



Middle High German: Morphology II

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1. Introduction to Historical Linguistics and Middle High German
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MHG Verbs

Tenses: Present & preterite

Moods: Indicative & subjunctive

Participles: Present & past

Imperative

Infinitive

Gerund (inflected infinitive)

Strong vs. Weak

Strong: **Ablaut** for PRET and PST.PTC; PST.PTC with *-en*

Weak: **Dental preterite** *-te*; PST.PTC with *-t*

MHG Verbs

In addition to the strong & weak verbs, MHG has two additional classes:

‘Preterite-Presents’

- Old preterites/perfects which have taken on present meaning
- Present tense → like the PRET of strong verbs & a new, weak PRET has been formed
- 2SG.PRES ends *-t* or *-st* & shares vowel of 1/3SG
- *weiz, touc, gan, kan, darf, tar, sol, mac, muoʒ*

Anomalous Verbs:

- *tuon* ‘do’
- *gân/gê̄n* ‘go’
- *stân/stê̄n* ‘stand’
- *sîn, wesen* ‘be’
- *wellen* ‘wish’

NB. There were also **contracted verbs**:
lân = *lâzen* ‘let, leave’, *hân* = *haben*
‘have, hold’

For the conjugated forms of these verbs, see Wright ([1888]/1955: §93-99) or Jones & Jones (2023)

MHG Strong Verbs

Ablaut

Stem vowel alternation which has its origins in PIE

Six classes of true ablaut & an additional class of old reduplicating verbs

e.g. *heīzen* (cf. Gothic INF *háitan*, PRET *háiháit*)

There are thus seven classes of strong verbs in MHG, which can be defined by their patterns of vowel alternation

For strong verbs, we can use four key forms to establish all others:

- PRES
- 1/3SG.PRET
- 1/3PL.PRET
- PST.PTC

MHG Strong Verbs

| | PRES | 1/3SG.PRET | 1/3PL.PRET | PST.PTC |
|-----|--------------|------------|------------|--------------|
| I | î | ei, ê | i | i |
| II | ie | ou, ô | u | o |
| III | i, ë | a | u | u, o |
| IV | ë | a | â | o |
| V | ë | a | â | ë |
| VI | a | uo | uo | a |
| VII | a, â, ei, ou | ie | ie | a, â, ei, ou |

II have *iu* in SG.PRES

III–V with *ë* in INF have *i* in SG.PRES

MHG Strong Verbs

| | PRES | 1/3SG.PRET | 1/3PL.PRET | PST.PTC | |
|-----|-------------|-------------------|-------------------|----------------|-----------|
| I | snîden | sneit | sniten | gesniten | |
| II | biegen | bouc | bugen | gebogen | ich biuge |
| III | binden | bant | bunden | gebunden, | ich binde |
| | hëlfen | half | hulfen | geholfen | ich hilfe |
| IV | nëmen | nam | nâmen | genomen | ich nime |
| V | gëben | gap | gâben | gegëben | ich gibe |
| VI | graben | gruop | gruuben | gegraben | |
| VII | bannen | bien | bienen | gebannen | |

MHG Strong Verbs

Present

| INDICATIVE | | SUBJUNCTIVE | |
|----------------------|----------|-------------|----------|
| MHG | OHG | MHG | OHG |
| Sing. 1. nime | nimu | nême | nême |
| 2. nimes(t) | nimis(t) | nëmes(t) | nëmës(t) |
| 3. nimet | nimit | nême | nême |

Alemannic: 2PL often *-ent* (also 3PL.PRET)

MHG 2SG regularly *-st*

Present

| INDICATIVE | | SUBJUNCTIVE | |
|-----------------------|--------------|-------------|-------|
| MHG | OHG | MHG | OHG |
| Plur. 1. nëmen | nëmamës, -ëm | nëmen | nëmëm |
| 2. nëmet | nëmet | nëmet | nëmët |
| 3. nëment | nëmant | nëmen | nëmën |

IMPERATIVE

| IMPERATIVE | | INFINITIVE | |
|------------------------|-------|------------|-------|
| MHG | OHG | MHG | OHG |
| Sing. 2. nim(e) | nim | nëmen | nëman |
| Plur. 1. nëmen | nëmëm | | |
| 2. nëme(n)t | nëmet | | |

PRESENT PARTICIPLE

| PRESENT PARTICIPLE | | GERUND (INFL. INFIN.) | |
|--------------------|---------|------------------------|----------|
| MHG | OHG | MHG | OHG |
| nëmende | nëmanti | Gen. nëmen(n)es | nëmannes |
| | | Dat. nëmen(n)e | nëmanne |

Preterite

| INDICATIVE | | SUBJUNCTIVE | |
|-----------------------|-------|-------------|----------|
| MHG | OHG | MHG | OHG |
| Sing. 1. nam | nam | næme | nāmi |
| 2. næme | nāmi | næmes(t) | nāmīs(t) |
| 3. nam | nam | næme | nāmi |
| Plur. 1. nämen | nänum | næmen | nāmīm |
| 2. nämet | nämut | næmet | nāmīt |
| 3. nämen | nämun | næmen | nāmīn |

PAST PARTICIPLE

| MHG | OHG |
|----------------|---------|
| genomen | ginoman |

Impact of prosody

2SG originally *-s* – the *-t* comes from enclitic *du*, which often reduced and ‘leant on’ the verb (cf. NHG *haste*)

e.g. *nimistu* < *nimis=du* (dū)

MHG Weak Verbs

OHG: ended *-en* (< *-jan*), *-ēn*, *-ōn*

→MHG: all end *-en*

| | | | |
|-------------|-------|--------|-------|
| OHG. leggen | hören | salbōn | lēbēn |
| MHG. legen | hören | salben | lēben |
| NHG. leben | hören | salben | leben |

Can only categorise MHG weak verbs on the behaviour of the preterite

| | OHG. | | |
|--------------------|----------|--------------|-------------|
| Sing. 1. leggu | hōru | salbōm,(-ōn) | lēbēm,(-ēn) |
| 2. legis(t) | hōris(t) | salbōs(t) | lēbēs(t) |
| 3. legit | hōrit | salbōt | lēbēt |
| Plur. 1. leggemēs, | hōremēs, | salbōmēs, | lēbēmēs, |
| (-ēn) | (-ēn) | (-ōn) | (-ēn) |
| 2. legget | hōret | salbōt | lēbēt |
| 3. leggent | hōrent | salbōnt | lēbēnt |
| | MHG. | | |
| Sing. 1. lege | hōre | salbe | lēbe |
| 2. legest | hōrest | salbest | lēbest |
| 3. leget | hōret | salbet | lēbet |
| Plur. 1. legen | hōren | salben | lēben |
| 2. leget | hōret | salbet | lēbet |
| 3. legent | hōrent | salbent | lēbent |

| | OHG. | | |
|-------------------|-----------|-------------|------------|
| Sing. 1. legitā | hōrta | salbōta | lēbēta |
| 2. legitōs(t) | hōrtōs(t) | salbōtōs(t) | lēbētōs(t) |
| 3. legitā | hōrta | salbōta | lēbēta |
| Plur. 1. legitim, | hōrtum | salbōtum | lēbētum |
| (-un) | | | |
| 2. legitut | hōrtut | salbōtut | lēbētut |
| 3. legitun | hōrtun | salbōtun | lēbētun |
| | MHG. | | |
| Sing. 1. legete | hōrte | salbete | lēbete |
| 2. legetest | hōrtest | salbetest | lēbetest |
| 3. legete | hōrte | salbete | lēbete |
| Plur. 1. legeten | hōrten | salbeten | lēbeten |
| 2. legetet | hōrtet | salbietet | lēbietet |
| 3. legeten | hōrten | salbeten | lēbeten |

OHG Weak Verbs

OHG deleted /i, u/ after a heavy syllable (or two light ones)

High Vowel Deletion: /le:r+ita/ → /le:r.i.ta/ → [le:r.ta] lērta

Led to an alternation in *-en* verbs between:

- (H) or (LL) stems:
 - + dental preterite suffix with no intervening vowel (e.g. *hōrta*)
- CVC (*light**) stems:
 - + dental preterite with intervening /i/ (e.g. *lerita*)

The *-ēn* and *-ōn* verbs always added *-ēta* and *-ōta*

'Light' stems because they form light syllables after adding a vowel-initial suffix (resulting in resyllabification): *leg+ita* → *le.gi.ta*

Compare 'heavy' stems (which stay heavy after resyllabification):
hōr+ita → *hō.r.i.ta* → *hōr.ta* (High Vowel Deletion)

MHG Weak Verbs

Due to reduction of unstressed syllables, we thus find MHG with a split between

- (a) OHG *-en* (< *-jan*) verbs with (H) or (LL) stems
- (b) All other weak verbs

| | a | b |
|---------|------------|-------------|
| INF | -en | -en |
| PRET | -te | -ete |
| PST.PTC | -t, -et | -et |

The inflectional endings are otherwise identical

MHG Weak Verbs

Due to reduction of unstressed syllables, we thus find MHG with a split between

- (a) OHG *-en* (< *-jan*) verbs with (H) or (LL) stems
- (b) All other weak verbs

All that remains to be said of (b) is:

- Due to syncope (cf. Phonology II), long (H) stems sometimes drop the medial *-e-*: *dankete*~*dancete*
- Contraction often occurs in *legen* & *sagen*:

legen~*legete*/*leit*~*geleget*/*geleit*

sagen~*sagete*/*seit*~*gesaget*/*geseit*

In the present tense, you also find *leist*, *leit* & *seist*, *seit* instead of *lekest*, *leget* & *sagest*, *saget*

MHG Weak Verbs

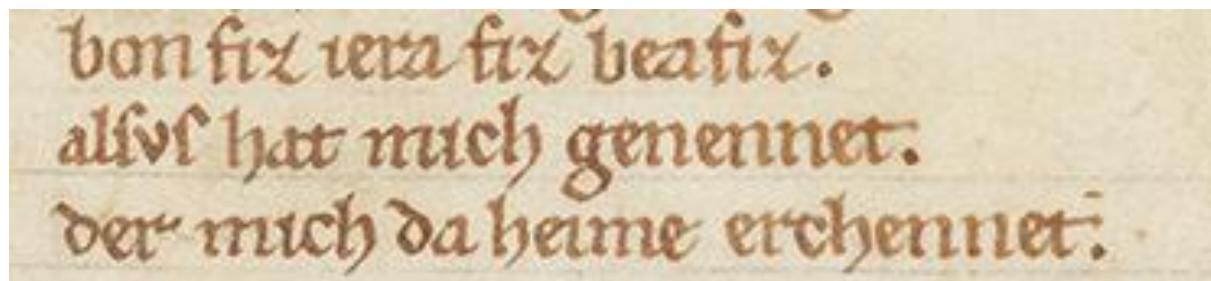
Class I are mostly *-jan* verbs, so show umlaut in the present stem
However, the *-j-* stem extension never appeared in the PRET

→No umlaut in the PRET

This was mistakenly identified as a process of **Rückumlaut** in the past and the name has (unfortunately) stuck

If there are double PST.PTC forms (one with *-t* and one with *-et*),
umlaut only appears with the *-et* ending

e.g. *gekant~gekennet*



bon fîz, schier fîz, bêâ fîz,
alsus hat mich **genennet**
der mich dâ heime **erkennet**.

MHG Weak Verbs

Most of the variation in the MHG weak verbs has been levelled out (e.g. *hören*~*hörte*), but you still get it in *-enn* and *-enk* stems:

kennen~*kante*~*gekennet/gekant* > *kennen*~*kannte*~*gekannt*

denken~*dâhte*~*gedâht* > *denken*~*dachte*~*gedacht*

OHG Weak Verbs

| | /le:r-ita/ | /ho:r-ita/ | /war-ita/ | /zal-ita/ |
|---------------------|----------------|---------------|------------------|---------------|
| High Vowel Deletion | le:rta | ho:rta | — | — |
| Umlaut | — | — | werita | zelita |
| | [le:rta] | [ho:rta] | [werita] | [zelita] |
| | <i>lērta</i> | <i>hōrta</i> | <i>werita</i> | <i>zelita</i> |
| | teach-3SG.PRET | hear-3SG.PRET | protect-3SG.PRET | tell-3SG.PRET |

*In MHG, *hören* still did not umlaut in the preterite (*hōrte*). Modern *hörte* is the result of analogy.

Class I Weak Verbs (old *jan*-verbs)

| | /ho:r-j-en/ | /ho:r-ita/ | /zal-j-en/ | /zal-ita/ | /stall-j-en/ | /stall-ita/ |
|-----|-------------|---------------|------------|------------------------------------|--------------|----------------|
| HVD | — | hōrta | — | — | — | stallta |
| UML | hœ:rjen | — | zeljen | zelita | stelljen | — |
| CG | — | — | zellen | — | — | — |
| GD | hœ:ren | — | — | — | stellen | — |
| DG | — | — | — | — | — | stalta |
| | h[œ]ren | hōrta | zellen | zelita | stellen | stalta |
| | hear-INF | hear-3SG.PRET | tell-INF | tell-3SG.PRET | place-INF | place-3SG.PRET |
| | → hœren | → hôte | → zellen | → zelte ~zalte (via analogy) | → stellen | → stalte |

MHG Weak Verbs: Present

| Indicative. | | | |
|--------------------|----------|--------------|-------------|
| | OHG. | III | |
| Sing. 1. leggu | hōru | salbōm,(-ōn) | lēbēm,(-ēn) |
| 2. legis(t) | hōris(t) | salbōs(t) | lēbēs(t) |
| 3. legit | hōrit | salbōt | lēbēt |
| Plur. 1. leggemēs, | hōremēs, | salbōmēs, | lēbēmēs, |
| | (-ēn) | (-ēn) | (-ēn) |
| 2. legget | hōret | salbōt | lēbēt |
| 3. leggent | hōrent | salbōnt | lēbēnt |
| MHG. | | | |
| Sing. 1. lege | hōre | salbe | lēbe |
| 2. legest | hōrest | salbest | lēbest |
| 3. leget | hōret | salbet | lēbet |
| Plur. 1. legen | hōren | salben | lēben |
| 2. leget | hōret | salbet | lēbet |
| 3. legent | hōrent | salbent | lēbent |

| Subjunctive. | | | |
|------------------|-------------|-----------|----------|
| | OHG. | III | |
| Sing. 1. legge | hōre | salbo | lēbe |
| 2. leggēs(t) | hōrēs(t) | salbōs(t) | lēbēs(t) |
| 3. legge | hōre | salbo | lēbe |
| Plur. 1. leggēm, | hōrēm | salbōm | lēbēm |
| | (-ēn,-emēs) | | |
| 2. leggēt | hōrēt | salbōt | lēbēt |
| 3. leggēn | hōrēn | salbōn | lēbēn |
| MHG. | | | |
| Sing. 1. lege | hōre | salbe | lēbe |
| 2. legest | hōrest | salbest | lēbest |
| 3. lege | hōre | salbe | lēbe |
| Plur. 1. legen | hōren | salben | lēben |
| 2. leget | hōret | salbet | lēbet |
| 3. legen | hōren | salben | lēben |

MHG Weak Verbs: Preterite

| Indicative. | | | | Subjunctive. | | | |
|-----------------|----------------------------|-------------|------------|----------------------------|-----------|-------------|------------|
| OHG. | | | | OHG. | | | |
| Sing. 1. legitā | hōrta | salbōta | lēbēta | Sing. 1. legitī | hōrti | salbōti | lēbēti |
| | hōrtōs(t) | salbōtōs(t) | lēbētōs(t) | 2. legitīs(t) | hōrtīs(t) | salbōtīs(t) | lēbētīs(t) |
| | hōrta | salbōta | lēbēta | 3. legitī | hōrti | salbōti | lēbēti |
| | Plur. 1. legitūm, (-un) | | lēbētūm | Plur. 1. legitīm, (-in) | hōrtīm | salbōtīm | lēbētīm |
| | hōrtut | salbōtut | lēbētut | 2. legitīt | hōrtīt | salbōtīt | lēbētīt |
| | hōrtun | salbōtun | lēbētun | 3. legitīn | hōrtīn | salbōtīn | lēbētīn |
| MHG. | | | | MHG. | | | |
| Sing. 1. legetē | hōrte | salbete | lēbete | Sing. 1. legetē | hōrte | salbete | lēbete |
| | hōrtest | salbetest | lēbetest | 2. legetest | hōrtest | salbetest | lēbetest |
| | hōrte | salbete | lēbete | 3. legetē | hōrte | salbete | lēbete |
| | Plur. 1. legetēn | | lēbeten | Plur. 1. legetēn | hōrten | salbeten | lēbeten |
| | hōrtet | salbeted | lēbeted | 2. legetet | hōrtet | salbeted | lēbeted |
| | hōrten | salbeten | lēbeten | 3. legeten | hōrten | salbeten | lēbeten |
| NHG. | | | | NHG. | | | |
| Sing. 1. legte | hōrte | salbte | lebte | Sing. 1. legte | hōrte | salbte | lebte |
| | hōrtest | salbtest | lebtest | 2. legtest | hōrtest | salbtest | lebtest |
| | hōrte | salbte | lebte | 3. legte | hōrte | salbte | lebte |
| | Plur. 1. legten | | lebten | Plur. 1. legten | hōrten | salbten | lebten |
| | hōrtet | salbtet | lebtet | 2. legtet | hōrtet | salbtet | lebtet |
| | hōrten | salbten | lebten | 3. legten | hōrten | salbten | lebten |

MHG Weak Verbs

| Imperative. | | | |
|-------------------------------------|----------|---------|-------|
| OHG. | | | |
| Sing. 2. legi | hōri | salbo | lēbe |
| Plur. 1. leggemēs, hōremēs (-ēn) | salbōmēs | lēbēmēs | |
| 2. legget | hōret | salbōt | lēbet |
| MHG. | | | |
| Sing. 2. lege | hōere | salbe | lēbe |
| Plur. 1. legen | hōeren | salben | lēben |
| 2. leget | hōret | salbet | lēbet |

| Gerund. | | | |
|------------------|----------|-----------|----------|
| OHG. | | | |
| { Gen. leggennes | hōrennes | salbōnnes | lēbēnnes |
| { Dat. leggenne | hōrenne | salbōnne | lēbēnne |
| MHG. | | | |
| { Gen. legennes | hōrennes | salbennes | lēbennes |
| { Dat. legenne | hōrenne | salbenne | lēbenne |
| NHG. legend. | hōrend. | salbend. | lebend. |
| Participle. | | | |
| OHG. leggenti | hōrenti | salbōnti | lēbēnti |
| MHG. legende | hōrende | salbende | lēbende |
| NHG. legend | hōrend | salbend | lebend |

Syncretism

Essentially the product of morphological merger

Situation (*not process!*) where **functionally distinct** word forms are **identical in form**

i.e. multiple cells in a paradigm have exactly the same form

This *may be* the result of historical changes

Can also describe a situation where there was never any distinction in the first place

Syncretism

NHG nominal inflexion is mostly restricted to number marking
(except for GEN.SG.M/N and DAT.PL)

| | OHG | | MHG | | NHG | |
|-------|------------|----------------------|-------|-------|---------|-------|
| | SG | PL | SG | PL | SG | PL |
| NOM | tag | tagā, -a | tac | tage | Tag | Tage |
| ACC | tag | tagā, -a | tac | tage | Tag | Tage |
| GEN | tages, -as | tago | tages | tage | Tag(e)s | Tage |
| DAT | tage, -a | tagum, -om; -un, -on | tage | tagen | Tag(e) | Tagen |
| INSTR | tagu, -o | | | | | |

☞ Can often lead to analogical change

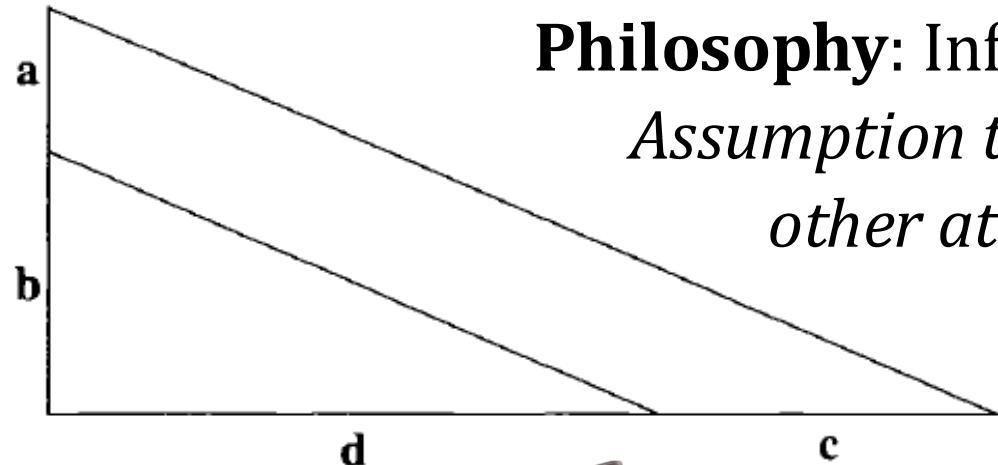
Extreme syncretism: MHG weak verbs

The indicative and subjunctive forms of weak verbs are identical in both the present and the preterite tense, as with the *-jan* verb *brennen* 'burn':

| | | INDICATIVE | | SUBJUNCTIVE |
|-----------|----|------------|----------|---------------------------------------|
| PRESENT | SG | 1 | brenne | brenne |
| | | 2 | brennest | brennest |
| | | 3 | brennet | brennet |
| PL | 1 | brennen | brennen | What do we find instead in NHG? |
| | 2 | brennet | brennet | |
| | 3 | brennent | brennent | |
| PRETERITE | | SG | 1 | brante |
| | | 2 | brantest | brantest |
| | | 3 | brante | brante |
| PL | 1 | branten | branten | |
| | 2 | brantet | brantet | |
| | 3 | branten | branten | |

Analogy

Mathematics: Similarity in proportional relationships, e.g. a is to b as c is to d



Philosophy: Inferential reasoning from parallel cases

Assumption that if things share similar attributes, their other attributes must also be similar

Plato: Functional analogy, e.g. a is to b as c is to d

Good makes Knowledge possible in the intelligible world just as the Sun makes Vision possible in the perceptual world

Natural history: Resemblance of form & function in organs with different origins (in different species)

cf. Lahiri (2000)

Analogy

For early grammarians, analogy referred to regular correspondences within paradigms (*not sound change*)

*Words can be classified in terms of similarities/differences in inflexion →
Regularities = sets of proportions (analogy)*

The **Neogrammarians** are the first to introduce the concept of '**false analogy**', accounting for exceptions to sound change.

- ☞ For the Neogrammarians, it was everything left over after sound change and borrowing were excluded

'Analogy' is often used to apply to a heterogeneous range of processes and can behave far more systematically than is often acknowledged

Analogy

Change whereby a similarity in meaning → a similarity in form
(generally resulting in greater regularity)

Regular sound change (e.g. OSL / diphthongisation) ignores morphology
→ can introduce irregularity into paradigms

Analogy reinforces regularity / transparency, but is itself irregular and sporadic.

☞ ‘Sturtevant’s Paradox’: Sound change is regular, but creates irregularity, whereas analogy is irregular, but creates regularity

Sturtevant's Paradox

| | INF | 3SG.PRET | 3PL.PRET | PST.PTCP |
|---------------|----------------------|-------------------|--------------------|-----------------------|
| IE | '-s- | '-s- | -s-' | -s-' |
| PGmc I | *fra'leus <u>san</u> | *fra'lau <u>s</u> | *fralu' <u>sun</u> | *fralu <u>sa</u> 'naz |
| PGmc II (VL) | *fra'leus <u>san</u> | *fra'lau <u>s</u> | *fralu' <u>zun</u> | *fralu <u>za</u> 'naz |
| PGmc III (SS) | *fra'leus <u>san</u> | *fra'lau <u>s</u> | *fra'luz <u>un</u> | *fra'luz <u>anaz</u> |
| WGmc (R) | *fraleu <u>san</u> | *fra'lau <u>s</u> | *fralu <u>run</u> | *fralor <u>ran</u> |
| OHG | firl <u>iosan</u> | firl <u>ōs</u> | firlu <u>run</u> | firlor <u>ran</u> |
| MHG | verlies <u>en</u> | verlō <u>s</u> | verl <u>urn</u> | verl <u>orn</u> |
| NHG | verli <u>ieren</u> | verlor <u>u</u> | verlo <u>ren</u> | verlo <u>ren</u> |
| | /fərlia̯çən/ | /fərlɔ:x/ | /fərlu(:)rən/ | /fərlɔ(:)rən/ |
| → | [fe'lixən] | [fe'lɔ:x] | [fə'lɔ:ən] | [fə'lɔ:ən] |

Sturtevant's Paradox

| | INF | 3SG.PRET | | |
|---------------|---------------------|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|
| IE | '-s- | '-s- | | |
| PGmc I | *fra'leus <u>an</u> | *fra'lau <u>s</u> | | |
| PGmc II (VL) | *fra'leus <u>an</u> | *fra'lau <u>s</u> | *fralu'zun | *fraluza'naz |
| PGmc III (SS) | *fra'leus <u>an</u> | *fra'lau <u>s</u> | *fra'luzun | *fra'luzanaz |
| WGmc (R) | *fraleus <u>an</u> | *fra'lau <u>s</u> | *fralur <u>un</u> | *fralor <u>an</u> |
| OHG | firlīos <u>an</u> | firlō <u>s</u> | firlur <u>un</u> | firlor <u>an</u> |
| MHG | verlies <u>en</u> | verlō <u>s</u> | verlur <u>n</u> | verlorn |
| NHG | verlier <u>en</u> | verlor <u>n</u> | verlo <u>ren</u> | verlo <u>ren</u> |
| | /fərlīə̯çən/ | /fərlō:ç/ | /fərlu(:)rən/ | /fərlō(:)rən/ |
| → | [fe'līə̯çən] | [fe'lō:ç] | [fə'lū:rən] | [fə'lō:rən] |

NHG *verlieren* ~ *verlor*
BUT: *Verlies*, *Verlust*

cf. NE *lose* ~ *lost*

BUT: *forlorn*, *lovelorn*

Proportional analogy

Earlier work was based solely on **surface forms**

Emphasised almost exclusively forms of **proportional change**

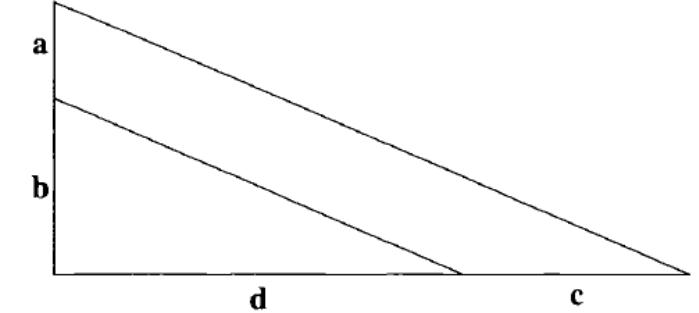
☞ analogy works through equations based on surface forms

stone : stone-s :: cow : X; X = cow-s (as opposed to the earlier *cow~kine*)

Tag : Tag-e :: Land : X; X = Land-e (as opposed to the earlier *lant~lant*)

Problem how to constrain such proportional analogy

How do you limit which proportions are established?



Proportional analogy

Earlier work was based solely on **surface forms**

Emphasised almost exclusively forms of **proportional change**

☞ analogy works through equations based on surface forms

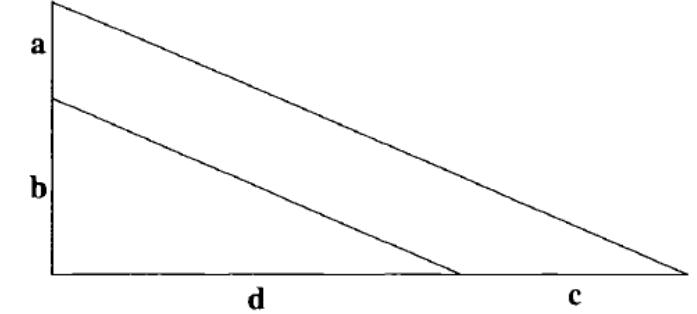
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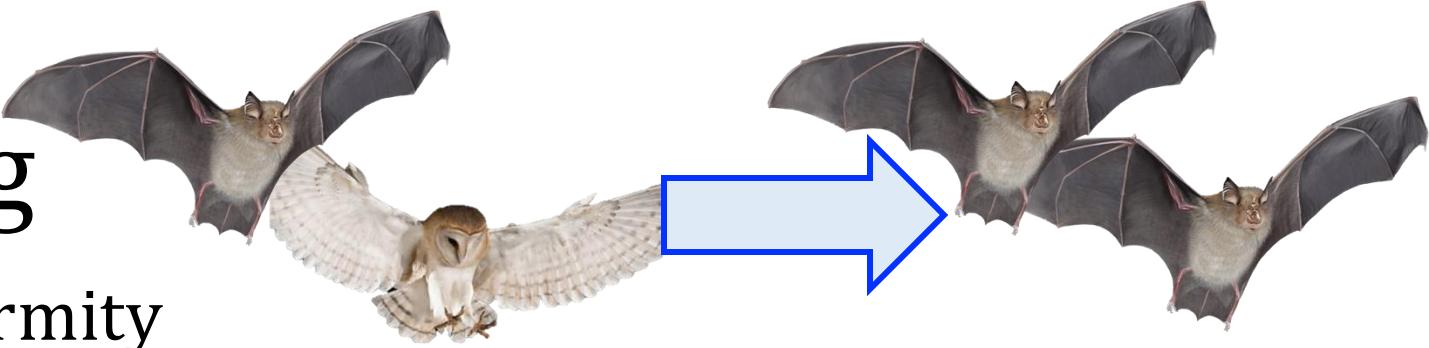
Ring & Eska (2013: 152):

[The proportional approach was] always empirically inadequate, because a substantial minority of morphological changes cannot be convincingly explained by proportions

It can miss important generalisations, e.g. the preservation of central contrasts like number in levelling.



Analogical levelling



Increases paradigmatic uniformity
by reducing the number of a form's allomorphs (i.e. eradicating
alternations)

Same meaning / function → same form

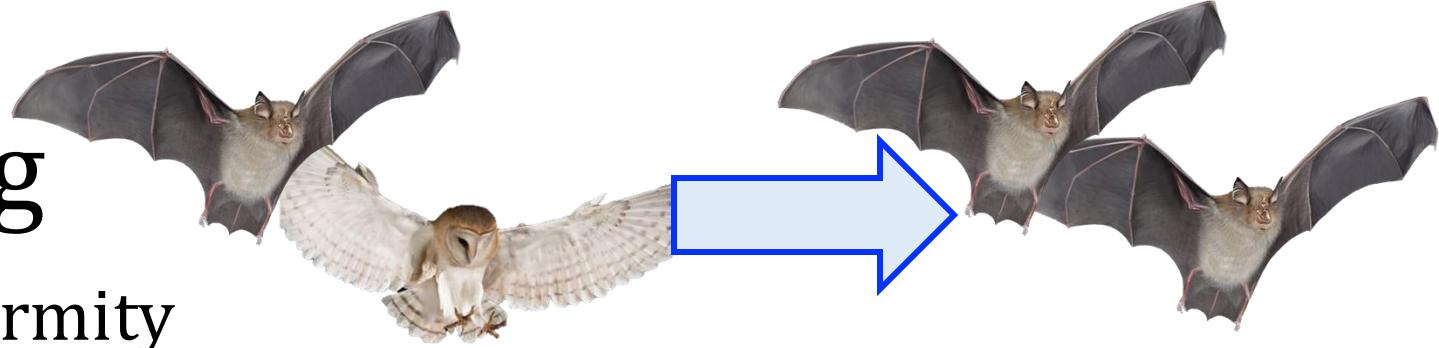
In Class II verbs, the stem vowel of the 3PL.PRES.INDIC has been
levelled out to the SG.PRES forms

e.g. MHG *ich biuge, er biuget, wir biegen, sie biegent*

> *ich biege, er biegt, wir biegen, sie biegen*

| | INFINITIVE | 1SG.PRESENT | 3SG.PRETERITE | 3PL.PRETERITE | PAST PARTICIPLE |
|-----|------------|-------------|---------------|---------------|-----------------|
| OHG | biogan | biugu | boug | bugum | gibogan |
| MHG | biegen | biuge | bouc | bugen | gebogen |
| NHG | biegen | biege | bog | bogen | gebogen |

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In Class II verbs, the stem vowel of the 3PL.PRES.INDIC has been
levelled out to the SG.PRES forms

*Note the levelling of the PST.PTCP's stem vowel to the PRET forms (after OSL):

/gəbɔ:gən/ > /gəbɔ:gən/

| | INFINITIVE | 1SG.PRESENT | 3SG.PRETERITE | 3PL.PRETERITE | PAST PARTICIPLE |
|-----|------------|-------------|---------------|---------------|-----------------|
| OHG | biogan | biugu | boug | bugum | gibogan |
| MHG | biegen | biuge | bouc | bugen | gebogen |
| NHG | biegen | biege | bog | bogen | gebogen |

Analogical levelling

Similarly, for Class III (with /ɛ/ in the infinitive), Class IV & Class V, the stem vowel of the indicative 1SG.PRES form has changed in analogy to the stem vowel of the infinitive and PL.PRES forms, e.g. *nemen* (NHG *nehmen*):

| | | | OHG | MHG | NHG |
|---------|----|---|---------------------|--------|----------|
| PRESENT | SG | 1 | nimu | nime | nehme |
| | | 2 | nimis, (-st) | nimest | nimmst |
| | | 3 | nimit | nimet | nimmt |
| | PL | 1 | nememēs, (-ēm, -ēn) | nemen | nehmen |
| | | 2 | nemet | nemet | nehm(e)t |
| | | 3 | nemant | nement | nehmen |

Analogical levelling

Note also that MHG often had a length alternation between the vowel of the 1/3SG.PRET and PL.PRET forms (inherited, not OSL).

In NHG, this has been levelled out in favour of the plural's V:

/nam~na:men/ > /na:m~na:men/

The long /e:/ of the INF and PL.PRES (which spread to the 1SG.PRES) **is** the result of OSL, however: /nɛ.mən/ > /ne:mən/.

| | INFINITIVE | 1SG.PRESENT | 3SG.PRETERITE | 3PL.PRETERITE | PAST PARTICIPLE |
|-----|------------|-------------|---------------|---------------------|-----------------|
| OHG | neman | nimu | nam | nāmum, (-un, -umēs) | ginoman |
| MHG | nemen | nime | nam | nâmen | genomen |
| NHG | nehmen | nehme | nahm | nahmen | genommen |

OSL

| | INF | 3SG.PRET | 3PL.PRET | PST.PTCP |
|----------------|------------|---------------------|------------|--------------|
| MHG (pre-OSL) | 'sprɛx.xən | sprax | 'spra:.xən | gə'sprɔx.xən |
| | 'gɛ.bən | gap | 'ga:.bən | gə'gɛ.bən |
| MHG (post-OSL) | 'sprɛx.xən | sprax | 'spra:.xən | gə'sprɔx.xən |
| | 'gɛ:.bən | gap | 'ga:.bən | gə'gɛ:.bən |
| NHG | 'ʃprɛçən | ʃprə ^a x | 'ʃprə:.xən | gə'ʃprɔçən |
| | 'gɛ:.bən | g ^a p | 'ga:.bən | gə'gɛ:.bən |

Analogical extension

Extends an existing alternation to **new contexts** (forms which did not previously undergo the alternation)

e.g. **extension of umlaut** to forms with no alternation historically: OHG *topf~topfe* 'pot.SG~PL' > NHG *Topf~Töpfe*

Campbell (2013: 95)

From the point of view of the speaker, analogical levelling and extension may not be different, since in both the speaker is making different patterns in the language more like other patterns that exist in the language.

Analogical extension: UML

Two stages:

OHG: Large class of neuter nouns with no overt marking in the plural (due to high vowel deletion)

- (i) HVD and UML became opaque and unrecoverable (due to reduction of unstressed syllables) → must have been a strong drive to mark the PL **overtly**
- (ii) These words were analogically shifted into another class of *a*-stem nouns which *did* overtly mark the PL

Grammatical gender was crucial in the choice of class

e.g. *houbit*~*houbit*, *wort*~*wort*
(NHG *Haupt*, *Wort*)

Analogical extension: UML

English: Gender distinctions were lost, so there was no problem shifting them to the **large** class of **mASCULINE** *a*-stems → **-as** PL suffix generalised (e.g. NE *heads*, *words*)

Gender irrelevant → **Same declension class**

German: Gender still central, so they were shifted to the minor class of **neuter** *os-/es*-stem nouns which *did* overtly mark the plural → **-er** generalised

Gender >> declension class → **Same gender, change class**

Analogical extension: UML

These nouns inserted OHG *-ir* (< PGmc. *-iz*) between the stem and PL affix, triggering UML, e.g. *lamb~lembir* > NHG *Lamm~Lämmer*

- ☞ Find NHG PL forms with umlaut where none existed in OHG:
e.g. *Haupt~Häupter, Wort~Wörter*
- ☞ Small class of words with two (semantically or functionally distinct) plurals: one with umlaut and one without: e.g. *Worte~Wörter* and *Land~Länder*

Summary

Today's phonology is often tomorrow's morphology

We have seen regular sound changes or once transparent phonological rules leave their mark on inflexional morphology

Diachronically, these processes (often interacting) can affect morphological paradigms and cause opacity

e.g. vowel reduction threatening case/gender/number distinctions

Such situations are unstable

Summary

Speakers have several options:

Reanalysis of underlying forms

e.g. /tur-i/ [tyri] > /tur-i/ [tyrə] > /tyrə/ [tyrə] > /ty:r/ [ty:ə] ('door')

Morphologisation of phonological rules e.g. umlaut as a plural marker

Analogy:

Levelling

e.g. -en plural; stem umlaut into the PRET of
'Rückumlaut' weak verbs

Declension/gender shifts

e.g. *site* M > F; strong > weak verbs

Loss of declension classes

e.g. weak F nouns

Extension

e.g. *lamp*~*lembir* pattern extends to words
like *wort*~*wörter*

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