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(Le lingue del Mare del Nord / The North Sea Languages)

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ABSTRACTS

ROLF H. BREMMER JR, ‘Language contact in medieval Frisia: Middle Low German spelling interferences in Old East Frisian Manuscripts’,

Filologia Germanica – Germanic Philology 9 (2017), pp. 1-18.

In the course of the Middle Ages, speakers of Frisian increasingly came under pressure of Low German. Eventually, in the fifteenth century, Low German gained the upper hand, first in writing, but soon enough in speaking too, leading to a complete language shift in the Frisian lands east of the river Lauwers. Previous scholarship on this topic focused on Low German loans in Old East Frisian. However, a detailed studies reveals that also the spelling habits of Frisian scribes reveal an increased Low German interference.

VALERIA DI CLEMENTE, ‘*Dit siin .24. tekene der doot die Ypocras met hem dede grauen* e la ricezione della *Capsula Eburnea* in nederlandese medio’,

Filologia Germanica – Germanic Philology 9 (2017), pp. 19-43.

The Late Antique pseudo-hippocratic prognostic text known as *Capsula Eburnea Hippocratis* enjoyed wide diffusion in the Middle Ages and was repeatedly translated into many European vernaculars. The Middle Dutch version titled *Dit siin .24. tekene der doot die Ypocras met hem dede grauen* dates back to the middle of the fourteenth century and is found in a manuscript containing heterogeneous medical and naturalistic works and excerpts. A new edition of the text is presented here, along with an Italian translation, an ecdotic and linguistic commentary and a comparison of the Middle Dutch version with its Latin source.

DANIELA FRUSCIONE, ‘The Kentish-Frisian legal vocabulary’,

Filologia Germanica – Germanic Philology 9 (2017), pp. 45-65.

This essay deals with Anglo-Frisian “discourse” from both a historical and a philological point of view. It investigates the Kentish-Frisian connection in the field of legal vocabulary. The precise relationship between Old English and Frisian is difficult to reconstruct because historical data about Frisia are scarce and contradictory, and because there is a lack of Frisian language material that is contemporary with Old English. Without intending to make a revolutionary new proposal, this essay highlights a few relevant semantic and morphological parallels between the catalogue of body

injuries found in Æthelberht's first English law and the much later Frisian legal documents. These parallels suggest an early contact between the two languages.

CONCETTA GILIBERTO, 'Kidnapping the Frisian',
Filologia Germanica – Germanic Philology 9 (2017), pp. 67-78.

The several sources documenting the events of the Viking Age in *Frisia Magna* emphasise the dramatic aspects of the Northern invasions. However, seen from a wider perspective, the Frisian-Scandinavian relations appear to be multifaceted and at times ambiguous. A number of Old Frisian law texts refer to the Viking practice of capturing and enslaving Frisian men, forcing them to fight on their side, and even sharing spoils with them. A Frisian who undergoes such an experience is called *skalk*, 'servant, slave', a sort of high-ranking servant. He enjoys special rights and even privileges. Such ambiguous status seems the result of the peculiar and not always straightforward interactions between Frisians and Scandinavians.

PATRIZIA LENDINARA, 'Old English *lida* and the sailors of the North Sea',
Filologia Germanica – Germanic Philology 9 (2017), pp. 79-107

The essay examines the words for 'sailor' in the Germanic languages, with particular regard to those going under the sobriquet of North Sea Germanic languages. The research begins with the *lida* of *Maxims I* and his safe return home. As with OE *lida* and *līðend*, *nomina agentis* from verbs of motion turn out to be among the most frequent formations for 'sailor', both in OE and many other Germanic languages. The research does not yield a common stock of Germanic words, but for the cognates of OE *scipmann* and *sēmān*, that, however, are not recorded in all the Germanic languages. As to the *līðend*-compounds, their occurrence in more than one language might be due to the influence of OE models on both OS and OHG poetry. On the other hand, it emerges that the same (morphologic and semantic) patterns are constantly drawn upon. This produces a number of the words for 'sailor', revealing a process of invention of ever new compounds that apparently moves along traditional lines.

ANDREA MAINI, 'The relationship between early Old Nordic **bākn* 'fire beacon', Pre-Old Frisian **bākən* 'id.' and Germanic **baugō-*, **baukkaz* 'ring''
Filologia Germanica – Germanic Philology 9 (2017), pp. 109-133.

The aim of this analysis is to highlight the connection between early Old Nordic **bākn* 'fire beacon' and pre-Old Frisian **bākən* 'id.' from Germanic **baukna-*. It is assumed that Germanic **baukna-* is a thematization of the older *n*-stem **baugō-*, **baukkaz* 'ring'. Thus, the whole etymological cluster would be: 'which bends round', 'ring', 'round container for burning wood' and finally 'fire beacon'.

CHIARA SEMPLICINI, 'Reassessing morphological restructuring over time: the case of Dutch',
Filologia Germanica – Germanic Philology 9 (2017), pp. 135-158.

Dutch morphology has undergone a deep simplification over time. Cases have gone lost and the original tripartite gender system has been simplified into a binary one where masculine and feminine have conflated into common gender. The morphological system was largely under pressure already in Middle Dutch, but the simplification was in part hidden by the standardization process carried on in the grammatical accounts to begin with *Twe-spraack vande Nederduitsche letterkunst* (1584). These treatises also strove to give Dutch a prestigious status. On the contrary, an

analysis carried out on a cookbook and a selection of private letters dating to the end of the seventeenth century proves that the morphological simplification was much more ahead than the grammatical accounts would present. It also proves the existence of recurring patterns of morphological levelling in public and private written language, which is in line with the restructuring already begun in the Middle Ages.

ROSELLA TINABURRI, 'Pronoun inflection in the North Sea Germanic languages: the dative-accusative levelling in the first and second person singular', *Filologia Germanica – Germanic Philology* 9 (2017), pp.159-178.

North Sea Germanic languages were closely related in the Middle Ages, sharing many phonological, morphological and lexical features. A conspicuous grammatical parallel among these languages is found in the system of personal pronouns. In general Old Saxon makes no distinction between dative and accusative forms of the first and second person singular. However, accusative forms are occasionally found especially in manuscript C of the *Heliand*. This paper presents a general overview of the dative – accusative levelling in the first and second person singular and reassesses evidence taken from early texts written in the various North Sea Germanic languages. Considered as a “mixed language” by historical linguists, Old Saxon in particular combines pronominal features as found in both North Sea Germanic and Continental West Germanic. Especially from a morphological point of view, it shares many features with Old High German and Old Low Franconian, thereby reflecting the intermediate position it occupies among West Germanic languages and offering a useful perspective for evaluating both Old English and Old Frisian.

MICHIEL DE VAAN, 'Frisian substrate versus internal change in Western Dutch', *Filologia Germanica – Germanic Philology* 9 (2017), pp. 179-200.

One of the main features which distinguish the dialects of western Dutch from their eastern neighbours, is the presence of an unrounded short vowel *i* or *e* in a number of words where the standard language displays rounded *u*, such as western *brig(ge)*, *breg(ge)* for Standard Dutch *brug* 'bridge'. In addition, some other western words show *e(e)* where inland dialects have rounded *eu*, such as *krepel* 'cripple' for StDu *kreupel*. Many scholars have argued that these unroundings in some way arose from the substrate influence of an early medieval Ingvaemonic or Frisian layer. Others have explained them as internal developments of the Franconian dialects which were not provoked by language or dialect contact. A renewed investigation of the evidence yields the following insights: 1. The unrounding of short *u* and that of long *eu* are two independent developments, 2. The unrounding of *u* is restricted to nominal *ja-* and *jō-*stems, 3. The unrounding of *u* was causally linked to a palatalised, geminate consonant following it, 4. The unrounding of *eu* is a more local change, provoked by dissimilation in the vicinity of labial and, sometimes, velar consonants. The restriction to *ja-* and *jō-*stems suggests that the palatal geminates arising from WGmc *Cj were phonologised as /C'C'/ early in Old Low Franconian. This led to an early layer of words with *i*-mutated */y/ which was then unrounded in western Dutch dialects. The exact process leading to the unrounded outcomes can be explained both in a substrate framework and in a dialect continuity scenario.

ARJEN P. VERSLOOT, 'Mith frethe to wasane 'to be in peace': remnants of the instrumental and locative case in thirteenth and fourteenth century Old Frisian', *Filologia Germanica – Germanic Philology* 9 (2017), pp. 201-230.

The case system in Old Frisian is commonly described as including four cases: nom., gen., dat., acc. Only a few lexical or onomastic relics are said to attest to the former existence of an instrumental and a locative case. Closer scrutiny, however, shows that a morphologically distinct instrumental and locative case were fairly consistently applied in some declensional classes, at least in some dialects of Old Frisian (c. 1250-1400). Traces are in particular found in texts from the Ems Frisian region, but are also attested in Codex Unia, reflecting Old West Frisian. The instrumental ending was PFri *-u < PIE *-oh₁ throughout (nearly) all declensional classes, a uniformity typical for a case with a low frequency. The origin of the PFri locative ending *-i, restricted to the masculine *a*-stems, remains unclear. The reconstructed distribution of case endings found for the earliest stages of Old Frisian largely parallels the situation in nineteenth century Old Saxon.

LETIZIA VEZZOSI, 'Magic involvement: the codification of possession in Middle Dutch healing recipes and charms',
Filologia Germanica – Germanic Philology 9 (2017), pp. 231-255.

It has long been debated whether recipes and charms represent separate textual genres. They have much in common in terms of structure, linguistic features and communicative purpose. The present paper approaches the issue from a linguistic perspective: it focusses on possessive constructions, and particularly on the question how body part nouns are syntactically incorporated in clauses. Empirically, this study is based on a corpus of Middle Dutch medical treatises and healing charms from the fifteenth century. It shows that charms and recipes presuppose a different communicative pact between the writer – *i.e.* the practitioner or the magician – and the patient. The resulting differences sufficiently substantial to warrant the conclusion that recipes and charms should be considered as different text types.