's part is probably honest confusion.

Though *h*-spellings are infrequent for PG /k/, they are quite rare for pre-HG /gg/, which Ried spells *gkh* only ten times: once in *rugkhen*, and nine times in forms of *zugkhen*. In the former case, *rugkhen* is a unique form, since Ried usually writes the word with *gk*, and thus can easily be attributed to error or scribal confusion. *Zugkhen*, however, is Ried's usual form and cannot be explained away so easily.

The phoneme /k/ is somewhat unusual in the dialect, since it is restricted to words of foreign origin and to reflexes of the geminate pre-HG /gg/ (Kranzmayer 1956:§37). Furthermore, in the late Old High German period in South Tyrolean dialects, pre-HG /gg/ before open juncture is realized as /kx/, while in medial position it reverts to /k/ yielding the alternation /k/ - /kx/, and in the South Bavarian 'Stadt- und Verkehrs-mundart' the phoneme /k/ has been replaced with /kx/ in medial position (Kranzmayer 1956:§37 b, c). Therefore, a strong case can be made that Ried's system did not possess a distinct grapheme for this phoneme, and that, since /k/ alternates with /kx/, any ⟨k⟩-graph could be used to designate the sound. In addition, the use of *ck* and *gk* (i.e. without *h*) for the affricate indicates that the *h*-graphs *(ckh, gkh)* no longer contrast with *h*-less ones, but rather are graphic variants that give the reader no more information about a particular form than do *ck* and *gk*. Thus it can be assumed that, in choosing the graph *gkh* for the normal spelling of *zugkhen*, Ried simply chose one of the many variants of

ck available to him, and that his particular choice is in no way a reflection of the manner in which he might have pronounced the word in question.

The result of this analysis of the graphic inventory is the set of graphemes found in figure 2. The following graphemes have allographs:

⟨*f*⟩: *f, v, u,* where *u* usually occurs word-medially, *v* word-initially.

⟨*i*⟩: *i, j, y, jh,* where *j* and *jh* are restricted to word-initial position.

⟨*k*⟩: *k, kh, ch, c, q, ck, gk, gg, ch, kh, ckh, gkh,* where only the first five may be used in initial position.

⟨*p*⟩: *p, pp,* where *pp* occurs only intervocalically.

⟨*r*⟩: *r, ꝛ,* where *ꝛ* occurs mainly after *b, o,* and *p,* and at the ends of lines.

⟨*rr*⟩: *rr, rꝛ, ꝛꝛ, ŕ*

⟨*s*⟩: *ſ, s, ơ,* where *ſ* occurs in word-initial and word-medial position, *s* and *ơ* in word-final position in free variation.

⟨*ss*⟩: *ſſ, ſs, ſơ, ſz, ß, (ơơ)*

⟨*t*⟩: *t, dt*

⟨*z*⟩: *z, tz, c* (before front vowels only)

The system in figure 2 clearly shows that the effects of Auslautverhärtung are more far reaching than the handbook accounts indicate (Paul/Wiehl/Grosse 1989:§86-91). Not only are *b, d,* and *g* effected, but reflexes of all the Proto-Germanic obstruents and sonants show alternations before open juncture as well. Not unexpectedly, Early New Tyrolean (ENT) medial /b, d, g/ (voiceless lenes) can be spelled ⟨*p*⟩, ⟨*t*⟩, and ⟨*k*⟩ in the manuscript. The lenes ENT /v, z, m, n, l, r/ from PG /f, s, m, n, l, r/ likewise show alternations before open juncture and may be spelled with graphs normally reserved for fortes ⟨*ff*⟩, ⟨*ss*⟩, ⟨*mm*⟩, ⟨*nn*⟩, ⟨*ll*⟩, and ⟨*rr*⟩. Similarly Ried sometimes spells the fortes ENT /s, f, s/ from PG /ss, p, tt/ with ⟨*s*⟩, ⟨*f*⟩, and ⟨*s*⟩ before open juncture; all of these graphemes represent lenes in other positions. Thus, it is clear that the distinction between fortis grapheme and lenis grapheme is neutralized before open juncture.

This is precisely what one should expect in the Tyrolean dialect area according to Kranzmayer (1956:§27d & Map 22). He maintains that modern dialect forms have preserved the effects of Auslautverhärtung of liquids, nasals, and fricatives in Old High German, a fact that seems to have escaped V. Moser (1909:§§24, 130). In light of the evidence of this manuscript, it would be very difficult, and perhaps foolish, to disagree with Kranzmayer, for I can think of no better way to explain these alternations than to attribute them to Auslautverhärtung.

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	/f/	/þ/	/h/	/s/
Init.	⟨f⟩	⟨d⟩	⟨h⟩	⟨s⟩←⟨sch⟩[6]
Non-Init.	⟨f⟩→⟨ff⟩[1,2]	⟨d⟩, ⟨t⟩[2]	⟨ch⟩→⟨h⟩[1]	⟨s⟩→⟨ss⟩[2]
Gem.		⟨tt⟩	⟨ch⟩	⟨ss⟩→⟨s⟩[2]

	/p/	/t/	/k/
Init.	⟨ph⟩	⟨z⟩	⟨k⟩
Non-Init.	⟨ff⟩→⟨f⟩[2], ⟨ph⟩[3]	⟨ss⟩,⟨z⟩[3,4], ⟨t⟩[9]	⟨ch⟩, ⟨k⟩[3,4]
Gem.	⟨ph⟩	⟨ss⟩→⟨s⟩[2]	⟨k⟩

	/b/	/d/	/g/
Init.	⟨b⟩→⟨p⟩	⟨t⟩	⟨g⟩
Non-Init.	⟨b⟩→⟨p⟩[2]	⟨t⟩, ⟨d⟩[3]→⟨t⟩[3,2]	⟨g⟩→⟨k⟩[2]
Gem.	⟨p⟩	⟨tt⟩→⟨t⟩[2]	⟨k⟩

	/m/	/n/	/l/	/r/, /z/
Init.	⟨m⟩	⟨n⟩	⟨l⟩	⟨r⟩
Non-Init.	⟨m⟩→⟨mm⟩[2,4,7],	⟨n⟩→⟨nn⟩[1,4]	⟨l⟩→⟨ll⟩[1]	⟨r⟩
Gem.	⟨n⟩[8]	⟨nn⟩→⟨n⟩[2]	⟨ll⟩→⟨l⟩[2]	⟨rr⟩→⟨r⟩[2]
	⟨mm⟩→⟨m⟩[2]			

	/w/	/j/
Init.	⟨w⟩	⟨i⟩
Non-Init.	⟨w⟩, ⟨b⟩[4]	⟨i⟩

Figure 2.
Distinct Graphemes in Relation to Proto-Germanic

For notes, see Figure 1.

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Auslautverhärtung, however, cannot be called upon for an explanation of all of Ried's graphic doublings. Aside from unexpected doublings before open juncture, Ried doubles graphs with impunity in clusters as well (e.g. *erparmmen* 'mercy'). As with all other unusual occurrences, certain aspects of this phenomenon, too, can be traced to the Tyrolean dialect area. Schatz (1897:20) writes that voiceless stops and fricatives, i.e., all stops and fricatives in South Bavarian, are pronounced as fortes when they are in clusters, whether lenis in combination with fortis or lenis with lenis. Kranzmayer (1956) and Wiesinger (1990) make no mention of this phenomenon, which leads me to assume that it is perhaps restricted to the dialect of Imst. V. Moser (1951:§140.3), Paul/Wiehl/Grosse (1989:§131-132), Schatz (1907:§77), Braune (1975:§139), and Kranzmayer (1956:§31b), however, all describe a neutralization of the distinction between the reflexes of PG /p/ and /f/ before /t/ and /s/. Kranzmayer maintains that pre-HG /f/ never underwent voicing (i.e. lenition) before /t,s/, and thus merged with the (fortis) voiceless fricative from PG /p/ in this position. It is clear, therefore, though none of the works cited state it explicitly, that PG /p,f/ have merged before /t/ in a voiceless *fortis* fricative. Thus, there is no fortis-lenis opposition in this position and the question of whether to set a single or double graph is moot, as in the case of Auslautverhärtung or initial PG /b/.

In trying to understand Ried's other doublings in clusters, the evidence of the modern dialect offers little help. An inspection of the available studies of chancery languages also yields little. Hans Moser (1977:129, 132) describes regular doublings of

l and *n* in clusters, but forgoes any speculation as to the reason for these, while Tennant (1985:139-40) is content simply to cite Moser. Thornton (1953:72-74) doubts that the doubling of nasals in this manuscript has any phonetic significance, and points out that already in the late 15th and early 16th centuries the doubling of consonants was decried as an abuse. V. Moser (1929:§30.4) points out that doublings of *p, n, l,* and *r* (of which only *n* and *l* need concern us) in clusters are widespread by the end of the 15th century and that in High German imprints in particular, such doublings are common until the end of the 16th century. He fails, however, to offer any explanation for this phenomenon.

The distribution of intervocalic ⟨*n*⟩ and ⟨*nn*⟩, ⟨*l*⟩ and ⟨*ll*⟩, and ⟨*f*⟩ and ⟨*ff*⟩ shows so clearly that Ried distinguished between single and double graphs in this position, that the prevailing notion that the use of doubled graphs in clusters might be arbitrary, is difficult to accept. Hans Moser (1978:44) interprets this apparent arbitrariness in the Habsburg chancery by maintaining that for some graphemes there was no opposition between single and double variants, and that therefore either could be used, the only restriction being that when two such graphemes occur side by side, the doubled variant may only be used for one. In Ried's case it is clear that there is an opposition between single and double variants of ⟨*f*⟩, ⟨*n*⟩, and ⟨*l*⟩ intervocalically. The Proto-Germanic geminates /mm, nn, ll/, however, as the result of assimilation processes (Prokosch 1938:85-86), do not occur in clusters with other consonants, nor do the results of the West Germanic consonant gemination. Thus, single (lenis) /m, n, l/ and double (fortis) /mm, nn, ll/ do not contrast in this position and may be written with either a single or

a double graph, just as initial ENT /p/ may be written ⟨b⟩ or ⟨p⟩, even though these graphemes stand in opposition intervocalically.

If one compares Ried's graphemic system (figure 3) with that of the Habsburg chancery as presented by Hans Moser (figure 4), one will notice some striking similarities. Not surprisingly, the oppositions ⟨d⟩ - ⟨t⟩, ⟨f⟩ - ⟨ff⟩, and ⟨s⟩ - ⟨ss⟩ are neutralized under certain conditions in both systems. Those conditions, however, are not always the same in each of the two systems. While the oppositions ⟨f⟩ - ⟨ff⟩, and ⟨s⟩ - ⟨ss⟩ hold, according to Moser (1977:258), only intervocalically, in Ried's orthography, the opposition is neutralized only before open juncture and, in the case of ⟨f⟩ - ⟨ff⟩, before voiceless stops, where the fortis can be written ⟨ff⟩.

The opposition ⟨d⟩ - ⟨t⟩ is neutralized in identical environments in the Habsburg chancery and in Ried's orthography. Ried, however, does not distinguish a 'neutraliza- tion variant' (Hans Moser 1977:109), as Moser calls it, for this opposition. Moser claims that the graph *dt* is used only where the opposition ⟨d⟩ - ⟨t⟩ has been neutralized, e.g., before open juncture. Ried's system, on the other hand, recognizes this graph as a variant of ⟨t⟩ that can be used without restriction.

Stops			
Lenis	⟨b⟩	⟨d⟩	⟨g⟩
	↓²	↓²	↓²
Fortis	⟨p⟩	⟨t⟩	⟨k⟩

Fricatives			
Lenis	⟨f⟩	⟨s⟩	⟨h⟩
	↕²	↕²	↑¹
Fortis	⟨ff⟩	⟨ss⟩	⟨ch⟩

Affricates			
	⟨ph⟩	⟨z⟩	⟨k⟩

Liquids	
Lenis	⟨l⟩
	↓¹ ↑²
Fortis	⟨ll⟩
Lenis	⟨r⟩
	↑²
Fortis	⟨rr⟩

Nasals		
Lenis	⟨m⟩	⟨n⟩
	↑² ↓²,⁷	↕²,⁴,¹
Fortis	⟨mm⟩	⟨nn⟩

Figure 3
Ried's Graphemic System

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⟨b⟩   ⟨d⟩ ↔ ⟨t⟩   ⟨g⟩
⟨ph⟩   ⟨z⟩   ↕
                                       ⟨k⟩

⟨w⟩ ⟨f⟩ ↔ ⟨ff⟩   ⟨ss⟩ ↔ ⟨s⟩   ⟨sch⟩ ⟨j⟩ ⟨h⟩ → ⟨ch⟩
⟨m⟩   ⟨n⟩ ↔ ⟨nn⟩   ⟨ng⟩
                 ⟨l⟩ ↔ ⟨ll⟩
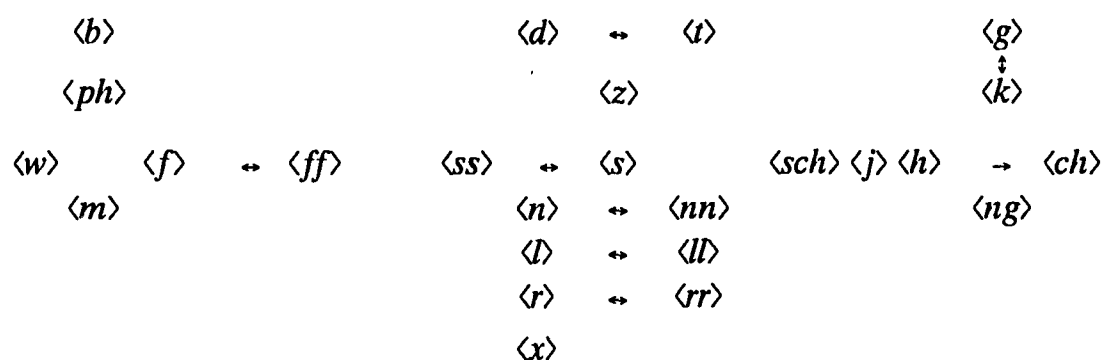   ⟨r⟩ ↔ ⟨rr⟩
                 ⟨x⟩

Figure 4.

(Moser 1977:257)

Indeed, Ried's system shows no special neutralization variants at all; *gk* is equally valid in Ried's system as a spelling for intervocalic /k/ or /kx/ (i.e., where the phoneme is not the result of neutralizations) as it is for a /g/ before open juncture, though in the Habsburg chancery it is restricted to those positions where the opposition ⟨g⟩ - ⟨k⟩ has been neutralized (Hans Moser 1977:267-268). It is clear that with respect to neutralization variants, Ried's orthography represents a great simplification of the Habsburg chancery system. Although his system recognizes these variants, it does not restrict their use to those positions where neutralizations occur, as chancery usage does.

The resonants show neutralization patterns that differ greatly from those of the Habsburg chancery. Hans Moser (1977:127-129) maintains that ⟨r⟩ and ⟨rr⟩ contrast intervocalically and finally after vowels, and that in other positions the opposition is

neutralized. Furthermore, he states that the variant used after vowels is dependent upon the length of that vowel: ⟨rr⟩ after short vowels, ⟨r⟩ after long vowels and diphthongs. Inspection of Ried's system shows that, although Ried recognizes an opposition of ⟨r⟩ and ⟨rr⟩ in the same positions as the chancery does, the distribution of the two graphs cannot be described in terms of preceding vowel length. Rather, in Ried's system, the distribution of these graphs, when not final, depends on whether the phoneme in question derives from PG /r/ or PG /rr,rz/.

Similarly, in the Habsburg chancery, single and double *l* are distinguished only in post-vocalic position (Hans Moser 1977:128-130): ⟨l⟩ after long vowels and diphthongs, ⟨ll⟩ after short vowels. As in the previous example, however, the use of the single or double variant cannot be related to vowel quality, but is determined solely by the derivation of the word, as long as they are not before open juncture. In clusters with other consonants, Ried's usage agrees precisely with that of the Habsburg chancery.

Moser (1977:130) does not recognize an opposition between *m* and *mm*, and thus maintains that the chancery possesses only one grapheme ⟨m⟩ with allographs *m, mm*. This is not the case in Ried's orthography. The two graphs clearly represent the reflexes of pre-HG /m/ and /mm/, respectively, even though either can be used in positions where there is no opposition between the two (in clusters with other consonants or before open juncture). Ried's relatively rare use of ⟨mm⟩ for the reflex of PG /m/ after short vowels is probably attributable to his Vorlage.

In the case of ⟨n⟩ and ⟨nn⟩, Moser (1977:130-133) writes that the distribution of the single and double graphs is nearly the same as with ⟨l⟩ - ⟨ll⟩ and ⟨r⟩ - ⟨rr⟩, i.e. single after long vowel or diphthong, double after short vowel. He does, however, note a tendency to double before dentals, gutturals, and fricatives. Ried's orthography shows this same tendency, which, as I explained above, reflects the fact that ENT /n/ and /nn/ do not contrast in this position. Elsewhere, the distribution of ⟨n⟩ and ⟨nn⟩ depends on the nature of the pre-High German phonemes, double or single, from which they derive.

Moser (1977:134) further distinguishes a grapheme ⟨ng⟩, examples of which, he says, cannot be found in his material. He maintains, however, that the existence of a phoneme /ŋ/ during this period is highly probable, and points to the equivocal testimony of the early grammarians (see also Painter 1989:168-170) to support this claim. Ried's orthography likewise shows no sign of a separate /ŋ/ phoneme, as, indeed, Modern German orthography does not. I find it difficult to determine the status of [ŋ] in this period. Therefore, I will not posit a separate grapheme ⟨ng⟩ for which there is no explicit evidence in the manuscript.

6.3 Ried's Phonology

From the preceding orthographic analysis one can derive the phonological system in figure 5 for Hans Ried's dialect. The only points in which the inventory of this system

diverges from the descriptions of Kranzmayer (1956) and Wiesinger (1990) is in the absence of a phoneme /ŋ/, which may have existed in Ried's dialect, but is not distinguished in the orthography. The lack of a lenis counterpart for /š/ is characteristic of the Tyrolean dialect area (Kranzmayer 1956:§42).

The distribution of the phonemes also agrees with descriptions of the Tyrolean dialect. The distinction between /b/ and /p/ is neutralized in initial position, while that between /d/ and /t/, and /g/ and /k/ is retained. The reason for this 'skewed' system is, of course, that while for ENT /t/ and /g/ the natural development of the language introduced new phonemes that contrasted with them (PG /þ-/ > /d-/, late OHG /gg-/ > /k-/ cf. Kranzmayer 1956:§37), no such phoneme developed to contrast with ENT /b/ < PG /b/.

The neutralization of the fortis-lenis distinction before open juncture (Auslautver-härtung) also corresponds to the state of development of the modern Tyrolean dialect in Kranzmayer's (1956:§27) descriptions, as does the presence of the fortis /f/ for PG /f/ before voiceless stops.

The reflexes of shifted PG /p, t/ correspond exactly to their Modern Tyrolean counterparts (Kranzmayer 1956:§38-40, 43-45), though shifted PG /k/ diverges from the modern dialect after liquids, where the affricate, rather than the fricative, is in evidence. This could be seen as evidence that the simpification of /kx/ to /x/ after liquids is a recent development of the modern dialect (cf. Kranzmayer 1956:§38c).

Stops:
    Fortis   /p/   /t/   /k/
                ⟨p⟩   ⟨t⟩   ⟨k⟩

    Lenis   /b/   /d/   /g/
                ⟨b⟩   ⟨d⟩   ⟨g⟩

Fricatives:
    Fortis   /f/   /s/   /š/   /x/
                ⟨ff⟩   ⟨ss⟩   ⟨sch⟩   ⟨ch⟩

    Lenis   /v/   /z/   /h/
                ⟨f⟩   ⟨s⟩   ⟨h⟩

Affricates:
              /pf/   /ts/   /kh/
              ⟨ph⟩   ⟨z⟩   ⟨k⟩

Sonants[1]:
    Fortis   /m̄/   /n̄/
                ⟨mm⟩   ⟨nn⟩

    Lenis   /m/   /n/
                ⟨m⟩   ⟨n⟩

    Fortis   /l̄/   /r̄/
                ⟨ll⟩   ⟨rr⟩

    Lenis   /l/   /r/
                ⟨l⟩   ⟨r⟩

Glides:
              /w/   /j/
               ⟨w⟩   ⟨i⟩

Figure 5
Ried's Phonological System

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[1] For lack of a better symbol, I have used a macron to denote the fortis sonants, as does Kranzmayer (1956:§27d).

From the manuscript evidence and the descriptions of the modern Tyrolean dialect it seems quite clear that Ried's orthographic conventions are firmly grounded in the phonology of the Tyrolean dialect.

6.4 Summary

This analysis of Hans Ried's orthographic usage in the *Ambraser Heldenbuch* has yielded an orthographic system that is quite regular and can in no way be interpreted as chaotic or random. Though it is not a standard orthography in the modern, prescriptive sense, it is, nonetheless, a regimented system of orthography governed by proscriptive, rather than prescriptive rules. Ried's system is not intolerant of variation, as standard orthographies are, but rather is content to restrict the allowable variants in certain positions or words. Thus the orthography of the manuscript may appear, at first, to be unregulated, when, in fact, there is system to which Ried rigidly adheres.

I have also shown that this system of orthography is based solidly in the Tyrolean dialect. By showing that certain features that are unique to South Bavarian and some that are unique to the Tyrolean dialect in particular, I hope to have proven that, at the very least, in the case of the *Ambraser Heldenbuch,* an Early New High German orthography can be shown to be regular when considered in the light of dialect evidence.

These BASIC routines search the input file "hugefile$" for the character string "letter$" and write all hits (all non-hits in the case of program names beginning "Not-") to an output file. In some cases the "letter$" variable is generated by the program from information that the user supplies.

"Anyletr" - This program finds a specified letter in any position.

```
100 CLS
110 INPUT "File to use"; hugefile$
120 INPUT "letter to find"; letter$
125 biglist$ = "_" + letter$ + "_"
130 OPEN hugefile$ FOR INPUT AS #1
140 OPEN "o", #2, biglist$
150 WHILE EOF(1) = 0
160    LINE INPUT #1, layn$
170    IF INSTR(layn$, letter$) < > 0 THEN WRITE #2, layn$
180 WEND
190 CLOSE 1, #2
2000 BEEP
2010 INPUT "Continue to another letter (y/n)"; further$
2020 IF further$ = "y" THEN GOTO 100
```

```
2050 PRINT "Finished!"
2060 BEEP
2070 SYSTEM
```

Initletr - This program finds a specified letter in word-initial position.

```
100 CLS
110 INPUT "File to use"; hugefile$
111 CLS
120 INPUT "letter to find in initial position"; lettr$
121 letter$ = " " + lettr$
125 biglist$ = "_#" + lettr$ + "_"
130 OPEN hugefile$ FOR INPUT AS #1
140 OPEN "o", #2, biglist$
150 WHILE EOF(1) = 0
160     LINE INPUT #1, layn$
170     IF INSTR(layn$, letter$) < > 0 THEN WRITE #2, layn$
180 WEND
190 CLOSE 1, #2
2000 BEEP
2010 INPUT "Find another letter in this list (y/n)"; further$
2020 IF further$ = "y" THEN GOTO 111
2025 INPUT "Find a letter in another list (y/n)"; weiter$
2030 IF weiter$ = "y" THEN GOTO 100
2050 PRINT "Factum est"
2060 BEEP
2070 SYSTEM
```

Finaletr - This program finds a specified letter in word-final position.

```
100 CLS
110 INPUT "File to use"; hugefile$
111 CLS
120 INPUT "letter to find in final position"; lettr$
121 letter$ = lettr$ + CHR$(34)
125 biglist$ = "_" + lettr$ + "#_"
130 OPEN hugefile$ FOR INPUT AS #1
140 OPEN "o", #2, biglist$
150 WHILE EOF(1) = 0
160     LINE INPUT #1, layn$
170     IF INSTR(layn$, letter$) < > 0 THEN WRITE #2, layn$
180 WEND
190 CLOSE 1, #2
2000 BEEP
2010 INPUT "Find another letter in this list (y/n)"; further$
2020 IF further$ = "y" THEN GOTO 111
2025 INPUT "Find a letter in another list (y/n)"; weiter$
2030 IF weiter$ = "y" THEN GOTO 100
2050 PRINT "Factum est"
2060 BEEP
2070 SYSTEM
```

Midletr - This program finds a specified letter in word-medial position.

100 CLS

110 INPUT "File to use"; hugefile$

120 INPUT "letter to find"; letter$

125 biglist$ = "_%" + letter$ + "_"

130 OPEN hugefile$ FOR INPUT AS #1

140 OPEN "o", #2, biglist$

150 WHILE EOF(1) = 0

160   LINE INPUT #1, layn$

162   laenge = LEN(layn$) - 1

164   letterlen = LEN(letter$)

166   zaehle = 11

168   WHILE zaehle < > laenge

170   IF MID$(layn$, zaehle, letterlen) = letter$ THEN WRITE #2, layn$

172   zaehle = zaehle + 1

174   WEND

180 WEND

190 CLOSE 1, #2

195 finallist$ = "_%" + letter$ + "%_"

200 OPEN biglist$ FOR INPUT AS #1

210 OPEN "o", #2, finallist$

220 WHILE EOF(1) = 0

230   LINE INPUT #1, zeilenew$

240   IF zeilenew$ < > zeileold$ THEN WRITE #2, zeilenew$

250   zeileold$ = zeilenew$

260 WEND

2000 BEEP

2010 INPUT "Continue to another letter (y/n)"; further$

2020 IF further$ = "y" THEN GOTO 100

2050 PRINT "y"

2060 BEEP

2070 SYSTEM

Notinit - This program finds a specified letter in all positions other than word-initial

100 CLS

110 INPUT "File to use"; hugefile$

111 CLS

120 INPUT "letter to exclude in initial position"; lettr$

121 letter$ = " " + lettr$

125 biglist$ = "_0#" + lettr$ + "_"

130 OPEN hugefile$ FOR INPUT AS #1

140 OPEN "o", #2, biglist$

150 WHILE EOF(1) = 0

160   LINE INPUT #1, layn$

170   IF INSTR(layn$, letter$) = 0 THEN WRITE #2, layn$

180 WEND

190 CLOSE 1, #2

2000 BEEP

2010 INPUT "Exclude another letter in this list (y/n)"; further$

2020 IF further$ = "y" THEN GOTO 111

2025 INPUT "Exclude a letter in another list (y/n)"; weiter$

2030 IF weiter$ = "y" THEN GOTO 100

2050 PRINT "Factum est"

2060 BEEP

2070 SYSTEM

Notfinal - This program finds a specified letter when not final.

100 CLS

110 INPUT "File to use"; hugefile$

111 CLS

120 INPUT "letter to exclude in final position"; lettr$

121 letter$ = lettr$ + CHR$(34)

125 biglist$ = "_0" + lettr$ + "#_"

130 OPEN hugefile$ FOR INPUT AS #1

140 OPEN "o", #2, biglist$

150 WHILE EOF(1) = 0

160   LINE INPUT #1, layn$

170   IF INSTR(layn$, letter$) = 0 THEN WRITE #2, layn$

180 WEND

190 CLOSE 1, #2

2000 BEEP

2010 INPUT "Exclude another letter in this list (y/n)"; further$

2020 IF further$ = "y" THEN GOTO 111

2025 INPUT "Exclude a letter in another list (y/n)"; weiter$

2030 IF weiter$ = "y" THEN GOTO 100

2050 PRINT "Factum est"

2060 BEEP

2070 SYSTEM

Notletr - This program finds those words in which a specified letter does not occur.

```
100 CLS
110 INPUT "File to use"; hugefile$
120 INPUT "letter to exclude"; letter$
125 biglist$ = "_0" + letter$ + "_"
130 OPEN hugefile$ FOR INPUT AS #1
140 OPEN "o", #2, biglist$
150 WHILE EOF(1) = 0
160     LINE INPUT #1, layn$
170     IF INSTR(layn$, letter$) = 0 THEN WRITE #2, layn$
180 WEND
190 CLOSE 1, #2
2000 BEEP
2010 INPUT "Shall I exclude another letter (y/n)"; further$
2020 IF further$ = "y" THEN GOTO 100
2050 PRINT "Finished!"
2060 BEEP
2070 SYSTEM
```

Appendix B

An Incomplete List of the Unica Contained in the Ambraser Heldenbuch

1. Der Stricker "Frauenlob"

> Wolfgang Wilfried Moelleken, ed. 1973. *Die Kleindichtung des Strickers.* (Göppinger Arbeiten zur Germanistik, 107 I.) Göppingen: Kümmerle Verlag.

2. "Moritz von Crâôn"

> Ulrich Pretzel, ed. 1973. *Moriz von Craun.* 4th edition. (Altdeutsche Textbibliothek, 45.) Tübingen: Max Niemeyer.
>
> H. F. Massmann, ed. 1850. "Mauritius unde Beamunt." *Germania* 9:103-135.
>
> Edward Schröder, ed. 1894. *Zwei altdeutsche Rittermœren. Moriz von Craon. Peter von Stauffenberg.* Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung.
>
> Stefanie Cain Van D'Elden, ed. 1990. *Moriz von Craun.* (Garland Library of Medieval Literature, Series A, 69.) New York/ London: Garland.

4-5. Hartmann von Aue. "Das Büchlein" ("Die Klage"). Anon. "Das [2.] Büchlein"

> Ludwig Wolff, ed. 1972. *Das Klagebüchlein Hartmanns von Aue und das zweite Büchlein.* (Altdeutsche Texte in kritischen Ausgaben, 4.) München: Wilhelm Fink.
>
> Herta Zutt, ed. 1968. *Hartmann von Aue. Die Klage. Das (zweite) Büchlein aus dem Ambraser Heldenbuch.* Berlin: Walter de Gruyter.

6. "Der Mantel" (attrib. Heinrich von dem Türlin)

> Otto Warnatsch, ed. 1883. *Der Mantel. Bruchstück eines Lanzeletromans des Heinrich von dem Türlin.* (Germanistische Abhandlungen, 2.) Breslau: Wilhelm Koebner.

12. "Kudrun"

> Bäuml, Franz H, ed. 1969. *Kudrun. Die Handschrift.* Berlin: Walter de Gruyter & Co.

13. "Biterolf"

> Oskar Jänicke, ed. 1866. *Biterolf und Dietleib.* (Deutsches Heldenbuch, 1.) Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung.

15. "Wolfdietrich A"

> Arthur Amelung & Oskar Jänicke, eds. 1871-73. *Ortnit und die Wolfdietriche.* (Deutsches Heldenbuch, 3-4.) Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung.

> Edward Haymes, ed. 1984. *Ortnit und Wolfdietrich: Abbildungen zur handschriftlichen Überlieferung spätmittelalterlicher Heldenepik.* (Göppinger Beiträge zur Textgeschichte, 86.) Göppingen: Kümmerle.

16. "Die böse Frau"

> Edward Schröder, ed. 1913. *Zwei altdeutsche Schwänke. Die böse Frau. Der Weinschwelg.* Leipzig: S. Hirzel

> Karl Helm, ed. *Von dem übeln wibe.* (Altdeutsche Textbibliothek, 46.) Tübingen: Max Niemeyer.

17-20. Herrant von Wildonie "Die getreue Gattin", "Der verkehrte Wirt" ("Der betrogene Gatte"), "Der nackte Kaiser", "Die Katze"

Hanns Fischer, ed. 1969. *Herrand von Wildonie: Vier Erzählungen.* (Altdeutsche Textbibliothek, 51.) Tübingen: Max Niemeyer.

21. Ulrich von Liechtenstein, "Frauendienst" ("Frauenbuch")

Franz Viktor Spechtler, ed. 1989. *Ulrich von Liechtenstein. Frauenbuch.* (Göppinger Arbeiten zur Germanistik, 520.) Göppingen: Kümmerle Verlag.

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