

THE STYLE AND STRUCTURE OF *MINNESANG*

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ABBREVIATIONS

BOOKS AND JOURNALS

ATB	Altdeutsche Textbibliothek
BLM	Bibliographien zur deutschen Literatur des Mittelalters
CB	Fischer and Kuhn, <i>Carmina Burana</i>
GAG	Göppinger Arbeiten zur Germanistik
HSK	Handbücher zur Sprach- und Kommunikationswissenschaft
JEGP	<i>Journal of English and Germanic Philology</i>
KLD	von Kraus, <i>Deutsche Liederdichter des 13. Jahrhunderts</i>
vLuW	von Lieres und Wilkau, <i>Sprachformeln in der mittelhochdeutschen Dichtung bis zu Walther von der Vogelweide</i>
MF	Moser and Tervooren, <i>Des Minnesangs Frühling</i> , 38 th rev. ed.
MGH	Monumenta Germaniae Historica
MTU	Münchener Texte und Untersuchungen zur deutschen Literatur des Mittelalters
PBB	<i>Pauls und Braunes Beiträge (Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur)</i>
PW	Friedrich, <i>Phraseologisches Wörterbuch des Mittelhochdeutschen</i>
RL	<i>Reallexikon der deutschen Literaturgeschichte</i>
SM	Bartsch, <i>Die Schweizer Minnesänger</i>
TPMA	<i>Thesaurus proverbiorum medii aevi</i>
W	Maurer, <i>Die Lieder Walthers von der Vogelweide 2. Die Liebeslieder</i> , 3 rd rev. ed.
WDF	Wege der Forschung
ZdfA	<i>Zeitschrift für deutsches Alterthum/Altertum und Literatur</i>

LANGUAGES

Go	Gothic
ModE	Modern English
ME	Middle English
MG	Modern German
MHG	Middle High German
ENHG	Early New High German
NHG	New High German
OE	Old English
OF	Old French
OHG	Old High German
OO	Old Occitan
OS	Old Saxon

MIDDLE HIGH GERMAN POETS AND TEXTS

AMR	Albrecht, Marschall von Rapperswil
AvJ	Albrecht von Johansdorf
B	von Buchheim
Bp	Boppe
BvH	Bernger von Horheim
BvL	Der Burggrave von Lüenz
BvRe	Der Burggraf von Regensburg
BvRi	Der Burggraf von Rietenburg
BvS	Bligger von Steinach
CH	Clara Hätzlerin

CvH	Christian von Hamle
CvL	Christian von Luppin
D	Der Durinc
DgGat	<i>Die getreue Gattin</i>
DgGer	<i>Der guote Gerhart</i>
DTK	<i>Der Trojanische Krieg</i>
DvE	Dietmar von Eist
EvA	Engelhart von Adelnburg
FK	Friedrich der Knecht
FvH	Friedrich von Hausen
FvL	Friderich von Liningen
G	Der von Gliers
GKT	Graf Kraft von Toggenburg
Gs	Goesli
GvN	Gottfried von Neifen
GvS	Gottfried von Straßburg
GvS T	Gottfried von Straßburg (<i>Tristan</i>)
GWH	Graf Wernher von Hohenberg
H	Herger
HR	Heinrich der Rost, Kirchherr zu Sarnen
HvA	Hartmann von Aue
HvF	Heinrich von Frauenberg
HvL J	Hadamar von Laber (<i>Die Jagd</i>)
HvM	Heinrich von Morungen
HvMeis	Heinrich von Meissen
HvMont	Hugo von Montfort

HvMu	Heinrich von der Muore
HvR	Heinrich von Rugge
HvRu	Hartwig von Rute
HvS	Heinrich von Sax
HvSchw	Hiltbolt von Schwangau
HvSt	Heinrich von Stetelingen
HvV	Heinrich von Veldeke
JdE W	Jans der Enikel (<i>Weltchronik</i>)
JvR	Johann von Ringgenberg
JvW	Jakob von Warte
K	Der von Kürenberg
Kanz	Der Kanzler
KH	Kaiser Heinrich
KJ	König Konrad der Junge
KSL	Konrad, Schenk von Landeck
KvA	Konrad von Altstetten
KvK	Kuonrat von Kilchberg
KvW L	Konrad von Würzburg (lyrics)
L Alex	Lamprecht (<i>Alexander</i>)
LvS	Leuthold von Saven
M	von Muneguir
MuB	<i>Mai und Beaflo</i> r
MHT	Meister Heinrich Teschler
MJH	Meister Johannes Hadlaub
MvS	Meinloh von Sevelingen
MvSalz	Der Mönch von Salzburg

N C	Neidhart C
NL	Namenlose Lieder (in MF)
NKLD	Namenlose (in KLD)
OvB	Otte von Brandenburg
OvW	Oswald von Wolkenstein
OzT	Otto zum Turm
R	Reinmar der Alte
RF	Reinmar der Fiedler
RvE Alex	Rudolf von Ems (<i>Alexander</i>)
RvF	Rudolf von Fenis
RvR	Rudolf von Rotenburg
S	Spervogel
St	von Stamheim
Stein	Steinmar
SvE	Der Schuolmeister von Ezzelingen
T	Der von Trostberg
UvE Alex	Ulrich von Eschenbach (<i>Alexander</i>)
UvG	Ulrich von Gutenberg
UvL Fb	Ulrich von Lichtenstein (<i>Frauenbuch</i>)
UvL Fd	Ulrich von Lichtenstein (<i>Frauendienst</i>)
UvL FdL	Ulrich von Lichtenstein (<i>Frauendienst Lieder</i>)
UvS	Uolrich von Singenberg
UvW	Ulrich von Winterstetten
W	Walther von der Vogelweide
WA	Der Wilde Alexander
Wig	<i>Wigalois</i>

Win	Winli
WvB	Wenzel von Beheim
WvE	Wolfram von Eschenbach
WvE P	Wolfram von Eschenbach (<i>Parzival</i>)
WvP	Walther von Prischach

OLD OCCITAN POETS

AD	Arnaut Daniel
AdB	Aimeric de Belenoi
AdP	Aimeric de Péguilhan
AOO	Anonymous (Old Occitan)
AT	Anonymous Trobairitz
BC	Bertran Carbonel
BdB	Bertran de Born
BdP	Berenguier de Palazol
BdV	Bernart de Ventadour
BZ	Bertolome Zorzi
CdG	Cerveri de Girona
CP	Calega Panzan
FdL	Folquet de Lunel
FdM	Folquet de Marseille
GA	Guilhem Ademar
GdB	Giraut de Borneil
GdE	Guiraut d'Espagne
GdMont	Guilhem de Montanhagol
GdMur	Guilhem de Mur

GdPC	Guilhem Peire de Cazals
GdSG	Guilhem de Saint-Grégoire
GF	Gaucelm Faidit
GR	Guiraut Riquier
JE	Joan Esteve
MErm	Matfré Ermengau
PCard	Peire Cardenal
PD	Perseval Doria
PdA	Peire d’Auvergne
PdB	Peire de Bussignac
PdM	Paulet de Marseille
PdS	Pons de Santolh
PM	Peire Milon
PRdT	Peire Raimon de Toulouse
PV	Peire Vidal
RB	Rambertino Buvalelli
RdM	Raimon de Miraval
RdO	Raimbaut d’Orange
RdV	Raimbaut de Vaqueiras
ROO	Rainaut (Old Occitan)
SOO	Sordel (Old Occitan)

– INTRODUCTION –

Historical phraseology remains *im Entstehen* within the growing general field, its small body of scholarship appearing over decades and seemingly with little forward motion, despite significant growth in theoretical and applied studies in living languages and increasingly cross-linguistic research. That important work remains to be done not only for Middle High German but also for entire language families is clear, though in this regard my task has been made easier: it is good fortune that the bulk of extant studies in the broader field concern Germanic languages, in isolation or comparatively, as geographic and historical conditions have led to the primacy of German in historical, modern, and contemporary phraseology beyond the role of Russian and French, the languages in which the field was conceived.

Viewed here as one part of the total formulaic repertoire of medieval texts, which also includes rhetorical devices and non-phraseological formulas, historical phraseology in Middle High German serves for the first time as the object of a longer study, specifically on the example of its form and function within lyric poetry. *Minnesang* and other forms of the love lyric are not inherently more formulaic than

vernacular hagiographies, chronicles, romances, or didactic literature, but were selected as a test case for the exploration of phraseological boundaries in the expectation that highly stylized literature in rhymed verse and of variable length, from a few strophes to thousands of lines, belongs to the objects of phraseological research. In equal measure a reaction to previous claims about prose versus poetry as proper sources of investigation, this choice also allowed an opportunity to expand the types and uses of formulaic language in *Minnesang* beyond those identified in previous studies.

The five chapters that follow address the state of the field in historical phraseological research and formulaicity in *Minnesang*; the formulaic content of a randomly-selected strophe compared to a broad corpus of lyric poetry; cross-linguistic comparison of phraseological units between Middle High German and Old Occitan lyric corpora, as well as the *Carmina Burana*; proverbs and sententious language in the lyric; and the role of kinnegrams (phraseological expressions of non-verbal communication) in expressing emotion and action in an otherwise largely static genre and as aspects of gender and performance.

While prose literature in dead languages remains the best medium for

identifying phraseological units more likely to occur in unavailable speech, the preoccupation with speech that typifies many linguistic studies can obscure the role that phraseology plays in literature. The conclusions of the chapters that follow indicate that phrasemes (phraseological units), alongside other types of formulaic language, belongs to the basic compositional strategies of Middle High German verse literature, regardless of rhyme and metrical considerations (i.e., syntactic restrictions). Furthermore, literary phraseology bears narrative significance beyond the structural facilitation of composition through stringing together prefabricated segments in the manner of Parry-Lord formulas (whether or not all of the poems were originally composed orally) – among other functions it serves as the primary medium for transmitting didactic wisdom and provides alternatives to simple descriptions in the circumlocutory imagery that allows great variety in a genre with a relatively narrow thematic focus.

There remain many theoretical problems and methodological concerns regarding terms and the phraseologicity of polylexical units in dead languages. This dissertation is exploratory rather than descriptive in that regard; my intention is not to

define once and for all the field and its methods but to expand the range of possible genres and texts for diachronic and synchronic phraseological analysis, derive new questions for further research from hitherto uncollected data drawn from newer digital and older print corpora, and finally integrate linguistic and literary approaches with a view to developing new answers to old questions. *Minnesang* has been a perennially favored topic in medieval German studies for nearly two centuries, but the farthest depths of the lyrics' structure and composition remain unplumbed by traditional approaches, and these chapters are an attempt at a corrective and a step forward.

PART ONE

HISTORICAL PHRASEOLOGY AND THE MEDIEVAL GERMAN LYRIC

FORMULAICITY AND FORMULAS IN *MINNESANG* SCHOLARSHIP: PAST APPROACHES
AND NEW METHODS

“The medieval love-lyric cannot be defined or explained in any *simpliste* fashion, and it is doubtful whether any unified theory will ever be discovered, for the very concept of courtly love and certainly its expression vary so greatly from language to language, poet to poet, and even song to song composed by the one poet.”¹

“Daß er seine eigene Form noch nicht gefunden hat, spricht eher für den Umfang seiner Kenntnisse vom Formen, für die Weite seiner Möglichkeiten, als gegen sein Talent.”²

“Es ist kein Dichter, selbst bis auf die Späteren, der nicht, wie er seinen eigenen Ausdruck, seine eigene Sprache hat, auch eine neue Form suchte...”³

All literature is marked by conventionality, formulas, genre, by discrete elements from common stores that can be combined in an endless array and altered only slightly to produce new versions of old ideas and forms. Medieval literature embodies this

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- 1 David Blamires, review of *Medieval Latin and the Rise of the European Love-Lyric*, by Peter Dronke, *The Modern Language Review* 62.2 (1967): 302.
 - 2 Heiner Müller, “Die Dichtung muss sich stellen... Bemerkungen zu einem Gedichtband von Paul Wiens”, *Werke*, ed. Frank Hörnigk, Vol. 8 Schriften (Frankfurt: Suhrkamp, 2005), 57.
 - 3 Vickie L. Ziegler, *The Leitword in Minnesang*, *The Penn State Series in German Literature* (University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1975), 7, from Ludwig Tieck, *Minnelieder aus dem schwäbischen Zeitalter* (Berlin: Realschulbuchhandlung, 1803), 11-12.

conventionality – henceforth referred to as *formulaicity*, or the property of being formulaic – in its essence, often seeming remote to modern readers in its repetition of themes, motifs, and characters. In equal measure nearly any Victorian novel, pulp science fiction story, or murder-mystery adheres to a large degree of formulaicity in structure, phraseology, and vocabulary; the difference is really one of content, not style. Thus the formula, whether structural or lexical, is inherent in the composition of texts, from the Epic of Gilgamesh to blogs. The epigraphic oppositions above speak to one of the central problems of formulaicity in medieval texts: in the first, medieval literature is made to seem limitless in its modes of expression; in the second, a modern poet speaks of another modern poet in terms that seem closer to the appreciation of formulaicity in the Middle Ages; and finally a Romantic author and scholar notes that formulas may be bent toward the development of originality and authorial voice. This chapter discusses the ways in which scholars of the past two centuries have understood, classified, recorded, and analyzed the formulaic language found in the corpus of medieval German lyric poetry, as well as suggests the adoption of recent terms and methods of phraseological research for use in the study of *Minnesang*.

1.1 THE HISTORY OF FORMULAIC STUDIES IN *MINNESANG*

The history of scholarship on the formulaic language of *Minnesang* is nearly as long as that of the modern interest in Middle High German (MHG) literature generally. In 1811 Jacob Grimm struck a chord with *Über den altdutschen meistersang* that has resonated ever since, though his text represents only one of the many perspectives that comprise the field.⁴ While Grimm's interest was literary-historical, his results were the tripartite principle of strophic construction into two *Stollen* and the *Abgesang* that still define the basic structure of *Minnesang* and some forms of *Meistersang*. Interest in structural formulas has never disappeared, but later nineteenth- and early twentieth-century studies concentrated as much on rhetorical formulas as structural, including several dissertations and books on epithets and formulas in the MHG lyric.⁵ From the 1940s to the 1980s appeared a large number of dissertations and books treating the

4 Jacob Grimm, *Ueber den altdutschen Meistersang* (Göttingen: Heinrich Dieterich, 1811); one may go back further to Ludwig Tieck and others, cf. Ziegler, *The Leitword*, pp. 6-7. Martha Heeder, "Ornamentale Bauformen in hochmittelalterlicher deutschsprachiger Lyrik," Inaugural-Diss., Eberhard-Karls-Universität zu Tübingen, 1966, 3-17 gives an overview of the history of formal studies of *Minnesang*.

5 See E.F. Paul Wigand, "Zur Charakteristik des Stiles Walthers von der Vogelweide," Inaugural-Diss., Philipps-Universität Marburg, 1879; Albert Daur, *Das alte deutsche Volkslied nach seinen festen Ausdrucksformeln betrachtet* (Leipzig: Quelle und Meyer, 1909); and Erich Gärtner, "Die Epitheta bei Walther von der Vogelweide." Inaugural-Diss., Christian-Albrechts-Universität zu Kiel, 1911.

formulaic language of *Minnesang* in a classificatory manner hitherto only seen in other branches of Germanic philology, notably Sievers's 1878 edition of the *Heliand*,⁶ producing typologies, lists, and indexes.⁷ Since the 1980s there has been a dearth of studies on formulaic or conventional language in *Minnesang*, while the tools for research have been refined and expanded due to technological innovations, including computerized concordances and lemmatized and disambiguated database projects such as the *Mittelhochdeutsche Begriffsdatenbank* (MB).⁸ Only one lexicographical study from

6 Eduard Sievers, ed, *Heliand*, Germanistische Handbibliothek 4 (Halle: Verlag der Buchhandlung des Waisenhauses, 1878), which has been the inspiration – noted or not – for most of the twentieth-century classifications that have followed it.

7 See Fred Bruno Gerstung, “The Language of Walther von der Vogelweide,” PhD diss., University of Minnesota, 1947; A.H. Touber, *Rhetorik und Form im deutschen Minnesang* (Groningen: J.B. Wolters, 1964); Marianne von Lieres und Wilkau, *Sprachformeln in der mittelhochdeutschen Lyrik bis zu Walther von der Vogelweide*, MTU 9 (Munich: C.H. Beck, 1965); Heeder, *Ornamentale Bauformen*; Clayton Gray, “Motifs of Classical Minnesang: Their Origin, Content, and Development,” PhD diss., University of California, Berkeley, 1969; Ziegler, *The Leitword*; and Trude Ehlert, *Konvention – Variation – Innovation: Ein struktureller Vergleich von Liedern aus “Des Minnesangs Frühling” und von Walther von der Vogelweide*, Philologische Studien und Quellen 99 (Berlin: Erich Schmidt Verlag, 1980), a continuation of structural studies in formula, it also contains the only attempt at a motif-index of *Minnesang*. Given the shorter nature of poems and the often short collected works of individual poets, many issues directly or indirectly related to formulaicity and formulas are addressed in articles rather than monographs, which Manfred Günther Scholz, *Bibliographie zu Walther von der Vogelweide*, BLM 4 (Berlin: Erich Schmidt, 1969) and Helmut Tervooren, *Bibliographie zum Minnesang und zu den Dichtern aus “Des Minnesangs Frühling”*, BLM 3 (Berlin: Erich Schmidt, 1969) supply until 1969.

8 See Clifton Hall and Samuel Coleman, *Walther von der Vogelweide: A Complete Reference Work. Head-Word and Rhyme-Word Concordances to his Poetry* (Niwot, CO: University Press of Colorado, 1995); Hall and Coleman, *Head-Word and Rhyme-Word Concordances to Des Minnesangs Frühling: Complete Reference Work* (Niwot, CO: University Press of Colorado, 1997); and Paris-Lodron-Universität Salzburg, “Mittelhochdeutsche Begriffsdatenbank,” last modified September 10, 2007,

a phraseological perspective (or any other more recent approach) currently exists; while it appears in table 1.1 below for comparative purposes, the main discussion of the *Phraseologisches Wörterbuch des Mittelhochdeutschen* (PW) occurs in section 1.2.2.⁹ The following section details the categories and rationale of categorization for each of the systems of formulaic language proposed by scholars mentioned here.

1.1.1 OLDER CLASSIFICATION SYSTEMS

That the language of the medieval German lyric is formulaic is clear after reading a handful of examples. Words are repeated, as are phrases, across the entire corpus in frequencies of varying degree (the problem of frequency is discussed below in section 1.3). How to identify, classify, and compare them has always been a question with ambiguous answers, which shift with the passing of years and the dominant theoretical positions on formulaicity, as well as the perspective of the scholar, e.g. one finds rhetorical forms that are also formulas in other systems, including contemporary phraseology.

<http://mhdbdb.sbg.ac.at:8000/>. While the MB is easily the largest and most complete available corpus of MHG with advanced search functions, work is still in progress and not every text has been fully lemmatized and disambiguated. The corpus consists of over four million words.

⁹ Jesko Friedrich, *Phraseologisches Wörterbuch des Mittelhochdeutschen. Redensarten, Sprichwörter und andere feste Wortverbindungen in Texten von 1050-1350*, Reihe Germanistische Linguistik 264 (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 2006).

While simple lists of formulaic phrases, such as in Gerstung's "The Language of Walther von der Vogelweide," do not provide any comparative material other than the words and phrases themselves, most twentieth-century studies have established systems of categorization, whether based on older rhetorical traditions or newer concepts of formulaic language. The following list contains the names of six scholars and the categorical terms they employ, in alphabetical order. The scope of each study is different, and accordingly some list far more terms than others.¹⁰

10 Wigand, *Zur Charakteristik des Stiles*, 35-36, also includes *Die Ironie*, but his treatment is so vague that either a) what he detects as irony in Walther is not reducible to a lexical or phraseological unit or even line, or b) the cited lines function in another category already named, e.g. litotes. Only the terms in the first chapter of Wigand are listed; the dissertation continues with *Anakoluth*, *Anapher*, *Asyndeton*, *Cumulatio*, *Epanalepse* and *Epanodos*, *Epipher*, *Epizeuxis*, *Gradatio*, *Hysterologie*, *Inversion*, *Parallelismus*, *Paranthese*, *Polysyndeton*, *Refrain*, *Tautologie*, *Teilung* and *Zusammenzählung*, and *Wiederholung*, among others. Gärtner distinguishes the lexical classes of epithets in his introduction (as adjectives, participles, or substantives [further divided into apposition, relative clauses, expansion through case similarity, and prepositional phrases]), while the rest of the dissertation presents epithets according to sense-groups.

Table 1.1 – Terms for Formulaic Units and Rhetorical Devices

Wigand	Gärtner	Touber	vLuW	Heeder	Friedrich
Allegorie	Epitheton ornans	additive Reihung	Ausruf	Assonanzresponion	adverbiales Syntagma
Apostrophe	unterscheidendes Epitheton	Alliteration	Beteuerungsformel/ Wahrheitsbeteuerung	Leitwort	Aufzählung
Epitheton ornans		Anrede	Epitheton	Reimresponion	Funktionsverbgefüge
Euphemismus		Ausruf	Eid/Flucht	Strophenverkettung	Gruß/Wahrheitsbeteuerung/Fluch
Hyperbel/Litotes		Frage	Gruß/Abschied/Segen		nominales Syntagma 1
Metapher		Gegensatz	formelhaft verwendetes Adjektiv		nominales Syntagma 2: Onymisches Phrasem
Metonymie		Wiederholung	Quellenberfuung		Paarformel (Zwillings- und Drillingsformel: synonym und antonym)
Oxymoron			Reimformel		satzwertiges Phrasem 1: Sprichwort
Personification			Satz/Zeile		satzwertiges Phrasem 2: feste Phrase
Synechdoche			Sprichwort/Sentenz		Terminus
Umschreibung			Zeitumschreibung		verbales Syntagma
Vergleichung			Zwillingsformel		

Table 1.1 – Terms for Formulaic Units and Rhetorical Devices

Wigand

Gärtner

Touber

vLuW

Heeder

Friedrich

(Gleichnis/Anspiel)

Wortspiel

This multitude of terms (most of which are not repeated in other columns) stems from the difference between formulaic language and formulaic structures (which include lexical elements, e.g. rhyme words), i.e. *Sprachprägung* and *Strukturformel*¹¹, on the one hand, and from the shifting focus of formulaic studies from rhetorical figures to lexical units that do not readily fall under the headings of rhetoric or structural formulas, often phraseological units, even if the term is not employed, on the other. As the present study is only concerned with structural formulas insofar as they may relate to phraseological units, most of Heeder's terms will subsequently not appear again, and *Leitwörter* will be discussed only in terms of phrasal coherence, when applicable, rather than as isolated indicators of motifs. From the perspective of rhetorical studies, standard definitions of devices are gathered from the long tradition of Western rhetoric, whose direct connection to the manuals of the Middle Ages makes them especially unproblematic for the analysis of *Minnesang* or other medieval texts, e.g. in Touber.¹² Rhetorical devices, when stereotyped in content as well as

11 Helmut de Boor, "Formel," *Reallexikon der deutschen Literaturgeschichte*, eds. Werner Kohlschmidt and Wolfgang Mohr, vol. 1, 2nd rev. ed. (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1955), 471-476. Even this division is only somewhat useful; the former category may include the latter, and the other way round, subordinate to the type of formula and its location within a strophe, e.g. in the position of rhyme.

12 Touber, *Rhetorik und Form*, 14-15, for example, uses the texts and types found in Edmond Faral, *Les arts poétiques du XIIème et du XIIIème siècles: Recherches et documents sur la technique littéraire du*

form, can enter the realm of the phraseological. For example, anaphora is a syntactic choice with no more lexical importance than parataxis, while an *enumeratio* of the features of a woman may become quickly bound to the style of the day, repeated by one poet after another in a fixed form, which may then be parodied, rearranged, or extended by others.

The pre-phraseological definitions for formulas are necessarily vague, particularly when ‘formula’ is defined rather than subtypes with discernible characteristics beyond frequency alone. Definitions such as Richard Meyer’s are often subjective: “Und ich verstehe unter “Formeln” alle diejenigen Mittel des Ausdrucks, die häufig genug auftreten, um der Poesie einen eigenartigen Charakter zu verleihen.”¹³ Von Lieres und Wilkau protests rightly against this definition, but states that an individual poet’s frequent use of a phrase cannot be a formula; rather, she supports Helmut de Boor’s position in the RL up to a point, noting that it is “jedoch zu eng gefaßt.”¹⁴ Hans Dieter Lutz contended that de Boor’s article (and its revisions) does not adequately address formulaicity in a wide enough sense to account for special cases

Moyen Age (Paris: Champion, 1924; repr. 1971).

13 Richard M. Meyer, *Die altgermanische Poesie nach ihren formelhaften Elementen beschrieben* (Berlin: Verlag von Wilhelm Hertz, 1889), 1.

14 VluW, 18.

or all formulas generally.¹⁵ De Boor and Mohr offer the following criteria for formulas:

1. A formula is recognized by the public of its medium¹⁶ and
2. has thereby become traditional;
3. furthermore, it is an expression of a concept or thought,
4. and may recur in the same or nearly the same form in different contexts.¹⁷

Criticisms of this definition include its near impossibility to use as a heuristic (e.g., it does not specify how one identifies the concept or thought behind the formula), its lack of clarity in referring to a ‘traditional’ status and a ‘public,’ and its inflexibility regarding frequently occurring semi-restricted word-groups.¹⁸ However, it does make an exception for the morphology of an inflected language such as German. An additional problem surfaces in the idea of ‘recognition,’ which seems to walk too fine a line between formulaicity and idiomaticity – a formula need not be recognized as such

15 Hans Dieter Lutz, *Zur Formelhaftigkeit der Adjektiv-Substantiv Verbindung im Mittelhochdeutschen: Struktur – Statistik – Semantik*, MTU 52 (Munich: C.H. Beck, 1975), 13-16; de Boor, “Formel,” *RL*.

16 That is, a formula is recognized “von der Allgemeinheit,” which, in MHG texts, may encompass a three-tiered body of a) the MHG language in general, b) the courtly society, and c) the literate class within this society (vLuW, 15).

17 vLuW cites de Boor’s original article, while Lutz cites the 1958 revision by Mohr.

18 Lutz, *Zur Formelhaftigkeit*, 13-14; vLuW, 18-19.

by the entire population of speakers or readers of a language to be comprehensible, while an idiom, i.e., by definition an idiomatic formula, must.

Regardless of the definition of formulaicity in the works above (with the exception of Lutz's statistical assessment of the frequency problem), very few inroads have been made into the central problems of formulaic language in MHG and *Minnesang* in particular. No pre-phraseological method for isolating restricted and semi-restricted phrases within texts exists, and, while the identification of rhetorical devices poses fewer problems, the formulaicity of those devices remains largely unexamined. In *Minnesang* research the rhetoricians have largely ignored the formulas within tropes, while those who cataloged formulas often did not examine them within the context of rhetoric, but rather the literary sense of the line, strophe, or poem as a whole. In order to better identify, classify, and analyze formulas, we must turn to phraseology, and particularly historical phraseology, which poses many of the same problems as previous systems of formulaicity.

1.2 PHRASEOLOGY AND HISTORICAL PHRASEOLOGY

Phraseology as a linguistic subfield refers to the description and analysis of

phraseological units (see 1.2.1), and takes as its object

“... a wide range of preconstructed or semi-preconstructed word combinations [...]. These include highly opaque multiword units of the *kick-the-bucket* type, collocations, irreversible binominals, phrasal verbs, compounds, metaphorical expressions, similes, proverbs, familiar quotations, catchphrases, clichés, slogans, expletives, and discourse markers such as politeness formulae – all of which have been subsumed under *phraseology*, or under *idiom* in the Anglo-American linguistic tradition.”¹⁹

Some of these types of phrases, for example phrasal verbs and binomials, are familiar from *Minnesang* and from MHG literature generally; others are less frequently encountered, such as highly opaque (unmotivated) idioms of the *kick-the-bucket* type.²⁰

Historical phraseology considers both the more recent centuries of still-extant languages that are nevertheless inaccessible in terms of speakers, e.g. the Romantic, and the older periods of languages, e.g. MHG, or dead languages with no contemporary descendant. In each case we must deal with texts alone, rather than with living speakers as well as texts, which typifies contemporary phraseology that is not exclusively literary.

19 Paul Skandera, ed., *Phraseology and Culture in English* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2007), v.

20 The opacity of an idiom refers to the presence or lack of a referent. In a phrase such as *to kick the bucket*, whose meaning is “die,” neither the verb *kick* nor the noun phrase *the bucket* explains the third, idiomatic meaning. The definiteness of the noun phrase also does not aid in understanding the sense of the unit.

Because phraseology is no longer an unknown field in the United States and has an “acknowledged importance to both theoretical and applied linguistics,” I will offer only a brief history of the field and an outline of its central subjects and problems, which are treated in greater detail elsewhere.²¹ Charles Bally’s 1909 *Traité de stylistique française*, which established an early means to distinguish types of phraseological units, is considered to be the forerunner of phraseology as a distinct subfield of modern lexicology.²² Soviet linguists around the 1940s began developing a descriptive theory from Bally’s work that hitherto had been defined only vaguely, though the roots of the idea of phrases as an object of study is, to a certain degree, as old as the ancient study of rhetoric, and the term *phraseology* appears as early as 1604; the earliest uses conflate the word with *phrases* in general, rather than a study of phrases,²³ a usage

21 See A.P. Cowie, ed., *Phraseology: Theory, Analysis, and Applications*, Oxford Studies in Lexicography and Lexicology (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), 1-20.

22 Harald Burger, *Phraseologie: Eine Einführung am Beispiel des Deutschen*, Grundlagen der Germanistik 36, 4th ed. (Berlin: Erich Schmidt Verlag, 2010), 9; Charles Bally, *Traité de stylistique française*, 3rd ed. (Paris: Klincksieck, 1951).

23 S.v. “phraseology, *n.*,” OED. The latter definition includes such early examples as John Dove, *The importance of rabbinical learning, or, the advantage of understanding the rites, customs, usages, phraseology, &c. of the Talmudists considered, with some remarks on their enigmatical and sublime method of instruction* (London: printed for J. Oswald, 1746); John Walters, *An English and Welsh dictionary, wherein, not only the words, but also, the idioms and phraseology of the English language, are carefully translated into Welsh*, 2 vols. (Denbigh, Ireland: printed for T. Gee, 1770); and Joseph Baretti, *Easy phraseology, for the use of young ladies, who intend to learn the colloquial part of the Italian language* (London: printed for G. Robinson; and T. Cadell, 1775). See also Gabrielle Knappe, *Idioms*

which still exists to a small extent in language pedagogy (e.g. referring to idioms and their glosses as ‘phraseology’).²⁴ By the late 1960s and early 70s, English- and German-speaking audiences became increasingly aware of the Slavic phraseological research with the publication of several articles on idiomaticity and phraseology from behind the Iron Curtain, as well as from West Germany and the United States.²⁵ However, it was not until the 1980s and 90s that the field saw increased international research, culminating in the current prevalence of phraseological studies and the European Society of Phraseology’s (EUOPHRAS) biannual conferences.²⁶

Greatly increasing in scope and prominence, European collaboration on the theoretical and practical aspects of phraseology in modern languages has brought new insights into corpus linguistics, foreign language acquisition, lexicography in dictionaries for non-native speakers, and the nuances of idiomaticity, among other

and Fixed Expressions in English Language Study before 1800 (Bern: Peter Lang, 2004).

24 The current field of phraseology, however, has also been applied to language pedagogy and learning. For a recent study, see Fanny Meunier and Sylvaine Granger, eds., *Phraseology in Foreign Language Learning and Teaching* (Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 2008).

25 Cf. Cowie, *Phraseology*, “Introduction,” 1-20.

26 Although EUOPHRAS was founded as an academic society 1999 and held its first eponymous conference in 2000, conferences with the same or similar names were held in 1981, 1984, 1986, 1988, 1990, 1992, 1995, and 1997. Christine Beckert, ed. “Die Tradition der Europhras-Tagungen (und ihrer unmittelbaren Vorläufer)” Last modified October 11, 2010. <http://www.europhras.org/deutsch/vorlaeuf.html>.

things. Introductory volumes on general, German, or English phraseology²⁷ have appeared in recent decades written or edited by scholars from Germany and Switzerland,²⁸ Britain,²⁹ France,³⁰ and the U.S.,³¹ though monographs focused on specific issues in phraseology appear rarely, and rarer still in historical phraseology. Because phraseologists often hold as their preferred subject human speech and its manifestation in prose with minimal literary ‘modification,’ poetry receives little attention whether old or new. The state of contemporary research on historical phraseology remains, in some aspects, the same as it was two or more decades ago. Most standard handbooks and introductions focus exclusively on early modern

27 Other languages are treated in chapters of Harald Burger et al., eds., *Phraseologie. Ein internationales Handbuch der zeitgenössischen Forschung*, 2 vols. HSK 28.1-2 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2007) and have their own bibliographies, though they are also in large measure products of the last few decades.

28 See Harald Burger Annelies Buhofer, and Ambros Sialm, eds., *Handbuch der Phraseologie* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1982); Rosemarie Gläser, *Phraseologie der englischen Sprache* (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1986); Gabrielle Knappe, *Idioms and Fixed Expressions*; Burger et al, eds., *Phraseologie. Ein internationales Handbuch*; Sabine Fiedler, *English Phraseology. A Coursebook* (Tübingen: Narr, 2007); and Harald Burger, *Phraseologie: Eine Einführung*. Considered a standard handbook, Burger’s volume was originally published in 1998 and revised in 2003, 2007, and 2010.

29 See Cowie, *Phraseology* and Michael Stubbs, *Words and Phrases: Corpus Studies of Lexical Semantics* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2001). Although the term plays no role in Stubb’s book, he is influenced by recent phraseological research and his objects of study are phraseological. Similar books in the fields of lexical semantics and corpus linguistics could be classified as phraseological studies.

30 See Sylviane Granger and Fanny Meunier, eds, *Phraseology: An Interdisciplinary Perspective* (Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 2008).

31 See Skandera, *Phraseology and Culture*. Phraseology has generally made only a very small impact in American scholarship.

examples, when they are concerned with diachronic aspects of phraseme formation and use in any detail at all.³² Two exceptions give longer explanations, though they, too, only offer broad remarks on the basic problems of historical phraseology.³³ Medieval (and earlier) phraseology requires further investigation, both at the applied level of textual analysis and the theoretical level, e.g., what is and what is not phrasemic in older texts, how do phrasemes change over durations longer than a few centuries, and what are the connections between (and limits to) conventional written versus conventional oral language and composition? Apart from the first, these questions are beyond the scope of the present study, but there is so little research in

32 Cowie, *Phraseology*, contains no diachronic studies at all. Gläser, *Phraseologie der englischen Sprache*, 51-53 explains a few problems in English historical phraseology, but only insofar as they surface in contemporary language. Ch. 6 in Burger, *Phraseologie: Eine Einführung*, 122-145 reaches as far back as “Texte der Aufklärung, des Sturm und Drang, der Klassik,” 126, but, aside from a short discussion of the Bible as a source of proverbs, no further. Rudolf Große, “Sprachhistorische Bemerkungen zu den Präpositionaladverbien,” *Beiträge zur Phraseologie - Wortbildung - Lexikologie. Festschrift für Wolfgang Fleischer zum 70. Geburtstag*, Eds. Rudolf Grosse, Gotthard Lerchner, and Marianne Schröder (Wien: Peter Lang, 1992), 111-113 poses a chronological problem of adverbial phraseology from OHG to the present, which reflects generally the content of Harald Burger, “Probleme einer historischen Phraseologie des Deutschen,” *PBB* 99.1 (1977): 1-24.

33 Ch. 8 of Burger et al., *Handbuch der Phraseologie*, pp. 315-382 is the longest chapter on historical phraseology yet written, though it is, apart from a section on OHG, largely from Burger, “Probleme,” focused heavily on post-15th century German. Unlike the others, it includes a thorough summary of the methods and results of Soviet research on the historical phraseology of Russian, from Old Church Slavonic to the 19th century. For a more recent but shorter summary see Jesko Friedrich, “Historische Phraseologie des Deutschen,” *Phraseologie. Ein internationales Handbuch*, eds. Harald Burger et al, vol. 2, 1092-1106.

the phraseology of MHG that any statistical or comparative survey will to some degree answer fundamental questions posed by scholars of historical phraseology.

The oldest stage of the German language, Old High German (OHG), is represented in phraseological research, though it requires, by nature of its surviving corpus, different methods than those used to identify, classify, and compare phrasal language in NHG or even MHG. Among the difficulties are that common glosses from Latin and a severely restricted record of vocabulary outside the religious sphere limit the possibilities of firm statements on the ‘Germaness’ of OHG collocations (unless there is a direct link to another phrase in a different Germanic language), except, perhaps, those found in the *Hildebrandslied*. In 1977 Harald Burger engaged this topic with positive results, proving, to the degree than one can prove anything with such a limited corpus, that OHG contains phrasemes that are not always directly transferred from Latin (as in *gab antuurti / dedit responsum*), i.e., when the same seemingly-native German phrase corresponds to several different Latin phrases (as in *so scaffaniu, scaffaneru / in utero habens, praegnante*), among other criteria.³⁴

34 Natalia Filatkina and Monika Hanauska, “Wissensstruktuiierung und Wissensvermittlung durch Routineformeln: Am Beispiel ausgewählter althochdeutscher Texte,” *Yearbook of Phraseology* 1 (2011): 45-72 continues the dialogue begun in Burger's article nearly three and a half decades later and adds an interpretive perspective alongside descriptive examples.

Furthermore, though difficult to assess because of the problems of corpus size and variety, the majority of OHG phrasemes appear to be adverbial phrases and those reflecting spoken language, such as interjections and formulas of greeting or parting, rather than idioms “mit bildhaft motivierter Gesamtbedeutung,” i.e., restricted collocations and true idioms.³⁵ He concludes that

“Die ... Beispiele geben bereits eine positive Antwort auf die Frage, ob die ältere Sprache überhaupt über Phrasmen verfüge. Unzweifelhaft gibt es Phrasmen, und zwar von den ersten Anfängen der Überlieferung an. Wie groß ihr Anteil am lexikalischen Repertoire ist, läßt sich noch nicht abschätzen.”³⁶

Of German historical phraseology of any period one could say the same, in part because the answers are often empirically unknowable given the reliance on text alone, but also because much of the work remains to be done.³⁷ Not only is the lexical repertoire of MHG much larger than that of OHG, so too are the varieties of texts and uses of phrasal language.

35 Burger, “Probleme,” 23.

36 Burger, “Probleme,” 22.

37 The dearth of phraseological studies in earlier stages of German holds for the rest of the Germanic languages with the (slight) exception of Old English, for example Anatoly Liberman, “Approaches to Historical Phraseology. With Notes on *Sermo Lupi ad Anglos*,” *Word Heath. Wortheide. Orðheidi. Essays of Germanic Literature and Usage (1972-1992)*, Episteme dell'antichità e oltre 1 (Rome: Il Calamo, 1994), 356-373. One dissertation has been written on the phraseology of an Icelandic saga. See Louis Elliot Janus, “The Phraseology of *Egils Saga*,” PhD diss., University of Minnesota, 1994.

Jesko Friedrich's *Phraseologisches Wörterbuch des Mittelhochdeutschen* partially filled this wide gap in the historical phraseology of German, and indeed reaches further back in history than most works to date with the exception of Burger's article. Scholars working with the phraseology of later periods now have the ability to examine the origins of some of the phrasemes that survive today from the medieval period, as well as those that have disappeared over the intervening centuries. Although useful as a dictionary, its format necessarily restricts the possibility of analysis and detailed commentary. Friedrich defines his task in much the same way as that of the modern or contemporary phraseologist, though with caveats attesting to the difficulty of selecting the *categories* of MHG phrasemes. The well-noted deficiencies of "mangelnde Sprachkompetenz und lückenhafte Überlieferung," result in the analytical and evidentiary problems common to all historical phraseological research.³⁸ MHG, mentioned in Burger's article but not discussed beyond the introduction, shares some of the problems of OHG, for example, sorting out the foreign influences (primarily French rather than Latin) on the German language from original phraseological language and attempting to determine the relation between the written language in

38 PW, 14.

extant texts of various types to the spoken language, when possible. There are also differences, for example, the greater reliance on *Sprichwörter* of various subcategories.³⁹ These studies by Burger and Friedrich, of disparate format and separated by almost three decades, represent the best attempts to bring phraseological research into fields traditionally preoccupied with other philological tasks, some of which border on or even parallel phraseology; and yet both mention a problem that has been neither clearly defined nor solved, a problem that is especially pressing in pre-modern phraseological research – namely, the question of form and its relation to phraseme formation and use. Although there are grounds to critique Friedrich’s dictionary on the basis of genre selection, his collection is nevertheless the best available resource for the understanding of phrasal language in MHG.

1.2.1 PHRASEOLOGICAL CLASSIFICATIONS AND TERMINOLOGY

A.P. Cowie’s edited handbook of phraseology lists in the introduction some of the terms used by Russian, German, and English linguists. The introduction pits phraseological units as ‘prefabricated units,’ with a distinct semantic interpretation

³⁹ Of particular interest is the *Thesaurus Proverbiorum Medii Aevi*, which gives a comparative overview of proverbial phrases beyond German. Kuratorium Singer der Schweizerischen Akademie der Geistes- und Sozialwissenschaften, ed., *Thesaurus proverbiorum medii aevi: Lexikon der Sprichwörter des romanisch-germanischen Mittelalters*, 13 vols. (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1995-2002).

above the lexical level, against the generative view that language can be explained solely as a rule-based system with a lexicon made up of smaller units with rules of semantic interpretation, i.e., collocations may have a place in the latter system, but phrase-length statements and proverbs do not. The utility of phraseological analysis, collection, and definition is clear for linguistic analyses of cultural phenomena, foreign language pedagogy, and lexicography, though the emphasis on the electronic corpora of living languages leads to the lack of coverage on historical phraseology that plagues introductions like those by Cowie, Gläser, and others (words such as ‘historical’ or ‘diachronic’ do not appear in Cowie’s index).

Cowie, assessing the numerous classifications devised by linguists over the past sixty years, divides terms according to sentence-length units (pragmatic units) and word-length units (semantic units), but the individual systems often distinguish other basic categories. Subcategories are terminologically diverse, particularly with the inclusion of other linguistic categories that sometimes function in scholarship outside of directly phraseological discourse (e.g. idioms). As a representative sample and for the sake of brevity, the table below lists the relatively recent and accepted terms and

divisions of Igor Mel'čuk and Gläser.

Table 1.2 – Mel'čuk's and Gläser's Terms ⁴⁰		
Mel'čuk	Gläser	Example
Lvl 1: phraseme	Lvl 1: phraseological unit	
Lvl 2.1: pragmateme	Lvl 2.1: proposition	“No smoking”
Lvl 2.2: semantic phraseme	Lvl 2.2: nomination	
Lvl 3: idiom	Lvl 3: idiom	“spill the beans”
Lvl 3: restricted collocation	Lvl 3: restricted collocation	“black coffee”

Level 1 refers to the general term for a phrase unit; level 2.1 to the term for a ‘sentence-like’ or ‘pragmatic’ unit; level 2.2 to the term for a ‘word-like’ or ‘semantic’ unit; and both parts of level 3 to subdivisions of level 2.2. Neither Mel'čuk nor Gläser differentiate between unmotivated and partially-motivated idioms.

For the general categories above I will use Mel'čuk's terms, on the grounds that they are immediately comprehensible in their reference to pragmatic and semantic divisions. The term *phraseme* is common to most contemporary phraseological studies outside of Anglo-American use, and I will adhere to the standards of the dominant scholarship for easy reference to German and other European sources.⁴¹ Pragmatemes, illustrated here with *No smoking*, are phrases that appear to be free or semi-free

40 The terms in this table are from the larger tables 1.1 and 1.2 in Cowie, *Phraseology*, 5-7.

41 On this issue and the terminological problem in general see Burger et al, eds., *Phraseologie. Ein internationales Handbuch*, vol. 1, 11-14.

semantically but are restricted pragmatically. For example, **Please do not smoke* or **Smoking is not allowed here* are semantically viable sentences in ModE, but one would be unlikely to find them on a placard. To this category belong proverbs: *absence makes the heart grow fonder* cannot become **togetherness makes the heart grow fonder*, although there is nothing semantically inappropriate in this sentence. A subset of semantic phrasemes, idioms may be metaphorically motivated or unmotivated; in the former, a connection, even if slight, may be discovered between the idiom and its meaning (e.g., *to beat a dead horse* conveys redundancy or futility, regardless of its literal meaning, and *to carry coals to Newcastle* is plain enough to those who know something about Newcastle). In the latter, no amount of guesswork will reveal the idiomatic meaning of a phrase such as *to spill the beans*, *to shoot the breeze*, or *to pull a fast one* from their constituent verb or noun phrases. In these ModE examples the unpredictability of definiteness is equally unhelpful: why *the beans* instead of **beans*, *a* instead of **the fast one*? The answers can often be obtained through looking up the history of the idiom, but the meaning is no less opaque in the initial confrontation with such forms. Collocations, on the other hand, consist of two components whose

meaning depends on the intact semantic expression of one unit, while the other is then chosen contingent upon the first, whether the second unit is a light verb (i.e. it has little semantic content within the phrase and is selected because the noun requires it), an intensifier, or word from any other restricted set. For example, the phrase *to crack a joke* requires *joke*; *to crack* here is a light verb. Although the meaning would still be clear, one does not **speak* or **say a joke* (but many Americans *tell a joke* rather than *crack one*, which involves an equally light verb). Likewise with intensifiers, one drinks *strong coffee* but not **stiff coffee*, although a *stiff drink* is acceptable.⁴²

1.2.2 TERMS OF THE PRESENT STUDY

It is not possible in a phraseological study of MHG to rely solely on a general schema such as Mel'čuk's or Gläser's. Friedrich offers a "Mischklassifikation" from several sources, in order to account for the categories that occur more often in the MHG period than later.⁴³ The subtypes Friedrich lists appear under the more general categories from Mel'čuk in the table below, which reflects the nomenclature I employ throughout the following chapters.⁴⁴ Other terms employed by Friedrich appear at

42 See Igor Mel'čuk, "Collocations and Lexical Functions," Cowie, ed., *Phraseology*, 23-53.

43 PW, 23.

44 PW, 23-45.

the bottom of the table.

Table 1.3 – Friedrich’s Categories under Mel’čuk’s System

Terms	Examples
1 phrasemes	
2.1 pragmatic phrasemes	
satzwertige Phraseme 1 – Sprichwörter	<i>im ist sîn kint niht zart, / swer im die ruoten dicke spart / und sîne unzuht niht stillet</i> (cf. <i>qui parcit virgae suae odit filium suum</i> , Prov. 13:24)
Routineformeln	<i>nu habe danc, wê mir owê!</i>
bildliche Negation	<i>niht ein hâr, niht ein vuoꝛ</i>
2.2 semantic phrasemes	
3.1 idioms	
satzwertige Phraseme 2 – feste Phrasen	<i>dâ gienc ez (jmdm.) ûz deme spil</i> (‘da wurde es (für jmdn.) ernst’)
komparative Phraseme	<i>min fraꝝ ist herter dann ein stein / gein mir</i>
nominale Syntagmen	<i>diu swarze kunst</i>
verbale Syntagmen	<i>den walt swenden</i> (‘viele Speere verstecken’)
3.2 collocations	
Paarformeln (Zwillings- und Drillingsformeln: synonym, komplementäre und polar-strukturierend)	<i>weinen unde klagen, alt unde junc, vruo unde spâte</i>
nominale Syntagmen	<i>alle viere</i> (‘Hände und Füße’, adverbialized)

Table 1.3 – Friedrich’s Categories under Mel’čuk’s System

Terms

Examples

verbale Syntagmen (Funktionsverbgefüge)

daz kriuze (an sich) nehmen, ze ôren komen/bringen

Other categories:

adverbiale Syntagmen

âne mâze, ûz der mâze

kinegramme

in knie biegen

onymische Phraseme

das rote meer, diu heilige schrift

synsemantische Phraseme

war umbe, weder ... noch

Termini

varndez guot

Proverbs and formulas of greeting, parting, thanks, etc.⁴⁵ fall under the heading of pragmatic phrasemes, as should Friedrich's category of *bildliche Negationen*, in which the metaphorical objects are not unrestrictedly constructed, in the same way that in ModE one may say *not a bit* but not **not a portion*. Fully opaque, unmotivated idioms occur rarely in MHG; if partially motivated idioms are taken into account, however, there are several appropriate categories available. Fixed expressions are defined by Friedrich in opposition to proverbs, namely that fixed expressions involve contextually bound grammar while proverbs do not, usually in the form of a pronoun, e.g. *jmds. tage sint gezelt*.⁴⁶ Comparative constructions may be counted under proverbs as pragmatic phrasemes when the *primum*, *secundum*, and *tertium comparationis*⁴⁷ are fixed; if the *primum comparationis* is rather bound to context, the comparison belongs

45 Routine formulas often undergo contraction and may appear monolexically, i.e., as single words.

46 Motivated and unmotivated metaphors refer respectively to idioms that are intelligible to some degree without explanation and those that cannot be understood on their own without recourse to explanation or knowledge of the history of the language (see 1.2.1 above). For example, in ModE *to write a blank check* is motivated and *red herring* is unmotivated. Phrases may exist between these designations at different times and locations. Fixed (or restricted) refers to unalterable constructions (i.e., all words within the lexical unit remain constant and almost always with unvarying syntax), while semi-fixed (or semi-restricted) refers to phrases in which words (usually only one) may be substituted within a certain semantic or lexical range, but are otherwise restrictedly constructed.

47 The *primum comparationis* refers to the subject being compared, the *secundum* to the object used as a measure of comparison, and the *tertium* to the quality being measured. For example, *the horse* (*primum*) *was black* (*tertium*) *as a raven* (*secundum*).

to the category of idiom, though comparisons are not phrasemic when they are literal. Fully opaque nominal and verbal phrases are infrequent before ENHG, but the line between nominal and verbal idioms and collocations is necessarily a thin one; collocations occupy a position on a continuum between free combinations and idioms.

Collocations represent the largest body of phrasemes in MHG. Binomials and trinomials (which are uncommon) consist of similar or opposite units, the latter resulting in designations for larger categories represented by these words as categorical boundaries, e.g. *alt unde junc* incorporates an entire body of people (whether literally *everyone* or a specific population such as the inhabitants of a town), *tag unde naht* represent *always* or *24 hours*, and *den âbent unde den morgen* bound the period of daylight. Synonymous binomials, on the other hand, tend toward intensification, e.g. *haz unde nît*, which adds nothing semantically greater than the sum of its parts. *Funktionsverbgefüge* consist of light verbs and prepositional objects or accusative objects, e.g. NHG *außer Frage stehen*.

In section 1.1.1 rhetorical devices were discussed in terms of past research, with the result that the isolation and description of rhetoric does not always equate to

phraseology. When the employment of rhetoric involves phrasemes, the appropriate rhetorical terms will be discussed in conjunction with phraseological terms.

I retain the term 'formula' only in the sense of 'poetic formula,' i.e., a recurrent and fixed or semi-fixed lexical unit that either does not conform to the criteria of phraseology and functions as a prosodic unit only. For example, some phrasemes often uphold the same formulation across multiple poems in order to fulfill rhyme schemes, but nevertheless exist in different syntactic combinations in other poems and genres that prove the adaptability of the phrase to the requirements and conventions of its textual environment. A poetic formula under these conditions consists primarily of non-idiomatic phrases or free combinations that rely on stereotypical rhymes.

Finally, the terms 'convention' and 'conventional composition' refer to the entirety of recurrent language found in a particular genre, group of texts by one author, or individual text, with no criteria regarding opacity, fixity, or function. In other words, all frequent lexical units are conventional. Although composition can refer to literary and oral practices, neither point of view is favored here.

1.3 THE PROBLEM OF FREQUENCY AND CORPUS

Frequency counts among the most important and least reliable indicators of a phraseme. It is inevitable that some conclusions about restricted and semi-restricted phrases in historical languages are reached through the insufficient competency and expectations of the analyst, but to make up for this false *Sprachgefühl* frequency and other indicators of phraseologicity such as idiomaticity must play a central role in a historical phraseological study.

In order to confirm a phrase's status as a phraseological unit rather than a free combination, Friedrich seeks correspondences between MHG and NHG, metalingual indicators (e.g. *man seit* or the word *sprichwort*), and certain types of phrases that lend themselves to collocation, such as binomial expressions or comparisons.⁴⁸ He argues that frequency is the only necessary indication of phraseology for collocations alone; other types of phrases must be sorted out by other criteria first, for frequency is difficult to define. A variety of text types containing the same phrases is seen by Friedrich as a good indicator, with prose texts holding a higher evidential value than verse. Evidence of translations and parallels in foreign languages (e.g. proverbs listed in

48 PW, 15-21.

the TPMI) also contribute to the phraseological allocation of a polylexical unit, i.e. a coherent group of words. Although every phraseological study must select criteria of frequency, no standardized system exists to define and understand “statistically significant frequency.” Accordingly, one must at times make claims based on statistical arguments and simultaneously have recourse to other indicators of phraseology. Frequency will be treated in a relatively basic manner, with respect to the percentage of collocative or other phraseological occurrences among the total instances of a given word in a restricted corpus, which will be delimited according to chronological and generic criteria set forth in each following chapter.

Frequency statistics as substitutes for native competency require the analysis of large corpora; in modern and historical languages alike phrasemes do not occur in such profusion as to allow a small corpus to suffice. The size of a corpus, a relative feature, must be taken into account alongside its chronological span. The problematic intersection of diachrony and corpus size cannot be avoided in historical phraseology, which has no access to the size and breadth of corpora for living languages such as ModE or NHG. A relatively narrow corpus in time and material will produce only

tentative results, while a large corpus spread over centuries can obscure the meaning and use of phrases within a synchronic context.

I confine the following study largely to the later 12th and 13th centuries for the purpose of analyzing the phraseology of the lyric in the cultural terms of a particular historical moment. However, in order to probe the diachronic persistence of MHG phrasemes in the later medieval love lyric and to make comparisons across as large a corpus as possible, my corpus is not entirely restricted to *Des Minnesangs Frühling* (MF) and Walther von der Vogelweide (W). Later chapters include von Kraus's *Deutsche Liederdichter des 13. Jahrhunderts* (KLD), Bartsch's *Die Schweizer Minnesänger* (SM), and other sources of the medieval German lyric.⁴⁹ These selections allow a broad comparison of the love lyric while avoiding the restrictions of poetry strictly defined

49 MF refers to vol 1. (Texte); the other volumes are cited where appropriate as MF2, MF3.1, and MF3.2. Hugo Moser and Helmut Tervooren, eds., *Des Minnesangs Frühling: Texte*, vol. 1, 38th rev. ed. (Stuttgart: Hirzel, 1988); *Des Minnesangs Frühling: Editionsprinzipien, Melodien, Handschriften*, vol. 2, 36th ed. (Stuttgart: Hirzel, 1977); *Des Minnesangs Frühling: Kommentare. Untersuchungen von C. von Kraus*, vol. 3.1 (Stuttgart: Hirzel, 1981); *Des Minnesangs Frühling: Kommentare. Anmerkungen von K. Lachmann, M. Haupt, Fr. Vogt, C. von Kraus*, vol. 3.2 (Stuttgart: Hirzel, 1981); Friedrich Maurer, *Die Lieder Walthers von der Vogelweide: Die Liebeslieder*, vol. 2, 3rd rev. ed., AT 47 (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1969), but also the political poems for comparison: *ibid.*, *Die Lieder Walthers von der Vogelweide: Die religiösen und die politischen Lieder*, vol. 1, 3rd rev. ed., AT 43 (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1967); Carl von Kraus, ed., *Deutsche Liederdichter des 13. Jahrhunderts*, 2 vols. (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1952); and Max Schiendorfer, ed., *Die Schweizer Minnesänger*, vol. 1 Texte (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1990), along with Olga Janssen, *Lemmatisierte Konkordanz zu den Schweizer Minnesängern*, Indices zur deutschen Literatur 17 (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1984).

as *Minnesang*, a strategy at once emancipating and dangerous. For a chronologically restricted study the later poetry is unavailable, and so equally-weighted evidence from non-lyric sources from the MB must be examined.

1.4 A SUMMARY OF THE PROBLEMS

From the first conceptualization to the present, the range of formulaicity in *Minnesang* has encompassed multiple and overlapping objects:

1. the lexical formula (whether understood as a phraseological unit or not)
2. the rhetorical device (which may or may not rely on a lexical formula)
3. and the prosodic formula (i.e. the *Strukturformel*).

According to this outline one may say that more recent studies have thus far approached the phraseology of verse as a problematic intersection of numbers one and two with number three, or that prosodic formulas (even prosodic formulaicity itself) essentially interferes with the production and use of 'normal' phrasemes. The greatest problem with this view is that the normality or abnormality of a phraseme is contingent upon one's object of study, i.e. whether the entirety of language X or a literary genre within it is under scrutiny. One may also say that older studies have

approached the intersection of all three areas in various ways, but operating under vague notions of formulaicity. Phraseology, despite the unsolved problem of its manifold terms and definitions, offers a better way of identifying phrasal language than frequency alone or difficult-to-define notions of 'traditional' use. The following chapter presents and describes the phraseological repertory of *Minnesang* to ca. 1300, in order to compare the phrasemes and types of phrasemes present in lyric to the established types and examples drawn from other genres. When phraseological analysis is unsuitable, frequently occurring lexical units will be discussed in terms of poetic formulas.

PHRASEOLOGY AND *MINNESANG* TO CA. 1300

0 INTRODUCTION

Isolating and collecting phrasemes in a dead language cannot begin with a list of types and examples. Passages must first be selected and the units in each line compared to others across a corpus in order to evaluate the frequency, meaning, and fixity of a phraseme or other recurrent lexical unit (e.g., a non-phraseological poetic formula.) While the appearance of a lexical unit across genres is a near universally accepted indicator of a phraseme, though only one among many, it is nevertheless possible to demonstrate the presence of phrasemes in one type of text and to explain their presence in terms of conventional composition.

The idea of genre is complicated in the medieval period by the structural similarities of many vernacular texts, namely the lyric, romance, versified histories, and other types of texts which would be written later in prose. If, as some scholars have noted, verse precludes the ‘normal’ use of phrasemes because of considerations of rhyme or meter, the overwhelming majority of verse in medieval literature, German

or otherwise (with few exceptions of earlier European languages with a large amount of prose monuments such as Old Icelandic), would leave few texts for consideration. Evidence from prose, when available, strengthens a phraseme's place in the general phrasal lexicon, but the conditions of medieval literary culture hinder the direct importation of modern phraseological indicators, which are based upon extremely large written corpora and the evidence of living speakers. Additionally, the *Sprachgefühl* of native speakers allows researchers to decipher proper versus improper use and correct versus erroneous decoding. Medieval literary conditions include at least the following factors:

1. a proportionally small literate population consisting almost entirely of ecclesiastics and aristocrats;
2. a greater reliance on oral tradition than on written texts, even in the case of what we consider 'written' texts; e.g., it is possible that some *Minnesänger* were illiterate, in which case their orally-composed verses were recorded later via a stage, however brief, of oral transmission;
3. (generally) a high ratio of verse to prose;
4. a less distinct structural differentiation of genre, i.e., a history may appear in the same form as a romance;
5. compared to modern languages, a lack of many types of texts that reflect

aspects of everyday speech or technical languages, e.g., instruction manuals, imitations of colloquial dialogue, etc.

Further conditions could be added to this list. Pre-modern literacy is a complex negotiation of the oral and written, and the literate members of any particular culture at a specific time and place will have different points of entry to orality, literacy, and the phraseological lexicon of each, which need not be equivalent. Therefore, it seems prudent to place less emphasis on prose and instead examine the corpus of available material regardless of type. As a validation of true lexical fixity in all uses of (in historical cases only written) language, variation across genres and forms is a well-reasoned indicator. Nevertheless, it can serve as an impediment to further research when it becomes a primary indicator of a phraseological units in older stages of languages, which inevitably have limited textual traditions compared to living languages.

1 PRIMARY AND SECONDARY CORPORA

The concept ‘*Minnesang* to ca. 1300’ has a long-standing literary-historical foundation, namely the similarity of strophic forms and themes between the mid-12th century and the turn of the 14th, even if the concept and representation of *hobe minne* underwent

drastic changes in this period, and the didactic lyric resurfaced more than once before its end.¹ This century and a half encompasses the bulk of what may be termed *Minnesang*, though the love lyric continues with familiar conventions and lexical units for some time afterward. Standard collections that cover this period are *Des Minnesangs Frühling* (MF), the poems of Walther von der Vogelweide (W), the poems of Neidhart von Reuental (here I use ms. c, N c),² *Die Schweizer Minnesänger* (SM), and von Kraus's *Liederdichter des 13. Jahrhunderts* (KLD). Although SM and some other sources extend into the fourteenth century, they belong thematically and stylistically to the period under examination. The table below presents the numerical data for the primary corpus of edited collections.

1 For a thorough discussion of this span as a period of literary history, see Olive Sayce, *The Medieval German Lyric 1150-1300: The Development of its Themes and Forms in their European Context* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1982).

2 Not to be confused with C, the *Große Heidelberger Hs.*; Ingrid Bennewitz-Behr, ed., *Neidhart: Die Berliner Neidhart-Handschrift c (mgf 779)*, Göppinger Arbeiten zur Germanistik 356 (Göppingen: Kümmerle, 1981), with a companion concordance, Ingrid Bennewitz-Behr, Diane Donaldson, George F. Jones, and Ulrich Müller, eds., *Verskonkordanz zur Berliner Neidhart-Handschrift c (mgf 779)*, 3 vols. (Göppingen: Kümmerle, 1984). There is also a recent synoptic edition: Ulrich Müller, Ingrid Bennewitz, and Franz Viktor Spechtler, eds., *Neidhart-Lieder: Texte und Melodien sämtlicher Handschriften und Drucke*, 3 vols. (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2007), referred to as SNE (Salzburger Neidhart-Edition, VII)

Table 2.1 – Primary Corpus: Edited Collections of *Minnesang*

	MF	W	N c	SM	KLD	Totals
Poets ³	24	1	1	30	67 (69) ⁴	123
Poems ⁵	291	78 (80) ⁶	131	253	558 (570)	1311
Approx. Dates	1150-1220	> 1198-1230	1210-1240	1250-1350	13 th century	ca. 1150-1350

Beyond these collections and their related reference works, a second corpus composed of the MB and other lyric sources will be consulted. Corroborating references from this corpus are cited where appropriate, particularly the longer lyric poems of Ulrich von Lichtenstein, *Frauendienst* and *Frauenbuch*.⁷

Finally, it is not possible at present to give completely accurate data for KLD, for which there is neither a concordance nor electronic database. I have collected evidence from it as best as possible, though it is a large work, and human error is

3 The first ‘poet’ in MF and the thirty-eighth in KLD represent the category of *Namenlose Lieder*. In this chapter I am not concerned with erroneous attribution or ‘pseudo-poets.’

4 Three poems from GvS and nine from WvE from MF also occur in KLD. The strophes of disputed connection to Spervogel and Herger in the *Namenlos* section of KLD are different from those in MF. KLD is employed as a comparative source only and does not figure in the tallies and percentages offered throughout the chapter. At present no full print or electronic concordance of the text, but at the time of writing the MB is slowly incorporating poets from KLD.

5 These numbers of *Lieder* and *Leichs* do not include manuscript variations of strophic order or length (e.g. ‘6’ and ‘6a’ are treated as one poem); variants are addressed when applicable in the following sections.

6 Two poems in W (103 and 104) appear in MF ascribed respectively to RvF and R.

7 Hall and Coleman, *Concordance to MF*; Hall and Coleman, *Concordance to W*; Janssen, *Konkordanz zu SM*; texts cited from the MB appear in the bibliography under ‘References from the *Mittelhochdeutsche Begriffsdatnebank*.’

magnified in such cases. Therefore, all totals and percentages from KLD represent the number of occurrences found rather than those necessarily extant. The benefits of comparative data from KLD outweigh the difficulties of collection and representation. At the very least the phrases will support the harder data from electronic and concordance-based searches.

2 AN EXAMPLE STROPHE: HvA II.1.1-10

Perfect, or, one could argue, even satisfactory, criteria for the selection of an example strophe from which to isolate and compare phrasemes cannot exist; the more arbitrary the choice, the fewer preconceived forms will be found and the greater the possibility of noticing phraseological or otherwise formulaic patterns based on words not usually counted amongst the stereotypical and thematic lexicon of *Minnesang*. The task of historical phraseology is not to search only for those forms that occur in the modern language or to compare the literary phrasemes to the phrasemes presumed to occur in the spoken language. As a starting point I have selected the ten lines of HvA II.1 in

MF as randomly as possible.⁸ The strophe reads:

⁸ Although many continue to use the traditional numbering system from MF, the newer Roman numeral system has been in place for several decades. For consultation with older studies using the Arabic numeral system, both numbering systems continue to be used concurrently in newer editions. W, 84 (vol. 1) and 172-173 (vol. 2), contain conversion charts between Maurer's and

I 1 *Swes vröide an guoten wîben stât,
 der sol in sprechen wol
 und wesen undertân.
 daz ist mîn site und ouch mîn rât,
 5 als ez mit triuwen sol.
 daz kan mich nicht vervân
 An einer stat,
 dar ich noch ie genâden bat.
 dâ habe ich mich vil gar ergeben
 10 und wil dar iemer leben*

‘He whose joy is found in woman should speak well to them and serve them. That is my custom and my advice as well, as one should do with loyalty. This does not avail me with a woman from whom I have long requested mercy. I have given myself to her completely and wish to dwell ever with her.’

As is common in classical *Minnesang* and MHG poetry generally, the entire strophe employs stereotypical language and situations to the degree that every line includes at least one conventional element, whichever term may be used to describe it, e.g., phraseme, formula, *Sprichwort*, etc. The following sections analyze the strophe line-by-line and in groups of lines with syntactic and semantic cohesion for the presence of phrasemes, which are then compared to the corpus described in section 1 above, as well as to non-lyric sources in the MB. When a phraseme is also listed in the PW it is noted.

Lachmann’s numbering. Likewise, SM sometimes gives conversion lists between the editions of Bartsch and Schiendorfer at the beginning of a poet’s section.

2.1 LINE 1

Swes vröide is the subject of *an* (*etwas*) *stân*, a phrasal verb and motivated, though weak, metaphor, and, as with most MHG phrasal verbs, the preposition is not yet fixed; for example, *an*, *ze*, and *in* occur equivalently. The phrase can appear in free combination with subject and object, as in HvR VII.4.3 (*swes muot ze valschen dingen stât*)⁹ and HvR IV.2.10 (*ûf bezzer lôn stêt aller mîn gedanc*).¹⁰ However, the combination *vröide an etwa. stân* occurs five additional times in MF:

⁽¹⁾ DvE I.3.2-3 *daz kumet von einer vrowen schoene, der ich gerne waere
liep. / an der al mîn vröide stât.*¹¹

⁽²⁾ FvH II.1.1 *An der genâden al mîn vröide stât,*

⁽³⁾ HvA XIV.1.1 *Swes vröide hin ze den bluomen stât,*

⁽⁴⁾ HvR I.2.3 *in der gewalt mîn vröide stât,*

⁽⁵⁾ HvM XII.4.7-8 *sît diu vröide mîn / gar an einer hôchgelobten stât.*

A total of six occurrences in MF, of which two are from HvA (both within *swer*

9 Although this construction is similar, the commoner type with *muot* is *muot hôbe stân* without a preposition.

10 H III.5.7, *er stuont zuo sîner angesiht*, is an example of the verb in MF without the additional meaning ‘to be found in.’ K’s *Valkenlied* II.2.1, *Ich stuont mir nehtint spâte an einer zinne*, reads literally, as do several other phrases with *stân* and prepositions.

11 This instance is not listed in Hall and Coleman, Concordance to *MF*.

phrases, see section 2.4 and chapter 5), are complemented by an additional pair in W:

⁽⁶⁾ W 32.3.2 *sit an iu sin vröide stat*¹²

⁽⁷⁾ W 101.5.1 *Swie noch min fröide an zwivel stat*

One additional example without an object may be found in SM:¹³

⁽⁸⁾ KSL 17.IV.6 *fröide stêt gar loebelichen an*

Further attestations from the MB include:

⁽⁹⁾ UvL Fd 313.8 *an dîner helfe mîn vrede stât*

⁽¹⁰⁾ DgGat 150-151 *diu reine sprach: ‘waz ist geschehen / im, an dem mîn freude stât?’*

⁽¹¹⁾ Wig 9710-9711 *daz gar der werlte vrede stât / an ir vil reinen güete!*

⁽¹²⁾ JdE W 2916 *wan all mîn freud an im stêt.*

Standard MHG dictionaries give the meaning of ‘stân + prep.’ as *sich befinden*. This is evident from the contexts in which it occurs. Phrasal verbs may exist in free combination or in collocation with objects to varying degrees of idiomaticity, for

12 The level and style of normalization for textual references follows that of their sources. I avoid additional emendations such as circumflex markers of length when they do not appear in editions.

13 UvS 15a.III.9-10, *swie si wil so wil ich, daz mîn vröide stê, / noh iemer lieb noh guot ân ir genâde mir beschê!*, offers the possibility of reading the enjambment as a two-part clause with the *fröide* phrase – ‘As she wishes, so do I, that my joy ought no longer be found dear or good in her mercy, [and that this situation] should befall me!’

example, UvG *Lied* 5.5 (*Sît mîn lîp an dem zwîvel stât*), which corresponds to the occurrence of *an zwîvel stân* in (7) above and appears twice more in *Partonopier und Meliur* and *Der Trojanische Krieg*.¹⁴ This collocation parallels *in Zweifel stehen/sein* and its antonymic partner *auffer Zweifel stehen* in NHG. However, the above examples with *fröide* appear to show no fixed objects: *guoten wîben*, *einer vrouwen (der)*, *der genâden*, *den bluomen*, *der gewalt*, *an einer hôchgelobten*, *iu*, and *zwîvel* point to an unrestricted construction, but the majority of instances nevertheless refer to women.

Other light verbs, i.e., verbs with little semantic content, complicate this case. If *stân* is interchangeable with another light verb in MHG, the phraseological coherence of a phrase relying on the verb is not necessarily called into question. For example, the NHG *Funktionsverbgefüge* (FVG)¹⁵ from the previous paragraph, *in Zweifel stehen/sein*, occurs regularly with either verb and, though far less frequently,

14 Respectively lines 20263, *daz noch an eime zwîvel stât*, and 37318-319, *ez stuont an zwîvel, wer den sic, / dâ möhte enpfâhen under in*.

15 These phrases are constructed by combining light verbs with objects in various cases or prepositional phrases, e.g., NHG *jmdm. Bescheid geben*, *an die Macht komen*, and *ich bin der Ansicht*. While the *fröide* phrase under consideration contains a light verb in collocation with a prepositional phrase, it is not a FVG, as are, for example, NHG *auf eigenen Füßen stehen* or *auf der Liste stehen*. The reasons are twofold: first, it arises from a particular combination of subject, verb, and prepositional phrase together (no FVG requires all three), and second, the frequent substitution of feminine pronouns for the nouns as objects of the prepositional phrase stands in direct opposition to the nominal emphasis of a FVG, a feature that is not only primary to every FVG but present across the entire diachronic range (e.g., OHG *zu tode trîban* and MHG *in sorge bringen*, PW, 29-30.)

with others such as *sich in Zweifel befinden* or *in Zweifel versinken*. The ability of native speakers to expand or at least test the boundaries of their language without violating the pragmatic expectations of other speakers is visible in these types of constructions. *Ligen* is a light verb with the same function as *stân* with certain prepositions. The phrase *fröide an etw. ligen* appears in the following three lines in MF:

⁽¹³⁾ AvJ XI.1.3 *mîn vröide an der vil schoenen lît,*

⁽¹⁴⁾ DvE XVI.2.2 *mîn aller beste vröide lît ouch an der guoten gar.*

⁽¹⁵⁾ FvH IV.1.3-4 *dar inne al mîn vröide lît / nu lange an einer schoenen
vrouwen,*

One line gives the phrase in W:

⁽¹⁶⁾ W 33.2.1 *Al mîn fröide lît an einem wîbe,*

In SM it appears eight times:

⁽¹⁷⁾ HvS 1.XX.3 *Al mîn fröide an einem reinen wîben lît,*

⁽¹⁸⁾ HvS 3.I.1 *Ich sach s' an der mîn fröide lît*

⁽¹⁹⁾ KSL 10.IV.2 *frowe, an der mîn fröide lît,*

⁽²⁰⁾ KSL 17.IV.10 *liebiu fröide lît an wîben:*

- ⁽²¹⁾ JvW 3.I.10 *trœste mich, an der mîn fröide lît.*
- ⁽²²⁾ GKT 4.III.1 *Sît al mîn fröude an ir nû lît.*
- ⁽²³⁾ UvS 8.IV.4 *umbe dienen, wande an ir mîn vreide lît.*
- ⁽²⁴⁾ OzT 4.II.6 *an der al mîn vroede lît,*

Further lyric occurrences in the MB include:

- ⁽²⁵⁾ UvL Fd 5.3.3 *an der al min vrende lit,*
- ⁽²⁶⁾ UvL Fd 44.2.4 *an ir al min freude lit.*
- ⁽²⁷⁾ UvL Fd 48.4.6 *ir sit diu, an der min freude ie lac.*
- ⁽²⁸⁾ N c 34.2.3 *an der alle mein freuden leit*¹⁶
- ⁽²⁹⁾ N c 78.3.6 *an dem alle mein freuden leit*

The number of instances for this phrase in the selected corpus of *Minnesang* with *stân* and *ligen* are high enough to warrant attention. For *fröide an etw. ligen* the objects are much more restricted than they are for *fröide an etw. stân*: (13-28) have as prepositional objects only *wîp*, *frouwe*, adjectival circumlocutions for women, and feminine personal or relative pronouns. Only in (28) does the pronoun refer to a feminine noun rather than a woman. In other words, the phrase with *stân* is unrestrictedly constructed in

¹⁶ In these two Neidhart lines *legen* appears without a subject and in the third person after lines with first person lyrical narrators. *Legen* here appears to function in the same way as *ligen*.

terms of prepositional objects and contextually free to be used almost anywhere desired, while the phrase with *ligen*, at least in *Minnesang*, seems bound to the description of the male poet's female object of love. The few instances of male objects in the *stân* phrases, (10), (12), and the single instance in the *ligen* phrase (29) are explained in the first and third cases by a female speaker inquiring after her lover and in the second by one of Noah's sons speaking of another. Only these three instances represent the phrase with a masculine object in the MB corpus. The genres of the two texts in which (10) and (12) are found, a *mære* and a chronicle, are respectively in closer and more distant relation to the conventions of *Minnesang*.

The thematic cohesion of the objects in the *stân* phrase with each other arises from the stereotyped lexicon of *Minnesang*. The sum of phrases with *stân* and *ligen* allow the formulation of the phrase *fröide an (einer frouwe/einem wîp) stân/ligen*. The variability of light verbs and prepositions in the phrase is not a hindrance to its regular construction and its classification as a semi-fixed phrase. It is not a fixed phrase, which is much less common type; few phrases in this period adhere to the conception of phraseological fixity found in NHG. Many of the phrasemes in the PW involve some

form of irregularity, for example, in the practice of including *Paarformel* within the framework of different conjunctions – *haz unde nît* may appear as *weder haz noch nît* or *haz oder nît*.¹⁷ A more difficult determination is whether the internal variance (with prepositional objects) of a phrase such as *fröide an (einer frouwe/einem wîp) stân/ligen* is comparable to the external modification (with conjunctions) of a synonymous binomial. It is possible that the creativity with objects expressed by finding one’s joy in the *mercy* of a lady, in the *flowers* that signal spring and the time of women’s love, and in the *power* of a lady’s reward arises from the more pedestrian construction with feminine pronouns or the words *lady* or *woman*. Evidently, the phrase ‘to find joy in something/someone’ is a phrase with thematic importance in *Minnesang*. HvA’s two uses of the phrase in the opening lines of different poems, while numerically unimpressive, point to a favored construction and a favored theme.

Other examples from the texts in the MB support these interpretations. For example, while not present in *Minnesang* (or in the PW), another collocation with *an* + *stân* appears to be *etw. an miner gewalt stân*, which occurs in that formulation three

17 PW, 206.

times in L Alex (3513, 5677, and 6164.) In the reversed form¹⁸ *an wem der gewalt stât* one finds two instances in the *Steirische Reimchronik* 49474 (in the section describing the fall of Acre) and *Der Ritter von Staufenberg* 888; this expression is comparable to the *gewalt haben* but with another light verb. This case shows again how semi-fixed light verb-substantive collocations in MHG can be found both across genres and texts and within a single text or the texts of one composer, indicators of stylistic preferences as in Pfaffe Lamprecht's text above.

Although it is not a phraseme,¹⁹ the combination *guot + wîp* is frequently repeated and belongs to the compositional repertoire of the *Minnesänger* and authors of other types of texts; it is a poetic formula. For example, Ulrich von Lichtenstein uses *guot + wîp* thirty-six times in *Frauendienst*, of which some uses resemble those in *Minnesang* and some conform to patterns restricted to the author. Of the 263 instances

18 Although *gewalt* as an object and subject is transposed in these forms, the general meaning seems to remain constant – *something is in my power* and *the power is in me/him/etc.* (in conjunction with another object.)

19 Some situations, according to Friedrich, in which *adj. + wîp* phrases are phraseological are *gemeinez wîp* (prostitute), *varndez wîp* (female juggler or 'itinerant woman'), and *wildez wîp* (sorceress), PW, 464, though whether these combinations are phraseological is debatable. Particularly in Arthurian romance, *wildez wîp* most often seems to mean precisely what each word denotes, a woman, usually pagan, who lives beyond the bounds of human habitation (e.g., as a typical woodland monster.) *Guotez wîp* seems to lack other meanings beyond "a woman of good qualities/breeding, a noble woman," though this does not discount its role in the conventional poetic language of love, where the fine (or poor) qualities of a woman are of paramount importance.

of *wîp* in any of its possible morphological variants in MF, seventeen are coupled with the adjective *guot* – nine times with *wîp*, twice with *wîbe*, four times with *wîben*, and twice with *wîbes*. Of the other 246 instances of *wîp* sixty-six are also combinations with qualitative adjectives, leaving 178 instances either with definite articles, indefinite articles, demonstrative pronouns, quantitative adjectives, or the noun alone. These sixty-six qualitative adjective pairings, that is, those other than *guot*, are divided unevenly between *arm*, *best* (and *bezzer*), *bœse*, *güetlich*, *hoher*, *liep*, *minniclich*, *rein*, *sælic*, *schoen*, *sen(e)d*, *sinnic*, *spæhe*, *stæte*, *süez*, *tugentrich*, *unstæte*, *vrömd*, *werd*, *wîplich*, *wunneclich*, and one instance of an adverb and a participle, *unsanfte lebende*, to which W adds *edel*, *frömd*, *ledic manlîch*, *tiusch*, *ungenædic*, *wunderalt*, and three participial constructions, *wol bekleidet*, *wol bescheiden*, and *wol gemuoten*.²⁰ In MF, besides *guot*, only *best* (six times), *liep* (four), *rein* (seven), *sælic* (fourteen), *schoen* (eleven), and *stæte* (three) occur more than twice, and in W *rein* (six times), *sælic* (nine), and *schoen* (eight) account for twenty-three of the fifty adjectives other than *guot*. This overview of the *adj. + wîp* construction shows both that the possibilities within the combination are

20 Although W contains several combinations not found in MF, the opposite case also holds. The most common combinations in Walther resemble those listed above for MF, with the exceptions of *best* and *liep*. In a total of 123 instances of *wîp*, sixty-three are combined with an adjective, of which thirteen are *guot*.

open and that roughly half of them in MF, forty-two out of eighty-three, are composed of the three most frequent adjectives, *guot*, *sælic*, and *schoen*, and in W the same three account for thirty out of sixty-three occurrences. Apart from the example strophe, HvA employs *guot* + *wîp* in poem X.2.1-2, where he writes *Guoter wîbe saelekeit / vröite noch daz herze mîn*, while EvA, HvM, HvR, H, and RvF use the combination once each. However, R and WvE use *guot* + *wîp* five times each, a frequency that cannot be due to extant output alone, for R's sixty-eight poems stand in contrast to WvE's fourteen.²¹ W selects this combination five times in the nominative singular or plural and eight times in the singular or plural oblique cases (once with *wîbe*, three times with *wîbes*, and four with *wîben*).²² If we turn to other collections in the corpus, similar results arise. In a case such as this where options are unrestricted but clustered around thematically important words, it seems prudent to view frequently recurring adjective-noun pairs as conventional but also as bound to the

21 All 17 combinations are EvA I.1.1; HvA II.1.1, X.2.1; HvM XXVIII.2.2; HvR XI.4.4; H V.3.1 *Swel man ein guot wîp hat* is likely a reference to a *wife* and not a lover, as the strophe condemns the infidelities of courtly love; R XV.4.8, XXX.3.7, XLVIII.1.1, LVIII.2.5, LXVI.1.3; RvF II.4.4; and WvE VI.1.4, VI.4.1, VII.2.1, VIII.1.1, IX.3.1.

22 *Wîp*: 41,20, 42,16, 91,36, 97,28, 102,5; *wîbe*: 110,5; *wîbes*: 59,10, 93,17, 96,16; *wîben*: 58,30, 91,24, 96,10, 100,3. Walther's thirteen instances of *guot* + *wîp* out of 123 total occurrences of *wîp* represent 10.5% compared to 6.4% (17/263) in MF.

vocabulary of a particular poet or poets who select them more so than others. A poetic idiolect in these terms consists of certain phrasemes *and* unrestricted constructions across multiple poems in greater numbers than those found in other poets' ōuvres. The following table lists the qualitative adjectives paired with *wîp* and *frouwe*, the two commonest words for women in *Minnesang*.²³

23 Only single adjectives used in conjunction with *wîp* or *frouwe* are shown in the table. When two (twenty occurrences), three (two), or four (one) adjectives occur with these nouns, the most frequent adjectives appear in even larger numbers. For example, of the twenty double adjective combinations in MF, W, SM, and N C, ten include *rein*, six *schœn*, five *guot*, five *minneclîch* (another frequent adjective, see p. 12), and three *sælic*. Often the two adjectives are combinations of the most frequently occurring words, such as *guot* and *schœn* (which accounts for three of the twenty double adjective pairs.)

Qualitative Adjective-Substantive Combinations (*wîp* and *frouwe*)

	<i>wîp</i>				<i>frouwe</i>			
	MF	W	SM	N C	MF	W	SM	N C
<i>alt</i>	-	1	-	2	-	-	-	1
<i>arg</i>	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-
<i>arm</i>	2	-	1	-	-	1	-	-
<i>biderb</i>	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-
<i>boes</i>	1	-	2	-	-	-	-	-
<i>best/bezzer</i>	7	-	3	1	2	-	-	-
<i>edel</i>	-	1	-	-	3	-	5	1
<i>erenlôs</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
<i>fîn</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-
<i>fremd</i>	1	2	-	-	-	-	-	1
<i>fröide gebend</i>	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-
<i>gemeit</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
<i>genâdenrîch</i>	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-
<i>gram</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1

Qualitative Adjective-Substantive Combinations (*wîp* and *frouwe*)

	<i>wîp</i>				<i>frouwe</i>			
	MF	W	SM	N C	MF	W	SM	N C
<i>guot</i>	15	13	17	5	3	1	15	2
<i>güetlîch</i>	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
<i>helferîch</i>	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-
<i>hêre</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-
<i>herzelieb</i>	-	-	2	-	1	1	5	-
<i>hochgelobt</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
<i>hôber</i>	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
<i>hövesch</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-
<i>jung</i>	-	-	-	3	-	-	-	-
<i>keusch</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
<i>klâr</i>	-	-	1	-	-	-	2	-
<i>ledic</i>	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
<i>lieb</i>	4	-	5	2	7	1	26	-
<i>lieblich</i>	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-
<i>minneclîch</i>	2	-	8	4	-	-	6	2
<i>manlîch</i>	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-

Qualitative Adjective-Substantive Combinations (*wîp* and *frouwe*)

	<i>wîp</i>				<i>frouwe</i>			
	MF	W	SM	N C	MF	W	SM	N C
<i>reht</i>	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-
<i>rein</i>	6	6	24	9	-	3	7	1
<i>ritterlîch</i>	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-
<i>saeldehaft</i>	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-
<i>sældenbær</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-
<i>sældenrîch</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-
<i>sælic</i>	14	9	33	8	1	1	5	3
<i>schoen</i>	11	8	17	3	8	2	26	6
<i>sened</i>	1	1	2	-	-	1	-	-
<i>sinnic</i>	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
<i>stæt</i>	4	-	1	-	-	-	-	-
<i>süez</i>	1	-	2	-	-	2	4	-
<i>tînsch</i>	-	1	-	-	-	1	-	-
<i>tugentlîch</i>	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-
<i>tugentrîch</i>	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
<i>ûbel</i>	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-

Qualitative Adjective-Substantive Combinations (*wîp* and *frouwe*)

	<i>wîp</i>				<i>frouwe</i>			
	MF	W	SM	N C	MF	W	SM	N C
<i>ungenædic</i>	-	2	-	-	-	-	1	-
<i>unsanfte lebend</i>	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
<i>unwîs</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
<i>unstæt</i>	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
<i>wol tugend</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-
<i>welich</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
<i>werd</i>	1	1	5	-	-	-	3	-
<i>wertlîch</i>	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-
<i>wîbîn</i>	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-
<i>wîplîch</i>	1	-	1	1	-	-	-	-
<i>wol bekleidet</i>	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
<i>(wol) bescheiden</i>	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-
<i>wol gebâr</i>	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-
<i>wol gemuoten</i>	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
<i>wol getân</i>	-	-	-	2	-	-	6	1
<i>wunderalt</i>	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-

Qualitative Adjective-Substantive Combinations (*wîp* and *frouwe*)

	<i>wîp</i>				<i>frouwe</i>			
	MF	W	SM	N C	MF	W	SM	N C
<i>wunderlîch</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
<i>wünneclîch</i>	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-
<i>wunderwol gemachet</i>	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
<i>zart</i>	-	-	1	-	-	-	1	1
<i>zartlîch</i>	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-

While the present study does not rely on the mathematical model of Hans-Dieter Lutz's ASKON (*Adjectiv-Substantiv-Konkatenationskoeffizient*), the general frequencies of combinations are clearly visible in the table.²⁴ The highest frequencies together dwarf all other possible combinations of adjectives present in the texts with the selected nouns.

Although *Minnesang* was composed in a culture that cannot be called purely oral and the frequency of these combinations to the total uses of the word *wîp* does not even constitute a majority, we can infer that the circumstances of transmission via oral performance in a semi-literate culture and generic thematic unity lead to restricted stylistic decisions, though not necessarily to fixed pairings. Subjective decisions about the significance of frequency are unavoidable, and the frequency of most of the adjective-noun pairs deviating from the five most common combinations does not seem to illustrate a particularly fertile period in poetic composition. Concurrently, the extant combinations may afford a view of stylistic preference. For example, *guot* signifies more or less the same thing as other positive adjectives in lines extolling the virtues of women. Viewed from within the ideal workings of *hobe minne* (or even

²⁴ See Lutz, *Formelhaftigkeit*, 47-51.

within a parody of it), a woman who is *good* is necessarily *constant*, *worthy*, *dear*, and *fair*. The dominance of *guot*, *sælic*, *schoen*, and a few others among all possible and attested adjectives demonstrates the formulaic – though not phraseological – nature of the semantic domain and lexical constructions representing women in *Minnesang*.

2.2 LINE 2

The second line of HvA II.1, *der sol in sprechen wol*, raises a different problem than the first: we are dealing here with a pragmatic phraseme of greeting or injunction rather than a collocation. *Wol* appears in several phrasemes, but Friedrich lists *wol dich/dir* and *wol mich/mir (jmds./einer Sache)* as phraseological, while rejecting *wol jmdm.*²⁵ If *wol in hiute unt iemer!* in a poem by Der Marner (IX,43), a 13th century *Spruchdichter*, stands in comparison with Ulrich von der Türlin's mid- to late-13th century *Arabel* (130,4), *wol mich hiut vnd ymmer mere!*, no phraseological criterion appears to have been transgressed.²⁶ In the former line, the object of the imperative is the first person singular and in the latter it is the third person plural; each is equally a routine formula and greeting. As a further indicator that these two constructions are equivalent, one

25 PW, 473-474.

26 PW, 474. Both texts are absent from the MB. Philipp Strauch, ed., *Der Marner* (Strassburg: 1876, repr. Berlin: de Gruyter, 1965) and Werner Schröder, ed., *Arabel: Die Ursprüngliche Fassung Und Ihre Bearbeitung* (Stuttgart: Hirzel 1999).

need look no further than to the binomial in the second half of the phrase. Including all formulaic greetings within the routine formula category of pragmatic phrasemes raises at least two questions in the case of HvA's example strophe: first, is there a difference between a combination of words as a greeting and the same combination as the object of an imperative statement or declaration, and second, is there any reason to consider one a phraseme and the other not?

As for the first question, there appears to be little difference between these two situations, which can be illustrated by comparing HvA's exhortation to W's line *ir sult sprechen willekommen*.²⁷ *Willekommen* is a formulaic greeting whether one says it to someone or tells someone to say it. The word's etymology betrays a further phraseological aspect as an originally bipartite formula, though this is unimportant for its equivalence as a greeting with *wol dir/dich*. On the one hand, Hartmann's words mirror Walther's if the line is understood as *der sol in sprechen 'wol,*' meaning 'one should greet them' or 'one should say 'greetings!' to them'; the salutary approach is no

²⁷ This is not a unique occurrence in W's poems (*willekommen* appears five times in the entire corpus of love poems and political lyrics), and both meanings of *wol sprechen* appear in, for example, 27,31, 34.4.4, 50.1.1, and 58.1.1, and in 78.2.3, and 12.2.9 as *wol redend*. There are several other phraseological possibilities involving *wol* with prepositions and adverbs, though these are not greetings but directional circumlocutions, PW, 474-475.

less possible than the conversational from the position of syntax and our (admittedly somewhat vague) understanding of the semantics of *wol sprechen* from multiple examples. On the other hand, the line can be read *der sol in 'sprechen wol,'* meaning that 'one should *speak well to them* (i.e., engage in courteous conversation).' The first reading conforms to the model of a greeting evident in W's line, but the instances of *wol sprechen* by other poets, including W's own *daz man in wol sol sprechen unde dienen zaller zît* (c.14.5, appended to song 16 in Maurer), suggest the second reading.²⁸ There is also a possibility, when the grammar allows, for a literal reading of 'to speak well (of someone)' as in

⁽¹⁾ HvA III.3.1-2 *Waz solte ich arges von ir sagen, / der ich ie wol gesprochen
hân?*

The difference between 'to greet someone' and 'to converse with someone' is of pragmatic importance in general and even more so in poetry that ostensibly reflects courtly conduct, but the analysis of frequently occurring phrases such as *wol sprechen* is impeded by our inability to distinguish between the two uses. Because of its almost hopeless ambiguity without the clarification of native competency, this situation

²⁸ *Wol sprechen* R LII.4.3; HvA XVI.1.7; *sprechen wol* HvA VII.1.6; with (ge-) after a modal verb, R X.1.4 and XXXIII.6.2. W 27,31.

reflects one of the limits of historical phraseology. Here frequency and context do not furnish additional insights about the social function of routine formulas. Determinations of greetings versus conversation with *wol sprechen* arise from our readings of contexts rather than from more objective criteria, such as metalingual indicators or different, clearer phrasing (cf. *wol grüezen* or *wol enpfân*, both of which occur frequently outside of *Minnesang*).²⁹ Other instances in MF include:

- (²) FvH XVIIIb.4.6-7 *er hât gesprochen dicke wol, ich solte im sîn / lieb vür alle wîp.*
- (³) HvA XVI.1.7-8 *daz ich vür war wol sprechen muoz, / daz wîp nie liebern vriunt gewan.*
- (⁴) HvM VII.6-7 *sô mac ich von schulden sprechen wol: / ôwê,*
- (⁵) HvM XXXI.2.3-4 *ich mac wol von schulden sprechen: / 'si ganzer tugende ein adamas!'*
- (⁶) R XIII.1.3 *sprach in anders ieman danne wol,*
- (⁷) R XX.3.6 *der wese in bî und spreche in wol.*
- (⁸) R XXX.6.1-2 *Wir suln alle vrouwen êren / umb ir güete und iemer sprechen wol*
- (⁹) R XXXVII.4.5 *sô wol als er mir sprach.*

²⁹ In MF, for example, *wol enpfân* occurs with temporal objects only, rather than with people, which does not hold generally for texts in the MB.

⁽¹⁰⁾ R XXXVII.5.2 *der keiner sprach sô wol*

⁽¹¹⁾ R LII.4.3 *durch daz er wol sprechen kan.*

One might add this expanded form, in which the acts of greeting and further speaking are clearly separated:

⁽¹²⁾ HvM IX.2.6 *dô si mich wol gruozte und wider mich sô sprach*

The following forms appear in SM:

⁽¹³⁾ G 3.VII.124 *ich spræche ir gerne, kunde ich, wol*

⁽¹⁴⁾ OzT 3.III.20 *sô mag ich danne sprechen wol,*

⁽¹⁵⁾ JvR 1.XI.140 *und sprichet wol als in gemæzze wære*

SM contains more instances of negative speaking with words such as OzT 3.III.24 (*sô wirt mir sprechen wilde*) or lines with *wê* and *owê* than in MF.³⁰ From Neidhart we

may add four lines:

⁽¹⁶⁾ N c 5.2.8 *Otten ward von maiden wol gesprochen*

⁽¹⁷⁾ N c 11.5.9 *Perwin spricht er woll durch eysen schrotten*

⁽¹⁸⁾ N c 12.11.1 *Wol dann zum rayen sprach Eberwein*

⁽¹⁹⁾ N c 71.4.1 *Die muter sprach wol hin*

³⁰ R XLIV.5.3, which is identical to RvF XIII.4.7, and R LIV.3.6 are the only three instances of *sprechen* + *wê* in MF.

Results from other lyrics to ca. 1300 from the MB include:³¹

⁽²⁰⁾ KvW L 12.20 *swer niht wol getriuwen frouwen spræche,*

⁽²¹⁾ UvL Fd 22.6.1-4 *Ich wil guotiu wip von boesen scheiden / al die wile ich von
in singen wil, / swer geliche sprichet wol in beiden, / der hat
gegen den guoten valsches vil.*

Contrasting lines after the same expanded introductory *Wahrheitsbetueerung* in (4) and (5) illustrate the semantic variability of poetic phrasemes, particularly since these two examples are from the same poet. In (2-5) and (19) *wol* only amounts to a *Betueerung* rather than an injunction or manner of speech, i.e. it serves as semantically empty intensification. In the other occurrences *wol* bears one of the two possible meanings mentioned above.

2.3 LINE 3

The second component of Hartmann's advice involves being obedient to women in the terms of lordship and vassalage, which is one of the several conventional subcategories of *dienst* and generally a common theme in the Middle High German

31 Occurrences may be found outside the lyric, though the lyric appears to have a greater share than others. When *wol* and *sprechen* occur in the same line in other types of texts, the results appear to be more often the product of speaking another phrase, e.g. *Nibelungenlied* C 485.1 ('*Sô wol mich dirre maere, sprach Sîvrit der degen,*) or in the opposite clausal order in 1100.1 (*Si sprâchen al gelîche: 'sô möhten wir wol jehen,*).

lyric that expresses the male duties within *hohe minne*. The use of *undertân* is listed among the examples in vLuW, where she notes that once a woman reverses the expected formulation and says the word about herself in ‘service’ to a knight.³² *Undertân wesen/sîn* occurs twenty-one times in MF and is primarily employed by a small group of poets – DvE (three times), FvH (four), UvG (four), and HvA (three) account for fourteen (or 66%) of the total, and W adds a further three, though one of his lines is in a political poem and refers to a lord and not a lover.³³ In SM can be found one example each from UvS (21.III.17), HvF (3.II.15), and HvS 2.II.12-15 with the usual wording and a feminine dative object; in UvS 35.VI.48 the departure *er tuot uns vliiegend unde vliezen undertân* occurs. Four instances of *vnderthan* (without *wesen/sîn*) and one of *vnderdenig* occur in N c.

The construction *jmdm. undertân wesen/sîn* is not a phraseme but rather a direct nominal circumlocution for a verbal idea.³⁴ Nevertheless, it retains a formulaic character in its repetition, invariable relation to a broader theme (service), and its consistent association with a male narrator, the sole exception being *Ich bin mit rehter*

32 vLuW, 150. The motif of service and several associated phrases are discussed in her appendix under *Wendungen des Dienstes*, 206-210.

33 W 13.1.8 (political), 41.4.2, and 86.3.9.

34 For example, *jmdm. dienen*.

stæte einem guoten rîter undertân (BvRe I.1.1.) An additional element common in the use of *undertân wesen/sîn* is that of time and eternity, reflected in *Ie was...*, DvE XV.1.8, FvH I.4.5 and XIV.4.10, and HvV XXIII.8; *iemer...* and XXXIV.1.4; *ze allen zîten...*, UvG *Lied* 1.6; and *die wîle ich lebe*, HvA XII.4.2 and W 41.4.2.³⁵ HvA's line from the example strophe is the only instance of *undertân* in a phrase of counsel, warning, or admonition, whereas the other uses, with one narrative exception, are in declarative statements. However, twenty of the twenty-one occurrences, HvA's line included, are thematically unified as ways of expressing the *dienst* motif. The imagery of *undertân* makes it inappropriate for a knight in any other context than that of serving his lord or his lover, where it can function as a sign of everlasting devotion instead of as a marker of weakness and servility.

In Chapter 1 a 'formula' was characterized as a non-phraseological but fixed or semi-fixed lexical unit employed in MHG literature. This type of formula is not compatible with the Parry-Lord (and subsequent oral-formulaic) definitions, but *Minnesang* and MHG verse literature in general is not Homeric poetry, nor is it South

35 Lines 41.4.1-2 read *Sit deich ir eigenlichen sol / die wîle ich lebe, sîn undertan*, which presents a doubled concept of service as obedience and ownership.

Slavic epic or Germanic heroic poetry. There are, however, many other types of periphrastic constructions that fall under the heading of formula as I have defined it, e.g., prepositional phrases that serve as circumlocutions for adjectives and adverbs (*âne strît* / peaceful, peacefully.)

2.4 LINES 1-3

Chapter 5 discusses the syntax and context of these lines in greater detail as part of a lyrical proliferation of proverbial language. *Proverbial phrase* is redundant, since all proverbs are also phrases (under phraseological terminology or otherwise), but *proverbial language* is meant to refer to the extemporaneous imitation of proverbs, i.e., in unique utterances that mimic ‘conventional wisdom.’

2.5 LINE 4

The phrase *mîn site und ouch mîn rât* stands alone amongst the poems of the present corpus, though the use of *mîn rât* is regular. *Site* occurs nineteen times and *siten* four times, though the combinations *mîn site* or *mîne siten* are not among them; like *wîp*, however, *site* often appears with a qualitative adjective.³⁶ *Mîn rât* occurs in eight out of

³⁶ Of twenty-three instances of *site/siten*, thirteen follow qualitative adjectives: *alt*, *arg*, *jæmerlîch*, *schoen*, and *wunderlîch* occur once each, *boese* and *rein* twice, and *guot* three times.

seventy-two instances of *rât*, though in W only once out of twenty-six times (8.5.2).

While the frequency is low, the nine combinations of *mîn rât* point to an established set of constructions. The phrases *daz wære mîn rât/daz ist mîn rât/dêst mîn rât* (the last occurs twice) appear alongside the similar *sô ist mîn rât*, and the other three cases include *noch mîn rât* and *ouch mîn rât* twice, one of which is in the strophe currently under scrutiny.³⁷ S, like HvA, employs *mîn rât* within the network of *swer...*, *der...* ‘formulas.’³⁸ HvM offers advice, similar to that given by HvA, in a gnomic verse:

*Gerne sol ein rîter ziehen
sich ze guoten wîben. dêst mîn rât.
boesiu wîp diu sol man vliehen.
er ist tump, swer an sî verlât.*³⁹

The message to pursue *good women* is strengthened by the poet’s *advice*, and the addition of the reversed *swer* formula reinforces the consistency of these stereotyped lines – from a thematic viewpoint, it is an embodiment of the assertion made by HvA with the addition of its converse, i.e. the advice not only prescribes positive action but also the consequences of negative action. The important feature of this comparison is

37 *Daz wære m.r.* S 1.1.2; *daz ist mîn rât* UvG *Leich* IV.2; *dêst m.r.* HvM XXVIII.2.2 and R XII.1.2; *sô ist mîn rât* HvR *Leich* I.7; *noch ist m.r.* BvRi IV.6; *ouch mîn rât* HvR *Leich* II.5; and HvA II.1.4.

38 S 1.1.2

39 HvM XXVIII.2.1-4

not that entire strophes reflect a formulaic structure, but that they draw from a common store of phrasemes, motifs (to the extent that they are defined by stereotypical words and phrases), and formulas such as adjective-substantive pairs, non-phraseological circumlocutions, etc.

The phraseme *daz ist mîn rât* and common units such as *ich weiz wol* and the conceptually related *sô ist mîn rât* (in vLuW associated with *daz ist wâr/dêswâr*⁴⁰) are *Wahrheitsbetuerungen* with widespread applicability across genres and time. *Daz/sô ist mîn rât* is both abundant and, importantly, fixed. Not as common in *Minnesang* as *ich weiz wol* and its variants, it nevertheless occurs throughout MHG literature of all types, from epic to romance and chronicle to sermon.⁴¹ Although my focus here is on *Minnesang*, the presence of the phrase in all varieties of literature confirms that *rât* in this context is limited to a small set of variable forms that are distinct from its use in free phrases and has a distinct rhetorical purpose as a *Wahrheitsbetuerung*, i.e. it serves to increase the credibility of a statement or suggestion. In these respects, such historical phrases conform to the criteria of phraseology.⁴² One *Paarformel* in the PW

40 VluW, 119-125 and in her appendix under *Wahrheitsbetuerungen*, 175-176.

41 The MB lists ninety-seven instances of *daz ist mîn rât*, which does not take into account variations in the wording (e.g. the previously mentioned *sô ist mîn rât* or *diz ist mîn rât*).

42 A phrase like *daz ist mîn rât* falls within the scope of phraseology, but it is also compatible with the

for *rât* is *rât und tât*, though Friedrich questions its place in a list of phraseological language – “vgl. *nhd.* mit Rat und Tat ‚tatkräftig,‘ aber diese Bedeutung ... scheint hier nicht unbedingt vorzuliegen.”⁴³ In any case, it is not a productive pair in MF, where *tât* only occurs twice, in DvE XII.1.7 and HvM XII.3.2, and neither example shares a connection with *rât*. While SM and N c contain more or less the same uses as MF, the expansions in UvS 5.IV.19 (*Daz mîn rât und ouch mîn clage*) and in N c 61.6.1 and 101.4.4 (both *rât und lere*) demonstrate the same principle as that displayed in HvA’s line.⁴⁴ Further pairings mostly outside *Minnesang* include:

UvL Fd 1519.9	<i>daz ist mîn rât und ouch mîn bet</i>
UvL FdL 40.2.7	<i>daz ist min rat und ouch min ger</i>
Lanzelet 14	<i>ez ist mîn bete und ouch mîn rât</i>
MuB 8879	<i>Daz ist min bet vnd ouch min rat</i>
GvS T 8728	<i>diz ist min rat und ouch min muot</i>

often poorly defined ideas of non-idiomatic stock phrases in older languages posited in pre-phraseological studies, which often note this and similar phrases.

43 PW, 325. Another possible *Paarformel* with *rât* is *rât und muot* in various incarnations as (see also GvS T 8728 above), for example, *sînen rât und sînen muot* (RvE Alex, line 10,117), *Sît er nû muot, herze und rât* (DgGer, line 1029), and *der rât, der wille und ouch der muot* (DTK, line 46,824). These words also appear at the end of consecutive lines in thematic context to one another.

44 The only other dual formulation in MF is HvR *Leich* II.5, *daz wære guot und ouch mîn rât*.

Much like an epithet or other short, semi-fixed phrases (i.e., not longer phrases such as proverbs and other pragmatemes), a *Beteuerung* may be modified to fill metrical requirements (a weak argument given the possibilities of rearranging other words to fill the space) or to demonstrate a nuanced reorganization of common material and traditional use. Furthermore, the pairings found in these phrases may be used in other situations, in this case not as in a *Wahrheitsbeteuerung*, e.g., in N c 101.4.4 (*rates vnd auch lere bedorft ich nye so woll.*)

Of further significance for conventions of *rât*, Friedrich notes for *rât* a *Sprichwort* found in Iwein and Ottokar's *Österreichische Reimchronik* – *swer volget guotem râte, / dem misselinget spâte* (in Ottokar preceded by *daz ich wîlen dô hôrt / ein altez sprichwort*, leaving little doubt).⁴⁵ However, the last entry for *rât* is a questionable, because non-recurring, *Sprichwort* from Ortnit – *ez ergêt vil selten ebene, swaz man âne rât begât*. No similar proverbs occur in *Minnesang*, but several other combinations with *rât* appear, e.g., the additions of *clage*, *site*, and *lere* shown above. To the extent that the beginnings of originality lie in the poet's transformation of or building upon existing conventions, rather than in the abandonment of them, HvA's

45 PW, 325. NHG *Hier ist guter Rat teuer* (cf. Reinke de Vos 5175, *gud rad is hir dūr*) is noted in the introductory material but not under *rât*, PW 26.

transformation of the phrase *daz ist mîn rât* to *daz ist mîn site und ouch mîn rât* may be emphasizing the truth value of his advice or enlarging a short phrase in order to fill an entire line. In either case, the result is a new expression built from an extant *Wahrheitsbetenerung*. The coining of a new pair from common stock occurs frequently and is one of the ways through which the conventional repertory of a genre is enlarged.

2.6 LINE 5

Next in HvA's strophe is the line *als ez (A; er in B) mit triuwen sol*.⁴⁶ The combination *mit triuwen* reflects a widespread and frequent phrase in MHG (resulting in more than 1700 results after a search in the MB), and furthermore, it occurs often in connection with various conjugations of *suln/soln*, i.e., in situations of warning, admonition, commands, etc., largely outside of *Minnesang*. Of the forty-eight times that *triuwen* occurs in MF, one as *triuwen*, forty instances are coupled with *mit*. Additionally, there is one case of *mit triuwe* out of the twenty-nine instances of the singular in all cases and the nominative or accusative plural. In W, eleven of thirty

⁴⁶ In Kraus' MFU, 453, the line is explained as *als ez mit triuwen mîn rât sîn sol*, or "ich bin verpflichtet, treu zu raten und das tue ich, indem ich rate, edle Frauen zu preisen und ihnen zu dienen."

instances of *triuwe* or *triuwen* include *mit*, of which five include adjectives (*stæte* and *reht* twice, *ganz* once).⁴⁷ In SM, of a total of thirty-four instances *triuwen*, twenty-one are paired with *mit*, and in N c twelve of a total twenty-two. Adjectives occur seven times in connection with this phrase as it is recorded in MF: four instances of *mit rehten triuwen* and one each of *mit ganzen*, *guoten*, and *stæteclîchen triuwen*.⁴⁸ SM adds one with *reht* (a further two have *reht* without *mit*) and four with *mit ganzen triuwen*, while N c adds one each of *mueterlich*, *gancz*, and *williglich*. The phrase can be understood as a circumlocution for an adverb, in which case it means *loyally*, but a prepositional phrase meaning literally *with loyalty* (but in the plural, reflecting the tendency to pluralize abstract feminine nouns) is also appropriate in many situations. This again reflects our inability to adequately comprehend the difference, if any exists, between the semantic options visible to us, rather than an inherent semantic duality in the original phrase. Because its meaning is not greater than the sum of its parts, this unit is not phraseological, but it is a formula; it is fixed (but elastic enough for the

47 No adjective in 9.1.13 (political), 78.4.4, 84.2.5, 91.4.8, 91.7.5, 75.3.2; *mit stæter triuwe/mit stæten triuwen* 12.4.12 (political) and 87.3.2; *mit rehten triuwen* 35.3.2 and 40.3.8; and *mit ganzen triuwen* 18.7.6 (political.)

48 *Mit rehten triuwen* S 1.2.5, HvR *Leich* VII.6 and *Lied* VIII.1.6, and R I.2.4; *mit ganzen triuwen* MvS I.3.7; *mit guoten triuwen* R XXII.3.3; and *mit stæteclîchen triuwen* R X.4.4. Outside *Minnesang* this phrase occurs in the vast majority of cases without an adjective.

inclusion of adjectives), regular (with more than 1300 instances in the MB), and a part of the conventional lexicon in *Minnesang* and other genres of MHG literature.

2.7 LINE 6

Daz kan mich niht vervân appears to be a semi-fixed phraseme, as will be shown below, but first, the manifold figurative senses of *vervân/vervâhen* developed from the concept *grasp, catch* deserve mention: Lexer gives more than a dozen definitions, from *schriftlich verfassen, wahrnehmen*, and *hart beurteilen* to *förderlich sein* and *helfen*, with the latter two corresponding to HvA's use of the verb (that is, "mit unpers. subj.," though it need not always be so).⁴⁹ In the sense of 'it/something avails me/her/him/etc. not,' the phrase reveals a formulaic pattern in *Minnesang*, romance, and epic. For example, HvA employs the phrase once more in his lyrics (III.6.3), and he uses it similarly in *Erec* (*obz iuwer muot niht vervât* and *wan ez enmac iuch niht vervân*), *Der arme Heinrich* (*und mich daz niht vervienge*), *Gregorius* (*ez enmac uns leider niht vervân*), and *Iwein* (*daz in daz niht vervienge*).⁵⁰ Altogether, there are sixteen additional

instances of *vervân/vervâhen* with this and a few other meanings among the early

49 Matthias Lexer, *Mittelhochdeutsches Handwörterbuch. Zugleich als Supplement und alphabetischer Index zum Mittelhochdeutschen Wörterbuche von Benecke-Müller-Zarncke*, 3 vols. (Leipzig 1872-1878; reprint Stuttgart: S. Hirzel, 1992), vol. 3, p. 1144.

50 *Erec*, lines 906 and 6269, *Der arme Heinrich*, line 947, *Gregorius*, line 468, and *Iwein*, line 3852.

lyrics and one in W (89.3.3 (political), also with *kleine*, see below), in addition to numerous other MHG texts that contain the word in similar phrases.⁵¹ SM adds twelve and N c an additional eight occurrences.

A shared characteristic becomes quickly evident, namely negation or diminution of various forms in every example from Hartmann and almost all others in MF. *Klein*, *lützel*, *nihht*, and *wenic* accompany every use among those cited in early *Minnesang* save two, and many of the phrases in other types of texts. Of the fifteen phrases in MF with the same meaning (including Hartmann's example strophe), fourteen are negative: *nihht* occurs six times, *klein* four, and *lützel* and *wenic* twice each, leaving one positive situation in AvJ V.3.11, *got herre, daz vervâch ze guote!* Nine of twelve instances in SM contain negations or diminutions: *nihht* (six times, though one is oblique and refers to the previous clause/line), *clein* (twice), and *niemer* (once). Of eight instances in N c, seven are contextually negative and six contain direct negation or diminution: *nihht* (four times), *nye*, and *wenig* (once each).

Furthermore, the eleven instances in *Barlaam und Josaphat* are all negative: *nihht*

51 AvJ V.3.11 and XII.7.2; BvH III.2.3; FvH XIV.4.1 and IX.2.4; HvA III.6.3 and XV.1.7 (with a different meaning); HvR III.2.2; R XI.2.10, XIX.5.1 (with a different meaning), XX.3.7, XXXVIII.5.6, and XLVII.3; RvF II.2.7 and II.3.6; and UvG *Leich* 6.3.

occurs six times, and *klein, niht umbe ein hâr* (an idiom of negation or diminution within the formulaic phrase), the dual phrase *sît uns dekein wîser rât / vervâhet noch vervangen hât*, and *wenic* once each.⁵² To observe its appearance in epic, consider *Nibelungenlied* C with *waz kundez si vervân?*, *waz kunde daz vervân?* and *ez kunde niht vervâhen*.⁵³ These and the prior examples serve to confirm that *semi-fixed phrasemes* (in non-specialist terms *set phrases*, with the caveat that few pre-modern lexical units were truly ‘set’) constitute a part of a poet’s conventional repertoire in nearly any genre. Freedom is possible within the choice of a negation or diminution, as well as an accusative object, but in the majority of cases poets adhere to the convention of negation.

2.8 LINE 7

The difficulty posed by this phrase lies in its metaphorical character – in both ModE and NHG, as well as in other languages, the idea of a non-physical place is hardly noteworthy, but we again must face our lack of competence in the semantic range of a dead language such as MHG. *Minnesang* contains many types of metaphoric

52 A text outside *Minnesang* that contains multiple instances of similar phrasing is *Barlaam und Josaphat*, which employs *vervân/vervâhen* eleven of eleven times with this meaning. Each instance also conform to the pattern demonstrated above. There are several hundred similar examples in the MB.

53 Lines 95.2, 691.3, and 1115.3.

circumlocutions, and this poetic formula is among the most frequent.

Stat (strong fem. *Ort, Stelle, Stätte*, but not strong masc. or neut. *Gestade, Ufer, Landeplatz* or masc. *Stand, Zustand, Lebensweise, Würde*)⁵⁴ is common in conjunction with the preposition *an*,⁵⁵ and the phrase *an eine/r, die/der stat, dar/dâ...* is almost as common. *Ûf, ze, von*, etc. occur frequently in other types of texts as well, but in classical *Minnesang* there is only the phrase with *an*. The inclusion of this preposition represents fifteen out of nineteen instances of *stat* in MF, and of those, nine mirror the structure of the phrase found in HvA's line. The same can be said of only two out of fourteen occurrences in W's love poetry, though there one finds more *an eine/r, die/der stat* phrases without the adverb than in the collection. However, in SM *an + stat* accounts for eight of nine instances of *stat* (the other is combined with *vor*, but this is with a literal meaning of physical place), while a small number of *an + stat* phrases (only six times out of more than thirty) occur in N c. The disparity in the appearance of this phrase among the texts of the corpus of *Minnesang* is large, and explanations are difficult to produce on chronological and stylistic grounds. While the

54 Lexer, vol. 2, pp. 282-3.

55 PW, 371, lists *an/ûf der stat*, but only as "sofort/umgehend", wie nhd. *auf der Stelle*."

poets in SM appear to have mimicked the classical style of *Minnesang* for some time after the German and Austrian poets moved on, the rarity of this phrase in W and N c is puzzling, for particularly W is fond of inverting or expanding other conventions from earlier poems.

Although other genres of MHG texts feature a greater variety of uses for *stat* in relatively free phrases, the same *an* phrase is recognizable in them, too. For example, one finds it in the *Deutschenspiegel* Ch. 8, 13.8 (*an der stat dâ diu kraft der minne liget*), UvL Fd 1193.3 (*an die stat dâ ich was ê*), JdE W 17242 (*an di stat dâ si stên solt.*), seven times in the *Steirische Reimchronik* and even more often in the anonymous *Prosa-Lancelot 1*.

A prepositional phrase followed by an adverb, the combination *an eine/r stat da* has a high frequency and appears across many genres. It occurs in slightly more than half of all instances of the word *stat* in MF. It seems to form an – admittedly uncertain – part of the stockpile of rhetorical forms, proverbs, phrasemes, *Zwillingsformeln*, etc. in *Minnesang*, but once more we are confronted by the question of frequency as an indicator of a formulaic style. Although there are many possible

options for expressing location in MHG, lyric poetry has a restricted thematic need for describing physical place, but a great need for describing metaphorical locations. This phrase in *Minnesang* has a consistent and specific (here metaphorical) application and a high frequency.

Consider the following nine cases (excluding the tenth, which is Hartmann's line). DvE III.4.2-3 reads *dô huop sich aber daz herze mîn / an eine stat, dâ ez ê dâ was*, which refers to a place of memory conjured forth by the song of a bird and the sight of roses. In VI.2.2-4, FvH apostrophizes his heart and begs of God, a figurative phrase by definition. RvF II.1.5-6 asks what *Minne* personified wants of him, while BvH III.1.3-4 sending songs to a lover, *durch daz sende ich disiu lieder durch spehen / an eine stat, dar mich daz herze twanc*, which replaces words for lovers or women in general with this phrase. HvM VII.1.9-10 recalls the custom of the nightingale, though the narrator would rather follow the custom of the swallow that never ceases her song. In these lines, *an eine stat dâ* is employed as a type of circumlocution for the narrator's absent lover, and in XV.1.1-2 the same type reoccurs. R VIII.4.5-6 seems to be in the same category as the previous example, with the *stat* phrase referring to a woman, while

X.1.7-8 presents a metaphoric description of the pinnacle – or pedestal, to use the clichéd image of unrequited love – of womanhood upon which his lover stands (*doch swer ich des, si ist an der stat, / dâs ûz wîplîchen tugenden nie vuoz getrat*). Although the line lacks an adverb of location, it is consistent with the other figurative *stat* constructions. R XLVI.2.1-4 features the narrator addressing his lover about his heart as the place where the power of a woman never besieged him so forcefully –

*Lâ stên, la stân! waz tuost du, saelic wîp,
daz dû mich heimesuochest an der stat,
dar sô gewalteclîch wîbes lîp
mit starker heimesuoche nie getrat?*

R LVI.1.4-5 again employs a *stat* phrase as a formulaic circumlocution for *wîp*, *frouwe*, or something similar, which von Kraus notes in his *Untersuchung* only in connection with R VIII.4.5-6, mentioned above.⁵⁶ The other, non-figurative instances of *stat* include a lengthy description of an idyllic spring scene under a lime tree in AvJ VII.1.1-4 (ending with *daz waz ein schoene stat*) and HvV's depiction of those who despise love in the springtime in VII.1.4 as *an maniger stat*.

The periphrastic uses exhibit a regular thematic connection to the language of

⁵⁶ MFU, 407.

unrequited love and the absent lover, whether as a type of circumlocution for a woman, a physical description of the heart as the seat of emotions, or a figurative pinnacle of womanly virtues. It reflects a further stage of development in the literature of a written culture, i.e., a greater variability in the possible combinations within phrases or with phrases, in that is conditioned by the content of the text around the phrase itself, rather than a more or less fixed phrase with a fixed meaning. In this way the relatively weak metaphoricity of the conjunctive formula ‘in a place where’ lends itself to a wider range of contexts and allows greater freedom than most phrasemes and other types of poetic formulas.

2.9 LINE 8

Very few regularities appear in the use of *genâde*, and the phrase *genâde(n) biten* (here as *dar ich noch ie genâden bat*) is infrequent, at least in MF, where R writes in XV.3.4, *wan endelîchen ir gnâden bit ich iemer*, and HvA in the third strophe of the example poem (II.3.3-5), *die swaeren tage sint alze lanc, / die ich sî gnâden bite / und sî mir doch verseit*. The W corpus adds only one phrase with *genâde biten* in 12.1.12-13 (political), *... dû hetest also gestriten / an ir lop daz elliu wîp dir gnâden solten biten*, though here he

is rebuking R for his vanity rather than describing a man's plea for the blessings of his lover. Any similarity to R's use lies in HvA's third strophe rather than in the first, for R, too, makes a complaint. In HvA's poem, the lines signal an interstrophic unity of phrasing. The several dozen uses of *genâde* (with *biten*, *sîn*, *stân*, *suochen*, *tuon*, *vinden*, etc. or alone) appear too diverse in context and form to belong to restricted constructions. SM adds MJH 5.I.2 (*und bat sî mir genædic sîn*) and 1.IV.43 (*und sî genâden bæte*), but *genâde vinden*, *suochen*, *erwerben*, etc. remain the commonest combinations). N c 94 7.3 reads *wa ich ye genaden pat*, but out of eighteen total occurrences of *genâde* only once does *empfinden* occur, and there are no other commonplace combinations with seeking and finding. The phrase *genâde(n) biten* is thus an unremarkable collocation with a low frequency compared to the other expressions in the motif of *seeking*, *finding*, and *receiving* mercy. HvA's strophe, however, continues with the motif and uses another, commoner word.

2.10 LINES 8-10

The next line, *dâ habe ich mich vil gar ergeben*, reveals a more likely thematic and formulaic connection between *genâde* and *ergeben*. UvG *Leich* IV.6 reads *ob sî mîn*

leben, der ichz hân ergeben an ir genâde, næme, and in VII.13-14 one finds *Ich ergibe mich und enbar / an ir genâde gar*. In the first instance, *dâ* serves as a referent to the same object as *dar* in the previous line, i.e. the woman from whom he sought favor, here defined as a figurative ‘place’ via the *stat* phrase two lines above. While this line does not contain the word *genâde*, it refers to the entire thematic unit of *daz kan mich nicht vervân / An einer stat, / dar ic noch ie genâden bat. / dâ habe ich mich vil gar ergeben*. HvA’s words are slightly different, but in thematic conjunction with UvG’s lines they do not stand alone in MF. There is a clearly expressed idea of *genâde* granted only after the seeker has surrendered himself, preferably completely (cf. *gar* in HvA and one of UvG lines⁵⁷). In this manner, the common theme of service receives a nuanced expression different from other representations, for instance, those explicitly mentioning *dienst* or those, as shown previously, of the *undertân* type. In SM, of ten total instances of *ergeben* in any context, *ir ergeben* (i.e., with a dative feminine object) dominates with eight occurrences. The word occurs in W only once (without *genâde*) and does not appear in N c at all.

57 *Vil gar* is a frequent but used in free combination. In MF it can be found in DvE VI.3.10; AvJ V.1.8 and V.2.5 and VI.1.6; HvR VI.2.8 and IV.2.1; HvA I.1.6, the example line from II, and VIII.1.7; and HvM XXVI.2.10. Other instances of this intensifying particle in the MB number around one thousand, though their range of use is too broad for any phraseological or formulaic analysis.

When the last line, *und wil dar iemer leben.*, is read with its predecessor, the possibility of a relatively fixed phrase increases, albeit one that generally exceeds the bounds of a single line. There is a thematic unity of content and rhyme across MHG literature with *genâde*, *ergeben*, and *leben*, even if it is not well-represented in *Minnesang*. For example, the phrase appears in RvE Alex 6143-4 as *daz er guot êre unde lebn / an sîne gnade solde ergebn* (said of a man, cf. *Seifrits Alexander* 2319-21 for similar language) and 14389-90 as *daz ich mich ir genâde erbebe / und nâch ir genâden lebe* (said by a woman). In UvL Fd 72.3-4 the narrator gives the following advice – *sô daz du lîp guot unde leben / ir hetest ûf genâde ergeben*. A fragment of the *Dietrich* cycle, the *Laurin* text, reads *ich mînen lîp und mîn leben / ûf dîne genâde hân ergeben* (1609-10) and, in a situation reminiscent of those in *Minnesang*, MuB 2365-6 contain the words *Vrowe gerne, daz tun ich, / in iwer genade ergib ich mich* (with a lack of *leben*). It is perhaps a glimpse into the origin of this phrase that, in Ch. 67 lines 8-12 of *Priester Konrad's Predigten* from the early 13th century, the same words occur in the religious language of baptism (emphasis mine):⁵⁸

58 Of particular interest here is the idea that “[f]ür alle Amtsbrüder, Prediger, Pfarrer, und Plebane, die aus ihr Predigtinhalte und Predigtanregungen zur aktuellen mündlichen Predigt entnehmen wollen, ist sie Musterpredigt.” Georg Steer, “Geistliche Prosa,” *Die deutsche Literatur im späten Mittelalter: 1250-1370*, eds. Helmut de Boor and Richard Newald, vol 3.2 Reimpaargedichte, Drama, Prosa, 306-

*nu daz selbe urchunde des sinen heiligen nam, daz
 habt ouch ir nu enphangen mit dem heiligen glouben unde mit der
 heiligen toufe, da ir iuch mit hin ze sinen genaden geheimilichet
 unde ergebn habt. da ist ouch nu diu genade unde die ere des ewigen
 libes elliu mit uf getan.*

There is little evident semantic variation from the language expressed in this religious ritual to that in the literature of political and romantic service and the only superficial exception is the lack of *leben* and the accompanying rhyme with *ergeben*.⁵⁹ Another six instances *gnâde ergebn* appear in the *Prosa-Lancelot* 2, once with *an*, four times with *inn*, and once with no preposition, though these prose examples all lack rhyme with *leben* and give the reflexive pronoun rather than another object. More verse examples include WvE P 685.1-2 reads *in der genâde ich hân ergebn / al mîn vrende und ouch mîn leben*, as well as *Rennewart* 14102-4, *Das Rolandslied* 6885-6, *Tandareis und Flordibel* 10974 and 11024, *Der Trojanische Krieg* 3253-4, and *Wolfdietrich* 90.1-2, all of which rhyme *ergeben* with *leben* when one or the other comes at the end of a line in any morphological variant (for example, *erbebe-lebe*). Even when this is not the case, both words are almost always in proximity to one another, and *genâde* is omnipresent.

370 (München: C.H. Beck, 1987), 320.

59 Alliteration and rhyme as mnemonic devices would not be out of place in earlier legal and religious prose texts, e.g.,

Since two of the primary features of a stylistic convention, including phrasemes, are its stereotypical and frequent production and its possible modification, whether intended as parody or artistic embellishment, I offer two final examples.⁶⁰ First, in an outpouring of this combination and several others relating to the theme of service and vassalage, one finds in Wig 646-50 the following –

*Lasse mich, herr, nun leben,
In dein gnad wil ich mich ergeben,
Vnd wil werden dein man
Vnd wil auch sein dein vntertan,
Vnd dir diennen, wie du wilt.*

These five lines hold four pledges of service embedded in phrasemes and stereotyped words (e.g. *dienen* and *undertân*); it reads as though it were an entry in a thesaurus for the motif of *dienst*, which is here the service of a vassal to his lord rather than a knight to his lady, though the language remains the same when transferred to love service. Second, as confirmation of a skilled poet's ability to expand or adapt phrases, GvS in *Tristan* 9553-8 takes the common elements and rearranges them according to a new

⁶⁰ "Possible modification" refers generally to non-pragmatic phrasemes, i.e., semantic phrasemes. Pragmatemes are more restricted than some other types of phrasemes, but in the historical phraseology of German it is apparent that semantic phrasemes are much less restricted than they are today. To argue that this is due primarily to their appearance in verse ignores the general freedom of all grammatical and syntactic aspects of earlier stages of German by contemporary standards.

scheme, with *genâde* relocated to a vocative role:

*genade, vrouwe, so ergib ich
minen kiel unde mich
vil verre an iuwer triuwe.
seht, daz mich iht geriuwe,
daz ich in guot unde leben
an iuwer triuwe hân ergeben.*

‘Tantris’ addresses Isôt with a plea for *genâde* and offers himself to her *triuwe*, though *leben* remains for Gottfried as for the others the favored rhyme for *ergeben*. A comparable address, though with a different resolution of the theme and *genâde* rather than *triuwe*, appears in MuB 3119-3124:

*Genade, vrowe, nu nemt war,
ja han ich libe vnd leben gar
in iwer genade sus ergeben,
dach ich wil ewer eine leben,
alle die wile ich lebe,
wan ir sit miner vrowede gebe.*

MF accounts for very few of these expressions, demonstrating either a wide variety of alternate descriptions for similar themes in lyric poetry (cf. the possibilities visible in Wig above) or a preference for other constructions. The former is more convincing, given the repetitive nature of lyrical themes, and the widespread application of this particular phrase in other types of texts argues against the idea of an unfashionable

status. The PW mentions “genâde an *jmdm.* began/tuon,” but no other verb pairings such as *sich/etw. (an/in/ûf) genâde ergeben*.⁶¹ While this phrase and its motif are uncommon in MF, in SM the ten instances of *ergeben* furnish a short refrain (given five times, HvSt 2.I.7-9, II.16-18, III.25-27, IV.34-36, and V.43-45) with these common pairings:

*Ach, ûf genâde, swie si mir tuot,
habe ich muot, guot, lîb und leben
ir ergeben.*⁶²

While the present study encompasses only ten lines, the numerous examples of phrasemes and formulas from other texts have shown that rhyme often determines syntax but not in every case, and the ability to alter the syntax of a construction felt to be one lexical unit in order to satisfy a number of possible rhymes is a good indicator of a phraseological unit or a non-idiomatic formula. However, *sich/etw. (in/an/ûf) genâde ergeben* appears to be both formulaic, as it is recurrent and fixed within a range of thematically-determined objects, and completely restricted to verse when combined

61 PW, 162.

62 In the *Große Heidelberger Liederhandschrift* (71r), this poem’s refrain is only given in full the first time, followed by ‘*Ach vf genade.*’ SM, 83-84 and Friederich Pfaff, ed., *Die grosse Heidelberger Liederhandschrift (Codex Manesse) in getreuem Textabdruck*, 2nd rev. and exp. ed. (Heidelberg: Winter, 1984), cols. 201-202.

with *leben* for rhyme. When the formula is found in prose, the rhyming convention is absent. *Leben* is not essential to the formula per se, for it sometimes serves as the object of *ergeben* and sometimes belongs to the surrounding lines for the purpose of rhyme only. Matters are complicated further by two other poems in SM which rhyme *ergeben* with *leben* but lack *genâde* (UvS 20.II.15 and MHT 5.I.5), and by another, G 1.X.144-45, which pairs *genâde* and *ergeben* but does not use either word for rhyme. It appears that even a construction most often bound to rhyming convention could be a formula with modular properties, i.e., able to be expanded or altered through combination with other units (as in many of the examples above), and simultaneously a poetic motif, i.e., a concept or group of concepts expressed by certain words but completely free syntactically (as in HvA II.1.8-10), to be combined with the standard rhyme or modified to fit other circumstances according to the poet's needs or inclinations.

2.11 LINE 10

Finally, the last line is connected thematically with the two above it. Another short formula appears in *iemer leben* – a formula that is also always expressed in connection

to other phrases, formulas, or free combinations, resulting in a network of options that cannot be called ‘fixed’ under any definition.⁶³ *Ie*, *ewic*, *iemer*, etc. are equally suitable terms for articulating the lyrical obsession – present in other genres, as well⁶⁴ – with eternity and duration, as are the expressions involving *zît*, *stunt*, *tac*, *naht* and combinations thereof with *all-*, *lanc-*, and other intensifiers. It is a commonplace in *Minnesang* for a lover to pledge his service to his lady *forever* and to lament that the *days* without her are so *long*. Indeed, of the eighteen instances of the contractions *zallen* and *zaller* in MF, thirteen are paired with *zîten* and *zît*, while three of the remaining five complement *stunde* and *stunt*. *Ewic*, however, appears infrequently. AvJ IIIa.12 speaks of a woman who should be praised evermore, i.e. *êwechlîche*, while BvS III.8 warns of the *ewic laster*, the eternal shame that stems from improper courtship. *Ie* appears one hundred sixty-six times (of which some are intensifiers of other lexical units that are not expressions of time), *iemer* one hundred eighty-three,

63 vluW, 142-44, offers an overview of several types of circumlocutions for eternity and other time expressions, primarily those expressing hyperbolic length. Her appendix (under *Zeitumschreibungen*, 195-205) lists only phrases of long duration.

64 These words over all others discussed to this point have a great resonance in religious themes due to the eternal nature of Christ and God. Lines 4833-36 in Ulrich von Etzenbach’s *Wilhelm von Wenden* illustrate clearly the wordplay allowed by the juxtaposition of Christian ideas about eternity and Middle High German temporal conventions in verse: *sie sprach*: “*starp Krist und lebet doch?*” / *er sprach*: “*Jâ, ie unde noch. / êwic lebet er iemer, / sîns lebens wirt ende niemer.*”

immer thirteen, *ienoch* twice, and *imir*, *iemêr*, and *iemermêre* once each in MF. In SM eleven of fifty-one occurrences of *leben* as a verb contain temporal intensifiers: *lange* (four times), *die wîle* (three), *iemer* (twice), *mange zît*, and *Tûsent jâr* (once each), and with *leben* as a substantive the line UvS 17.II.12 reads *daz jâr, die wîle und ouch daz leben*. Only once does the word *nu* bring the poem to the present life of a poet. Of the sixty-two instances of *leben* in N c, only *alle weil* (once) and *die weil* (twice) stand out on the same pattern as above, but several times *noch den tag* and *ein solicher tag* appear, which does not have the same effect as hyperbolic lengthening.

By contrast, only a small number of phrases indicating ephemeral time spans occur, including those with some variation of *kurz* (as an adjective in the normal and comparative degrees or as a noun), *snel*, *gering-* and once as a negation of a word selected usually to mark duration, *dekeine wîle leben*.⁶⁵ N c 120 11.8 offers a doubly ephemeral threat: *du solt nymer mer kein jar ir faiges leben lengen*.

Time expressions belonging to the trope of eternity or long duration have been recognized as formulaic phrases since at least 1885, when Richard Meyer's *Alte deutsche*

⁶⁵ *Kurz* occurs eleven times, *snel* four times, *gering* once in a temporal context, and *dekeine wîle* once in UvG *Leich* 2.7.

volksliedchen appeared.⁶⁶ Meyer's collection is in essence a concordance of similar language (grouped according to the idea expressed) from early *Minnesang* to Neidhart and the early *Volkslieder*, though it is neither exhaustive nor analytic in the sense of any current approaches. Its purpose is to show the influence of *Minnesang* on the *Volkslied*, though it has equally important possible applications within the lyric genre. From these observations and those of Hans Furstner, vLuW notes also that the use of temporal exaggeration expanded rapidly in and after the poems of FvH.⁶⁷ Among these many temporal exaggerations, *iemer* and *leben* occur together seven times in MF, six of which are verbal and one of which is nominal.⁶⁸ When one considers the other equivalent phrases, the category of (*an eternity/an entire lifetime*) + *leben* emerges as a regular part of stock phrases in *Minnesang*. Alongside the phrase *iemer leben* are the equivalent or comparable phrases of duration *leben tûsent jâr*, *die wîle ich lebe*, *al die wîl ich lebe*, and structures in a different order, such as *mit vröiden leben*, *zaller stunt* and

66 On this and other topics and their reappearance in later formulaic studies see Ch. 3, *Formelhafte Wendungen*, in vLuW, 113-117. Richard M. Meyer, "Alte deutsche volksliedchen," *ZfdA* 29 (1885): 121-236.

67 On the structure and role of time in earlier *Minnesang* cf. chapter 5 in Hans Furstner, "Studien zur Wesensbestimmung der höfischen Minne," PhD diss., Groningen, 1956, pp. 158-172.

68 HvM IX.1.10 *leben iemer mê*; R XI.2.12 *iemer lebeta*, XXVIII.1.4 *Ich lebe iemer*, and XXXVIa.3.1 *iemer leben*; HvA's example strophe; HvA III.1.1; and AvJ XIII.1.10 *ein iemer leben*. This conventional pairing is discussed neither in vLuW nor PW.

die wîle daz er mit vollen lebet, as well as all of the combinations outside of MF listed above. Furthermore, *von kinde (her)* designates the same motif and occurs six times.⁶⁹

Not all periphrastic constructions for eternity and long durations of time belong to the same category, however. Beyond a superficial and relative ranking of the temporal lengths that the circumlocutions are supposed to represent, the clearest division is between those referring positively to duration and those with a negative approach, e.g. the formulaic eternal pledge and seemingly eternal waiting. VLuW refers to the frequently-praised concept of *stæte* as an overarching thematic category of the eternity/lifetime trope – “So werden auch die Zeitformeln eingesetzt, um die *stæte* der Werbung und Zuneigung zu verdeutlichen, allerdings auch in gleichem Maße, um die “Beständigkeit” des Minne-Leids zu umschreiben.”⁷⁰ Not only do the poets praise the fruits of constancy in all things and steadfast devotion but also the suffering that the duration of certain events brings. BvRi demonstrates this stoic acceptance of the negative consequences of *stæte* in poem V.8-10, in which the narrator proclaims his

69 *Tûsent jâr*: S 1.3.3 and HvR VII.2.1, both of whose full lines read *und sold er leben tûsent jâr* and *sol ich leben tûsent jâr*, respectively; *die wîle*: UvG *Leich* V.27, and R VIII.5.5, XI.3.16, and XII.5.2; *al die wil*: R LVII.4.5; *mit vröiden leben, zaller stunt*: AvJ XI.5.3; *die wîle daz er mit vollen lebet*: Sl 1.10.6; *von kinde*: FvH XI.2.3, AvJ VI.1.1, HvM XV.2.5 and XVII.2.3, and HvA I.3.3 and XIII.3.8.

70 vluW, 144.

desire to be eternally tested by his lover, in a simile of her as a goldsmith tempering him fire – *swaz ich singe, daz ist wâr: / gluotes ez iemer mê, / ez wurde bezzer vil dan ê.*

HvA, in the third strophe of the poem from which our example strophe has been drawn, seemingly commends the man who could give up striving for unrequited love, though the true meaning is the opposite, as the first strophe clarifies. Lines 4-10 of the third strophe read –

*die swaeren tage sint alze lanc,
die ich sî gnâden bite
und sî mir doch verseit.
Swer selhen strît,
der kumber âne vröide gît,
verlâzen kunde, des ich niene kan,
der waere ein saelic man.*

Bemoaning the long days without a response from his lover, the narrator expresses his inability to ever cease waiting. Embedded within the complaint is the idea that suffering the pangs of *hôbe minne* is an act of *stæte* per se, and bound to phrases illustrating the duration of negative consequences. Thus, both positive and negative aspects of *stæte* are united in the language of time, though each employs different combinations of phrases.

3 THE PHRASEOLOGY OF *MINNESANG*

This detailed comparison of ten lines from HvA to other poems in the corpus of *Minnesang* and to other MHG texts has shown that every line of II.1 contains either a phraseme, a formula (a frequent, non-phraseological combination), or belongs to a multi-line expression of either type. Selecting other strophes from HvA, MF, or another anthology in the corpus will yield different results, but it is likely, given the high frequency of so many of the polylexical units in HvA in other sources, that nearly every line of most poems will contain one or more. While poetic formulas outnumber phrasemes, lyric poetry does not preclude the use of phraseological units, particularly pragmatemes and various types of collocations. Among the many definitions of phraseological units is a succinct but useful example from Harald Burger in 1982:

“Phraseologisch ist eine Verbindung von zwei oder mehr Wörtern dann, wenn (1) die Wörter eine durch die syntaktischen und semantischen Regularitäten der Verknüpfung nicht voll erklärbare Einheit bilden, und wenn (2) die Wortverbindung in der Sprachgemeinschaft, ähnlich wie ein Lexem, gebräuchlich ist.”⁷¹

If *Sprachgemeinschaft* is understood in the context of a community of practice (for

71 Burger, et. al., *Handbuch der Phraseologie*, 1.

noble poets were not professional poets), lyric poetry provides a broader field for phraseological analysis in MHG than prose alone, and the cross-genre presence of many phrasemes and formulas further supports the validity of examining literary communities of language.

The passage of time and development of style, the abandonment of motifs as fashion waxes and wanes, the introduction of satiric takes on *minne*, and an increasing desire to deviate from past forms distinguish *Minnesang* to ca. 1300 from the love lyric that came after, though well before 1300 *Minnesang* grew out of the ‘classical’ early period designated by editors as the poets of MF and W. Nevertheless, we see repetitions of phrasemes and formulas in similar contexts throughout the selected corpus⁷², leading to the ability to show statistically how the Swiss poets imitated the language and style of their norther predecessors long into the 14th century, but with differences in poetic idiolect. The next chapter ranges from the later Middle Ages to the early modern period, in order to chart some of the changes in the phraseology and formulaicity of the medieval German love lyric.

72 A selection of collected phrasemes and formulas based on the types in this chapter appears in Appendix A.

CROSS-LINGUISTIC PHRASEOLOGY IN MIDDLE HIGH GERMAN AND SELECT
EUROPEAN LYRIC TRADITIONS

0 INTRODUCTION

Theories of the origins, the duration and direction of thematic transmission, and the boundaries of cross-cultural influences of the medieval European love lyric abound.¹

This chapter will not engage the long tradition of scholarship concerned with these broad and significant questions, but rather the heretofore peripheral yet no less important questions of cross-linguistic phraseology. Whichever theory one prefers, it is prudent to recognize a common thematic thread woven between Hebrew, Arabic, Latin, Romance, Germanic, and Slavic verse from the late Early and Central Middle Ages; one might go farther afield and note comparative traditions in Persia or India.²

1 It is beyond the scope of this chapter to give an overview of this wide-ranging and contentious topic, but the multitude of origin and transmission theories speaks to the topic of cross-linguistic or contrastive phraseology. As a point of departure for this study it is considered a safe assumption that a popular genre with a common stock of conventions might also share to some degree a common phraseology among language communities in proximity to one another and of a common language family.

2 See, for example, Chapter 1 “The Unity of Popular and Courtly Love-Lyric,” 1-56 in Dronke, *Medieval Latin and the Rise of the European Love-Lyric*; William D. Padden, ed., *Medieval Lyric: Genres in Historical Context*, Illinois Medieval Studies (Urbana, IL: U of Illinois P, 2000) treats genre in and of the medieval lyric from Iberian Arabic to German geographically and linguistically; and Chapter 2 “The Rise of Religious Lyric” in Peter Dronke, *The Medieval Lyric*, 3rd ed. (Woodbridge, UK: D.S. Brewer, 2002.)

Among these disparate languages, times, and places there are of course few points of lexical or phrasal similarity beyond a general use of equivalent vocabulary, but short periods and closer proximity can give insight into the form of borrowings between one tradition and another. *Minnesang* scholars have long discussed the basic facts and put forth theories of transmission from Occitan troubadours to German court and minstrel poets of the 12th century, and the most common reference points have been either motif and theme, e.g., the *Tagelied*, or form, e.g., the *canso*.³ The notion that linguistic and cultural borders were relatively porous will raise no objections, but common phraseology is seldom found. As an example of the difficulties inherent in comparing figurative language from the perspective of phraseology, one recent study concludes that the synchronic cognitive associations of the image component of a polylexical figurative unit in a given language can cause discrepancies between it and apparent parallels in other languages.⁴ The phraseological units discussed in this

3 Cf. the English and German introductions of Sayce, *The Medieval German Lyric* and Günther Schweikle, *Minnesang*, 2nd rev. ed. (Stuttgart: Metzler, 1995), which outline these questions as the most significant of transmission history in the lyric, as well as Theodor Frings, "Minnesinger und Troubadours," *Der Deutsche Minnesang*, ed. Hans Fromm, WdF 25, 1-57 (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1972) and Olive Sayce, *Romanisch beeinflusste Lieder des Minnesangs*, Göppinger Arbeiten zur Germanistik 664 (Göppingen: Kümmerle, 1999.)

4 See Dmitrij Dobrovolskij and Elisabeth Piirainen, *Figurative Language: Cross-cultural and Cross-linguistic Perspectives*, Current Research in the Semantics/Pragmatics Interface 13 (Amsterdam:

chapter that seem to function cross-linguistically do not fall under the rubric of figurative language per the idiom analysis of Dobrovol'skij and Piirainen.

Although a common phraseological inventory may be noteworthy primarily for its small size, some points of comparison remain to be examined, and the divergence between two traditions may be as illuminating as the instances in which they show unidirectional or mutual influence. Originating not at the beginning of vernacular lyric development but during its high point in the Middle Ages and belonging to a language without widespread currency as a language of culture, *Minnesang*, particularly the earliest stage, is well-suited to this type of analysis.

1 CORPUS AND PERIOD

While the large corpus of *Minnesang* employed in the previous chapter was necessary to give as complete a picture as possible of the phraseological and formulaic character of the genre across time and space, a comparison of Latin, French, and German lyric poetry requires a more focused approach. The primary texts consulted below are MF and the wider sources of the German lyric; the troubadour corpus in the first collection of the *Concordance de l'Occitan médiéval* (COM1); and the Latin, French,

Elsevier, 2005), 353-60 for an overview of the problem and the authors' proposed solutions.

German, and macaronic verse of the *Carmina Burana* (CB.).⁵

2 CROSS-LINGUISTIC COMPARISON

As discussed in the previous chapter, formulas and phrasemes in MHG often cannot be held to the strictest standards of modern phraseology, particularly with regard to syntax, but also in terms of variant prepositions and pronouns. In other words, any collocation, proverb, or poetic formula expressed in the abstract will not mirror each instance in practice; this can be seen in the PW and the TPMA, for example, though it is a necessary organizational principle for a modern reference work. Criteria for identifying similar phrases must avoid syntax, as the gulf between Latin and its descendants on the one hand and German on the other is wide. Similar vocabulary and themes can indicate transmission, as is the accepted case with proverbs that display minimal divergence after translation between languages, but they cannot alone prove the direction of influence or whether one is dealing with independent developments with similar outcomes. The latter most likely include the common subjects of similes and other comparative phrases in the love lyric, e.g., the stereotyped aspects of the

5 *Concordance de l'Occitan médiéval: The Concordance of Medieval Occitan* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2001), CD-ROM; Carl Fischer and Hugo Kuhn, trans., *Carmina Burana: Die Gedichte des Codex Buranus Lateinisch und Deutsch*, eds. A. Hilka, O. Schumann, and B. Bischoff (Zurich: Artemis, 1974.)

seasons, the meaning of colors (which can vary greatly across cultures, but many share a common European semantic range), or the imagery of birds.

Some Old Occitan expressions of the lyric bird motif are *chan(s/z)/ cans d'auzel*, *l'auzel chanton*, *chantar l'auzel*, *e li ausel son chantador*, though the substantive forms dominate. A few verbs not found in a direct relationship to German counterparts appear infrequently, such as *braidir* and *cridar* (e.g., *e ls auzels cridar e braidir*), which express birdsong alone. In MHG one finds *diu kleinen vogellîn diu singent*, *al der vogellîne singen*, *bî der vogeles singen*, *die vogel offenbære singent*, *ein kleine vogellîn ... singet*, *die vogel singent*, *aller vogel singen*, and similar constructions with *nahtegal*, *swan*, and *waltsinger* (e.g., *die waltsinger und ir sanc*), where verbal constructions outnumber the others. That lexical elements of the *Natureingang*, *Tagelied*, and *Pastourelle* should be highly consistent in topoi across neighboring language communities comes as no surprise; after all, birds sing in many languages, and birdsong's connection to joy, freedom, and love are ingrained in the Indo-European languages and others. Syntactic and grammatical differences are evident, however, and point to the low expectations of cross-linguistic phrasal coherence. Parallel imagery

and the commonplaces of the natural world in cross-linguistic comparison of medieval languages deserve further study as well, particularly beyond the early period of *Minnesang*, as do idioms, whose cross-linguistic and cross-cultural features in modern languages have received attention.⁶ However, the types of unmotivated idioms (and ‘Conventional Figurative Units’ of Dobrovol’skij and Piirainen) in these analyses are rare in medieval European languages, and so other phraseological units must be the object of a larger comparison across languages.⁷

Regardless of their point of origin, cross-linguistic phrases suggest more than

6 One potential source for comparison is Werner Ziltener, *Repertorium der Gleichnisse und bildhaften Vergleiche der okzitanischen und der französischen Versliteratur des Mittelalters* (Bern: Francke Verlag, 1972), for which there is no thorough MHG analogue.

7 See Dobrovol’skij and Piirainen, *Figurative Language*; Elisabeth Piirainen, “Europeanism, internationalism or something else? Proposal for a cross-linguistic and cross-cultural research project on widespread idioms in Europe and beyond,” *Hermes: Journal of Linguistics* 35 (2005): 45-74; María Álvarez de la Granja, ed., *Fixed Expressions in Cross-Linguistic Perspective: A Multilingual and Multidisciplinary Approach* (Hamburg: Verlag Dr. Kovač, 2008), which is focused primarily on Romance languages with some comparison to German and Russian (see particularly Elisabeth Piirainen, “Phraseology from an Areal Linguistic Perspective,” 19-44, on the distribution of idioms within one language across dialect and regional variations, i.e., a cross-linguistic perspective within a monolingual space; Petronela Savin, “Proposal for a Cross-Linguistic and Cross-Cultural Research Project on Idioms of Food in Europe,” *2nd WSEAS International Conference on Sociology, Psychology, and Philosophy* (WSEAS Press, 2011); and Erla Hallsteinsdóttir and Ken Farø, “Interlinguale Phraseologie,” *Yearbook of Phraseology* 1 (2011): 125-58. As with the phraseological studies mentioned in Chapter 1, these investigations remain firmly contemporary or within the living memory of native informants. Cross-linguistic historical phraseology can be glimpsed only in the discussion of OHG glossography in Burger, “Probleme einer historischen Phraseologie” and Filatkina and Hanauska, “Wissensstruktuiierung und Wissensvermittlung durch Routineformeln.”

transmission, reflecting a semantic sphere of influence that, while not inclusive of all aspects of a society and culture, supports claims about common traditions in Western Europe and helps define their linguistic limits. The frequent adoption in literary and other texts of French chivalric language into German is well-known and appears in every standard textbook on the history of the language, but the interplay between medieval European vernaculars on other levels, including from the perspective of historical phraseology, is less studied than that of individual words. Loan words (as direct importations or calques) usually either assimilate into the borrowing language and are no longer felt to be particularly foreign or are elevated to the jargon of a class or field.⁸ French vocabulary connected to tournaments and court life in German belongs to the latter category; among the many avenues of investigation still open is a study of what types and to what extent a shared phraseological inventory exists between European vernaculars. The following nine phrasemes provide insight into the similarities and differences of the phraseological repertory in the lyric across languages.

8 An overview of both types, including verbal suffixes and titles, can be found in C.J. Wells, *Deutsch: eine Sprachgeschichte bis 1945*, Reihe Germanistische Linguistik 93 (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1990), 129-32.

2.1 A THOUSAND YEARS

Among the temporal phrasemes in *Minnesang*, such as those in Chapter 2.11, *tûsent jâr* is the standard hyperbolic means to express a prolonged span, whether the context is positive or negative.⁹ It is commonly introduced with the subjunctive line *solte ich leben* or *lebte ich*. As an exaggerated but precise length of time, *tûsent jâr* stands opposite words like *ewic*, though their functions are equivalent, namely to express time far beyond the lifespan of a human. In MF, the following lines contain the phraseme:

S 1.3.3; DvE III.5.1; UvG *Leich* IIIb.27; AvJ XII.2.6; HvR VII.2.1

It occurs across the wider corpus of *Minnesang* and the later love lyric, for example, in these lines that feature the standard one thousand years, several thousand years, or the subjunctive expansion ‘should I live a thousand years’:

Bp 2.599.1.16 and 1.624.3.17 (both *solte ... leben*, the later *XIJ tûsent jâr*); Gs 2.2.7 (*lepte*); HvMont 4.26, -57, -125, 5.157, 6.15, -31, -47 (each *solte leben*), 28.494, and 33.9 (*wer ich ... alt*); HvMeis 2.1.6; CvL 5.2.3; N C 90.5.1 (*Mein frew die ist elter denn tausent iar*); OvW 68.3.7 (*hundert tausent jar*); RvR 2.62, 5.57 (*lebte*), and 6.14 (*fûnf tûsent jâr*)

Tûsent jâr is restricted neither to the lyric nor to verse in general, and appears in

⁹ See Hans Furstner, *Wesensbestimmung*, 158-172.

secular and religious prose.

OO *mil ans* likewise serves as the basic unit of exaggerated time across genres and forms, and appears in the *troubadour* corpus in the following instances¹⁰:

BdB PC 80.16 27; FdL PC 154.7 6; GF PC 167.16 11; GA PC 202.11 39;
GdSG PC 233.3 15; GdB PC 242.31 43 and PC 242.47 42; JE PC 266.1 58;
PdB PC 332.1 36; PRdT PC 355.18 29; PdS PC 377.5 23 (*si vivia mil ans*);
RdO PC 389.12 26 and PC 389.28 23; CdG PC 434a.75 25

A contextual difference appears immediately, namely the lack of a framework equivalent to ‘should I live,’ with one exception noted, though the phrase is identical to its German counterpart. It is not augmented with arbitrary or meaningful additions of numbers before *mil* in the lyrics.

In the Latin lyrics time may be mentioned in long spans, but the stereotypically exaggerated ‘thousand years’ is uncommon (see, however, section 3, example (1), below.) One instance, 50.2.1 contains *anno post milleno* ‘after one thousand years,’ which through enjambment becomes the year 1187 rather than a generic span. Likewise, other time expressions with years belong to other phraseological units in

10 COM1 follows the standard reference practices for the Old Occitan lyric, based on István Frank, *Répertoire métrique de la poésie des troubadours*, 2 vols. (Paris: Champion, 1966) following the numbering system established in Alfred Pillet and Henry Carstens, *Bibliographie der Troubadours* (Halle: Niemeyer, 1933).

Latin literature, but none equate to the MHG and OO time expression (e.g., Gualterius de Castillione 8.6.2 *annos senectutis* ‘years of old age,’ cf. Boccaccio’s *De mulieribus claris*,¹¹ and 53.1.1-2 *Anno Christi incarnationis*, ‘in the year of Christ’s incarnation,’ the commonest method of citing calendar years through the Middle Ages and beyond.)

2.2 GOD KNOWS

This *Wahrheitsbetueerung* is as common as it is fixed in MHG. Only relatively minor variations occur, such as the inclusion or exclusion of *wol* or the occasional addition of *mir*. The following examples occur in MF:

NL XI.4 (adds *die wahrheit*); MvS I.7.5, BvRi III.7; FvH III.1.7; HvV XXXII.4; RvF VIII.2.8, AvJ X.1; HvM XV.2.7 and XVI.2.5; R XI.1.4, XI.3.16,¹² XI.4.13, XXIII.4.4, XXIV.5.5, XXV.5.4, XXX.3.7, and LX.2.3

Additional examples from the German lyric include:

D 6.2.6; UvL FdL 5.5.4; FvL 5.5; HvMont 13.31; CvL 2.3.8 (*weiz got*); MvSalz 3.2.9 (*wizz got*); M 1.2.6 (*waz weiz mir got*) and 2.1.13; N C 24.1.5 and 70.7.4; NKLD 29.14; OvW 23.1.32, 43.3.5, 69.5.13, and 102.1.18; RF 2.2.5; RvR 2.33 and 2.59; SvE 4.6; UvL FdL 5.5.4 and 58.7.1; W 10.3.5, 11.12.1, 11.18.4, and

11 Giovanni Boccaccio, *Famous Women*, ed. and trans. Virginia Brown, I Tatti Renaissance Library 1 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 2001), 62–10

12 The entire line reads *got weiz wol, nimer al die wile ich lebe!* which is wholly formulaic, piling a variant of the phraseme in 2.1 above on top of a stereotypical negation and the *Wahrheitsbetueerung* of 2.2.

15.2.4

While ostensibly religious exclamations, such as *got weiz wol*, appear to hover dangerously close to the edge, if not of blasphemy, then of the misuse of God's name in secular contexts, particularly in the context of *hôhe minne*, its widespread application suggests that it must have lost some of its religious significance already by the 12th and 13th centuries and began to serve as a *Wahrheitsbetueerung* rather than a statement of God's omniscience.¹³ It is employed no differently than *daz ist wâr/deswâr*, though the preference for one over the other varies among poets (cf. thirty one instances of *got weiz* against ten of *daz ist wâr/dêswâr* in GvS T.)

Occitan poets also employed variations on the phraseme *dieus sab-/sap-*, with changes in tense and mood, unlike in MHG where the indicative present dominates and *got wizze* appears infrequently. OO examples include the following:

RdO PC 389.25 57; PdA PC 323.18 29; RdO PC 389.9 43; AdB PC 9.1 31

The medieval Latin lyrics of the CB do not lack references to God, though they are primarily within the bounds of the nativity story and other narrative episodes in

¹³ The phrase appears rarely as an address to God, but it is one of the possible variations, as in *Steirische Reimchronik* 49432 *daz weistû, herre got, wol*. It is also exceedingly rare in vernacular religious prose.

religious verse rather than as *Wahrheitsbetuerungen* or parts of other phraseological units. No Latin analogue (*Deus scit*) can be found.

2.3 GOD HELP [X]

God aids many people and peoples in the Bible, and in return many prayers, homilies, and characters in secular literature seek the same for congregations of the faithful, themselves, or others. In MF the following three lines illustrate the phrase¹⁴:

R VIa.4.10 (*mir*) and XXX.2.6 (*im*); HvA V.5.8 (*uns*)

Additional sources from the German lyric include:

UvL FdL 3.3.6 (*mir*); GvN 48.2.9 (*got mir des helfen müeze*); HvMont 28.645 (*dir*), 29.177 (*uns*), and 38.144 (*mir*); MvSalz 37.5.26 (*uns*); NKLD 31.2.9 (*mir*); OvW 43.2.2 (*eu*); St 10.11.10 (*uns*); UvL FdL 3.3.6 (*mir*); W 21.3.11 (*iu*), 49.5.5 (*iu*), 49.3.5 (*iuch*) [cf. 53.4.1 – *Got, dîn helfe uns sende*]

In the OO lyric corpus one finds the phrase *dieus me/mi sal*, *dieus vos sal*, *dieus sal vos*.

A few examples of many include:

GF PC 167.55 83 (*guar Dieus de falhir*, cf. GdB PC 242.76 60 *Dieus mi gart de falhir*, ‘God keep me from falling into error/wrongdoing’); AdB PC 9.17 47 (*Dieus vos sal*); AdP PC 10.43 50 (*Dieus me sal*); BdB PC 80.44 50 (*Dieus vos sal e vos gart*)

14 Other variations of asking God’s favor, help, or mercy exist, including *Got gnâde* [x] and [Got] *wis uns gnaedic*.

In the first example the length of the phrase – still very short but longer and more expressive than ‘God help me’ - lends it the quality of a charm, though the others resemble MHG instances in the lyric with the exception of the occasional verbal doubling, as in the final example.

No Latin analogue (*Deus adiuvā [x]*) can be found in CB.

2.4 SILVER – GOLD

Among all possible precious stones and finery, silver and gold together symbolize wealth most frequently across medieval literature in Latin or vernaculars and constitute a cross-linguistic *Paarformel*.¹⁵ The additional naming of gemstones or fine garments results in two uses: first, the literal description of treasure, tribute or goods that include silver and gold, and second, the synecdochic phrase that may be embellished with other materials depending on genre conventions, historical aspects of material culture, or other factors, e.g., the gold, silver, and vessels or gold and silver

15 Because of their economic and cultural importance as currency and for decoration, they are to be found in the vast majority of sources that mention metal other than iron. For one example in the Germanic world, gold and silver appear in the limited list of basic words recorded by de Busbecq in Crimean Gothic (*Siluir. Argentum./Goltz. Aurum.*) Cf. Ogier Ghislain de Busbecq, *A. Gislēnii Bvsbeqvii omnia quae extant* (Leiden: ex officina Elsevirana, 1633), 323. Their inclusion is worth noting whether all of the words on the list are genuine or not, since in both cases they are highlighted as basic vocabulary and appear in succession.

vessels found in the temples of the Old Testament or simply according to the whim of the redactor or composer. In MF we find only one example, K II.5.4.

Many others from lyric sources expand the simpler formula, though its basic form is also maintained, as in the following occurrences:

UvL FdL 8.5.5; HvMont 18.242; Kanz 2.2.9 (*golt silber noch kein wât*); KvW L 12.30; LvS 8.5; NKLD 8.4.6-7 (*golt silber îsen / kopfer erde was sîn schîn*) and 38.2.4; OvW 9.2.9, 11.5.9, 25.3.21 (*golt, silber, edel gesteine*), and 25.3.28; UvL Lied 8.5.5; WvB 3.2.12 (*silber golt und edel rîch gesteine*); W 5.1.2 and 10.12.12 (*golt, silber, ros und dar zuo kleider*)

Two motivations seem likely for the expansion of this primary binary of wealth and finery: on the one hand the context-dependent enumeration of goods, previous metals, and gemstones in addition to the basic doublet for riches and on the other the context-independent listing of the same as intensifying poetic flourishes.

In the OO corpus, the commonest syntactic arrangement is *aur/or e argen* ‘gold and silver,’ as well as its negation *aur/or ni argen* ‘(neither) gold nor silver,’ found in the following lines:

BdB PC 80.5 5 and 80.25 6; GA PC 202.9 36; GdMont PC 225.11 16; MErm PC 297.8 50; PCard PC 335.29 5; PD PC 371.1 16; CdG PC 434.3 29 and 434a.20 21; SOO PC 437.26 28; AOO PC 461.3 22; AOO PC 461.47 4

Occurrences of other formulations, including the substantives with definite articles or prepositions (most often *de* or *per*) number more than a score. The *Paarformel*'s use mirrors that of its MHG analogue, differing only in these language-specific article and preposition combinations.

Lat. *aurum et argentum* appears in CB twice, the first in Der Marner 9*.13.4 as the basic pair linked by *et*, the second in 44.20 as a satirical comment on worldly wealth and bribery among the clergy and pope as *electuarium aureum et argenteum* 'medicine of gold and silver.'

2.5 LOVE – SORROW/PAIN

Alliterating word pairs are not the foundational units in MHG in the same manner as in alliterative Germanic traditions, but they are common and *liep – leit* (often linked or distinguished by *unde*, *mit*, *nach*, or *âne*) is found in proverbs, as well as in context-dependent lines. In MF the following *Zwillingsformeln* of this type appear:

K II.9.2; DvE XIII.2.3 HvV III.2.2; AvJ XIII.3.2-3; BvH III.1.1; HvM VIII.2.9, XII.1.1 and XXXII.1.8 (see note in 2.6 below); R XII.4.1, XXII.1.7, XXXIX.3.4, and XLIX.1.9

Other MHG lyric sources provide dozens of additional occurrences, the majority of

which conform to the pattern established by proverbs or pairings with positive or negative associations provided by prepositions. An example of deviation from these patterns can be found in one of the rare cases of emphatically happy love: SvL 5.3.3 *mîn lieb ist liep, ez ist niht leit* and the entire strophe in which it occurs tells only of sweetness and gaiety.

While they form an alliterative pair in MHG, the words *amor* and *dolor* rhyme in OF and OO, but they occur nevertheless throughout lines and not only in the position of end-rhyme. Instances from the OO lyrics include the following:

FdM PC 155.5 23-4; GdE PC 244.1a 21-3 (*e pos per pleser ay pres, / pena, dolor et affan / Amor meti a mon dan* ‘and instead of pleasure I have received pain, sorrow, and torment, I disdain love’); SOO PC 437.36 10-11 E; AOO PC 461.198 10-11 ; PM PC 349.2 6 (*l’afan d’amor e-l dan tot eissamen* ‘the torment of love and misfortune are all the same’); CdG PC 434.8 27; BdV PC 70.9 5 (*chanta d’amor, don me dolh* ‘[a nightingale] sings of love, from which I suffer’)

The translated examples show the range of love and sorrow in the OO corpus, but no phrasemes consistent with MHG appear, although shared motifs are clear, particularly in the final example.

As in OO, Lat. *amor* and *dolor* can rhyme, though the few occurrences of the words in collocation do not feature any of the uses in MHG (cf. 119.4.4 *tot abundat*

amor doloribus ‘[that] is how much love abounds in sorrows’ and 111.1.1-3 [also 8*.1.1-3] *O comes amoris, dolor, / cuius mala male solor, / an habes remedium?* ‘O pain, companion of love, whose ills I console poorly – or have you a remedy?’) More commonly *amor* and *dolor* stand at the beginning or middle of a line, and when they do stand as the final word other rhymes dominate.

2.6 To Be (as) a Child

Idioms and other phrasemes about children, childhood, and childishness range from the negative assessments of a child’s judgment and temperament to the positive evaluation of innocence and the obvious semantic connections between the purity of childhood and Christ. More variation appears among the examples here from MF than in previous sections:

R XXII.3.7 (*kindes spil*) and LX.4.2 (*kindes spot*); NL XI.5 (*kindesch*); MvS I.8.1 and II.2.5 (both *kindesch*); HvR *Leich* VII.1 (*derst ein kint*); HvM XXXII.3.6 (*sam ein kint*)¹⁶; R XI.2.11 (*tete es danne ein kint*) and LVII.5.6 (*als ein kint*)¹⁷

The two lines by MvS present a different face of ‘childish men,’ namely that of a lack

16 The first strophe of HvM XXXII establishes through a childhood ‘anecdote’ the idea that children are likely to take reflections for actual objects, while the second parallels this story with a dream of the narrator’s lover. Thus the poem itself is a simile of this phraseme, i.e., its premise may be reduced to ‘I am like a child in love now as I was in other pursuits when I was younger.’

17 Ms. variants read *als ein tummez kint* (E) and *sam eyn jūghes kynt* (m.), strengthening the negative connotation of child similes.

of guile and an honesty in service, than all other lines given above. Other lyric expressions of this motif include the following:

HvMu 1.6 (*er ist ein kint swer volget kinden*) proverb-like use; HvMont 5.265 (*und fürcht in gleich als ein kind*) simile; KJ 2.3.7 (*daz ich der jâre bin ein kint*) metaphor – ‘I am inexperienced (in matters of love)’; N C 36.9.3 (*ir esset noch mit kinden auß der pfanne*, which resembles the ModE phrase ‘to sit/eat at the children's table’); N C 57.5.3-4 (*ja pin ich der jar / noch ein kind*); FK 20.3.1-2 (*Sî ist, sô noch gnuoge sint, / gar ein kint*); HvV XV.1.8 *des vürchte ich sîn als daz kint die ruote* (cf. HvSchw 13.2.6 *sohet ich sorge als ein kint ze der ruote*); HvMont 28.320 *und wainest gleich als ain kint in ainer wiegen* and OvW 59.3.3 *ie zarter kind, ie grösser rüt* (a proverbial frame – see the following chapter) and, outside the lyric, *Der Jüngere Titurel* 306.4 *so guot, so zuhterliche wart nie kint, im zaeme doch di ruote*.

These examples do not exhaust the abundant realizations of the concepts ‘to act childish,’ ‘to be a child,’ or ‘to discipline children with rods,’ the last applied sometimes figuratively to adults on the pattern of a maxim intended for children, while the previous two are almost always applied to adults.

In the *troubadour* corpus childish behavior also plays a role, as in the following examples:

PCard PC 335.63 13 (*que l'enfant sian leial* ‘as a child should be loyal’); AD PC 29.14 11 (*aissi cum fai l'enfas devant la verja* ‘as a child does before the rod’); PRdT PC 355.17 1 (*Si com l'enfas, qu'es alevatz petitiz* ‘like a child who is raised from a young age,’ i.e., at court, in the context of naiveté or ignorance); BdV

PC 70.39 33-4 (*S'eu saubes la gen enchantar, / mei enemig foran efan* 'If I could enchant people, my enemies would become children,' i.e., be unable to observe and report on an illicit affair); PC 226.8 55 (*vos comparatz a manieyra d'efan* 'in the manner of a child,' a clearly dismissive remark)

The widespread negativity of proverbial and unique passages about children is analogous to the situation of women, and perhaps for the same reasons. In the TPMA and from comparisons such as in the present study women and children are depicted with two sides – for the former, that of Mary and the idealized noblewoman of the love lyric and romance and that of the vain, nagging, spendthrift (or any other negative attributes), and for the latter that of the blessedly naïve and therefore innocent youth and the stupidly naïve, misbehaving youth.¹⁸ These attitudes permeate medieval European textual and visual representation and therefore appear as cross-linguistic motifs, though only as a few phrasemes, particularly proverbs.

In the CB 50.7.2 *senes et infantes* corresponds to *alt und jung* in MHG, as does 60a.3a.3 *de infantia* with *von kind*, but no uncomplimentary remarks about children arise. *Puer* and *puerilis* 'boy' and 'boyish, youthful' occur in connection with Christ, i.e., never with the sense of ModE 'puerile,' and *stultus* 'stupid' occurs alone, without

18 Cf. the relevant sections of the TPMA under 'Frau,' 'Weib,' and 'Kind.'

infantile imagery.

2.7 ABOVE/BEYOND MEASURE

Temperance, moderation, and other manifestations of the medieval rhetorical propensity to emphasize the *via media* appear as admonition, advice, warning, and descriptions of the many acts both physical and mental that involve exceeding proper measure. In MHG the adverbial syntagm *über mâze* employs this sense as a means of circumlocution for a single adjective or adverb meaning ‘excessive(ly).’ Of the lyrics I have examined only one instance may be found in MF and one beyond:

S I.16.5 (AC but not J) *über réhte mâze*

MvSalz 16.1.9 *daz ist mir über mazzen hart*

However, another similar phrase, *ûz der mâzzen*, also means ‘excessively,’ cf. N C

95.2.1 *Wer sich auß der massen nach den plumenn senet* (as well as HvV I.4.4, OvW

92.1.7, and N C 131.20.3.) *Âne* may be added to the other two prepositions (cf. N C

88.1.8, 121.2.9, 123.10.9, and 123.11.1 – all written as *on masse/n.*)

Because measure is not only a MHG phenomenon but a widespread component of both courtly culture and Christian moral teaching, phrases related to it are likewise present in every European language. OO lyrics present the following bipartite

formula to express the adverbial form of immoderation:

BZ PC 74.15 32 (*outra mesura*) and PC 74.17 34 (*outra mesura*); RB PC 281.7 51 (*outra mesura*); RdM PC 406.36 3 (*outra mesura* occurs in the phrase ‘no other measure/limit’ and does not belong to this group)

To these may be added the phrase in PCard PC 335.39a 4, *qu’a tota hora menten laidament sens mesura* ‘who all the while lies ignobly without measure.’ These two phrases (with *outra* and *sen(e)s*) share the function and form of those in MHG.

In the Latin lyrics of the CB *moderatus* (adj.) and *moderere* (v.) constitute the common markers of moderation, while lines, such as 196.7.2-3 *ubi ipsi immoderate / bibunt omnes sine meta* ‘where they all drink immoderately and aimlessly’ and 205.9.3-4 *bibentibus incaute / ac immoderate* ‘drinking recklessly and immoderately,’ demonstrate the adverbial negative of moderation. An admonition appears in 214.7 as *Quinta sume cibum, vinum bibe, sed moderatum* ‘the fifth [hour] take nourishment and drink wine, but moderately.’ The link between ‘tempering,’ ‘temperature,’ and ‘temperance’ is demonstrated by 136.1.1-2 *Omnia sol temperat / purus et subtilis* ‘the sun, pure and subtle, tempers all’ and 82.2.1-6 *Sol tellurem recreat, / ne fetus eius pereat; / ab aeris temperantia / rerum fit materia, / unde multiplicia / generantur semina* ‘the

sun revives the earth lest its production perish; from the temperature of the air the substance of things is made, whence an abundance of seeds is generated (cf. also 132.1b, 135.2 and 140.3, in which the deleterious effects of cold temperatures on growth are mentioned.) Temperance is mentioned in 19.1.5 as *virtus temperantia* ‘the virtue of temperance’ and 33.7.1-4 as *Teneris, ut abstineas / ab omni mala specie, / sub freno temperantie / magistra pudicitie*, ‘You are held fast from all kinds of evil under the bridle of temperance, the teacher of chastity.’ Although the wide semantic fields of moderation and temperance are well represented in the Latin Lyrics, this particular phraseme is absent.

2.8 TO SPEAK WELL – GREET

In section 2.2 of the previous chapter I addressed the ambiguity of *wol sprechen* as ‘to speak well/in a courtly manner’ generally and the more specific meanings ‘to hold a conversation’ in the same manner and ‘to greet.’ Context does not always allow one to distinguish between these three interpretations, but no matter the particular context, *wol sprechen* expresses a social imperative of court life: a man’s goal and often his reward from his beloved are one and the same, namely decorous speech that brings

joy and displays proper respect and bearing. In MF *wol sprechen* occurs in the following passages:

FvH XVII.4.6; BvH V.3.6 (*sprichet guot*); HvM VII.1.6, IX.2.6¹⁹, and XXXI.2.3; R XIII.1.3, XX.3.6, XXXIII.6.2, XXXVII.4.5, XXXVII.5.2, and LII.4.3; HvA II.1.2, III.3.2, and XVI.1.7²⁰

It is likewise frequent in other MHG lyric sources, and all instances need not be cited here, but two noteworthy divergent uses appear as:

OvW 9.3.9-10 *Ich sprich es wol auf meinen aid / ie grösser lieb, ie merer leid* (a proverb introduced with a *Wahrheitsbetueerung* and a play on the common alliterative *liep/leid Zwillingsformel*); UvW 14.5.13 *ob si mir ir gruoze verseit, der ich han gesprochen wol* (i.e., the ‘greeting or conversation’ ambiguity from Chapter 2; here it is directly connected to greeting)

However, the most common formulation in the wider lyric remains *den wiben/den frawen wol sprechen*.

In OO the verbs *bendir* ‘to praise’ and *lausar/lauzar* ‘to speak well of, to praise’ are often used in the same manner as MHG *loben* within the cultural context and linguistic (i.e., phraseological and semantic) framework of the love lyric, and *dic vos*

19 If the *wol* in the line *dô si mich wol gruozte und wider mich sô sprach* applies to the verb after the copula, it is indicative of the logical connection between greeting people and speaking to them.

20 The line *daz ich vür wâr wol sprechen muoz* seems to combine the *wol* of the phraseme presently under discussion with the *Wahrheitsbetueerung vür wâr*, resulting in a strengthened ‘indeed.’ This is neither ‘to greet someone’ nor ‘to speak well to/of someone,’ but rather ‘I must indeed speak the truth.’

ben – ‘I assure you, I speak truly, I tell you well’ is a *Wahrheitsbetueerung* with a function corresponding to MHG *ich sage iu/dir die wârheit* and *daz ist wâr*. The phrase *bel dire*, however, appears to be the closest phrase in OO to MHG *jmdm. wol sprechen/reden*, though it is not identical. For example, GdB PC 242.36 17 *mas que no m'es bel a dire* ‘but which is not pleasant for me to say’ may be compared to variations on *ich kan/mac es niht wol gesagen*, where *wol* is emphatic – ‘I cannot even relate it!’ – and the entire construction serves as a *Wahrheitsbetueerung*. On the other hand, a proverbial example, BdV PC 70.1 63-4, reads *qui:n ditz mal, no pot plus lag mentir, / e qui:n ditz be, no pot plus bel ver dir* ‘he who speaks ill can tell no worse lie, and he who speaks well cannot speak fairer truth’ presents a case of fair speech. The *be(l) dire* of the second line occurs within the context of hope for a lady’s love. If one may supply the context-dependent ‘of a lady’ to the ill- and well-spoken everymen of the saying, the use appears to correspond to the phrase in MHG. Given the more common semantic, syntactic, and contextual divergence, the phrasemes in OO in MHG cannot be said to be equivalent.

In the CB the Latin verbs *laudare/collaudare* ‘to praise,’ *benedicare* ‘to bless,’ and *salutare* ‘to greet’ cover the senses imparted by *wol sprechen*, with the caveat that one take an etymological view of *benedicare* (for a biblical example in which the basic

sense ‘to speak well’ appears likely see section 3 (8) below); however, no analogues to the MHG example can be found.

2.9 GOOD MORNING – MORNING AND EVENING

This section outlines two phrasemes about the morning, one a routine greeting and the other a durative time expression, either interpreting roughly the day as a the period of natural light (‘from morning to evening’) or as two points in the full day representing repetition (‘morning and evening.’) In MF both phrasemes occur as follows:

FvH V.1.6 (5-7: *ich kom sîn dicke in sô grôze nôt | daz ich den liuten guoten morgen bôt | gegen der naht*) / HvM XXXIII(2).2.3 (*den âbent und den morgen*)

Other lyric examples for ‘good morning’ include:

UvL FdL 42.1.1 (*jmdm. guoten morgen geben*); OvW 19.11.4 (*jmdm. guoten morgen zaigen*), 82.1.1 (*geben*), and 121.3.7 (*guten morgen* as a direct address)

and for ‘morning and evening’ the following:

GvN 3.5.5 and 35.2.5 (both with *beide*); HvMont 33.84; KvW L 32.352; MvSalz 35.1.2; N C 25.3.1; OvW 117.4.6; UvW 17.2.7 (a synonymous pair: *naht/tag, âbent/morgen*) and 3.49 (*den âbent, den morgen und elliu zît*); W 85.4.3.

The penultimate example from this group demonstrates in greater detail the sense common to all other instances through the inclusion of *elliu zît*; the specific temporal

qualities of morning and evening as sunrise and sunset are unimportant, as they represent the usual limits of waking activity and come to mean ‘all the time, very often.’

In the OO *troubadour* poems both *mati(n)* and *ser* occur frequently, as do *jorn* and *ser*. The following examples are illustrative of the types of phrases only, as the total number of phrases is high:

BdP PC 47.6 39 (*jorn e ser*); GR PC 248.3 13 (*ser e jorn*); BdV PC 70.10 4 (*matin e ser*); RdV PC 392.8 21 (*ser e mati*); GdB PC 242.45 65 (*del ser al mati*); AOO PC 461.123 216 (*del mati al ser*); PdM PC 319.3 8 (*jorn ser e mati*)

All of these pairs and triplets can be negated save *del ser/mati(n) al ser/mati(n)*, e.g., AdP PC 10.4 36 *jorn ni ser*, BdV PC 70.45. 9 *mati ni ser*, and PV PC 364.50 3 *ni jorn, de ser ni de mati*. While ‘good morning’ does not appear in the OO corpus, the phraseme ‘morning and night’ and its permutations here are equivalent to the MHG representatives.

While no direct analogues to either phraseme can be found in the lyrics of the CB, one passage occurs in the drinking song *Ego sum abbas Cucaniensis* that illustrates these times as the borders of daylight and by extension of normal human activity (if

one might so characterize the debauchery implied by this verse): 222.4-5 *et qui mane me quesierit in taberna, / post vesperam nudus egredietur* ‘and whoever seeks me at the tavern in the morning will leave naked in the evening.’

2.10 FURTHER CONSIDERATIONS

These phrasemes all appear at least once in the MHG lyric, from which comparisons were made to other lyric traditions. Phrasemes in the PW and others not included are possibly absent in *Minnesang* or are Germanisms to the exclusion of the wider European corpus. However, the strength of the phraseological coherence between MHG and medieval varieties of Occitan demonstrated here and the relative lack of similarity to Latinate phraseology, coupled with the metrical deviation between the verse types of the former group, suggests that the vernacular traditions either developed phraseological inventories in parallel or were the beneficiaries of widespread influence, but did not adapt phrases from the Latin lyrics. Given the thematic, lexical, and phraseological similarities between the lyric and romance, this type of comparison would likely bear fruit with a cross-generic corpus as well.

3 ORIGINS AND TRANSMISSION

Although the Latin lyric appears divergent from vernacular phraseological inventories in the examples above, the Latin Vulgate is likely a, if not the, source of nearly all of them. Biblical origins explain widespread adoption through glossing, translation, and grammatical adaptation to the vernacular lexicon, but complicate the presence of different phrases and vocabulary in medieval Latin verse. Let us turn to the nine phrasemes and selected examples of their biblical precedents, whether phrasemes or concepts (illustrative excerpts are given from Latin, Greek, and Hebrew where appropriate, as well as some occurrences in older Germanic biblical texts):

⁽¹⁾ a thousand years (אֶלֶף שָׁנָה | χίλια ἔτη | *mille anni*)

Ps 89:4 *quia mille anni in oculis tuis sicut dies hesternae*
(for a thousand years in your sight are as yesterday)

Eccl 6:6 *etiam si duobus milibus annis vixerit*²¹
(Although he lived two thousand years)

2 Pt 3:8 *unus dies apud Dominum sicut mille anni et mille anni sicut dies unus*
(one day with the Lord is as a thousand years, and a thousand years as one day)

²¹ By doubling the span, this verse exhibits the same increase of non-literal exaggerated time that one finds in later and vernacular texts.

Rv 20:2 *et adprehendit draconem serpentem antiquum qui est diabolus et Satanas et ligavit eum per annos mille*²²
 (And he laid hold on the dragon the old serpent, which is the devil and Satan, and bound him for a thousand years.)

⁽²⁾ God knows (אֱלֹהִים יָדַע | θεὸς οἶδεν | *Deus scit*)

Cf. Go. *guf wait* 2 Cor 11:11 B, 2 Cor 12:2 AB, 2 Cor 12:3 AB²³

Gn 3:5 *scit enim Deus*
 (For God doth know)

2 Cor 11:11 *Deus scit*²⁴
 (God knoweth it)

2 Cor 12:2 *sive in corpore nescio sive extra corpus nescio Deus scit*
 (whether in the body, I know not, or out of the body, I know not; God knoweth)

⁽³⁾ God help [x] (עֲזָרְנוּ יְהוָה | Κύριε βοήθει | *Domine adiuuva*)

Cf. Go. (*Jesus*) *hilp unsara* Mk 9:22 CA; OS *ac help us unidar allun uðilon dâdiun* (*Héliand* 1612²⁵); cf. conceptually related expressions such as *thiu helpe godes* 1625 and 5040, *godes helpe bidun* 3612b, *hêlaga helpa heðencuninges* 1939, and *helpa van himilfader* 2004a, etc.

22 The ‘thousand year’ motif of Satan’s imprisonment, Jesus’ reign, and the second life of martyrs and those who did not succumb to idolatry is repeated for rhetorical force several more times in chapter 20 (once each in verses 3-7.)

23 Wilhelm Streitberg, ed., *Die gotische Bibel*, 7th ed., rev. Piergiuseppe Scardigli (Heidelberg: Winter, 2000.) A, B, and C refer to the first three of five manuscripts of the Codex Ambrosianus found at the Biblioteca Ambrosiana in Milan, respectively Sign. S. 36 parte superiore, Sign. S. 45 parte superiore, and Sign. J. 61 parte superiore.

24 The full verse reads *quare quia non diligo vos Deus scit* ‘Wherefore? Because I love you not? God knoweth it.’ In this instance the phrase does not introduce the content of God’s knowledge (as in the previous two examples, among numerous others, that establish God as knowing and all-knowing) but serves instead as a protest along the lines of NHG *doch*, i.e., ‘God knows (I do love you!)’

25 Otto Behaghel, *Heliand und Genesis*, 10th ed., ATB 4 (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1996.)

2 Chr 14:11	adiuva nos Domine Deus (help us, O Lord our God)
Ps 39:14	<i>placeat tibi Domine ut liberes me Domine ad adiuvandum me festina</i> (Be pleased, O Lord, to deliver me, look down, O Lord, to help me.)
Ps 108:26	adiuva me Domine Deus meus (Help me, O Lord my God)
Mt 15:25	<i>Domine adiuva me</i> (Lord, help me.)
Mk 9:23	<i>credo adiuva incredulitatem meam</i> (I do believe, [Lord]: help my unbelief.)

⁽⁴⁾ silver – gold (כֶּסֶף וְזָהָב | ἀργύριον καὶ χρυσίον | *argentum et aurum*)

Cf. Go. *kasa gulpeina jah silubreina* ‘vessels of gold and silver’ 2 Tm 2:20 B; OS *gold endi siluḏar* 1197a and 5881b, *siloḏar [nec] gold* 1852b

Ex 20:23	<i>non facietis mecum deos argenteos nec deos aureos facietis vobis</i> ²⁶ (You shall not make gods of silver, nor shall you make to yourselves gods of gold.)
2 Kgs 5:5	<i>tulisset secum decem talenta argenti et sex milia aureos</i> ²⁷ (and took with him ten talents of silver, and six thousand pieces of gold)
Jb 28:15	<i>non dabitur aurum obrizum pro ea nec adpendetur argentum in commutatione eius</i> (The finest gold shall not purchase it, neither shall silver be weighed in exchange for it)

26 Gold and silver become metonymic indicators of several different material and sociocultural domains, including but not limited to idolatry (cf. also Dt 29:17); a positively, negatively, or neutrally valued indicator of prosperity; and worldly wealth that cannot be used to purchase spiritual gains.

27 While not employed so in the lyric, literal occurrences may be found in other types of texts in Latin and the vernacular.

Mt 9:10 *nolite possidere aurum neque argentum neque pecuniam in zonis vestris*
(Do not possess gold, nor silver, nor money in your purses)

Acts 3:6 *argentum et aurum non est mihi quod autem habeo hoc tibi do*²⁸
(Silver and gold I have none; but what I have, I give thee)

⁽⁵⁾ love – sorrow/pain

Dn 13:10 *erant ergo ambo vulnerati amore eius nec indicaverunt sibi vicissim
dolorem suum*²⁹
(So they were both wounded with the love of her, yet they did not
make known their grief one to the other)

⁽⁶⁾ (to be) as a child

1 Cor 13:11 *cum essem parvulus loquebar ut parvulus sapiebam ut parvulus
cogitabam ut parvulus quando factus sum vir evacuavi quae erant
parvuli*³⁰
(When I was a child, I spoke as a child, I understood as a child, I
thought as a child. But, when I became a man, I put away the things
of a child.)

28 The Old Testament's references of 'gold and silver' are often in combination with vessels and/or (fine) garments, taken as spoils of war, received as royal tribute, or given in hospitality. Combined with the New Testament evaluation of material wealth in light of Jesus' words and those of the apostles, these two facets of wealth account for the polysemous phraseme in later vernaculars.

29 Occurrences of 'love' and 'pain/sorrow/sadness' are common, but not in collocation. Proverbs and other types of *sententia* often warn about the types of love espoused in the medieval love lyric, and the motif 'after love comes pain' or any of its variants is absent, but this verse contains at least the language of love as a wounding force that produces unhappiness.

30 The biblical relationship between children and childhood to innocence is clear, but this line reinforces the necessity of abandoning childish things and behaviors common to many later expressions. Although not present in the list above, the MHG temporal phrase *von kinde (her)* can be compared to Mk 9:20 *ab infantia*, but this is not proof of inheritance in the same manner as the proverbial repetition of lines on the 'taming' of children with rods. 1 Cor 13:11 survives in Go. (ms. A – *ip þan was niuklahs, swe niuklahs rodida, swe niuklahs froþ, swe niuklahs mitoda; biþe warþ wair, barniskeins aflagida*) and elsewhere.

- Prv 14:18 *possidebunt parvuli stultitiam et astuti expectabunt scientiam*
 (The childish shall possess folly, and the prudent, shall look for knowledge.)
- Prv 22:15 *stultitia conligata est in corde pueri et virga disciplinae fugabit eam*
 (Folly is bound up in the heart of a child, and the rod of correction shall drive it away.)
 [cf. Prov. 13:24, qui parcit virgae suae odit filium suum qui autem diligit illum instanter erudit ‘He that spareth the rod hateth his son: but he that loveth him correcteth him betimes.’]
- Jer 4:22 *quia stultus populus meus me non cognovit filii insipientes sunt et vecordes sapientes sunt*
 (For my foolish people have not known me: they are foolish and senseless children)

⁽⁷⁾ above/beyond measure³¹

- Gn 41:49 *et copia mensuram excederet*
 (and the plenty exceeded measure)
- Hos 1:10 *sine mensura est et non numerabitur*
 (without measure and shall not be numbered)

31 Here we find no phraseological point of comparison; while the concept ‘measure = that which is measurable’ leads easily to expressions of excess beyond the measurable, the various figurative biblical occurrences of *mensura* are not fixed and are outnumbered by literal measurements. Although *mâze* is within the same semantic domain as ‘temperance,’ ‘prudence,’ and perhaps ‘sobriety,’ these words do not belong to a recognizable biblical phraseme or set of phrasemes outside a few collocations listing *prudencia/sobrieas* or *prudens/sobrius*, none of which describe exceeding proper measure.

⁽⁸⁾ to speak well – greet

- Lk 6:26 *vae cum bene vobis dixerint omnes homines*³²
(Woe to you when men shall bless you)
[cf. Gk. Οὐαὶ ὅταν καλῶς ὑμῶς εἴπωσιν πάντες οἱ ἄνθρωποι and
Go. *wai, ḥan waila izwis qifand allai mans*, with the phrase ‘speak
well’ rather than a word for blessing]
- Jer 12:6 *ne credas eis cum locuti fuerint tibi bona*³³
(believe them not when they speak good things to thee.)

⁽⁹⁾ morning and evening (בֶּן־בֵּינָיָם | ἀπὸ πρωῒ ἕως ἑσπέρας | *a mane
usque ad versperam*)³⁴

Cf. Go. *nahtam jah dagam* Lk 2:37 CA, Mk 5:5 CA, 1 Tm 5:5 BA; *dagam jah nahtam*
Lk 18:7 CA; OS *naht endi dagas* 3981a; *naht endi dagos* 4084b and 4131b; *dages endi
nahtes* 515b, 2480a; *nahtes endi dages* 2482b

- Gn 1:5 *vespere et mane dies unus*³⁵
(morning and evening – the first day.)
- Acts 28:23 *a mane usque ad vesperam*³⁶
(from morning until evening.)

Some of these biblical passages do not present evidence of phrasemes, e.g., (5) and (7),

32 *Benedico*, in the Vulgate never separable as *bene* and *dico* save in this one instance, originates from the humbler literal meaning ‘speak well,’ which, when seen in connection to the next example with *bona*, shows a broader range of ‘to speak well/with kind words.’ Cf. however 1 Chr 4:10 *dicens si benedicens benedixeris mihi* ‘saying ‘If blessing thou wilt bless me’ and 2 Macc. 15:34 *omnes igitur caeli Dominum benedixerunt dicentes benedictus* ‘Then all blessed the Lord of heaven, saying: Blessed be he,’ which are two of many verses juxtaposing *dico* with *benedico*.

33 Like (1) through (4) above, the phrase in this verse is similar across Lat, Gk, and Hebrew.

34 The routine greeting ‘good morning’ is absent.

35 Repeated for the next five days in Gn 1:8, 13, 19, 23, and 31.

36 See also Ex 18:13, Ex 18:14, Lv 24:3, 1 Mc 9:13, 1 Mc 10:80, Jb 4:20, Eccl 18:26, Is 38:12, and Is 38:13.
Mane et vesperam ‘morning and evening’ also occurs frequently.

but the majority of them do, albeit usually in various realizations rather than truly fixed expressions. It is possible to suggest biblical origins for (1), (2), (3), (4), and (6), though the development of writing after Christianization in the Germanic world muddies any attempt at a firm chronology or history of adoption, whether into Gothic via Greek or West and North Germanic languages via Latin. The common stock of phrasemes and formulas in European vernaculars link them to biblical texts, whether verse or prose. However, the medieval Latin verse considered alongside the vernacular passages in sections 2.1-2.9 is further removed from the Latin of the Bible, at least with respect to these selected examples. More questions may have been raised than answered by this brief comparison, but the abundance of phraseological units stemming from biblical sources in medieval European vernaculars serves as a starting point for cross-linguistic historical phraseology regardless of genre.

4 CONCLUSIONS

Of the examples discussed in this chapter a picture emerges of greater phraseological similarity between MHG and OO than either vernacular and Latin, which can be explained in part by the Latin poetic and rhetorical traditions rather than metrical

strictures, since the phrasemes with the greatest cross-linguistic equivalence were also identified in biblical languages and a flexible syntax makes it possible to add phraseological units in verse regardless of meter.

A vocabulary common to several languages within one genre owes its existence to two fundamental points – the first is tautological and the second is of great value, but difficult to assess in the literature of dead languages. Firstly, love poetry exhibits the vocabulary of love, and secondly, this vocabulary is conditioned by cultural commonalities over time within geographically connected locations. To describe the European love lyric in this manner, by the twelfth century the cultures of many of the peoples speaking Indo-European languages on the European continent were united by at least several centuries of Christianity, a common system of education in Latin rhetoric, and widespread stories that crossed linguistic and political borders readily, to name only a few factors. This much is documented and known. If we expand our view to common phraseology, poetic formulae, and rhetorical flourishes rather than individual words in vernaculars, the picture becomes hazier, and the possible answers to the question ‘whence and whither common polylexical units’ begin to resemble the

possible answers to the Indo-European problem, namely either a form of *Wellentheorie* in which the influence of Iberian, Arabic, and Hebrew poetry spread to France and farther east or the independent development of common features by neighboring peoples. Whether one is the case or both, biblical origins account for some of the phraseological coherence across languages.

PART TWO

STUDIES IN *MINNESANG*

SPRICHWÖRTLICHER MINNESANG – PROVERBS, PROVERBIAL LANGUAGE, AND THE ‘HE
WHO’ FRAME

0 INTRODUCTION

Authors of antiquity, whose well-remembered lines echo through two and a half millennia, did not generate proverbs the first time they had them committed to papyrus or other media. The same stipulation applies to the redactors of didactic collections in the Germanic world, such as the Old English *Maxims* and the Old Norse *Hávamál*. Likewise, the oral origins of many proverbs, particularly those that consist of so-called ‘universal wisdom,’ cannot be located in a specific moment. In either case, however, an original statement, no matter how formulaic its construction, cannot be a proverb if it is not repeated in the oral or written record of a culture. As with other types of phrasemes, proverbs (and maxims, sentences, gnomes, etc.) are defined in large part by their repetition and reproducibility across time and space within a linguistic community.

Paremiology, the study of proverbs, is concerned with locating, dating, and ascribing, though it also seeks to understand the interior structure and semantic uses to

which such phrases are put. The latter goal seems better suited to most forms of medieval proverbs, whose textual evidence may always be fortuitous. Locating a similar phrase in another language does not prove a genetic relationship in the same way that it might in print or digital cultures. This chapter considers both proverbs and proverb-like messages in *Minnesang* from the perspectives of construction, idiomaticity, and content. Turning first to proverbs in *Minnesang* with solid foundations in a wider – and documented – European tradition, I will then turn to proverbial language on a broader scale, i.e., proverb- or maxim-like statements with looser corroborating evidence or none, in order to observe and explicate the differences in construction and content between the two types, with a view to determining whether proverbial language maintains the function of proverbs.

Proverbs are notoriously difficult to define. B.J. Whiting, in his collection of medieval English proverbs, writes:¹

In many cases an author labels a proverb as such. He may call it a proverb, a byword, an (old) saw, or he may introduce it with such words as: “men say,” “it is known from old,” “sooth is said,” “I have

1 Bartlett J. Whiting and Helen W. Whiting. *Proverbs, Sentences, and Proverbial Phrases from English Writings mainly before 1500* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1968), xii; cited in Wendy Pfeffer, *Proverbs in Medieval Occitan Literature* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1997), 7.

heard say,” “as say these clerks.” We must observe that there is nothing to prevent an author from calling something a proverb which has not previously been so regarded or which may even be his own invention. Nevertheless, if something is called a proverb in the fourteenth century, it is unwise for someone in the twentieth to disagree. Too much writing has disappeared, too little speech was ever put into writing, for us to suppose a first recording to be necessarily a first occurrence.

We ought look not only for metalinguistic clues and familiar quotations, but also for the creative act of improvisational ‘wisdom’ for a poem’s audience. *Minnesang* is often didactic, and didactic poetry is suffused with proverbial expressions. Furthermore, the simplistic explanation of proverb-as-folk-wisdom cannot hold in all cultural and literary contexts.

Harald Burger once remarked that “[d]ie Sprichwörter sind – neben den phraseologischen Ganzheiten – sicherlich die am besten erforschte Klasse von Phraseologismen[,]”² but the topic remains little studied with regard to the language and time discussed in the following pages. The general characteristics of proverbs identified in phraseological research are as vague as the descriptions in any other types of paremiological studies (e.g., a ‘universal’ appeal), but the phraseological indicators are more strictly defined; these always include context-independence, corroboration

2 Burger, *Handbuch der Phraseologie*, 39.

from other sources, metalinguistic clues, and presence in proverb collections.³

1 PROVERBS IN *MINNESANG*⁴

The first three lines from the example strophe in Chapter 2, HvA II.1, warrant further attention collectively rather than as isolated lines containing formulaic units. I will return to these lines as proverbial language in the second section of this chapter, but for the moment it will suffice to proceed from the headword ‘joy,’ in order to assay the paroemial contexts in which it appears.

In the *Thesaurus Proverbiorum Medii Aevi* (TPMA) proverbs expressing the inseparably entwined motifs of joy and sadness or pain outnumber those expressing only positive aspects of joy. This motif is as ancient and as widespread as humanity and its writings on emotion, and consequently appears in sources fundamental to medieval life. As a vernacular (Italian) example from the biblical approach to this theme (entry 59 under *Freude*) reads

3 See, for example, Jesko Friedrich, “Historische Phraseologie des Deutschen,” *Phraseologie. Ein internationales Handbuch*, eds. Harald Burger et al, vol. 2, 1092-1106; PW 23-26; and Burger et al, *Handbuch der Phraseologie*, 39-41.

4 Pfeffer, *Proverbs in Medieval Occitan Literature*, counts proverbs and cites other collections from the Old Occitan tradition (Appendix 1, 113-114.) One or more proverbs found in *Minnesang* appear in many diachronic studies of German proverbs and in the collections of medieval proverbs in general, but no studies similar to that above gathers all of the proverbial material of the *Minnesänger*, in large part due to the greater problem of a lack of comprehensive studies of the *Minnesang* corpus.

Si come Dio dize in (n)el vanzelio: Voi averè tristeza et molto sarè alegradi (lies mit Var.: *e lo mondo si rallegrarae*, Red.), *mo la vostra tristeza ve tornerà in grande alegreza* ‘As God says in the Gospel: “You will have great sadness, and the world will rejoice; but your sadness will turn into great joy.”’⁵

Appearing across the medieval European textual tradition, the proverb is illustrated by examples such as *Vulgo dicitur: post magnum gaudium venit magnus dolor* (‘One says generally: after great joy comes great pain’) in Latin⁶ and *Per quel reprovver dits sovents: Apres grang gauig ve grans dolors E gauig apres de grans tristors* (‘Because the proverb says often: after great joy comes great pain and after great sadness joy’) in Catalan⁷; in French the proverb appears frequently with variant words and spellings as *Apres grant joie vient grant ire/doil/doleur/etc.* (‘After great joy comes great pain/sadness/etc.’), sometimes reversed.⁸ Further instances appear in Spanish, Gallician-Portuguese, Old Icelandic, Old and Middle English, and other languages.

In MHG the proverb is also widespread across genre and time. Given the thematic concerns of literature on courtly love, the transformation of joy into pain or

5 Vol. 3, *Erbe-freuen*, 473, *Bestiarius*. All sources from the TPMA are cited below as volume, reference number, and a short title or abbreviation. Full citations to works are given in the bibliography under the TPMA section.

6 Vol. 3, 472. Entry 13, *Jakob von Lausanne, Sermones* (175)

7 Vol. 3, 474. Entry 62, *Freire de Joy* (30)

8 See, e.g., entries 24, 27, 28, 31, 36, 37, and 38, vol. 3, 471-74 (nrs. 1-156), which span the 11th to 15th centuries.

the reverse formulation in *Minnesang* is a fitting motif, one that has resonance with both biblical wisdom and the knowledge of the heart.⁹ While there are some examples from texts such as the *Nibelungenlied*, *Willehalm*, *Wolfdietrich*, *Jüngerer Titarel*, Meister Otte's *Eraclius*, and the works of Meister Eckhart, many occurrences can be found in *Minnesang* and later forms of love poetry (e.g., Hadamar von Laber's allegorical poem *Die Jagd*, the *Minnerede* genre, and the lyrics of Clara von Hätzlerin). The following examples demonstrate the proverb's historical endurance and popularity¹⁰:

⁽¹⁾ DvE XIII.2.3 *Liep âne leit mac niht gesîn*

⁽²⁾ RvF VII.2.7-8 *trûren sich mit freuden gildet / deme, der wol bîten kan*

⁽³⁾ W 94.3.5-6 *Herzeliebes, swaz ich des noch ie gesach, Dâ was herzeleide bî*

⁽⁴⁾ BvL I.5.9 *Nach liebe kumt [vil] dikke leit*

⁽⁵⁾ WA VII.44 *Leit ist liebes nachgebur*

⁽⁶⁾ MJH 32.I.1 *Nâch lieb gât leit!*

9 On the application of this particular opposition in *Leitwort* studies, see Ziegler, *The Leitword in Minnesang*, 33-40.

10 Vol. 3, 475-76, nrs. 90, 91, 100, 104, 109a, 114a, 115, 122, 125, 128, and 132. The TPMA lists all texts in chronological order on the basis of manuscript dates, the birth or death dates of the author, or other indicia, resulting in a roughly linear progression from earlier to later texts, which holds for these examples.

- ⁽⁷⁾ CH 1.55.3-4 *Lieb bringt laid, als hitz den regen, Des bedarff sich nyemant
wunder hân*
- ⁽⁸⁾ HvL J 390-5 *Lieb âne Leit ich vînde selten leider*
- ⁽⁹⁾ MvSalz 14.31 *Nach regen scheint dy sunn. Nach laid kûmbt freud und
wunn*
- ⁽¹⁰⁾ HvMont 15.52 *Ein wil ein fröd – darnach kans truren geben!*
- ⁽¹¹⁾ Minnerede I 1.614 *Wer nâch frœden jagt, Der muß dick komer hön*

While numerous permutations of this proverb exist in MHG, it is noteworthy that the inverse of this expression, namely ‘joy brings more joy,’ is also abundant, but not in MHG.¹¹ The proverb ‘one best keeps joy to himself’ has only two instances, both in MHG, further demonstrating that in the MHG region proverbs about joy are largely restricted to negative assessments.¹²

The core of this proverb may be reduced to ‘joy is transitory,’ and its less common inverse to ‘pain/sorrow/sadness is transitory.’ However, the manifold syntactic arrangements, lengths, and additional concepts in the realizations of the proverbial concept show complexity. Verbs tend to be commonplace – e.g., *sîn*,

11 See vol. 3, 482 and 485, respectively nrs. 247-49 and 280-84 (cf. vol. 11, 216, ‘One sin begets another.’)

12 Vol. 3, 9.2 under *Freude* (nrs. 347-48.) There are some positive statements, including the following two examples from *Minnesang* (vol. 7, *Kern-Linie*, 419, nrs. 290-91): GKT 2.IV.8-9 *Wan seit, ez sî ze freuden guot* / *Swer habe ûf minne staten muot* and OvB 4.III. 8 *Minne machet vro*.

komen, gân, vinden, bringen – unless the poet is attempting a comparison or metaphoric expansion of the proverb, in which case the common verb may stand opposite a less-common partner, e.g., (9) and (11), though in (5) the metaphor requires no verb other than *sîn*. With respect to nouns, the lexical range is also limited to only a small set of possible words within the semantic field, though W employs one of his characteristic (but otherwise infrequent) words in the oppositional pair *herzeliebe/herzeleide*.

This set of proverbs is representative of other MHG proverbs in the TPMA with respect to construction; while metaphor, simile, and other rhetorical figures of speech may be added to make proverbs more memorable, the basic structure consists of succinct and rather direct expressions, most often declarations of fact in the indicative mood (for example, imperative forms such as **do not expect joy without sorrow!* never occur with this proverb.) While no single word or clause order holds a majority, one dual-clause syntactic frame stands out for its gnomic force and frequency in MHG: *he who ...*, *he (must/shall/is) ...*, a small yet powerful indicator that instruction, folk (or authoritative) wisdom, or admonition is contained within

(henceforth referred to as the ‘he who’ frame.) In (11) this structure is obvious (*Wer ... , Der ...*, which adds the common ‘must’ or ‘shall’ in the second clause), but it also exists in somewhat subdued and reversed form at the end of the first clause in (2) with ... *deme, Der*. This framework in *Minnesang* is not only widespread but appears to be one of the primary means of delivering the prominent didactic component of the genre. The next section examines the frame’s contents within the MHG proverb tradition and the differences between language that appears proverbial, gnomic, or epigrammatic and the phrases that have been identified as proverbs through cross-linguistic and diachronic comparison.

2 PROVERBS AND PROVERBIAL LANGUAGE

While the difficulties of defining and locating proverbs are manifest, there are even more challenging problems surrounding lines that can only be described as exhibiting proverbial language, i.e., lines and phrases that ‘seem’ to be proverbs but fail to meet certain criteria or are otherwise, usually from lack of corroborating evidence, likely to be coinages or nonce-phrases of wisdom, exhortation, or admonition. Whether proverbial language functions differently than established proverbs with identifiable

histories of circulation is not a central question in the following section, but rather how does proverbial language function within the system of poetics to which *Minnesang* belongs?

During the course of several centuries of interest in *formelhafte Wendungen*, other scholars have noted many of the phrases discussed in this chapter; however, their approach has been to catalogue diachronically only corroborated proverbs, most recently from the PW, which also draws from material in the TPMA, to Wolfgang Mieder's and others' work on the *Thesaurus*. Studies of conventional language in *Minnesang* not focused exclusively on proverbs generally draw from corpora with too few German poems to analyze units that span multiple lines, because in a small sample one finds few if any longer repeated passages. Wernfried Hofmeister established a complex system of proverb analysis that allows phrases, many of them of the *swer, der...* type, to function independently as 'microtexts' within the context of political verse, yet also as generalizing sentiments that share common formal traits.¹³ While

13 See Wernfried Hofmeister, *Sprichwortartige Mikrotex te als literarische Medien*, Studien zur Phraseologie und Parömiologie 5 (Bochum: Brockmeyer, 1995), particularly 70-94, in which the following 'optional characteristics' of proverbs are given: *Alliteration, Aussageform, Bildhaftigkeit, Binnenreim, Identität* (symmetrical or parallel structures such as *je-je, wo-dort*, or *wer-der*, the framework discussed in this chapter), *Indefinitausdruck, Indikativ, Komparativ und Superlativ, Kontrast, Prädikatslosigkeit, Präsens, Autoritätsappelle, Deletierbarkeit* (i.e., if a phrase is independently

Hofmeister's long list of indicators is useful for the detailed analysis of individual proverbs and expands greatly upon previous studies, it is his concept of *lexikalische Publikumläufigkeit* that differs most from other definitions of the popular, an essential component in understanding the structures and uses of proverbs, which he defends in the case of the medieval lyric as a savvy court populace, sensitive to a broad range of the extant lexis, allusion, and metaphor of the time, rather than the ill-defined 'everyman' of, for example, oral gnomic proverbs from other traditions.¹⁴

The concept of (at least partial) syntactic-semantic independence from the surrounding text also forms part of the standard phraseological definition of proverbs.¹⁵ Proverbial language in the love lyric shares many of the same characteristics as its counterpart in political verse and other types of *Spruchdichtung*, though perhaps the most important is that they are, to use Hofmeister's term, of an

discursive, it may be removed without 'damaging' the text), *Distribution, Gruppierung, Kommentar, Quellenbeleg, and Überleitungswort*. Hofmeister's objects of study are the proverbs of the political lyric, and some indicators in the list are more prevalent within that corpus than they are for the love lyric or other genres, but the list remains the best expression of paremiological diversity. To contrast this list with what Hofmeister considers to be the 'essential' or 'inherent characteristics' of *sprichwortartige Mikrotexzte* (58-67) reveals the value of semantic versus grammatical content within his system: they are *Erfahrungsbasis, geschlossene Aussage/potentielle diskursive Selbständigkeit, geschlossene Satzstruktur, and Kürze und Prägnanz*.

14 Hofmeister, *Sprichwortartige Mikrotexzte*, 68-70.

15 One description among many can be found in PW, 23-26 (Hofmeister receives brief mention on 24.)

independently discursive nature. To use other terms, they are *open clichés*, and, according to phraseological terminology, *whole texts*, which allows them to function both independently of the text, i.e., the saying is complete without the context of the rest of the strophe or poem, and simultaneously is integrated with the sense of the larger whole text, i.e., both the poem's broadest thematic concerns and its words and syntax.

To continue with both the example strophe and the 'he who' frame, let us take as an example the first three lines of HvA II.1:

*Swes vröide an guoten wîben stât,
der sol in sprechen wol
und wesen undertân.*

This is not a proverb for lack of repetition, but it is a didactic phrase and shares a thematic concern with proverbs about love in many languages. These lines are reminiscent of the language and motif of W 74.4.11-12, *swer guotes wîbes minne hât, / der schamt sich aller missetat*, which shares the general structure and *guot + wîp* elements of HvA's line, though W tells one what *not* to do and HvA gives positive counsel.

Across the corpus of *Minnesang*, the ‘he who’ frame occurs often, sometimes as a simple two-clause line or lines, for example:

- (¹) MvS I.3.1 *Swer werden wîben dienen sol, der sol semelîchen varn.*
- (²) S 1.1.1-2¹⁶ *Swer in vremen landen vil der tugende hât, der solde niemer komen heim...*
- (³) S 1.3.1 *Swer suochet rât und volget des, der habe danc*
- (⁴) S 1.16.1 *Swer den wolf ze hirten nimt, der vât sîn schaden.*
- (⁵) H IV.4.1-3 *Swer gerne zuo der kirchen gât unde âne nît stat, der mac wol vroelîchen leben.*
- (⁶) HvA XII.5.1-2 *Swer giht, daz minne sünde sî, der sol sich ê bedenken wol,*¹⁷

Complimentary motifs between these lines and the sample strophe appear even within this minimal sample set, e.g., (1) and (3). While any verb in any mood may appear in the second clause, modal verbs are common; in this set they occur in (1), (2), (5), and (6). Only (3) contains a non-modal verb in the subjunctive, but it too is an ordinary marker of this construction. Only constructions with *swer* and *swes* appear in the following discussion, but other phrases beginning with *swâ*, *swaz*, *swie* etc. are equally

16 See also S 2.1.1-2, 2.2.1-2, and 2.11.1 for similar brief constructions.

17 There are dozens more examples in MF alone, but in order to focus on a few representative examples I list only selected lines from MF and W. This does little to restrict data for comparison, however, since the TPMA sources include all of the lyrical works referenced in the present study and others.

likely to conform to the proverbial nature of the lines described here, though they are grammatically different, more likely to belong to the narrative *I* than a generalized third person subject.

The frame also occurs in more complex lines that can reach strophe-length:

⁽⁷⁾ NL I.1-4 *Swer an dem maentage dar gât,
dâ er den vuoꝛ lâ̄t,¹⁸
deme ist alle die wochun
dest ungemacher.*

⁽⁸⁾ S 1.7.1-4 *Swer lange dienet, dâ man dienst niht verstât,
und einen ungetriuwen miteslüzzel hât,
und einen valschen nâchgebûr,
der wirt sîn spîse harte sûr.*

⁽⁹⁾ R XXVI.3.6-10 *Swer dô nâhe bî mir stuont,
sô die merkaere tuont,
der sach herzeliebe wol
an der varwe mîn.*

This frame can serve a didactic purpose beyond the typical themes in *Minnesang*, particularly as it occurs in the examples here from the *Namenlose Lieder*, Spervogel, and Herger. While this group of early poets' favored manners of expression are

18 The third line of (7) and the last of (9) both illustrate the frequent inclusion of figurative language (generally through phraseological units) in proverbs and proverb-like utterances; the idiomatic phrases *den vuoꝛ lâ̄n* 'to leave the foot/not to move the foot' and *an der varwe mîn* 'in my color' are also complemented in this list by the final line of (8), whose warning and implications of 'sour food' employ indirect language to make a straightforward point.

didactic, the content of their poems is generally consistent with common tropes, themes, and motifs of the love lyric. That these lines are highly variable reflects the creativity within formulaic syntax and phrases that arises from common use, as in MvS I.3.5, *Swer biderben dienet wîben, die gebent alsus getânen solt*, which is a rare example of a feminine subject in the second clause (here a plural referring to *wîben* in an exchange of subject and object across two clauses.) The order of the clauses may also be reversed, as in

⁽¹⁰⁾ S 1.8.3 *erst tump, swer guot vor êren spart*

⁽¹¹⁾ S 2.13.6 *mit lîchter kost er dienet lop, swer vremen man wol êret.*

⁽¹²⁾ DvE III.3.4 *er ist sîn selbes meister niht, swer sîn alze vil getuot.*

⁽¹³⁾ KH III.4.1 *Er sündet, swer des niht geloubet,*

⁽¹⁴⁾ HvV V.1.8-9 *Got mac er sîn wîzen danc,
swer hât rehte minne sunder riuwe und âne twanc.*

Another type resembling the previous examples but lacking a personal subject in the second clause occurs, among other instances, in K as *swer sînen vriunt behaltet, daz ist lobelîch*, and in S 1 (AC) as

(15) *swer sînem wîbe dur daz jâr
 volget und er ir richiu kleit über rehte maze koufet,
 dâ mac ein hôchwart von geschehen, daz sîm ein stiefkint toufet.*¹⁹

These didactic formulas almost never occur in *Minnesang* directed toward women. When the second clause begins with *diu sol*, the admonitions are still for men, but with a feminine noun rather than pronoun as the subject (cf. Herger IV.2.2, *swer dâ heimüete hât, / diu sunne schînet nie sô lieht.*) *Swes* does not occur as often as *swer*, but it belongs to the same category when *swes* is a matter of grammatical necessity and the second clause involves imparting advice, e.g., one of the other *swes* examples of this type, that also belongs to Hartmann and has the same *stât/rât Reimresponcion*, requires the genitive for the same reason as the strophe above. *Ze etw. stân* appears several times in this context as *Swes vröide hin ze den bluomen stât, / der muoz vil schiere trûren gegen der swæren zît* and *swes muot ze valschen dingen stât, / den kroenent sî und loben in vil*, but the form without prepositions, which means simply that the verb in question takes a genitive object, is also present outside Hartmann, for example in *swes dû mit triuwen pfligest wol, der ist ein saelic man*, one of the rare occasions on which this

¹⁹ K I.1.2 and S 1.16.4-6. Other examples of this type are DvE II.3.3-4, HvV VI.1.6-8, and HvR *Leich* V.8-9.

pattern addresses a woman.²⁰ From a formal standpoint, this is an easily constructed and diverse frame for imparting advice or as an injunction about love and service, except when used in a religious manner in early didactic lyric, though even in those examples with different content the structure remains identical. Within the frame any number of phraseological or otherwise formulaic units can be selected from the admittedly restricted stock of the Middle High German poetic lexicon, but the frame seems to be as significant as its content in terms of conventionality, for it establishes a template within which poets can mimic aphorisms, maxims, *Sprichwörter*, etc., while contributing (and possibly spreading) original expressions and adding new layers to old themes, with processes as simple as inverting common phrases or combining hitherto unrelated collocations. Conversely, but not conflictingly, the variation within the ‘formula’ shows innovation and poetic skill within a traditional or common structure. In K, for example, innovation with a *swer* phrase is evident when the poet writes, rather than mimicking the previous examples of aphoristic language, the poetic metaphor *Wîp unde vederspîl diu werdent lîhte zam. / swer sî ze rehte lucket, sô suochent*

20 HVA XIV.1.1-2, HVR *Lied* VII.4.3-4, and R XIV.3.6.

*sî den man.*²¹ While it is possible that this is a proverb,²² the line is unique in Middle High German literature and, given its thematic coherence with the remainder of the poet's falcon imagery, strongly suggests poetic creativity rather than the repetition of a *Sprichwort*. Before turning to a group of 'he who' phrases within one motif (section 2.2 below), the relation between proverb and proverbial language in the previously mentioned lines requires closer examination. While the frame is more often one of a poet's tools for composing new material from old, or at least rearranging old ideas, it may also belong to an established proverbial tradition.

2.1 THE 'HE WHO' FRAME, THE TPMA, AND *MINNESANG*

In the following pages, several framed lines (numbers 1-4 and 11-14 from section 2 above) are discussed alongside comparative material from the TPMA and the MB.

Swer werden wîben dienen sol, der sol semelîchen varn. (MvS I.3.1)

While this gnomic, introductory line does not contain but rather prefaces advice, it remains within the general thematic categories of injunctions to follow advice and prescriptions for love service. The remaining lines of the strophe initiated by this

21 K II.13.1-2.

22 PW, 468.

command contain the common motifs of keeping silent about one's love (and lover), bearing grief on account of love, and that the returns on good service equal effort spent. Several proverbs from the MHG lyric in the TPMA address service, including UvL *Fd*, 413,28 *Swer dienst dar die lenge tuot, Dâ man niht gelônen kan, der ist ein gar unwîser man* and *Minnereden* II, 28,124 *Men sprichet: goet dienst wert nie verloren.*²³

Other proverbs for this motif from section 5.4.2.1.2, 'Guter Dienst wird (soll) mit gutem Lohn bezahlt (werden),' are found in a saint's *vita*, a collection of aphorisms, and a late medieval prose adaptation of a French romance.²⁴ The remainder of the entries under *dienen* consists of positive and negative assessments of service and its rewards, but only in the standard senses of lords and subjects or God and man; love-service is otherwise absent in the German material. The present line exhorts service to worthy women, a positive aspiration, and is in this regard in opposition to the far greater number of misogynistic proverbs collected in the TPMA. Optimistic instruction or wisdom within this motif is common in the MHG love lyric, which does not appear to be well-represented in the TPMA. However, HvA II.1.1-3, the

23 Vol. 2, *Bisam-erbauen*, 232, entry 141 under *dienen* (cf. 5.3.2.2 'Umsonst dienen ist verdriesslich und törriht'), and vol. 2, 233, entry 167 (cf. 5.4.2.1.1 '(Guter) Dienst ist nie verloren,' with four other examples of this proverb in MHG and MD.)

24 *Christophorus, Proverbia Fridanci*, and *Loher und Maller*, vol. 2, 234, nrs. 189-91.

example strophe, offers a comparable expression – Hartmann instructs the listener in how to serve (*undertan wesen*) good women. Both lines employ the ‘he who’ frame not only to follow generic conventions but also to imitate the language of proverbs. It is impossible to verify aesthetic reception or impact without contemporary statements, but neither HvM nor HvA offer unusual or compelling phrasing. It may be that a didactic tone, produced by chaining proverb-like phrases together across the strophes of a poem, was the byproduct of conventional composition. Given the nature of rhetorical education in the Middle Ages and the many parallels in other genres, however, it seems more likely that it was an intentional factor in the poetics of *Minnesang*.

S.1.1.1-2 *Swer in vremden landen vil der tugende hât,
der solde niemer komen heim...*

Proverbs positive and negative about foreign travel and foreigners are common, and this advice has several MHG parallels in the TPMA, e.g., *Ottokar 1722 Biderbes mannes erbe Lît in allen landen*.²⁵ This is not an exact match, but the views are related. Likewise, *Der Ring 7874 Und gedacht, wie besser wär Im auf frömder erde leben Dann da*

25 Vol. 7, *Kern-Linie*, 265, entry 149 (cf. others under *Land*, 2.3.2.1 ‘Die Heimat des Weisen und Tüchtigen ist überall,’ 264-5.)

haim des todes phlegen and *Tristan* 11596 *In vremen lande ere und gemach Und schame in vater riche, Diu smeckent ungeliche* express related insights, though they stress different aspects of being at home and abroad than the lines with which they are compared, namely problems at home that make success abroad all the better.²⁶ There are other (possibly) proverbial ‘he who’ lines in MHG on the topic of foreign customs and people that cannot be found in the TPMA. *Der Renner*, for example, contains eight passages that fit those criteria.²⁷ As in the other lines, not all instances of *swer* (or its declined variants, though the nominative dominates) initiate wisdom, advice, or warning. For example, GvS *Tristan* 3696-99 contain both *swer* and *vremd* but narrate an active part of the plot rather than temporarily stepping beyond the narrative to deliver to the audience a timeless and place-less proverb.²⁸

S 1.3.1 *Swer suochet rât und volget des, der habe danc*

Many proverbs or proverb-like statements that express the benefits of following advice are reminiscent of or include *Wahrheitsbetuerungen*, of which *rât* is a common

26 Vol. 3, *Erbe-freuen*, 464, nrs. 4 and 3 respectively, under *Fremd*, 4.1.1 ‘Ein ruhiges (ehrenvolles) Leben in der Fremde ist besser als Zank (Schande, Tod) in der Heimat,’

27 See 707-08, 3789-90, 5279-80, 6283-86, 17813-16, 17962-64, 18115-16, and 18277-80.

28 *und swer iht vremeder zungen | von den bilanden kunde, | der versuohte in sa zestunde: | dirre sus und jener so*

element, either as phrasemes (set phrases) such as *so ist mîn rât* or other forms as in *Rennewart* 14932-35.²⁹ While this particular expression is not mirrored elsewhere, the sentiment is widespread. In MHG the proverb *Swer volget guotem râte, Dem misselinget spâte* occurs three times, a pithy rhyme unlike the example above, yet also another example of the frame and its use in providing gnomic force to any utterance.³⁰ Other *Wahrheitsbetuerungen* also appear within the frame, for example, in *Frauenlehre*, *Titurel*, and *W ich weiz wol* precedes the frame (unlike in *Wigalois* and *Karl der Große*, where *ich weiz wol* precedes a series of lines beginning with *swer* that nevertheless refer to concrete situations rather than wisdom, advice, or instruction.)³¹

S 1.16.1 *Swer den wolff ze hirten nimt, der vât sîn schaden.*

This proverb is expressed in several different ways, but it is noteworthy that the TMPA lists only German proverbs for 1.1 under *Wolf*, ‘*Wer den Wolf ins Haus einlädt, der erleidet schaden.*’³² The line *Wer den wolff ze huse ladet Der merk daz ez im*

29 *swes rat mich iht lere | daz uns nu si daz beste, | wie behalten wir die veste, | daz ratet alle gemeine!*

30 Vol. 9, *niesen-Schädlichkeit*, 193, nrs. 195 (HvA *Iwein* 2153), 197 (UvE Alex 27911), and 199 (Ottokar 29081). See also, among others under *Rat*, 5.5-5.6, ‘*Wer gutem Rat folgt, hat Erfolg*’ and ‘*Wer gutem Rat folgt, hat keine Reue,*’ 192-94. Proverbs in modern use with old roots, such as *guter Rat ist teuer*, also exist in large numbers but are not directly relevant to the statement in the line above.

31 Respectively ll. 663-66, 5.1-2, and 15.5.8-9, as well as 10060-62 and 6007-08. Cf. also GvS *Tristan* 18589-91 (*wan weizgot swer ze sinem vromen | mit sines vriundes schaden wil komen, | der treit im cleine minne*) and the non-proverbial use of *deiswâr* and *swer* in HvA *Erec* 3117-22.

32 Vol. 13, *Weinlese-zwölf*, 163, nrs. 1-4.

schadet makes use of the frame (as does the sample line above and one other entry), while the last entry employs a verb-first substitute subjunctive (*Ledestu den wolff heim zu hus, Er enkommet nit ane schaden dar uz.*)³³ Verb-first constructions are functionally nearly identical to the ‘he who’ frame, in that they can serve as markers of wisdom and instruction, but they refer to cause and effect rather than directly stating what is so under certain conditions; they are also not as common.

S 2.13.6 *mit lîchter kost er dienet lop, swer vremen man wol êret.*

As with *Swer in vremen landen* above, this line belongs to a large group of sayings about proper behavior toward foreigners and one’s own comportment in foreign lands. While positive and negative advice and admonitions abound in the TPMA, none agree closely with the view presented here.³⁴ In this instance the frame allows for a shift in expression from the general courtly ideal of praise to the language of wisdom, universal or otherwise, even though this particular expression of the ideal does not appear to belong to an established proverbial tradition. Of all the texts in the MB only this line contains *lop dienen*, whereas phrases such as *jmdn. loben*, *ihr/ihm zu dienen*

33 Entries 3 (*Liedersaal*, 163,1) and 4 (*Salomon und Markolf* 495.)

34 Cf. vol. 3, *Erbe-freuen*, 465-67, nrs. 24-44 under *Fremd*, 6. ‘Verhalten von Fremden.’

occur several times. It is perhaps due to poets' attempts to appear sententious that these impromptu proverbs often display word combinations or wordplay not often found in other types of passages.

DvE III.3.4 *er ist sîn selbes meister niht, swer sîn alze vil getuot.*

Among the numerous proverbs about keeping proper measure, this line inverts not only the 'he who' frame but also the commonest manner of expression, namely that constancy and moderation are good and should be exercised in all things and at all times.³⁵ The strophe consists of four lines, of which this is the last, and it presents advice in couplets: ll. 1-2 and 3-4 exhibit the structure a) one should do/not do something and b) a generalizing 'he who' frame (or inverted frame):

<i>Man sol die biderben und die guoten</i>	<i>ze allen zîten haben liep.</i>	a
<i>swer sich gerüemet alze vil,</i>	<i>der kan der besten mâze niet.</i>	b
<i>joch sol ez neimer hovescher man</i>	<i>gemachen allen wîben guot.</i>	a
<i>er ist sîn meister niht,</i>	<i>swer sîn alze vil getuot</i>	b

This bipartite strophic form for advice is not typical, but lines of specific counsel preceded or followed by generic wisdom are common. The second through fourth lines reference *mâze* directly or indirectly, while the first seems to generate the need

35 Cf., e.g., vol. 8, *Linke-Niere*, 128-30, nrs. 47-111 under *Mass*, 2.3-2.4, 'Mass muss (bei allem) herschen und angewendet werden' and 'Mass ist (bei allem) gut und nützlich.'

for such commentary – in other words, one *should* have affection for all worthy women, but one *should not* take this too far, both concerning one’s own worth and with respect to all women. While the conceptual reach of *mâze* extends very far in *Minnesang* and all courtly literature, it does not appear frequently in proverbs or proverb-like frames (see, however, lines such as *Der Welsche Gast* 10380-81: *Tagalten ist dicke guot, / swerz niht mit unnmâze tuot.*) Like phraseological, formulaic, and rhetorical units, the proverbial frame does not appear to restrict poetic creativity; on the contrary, DvE demonstrates that it can serve, among other things, as a relatively complex elaboration on a common theme with the additional benefit of proverbial wisdom.

KH III.4.1 *Er sündet, swer des niht geloubet,*

This use of the frame is inconsistent with the other types described in this section because it appears to have no proverbial function, for example giving ‘universal’ instruction or wisdom for a specific context. While it shares features with and may be considered a *Wahrheitsbetenerung*, it introduces not a proverbial but a personal message. The subsequent lines, KH III.4.2-4, read

*daz ich möhte geleben manigen lieben tac,
ob joch niemer krône kæme ûf mîn houbet;
des ich mich ân si niht vermezzen mac.*

Nothing universal in the realm of emotion or conduct lends them a proverbial façade, and the comment about a crown serves as an identifying mark for the poet, who has made no attempt to conceal himself behind a lyrical narrator – contrast this with the obvious poetic imagery of HvM XXVIII.1.1-2 *Ich bin keiser âne krône, / sunder lant* [.] While the poem on the whole treats only generic themes, not all of the formulaic components are common. For example, the final line of the poem (K III.4.7) contains the earliest and one of only a handful of instances in the MB of the phraseme ‘Acht und Bann’ (*ze âhte und ze banne*), and this instance of the ‘he who’ frame stands out for its deviation from the commoner mimicry of proverbs. Exceptions prevent the construction of a rule for the frame’s use, but they provide a better view of the complexity, selection possibilities, and execution of formulaic units, in this case not phrasemes but syntactic conventions.

HvV V.1.7-9 *Got mac er sîn wizzen danc,
swer hât rehte minne
sunder riuwe und âne twanc.*

This final example expresses a commonplace approach to courtly love, with widespread applicability in medieval literature.³⁶ No exact or very close matches for the entire phrase exist, but its parts are conventional: *rehte minne* is a frequently occurring adjective-substantive combination, *jmdm. (des) dank wizen* is a phraseme that does not appear in the PW but is nevertheless recurrent in both verse and prose,³⁷ and the rhyme *danc/twanc* (*getwanc, betwanc*) is likewise common and used once more by HvV in IV.1.1 and 3 (the *Tristan* poem.) Neither *sunder riuwe* nor *âne twanc* appear to be particularly common (cf. the more frequent prepositional forms of *in riuwen, mit riuwe*, and *ze riuwe stân*, or *mit twanc* and the verb phrase *jmdn./etw. zu etw. twingen*, almost always realized with *dar zuo* in poetry), but they are not unique – HvM writes on a similar theme in XVIII.4.5, *Man sol vrouwen schouwen unde lâzen âne twanc*. In keeping with the aphoristic or proverbial tendencies of material put into the frame, one clause expresses an expanded *Wahrheitsbetuierung*, here in the first line.

Proverbs, those phrases that can be corroborated from other sources, and

36 See vol. 7, *Kern-Liebe*, 446-48, nrs. 852-881 under *Liebe*, 2.2.1, ‘Liebe muss freiwillig und ohne Zwang erfolgen (und enden)’.

37 Cf. PW 132-33 under *danc* (there is no entry for *wizen*.) *Jmdm. (des) dank wizen* is a synonym for *jmdm. dank haben*, which does appear in the PW. One example of many from the *Prosa Lancelot* cycle is *Wolt ir mirs icht großen danck wißen* (Part 1, 84, 27-28.)

proverbial language, those that cannot, are equally likely to appear within the frame of 'he who' constructions. This syntactic device allows almost any thought to seem as though it were the product of time-honored wisdom or at least part of a greater proverbial tradition. Some framed lines are probably evidence of skilled poets, whose pithy, rhymed sayings adhere to the style of proverbs but add something new to the conceptual stock of the genre, while others appear, at least to the modern reader, as sterile reformulations of advice that add nothing to the poem's artistry. While the best poets certainly adhered to convention, it is the skillful deviations from or expansions to formulaic units and motifs that separated good from merely adequate poets in contemporary estimation. In Gottfried's excursus the adornment of poetry is praised equally alongside clarity, and good rhetorical ornamentation requires the application of novel approaches to established concepts and phrases. Beyond *Minnesang* one finds the same constructions, such as the repeated frame in *Der Renner*, 17603-06:

*Swer wol tuot, der ist wol gelêrt:
Swer aber ungern den meister êrt
Der aller meister meister ist,
Der ist ein narre ze aller frist.*

A simple admonition to comport oneself reverently becomes, within the proverbial

framework, a pithy passage that uses a common structure to highlight positive and negative results of following the advice.

The frame, in lending the qualities of proverbs to original statements, increases the significance of some lines that do not explain anything, where only in subsequent lines do the prohibitions or reasons for the advice occur. For example, in (6) from section 2 above, HvA XII.5.1-2 *Swer gih̄t, daz minne s̄inde s̄ī, der sol sich ê bedenken wol*, the lines containing the frame give instruction so generic as to be meaningless, while lines 3-9 elucidate why *minne* is not a sin. In strophe-initial position, the ‘he who’ frame can serve as more than a proverb-like utterance – it becomes a rhetorical device to introduce lists of instruction, admonition, advice, etc., and for the entire strophe then serves as a type of extended *Wahrheitsbeteuerung*, a mark that the information contained therein is significant, worthy, and ought to be heeded.

2.2 PROVERBIAL LANGUAGE AND MOTIFS: *MINNE* AND SIN

The ‘he who’ frame is neither unique to *Minnesang* nor to Middle High German literature, but it is of particular interest within the study of lyric poetry for its variability according to the requirements of rhyme and meter but even more so

according to thematic development. This formulaic frame occurs in many of the common motifs of *Minnesang*, often in surprisingly high frequency to the total occurrences of a motif. Didactic language in the guise of a proverb not only grants the poet authority in the form of folk-wisdom but also allows the construction of subtly different motifs with the common vocabulary of the love lyric. To reference again K II.13.1-2, the combination of falconry and love service has made his *Valkenlied* famous for eight centuries, though other stylistic particulars deserve equal note. One of them is a series of the proverbial frame uses (as well as their reversed forms) concerned with *minne* and sin³⁸:

⁽¹⁾ KH III.4.1 *Er sündet, swer des niht geloubet,*

⁽²⁾ HvV XXXVI.1-3 *Swer den vrouwen an ir êre
gerne sprichet âne nôt,
seht, der sündet sich vil sere*

⁽³⁾ UvG *Leich* IIb.20-21 *swer mir nu leidet disiu bant,
der sündet sich und ert den sant.*

38 One- or two-line warnings or admonitions of sinful behavior belonging to this group are UvG *Leich* IIb.20-21, HvM VII.4.4 and XXII.2.1-2, and R XXIX.5.4-5. Longer representations include HvV XXXVI.1-3, AvJ IIIb.2.1-3, and HvA XII.5.1-5. Amongst these eight examples, most follow the same pattern, which is to call attention to sinful behavior against the narrator or women within the didactic framework of the *swer* phrase. However, there is also a development of the theme by Albrecht and Hartmann, who use the phrase to praise the freedom from sin that *Minne* brings. Additionally, both HvV and HvM write *seht, der sündet sich*, while HvM adds another time *vür wâr, der sündet sich*.

- ⁽⁴⁾ AvJ IIIb.2.1-3 *Swer minne minneclîche treit
gar âne valschen muot,
des sünde wirt vor gote niht geseit.*
- ⁽⁵⁾ HvM VII.4.4 *swer mich rîomes zihen wil, vür wâr, der sündet sich.*
- ⁽⁶⁾ HvM XXII.2.1-2 *Swer mir des verban, obe ich si minne tougen,
seht, der sündet sich.*
- ⁽⁷⁾ R XXIX.5.4-5 *swer daz âne rede niht gelâzen mac,
Der tuot übel und sündet sich.*
- ⁽⁸⁾ HvA XII.5.1-5 *Swer giht, daz minne sünde sî,
der sol sich ê bedenken wol,
ir wont vil manige êre bî,
der man durch reht geniezen sol,
Und volget michel staete und dar zuo saelikeit.*

Minne is contrasted with sin rather than bound inextricably to it, a position that reflects a defense of courtly love against its condemnation on grounds of religious morality and piety, which is perhaps made light of in (4), where the final line cannot be understood literally and more likely echoes the opposite of the sentiment expressed in other examples above: while one sins by exposing and castigating love and lovers, one may also free himself from sin by adhering to proper *minne*. This common theme appears across the German lyric and occurs in sources beyond these examples gathered

from MF.³⁹ The content of (8) follows this pattern as well, suggesting that virtues rather than vices surround the correct exercise of courtly love, though they are indeed virtues borrowed from the lexicon of court life and not contemplative or otherwise spiritual life. Two patterns emerge even within this restricted sample, namely a combination of the proverbial frame with *sich sünden* and uses of the substantive *sünde*, though no syntactic regularities other than placement of the verb phrase in the second clause appear. As in (3), it is possible to insert phrasemes into proverbial structures, where *ert den sant* adds a touch of folk wisdom about futility to the language of sin.

This theme is but one of dozens that operates within paremiological structures. The fact that most of these lines are not proverbs by definition – i.e., they have no identifiable antecedents or points of comparison in other languages – does not detract from their utility as didactic information in a recognizable stylistic and syntactic framework, within which a poet is able to transform conventionality into some form of originality. A ready-made frame can hold inversions of common or expected

39 Although the general comparison of love and sin occurs in many motifs, the commonest may be found in TPMA, vol. 7, *Kern-Linie*, under *Liebe*, 1.4.7.2.1 ‘Liebe bringt von jeder Sünde, Missetat und schlechten Gesinnung ab,’ 420; this motif is also evident in the lines *Swer guotes wîbes minne hât, Der schamt sich aller misstât* (W 74.4.11-12, nr. 304) and *Genuoge liute sprechent so, Daz unminne sünde si: Minne ist aller sünden vri* (Otto IV v. Brandenburg 4,3 [MSH I,12a], nr. 306.)

themes (e.g., 4), *Wahrheitsbetuerungen* (e.g., 1 and 5), or additional phraseological content, (e.g., 3), as well as standard didactic asides about proper conduct such as the remark about wagging tongues in (7).

3 Conclusions

Individual instances of medieval proverbs may take different forms from one another, appear as free translations that can alter the meaning in the original language, prove impossible to corroborate via mono- or cross-linguistic sources, and, when further evidence is available, often belong to a sample set no greater than two or three. If a proverb is a phraseme, and all literature on historical phraseology claims that this is the case, one cannot hold firmly to the criteria of contemporary phraseology without displacing the proverb; fixed proverbs with regard to syntax and vocabulary rather than semantic content cannot be said to exist as they do in modern contexts. There are useful syntactic and lexical indicators of proverbial language, including the ‘he who’ frame and the predominance of modal verbs (above all *sollen*), but the abundance of such patterns and the variation evident within them is such that no set of formal criteria can isolate all instances. Thus, regarding proverbs and proverb-like statements

as an important part of the conventions in *Minnesang* without expecting them to conform to anachronistic criteria of fixity allows one interpretive freedom, but also produces terminological unease. These challenges are not sufficient to merit abandoning historical phraseology as one of the means by which medieval poetics can be understood, but the slippery definitions of ‘proverb’ from a phraseological view may continue to stand as methodological obstacles to further research. To overcome them will require cataloging the varieties of proverbs and proverbial phrases in order to further test and redefine the limits described by Hofmeister, Friedrich, Burger, and others. Between recognized instances of a proverb in one language, “[e]s wird deutlich, dass ‘Entsprechung’ nicht morpho-syntaktische Kongruenz bedeutet[,]” but this malleability has not previously extended to the even looser case of unrecognized proverbs.⁴⁰

40 Friedrich, “Historische Phraseologie des Deutschen,” 1094.

THE FACE OF MINNESANG: KINNEGRAMS, CORPOREAL PHRASEOLOGY, AND
EMOTIONAL EXPRESSIONS

0 INTRODUCTION

Hobe minne counts among the oldest objects of research in MHG literary and philological studies. It is simultaneously a connection to a widespread European tradition and fertile ground for exposing idiosyncratic developments in the intellectual, literary, and cultural history of German-speaking lands in the Middle Ages. Within this framework emotions are generally indirect, that is, poets implicitly express emotion via imagery (e.g., the fading of summer into winter) and explicitly via devices such as apostrophe of the heart in a confessional mode.

Additionally the physical world fades in importance to the interior world of the heart, the mind, and emotional expression, whether ‘genuine’ or as part of a performance (see section 1 below.) However, there remain many more corporeal aspects of *Minnesang* than are commonly recognized, including non-phraseological formulas, phrasemes, and body parts and bodies within rhetorical devices. These occurrences are relatively frequent for having been largely overlooked as a lexical

group of thematic importance in the genre, and their numbers include far more than the commonly cited *rôter munt*. Corporeal facets of human life and the pleasant and not-so-pleasant aspects of human bodies are common themes in MHG literature and occur in phrasemes of all types, including the scatological (cf. *ein wurz lazzen*, which appears nine times in the MB.) Crude expressions of bodily functions have little place in the love lyric, but for all their hypothetical musing, verbal expressions of emotion, and stylized scenes, medieval German love poems are also furnished with physical gestures and movements that convey as much meaning as direct speech acts.

This chapter views bodies, limbs, and facial features from a phraseological perspective as they relate to emotional expression, for example, weeping, flushed faces, and gestures of fealty, obeisance, greeting, and parting, among others. In phraseological terms polylexical (semi-)fixed expressions of non-verbal communication with an effect on discourse and pragmatic dimensions are termed *kinnegrams*.¹ An

1 See PW 30-1; Burger, *Phraseologie: Eine Einführung*, 44-5 and 60-1; and Ch. 4 “Pragmatische Aspekte” in Burger et al., *Handbuch der Phraseologie*, 105-67 (the term is not mentioned in older studies, e.g., Jürg Häusermann, *Hauptprobleme der deutschen Phraseologie auf der Basis sowjetischer Forschungsergebnisse*, Linguistische Arbeiten 47 (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1977) and Klaus Dieter Pilz, *Phraseologie: Versuch einer interdisziplinären Abgrenzung, Begriffsbestimmung und Systematisierung unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der deutschen Gegenwartssprache*, Göppinger Arbeiten zur Germanistik 239, 2 vols (Göppingen: Kümmerle, 1978.) From the perspective of cognitive linguistics psycholinguistics, semantics, and other fields gestures and non-verbal communication are also central objects of research. See, for example, Sotaro Kita, ed., *Pointing: Where Language, Culture, and*

illustration in ModE is *to shake one's head*, and in NHG *die Stirn runzeln*. In both examples a culturally subjective gesture is encoded within a collocation that has both a literal physical meaning and a secondary level of abstract meaning.² In psychological terms, a kinnegram involving the face with an emotional interpretation in the secondary level of meaning can be understood as a lexical representation of an affect display, which is the movement of facial muscles that creates non-verbal meaning as an expression of emotional states.³

A few examples from PW will suffice to demonstrate the range of the largely emotional functions fulfilled by kinnegrams: *arme und bein vlēhten* (107, an indirect mention of lovemaking or any sort of amorous physical contact); *die hende winden*

Cognition Meet (Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 2003.) Anna Wierzbicka, *Emotions Across Languages and Cultures: Diversity and Universals* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999) features a chapter on "Reading the Human Face," 168-215, in which the psychology and semantics of facial expressions are discussed as comparable to linguistic units, both readable and capable of projecting meaning. Purely non-verbal communication of the type displayed by facial expression is the encoded within the verbalized content of kinnegrams. Some research has been done in the lexical-physical interface between facial expressions and emotions; for a notable example involving Lao phraseology see N.J. Enfield, "Linguistic Evidence for a Lao Perspective on Facial Expression of Emotion," in *Emotions in Cross-linguistic Perspective*, eds. Jean Harkins and Anna Wierzbicka, 149-66, *Cognitive Linguistics Research* 17 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2001).

2 Other semiotic levels are discussed in Burger, *Phraseologie: Eine Einführung*, 61. Burger et al., *Phraseologie: Ein Internationales Handbuch*, 101 also notes the special case of kinnegram metaphoricity in which both literal and symbolic meanings exist side-by-side.

3 David Matsumoto, ed., *The Cambridge Dictionary of Psychology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 20; and Gary R. VandenBos, ed., *American Psychological Association Dictionary of Psychology* (Washington, DC : American Psychological Association, 2006), 26.

(197, a gesture of indecision or sorrow); *graue haare bekommen* (204, a reaction to fear or intense pain/sorrow); *sîn houbet roufen* (227, a sign of rage) and *daz houbet hangen lâzen* (ibid., marking sorrow or shame); and *die ougen zesammene slaben* (318, signaling the onset of sleep brought on by fatigue). Only the final example lends itself to a strictly corporeal interpretation.

Kinnegrams stand alongside other non-phraseological kinesthetic formulas as indicators of the physical dimensions of social order, public courtship, private love, and emotional displays. These formulas include adjective-substantive combinations and lists of facial features. To note only color, light, and body parts in adjective-substantive combinations, the aforementioned *rôter munt* belongs to the same set of ideal features as bright eyes, brown eyebrows,⁴ red or flushed ('colored') cheeks, and white arms. Likewise the clichéd praise of a woman's face includes *munt, bra, waengel, ougen lieht* (UvL FdL 43.6.2, cf. *ir ougen, chinne, wengel, munt* 36.5.8); *brûne brâwe, liehte varwe ûf wengel, mündel rôt* (UvW 3.5.2); *blüet der schoenen wengel, munt, ir kinne* (KvK 1.3.2); and *ir kel, ir kinne, ir roeselehtiu wangen* (GvN 48.3.2.) The

4 *Brûn* (cf. Lexer, vol. 1, col. 365) carries two significant meanings with regard to the context of brown eyebrows in *Minnesang*: 1) a general term for dark on par with black and 2) in terms of color symbolism associated with secrecy and silence. The former contrasts with fair skin and the latter forms an image of protecting what the eyes see.

collocative coherence between facial features, colors, and different types of formulas is described in greater detail in section 2 below.

1 EMOTIONS AND STAGED LITERATURE

Emotion in *Minnesang* is often distilled into a narrow spectrum of possible human emotions and played in a predictable script, whether the poem is that of a knight delighting in his lover, mourning her absence, or the unrequited yearnings of men and women across the strophes of a *Wechsel*. The great majority of all emotional expressions in the genre may be placed into three categories: joy, sorrow, and love. Research on emotion in living languages and observable non-verbal communication has resulted in categorical systems of recognition and the formulation of so-called basic emotions.⁵ There is a cognitive basis for the recognition of emotional facial expressions through a variety of factors, which has been shown through research in psycholinguistics and other cognitive studies.⁶ Here physical-emotional expressions

5 See Paul Ekman and Wallace V. Friesen, *Facial Action Coding System* (Palo Alto, CA: Consulting Psychologists Press, 1978); Paul Ekman and Erika L. Rosenberg, *What the Face Reveals: Basic and Applied Studies of Spontaneous Expression Using the Facial Action Coding System*, Series in Affective Science (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997); and Paul Ekman, "An Argument for Basic Emotions," *Emotion and Cognition* 6.3 (1992): 169-200.

6 Much research exists on emotional recognition in facial expressions and verbal communication with regard to children and elderly population with cognitive disabilities, but there is also a body of scholarship on the myriad ways in which emotion can be expressed with acoustic signals, displays,

are taken at the word of the poet, whether facial or involving other parts of the body, under the assumption that stylized emotional expressions are coherent as textinternal indicators of the ritualized roles of *hobe minne*, with the reservation that they may also serve as reflections of textexternal pragmatics.⁷ One must beware of over-interpreting the historical expressions for two additional reasons: first, the linguistic expression of emotion through kinnegrams can change diachronically from literal physical acts to metaphor (cf. *sich die Haare raufen* in NHG, PW 205) and second, their meaning may also change, seen in the same example in which the association between the physical act and the emotion seems to move from anger and rage to anger and frustration, or anger caused by frustration.

Scholars have discussed the poetic and social functions of these emotions across

and verbal communication across languages and cultures with positive results beyond chance. See, for example, Marc Pell et al., "Factors in the Recognition of Vocally Expressed Emotions: A Comparison of Four Languages," *Journal of Phonetics* 37 (2009): 417-35 and Marc Pell, Laura Monetta, and Silke Paulmann et al., "Recognizing Emotions in a Foreign Language," *Journal of Nonverbal Behavior* 33 (2009): 107-20.

- 7 While emotional expressions are to some degree universal, expressions may exist without genuine emotion and emotions may exist unexpressed physically or verbally. Within the debate on universalism and panculturalism the notion of Minimal Universality put forth by James A. Russel in "Is there Universal Recognition of Emotion from Facial Expression? A Review of the Cross-Cultural Studies," *Psychological Bulletin* 115 (1994): 102-141 and defended in "Facial Expressions of Emotion: What Lies Beyond Minimal Universality?," *Psychological Bulletin* 118 (1995): 379-91 has merit: there appears to be a common baseline within cultures for interpreting facial expressions and all cultures show emotion via facial expressions.

genres in terms of gender, status, and stylistics.⁸ A conclusion of one study with significance for the present chapter is that

“(e)s fällt also schwer, von typisch weiblichen oder typisch männlichen Verhaltensweisen zu sprechen. An die Stelle von geschlechterspezifischen Verhaltensmustern vertreten funktional bedingte gattungsspezifische oder auch liedspezifische Interdependenzen weiblichen und männlichen Handelns.”⁹

Without an absolute and therefore always identifiable pattern of gendered language on which to rely for the designation of *Männerstrophen* and *Frauenstrophen* (with the exception of obvious ‘self’-referential pronouns),¹⁰ there is also little likelihood of finding significant differences in the physical expression of emotions in private spaces and perhaps in public performance.

Minnesang is staged, a performance akin to theater in which the singer plays a role rather than represents himself, though it is possible that in the function of wooing the role is indeed a mask for personal desires.¹¹ As scholarly discussion on the

8 See, e.g., Rüdiger Schnell, “Frauenlied, Manneslied, und Wechsel im deutschen Minnesang. Überlegungen zu ‘gender’ und Gattung,” *ZfdA* 128 (1999): 127-184. Schnell discusses the presence and components of a *Weiblichkeitsmuster* used by male poets to construct the female ‘voice’ in the *Wechsel* subgenre of *Minnesang*.

9 Schnell, *Frauenlied*, 182-3.

10 Hubert Heinen, “Observations on the Role in ‘Minnesang’,” *JEGP* 75 (1976): 198-208, at 208, concludes with the observation that all so-called gendered roles are relative frameworks within which the male poet creates *personae*.

11 Harald Haferland, *Hohe Minne. Zur Beschreibung der Minnekanzone*, Beihefte zur *Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie* 10 (Berlin: Erich Schmidt, 2000), 26-37 discusses *Rollendichtung* in terms of theater

functional status of the medieval lyric settles toward a middle point between the pendulum swings of widespread, expressive individualism and completely staged performance, it seems prudent to examine emotional expressions from both viewpoints,¹² and to continue to question the “Proseminarwissen” of staged performance and meaning.¹³ Whether *Minnesang*, as staged literature, does not, cannot, or was never intended to represent the genuine emotions of the poet and his audience,¹⁴ some kinnegrams and corporeal formulas in the genre express emotions

and role play per the common scholarly consensus, while 126-50 presents the courtship of song as a possible real courtship between the singer and an existing woman hidden behind the stereotypical woman of the song. Haferland rightly notes that the formulaic description of unspecified ladies is neither a strong indicator of fictional content (though as staged literature *Minnesang* is largely fictional) nor proof per se that the lady did not exist, 38. Jan-Dirk Müller, “Die Fiktion höfischer Liebe und die Fiktionalität des Minnesangs,” in *Text und Handeln. Zum Kommunikativen Ort von Minnesang und antiker Lyrik*, ed. Albrecht Hausmann, 47-64, Beihefte zum *Euphorion* 46 (Heidelberg: Winter, 2004) engages Haferland’s claim and concludes that fiction and fictionality are inappropriate terms in pre-modern literature. In the same volume (“Minnesang als Posenrhetorik,” 46-105) Haferland refines his stance on individuality within staged poetry by demonstrating that poets adopt different ‘poses,’ which in their eccentricity can indicate a personal identity behind the performance.

12 Beate Kellner, “*Ich grüeze mit gesange* – Mediale Formen und Inszenierung der Überwindung von Distanz in Minnesang,” in *Text und Handeln*, 107-38 offers a suggestive study on the subjectivity-roleplay and oral-written dynamics of lyric discourse in which the possibility of *Rollendichtung* with intermediaries (e.g., *Botenlieder*) reflecting text-external practice arises.

13 Müller, “Die Fiktion höfischer Liebe,” 47.

14 Peter Frenzel, “Minne-Sang: The Conjunction of Singing and Loving in German Courtly Song,” *The German Quarterly* 55 (1982): 336-48, claims that courtly love is only a fictional component of staged performance, an imaginary construct, and functionally equivalent to the songs in which it occurs. For Frenzel across the centuries love “is so frequently unrequited and the only tangible aspect of the emotion becomes the song itself,” 345.

consistent with the expected tropes of longing, sorrow, joy, and others.

2 KINEGRAMS IN *MINNESANG*

In the sections below, kinnegrams and formulas from head to toe reveal the pervasive physicality of *Minnesang* and allow further insight into the status of formulaicity versus innovation, which speaks directly to the questions raised by other scholars regarding staged performance, *Posenrhetorik*, and the possibility of emotional expression as part of a genuine pragmatic function of the love song as wooing. For illustrative purposes each section contains kinnegrams and formulas with no connection to emotional displays. While the most obvious bodily element of the medieval lyric is the heart, particularly relevant here in its position as the seat of emotions, the oft-studied heart-mind association will not be discussed. Only external movements and parts capable of displaying meaning receive attention.

2.1 HEAD AND FACE

The majority of all bodily descriptions in *Minnesang* focus on the head and face. With the admittedly limited action allowed by conversing lovers or monologues, shining eyes and sensual mouths remain the most conspicuous features in private scenes and

during public meetings where for the sake of propriety the head and face may be the only exposed flesh other than the hands.

The entire head serves often as the object upon which one places crowns (of thorns, of the Holy Roman Empire, of flowers) and in the *Nibelungenlied* (for example, C 1979.2 and 2052.4) and elsewhere in the form *daz houbet vor den fūezen lît* as as a bloody conclusion to fatal blow, but also as the upper element of the phraseme *from head to toe*:

⁽¹⁾ OvW 112.1.115 *hoch von dem houbt bis auf den füß*

⁽²⁾ RvR 3.122 *von houbte unz ûf den fuoz*

⁽³⁾ UvL 59.1.11 *von dem houbet zuo den fūezen*

This complementary *Paarformel* also occurs in sermons, romances, hagiographies, and other texts. In (1) *hoch* intensifies the whole ('all the way from head to foot'), and all exhibit different prepositions and prepositional pairs, as expected with MHG phrasemes. The syntax and preposition of (2) is also found in HR 9.II.10 with the addition of the definite article before *houbet*. Of two occurrences without prepositions in SM, one is the periphrastic phraseme for 'a person' (= all of someone, literally and

figuratively), while the other describes the body parts gained from the autumn slaughter of cattle: *mîn houbet und mînen fuoz* G 1.VI.7 and *houbt und vûeze* MJH 20.II.9, respectively. However, no kinnegrams involving the head occur in the lyric.

Facial features are mentioned more commonly than the entire head, and individual features or short lists more often than the entire face. One can with few exceptions divide the face into an upper and lower half – eyebrows and eyes belong together, as do cheeks, mouth, chin, and sometimes throat. Hair, although an aesthetic object of the genre, does not appear to belong with descriptions of faces. The following lists display a few examples among others for each type.

Elements of a fair face:

⁽¹⁾ UvL FdL 43.6.2 *munt, bra, waengel, ougen lieht*

⁽²⁾ UvL FdL 36.5.8 *ir ougen, chinne, wengel, munt*

⁽³⁾ UvW 3.5.2 *brûne brâwe, liehte varwe ûf wengel, mündel rôt*

⁽⁴⁾ OvW 12.2.6 *liecht öglin klar und ainen roten mund*

The upper area:

⁽⁵⁾ HvMeis 4.2.5 *ir brûne brâ, ir ougen klâr*

⁽⁶⁾ OvW 120.2.3 *zwo smale pra, die euglein clar*

⁽⁷⁾ UvL FdL 46.4.1 *Liehtiu ougen, dâ bî brûne brâ*

⁽⁸⁾ N C 94.3.13 *augen vnd auch proen*

The lower area:

⁽⁹⁾ KvK 1.3.2 *blüet der schoenen wengel, munt, ir kinne*

⁽¹⁰⁾ GvN 48.3.2 *ir kel, ir kinne, ir roeselehtiu wangen*

⁽¹¹⁾ GvN 14.5.11 *ir munt, ir kel und ouch ir liechten wangen*

⁽¹²⁾ NKLD 23.2.3 *daz beide ir kinne und wengelîn*

⁽¹³⁾ NKLD 39.2.15 *wîz ir kel, ir kinne*

From (1-4) it appears that mixing elements from the upper and lower facial areas produces any number of variations on lists that equate to ‘her beautiful face,’ with occasional extra distinction via stereotypical color and lightness. With the exception of (8), in the upper facial area brown brows and clear or light eyes are the preferred references. From the inclusion of throats in (10), (11), and (13), as well as even lower regions, as in *brüstel, kinne, wängel, munt* UvL FdL 43.7.2, it seems that the lower facial area is felt to blend somewhat into the neck and body. Noses, ears, and tongues

occupy different symbolic functions than the other facial features in that they are not markers of beauty (only rarely in the case of noses and never for the other two.) The role of ears and tongues in hearing and speaking is clear: these organs are necessary for the text internal performance of *minne*, as well as the actual performer/audience interaction, though the tongue is often metonymically a speaker (*valsche zungen*) and ears are passive organs through which sound enters (*durch oren dringen*)

Poets employ the face as more than something fair to gaze upon, however, and two features stand above all others as bearers of meaning, namely the eyes and mouth. In (1-13) above, the eyes and mouth feature prominently, but together the two can serve as a *Paarformel* for the entire face, a metonymic pair for the woman's appearance generally, and the subjects of the verb *lachen*. The latter combines literally laughing mouths with metaphorically laughing eyes (cf. UvL FdL 48.3.6 and UvW 32.3.1), though the metaphoric component of the pair occurs alone more often: UvL FdL 43.4.5, 43.5.1, 48.1.4, and 48.2.5; BvH 6.4.4; B 40.1.6; KSL 21.2.11; T 15.3.6; N C 46.3.2; and W 36.3.3. Mouths in *Minnesang* are for kissing (*munt ze munde* and *mund mündlin gekusst*, for example), for laughing (expressing a range of meanings), and for

speaking.

Eyes, however, occur in many kinnegrams and other phrasemes in MHG. One central ocular occupation is the production of tears. The following kinnegrams represent crying eyes.¹⁵

Gushing, pouring water:

⁽¹⁾ UvL FdL 36.5.5 *von dem worte ir ougen überwielen,*

⁽²⁾ WvE I.2.5 *ir ougen diu beguzzen*

⁽³⁾ OvW 20.2.35 *si aus den öglin giessen,*

⁽⁴⁾ OvW 124.2.1 *Ir öglin mir ain wang begoss,*

Red eyes:

⁽⁵⁾ R VIa.5.11 *unde machet mir diu ougen (dicke – b) rôt.*

⁽⁶⁾ N C 123.9.11 *liechte augen nach der truebe rot*

⁽⁷⁾ OvW 5.1.11 *mit blaicher farb und ougen rot,*

⁽⁸⁾ OvW 20.3.16 *Frau, nicht betrüb dein öglin klar!*¹⁶

15 No lines from SM contain these kinnegrams (cf. their presence in MF, KLD, N C, and later lyric sources.) This is an unusual case of absence in one anthology, here geographically constrained, and presence in all others.

16 MHG *betrüeben* carries the sense ‘to darken’ alongside ‘to sadden, to grieve.’ While there is no direct reference to redness, if one reads the line ‘do not let your eyes darken/redden with sadness’ it belongs to the list.

- ⁽⁹⁾ OvW 107.3.3 *mein öglin rôt,*
- ⁽¹⁰⁾ UvW 7.3.1 *Der frouwen ougen wurden rôt,*
- Wet eyes:¹⁷
- ⁽¹¹⁾ OvW 39.1.4 *durch andächt nasser ougen,*
- ⁽¹²⁾ WvE VII.4.1 *Ir ougen naz dô wurden baz*
- ⁽¹³⁾ OvW 43.5.7-10 *Und was dich übet, säligs weib,
zu nassen öglin klare,
dasselb betrübet mir den leib
und macht mir grauwe hare.*¹⁸

These examples stand opposite direct references to *weinen*, and only once does a poet specifically mention ‘crying eyes’ – *er lêret ougen weinen trîben* KvW L 30.5. In (1-4) the physical force of drenching and abundant flows emphasizes the affective force of weeping. *Begiezen* carries many associations from other uses, including rain (*regen begiuzet*, also directly related to crying through the metaphors *ougen regen*, cf. *Der Renner* 6492 and HvA *Der arme Heinrich* 478, and *herzen regen*, cf. UvE Alex 8740),

17 ‘Wet eyes’ are not listed in PW, but they are analogous to ‘red eyes’ – a transparently motivated circumlocution for crying with a literal physical meaning and a context-dependent secondary signification of an emotional state or reaction.

18 This pairing of kinnegrams in Oswald’s B-rhymes is consistent with other concatenations of phraseological units shown elsewhere. As with the repetition of like rhetorical figures or the contrast of unlike, it appears that phraseological patterns also belong to the compositional repertoire of the more inventive *Minnesänger*.

blessings (*mit tugenden/mit genâden begozzen*), and battle and death (*mit bluote begozzen*). The word *begiezen* indicates force, for good or ill.

The constant praise of pale skin, clear eyes, and red mouths highlights how misplaced the red eyes of (5-10) are in love poetry. Although the obvious transparency of the image may make it seem pedestrian, the color discrepancy is striking and essential to the duality of joy and sorrow in the lyric and within *hohe minne*. A direct contrast between reddened and clear eyes can be found in (6) and (8), while (7), describing the effects of age rather than the countenance of a fair lady, employs pale skin and red eyes as ugly qualities.

Wet eyes in (11-13) avoid the sharp contrast of red eyes and the intensity of welling, drenching, pouring water. It is possible to interpret this group as a milder means of signifying grief and sorrow than the other two, but it still violates the principles of comely eyes. They ought to be, according to the formulaic trinity from which poets select one or more qualities, clear, shining, and sparkling (*spilnde ougen, ougen breben.*)

Eyes perform other actions in *Minnesang* metaphorically, including, as

personifications, choosing ladies to woo (*ougen erkiesen/erweln*) or causing various effects in suitors (*daz habent mir ir schoeniu ougen getân* UvG II.2.4.) However, saddened or weeping eyes remain one of the most recognizable external signals of thematically important action in *Minnesang*.

2.2 ARMS AND LEGS

Nearly every distinguishable subsection of arms and legs appears somewhere in *Minnesang*, e.g., fingers, hands, toes, knees, and feet alongside the limbs. Because of the relatively stationary action of the lyric, arms and hands are commoner than legs and feet. As is the case with facial features, arms and hands may also function as aesthetic symbols in conjunction with the action or narrative of the poem, in order to sustain the rhetoric of praising beauty, while describing appearances as well as physical acts, e.g., *ir wîblich hende zartlîch wîz* MJH 53.VII.4 (the objects of praise alone), *mit armen blank* HvS 1.IX.2 (contrasts white arms with red lips and an embrace with a kiss) and KvA 3.III.10 (employs the same imagery as the previous line), and *ir arme blanch* GWH 4.I.10 (part of a long list of fair features.)

Arms, hands, and legs perform actions more than any other body parts and are

accordingly well-represented in MHG kinnegrams. A kinnegram involving all four limbs is *arm und bein flechten/beslagen*, a euphemism for amorous contact mentioned in the introduction above, which occurs once in OvW 1.2.18. Another similar image involves only the upper limbs:

⁽¹⁾ Win 8.I.5-6 *ez umbevieng nie vrouwe mit ir blanken armen
so rehte liebes mannes lîp.*

⁽²⁾ N C 78.16.4 *mit baiden armen sie yne umbfieng*

⁽³⁾ OvW 21.1.36 *mit ermlin umbfangen,*

⁽⁴⁾ OvW 100.3.6 *und mich ir ermlin weiss umbfahen.*

⁽⁵⁾ OvW 124.2.2 *der ermlin zier mich da besloss¹⁹*

Since the commonest state of female hands is inaction, objects of praise and admiration rather than tools (whose ideal appearance is exemplified in CvL 5.3.5 *hende weich, noch wîzer zên stunt danne ein snê*), expressive actions animate poems. Often, however, the action is still performed by the male narrator, as with *wiziu hant nemen*, a periphrastic analogue of the previously mentioned phrases for embracing but further removed from and more suggestive of direct contact:

¹⁹ This line occurs in the same strophe as *Ir öglin mir ain wang begoss*, (4) in section 2.1.

⁽⁶⁾ N C 13.7.1 *Er nam frau Meczen bei der weissen hendt*

⁽⁷⁾ N C 84.3.3 *das ward vber yrn willen ab irer weissen handt genummen*

⁽⁸⁾ *Tannhäuser* 2.1.66 *ich nam si bî der wîssen hant*

This formulation extends to the later *Volkslied* tradition.²⁰ Reversed scenarios, in which the woman extends her hand to a male narrator or other character, occur as well – cf. *jmdm. die hende bieten* (CvH 2.2.3, GvS II.6.8, N C 17.3.16), *und lobte imz mit ir wîzen hende in sîn hant* (MJH 5.I.6), and *sî vüert in mit ir sô wîzen hende* (MJH 51.II.7). The common subjects and interior nature of the love lyric generally allow only these types of actions – hands that hold swords, strike blows, or perform everyday tasks are correspondingly scarce despite the common portrayal of tournaments and hunting in the Manesse portraits. Within the narrow range of manual performances one can make several readings of proper conduct and circumscribed language. For example, a group of indirect phrasemes for entwined lovers, whether simply embracing or engaged in more passionate pursuits, functions on the first level of meaning as literal physical descriptions and on the second as

²⁰ PW 195; see Cornelis Brouwer, “Das volkslied in Deutschland, Frankreich, Belgien und Holland,” Inaugural-Diss., Rijksuniversitet Groningen, 1930 (addendum IV.)

culturally-determined expressions of love and emotional attachment. It may be impossible to state with certainty the nature of the connection between physical and emotional love within the system of *hohe minne* from a socio-cultural standpoint in reality, but within the textual tradition of medieval lyric and romance there is an acknowledged custom of equating the two, no matter how unrequited the love usually remains. If a phrase such as ‘taking [her] by her white hand’ can express a range of functions from literally walking (or standing) hand-in-hand to obliquely mentioning the initiation of a sexual encounter, it is as much a physical expression of internal desires as it is an outward signal of strictly corporeal intentions.

Other than embracing and being embraced, hands belonging to masculine and feminine roles wring one another as an external reflection of internal anguish, regret, or uncertainty:

⁽⁸⁾ R 45.3.4 *die windent danne ir hende.*

⁽⁹⁾ OvW 18.6.9 *Wenn ich in ellend dick mein hend offt winden müss,*

⁽¹⁰⁾ OvW 26.12.8 *so müssen si ire hendlin dorumb winden,*

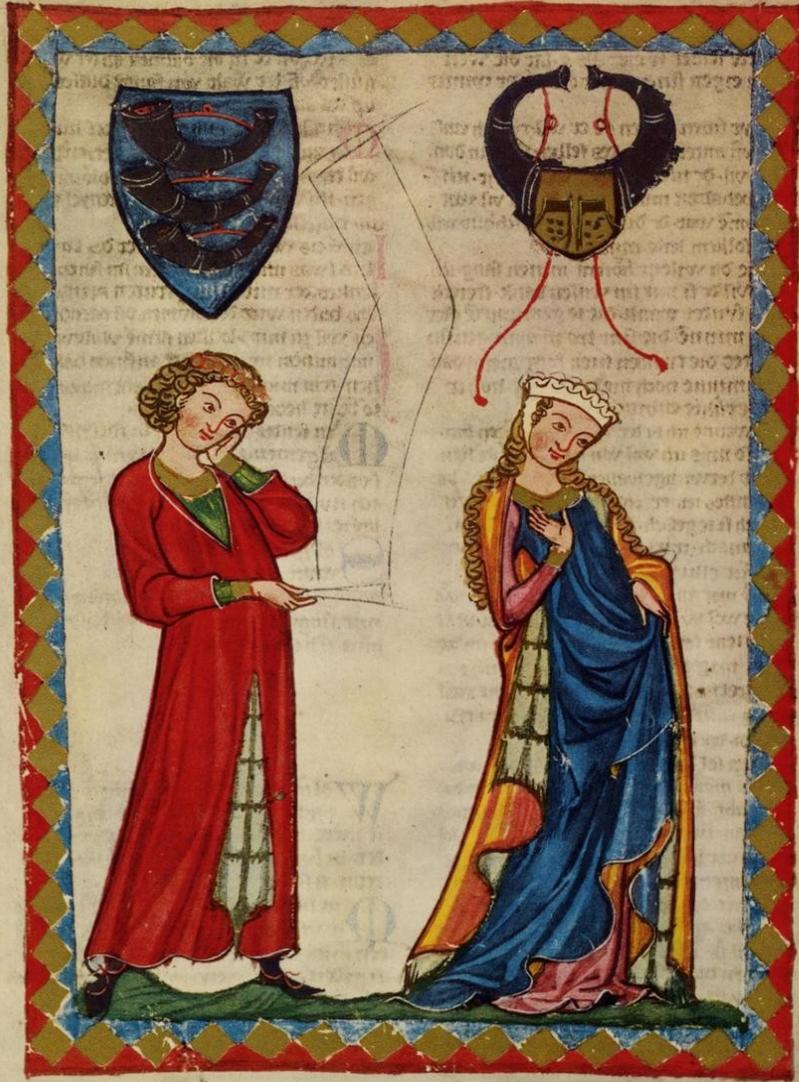
Most conditions of anguish are declamatory, with the ubiquitous *owê!* covering a

multitude of woes, but physical reflexes such as *die hende winden* also demonstrate agitation brought about by dispirited emotional states.

The following images from the Codex Manesse represent four of the many possible stages of embrace, physically and linguistically, that occur in the lyric.²¹ The first shows separation, with the poet beseeching a lady whose turned back (see section 2.3 below) may indicate either modesty or rejection; the second represents the clasped hands of Tristan and Isolde (holding Petitcriu) before the entwined branches²² that symbolize their love after death, though they are far apart and can no longer consummate or otherwise manifest their love in the real world, a situation common to all treatments of *minne* as unrequited; the third illustrates a rather chaste embrace with bodies arched away from one another; and the fourth a lady embracing a reclining knight in a much more intimate pose.

21 All images are copyright Universitätsbibliothek Heidelberg, HeidICON: Die Heidelberger Bilddatenbank (<http://HeidICON.uni-hd.de>), with the following identification numbers: Gottfried von Neifen – 12707, Bernger von Horheim – 12745, Der von Johansdorf – 12746, and Konrad von Altstetten – 12771. They are shown here with permission granted by the Creative Commons Non-Commercial/Attribution/Share-Alike license and are offered for further non-commercial use under the same terms of the aforementioned license.

22 The portrait for BvH gives enough ready clues to identify its characters without the branches. They appear to show a broken branch that only begins to wrap around the main trunk and the same type of tree or bush appears in other portraits not explicitly representing the Tristan legend.





178r - Bernger von Horheim



179v - Der von Johansdorf



249v - Konrad von Altstetten

Legs and feet remain still more often than they move in the lyric, but without motion they nevertheless serve as reference points in *Zwillingsformeln* and, as the lowest part of the body, both the limb of obeisance that bends toward and touches the ground and the focus of eyes downcast in reverence or respect. Yet, despite the images of courtly love in both the popular culture of modernity and the art of the Middle Ages,²³ a knight in the lyric does not often dirty his knees for love of a woman rather than for love or fear of God. In only one instance does a narrator bend his knee in to a woman, OvW 12.3.6 *wenn ich mein danck volbracht auf ainem knie*, but the beneficiaries of the action are princesses whom the lyric persona owes submission as a matter of course, while his true object of desire and love service is the personification of Beauty. It is in service to her rather than the fair queens and princesses of many European kingdoms that the anticipated imagery functions only as proper conduct in a courtly social setting and not as a gesture of fealty to a higher ideal or idealized woman.

Among the other uses of bent knees we find the following: *swaz kriuchet unde*

23 Cf. the portraits of the Codex Manesse, for example, 371r (MJH), 82v (der Schenk von Limburg), and 151r (UvS), which depict knights bent low before ladies.

vliuget / und bein zer erden biuget W 7.2.5-6 (*Reichston*), in which W refers to the crawling vermin of the earth rather than supplication to God or a noble lady; *dem böuc dîn bein, er treit dîn leben in sîner hant* WvP 1.2.14, a clear gesture of spiritual devotion; and *wamit man got dien und auch wie, / dem sich mus pigen ieglich knie* MvSalz 33.4.9-10.

As a focal point of unhappiness the knees or feet are figurative nadirs corresponding to the emotional imagery of high = happy and low = sad. For example, sorrow is evident in *daz houbet hanht ich nider unz ûf mîniu knie* W 8.1.5 (*Der erste Philippston*), in which W mourns the death of Friedrich I of Austria, Duke of Babenberg, who died on his return voyage from the crusade of 1197 in Palestine. In contradistinction, the feet serve also as the exaggerated endpoint of a bow of supplication, greeting, and respect: *jmdm. (unz) ûf den vuozen nîgen* can be found in HvM XVI.3.7, NKLD 12.2.17, UvW 6.5.7 and 4.155, AMR 2.II.9, and UvS 19.VII.6. This act declares more than respect as part of a socially expected greeting: within *Minnesang*, it is equally a calculated indication of the wooer to his lady that he has selected her, particularly through overstated motion beyond the necessary gesture. In a pair of

refrains, feet represent an exaggeratedly small portion of the body one would be content to see, if nothing else: *daz ich beschüebe ir füezze!* and *ich schüebe ir niht der füezze!* Stein 14.II.8 and III.8.

2.3 TORSO

Several phrasemes involving backs and stomachs exist, but the most significant for the present discussion is the kinnegram/verbal syntagm *den rücken kehren*. It occurs in the following examples:

⁽¹⁾ S I.10.5 *si kêrent ime den rugge zuo und grüezent in wol trâge.*

⁽²⁾ OzT 1.III.7 *vor im, der werdekeit den ruggen kêret*

⁽³⁾ W 55.2.2 *und kêret mir den ruggen zuo.*

⁽⁴⁾ N C 54.4.5 *seit ich der marck den ruecken han keret*

⁽⁵⁾ *Tannhäuser* 12.1.3 *si kêrent mir den rugge zuo die mich dô gerne sâhen*

As a kinnegram *to turn one's back on someone/something* expresses mental and emotional distance through physical distance and facing the opposite direction. The act bears a greater semiotic weight than simple disinterest and implies deliberate rejection on behalf of the turned party. Because the act's meaning is so strong, it serves

also as a figurative verbal syntagm divorced from any physical movement, e.g., in (2) or in the action of a personified Lady *Sælde* in (3). Its meaning has weakened in some cases to express physical direction only, e.g., in (4). In all cases the phraseme foregrounds isolation and abandonment, whether physical, emotional, or both.

3 CONCLUSIONS

Kinnegrams and affect displays may be consistent or inconsistent with accompanying verbal communication, but this type of misrepresentation does not appear to be a feature of *Minnesang*. For example, the *merkaere* represent deception and lying, no matter how truthful their observations may be, but they see, hear, think, and speak rather than perform false obsequiousness through gestures or indicate spurious emotions through facial expressions. Male and female narrators, however, are always presented as trustworthy in self-examination and representation, as well as shrewd judges of the actions of their would-be lovers.

Minnesang and MHG literature in general are not windows to the interior life of the medieval German aristocratic classes but imperfect reflections of ideologies. In many of the kinnegrams and other phrasemes and formulas presented here one finds

the possibility of interpreting the emotional signals expressed by bodily movement or changes of state (for example, eyes that grow red with tears), but they also indicate the expectations of social conduct in public courtly spaces and in the private fulfillment of *hohe minne*, which is as often the cause of tears welling out of reddened eyes as it is the source of joy.

For these reasons, kinnegrams and corporeal phraseology cannot conclusively point to the socio-pragmatic functions of poetry in reality, whether as ‘pure’ performance intended as entertainment or as performance with the primary or secondary aim of a wooing attempt encoded in a properly distant form, i.e., the poet has no direct physical access to the lady he potentially addresses in song. Yet they are suggestive in their widespread applicability to commonplace emotional and physical states, such as sorrow, indecision, and intimacy. True cross-cultural and cross-linguistic universality is unlikely to emerge in studies of language and emotion, but the well-documented history of love in the West allows for some conjecture about language, non-verbal communication, and emotions in MHG literature. Physical expressions of emotional and mental states in *Minnesang* are divorced from the pangs

and joys and love neither as expressed in the ideology of *hohe minne* nor as must have existed in the hearts, minds, and faces of medieval people.

HISTORICAL PHRASEOLOGY AND LITERATURE

While each preceding chapter features a conclusion, it is worthwhile to collect here the primary contributions of this dissertation, as well as to enumerate the general benefits of a historical phraseological approach to MHG literature. From the perspective of contemporary linguistics, problems of terminological precision addressed in the first chapter (particularly surrounding *frequency* and *fixity*) may never be solved by consulting the overwhelmingly literary texts of many dead languages, yet the second chapter provided evidence for a large phraseological store used throughout *Minnesang*. This stock of phrasemes exists alongside and is employed in conjunction with other formulaic units with poetic and rhetorical functions. Identifying phrasemes and their applications in poetry shows that first, previous scholarship looking only toward prose and non-literary texts has ignored a fertile field of inquiry, and second, that our structural and interpretive understanding of the medieval German lyric is incomplete without the addition of phraseological research. A comparison with the Old Occitan lyric tradition and the *Carmina Burana* in chapter three provided a cross-linguistic

perspective to the results of the previous chapter and suggested that culturally significant sources, namely biblical texts, generate phrasemes with applications far beyond their original context and in nearly any genre, but also that vernacular traditions with disparate structural requirements may have more in common with one another than with the Latin lyric.

While prosodic formulas and restrictions influence to some degree the possible lexical range in any given line or strophe, the syntactic variability exhibited in chapters two through five demonstrate that rhyme is not an overriding determiner of phraseological or otherwise formulaic suitability; within limits, it seems that poets could and did adapt syntax to insert desired phrases into existing structures, rather than allow the form of the lyric to dictate lexical content. Similarly, the paremiological investigation in chapter four revealed an overlooked proverbial component of the love lyric that is also adaptable to a wide variety of strophic positions and rhyme schemes, provided that one accepts a broader definition of sententious language signaled by syntactic frames and the lack of true lexical fixity typical of texts before the standardizing effects of print culture.

The final chapter engaged literary interpretations of phrasemes more deeply than other chapters, with the view to expanding the evidence for the male-constructed female identities in the lyric via ‘gendered language,’ a debate complicated by relatively recent contributions to theories of lyric performance and socio-pragmatic functions of lyric discourse. Kinnegrams allowed a non-verbal approach to isolating gender conventions with the result that physical expressions of emotions are granted primarily to female personae through direct description or the comments of male narrators.

Turning to literature, in particular verse, has both countered a trend in previous scholarship by opening a new area of research and provided evidence for the different uses of phrasemes in literary contexts. The wider importance of phraseological research in MHG literature lies in three facets of the studies presented here: 1) the lexical inventory and compositional strategies of MHG verse literature are inextricably tied to the phraseological elements of general formulaicity, rhetoric, and poetics, even if they are not always reflective of speech; 2) insofar as one can identify and answer questions of socio-pragmatic, non-verbal, and contextual meaning in dead

languages, phraseological analysis provides greater supporting evidence for interpretive positions than analyzing individual passages; and 3) the availability of large parsed and unparsed corpora, in conjunction with advanced search functions, provides not only frequency data and the range of variations for any given phraseme but also a more nuanced picture of the thematic and intertextual connections between genres and individual texts. As historical phraseology develops it will continue to follow the paths established by contemporary phraseology, namely increased precision in descriptive phraseology and its methodology, as well as the application and meaning of phrasemes in diverse text types and situations. While the latter focus in living languages ranges from studies on second language acquisition to the rhetoric of political speeches and beyond, the interpretive questions posed by future research in the historical phraseology of MHG and other European vernaculars will necessarily engage with literature.

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