The Dissertation Committee for Katrin Fuchs certifies that this is the approved version of the following dissertation:

Language History as a History of Diversity:
A study of language history from below of
Early New High German

Committee:

Marc Pierce, Supervisor

Hans Boas

Peter Hess

Mary Blockley

Lars Hinrichs

Language History as a History of Diversity:

A study of language history from below of

Early New High German

by

Katrin Fuchs

Dissertation

Presented to the Faculty of the Graduate School of

The University of Texas at Austin

in Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirements

for the Degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

The University of Texas at Austin

December 2017

Dedication

For Steven and Lotte

Acknowledgements

I would like to express my deepest gratitude to my committee chair and *Doktorvater* Marc Pierce. His guidance throughout the past four years, his extensive and direct feedback, and his academic and moral support made this dissertation possible. Special thanks also to Hans Boas and Cori Crane, whose advice and encouragement during the entire process was invaluable. Furthermore, I want to thank the members of my dissertation committee for their insightful and constructive comments and suggestions.

My heartfelt appreciation goes also to the The Department of Germanic Studies at UT Austin for the generous financial and moral support, and particularly to Maria Pineda and Monica Urso for their help and dedicated work. I also want to thank my fellow graduate students for being sounding boards, motivational speakers, proof readers, errand runners, and friends. It was an honor to be part of this group.

Finally, I am deeply grateful for my wonderful family and friends, both in Germany and Texas. Without the continuous support of particularly my very patient and understanding husband, my parents and parents-in-law, my grandmother, Christian, Sabrina, and Linda, this dissertation would have not been finished. *Danke, y'all*!

Language History as a History of Diversity

Katrin Fuchs, PhD

The University of Texas at Austin, 2017

Supervisor: Marc Pierce

This dissertation analyses the accuracy of the orthographic descriptions found in traditional Early New High German grammars. The analysis is based in the assumption that these language overviews have too narrow a focus in their data selection, as they rely solely on upper class and literary documents. The question of whether a comparison of the feature descriptions in these grammars with a corpus of a non-traditional genre written by people from other social classes may yield different results is posed. Furthermore, it is asked what potential reasons might exist for this narrow selection of data. The general discussion follows the research frame of "language history from below" (Elspaß 2005), which aims to include material from other genres, social classes, and women to draw a more accurate and dynamic picture of language history.

The present study is based on a corpus of witch hunt interrogation records (*Hexenverhörprotokolle*, Macha et al. 2005), which were written by scribes of intermediate social status. The records stem from West Middle German and West South German regions and were created between 1580 and 1660. This time frame largely overlaps with the presumed end phase of an internal standardization process of the German written language, which is also the focus of this dissertation in order to make a direct comparison possible.

Six orthographic features that are well-documented and should show a strong tendency towards standardization within the time frame were investigated.

These investigations revealed that certain deviations between the feature discussions in the Early New High German grammars and the results of this dissertation exist. However, the too narrowly focused data selection of these grammars was not the only factor contributing to these deviations. Other possible explanations are a general reluctance to discuss idiolectal variation and orthographic variation not based on sound change. These could exist due to a long-standing focus on national and spoken language. In general, it was shown that it is important to include more diverse data in the investigation of language history in order to incorporate the entirety of language use across all social classes.

Table of Contents

List of Tables

List of Figures

Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1. PROJECT OVERVIEW

The aim of the present dissertation is to contribute to the growing body of research on "language history from below" (Elspaß 2005) by analyzing the accuracy of orthographic feature descriptions in traditional ENHG[1] grammars. This analysis is based on a comparison between the feature descriptions in these grammars and my own findings in this dissertation regarding a corpus of witch hunt court records from the 16th and 17th centuries. The question is whether the underlying data of the feature descriptions in traditional ENHG grammars focuses too much on literary and upper-class documents, thereby describing historical language use only from an elite minority perspective. This assumption stems from previous research based on the present corpus for my German State Exam thesis (Fuchs 2012), during which I observed discrepancies between my initial findings and the descriptions in traditional ENHG grammars, such as Moser (1929) or the current standard work by Ebert et al. (1993). Consider the following example from one of the records investigated here, a 1629 witch hunt record from Cologne:

(1)   *were   sonsten allerhandt speis* **ufm**   *Tisch gewesen*
        be[SUB] otherwise all kinds of food   on-the[DAT] table been
        NHG: '[es] wäre ansonsten allerhand Speise auf dem Tisch gewesen'
        Engl.: 'other than that all kinds of food was [allegedly] on the table'

The contracted preposition and article *ufm* (NHG. *auf dem* 'on the') exhibit the graphemic representation of the not yet established NHG diphthongization /uː/ > /au/ (which is one of the features discussed in this dissertation). According to the traditional ENHG grammars, the NHG diphthongization exhibits a strong tendency towards

---

[1] Abbreviations are explained in the glossary.

standardization during my investigated time frame (1580 – 1660). However, the witch hunt records show a great amount of variation, particularly between <u> and <au>, until the end of the time frame. A quantitative analysis within the corpus revealed that there is no clear tendency towards standardization.

Based on these types of discrepancies, I follow a potential reason for these deviations as outlined in "language history from below" (Elspaß 2005), a direction within the larger field of historical sociolinguistics. This research area criticizes traditional language histories for their view of language history "from above," i.e. the traditional fixation on an idealized state of the language and an idealized variety (standard) in the selection of the corpus and in the discussion of language change (Elspaß 2005: 6). Characteristic is the reduction to few genres, few writers, and few regions – usually the canonical works. This narrow view describes historical language use only from an elite, upper-class, and literary standpoint. Language use of the rest of the population often lies contrary to the conclusions of these one-sided analyses (Reichmann 1990: 146ff).

Historical linguistics is of course always constrained by the amount and variety of texts that were preserved and thus sometimes only considers a certain part of language created by more educated people who were actually able to read and write. However, the ENHG period sees an increase in text production and, more importantly, also offers more information about the historical and social context of this production (Salmons 2012: 172), which could give considerable insights into the actual language use of the time. Unfortunately, due to a focus on 'real poetry' and the texts of educated, upper-class writers, a vast amount of data has not been included in the traditional picture of German language history. Since the 1990s, the focus has therefore shifted to a bottom-up language history "from below", which proposes an inclusion of social diversity by including documents

written by women, lower social classes, other genres, and dialectal material. The argument is that through this inclusion, we might gain a more dynamic picture of language history.

Of course, this new research direction cannot deliver a complete understanding of language use of all parts of the population during the ENHG period, as most people were still unable to produce texts. However, this time frame sees a significant increase in literacy among lower social classes, as discussed in chapter 3, which also resulted in an increase in text production and text types.[2] Every-day text types (court records, accounts books, business correspondence, inventory lists, private letters, diaries, etc.) were usually handwritten and show a great amount of dialectal variation. Vast amounts of these documents have been preserved in local archives (Salmons 2012: 231) and can deliver a much broader insight into language use. My project thus strives to contribute to a growing field of research that uses this data to not only deliver long overdue quantitative analyses but also aims to draw a more realistic picture of language use during the Early Modern era.

Based on my observations, I formulated the following research questions:

1. Are traditional overviews of the history of the German language, especially those focused on Early New High German, too narrow in their data selection? If so, why?
2. Does the inclusion of non-traditional genres in the data used for a history of the German language yield a deeper understanding of the time period considered? Why or why not?

---

[2] During the Middle Ages, literacy among the total population in Germany is estimated to have been 2% (Salmons 2012: 217). After significant social and economic changes (as further addressed below), this number increased significantly during the 15th and 16th centuries. Engelsing (1970: 948) estimates a literacy of 10% around 1600, while Buringh and Van Zanden (2009), taking also semi-literacy into account, go as far as 25%.

The first question asks about the underlying data and methodology of traditional language histories and grammars. If the selected data is too narrow, i.e. only includes a few selected text types and texts from a few selected authors, then it only describes language use of this data. A comparison to a linguistic study based on a different, non-traditional data set should therefore reveal the limitations of the feature descriptions in the traditional language histories. The question regarding the reasons for this narrow data set can be drawn either from elaborations about the data in the grammars themselves or from the ongoing academic discussion within historical sociolinguistics. The second research question is also based on the outcomes of a study based on a different, non-traditional data set. If these outcomes reveal new insights into the language use of the time, how do these insights contribute to our understanding of German language history and the development of language in general?

To answer these research questions, I compared a set of orthographic features in an ENHG corpus of an every-day genre written by less prestigious and less known (or not at all known) writers to the feature descriptions in the established grammars. I chose a corpus of witch hunt trial records from the 16th and 17th centuries (Macha et al. 2005).[3] The court records have the advantage of being relatively homogenous in their content. They also stem from a fixed time frame, between 1580 and 1660, that overlaps greatly with the alleged end phase of the internal standardization process of the German written language. This makes a direct comparison between the individual court records on the one side and the ENHG grammars on the other possible. The witch hunt court records were written at chanceries

---

[3] This dissertation can unfortunately not include a complete example of a witch hunt record, as they fall under the US copyright law of fair use, which allows me to only quote brief excerpts. Additionally, the German online corpus based on the witch hunt records (Szczepaniak and Barteld 2016), which is further addressed below, is still under construction and not publicly accessible. However, the records can be viewed either in the original edition (Macha et al. 2005) or through research library online access.

and courts by scribes of intermediate social status who documented the testimonies of defendants and witnesses of mostly lower social status. The scribes had the difficult task of putting orally transmitted information, i.e. direct speech which was often in a local vernacular, into written indirect speech in a more supraregional variety. Additionally, these scribes were often from the same region and also spoke the dialect, and while they had learned to write in a supraregional variety, the nature and mass production of court records as well as the state of standardization of the German written language during this time caused them to include many instances of local spelling variations.

Within this corpus, I focus on 24 records from WMG dialects, namely Ripuarian (the area around Cologne), Mosel-Franconian (the area around Trier), and Rhine-Franconian (the area around Mainz). The WMG dialects showed a strong resistance to a standardization of the written language, which can be linked to the high prestige of these varieties and a positive language assessment by their speakers (Hoffmann 2000: 125), as well as social and economic factors. The emerging standard language is mostly associated with the EMG and EUG German varieties. The West had very little communication with these regions, 1) due to religious divides, 2) economic divides, and 3) linguistic divides, as further discussed in chapter 3. However, during the time frame, severe socio-economic and political changes forced the WMG regions, according to the grammars, to adopt the emerging standard language, which laid the foundation of NHG. To avoid focusing on regionalisms, I added eight records of Swabian origin. According to the standard handbooks, the Swabian region adopted the emerging standard variety earlier; it therefore serves here as a control measure.

In these records, I investigate six orthographic phenomena that should, according to the traditional grammars, show a standardization tendency during the time frame considered here. All six features are documented in the ENHG grammars, which makes a

direct comparison between my findings and the feature descriptions in the grammars possible. The reason for the focus on the standardization process lies in the strong emphasis on the standard variety in the grammars. I therefore also chose features that should show standardization tendencies for comparative purposes. The six features investigated here are further discussed in chapter 4 and analyzed in chapter 5.

1.2. RELEVANCE OF THE STUDY

As mentioned above, the issue of a language history from above is the depiction of language use of a small minority under implicit exclusion of texts from other social classes, which is then presented as the general language use of the time. This leads to a potentially faulty, but at the very least one-sided depiction of the historical language use. The new direction of "language history from below" (Elspaß 2005) aims to break this narrow focus by including non-traditional texts from lower social classes and applying differentiated (quantitative and qualitative) methods to the investigation. Elspaß (2005, 2014) has demonstrated how the application of sociolinguistic methods on historical texts from the 19th century contributes to our understanding of language history. The obvious benefits lie in the collection of verifiable and quantifiable data, which delivers a more accurate depiction of language use. Furthermore, the inclusion of texts from other writers, social classes, and genres in the research corpus adds a more layered, detailed and dynamic image to language history. This benefits not only our understanding of language use during the time frame investigated here, but also our understanding of language variation today. From a sociological perspective, it adds to the argument that (linguistic) diversity always existed.

This dissertation hopes to contribute to this research direction by using the same approach to a different state of the German language, the Early New High German period,

particularly the 16th and 17th centuries. This time frame has so far been largely neglected because the major internal standardization processes are seen as already more or less complete, and the active pursuit of a unified written language did not start until the late 18th century (e.g. Neuss 2000: 182). I argue that this impression arises because traditional ENHG grammars focused only on upper-class and literary texts and writers that show a comparatively high degree of standardization during this time. By applying the research methods of historical sociolinguistics and the focus on "language history from below," I hope to ascertain whether this argument holds true. An inclusion of other material into a research corpus might reveal the importance of these two centuries for the acceptance and maintenance of the standardized variety among writers from other social classes. Furthermore, the change in focus might not only contribute to a diversification of language history but also enhance our understanding of the importance of social factors for language change and standardization.

1.3. OUTLINE OF THE DISSERTATION

In this section, I present the outline of my dissertation. After this initial introduction to the research project, chapter 2 gives an overview of the two research fields in question, language historiography and historical sociolinguistics, by addressing the history, methods, and current trends of these fields. It also outlines the criticism of historical sociolinguistics regarding traditional language historiography. Furthermore, the chapter gives insights into traditional views of Early New High German and language standardization and outlines the need for a change in focus that is also central to my dissertation. Chapter three then turns to the social and historical background in order to situate and contextualize the data of this dissertation. It presents the political situation within the Holy Roman Empire of

German Nations during the research time frame, the situation in the West German regions, and the social and political influence of the Reformation. Furthermore, the chapter gives an overview of the European witch hunt as well as factors of the witch hunt that led to the origin of the records used here. Finally, it discusses the social aspects of literacy, the influence of the grammarians, and the witch hunt records as a genre to give some background on the situation of the scribes as the authors of the records.

In chapter four, I discuss the methodology used for my analysis. I first address methodological implications that have to be kept in mind when dealing with the present corpus and then present the methodological tools and pathways of this dissertation. This chapter also outlines the reasons behind the choice of the corpus and the orthographic features and gives an overview of all six investigated features. Chapter five then contains the actual data analysis. The six orthographic features are presented and discussed individually by giving examples, summarizing the consensus regarding the features in the ENHG grammars, and then juxtaposing this consensus with my own findings. In a second section within this chapter, I compare the findings to each other and to the statements made in the ENHG grammars and discuss the connection between the results and potential reasons for any deviations found. The concluding chapter six then summarizes the data outcomes and further discusses the reasons for potential deviations by connecting the results back to the research questions and the discussed literature. This chapter also gives an outlook for future research based on the findings. The appendix offers an example of one of the token counts to visualize the methodological approach of this dissertation.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

2.1. INTRODUCTION

This chapter gives an overview of the relevant previous literature. Since this dissertation questions traditional approaches of language histories, the second section addresses language history as a field from its beginnings to new endeavors today. Section three gives an overview of another field crucial to this dissertation, historical sociolinguistics. I then address traditional views about the time period and the dialectal landscape investigated here to situate the point of departure of my own research. Section five discusses traditional views on language standardization and gives an account of changes in research perspectives that have happened in the past 25 years. This serves as a springboard to the central question of this dissertation: What are potential issues of these traditional views and how can these issues be solved? This point is addressed in the sixth section. Finally, I discuss previous work on the corpus used for my project.

2.2. LANGUAGE HISTORY AS A DISCIPLINE

This section outlines the field of language historiography (*Sprachgeschichts-schreibung*). By describing its history and methods, the section sets out to describe the making of language histories and grammars of older stages of a language. Thus, it serves as background information for the ENHG grammars and language histories investigated here by outlining traditional and modern methods in the approach to a language´s history.

2.2.1. A History of Language History

It could be argued that the field of language historiography, the endeavor to compile and describe the history of a language, particularly from a German-centric perspective, is as old as the field of linguistics itself. The overview work *Sprachgeschichte: ein Handbuch*

zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und ihrer Erforschung ('Language history: a handbook for the history of the German language and its investigation') (Besch et al. 1998) offers multiple articles on the diachronic research history of the field. One such article, Sonderegger (1998: 417), states that one could speak of the beginning of language history as a research subject as early as the 16th century when German writers and grammarians started to differentiate between contemporary German and German of the past (*Altdeutsch*, 'old German'). A similar interest in older texts arose in the Netherlands, England, and Scandinavia during the same time frame (Sonderegger 1998: 427), albeit strictly from a philological, literary perspective. It took another 200 years before an actual scientific pursuit of compiling a history of the language started. The first attempts at such, e.g. Egenolf (1735) *Historie der Teutschen Sprache* ('History of the German language') and Reichard (1747) *Versuch einer Historie der deutschen Sprachkunst* ('Attempt at a history of the German language art'), appeared during the 18th century. However, Sonderegger (1998: 418) states that the first language histories "im eigentlichen Sinn" ("in an actual sense") were the two volumes by Adelung: *Über die Geschichte der deutschen Sprache* ('On the history of the German language', 1781) and *Älteste Geschichte der Deutschen, ihrer Sprache und Literatur* ('Oldest history of the Germans, their language and literature', 1806). By this he means the investigation of the history of the language with reference to actual language change, i.e. linguistic data. Sonderegger's comment reveals the central methodological approach of the field: language history is always a history of language change in connection to other historical stages of the language and in reference to linguistic data.

The beginning of the 19th century then saw an immense accumulation of works related to language history, particularly through the endeavors of Herder, Adelung, and the brothers Grimm (Sonderegger 1998: 443). During this time, the field also experienced a

differentiation into (1) the historical inspection of language change within the Germanic languages, particularly in consideration of their genetic relationship, and (2) the chronological and/or systematic description of the history of a single language. The first research interest marks the beginnings of historical linguistics as a field, while the second point relates to the field described here: *Sprachgeschichtsschreibung* ('language historiography'). Of course, both fields overlap significantly and mutually benefit from each other. Sonderegger (1998: 450) points out that the increased interest in older texts and the editing of these texts during the early 19th century made a more in-depth investigation of older stages of the German language necessary. Further differentiation within the field of historical linguistics also promoted the differentiation of language historiography into dictionaries and grammars depending on the editorial purpose. Most notable is here the *Deutsche Grammatik* by Jacob Grimm (1819-1837). In his introduction, Grimm (1819: XIf) separated grammatical (linguistic) studies into philosophical, critical (normative) and historical (comparative) viewpoints. However, Sonderegger (1998: 461) states that Grimm also saw the historical viewpoint as empirical, pointing to the strong overlap between the linguistic-empirical principle in investigating the different stages of the languages and the historical-developmental principle in comparing these stages.

Grimm's grammar was republished by Wilhelm Scherer, who, according to Jankowsky (1995: IX), saw the shortcomings of this earlier work due to his familiarity with Grimm's thought process and knowledge of his work. Scherer, a student of Karl Müllenhoff, set out to publish his *Zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache* ('On the history of the German language') in 1868. Jankowsky (1995: XII) states that three factors influenced Scherer´s work: (1) the tradition and method of Karl Lachmann[4] in editing and

---

[4] Karl Müllenhoff was a student of Karl Lachmann and passed the methodology of normalizing OHG and MHG in the Classical tradition on to Wilhelm Scherer (Jankowsky 1995: X).

interpreting older texts, (2) the philological viewpoint at the intersection of linguistic and literary studies, and (3) Scherer´s status as a well-known and much appreciated scholar at the time of publication. The two first points, firmly rooted in the contemporary scholarly discourse at the time, influenced the work itself, while the third point contributed to a wide circulation of the new work. Most notably, Scherer´s work identifies analogy as one of the leading principles in language change (Jankowsky 1995: XVIII) and uses new methods to go significantly deeper into the investigation of causes for related language items across a larger time span than Grimm had done (Jankowsky 1995: XIII). While Scherer's work exhibits some flaws from our modern perspective (as further addressed below), it has delivered new methods and paved the way for an intensive investigation within the larger field of historical linguistics.

The Neogrammarians or *Leipziger Schule* around Leskien, Brugmann, Verner, Schleicher, Paul, Sievers and others dominated investigations in historical linguistics and therefore also endeavors in language historiography from the 1870s to the early 20th century (Putschke 1998: 332). The diachronic perspective remained the central point of scholarly research, to the point that language history and linguistics were almost synonymous (Penzl 1998: 373). Methodological approaches changed due to the Neogrammarian maxim of the regularity of sound change and the status of analogy as a secondary and complementary principle. Based on the works of Scherer and Schleicher (1860), the methodological connection between linguistics and the natural sciences further intensified, which also led to an exclusion of all social aspects of language (Putschke 1998: 335). This means on the one hand that language historiography became strictly a linguistic history apart from the social context. On the other hand, the Neogrammarian time was immensely important for the formation of a theoretical and methodological framework within historical linguistics that still informs linguistic research today (Putschke 1998: 345).

The significant change between the Neogrammarians and the subsequent structuralist and generative research was the orientation from a diachronic to a synchronic point of view (Penzl 1998: 373). This trend follows de Saussure's methodological separation of synchrony and diachrony of language with the first one being seen as a describable, firm, systematic structure and the second as an accumulation of historic coincidences (Penzl 1998: 374). It is therefore not surprising that language historiography was of little interest in most countries for large parts of the 20th century. An exception to this can be seen in the research interests of the Nazis in Germany. Alongside the general search for national identity and similar to the endeavors of the 19th century, research focused on a definition of all things German and the historic connection of this identity. Thus, the 1930s in Germany saw a revival of OHG and MHG literature and also a politically driven research interest in diachronic linguistics, e.g. Frings' (1936) theories on the development of the German written language. After 1945, potentially as a reaction to this research interest, German linguists turned completely away from diachronic investigations. Moser (1951), one of the ENHG scholars discussed in this dissertation, states in his introduction that he is unable to finish the second volume of his grammar in part due to dwindling interest in his research for instance.

While the 20th century did not directly focus on the diachronic perspective, there are linguistic fields that contributed greatly to a differentiation of language historiography, in particular the area of dialectology that investigates language geography based on isogloss maps (Hildebrandt 1998: 348). The isogloss maps showed a fluid transition between dialect regions, which also implied a similar transition in time. Additionally, it is difficult to discuss dialectology without discussing the historic foundation of the developments of distinct dialects (Hildebrandt 1998: 351). In this respect, dialectology contributed to our modern perspective of language history, e.g. by investigating dialect

continua across countries (language genealogy), in particular of the West Germanic dialects and languages (Hildebrandt 1998: 351), and by reconnecting linguistic research with cultural research.

2.2.2. Problems

Three main issues with these traditional investigations of German language history can be identified: (1) the nationalist motivation, especially in language histories of the 19th century and the Nazi time, (2) the strict focus on linguistic data under implicit exclusion of extralinguistic metadata, and (3) the strong focus on the NHG standard. Regarding the first point, Jankowsky (1995: XIII) describes both Grimm and Scherer as "true children of romanticism", who were guided to a significant degree by a national, sometimes nationalistic orientation. Scherer (1868: IX) himself states in his introduction:

> Die Entstehung der Nation, von einer besonderen Seite angesehen, macht den Hauptvorwurf des gegenwärtigen Buches aus. Durch physiologische Analyse und einheitliche Charakteristik bin ich zu einer Erklärung der Lautform unserer Sprache gelangt, welche in das ganze der menschlichen Persönlichkeit einführte, moralische Motive als wirksam aufzeigte und die unbedingte leidenschaftliche Hingabe an ideale Ziele als das gewaltige Fundament erscheinen liess, das unserer Nation und Sprache den ersten individuellen Bestand verlieh.[5]

The resulting bias in the scholarly research based on a search for national identity led to one-sided depictions of research results under exclusion of all data and findings that did not fit this narrative. As mentioned above, a similar, politically intensified approach was

---

[5] "The origin of our nation, viewed from a particular perspective, constitutes the main topic of the present book. By physiological analysis and consistent characterization, I have come up with an explanation of the sound forms of our language, which was an introduction to the entirety of the human personality, which demonstrated moral motives as effective forces and identified the unconditional passionate devotion to ideal objectives as the monumental foundation that gave our nation and our language their first individual existence" (translation by Jankowsky 1995: XXI). Unless otherwise noted, hereafter all translations are my own.

later used by German scholars during the Nazi time, in part to historically justify the expansion of the Reich (Bär 2004).

The second point is especially an issue of the late 19th and early 20th century and of Neogrammarian publications. By focusing on the regularity of sound change and explaining all other findings with analogy, language histories of this time neglect the social aspect of diachronic language development. This point is further addressed below when discussing the field of historical sociolinguistics. The final issue pertains to the strong focus of German language history on the development of the NHG standard language. Hildebrandt (1998: 350) states that the German language historiography defines language change as all change that led to a unified German language. In this respect, these language histories follow the standard language ideology (Dailey-O´Cain and Lippi-Green 1998: 110), i.e. the

> bias toward an abstracted, idealized, homogenous spoken language which is imposed and maintained by dominant bloc institutions and which names as its model the written language, but which is based primarily on the spoken language of the upper middle class.

As this is part of the central point of this dissertation, it is also further addressed below.

2.2.3. New Developments

This section discusses new developments in the field. Davies et al. (2012) argue in the introduction to the edition *Language and History – Linguistics and Historiography* that a turn towards interdisciplinarity between linguistics and history would be beneficial for both sides. According to the authors (2012: 3), a connection between the two fields for the purpose of language historiography might seem obvious, but an actual exchange has often remained minimal. Regarding this disciplinary isolation of linguistics, Davies et al. (2012:

4) specifically mention accomplishments within the field of historical sociolinguistics, which both enhanced the understanding of social aspects of past linguistic stages and raised awareness about differences in separate linguistic traditions, as the field operates on an international basis.[6] To explain aspects of mutual benefit for both linguistics and history, Davies et al. (2012: 8f) give the following examples: historians might fully understand how the term 'Germany' is a slippery concept, while linguists might be less careful with it; while on the other hand historians might assume a linguistic continuity of the German language as a single entity, while linguists would see this as a more complicated issue.

Another new development lies in the differentiation of material within the research frame of language history from below (Elspaß 2005). As mentioned in the introduction, this is also the view point of my dissertation and part of the general field of historical linguistics. A study by Nobels and Van der Wal (2012) serves here as an example of newer developments within language historiography through the diversification of research material. In this article, the authors discuss the compilation of a corpus of Dutch private letters from the 17th and 18th centuries. The benefit for a linguistic investigation lies in the language of proximity (closer to the actual spoken language used by the writer) in so called ego documents (private letters and diaries) (Nobels and Van der Wal 2012: 343). Through compiling additional meta-data by noting a difference in writer and sender,[7] identical handwriting, occupation and social rank mentioned, and further archival work and comparison, the authors (2012: 356) aim to build an online corpus for interdisciplinary use

---

[6] Since the field of historical sociolinguistics is central to my dissertation, it is addressed separately below.

[7] During the time period discussed here, it is not unlikely that a private letter was recorded by a scribe and not by the person sending the letter, which necessitates further differentiation of the linguistic data. Essentially, such a document would have two authors: the sender, who is the author of the content of the letter and the scribe, who is the author of the form (spelling, syntax, potentially word choice, etc.). This dual authorship also implies two sets of meta-data (degree of education, social status, familiarity with writing). Thus, results based on a linguistic investigation of such a document have to be discussed carefully, taking this dual authorship into account.

in the field of historical sociolinguistics. This new research field is addressed in the next section.

2.3. HISTORICAL SOCIOLINGUISTICS

2.3.1. The Field

In recent years, interest in historical sociolinguistics has grown steadily.[8] While the specific field is only 30 years old, "the question of the interrelatedness of linguistic and social factors is of course much older" (Auer et al. 2015: 2). Earlier publications in historical linguistics and sociolinguistics, such as those by Labov (e.g. Labov 1963, 1972), laid the groundwork for historical sociolinguistics, and the field still relies to a great extent on methods and principles of its scholarly parents. Auer et al. (2015: 4) specifically mention Weinreich et al. (1968), in which the key research questions of the field were established, e.g. how and when a new form becomes established in a speech community. Romaine (2005: 1696) goes so far as to call Weinreich et al. (1968) "the birth of sociohistorical linguistics or historical sociolinguistics, although the authors do not use either term," pointing to the two main proposals of said paper: 1) the inclusion of external factors in linguistic investigations, and 2) the dissolution of the dichotomy of synchrony and diachrony.[9]

---

[8] Important institutions in the field include the Historical Sociolinguistics Network (http://hison.sbg.ac.at/) and the *Journal of Historical Sociolinguistics* (http://www.degruyter.com/view/j/jhsl). The Historical Sociolinguistics Network is a loose organization of researchers who work in the framework of the field. It was founded in 2005 at the University of Bristol and regularly organizes conferences, workshops, and summer schools. *The Journal of Historical Sociolinguistics* is a peer-reviewed platform for original contributions to the field.

[9] Boas and Pierce (2017), as well as the papers presented in a special roundtable at the 23rd International Conference on Historical Linguistics 2017 in San Antonio, titled "New Directions for Historical Linguistics: Impact and Synthesis, Fifty Years Later," organized by Hans C. Boas and Bridget Drinka, have recently re-emphasized this stance and pointed to the early and immense contribution of Weinreich et al. (1968) as the foundation of historical sociolinguistics.

While Weinreich et al. (1968) was crucial for the development of sociolinguistics in general and historical sociolinguistics in particular, it took another 14 years for the full emergence of the subfield. Most overviews, such as Auer et al. (2015), name Romaine (1982) as the initiation of the field, in which the author demands that sociolinguistics "move beyond the treatment of synchronic phonetic and phonological data to a more general body of linguistic data" (Romaine 1982: 1) in order to become an integrative discipline. Thus, she turns to a problem in historical syntax, relative markers in Middle Scots, and discusses the relevance of sociolinguistic methodology to syntax and to diachronic written data, as well as problems that arise in such an investigation. Romaine (1982: 285) poses the question of whether a sociolinguistic non-empirical theory is possible and viable.[10] While Romaine (in 1982) acknowledges that sociolinguistics is still in an early stage of development, she is also convinced that, if sociolinguistics transcends purely empirical data and quantitative methodology, it can become an integrative and self-guiding discipline. Her research thus sets out to integrate historical linguistics in sociolinguistics to "use the past to explain the present" (Romaine 1982: X).

The term *historical sociolinguistics* was coined by J. Milroy (1992). In his overview of socially motivated linguistic change in English, Milroy sets out to bridge the gap between traditional historical linguistics with its focus on linguistic systems and the speaker/writer of language who is embedded in a historical and social setting. He proposes

---

[10] She mentions here DeCamp (1970) who claims that sociolinguistics has no theory of its own thus needs to be subsumed within generative theory. Along the same line, Chomsky (1976:55) commented on the "theoretical pretensions" of sociolinguistics. While he states that sociolinguistics is an important part of linguistics, he does not see it having the ability to be its own field, since a field must be able to generalize, abstract, and idealize to produce a theory. Chomsky (1976: 57) concludes: "You can also collect butterflies and make many observations. If you like butterflies, that's fine; but such work must not be confounded with research, which is concerned to discover explanatory principles of some depth and fails if it does not do so." Although such remarks fit with the then-current linguistic scene in North America, they are generally not accepted today.

(1992: 18) that "language change is made possible to the extent that it is passed from person to person in speaker encounters, in which the apparently dysfunctional nature of language change is counteracted by features of the communicative context." He thus uses his data collected in Belfast (J. Milroy 1976) to exemplify how to implement the social network model as a method to describe historical language change and maintenance. Social networks (L. Milroy 1987) describe the structure of a speech community based on social, historical and geographical factors. The social network model or theory sees the ties within the network as a driving force for language maintenance and change, as further discussed in Milroy and Milroy (1985).[11]

While the initial methodology was developed in an English framework, the term and similar studies also appeared at the same time in other languages. Mattheier´s (1988) sociolinguistic investigation of the standardization of German serves as an example.[12] In the introduction to the first edition of the yearbook *Sociolinguistica*, Mattheier criticizes the absence of a sociolinguistic approach to the development of standard languages. He (1988: 1) states

> Und die allgemeine Sprachwissenschaft stellt sich auch heute in der Regel noch nicht den Fragestellungen des Verhältnisses zwischen Sprache, Geschichte und Gesellschaft. Eine Historische Soziolinguistik gibt es noch nicht, und wenn es sie

---

[11] The social network model is also used in language island research, as outlined e.g. in the research methods of the Texas German Dialect Project (Boas 2002) and further discussed as a driving force in language change in Texas German by Pierce et al. (2015) and Boas and Fingerhuth (2017). These works build on Milroy and Milroy (1985), addressed further below.

[12] My own research focuses on similar tendencies, although from a different viewpoint. While this early work by Mattheier investigates a top-down development of standardization, my own research follows the new focus of a bottom-up "language history from below" (Elspaß 2005).

gäbe, so wäre noch nicht sicher, ob sie tatsächlich innerhalb der Sprachwissenschaft anzusiedeln wäre oder besser in der Soziologie oder in der Geisteswissenschaft.[13]

However, Mattheier (1988: 4) concludes that a comprehensive overview of national languages and their development is only possible from a historical and social point of view. In the same year, Mattheier published, in collaboration with Ammon and Dittmar the first edition of the *Handbook of Sociolinguistics* (1988), an entire section of which was dedicated to studies concerning historical sociolinguistics, including a paper by Romaine (1988). This opened the discussion concerning this subfield in Germany but also already hinted at the collaborative and international nature of historical sociolinguistics today.[14]

As already addressed in the introduction, newer developments in historical sociolinguistics focus on the inclusion of non-literary corpora to draw a more complete picture of a "language history from below" (Elspaß 2005). This is also the point of departure of my dissertation. Elspaß uses historical sociolinguistic methods to investigate non-standard material (in his case private letters) produced by the lower social classes during the 19th century (Elspaß 2005: 20). The writers of these private letters usually did not undergo formal schooling and were thus not acquainted with the emerging standard. Elspaß (2005: 21) states that "durch eine detailierte Untersuchung der Texte [soll] gezeigt werden, wie unroutinierte Schreibende aus den bildungsfernen Schichten schreibend die alltäglichen Sprachkonflikte zwischen gewohnter Mündlichkeit und ungewohnter

---

[13] "And general linguistics still does not ask the question about the relationship between language, history, and society. A historical sociolinguistics does not yet exist, and if it did exist, it would not be clear whether it would be classified as linguistics or instead as sociology or among the humanities."

[14] The *Handbook of Historical Sociolinguistics* (2012) contains contributions from various countries, such as Norway, Finland, Spain, Japan, South Africa, Germany, the UK, the US, etc.

Schriftlichkeit bewältigten."[15] He thereby contributes to an overall account of the history of German that had largely been focused on the standard and elite classes of writers.

That is, earlier works, such as Waterman (1966), Schmidt (1969), and Eggers (1986), focus exclusively on the standard and educated writers like Martin Luther. They describe the development of the German language based on a narrow and limited set of data which results in a biased view on the German language history. Thus, neglecting data from various text types and from writers of lower social status can often be contradictory to the actual language user reality. Newer overviews of the history of the German language, such as Salmons (2012), include findings from historical sociolinguistics to give a more rounded and inclusive account of language change and standardization that is closer to reality. This is for one important to grasp the entire linguistic reality of different time frames and see the dynamic between the language use of different social classes. Furthermore, as Romaine (1988) pointed out: the past is used to better understand the present. Only an inclusive model outlining all historical language use (and not just the language use of a small elite) can give the necessary background to explain present developments.

2.3.2. Methods

The field commonly uses traditional quantitative sociolinguistic methods that are usually applied to synchronic data by combining them with qualitative investigations based on traditional methods from historical linguistics. To analyze the relative system in Middle Scots, Romaine (1982) used cross-product analysis, implication scaling, and variable rule analysis. Since she set out in the new subfield, she decided to use three different methods

---

[15] "Through a detailed investigation of the texts, it shall be demonstrated how inexperienced writers from uneducated backgrounds negotiated every-day language conflicts between the familiar spoken language and the unfamiliar written language."

to see how they apply to historical data and also to use the findings to "test against the predictions of Labov's model of change and Bailey's wave model" (Romaine 1982: 31). After she identifies what linguistic data (the deletion of relative markers) is to be correlated with what extralinguistic data (syntactic and stylistic complexity in the different texts – register in which the text was written), she decides to first analyze the linguistic data, since many sociolinguistic methods, such as the variable rule analysis, rely on the outcomes of a linguistic analysis rather than on the data itself (Romaine 1982: 139).

She then applies the cross-product analysis to correlate the system of relative markers with syntactic complexity and stylistic differentiation in the texts of her corpus, finding that the deletion of relative markers depends on stylistic levels (Romaine 1982: 166). She also uses relative deletion and text as the variables for the implicational scaling.[16] The results confirm the trend shown by the previous method, "namely that the deletion occurs less frequently by syntactic environments which are implicationally ordered with respect to each other" (Romaine: 1982: 172). Lastly, she applies a variable rule analysis (Cedergren and Sankoff 1974) to her data. This method had a major impact on quantitative methods in sociolinguistics because it shifted the focus from frequency to probability, thus moving from empirical investigation to theory. It is used in cases when speakers alternate between different forms that stand in free variation but are governed by social and/or context factors. This method also confirms her findings.

As mentioned above, Milroy and Milroy (1985) use social network theory to account for linguistic changes, proposing a model of "weak ties" (J. Milroy 1992: 19) as a reason for change. When discussing language change and maintenance, the authors (1985: 49) point out that "linguistic change is not unconstrained, and adequate accounts of change

---

[16] Gibson (2006: 318) defines implication as "the relationship between two variables such that we can make a generalization about the absence or presence of one from the absence or presence of another."

must, amongst other things, consider the social factors that resist change and maintain norms." Language maintenance can be covert and informal, when being enforced by social networks, or overt and institutional, when being enforced by public channels such as education and media. Social network theory (Milroy and Milroy 1985: 49) proposes that languages or dialects, even though overtly unprestigious, can be subject to language maintenance through pressure from family, friends, and neighbors. To assess the influence of a social network, the density (to what degree do the members of the network know each other?) and multiplexity (how well do they know each other?) have to be measured by mapping social networks based on e.g. kinship, friendships, work relations, etc. While strong ties promote language maintenance, weak ties are more likely to allow language change (Milroy and Milroy 1985: 50). Information on these ties are often elicited through metadata questionnaires that are administered alongside the collection of linguistic data.

As mentioned above, social networks also play a large role in language maintenance and death of language islands, such as Texas German. Here too, the analysis of metadata based on a questionnaire serves as a background for the investigation (Boas 2002). Pierce et al. (2015: 128) describe the case of front-rounded vowels in New Braunfels German. As the community, the social network that uses the language, declines over time due to decreasing speaker numbers and more and more limited social contexts in which the language is used, the fluency of the speaker declines with it. As a result, the speakers abandon certain in-group linguistic structures in favor of out-group structures. In the case of Texas German, the out-group are the English-speakers. Alongside the decline in speaker numbers, which disrupts the social network, the attitude of the remaining speakers towards their own language also influences language change. Boas and Fingerhuth (2017) investigate this aspect for Texas German. While most speakers have a positive attitude towards their language and culture, few make an attempt to continuously use it, as their

close social network, e.g. family, village, does not give many opportunities to speak Texas German.

2.3.3. New Developments

Newer trends are discussed in Nevalainen (2015: 246), who names multilingualism and studies on language ideology and standardization as growing fields with the latter providing a "particularly strong strand in historical research, including studies on purism, language myths and hegemony". In order to study historical sociolinguistic change, researchers rely predominantly on data produced by identifiable individuals or groups who produced documents over a longer period of time, focusing on ego-documents (letters, diaries) and dialogic texts (plays, court proceedings) since these text types are as close to real-time data as possible (Nevalainen 2015: 246). Furthermore, it has become clear that a holistic approach including macro and micro perspectives on speech communities is necessary to meet the historical paradox, the social and historical factors that we might impose on the past.

With regards to these new trends, the Historical Sociolinguistic Network (HiSoN) promotes two new book series: *Advances in Historical Sociolinguistics* (edited by van der Wal and Nevalainen) and *Historical Sociolinguistics – Studies on Language and Society in the Past* (edited by Langer, Elspaß, Salmons and Vandenbussche). The first series includes Rutten et al. (2014), a collection of papers that discuss language norms and standardization between 1600 and 1900 based on quantitative studies of historical corpora (several papers from this edition are discussed below). It also includes Säily et al. (2017), which addresses methodological and theoretical challenges and innovations when dealing with unexplored or underexplored textual resources. Within the second book series, Rutten and Horner (2016) explore ways in which language was and is used as a social and political

marker of identity. Finally, recent issues of the *Journal of Historical Sociolinguistics* have included papers on social aspects in historical relationships between languages (e.g. Berg 2016), colonialism and language (e.g. Stolberg 2017), and historical aspects of language teaching (e.g. Willems 2017).

2.4. TRADITIONAL VIEWS OF EARLY NEW HIGH GERMAN

Based on the overview of the two fields, I now discuss a specific historical stage of German as described in traditional language histories and grammars. The goal of this section is to situate the corpus used for this dissertation linguistically. I therefore first briefly describe the temporal boundaries of the language stage Early New High German (ENHG) as depicted in the relevant literature. In the second part, I turn to the spatial differentiation of the dialects at the time with a specific focus on the West-German dialects investigated here.

2.4.1. Temporal Distinction

The temporal distinction of ENHG has proven to be difficult in the linguistic discussion of the time frame. Wolf (1971: 9) calls it "der umstrittenste Abschnitt der deutschen Sprachgeschichte"[17] since ENHG must be both described and defended as an autonomous and distinct language period against longstanding and well-established German notions that ENHG is not worth being discussed for its own sake. This notion goes back to Jacob Grimm (1819: Xf), who states:

> Zwischen meiner darstellung des mittel- und neuhochdeutschen wird eine lücke empfindlich seyn: mannigfaltige übergänge und abstufungen hätten sich aus den schriften des vierzehten so wie der drei folgenden jahrhunderte sammeln und erläutern laßen; [...] da sich aber keine blühende poesie gründete, konnten

---

[17] "the most disputed section of German language history"

niedersetzungen der sprache, wie sie zur aufstellung eigner perioden nöthig sind, auch nicht erfolgen. Die schriftsteller dieser zwischenzeit vergröbern stufenweise die frühere sprachregel und überlassen sich sorglos den einmischungen landschaftlicher gemeiner mundart.[18]

This shows the general attitude towards what counted as poetic and noteworthy at the time, and also exemplifies the focus on a narrow upper class for the purpose of language history - a typical example of language history from above through the exclusion of other social classes. Grimm's statement is also based on the assumption that Middle High German (MHG) was more standardized than the language of the following centuries, an assumption that was further fostered by the work of Karl Lachmann in the early 19th century (Salmons 2012: 182). Using editorial practices from classical philology, Lachmann strove to 'improve' the MHG manuscripts by regularizing the written language of the texts, thereby standardizing texts that showed significantly more variation in the original. While our current picture of MHG (understood as an artificial construct), might invoke the impression of a more homogenous language, it is particularly characteristic for ENHG to be heterogeneous on several levels: dialect differences, rapid diachronic development, and diverse social networks as well as language users influenced the production of widely diverse documents with a large amount of grammatical variation and change (Ebert et al. 1993: 5). Based on these factors, it is described as its own linguistic time frame.

I follow Eggers (1986), who sets ENHG between 1350 and 1650, and whose determination is based on the traditional temporal distinction of the older stages of the German language by Scherer (1868). Schmidt (2004) further differentiates between older

---

[18] "A gap can be seen between my description of Middle High German and New High German: many transitions and nuances could have been collected and described from the writings of the 14th and the following three centuries; […] However, since no thriving poetry developed [during this time], it was also not possible for a language to develop, as it is necessary for the formation of distinct periods. The writers of this interim period gradually coarsen the earlier language rule and abandon themselves without care to the interference of common rural dialects."

ENHG (1350 to 1500), the core period (16th century), and younger ENHG (the last 50 years until 1650). This reflects the traditional division of ENHG into pre- and post-1500, marked distinctly by the establishment of the printing press and the subsequent increase in books and literacy. The corpus investigated in this project stems from the late phase of the core area and reaches until the end of the ENHG time frame. These dates are of course rather arbitrary. Certain features that are usually connected to ENHG developed earlier than 1350 or still showed retention after 1650. These temporal reference points are determined by various, mostly language external factors, such as text types, areas of communication, the invention of the printing press, and regional variation (Hartweg and Wegera 2005: 27). It is however helpful to use these references to make a distinction from MHG, or, in the case of this project, from the increasingly prescriptive standardization tendencies of NHG after 1650.[19]

2.4.2. Dialectal Landscape

The areal differentiation of ENHG presented here focuses mainly on the territorially connected German-speaking areas (*Binnendeutscher Sprachraum*) of today's Germany, Austria, and Switzerland, as well as German language communities with direct contact to this area (Alsace, South-Tyrol, Silesia, etc.). However, it also includes early German language islands that existed already during the ENHG time frame, such as the Carpathian Basin in modern Hungary, and Siebenbürgen in modern Romania (Hartweg and Wegera 2005: 29), following the areal description of ENHG in the *Frühneuhochdeutsches Wörterbuch* (ENHG dictionary, Reichmann et al. 1986: 119). Due to the great linguistic difference from Low German during this time, the German-speaking areas north of the

---

[19] The differentiation between ENHG and NHG is further discussed below when addressing standardization as a concept.

Benrath Line are only considered here if they directly influence a dialectal variety discussed in this project. I further follow the divide of the High German area into five supraregional territories based on orthographic and lexical differences (Stopp 1976). The classification of dialects into these five areas is as follows:

1. West Middle German (WMG): Ripuarian, Mosel-Franconian, Rhine-Franconian
2. East Middle German (EMG): Thuringian, High Saxon, Silesian, High Prussian
3. North Upper German: East Franconian (transition area between Middle and Upper German)
4. West Upper German (WUG): Low and High Alemannic, Swabian
5. East Upper German (EUG): Northern, Middle, and Southern East Upper German

During the ENHG period, the relationship between the dialectal areas changed significantly. In reference to his ENHG dictionary, Reichmann (1988) investigates the lexeme reduction within the same semantic field: the incidence of words that show polysemy reduces significantly during the Early New High German time. Reichmann (1988: 152) calls this trend 'Monosemierung' ('tendency towards monosemy'). Some lexemes were lost because they were only used in one dialect area. However, other words were lost, even though they were used in multiple dialect areas, were used more often, and appeared in East Middle German texts.[20] His explanation for this phenomenon is called 'Vertikalisierung' (1988: 175). Speakers of Middle High German varieties perceived these varieties as equal to each other, i.e. in a horizontal array. This view, according to Reichmann, drastically changed from the 16th century onward. The supraregional and urban varieties were increasingly perceived as correct, while the vernaculars became

[20] These criteria are usually considered major influences on the standardization process (e.g. by Besch 1968), as described below.

unpopular and their use was seen as a sign of lower intelligence. The horizontal coexistence of the varieties changed into a vertical hierarchy (Reichmann 1988: 174).

McColl Millar (2010) links the growing desire for homogeneity in language and therefore the birthplace of prestige building for a standard to the time after the plague in the middle of the 14th century, which coincides with the beginning of the ENHG period. Political instability and the decimated population led, according to McColl Millar (2010: 191f), to a greater exchange between cities and territories out of economic necessity. They formed leagues for mutual protection and trading rights, for example the political alliance in today's Switzerland or the Hanseatic league in the Baltic and North Sea area, with linguistic repercussions. While the Middle German area was not as closely linked as the leagues in the North and South, similar political and economic tendencies came into place along major trading routes, where a more homogenous language started to become necessary for supraregional correspondence.

One such major trading route was the Rhine River, as is further addressed in the following chapter on the social and historical background of this dissertation. From a linguistic standpoint, the West Middle German dialects offer an interesting research subject with regards to the dialect boundaries. Hildebrandt (1998: 354) states that there has been much debate about the extralinguistic factors that contributed to the development of the so-called 'Rheinischer Dialektfächer' ('Rhinish dialect fan'). The term stems from the location of the dialect boundaries along the Rhine River, which spread out like a hand fan, as shown in the following depiction:
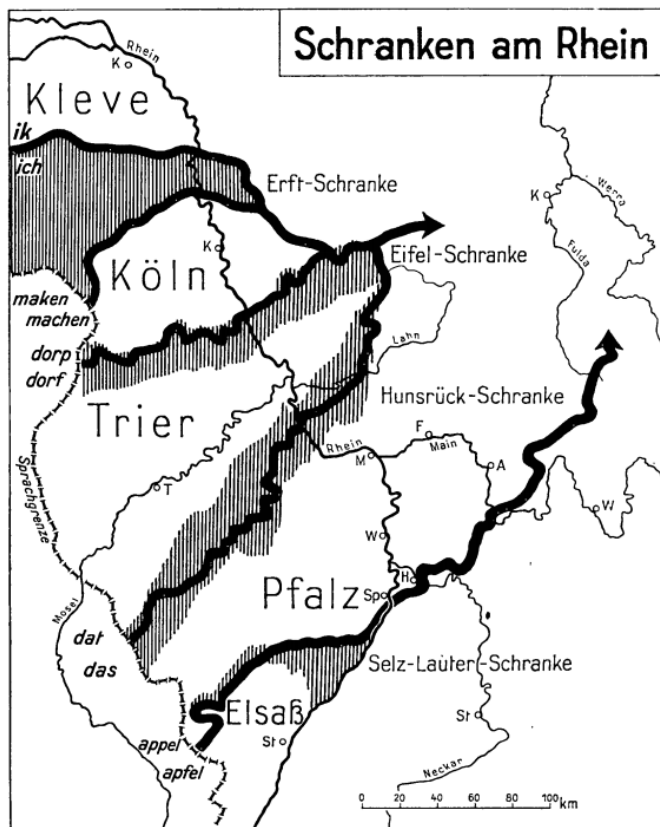
Figure 2.1: Depiction of the dialect boundaries in WMG (Frings 1957: 87)

The usual explanations for the location of dialect boundaries, such as natural barriers (rivers, mountains, swamps) or a religious divide can be ruled out here, as the dialect boundaries run across the Rhine and the area was for the longest time uniformly Catholic. According to Hildebrandt (1998: 355), the general agreement of scholars is that there are multiple other factors in play from an early tribal differentiation to political changes during the Middle Ages (Cologne as a free city, etc.). The general consensus is that language areas are also always cultural areas. This is also expressed in the connection between language and identity, a factor that influences especially the Cologne dialect until today. Möller (2000: 54f) states that the written Ripuarian (Cologne) dialect showed a strong stability in its dialectal features during the 14th and 15th century, which started to

30

show signs of standardization around 1500. However, during the time frame discussed in this dissertation, major economic and political changes (as further discussed in the following chapter) caused a new instability in the region that also caused the Rhine dialects to destabilize, which in turn made room for the success of the new standard variety.

2.5. TRADITIONAL VIEWS OF STANDARDIZATION

As this dissertation focuses on standardization tendencies of linguistic features in comparison between my findings and established ENHG grammars, here I give an overview of the standardization process in general and the traditional overview of the standardization of the German written language in particular. The first section addresses standardization as a research terminology and describes different mechanisms of standardization. The second section gives an overview of the standardization of the German written language by describing the various factors traditionally named in this context. The third section leads to new insights into the topic, thereby building the bridge to the research framework used in this dissertation.

2.5.1. What is Standardization?

The term 'standardization' describes the levelling of varieties of one language towards one specific variety that is seen as standard. Mihm (2007: 3) states that scholarship traditionally divides standardization into two different kinds of regulations: formal and informal. A formal regulation is an intrusion into the system of language from outside, which means the language is regulated through prescriptive norms and codifications. Informal regulations happen without a targeted purpose and without prescription. However, similar reasons can be pointed out for both types of regulation, such as language prestige. The informal regulation of German written language can be further subdivided

into two main phases: the early phase, starting roughly around 1300, during which the development of supraregional varieties caused innovations and levelling in spoken and written language, and the late phase, marked by the invention of the printing press in 1440, when standardization happened especially within the written language, and became increasingly prescriptive.

Deumert (2004: 2) states that the process of formal or prescriptive standardization is strongly tied to specific discourse practices that "emphasize the desirability of uniformity and correctness in language use, the primacy of written and the very idea of a national language as the only legitimate language of the speech community." Salmons (2012) sees the reason for this belief in the so called 'standard language ideology', a term first introduced by Milroy and Milroy (1985) and further defined by Dailey-O'Cain and Lippi-Green (1998). Salmons (2012: 221) states that the strong enforcement of this ideology in German speaking lands is based on the inferiority complex of speaking a second-class language, compared to first Latin, then French, and now English. The pluricentric nature of German[21] was and still is problematic in terms of strict language standardization (von Polenz 1999: 234), and contemporary scholars see the enforcement of such norms more critically.

2.5.2. German Standardization

From the 1960's on, scholarship has held the opinion that it was not one single language area, like the East Middle German area, also called 'Meißner Deutsch' ('Meißner

---

[21] Compared to monocentric languages such as French. For an overview of the standardization process of French see Lodge (1993). The term 'pluricentric' is used here as defined in Ammon (1995: 97): a language with multiple language centers. This refers on the one hand to the plurinational aspect of German today (as the official language in six countries), and on the other hand to the historical situation of German speaking areas in the late Middle Ages (scattered into hundreds of partially autonomous kingdoms, dukedoms, and free cities). The standardization process was not prescribed and enforced by one area or city. All areas were more or less involved.

German') or 'Lutherdeutsch' ('Luther German')[22] that led to the development of the New High German written language. Instead, it is held that multiple regions were involved and that a levelling between the varieties led to a standard written language (von Polenz 1991: 168). This means that patterns from almost every variety found their way into the New High German written language.[23] Starting with Besch's (1967) quantitative study of standardization developments in transregional literary texts from the late Middle Ages, it is also assumed that the initial development of a NHG written language did not start until the 16th century since there are no visible levelling processes until that point (Hartweg and Wegera 2005: 54).

Besch proposed a system of four regularities, or 'Wirkungsfaktoren' ('factors of impact', Moser 1985: 1404), to describe the developments of this levelling and the assertion of single graphemic features during the Early New High German period. The two most important factors in the choice between competing spelling variants are 'Geltungsareal' ('area of validity') which describes the case when the most widespread variety prevails and 'Geltungsgrad' ('degree of validity'), which means that the most used variety prevails. Most of the time, these factors go hand in hand. Besch (1967: 230) gives as example the word *schwester* 'sister', also spelled *swester*, that competed with the North-West German variety *suster* until the 16th century. The variant *Schwester* (or swester) prevailed because it was used in the largest area (South, Middle, and North-East) by the most speakers.

---

[22] As proposed by older theories such as Frings (1936). Newer investigations (Mattheier 1981) of dialect geography and the language of the chanceries have refuted this unilateral perspective.

[23] Although all dialect areas were involved in the process, features from the South and South East of the German speaking areas prevailed in a significant higher number than North or West German features (von Polenz 1991: 168).

'Geltungsareal' is further complemented by the factor of 'Landschafts-kombinatorik' ('combination of areas') which emphasizes the variety that is used in certain areas (especially East Middle and East High German). This point refers to 'Lutherdeutsch', but includes a larger area than Frings´ (1936) proposal of 'Meißner Deutsch' as the only variety that caused the NHG written language. The example given by Besch (1967: 235) is the opposition of the adverbs *oft* and *dicke*, which both translate to 'often'. While *dicke* was used in the largest area (North, Middle, West, South-West), and *oft* only appeared in the East and South-East between Leipzig, Munich, and Passau, *oft* prevailed and found its way into the NHG written language. This was due to a variety of advantages that the East and South East of the German speaking areas had (as mentioned in reference to Martin Luther below). However, according to Besch (1967: 236), this process took much longer and was only concluded in the 18th century.

The final regularity, 'strukturelle Disponiertheit' ('structural integration'), describes the prevalence of the variety that shows the strongest systemic rudiments. Besch´s (1967: 238f) example is the opposition between two different past participles of *setzen* 'to sit down': *gesetzt,* which Besch finds in texts from the Southern portion of the German speaking areas, and *gesatzt,* which appears in texts north of Mainz, Würzburg, and Bamberg. In Middle High German, the group of weak verbs with *Rückumlaut* (weak verbs with a stem vowel change in the preterit) was still comparatively large. In NHD, we only find six lexemes with the remnants of this phenomenon, e.g. *brennen* 'to burn' – *brannte* (preterit) – *gebrannt* (past participle). All other lexemes were levelled to fit to the regular form of weak verbs (Hartweg and Wegera 2005: 160). Since the participle *gesetzt* complies with the rules of the system, it prevailed.

Based on descriptive methods, various extralinguistic factors could be identified as responsible for the development of a more unified German written language. Due to the

chosen corpus, the main focus is on the development in the chanceries and courts, where the records originated. Nonetheless, the other aspects have to be kept in mind when considering language perception and language politics in Early New High German (ENHG).

Chanceries. During this time period, grammarians such as Luther, Eck, and Opitz considered the normative influence of the language of the chanceries fundamental for the development of a unified written language (Hartweg and Wegera 2005: 60). Towards the end of the 13th century, German emerged as a legally acceptable language next to Latin, even though its usage remained local. Texts and documents addressed to more distant recipients (for example documents from Munich sent to the chancery in Cologne) remained largely in Latin (compare Bansa 1968). However, the increasing textualization and fixation of contracts and the growth of commercial correspondence made a higher usage of German as a business language necessary, especially because of the inclusion of the lower nobility and the early urban bourgeoisie[24] who often did not read Latin (Hartweg and Wegera 2005: 61). In the 13th and 14th centuries, these developments caused a standardization of the written language of the local vernaculars, for example in Cologne. Only in the late 15th century did the emerging long-distance trade and other socio-economic changes necessitate a reorientation towards the recipient and start the process of variety levelling among the chanceries (Möller 2000: 54). Due to their prestige, their broad radius of communication, and their large areal influence, the imperial and urban chanceries gained an exemplary function and played an important role within the standardization process.

---

[24] I use this term here to describe the upper-middle class that emerged during this time in cities and that was neither nobility nor clergy but had nonetheless influence. It was comprised mostly of wealthy merchants and highly respected members of the craft guilds.

Urbanization. Urbanization in German speaking areas started during the 13th and 14th century. Around 1200 AD, 250 cities[25] are documented. 100 years later the number rose to 1,200 cities and further increased to 3,000 cities, some of them with over 10,000 inhabitants, in the middle of the 15th century (Eggers 1986). The large socio-economic changes during the 15th century mentioned above, such as the end of territorial or episcopal governments, and the status of 'Freie Reichsstadt' ('free/ economically independent imperial city') for some of these cities, shifted the social and political center from the territory to the city. However, not every city was equally important for the standardization process. Cities with high export rates and long-distance trade, such as Cologne, Lübeck, and Nuremberg, were magnets for large migration processes and therefore had a strong influence in building supraregional language areas (Hartweg and Wegera 2005: 59). Finally, the founding of chanceries, schools, and universities within these cities from the 14th century on also enhanced the development of literacy and contributed significantly to the emergence of literate laymen who belonged to the new upper-middle class and were neither associated with the local royalty nor with the clergy (Hartweg and Wegera 2005: 60).

Colonization. From the early Middle Ages on, "the so called *Ostkolonisation* ['colonization of the East'] led to the formation and development of German settlements in Upper Saxony, Pomerania, and other areas, mostly formerly Slavic-speaking areas" (Salmons 2012: 179). The colonization happened especially along the rivers Danube, Elbe, and Oder, and the Baltic Sea, into areas that are today in Poland, the Czech Republic, Belarus, Latvia, Estonia, Hungary, and Romania. This large movement of people from various areas with various dialects of German served as the foundation for koiné-

---

[25] The term 'city' is used here in the legal sense, i.e. the legal right to call oneself a city. However, the number of population also plays a role here with at least 2,000 inhabitants for each city (Schilling 1993: 2).

building.[26] Through the levelling of differences, a new dialect that was the initial step towards a more standardized form of German, spoken in the East of the German speaking areas emerged.

      Education and the Influence of Latin. Already in the late Middle Ages, the urban bourgeoisie was able to break the educational monopoly of the clergy and founded various school types that catered to the needs of the local industry, as discussed in chapter 3. It became prestigious and economically advantageous to send not only sons, but also daughters, to the local city schools. Towards the end of the 16th century, Nuremberg had 75 schools, each with at least 50 students (Hartweg and Wegera 2005: 65). Considering the increasing literacy of the population, the standardization process seemed to have happened comparatively late. The reason for this is that German was long treated as a stepchild of Latin. Luther´s demands to make German accessible to all children to make independent Bible studies possible, proposed in *An den Adel* ('To the nobility', 1520) and *An die Radherren aller stedte deutschen lands* ('To the councilmen of all German cities', 1524), refer also mostly to higher education (Hartweg and Wegera 2005: 65). The revaluation of German during the Reformation made it possible to establish German as an educational language. In East German areas, it was largely based on Luther´s Bible translation, published in 1534 (Besch 2014: 41), with some caveats, as discussed further below. In Catholic areas, the Counterreformation led to independent developments of German as an educational language. This also caused the publication of the first textbooks (the first one in 1486) about reading and writing German that are considered to be the precursors of the first German grammars (Hartweg and Wegera 2005: 69).

---

[26] A *koiné* is a new dialect created out of communication necessity as a form of compromise between speakers of different dialects. It does not describe the creation of new forms but rather the suppression of differences (Salmons 2012: 179).

Language societies, writers, grammarians. In 1617, the 'Fruchtbringende Gesellschaft' ('Fruitbearing Society') was founded, the first and with 890 members also the largest of the many language societies (Hartweg and Wegera 2005: 66). The members were famous writers such as Gryphius, Opitz, and Zesen, as well as grammarians like Gueintz and Schottel. Their goal was the fight against language corruption and foreign influence, and also the normalization and codification of a literary German language. Due to language purist tendencies, especially Zesen coined and established many German alternatives for borrowed lexems, such as *Jahrbücher* 'yearbooks' for *Annalen* 'annuals' and *Mundart* for *Dialekt* 'dialect' (Hartweg and Wegera 2005: 67). These endeavors were also aimed at "Archaismen, Provinzialismen (Dialektales wurde als fehlerhaft eingestuft), Unregelmäßigkeiten, Undeutlichkeiten, Vulgarismen und allgemein von der vom Krieg verursachten grobianischen Verrohung der Sprache" (Hartweg and Wegera 2005: 67),[27] with the goal of demarcating the own 'good' language from the language of the 'common people'. These works are not autotelic linguistic works but always must be viewed in the light of the emerging national culture and other social movements.

Book printing and new genres. The invention of the printing press with movable types by Johannes Gutenberg around 1440 was a milestone for literacy, language development, and language standardization. However, only through drastic price plummets of paper and consequently of books in 1470 and 1480, books became an affordable commodity for a large part of the population (Hartweg and Wegera 2005: 92). Newer studies such as Hoffmann (2003) have shown that publications were still predominantly in Latin or the local written language until the middle of the 16th century. In general, the role of the printers for the standardization process has been overemphasized in older language

---

[27] "Archaisms, provincialisms (dialect features were seen as mistakes), irregularities, things that were unclear, vulgarisms, and in general the Grobian brutalization of the language that was caused by the war."

histories and has to be reassessed. The printers and their publications had, especially in comparison to the chanceries, smaller influence on the language perception of their audience since most printers were also either locally informed or tended towards hypercorrection (Hartweg and Wegera 2005: 94).[28]

Nonetheless, the easier accessibility of books and the diversification of the genre spectrum (also of handwritten texts) cannot be ignored as a major aspect of external language change, since they contributed to the literacy of the population and the supra-regionality of the literary clientele. Literary prose texts gained special popularity, but also texts for private usage such as account books, inventories, cookbooks, pharmacopoeias, and journals, and bureaucratic and public genres such as birth certificates, pamphlets, minutes of meetings, court records, school books and ordinances contributed to the vast extension of the available genres (Hartweg and Wegera 2005: 106).

Luther. Finally, I address the controversial figure of Martin Luther with regard to the origin of the NHG written language. Hartweg and Wegera (2005: 79) call the ongoing dispute among scholars about Luther's contribution to the standardization of German "konfessionell geprägt" ("driven by religion") between Luther as the creator of NHG on the one side and his language as a Protestant dialect among many German varieties on the other. Similar assessments have been made about the spreading of the new standard variety in which the argument was made that the popularity of the Luther Bible depended largely on the religious affiliation, causing a divide between the Protestant East and North and the Catholic West and South of Germany. Certainly, some tendencies along these lines are

---

[28] The term *hypercorrection* was first used by Labov (1966), who investigated the linguistic behavior of the lower middle class in New York and pointed out that hypercorrection is strongly connected to the prestige of a certain variety and the attempt of the speakers of a different variety to adopt the prestigious feature. If the language user chooses to always use the more prestigious variety, this "sometimes results in overshooting the target and coming up with what is an erroneous outcome from the point of view of the prestige variety being mimicked" (Campbell 2013: 99).

already visible during Luther's time. According to Besch (2000: 27), the spreading of the Luther Bible and with it *Lutherdeutsch* was a major success story. The new Bible was often the only book in Protestant households (Salmons 2012: 270). Furthermore, the written language of the Wettin (Saxony) chancery and the language of the Wittenberg printers, which Luther's work further promoted as the variety with the highest prestige, exhibit already before Luther strong standardization tendencies, which contributed to a fast acceptance of the new variety. Additionally, the central position between North and South German varieties also presented beneficial conditions (Besch 2014: 135). However, the religious divide was not the only reason, why Catholic areas, such as Bavaria, were significantly more resistant to Luther's Bible and Luther's language. It has to be kept in mind, that the dialect areas were also linguistically divided, as *Lutherdeutsch* was based on the EMG dialects (Besch 2000: 31). These were vastly different from the West German and UG dialects, which also caused a slower propagation and lower popularity of the new Bible in some areas.

2.5.3. Newer Insights: The Influence of Language Prestige

The term 'prestige' is used in various ways for various studies, and it is notoriously hard to pin down. Sturtevant (1947: 74) points out the importance of prestige for the spreading of one language phenomenon in favor of another. Labov (1963) uses this definition to identify prestige as a major factor in sound change. In his famous study about the connection between social factors and language change on Martha's Vineyard, Labov (1963) collected spoken data connected to two diphthongs from the inhabitants of the island. He discovered that speakers who strongly identify with the island retained the local dialectal feature in the pronunciation of these diphthongs, while people who were less connected (e.g. high school students who wanted to leave the island for college) had

abandoned the feature in favor for the prestigious main land pronunciation. Language prestige thereby describes the social factors connected to language perception and identity and their implications for language change.

Language prestige, i.e. the assessment that one variety as better, more elevated, or more appropriate than another, comes into place in certain language situations: (1) diglossia, where two language varieties coexist in one community in which they are used in differing social contexts, and (2) bilingualism, in which two varieties are used regardless of their social functions (compare Ferguson 1959).[29] The two varieties develop through language perception of the language users as H (high) variety, which is often used in public domains, and L (low) variety, which often has a private character. However, both varieties can hold prestige within the language community. Overt prestige describes the social preference of the H variety, which holds higher values for the speech community and is seen as better (compare for example Trudgill 1992). In the case of Labov's (1963) study, this describes the main land pronunciation. Covert prestige, on the other hand, is the preference of the L variety for various social reasons, even though it is not the obviously more advantageous variety.[30] This describes the preference for the local variety particularly in rural areas and among fishermen in the study on Martha's Vineyard (Labov 1963). Even though the scholars mentioned above draw a well-described picture of language prestige for their respective studies, the definition remains variable. It depends on complicated and often subjective social factors that vary in each situation, as well as on psychological aspects of language perception that are not easy to identify.

---

[29] Both of these situations can also coexist.

[30] These include self-identification with a social group (e.g. Kiezdeutsch) or a region (e.g. Bavarian).

Mattheier (1981: 279) identified language prestige as one of the driving forces behind the standardization of the German language, thereby criticizing Besch's (1967) 'Wirkungsfaktoren' because they only describe, not explain, and because Besch did not include extralinguistic factors in his model. Mattheier's specific sociolinguistic orientation leads him to the argument that language change is always connected to extralinguistic reasons (1981: 282). Language prestige and language perception are the categories that are, according to Mattheier, missing in Besch's model. These categories function as explanation for language change, which can be then further described through the four regularities. This is why he proposes a fifth category in addition to Besch's regularities: 'Geltungshöhe' ('level of validity': the variety that has the highest social prestige prevails). This category is strongly tied to the four dimensions of language history that Mattheier (1995: 15ff) proposed and where he attempts to combine intralingustic and extralinguistic factors to one big picture: history of language as a system, history of language use, history of language awareness (with language perception and language prestige as parts of this category), and history of language contact.

2.6. THE ISSUE: A QUESTION OF FOCUS

Based on this background, I now turn to newer insights that try to identify the issue of traditional language history. As mentioned above, in 1998, Dailey-O'Cain and Lippi-Green asked whether the great divide between Anglo-American sociolinguistics and German *Soziolinguistik* could be bridged. They identified standard language ideology as a major flaw in German sociolinguistics, i.e. they argue that "bias towards an abstract, idealized, homogenous language" has influenced linguistic investigation in Germany since its beginning. While it can be argued that modern German sociolinguistics (e.g. Maitz and

Elspaß 2011) is aware of this issue and has taken a stance against it, more traditional fields, such as language historiography, might still fall into this trap. In general, language purism and prescriptivism are common extralinguistic factors in the development of a language, as discussed in Langer (2001). The author shows how much influence linguistic purism had on the standardization of the German language by tracing the stigmatization of the auxiliary *tun* 'to do' in ENHG texts. He (2001: 3) thereby identifies the "philosophically-driven strive for linguistic superiority and increasing detachment from existing dialects" of Baroque grammarians as a driving force behind the subjective treatment of language and the stigmatization of forms that where seen as inferior.

While linguistic purism and prescriptivism are common influences on language change, they become an issue, if they start to influence modern linguistic investigations that set out to be objective and unbiased. Elspaß (2005b)[31] discusses the influence of prescriptivism on language history by challenging the assumption that German was completely standardized at the beginning of the 19th century. This common assessment falls in line with the assumption that German reached its peak during the Weimar Classicism in the language of Goethe and Schiller. Elspaß (2005b: 64) points out that this depiction of the standardization of the German language stems from a specific discourse within German historical linguistics that puts Standard German at the center of the investigation. It is typical for this discourse not to differentiate between written and spoken German and to concern itself explicitly with the language and literature of the upper and upper-middle class (Elspaß 2005b: 64). Based on the investigation of twelve features, he (2005b: 89) concludes that traditional grammars that describe the 19th century do not describe actual language use. The largest part of the population did not have access to the

---

[31] My dissertation takes the same approach to the 16th and 17th centuries that Elspaß (2005b) takes to the 19th century.

codified norms as propagated by the school grammars but rather used regionally bound norms based on usage.

J. Milroy (2014) presents an overview of this influence of language ideology that has obscured the current picture of many language histories.[32] He addresses specifically the long-standing focus on national identity (iconization) and the dismissal of variety (erasure) that influenced the work of many historical linguists from the beginning of the field until today (J. Milroy 2014: 575). Another problem that he identifies is the general usage of the concept of 'prestige'. According to J. Milroy (2014: 573), the issue of 'language prestige' is its traditional link to social classes. It has been assumed that the higher social class determines the higher prestige and the direction of change. This makes the concept of 'prestige' unidirectional and implies that "those who lead sound changes are the speakers who have the highest status in their communities" (J. Milroy 2014: 574).[33] As addressed above, this traditional top-down concept is common for a language history from above. Since a unidirectional focus on language use can only address language use and change from the perspective it is taking, a change in focus along the lines of a language history from below (Elspaß 2005) is necessary and long overdue.

The field of historical sociolinguistics follows this new focus by adding the social component to historical linguistics. Recent publications within the field exemplify this new approach. Rutten et al. (2014: 1) summarize the central research focus of historical sociolinguistic by stating:

---

[32] Most examples that he gives are from British English but the general problem can be identified in the linguistic work concerning most European languages (J. Milroy 2014: 573).

[33] Note that the concept of class is not a universal in all societies or communities. What some regions define as middle class might be seen as upper class in other societies. Additionally, 'class' might be an uncomfortable term for some cultures, and different models of "class" are outlined in the sociological literature. J. Milroy's (2014) definition connects it to social factors such as birth, wealth, social position, and education.

All too often, however, the traces of the past are exclusively linked to the upper ranks of society. Sources from the middle and lower ranks are notoriously difficult to come by. As these groups made up the large majority of past societies, historical sociolinguistics set itself the task of not only compiling corpora with relatively 'oral' language, but moreover with data from writers who are often neglected in traditional language histories such as women and members from other social ranks than the elite.

In their own discussion about recent findings, Rutten et al. (2014: 7) criticize the traditional concept of standardization with the four characteristics (selection, codification, elaboration, and acceptance)[34] as outlined in Haugen (1966). In this view, acceptance of the standard by the entire language community would follow the selection and codification of a language variety as norm. However, the absence of a clear effect of prescription on language use in the 19th century as outlined in Elspaß (2005) speaks against this unilinear model of standardization. Instead, the authors (2014: 9) propose the idea of a phased standardization process and an increased focus on the connection between norms and target group (for instance, who is the target audience of Baroque grammars or of school grammars of the 19th century?).

Furthermore, as McLelland (2014) points out in the same volume, it was possible to show that acceptance and maintenance often precedes codification and selection. In her study based on a corpus of 20 German texts from the 17th century, McLelland (2014: 255) traces the influence of the grammarian Schottelius, since three editions of his grammar were the defining works of the century and widely known among the elite. Five potential scenarios are investigated: (1) prescription codifies widespread practiced, (2) prescription

---

[34] The four characteristics are outlined as follows: (1) Selection: among multiple varieties of a language, one variety (or a certain mixture of all varieties) is picked and receives the status as norm or standard (2) Codification: the norms and rules of this language variety are codified within standardized formulations. (3) Elaboration: certain features are further developed so that the norm can reach the maximum variation in function (from every-day to intellectual purposes). (4) Acceptance: the community accepts this variety as a norm after it has been promoted and enforced by institutions and authorities.

codifies less widespread practices, (3) prescription stigmatizes a structure that is widely used, (4) prescription promotes a structure that is not found in usage at all, and (5) prescriptive authorities are silent regarding a structure. McLelland (2014: 270) thus concludes that there is no clear case in which the grammarian's stipulation changed practice. Instead, it was more often the case that Schottelius promoted a variety that was already of high prestige. This suggests that, in Haugen's (1966) terminology, acceptance of a certain variety preceded the codification in Schottelius' grammar, suggesting a bottom-up rather than a top-down standardization tendency.

2.7. PREVIOUS WORKS ON THE CORPUS

Finally, I present previous publications as well as ongoing research based on the corpus used in this dissertation. During the collection and editing of the corpus, Jürgen Macha and his team (Uta Nolting, Elvira Topalović, Anja, Wilke, Iris Hille (2005)) published a number of articles on various topics, using the corpus of witch hunt records. In an early stage of the compilation of the corpus and also based on a previous edition of Cologne witch hunt records (Macha and Herborn 1992), Macha (1998) investigates the connection between spelling variation and the regional cultural background in the Northern Rhineland and Westphalia. In this context, Macha (1998: 54) differentiates between culturally marked and unmarked graphemes. A culturally marked grapheme would be one that is bound to regional usage, e.g. the Ripuarian vowel length markers <i,e,y>, as further discussed below. At the same time, signs of hypercorrection also show culturally marked graphemes of UG usage and insecurities of the Cologne scribes. Macha (1998: 64) concludes that the texts do not show a clear standardization tendency or an overall adaptation of the UG patterns during the time frame he investigated.

Another major contribution based on the corpus of witch hunt records is Topalović (2003). In her monograph, Topalović looks at court records from Osnabrück, and discusses bilingualism and diglossia in written language between Low German and the East and South German variety. Furthermore, she gives insights into the social and historical implications of the genre, as well as dialogue structures in court records. Through this, she defines the conditions of record writing and the ramification of this for the actual language use. Along the same lines, Hille (2009) compares regionally differentiated content patterns in the witch hunt records to establish a common theme of what constitutes as a magical crime. As these topics are important implications for my own research, both of these contributions are further discussed in the following chapter.

Currently, a collaborative project of the University of Hamburg and the University of Münster, directed by Renata Szczepaniak and Klaus-Michael Köpcke, is using the original corpus (Macha et al. 2005) to create a digital corpus with multi-layered annotations, as further outlined in Szczepaniak and Barteld (2016) and discussed in chapter 4. The digital corpus is used to investigate the historical development of sentence internal capitalization through cognitive-semantic and syntactic aspects (Schutzeichel and Szczepaniak 2015). The goal is to show that capitalization rules of German were triggered through semantic aspects of individuality that expanded to syntactic functions. The investigation is based on a core corpus of 18 records (Schutzeichel and Szczepaniak 2015: 151). In this particular publication, the authors investigate the sentence internal capitalization of six North German records and conclude that the frequency of capitalization increases, particularly if the record stemmed from near an influential printing center (Schutzeichel and Szczepaniak 2015: 166). The more remote the location of the witch trial was, the more variation can be seen in the record regarding capitalization.

2.8. CONCLUSION

In this chapter, I discussed previous literature in the two fields of study, on which this dissertation is based: language historiography (*Sprachgeschichtsschreibung*) and historical sociolinguistics. Based on the outlines of the two fields, I discussed traditional views of Early New High German and language standardization, before addressing potential issues with these views. As mentioned, the field of historical sociolinguistics attempts to offer a solution through a focus change to a language history from below (Elspaß 2005), which is also the direction that this dissertation takes. In a final section, I discussed previous literature on the corpus used in my dissertation, which also informs my findings, as further addressed below.

Chapter 3: Socio-Historical Background

3.1. INTRODUCTION

Having given an overview of the current state of linguistic research in the previous chapter, I now turn to the social and historical background of the corpus and the research time frame. This is of course not a complete account of all political, historical, and social developments in the German-speaking areas in the 16th and 17th centuries, as that would go far beyond the scope of my dissertation. Instead, this chapter focuses on developments that are important in situating and contextualizing the corpus, the scribes, and the immediate environment of the small courts and chanceries. This chapter also serves as a reference point for possible sociolinguistic influences on the linguistic data in order to give preliminary explanations for certain linguistic findings that cannot be readily explained by reference to intralinguistic factors. While it is not the purpose of this dissertation to identify specific sources for language change, an understanding of the social and historical context might lead to possible explanations for differences between my findings and the descriptions in the ENHG grammars.

This chapter is divided into four sections. The first section outlines major social and political developments in Germany in the 16th and 17th centuries to contextualize the world of the scribes and the witch hunt records. The second section gives an account of the European witch hunt and the reasons for this mass phenomenon that led to the production of a vast amount of records. Section 3 deals with the broader concept of writing, namely who was able to write, what was being written, and what was said about writing. Again, this cannot be a full account of the subject matter, but rather serves to contextualize the world of the scribe. The fourth section addresses the genre of 'court record', particularly the witch hunt records, and how the genre can potentially influence linguistic studies that rely on it for data. Finally, I summarize the important social and historical points.

3.2. GERMANY IN THE 16TH AND 17TH CENTURIES

While the German territories are referred to in this chapter as 'Germany' for simplicity's sake, it was of course not the Germany of today. The political landscape was that of the Holy Roman Empire of German Nations (*Heiliges Römisches Reich Deutscher Nationen*). At the beginning of the time frame investigated here, i.e. around 1550, the Empire included to the west today's Netherlands, Belgium, and parts of France, to the south the Swiss Confederation and parts of Northern Italy, and to the east Bohemia, Austria, and Silesia (Levack 2006: 212). By the end of the time frame investigated here, i.e. around 1650, the Empire had lost most of its western and southern territory, including the Netherlands, Switzerland, Savoy, and parts of Northern Italy. The map below, from Levack (2016: 186), shows this development, as well as the borders of the European countries during these two centuries:

Figure 3.1: The Holy Roman Empire of German Nations (Levack 2016: 186)

The Holy Roman Empire during this time was characterized by its politically loosely connected patchwork of kingdoms, dukedoms, free cities, and electorates (Hughes 1992: 1). The reasons for the lack of one unifying government were manifold, including the sheer size of the regions, the distribution of power between the emperor and other high nobility, the electoral system and an absence of dynastic rule, the preservation of the cultural tribal consciousness,[35] and the linguistic differences (Hughes 1992: 3-7). Due to this, the regions were politically largely independent.

The map below outlines this patchwork pattern, here specifically the borders in 1648 after the Peace of Westphalia which ended the Thirty Years' War and gave even more independence to the individual territories (Hughes 1992: 92).[36]
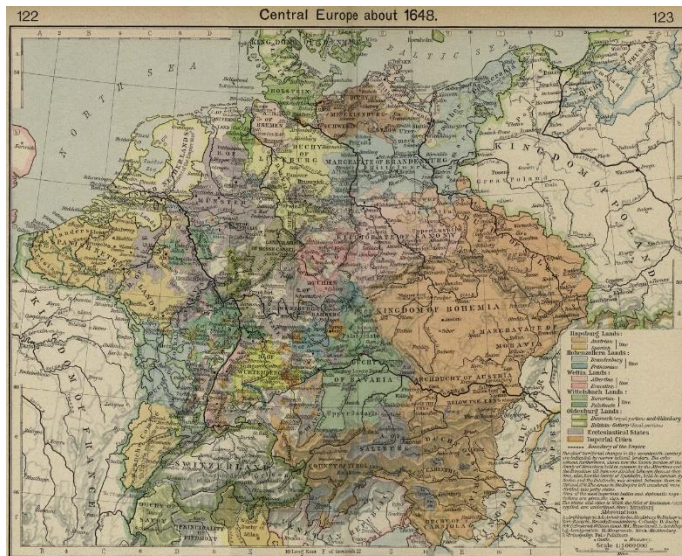
Figure 3.2: Territories of the Holy Roman Empire (Shepherd 1923: 122f)[37]

---

[35] Hughes (1992: 6) refers here to the cultural, geographical, and linguistic division of the various Germanic tribes that has been preserved as an underlying cultural motivation for the pluricentric landscape of Germany.

[36] The Thirty Years' War is addressed more extensively below.

[37] Although this map stems from an older source, I prefer it to newer ones because it gives a clear and detailed account of the political situation in 1648 and a good impression of the patchwork pattern alluded to above.

The West German regions investigated in my dissertation were politically fragmented into many more or less independent areas. The largest and most influential were the free city of Cologne, the Archbishopric of Cologne (with seats in Bonn and Brühl), the county of Nassau, the Archbishopric of Trier, the electorate of the Palatine, the free city of Frankfurt, the Bishopric of Speyer, the margraviate of Baden, the county of Württemberg, and the free cities of Augsburg, Memmingen, and Rottweil (Shepherd 1923: 122f). However, as mentioned in chapter 2, frequent trade, especially along the Rhine River, united these areas economically, socially, and linguistically, so that it is possible to discuss them as the four larger units (dialect regions).

3.2.1. Society in Early Modern Germany

I now turn to social factors, by addressing social developments as a whole, and the Reformation and Counterreformation in particular. Here I only give a general description and then discuss the West German regions and the connections between these major social and historical developments and the European witch hunt in somewhat more detail.

The overall population of the Holy Roman Empire is estimated to have been between 9 and 14.5 million people around the year 1600 (Lutz 2002: 6). While society was still divided by wealth, birth, and profession into clergy, nobility, the rising early middle class, and peasants, social mobility increased slightly. There were some differences due to the religious divide (Benecke 1974: 10). On the one hand, Protestant areas saw an increase in middle-class commoners as trained government officials joining the clergy and ruling classes, especially in the free cities. The differences between the lower nobility and the middle class were increasingly confined to birth and title, not wealth or even power (Benecke 1974: 18). On the other hand, social change remained complicated in Catholic areas, where nobility by birth retained its old status, especially through the de facto dynastic

control of high-ranking clergy positions (e.g. the Wittelsbach dynasty in Cologne and Mainz). However, even in regions that were more open to change, social mobility should not be overestimated for the time, as the largest segment of society was still comprised of laborers, peasants, and farmers. Most people remained in the social class into which they were born, while peasants under serfage had to accept even more legal limitations to their rights and social mobility during the time frame addressed here (Rabe 1989: 45).

It is not possible to assign the participants in the witch trials to certain social classes, as some fictional accounts have done. Judges and juries were usually the most diverse group, depending on the size and location of the court. They were either noble-born clergyman (e.g. at Archbishopric and Bishopric courts), middle class clergy (at other clerical courts), lower nobility (at larger secular courts), or middle-class lawyers, professors, city council members, and guild masters (at small rural courts and city courts).[38] The scribes were either clerical or secular members of the middle or clerical class and usually well- or at least semi-educated, again depending on the court (Macha 1991: 38). The defendants and witnesses stemmed mostly from the lower social class (market women, farmers, maids, prostitutes, and beggars). However, some cases also include defendants from other social classes, most notably the trial of the Cologne citizen Katharina Henot,[39] who belonged to an influential patrician family and was postmaster of Cologne in her own right (Macha 1992: XIII).

---

[38] For more extensive discussion, see Macha (2005).

[39] Her name is mentioned multiple times in cases from the area that are included in the corpus used for this dissertation, most prevalent in the record "Köln 1629". A statue of Katharina Henot was later added to the Cologne courthouse. The city of Cologne reopened the case in 2012 to exonerate Henot from the charges leveled against her (https://www.welt.de/vermischtes/article107303175/Stadt-Koeln-rehabilitiert-38-vermeintliche-Hexen.html).

I now turn to large-scale developments particular to the time period, by briefly outlining the historical context and then specifically addressing the connection between the developments and the investigated regions.

3.2.2. The Reformation and Its Aftermath

Due to the chronological scope of this dissertation, the following overview of the Reformation focuses on the period between 1560 and 1660, leaving out the early phases and preconditions of the movement. It also focuses on this movement in its connection to the European witch hunt. At the time in question, the Reformation was already well under way. Initiated by theological discussions and the writings of reformers such as Luther, Melanchthon, Zwingli, and Calvin (Schilling 1995: 16), the movement had radicalized and spread to the political and social spheres (Hughes 1992: 30), influencing the economy, the school and university system, political systems, and private life on a large scale. However, the early years of the Reformation from 1520 to 1560 saw relatively few witch trials in the German-speaking areas (Levack 2006: 111). During the Counterreformation, starting with the Council of Trent (1545-1563), and then also through the Thirty Years' War,[40] this changed significantly. It is in fact striking, however, how exactly the dates of the European witch hunt and the conflict between Reformation and Counterreformation overlap.

The Religious Peace of Augsburg in 1555 led to a time of relative territorial stability until the beginning of the Thirty Years' War in 1618 (Lutz 2002: 57). During this time, large territories declared either for Catholicism (Bavaria), Lutheranism (Saxony) or partially Lutheranism-Calvinism (Brandenburg), uniting these regions theologically and

---

[40] Regarding the Thirty Years' War, Levack (2006: 126) states that the destruction and violence caused by the conflict are often overestimated in their immediate connection to the witch hunt. Intense outbreaks of war-related violence usually had a negative impact on the trial numbers, since they impeded the judicial machinery and gave the population an alternative (to witches) to explain misfortunes. However, in the long run, it is certainly true that violent conflicts aggravated social and economic problems in their aftermath, which in turn caused an increase in witchcraft accusations (as described further below).

politically (Heussi and Mulert 1905: X).[41] However, for the Western areas discussed in this dissertation, the struggles between Reformation and Counterreformation led to a major diversification, theologically, socially, and politically. On the one hand, the Archbishopric Seats of Cologne, Trier, and Mainz, as well as large parts of the Mosel-Franconian area near Koblenz remained in Catholic hands, while the diocese of Speyer and parts of Swabia were re-Catholicized. On the other hand, Hesse-Darmstadt, the duchy of Württemberg, the principality of Nassau, and the Palatinate became Lutheran or Calvinist territories (Heussi and Mulert 1905: X). This means that the heartlands of the West German witch hunt fell into the Catholic areas. Cologne, Trier, Mainz, and parts of Swabia account for most of the recorded witch hunt trials, while areas like the Palatinate experienced a comparatively small number of cases (Levack 2006: 213), and one could thus argue that religious aspects of Catholicism increased the trial numbers. However, this is not the case for all German areas. Bavaria, for example, was strongly Catholic, but had a significantly lower number of trials per capita than the Protestant duchy of Mecklenburg (Levack 2006: 213).

Schormann (1981: 65f) therefore argues that the number of witch trials is not so much influenced by religion itself but rather by the religious and, by extension, political fragmentation and the continuing conflict in the West German areas, which caused territorial confrontations and insecurity among the people. Levack (2006: 109) extends this observation to other countries as well – the European witch hunt would have not been possible without the cultural shattering of "the ostensible unity of medieval Christendom." The witch hunt was most intense in religiously heterogeneous areas, e.g. Germany, Switzerland, France, Poland, and Scotland (Levack 2006: 123). The religious divide

---

[41] Although this source is over a century old, it remains the best survey of these issues for the purposes of this dissertation, and I therefore rely on it here.

fostered political instability and caused insecurity among the population, which correlates to an increase in which hunt trials.

However, Levack (2006: 112) also points out that certain religious aspects of the time, common in both the Lutheran/Calvinist and Catholic discourse (piety, sanctity, personal guilt), played a role in the increase of the number of witch trials as a whole. The writings of Luther and Calvin, for example, emphasized the fear of the devil, who was believed to have significantly more power over the world than medieval belief systems allowed for.[42] Without the certainty of protection through the church and in the light of personal responsibility for a moral life and salvation, people lashed out against anything that could endanger their own salvation (like witches). Additionally, the public spectacle of the execution of a servant of the devil "gave both the individual and the community the opportunity to gain reassurance regarding their own moral worth" (Levack 2006: 115).

3.3. THE EUROPEAN WITCH HUNT

This section gives an overview of the European Witch Hunt, which took place between roughly 1450 and 1750 (Levack 2006: 1). The new image of the witch, as further described below, first emerged in the 1430s in the western Alps (Levack 2006: 205) and led to an abrupt increase in witch trials in certain areas. The early phase of the European witch hunt between 1450 and 1560 saw a rise in trial numbers in what is Spain and Italy today, especially after the establishment of the Spanish Inquisition in 1478, while the

---

[42] Compare Martin Luther's *Commentary on Paul's epistle to the Galatians*, a lecture from 1516 (http://www.gutenberg.org/files/1549/1549-h/1549-h.htm): "Moreover, it cannot be denied but that the devil liveth, yea, and reigneth throughout the whole world. Witchcraft and sorcery, therefore, are the works of the devil; whereby he doth not only hurt men, but also, by the permission of God, he sometimes destroyeth them. Furthermore, we are all subject to the devil, both in body and goods; and we be strangers in this world whereof he is the prince and god. Therefore, the bread which we eat, the drink which we drink, the garments which we wear, yea the air, and whatsoever we live by in the flesh, is under his dominion" (translation by Theodore Graebner, 2013).

numbers in areas influenced by the Reformation decreased in the first half of the 16ᵗʰ century (Levack 2006: 206). However, many of these areas, in particular Scotland, France, the Dutch Republic, Switzerland, Austria, and Germany, experienced the full force of the main phase between 1560 and 1630. Levack (2006: 208) states regarding the reasons for the main phase that

> by this time the Bible, with its literal death sentences for witches, was being widely circulated in the vernacular; preachers had heightened people's awareness of the immediacy of Satan; reformers had declared war on magic in all its forms; and the process of Christianization had helped to cultivate the feelings of both moral superiority and guilt that played such an important part in the witch hunt.

During the 17ᵗʰ century, the trial numbers in western and central Europe decreased significantly. The total number faded out after a final phase in Spain in the 1610s, in France in the 1620s, and in Scotland and Germany in the 1650s and 60s. Instead, the witch hunt moved to the periphery of Europe, to areas that had not participated in the early phases, namely Scandinavia, Poland, Hungary, and also the British colonies in New England, which is described as the late phase between 1630 and 1750/70 (Levack 2006: 209).

The overwhelming majority of trials occurred in what are today Germany, France, Switzerland, and Belgium (Levack 2006: 211), with over half of the witch trials happening in German speaking areas. Rummel and Voltmer (2008: 74) give the number of 50,000 trials, while Levack (2006: 212) estimates 25,000 for the German speaking regions. It must be remembered that the witch hunt did not occur in all parts of Germany with the same intensity and during the entire time period. Regional differences in trial proceedings and punishments can be identified, e.g. in Trier all convicted witches were burned at the stake, but the city of Cologne used expulsion from the city as the harshest form of punishment (Schwerhoff 1991: 37). Furthermore, there was an uneven distribution of witch trials in Germany. The archbishoprics of Cologne, Trier, and Mainz, the Harz region, Saxony and

Anhalt accounted for the most witch trials, with around 1000 trial records for the city of Trier alone (Levack 2016: 172), while other areas, such as Bavaria (with the exception of Würzburg and Bamberg) and North Germany, saw comparatively few trials per capita. In chronological terms, three main waves can be identified for Germany: around 1590, around 1630, and around 1660, with the wave around 1630 being particularly intense (Schormann 1981: 55).

3.3.1. Witch Hunt as a Mass Phenomenon

In this section, I discuss the new image of the witch that strongly influenced the increase in trial numbers. The Jesuit Friedrich Spee mocked the witch hunt in Germany in his 1631 work *Cautio Criminalis* with the following words:

> Ey warumb bemuehen wir uns so hefftig daß wir Hexen und Zauberer uberkommen? Hoeret ihr Richter/ ich will euch bald weisen wo sie seien? Nur frisch heran/ greifft Capuciner Jesuiten alle andere Ordens Persohnen an/ und Foltert sie/ sie sollen wohl bekennen/ wo nicht Foltert sie zum zweyten dritten und viertenmahl/ waß gilts sie werden bekennen/ wollen sie aber noch nicht dran/ so beschweret sie/ dann sie haben sich bezaubert/ der Teufel helt ihne daß Maul zu [...] wolte ihr noch mehr Zauberer haben/ laßt mich euch Foltern/ und hernacher ihr mich hin wieder/ in warheit ich werde nicht leugnen waß ihr bekennet habt/ und also werden wir dann allesampt Zauberer sein (Spee 1649: 74).[43]

Spee ridiculed torture as a common legal practice but also pointed to the enormous number of witch trials, attacking the methods used during the interrogation and in court. His was a minority opinion, though, and his writings caused the church to suspect him of heresy.[44]

---

[43] "Why do we exert ourselves so much to overcome the witches and wizards? Listen, judges, I want to show you where they are. Right to it: Grab Capuchin and Jesuit monks and all other people from orders and torture them. They will confess. And if they do not, torture them a second, third, a fourth time. They will confess. And if they do not, then ballast them, because they have bewitched themselves. The devil is keeping their mouth shut. […]. Do you want even more wizards? Let me torture you, and afterwards you torture me. The truth is: I will not deny what you have confessed, and so we will all be wizards." The term *beschweren* ('to ballast') refers to a medieval torture practice, in which the defendant was pulled upwards by their hands, which were tied together behind the back (Schormann 1991: 19f).

[44] Authors such as Leibniz expressed their admiration for Spee's bravery in publishing this controversial work and putting himself in danger to better the conditions for the people around him. Both Günther Grass

Court trials against witches and wizards occurred everywhere throughout human history and were based on the belief in the actual existence of black and white magic. These cases were, however, comparatively few in absolute terms and did not always lead to the execution of the alleged witch or wizard. This changed drastically with the European witch hunt. The trials are therefore traditionally differentiated into *Zaubereiprozess* ('sorcery trial') and *Hexereiprozess* ('witch trial'), following Hansen (1900: 3). 'Sorcery trial' on the one hand describes any form of persecution based on an alleged magical act that is neither regionally nor chronologically bound (It could happen anywhere and anytime, and was usually a single event). 'Witch trial' on the other hand is defined as a phenomenon of the late Middle Ages and Early Modern period and is regionally limited to Europe and the British colonies in North America (Schormann 1991: 24). Hehl (1987: 349) states that another defining factor lies in the extreme increase in trials as a result of the rapidly growing fear of the devil, which far exceeded that seen in the Middle Ages, as noted above.

This also leads to the most distinguishing factor of the early modern European witch hunt: the changing image of what defines as a witch. Images from Asian, Classical, and European folklore were mixed (Hansen 1900: 7) and found their way into the new image of the witch, propagated in the vastly influential *Malleus Maleficarum* (*Hexenhammer* 'The Hammer of Witches'), written by Heinrich Kramer and published in 1487. Guiley (2008: 223) states that this work was second in sales only to the Bible for almost 200 years.[45]

---

and Heinrich Böll compare Spee´s work and the reaction of the world to him to anti-Nazi-movements during WWII (Miesen 1987: 228).

[45] Shea (1991) estimates between 30,000 and 50,000 copies, about 2,000 to 2,500 copies per known edition between 1486 and 1669. While agreeing that the number of copies must have been high for the time, Maxwell-Stuart (2007) doubts that such as specialized book would have had such high printing numbers at a time when most people were still not literate or not literate enough to read an academic text. However, the number of editions (16) gives an impression of the popularity of the book.

Hansen (1900: 7) summarizes the definition in the *Malleus Maleficarium*, where witches are

> Menschen, und zwar vornehmlich Angehörige des weiblichen Geschlechts, welche zunächst einen Pakt mit dem Teufel geschlossen hatten, um mit dessen Hilfe unter Anwendung von mancherlei zauberischen Mitteln ihren Mitmenschen [...] Schädigungen aller Art zuzufügen; Menschen, die ferner an dem unter dem Vorsitz des Teufels stattfindenden nächtlichen Hexensabbat teilnahmen, auf diesem dem körperlich erscheinenden Teufel Verehrung erwiesen, dagegen Christus, Kirche und Sakramente frech verleugneten und schimpflich verhöhnten; Menschen, die [...] untereinander und mit dem Teufel sich geschlechtliche Ausschweifungen gröbster Art zu Schulden kommen ließen und eine große ketzerische Sekte bildeten [...].[46]

This collective idea that defined the witch as a member of a Satanic sect is seen as the main catalyst for the witch hunt as a mass phenomenon (Hehl 1987: 354). Since it was assumed that witches had to see other witches and wizards at the Sabbath, they were tortured to denounce other alleged participants. The witch hunt records use the term *besagen* ('to convey', Schormann 1991: 18), and many records thus include *Besagungslisten*, lists with names of people who the witch or wizard had allegedly seen at the sabbath. If a person was named on two different lists, they were detained and interrogated.[47] This system led to a steep increase in trial numbers and therefore to an accumulation of trial records between 1580 and 1680. Due to the name lists of those implicated in witchcraft, it became common to store the records in safe places, which is why such a large number of records are

---

[46] "People, predominantly members of the female sex, who first made a pact with the devil in order to harm their fellow people in numerous ways with his help and through magic means; further, people, who participated in the nightly witches' sabbath that is chaired by the devil, and there worshipped the devil who appeared in an embodied form. At the same time, they renounced and shamefully ridiculed Christ, the church, and the sacraments; people, who were guilty of the crudest sexual debaucheries with each other and with the devil, and who formed a big heretical sect."

[47] Another influential factor is the introduction of the inquisitorial trial into the legal system during the 16th century. During the Middle Ages, the dominating accusative trial needed an accuser who had to prove guilt. In inquisitorial trials, on the other hand, the accuser could be a governmental or clerical institution that accuses for the public interest (Hehl 1987: 355f).

preserved (Schormann 1991: 64). This leads to social reasons for the witch hunt which I address in the next sub-section.

3.3.2. Social Catalysts

Levack (2006: 135) argues that it is impossible to identify the specific causes of the witch hunt in certain regions due to the difficulty of interpreting social, climatic, or economic data on such a small scale, if data is available at all. The reasons described here are larger phenomena influencing the entire European witch hunt and therefore have be considered with caution when discussing the reasons for the rise in cases in a specific region.

As mentioned above, the Middle Ages also saw occasional trials related to magic, but never to the extent of the 16th and 17th centuries. The change lies in the spread of a militant belief system that was codified in and propagated by the *Malleus Maleficarum*, published in 1487. Levack (2006: 31) sees the reasons for the 80-year delay between the publication date and the onset of the mass persecution in the slow dissemination of these new concepts. He argues that, after an initial phase of discussion among theologians, philosophers, and lawyers, the idea spread to educated judges, clerics, magistrates, and landlords, who could either read the text themselves or had it read to them. From there, the concept was further disseminated throughout the population through sermons and public speakers. However, this would still not explain why a wildly popular book such as the *Malleus Maleficarum* with the sales numbers mentioned above would need 80 years to reach the entire population and thus cause a delay in the onset of the witch hunt.

It is more believable that other economic, environmental, and social catalysts were necessary to cause the population to lash out on such a scale. Believing in the devil and witches must have been a prerequisite for this. Levack (2006: 31) concludes his argument

by stating that the European witch hunt could have never taken place without everyone subscribing to and firmly believing in the new concept of a pact with the devil for personal gain (to save one's family from starvation or to get oneself out of personal misery).[48] This belief system was then triggered by an accumulation of the Little Ice Age, droughts, famines, floods, diseases, and the aftermath of various conflicts within the Thirty Years' War. It was easy to blame someone and request retribution, e.g. in the area around Cologne crop failures, famine, and waves of spreading diseases correlated with an increase in witch trials in the region (Schwerhoff 1991: 40). Levack (2016: 163) himself adds that in Trier between 1580 and 1599, a series of natural disasters destroyed all but two harvests leading to "a ferocious epidemic of witch trials." Once started, the snowball system of the *Besagungslisten* caused a further surge in numbers.

Finally, a major contribution to the large numbers of trials in German areas lies in increasing urbanization and the social transformations associated with it. While in most European countries, the witch hunt was largely a rural phenomenon strengthened by the superstitions of the uneducated and conservative peasantry (Levack 2006: 137), this was not the case for the German areas, where most cases are recorded in urban settings. Levack (2006: 140) identifies two major reasons for an increase in cases in cities: (1) the type of witchcraft (political or disease-related in cities compared to the poisoning of farm animals in the countryside), and (2) the denser population, in which the snowball effect of the *Besagungen*, particular to the German legal system, could spread faster.

---

[48] Interestingly, the time frame also correlates with the first major publication of the Faust legend in Johann Spies' *Historia von D. Johann Fausten* in 1587, showing the reach and impact of these concepts.

3.4. WRITING IN EARLY MODERN GERMANY

This section discusses literacy and writing in Early Modern Germany. This again cannot be an extensive overview, but rather asks who was able to write, what was being written, and what was said about writing with regards to the world of the scribe as the author of court records. The first section discusses the question of literacy during these two centuries. It addresses the explosion of every-day genres, such as court records or household books, thereby also defining what type of writing falls into this category. The second section briefly explores what was being said about writing, language, and standardization by grammarians and language societies, as well as addressing the concept of language purism at the time. The final section then segues from these theoretical discussions to the linguistic reality of the scribes.

3.4.1. Literacy and Genre

Already in the late Middle Ages, the new urban middle class broke the clerical monopoly on education and founded the first *kleine Schulen* 'small schools' or *vermengte Schulen* 'mixed schools' that targeted the needs of the trades and were open to the sons and daughters of wealthier merchants and craftsmen. They taught Latin, religion, arithmetic, manners, and later also German reading and writing. (Hartweg and Wegera 2005: 64f). The 16th century saw an increase in *teutsche Schulen* 'German schools' or *Winkelschulen* 'corner schools', that were founded based on the needs of an emerging middle class and middle-class professions in trade and chanceries. These were small schools in rented rooms, often run by itinerant teachers, that specialized in teaching German reading and writing (Salmons 2012: 277). These schools, targeting an even wider student body, further increased literacy among urban citizens. For the beginning of the 16th century, literacy is usually estimated to be 10 to 20% in cities, which amounts to 5% of the overall German population. Hartweg and Wegera (2005: 66) argue that these numbers do not correlate with

the increasing circulation of printed materials and suggest a higher percentage of literacy especially in areas with many cities, e.g. the South-West and the territories of the Hanse. While most books still had a relatively small print run, some exceptional cases show the printing of thousands of copies in Western Europe. Walsby (2011: 108) notes a bishopric in Brittany that ordered between 1,600 and 2,000 copies of some texts on multiple occasions as early as 1520. According to a quantitative study by Buringh and van Zanden (2009), the total number of printed books in Germany (including copies) climbed from 3,000 between 1450 and 1500 to 32,000 between 1550 and 1600. On the other hand, one cannot assume a direct correlation between book production and literacy, as there was presumably a wide range of levels of literacy among the people.

As mentioned in the previous chapter, a further major factor lies in the most radical moment of change of the era: the invention of the printing press by Johannes Gutenberg around 1440 (Salmons 2012: 230). After the dissemination of the new technique that allowed texts to be printed faster and on a larger scale, the 16th century saw an explosion of written material, which led to increased literacy. This in turn resulted in an increase in handwritten every-day textual genres (letters, contracts, licenses, certificates, inventories, court records, etc.). Furthermore, the invention of printed mass media in the form of pamphlets, and the expansion of the governmental postal system are two further points where average people came in contact with written material (von Polenz 1994: 16). While the majority of the population was still not literate, or at least not sufficiently literate to read a pamphlet or write a letter on their own, the increasing number of texts belonging to these genres suggests that there had to be a significant number of people who were able to read the newspaper out loud or write a letter for someone. At the same time, chanceries and the administrative apparatus were expanded significantly due to new legal and political concepts, which necessitated a considerably larger number of workers in the new middle-

class profession: the secular scribe (Hartweg and Wegera 2005: 63). While most published books were still in Latin,[49] the genres of every-day usage gave way to German as a written language.

3.4.2. Language Ideology: Grammarians, Language Societies, and Purism

Due to the increasing usage of German, the first German grammars were published in the 16th century. The grammatical works of the early 16th century, such as the Cologne *Schriftspiegel* (1527) and Ickelsamer's *Teutsche Grammatica* (1534) still focused on practical aspects of reading or writing and good handwriting, and were not concerned with dialectal differences or the development of a unified language (Hartweg and Wegera 2005: 72). However, at the same time, Frangk's *Orthographia* (1531) is often seen as the first prescriptive work towards a leading language variety (Reichmann 1988: 174). In this work, Frangk (1531) praises and recommends orthographic role models such as the chancery of Emperor Maximilian or Martin Luther. The publications of the second half of the 16th, such as Ölinger's *Vnderricht der Hoch Teutschen Spraach* (1574), increasingly relied on sample texts (Hartweg and Wegera 2005: 72).

During the 17th century, these discussions were further intensified. In 1617, the *Fruchtbringende Gesellschaft* ('Fruitbearing Society') was founded, which included notable writers such as Gryphius and Opitz, and grammarians such as Schottelius (Hartweg and Wegera 2005: 66). The goal was the cultivation, consolidation, and development of German as a literary and national language, and in general the 'saving' of the German language. The nuisances were foreign linguistic influences,[50] as well as archaisms,

---

[49] Around 1570, 70% of all printed books were in Latin, but by 1680, this number had decreased to about 50% (von Polenz 1994: 20).

[50] As mentioned above, Von Zesen attempted to Germanize many foreign terms, e.g. *Anschrift* for *Adresse* 'address' or *Mundart* for *Dialekt* 'dialect', many of which are still used as synonyms of each other in NHG, including the two examples given (Hartweg and Wegera 2005: 67).

vulgarities (the language of the common people), and provincialisms (dialects) (Hartweg and Wegera 2005: 67). This was the time of the birth of language purism and the standard language ideology described in the previous chapter, which simultaneously helped the development and standardization of Standard German and discriminated against the language of the lower social classes – the largest part of the population (Salmons 2012: 274).[51]

These linguistic publications by grammarians of the 16th and 17th centuries cannot be seen as isolated works, but have to be connected to the sociopolitical dimensions of a movement within the upper middle class towards nationalistic ideologies (Hartweg and Wegera 2005: 68). In this regard, von Polenz (1994: 152, 155) states that the grammarians of the time, such as Schottelius and Bödiker, aligned their overviews with the language of the upper-middle class and pursued thereby nationalist and prescriptive goals. It is questionable whether the grammarians thereby depicted the language use of all social classes.[52] It is, however, possible that especially larger and more important chanceries and their scribes were familiar with these types of publications and oriented their orthography towards the literary language as a sign of higher education. In general, the world of the

---

[51] The precise impact of this movement can be difficult to assess, as different scholars take different positions on the issue. While it is clear that some of those involved in the movement were not taken seriously at the time, it remains an undercurrent in the German-speaking world today, as evidenced by organizations like the *Verein Deutsche Sprache* ('Society of the German language') and popular writers like Bastian Sick. I find the position taken by Salmons (2012) convincing and therefore take that position here as well.

[52] It is more likely that they focused on the elevated style of educated circles dedicated to literary production. The 17th century sees the rise of the Baroque language, an "ornate, metaphorical, bombastic style that characterizes much of the language of the so-called 'Second Silesian Dichterschule'" (Waterman 1976: 148), propagated by poets such as Gryphius, Hofmannswaldau, and von Lohenstein. While this language received much criticism for its *Schwulst* ('pompousness'), particularly by poets of the Pietist movement, it did pave the way for a more flexible German *Kunstsprache* ('art language') (Waterman 1976: 149). Most poets of the time reflected this trend and started to write in this elevated style.

scribe during the period in question was one between the beginning of standardization in the late 16th century and the birth of radicalized language purism in the 17th century.[53]

3.4.3. Linguistic Reality: Dialects, Sociolects

While the publications of the time began to promote a united national language and the scribes might have potentially known about these publications, the linguistic reality of their every-day life has to be differentiated from this potential knowledge. Von Polenz (1991: 169) points out that an assumption of continuity between the (rural or urban) spoken language on the one side and the written language of the chanceries (the emerging Standard German with strong East Middle and East Upper German influence) on the other side is untenable, as multiple social, medial, and economic factors contradict such a notion. Instead, it has to be assumed that the scribes of the time knew two different versions of German, a written one at the chancery or court and a spoken one for general usage, with far less overlap between the two, not unlike between today's German dialects and Standard German. Only a hundred years prior to the time frame investigated here, there was still the possibility for the development of multiple parallel written languages, e.g. of Low German or Ripuarian, which both showed strong standardization tendencies of their own written vernacular (von Polenz 1991: 168).

Where metadata is available regarding the scribes of the records used in this dissertation, it points to the region of employment as the place of birth for the scribe (e.g.

---

[53] It has been argued that public officials increasingly oriented themselves on the emerging *Kunstsprache* propagated by upper-middle class literary circles as the prestigious variety of the time. I personally see it as problematic to assume that all scribes, including middle-class scribes at small city courts, would be familiar with this style or willing and able to implement it in their written language. It falls into the argument of a 'language history from below' that the previous strong focus of scholars on the language of literary productions and large, prestigious courts led to the impression that most scribes and poets increasingly oriented themselves on the prestigious written language. I argue here for the birth of language purism during the 17th century because the prestigious written variety started to be aligned with the language of the upper-middle class, while all other written varieties were assigned value judgements such as 'wrong', 'uneducated', or 'unsophisticated', a trend that persists today (and not just in German).

in Macha 2005). This is particularly true for the smaller city chanceries and courts. It can be assumed that the scribes who were born in the region in which they later worked also spoke the dialect of the area. The written language, which they initially learned, might have been close to this dialect, depending on their area. For Cologne, this is certainly true for the 16th century (Hoffmann 2000: 137). However, over the course of the time frame investigated here, the linguistic and social developments mentioned above must have also reached the smaller chanceries, forcing the scribes to adopt an increasingly standardized written language that was vastly different from their spoken language, to achieve readability for possible recipients. This situation led to orthographic insecurities, many of which are discussed in the data analysis section of this dissertation.

3.5. COURT RECORDS AS A GENRE

In this section, I introduce the texts of the corpus used for my linguistic analysis from the perspective of the genre. This is important, as the structure and content of the texts influence the linguistic analysis. I first give a genre description of the specific court record used here, i.e. minutes of interrogations (*Verhörprotokolle*). This genre is not just a phenomenon of the Early Modern period, but is still in use today, meaning that the Early Modern form specific to the corpus used in this dissertation must be differentiated from the modern form. I turn to the witch hunt records as a further sub-genre in a second section. Since all witch hunt records follow a certain pattern, it is important to describe this pattern to avoid related pitfalls in the linguistic investigation.

3.5.1. Genre Description

The modern court record, whose function is roughly described as transferring selected events into a written and binding format (Niehaus and Schmidt-Hannisa 2005: 7),

has a very rigid and firm structure. The requirements in form and content are defined legally, since the court minutes are essential for the forthcoming of a trial.[54] These requirements are further enforced by pre-prepared and pre-formulated sections (Stegmann 2006: 21). These sections include a header with date, time, place, and the attendance list, pre-formulated question catalogues that need to be completed in order to avoid legal pitfalls, or the delivery of judgement that has to follow a certain wording. As such, the form of court minutes today is very homogenous and even the content only differs in terms of trial participants, purpose of trial, and the particular case.

The Early Modern trial minutes are rather heterogenous by comparison. Since there were no common ordinances across German speaking areas in regards to the production of these records, it can be expected that the records show differences between different areas and chanceries, if the chanceries had a relevant ordinance in place at all. Furthermore, the procedure of production also accounts for differences in form and structure of the records. This procedure can fall anywhere on a spectrum between simultaneous writing into prose text on the one side[55] and initial brief notes with subsequent transmission into prose and fair copies on the other[56] (Topalović 2003: 101f). Finally, Topalović (2003: 102) points out that the German sub-genre called 'Verhörprotokoll' (which, in this context, can be roughly translated as 'interrogation record') is telling for the communicative situation of the origin of the records during the Early Modern period. The harsh tone of the questions, the imbalance of power and education between judges and defendants, and the use of torture

---

[54] As an example, the trial court records manual of California consists of 124 pages of legal text regarding the creation, storage, and private and public access to the records (http://www.courts.ca.gov/documents/trial-court-records-manual.pdf; last accessed 7/31/2017).

[55] Compare Mihm's (1994: 34f) investigation of Duisburg witch hunt records. Topalović (2003: 103) assumes a similar production background for her investigation of witch hunt records from Osnabrück.

[56] See also Macha's (1991: 39f) investigation of Cologne witch hunt records.

show the glaring differences between this time frame and the modern court situation, which also influences the situation of the scribe. Thus, modern versions of court records are often defined as 'Vernehmungsprotokoll' (roughly 'hearing record') to mark this difference (Topalović 2003: 97). These are defined through an unbiased and unemotional collection of information. Hille (2009: 81) adds a linguistic difference between the Early Modern and modern version: the rendition of testimonies of the defendants and witnesses. While modern scribes and court clerks record the complete interrogation verbatim with the help of recording tools and stenography, the Early Modern records are usually framed by the scribe's narration and contain indirect speech, using dependent clauses and subjunctive, which of course changes not just the immediacy and accuracy of the account, but also the perspective of the record.

3.5.2. Witch hunt records as a sub-genre

On the other hand, the Early Modern and modern versions of the court record also show certain similarities, particularly in content. The Early Modern court records, for example, contain recurring, preformulated passages, such as the header and the formulaic delivery of judgement at the end of the record, both of which frequently contain Latin phrases. The following header, taken from a 1629 Cologne record, exemplifies this:

> Confessio Christinen Plaum filie Coloniensis Anno 1629 Jouis 29 Aprilis hat Christina Plom ihres alters 24 Jahr auf befragen dero herrn Stim meisteren beiseins doctoris Wischij Sy vnd Licentiatii Bulderen beider Syndicorum bei ihrem gewißen geantworth wie folgt.[57]

---

[57] "Confession of Christina Plaum, daughter of Cologne, in the year of the lord 1629, 29 of April, Christina Plaum, aged 24 years, on the questioning and in the presence of the lord judges Doctor Wischij Sy and Bulder, [who holds] licentiates of both syndicates, has answered upon her conscience as follows." (I thank Dr. Allannah Karas, Valparaiso University, for her help in translating this passage.)

The passage gives the purpose of the record, the name of the defendant, her birthplace, and the date in Latin. It then switches to German, while still using Latin to refer to specific titles. The delivery of judgement is also a mixture of Latin and German. Furthermore, many court records also include a preformulated question catalogue, occasionally marked through numbering. The questions either precede the answer passage completely, or questions and answers alternate, suggesting that the scribe had copied the questions beforehand and was filling in the answers during the trial.

Topalović (2003: 155-159) identifies the following main content sections for her corpus of witch hunt records from Osnabrück, which also overlap with the content of the records used in this dissertation. While I do not use her typology directly (since I am not looking at the corpus from a literary standpoint), it is important to know that the court records can be differentiated into separate sections that might contain different linguistic material. Not all segments have to appear in every trial, but this structure is very common:

1. *Prozeßsituierung* (**'situating of the trial'):** date, place, name of defendant, names of commissioners, reason for trial; occasionally also name of scribe, place and time of arrest, name of lord in whose name the trial takes place.

2. *Gegenüberstellung* (**'confrontation'):** reasons for arrest, evidence (witness statements, statements about character of defendant, etc.), potential *Besagungen* (the defendant's name was mentioned in another trial as a perpetrator); occasionally test for witchcraft (needle, water test, etc.).

3. *Verhör* (**'interrogation'):** initial request for confession; if confession does not take place, further questioning, often under torture, until defendant confesses.

4. *Wiederholung des Geständnisses* (**'repetition of confession'):** without torture, legal reasons of admissibility

5. ***Entgültige Ratifizierung des Geständnisses* ('final ratification of confession'):** confirmation of confession and verdict; occasional note on time and place of delivery of punishment.

Point 4 in particular does not have to appear in all court records. This largely depends on the legal requirements of the area. Often times, the confirmation of the confession through the scribe is sufficient (e.g. in the court record from St. Maximin, in which the scribe attests that he read the confession out loud and the defendant agreed to the content). This pattern, with some minor differences, is used in many general court records. There are, however, certain content areas that are essential for the trials of alleged witches and wizards. These areas fall into the confrontation and interrogation sections of the trial and are also occasionally repeated in the ratification of the confession. In her regionally differentiated text analysis, Hille (2009) focuses on content patterns related to what constitutes a crime in the witch hunt records, which is the central content point in the line of argumentation towards a conviction of witches and wizards.

The clerical dogma of the time described four essential infractions taken from the definition of a witch as stated in the *Malleus Maleficarum* (Hille 2009: 53):

1. The pact with the devil. The witch or wizard agrees to commit magical acts (harming people or animals, causing a drought, etc.), usually in exchange for material gain (money, food, etc.). The devil appears as a person or animal and can be described during the trial.
2. The witch or wizard has a sexual relationship with the devil.
3. The witch or wizard has attended a witches' sabbath, where he or she participated in unconventional festivities and has seen other attendees that can be named during the trial.
4. The witch or wizard performs black magic and fulfills the contract with the devil.

The specific form of magical act can be described during the trial. In her analysis of 233 witch hunt records, Hille (2009: 53f) found that all records contain at least one of these content points. 53% of the records contain all four points. For a linguistic dissertation, these observations are important because recurring content patterns influence the overall vocabulary range used in the texts. It has to be expected that terms related to the legal process of the trial as well as related to the religiously influenced definition of a witch during the time dominate the token count of linguistic features, as further described in the next chapter. Findings based on this token count cannot be overgeneralized and connected to unrelated texts.

3.6. CONCLUSION

The 16th and 17th centuries were a time of radical change for all German-speaking areas and specifically also for the West German regions investigated here. This change brought with it many great innovations. However, times of great change can also lead to outbursts of violence and hatred. The European witch hunt has to be seen as a symptom of its time between departure from the old familiar world towards an uncertain future. In the midst of all this conflict, the scribes of the chanceries documented every-day life through birth, marriage, and death certificates, deeds of ownership, apprentice certificates, and witch hunt records.

As shown, multiple issues must be kept in mind when discussing the data. In this chapter, I discussed the social and political aspects of the time frame as well as the literary aspects of the genre, which influenced the life of the scribes, the legal machinery at the courts, and large-scale incentives for the witch hunt. These brief overviews serve as rudimentary metadata, giving background information that might help explain certain

linguistic changes, in addition to the very few details that are known about some of the scribes who wrote the records. Most records used in this dissertation stem from smaller clerical or secular chanceries. All of these chanceries were situated in the politically and religiously fragmented Western German areas. Based on this information, certain assumptions can be made about the employed scribes as well as the implementation of language standardization tendencies influenced by grammarians. Furthermore, all defendants in the trials are members of the lowest social class while the judges are either clerical or secular members of the middle class or lower nobility (see Macha 2005). Social status and the level of education of all participants in the witch hunt trials influences the pragmatics of language use in the records. Finally, as mentioned above, the strong belief in magic and witch craft as well as the stereotypical definition of a witch, which is important to understand the mass phenomenon and the mass production of texts, leads to certain vocabulary choices that in turn can influence a linguistic investigation and taint the token count. These and other considerations are discussed further in the next chapter.

Chapter 4: Methodology

In this chapter, I present the methodology used for my dissertation. I first review the methodological considerations regarding the corpus and then describe the general methodology by giving examples and addressing the methodological pathways that I used for all feature analyses. Finally, I present an overview of the features that are under investigation. Since my investigation focuses on diachronic orthographic changes, there are certain methodological considerations that all six feature analyses have in common. However, the individual characteristics of each feature (phonological environment, varying usages, etc.) as well as slightly differing research questions for each feature make it necessary also to add individual methodologies to each feature description. These individual considerations precede each feature discussion in the data analysis chapter.

4.1. CORPUS (METHODOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS)

As mentioned in the introduction, my project includes a different genre than the usual literary and upper-class genres: the *Hexenverhörprotokolle* ('witch hunt records') collected, compiled, and transcribed by Jürgen Macha and his team at the University of Münster in Germany, and published in 2005. This corpus is comprised of handwritten documents that originated at chanceries as well as clerical and secular courts (Macha 1991: 40). From this corpus, I use 32 court records (8 from each dialect region), each 10-20 pages in length; this part of the corpus contains a total of 89,268 tokens. The sample size is comparatively small for a quantitative analysis, which is a common problem in historical linguistics.

Hernández-Campoy and Schilling (2014: 63) list seven main issues relevant to historical sociolinguistic analyses: (1) Representativeness describes the issue of patchy

data as a consequence of random preservation (Hernández-Campoy and Schilling 2014: 66). This is an issue that historical linguistics in general faces and that directly influences the generalizability of the outcomes of any study. It is only possible to make assertive statements about the data at hand. Any further reaching conclusions have to be seen and dealt with in this context. Related to this point is (2) empirical validity, which demands a sufficiently large data set, usually at least 0.025% of the statistical population (Hernández-Campoy and Schilling 2014: 67), in order for statements to be valid. However, due to the vagaries of data preservation, historical sociolinguists must often work with limited data sets. This also calls for a careful evaluation of the outcomes under the consideration that it might not be possible to make empirically valid statements beyond the limited data at hand. These points then also connect to (3) invariation, i.e. the lack of data variation (only written and often only certain genres). The witch hunt records are affected by this issue. Since the court records were written by male, middle-class clerks, and only a portion of these records are preserved, I can only make valid assertions about this part of the population and this genre under the aforementioned circumstances.

The next issue considers the origin of the data, namely (4) authenticity. Authenticity asks how the written language of the documents can be linked to the actual language used at the time, and also if it is possible to rely on the transcriptions of others. Labov (1994: 11) states on the first point that "the linguistic forms in such documents are often distinct from the vernacular of the writers, and instead reflect efforts to capture a normative dialect that never was any speaker's native language. As a result, many documents are riddled with the effects of hypercorrection, dialect mixture, and scribal error." This immediately affects the discussion of the corpus used for this project, since i is likely that the court scribes used a more supraregional variety in their writing. The connection between spoken and written language in historical documents is further

addressed below. With regard to the transcription of the handwritten documents, I rely on Macha et al. (2005: XXf) who either transcribed the documents themselves, compared the transcription to the original manuscript, or had compelling linguistic reasons to assume a great closeness of the transcription to the original material. Authenticity is also connected to (5) authorship, which addresses the problems of literacy and scribal traditions during the investigated time. The question, whether the scribe, the defendant, or the court was the written or oral author of the witch hunt records if further discussed below.

The last two problems are created during the discussion of the data. The first point calls for (6) social and historical validity, which warns against imposing modern perceptions on the actual social and historical reality of the discussed time frame (Hernández-Campoy and Schilling 2014: 70). In order to avoid this pitfall, I addressed the social and historical background of my data in chapter 3. The final point aims at the notion of (7) standard language ideology. While certain comparisons to the German standard are unfortunately unavoidable, they have to be dealt with carefully. This project specifically asks if it is possible and advantageous to step away from a language history that focuses on the emerging standards and include non-standard material.

Considering these issues of historical sociolinguistics, I now turn to in-depth discussions of the points mentioned above by addressing a series of theoretical implications regarding the corpus that have to be kept in mind when asserting the outcomes of the data analysis. These are the general orthographic usage of the time, the genre of legal texts, the means of origin of the texts (court records, scribes), and the conceptual connections between spoken and written language in the records.

4.1.1. ENHG Orthographic Usage

To account for different scripting principles, I follow the general consensus on scripting within the German language outlined in Nübling et al. (2010: 169ff). For this time frame, it is complicated to talk about 'orthography', as this term points to a normalized spelling convention which in Germany only started to emerge in the late 18th century and did not become a norm until 1902. Von Polenz (1994: 242) states that orthography was "im 17. Jahrhundert noch eher eine persönlich, institutionell, lokal oder regional bedingte, recht flexible Variatenfülle, die von streng philologischer oder modern-normativer Einstellung her gern 'chaotisch' genannt wird."[58] In Modern German, the phoneme-grapheme-correspondence is relatively high, also due to the fact that spoken German became increasingly standardized in the second half of the 20th century, which makes it easy for a reader to pronounce a written word even if it is unfamiliar (Nübling et al. 2010: 171). Can this close correspondence between sound and letter also be seen in the Early Modern period?

According to Nübling et al. (2010: 172), orthographic principles changed during the ENHG period from a predominantly phonological principle (phonography) to a more morphological principle. The phonological principle depicts each sound with its own symbol. Here, we have to differentiate between (1) purely phonetic spelling (e.g. the IPA); (2) phonemic spelling, which tries to make things easier for the reader by representing allophones of the same phoneme with the same symbol, e.g. <ch> for both [ç] and [x]; and (3) allographic spelling, which shows the most variation by having multiple graphemes representing one phoneme, e.g. <ah, a, aa> all represent the sound [a:]. Nübling et al. (2010:

---

[58] "In the 17th century, orthography was [characterized by] an abundance of variation; [it was] very flexible, and personally, institutionally, locally, or regionally determined, [and] could be called 'chaotic' from a strict philological or modern-normative standpoint."

173) state that OHG and MHG have a strong tendency towards a phonographic spelling.[59] Within this, it is however problematic to differentiate whether the writers used a phonetic, phonematic, or allographic spelling. MHG shows, for example, a tendency to write underlyingly voiced stops that have undergone final devoicing with symbols for voiceless tops (e.g. /b/ is written <p>), which points to phonetically motivated spelling. However, in non-normalized MHG, we also find a great amount of allographic variation, which continues into ENHG. These allographic deviations might however be beneficial as they might reveal more information about the phonological system (Kyes 1985: 437).

Within the ENHG time frame, the allographic variation then gradually declines due to an increasing orientation towards the reader in order to facilitate easier reception of the documents outside of the local dialectal area,[60] e.g. the aforementioned graphic representation of final devoicing is revoked in favor of a more phonematic spelling, and also in favor of the morphological principle or stem principle (Nübling et al. 2010: 181): The same morpheme should also be spelled the same way. In the example of final devoicing, [lant] 'country' does not show devoicing of the final obstruent /d/ in the plural form [lɛndɐ] 'countries'. Due to the morphological principle, the stem is thus realized as <Land>. Nübling et al. (2010: 171) visualize the change from a shallow to a deep writing system in the following illustration (given here in my translation):

---

[59] Spontaneous orthographies have the tendency to be phonemic because a close relationship between sound and letter is easier for the writer (compare Nübling 2010: 171). This is also reflected in the first efforts towards a German orthography by Notker of St. Gall (ca. 950-1022), as noted by Waterman (1976: 79).

[60] Hoffmann (2000: 136) states that the investigated time frame sees an increasing orientation towards the reader in official documents, as the court documents were often send to other courts or chanceries, if a defendant moved or accused other people who did not fall under the local jurisdiction. This caused scribes at the time to try to avoid local dialectal spelling, words, and phrases.

easier to write, shallow

Phonographic principles — Phonetic (e.g. IPA)
Phonemic
Syllabic

from here on
concessions to
the reader

Semantic principles — Morphological
Lexical
Syntactic
Textual
Pragmatic

easier to read, deep
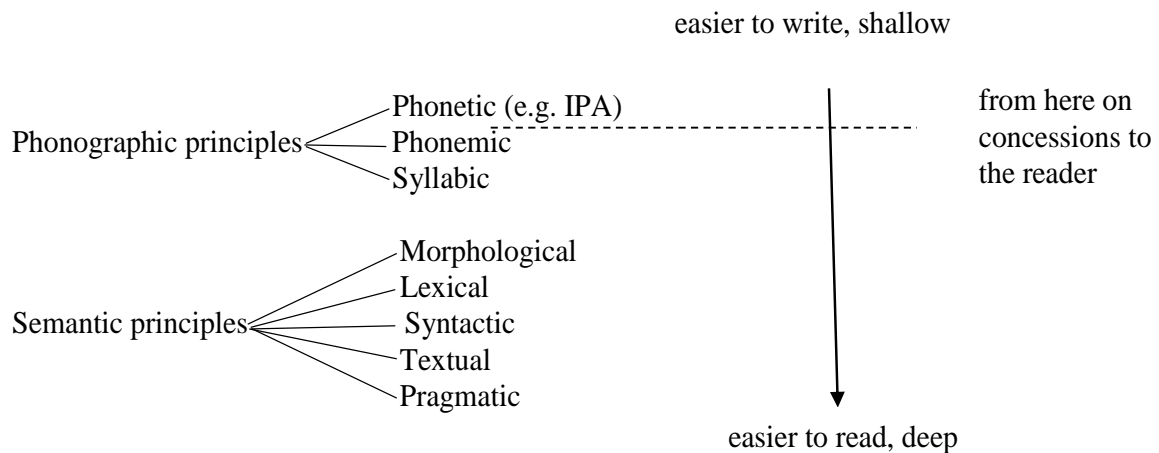
Figure 4.1: Shallow and deep writing systems (Nübling 2010: 171)

Writing principles are here depicted top to bottom depending on whether they are classified as shallow or deep. Systems that depict sound as close to the individual phoneme as possible are described as shallow systems. These also include the syllabic principle which addresses hyphenation (Nübling et al. 2010: 176). The more a writing system includes semantic principles, the more it is considered deep and easier to read. This includes the aforementioned morphological principle, but also the lexical principle (e.g. the spelling of compound words as one or two words, grouping or differentiating words through spelling), the syntactic principle (capitalization at the beginning of a sentence and punctuation), the textual principle (text structure of e.g. a letter compared to a recipe), and the pragmatic principle (e.g. quotation marks for irony, capitalization of formal address).

For the purpose of this dissertation, the focus lies on the different variants of the phonographic principles as well as the increasing morphological principle, since the data analysis focuses on individual graphemes. In general, I assume a relatively high phoneme-grapheme correspondence, as in NHG, which shows stronger allographic variation due to a lack of a normalized spelling convention. The time frame investigated here sees a strong

tendency towards the reduction of orthographic variation, but it is by no means unified. However, I also assume that each phoneme corresponds to a finite number of graphemes and vice versa in order to remain readable by the target audience (other clerks and scribes of the same court or chancery or other chanceries as mentioned above) despite individual variation.

4.1.2. Legal Texts and Court Records

The genre of the corpus, legal texts, further complicates linguistic investigation. Legal texts are limited in their range of lexical items and pragmatic functionality, due to their nature as institutionally bound documents written for a specific public purpose. A specific additional characteristic of court records, especially historic court records, is the usage of Latin and formulaic phrases (Kurzon 2013), often copied from an earlier record or memorized. As described in the previous chapter, the witch hunt records exhibit the question and answer pattern, occasionally further intensified by a pre-established catalog of questions (Topalović 2003). Most records begin by formulaically stating the date and place of the court proceedings and introducing judges, jury, scribe, defendant, witnesses, and other official participants of the trial. This can be repeated multiple times if the trial stretches over multiple days. Similar patterns appear at the end of most records, e.g. when the defendant is convicted and the punishment is set and executed. Here, we also find the date, place of execution (if applicable), form of execution, and formulaic expressions to commend the accused's soul to God. In the texts, Latin legal terms are used for certain questioning techniques and also occasionally to describe torture. This pattern is more or less visible in every court record of this corpus. As such, court scribes can be considered part of a textual tradition of the genre of court records that is bound by institutional conventions and pre-established patterns (Topalović 2003: 113).

81

Furthermore, the court records are minutes of court proceedings, which further limits the pragmatic functionality. The main purpose of the minutes is the recording of face-to-face communication (Topalović 2003: 103) as proof for legal legitimacy and for potential use for future institutional reference. Court records in general show a large heterogeneity within the genre (Topalović 2003: 106), especially if different conditions of the communicative situation are included (e.g. number of judges or defendants). Thus, I also assume some situational differences between the court records used here. These are only addressed, however, if the language use differs significantly from the pre-established pattern of an interrogation court record.

4.1.3. Origin of the Records

The next point deals with the linguistic consequences of the origin of the court records, in particular whether the records were direct minutes of the court proceedings or a cleaned-up copy for storage and reference purposes. The question posed here is: How close are the court records to the spoken language used in court? This point is relevant in reference to the authorship of the record and, as outlined in the previous chapter, it is to this day very controversial. Can it be assumed that the scribe is the author? This might lead to neglect of the institutionally pre-established question catalog that the scribes had memorized or copied from a different record, as well as the voices of the defendants that might find their way into the fast-paced court records, if they were simultaneous minutes of speech.

Problematic for the comparison between the records is also that the chanceries differed significantly in size and number of employed scribes, and that metadata about the scribes or writing practices at a particular chancery is often not available. For larger royal or clerical chanceries, the path from the interrogation to the final record is well-documented

through ordinances and shows strong similarities across the chanceries (Moser 1977: 20). In these larger institutions, court records were subject to a division of labor in the different steps from the notes to the end result. Thus, we cannot assume one author or a particular closeness to spoken language here. For smaller chanceries and city courts, like the court in Cologne, Macha (1991: 39) states that the state of evidence is not satisfactory. However, due to the clear structure of the records in clean prose and the usage of indirect speech, he assumes an initial phase of the record in notes that were later put into prose. However, he also assumes that the language in court was the local vernacular and that the dialectal written language was used in these courts, unless a scribe had more formal training in the supraregional variety (Macha 1991: 40). Topalović (2003:102) argues for different processes of text production at different courts and chanceries, depending on regulations and situative and functional factors. Her corpus of witch hunt records from Osnabrück shows chronologically connected renditions of the court proceedings for which she assumes a direct transcript of the events in prose. This point is, as mentioned above, still controversial and cannot be answered without concrete metadata. Ideally, if metadata could be found, it would be particularly beneficial to know how many scribes worked at a particular chancery, whether they moved around, if spelling ordinances were in place, etc. At this point, however, I cannot make general assumptions, if the outcomes of my analysis rely on this particular distinction.

4.1.4. Spoken vs. Written Language

Furthermore, this question also leads to the final consideration, the relationship between conceptual orality and scribality. Kyes (1985: 439) states regarding this point:

> [T]he most serious criticism of a principled approach to the reconstruction of past phonologies arises from the fact that, while the evolution of the pronunciation of a language is largely an internal linguistic matter, the development of the writing

system is heavily burdened by traditions that are securely anchored in the culture's history or – as often is the case – in some other culture's history. […] Orthography neither causes nor prevents sound change, it simply ignores it. The tendency is for the writing system to become increasingly constant, rather than to share in the dynamic fluxion of the spoken language.

Thus, the question of how much spoken language is actually preserved in the witch hunt records arises. Since my study focuses on local orthographic conventions in the 16th and 17th century, the connection between spoken and written language matters in the assumption that the scribes used a written dialect derived from the respective supraregional variety and that the local spoken dialect influenced choices for certain graphemes. At a recent conference regarding the witch hunt records (Hamburg, December 2016), historian Rita Voltmer from the University of Trier and linguist Alexander Werth from the research project *German Language Atlas* at the University of Marburg argued in their respective talks for the two polarizing stances on this topic that are part of the historian and the linguistic approaches to these documents.

Voltmer views the institutionally bound scribe as the author of the texts. According to her, remnants of the dialectal voices of the defendants can only be found if they are purposefully used for the conviction of the defendant. As such the court records are constructed reality, always seen through the lens of the court. She further argues that most records are clean copies and at most contain the written dialect used by the court and the scribe, not the spoken dialect of the defendant. Werth agrees that the scribe constructed orality as a medium of power to the end of a pre-determined judgment. He also states, however, following Mihm (2016), that this does not exclude the regional phonological influence on the court records, in particular because it is assumed that the scribe spoke the same dialect as the defendants and witnesses.

Mihm (2016: 274f) describes the four main current theories about orthographic usage in older stages of languages. These are the deficiency theory (spelling is described as a chaotic and imperfect precursor of modern orthography), the autonomy theory (spelling has fossilized early and does not depict spoken language apart from occasional hypercorrection and mistakes), the correspondence theory (spelling stands in a 1:1 correspondence to the spoken language), and the pioneer theory (the changing written language is the actual impetus for a standardization of the language as a whole starting at the royal courts). He (2016: 274f) states that the older deficiency theory imposes subjective perceptions on language, while the pioneer theory, first proposed by Müllenhoff (1863) and Burdach (1884), is not empirically verifiable and is contradicted by numerous examples, and has therefore been mostly abandoned. The two remaining theories also have their flaws. The now widely acknowledged autonomy theory tends to ignore the empirical evidence of flexible allographic spelling, while the followers of the correspondence theory explain all obvious deviations from the 1:1 correspondence as intentional. Mihm (2016: 299) argues for a less extreme solution. He states that scribes followed rigorous spelling conventions in Latin texts. It is assumed that this graphemic inventory was also used for the first texts in German (in particular in legal texts until the ENHG period), which explains the impression of an early fossilization of the German written language. The emergence of allographic variation has then to be seen as an idiolectic expression of the individual scribes, either do to the influence of the spoken dialect if the variation is scattered throughout the text, or as an intentional differentiation, if the allographic variation appears in certain phonological environments or always with certain lexemes.

Regarding the origins of the record, I agree with Macha (1991) and Voltmer that most records are clean copies in which the content follows the intentions of the court. All records used for this project are coherent prose texts that are normally written in very clear

handwriting (compare Macha et al. 2005). Thus, I assume that the scribe had the option to correct certain regionalisms. Whether this really happened is another question. The high number of documents produced at the courts by the scribes might have prohibited them from carefully checking their spelling. The court records definitely still show regionalisms, including the features discussed in this dissertation. This factor has to be regarded when discussing the data outcomes. The question of the influence of the defendants' voices on the records is for this study secondary since the research question targets regionalisms across time independent from authorship. It is therefore only of interest when discussing possible reasons for a particular dialectal or standard record. However, I agree with Werth and with Mihm (2016) that the spoken dialect occasionally found its way into the court records because it has to be assumed that the scribes spoke the same dialect as the defendants and witnesses. This situation as well as the evidence of scattered allographic spelling variations in most of the court records point to an influence of the spoken language on the written language. If the scribes used dialectal spelling as a conscious act of legal leverage against the defendant, as Voltmer proposes, allographic deviations should only be found in certain parts of the documents. In general, it is important to not overgeneralize both theoretical sides for all texts, but rather assume idiolectic deviations based on the individual scribe who might or might not be influenced by spelling conventions at the different courts (Mihm 2016: 276).

4.2. GENERAL METHODOLOGY

I now address the general methodology used in this project. The methodological considerations here address the means, how I aim to answer the research questions, why this specific corpus was chosen, how the features were chosen, and in which ways the

methodology for each token count overlaps. Each account of the six investigated features also includes a respective methodology section, since each feature required a different method for the token count due to differing phonological environments and lexically bound occurrences.

4.2.1. Consensus in Grammars

In order to answer the question, whether the inclusion of documents from lower-social classes can give us a different picture of language history than depicted in established grammars and language overviews, I first summarized each account of the features in a series of ENHG grammars. The grammars are Moser (1929, 1951), Philipp (1980), Penzl (1984), Ebert et al. (1993), and Hartweg and Wegera (2005). These grammars are further supplemented by the accounts in von Polenz (1991, 1994) and Salmons (2012). Moser (1929, 1951), Ebert et al. (1993) and von Polenz (1991, 1994) were chosen because they are the most widely used reference books for scholarly research about the ENHG time frame. The remaining German works are shorter overviews. They were chosen to see whether they follow the reference books or if they include other material. Finally, I chose Salmons (2012) as a representative of the Anglo-American scholarship. The first four grammars focus on a detailed overview of the linguistic usage of the time, while Hartweg and Wegera (2005), as an introductory work for use in university classes, limits this account and also presents various theoretical frameworks and theories regarding the investigation of ENHG. Von Polenz (1991 for the 16th century, 1994 for the 17th century) presents German language history in connection to the social and historical history of the time. Relevant for this study are the chapters on changes of the language in general and the development of the German written language (von Polenz 1991: 147-183, 1994: 239-299). Salmons (2012) gives a wide-ranging overview of the German language history from Indo-

European to NHG, also in connection to social and historical events as well as theoretical frame-works. Here, the relevant chapter gives an overview of the ENHG period (Salmons 2012: 227-284). Von Polenz (1991, 1994) and Salmons (2012) both deliver the connection to the social and historical developments, one from the German and the other from the Anglo-American perspective.

When discussing the comparison between my data and the statements made in these grammars and overviews, I take into account that introductory overviews of the German language history or the ENHG time frame, such as Hartweg and Wegera (2005) and Salmons (2012), are limited in their scope and cannot present a detailed account of each individual feature. These overviews usually rely on the grammars. The ENHG grammars themselves rely on individual studies as well as on the grammar by Virgil Moser (1929, 1951). Moser's grammar used 450 individual studies on diverse material – an exceptional achievement in the pre-computer age. Thus, he is often cited and referenced, in particular in Ebert et al. (1993), which is the current standard work on ENHG language use.

The summaries of each feature do not present each given account in each individual grammar or overview, but rather depict the consensus and possible differences. Thus, Moser (1929, 1951) and Ebert et al. (1993) are cited most often, as they are the most detailed grammars. This is then supplemented by the other grammars and overviews, if they give additional information or differ from the given account. These summaries are then compared to the results of my data analysis based on the witch hunt records.

4.2.2. Choice of Corpus and Features

The corpus used for my dissertation was first suggested to me at the University of Heidelberg in 2011 by Dr. Jörg Riecke, who mentored my First German State Exam (*Staatsexamen*) thesis in German linguistics (Fuchs 2012). The aim of the project was to

identify regional dialect use in the local written language of Cologne in the 17th century, and to see whether the six dialectal features investigated there vanished over the course of the time frame. To this end, Dr. Riecke suggested this corpus, since Jürgen Macha (in collaboration with Wolfgang Herborn) started to compile the records at the Cologne city archive, resulting in an initial publication from 1992 (*Kölner Hexenverhöre aus dem 17. Jahrhundert,* 'Cologne witch interrogations from the 17th century') that focused on the Ripuarian dialect and led to the larger corpus in 2005. During the research for this thesis, I became aware of discrepancies between some descriptions of orthographic usage in ENHG grammars and the results of my initial study. While the scope of this project did not allow for further investigations, I took this observation as the base for my dissertation. Enlarging the corpus frame from the Ripuarian dialect to four dialect regions gave me the opportunity to identify whether features are regionally bound or a wide-spread phenomenon. In this sense, the three WMG (Ripuarian, Mosel-Franconian, and Rhine-Franconian) dialects, which were in active contact with each other, are contrasted with the southern Swabian dialect region, which serves as a control measure to account for WMG supraregional peculiarities.

The features were chosen based on how well they are documented in the ENHG grammars named above. Based on consensuses in these grammars and overviews, I further chose the features that are most prevalent and salient in the corpus at hand to make a direct comparison between my outcomes and the statements made in the ENHG grammars and language overviews possible. Four of the dialectal features were already part of my initial project (Fuchs 2012) and had shown a high frequency within the Ripuarian documents. An initial qualitative inquiry for these features in the other three dialect areas also showed instances of the dialectal usage. During this inquiry, I also searched for other dialectal

spellings that appeared salient in the texts. Comparing this list with the descriptions made in the ENHG grammars provided the remaining two dialectal features.

This method of feature choice is of course rather arbitrary and therefore not unproblematic. Since I chose the six features based on the fact that they stuck out the most, the question has to be posed, if I would get different results, if I would have chosen different features. Unfortunately, there is no method known to me that would make the choice of features less subjective. A complete analysis of all orthographic features would go beyond the scope of this dissertation. Thus, the outcomes of this dissertation can only shine a light on the six chosen features and cannot be seen as a general tendency for all orthographic features.

As a next step, I performed a frequency count of the six dialectal features. Here, I present the general methodological idea that I followed for each feature. However, as mentioned above, since the features appear in different phonological environments and follow different patterns, individual methodological overviews precede each description of the data outcomes for each feature.

4.2.3. General Methodological Steps

The general methodology follows a mixture of quantitative and qualitative methods. The data analysis is quantitative in the regard that frequencies of tokens are counted and then compared, both spatial (dialect region) and temporal (diachronic development), in frequency analyses. The question of what and how was counted (Milroy and Gordon 2003: 161) will be addressed for each feature individually below. This quantitative approach then serves as the framework for the qualitative discussion of individual peculiarities and potential reasons for them.

For the token count, I followed the theoretical considerations presented in Milroy and Gordon (2003), who outlined the general pathway for preparing linguistic data for a sociolinguistic investigation, particularly the 'principle of accountability' which directs that occurrences but also non-occurrences are counted, especially when it is possible to define the variable in a relevant environment (e.g. always between vowels, after nasals, etc.). This ensures that the researcher does not just select the variants of a variable that confirm the theory. For this token count, a variety of methods were used. Occurrences were detected through the statistical program RStudio (https://www.r-project.org). The following image shows a screenshot of RStudio. The top half contains the code I used to search for these occurrences, in this case <h> after vowel. The bottom half contains a list of all lexemes in the text that contain the occurrence.

Figure 4.2: Example of search for occurrence in RStudio

All documents from the corpus were loaded in txt-format into the program, which can be seen in the first line in the screen shot below, which gives an enlarged image of the result list.

```
> Flamersheim1628 = scan("C:/Users/Katrin/Desktop/txt-files/Flamersheim1628.txt", quote = NULL, what = "x")
Read 10567 items
> counts = as.data.frame(xtabs(~Flamersheim1628))
> match.indices = grep("[aeiou]h", counts$Flamersheim1628)
> counts$vh = F
> counts[match.indices,]$vh = T
> counts[counts$vh == T,]$Flamersheim1628
  [1] abermahÅlen    abermahlen     abgeholt       abnehme,       abzuhoren.     aehl           Aehl           aehlen         Aehlen         Aehlen,        ahm
 [12] ahn            ahrweiler      angenohmen     angesehen,     ansehen        ansehung,      anstehendem    anziehung      ap-praehendirt apprehendirte  argwohn
 [23] auÅŸgenohmen   auÅŸstehen     auÅŸstehen,    auÅŸzustehen,  auffzunehmen   aufgehabt,     auszuziehen,   beharÅret,     beharret.      behegt         behegtt
 [34] beheuten,      behuet,        beigewohnt,    beschehen      beschehen.     beschehen.     beschehene     beschehener    bestehen,      daher!         dahero
 [45] dermahlen      diesmahl       dreimahl       ehe            ehemalÅŸ       ehemals        ehren          eingehalten    eingenohmen    eingenohmen,   einmahl
 [56] einziehung     ermahnung      ermahnung,     ernehret       ersehen        erzehlen       erzehlung      frohe          geÅsehen:      gebohren.      gefahren
 [67] gefahren.      gehabt         gehabt,        gehabt.        gehabten       gehabtt        gehabtt,       gehabtt.       gehadt.        gehalten       gehalten,
 [78] gehaltener     gehaltnen,     gehandtreicht  geheischen,    geheischen.    gehemmet       gehen          gehen,         gehindert      gehn           genohmen
 [89] genohmen,      geschehen,     gesehen        gesehen,       gesehen.       gesehen?       gestehen       Gestehet       gestehet,      gewehret,      gewohnet,
[100] gewohnt        hieher         hiehin         hinnehmen.     hohen          Iahe           Iedesmahl      Iohan          Iohan-nen      Iohannen       Jahren
[111] Kahren,        keinmahl       Kiehr          Kohe           Kohe,          Kohebeesten    Kohebesten     Kohedruitgen,  Koheherdten    Kohekoetten    Kohen
[122] Kohen,         Kohestall      Kohirdt        Kohirdten      Kohirsten      Kohlplatt      Lehnen         mahl           mahlen         mahls          Manwahrheit
[133] meh            mehr           mehr,          mehrer         mehreren       mehrmalen      Mohn           Mohn,          Mohr           Mohren         nahe
[144] naher          nahmen         nehmen         nehmen,        nunmehr        offtermahlen   ohne           ohne,          ohren          rohe           schlehen
[155] Schnehagen     Schnehagen,    Schnehagens    sehe,          sehel          sehelen        sehen          sehen,         sehr           Sohn,          stehen
[166] stehet,        uerzeihen,     Vehafftinne    vermehrung,    vernehmen.     vernohmen,     verwahrung     verzeihen      viehe          vielmohlen     vierzehen
[177] vn-dengehorig. vngefehr       vnuersehene    vnuersehens    vorgehalten    vorgehalten,   vorzuÅnehmen   vriholts       wanneh         wehe           wehetumb
[188] woh            wohe           wohin          wohne          wohne,         wonbehausung   zugehort       zugehort,      zugehort.      zumahl         zustehen,
[199] zuzusehen,
```

Figure 4.3: Example of result list in RStudio

The program then reads the total number of tokens in this text, in this case 10567 tokens for the record from Flamersheim. The program is then asked to search for a specific feature, in this example all instances of <h> after <aeiou>, and then give these tokens as a list, which can be seen in black below. This does not, however, make manual control unnecessary, since the program can only distinguish certain pre-programmed environments (e.g. between vowels), and does also not account for non-occurrences. For example, when searching for markers of vowel length like the letter <h>, I searched for all instances of <h> after a vowel. However, in some German words like *behalten* 'to keep', a prefix ends with a vowel and the root starts with an /h/, meaning <h> does not represent vowel length in such forms. The program cannot detect these occurrences and they must therefore be sorted out by hand.

This is further complicated by the tokenization of non-standard corpora for machine-readable usage (Szczepaniak and Barteld 2016). Usually, for machine-readable purposes, a token is defined as a row of letters between two spaces, which is also the case

for the program R. This premise is however not always true, not even for standard corpora. In the witch hunt records, we find, for example, instances of *hexen dantz* (NHG *Hexentanz* 'witch dance') which should be counted as one token for the compound noun, and also *aufm* (NHG *auf dem* 'on the') where the one-word contraction needs to be counted as two individual tokens. While efforts are currently underway to account for these issues (e.g. Barteld 2016), a major issue for my project was that programs could not detect non-standard variation. This also influences the final step, searching for patterns (Milroy and Gordon 2003: 137). It is crucially important to recognize when an example does not follow the actual pattern but rather reflects a different linguistic feature. For instance, if looking for <e> as a WMG dialect vowel marker of vowel length during the ENHG period, most instances of <ie> cannot be included, since this reflects a different linguistic change (the NHG monophthongization) which describes a different dialectal development. Including such examples can distort the picture and lead to a false account of the pattern.

Manual control was therefore often necessary to detect instances of spelling deviations that did not fit pre-programmed patterns, tokens that did not fit the pattern that I searched for and also non-occurrences. For example, searching simply for all vowels to then identify whether the vowel length should be marked by <h> is impossible. This second search for deviations and non-occurrences was done by hand, reading through the 32 records and marking each token. Subsequently, all tokens of occurrence and non-occurrence were interned into Excel spread sheets, in which I then added the information of region, text, marker, and type to each token. These spread sheets look slightly different for each dialect feature, which is why they are addressed further in the individual methodologies.

I then used PivotTables and PivotCharts in Excel to map trends in the token-count. The PivotTable summarizes and visualizes data by sorting and counting tokens

automatically depending on pre-set values (Jelen and Alexander 2016).[61] These values are set for each token, in my case, as mentioned, region, text, feature, and type. For example, for a token counted in the court record in Cologne from the year 1629, such as *Jar* 'year', the region is set as Ripuarian, the text as *1629Koeln*, the marker as "h missing", and the type as the NHG *Jahr*. I then can highlight certain values in the table. For every investigated feature, I first compared the value "marker" which resulted in tables showing the distribution of different markers (e.g. *h missing, h present, h non-standard*, etc.) across regions and texts. I then investigated spatial and temporal differences by focusing on the values "region" and "text" respectively, visualizing the results in PivotCharts. Finally, I relied on the marker "type", if a certain lexeme or word field showed a particular strong tendency for variation, e.g. how often the type *Jahr* is spelled as *Jar, Jahr, Jhar, Jair,* etc., and if a certain type heavily dominated the token count and might obscure the picture. If this quantitative approach revealed instances of special interest (outliers, variation in certain word fields, etc.), these are then discussed qualitatively by pointing out potential reasons.

4.3. OVERVIEW OF FEATURES

In this section, I present the orthographic features focused on here. As mentioned above, the orthographic features were chosen by comparing several grammatical overviews of ENHG and selecting the most salient and prevalent in the corpus at hand. Within the analysis, a comparison to the NHG standard is often unavoidable. Since there was no dominant standard at the time, tokens can only be compared to each other. However, especially for non-occurrences of a feature, this is unfortunately not possible. For example,

---

[61] A complete example of one token count (devoicing) is given in the appendix.

the only way to determine the non-occurrence of <h> in a token such as *erbarer* 'honorable' is the comparison to Modern Standard German, in which the token is spelled *ehrbarer*. Since the language of the time has a tendency towards the emerging standard, this comparison to NHG seems justifiable. It is, however, avoided as much as possible by comparing occurrences and non-occurrences with each other rather than the NHG standard.

1) Length marker for vowels: • Decrease of <e,i> as length markers, wrong placement of <h>, and non-occurrence of <h> • Increase of <h> in standard position after long vowel **Example:** <Jair>, <Jhar>, <Jar> ('year') decrease, <Jahr> increases
2) NHG diphthongization: • Decrease of old monophthongs <i, ü, u> • Increase of diphthongs <ei, eu, au> **Example:** <uff> ('on') decreases, <auf> increases
3) Re-raising of /e, o, ö/ to /i, u, ü/ • Decrease of <e, o, ö> • Increase of <i, u, ü> **Example:** <zo> ('to') decreases, <zu> increases
4) Reintroduction of apocopated /e/: • Decrease of word final apocope • Increase of word final <e> **Example:** <hab> ('have'[1st person sg. pres. ind.]) decreases, <habe> increases
5) Devoicing: • Decrease of <d> • Increase of <t> **Example:** <danzen> ('to dance) decreases, <tanzen> increases
6) Decrease of <h> due to aspiration of stops: • Decrease of aspiration marking • Increase of stops without aspiration marking **Example:** <thun> ('to do') decreases, <tun> increases

Table 4.1: Overview of linguistic features investigated

The table above shows all six investigated features in an overview, four features from vowel changes and four from consonant changes. For each feature, I state which change I expect to see in the witch hunt records based on the general consensus on that feature in the established ENHG grammars. I also give an example of each feature change.

4.4. CONCLUSION

In this chapter, I discussed potential linguistic pitfalls such as orthographic spelling conventions and linguistic peculiarities of the corpus that have to be kept in mind when discussing the data. I also outlined the general methodology used to analyze the corpus at hand regarding the features named above. In the following chapter, I turn to the data analysis, in which I discuss each of these features individually before comparing all features to each other and to the statements made in the ENHG grammars. During the data analysis, I draw on the theoretical considerations of the material as discussed in chapters 2, 3, and 4 to inform conclusions regarding the outcomes.

Chapter 5: Data Analysis

5.1. INTRODUCTION

In this chapter, I present the data and the outcomes of my study. The aim is to trace the frequency of six orthographic features over a time span of 78 years in the texts to identify orthographic trends. I subsequently compare these results with the statements made about these features in ENHG grammars to see whether my findings coincide with the current picture of ENHG language use. In line with the initial hypothesis of a levelling of dialectal features in favor of a higher degree of standardization throughout the dialects, which is a well-documented trend for ENHG due to a variety of social and political factors (Salmons 2012: 273, von Polenz 1994: 243),[62] I chose phenomena linked to the standardization process of German that have a comparatively high token count in this small corpus, in order to ensure measurable frequency counts. This chapter is divided into two parts. In part one, I present the outcomes of my study for each feature individually. In part two, I summarize the outcomes, compare the six features investigated, and point to common trends. The last section of this chapter summarizes my findings.

5.2. FEATURE ANALYSIS AND OUTCOMES

As mentioned above, I present and discuss each feature individually. In each feature discussion, I first give an example of the feature from the corpus and then summarize the accounts given in the ENHG grammars and language overviews. Next, I review the specific methodology used for the token count of each feature and present the findings of the data analysis, followed by a discussion of these findings and a comparison to the statements made in the ENHG grammars and language overviews.

---

[62] More information regarding this point is given in chapter 2.

5.2.1. Vowel length marking

Vowel length markers are graphemes that do not have a sound quality of their own but rather indicate that the vowel that precedes them is long. The most common vowel length markers in NHG are <h> after all vowels (e.g. *nehmen* 'to take') and <e> after [i:] (e.g. *Liebe* 'love'). Changes in the orthographic representation of vowel length reflect general vowel changes during the ENHG period, i.e. the need for spelling conventions arose due to changes in vowel quality (e.g. open syllable lengthening).[63] However, these developed differently in different dialect regions. The court records exhibit a variety of different means to indicate vowel length. On one end of the spectrum, vowel length is not marked at all where it is marked in modern Standard German:

> (2) *... ob seinem Vatter selig vor 20 **Iaren** ein pfert bezaubert.* (1628 Flamersheim)
>   if   of his   father   late   before 20 years   a   horse bewitched.
>   NHG 'ob er seinem seligen Vater vor 20 **Jahren** ein Pferd verzaubert hat'
>   Engl. 'if he bewitched a horse of his late father 20 years ago'

The court records also utilize the common vowel length markers of the ENHG time period, often using all of them, even with the same word in the same text, which shows that vowel length marking was not yet standardized. (3) gives an example of <h> as a vowel length marker, while (4) exemplifies the dialectal WMG length marker <i> (retained in NHG only in personal and place names, such as Grevenbroich), and (5) shows vowel doubling used to indicate a long vowel:[64]

> (3) *... sei der Teuffel zum **Ihm** kommen* (1629 Blankenheim)
>   were the devil   to   him   come
>   NHG 'sei der Teufel zu **ihm** gekommen'
>   Engl. 'the devil (allegedly) came to him'

---

[63] For details on open syllable lengthening in German, see e.g. Reis 1974, Page 2007, or Salmons 2012.

[64] The different vowel length markers are addressed further below.

(4) *... bißweilen 20 bißweilen 30 auch woll **weiniger*** (1629 Koeln)
        sometimes 20 sometimes 30 also   likely less
        NHG 'bisweilen 20, bisweilen 30, auch wohl **weniger**'
        Engl. 'sometimes 20, sometimes 30, also probably less'

(5) *... alß ob Sie die **Seelen** in der luft [...] gesehen* (1665 Memmingen)
        as if she the souls   in the air   seen
        NHG 'als ob sie die **Seelen** in der Luft [...] gesehen hätte.'
        Engl. 'as if she had seen the souls in the air'

Finally, the lack of standardization is also visible in the usage of multiple vowel length markers in the same word, as in (6), where both <h> and the WMG marker <i> are used simultaneously to express the length of <a>:

(6) *... hette [...] vor   zweyn **Jaihren** einen APPell [...] gegeben* (1629 Zuelpich)
        had   before two   years   an   appel   given
        NHG 'hätte [...] vor zwei **Jahren** einen Apfel [...] gegeben'
        Engl. 'had (allegedly) given an appel two years ago'

There could be multiple reasons for this double usage, e.g. the scribe might know the WMG vowel length marker (as it is specific to his region) but also attempts to use the newer vowel length marker <h>; or he might not be familiar with <h> and therefore decides to use both; or it could be a simple spelling error due to oversight. In the next section, I review the summary of the feature in the ENHG grammars and language overviews.

5.2.1.1.   *Summary*

I now summarize the feature discussions in the grammars. Moser (1929: 15) states that vowel length marking stays irregular with a high degree of allographic variation during the ENHG period and that vowel length is only clearly marked starting in the second half of the 16th century. According to the grammars, ENHG shows four different ways to express vowel length:

1. Vowel doubling (e.g. *Boot* 'boat' or *Seele* 'soul'): Ebert et al (1993: 32) state that this feature is already documented in OHG texts, but not in normalized MHG texts. It originated in East Upper German in the 14th century, spread to Upper Alemannic during the 16th century, and from there to the rest of Upper German and then to West Middle German. In East Middle German, it is only documented since the 17th century (most common: ee and aa, rarer oo and ii, very rare uu) (Philipp 1980:27).

2. <e> as a length marker for /i:/ (e.g. *Biene*, 'bee'): This length marker is connected to the NHG monophthongization, in which MHG diphthong /ie/ changed to /i:/. The offglide /e/ of the MHG diphthong was lost phonetically (Salmons 2012: 232) while the grapheme remained in place. The grapheme <e> was then newly functionalized as a length marker. The feature had very limited usage until the 15th century but then increased its frequency drastically in MG. The grammarian Frangk (1531) already called it a length marker (Ebert et al. 1993: 33).[65]

3. <e>, <y> or <i> after other vowels (especially /a/ and/o/, e.g. in town names such as Grevenbroich and Laer, both located in the Ruhr region): This feature is documented only in WMG and Low German (Philipp 1980: 27). It appeared in LG and the northern part of Ripuarian in the 12th century, and is frequent in Mosel-Franconian and northern Rhine-Franconian handwritten documents in the 14th and 15th centuries (Moser 1929: 20). Its usage is very limited south of Mainz, where its usage decreased again in printed documents around 1500. In handwritten documents, it persisted until the late 16th century in Mosel-Franconian and the 17th century in Ripuarian before it vanished (Moser 1929: 20, Ebert et al. 1993: 33). Only <ue> persisted even in printed documents in MG until the end of the ENHG timeframe.

---

[65] Ebert et al. (1993) unfortunately do not provide any relevant examples, and I have as yet been unable to locate any relevant examples in Frangk's work.

4. `<h>` after vowel: This length marker also originated in MG, where /h/ lost its sound quality, was re-functionalized as a vowel length marker (e.g. *sehen*, 'to see'), and spread to other words due to analogy, e.g. MHG *êre* > ENHG *ehre* 'honor' (Philipp 1980: 27). It is first documented in the 12th century, but remains rare until the 15th century (Philipp 1980: 27). After this, it spreads rapidly from MG to UG. Frangk (1531) also mentioned it as a length marker. The turning point for `<h>`, when it became the most used vowel length marker, was the end of the 16th century, after which it became increasingly regular during the first half of the 17th century (Moser 1929: 21).

The usage of `<h>` and `<e>` after /i:/ matching the NHG norm increased from 56.7% in 1569 to 76% in 1626 to 92.2% in 1694 (Salmons 2012: 332, citing von Polenz 1994). Von Polenz (1994: 246) states that vowel length marking decreased in the 16th century and then increased consequently and more standardized in the 17th century, citing here an unpublished study based on Bible prints. However, von Polenz (1994: 243) also states that the tendency to use `<h>` as a length marker became so strong during the 17th and 18th century that is was often used where it is not used in NHG, which could point to hypercorrection, which in turn might have led to a further spreading and consolidation of the variety.

The focus here lies on the spread of `<h>` as a vowel length marker, since it originated in MG and started to normalize during the time frame investigated here, and also on `<e,y,i>` after vowel, since these are unique markers for the WMG dialects. According to the grammars, the witch hunt records (1587-1662), should show no use of `<e,i,y>` as a vowel length marker in Swabian, only very rare instances in the early records in Rhine-Franconian (North of Mainz), and instances in the records in Mosel-Franconian in the 16th but not in the 17th century. Only Ripuarian should still exhibit tokens in the documents

from the 17th century. For <h>, there should be tokens in all records. The question here is whether the usage of <h> shows the strong tendency towards standardization in the 17th century as mentioned by the grammars and overviews.

5.2.1.2.   Methodology

The initial token count was a count of occurrence of both <h> and <e,i,y> using the program R. I searched for all instances of <h> after and before vowel (to account for irregular placement of the <h>) as well as all instances if <e,i,y> after vowel. The program gave me a list of tokens in which this combination occurred. I entered all relevant tokens into an Excel spread sheet, discarding instances in which the <h> or <e,i,y> after or before vowel did not point to vowel length marking, e.g. if the prefix ended in a vowel and the stem of a verb started with an <h> (*behalten*, 'to keep'). All relevant tokens in the spread sheet were then labeled with region, text, marker, and type. This search sufficed for the dialectal vowel length markers <e,i,y>, since the question here was, whether they appear at all, and, if so, where and when.

For <h>, I also had to search for non-occurrences, i.e. words with a long stem vowel that either contain an <h> in modern Standard German but do not in the corpus (ENHG *ir* vs. NHG *ihr*, 'her'), or that contain an <h> in the corpus but do not in Standard German (ENHG *Nahme* vs. NHG *Name*, 'name'). The search was conducted to see whether the marker showed any tendency towards standardization. This proved to be difficult. An exploratory search of the texts revealed that searching for certain lexemes would neglect many other instances of non-occurrence, since the word field is rather large for this feature. After several unsuccessful electronic searches, which were all complicated by the issue of the computer-readability of non-standard corpora (as noted in the methodology chapter), I opted for a manual search through the 32 records, marking all tokens of non-occurrence

and copying them into the spread sheet. These tokens were then also labeled, as seen in the screen shot below, to make a visual depiction through PivotTable and PivotCharts possible.

2285	Mosel-Franconian	1614 Neuerburg	nochmahlen	5	mal
2286	Mosel-Franconian	1614 Neuerburg	ihr	1	ihr
2287	Mosel-Franconian	1614 Neuerburg	wol	6	wohl
2288	Mosel-Franconian	1614 Neuerburg	wehre	5	wäre
2289	Mosel-Franconian	1614 Neuerburg	ihr	1	ihr
2290	Mosel-Franconian	1614 Neuerburg	ahm	5	an
2291	Mosel-Franconian	1614 Neuerburg	ihr	1	ihr
2292	Mosel-Franconian	1614 Neuerburg	woll	6	wohl
2293	Mosel-Franconian	1614 Neuerburg	ihr	1	ihr
2294	Mosel-Franconian	1614 Neuerburg	wohnhafft	1	wohnen
2295	Mosel-Franconian	1614 Neuerburg	mahl	5	mal
2296	Mosel-Franconian	1614 Neuerburg	in	2	in
2297	Mosel-Franconian	1614 Neuerburg	ahm	5	an
2298	Mosel-Franconian	1614 Neuerburg	ahm	5	an
2299	Mosel-Franconian	1614 Neuerburg	ahn	5	an
2300	Mosel-Franconian	1614 Neuerburg	ihr	1	ihr
2301	Mosel-Franconian	1614 Neuerburg	personen	2	Person

Figure 5.1: Depiction of vowel length marker token count in Excel

Since there were a variety of markers, I replaced the label of *h missing, h present* etc. with numbers to make faster labeling possible. These labels account for:

1. Presence of <h>, like NHG (e.g. *ihr*, 'her')
2. Absence of <h>, like NHG (e.g. *Person*, 'person')
3. Presence of WMG <i,y> (e.g. *weiniger*, 'less')
4. Presence of WMG <e> (e.g. *Kue*, 'cow')
5. Presence of <h>, unlike NHG (e.g. *wehre*, 'were, would be')
6. Absence of <h>, unlike NHG (e.g. *woll*, 'probably, arguably')

5.2.1.3.   *Results*

These searches resulted in 5378 tokens. In this section, I discuss the tokens of the WMG vowel length markers <e,i,y> separately from the development of <h> as a length

103

marker, since the research questions are different.[66] The question connected to <h> was whether it showed a strong standardization tendency in the 17th century, as indicated by the grammars. Regarding the WMG vowel length markers, I investigated whether they still appear in the texts at all and if so, whether the occurrence overlaps with the statements made in the ENHG grammars (regional and chronological), since a standardization towards them can be ruled out. As mentioned above, the ENHG grammars (e.g. Moser 1929: 20) describe these markers as unique for the Ripuarian, Mosel-Franconian, and northern Rhine-Franconian region, and indicate that only Ripuarian should show tokens in documents from the 17th century, while Swabian should show no tokens at all. Therefore, the question here is whether the WMG vowel markers appear at all in the documents, and if so, then where and how frequently, and if they then show a tendency towards reduction. I first present the WMG vowel markers in an overview table by token count and in relative frequency (RF) to the individual text size in order to make a comparison between the texts possible.[67] This does not yet account for the frequency within certain types, which will be addressed as a qualitative discussion of the feature below. I also give a separate account of <e> and the allographs <i,y> to see whether one appears more frequently than the other. The records marked with an asterisk (*) are those taken from older editions which appear in the Macha edition on the CD-ROM. For these documents, the question of whether the editor changed spellings towards a more standardized version has to be kept in mind, since older editions occasionally normalized the historic text. If these texts show a strong tendency towards

---

[66] However, the WMG length markers are included in the discussion of <h> under the category of non-standard spelling.

[67] The relative frequency is here reached by dividing the token count by the overall token count of the individual text, e.g. 16 tokens of the WMG vowel length marker <e> in the record from Erkelenz, divided by the overall token count of the record from Erkelenz (1099) leads to a relative frequency of 0.0146. The relative frequency is shown up to the 4th decimal place and then rounded off appropriately.

standardization, it could reflect the normalization endeavors of the editor instead of the original scribe.

Region	Record	<e> token	<e> RF	<i,y> token	<i,y> RF
Ripuarian	1598 Erkelenz	16	.0146	12	.0109
	1629 Blankenheim	1	.0006	0	.0000
	1629 Flamersheim*	18	.0030	31	.0051
	1629 Zülpich	3	.0024	4	.0032
	1629 Köln	0	.0000	3	.0020
	1631 Linz	0	.0000	0	.0000
	1649 Altenahr*	18	.0026	0	.0000
	1662 Köln	3	.0014	3	.0014
Mosel-Franconian	1587 St. Maximin*	0	.0000	0	.0000
	1591 Trier*	0	.0000	0	.0000
	1592 Trier*	1	.0001	2	.0002
	1592 Hamm	0	.0000	0	.0000
	1593 Fell*	3	.0018	1	.0006
	1614 Neuerburg*	0	.0000	0	.0000
	1626 Mandern*	14	.0072	0	.0000
	1629 Rhens	0	.0000	0	.0000
Rhine-Franconian	1610 Gaugrehweiler	12	.0130	0	.0000
	1618 Wadgassen*	0	.0000	0	.0000
	1620 Friedberg	4	.0015	0	.0000
	1627 Dieburg*	1	.0003	0	.0000
	1629 Wittgenstein	0	.0000	0	.0000
	1630 Lemberg	8	.0061	0	.0000
	1631 Dillenburg	0	.0000	0	.0000
	1631 Höchst	0	.0000	0	.0000
Swabian	1593 Nördlingen	0	.0000	0	.0000
	1596 Riedlingen*	3	.0027	0	.0000
	1613 Günzburg	27	.0247	0	.0000
	1615 Rottweil*	14	.0152	0	.0000
	1625 Augsburg	65	.0344	0	.0000
	1641 Leonberg	38	.0197	1	.0005
	1648 Hechingen*	24	.0069	0	.0000
	1665 Memmingen	6	.0043	0	.0000
Total		279		57	

Table 5.1: Relative frequency of WMG vowel length markers

The first question, namely are tokens of the WMG vowel length marker still present, can be answered affirmatively. The records still contain 336 tokens, predominantly <e>. As the handbooks state, they still appear in the Ripuarian documents and do not show an overt tendency towards reduction here. Rather, the usage of the WMG vowel length markers seems to fluctuate with each text, from complete absence in the record from Linz to frequent usage in the record from Flamersheim. Since neither time nor a specific area can be named as a contributing factor to the usage of the WMG markers, this could point to an idiolectal usage of the individual scribe. Unfortunately, not much is known about the scribes and their levels of training, but some scribes might be more prone to use the dialectal features, while others prefer the more prestigious South and East German variety, even though most scribes stem from the Ripuarian region. Reasons for this could be manifold, e.g. the level of education, the number of years that either form has been used by the specific scribe, the employing chancery and its connection to the Cologne bishopric, and the scribe's personal identification with either the overtly prestigious South German variety or the covertly prestigious Cologne dialect.

The Mosel-Franconian and Rhine-Franconian texts show fewer tokens, especially of <i,y>. Most texts from these regions do not contain any WMG vowel length markers at all, or only one or two tokens, except for the texts from Mandern, Gaugrehweiler, and Lemberg. This could also point to an individual usage of the dialectal variety. Macha et al. (2005) do not give much information regarding the record from Mandern. The record from Gaugrehweiler shows a large number of regionalisms and allographic spellings and Macha et al. (2005: 218) assume a direct transcript of the court proceedings instead of a clean copy because of a large amount of corrections in the handwritten document and the varying word order in dependent clauses. Most surprising is the usage of dialectal markers for the record from Lemberg, which was written by the scribe Melchior Wiltperger, who signs with the

title *kaiserlicher Notar* 'imperial notary'. If he was truly an imperial notary, it might suggest a higher degree of education, a stronger connection to the ruling Wittelsbach bishop, and therefore a preference for the South German variety. And indeed, Macha et al. (2005: 248) state that the record shows noticeably few regional features across the board. Most tokens found in this record are <e> after /u/, which could point to an UG influence. Moser (1929: 20) mentions the retention of <ue> in lexemes with MHG /uo/ (*stuel* 'chair', *kue* 'cow') in printed documents in MG, Silesian, and Low German as a vowel length marker. However, for UG and Swabian, Moser (1929: 190) states for the usage of the same digraphs that they are an expression of the South German phonetic retention of the MHG diphthongs /ie, uo, üe/. The tokens from this document might therefore not express vowel length but rather the diphthong due to a high level of education and contact to South German regions of the scribe.

The same issue recurs for the Swabian documents. The token count reveals a very frequent usage of <e> after vowel, especially /u/ and /ü/, e.g. *brüeder* (NHG *Brüder* 'brothers') and *huet* (NHG *Hut* 'hat'). This count could also point to the expression of the UG diphthong rather than vowel length marking. However, the feature is rather complicated to differentiate. According to Moser's (1929: 190) account, a token of *stuell* (NHG *Stuhl* 'chair') or *zue* (NHG *zu*, 'to') in the Ripuarian document from Altenahr expresses vowel length, but the same tokens in the Swabian document from Augsburg do not. It is unfortunately unclear how Moser comes to this conclusion and where he draws the dialectal line. Since this point cannot be resolved here, I exclude all instances of <ue> in the Swabian documents and Lemberg in the following general discussion of vowel length marking.

I now turn to the use of <h> as a length marker, focused on the possibility of a trend towards standardization in the 17th century. Moser (1929: 21), von Polenz (1994: 246), and

Salmons (2012: 332) all state that the tendency for a consistent vowel length marking with <h> and <e> (after /i/), which matches the NHG usage increases significantly (from 56.7% in 1569 to 92.2% in 1694). Since the witch hunt records fall into the same time frame, they should exhibit a similar trend, taking into consideration that I only investigate <h> as a vowel length marker and not <e> after /i/.

For comparative purposes, the token frequency in the table below is also given in percentages in relation between vowel length marking in accordance with the NHG usage and vowel length marking in disagreement with the NHG usage. The overlap with the NHG usage is further split up into the usage of <h> as in NHG (h in NHG, e.g. *Jahr* 'year') and no vowel length marking as in NHG (no h in NHG, e.g. *Name* 'name'). For the latter token count, the focus lay on lexemes that often appeared with <h> throughout the records but do not include a vowel length marker in NHG (e.g. *Name* 'name', *Person* 'person'). The divergence from the NHG usage is split up into the absence of <h> (no h NHG, e.g. *ir*, NHG *ihr* 'her'), the presence of <h> in words or in positions where it does not correspond with the NHG usage (h NHG, e.g. *zwahr*, NHG *zwar* 'namely, in fact'), and the WMG length markers (e,i,y, e.g. *Jair*, NHG *Jahr* 'year'). Since this includes significantly more data than shown in the last table, the token distribution is here presented and discussed for each region individually. All amounts in these tables are given in percentage of the total token count for each text.

Region	Record	Standard Usage %		Non-Standard Usage %		
		h NHG	no h NHG	no h NHG	h NHG	e,i,y
Ripuaria n	1598 Erkelenz	10.4	0.6	41.8	5.4	41.8
		(11)		(89)		
	1629 Blankenheim	57.6	21.5	3.6	16.3	1.0
		(79.1)		(20.9)		
	1629 Flamersheim*	7.0	6.6	48.1	22.8	15.5
		(13.6)		(86.4)		
	1629 Zülpich	41.9	9.4	0.0	40.2	8.5
		(51.3)		(48.7)		
	1629 Köln	46.7	1.1	4.4	45.7	2.1
		(47.8)		(52.2)		
	1631 Linz	57.8	11.0	0.0	31.2	0.0
		(68.8)		(31.2)		
	1649 Altenahr*	79.3	11.9	1.1	4.3	3.4
		(91.2)		(8.8)		
	1662 Köln	48.6	7.7	9.2	30.3	4.2
		(56.3)		(43.7)		

Table 5.2: Vowel length markers in the Ripuarian region

At a first glance, there seems to be a tendency towards standardization of the vowel length marking in the Ripuarian documents from the 1630's on. While the percentage for non-standard usage of vowel length marking is still very high at the beginning of the time period (e.g. 89% in Erkelenz), with the exception of the text from Blankenheim, the last three texts, and in particular the text from Altenahr (91.2%), exhibit a comparatively high overlap with the NHG standard usage. The two records from the city chancery in Köln offer a good comparison, as they were both written by the same scribe, Stephan Muser, albeit 33 years apart (Macha 1992). His usage of <h> shows a slight tendency towards standardization from 47.8% corresponding to the NHG standard in 1629 to 56.3% in 1662.

Interestingly, the usage of the WMG vowel length markers and the omission of <h> in words that appear with <h> in the NHG standard are, with the exception of the texts from Erkelenz and Flamersheim, very low compared to the standard usage of <h> and the

usage of <h> not corresponding to the NHG standard. In fact, the usage of <h> in positions where it does not appear in NHG makes for the largest factor in the non-standard usage in five of the later texts. This overuse of <h> as a length marker corresponds with the assessment by von Polenz (1994: 243), who assumes hypercorrection of the form. If the scribe is overusing <h> as a length marker, the percentage for missing <h> decreases, while the percentage for <h> in non-standard position, such as *Nahme* (NHG *Name* 'name') or *wehre* (NHG *wäre* 'would be') increases. This could also be the reason for double usage of length markers, such as *Jaihr* (NHG *Jahr* 'year') in the text from Zülpich. The scribe might have been familiar with the dialectal variety and was only recently introduced to <h> as a length marker, which is the prestigious variety. He then might have attempted to use the new variety, and, perhaps because he was unaware of the distinction, might have retained the dialectal variety at the same time.

Region	Record	Standard Usage %		Non-Standard Usage %		
		h NHG	no h NHG	no h NHG	h NHG	e,i,y
Mosel-Franconian	1587 St. Maximin*	55.5	26.9	16.8	0.8	0.0
		(82.4)		(17.6)		
	1591 Trier*	13.2	26.4	47.8	12.6	0.0
		(39.6)		(60.4)		
	1592 Trier*	28.9	34.2	30.7	3.5	2.7
		(63.1)		(36.9)		
	1592 Hamm	43.2	7.4	14.8	34.6	0.0
		(50.6)		(49.4)		
	1593 Fell*	14.4	27.9	33.1	21.2	3.4
		(42.3)		(57.7)		
	1614 Neuerburg*	49.8	8.8	11.2	30.2	0.0
		(58.6)		(41.4)		
	1626 Mandern*	67.6	12.2	4.4	14.9	0.8
		(79.8)		(20.2)		
	1629 Rhens	63.0	10.3	8.9	17.8	0.0
		(73.3)		(26.7)		

Table 5.3: Vowel length markers in the Mosel-Franconian region

The court records from the Mosel-Franconian region are the oldest group of this project and also include the earliest court record of the investigated time frame, the record from St. Maximin. Surprisingly, this record shows a great tendency towards the standardized usage of <h>, even though it stems from 1587. This record was taken from an earlier edition by Haupt (1823), which raises the question of whether the editor normalized the text. Macha et al. (2005b: 83), who compared the edition to the original, point out that the record is transcribed "in nur leicht modernisierter Form" ("in only slightly modernized form") and otherwise contains original material. A different explanation could lie in a strong South or East German influence on the writing practice at the prestigious cloister of St. Maximin. However, Voltmer (2000:1) points out that the abbot at the time, Reiner Biewer, grew up in the greater Trier area, and thus probably spoke the local dialect. Furthermore, the record from Fell, which was under the dominion of the cloister, still shows a great deal of variation. This again leaves the scribe as a possible causal factor. Neither Macha et al. (2005) nor the record itself give much information regarding the upbringing, education, or title of the scribe. It could potentially be argued that he was more educated since he was employed by a prestigious cloister. It remains to be seen whether the other features show a similar tendency before a conclusion can be drawn regarding this record.

The two records from the city chancery in Trier, written by two different scribes, show very different results in the usage of <h>. While the record from 1591 contains more tokens that do not correspond to the NHG standard, the record from 1592 shows the exact opposite picture. It could therefore be argued that the Trier city chancery had no ordinances regarding spelling in place as some of the larger chanceries had (von Polenz 1994: 149). It can be assumed that the choices for one or the other spelling were made here by the scribes, and that idiolectal spelling variation always has to be considered. After 1600, the records seem to have a tendency towards increased standardization. As in the Ripuarian records,

the percentage for missing <h> decreases while the percentage for <h> in non-standard position increases. This could again point to the overuse of <h> as a length marker.

		Standard Usage %		Non-Standard Usage %		
Region	Record	h NHG	no h NHG	no h NHG	h NHG	e,i,y
Rhine-Franconian	1610 Gaugrehweiler	30.0	13.4	30.0	6.7	19.9
		(43.4)		(56.6)		
	1618 Wadgassen*	73.2	8.0	1.8	17.0	0.0
		(81.2)		(18.8)		
	1620 Friedberg	30.2	33.5	22.3	13.4	0.6
		(63.7)		(36.3)		
	1627 Dieburg*	69.1	7.8	0.4	22.4	0.3
		(76.9)		(33.1)		
	1629 Wittgenstein	53.4	9.2	2.3	35.1	0.0
		(62.6)		(37.4)		
	1630 Lemberg	31.8	19.9	33.9	14.4	0.0
		(51.7)		(48.3)		
	1631 Dillenburg	58.8	29.4	4.4	7.4	0.0
		(88.2)		(11.8)		
	1631 Höchst	66.0	11.8	0.0	22.2	0.0
		(77.8)		(22.2)		

Table 5.4: Vowel length markers in the Rhine-Franconian area

The records from the Rhine-Franconian region only encompass 21 years, but even the texts from such a short time frame show major differences that point to idiolectal spelling. However, certain percentages also overlap with the previous findings, e.g. an increase of <h> in non-standard position when the number of unmarked lexemes decreases. The record from Wadgassen, which shows a very high percentage of standard usage of <h> in 1618, is rather surprising. This record also stems from an earlier edition. However, Macha et al. (2005: CD-ROM, Wadgassen) were able to compare this edition with the original document at the city archive in Wetzlar and, as mentioned above, only added the edition to the corpus if they could attest a great overlap between the two documents (Macha et al.

2005: XX). Other assumptions could be made about the far-reaching influence of this particular record. The place of origin is the cloister Wadgassen, which, like St. Maximin, was a religious and cultural center with an extensive domain.[68] The officials present at the court hearing were the abbot of the cloister, the provost of the cloister (who was also sheriff of Wadgassen), a lawyer of the Nassau council who is referred to as Doctor Boltzen, a notary, and the scribe of the cloister. The presence of the council lawyer, as well as the final storage place of the record, the city of Wetzlar, which is 265 km (165 miles) from Wadgassen, could indicate the great importance of the record. It could be assumed that the scribe attempted to write the record in a supraregional variety to accommodate a target audience that was not from the region, or that the lawyer or someone else in Wetzlar copied and corrected the record.

Finally, the findings in the Swabian records are presented below. Swabia is, as mentioned in the introduction, used as a test group to see whether similar orthographic trends happened at the same time in other areas or if they are only connected to the WMG dialects. Due to the findings above, all instances of <ue> were discarded for this analysis, since it is not clear whether they represent vowel length or the diphthong. As expected, this eliminates almost all tokens for the WMG vowel length marking, with the exception of the record from Leonberg, in which instances of the lexeme *weiniger* (NHG *weniger* 'fewer') can be found. However, one could also assume the graphic representation of the diphthong in these instances.

---

[68]http://museum.academiawadegotia.de/synapsecore.php5/noSidebar/synWiki/Abtei_Wadgassen_Allgemeines (last accessed October 1, 2017)

Region	Record	Standard Usage %		Non-Standard Usage %		
		h NHG	no h NHG	no h NHG	h NHG	e,i,y
Swabian	1593 Nördlingen	7.4	16.7	72.3	3.6	0.0
		(24.1)		(75.9)		
	1596 Riedlingen*	8.4	16.7	73.6	1.3	0.0
		(25.1)		(74.9)		
	1613 Günzburg	25.0	20.0	51.3	3.7	0.0
		(45.0)		(55.0)		
	1615 Rottweil*	24.3	5.2	47.0	23.5	0.0
		(29.5)		(70.5)		
	1625 Augsburg	61.3	19.9	13.3	5.5	0.0
		(81.2)		(18.8)		
	1641 Leonberg	52.2	21.1	13.0	13.0	0.7
		(73.3)		(26.7)		
	1648 Hechingen*	53.6	18.7	7.8	19.9	0.0
		(72.3)		(27.7)		
	1665 Memmingen	61.2	28.1	8.3	2.4	0.0
		(89.3)		(10.7)		

Table 5.5: Vowel length markers in the Swabian region

The outcomes for the Swabian region show the clearest picture in terms of vowel length marking with <h>. The two records from the late 16th century show almost no vowel length marking with only 7.4% and 8.4% NHG <h> marking and 72.3% and 73.6% of tokens unmarked which are marked in NHG. This changes at the beginning of the 17th century, with the record from Rottweil showing confusion or hypercorrection about the placement of <h>. From the record from Augsburg in 1625 on,[69] the instances of vowel length marking overlapping with the NHG usage increase significantly to 81.2% at the city court of Augsburg, 73.3% and 72.3% in the smaller cities of Leonberg and Hechingen, and finally 89.3% in Memmingen. Based on this, the graphs below represent diachronic overviews to see whether my findings overlap with the percentages of an increase of <h>

---

[69] Macha et al (2005: Augsburg) state that spelling deviations in this record point to two scribes, one who copied the question catalog and another who recorded the answers. Thus, the question of authorship is difficult here. The second scribe might have corrected some regionalisms that the first scribe used or, vice versa, might have added them because he perceived them as correct.

as a vowel length marker given by von Polenz (1994: 246) and Salmons (2012: 332). The first graph summarizes the findings in the WMG dialects.
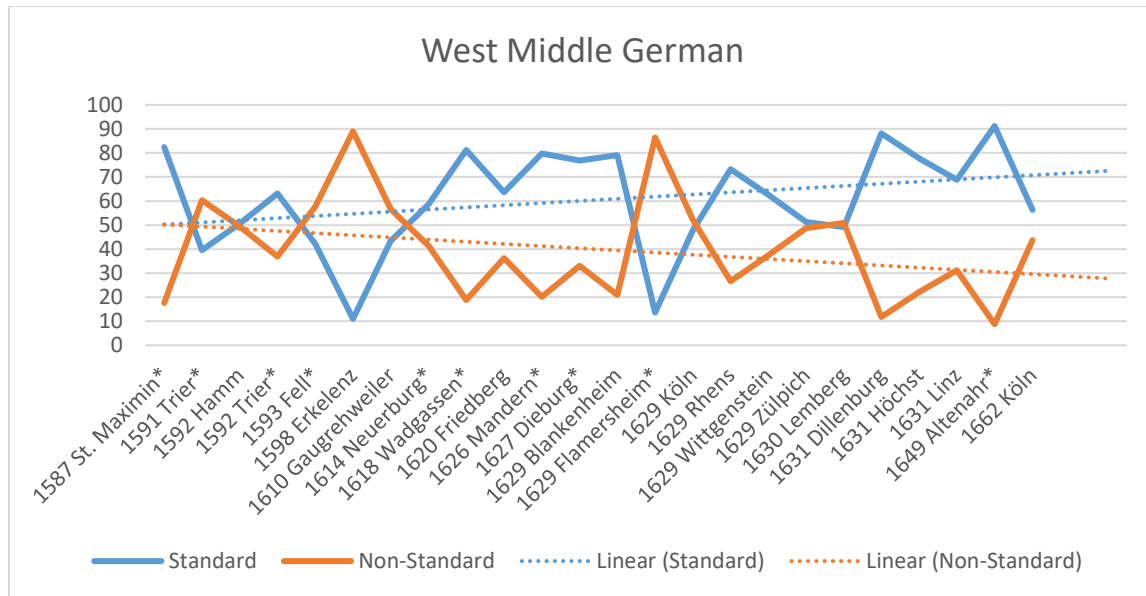
Figure 5.2: Vowel length marking in WMG dialects

First, the graph[70] reveals that there is a great amount of variation between the texts and even within one text, especially looking at outliers such as the record from Erkelenz and Flamersheim. However, the linear trendlines show that the usage of <h> corresponding to the NHG standard increases from approximately 50% at the beginning of the time frame to 70% at the end of the time frame. The trendline also predicts a further increase. At the same time, non-standard spelling decreases from 50% to 30%. These numbers are a little lower than the percentages given by von Polenz (1994: 246), who states that there is an

---

[70] Due to the limited record numbers, the graph (and all further diachronic graphs) depict all three WMG dialect regions on one timeline. This is of course not unproblematic, as some of these towns are several 100 km apart from each other and thus show regional differences. At this point, I have to rely on this idealization to gain a first insight into chronological developments. Ideally, a larger amount of records would be available to make a regionally more differentiated depiction possible.

increase of spelling corresponding to modern Standard German, from 56.7% in 1569 to 76% in 1626 to 92.2% in 1694. However, these numbers also take <e> as a length marker for /i:/ into consideration. Discussing <e> and <h> as length markers together without a differentiation between the two could have led to different results. Furthermore, the numbers were taken from a study based on Bible prints. A printed, public, and literary text such as the Bible is more likely to have been compiled by educated people with higher social status and have received extensive editing. As such, it is likely to show a higher standardization tendency due to the print medium and the genre, which is the point of this dissertation. Both of these factors could contribute to the difference in percentage numbers.

The graph below compares these results with the outcomes from the Swabian dialect region.
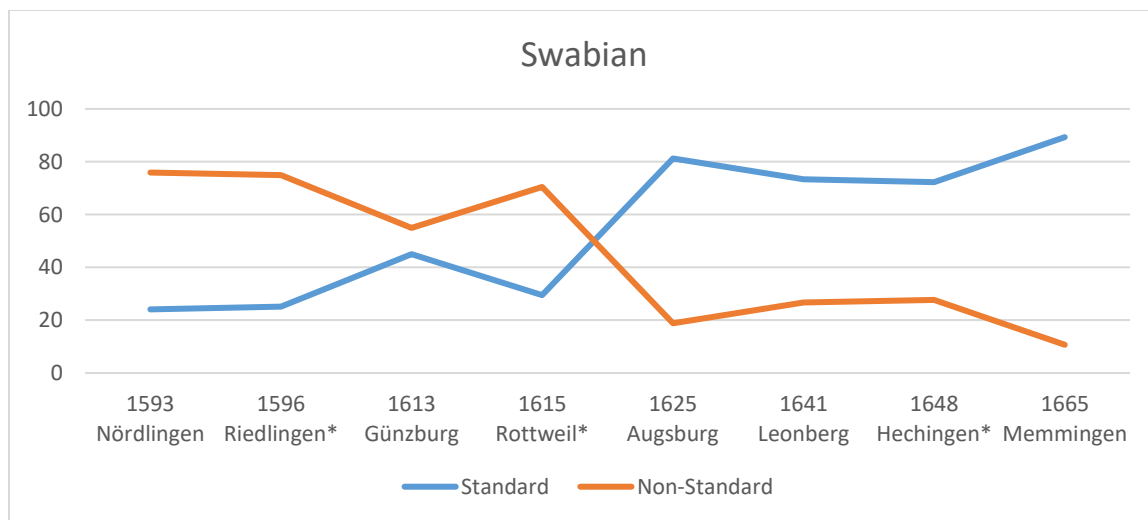
Figure 5.3: Vowel length markers in Swabian dialect

As mentioned above, the Swabian documents show the standardization tendency even more concretely, with a decrease of the non-standard spelling from 76% in the record from 1593 to 11% in 1665, and an increase of the spelling corresponding to the NHG standard

from 24% in 1593 to 90% in 1665. These few Swabian documents show an intensified picture of the standardization process in only 72 years.

Finally, the last graph below focuses on the correlation in the WMG dialects between <h> corresponding to the NHG standard, the absence of <h> where it appears in the NHG standard, and the non-standard usage of <h>, both non-standard placement (e.g. *Jhar*) and usage of <h> where it does not appear in NHG (e.g. *Persohn*). The goal here is to see whether von Polenz's (1994: 243) remark regarding overuse and hypercorrection of <h> in the 17th and 18th centuries holds true in the witch hunt records.
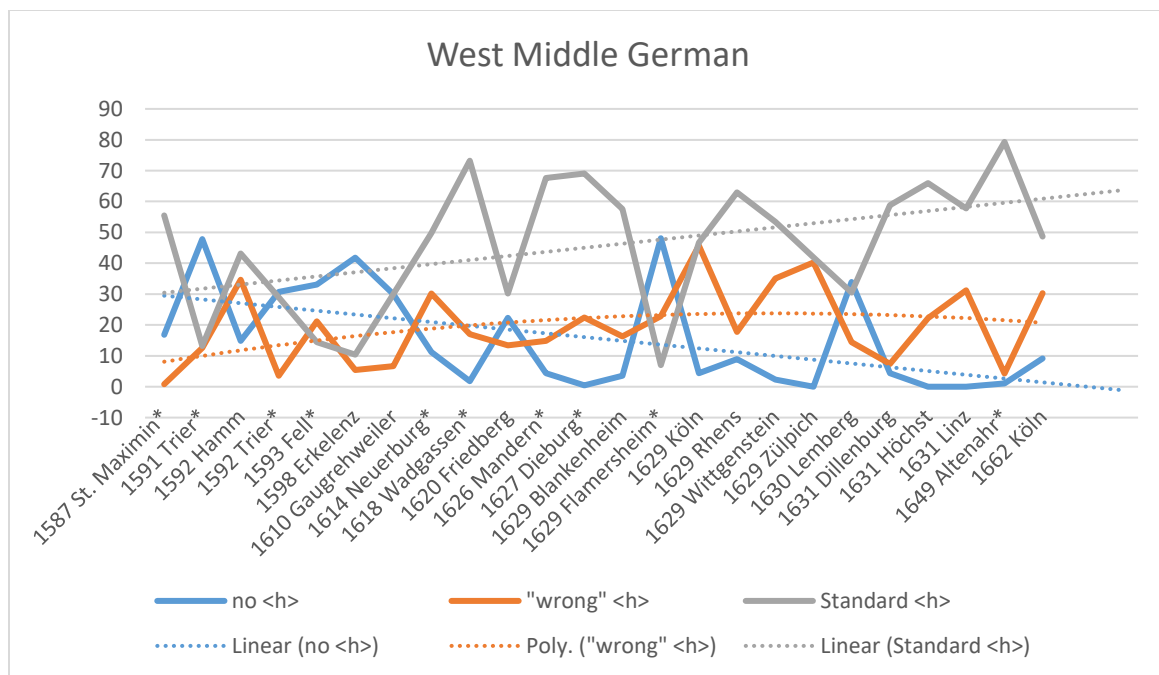
Figure 5.4: Diachronic overview of usage of <h> in WMG dialects

Considering the results above, it is unsurprising that the usage of <h> corresponding to the NHG standard increases significantly, while lexemes that are not marked in ENHG, but are marked in NHG, simultaneously decrease. The interesting aspect here is the connection to

the use of <h> in non-standard position or non-standard lexemes, which also increases parallel to the standard usage of <h> and is depicted with a polynomial line to visualize the development of this particular usage of <h>. It increases until the main phase of the witch hunt between 1628 and 1631, when it plateaus and then starts to decrease again. This downward trend, however, cannot be verified, as it only affects the last two records from Altenahr and Cologne. More court records from the second half of the 17th century would be necessary to conclude a decrease in hypercorrection and overuse. The numbers for the first half of the 17th century suggest that von Polenz' (1994) observation can also be applied to the witch hunt records with the additional observation that the overuse does not increase further during the main witch hunt phase. However, since this phase lasts only three years, the time frame is too short for the implementation of orthographic change, and it could therefore be argued that the records show this plateauing due to unchanging orthographic usage.

Finally, I also analyzed an individual word field of pronouns that exhibit <h> after vowel, namely pronouns: the 3rd P. Sg. fem. possessive adjective and Dat./Gen. pronoun *ihr* 'her, to/of her', the 3rd P. Sg. masc. Acc. pronoun *ihn* 'him', the 3rd P. Sg. masc. and neut. Dat. pronoun *ihm* 'to him/it', and the 3rd P. Pl. Dat. pronoun *ihnen* 'to them'. Within this word field, the confusion regarding spelling conventions becomes obvious. The <h> is often missing, or the text shows great variation in the usage, where the masculine accusative pronoun *ihn* 'him' is spelled like the preposition *in* 'in' and vice versa, especially in texts from before 1600. The standard <h> spelling increased significantly after 1625. Between 1589 and 1625, 52.7% of tokens show an overlap with the NHG standard with the exception of certain outliers: The two prestigious cloisters St. Maximin and Wadgassen show only standard spellings, while the texts from Trier from 1591, Günzburg, Nördlingen only contain non-standard spellings. The remaining ten records

from this time period show both spelling varieties. The records from the time frame between 1625 and 1665 show 80.9% standard spelling with the records from Flamersheim and Lemberg exhibiting still a great amount of non-standard spelling and Leonberg and Hechingen showing both spelling varieties without preference. The remaining 13 records from this time frame exhibit a strong tendency towards standardization.

It can be concluded that the findings regarding the WMG dialect markers <e,i,y> overlap with the descriptions of the feature given in the ENHG grammars with the exception of the individual records from Mandern (Mosel-Franconian) and Gaugrehweiler (Rhine-Franconian). These still include tokens of the length marker in the 17th century, even though the grammars state that the WMG vowel length markers were not used in these regions anymore past the 16th century. Furthermore, the texts from Lemberg and the Swabian dialect region include many instances of <ue>. However, following Moser (1929: 190), these tokens could point to the graphemic representation of the diphthong rather than vowel length. In general, the findings in the witch hunt records regarding the WMG vowel length markers overlap with the descriptions made in the ENHG grammars with idiolectic exceptions that could point to erroneous spelling deviating from the general norm.

The question regarding <h> as a length marker was whether the usage of <h> shows the strong tendency towards standardization in the 17th century as mentioned by the grammars and overviews. The general percentages are slightly lower than the percentage numbers given by von Polenz (1994) and Salmons (2012). Here again, certain records deviate from the general trend. Cloisters (St. Maximin, Wadgassen) and some of the larger city courts seem to have adopted the standardized spelling earlier than smaller courts. However, the individual scribe still plays the largest role in the preference for one spelling variety over the other. This is also true for von Polenz' (1994: 243) observation regarding the overuse and hypercorrection of <h> as a length marker in the 17th century. The findings

in the witch hunt records confirm this theory with the additional observation that hypercorrection already happened in the 16th century and seems to have decreased in the second half of the 17th century. Most records exhibit this trend, but the percentage of overuse or hypercorrection plateaus in the late 1620's while the percentage for standard use of <h> further increases during this time frame. I now turn to the second feature, diphthongization.

5.2.2. NHG Diphthongization

The NHG diphthongization involves the change of MHG long vowels /i:/, /u:/, /ü:/ to NHG diphthongs /ei/, /au/, /eu/ in most dialects of German except Low German and Alemannic (Hennings 2003: 39).[71] However, some modern German dialects that went through this change, especially dialects with a strong influence from Low German or Alemannic, still exhibit examples of the long vowels in the spoken language. Macha (1992: 327) states that the MHG monophthongs are still perceivable in the spoken dialect around Cologne due to the influence of Low German on Ripuarian. In ENHG, dialect influence leads to doublets in the written language, as visible in the witch hunt records. In (7), the NHG diphthong is already implemented, while (8) still exhibits the MHG monophthong:

(7) *... vnd **auf** demselben tantz were ein Wetter [...] gemacht* (1629 Flamersheim)
      and at   the same   dance was a   weather   made
    NHG 'und das auf demselben Tanz Wetter erschaffen worden wäre'
    Engl. 'and it is as if at the same dance weather were created'

(8) *… Alß sie aber **vf**   Ir bitten herunder gelaßen worden* (1630 Lemberg)
      when she but   through her pleading down   let   was
    NHG 'Als sie aber auf ihr Flehen herunter gelassen wurde'

---

[71] These areas adapted the orthographic representation of the diphthongization later, when they adapted the standard variety as a whole. In the case of Low German, the process of adopting the standard followed processes similar to the acquisition of a foreign language (Hartweg and Wegera 2005: 135).

Engl. 'but when she was let down following her pleas'

Both records are from the same time frame. Some records show a tendency for a preference for the diphthong or monophthong while other records use both varieties. I now turn to the discussion of the feature in the literature on ENHG.

5.2.2.1. *Summary*

Salmons (2012: 232) states that both the NHG diphthongization and monophthongization are characteristic for Central German, especially East Central German, with the emerging Standard reflecting East Central patterns. There is no consensus on the place of origin of the NHG diphthongization. Ebert et al. (1993: 66) state that contemporary theories suggest either monogenesis in Southern Bavarian and a spreading according to the wave-theory (Schuchardt 1900; see Campbell 2013 for a recent handbook discussion) to the North, or polygenesis, since English and Dutch saw similar changes. The first documentations of the written diphthongs were found in South Tyrolean charters around 1100 (Ebert et al 1993: 64). They became widely used during the 13th century in the southeastern part of the German speaking areas in Austria and Southern Bavaria (Ebert et al. 1993: 64). From there, the digraphic spelling spread towards East Franconia (14th century) and Saxony (15th century), becoming the standard writing at the Saxon chancery around 1500.

According to the grammars, the spreading of the diphthongs in the West happened later with Swabia in the late 15th century, and large parts of WMG during the 16th century. Ebert et al. (1993: 65) state that the diphthongs reached Ripuarian between 1520 and 1550, and were used consistently at the end of the century, basing this on Scheel (1893) and Balan (1969). Moser (1929: 155) differentiates the different WMG dialect regions, setting the complete implementation for Rhine-Franconian into the first half of the 16th century with

possible remnants in the second half. For Mosel-Franconian, he states that the NHG diphthongization begins in the 16th century, while it is possible that the change is not completed at the end of the century. For Swabian, he sees the complete implementation already at the beginning of the 16th century (Moser 1929: 154). While he adds that the written language might have adapted the change later in some dialect areas, he specifically points out that the WMG dialects first implemented the NHG diphthongization in the respective written languages during the times described above, before the change spread to the spoken language (Moser 1929: 156).[72]

According to the consensus on the state of the NHG diphthongization during the investigated time frame, there should be no tokens of the MHG monophthongs in the Swabian and Rhine-Franconian documents. Mosel-Franconian and Ripuarian can, according to Moser (1929: 155), still exhibit remnants of the monophthongs in the 17th century.

5.2.2.2. Methodology

The token-count here shows all counts of the old monophthongs <i, u, ü> and their diphthongized counterparts <ei, au, eu/äu>. I first searched for the three diphthongs in all texts, entering the tokens into an Excel spread sheet and labelling them as "diphthong." Instances of the NHG diphthong lowering,[73] e.g. MHG *zouberin* > ENHG *zauberin* 'witch', were discarded, as they describe the later change of the diphthong itself and not a

---

[72] Moser (1929: 158) bases these assumptions on texts from larger and more influential court chanceries: the archbishopric chanceries of Mainz and Trier, the chancery of the Electoral Palatinate in Heidelberg, the bishopric chanceries Speyer and Worms, the ducal chanceries of Saarbrücken and Zweibrücken, and the city court of Frankfurt. Only the handwritten documents from Trier still show remnants of the MHG monophthongs in the 17th century.

[73] This change describes the lowering of the first vowel in a diphthong. The MHG diphthongs /ei, öu, ou/ change to the NHG diphthongs /ai, eu, au/, e.g. MHG *keiser* > NHG *Kaiser* 'emperor', MHG *vröude* > NHG *Freude* 'joy', and MHG *ouge* > NHG *Auge* 'eye' (Hennings 2003: 40).

diphthongization from a monophthong. MHG /ou/ changes occasionally to the monophthong /a:/ in MG and East-Franconian and to /au/ in large parts of UG. During the time frame investigated, the UG digraphs was established as the leading variety (Ebert et al. 1993: 59). In order to identify the lowering, a comparison to MHG using MHG dictionaries (Lexer 1983 and Hennig 2001) was necessary, to see whether a certain lexeme with <au> spelling in ENHG was derived from /ou/ or /u:/ in MHG. Only the lexemes with MHG /u:/ were counted. After establishing a list of lexemes in the spread sheet, I then searched for the same lexemes with the monophthong. Here, a variety of spelling variations of the phonological environment (presence or absence of vowel length marker, consonant doubling) as well as of the monophthong itself (<u> vs. <v>) had to be taken into account. These tokens were also entered into the Excel spread sheet and labelled as 'monophthong'. Finally, I spot checked texts with a high monophthong usage by going through the texts manually to see whether other lexemes were written with the monophthong that are spelled with diphthong in NHG. The hypothesis here was that some lexemes are exclusively spelled with a monophthong and thus did not appear in my initial search. This spot check did not reveal any other lexemes. I then also used PivotTables to visualize the distribution of diphthongs and monophthongs in the 32 texts.

5.2.2.3.   *Results*

During the search for monophthongs based on the list of lexemes, it became clear that the diphthongs /ei/ and /eu/ are implemented completely, as no cases of the MHG monophthongs were found in any of the dialectal areas. This is, however, not the case for the diphthong /au/, which still shows a great amount of variation. Throughout the corpus, 1117 instances of the NHG diphthong /au/ and 734 instances of the MHG monophthong /u/ were found. Very frequently, the monophthong appears word initially and is written as

123

<v>, presumably due to Latin spelling conventions. The documents show the following distribution in percentages (documents from earlier editions are marked with *):

Region	Record	Monophthongs	Diphthongs
Ripuarian	1598 Erkelenz	88.9%	11.1%
	1629 Blankenheim	64%	36%
	1629 Flamersheim*	0%	100%
	1629 Zülpich	2.6%	97.4%
	1629 Köln	51.4%	48.6%
	1631 Linz	68%	32%
	1649 Altenahr*	57.8%	42.2%
	1662 Köln	8.8%	91.2%
Mosel-Franconian	1587 St. Maximin*	51.5%	48.5%
	1591 Trier*	75.6%	24.4%
	1592 Trier*	51.4%	48.6%
	1592 Hamm	62.5%	37.5%
	1593 Fell*	48.7%	51.3%
	1614 Neuerburg*	61.6%	38.4%
	1626 Mandern*	41.1%	58.9%
	1629 Rhens	25%	75%
Rhine-Franconian	1610 Gaugrehweiler	31%	69%
	1618 Wadgassen*	29.3%	70.7%
	1620 Friedberg	50.6%	50.4%
	1627 Dieburg*	1%	99%
	1629 Wittgenstein	8.3%	91.7%
	1630 Lemberg	45%	55%
	1631 Dillenburg	29.1%	70.9%
	1631 Höchst	60%	40%
Swabian	1593 Nördlingen	0%	100%
	1596 Riedlingen*	20.5%	79.5%
	1613 Günzburg	47.2%	52.8%
	1615 Rottweil*	8%	92%
	1625 Augsburg	2%	98%
	1641 Leonberg	59.3%	40.7%
	1648 Hechingen*	40.5%	59.5%
	1665 Memmingen	2%	98%

Table 5.6: Distribution of <u> and <au> in percentage

At first glance, it becomes clear that all dialect regions still exhibit remnants of the monophthong /u:/, which stands contrary to the statements made in the ENHG grammars. Furthermore, most documents do not show a complete preference for one spelling variety but rather use both varieties interchangeably throughout the text. Finally, the date of origin is also not a contributing factor to the variation. Rhine-Franconian and Swabian show higher percentages of monophthongs until 1631 and 1648 respectively, while all regions show records with low percentages at the beginning of the time frame. It seems to depend very much on the scribe. The two records from Cologne (1629 Köln and 1662 Köln), which were both written by the scribe Stephan Muser, seem to show a tendency towards the diphthong with over half of the tokens being monophthongs in the first record and only marginal existence of monophthongs in the second. The following graph shows the complete diachronic distribution of monophthongs and diphthongs:
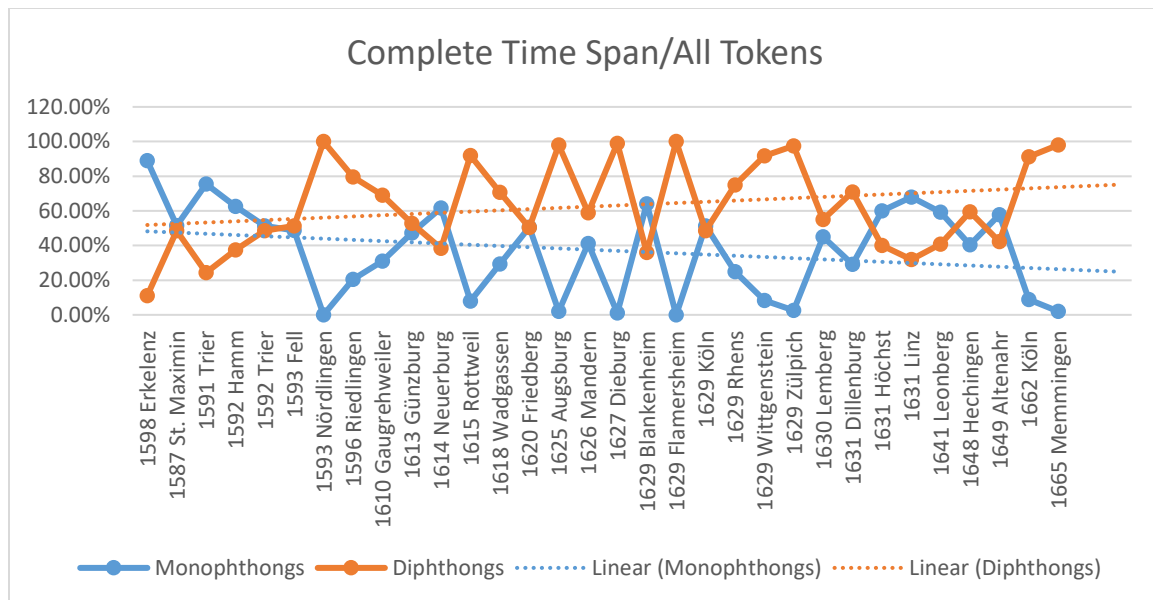
Figure 5.5: Diachronic distribution of <u> und <au>

125

While the frequency of the diphthong <au> increases while that of the monophthong <u> decreases, the data also suggests that the diphthong is far from being fully implemented in the spelling system of this genre in the middle of the 17th century.

However, the usage of the monophthong is strongly bound to two lexemes, the prepositions *auf* 'on' and *aus* 'out, from', which both have a very high frequency, also due to their usage as a prefix for verbs and nouns. Most of the monophthong tokens, for instance, are of *auf* 'on'. Other potential lexemes, such as *Haus* 'house', *braun* 'brown', and *schrauben* 'to screw', use diphthongs between 98% and 100% of the time. The frequencies of monophthongs and diphthongs of *auf* 'on' in both of its functions (preposition and prefix) are thus presented here to see whether the orthography of this lexeme changes over time. The distribution in the Ripuarian dialect is as follows:
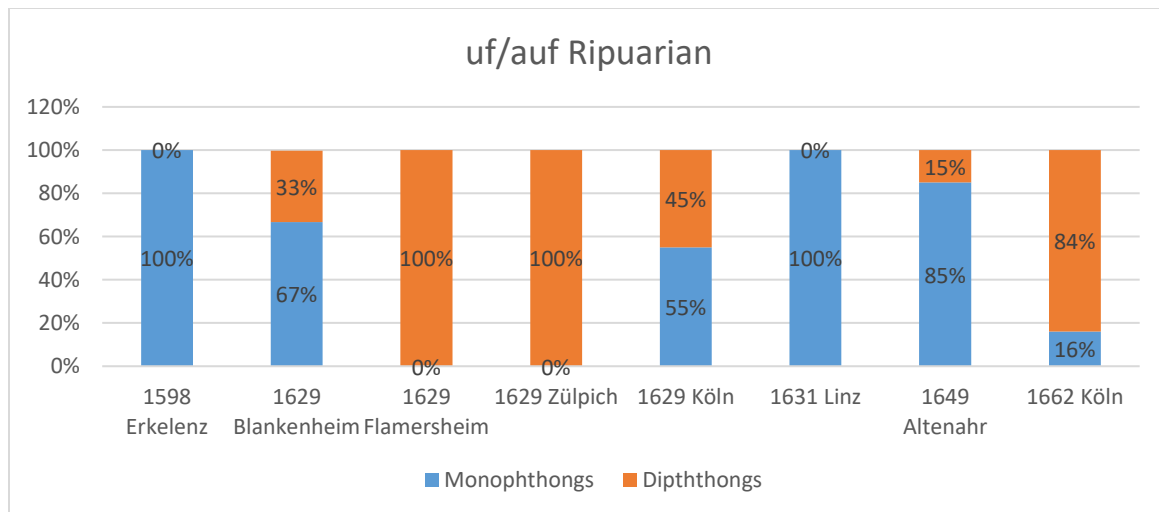
Figure 5.6: Distribution of *uf* and *auf* in the Ripuarian texts

The preposition does not show a pattern that would suggest a preference for the diphthong or the monophthong. Low German influence on the Ripuarian dialect[74] might suggest a higher possibility for a preference of the monophthong, because the Low German regions were not included in the NHG diphthongization (Hennings 2003: 39). However, the monophthong does not appear more often than in other dialect regions. On the contrary, Blankenheim 1629 and Flamersheim 1629[75] show a complete implementation of the diphthong, and Köln 1662 also exhibits a strong tendency towards it. Time cannot be determined as a contributing factor of standardization for this feature, because the texts exhibit a tendency towards either the monophthong or the diphthong independent from the year that it was written.

The following graph shows the distribution in the Mosel-Franconian documents:
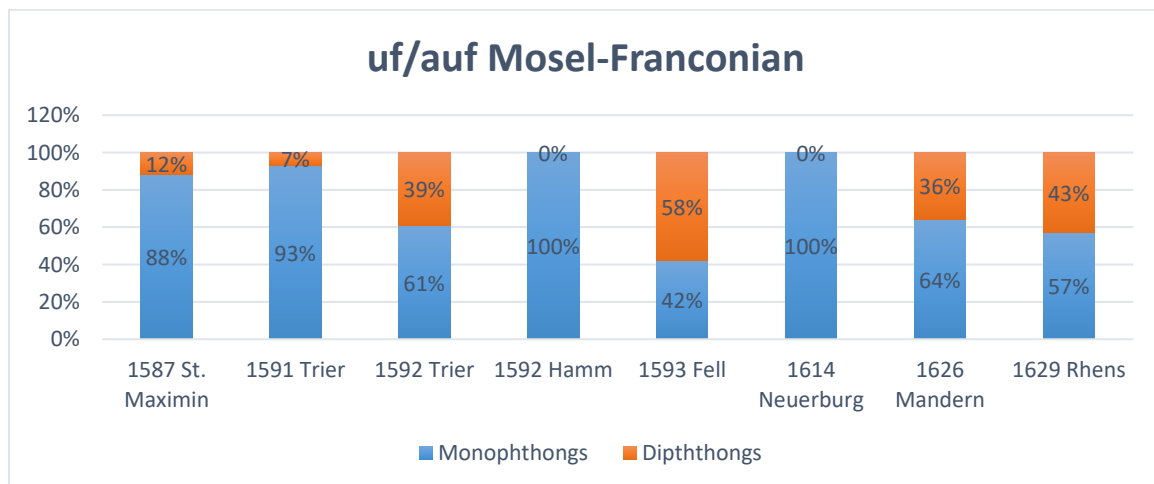
Figure 5.7: Distribution of *uf* and *auf* in the Mosel-Franconian texts

---

[74] As mentioned above, trade routes along the Rhine river connected the regions culturally and linguistically and also did not stop at the Benrath Line (the isogloss that divides Low and High German based on the High German Consonant Shift [Hennings 2003: 18]).

[75] Flamersheim 1629 is a record taken from an earlier edition by G. Eckertz (1861). Macha et al. (2005b: 76), however, point out that the author printed the record true to the original, which means that the spelling in this record has not been changed by the editor but rather reflects the actual spelling of the original scribe.

Even though Mosel-Franconian is less influenced by Low German since it is further removed geographically, the area shows a stronger tendency towards the monophthong in the preposition *auf* ('on') than the more northern Ripuarian region. Hamm 1592 and Neuerburg 1614[76] in fact contain only monophthongs in the usage of the preposition. Considering however that in both documents, the diphthong is implemented in all other lexemes except for the prepositions, the monophthong seems to be connected to the prepositions. In most cases, it appears word initially and is written as <v>.

Rhine-Franconian shows a similar pattern:
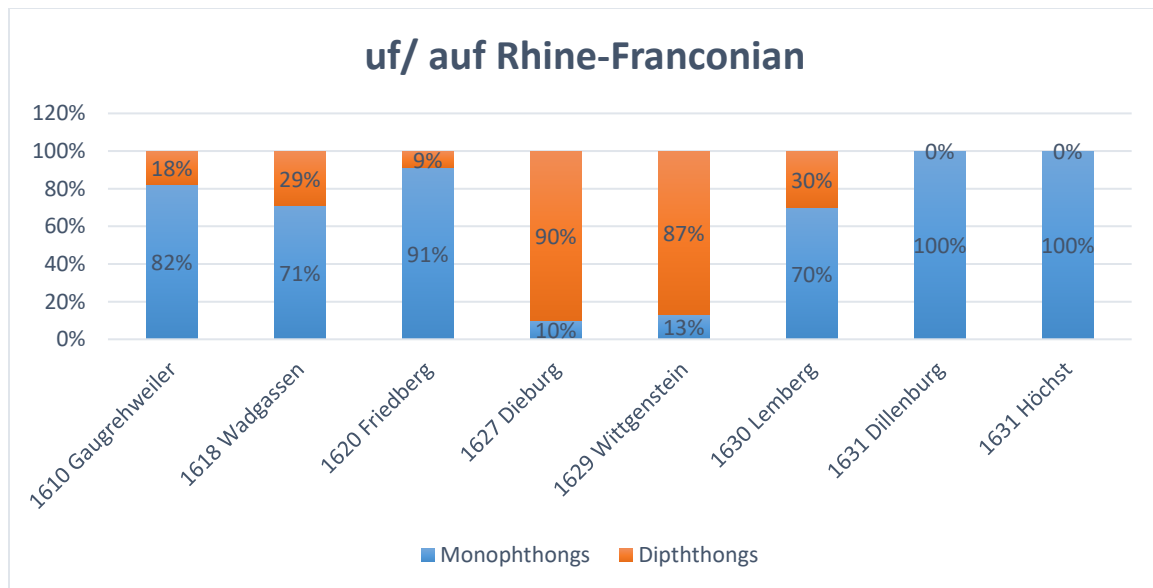
Figure 5.8: Distribution of *uf* and *auf* in Rhine-Franconian texts

[76] Neuerburg 1614 also stems from an earlier edition by A. Schüller (1914) and was partially normalized (Macha et al. 2005b: 106). However, the editor seems to have decided to maintain the monophthongs in the prepositions. It is unclear why he made this decision. If he was from the same region, it could be argued that he was acquainted with some of the regionalisms that have survived into the NHG spoken dialect. However, it could only be established that Schüller was published multiple times in the *Trierische Chronik* (Kentenich and Lager 1908, 1916) and not that he was actually born and raised in the region. It therefore remains unclear why he did not normalize the monophthongs, since he normalized other aspects of the text.

Here too, the development of the monophthong and diphthong is not connected to date in which the court record originated. The last two court records only contain monophthongs in the preposition, even though Macha et al. (2005) attest for the scribe of the record from Höchst, Andreas Weber, that he seems to follow a routine in his writing, since his handwriting is very clear, the spelling shows a great amount of standardization, and he uses many Latin legal terms. It is therefore surprising that the record still shows only the monophthong, since the higher frequency of other standardized forms and the attested professionalism of the scribe might suggest the opposite. Again, *auf* and *aus* in their usages are the only lexemes that exhibit the monophthong, and are consequently spelled as <v>, except for one token of *woruff* (NHG *worauf* 'whereupon') in the document from Höchst.

Finally, the Swabian data presents itself as follows:
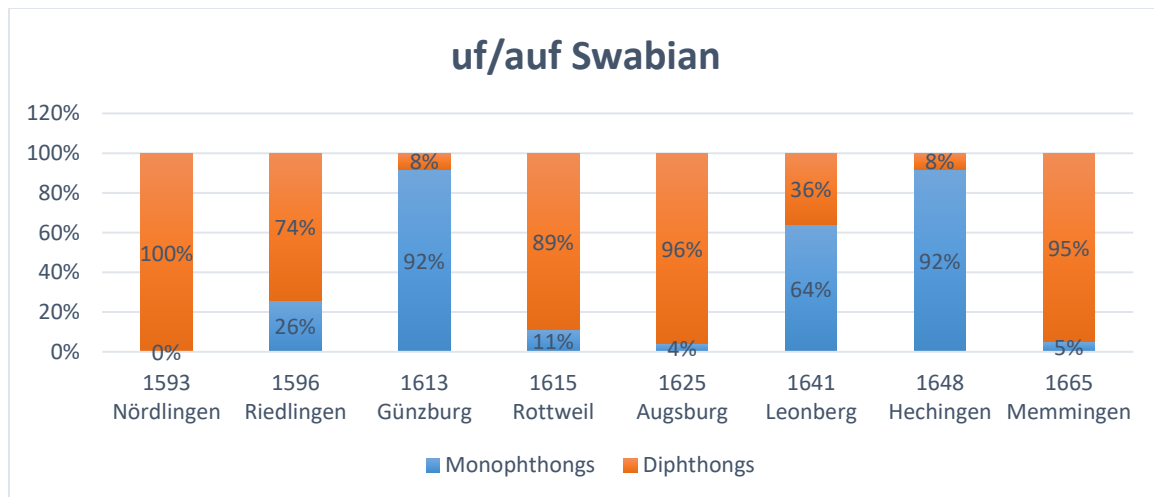
Figure 5.9: Distribution of *uf* and *auf* in Swabian texts

The Swabian area is the southernmost dialect region investigated here and in five of the court records it shows a complete implementation or strong preference for the diphthong, which corresponds partially with the statements in the ENHG grammars. Regarding the

record from Nördlingen, Macha et al. (2005a: 384) state that the scribe writes in an East-Upper German dialect, suggesting that he might have come from this area and moved to the Swabian area, which might account for the complete implementation of the NHG diphthongization in this early record. However, some records exhibit the MHG monophthongs, which stands contrary to the assessment of the implementation time frame in the ENHG grammars. The record from Hechingen still exhibits mostly the monophthong in the usage of the preposition even though it is one of the youngest documents of the corpus. The overview of the complete time frame shows the following picture:
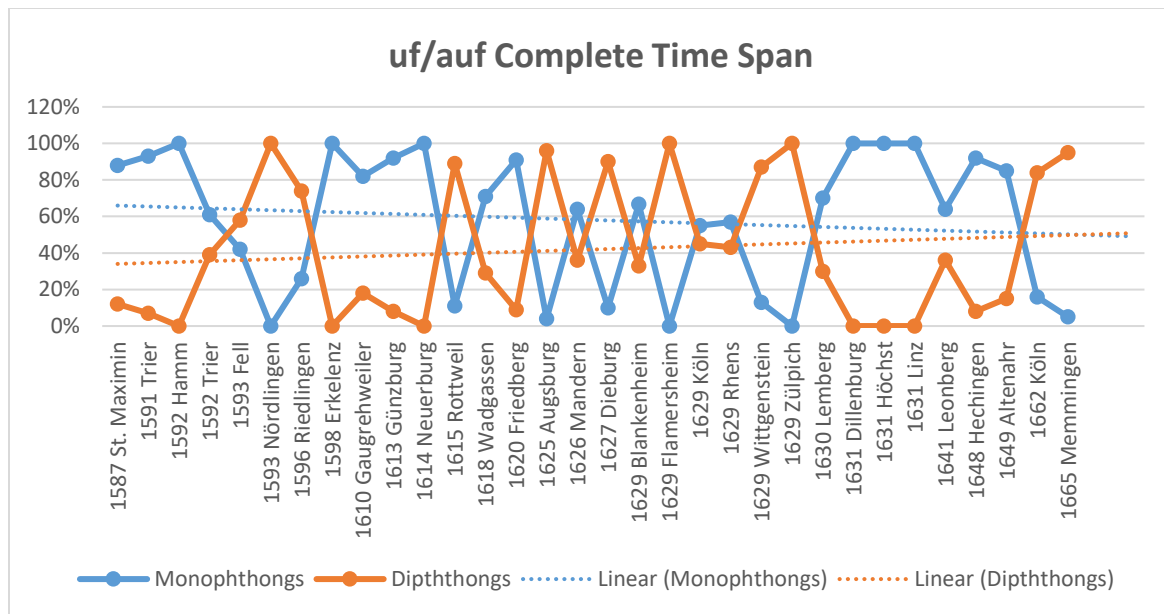
Figure 5.10: Diachronic overview of *uf* and *auf*

As can be seen here, the implementation of the diphthong in the preposition *auf* does not show a standardization tendency during this time frame. While the trendline points to an increasing usage of the diphthong, no preferred variety can be determined. The usage seems to be dependent on the individual scribe. In some cases, the scribe picks one variety and

uses it consistently, but in most of the records, the monophthongs and diphthongs are both used in varying frequency in the preposition *auf*.

In general, the usage of the monophthongs and diphthongs in the witch hunt records only partially overlaps with the assessment of the distribution in the ENHG grammars. While the diphthongs <ei> and <eu> are fully implemented, <au> still shows a great amount of variation and this variation is visible in all four dialect regions. The monophthong /u/ appears mostly word initially and is often spelled as <v> while most tokens fall on the highly frequent prepositions *auf* 'on' and *aus* 'out of, from'. The analysis of the preposition *auf* showed that the diphthong and monophthong are used interchangeably all through the time frame in all four dialect regions, with a stronger preference for the diphthong in the Swabian documents. The varying usage even within the same texts show that most scribes are unsure about a spelling convention. I now turn to the third feature, raising.

5.2.3. Re-raising of /e, o, ö/ to /i, u, ü/

This process follows an initial lowering of MHG /i, u, ü/ to ENHG /e, o, ö/ in Middle German and Swabian (Ebert et al. 1993: 70). The lowering appears especially preceding nasals but also before /l, r/ plus consonant, leading to forms such as *hemel* (NHG *Himmel* 'heaven, sky'), *hondert* (NHG *hundert* 'hundert'), and *störmen* (NHG *stürmen* 'to storm, to charge') that were later lost, but also *Sonne* (MHG *sunne* 'sun') and *König* (MHG *künec* 'king') that are retained in NHG. Due to UG influence, many lowered forms were then re-raised and many of these re-raised forms found their way into the NHG standard, as visible in the examples above. According to Salmons (2012: 239), it is a general phonological phenomenon that "long or tense vowels tend to rise in sound changes,

especially 'chain shifts', [and] short or lax vowels tend to lower" and that the examples of lowering shown above seem to be part of such a development.[77] In many dialects, such as Rhine-Franconian and Hessian, this lowering is phonetically perceivable even in lexemes in which the orthographic form of the lowering has not survived into NHG, such as *Kerschen* (NHG *Kirschen* 'cherries').

In the witch hunt records, lowered and re-raised forms can be found in the described phonological environments but also intervocalically and occasionally word final. (9) shows an instance of the lowered form before <h>, and (10) the most common environment before nasal:

(9) … *sie haette vorlaengst eine **Kohe** bezaubert und umbracht.* (1649 Altenahr)
　　　she had　　recently　　a　　cow　　bewitched　and killed.
　　NHG 'sie hätte unlängst eine Kuh verzaubert und umgebracht.'
　　Engl. 'she recently had [allegedly] bewitched and killed a cow.'

(10) ... *sie wisse　　nitt ob der **hondt** hinckendt worden oder nitt.* (1598 Erkelenz)
　　　she knewSub. not if the dog　limping　　became　or　not.
　　NHG 'sie wisse nicht, ob der Hund lahm wurde oder nicht.'
　　Engl. 'she did not [allegedly] know if the dog became lame or not.'

(11) shows an instance of the re-raised form in the same text as the lowered form in (9), while (12) gives an example of raising where it does not appear in NHG. This could point towards hypercorrection in the implementation of the re-raised UG forms.

(11) … *daß sie [...] eine **Kuhe** aus Zwang des　Teufels bezaubern wollen.*
　　　that she […] a　　cow　by force　of the devil　bewitched　wanted.
　　NHG 'dass sie [...] unter Zwang des Teufels eine Kuh verzaubern wollte.'
　　Engl. 'that she [...], forced by the devil, wanted to bewitch a cow.'

(12) … der bös Feindt seye einmahl zue Ihr **khummen**. (1648 Hechingen)

---

[77] This development is reflected e.g. in the Great Vowel Shift in the history of English, on which see e.g. Minkova (2013).

      the evil fiend   were one time to   her come.

NHG 'der böse Feind sei eines Tages zu ihr gekommen.'

Engl. 'the evil fiend had [allegedly] come to her one day.'

I now turn to the state of the feature during the time frame investigated as described in the ENHG grammars.

5.2.3.1.   Summary

Moser (1929: §72-74) differentiates the changes /i/ > /e/ and /u, ü/ > /o, ö/. For /i/ > /e/ he states that it is first attested in the North-West of German-speaking areas from where it spread southeast in decreasing frequency. Mosel-Franconian shows this variety in its orthographic representation already in early MHG,[78] and it reached East-Franconian and Bohemian during the late MHG period (Moser 1929: 131). The southern and eastern dialects then reversed the change starting in the 14th century. During the 15th century, the lowered form decreased in frequency in Rhine-Franconian and the Palatine due to the political and by extension orthographic UG influence on the regions, which caused the regions to adapt the more prestigious UG variety.[79]

Regarding /u, ü/ > /o, ö/, Moser (1929: 135) states that UG retained the high vowels in opposition to the MG low vowels until the 16th century, with the exception of Swabian where the lowered forms appeared already during the 14th century, leading to spellings such as *bronnen* (NHG *Brunnen* 'well'). The two forms competed with each other in handwritten Swabian documents until the MG lowered forms gained ground during the 16th century. However, remnants of the raised forms are still found until the 17th century, e.g

---

[78] According to Moser (1929: 131), <e> appears very frequently instead of <i> in Mosel-Franconian handwritten documents during the 14th and 15th centuries.

[79] In particular, due to the influence of the Habsburg chancery, the electoral chancery in Mainz completely abandoned the use of the lowered form already during the first quarter of the 16th century, while Cologne used the form until the end of the 16th century (Moser 1929: 132).

münch (NHG *Mönch* 'monk').[80] In the WMG dialects, lowered forms appeared already in MHG, and appear especially in Mosel-Franconian and Ripuarian handwritten documents until the late 16th century (Moser 1929: 137). During the 15th century, the lowered forms are re-raised in EMG and the electoral chancery in Mainz. In Mosel-Franconian and Ripuarian prints, the lowered forms were pushed back during the middle of the 16th century due to Upper German influence (Moser 1929:139). Ebert et al. (1993: 70) add that certain lexemes, however, maintained the lowered forms which started to spread into UG again during the 16th century and which are also retained in NHG.

This back and forth led to several doublets in an opposition between WMG and Swabian on the one side and EMG and UG on the other during the 15th century. In most cases, the re-raised UG forms are retained in NHG (e.g *hund* vs. *hond*, NHG *Hund* 'dog'), but, as mentioned, in some instances, the lowered Middle German form prevailed (e.g. *Suntag* vs. *Sontag*, NHG *Sonntag* 'Sunday'). The reasons for the prevalence of one variety over another are unclear.[81] In most of these lexemes, the lowering appears before nasals, e.g. *Sonne* 'sun', *König* 'king', *Sommer* 'summer' (Hartweg and Wegera 2005: 138), or derived forms of lexemes (*golden* 'golden' vs. *Gulden* 'guilder'). Penzl (1984: 57)

---

[80] Ebert et al (1993: 70) add that in Swabian, many lowered forms are re-raised during the 15th century, but are lowered again in the 16th, possibly due to Middle German influence, e.g. *wonder* 'miracle' in the 14th century changes to *wunder* in the 15th and back to *wonder* in the 16th century. In modern Swabian, the NHG standard form *Wunder* is used. However, Swabian online-dictionaries contain the lowered form in fixed expressions (e.g. *wonderfidzich*, NHG *neugierig* 'nosy' in http://schwaebisches-woerterbuch.de, last accessed October 1, 2017).

[81] Individual investigations using the four criteria of Besch (1979, 1985) and the additional fifth criterion by Mattheier (1981), as outlined in the Literature Review, might reveal potential reasons for the preference of one variety over another. This would, however, go beyond the scope of this dissertation because it would require a much deeper investigation of the individual feature beyond the focus on differences between my data and the ENHG grammars.

therefore states about the feature: "Es handelt sich also nicht um einen allgemeinen Lautwandel, sondern um interdialektische Entlehnung in einem Teil des Wortschatzes."[82]

The investigation of this feature therefore differs from the other features in this dissertation in regards to the hypothesis. It has to be assumed that lowered as well as re-raised tokens are found in all dialect areas across the time frame investigated here, since both forms are retained in NHG (with a preference for the UG re-raised forms). It is also not possible to establish a difference between the WMG dialects and Swabian, because Swabian adopted the MG lowered forms early on. Instead, the research question here pertains to a standardization tendency. To summarize the grammars in reference to the investigated time frame: the re-raised forms with /i/ and /u, ü/ prevailed in the WMG dialects and Swabian at the beginning of the 16ᵗʰ century (Ebert et al. 1993: 70) or the end of the 16ᵗʰ century (Moser 1929: 137) with the exceptions of the lexemes that appear with the lowered form in NHG. MG /e/ does not prevail in any lexemes, while /o/ and /ö/ almost exclusively appear before nasal, consequently only before <nn> (Ebert et al. 1993: 71). The question here is whether the findings in the witch hunt records, starting at the end of the 16ᵗʰ century, show such a clear standardization tendency and lexical distribution.

5.2.3.2. *Methodology*

During the initial token search, I followed the described phonological environments and searched for all six vowels before nasals (/m/ and /n/) and liquids (/l/ and /r/), also including potential length marking through <h> between vowel and consonant (e.g. *Schohmecher*, NHG *Schuhmacher* 'shoemaker'). Spelling variation was also incorporated into the search, namely <v> for <u> and various spellings for the umlaut <ö, oe, o̊ ü, ue, ů>. Not counted were names of people and towns, since there was too much variation to

---

[82] "This is thus not a general sound change, but an interdialectal borrowing in one part of the lexicon."

see a distinct pattern. Furthermore, instances in which the vowel was at the end of a syllable, and the consonant at the beginning of the next syllable, e.g. *fürz**u**nehmen* (NHG *vorzunehmen* 'to carry out'), where also excluded. Finally, suffixes (e.g. *-ung*) and the lexeme *und* 'and' were not counted since they did not show any change but tainted the data due to their very high frequency.

The tokens were entered again into an Excel spread sheet, marking correspondence and deviation from the NHG Standard in order to determine a standardization tendency (e.g. *Sch**o**hmecher* would be marked as non-standard, *Sch**u**hmecher* as standard). During this search, I also came across tokens of the feature that did not correspond with the discussed phonological environments. Therefore, I spot-checked texts with a high frequency of the lowered forms by hand to determine specific lexemes and phonological environments in which the lowering or re-raising occur that are not covered by the aforementioned environment. After establishing a short list of these lexemes (e.g. *Koh*, NHG *Kuh* 'cow'), I searched for them in all 32 texts and also entered the tokens into the Excel spread sheet. Finally, I also used PivotTables and PivotCharts to visualize the findings.

5.2.3.3.   *Results*

The first finding pertains to the dichotomy between <e> and <i>, which shows only four deviations from the NHG standard, all of them in the Ripuarian documents: three of the four tokens show an <i> spelling instead of the NHG <e>, two times *vorgisteren* (NHG *vorgestern* 'the day before yesterday') in the 1629 Köln record, and once *Minsch* (NHG *Mensch* 'human, person') in the 1598 Erkelenz record. This overuse of the UG re-raised forms could point to hypercorrection. Only one deviation in the <e>-spelling, *Spelman* (NHG *Spielmann* 'musician') in the 1629 Zülpich record, could be found. Considering that

the length marker <e> after /i:/ is completely established during this time frame (Ebert et al. 1993: 33), *Spelman* might only be a spelling error, in which the scribe accidentally left out the <i>, and not a token of dialectal variation. Apart from these four tokens, <e> and <i> correspond to the NHG standard spelling. Thus, this finding is in agreement with the statements in the ENHG grammars.

Due to this high degree of standardization, the following table only portrays the number of tokens of the oppositions between <o> and <u>, and <ö> and <ü>, as well as the deviations from the NHG standard in parentheses.

Region	Record	o	u	ö	ü
Ripuarian	1598 Erkelenz	37 (5)	38 (10)	6 (4)	0 (0)
	1629 Blankenheim	34 (0)	19 (0)	1 (0)	2 (0)
	1629 Flamersheim*	148 (30)	75 (0)	0 (0)	1 (0)
	1629 Zülpich	23 (1)	21 (1)	1 (0)	2 (0)
	1629 Köln	41 (2)	18 (0)	1 (1)	0 (0)
	1631 Linz	54 (1)	35 (0)	0 (0)	1 (0)
	1649 Altenahr*	171 (8)	94 (1)	16 (2)	16 (0)
	1662 Köln	61 (4)	33 (1)	1 (1)	1 (0)
Mosel-Franconian	1587 St. Maximin*	65 (0)	18 (0)	4 (0)	9 (0)
	1591 Trier*	194 (18)	215 (87)	2 (0)	4 (0)
	1592 Trier*	94 (4)	47 (16)	2 (0)	6 (0)
	1592 Hamm	96 (6)	70 (24)	5 (4)	2 (0)
	1593 Fell	85 (0)	37 (7)	5 (4)	2 (0)
	1614 Neuerburg*	180 (2)	58 (3)	6 (1)	15 (1)
	1626 Mandern*	101 (3)	46 (0)	4 (0)	6 (0)
	1629 Rhens	53 (0)	24 (0)	9 (0)	5 (0)
Rhine-Franconian	1610 Gaugrehweiler	69 (2)	35 (7)	8 (0)	11 (0)
	1618 Wadgassen*	121 (0)	42 (0)	6 (0)	15 (0)
	1620 Friedberg	157 (3)	77 (0)	4 (3)	0 (0)
	1627 Dieburg*	183 (0)	83 (0)	32 (0)	39 (0)
	1629 Wittgenstein	98 (1)	44 (8)	14 (1)	21 (1)
	1630 Lemberg	88 (1)	27 (1)	4 (1)	13 (1)
	1631 Dillenburg	68 (0)	33 (0)	20 (1)	18 (0)
	1631 Höchst	131 (4)	43 (0)	8 (0)	4 (0)
Swabian	1593 Nördlingen	44 (1)	27 (0)	20 (0)	11 (2)
	1596 Riedlingen	57 (0)	42 (3)	1 (0)	4 (2)
	1613 Günzburg	66 (0)	27 (0)	6 (0)	13 (0)
	1615 Rottweil*	89 (6)	23 (0)	2 (0)	7 (0)
	1625 Augsburg	97 (2)	28 (0)	17 (5)	27 (1)
	1641 Leonberg	106 (1)	44 (0)	10 (1)	24 (1)
	1648 Hechingen*	161 (0)	120 (19)	10 (0)	23 (7)
	1665 Memmingen	82 (0)	46 (0)	7 (0)	14 (3)
Total		3053 (105)	1598 (188)	232 (29) 12.5%	316 (19) 6,0%
	Deviation from Standard	3.4%	11.8%		

Table 5.7: Distribution of lowered and raised forms in token number

As can be seen, the total token count shows an overall implementation of the NHG standard spelling, which also corresponds with the assessment made in the ENHG grammars. However, some non-standard spellings are still present. Of 5199 tokens, 341 tokens (6.6%) show a deviation from the NHG standard spelling across the entire corpus. As umlaut marking is not yet used consistently, it is no surprise that the corpus contains very few tokens of <ö, oe, o̊> and <ü, ue, ů> (Ebert et al. 1993: 35). Most often, umlaut is not marked at all, for example in *gurdelmecher* (NHG *Gürtelmacher* 'belt maker') in 1629 Cologne. Umlaut marking increases in newer and more southern records, which accounts for an increase in token count in the Rhine-Franconian and Swabian records. The largest token group is the <o> spelling due to high frequency lexemes such as *vor* 'before', also as prefix, *worden* (imperative passive auxiliary and past participle of *werden* 'to become'), as well as a large group of strong verbs in which the past participle includes a stem vowel change, e.g. *gestorben* 'died' or *geholfen* 'helped'.[83]

Overall, scribes seemed to have the most difficulty with <u> (in the records from Trier and Hamm) and <ö> (in Erkelenz, Hamm, Fell, and Augsburg). <u> is often used with lexemes in which the lowered forms have survived into NHG, e.g. *kummen* (NHG *kommen* 'to come').[84] This could either mean that the lowered forms are not completely

---

[83] The large number of past participles in the texts stem from the nature of the court records, which contain a spoken narrative about past events that are retold to prove the guilt or innocence of the defendant. This also accounts for the high frequency of passive (what has been done to other people, animals, the alleged witch herself) and subjunctive 1 and 2 constructions (allegations about what someone said or did). The discussion of the contents of the records is further elaborated on in the section on the sociocultural and historical implications of the corpus.

[84] Moser (1929: 140) argues that *kummen* 'to come'*, kunnen* 'to be able to', and also past participles cannot be counted as tokens for this change, as these changes did not happen in accordance with phonetic laws but are rather outcomes of analogical change. He approaches this from a strictly Neogrammarian standpoint, where he distinguishes between internal sound change and subsequent analogy. Based on this, he argues for a rejection of analogical tokens. However, his point is rather unclear: "Das Problem des lautgesetzlichen Eintritts von *o* für *u* ist besonders durch die meist unterschiedslose Mitbehandlung nur bedingt oder gar nicht hierher gehöriger Fälle verwirrt; letztere unterscheiden sich großenteils dadurch deutlich von jenen, daß das *o* bei ihnen zu einem früheren oder späteren Zeitpunkt oder auch oberdeutsch (besonders alemmanisch)

implemented yet, or that the re-raising due to South German influence has led to an overuse of the raised forms. Considering that the ENHG grammars set the implementation of the lowering for WMG as early as the 12th century (in Mosel-Franconian) and that most tokens for this deviation were found in Mosel-Franconian, the second explanation seems more likely. In the dichotomy between <ö> and <ü>, the opposite is the case. Here, <ö> shows the greatest amount of deviation from the standard and alternation in spelling, e.g. *dörffe* (NHG *dürfe* 'would be allowed to'), while <ü>, when used, mostly corresponds to the NHG standard. In general, the token count for the umlaut is rather low, due to the limited implementation of umlaut marking in most records. The unfamiliarity with umlaut marking might therefore also play a role here.

The following graph shows the diachronic development of deviations from the NHG standard of the WMG texts to see whether the feature shows a standardization tendency. The numbers given represent the percentage of non-standard tokens in each text measured on the overall token count in the text:

---

eingetreten bzw. durchdrungen ist." "The problem in the discussion of the replacement of *u* by *o* according to sound laws is very confused, in particular because of the mostly undifferentiated treatment of certain cases which can only conditionally or not at all be discussed together; the last type of such cases generally distinguishes itself in this way clearly from cases in which the *o* emerged at an earlier or at a later point in time, or perhaps in Upper German (especially Alemannic)." As such, I leave it aside here.
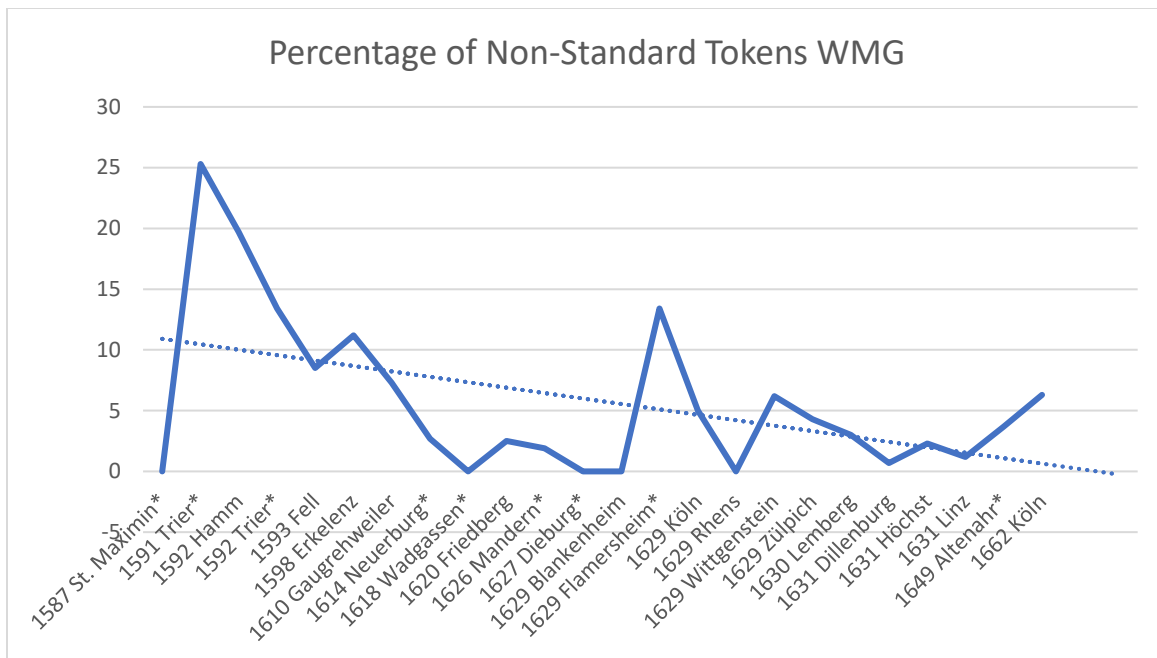
Figure 5.11: Non-standard raised and lowered forms in WMG

As can be seen here, the percentage of non-standard tokens shows a tendency for standardization in that the overall number of non-standard tokens decrease over time. This is slightly skewed, because most early records stem from the Mosel-Franconian region, where most non-standard tokens were found, especially in the texts from Trier and Hamm. Thus, the influence of the region could also play a role. Other outliers are found in the Ripuarian region, namely the texts from Erkelenz and Flamersheim. For Erkelenz, it could be argued that the document was written in 1598 and might therefore still show a higher percentage of non-standard usage of the vowels <o> and <u>. This is, however, not the case for Flamersheim, where the scribe could again play the largest role.

Overall, the texts from Mosel-Franconian show the strongest deviation from the NHG standard (from 0% in St. Maximin and Rhens to 25.3% in Flamersheim) followed by the Ripuarian documents (from 0% in Blankenheim to 13.4% in Flamersheim), and the documents from Rhine-Franconian with the least amount of non-standard usage (from 0%

in Wadgassen and Dieburg to 7.3% in Gaugrehweiler). Again, the two cloisters St. Maximin and Wadgassen correspond to the NHG standard. In comparison to this, the Swabian documents present themselves as follows:
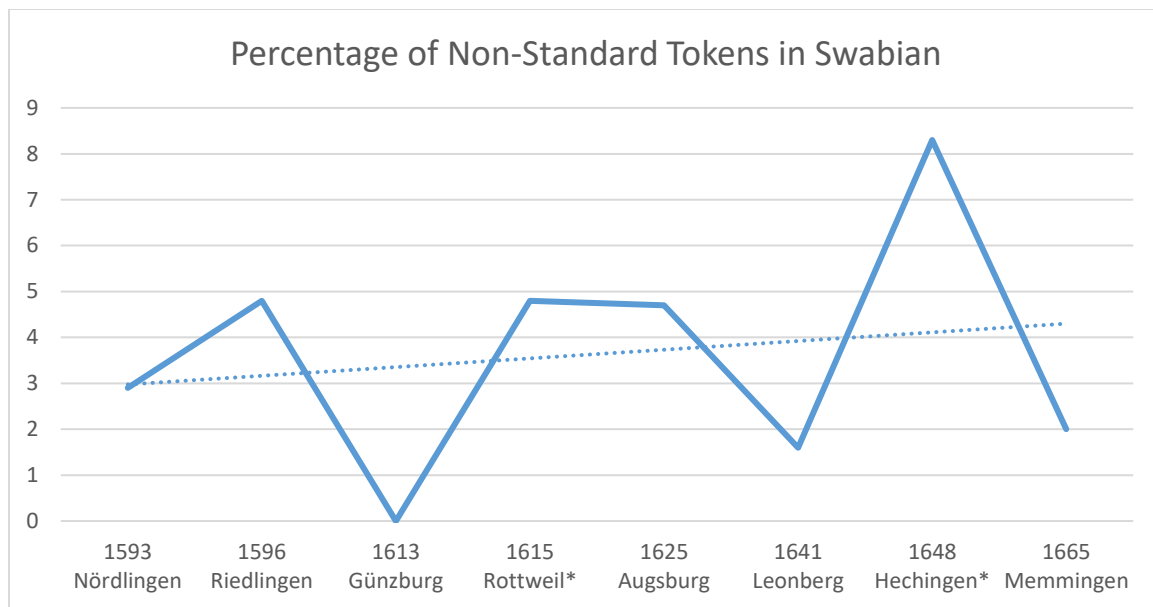
Figure 5.12: Non-standard raised and lowered forms in Swabian region

Here, the trendline does not show a tendency towards standardization. However, this is tainted by the limited number of texts and the outlier of Hechingen, which obscures the depiction of the data. While this document is from a later time (1648) and from Swabia, which should exhibit the South German forms earlier, it appears that the scribe has some difficulties in implementing the forms in accordance with the emerging standard. Macha et al. (2005) do not mention any specifics regarding this record but this investigation shows that it contains a high number of regionalisms as shown below.

When looking at the distribution across lexemes, <u> and <o> show an interesting picture. The largest group of non-standard spellings of <u> are all declensional forms of

sulch (NHG *solch* 'such'), *gulden* or *guldigh* (NHG *golden* 'gold'), and occasionally conjugated forms of *kunnen* (NHG *können* 'to can') and *kummen* (NHG *kommen* 'to come'). Non-standard spellings of <o> include a much larger variety of lexemes, such as *hondt* (NHG *Hund* 'dog'), *forcht* (NHG *Furcht* 'fear'), *koh* (NHG *Kuh* 'cow'), and *Scholt* (NHG *Schuld* 'guilt'), often in *Scholtheiß* (NHG *Schultheiß* 'sheriff', literally 'the namer of guilt'). Interestingly, most of these lexemes are high frequency lexemes in the witch hunt records, that are strongly tied to either the trial situation (fear and guilt) or allegedly magic abilities (the bewitching of dogs and cows).

In comparison to the ENHG grammars, the data presented here leads to the following conclusion: It is correct that the re-raised form <i> is completely implemented during the investigated time frame and that MG <e> (e.g. *hemel*, NHG *Himmel* 'heaven, sky') has vanished. In three instances, <i> was used instead of NHG <e> (*vorgistern*; NHG *vorgestern* 'the day before yesterday') which could point to hypercorrection. The dichotomy between <u, ü> and <o, ö> is not completely distinguished at the beginning of the 16th century (Ebert et al. 1993: 70) or the end of the 16th century (Moser 1929: 137). While the overall percentage of spelling deviation from the NHG standard is low, it still shows regional or idiolectal confusion regarding the usage. Furthermore, the usage of <o> and <ö> is not yet limited to the position before nasal, as many tokens of words like *forcht* and *scholt* show.

5.2.4. Apocope

The term apocope describes the loss of word final sounds, often unstressed vowels, e.g. MHG *herze* to NHG *Herz* 'heart'. In German, this predominantly affects word final /e/

(normally [ə]).[85] This process is not just a graphemic and phonemic phenomenon, but also had a major impact on the morphological system due to a loss of morphological distinctions (Hartweg and Wegera 2005: 142). The degree and process of apocope differed in the various functions of word final /e/. In nouns, apocope affects the plural-/e/, Gen. and Dat. Sg. and Gen. Pl.; in verbs the 1st Sg. Pres./ Pret. Ind./ Subj., the 2nd Sg. Pret. Ind., the 3rd Sg. Pres. Subj., the 3rd Sg. Pret. Ind./ Subj. and the imperative Sg; and in adjectives Nom./ Acc. Sg. Feminine and Pl. of the strong inflection, and Nom. Sg./ Pl. (all genders), Acc. Sg. neuter, and Acc. Pl. (all genders) of the weak inflection (Ebert et al. 1993: 81).

Since apocope is not the sole subject of this dissertation, I focus on word final /e/ within verbs, in particular the 3rd Sg. Pres./ Pret. Subj. and the 3rd Sg. Pret. Ind.. Due to the nature of the witch records as legal texts, the subjunctive forms play a larger role than in other texts. That is, the testimonies of defendants and witnesses were recorded as indirect speech, and always from the perspective of the scribe, in which case the subjunctive had to be used in order to signal distance, skepticism, or caution. Thus, subjunctive I forms such as *sie habe* 'she had' Subj. and *sie sei* 'she were' Subj., as well as subjunctive II forms such as *sie hätte* 'she had' Subj. or *sie wäre* 'she were' Subj. appear very frequently throughout the texts. Furthermore, the testimonies describe events in the past (from the trial's perspective), recorded as indirect spoken language. Therefore, the texts exhibit a strong tendency for the usage of the present perfect with the present subjunctive forms of the auxiliaries. The past participle is often not clearly marked as such, as shown in (13):[86]

---

[85] Due to the Germanic accent shift, the accent became fixed on the initial syllable. In OHG, the unstressed vowels then reduced to schwa, obscuring many morphological distinctions, e.g. OHG *tage* [DAT. SG.] and *tago* [GEN. PL.] 'day/s' are both *tage* in MHG (Salmons 2012: 190). This process further intensifies in MHG and ENHG, when unstressed vowels are lost (apocopated) completely. See also Lindgren (1953) for details.

[86] Salmons (2012: 250) states that the ge-prefix in the perfect tense becomes more established during the ENHG time frame. However, a set of verbs, most of which begin with *g-* or with *k-*, such as *gehen* 'to go' and *kaufen* 'to buy' still lack the prefix. Fertig (1998) argues that the omission of the prefix happens due to

(13) ... ***sei ihr Bul, der Teufel, zu ihr kommen*** (1587 St. Maximin)
       were her lover, the devil,   to her come
    NHG 'sei ihr Buhle, der Teufel, zu ihr gekommen'
    Engl. 'her lover, the devil, had [allegedly] come to her'

Modal verbs as well as 'to be' and 'to have' (when not used as present auxiliaries) appear

mostly in the preterit subjunctive I or II form. The witch hunt records exhibit doublets, i.e.

forms with word final *–e*, as in (14) and the same forms with apocopated *–e*, as in (15):

(14) … *eß* ***seye*** *aber nit alles verderbt worden* (1626 Mandern)
       it were but not all   spoiled   been[Passive]
    NHG 'es sei aber nicht alles verdorben worden'
    Engl. 'but it was not [allegedly] all spoiled'

(15) … *Daß* ***sey*** *wahr in Christus nahmen!* (1614 Neuerburg)
      That were true   in Christ's name!
     NHG 'Das sei wahr, in Christus Namen!'
    Engl. 'That is [allegedly] true, in Christ's name!'

Most documents contain both forms, albeit with varying frequencies. Thus, it is important

to ask whether the feature shows a tendency towards standardization. It is also interesting

to see whether the court records show a preference for subjunctive I or II. I now turn to the

summary of the feature as depicted in the grammars.

5.2.4.1. *Summary*

    This feature summary does not include a discussion of Virgil Moser's work, as no

such discussion is available.[87] Instead, additional accounts are taken from Lindgren (1953)

---

haplology, in which a repeated sound in a word is not pronounced (e.g. Engl. *probly* for *probably*) and, in
ENHG, also not written.

[87] Moser had planned to address apocope in the 2nd volume of his *Frühneuhochdeutsche Grammatik* (vowels
in unstressed syllables), but was unable to finish this volume due to dwindling interest in the subject matter
and his age (Moser 1951: VIII). He in fact passed away the same year.

and Sauerbeck (1970). Lindgren (1953) investigated the feature in 142 sources between 1200 and 1500 and depicts the development in the following table:

%	Bair.	Ofr.	Schw.	Obal.	Ndal.	Böhm.	Rhfr.	Omd.
90	1200	1300	1300	1325	1325	1350	1400	-
50	1275	1375	1375	1400	1425	1400	1425	-
10	1375	1425	1425	1425	1450	-	-	-

Table 5.8: Lindgren (1953: 178)

The table shows the percentage of un-apocopated word final -e and its regional distribution within the time frame investigated by Lindgren (1953). According to this, apocope is first recorded around 1200 in Bavaria and almost fully implemented there by the end of the 14th century. About a century later, it spreads to East-Franconian and Swabian, and from there to Alemannic. At the very end of the time frame investigated here, apocope spread to Rhine-Franconian in the 15th century, but was not fully implemented in 1500. Lindgren (1953: 210) adds that apocope did not reach EMG and Ripuarian at all, and Mosel-Franconian later than the investigated time frame, meaning after 1500.

Sauerbeck (1970: 219) further differentiates the regions and forms in which apocope can appear. For verbs in Swabian, he (1970: 221) states that the 3rd Sg. Subj. Pres. and Pret. very rarely retained the word final -e,[88] e.g. wölle 'would want' in the city chronicle of Esslingen. However, the tendency here is to apocopate in all subjunctive forms and also in the preterit forms of weak verbs. For Rhine-Franconian, Sauerbeck (1970: 229) states that the -e of 3rd Sg. Ind. Pret. weak verbs gets usually apocopated, while the 3rd Sg. Subj. Pret. forms retained or apocopated the -e depending on the phonological

---

[88] The retention in these instances could presumable be due to a higher frequency of *haben* 'to have', *sein* 'to be' and modal verbs. This would fit into Besch's (1979, 1985) criteria of *Geltungsgrad* 'degree of validity' and *strukturelle Disponiertheit* 'structural integration' regarding the higher frequency of these verbs and their firm rooting in the structure of the German language. The criteria are discussed further in Chapter 2.

environment. This author does not specify the environment here. He does not give an individual account for Mosel-Franconian.[89] For Ripuarian, Sauerbeck (1970: 238) only states that word final -e is common in older ENHG texts from the 14th and 15th centuries.

Penzl (1984: 54f) repeats the accounts of Lindgren (1953) and Sauerbeck (1970). Ebert et al. (1993: 80) also cite Lindgren (1953), but add that those numbers reflect an abridged version of the process, since the research time frame from 1200 to 1500 might lead to the impression that the process was completed during this time. According to Ebert et al. (1993: 81) the beginning of apocope must be dated to earlier than 1200. Furthermore, it also reached EMG at the end of the 15th century, as well as Ripuarian at some point before the 18th century, when word final -e was reinstated in the Ripuarian region (Ebert et al 1993: 81). This reinstitution started in the middle of the 16th century in EMG and spread South and West, reaching Hessian and East-Franconian at the end of the 16th century, WHG and Swabian in the 17th century, and Bavarian and Ripuarian in the 18th century.[90] Ebert et al. (1993: 81, Anm. 2) also note that the apocope is still perceivable today in the spoken dialects, except for Low German and EMG, e.g. *Ich hätt' das nicht gemacht.* 'I would not have done that'.

According to these accounts, only apocopated forms should occur in the documents from Swabian in the 16th century with the exception of a small number of strong verbs and with a possible restitution of word final -e in the 17th century. Rhine-Franconian should

---

[89] While investigating the ENHG grammars, it became apparent that the differentiation into landscapes varied. Some authors combine either Rhine-Franconian and Mosel-Franconian into the same region, or, more common, Mosel-Franconian and Ripuarian, which is often named *Mittelfränkisch* 'Middle-Franconian'. No reason for these differences could be identified. Sauerbeck (1970) discusses Ripuarian as a specific region, but omits Mosel-Franconian completely.

[90] The authors do not determine whether this change is due to analogy or any other mechanism, but rather stay very descriptive. They state (Ebert et al 1993: 81) that apocope reached EMG but did not really take hold in the region. Word final *-e* remained predominant and was then reinstituted only 50 years after apocope appeared in the area.

show a strong tendency towards apocope. Subjunctive verbs might retain apocope depending on the phonological environments or the verb type.[91] As for Mosel-Franconian, the records do not give a clear account. According to Sauerbeck (1970: 218), apocope appeared here later than 1500, and following Ebert et al. (1993: 81), word final -e was reintroduced at some point in the 17th or 18th century. Ebert et al. (1993: 81) are also the only ones to comment on Ripuarian, stating that apocope happened here later than the 15th century and the reintroduction did not occur until the 18th century. Thus, it can be assumed that the Ripuarian documents show a trend towards apocope in my investigated time frame. Since the NHG standard has retained some apocopated forms (e.g. *sei*, 'were') and some other forms with word final -e (e.g. *wäre*, 'were'), it is also interesting to see to what extent the findings show a tendency towards the NHG standard.[92]

5.2.4.2. *Methodology*

I first searched for word final -e by entering *e* and a space afterwards. I also took punctuation into account by searching for *e* followed by commas and other punctuation marks. I filtered out the relevant verbs by hand and entered them into an Excel spread sheet. During this search, it became apparent that most tokens appeared to be forms of *sein* and *haben* (as perfect auxiliary present or preterit subjunctive) and modal verbs (as the present and preterit subjunctive). During the search for subjunctive verbs without final *-e*, I therefore focused on these verb forms, taking spelling variations, e.g. *sei* vs. *sey*, or *woll* as NHG *wohl* 'well', which was discarded, or the subjunctive I form of the modal verb *wollen*

---

[91] The authors do not specify the phonological environment. During my investigation, I encountered a higher frequency after liquids. However, a far more important factor for retention was frequency of usage in the texts (especially *haben, sein*, and the modal verbs). A full treatment of this problem remains a desideratum.

[92] This last point is discussed qualitatively below. A quantitative comparison is at this point not possible, as the tokens are not labeled regarding an overlap with the NHG standard. However, a future relabeling of the tokens would make it possible to include a quantitative discussion as well.

'to want', into account. Finally, I used the token list of the initial search to search for other verbs without word final -*e*. All tokens were entered into the Excel spread sheet and a visual depiction was created using PivotCharts and Tables.

5.2.4.3. Results

All in all, the count totaled 3188 tokens. The following tables shows an overview of absence and presence of word final -e in percentage of the overall token count regardless of type. First, I present the two northern regions:

Region	Record	Absence of -e	Presence of -e
Ripuarian	1598 Erkelenz	56.4%	43.6%
	1629 Blankenheim	1.3%	98.7%
	1629 Flamersheim*	9.9%	90.1%
	1629 Zülpich	61.4%	38.6%
	1629 Köln	5.5%	94.5%
	1631 Linz	1.8%	98.2%
	1649 Altenahr*	17.4%	82.6%
	1662 Köln	4.2%	95.8%
Mosel-Franconian	1587 St. Maximin*	92.3%	7.7%
	1591 Trier*	70.5%	29.5%
	1592 Trier*	70.2%	29.8%
	1592 Hamm	64.4%	35.6%
	1593 Fell*	82.4%	17.6%
	1614 Neuerburg*	3.8%	96.2%
	1626 Mandern*	6.8%	93.2%
	1629 Rhens	56.1%	43.9%

Table 5.9: Apocope in Ripuarian and Mosel-Franconian region

The numbers suggest slight regional differences. In the Ripuarian documents, the presence of -e is clearly predominant. On average, 80% of the tokens appear with word final -e. Since the grammars suggest that a reintroduction of -e did not occur in this region until the 18th century (cf. Ebert et al. 1993: 81), the percentage would suggest that apocope had not

yet had a strong effect on the documents from the investigated time frame. Only the documents from Erkelenz and Zülpich contain more apocopated forms.

Mosel-Franconian, on the other hand, shows a slight preference for the apocopated form. Only 44% of tokens appear with word final -e. In most records, the apocopated forms dominate heavily, e.g. in the very standardized record from St. Maximin. In this set of documents, chronological factors could play an important role. The Mosel-Franconian documents are, as a whole, older than the documents from the other regions, spanning the time frame from 1587 to 1629. The five documents from the 16th century show a preference for the apocopated forms, but the documents after 1600, especially those from Neuerburg and Mandern, contain mostly verbs with word final -e, which could point to a diachronic development. However, the last document from Rhens does not fit into this picture. A larger data set from this region would be necessary to investigate this hypothesis further. The general findings here suggest that apocope was strongly implemented at the end of the 16th century and that a reintroduction of word final -e might have reached the area at the beginning of the 17th century. I now turn to Rhine-Franconian and Swabian:

Region	Record	Absence of -e	Presence of -e
Rhine-Franconian	1610 Gaugrehweiler	35.0%	65.0%
	1618 Wadgassen*	36.0%	64.0%
	1620 Friedberg	12.3%	87.7%
	1627 Dieburg*	34.8%	65.2%
	1629 Wittgenstein	3.6%	96.4%
	1630 Lemberg	3.3%	96.7%
	1631 Dillenburg	18.8%	81.3%
	1631 Höchst	8.1%	91.9%
Swabian	1593 Nördlingen	32.1%	67.9%
	1596 Riedlingen	67.3%	32.7%
	1613 Günzburg	23.1%	76.7%
	1615 Rottweil*	34.7%	65.3%
	1625 Augsburg	4.6%	95.4%
	1641 Leonberg	5.9%	94.1%
	1648 Hechingen*	46.4%	53.6%
	1665 Memmingen	24.1%	75.9%

Table 5.10: Apocope in Rhine-Franconian and Swabian region

The documents from Rhine-Franconian show a similarly high preference for word final -e (81% of the tokens) as the Ripuarian documents. Three documents (Gaugrehweiler, Wadgassen, and Dieburg) show un-apocopated forms in 65% of the verbs, while the remaining documents show either a near-complete standardization of word final -e, or a strong tendency for these forms. This does not fit with the statements made in the ENHG grammars. The explanation could be twofold. On the one hand, the numbers might suggest that apocope had not yet reached the area or the genre. However, this seems unlikely, since Lindgren (1953) found the first apocopated forms in documents from 1400, i.e. 200 years earlier. The other explanation could lie in an early reintroduction of word final -e. Ebert et al. (1993: 81) state that the reintroduction reached Hessian, which borders on the Rhine-Franconian area, already in the 16th century. It could therefore be suggested that Rhine-

Franconian adopted the reintroduction at some point around 1600 and implemented it within 25 years.

In the Swabian documents, 70% of tokens appear with word final -e. Since Swabian showed a near complete implementation of apocope at the end of the 15th century with the exception of some strong verbs (Lindgren 1953: 178), the numbers could also point to a reintroduction. Ebert et al. (1993: 81) state that the reintroduction reached Swabian in the 17th century. However, the documents show a preference for word final -e already at the end of the 16th century. This finding does not fit with the description of the feature in the ENHG grammars. The following two graphs depict the diachronic development of the feature in the WMG dialects and Swabian respectively. The blue line (n) shows the development of apocopated -e, while the orange line (e) shows all forms where word final -e is retained:
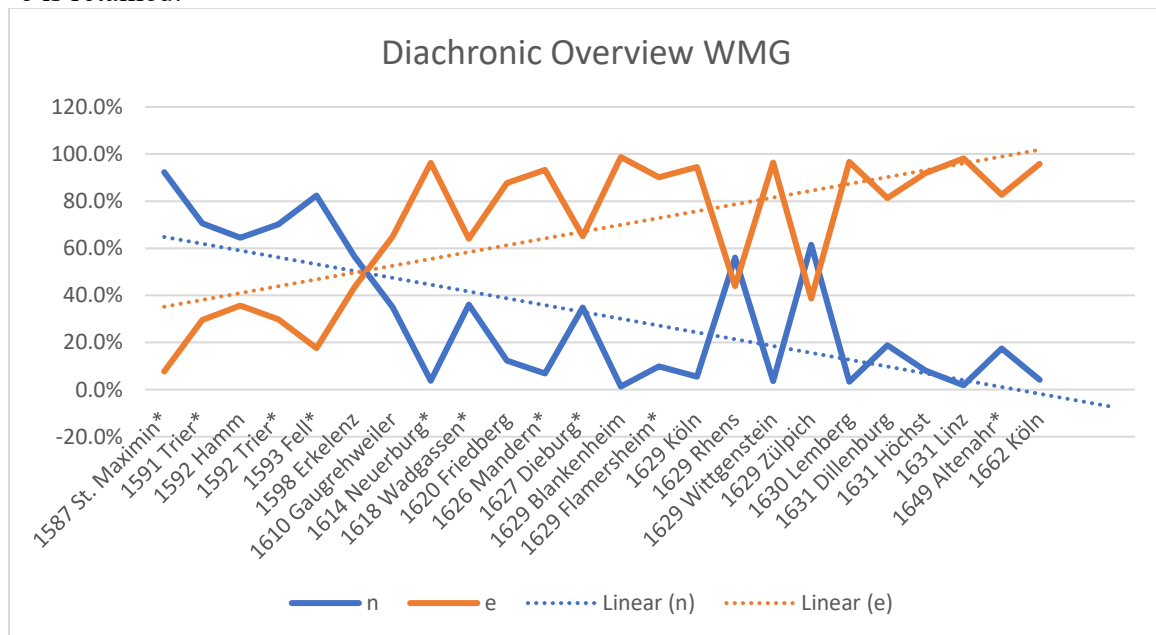
Figure 5.13: Diachronic development of apocope in WMG dialects

The graph outlining the development in the WMG dialects shows a preference for apocope at the beginning of the time frame. However, this could also relate to a regional phenomenon, as all five documents from this time stem from the Mosel-Franconian area. After this, the preference switches to a retention of word final -e except for the two outliers, Rhens, which is also located in Mosel-Franconia, and Zülpich, which is located in the Ripuarian dialect area. A connection between Zülpich and the Mosel-Franconian area is unlikely from a dialectal standpoint due to the geographical distance and linguistic differences. The town is located about 25 miles south-west from Cologne at the very center of the Ripuarian dialect area. Furthermore, Macha et al. (2005: 280) state that the text exhibits signs of the local dialect. However, they also add that Bavarian spellings can be found in the text. The prefecture of Zülpich belonged to the secular jurisdiction of Cologne under the guardianship of archbishop Ferdinand of Wittelsbach, who, as mentioned in the chapter on the historical background, had far-reaching influence also on the political spectrum of language use (Schwerhoff 1991: 39). Since apocope is attested the earliest and developed the furthest in the southern part of the German-speaking areas (Lindgren 1953), the connection could be drawn. However, the city court of Cologne, represented in this corpus by two documents, did not follow suit. All other documents show a stronger tendency towards the retention or reintroduction of word final -e. The next graph shows the diachronic distribution in the Swabian documents:
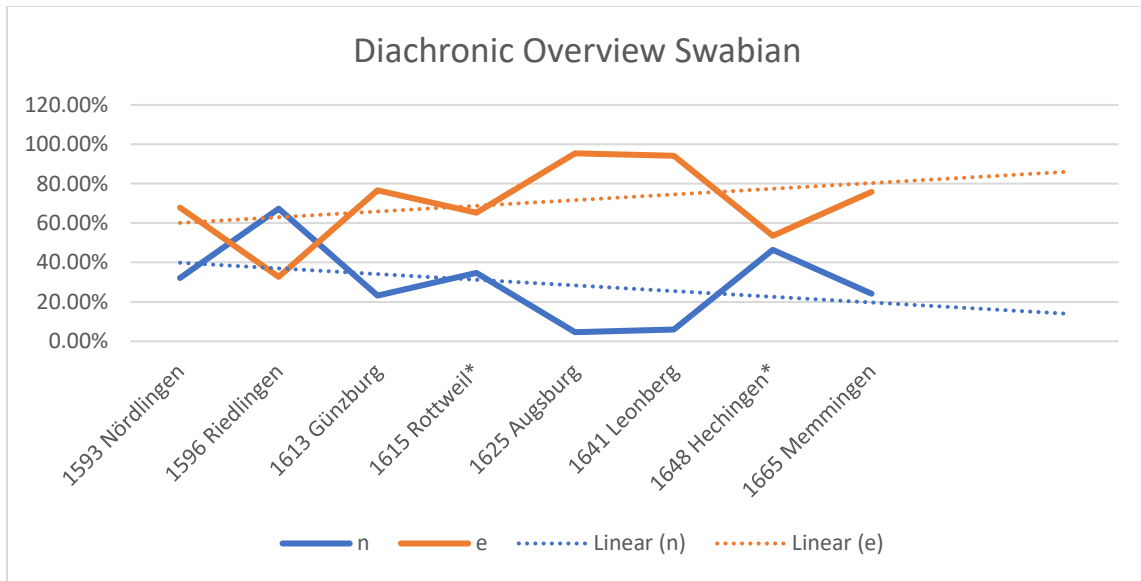
Figure 5.14: Diachronic development of apocope in Swabian dialect

As shown here, all documents contain more tokens with word final -e with the exception of Riedlingen. Macha et al. (2005: 389) state that the scribe used predominantly Swabian dialect features, which are occasionally intermixed with East-Upper German spelling variations. An East-Upper German influence could potentially explain the scribe's choice for apocopated forms, since they were common in the Bavarian regions (Salmons 2012: 244) Furthermore, the text is a prose copy of the original interrogation which was to be read aloud before the execution. This means that the conception of the text is closer to the written language than to the spoken language. A well thought out copy for public display might contain a larger variety of verb types which could also increase the amount of apocopated forms.

As mentioned above, the nature of the text as court records recording indirect speech and past events influences the token count heavily. 61.1% of tokens (1948 tokens) are of the subjunctive I and II forms of *haben* 'to have' and *sein* 'to be', often used in their auxiliary function of the perfect tense. Within this group, 68.2% of tokens are Subjunctive

I forms (*sei* 'were', *habe* 'had'), and 31.8% of tokens are Subjunctive II forms (*wäre* 'were', *hätte* 'had'). They are often used interchangeably without a functional difference in the same text. The scribes could have been aware of both forms, but might not know the contexts in which to use them, or the usage of Subjunctive I and II was not fixed to the same degree as in the NHG standard. Considering the modern colloquial use of the forms, i.e. many native speakers being unsure about the functions of Subjunctive I and II, the second explanation might be more likely. Furthermore, a preference for apocope or retention of word final -e is not always visible. The following graph shows the diachronic distribution of the subjunctive forms of *haben* and *sein* with or without apocopated schwa:
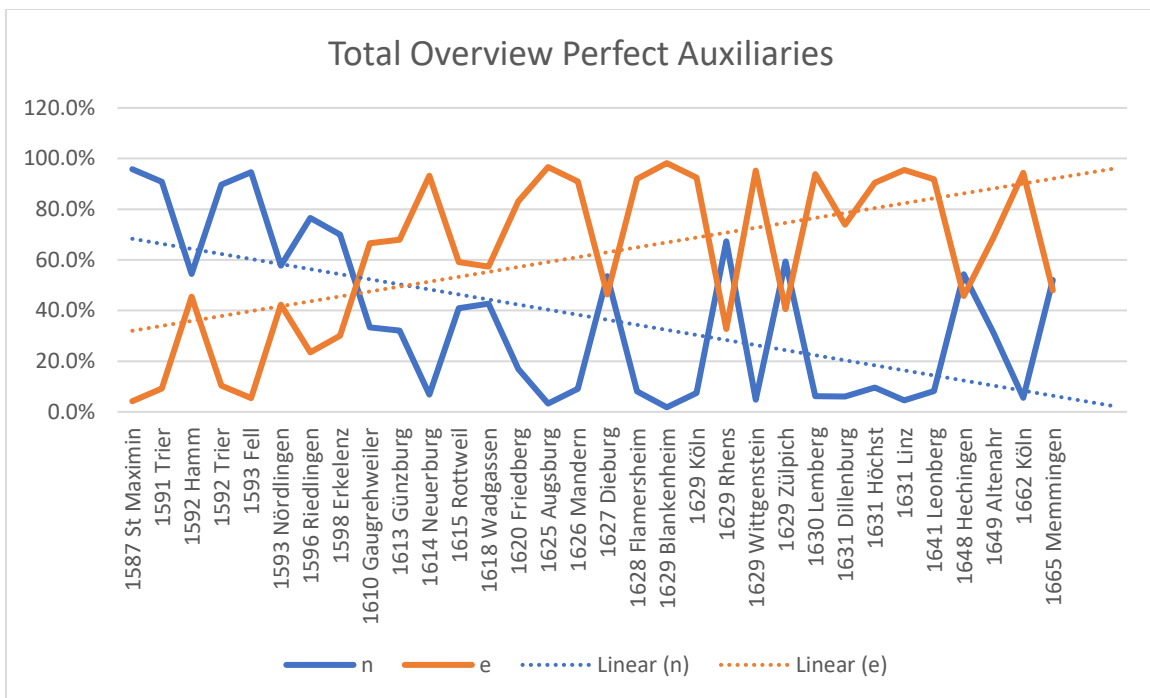
Figure 5.15: Diachronic development of apocope in auxiliary verbs

In accordance with the general overview, apocopated forms appear at the beginning of the time frame. Around 1600, word final -e became predominant. This picture is, however,

155

tainted by the type distribution. In NHG, only *sei* 'were' (Subj. I) appears in the apocopated form, while *wäre* 'were' (Subj. II), *habe* 'had' (Subj. I), and *hätte* 'had' (Subj. II) show word final -e. For the subjunctive II forms, this is also true in the witch hunt records. Only 12.1% of tokens show apocope. The subjunctive I forms show a stronger tendency towards apocope with medians of 54.1% for *hab* (NHG *habe* 'had') and 58.1% for *sei* (NHG *sei* 'were'). However, if the data is analyzed diachronically, the subjunctive I forms also reveal a different picture, as seen in the two graphs below:
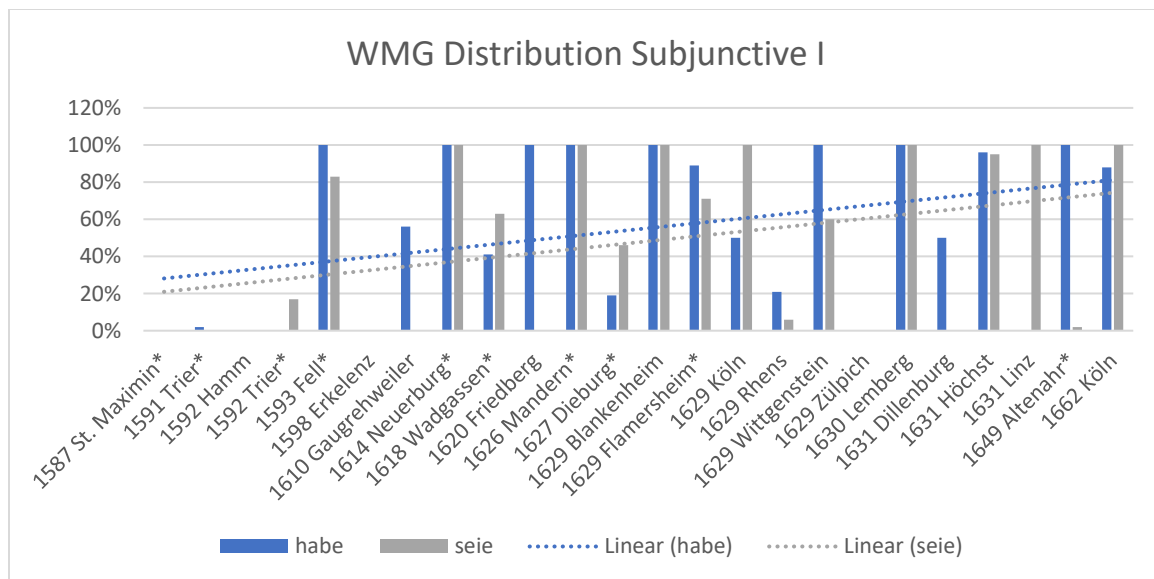
Figure 5.16: Diachronic distribution of subjunctive I in the WMG dialects

This first graph shows the overall tendency for the usage of subjunctive I forms with word final -e in the WMG dialects. As can be seen, there are very few court records containing subjunctive I forms with word final -e at the beginning of the time frame. The diachronic overview shows a mixed picture that varies by document. Some records, such as Erkelenz and Zülpich, do not contain any tokens with word final -e, while in other records either only *haben* or only *sein* appears always with -e (e.g. Friedberg (*haben*) and Linz (*sein*)).

156

Especially the early Mosel-Franconian records St. Maximin and Hamm contain no tokens of word-final -e at all. Although there is much variation between the records, the overall diachronic trend points to a reintroduction of word final -e even for the subjunctive I of *sein*, which is used without the -e in NHG. For comparison, the distribution of the subjunctive II forms is presented below:
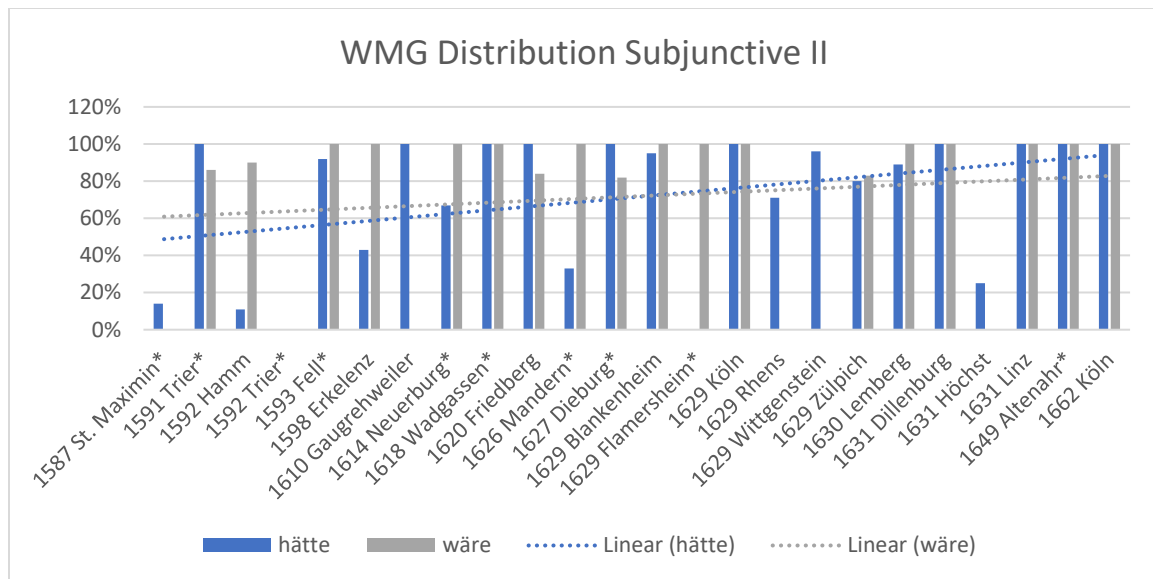
Figure 5.17: Diachronic distribution of subjunctive II in the WMG dialects

Overall, more records have a tendency to contain subjunctive II forms with word final -e with the exception of St. Maximin, Trier, and Höchst. Occasionally, the column for *wäre* is missing (e.g. in Rhens and Höchst) because these records did not contain any tokens of the subjunctive II form of *sein* and only subjunctive I forms. The subjunctive II forms also tend to show an increase in word final -e.

      In sum, the witch hunt records show a preference for verbs with word final -e across the entire time frame with the exceptions of *haben* and *sein* in their respective Subjunctive I forms. However, all subjunctive forms show a diachronic tendency towards word final -

e – even *sei*, which is not used with word final -e in NHG. While the ENHG grammars do not give much information regarding apocope in the Ripuarian and Mosel-Franconian areas, it was possible to demonstrate that the records from the 16th century show a tendency towards apocope, while the records from the 17th century include higher frequencies of word final -e. This could reflect an earlier reintroduction of -e than suggested in the grammars, where a reintroduction in Ripuarian is argued to have taken place during the 18th century (Ebert et al. 1993: 81). The Rhine-Franconian documents show a very strong preference for word final –e (81%). In some of the records, the frequency for this feature is near 100%. This does not overlap with the assessments in the ENHG grammars. While the grammars attested a retention of -e in some subjunctive verbs depending on the phonological environment (Sauerbeck 1970: 229), this does not account for the high numbers in the present data. For Swabian, the grammars suggested apocopated forms in the 16th century with the exception of a small number of strong verbs and with a possible restitution of word final -e in the 17th century (Sauerbeck 1970: 221). While the frequency for word final -e in Swabian is not as high as in the other dialect areas, it is still the predominant spelling variety. Some documents, especially those from the beginning of the 17th century, show a nearly complete implementation of the feature. This would suggest that the restitution of word final -e started earlier than suggested by Ebert et al. (1993: 81), as discussed further below. I now turn to the 5th investigated feature, devoicing.

5.2.5. Devoicing /d/ > /t/

The change from /d/ to /t/ developed out of the High German Consonant Shift (Grimm's Law[93]) and as a further result of the Second Sound Shift. Salmons (2012: 118) states that

> the Second Sound Shift creates a partial gap where plain voiceless stops once were, […] which would invite a 'drag chain', to turn voiced stops into voiceless and fill that gap. In the southern dialects, where the High German Consonant Shift was most developed, we get a shift of Proto-Germanic voiced stops to voiceless stops.

The WMG dialects, however, were never included in this change, leading to the coexistence of spoken /t/ in Southern and Eastern dialects and spoken /d/ in the Western dialects (Ebert et al. 1993: 93). The distinction is also reflected in the respective written language.

The witch hunt records exhibit both spelling variations. (15) gives an example of the orthographic representation of the WMG voiced stop, while (16) includes the South German voiceless stop:

(15) *... des nachtz bey dem Konigsbaum zum danz gewesen* (1593 Fell)
     at   night   at   the   king   tree   to the dance been
     NHG '[ist] des nachts bei dem Königsbaum zum Tanz gewesen'
     Engl. '[has] been to the dance at night at the king tree'

(16) *… seye alle Zeit allein zum Tanz khummen* (1648 Hechingen)
      were all   time alone   to the dance come
     NHG 'sei immer allein zum Tanz gekommen'
     Engl. 'has [allegedly] come to the dance alone at all times'

The political influence of Bavaria on the WMG areas could play a large role in the development of this feature, since in Bavaria, due to the High German Consonant Shift,

---

[93] The term *Grimm's Law* refers to a set of sound changes from Proto-Indo-European to Proto-Germanic. It includes three changes as parts of a chain shift: voiceless stops (for example /k/) change into voiceless fricatives /x/, voiced stops /d/ become voiceless stops /t/, and voiced aspirated stops /dʱ/ become voiced stops /d/ (Salmons 2012: 44).

the change from /d/ > /t/ was most wide-spread. If it is assumed that the Wittelsbach archbishops brought certain spelling conventions with them to their seats in Cologne and Mainz, it is likely that the voiceless stops are among them, as they are retained in UG as described above. In the corpus at hand, the feature can be found word initially (*dochter,* NHG *Tochter* 'daughter'), after nasals (*under,* NHG *unter* 'under'), after l and r (*schulder,* NHG *Schulter* 'shoulder') and occasionally between vowels (*rade,* NHG *Ratte* 'rat'). I now turn to the depiction of the development in the ENHG grammars.

5.2.5.1.   Summary

Moser's (1951: §141-143) account of the matter is very extensive. He states that a discussion of the stops /d/ and /t/ is difficult since they appear to be essentially interchangeable in different dialects from MHG on (Moser 1951: 143) and it is not always clear why a certain form has survived into NHG.[94] Ebert et al. (1993: 91) add that NHG adopted mostly the <d> spellings in these cases. Thus, where Luther wrote *tam* (NHG *Damm* 'dam'), NHG sees the implementation of the voiced stop and the <d> spelling. This did not occur in the ENHG period, however. In general, it can be stated that word initially <d> changed to <t> in the South German dialects during the MHG period. Some northern parts of these dialects did readopt the MG <d> spelling in prints of the 16th and 17th century, e.g. in North Alemannic before consonant *trucken* vs. *drucken* (NHG *drucken* 'to print') (Moser 1951: 144) and before vowel *tach* vs. *dach* (NHG *Dach* 'roof') (Moser 1951: 147). As for the change from West Germanic /d/ > /t/ in other positions, Moser (1951: 167) states

---

[94] While the East German areas are often associated with the beginnings of the NHG standard, Besch (1979, 1985) and other authors (discussed in the Literature Review) determined that NHG developed out of a mixing of various regions and factors. It is not one single dialect but rather an amalgam of various dialects out of which certain forms were retained for various reasons (e.g. frequency of usage, prestige, structurally most established, etc.), whence this uncertainty.

that it is rare and can only be found in certain lexemes in UG and EMG, while WMG did not adopt <t> in these positions until significantly later.

Moser describes the state of the feature in the three WMG and Swabian dialects separately, but occasionally lumps Mosel-Franconian and Ripuarian into the same dialect area. Swabian documents show varying usages of both forms until the 17th century with a preference for the <t> spelling but without a clear standardization tendency (Moser 1951: 144). Rhine-Franconian printers and chanceries adopt <t> due to UG influence during the 16th century (Moser 1951: 146). Initial insecurities of the scribes regarding the UG <t> spelling seem to subside during the second half of the 16th century, during which documents often contain <t> in lexemes spelled with <d> in NHG, e.g. *torff* (NHG *Dorf* 'village') (Moser 1951: 149). In Mosel-Franconian and Ripuarian prints, these forms also appear in areas without UG influence in the 17th century. Furthermore, Moser (1951:155) attests hypercorrection for this feature, a "hyperhochdeutsche Schreibung" ("hyper-upper-German spelling") especially after nasals and liquids in MG and North Alemannic. He (1951: 155) argues that the coexistence of both <d> and <t> in all positions caused insecurities among scribes in these dialect areas. The letters only started to show a clearer standardization tendency towards the end of the ENHG time frame in the 17th century. The other ENHG grammars (e.g. Philipp 1980: 46f) summarize Moser's account.

Ebert et al. (1993: 93f) give more information on the frequency of usage for both forms in the WMG dialects. In the entire area, the beginnings of <t> for <d> lie already in the 14th century. A preference for <t> is attested for Rhine-Franconian in the 15th century and for Mosel-Franconian for the 16th century. A complete implementation of the feature happens in Rhine-Franconian in the 16th and in Mosel-Franconian in the 17th century. They do not give a separate account for Ripuarian, following Moser in lumping Ripuarian and Mosel-Franconian into the same area. In certain phonological environments, e.g. after

nasals, the degree of implementation, meaning the overall frequency that <t> appeared instead of <d>, is in general lower than in other positions, which causes a coexistence of <d> and <t> in these positions until NHG times (Ebert et al. 1993: 94).

According to these assessments, Swabian should show a preference for the <t> spelling and standardization tendencies in the documents from the 17th century. The Rhine-Franconian documents should contain only <t> spellings with potential lower implementation grades and the occasional <d> spelling depending on the phonological environment. Mosel-Franconian and Ripuarian should still contain tokens of the <d> spelling, especially in the documents from the 16th century, with a tendency towards <t> and the same lower grades of implementation as Rhine-Franconian.

5.2.5.2. Methodology

Initially, I searched for all instances of <d> and <t> in the aforementioned phonological environments (word-initial, after nasals, after liquids, and between vowels). This search, however, quickly proved unproductive, as this would include all instances of definite articles and other highly frequent words that would obscure the picture. Since the dichotomy between <d> and <t> developed out of multiple phonological changes, such as the High German Consonant Shift, final devoicing, etc. (Ebert et al. 1993: 90-92), [95] it is hard to pinpoint which lexemes describe the WMG retention of West Germanic /d/. I therefore focused on <d> instead of <t> and on deviations from the NHG standard to identify if the witch hunt records show a standardization tendency regarding this feature.

---

[95] However, during the ENHG time frame, there are also conflicting changes, such as lenition (the well-known *binnendeutsche Konsonantenschwächung*), which is most developed in the WMG dialects (Salmons 2012: 242). This back and forth between /d/ and /t/ sometimes makes determining the origin of a change complicated. See also König (2015) on modern reflections of these ENHG changes.

The non-standard <d>-spelling is strongly connected to a few lexemes. I therefore searched the corpus by hand for all instances of <d>-spelling that do not correspond with the NHG standard, compiling a list of 27 lexemes. I then used the program R to search for all instances of these lexemes with a <d> or <t> spelling, taking spelling variations (<d, t, dh, th, dd, tt, dt, dtt>) into account. The tokens were entered into an Excel spread sheet and labeled for <d> or <t> spelling. 12 lexemes only had one token of non-standard <d> spelling in the entire corpus (e.g. *arbeiden*, NHG *arbeiten* 'to work') and showed otherwise consistent <t> spelling. Since this could also point to simple spelling mistakes and would obscure the picture regarding a standardization tendency, I focused on the remaining 15 lexemes (*breit* 'wide', *hinter* 'behind', *hinten* 'in the back', *Mutter* 'mother', *rot* 'red', *schelten* 'to chide', *schütten* 'to pour', *Tanz* 'dance', *tanzen* 'to dance', *Tochter* 'daughter', *tragen* 'to carry, to wear', *Trank* 'drink', *trinken* 'to drink', *unter* 'under', *unten* 'underneath'), which all included at least five non-standard tokens. The following discussion of the results refers to these 15 lexemes.

5.2.5.3.   Results

All in all, 704 tokens were found, 431 of which showed the non-standard <d> spelling. This means that the non-standard form predominates, with 61.2% of tokens in the 15 investigated lexemes. The following table shows the distribution in the texts from the two northern dialect regions:

163

Region	Text	d	t
Ripuarisch	1598 Erkelenz	100.0%	0.0%
	1629 Blankenheim	83.4%	16.6%
	1629 Flamersheim*	55.7%	44.3%
	1629 Zülpich	92.0%	8.0%
	1629 Köln	100.0%	0.0%
	1631 Linz	70.0%	30.0%
	1649 Altenahr*	10.6%	89.4%
	1662 Köln	82.6%	17.4%
Total		74.3%	25.7%
Moselfränkisch	1587 St. Maximin*	0.0%	100.0%
	1591 Trier*	86.1%	13.9%
	1592 Trier*	47.6%	52.4%
	1592 Hamm	85.6%	14.4%
	1593 Fell	95.2%	4.8%
	1614 Neuerburg*	77.8%	22.2%
	1626 Mandern*	60.7%	39.3%
	1629 Rhens	71.4%	28.6%
Total		65.6%	34.4%

Table 5.11: <d> and <t> in Ripuarian and Mosel-Franconian texts

The numbers show that the non-standard <d> spelling dominates in both dialect regions with 74.3% in Ripuarian and 65.6% in Mosel-Franconian. The number for Mosel-Franconian is influenced by the record from St. Maximin, which does not show any deviations from the NHG standard. As already discussed for other features, this record shows a very strong standardization tendency in general, which could be attributed to a strong influence of UG spelling traditions. However, the abbot of the prestigious cloister, Reiner Biewer, came from this region and the record of Fell, which falls into the jurisdiction of the cloister, contains almost only dialectal spelling (Voltmer 2000: 1). Neither time nor location seem to play a large role in the development of this feature. The two records from the city chancery of Trier contain completely different frequencies of <t>

and <d> spelling. Both texts with lower percentage of <d> spelling in the Ripuarian area, Flamersheim and Altenahr, stem from older editions. It could be argued that the editors corrected some of the forms to normalize the texts for a broader audience. However, Macha et al. (2005) state that they only included unaltered material to the corpus, which suggests that there might be a different reason for the higher standardization that cannot be readily determined. The following table shows the percentage of tokens in Rhine-Franconian and Swabian:

Region	Text	d	t
Rheinfränkisch	1610 Gaugrehweiler	80.0%	20.0%
	1618 Wadgassen*	7.1%	92.8%
	1620 Friedberg	31.8%	68.2%
	1627 Dieburg*	55.0%	45.0%
	1629 Wittgenstein	52.6%	47.4%
	1630 Lemberg	47.4%	52.6%
	1631 Dillenburg	100.0%	0.0%
	1631 Höchst	54.5%	45.5%
Total		53.6%	46.4%
Schwäbisch	1593 Nördlingen	75.0%	25.0%
	1596 Riedlingen	57.1%	42.9%
	1613 Günzburg	41.7%	58.3%
	1615 Rottweil*	37.5%	62.5%
	1625 Augsburg	50.0%	50.0%
	1641 Leonberg	100.0%	0.0%
	1648 Hechingen*	52.9%	47.1%
	1665 Memmingen	88.9%	11.1%
Total		62.9%	37.1%

Table 5.12: <d> and <t> in Rhine-Franconian and Swabian texts

As can be seen, the non-standard <d> spelling is slightly more frequent in these areas, which does not correspond to the assessments made in works like Ebert et al. (1993: 93),

who suggested a complete implementation of <t> in the 16th century. All four records from older editions are unaltered (Macha et al. 2005b: 107, 108, 139, 148). It is therefore surprising to see the low frequency of <d> spellings in the early record from Wadgassen, while other records, such as Dillenburg or the Swabian Leonberg, contain exclusively <d> spellings. This variation could potentially also be explained as idiolectal spelling, since <d> and <t> are often used interchangeably at that time. The following graph shows the diachronic development for the WMG dialect area to see whether the feature shows a tendency towards standardization:
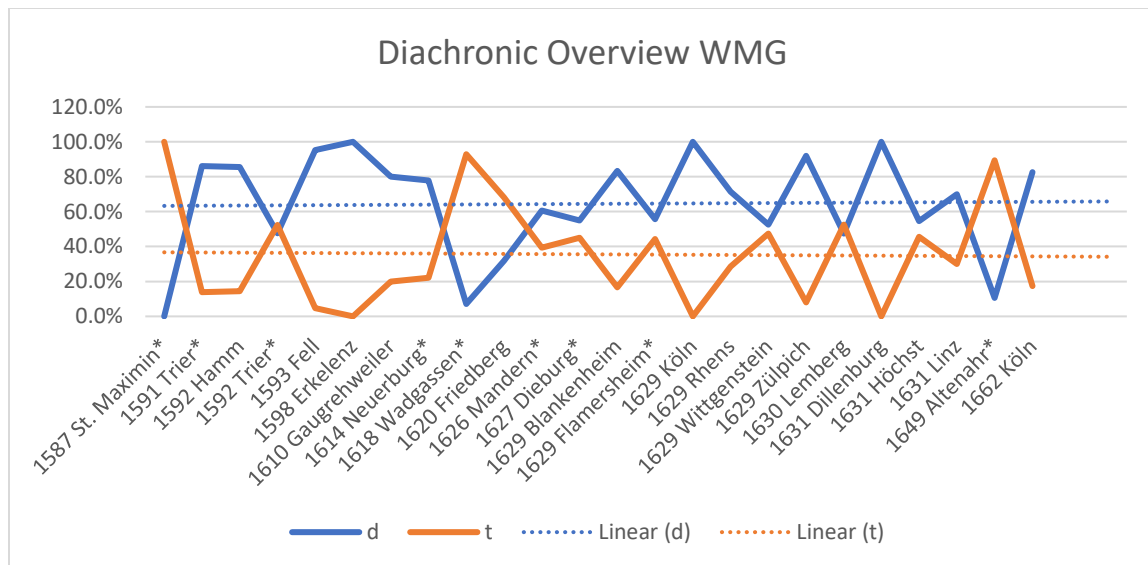
Figure 5.18: <d> and <t> in West Middle German dialects

The trendlines indicate that the feature does not show a standardization tendency at all, neither for <d> nor <t>. This does not fit with the assessments in the ENHG grammars that attested a tendency towards <t> already in the 16th century and a full implementation of the standard spelling variety during the 17th century. In the lexemes investigated here, this is not the case. Instead, the graph shows idiolectic variation between the different documents.

166

The following graph depicts the developments in the Swabian documents:
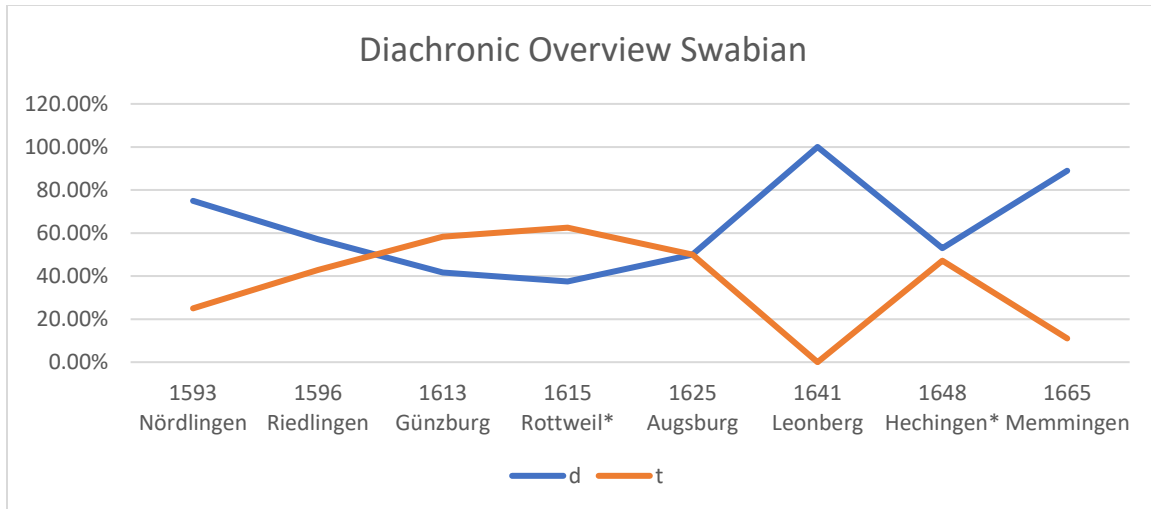
Figure 5.19: <d> and <t> in Swabian dialect

Most documents from this area show a closer convergence of the two features than in the WMG dialects, with the two exceptions of Leonberg and Memmingen. Neither the preference for <t>-spelling nor the tendency towards standardization in the 17th as attested by the grammars is visible in these documents. In fact, only two documents show a slight preference for <t>.

However, the general usage of <d> is also closely tied to some lexemes, which shows some form of standardization for either <d> or <t>. It might be possible that the frequency of usage or prestige of either spelling variety was higher at the time and that lenition reached only certain lexemes while devoicing reached others. For instance, *under* (NHG *unter* 'under') appears almost exclusively with a <d> spelling, while *schütten* (NHG *schütten* 'to spill, to pour') shows mostly <t> spelling. I therefore use the lexemes *Tanz* 'dance' and *tanzen* 'to dance' to see whether a standardization tendency can be identified in single word groups. These lexemes are highly frequent because the witches' dance or

sabbath is directly connected to the image of the witch during the European witch hunt (see the chapter on the social and historical background). In 26 of the 32 records, tokens of these lexemes, as well as their derived forms in all spelling variations (denß, Tänze, dantz, gedantzt, dantzten, etc.), could be found.

The following graph shows the token count in percentage of the overall token count in each text in the WMG dialects:
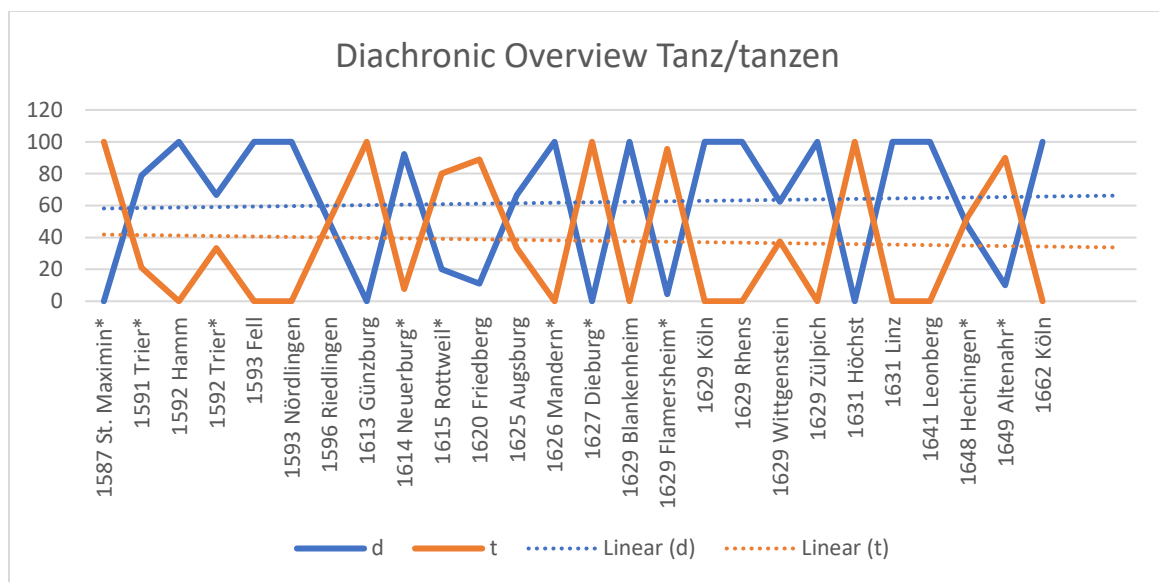
Figure 5.20: Diachronic development *Tanz/tanzen*

The trendline shows that the word group *Tanz/tanzen* does also not show a standardization tendency towards a <d> or <t> spelling. The texts vary considerably. Most texts show a preference for the <d> spelling. However, if the individual scribe picked one variety, they tended to use either <d> or <t> consequently throughout the text. Most texts (19 out of 26) only contain tokens of one or the other feature, showing consistency in the choice of spelling.

It could be shown that the investigated 15 lexemes exhibit a preference for <d> spelling in all four dialect regions. Furthermore, the 15 lexemes do not show a standardization tendency towards a <t> spelling. This does not conform to the assessments in the ENHG grammars. The phonological environment could also not be identified as the major factor in the retention of the <d> spelling in these lexemes, since it still appears frequently in both word initial position before vowels (*danzen* 'to dance') and consonants (*drinken* 'to drink') as well as following nasals (*under* 'under'). Instead, the choice of feature is again connected to idiolectal variation depending on the scribe. However, different from other features, the scribes usually chose one spelling variety for the individual lexemes and then consequently used this variety throughout the document, which suggests a standardization tendency for certain lexemes that later change to the <t> spelling in NHG. I now turn to the sixth and last feature discussion.

5.2.6. Decrease in the orthographic marking of consonants with <h>

This feature describes the orthographic marking of consonants, mainly stops (<t>, <g>, and <k>, however not <b> and <p> and only rarely <d>) and <r>, with a following <h>. The feature appears before a vowel. In this case, it is not a representation of an actual phonological change, but rather an allography for the individual stops and <r>. Moser (1929: 39, 40) states that consonant clusters and consonant doublings are characteristic of the ENHG period and assumes an affinity for ornate and decorative spelling on the part of the scribes. In his account, these allographic variations are seen very negatively, and he uses subjective statements such as "Besserung" ("improvement") to describe the decrease of allographs during the 16th and 17th centuries.

In the witch hunt records, both the singleton stops and stops with a following <h>occur, often times in the same record. Both examples given below are from the same record from Hamm, with (17) showing a stop without <h> and (18) two instances with <h> after the stop:

(17)   *... vnd **kenten** eine dem anderen nicht das angesicht* (Hamm 1592)
       and knew   one the   other   not   the face
NHG 'und kannte einer des anderen Angesicht nicht'
Engl. 'and one did not know the others' face'

(18)   *... Gott gebe das er sein **verdhienter** lohn **bekhomm*** (Hamm 1592)
      God give that he his   deserved   reward get
NHG 'Gott gebe, dass er seinen verdienten Lohn bekommt'
Engl. 'God grant that he might get his deserved reward'

The feature also affects, as mentioned, <r> word initially, as shown in (19), taken from the formulaic opening of a record from Dieburg:

(19)   *… Vff der Wäldlichen Herrn Rhäte*   Befelch (Dieburg 1627)
      on the secular   lord   counselors' order
NHG 'auf den Befehl der weltlichen Herren Räte'
Engl. 'on the order of the secular lord counselors'

In the following section, I summarize the accounts given in the ENHG grammars.

5.2.6.1.   Summary

Most grammars do not address the feature individually, but rather subsume the allographic spelling variation under the individual discussions of the consonants. Upon investigating this feature in the ENHG grammars, it became apparent that Moser rejects addressing anything solely orthographic that does not have an underlying phonological explanation. As mentioned above, he sees the <h> spelling after consonant as a simple embellishment, added by uneducated scribes. Since it is not a phonological change, Moser does not seem to see it as worthy of discussion, even if the data suggests that it appears in

every text. He thus only briefly mentions it in a half-page long footnote (Moser 1929: 42) in a rather negative sense. Ebert et al. (1993) follow him by adding an occasional brief comment on orthographic variation to an otherwise lengthy phonological discussion. Due to the scope of their discussions, the other grammars omit the topic of orthographic variation completely if it does not pertain to a sound change.

Nonetheless, the following summary of the matter can be given: For the addition of <h> after consonant, Moser (1929: 42f) gives a brief account of some theories, e.g. the incorrect positioning of the vowel length marker (Frangk 1531) or aspiration of the consonant, with which Moser (1929: 43) disagrees. Instead, he identifies it as a spelling variation in analogy to Latin transcriptions of the Greek aspirates, in particular for <th> and <rh>. He does not draw an analogy to actual aspiration but rather to Latin orthographic usage. Regarding <rh>, Moser (1929: 42) briefly mentions that it appears word initially since the second half of the 15th century. The usage spread during the 16th century in all dialectal areas. He does not give a timeline or a frequency account. Ebert et al. (1993: 149) only state that <rh> appears occasionally since the second half of the 16th century under the influence of Greek spelling traditions.

Moser (1929) does not mention <dh> at all. Ebert et al. (1993: 90) state for <d> vs. <dh> that <d> is the predominant grapheme with a frequency of over 90%. <dh> only appears in few lexemes such as *dhegen* (NHG *Degen* 'epee, rapier') and *dhum* (NHG *Dom* 'cathedral'). They do not give any regional or chronological limitations to the orthographic variation. Moser (1929: 42) briefly mentions for <th> that it is first attested in MG in the 12th century in word initial and final position. It spread to UG during the 14th century and became very frequent during the 16th and 17th century. Contrary to this depiction, Ebert et al. (1993: 94) attest a very low frequency in comparison to <t> for <th>, i.e.in less than 4% of all <t> spellings. <th> can, however, appear in all phonological environments regardless

of the quality of the vowel. Some texts or scribes show a preference towards word initial position of <th> and from the 15th century on, a connection to short lexemes (e.g. *thun*, NHG *tun* 'do') and loan words (e.g. *thymian* NHG *Thymian*, 'thyme') can be attested.

Regarding <gh>, Moser (1951: 239f) states that <g> predominates in all written documents. Only Mosel-Franconian and Ripuarian show a higher frequency of word initial <gh>, such as *ghehen* (NHG *gehen* 'to go'), between the 14th and the 16th century with an end point in the middle of the 16th century. Ebert et al. (1993: 98) state that <g> is the dominant grapheme with a frequency between 97 and 99%. They follow Moser (1951) in the assumption that <gh> only appears word initially in dialectal areas with spirantization, while word final positions undergo devoicing to <k>. For <kh>, Moser (1951: 257) mentions this spelling variation for UG prints and handwritten documents in connection to the Bavarian affricate /ch/ (in allographic variation <ch, kch, chk, kh>). In this account, <kh> is the orthographic representation of the affricate and limited to the Bavarian and Austrian areas, where it appears frequently in prints during the first half of the 16th century but then vanishes with the exception of some very isolated instances during the second half of the 16th century. For handwritten documents, Moser (1951: 257) attests a parallel usage of <kh> and <k> during the 16th century. However, during the 17th century, <k> starts to predominate. This Bavarian <kh> spread, according to Moser (1951: 262), into WMG during the 16th century due to UG influence, but vanished again towards the end of the century. Ebert et al. (1993: 101) agree with this account, stating that <k> appears "im Gesamtfrnhd. mit Ausnahme des mittleren und südlichen Oobd. […] nahezu ausnahmslos."[96] <kh> only appears word initially, especially before vowels, in East UG

---

[96] "almost without exception in all dialects of ENHG, except for Central and Southern East Upper German."

and, during the 16th century due to UG influence, in East Swabian, Northern Bavarian, occasionally WMG, and rarely EMG.

To summarize: for <rh>, it was only stated that it occasionally appears word initially since the 15th century. No time line for a disappearance of the feature was given. Regarding <dh>, Ebert et al. (1993: 90) state that it appears in less than 10% of all tokens and is strongly connected to a few lexemes. For <th>, the accounts contradict each other. Moser (1929: 49) states that it became very frequent in the 16th and 17th century (without specifying the frequency), while Ebert et al. (1993: 94) attest a frequency of less than 4% of all <t> spellings. However, they also add that some scribes show a preference for word initial <th> in short lexemes and loan words from the 15th century on. Regarding <gh>, Moser (1951: 240) states that Ripuarian and Mosel-Franconian show a higher frequency of word initial <gh> between the 14th and the 16th century. Ebert et al. (1993: 98) add that <g> is the dominant grapheme in 97-99% of all tokens. Finally, word initial <kh> is attested to appear in handwritten documents in the 16th century due to UG influence.

5.2.6.2. Methodology

Since this feature appears more frequently with certain stops and <r>, I focused on these consonants to see whether they overlap with the assessments in the ENHG grammars, and if the spelling variation with <h> shows a tendency towards standardization. After an initial count, it became obvious that <d> rarely appears as <dh>, which confirms the statements in the grammar regarding this stop. I therefore focused on <kh>, <th>, <gh>, and <rh>. I first searched for these consonants with <h> spelling. If I did not find any instances of <h> spelling, I made a note of this absence and did not count the presence of <k>, <t>, <g>, or <r> respectively in this text. However, if the <h> spelling was present for any of these consonants, I also counted the tokens of these consonants without <h>.

173

Within this count, I left out Latin legal terminology as well as names of people, towns, and other landmarks (e.g. *Elisabeth, Rhein*) as these often retain the <h> spelling in NHG and would obscure the picture of the other lexemes. I only added place names if they included a proper noun, such as town names ending in *-berg* 'mountain' or *-burg* 'castle', since these might show a tendency towards standardization. I also discarded all instances in which the consonant appeared in the coda of one syllable and the <h> in the onset of the next syllable (e.g. *Wahrheit* 'truth', *verhindern* 'to avert'). Finally, I focused in this search on certain phonological environments, in which the consonants plus <h> appeared most frequently. <gh> only appears syllable finally, mostly word finally (e.g. *verteidigungh*, NHG *Verteidigung* 'defense'). I therefore only searched for <g> in these positions. <kh> appears before vowels (e.g. *khindt*, NHG *Kind* 'child') and in the consonant cluster <ckh> (e.g. *stückh*, NHG *Stück* 'piece'), which is why I also focused on this phonological environment in the token count for <k>. Meanwhile, <rh> always appears syllable initially (e.g. *Rhat*, NHG *Rat* 'council').

The use of <th> was the most difficult to pinpoint. It can appear in all positions before vowel, word initial, and word final (e.g. *thun*, NHG *tun* 'to do'; *vierthel*, NHG *viertel* 'quarter'; *roth*, NHG *rot* 'red'). However, while some records contain tokens of word final <th>, it seems to be less frequent and therefore less useful for a comparison than the syllable initial and pre-vocalic positions. Furthermore, even in the records that show word final <th>, word final <t> predominates in at least 95% of the tokens. This would severely obscure the picture for <th> in other phonological environments, which is why I discarded word final <th> and <t> and only focused on word or syllable initial and pre-vocalic positions.

As with the other features, all tokens were entered into an Excel spread sheet, labeled for spelling variation and type, and then inserted into a visual depiction using PivotCharts and PivotTables. I now turn to the results of this last feature analysis.

5.2.6.3.   Results

The search revealed 4699 tokens, 3430 of which (73%) did not show the <h> spelling after the consonant. This shows that the allography without <h> tends to be the dominant orthographic variety. The frequency of consonants with <h> in the aforementioned phonological environments is, however, higher than in the accounts given in the grammars.[97] The following table shows the distribution in each individual record for the two northern dialect regions:

---

[97] Ebert et al. (1993) might have taken all instances of the consonants with and without <h> into account. This would lead to a different picture, in particular for <t> vs. <th>. As mentioned above, I focus only on word initial and pre-vowel positions, since word final positions show a frequency of over 95% in each text and would obscure the picture for other positions.

Region	Record	no <h>	<h>
Ripuarian	1598 Erkelenz	73.9%	26.1%
	1629 Blankenheim	87.3%	12.7%
	1629 Flamersheim*	79.9%	20.1%
	1629 Zülpich	41.7%	58.3%
	1629 Köln	79.7%	20.3%
	1631 Linz	43.6%	56.4%
	1649 Altenahr*	61.1%	38.9%
	1662 Köln	57.1%	42.9%
Mosel-Franconian	1587 St. Maximin*	91.5%	8.5%
	1591 Trier*	73.2%	26.8%
	1592 Trier*	57.6%	42.4%
	1592 Hamm	61.5%	38.5%
	1593 Fell*	89.3%	10.7%
	1614 Neuerburg*	80.2%	19.8%
	1626 Mandern*	77.4%	22.6%
	1629 Rhens	85.7%	14.3%

Table 5.13: <h> after consonant in Mosel-Franconian and Ripuarian dialects

As can be seen here, the Ripuarian dialect region shows an overall stronger tendency towards the <h>- spelling, with two records, Zülpich and Linz, exhibiting more than 50% of tokens of the relevant consonants followed by <h>. Time does not play a role in the decrease of the variation. On the contrary, the two records from Köln, both written by the same scribe, show an increase in variation between the record from 1629 and 1662. While the percentage of <h> after consonants in Mosel-Franconian is overall lower than in the Ripuarian region, it is still significantly higher than described in the grammars, particularly in two of the earlier records (1592 Trier and Hamm). The record from St. Maximin is again an outlier with a strong tendency towards standardization of this feature and with a percentage number that is closer to those given in the grammars. The following table shows the two more southern regions:

Region	Record	no <h>	<h>
Rhine-Franconian	1610 Gaugrehweiler	93.9%	6.1%
	1618 Wadgassen*	78.9%	21.1%
	1620 Friedberg	83.3%	16.7%
	1627 Dieburg*	84.3%	15.7%
	1629 Wittgenstein	87.9%	12.1%
	1630 Lemberg	90.6%	9.4%
	1631 Dillenburg	87.7%	12.3%
	1631 Höchst	83.6%	16.4%
Swabian	1593 Nördlingen	69.0%	31.0%
	1596 Riedlingen*	59.2%	40.8%
	1613 Günzburg	42.9%	57.1%
	1615 Rottweil*	64.0%	36.0%
	1625 Augsburg	71.1%	28.9%
	1641 Leonberg	69.5%	30.5%
	1648 Hechingen*	56.0%	44.0%
	1665 Memmingen	80.3%	19.7%

Table 5.14: <h> after consonant in Rhine-Franconian and Swabian dialects

The records from the Rhine-Franconian region exhibit even lower percentage numbers for <h> after consonant than Mosel-Franconian, with the records from Gaugrehweiler and Lemberg overlapping with the numbers given in the ENHG grammars. This suggests that the feature seems to decrease from north to south. However, the Swabian records again show a completely different picture. The numbers are actually closer to the northern Ripuarian numbers. A wave-style isogloss with an origin at the Lower Rhine River can therefore be rejected.

It instead seems that another factor might be in play, which the Swabian and Ripuarian region have in common. This could be the Bavarian influence that Moser (1951:262) and Ebert et al. (1993: 101) mention regarding <k> vs. <kh>. Could this idea also be extended to the other consonants investigated here? An individual overview of the

consonants is presented below to investigate whether they all show a similar distribution. However, the following graph first presents the diachronic development in the WMG dialect region to identify changes that could not be identified through the numbers in the table.
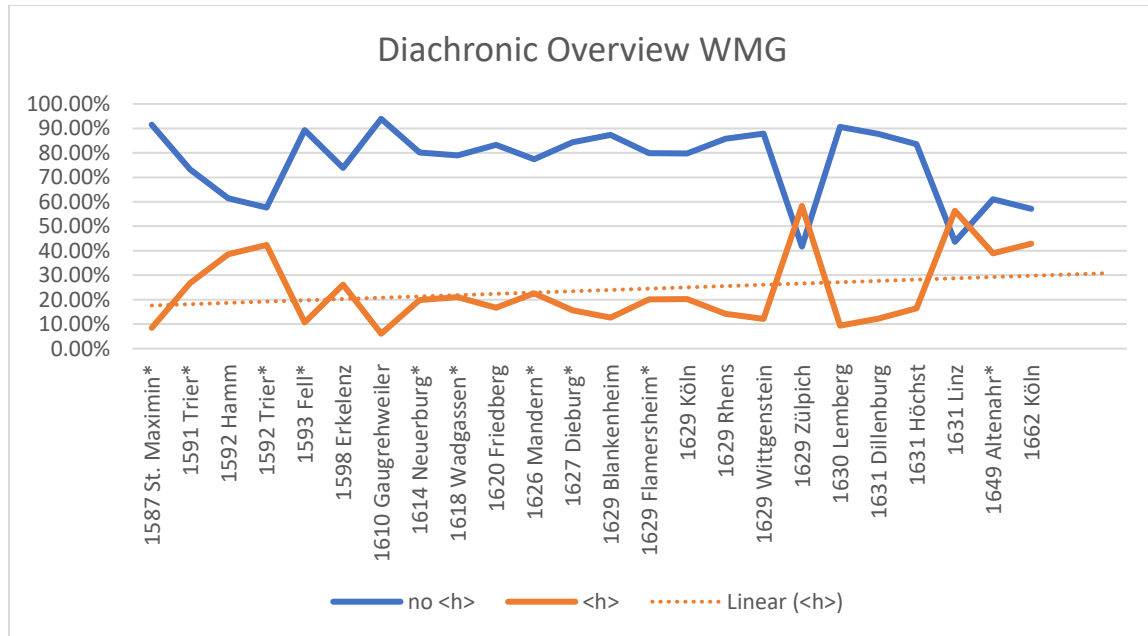
Figure 5.21: <h> after consonant in WMG dialects

The diachronic overview shows a preference for the consonant without <h>. However, the overall percentage numbers suggest more variation than Ebert et al. (1993) indicated. The record from Zülpich as well as the later records show an increased variation in the orthographic usage, which also account for the linear tendency for an increase in <h> spellings. More records from the 17th century would deliver a clearer picture here.

As for the individual regions, or each region, the four investigated consonants are presented separately in percentage based in the overall token count of the consonant, e.g. Erkelenz shows an 82% occurrence of <gh> which means that of 100% of all <g> tokens

82% appear with a subsequent <h>. If no graph is present for this consonant, it means that all tokens appear without <h>, as is the case for the other three consonants in the record from Erkelenz.
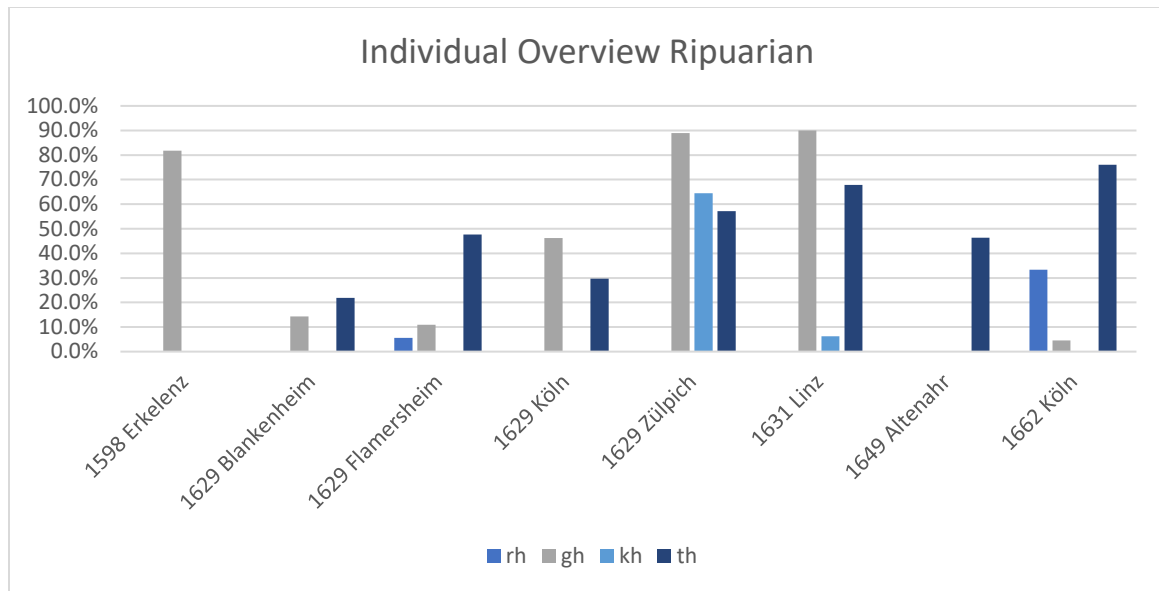
Figure 5.22: <h> after consonant in Ripuarian dialect

In the Ripuarian records, tokens of <rh> only appear in the record from Flamersheim and 1662 Köln (mostly *Rhat*, NHG *Rat* 'council' and related words, e.g. *Rathhauß* 'town hall'). Apart from this, the consonant shows no spelling variation. Word final <gh> (e.g. tagh, NHG *Tag* 'day') appears in almost all documents with the exception of Altenahr, and shows a very high frequency in the records from Erkelenz, Zülpich, and Linz. This does not overlap with the assessments made in the grammars (Moser 1951: 239f; Ebert et al. 1993: 98) at all, where the assumption was that <g> dominates with a frequency of over 97% and final <g> would be devoiced and by extension written as <k>. Only the late records from Altenahr and 1662 Köln conform to this hypothesis. <kh> (e.g. *khomen*, NHG *kommen* 'to come'), for which Moser (1951: 262) assumed a higher percentage in the

Cologne area due to Bavarian influence only appears in the records from Zülpich and Linz and only predominates in the former. Since Zülpich stood under the jurisdiction of the Electorate of Cologne, which itself was led by the Bavarian Archbishop of Cologne (Engelbrecht 1999), the connection can still be made. However, the spelling variation with <h> was not adopted by the secular city chancery of Cologne, as reflected in the absence of tokens in both Köln records. A strong contributing factor to the high percentage of <h> spellings mentioned above is <th> (e.g. *thoidt*, NHG *Tod* 'death') which is present in all records except Erkelenz and seems to increase over the course of time. The next graph shows the distribution in the Mosel-Franconian area:
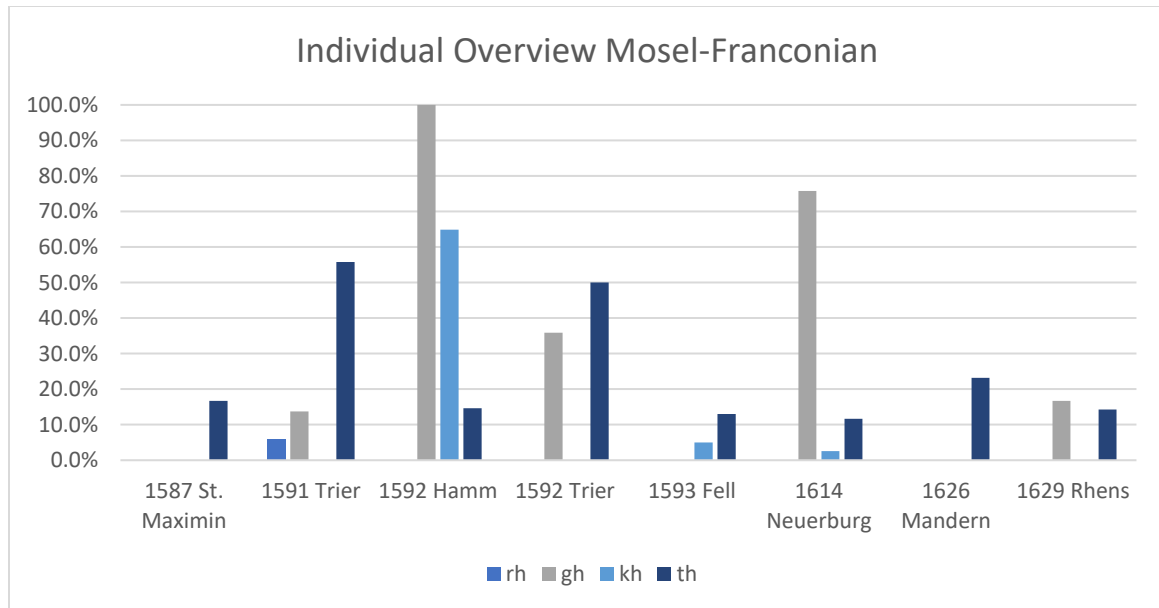
Figure 5.23: <h> after consonant in Mosel-Franconian dialect

The overview of the individual consonants confirms the lower percentage of <h> (compared to Ripuarian) that was already discussed above. <rh> only appears in 1591 Trier and <kh> is only marginal, with the exception of Hamm. This particular record also exhibits a 100% frequency of word final <gh>. <gh> also predominates in the record from

Neuerburg, but otherwise shows a lower frequency than final <g>, or is completely absent. <t> is again the only consonant that exhibits tokens with subsequent <h> in all records, even in the usually very standardized record from St. Maximin, though with lower frequency than in the records from the Ripuarian area. However, unlike the Ripuarian region, the frequency of <th> does not show an increase over time.

I now turn to the Rhine-Franconian area:
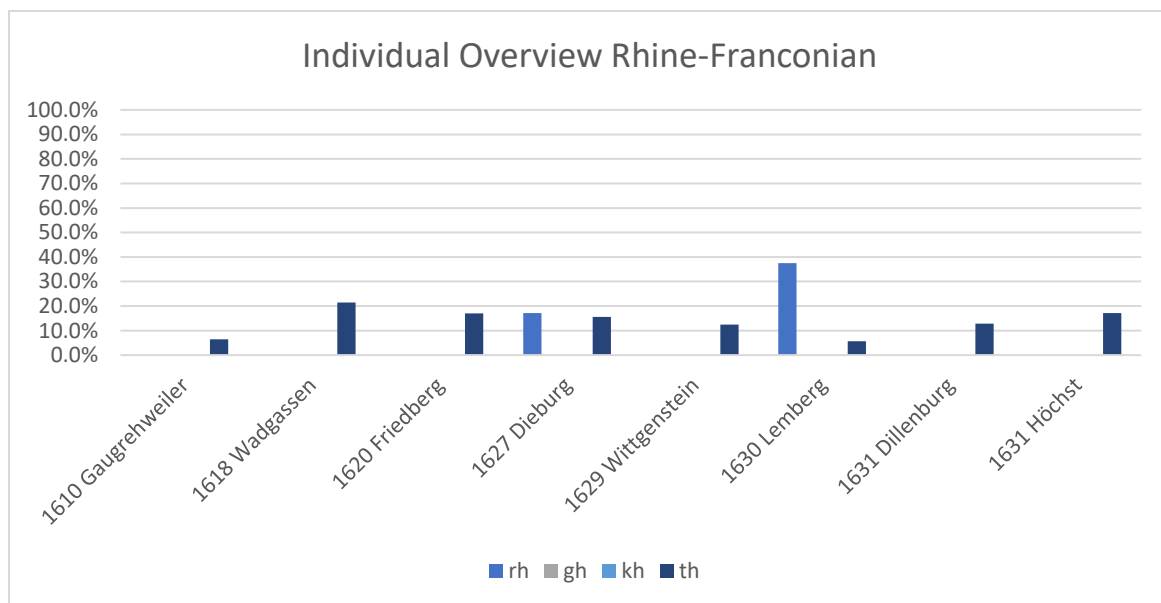
Figure 5.24: <h> after consonant in Rhine-Franconian dialect

In this area, the overall token count for the consonants with subsequent <h> are significantly lower than in the other areas (a median of 12.8% for <th> compared to 25.2% in Mosel-Franconian). Word final <gh> and <kh> are completely absent, and only Dieburg and Lemberg include tokens of <rh> - again, mostly *Rhat* 'council', which shows a standardization tendency towards this spelling throughout the records, and *würthin* (NHG *Wirtin* 'landlady'). <th> is again the only form that is present in all records. While the frequency is lower than in other regions, it is still higher than the 4% that Ebert et al. (1993:

94) suggested for the <th> spelling, which means that this data from region also does not reflect the assessments in the grammars.

The next graph presents the Swabian dialect region:
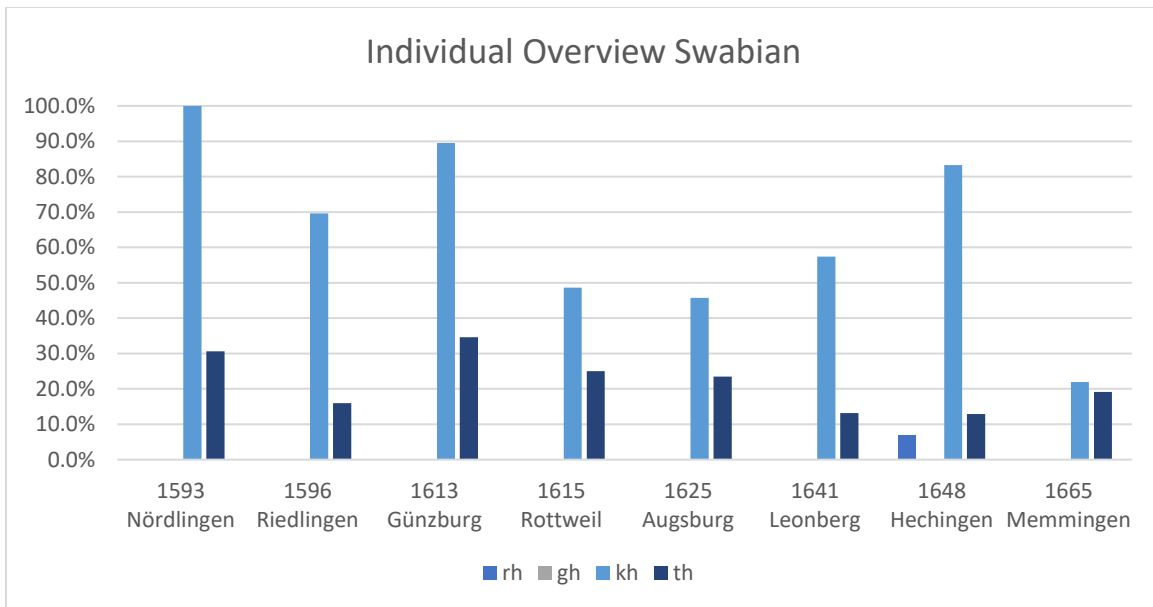
Figure 5.25: <h> after consonant in Swabian dialect

In this region, the frequency of <h> spellings is again higher, although <gh> does not appear at all, while <rh> is only present in some tokens in the record from Hechingen. <th> is again present in all records with a median frequency of 22.4% and less outliers than in the Ripuarian and Mosel-Franconian regions. This speaks for a standardization tendency in certain lexemes that are present in all records. The high presence of tokens with <kh> is surprising, since this consonant did not appear with these high percentages in the other regions. This feature appears exclusively word-finally and most often as <ckh>. This could point to spirantization due to UG influence as mentioned by Moser (1951:262) and Ebert et al. (1993:101). However, the authors also claimed that this spelling variation appeared

word-initially, influenced apart from East Swabian also the WMG dialects, and was only present in the 16th century. These points could not be verified, which shows another deviation from the grammars.

In the positions discussed here, especially <th> shows a significantly higher frequency than anticipated, in particular in word initial position. If a connection can be drawn between the <h> spelling and Latin and Greek spellings as Moser (1929: 43) suggests, the genre of legal texts, which retained Latin as a form of communication longer than other genres (also seen in holdovers in the present data set), might contribute to a stronger retention of <h> after consonant and in particular <th>. Furthermore, some allographic spellings seem to be regionally bound: <gh> appears only in Ripuarian and Mosel-Franconian, while <kh> shows a clear dominance in the Swabian documents.[98]

5.3. SUMMARY

In this chapter, I investigated the development of six orthographic features of Early New High German. I compared my findings to the established assessments in ENHG grammars regarding the state of these features to see whether the grammars hold true. I now summarize these comparisons by first addressing the individual findings of each feature. I then compare the findings by juxtaposing them to the established grammars. Finally, I give tentative reasons for a deviation and also address noteworthy individual records that stood out during this investigation.

5.3.1. Individual Findings

The first feature investigated here, vowel length marking through the WMG length markers <e,i,y> and the standard German vowel length marker <h>, largely showed an

---

[98] A full treatment of this allographic variation remains to be completed.

overlap with the assessments given in the ENHG grammars. The WMG dialect markers <e,i,y> are only present in the Ripuarian region and have disappeared from all other regions[99] with the exception of the records from Mandern (Mosel-Franconian) and Gaugrehweiler (Rhine-Franconian). It was not possible to determine a reason for these exceptions at this point, but it could be assumed that idiolectic or erroneous spelling might explain the deviation from the general norm. The tendency for <h> also largely confirm the discussions in the grammars. The diachronic development of the feature towards standardization in the witch hunt records happens slightly later than addressed by von Polenz (1994) and Salmons (2012). Two factors could play a role in this deviation. First, I only discuss <h>, while the authors also included <e> after [i:], which could account for a difference in the percentage numbers. Second, the authors cited a study of Bible prints while I looked at handwritten court records. If the latter aspect is the deciding factor, it could point to the type of data invariation that this dissertation investigates. The findings in the witch hunt records confirm von Polenz' (1994: 243) theory of hypercorrection of <h> with the additional observation that hypercorrection already happened in the 16th century.

The second feature, the implementation of the NHG diphthongization, shows a more differentiated picture. According to the consensus in the ENHG grammars and textbooks, there should be no tokens of the MHG monophthongs in the Swabian documents, no tokens in the and Rhine-Franconian documents past 1600, and only remnants of monophthongs in the Mosel-Franconian and Ripuarian documents in the 17th century. This is certainly the case for the diphthongs <ei> and <eu>, which are fully implemented. However, the diphthong <au> still shows a great amount of variation with

---

[99] It remains, however, to be investigated how Moser (1929) differentiates between <ue> as a vowel length marker or as an expression of the diphthong, depending on the region.

many tokens found of the monophthong <u> in all four dialect regions across the entire time span.[100] This means that the discussion of the particular diphthongization from /u:/ to /au/ in the ENHG grammars falls short of the linguistic reality. Most tokens are of the very common prepositions *auf* 'on' and *aus* 'out', which are used in both spelling variations interchangeably. The varying usage even within the same texts show that most scribes are unsure about a spelling convention.

Of particular interested for this dissertation is the assessment in Ebert et al. (1993: 65) that the diphthongs reached the Ripuarian region between 1520 and 1550, and were used consistently at the end of the century. The results of this dissertation have shown that this is not the case. As mentioned, the assessment is based on studies by Scheel (1893) and Balan (1969). Scheel (1893) used for his discussion prints created by the influential Cologne printer Jaspar von Gennep. Balan (1969) uses the *Buch Weinsberg* as her material, a handwritten autobiography of the city councilor Hermann von Weinsberg, who held an MA (Master Artium) degree from the University of Cologne. As Balan (1969: 341) notes, Weinsberg even commented on his usage of orthography, which he tried to model on the then prestigious UG orthography based on the archbishopric chancery, e.g. "dan im hochdützen sacht man wein, nit win." ("For, in High German, one says *wein* ['wine'], not *win*."). This shows both his awareness of the orthographic changes during his time and his willingness to adapt the UG orthography. While both of these sources of course yield valuable insights into the spelling conventions in Cologne during the 16th century, they can by no means be seen as representative for the entire orthographic usage in the Cologne region. Both authors of the original documents represent the educated upper class, which is more likely to adapt a new prestigious orthography, due to their awareness of the changes

---

[100] Swabian shows a lower frequency for the usage of <u>, but this grapheme is still present.

and their proximity to the UG bishopric. It is therefore not possible to deduce from these texts to the general orthographic usage of the time.

The investigation of the third feature, the re-raising of /e, o, ö/ to /i, u, ü/ differed from the other features in this dissertation in terms of the research hypothesis. Since it had to be assumed that lowered as well as re-raised tokens could be found in all dialect areas across the investigated time frame and because it was also not possible to establish a difference between the WMG dialects and Swabian, the research question investigated whether the feature showed the clear standardization tendency as outlined in the grammars. The ENHG grammars state that the re-raised forms with /i/ and /u, ü/ prevailed in the WMG dialects and Swabian at the beginning of the 16th century (Ebert et al. 1993: 70) or the end of the 16th century (Moser 1929: 137) with the exceptions of the lexemes that appear with the lowered form in NHG. MG /e/ does not prevail in any lexemes, while /o/ and /ö/ appear almost exclusively before nasals, and consistently only before <nn> (Ebert et al. 1993: 71). It could be established that the re-raised form <i> is completely implemented during the time frame investigated here and that MG <e> (e.g. *hemel*, NHG *Himmel* 'heaven, sky') has vanished. This overlaps with the ENHG grammars. In three instances, <i> was used instead of NHG <e> (*vorgistern*; NHG *vorgestern* 'the day before yesterday') which could point to hypercorrection in favor of the prestigious UG form. The dichotomy between <u, ü> and <o, ö> is however neither completely distinguished at the beginning of the 16th century nor at the end of the 16th century, as the ENHG grammars stated. While the overall percentage of spelling deviation from the NHG standard is low, it still shows regional or idiolectal confusion regarding the usage. Furthermore, the usage of <o> and <ö> is not limited to the position before nasal yet, as many tokens of for example *forcht* (NHG *Furcht* 'fear') and *scholt* (NHG *Schuld* 'guilt') show.

Regarding the fourth feature, the apocope of word-final -e in verbs, the grammars give a confusing account about the levels and time of implementation of apocope and restitution of -e. As mentioned above, only apocopated forms should occur in the documents from Swabian in the 16th century with the exception of a small number of strong verbs and with a possible restitution of word final -e in the 17th century. Rhine-Franconian should show a strong tendency towards apocope. Subjunctive verbs might retain apocope depending on the phonological environments, though the authors do not specify the environment. Mosel-Franconian should show a picture similar to the Swabian documents with apocopated forms in the 16th century and reinstituted forms at some point in the 17th or 18th century. Ripuarian should show a strong tendency towards apocopated forms, since the reintroduction did not occur here until the 18th century.

For the Ripuarian and Mosel-Franconian areas, it was possible to demonstrate that the records from the 16th century show a tendency towards apocope, while the records from the 17th century include higher frequencies of word final -e. This could reflect an earlier reintroduction of -e than suggested in the grammars, where a reintroduction for Ripuarian was seen as having taken place during the 18th century (Ebert et al. 1993: 81). The Rhine-Franconian documents show a very strong preference for word final –e (81%). This does not align with the assessments in the ENHG grammars. While the grammars attested a retention of -e in some subjunctive verbs depending on the phonological environment (Sauerbeck 1970: 229), this does not account for the high numbers in the present data. Since high frequency forms, such as *to be* and *to have* (and their German counter parts *sein* and *haben*) generally tend to resist change (Bybee 2007), it could be argued that he higher use of subjunctive in legal texts might account for the retention, which might explain the higher token number in the corpus at hand. Finally, while the frequency for word final -e in Swabian is not as high as in the other dialect areas, it is still the predominant spelling

variety. Some documents, especially those from the beginning of the 17th century, show a nearly complete implementation of the feature. This would suggest that the restitution of word final -e started earlier than suggested by Ebert et al. (1993: 81). Thus, across the regions and the entire time span, a preference for word-final -e could be demonstrated that differs from the accounts given in the grammars.

For the fifth feature, the devoicing from /d/ to /t/ and the adaption of this change in the written language, the grammars stated that Swabian should show a preference for the <t> spelling and standardization tendencies in the documents from the 17th century. The Rhine-Franconian documents should contain only <t> spellings with potential lower implementation grades and the occasional <d> spelling depending on the phonological environment. Mosel-Franconian and Ripuarian should still contain tokens of the <d> spelling, especially in the documents from the 16th century, with a tendency towards <t> and the same lower grades of implementation as Rhine-Franconian. In general, the grammars are correct in their assessment that <d> and <t> already overlap largely with the NHG standard. As mentioned in the methodology for the investigation of this feature, I focused on 15 lexemes that still showed the dialectal <d> spelling due to the scope of the investigation. Thus, a direct comparison to the grammars can only be made in connection to standardization tendencies, since the targeted token count already focused on occurrence. Despite these deviations from the initial research question, the token count still revealed some useful insights. It could be shown that the investigated 15 lexemes exhibit a preference for <d> spelling in all four dialect regions and that they do not show a standardization tendency towards a <t> spelling. Both of these points do not correspond to the statements made in the ENHG grammars. The phonological environment could also not be identified as the major factor in the retention of the <d> spelling in these lexemes. Instead, the choice of feature is again connected to idiolectal variation depending on the

scribe. However, different from other features, the scribes usually chose one spelling variety for the individual lexemes and then consequently used this variety throughout the document, which points to an individual form of standardization for each lexeme.

Regarding the sixth and last feature, the retention of <h> after consonants, I observed that the discussions about orthographic variations that are not based on a sound change are sorely limited in all ENHG grammars. As mentioned, only Moser (1929, 1951) and Ebert et al. (1993) discuss the topic at all – Moser (1929: 40) is rather dismissive, and Ebert et al. (1993) discuss it only briefly before turning to a considerably longer discussion of the phonological change. This seems rather arbitrary, since the feature is present in many ENHG texts, as both grammars admit. It might therefore not be surprising that the omission of an in-depth discussion of allographic variation led to an underestimation of the impact of the feature. In part, the differing percentage numbers between the grammars and my account might also stem from a different methodology in token count. If Moser (1929) and Ebert et al. (1993) counted all instances of the consonants without regard for the phonological environment, it might lead to a different distribution. However, this does not explain the missing detail in the discussion about orthographic variation.

Regarding <rh> and <dh>, the grammars are correct in their assessment that <r> and <d> are the dominant spelling. The accounts for <th> in the grammars stand contrary to each other. Moser (1929: 49) states that it became very frequent in the 16th and 17th century (without specifying the frequency), while Ebert et al. (1993: 94) attest a frequency of less than 4% of all <t> spellings. However, they also add that some scribes show a preference for word initial <th> in short lexemes and loan words from the 15th century on. In the positions discussed here, <th> shows a significantly higher frequency than stated, in particular in word initial position. The question was raised, whether a connection can be drawn between the <h> spelling and Latin and Greek spellings, as Moser (1929: 43)

suggests. In this case, the genre of legal texts used here, which used Latin longer than other genres and still contain individual lexemes in the corpus at hand, might contribute to a stronger retention of <h> after consonant and in particular <th>. Regarding <gh>, Moser (1951: 240) states that Ripuarian and Mosel-Franconian show a higher frequency of word initial <gh> between the 14th and the 16th century. Ebert et al. (1993: 98) add that <g> is the dominant grapheme in 97-99% of all tokens. My investigation showed that Moser (1951) is correct in his assessment regarding the regional distribution of the feature. In these areas, some documents show a preference of over 80% for the <gh> spelling, which contradicts the assessment in Ebert et al. (1993). Finally, word initial <kh> is alleged to appear in WMG handwritten documents in the 16th century due to UG influence. This could not be verified. Only five of 24 records from the WMG dialects contain the feature at all, and only two show a preference for it. Contrary to the assessment that <kh> is an East UG feature limited to what are today Bavaria and Austria, <kh> shows a clear dominance in the Swabian documents. During this investigation, it became apparent that allographic variation needs a much more extensive and detailed discussion than what has been done so far.

5.3.2. Comparison of Findings

After summarizing the individual findings, I now turn to a comparison of all features. Regarding an overlap with or divergence from the assessments in the ENHG grammars, the following overview can be given:

No.	Investigated Feature	Overlap with ENHG Grammars?	Divergences (if any)
1.	Length Marker of Vowels (e.g. Jahr, Jair, Jar, etc.)	mostly	Standardization of <h> happens 25-50 years later in present corpus
2.	NHG Diphthongization (e.g. vff > auf)	For <ei, eu>: yes For <au>: no	Remnants of monophthong <u> in all dialect areas across the entire time span (particularly in high frequency words)
3.	Re-raising of Vowels (e.g. zo > zu)	For <e> vs. <i>: yes For <o, ö> vs <u, ü>: no	No standardization tendency for <o, ö> vs <u, ü> across time span
4.	Decrease of Apocope (e.g. hab > habe)	No	Apocope vanished earlier than attested (or was never as dominant as claimed)
5.	Devoicing (e.g. danzen > tanzen)	For the lexemes investigated here: No	Preference for <d> spelling in lexemes investigated here and no standardization tendency
6.	Decrease of Aspiration (e.g. thun > tun)	For <rh, dh>: yes For <gh>: partially For <th, kh>: no	Regional preference for <gh>; differing regional preference for <kh>; higher frequency for <th>

Table 5.15: Overview of results

As this overview shows, some results overlap with the feature discussions in the ENHG grammars, but my investigation revealed many deviations from these discussions. Most issues lie in the generalizations given in the grammars that cannot be verified from the present data. Altogether, three factors for the deviations could be established: (1)

invariance of data, (2) the underestimation or dismissal of idiolectal spelling variation, and (3) the reluctance to discuss orthographic variation not resulting from sound change.

Regarding the first point, it was not always possible to determine the underlying data for the assessments in the ENHG grammars. They neither always discussed the actual corpora used for the investigation of the specific feature, nor do they give an account of the methodology, which made a direct comparison difficult at times. However, when specific studies were cited as the base for the feature discussions, the invariance of data could be determined as a possible factor for the deviations between my findings and the discussions in the grammars. The invariance of data is one of the methodological pitfalls that Hernández-Campoy and Schilling (2014) mention for any linguistic study. It describes the danger of overgeneralizing findings from one specific data set and declaring these findings the norm for the actual language use. The first and second feature analyses revealed a potential issue with the data set in the ENHG grammars. Regarding vowel length marking, the authors cite an unpublished study on Bible prints as the source for their assessment (e.g. von Polenz 1994: 246). For the second feature, the development of the NHG diphthongization, Ebert et al. (1993) base their assessment on studies by Scheel (1893) and Balan (1969). As mentioned, Scheel (1893) used for his discussion prints created by the influential Cologne printer Jaspar von Gennep, while Balan (1969) uses the *Buch Weinsberg*, a handwritten autobiography by the highly educated and linguistically aware city councilor Hermann von Weinsberg. I do not dismiss the value of either of these studies; the danger here lies in overgeneralizing from these studies, which are based on upper-class or printed documents, and deducing a norm of orthographic use based on these findings.

(2) addresses the underestimation or even dismissal of idiolectal spelling variation. Throughout this data analysis, glaring differences between individual records and also

variation within the same record underlined the absence of a standardized norm. While the authors usually point out in the introductions to their grammars that ENHG was not truly standardized, occasionally in a condescending tone (e.g. Moser 1929), it is rarely addressed in the feature discussions. This dissertation has shown that idiolectal spelling deserves closer investigation, in particular if metadata is available. This concerns, for example, the texts from St. Maximin and Wadgassen, both of which were influential cloisters during the time frame investigated. The texts from these cloisters showed a significantly higher likelihood to adapt UG features and to contain less spelling variation within the text, revealing a high degree of standardization. In comparison to this, texts from smaller city chanceries, e.g. Hechingen, show significantly more variation and uncertainty about spelling norms. Thus, chanceries cannot be seen as a homogenous, norm-creating group of institutions, but have to be treated much more differentiated. The same counts for the influence of the individual scribe on the standardization process of the German language, e.g. in the two documents from Cologne, both written by the scribe Stephan Muser, 33 years apart. Muser changed his spelling of certain features over the course of these three decades and the question of why he made these changes remains. The metadata needed for this is unfortunately not always available, but if it can be identified, it is important to ask, why and how the scribes of the time changed their spelling.

The final point, the reluctance to discuss orthographic variation that is not based on an underlying sound change, became particularly apparent during the investigation of the sixth feature, the retention of <h> after consonants, especially stops. As mentioned, only Moser (1929) and Ebert et al. (1993) address this feature at all, neither in any detail, and it could therefore be argued that this state still reflects the notion of a primacy of the spoken

word over the written word in a linguistic investigation[101] and that orthography is not language. This stands contrary to the introduction of Ebert et al. (1993: 13), in which the authors declare that their discussion represents the standpoint of interdependency between the spoken and the written language (they influence each other). My investigation showed that orthographic usage that is not based on phonological change (allographic variation) needs a much more in-depth discussion to descriptively identify trends and potentially point out reasons for the choice of one allography over another.

5.4. CONCLUSION

In this chapter, I investigated six orthographic features present in my data and compared the findings with the feature discussions in established ENHG grammars to see whether my findings correlate with these statements or point out deviations. While some aspects of the features discussed here confirmed the overviews in the grammars, others showed differing results. Furthermore, I identified three potential reasons for the deviations found: invariance of data, the underestimation or dismissal of idiolectal spelling variation, and the reluctance to discuss orthographic variation that is not based on underlying sound change. In the following, concluding chapter, I tie these findings to the current state of research.

---

[101] Compare Vachek (1976: 241) who discusses the "Primat der gesprochenden Sprache" ("primacy of the spoken language") by tracing this notion in linguistic works from the 19th century and early 20th century, including studies by de Saussure, Sapir, Bloomfield, and Hockett.

Chapter 6: Conclusion

In this dissertation, I investigated the validity of the description of orthographic feature in traditional ENHG grammars. The question was whether the underlying data of the feature descriptions in traditional ENHG grammars focuses too much on literary and upper-class documents, thereby describing historical language use only from an elite minority perspective. The analysis was based on a comparison between the feature descriptions in these grammars and my own findings in this dissertation regarding a corpus of witch hunt records from the 16th and 17th centuries. The dissertation thereby hopes to contribute to further increase the understanding regarding the German language history as well as the impact of social factors on the standardization process within the research frame of "language history from below" (Elspaß 2005).

The initial idea for this dissertation stemmed from a previous work with a small selection of witch hunt records from the corpus *Hexenverhörprotokolle* (Macha et al. 2005) for my German State Exam thesis (Fuchs 2012). During this project, I discovered discrepancies between some of the feature discussions in the ENHG grammars that served as the background of my thesis and my own findings based on the witch hunt records. Regarding these discrepancies, I suspected that the grammars depicted language use largely from the standpoint of canonical, literary documents. I therefore set out to investigate potential reasons for the deviations between my initial findings in my State Exam thesis and the ENHG grammars in this dissertation. The following research questions were formulated:

1. Are traditional overviews of the history of the German language, especially those focused on Early New High German, too narrow in their data selection? If so, why?

2. Does the inclusion of non-traditional genres in the data used for a history of the German language yield a deeper understanding of the time period considered? Why or why not?

   To answer these questions, I investigated six orthographic features that are discussed in the ENHG grammars. This allowed me to compare my own findings with the discussions in the grammars. I conducted this investigation based on a set of 32 witch hunt records from the same corpus as mentioned above. 24 of the records stem from the WMG dialect region along the Rhine River, which were initially more resistant to adopt the newly emerging standard variety but changed their spelling conventions, according to the grammars, in favor of the standard during the investigated time frame. Since this process of standardization is well-documented and researched (Salmons 2012: 276), I also focused on standardization tendencies during this time frame to make a comparison between my findings and the depictions in the ENHG grammars possible. In order to avoid focusing on WMG regionalisms, I also added eight records from the Swabian dialect region to see whether multiple dialect regions show potentially differing standardization tendencies. Based on these investigations, I now address the answers to my research questions.

   During my data analysis, I indeed found discrepancies between my own findings and the depiction in the ENHG grammars. However, when investigating potential reasons for these deviations in order to answer the first research question, the focus on data selection could not always be identified as the main point for differing results. In part, this is due to missing outlines of data choice and methodology in traditional overviews (e.g. Moser 1929). Additionally, two other potential reasons for these deviations could be identified. Therefore, the following reasons can be cited:

1)   invariance of data

2)   the underestimation or dismissal of idiolectal spelling variation

3)   the reluctance to discuss orthographic variation not resulting from sound change.

The first point refers to the central argument of the first research question. It was possible to determine that earlier works were too narrowly focused on upper-class and literary documents, when the underlying data choice and methodology was stated in the grammars, e.g. in Penzl (1980) and certain feature discussions in Ebert et al. (1993). As mentioned in the previous chapter, this falls in line with one of the methodological pitfalls of historical quantitative studies as discussed in Hernández-Campoy and Schilling (2014). When a study focuses only on selected types of data (literary, written by well-known upper-class writers), it is impossible to generalize on the entirety of language use based on findings of this study. While this point has long been adhered to by synchronic quantitative studies,[102] it is still a common pitfall of historical investigations. This is the central criticism on traditional language histories in studies on the "language history from below" (Elspaß 2005).

Based on this finding, it can be ascertained that it is indeed true that traditional language histories have a too narrow focus in their data selection. This is, however, only half of the truth, as two other factors could be identified as potential reasons for deviations between the grammars and my data outcomes. The second factor refers to the underestimation of individual spelling practices in different types of chanceries and courts on the one side and idiolectal variation depending on the scribe on the other side. While many of the investigated features show standardization tendencies as described in the

---

[102] See, for example, Milroy and Gordon (2003) on appropriate data selection for synchronic sociolinguistic studies.

grammars, the court records contained a great amount of variation between individual records and even in the same record, showing a continuous unawareness or insecurity about spelling conventions. Salmons (2012: 276)[103] states on this point that a distinction has to be made between the structural aspect of language (the emergence of a relatively unified variety of German) and the social-political aspect of language (in what way this new variety is accepted, disseminated, and used). According to him, as well as scholars like Mattheier (2000), it was not until the late 19th century that the standard variety started to be widely known across the entirety of the literate population and to be perceived as better outside of the upper-middle class. Therefore, it is important not to depict the German language as one homogenously developing entity. Continuous spelling variation between different institutions and individuals should be taken significantly more serious.

The third and final reason for differences between my results and the depictions in the ENHG grammars lies in the observation that traditional language histories are reluctant to discuss any orthographic variation that is not based on an underlying phonological change. As mentioned in the previous chapter, only two grammars, Ebert et al. (1993) and Moser (1929, 1951), address ENHG orthographic variation at all. Since my dissertation focused on orthographic changes, it is not surprising that my findings do not always overlap with the strictly phonological discussions in the grammars. Thus, my research has shown

---

[103] While Salmons (2012) is one of the language histories investigated in this dissertation, my comments on his work should not be interpreted negatively, for several reasons. For one, his language history is a general introductory overview of the German language history for usage in a university class on the subject and the scope prevents an in-depth discussion of the presented language changes. Second, he repeatedly warns against the overgeneralization of the traditional depictions due to missing social differentiations in the sense of a historical sociolinguistic investigation. Third, his handbook is the best such work currently available in English. As such, it is an exceptionally valuable contribution to the scholarly literature.

that orthographic variation in ENHG also needs a much more detailed investigation and also needs to be acknowledged as a central point to language change.[104]

After determining that traditional grammars omit certain aspects of ENHG language (lower social classes, idiolectal variation, orthographic variation), the first research question also asked, why these omissions where made. As mentioned, for some of the grammars and overviews, e.g. Hartweg and Wegera (2005), it is a question of scope. For others, an obvious reason lies in the reliance on earlier sources. Particularly Moser (1929, 1951) has been cited by all the newer grammars without questioning whether his discussions are completely accurate. It must be stated here again that this dissertation does not want to discredit Moser's considerable work. However, I perceive it as problematic to take his descriptions at face value without considering that they might not be up to date anymore.

Another potential reason lies in the question of focus, as discussed in the literature review. As J. Milroy (2014) points out, older German language histories are problematic due to their long-standing focus on nationality and national language, particularly in the 19th and early 20th centuries, as well as erasure of any variation that is based on the language use of lower social classes and non-canonical works. Furthermore, even more recent language histories follow the assumption that language standardization is based on the language use of the ones holding the most prestigious social position (J. Milroy 2014: 574). The issue of this top-down focus lies in the dismissal of historical varieties with covert prestige as well as the influence of the general language use on the language of the higher social classes (bottom-up approach). New language histories need to take these issues into

---

[104] As stated in the previous chapter, Ebert et al. (1993) state in their introduction that they subscribe to the theory of interdependence between spoken and written language, i.e. that they both influence each other. However, this would also mean that orthographic variation needs to be discussed as an additional influence on language change and not treated as an afterthought.

account, when they cite this previous research, instead of blindly relying on the accuracy of the statements made.

Finally, another long-standing research focus that might influence research on the German language until today is the so called 'Primat der gesprochenen Sprache' ('primacy of the spoken language', Vachek 1976). Fiehler et al. (2004: 34) summarize statements made in traditional language histories regarding the relationship between spoken and written language. Written language is usually seen as inferior to spoken language, as it only exists to express the spoken language. Therefore, these traditional investigations focus on the investigation of spoken language, even though they use historical texts to do so (Fiehler et al. 2004: 50). This dissertation has shown that traditional ENHG grammars are reluctant to discuss anything that is not based on an underlying sound change. Even though Ebert et al. (1993) state that they subscribe to the theory of interdependence between spoken and written language, they make no further attempt to include orthographic discussions. The observation can be made that language histories need to differentiate clearer between spoken and written language and that a deeper investigation of orthographic variation and its influence on language change is necessary.

After discussing the potential reasons for the narrow focus of traditional language histories, I now turn to the second research question: Does the inclusion of non-traditional genres in the data used for a history of the German language yield a deeper understanding of the time period considered? Why or why not? This research question discusses the potential solution as advocated by the field of historical sociolinguistics. The general idea is to diversify our understanding of historical language use by including texts written by lower social classes and non-canonical writers into the corpora that are used to compile a history of ENHG. This then leads to a deeper and more rounded understanding of the actual language use of the time. As outlined in the previous chapter, my findings based on the

witch hunt records (Macha et al. 2005) showed deviations from the statements made in the traditional grammars. This exemplifies that there is more to add, if historical linguistics takes less prestigious texts from lower social classes into account.

Thus, the second research question regarding the benefits of an inclusion of other text types can be answered positively. To give an example that was also named in the introduction of this dissertation: in the case of the implementation of the NHG diphthongization, it was possible to show that particularly the change from /u:/ to /au/ exhibits a great amount of variation throughout the research time frame. Variation even within the same text points to uncertainties or an unawareness of the change among scribes of the time. My findings suggest that the individual sound changes within the NHG diphthongization need to be differentiated because they show differing patterns in implementation and acceptance among the language users. Another major advantage of an inclusion of other text types, writers, and regions lies in the possibility of investigating synchronic language variation during the ENHG period, which makes it possible to step away from the focus on the standard and prestige variety. This would immensely benefit our understanding of language variation today, since it might make it possible to trace changes in dialects or certain sociolects back further than it was possible so far.

Having answered the research questions, I now address future prospects based on my findings. This dissertation has shown that further study regarding orthographic variation is highly necessary. If an interdependence between written and spoken language is assumed (e.g. Mihm 2016), written data and orthography cannot be seen as a necessary evil for the investigation of phonological sound change anymore. Instead, it should be investigated in its own right and also included in any language history as influential and important language change. Another point that needs to be further investigated lies in the focus on idiolectal spelling variation. When the metadata is available and one scribe can

be identified as the author of multiple texts across a longer time span, it could serve as a great base for our investigation of the influence of standardization on idiolectal spelling and vice versa. This is for example possible in the case of Stephan Muser, whose texts are compiled in the earlier Macha-edition (Macha and Herborn 1992). A preliminary investigation of the material (Fuchs and Fingerhuth 2016) revealed that certain features change towards the emerging German standard over the course of the research time frame, while other features remain variable, or standardize towards a form that does not conform with the NHG standard. A further investigation might point out potential reasons for these changes.

Finally, my data further supports the need for an inclusive and more extensive online corpus for each German language period. While the immense variation in historical texts makes the creation of an annotated online corpus certainly difficult (as outlined in Szczepanik and Barteld 2016), the benefits of such an endeavor would be manifold. Particularly for the ENHG period, it might be possible to build a large enough corpus for statistical significance in quantitative studies. Furthermore, a differentiated and diverse corpus would offer the possibility of sociolinguistic studies that would also benefit historians and sociologists. The *Bonner Frühneuhochdeutschkorpus* ('Corpus of ENHG in Bonn')[105] is with 40 texts of mostly canonical works certainly too narrow and too small for such investigations. However, the current large-scale DFG[106]-project *Korpus historischer Texte des Deutschen* ('corpus of historical texts of German'), which is split into four large online corpora (Old High German, Middle High German, Middle Low German, Early New High German) strives to provide a reference corpus for ENHG with 4.4 million annotated

---

[105] https://korpora.zim.uni-duisburg-essen.de/Fnhd/ (last accessed 11/30/17)

[106] *Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft* ('German research collective')

word forms.[107] While the description of the corpus also states that it focuses on "hochdeutsche Sprachdenkmäler" ("High German language monuments"), which might again suggest a too narrow focus, it is certainly a step in the right direction. The corpus will be made accessible in 2018, after which an investigation of the included texts is certainly necessary.

The results presented in this dissertation can of course not answer in what way lower social classes were involved in and contributed to language change and the standardization of the German language. The witch hunt records used here represent only one genre (court records) and any findings can therefore only be interpreted within the frame of origin and content of this genre. However, this was also not the goal of this dissertation. The witch hunt records served here merely as an example that there is much material out there on which a more differentiated and socially dynamic language historiography and discussion of ENHG can be based. This does not mean that the traditional language histories need to be discarded. On the contrary, much of it is extremely valuable for our general understanding of language change and served, also in this dissertation, as the irreplaceable background of any investigation. However, as the field of historical sociolinguistics points out, the inclusion of social diversity is necessary and we should take the opportunity that the continuously growing variety of data offers us. As Salmons (2012: 357) states in his history of the German language. "I'm both daunted by what we need to do and excited about how doable it is."

---

[107] http://www.ruhr-uni-bochum.de/wegera/ref/index.htm

Appendix: Example of token count

The token count presented here stems from the investigation of the orthographic representation of devoicing /d/ > /t/ and is given to exemplify the labelling of each token.

Region	Text	Token	Feature	Lexeme
Ripuarian	Altenahr	hinterruecks	t	hinter
Ripuarian	Altenahr	hinterruecks	t	hinter
Ripuarian	Altenahr	hinterruecks	t	hinter
Ripuarian	Altenahr	Hindern	d	Hintern
Ripuarian	Altenahr	Konroth	t	rot
Ripuarian	Altenahr	roth	t	rot
Ripuarian	Altenahr	eingeschuett	t	schütten
Ripuarian	Altenahr	Tanz	t	Tanz
Ripuarian	Altenahr	Tanz	t	Tanz
Ripuarian	Altenahr	Tanz	t	Tanz
Ripuarian	Altenahr	Tanz	t	Tanz
Ripuarian	Altenahr	Tanz	t	Tanz
Ripuarian	Altenahr	Tanz	t	Tanz
Ripuarian	Altenahr	Tanz	t	Tanz
Ripuarian	Altenahr	Tanzplatzen	t	Tanz
Ripuarian	Altenahr	Tanz	t	Tanz
Ripuarian	Altenahr	Tanz	t	Tanz
Ripuarian	Altenahr	Tanz	t	Tanz
Ripuarian	Altenahr	Tanz	t	Tanz
Ripuarian	Altenahr	Tanz	t	Tanz
Ripuarian	Altenahr	Tanz	t	Tanz
Ripuarian	Altenahr	Tanz	t	Tanz
Ripuarian	Altenahr	Tanz	t	Tanz
Ripuarian	Altenahr	Tanz	t	Tanz
Ripuarian	Altenahr	Danzplatzen	d	Tanz
Ripuarian	Altenahr	getanzt	t	tanzen
Ripuarian	Altenahr	gedanzt	d	tanzen
Ripuarian	Altenahr	Tochter	t	Tochter
Ripuarian	Altenahr	Tochter	t	Tochter
Ripuarian	Altenahr	Tochter	t	Tochter
Ripuarian	Altenahr	Tochter	t	Tochter
Ripuarian	Altenahr	Tochter	t	Tochter
Ripuarian	Altenahr	Tochter	t	Tochter

Ripuarian	Altenahr	getragen	t	tragen
Ripuarian	Altenahr	getragen	t	tragen
Ripuarian	Altenahr	Trank	t	Trank
Ripuarian	Altenahr	Trank	t	Trank
Ripuarian	Altenahr	Trank	t	Trank
Ripuarian	Altenahr	getrunken	t	trinken
Ripuarian	Altenahr	trinken	t	trinken
Ripuarian	Altenahr	unterschiedlichen	t	unter
Ripuarian	Altenahr	unterm	t	unter
Ripuarian	Altenahr	unterdessen	t	unter
Ripuarian	Altenahr	unter	t	unter
Ripuarian	Altenahr	unterschiedliche	t	unter
Ripuarian	Altenahr	under	d	unter
Ripuarian	Altenahr	under	d	unter
Swabian	Augsburg	hinder	d	hinter
Swabian	Augsburg	tantz	t	Tanz
Swabian	Augsburg	Tantz	t	Tanz
Swabian	Augsburg	däntzen	d	Tanz
Swabian	Augsburg	dantzt	d	Tanz
Swabian	Augsburg	gedantzt	d	tanzen
Swabian	Augsburg	gedantzt	d	tanzen
Swabian	Augsburg	tochter	t	Tochter
Swabian	Augsburg	tochter	t	Tochter
Swabian	Augsburg	tochter	t	Tochter
Swabian	Augsburg	tochter	t	Tochter
Swabian	Augsburg	getrunkhen	t	trinken
Swabian	Augsburg	herunder	d	unter
Swabian	Augsburg	herunder	d	unter
Swabian	Augsburg	herunder	d	unter
Swabian	Augsburg	vntter	t	unter
Ripuarian	Blankenheim	hinden	d	hinten
Ripuarian	Blankenheim	hindersten	d	hinter
Ripuarian	Blankenheim	hinder	d	hinter
Ripuarian	Blankenheim	hinder	d	hinter
Ripuarian	Blankenheim	roden	d	rot
Ripuarian	Blankenheim	roedt	dt	rot
Ripuarian	Blankenheim	Zauberzdantz	d	Tanz
Ripuarian	Blankenheim	dantz	d	Tanz
Ripuarian	Blankenheim	dantz	d	Tanz
Ripuarian	Blankenheim	dantz	d	Tanz

Ripuarian	Blankenheim	dochter	d	Tochter
Ripuarian	Blankenheim	dochtern	d	Tochter
Ripuarian	Blankenheim	dochtern	d	Tochter
Ripuarian	Blankenheim	dochtter	d	Tochter
Ripuarian	Blankenheim	dochtter	d	Tochter
Ripuarian	Blankenheim	dochtter	d	Tochter
Ripuarian	Blankenheim	vorgetragen	t	tragen
Ripuarian	Blankenheim	getragen	t	tragen
Ripuarian	Blankenheim	Drunck	d	Trank
Ripuarian	Blankenheim	getruncken	t	trinken
Ripuarian	Blankenheim	getruncken	t	trinken
Ripuarian	Blankenheim	vnderschiedtlichen	d	unter
Ripuarian	Blankenheim	vnderthenig	d	unter
Ripuarian	Blankenheim	vnder	d	unter
Rhine-Franconian	Dieburg	hinden	d	hinten
Rhine-Franconian	Dieburg	hinderm	d	hinter
Rhine-Franconian	Dieburg	Hindern	d	Hintern
Rhine-Franconian	Dieburg	roden	d	rot
Rhine-Franconian	Dieburg	außgeschütt	t	schütten
Rhine-Franconian	Dieburg	tantz	t	Tanz
Rhine-Franconian	Dieburg	getanzt	t	tanzen
Rhine-Franconian	Dieburg	tantzen	t	tanzen
Rhine-Franconian	Dieburg	tanzten	t	tanzen
Rhine-Franconian	Dieburg	getanzt	t	tanzen
Rhine-Franconian	Dieburg	Dochter	d	Tochter
Rhine-Franconian	Dieburg	dochter	d	Tochter
Rhine-Franconian	Dieburg	dochter	d	Tochter
Rhine-Franconian	Dieburg	zugetragen	t	tragen
Rhine-Franconian	Dieburg	getragen	t	tragen
Rhine-Franconian	Dieburg	trinken	t	trinken
Rhine-Franconian	Dieburg	darunder	d	unter
Rhine-Franconian	Dieburg	under	d	unter
Rhine-Franconian	Dieburg	under	d	unter
Rhine-Franconian	Dieburg	underlaßen	d	unter
Rhine-Franconian	Dillenburg	vndersagtt	d	unter
Rhine-Franconian	Dillenburg	vnder	d	unter
Rhine-Franconian	Dillenburg	vnders	d	unter
Rhine-Franconian	Dillenburg	vnder	d	unter
Rhine-Franconian	Dillenburg	vnders	d	unter
Rhine-Franconian	Dillenburg	vnder	d	unter

Rhine-Franconian	Dillenburg	vnder	d	unter
Rhine-Franconian	Dillenburg	vnderthenig	d	unter
Rhine-Franconian	Dillenburg	vnderthenig	d	unter
Ripuarian	Erkelenz	hinder	d	hinter
Ripuarian	Erkelenz	Roeden	d	rot
Ripuarian	Erkelenz	roeden	d	rot
Ripuarian	Erkelenz	roedt	dt	rot
Ripuarian	Erkelenz	gescholden	d	schelten
Ripuarian	Erkelenz	gescholden	d	schelten
Ripuarian	Erkelenz	dochter	d	Tochter
Ripuarian	Erkelenz	dochter	d	Tochter
Ripuarian	Erkelenz	dochter	d	Tochter
Ripuarian	Erkelenz	vnderscheidtlichen	d	unter
Ripuarian	Erkelenz	vnder	d	unter
Ripuarian	Erkelenz	vnderredt	d	unter
Ripuarian	Erkelenz	vnder	d	unter
Mosel-Franconian	Fell	breide	d	breit
Mosel-Franconian	Fell	breiter	t	breit
Mosel-Franconian	Fell	hindren	d	Hintern
Mosel-Franconian	Fell	roden	d	rot
Mosel-Franconian	Fell	rod	d	rot
Mosel-Franconian	Fell	danz	d	Tanz
Mosel-Franconian	Fell	Danzplatzen	d	Tanz
Mosel-Franconian	Fell	danz	d	Tanz
Mosel-Franconian	Fell	danz	d	Tanz
Mosel-Franconian	Fell	danz	d	Tanz
Mosel-Franconian	Fell	gedanzt	d	tanzen
Mosel-Franconian	Fell	danzen	d	tanzen
Mosel-Franconian	Fell	gedanzt	d	tanzen
Mosel-Franconian	Fell	dragenden	d	tragen
Mosel-Franconian	Fell	drank	d	Trank
Mosel-Franconian	Fell	undengemelten	d	unten
Mosel-Franconian	Fell	undengemelten	d	unten
Mosel-Franconian	Fell	underworfen	d	unter
Mosel-Franconian	Fell	under	d	unter
Mosel-Franconian	Fell	underschitlich	d	unter
Mosel-Franconian	Fell	underschidlichen	d	unter
Ripuarian	Flamersheim	hinderrucks	d	hinter
Ripuarian	Flamersheim	hinderrucks	d	hinter
Ripuarian	Flamersheim	hinderrucks	d	hinter

Ripuarian	Flamersheim	hindersten	d	hinter
Ripuarian	Flamersheim	hinder	d	hinter
Ripuarian	Flamersheim	hinder	d	hinter
Ripuarian	Flamersheim	hinderen	d	Hintern
Ripuarian	Flamersheim	hinderen	d	Hintern
Ripuarian	Flamersheim	hinderen	d	Hintern
Ripuarian	Flamersheim	hinderen	d	Hintern
Ripuarian	Flamersheim	rodt	dt	rot
Ripuarian	Flamersheim	rodt	dt	rot
Ripuarian	Flamersheim	rodt	dt	rot
Ripuarian	Flamersheim	rod	d	rot
Ripuarian	Flamersheim	rode	d	rot
Ripuarian	Flamersheim	roden	d	rot
Ripuarian	Flamersheim	rode	d	rot
Ripuarian	Flamersheim	roedt	dt	rot
Ripuarian	Flamersheim	geschuttert	t	schütten
Ripuarian	Flamersheim	Tantzen	t	Tanz
Ripuarian	Flamersheim	Tantz	t	Tanz
Ripuarian	Flamersheim	tantz	t	Tanz
Ripuarian	Flamersheim	tantz	t	Tanz
Ripuarian	Flamersheim	Tantz	t	Tanz
Ripuarian	Flamersheim	tantz	t	Tanz
Ripuarian	Flamersheim	tantz	t	Tanz
Ripuarian	Flamersheim	tantz	t	Tanz
Ripuarian	Flamersheim	tantz	t	Tanz
Ripuarian	Flamersheim	tantz	t	Tanz
Ripuarian	Flamersheim	tantz	t	Tanz
Ripuarian	Flamersheim	tantz	t	Tanz
Ripuarian	Flamersheim	tantz	t	Tanz
Ripuarian	Flamersheim	tantz	t	Tanz
Ripuarian	Flamersheim	tantz	t	Tanz
Ripuarian	Flamersheim	tantz	t	Tanz
Ripuarian	Flamersheim	tantz	t	Tanz
Ripuarian	Flamersheim	tantz	t	Tanz
Ripuarian	Flamersheim	tantz	t	Tanz
Ripuarian	Flamersheim	tantz	t	Tanz

Ripuarian	Flamersheim	tantz	t	Tanz
Ripuarian	Flamersheim	tantz	t	Tanz
Ripuarian	Flamersheim	tantz	t	Tanz
Ripuarian	Flamersheim	tantz	t	Tanz
Ripuarian	Flamersheim	Teufelstantz	t	Tanz
Ripuarian	Flamersheim	tantz	t	Tanz
Ripuarian	Flamersheim	Tantzen	t	tanzen
Ripuarian	Flamersheim	Tantzen	t	tanzen
Ripuarian	Flamersheim	tantzen	t	tanzen
Ripuarian	Flamersheim	tantzen	t	tanzen
Ripuarian	Flamersheim	tantze	t	tanzen
Ripuarian	Flamersheim	tantze	t	tanzen
Ripuarian	Flamersheim	tantzen	t	tanzen
Ripuarian	Flamersheim	tantzen	t	tanzen
Ripuarian	Flamersheim	tantzen	t	tanzen
Ripuarian	Flamersheim	tantzen	t	tanzen
Ripuarian	Flamersheim	tantzen	t	tanzen
Ripuarian	Flamersheim	tantzen	t	tanzen
Ripuarian	Flamersheim	tantzen	t	tanzen
Ripuarian	Flamersheim	gedatzet	d	tanzen
Ripuarian	Flamersheim	dantzen	d	tanzen
Ripuarian	Flamersheim	dochter	d	Tochter
Ripuarian	Flamersheim	dochter	d	Tochter
Ripuarian	Flamersheim	dochter	d	Tochter
Ripuarian	Flamersheim	dochtterinne	d	Tochter
Ripuarian	Flamersheim	dochter	d	Tochter
Ripuarian	Flamersheim	dochter	d	Tochter
Ripuarian	Flamersheim	getragen	d	tragen
Ripuarian	Flamersheim	zugetragen	t	tragen
Ripuarian	Flamersheim	truncken	t	trinken
Ripuarian	Flamersheim	drincken	d	trinken
Ripuarian	Flamersheim	vnden	d	unten
Ripuarian	Flamersheim	vnden	d	unten
Ripuarian	Flamersheim	vnden	d	unten
Ripuarian	Flamersheim	hinunter	t	unter
Ripuarian	Flamersheim	herunder	d	unter
Ripuarian	Flamersheim	hinunder	d	unter
Ripuarian	Flamersheim	herunder	d	unter
Ripuarian	Flamersheim	vnder	d	unter
Ripuarian	Flamersheim	vnder	d	unter

Ripuarian	Flamersheim	vnder	d	unter
Ripuarian	Flamersheim	vnder	d	unter
Ripuarian	Flamersheim	vnder	d	unter
Ripuarian	Flamersheim	vnder	d	unter
Ripuarian	Flamersheim	vnder	d	unter
Ripuarian	Flamersheim	vnder	d	unter
Ripuarian	Flamersheim	vnder	d	unter
Ripuarian	Flamersheim	vnder	d	unter
Ripuarian	Flamersheim	vnder	d	unter
Ripuarian	Flamersheim	vnder	d	unter
Ripuarian	Flamersheim	vnderscheidlich	d	unter
Ripuarian	Flamersheim	vnderscheidlich	d	unter
Ripuarian	Flamersheim	vnderweilen	d	unter
Ripuarian	Flamersheim	vndergeben	d	unter
Ripuarian	Flamersheim	vnderscheidlich	d	unter
Ripuarian	Flamersheim	vnderwegs	d	unter
Ripuarian	Flamersheim	vnderscheidlich	d	unter
Ripuarian	Flamersheim	vnderscheidlich	d	unter
Ripuarian	Flamersheim	vnderfragt	d	unter
Ripuarian	Flamersheim	vnderscheidlichen	d	unter
Ripuarian	Flamersheim	vnderm	d	unter
Ripuarian	Flamersheim	vnderscheidlich	d	unter
Ripuarian	Flamersheim	vnderscheidlich	d	unter
Rhine-Franconian	Friedberg	hinder	d	hinter
Rhine-Franconian	Friedberg	hinder	d	hinter
Rhine-Franconian	Friedberg	rotte	t	rot
Rhine-Franconian	Friedberg	tantz	t	Tanz
Rhine-Franconian	Friedberg	tantz	t	Tanz
Rhine-Franconian	Friedberg	tantz	t	Tanz
Rhine-Franconian	Friedberg	tantz	t	Tanz
Rhine-Franconian	Friedberg	tantz	t	Tanz
Rhine-Franconian	Friedberg	tantz	t	Tanz
Rhine-Franconian	Friedberg	tantz	t	Tanz
Rhine-Franconian	Friedberg	tantz	t	Tanz
Rhine-Franconian	Friedberg	gedantzet	d	tanzen
Rhine-Franconian	Friedberg	tochtter	t	Tochter
Rhine-Franconian	Friedberg	getruncken	t	trinken
Rhine-Franconian	Friedberg	getruncken	t	trinken
Rhine-Franconian	Friedberg	truncken	t	trinken
Rhine-Franconian	Friedberg	truncken	t	trinken

Rhine-Franconian	Friedberg	trincken	t	trinken
Rhine-Franconian	Friedberg	druncken	d	trinken
Rhine-Franconian	Friedberg	gedruncken	d	trinken
Rhine-Franconian	Friedberg	vnderschidtlichen	d	unter
Rhine-Franconian	Friedberg	vnder	d	unter
Rhine-Franconian	Gaugrehweiler	dochterlein	d	Tochter
Rhine-Franconian	Gaugrehweiler	ausdragen	d	tragen
Rhine-Franconian	Gaugrehweiler	trincken	t	trinken
Rhine-Franconian	Gaugrehweiler	vnder	d	unter
Rhine-Franconian	Gaugrehweiler	vnder	d	unter
Swabian	Guenzburg	dahinden	d	hinten
Swabian	Guenzburg	Tanz	t	Tanz
Swabian	Guenzburg	Tanz	t	Tanz
Swabian	Guenzburg	Tänz	t	Tanz
Swabian	Guenzburg	tranckh	t	Trank
Swabian	Guenzburg	zuetrinckhen	t	trinken
Swabian	Guenzburg	getrunckhen	t	trinken
Swabian	Guenzburg	getrunckhen	t	trinken
Swabian	Guenzburg	drunckhen	d	trinken
Swabian	Guenzburg	vnder	d	unter
Swabian	Guenzburg	vnder	d	unter
Swabian	Guenzburg	vnder	d	unter
Mosel-Franconian	Hamm	rodt	dt	rot
Mosel-Franconian	Hamm	geschuett	t	schütten
Mosel-Franconian	Hamm	dantzplatzen	d	Tanz
Mosel-Franconian	Hamm	dantz	d	Tanz
Mosel-Franconian	Hamm	Dantz	d	Tanz
Mosel-Franconian	Hamm	danttz	d	Tanz
Mosel-Franconian	Hamm	dantzplatz	d	Tanz
Mosel-Franconian	Hamm	dantz	d	Tanz
Mosel-Franconian	Hamm	Dandtz	d	Tanz
Mosel-Franconian	Hamm	Dantzten	d	tanzen
Mosel-Franconian	Hamm	dochtergen	d	Tochter
Mosel-Franconian	Hamm	getragen	t	tragen
Mosel-Franconian	Hamm	druncken	d	trinken
Swabian	Hechingen	hind. d. ofen	d	hinter
Swabian	Hechingen	beschüttet	t	schütten
Swabian	Hechingen	Vmbgeschüttet	t	schütten
Swabian	Hechingen	hexentanz	t	Tanz
Swabian	Hechingen	Tanz	t	Tanz

Swabian	Hechingen	Tanz	t	Tanz
Swabian	Hechingen	Tanz	t	Tanz
Swabian	Hechingen	Tanz	t	Tanz
Swabian	Hechingen	Tanz	t	Tanz
Swabian	Hechingen	Tanz	t	Tanz
Swabian	Hechingen	Tanz	t	Tanz
Swabian	Hechingen	dantz	d	Tanz
Swabian	Hechingen	Vordantz	d	Tanz
Swabian	Hechingen	Danz	d	Tanz
Swabian	Hechingen	Danz	d	Tanz
Swabian	Hechingen	Danz	d	Tanz
Swabian	Hechingen	Danz	d	Tanz
Swabian	Hechingen	tanzt	t	tanzen
Swabian	Hechingen	gedanzt	t	tanzen
Swabian	Hechingen	gedantzet	d	tanzen
Swabian	Hechingen	gedanzt	d	tanzen
Swabian	Hechingen	gedanzet	d	tanzen
Swabian	Hechingen	tragen	t	tragen
Swabian	Hechingen	zugetragen	t	tragen
Swabian	Hechingen	trag	t	tragen
Swabian	Hechingen	Trunckhen	t	trinken
Swabian	Hechingen	vnder	d	unter
Swabian	Hechingen	vnder	d	unter
Swabian	Hechingen	vnder	d	unter
Swabian	Hechingen	vnder	d	unter
Swabian	Hechingen	vnder	d	unter
Swabian	Hechingen	vnderwegs	d	unter
Swabian	Hechingen	vndereinand	d	unter
Swabian	Hechingen	vnderschidlich	d	unter
Rhine-Franconian	Hoechst	hinden	d	hinten
Rhine-Franconian	Hoechst	hinder	d	hinter
Rhine-Franconian	Hoechst	rothe	t	rot
Rhine-Franconian	Hoechst	tantz	t	Tanz
Rhine-Franconian	Hoechst	tantz	t	Tanz
Rhine-Franconian	Hoechst	getantzt	t	tanzen
Rhine-Franconian	Hoechst	getruncken	t	trinken
Rhine-Franconian	Hoechst	vnderschieliche	d	unter
Rhine-Franconian	Hoechst	vnder	d	unter
Rhine-Franconian	Hoechst	vnder	d	unter
Rhine-Franconian	Hoechst	vnder	d	unter

Ripuarian	Koeln 1	hinderen	d	Hintern
Ripuarian	Koeln 1	danß	d	Tanz
Ripuarian	Koeln 1	danß	d	Tanz
Ripuarian	Koeln 1	danß	d	Tanz
Ripuarian	Koeln 1	danß	d	Tanz
Ripuarian	Koeln 1	danß	d	Tanz
Ripuarian	Koeln 1	danß	d	Tanz
Ripuarian	Koeln 1	danß	d	Tanz
Ripuarian	Koeln 1	danß	d	Tanz
Ripuarian	Koeln 1	dans	d	Tanz
Ripuarian	Koeln 1	dans	d	Tanz
Ripuarian	Koeln 1	denß	d	Tanz
Ripuarian	Koeln 1	denß	d	Tanz
Ripuarian	Koeln 1	danßens	d	tanzen
Ripuarian	Koeln 1	zudragen	d	tragen
Ripuarian	Koeln 1	gedragen	d	tragen
Ripuarian	Koeln 1	drincken	d	trinken
Ripuarian	Koeln 1	vnder	d	unter
Ripuarian	Koeln 1	vnderlaßen	d	unter
Ripuarian	Koeln 1	vnder	d	unter
Ripuarian	Koeln 2	hinderbringen	d	hinter
Ripuarian	Koeln 2	danß	d	Tanz
Ripuarian	Koeln 2	danß	d	Tanz
Ripuarian	Koeln 2	danß	d	Tanz
Ripuarian	Koeln 2	danß	d	Tanz
Ripuarian	Koeln 2	dochter	d	Tochter
Ripuarian	Koeln 2	dochter	d	Tochter
Ripuarian	Koeln 2	vortragen	t	tragen
Ripuarian	Koeln 2	vortragen	t	tragen
Ripuarian	Koeln 2	vortragen	t	tragen
Ripuarian	Koeln 2	vortragen	t	tragen
Ripuarian	Koeln 2	gedragen	d	tragen
Ripuarian	Koeln 2	drunck	d	Trank
Ripuarian	Koeln 2	drincen	d	tranken
Ripuarian	Koeln 2	vnden	d	unten
Ripuarian	Koeln 2	vnden	d	unten
Ripuarian	Koeln 2	vnden	d	unten
Ripuarian	Koeln 2	vnder	d	unter
Ripuarian	Koeln 2	vnder	d	unter
Ripuarian	Koeln 2	vnder	d	unter

Ripuarian	Koeln 2	vnder	d	unter
Ripuarian	Koeln 2	vnder	d	unter
Ripuarian	Koeln 2	vnderredung	d	unter
Rhine-Franconian	Lemberg	hinder	d	hinter
Rhine-Franconian	Lemberg	hinder	d	hinter
Rhine-Franconian	Lemberg	rodt	dt	rot
Rhine-Franconian	Lemberg	einschütten	t	schütten
Rhine-Franconian	Lemberg	geschütt	t	schütten
Rhine-Franconian	Lemberg	eingeschüttet	t	schütten
Rhine-Franconian	Lemberg	geschütt	t	schütten
Rhine-Franconian	Lemberg	einschüttung	t	schütten
Rhine-Franconian	Lemberg	tranck	t	Trank
Rhine-Franconian	Lemberg	tranck	t	Trank
Rhine-Franconian	Lemberg	tranckh	t	Trank
Rhine-Franconian	Lemberg	tranck	t	Trank
Rhine-Franconian	Lemberg	trancks	t	Trank
Rhine-Franconian	Lemberg	herunder	d	unter
Rhine-Franconian	Lemberg	herunder	d	unter
Rhine-Franconian	Lemberg	herunder	d	unter
Rhine-Franconian	Lemberg	herunder	d	unter
Rhine-Franconian	Lemberg	herunder	d	unter
Rhine-Franconian	Lemberg	vnder	d	unter
Swabian	Leonberg	dantz	d	Tanz
Swabian	Leonberg	Däntz	d	Tanz
Swabian	Leonberg	vnderschidliche	d	unter
Swabian	Leonberg	vnder	d	unter
Ripuarian	Linz	hinder	d	hinter
Ripuarian	Linz	dantz	d	Tanz
Ripuarian	Linz	dantz	d	Tanz
Ripuarian	Linz	dantz	d	Tanz
Ripuarian	Linz	dentz	d	Tanz
Ripuarian	Linz	Stieftochter	t	Tochter
Ripuarian	Linz	furdochter	d	Tochter
Ripuarian	Linz	vortragen	t	tragen
Ripuarian	Linz	vortragen	t	tragen
Ripuarian	Linz	vnderschiedlichen	d	unter
Mosel-Franconian	Mandern	hinder	d	hinter
Mosel-Franconian	Mandern	hinder	d	hinter
Mosel-Franconian	Mandern	rode	d	rot
Mosel-Franconian	Mandern	rodt	dt	rot

Mosel-Franconian	Mandern	rode	d	rot
Mosel-Franconian	Mandern	eingeschut	t	schütten
Mosel-Franconian	Mandern	ingeschut	t	schütten
Mosel-Franconian	Mandern	ingeschut	t	schütten
Mosel-Franconian	Mandern	Dantz	d	Tanz
Mosel-Franconian	Mandern	Dantz	d	Tanz
Mosel-Franconian	Mandern	Dantz	d	Tanz
Mosel-Franconian	Mandern	Dantz	d	Tanz
Mosel-Franconian	Mandern	Dantz	d	Tanz
Mosel-Franconian	Mandern	Dantz	d	Tanz
Mosel-Franconian	Mandern	Dantz	d	Tanz
Mosel-Franconian	Mandern	gedantzt	d	tanzen
Mosel-Franconian	Mandern	gedantz	d	tanzen
Mosel-Franconian	Mandern	tranck	t	Trank
Mosel-Franconian	Mandern	Tranck	t	Trank
Mosel-Franconian	Mandern	Tranck	t	Trank
Mosel-Franconian	Mandern	Tranck	t	Trank
Mosel-Franconian	Mandern	tranck	t	Trank
Mosel-Franconian	Mandern	Tranck	t	Trank
Mosel-Franconian	Mandern	Tranck	t	Trank
Mosel-Franconian	Mandern	getruncken	t	trinken
Mosel-Franconian	Mandern	trincken	t	trinken
Mosel-Franconian	Mandern	trincken	t	trinken
Mosel-Franconian	Mandern	Vnderschriebener	d	unter
Mosel-Franconian	Mandern	underschriebene	d	unter
Mosel-Franconian	Mandern	undereinander	d	unter
Mosel-Franconian	Mandern	understanden	d	unter
Mosel-Franconian	Mandern	underschiedlich	d	unter
Mosel-Franconian	Mandern	underschiedlich	d	unter
Swabian	Memmingen	Roth	t	rot
Swabian	Memmingen	hinunder	d	unter
Swabian	Memmingen	hinunder	d	unter
Swabian	Memmingen	hinunder	d	unter
Swabian	Memmingen	vnderlegt	d	unter
Swabian	Memmingen	vnder	d	unter
Swabian	Memmingen	vnderschidlich	d	unter
Swabian	Memmingen	vnderschreibung	d	unter
Swabian	Memmingen	vnderschidlich	d	unter
Mosel-Franconian	Neuerburg	hinderlaßene	d	hinter
Mosel-Franconian	Neuerburg	roder	d	rot

Mosel-Franconian	Neuerburg	roden	d	rot
Mosel-Franconian	Neuerburg	rodt	dt	rot
Mosel-Franconian	Neuerburg	schelten	t	schelten
Mosel-Franconian	Neuerburg	Teufelstanzplätzen	t	Tanz
Mosel-Franconian	Neuerburg	dantzplatzen	d	Tanz
Mosel-Franconian	Neuerburg	dantzplatz	d	Tanz
Mosel-Franconian	Neuerburg	dantz	d	Tanz
Mosel-Franconian	Neuerburg	dantzplatz	d	Tanz
Mosel-Franconian	Neuerburg	dantzplatzen	d	Tanz
Mosel-Franconian	Neuerburg	dantzplatzen	d	Tanz
Mosel-Franconian	Neuerburg	dantzplatzen	d	Tanz
Mosel-Franconian	Neuerburg	dantzplatz	d	Tanz
Mosel-Franconian	Neuerburg	dantzplatzen	d	Tanz
Mosel-Franconian	Neuerburg	gedantzet	d	tanzen
Mosel-Franconian	Neuerburg	dantzen	d	tanzen
Mosel-Franconian	Neuerburg	gedantzet	d	tanzen
Mosel-Franconian	Neuerburg	vffgetragen	t	tragen
Mosel-Franconian	Neuerburg	getragen	t	tragen
Mosel-Franconian	Neuerburg	tragen	t	tragen
Mosel-Franconian	Neuerburg	tragen	t	tragen
Mosel-Franconian	Neuerburg	vnden	d	unten
Mosel-Franconian	Neuerburg	vnder	d	unter
Mosel-Franconian	Neuerburg	vndernohmmen	d	unter
Mosel-Franconian	Neuerburg	vnderworffen	d	unter
Mosel-Franconian	Neuerburg	vnderwerffen	d	unter
Swabian	Noerdlingen	Danz	d	Tanz
Swabian	Noerdlingen	Trinckhstubenn	t	trinken
Swabian	Noerdlingen	vnder	d	unter
Swabian	Noerdlingen	Vnderschaid	d	unter
Mosel-Franconian	Rhens	roden	d	rot
Mosel-Franconian	Rhens	roden	d	rot
Mosel-Franconian	Rhens	roden	d	rot
Mosel-Franconian	Rhens	roden	d	rot
Mosel-Franconian	Rhens	eingeschutt	t	schütten
Mosel-Franconian	Rhens	dantz	d	Tanz
Mosel-Franconian	Rhens	dantz	d	Tanz
Mosel-Franconian	Rhens	dentze	d	Tanz
Mosel-Franconian	Rhens	dentz	d	Tanz
Mosel-Franconian	Rhens	dentz	d	Tanz
Mosel-Franconian	Rhens	dochter	d	Tochter

Mosel-Franconian	Rhens	trunck	t	Trank
Mosel-Franconian	Rhens	zutrincken	t	trinken
Mosel-Franconian	Rhens	trincken	t	trinken
Swabian	Riedlingen	rotlet	t	rot
Swabian	Riedlingen	Tanzet	t	tanzen
Swabian	Riedlingen	gedanzet	d	tanzen
Swabian	Riedlingen	Tochter	t	Tochter
Swabian	Riedlingen	getragen	t	tragen
Swabian	Riedlingen	tragen	t	tragen
Swabian	Riedlingen	trunckhen	t	trinken
Swabian	Riedlingen	vnden	d	unten
Swabian	Riedlingen	vnderschidliche	d	unter
Swabian	Riedlingen	vnderwisen	d	unter
Swabian	Riedlingen	vnder	d	unter
Swabian	Riedlingen	vnderwißn	d	unter
Swabian	Riedlingen	vnderschidlichen	d	unter
Swabian	Riedlingen	vnder	d	unter
Swabian	Rottweil	Tanz	t	Tanz
Swabian	Rottweil	dantz	d	Tanz
Swabian	Rottweil	getantzt	t	tanzen
Swabian	Rottweil	getanzt	t	tanzen
Swabian	Rottweil	getanzt	t	tanzen
Swabian	Rottweil	Tochterman	t	Tochter
Swabian	Rottweil	Tochter	t	Tochter
Swabian	Rottweil	trinckhen	t	trinken
Swabian	Rottweil	trunckhen	t	trinken
Swabian	Rottweil	trunckhen	t	trinken
Swabian	Rottweil	trunckhen	t	trinken
Swabian	Rottweil	underwegs	d	unter
Swabian	Rottweil	under	d	unter
Swabian	Rottweil	under	d	unter
Swabian	Rottweil	under	d	unter
Swabian	Rottweil	under	d	unter
Mosel-Franconian	St Maximin	roth	t	rot
Mosel-Franconian	St Maximin	Tantz	t	Tanz
Mosel-Franconian	St Maximin	Tantz	t	Tanz
Mosel-Franconian	St Maximin	Tantz	t	Tanz
Mosel-Franconian	St Maximin	Tantz	t	Tanz
Mosel-Franconian	St Maximin	Tantzplatzen	t	Tanz
Mosel-Franconian	St Maximin	Tantzplatzen	t	Tanz

Mosel-Franconian	St Maximin	getanzt	t	tanzen
Mosel-Franconian	St Maximin	Tochter	t	Tochter
Mosel-Franconian	St Maximin	hingetragen	t	tragen
Mosel-Franconian	St Maximin	Trank	t	Trank
Mosel-Franconian	St Maximin	Trank	t	Trank
Mosel-Franconian	St Maximin	getrunken	t	trinken
Mosel-Franconian	St Maximin	untengedachte	t	unten
Mosel-Franconian	Trier 1	breittenn	t	breit
Mosel-Franconian	Trier 1	breittenn	t	breit
Mosel-Franconian	Trier 1	breittenn	t	breit
Mosel-Franconian	Trier 1	hindersten	d	hinter
Mosel-Franconian	Trier 1	hinder	d	hinter
Mosel-Franconian	Trier 1	hinder	d	hinter
Mosel-Franconian	Trier 1	hinderhaltten	d	hinter
Mosel-Franconian	Trier 1	hinder	d	hinter
Mosel-Franconian	Trier 1	hinderhaltten	d	hinter
Mosel-Franconian	Trier 1	hinderhaltten	d	hinter
Mosel-Franconian	Trier 1	geschuet	t	schütten
Mosel-Franconian	Trier 1	Dantz	d	Tanz
Mosel-Franconian	Trier 1	Dantz	d	Tanz
Mosel-Franconian	Trier 1	Dantzplatzen	d	Tanz
Mosel-Franconian	Trier 1	Dantzplatzen	d	Tanz
Mosel-Franconian	Trier 1	Dantz	d	Tanz
Mosel-Franconian	Trier 1	Dantz	d	Tanz
Mosel-Franconian	Trier 1	getantzt	t	tanzen
Mosel-Franconian	Trier 1	getantzt	t	tanzen
Mosel-Franconian	Trier 1	getantzet	t	tanzen
Mosel-Franconian	Trier 1	getantzet	t	tanzen
Mosel-Franconian	Trier 1	gedantzt	d	tanzen
Mosel-Franconian	Trier 1	gedantzt	d	tanzen
Mosel-Franconian	Trier 1	gedantzt	d	tanzen
Mosel-Franconian	Trier 1	gedantzt	d	tanzen
Mosel-Franconian	Trier 1	gedantzet	d	tanzen
Mosel-Franconian	Trier 1	gedantzet	d	tanzen
Mosel-Franconian	Trier 1	gedantzet	d	tanzen
Mosel-Franconian	Trier 1	gedantzt	d	tanzen
Mosel-Franconian	Trier 1	gedantzt	d	tanzen
Mosel-Franconian	Trier 1	Tochtter	t	Tochter
Mosel-Franconian	Trier 1	Dochtter	d	Tochter
Mosel-Franconian	Trier 1	Dochtter	d	Tochter

Mosel-Franconian	Trier 1	Dochtter	d	Tochter
Mosel-Franconian	Trier 1	Dochtter	d	Tochter
Mosel-Franconian	Trier 1	Dochtter	d	Tochter
Mosel-Franconian	Trier 1	Dochtter	d	Tochter
Mosel-Franconian	Trier 1	Dragenn	d	tragen
Mosel-Franconian	Trier 1	vurgedragenn	d	tragen
Mosel-Franconian	Trier 1	dragen	d	tragen
Mosel-Franconian	Trier 1	vurdragen	d	tragen
Mosel-Franconian	Trier 1	drinckenn	d	trinken
Mosel-Franconian	Trier 1	drinckenn	d	trinken
Mosel-Franconian	Trier 1	herunder	d	unter
Mosel-Franconian	Trier 1	herunder	d	unter
Mosel-Franconian	Trier 1	herunder	d	unter
Mosel-Franconian	Trier 1	herunder	d	unter
Mosel-Franconian	Trier 1	herunder	d	unter
Mosel-Franconian	Trier 1	darunder	d	unter
Mosel-Franconian	Trier 1	darunder	d	unter
Mosel-Franconian	Trier 1	vnderweißenn	d	unter
Mosel-Franconian	Trier 1	vnder	d	unter
Mosel-Franconian	Trier 1	vnder	d	unter
Mosel-Franconian	Trier 1	vnderredt	d	unter
Mosel-Franconian	Trier 1	vnderredt	d	unter
Mosel-Franconian	Trier 1	vndersagtt	d	unter
Mosel-Franconian	Trier 1	vnder	d	unter
Mosel-Franconian	Trier 1	vnder	d	unter
Mosel-Franconian	Trier 1	vnder	d	unter
Mosel-Franconian	Trier 1	vnder	d	unter
Mosel-Franconian	Trier 1	vndermischett	d	unter
Mosel-Franconian	Trier 1	vnderthienigst	d	unter
Mosel-Franconian	Trier 1	vnderstandenn	d	unter
Mosel-Franconian	Trier 1	vnderschiedtlichenn	d	unter
Mosel-Franconian	Trier 1	vnder	d	unter
Mosel-Franconian	Trier 2	hinden	d	hinten
Mosel-Franconian	Trier 2	hintersten	t	hinter
Mosel-Franconian	Trier 2	hinderhalten	d	hinter
Mosel-Franconian	Trier 2	hintersten	t	hinter
Mosel-Franconian	Trier 2	hinder	d	hinter
Mosel-Franconian	Trier 2	rothen	t	rot
Mosel-Franconian	Trier 2	eingeschüttet	t	schütten
Mosel-Franconian	Trier 2	Tanz	t	Tanz

Mosel-Franconian	Trier 2	gedantzt	d	tanzen
Mosel-Franconian	Trier 2	dantzen	d	tanzen
Mosel-Franconian	Trier 2	zugedragen	d	tragen
Mosel-Franconian	Trier 2	Drank	d	Trank
Mosel-Franconian	Trier 2	getrunken	t	trinken
Mosel-Franconian	Trier 2	gedroncken	d	trinken
Mosel-Franconian	Trier 2	herunter	t	unter
Mosel-Franconian	Trier 2	unter	t	unter
Mosel-Franconian	Trier 2	unternommen	t	unter
Mosel-Franconian	Trier 2	heruntergelassen	t	unter
Mosel-Franconian	Trier 2	darunter	t	unter
Mosel-Franconian	Trier 2	underweilen	d	unter
Mosel-Franconian	Trier 2	under	d	unter
Rhine-Franconian	Wadgassen	hinter	t	hinter
Rhine-Franconian	Wadgassen	roht	t	rot
Rhine-Franconian	Wadgassen	geschüttet	t	schütten
Rhine-Franconian	Wadgassen	getragen	t	tragen
Rhine-Franconian	Wadgassen	getragen	t	tragen
Rhine-Franconian	Wadgassen	trank	t	Trank
Rhine-Franconian	Wadgassen	trank	t	Trank
Rhine-Franconian	Wadgassen	tranck	t	Trank
Rhine-Franconian	Wadgassen	Tranck	t	Trank
Rhine-Franconian	Wadgassen	trank	t	Trank
Rhine-Franconian	Wadgassen	unden	d	unten
Rhine-Franconian	Wadgassen	unter	t	unter
Rhine-Franconian	Wadgassen	unterworfen	t	unter
Rhine-Franconian	Wadgassen	unterschriebener	t	unter
Rhine-Franconian	Wittgenstein	hinder	d	hinter
Rhine-Franconian	Wittgenstein	hinden	d	hinter
Rhine-Franconian	Wittgenstein	roten	t	rot
Rhine-Franconian	Wittgenstein	geschüttet	t	schütten
Rhine-Franconian	Wittgenstein	tantz	t	Tanz
Rhine-Franconian	Wittgenstein	tantz	t	Tanz
Rhine-Franconian	Wittgenstein	dantz	d	Tanz
Rhine-Franconian	Wittgenstein	deufelsdantz	d	Tanz
Rhine-Franconian	Wittgenstein	dantz	d	Tanz
Rhine-Franconian	Wittgenstein	dantz	d	Tanz
Rhine-Franconian	Wittgenstein	tantzen	t	tanzen
Rhine-Franconian	Wittgenstein	gedanzt	d	tanzen
Rhine-Franconian	Wittgenstein	getragen	t	tragen

Rhine-Franconian	Wittgenstein	getruncken	t	trinken
Rhine-Franconian	Wittgenstein	getruncken	t	trinken
Rhine-Franconian	Wittgenstein	trinken	t	trinken
Rhine-Franconian	Wittgenstein	drinken	d	trinken
Rhine-Franconian	Wittgenstein	vnderdeßen	d	unter
Rhine-Franconian	Wittgenstein	vnder	d	unter
Ripuarian	Zuelpich	hinder	d	hinter
Ripuarian	Zuelpich	hinder	d	hinter
Ripuarian	Zuelpich	hinderst	d	hinter
Ripuarian	Zuelpich	hinder	d	hinter
Ripuarian	Zuelpich	hinder	d	hinter
Ripuarian	Zuelpich	roder	d	rot
Ripuarian	Zuelpich	roder	d	rot
Ripuarian	Zuelpich	dantz	d	Tanz
Ripuarian	Zuelpich	dantz	d	Tanz
Ripuarian	Zuelpich	dantz	d	Tanz
Ripuarian	Zuelpich	dantz	d	Tanz
Ripuarian	Zuelpich	dantz	d	Tanz
Ripuarian	Zuelpich	dantz	d	Tanz
Ripuarian	Zuelpich	dantz	d	Tanz
Ripuarian	Zuelpich	dantz	d	Tanz
Ripuarian	Zuelpich	dantz	d	Tanz
Ripuarian	Zuelpich	dentzen	d	Tanz
Ripuarian	Zuelpich	dantzden	d	tanzen
Ripuarian	Zuelpich	dantzen	d	tanzen
Ripuarian	Zuelpich	tragen	t	tragen
Ripuarian	Zuelpich	trankh	t	tragen
Ripuarian	Zuelpich	vnder	d	unter
Ripuarian	Zuelpich	vnder	d	unter
Ripuarian	Zuelpich	vnder	d	unter
Ripuarian	Zuelpich	vnder	d	unter

Glossary

Temporal Distinctions

ENHG	Early New High German	MHG	Middle High German
OHG	Old High German	NHG	New High German

Spatial Distinctions

MG	Middle German	UG	Upper German
WMG	West Middle German	EMG	East Middle German
EUG	East Upper German	WUG	West Upper German
LG	Low German	Engl.	English

Grammatical Terms

Pret.	Preterit	Pres.	Present tense
Gen.	Genitive	Dat.	Dative
Nom.	Nominative	Acc.	Accusative
Sg.	Singular	Pl.	Plural
Ind.	Indicative	Subj.	Subjunctive

Symbols

/ /	Phoneme (sound)
< >	Grapheme (letter)

References

ADELUNG, JOHANN CHRISTOPH. 1781. *Über die Geschichte der deutschen Sprache.* Reprint 1975. Frankfurt a.M.: Minerva.

ADELUNG, JOHANN CHRISTOPH. 1806. *Älteste Geschichte der Deutschen, ihrer Sprache und Litteratur bis zur Völkerwanderung.* Reprint 2011. Charleston: Nabu.

AMMON, ULRICH/ DITTMAR, NORBERT/ MATTHEIER, KLAUS J. (Eds.). 1988. *Sociolinguistics/ Soziolinguistik: An international handbook for the science of language and society.* Berlin/ New York: De Gruyter.

AMMON, ULRICH. 1995. *Die deutsche Sprache in Deutschland, Österreich und der Schweiz. Das Problem der nationalen Varietäten*. Berlin/ New York: De Gruyter.

AUER, ANITA/ PEERSMAN, CATHARINA/ PICKÖ, SIMON/ RUTTEN, GIJSBERT/ VOSTERS, RIK. 2015. "Historical sociolinguistics: the field and its future." *Journal of Historical Sociolinguistics 1(1).* 1-12.

BALAN, MARIE LUISE. 1969. "Zur Neuhochdeutschen Diphthongierung im Kölner Buch Weinsberg." *Rheinische Vierteljahrsblätter 33*. 336-387.

BANSA, HELMUT. 1968. *Studien zur Kanzlei Kaiser Ludwigs des Bayern vom Tag der Wahl bis zur Rückkehr aus Italien (1314-1329).* München: Kallmünz.

BÄR, JOCHEN A. 2004. *Thesen zur Entstehung der neuhochdeutschen Schriftsprache. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Sprachgeschichtswissenschaft.* http://www.baer-linguistik.de/beitraege/thesen.pdf. Heidelberg.

BARTELD, FABIAN. 2016. *Automatische Identifikation von Schreibvarianten in frühneuhochdeutschen Hexenverhörprotokollen*. Talk given at: Tagung "Hexenverhörprotokolle," Hamburg, December 2016.

BENECKE, GERHARD. 1974. *Society and Politics in Germany, 1500-1750*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

BERG, IVAR. 2016. "A note on the relationship between Scandinavian and Low German." *Journal of Historical Sociolinguistics* 2/2. 189-210.

BESCH, WERNER. 1967. *Sprachlandschaften und Sprachausgleich im 15. Jahrhundert*. München: Francke.

BESCH, WERNER. 1979. "Zur Bestimmung von Regularitäten bei den schriftsprachlichen Ausgleichsvorgängen im Frühneuhochdeutschen." *Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie* 98. 130–150.

BESCH, WERNER. 1985. "Die Entstehung und Ausformung der neuhochdeutschen Schriftsprache/Standardsprache." *Sprachgeschichte. Ein Handbuch zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und ihrer Erforschung.* Werner Besch/Oskar Reichmann/Stefan Sonderegger (Eds.). Berlin/New York: De Gruyter. 1781-1810.

BESCH, WERNER. 2000. *Die Rolle Luthers in der deutschen Sprachgeschichte*. 2nd edition. Heidelberg: Winter.

BESCH, WERNER. 2014. *Luther und die Deutsche Sprache. 500 Jahre deutsche Sprachgeschichte im Lichte der neueren Forschung*. Berlin: Schmidt.

BESCH, WERNER/ BETTEN, ANNE/ REICHMANN, OSKAR/ SONDEREGGER, STEFAN. 1998. *Sprachgeschichte: Ein Handbuch zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Ihrer Erforschung*. 2nd Edition. Berlin/ New York: De Gruyter.

BOAS, HANS. 2002. "The Texas German Dialect Archive as a Tool for Analyzing Sound Change," *Proceedings of the International Workshop on Resources and Tools in Field Linguistics held in conjunction with the Third International Conference on Language Resources and Evaluation.* Austin, P., H. A. Dry, and P. Wittenburg (Eds.). Las Palmas, Spain.

BOAS, HANS and FINGERHUTH, MATTHIAS. 2017. "'I am proud of my language but I speak it less and less!' – Der Einfluss von Spracheinstellungen und Sprachgebrauch auf den Spracherhalt von Heritage-Sprechern des Texasdeutschen." In *Linguistische Berichte* 249. 95-121.

BOAS, HANS and PIERCE, MARC. 2017. "Preface." *Directions of Historical Linguistics* (reprint). Winfred P. Lehmann and Yakov Malkiel (Eds.). Leiden: Brill.

BURDACH, KONRAD. 1884. "Die Einigung der neuhochdeutschen Schriftsprache. Einleitung: Das sechzehnte Jahrhundert." *Vorspiel. Gesammelte Schriften zur Geschichte des deutschen Geistes.* Volume 1.2. 1925. Konrad Burdach (Ed.). Halle/Saale: Niemeyer. 1-33.

BURINGH, ELTJO and VON ZANDEN, JAN LUITEN. 2009. "Charting the 'Rise of the West': Manuscripts and Printed Books in Europe, A Long-Term Perspective from the Sixth through Eighteenth Centuries." *The Journal of Economic History, 69/02*. 409-445.

BYBEE, JOAN. 2007. *Frequency of Use and the Organization of Language*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

CAMPBELL, LYLE. 2013. *Historical Linguistics: An Introduction*. Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press.

CEDERGREN, HENRIETTA and SANKOFF, DAVID. 1974. "Variable rules: performances as a statistical reflection of competence." *Language 50*. 333-355.

CHOMSKY, NOAM. 1976. "Language and Responsibilty." *On Language* 1998. New York: The New Press.

DAILEY-O'CAIN, JENNIFER and LIPPI-GREEN, ROSINA. 1998. "*Soziolinguistik* or Sociolinguistics: Can the great divide be bridged?" Review article of Stevenson 1995. *American Journal of Germanic Linguistics and Literature 10/1*. 107-127.

DAVIES, STEFFAN/ LANGER, NILS/ VANDENBUSSCHE, WIM. 2012. "Language and History, Linguistics and Historiography: Interdisciplinary Problems and Opportunities." *Language and History, Linguistics and Historiography.* Langer, Davis and Vandenbussche (Eds.). Frankfurt a.M.: Peter Lang. 3-14.

DECAMP, DAVID. 1970. "Is a Sociolinguistic Theory Possible?" *Monograph Series on Languages and Linguistics 22*. James E. Alatis (Ed.). Washington D.C.: Georgtown University Press. 157-168.

DEUMERT, ANA. 2004. *Language Standardization and Language Change*. Amsterdam/ Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

EGENOLF, JOHANN AUGUST. 1735. *Historie der Teutschen Sprache.* Leipzig.

EGGERS, HANS. 1986. *Deutsche Sprachgeschichte*. Reinbek bei Hamburg: Rowohlt.

EBERT, ROBERT/ REICHMANN, OSKAR/ SOLMS, HANS-JOACHIM/ WEGERA , KLAUS-PETER. 1993. *Frühneuhochdeutsche Grammatik*. Tübingen: Niemeyer.

ELSPAß, STEPHAN. 2005. *Sprachgeschichte von unten. Untersuchungen zum geschriebenen Alltagsdeutsch im 19. Jahrhundert*. Tübingen: Niemeyer.

ELSPAß, STEPHAN. 2005b. "Standardisierung des Deutschen. Ansichten Aus der neueren Sprachgeschichte von Unten." *Standardvariation. Wieviel Variation verträgt die deutsche Sprache?*. Ludwig Eichinger and Werner Kallmeyer (Eds.). Berlin/ New York: De Gruyter. 63-99.

ELSPAß, STEPHAN. 2014. "Prescriptive norms and norms of usage in nineteenth-century German." *Norms and usage in language history, 1600–1900. A sociolinguistic and comparative perspective*. Gijsbert Rutten / Rik Vosters / Wim Vandenbussche (Eds.). Amsterdam, Philadelphia: Benjamins. 303–320.

ENGELBRECHT, JÖRG. 1999. "Krone und Exil. Das Haus Wittelsbach in der deutschen und europäischen Politik (1679-1761)." *Im Wechselspiel der Kräfte. Politische*

Entwicklungen des 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts in Kurköln. Frank Günter Zehnder (Ed.). Köln: Dumont. 9-22.

ENGELSING, ROLF. 1970. "Die Perioden der Lesergeschichte in der frühen Neuzeit." *AGB* 10. 945-1002.

FERGUSON, CHARLES A. 1959. "Diglossia." *Word* 15. 325-340.

FERTIG, DAVID. 1998. "The ge- Participle Prefix in Early New High German and the Modern Dialects." *Journal of Germanic Linguistics* 10/ 2. 237-278.

FIEHLER, REINHARD/ BARDEN, BIRGIT/ ELSTERMANN, MECHTHILD/ KRAFT, BARBARA. 2004. *Eigenschaften gesprochener Sprache.* Tübingen: Narr.

FRANGK, FABIAN. 1531. *Orthographia*. Speyer: Cammerlander.

FRINGS, THEODOR. 1936. *Die Grundlagen des Meißnischen Deutsch. Ein Beitrag zur Entstehungsgeschichte der deutschen Hochsprache.* Halle/ Saale: Niemeyer.

FRINGS, THEODOR. 1957. *Grundlegungen einer Geschichte der deutschen Sprache.* Halle/ Saale: Niemeyer.

FUCHS, KATRIN. 2012. *Die Entwicklung der ripuarischen Schriftsprache im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert*. Unpublished State Exam Thesis. University of Heidelberg, Germany.

FUCHS, KATRIN and FINGERHUTH, MATTHIAS. 2016. "The Individual in Language History: A case study of an orthographic idiolect in 17th century German." Talk given at the *Berkeley Germanic Linguistic Roundtable*. April 1, 2016.

GIBSON, MAIK. 2006. "Implicational scale." *Encyclopedia of Arabic language and linguistics 2*. Kees Versteegh, Mushira Eid, and Alaa Elgibali (Eds.). Leiden: Brill. 318-325.

GRAEBNER, THEODORE. 2013. *A Commentary on St. Paul's Epistle to the Galatians* (Martin Luther). New Edition. Canton: Pinnacle Press.

GRIMM, JACOB. 1819. *Deutsche Grammatik.* Göttingen: Dieterichsche Buchhandlung.

GUILEY, ROSEMARY. 2008. *The Encyclopedia of Witches, Witchcraft, and Wicca*. 3rd Edition. New York: Infobase.

HANSEN, JOSEPH. 1900. *Zauberwahn, Inquisition und Hexenprozess im Mittelalter*. München/ Leipzig: Oldenbourg Verlag.

HARTWEG, FRÉDÉRIC and WEGERA, KLAUS-PETER. 2005. *Frühneuhochdeutsch*. Tübingen: Niemeyer.

HAUGEN, EINAR. 1966. "Dialect, Language, Nation." *American Anthropologist* 68. 922-935.

HAUPT, THEODOR. 1823. "Ein Hexen-Proceß aus dem Moselthale." *Mosella* 10/ 3. 301-305.

HEHL, ULRICH VON. 1987. "Hexenprozesse und Geschichtswissenschaften." *Historisches Jahrbuch 107*. 349-375.

HENNIG, BEATE. 2001. *Kleines Mittelhochdeutsches Wörterbuch*. 4th edition. Tübingen: Niemeyer.

HENNINGS, THORDIS. 2003. *Einführung in das Mittelhochdeutsche.* Berlin/ New York: De Gruyter.

HERNÁNDEZ-CAMPOY, Juan and CONDE-SILVESTRE, J. Camilo (Eds.). 2012. *The Handbook of Historical Sociolinguistics*. Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell.

HERNÁNDEZ-CAMPOY, Juan and SCHILLING, Natalie. 2012. "The application of the quantitive paradigm to historical sociolinguistics: Problems with the generalizability principle." *The Handbook of Historical Sociolinguistics*. Hernández-Campoy and Conde-Silvestre (Eds.). Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell. 63-79.

HEUSI, KARL and MULERT, HERMANN. 1905. *Atlas zur Kirchengeschichte*. Tübingen: Mohr.

HILDEBRANDT, REINER. 1998. "Der Beitrag der Sprachgeographie zur Sprachgeschichtsforschung." *Sprachgeschichte: Ein Handbuch zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Ihrer Erforschung*. Besch et al. (Eds.). Berlin/ New York: De Gruyter.

HILLE, IRIS. 2009. *Der Teufelspakt in frühneuzeitlichen Verhörprotokollen*. Berlin/ New York: de Gruyter.

HOFFMANN, WALTER. 2000. "Rheinische Sprachgeschichte im 16. Jahrhundert." *Rheinisch-Westfälische Sprachgeschichte.* Ed. Jürgen Macha, Elmar Neuss, Robert Peters. Köln, Weimar, Wien: Böhlau. 123-138.

HUGHES, MICHAEL. 1992. *Early Modern Germany, 1477-1806*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

ICKELSAMER, VALENTIN. 1534. *Teutsche Grammatica*. Reprint 2010. Ludwig Kohler (Ed.). Whitefish: Kessigner.

JANKOWSKY, KURT. 1995. "Vorwort." Wilhelm Scherer: Zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache. Amsterdam Classics in Linguistics. Amsterdam/ Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

JELEN, BILL and ALEXANDER, MICHAEL. 2016. *Excel 2016 pivot table data crunching*. Indianapolis: Que Publishing.

KÖNIG, WERNER. 2015. *dtv-Atlas Deutsche Sprache.* 18th Edition. München: dtv.

KURZON, DENNIS. 2013. "Foreign and archaic phrases in legal texts." *International Journal of Speech, Language, and the Law.* Vol. 20/1. 117-142.

KYES, ROBERT L. 1985 "Principles, Traditions, and Phonological Restoration." *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen.* Vol. 86/4. 433-441.

LABOV, WILLIAM. 1963. "The Social Motivation of Sound Change." *Word* 19. 273-309.

LABOV, WILLIAM. 1966. "Hypercorrection by the Lower Middle Class as a Factor in Linguistic Change." *Sociolinguistics: Proceedings of the UCLA Sociolinguistics Conference, 1964.* William Bright (Ed.). The Hague: Mouton. 84-113.

LABOV, WILLIAM. 1972. *Sociolinguistic Patterns.* Philadelphia: U. of Pennsylvania Press.

LABOV, WILLIAM. 1994. *Principles of Linguistic Change, Vol. 1: Internal Change*. Oxford: Blackwell.

LANGER, NILS. 2001. *Linguistic Purism in Action. How Auxiliary Tun was Stigmatized in Early New High German*. Berlin/ New York: De Gruyter.

LEVACK, BRIAN P. 2006. *The witch hunt in Early Modern Europe*. 3rd edition. London/ New York: Routledge.

LEVACK, BRIAN P. 2016. *The witch hunt in Early Modern Europe*. 4th edition. London/ New York: Routledge.

LEXER, MATTHIAS. 1983. *Mittelhochdeutsches Taschenwörterbuch*. 37th edition. Stuttgart: Hirzel.

LINDGREN, KAJ. 1953. *Die Apokope des mitteldeutschen -e in seinen verschiedenen Funktionen.* Helsinki: Annales Academiae Scientiarum Fennicae.

LODGE, R. ANTHONY. 1993. *French. From Dialect to Standard.* London/ New York: Routledge.

LUTZ, HEINRICH. 2002. *Reformation und Gegenreformation*. München: Oldenburg Verlag.

MACHA, JÜRGEN. 1991. "Kölner Turmbücher – Schreibsprachwandel in einer seriellen Quelle der Frühen Neuzeit." *Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie, 110*. 36-61.

MACHA, JÜRGEN. 1992. "Anmerkungen zur Schreibsprache eines Kölner 'Hexenprothocolls' aus der Mitte des 17. Jahrhunderts." *Rheinische Vierteljahrsblätter 56*. 325-332.

MACHA, JÜRGEN and HERBORN, WOLFGANG (Eds.). 1992. *Kölner Hexenverhöre aus dem 17. Jahrhundert.* Köln/ Weimar/ Wien: Mitteilungen aus dem Kölner Stadtarchiv.

MACHA, JÜRGEN. 1998. "Schreibvariation und ihr regional-Kultureller Hintergurnd." *Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie* 117. 50-66.

MACHA, JÜRGEN/ TOPALOVIĆ, ELVIRA/ HILLE, IRIS/ NOLTING, UTA/ WILKE, ANJA. 2005. *Deutsche Kanzleisprache in Hexenverhörprotokollen der frühen Neuzeit*. Berlin: De Gruyter.

MACHA, JÜRGEN/ TOPALOVIĆ, ELVIRA/ HILLE, IRIS/ NOLTING, UTA/ WILKE, ANJA. 2005b. *Deutsche Kanzleisprache in Hexenverhörprotokollen der frühen Neuzeit. Band 2: Bibliographie.* Berlin: De Gruyter.

MACHA, JÜRGEN/ TOPALOVIĆ, ELVIRA/ HILLE, IRIS/ NOLTING, UTA/ WILKE, ANJA. 2005c. *Deutsche Kanzleisprache in Hexenverhörprotokollen der frühen Neuzeit. CD-ROM*. Berlin: De Gruyter.

MAITZ, PETER and ELSPAß, STEPHAN. 2011. "Zur sozialen und sprachpolitischen Verantwortung der Variationslinguistik." *Zeitschrift für Dialektologie und Linguistik*, Beihefte, 144. 221-240.

MATTHEIER, KLAUS J. 1981. "Wege und Umwege zur neuhochdeutschen Schriftsprache." *Zeitschrift für germanistische Linguistik* 9. 274-307.

MATTHEIER, KLAUS J. 1988. "Nationalsprachenentwicklung, Sprachstandardisierung und historische Soziolinguistik." *Standardisierungsentwicklungen in europäischen Nationalsprachen: Romania, Germania (Sociolinguistica. Internationales Jahrbuch für Europaische Soziolinguistik 2).* Klaus J. Mattheier (Ed.). Tübingen: Niemeyer. 1-9.

MATTHEIER, KLAUS J. 1995. "Sprachgeschichte des Deutschen: Desiderate und Perspektiven." *Sprachgeschichte des Neuhochdeutschen. Gegenstände, Methoden, Theorien*. Andreas Gardt/Klaus J. Mattheier/Oskar Reichmann (Eds.). Tübingen: Niemeyer. 1-18.

MAXWELL-STUART, P. G. 2007. *The Malleus Maleficarum*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.

MCCOLL MILLAR, ROBERT. 2010. *Authority and Identity: A Sociolinguistic History of Europe before the Modern Age.* London/ New York: Palgrave MacMillan.

MCLELLAND, NICOLA. 2014. "Language Description, Prescription and Usage in Seventeenth-Century German." *Norms and Usage in Language History, 1600– 1900. A sociolinguistic and comparative perspective*. Rutten, Vosters and Vandenbussche (Eds.). Amsterdam/ Philadelphia: John Benjamins. 251-275.

MIESEN, KARL-JÜRGEN. 1987. *Friedrich Spee. Pater, Dichter, Hexen-Anwalt*. Düsseldorf: Droste.

MIHM, MARGARET. 1994. "Die Protokolle des Duisburger Notgerichts 1537-1545." *Duisburger Geschichtsquellen 10*.

MIHM, AREND. 2007. *Sprachwandel im Spiegel der Schriftlichkeit. Studien zum Zeugnisswert Historischer Schriftsprachen des 11. bis 17. Jahrhunderts*. Frankfurt a.M.: Peter Lang.

MIHM, AREND. 2016. "Zur Theorie der vormodernen Orthographien: Straßburger Schreibsysteme als Erkenntnisgrundlage." *Sprachwissenschaft* Vol. 41/3. 271-309.

MILROY, JAMES. 1976 "Length and height variation in the vowels of Belfast vernacular." *Belfast Working Papers in Language and Linguistics, 1.3*. 69-110.

MILROY, JAMES. 1992. *Linguistic variation and change. On the historical sociolinguistics of English.* Oxford & Cambridge, MA: Blackwell.

MILROY, JAMES. 2014. "Sociolinguistics and ideology in language history." *The handbook of historical sociolinguistics*. Hernández-Campoy and Conde-Silvestre (Eds.). Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell. 571-584.

MILROY, LESLEY. 1987. *Language and Social Networks*, 2nd edition. Oxford: Blackwell.

MILROY, JAMES AND MILROY, LESLEY. 1985. Authority in Language. London/New York: Routledge.

MILROY, LESLEY and GORDON, MATTHEW. 2003. *Sociolinguistics: Method and Interpretation*. Oxford: Wiley.

MINKOVA, DONKA. 2013. *A Historical Phonology of English*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

MÖLLER, ROBERT. 2000. "Rheinische Sprachgeschichte von 1300 bis 1500." *Rheinisch-Westfälische Sprachgeschichte.* Jürgen Macha, Elmar Neuss, Robert Peters (Eds.). Köln/ Weimar/ Wien: Böhlau. 51-75.

MOSER, VIRGIL. 1929. *Frühneuhochdeutsche Grammatik. Bd.1.1: Lautlehre (Orthographie, Betonung, Stammsilbenvokale).* Heidelberg: Carl Winter.

MOSER, VIRGIL. 1951. *Frühneuhochdeutsche Grammatik. Bd. 1.3: Lautlehre (Konsonanten).* Heidelberg: Carl Winter.

MOSER, HANS. 1977. *Die Kanzlei Kaiser Maximilians I. Graphematik eines Schreibusus.* 2 Bde. Insbruck: Institut für deutsche Philologie.

MOSER, HANS. 1985. "Die Kanzleisprachen." *Sprachgeschichte. Ein Handbuch zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und ihrer Erforschung.* 2nd Part. Werner Besch/Oskar Reichmann/Stefan Sonderegger (Eds.). Berlin/New York: De Gruyter. 1398-1408.

MÜLLENHOFF, KARL. 1863. "Vorwort." *Denkmäler deutscher Poesie und Prosa aus dem VIII–XII Jahrhundert.* Karl Müllenhoff and Wilhelm Scherer (Eds.). Berlin: Steinmeyer.

NEUSS, ELMAR. 2000. "Rheinische Sprachgeschichte im 17. Jahrhundert." *Rheinisch-Westfälische Sprachgeschichte*. Jürgen Macha, Elmar Neuß, Robert Peters (Eds.). Köln, Weimar, Wien: Böhlau. 181-190.

NEVALAINEN, TERTTU. 2015. "What are historical sociolinguistics?" *Journal of Historical Sociolinguistics 1.2*. 243-269.

NIEHAUS, MICHAEL and SCHMIDT-HANNISA, HANS-WALTER. 2005. "Textsorte Protokoll. Ein Aufriß." *Das Protokoll. Kulturelle Funktionen einer Textsorte*. Niehaus, Michael and Schmidt-Hannisa, Hans-Walter (Eds). Frankfurt a. M.: Peter Lang. 7-23.

NOBELS, JUDITH and VAN DER WAL, MARIJKE. 2011. "Linking Words to Writers. Building a Reliable Corpus for Historical Sociolinguistic Research." *Language and History, Linguistics and Historiography*. Nils Langer, Steffan Davies and Wim Vandenbussche (Eds.). Bern: Peter Lang. 343-361.

NÜBLING, DAMARIS/ DAMMEL, ANTJE/ DUKE, JANET/ SZCZEPANIAK, RENATA. 2010. Historische Sprachwissenschaft des Deutschen: Eine Einführung in die Prinzipien des Sparchwandels. Tübingen: Narr.

ÖLINGER, ALBERT. 1574. *Underricht der Hoch Teutschen Spraach*. Reprint 1975. Hildesheim/ New York: Olms.

PAGE, B.RICHARD. 2007. "On the irregularity of open syllable lengthening in German." *Historical Linguistics 2005. Selected Papers from the 17th International Conference on Historical Linguistics, Madison, Wisconsin*. J.C. Salmons and S. Dubenion-Smith (Eds.). Amsterdam / Philadelphia: John Benjamins. 337–349.

PENZL, HERBERT. 1984. *Frühneuhochdeutsch*. Bern/ Frankfurt a.M.: Peter Lang.

PENZL, HERBERT. 1998. "Sprachgeschichtsforschung in der Sicht der strukturalistischen Schulen." *Sprachgeschichte: Ein Handbuch zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Ihrer Erforschung*. Besch et al. (Eds.). Berlin/ New York: De Gruyter.

PHILIPP, GERHARD. 1980. *Einführung in des Frühneuhochdeutsche*. Heidelberg: Quelle und Meyer.

PIERCE, MARC/ BOAS, HANS/ ROESCH, KAREN. 2015. "The history of front rounded vowels in New Braunfels German." *Germanic Heritage Languages in North America*. J.B. Johannessen and J.C. Salmons (Eds.). Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins. 118–131.

POLENZ, PETER VON. 1991. *Deutsche Sprachgeschichte vom Spätmittelalter bis zur Gegenwart. Band I: Einführung, Grundbegriffe, 14. bis 16. Jahrhundert*. Berlin/ New York: de Gruyter.

POLENZ, PETER VON. 1994. *Deutsche Sprachgeschichte vom Spätmittelalter bis zur Gegenwart. Band II: 17. und 18. Jahrhundert*. Berlin/ New York: de Gruyter.

POLENZ, PETER VON. 1999. *Deutsche Sprachgeschichte vom Spätmittelalter bis zur Gegenwart. Band III: 19. und 20. Jahrhundert*. Berlin/ New York: de Gruyter.

PUTSCHKE, WOLFGANG. 1998. "Die Arbeiten der Junggrammatiker und ihr Beitrag zur Sprachgeschichtsforschung." *Sprachgeschichte: Ein Handbuch zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Ihrer Erforschung*. Besch et al. (Eds.). Berlin/ New York: De Gruyter. 331-345.

RABE, HORST. 1989. *Reich und Glaubensspaltung – Deutschland 1500-1600*. München: Beck´sche Verlagsbuchreihe.

REICHARD, ELIAS CASPAR. 1747. *Versuch einer Historie der deutschen Sprachkunst*. Reprint 1978. Hildesheim/ New York: Olms.

REICHMANN, OSKAR/ GOEBEL, URLICH/ LOBENSTEIN-REICHMANN, ANJA. 1986-present. *Frühneuhochdeutsches Wörterbuch.* Berlin/ New York: De Gruyter.

REICHMANN, OSKAR 1988. "Zur Vertikalisierung des Varietätenspektrums in der jüngeren Sprachgeschichte des Deutschen." *Deutscher Wortschatz - Lexikologische Studien. Ludwig Erich Schmitt zum 80. Geburtstag von seinen Marburger Schülern.*Horst Haider Munske et al. (Eds.). Berlin/New York: de Gruyter. 151-80.

REIS, MARGA. 1974. *Lauttheorie und Lautgeschichte. Untersuchungen am Beispiel der Dehnungs- und Kürzungsvorgänge im Deutschen*. München: Fink.

ROMAINE, SUZANNE. 1982. *Socio-historical linguistics – its status and methodology*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

ROMAINE, SUZANNE. 1988. "Historical sociolinguistics: problems and methodology." *Sociolinguistics/ Soziolinguistik: An international handbook for the science of language and society, Volume 1.* Ulrich Ammon, Norbert Dittmar, Klaus J. Mattheier (Eds.). Berlin/New York: De Gruyter. 1452-1469.

ROMAINE, SUZANNE. 2005. "Historical sociolinguistics/historische soziolinguistik." *Sociolinguistics. An international handbook of the science of language and society, Volume 2*. Ulrich Ammon, Norbert Dittmar, Klaus J. Mattheier, Peter Trudgill (Eds.). Berlin/New York: De Gruyter. 1696-1703.

RUMMEL, WALTER and VOLTMER, RITA. 2008. *Hexen und Hexenverfolgung in der frühen Neuzeit*. Darmstadt: Wissenchaftliche Buchgesellschaft.

RUTTEN, GIJSBERT/ VOSTERS, RIK AND VANDENBUSSCHE, WIM. 2014. "The Interplay of Language Norms and Usage Patterns. Comparing the Iistory of Dutch, English, French and German." *Norms and Usage in Language History, 1600–1900. A sociolinguistic and comparative perspective*. Rutten, Vosters and Vandenbussche (Eds.). Amsterdam/ Philadelphia: John Benjamins. 1-17.

RUTTEN, GIJSBERT and HORNER, KRISTINE. 2016. *Metalinguistic Perspectives on Germanic Languages*. Bern/ Frankfurt a.M.: Peter Lang.

SÄILY, TANJA/ NURMI, ARJA/ PALANDER-COLLIN, MINNA/ AUER, ANITA (Eds.). 2017. *Exploring Future Paths for Historical Sociolinguistics.* Amsterdam/ Philadelphie: John Benjamins.

SALMONS, JOSEPH. 2012. *A History of German*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

SAUERBECK, KARL OTTO. 1970. " Band 1.1: Vokalismus der Nebensilben." *Frühneuhochdeutsche Grammatik.* Hugo Moser and Hugo Stopp (Eds.). Heidelberg: Winter.

SCHEEL, WILLY. 1893. *Jaspar von Gennep und die Entwicklung der neuhochdeutschen Schriftsprache in Köln*. Trier: Lintz.

SCHERER, WILHELM. 1868. *Zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache*. Berlin: Dunker.

SCHILLING, HEINZ. 1993. *Die Stadt in der frühen Neuzeit*. München: Oldenbourg

SCHILLING, HEINZ. 1995. "Die Reformation in Deutschland." *Scheidewege der deutschen Geschichte*. Hans-Ulrich Wehler (Ed.). München: Beck´sche Verlagsbuchreihe. 15-38.

SCHLEICHER, AUGUST. 1860. *Die deutsche Sprache*. Stuttgart: Cotta.

SCHMIDT, WILHELM. 2004. *Geschichte der deutschen Sprache*. 9th Edition (1st edition: 1969). Stuttgart: Hirzel.

SCHORMANN, GERHARD. 1981. *Hexenprozesse in Deutschland*. Göttingen: Vandehoeck.

SCHORMANN, GERHARD. 1991. *Der Krieg gegen die Hexen*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck.

SCHÜLLER, ANDREAS. 1914. "Ein Eifeler Hexenprozeß vom Jahre 1614." *Trierische Chronik* 9/10. 143-145, 154-158.

SCHWERHOFF, GERD. 1991. *Köln im Kreuzverhör - Kriminalität, Herrschaft und Gesellschaft in einer frühneuzeitlichen Stadt.* Bonn/ Berlin: Bouvier.

SCHUCHARDT, HUGO. 1900. *Über die Klassifikation der romanischen Mundarten. Probevorlesung gehalten zu Leipzig am 30. April 1870*. Graz: Styria.

SCHUTZEICHEL, MARC AND SZCZEPANIAK, RENATA. 2015. "Die Durchsetzung der satzinternen Großschreibung in Norddeutschland am Beispiel der Hexenverhörprotokolle." *Jahrbuch der Germanistischen Sprachgeschichte* 6/1. 151-167.

SHEA, JOHN. 1991. *Witches, Devils, and Doctors in the Renaissance: Johann Weyers, De Praestigiis Daemonum*. Binghamton: Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies.

SHEPHERD, WILLIAM R. 1923. *Historical Atlas*. New York: Henry Holt and Company. http://www.lib.utexas.edu/maps/historical/shepherd/central_europe_1648.jpg (last accessed: 7/31/2017).

SONDEREGGER, STEFAN. 1998. "Sprachgeschichtsforschung in der ersten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts." *Sprachgeschichte: Ein Handbuch zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Ihrer Erforschung*. Besch et al. (Eds.). Berlin/ New York: De Gruyter. 300-330.

SPEE, FRIEDRICH. 1649. *Cautio Criminalis*. 2nd edition. Frankfurt a.M.: Johann Friederich Weissen.

STEGMANN, KNUT. 2006. *Die gefangene leugknet alles: Untersuchungen zu Entstehungsbedingungen und Ausprägungen frühneuzeitlicher Hexenverhörprotokolle*. Magisterarbeit: Philosophische Fakultät, Universität Münster. Open Access under: https://www.historicum.net/fileadmin/sxw/Themen/Hexenforschung/Themen_Texte/Magister/hexen_mag_stegmann.pdf.

STOLBERG, DORIS. 2017. "Historical sociolinguistics in colonial New Guinea: The Rhenish mission society in the Astrolabe Bay." *Journal of Historical Sociolinguistics* 3/1. 55-92.

STOPP, HUGO. 1976. *Schreibsprachwandel. Zur großräumigen Untersuchung frühneuhochdeutscher Schriftlichkeit*. München: Vögel.

STURTEVANT, EDGAR. 1947. *An Introduction to Linguistic Science*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

SZCZEPANIAK, RENATA and BARTELD, FABIAN. 2016. "Hexenverhörprotokolle als sprachhistorischer Korpus." Sarah Kwekkeboom und Sandra Waldenberger (Hg.). *PerspektivWechsel oder: Die Wiederentdeckung der Philologie. Band 1*. Berlin: Schmidt.

TOPALOVIĆ, ELVIRA. 2003. *Sprachwahl – Textsorte – Dialogstruktur. Zu Verhörprotokollen aus Hexenprozessen des 17. Jahrhunderts*. Trier: Wissenschaftlicher Verlag.

TRUDGILL, PETER. 1992. "Ausbau sociolinguistics and the perception of language status in contemporary Europe." *International Journal of Applied Linguistics* 2/2. 167–177.

VACHEK, JOSEF. 1979. "The Present State of Research in Written Language." *Folia Linguistica* 6/ 1-2. 47-61.

VOLTMER, RITA. 2000. "Die großen Hexenverfolgungen in den Territorien zwischen Reich und Frankreich (16. und 17. Jahrhundert) – Abläufe, Ursachen, Hintergründe." *Incubi Succubi. Hexen und ihre Henker bis heute. Ein historisches*

Lesebuch zur Ausstellung. Rita Voltmer and Franz Irsingler (Eds.). Luxembourg: Musée d'Histoire de la Ville de Luxembourg. 71-82.

VOLTMER, RITA. 2016. "Stimmen der Angeklagten – Strategien der Notare? Zur Entzifferung des Mediums *Hexenprozessakte.*" Talk given at: Tagung "Hexenverhörprotokolle," Hamburg, December 2016.

WALSBY, MALCOLM. 2011. *The printed book in Brittany*. Leiden, Netherlands: Brill.

WATERMAN, JOHN T. 1976. *A History of the German Language*. 2nd edition. Seattle/ London: University of Washington Press.

WILLEMS, VERA. 2017. "James Buchanan's use of Anne Fisher's A new grammar: Towards the development of an English grammar teaching method in eighteenth-century English grammar writing." *Journal of Historical Sociolinguistics* 3/1. 93-110.

WEINREICH, U./ LABOV, W./ HERZOG, M.I. 1968. "Empirical foundations for a theory of language change." *Directions for Historical Linguistics.* W.P. Lehmann/ Y. Malkiels (Eds.). Austin: University of Texas Press. 95-195.

WERTH, ALEXANDER. 2016. "allß er uff den Markht zum Bronnen khommen – Variation und Konstanz klitischer Formen (und ihrer Vollformen) in Hexenverhörprotokollen der Frühen Neuzeit." Talk given at: Tagung "Hexenverhörprotokolle," Hamburg, December 2016.

WOLF, HERBERT. 1971. "Zur Periodisierung der deutschen Sprachgeschichte." *Periodisierung: Die zeitliche Gliederung der deutschen Sprachgeschichte* (2001). Thorsten Roelke (Ed.). Frankfurt.M./ Berlin/ New York: Peter Lang.