

Chapter 11: Adverbs, Prepositions, Conjunctions

 <https://doi.org/10.1075/sigl.3.c11>

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A Comparative Grammar of the Early Germanic Languages

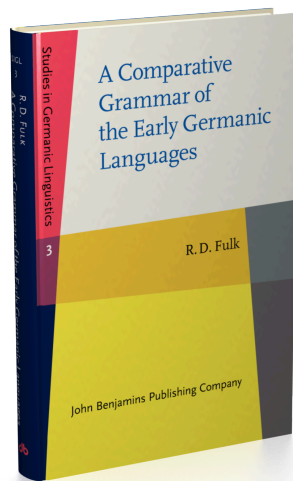
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[*Studies in Germanic Linguistics*, 3] 2018. xv, 420 pp.

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Adverbs, Prepositions, Conjunctions

11.1 Monomorphemic adverbs

Gmc. inherited from PIE a number of adverbs of time and place that are probably to be regarded as monomorphemic in PGmc. Adverbs of this sort in Go. include (for time) *áir* ‘early’, *hvan* ‘when’, *þan* ‘then’, *ju* ‘already’, *nu* ‘now’ and (for place, without motion) *hēr* ‘here’, *hvar* ‘where’, *þar* ‘there’, *faúr* ‘in front’. Yet certain morphological components are recognizable. These adverbs of place end in a loc. -r (cf. Lith. *kuř* ‘where’, Skt. *tár-hi* ‘at that time, then’, OE *æfter*, *þider*, *niþor*, *hinder*), and their initial consonantism is paralleled in related words: *h-* in *hēr* reflects the *I/here* deictic particle PIE **ke-* seen in Lat. *cis* ‘on this side’, OIr. *cé* ‘here, on this side’, which participates in a deictic system in Gmc. (e.g. Go. *hidrē* ‘hither’, *hindar* ‘behind’, *hiri* ‘come here!’); *hv-* in *hvar* is interrogative (cf. Go. *huas* ‘who’, *hvarjis* ‘which’, *hvaþ* ‘whither’); and *þ-* reflects the *it/there* deictic particle PIE **t-* used to form the PIE demonstrative **tod* (Skt. *tád*, Gk. *τό*, Lat. *is-tud*, Go. *þata*), also participating in a deictic system (e.g. Go. *þadei* ‘whither, where’, *þannu* ‘therefore’, *þei* ‘(so) that’). Go. *hvan*, *þan* can then be seen to contain a clitic particle PIE **no/ne* (a form of pronominal **eno-*, as in Gk. *κεῖνος* ‘that (over there)’ < **ke-eno-s*), as in Gk. (Thessalian) *ὄνε*, *τόνε*, *τάνε* ‘that’, Lat. *dēnique* ‘at last’, *dōnec* ‘until’. Go. *áir* is generally assumed to be a locative (PIE **ajeri* > PGmc. **a(j)iri*) of a heteroclitc stem meaning ‘day, morning’, as in Avestan *ayarə* ‘day’ and Gk. *ἄριστον* ‘breakfast’. Go. *naúh*, NHG *noch* ‘still, yet’ is a compound of *nu* ‘now’ and PIE **-k^we* > Lat. *-que*. Monomorphemic adverbs include adverbial particles like Go. interrogative *-u*, negative *ni*, affirmative *ja*, and others, for which the handbooks should be consulted.

In the other Gmc. languages, where preserved, these adverbs have developed regularly for the most part, with lengthening of final vowels when stressed (e.g. OIcel. *nú*, OE *nū*, *geō* ‘formerly’, also spelt *iū*) and loss of final *-n* in OIcel. *þá* ‘then’. But WGmc. gives evidence of some alternative forms, including PGmc. **x^wannai*, **þannai* (OE *hwonne*, *þonne*, OHG (*h*)*wanne*, *wenne*, *denne*) and WGmc. **x^wēr*, **þēr* (OE *hwær*, *þær*, OS *thār*, OHG (*h*)*wār*, *dār*), with WGmc. lengthening.

11.2 The composition of adverbial stems

Most early Gmc. adverbs recognizably comprise more than one morpheme. One recurring suffix is PGmc. **-ai* (cf. **x^wannai*, **þannai* above), indicating location,¹ as in Go. *inna*, OIcel. *inni*, OE *inne*, OS *inna*, OHG *inna-* ‘within’; also Go. *afta* ‘behind’, *faúra* ‘ahead’, *iupa* ‘above’, *ūta* ‘outside’, *dalaba* ‘below’, and cognates. Another is PGmc. **-nē* (as in Lat. *superne* ‘(from) above’), indicating motion from a place, as in Go. *aftana* ‘from behind’, OIcel. *aptan* ‘afterward, again’, OE *æftan* ‘behind’, OS *aftan* ‘eventually’, OHG *aftan* ‘(from) behind’; also Go. *innana* ‘(from) within’, *ūtana* ‘from

without', etc., and cognates. A suffix restricted to Gothic is $-þ < \text{PIE } *-te$ (as in Gk. $\pi\acute{o}\sigma\epsilon$ 'whither' $< \text{PIE } *\pi\acute{o}\tau\epsilon$; $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\omicron\sigma\epsilon$ 'elsewhither'), denoting motion to a place, as in Go. *aljaþ* 'in another direction', *dalaþ* 'down'; elsewhere in Gmc., motion to a place is denoted by the bare adverbial stem (perhaps originally acc.: Cercignani 1980b: 181), e.g. OE *þider* 'thither', *ūt* 'out', *niþor* 'to below, down'. In PGmc., it is generally assumed, the ablative of adjectives could be used adverbially. The very common adverbial suffix PGmc. $*-ē$ in alternation with $*-ō$ is commonly said to reflect an *o*-stem ablative sg. inflection PIE $*-ēd \sim *-ōd$,² the former is used in Anglo-Frisian, the latter elsewhere, e.g. Go. *ga-leikō*, OIcel. *líka*, OE *gelíce*, OFris. *like*, OS *gi-līko*, OHG *gi-līhho* 'like-wise, alike'. This suffix was subsequently used to form adverbs from words other than adjectives, e.g. Go. *aftarō* 'behind', *aufjō* 'perhaps, surely', *simlē* 'once', and so forth. It was added to the suffix PGmc. $*-ōr-$ (by Verner's law related to the PIE prepositional root $*ter-$, as in OIr. *tar*, Lat. *trans* 'across', Go. *þairh* 'through') to denote, in Gothic, motion to a place ($-drē$) or from a place ($-drō$), as in *hadrē* 'whither', *hadrō* 'whence', *jáindrē* 'thither', *jáindrō* 'thence', a distinction perhaps originating in Gothic (certainly not a characteristic of PIE), since it cannot be traced elsewhere: cf., e.g. OE *þider* 'thither' but *þanon* 'thence' (with PGmc. $*-nē$, as above).

Of these adverbial endings, certainly PGmc. $*-ē \sim *-ō$ was the most productive: cf., e.g., OIcel. *snemma* 'early', *harðla* 'very', OE *fægre* 'beautifully', *hearde* 'severely', OS *lango* 'for long', *hluttro* 'plainly', OHG *snello* 'quickly', *mahtigo* 'mightily'. But some more distinctive suffixes were also in use to form adverbs of manner or quality to major class words. For this purpose Go. attaches to adjectives the suffix $-ba$, not subject to Thurneysen's law (§6.12), of uncertain derivation and unparalleled anywhere as an adverbial ending.³ In such formations the adjective usually retains the mark of its original stem class, e.g. *baírhtaba* 'brightly' (a/\bar{o} -stem), *sunjaba* 'truly' ($ja/j\bar{o}$ -stem), *ana-láugniba* 'secretly' (*i*-stem), but *hardaba* beside *harduba* 'grievously' (*u*-stem). Otherwise, adverbs of this sort are commonly formed by compounding, the most prevalent added morpheme being the stem of PGmc. $*líka-$ 'body' (Go. *leik*, OIcel. *lík*, etc.), which is also used to form adjectives. Thus, on the commonest view, the meaning of Go. adj. *samaleiks* 'alike' may be assumed to have developed from $*\text{'having the same body'}$, of *liubaleiks* 'dear' from $*\text{'having a dear body'}$ (thus explaining, in the latter instance, why the suffix appears to be meaningless: cf. OIcel. *ljúfr*, OE *lēof* (etc.) 'dear': but see further §8.13 n. 7). In the only Go. adverbs with PGmc. $*líka-$ it bears a prefix rather than being compounded with an adjective: *ana-leikō* 'in like manner', *ga-leikō* 'like', and otherwise it is compounded only with adjectives. The suffix is commoner in WGmc. (OE *-lice*, OS *-līko*, OHG *-līhho*, with the ablative endings identified above) and in ON, where the morpheme has been altered to *-liga*,⁴ with the alternant *-lega*.⁵ In NWGmc. the suffix may be attached to parts of speech other than adjectives (e.g. ON *hófliga*, to *hóf* 'moderation', OE *werlice* to *wer* 'man', OHG *gomilīhho* to *gomo* 'man'), showing that Gothic reflects an older state of affairs.

It was pointed out above that PIE locative and ablative case-forms could be used adverbially. The nom./acc. sg. neuter is so used in various IE branches, including Gmc., e.g. Go. OS OHG *filu*, ON *fjöl-*, OE (Northumbrian) *feolu* 'much, very' (cf., with *o*-grade, Gk. neut. $\pi\omicron\lambda\upsilon$ and, with (probably) weak grade, Skt. *purú* 'very'), Go. *leitil* 'little', OIcel. *mikit* 'greatly'. Other case-forms may also serve as adverbs, e.g. Go. gen. *allis* 'wholly', *nahts* 'by night', OE dat. pl. *wundrum* 'marvelously': the grammars of the individual languages should be consulted for other examples and cases.

PGmc. $*zōðaz$ 'good' forms its adverb with a different stem, Go. *wailla*, ON *vel*, OE *wēl*, OS OHG *wela*, *wola*, which shares its root with the verb Go. *wiljan* 'wish,

want'; cf. Skt. *vāra-* 'wish'. To OE adj. *lȳtel* 'little' corresponds the unextended stem in adv. *lȳt* (beside *lȳtle*), from the *i*-stem adj. *lȳt*.

1. To Go. *faúra* cf. Gk. *παρά*; thus, perhaps, PGmc. **-ai* reflects **-a* with the addition of the deictic particle **-i* (identical to the locative ending), as in **upér-i* > Skt. *upári*, Olcel. *yfir* 'over' (cf. Gk. *ὑπέρ*). For a different analysis of such pronouns, deriving them from PIE instrumentals, see Hollifield 1980: 145–6.
2. This assumption is problematic, since the evidence for a PIE alternant **-ēd* is poor. Kieckers (1960: 94) derives Go. *-ē* from PIE instr. *-ē* and assumes that the vowel somehow became trimoric in Germanic. Boutkan (1995b: 379–81), in agreement with A.W. Jones (1979: 341–7), instead explains the ending as a Gmc. innovation, with the ablative final dental added to an instr. ending.
3. Krahe & Meid (1969: III, §116) suggest that the suffix originated as a case-form of adjectives in PIE **-bho-*, **-bhā-*, but that there were Gmc. adjectives bearing this suffix remains to be shown. Kluge (1926) identifies none.
4. The change is most likely a folk etymological one, due to the resemblance to adjectives like *auðigr* 'wealthy' (perhaps through reanalysis of some such form as **fā-likr* (later *fā-ligr* 'reserved') to **fāl-ikr*), given the especially close resemblance in the nom./acc. sg. neut. (*auðikt*): see Noreen 1970: §248 Anm. 4.
5. Noreen (1970: §145 Anm. 4) regards the alternant *-lega* as mysterious, but the influence of adjectives like *auðigr* on the suffix (see the preceding note) adequately explains the matter, since adjectives like *auðigr* have the alternant *auðegr*, due to mixture of the PGmc. suffixes **-īz-* and **-aiz-*.

11.3 Regular comparison of adverbs

The comparative of adverbs was formed in PIE with the same suffix **-is* used with comparative adjectives, but left uninflected: IE examples are given in §9.10. Forms in *-is* are thus to be regarded as examples of the nom./acc. sg. neuter being used adverbially (cf. Go. *filu*, etc. above), since these cases were uninflected in consonant-stem neuters (see, e.g., §7.38). The suffix **-is* (like the identical nom. sg. masc. *i*-stem noun inflection) is lost altogether in WGmc., leaving (often) only umlaut of the root vowel to mark comparative forms, though very commonly there is analogical replacement of such forms with forms bearing an overt inflection. Examples are Go. *háuhis* 'higher' (to *háuhaba*); Go. *nēhvis* (to *nēhua*), Olcel. *nær* 'nearer'; Olcel. *lengr*, OE OS *leng* 'longer'; Olcel. *betr* (with umlaut after a light syllable, there being no paradigm for the adverb; cf. §4.7), OE OS *bet* 'better'; OS *hald*, OHG *halt* 'more'. Surviving comparatives of this sort are few outside of Gothic, esp. in OHG. More commonly the uninflected corresponding adj. suffix **-ōz* is used, which, reflected as *-ōr*, is added in OHG even to stems that form the comparative adj. with *-iro*, e.g. adj. *reiniro* 'cleaner', *festiro* 'firmer', but adv. *reinōr*, *fastōr*. Examples are Go. *sniumundōs* 'more hastily', *alja-leikōs* 'otherwise'; Olcel. *optar*, OE *ofter* 'more often'; Olcel. *vissuligar*, OE *gewislicor* 'more certainly'; Olcel. *djúpar*, OE *dēopor*, OS *diopor*, OHG *tiofōr* 'deeper'.

Correspondingly, the superlative is formed with uninflected **-ist* or **-ōst*, depending for the most part on which form of the comparative is used. The former is less frequent. There are just two examples in Gothic (and none of **-ōst*): *frumist* 'first of all', *máist* 'at most' (to *mikilaba*). Other examples include Olcel. *snimst*, *snemst* 'soonest', *næst* 'most nearly', *lengst* 'longest', OE *hīehst* 'highest', *ærest* 'at first', *tylgest* 'most firmly', OS OHG *ērīst* 'at first'. Outside of Gothic, commoner is **-ōst*, as in Olcel. *viðast* 'most widely', *optast* 'most often', OE *fægrost* 'most beautifully', *gear(w)ost* 'most certainly', OS *wīdost* 'most widely'. In OHG, once again, the comp. of the adj. and adverb may have different suffixes, e.g. *hartōst* 'hardest', *langōst* 'longest' (adj. *hertisto*, *lengisto*).

As remarked in connection with adjectives derived from adverbs, some adverbs formed the superlative in PIE with the suffix **-mHo-* (see the examples in §9.11). No such adverbs survive as such in Gmc., though a number of adjectives derived from them do. In addition, in OE some superlatives with double suffixation **-m-ist-* may be used both as adjectives and, when endingless, adverbs, e.g. *innemest* ‘innermost’, *ufemest*, *yfemest* ‘uppermost’.

11.4 Suppletive comparison

As with Gmc. adjectives, a few adverbs form the comp. and superl. degrees with a stem different from that of the positive (though no suppletive comp. or superl. forms happen to be preserved in Go., except for *haldis* ‘rather’, to which no positive or superl. is attested):

	OIcel.	OE	OS	OHG
pos.	gjarna ‘gladly’	georne	gerno	gerno
comp.	heldr, gjarnara	geornor	hald	halt, gernōr
superl.	helz(t)	geornost		gernōst
pos.	illa ‘badly’	yfle	ubilo	ubilo
comp.	verr	wiers	wirs	wirs
superl.	ve(r)st	wierst, wierrest		wirsisit
pos.	lītt ‘(a) little’	lȳtle, lȳt		luzilo
comp.	minnr, miðr	lāes	lēs	min
superl.	minzt	lāest, lāesest		minnist
pos.	mjok ‘much’	micle	mikilu	mih(h)il
comp.	meir(r)	mā	mēr	mēr
superl.	mest	mæst	mēst	meist
pos.	upp ‘upward’	ūp, upp	up	uf
comp.	ofar(r), ofarmeir(r)	ufor		
superl.	ofa(r)st	ufemest, yfemest		
pos.	vel ‘well’	wēl	wel(a), wala, wola	wel(a), wola
comp.	betr	bet, sēl	bet, bat	baz
superl.	bezt, bazt	bet(e)st, best, sēlest	bezt, best	bezist

11.5 Prepositions

Most Gmc. prepositions may be regarded as monomorphemic, but a small amount of compositionality can be discerned. Some of the same PIE morphemes identifiable as adverb suffixes in PGmc. can be detected in prepositions, some of which are in fact identical to deictic adverbs. The umlaut in OIcel. *yfir* ‘over’ demands PGmc. **ubiri* < **uberi* = Skt. *upári*, prompting the assumption of a suffix **-i* (identical to a locative inflection, §7.2) missing from OE *ofer*, Gk. *ὑπέρ*; cf. OHG *ubari*, *ubiri* beside *ubar*. Moreover, **-er-* in PGmc. **uber(i)*, is suffixal (cf. the remarks about *-r* in Go. *hvar*, *þar*, §11.1): compare NWGmc. **upp-* (a geminated form of **ub-*: §6.9) in ON *upp* ‘up’, OE *ūp*, *upp*, and so forth. OIcel. *fyr(r)*, *fýri(r)* ‘before’ is perhaps in part formed similarly (cf. OS OHG *furi*), though the corresponding adverb in the compar. degree (**fur-iz*) has

probably played a role, with confusion on semantic grounds. WGmc. **umbi* (OE *ymb(e)*, OS OHG *umbi* ‘about, around’ is usually equated with Gk. *ἀμφί* ‘around’, although retention of the final high vowel after the heavy syllable (cf. ON *um(b)*) presents a difficulty. It could be that folk etymology of the desinence as equivalent to the prep. **bī* led to retention of the vowel, due to the partial overlap in meaning, though Klingenschmitt (1987: 187 n. 59) argues that the cause must be phonological rather than analogical, due to retention anteconsonantly in sandhi, given the similar retention in OS OHG *āno* ‘without’, OS *endi*, OHG *enti* ‘and’ < **andi*. See also §5.2 n. 2 on this.

Adverbs of place from which, bearing the PIE suffix **-nē* (§§1.4, 6.9), may also be used as prepositions, often with change of meaning, as in Go. *ūtana weihsis* ‘out of the village’, Olcel. *útan frænda ráð* ‘without the advice of kin’, OE *innan þām hūse* ‘inside the house’. Go. adverbs in *-prō* may be used the same way, as in *nī waihts ist ūtaþrō mans* ‘there is nothing from outside a person’.

11.6 Conjunctions

Most conjunctions are compounds, at least in origin, and in Gothic their constituency is usually transparent, e.g. *þáuhjabái* ‘even though’ (cf. *þáuh* ‘then’, *jabái* ‘if’), *swēþáuh* ‘indeed, however’ (cf. *swē* ‘thus’ and OE *sepēah*). Even some of the more basic conjunctions, however, can be analyzed morphologically. Several contain a reflex of the PIE pronominal stem **io-* (see §8.14), e.g. Go. *jah* ‘and, also’ (with *-h* = Lat. *-que*), *jappē* ‘whether, or’ (with instr. *þē*, §8.10), *jabái* ‘if’ (Olcel. OS *ef*, OE *gif*, OHG *ibu*; cf. Go. *nibái* ‘if not’). Although the derivation of the first constituent of Go. *aiþþáu* ‘or’ (Olcel. *eða*, OE *oððe*, OS *ettho*, OHG *ed(d)o*) is uncertain, it plainly contains Go. *þáu*, one meaning of which is ‘or’, as in *Dáuþeins Iohannis uzuh himina was þáu uzuh mannam* ‘Was John the Baptist from heaven or from humans?’. The PGmc. adverb **þana* ‘then’ (§11.1) forms the basis for a number of conjunctions of varying transparency, including Go. *apþan* ‘but, however’, *þannu* ‘therefore’, *þandē* ‘inasmuch as, when, as long as, until’, OE *þenden* ‘while’. The compositional conjunctions of Gothic tend not to have precise parallels elsewhere in Germanic. The number of conjunctions in ON is decidedly curtailed, affording no more than ten, whereas WGmc. shows a number of innovations, e.g. OE *siddan* ‘after’ < **sīþ þon*, *swylce* ‘as if’, and *opþæt* ‘until’ (OS *unt(h)at*, OHG *untaz*), though the last was probably not yet univerted in early OE poetry (see Fulk 2007: 168–71). But the forms taken by conjunctions are, for the most part, more properly the study of etymology and lexicology than of morphology.