



Middle High German: Morphology II

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1. Introduction to Historical Linguistics and Middle High German
2. Phonology I
3. Phonology II
4. Morphology I
5. Morphology II
6. Syntax
7. Lexis & Language Contact
8. Verse & Metre

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, muoz*

Anomalous Verbs:

- *tuon* ‘do’
- *gân/gên* ‘go’
- *stân/stên* ‘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. *heizen* (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
	hëlpen	half	hulfen	geholfen	ich hilfe
IV	nëmen	nam	nâmen	genomen	ich nime
V	gëben	gap	gâben	gegëben	ich gibe
VI	graben	gruop	gruoben	gegraben	
VII	bannen	bien	bienen	gebannen	

MHG Strong Verbs

<i>Present</i>			
INDICATIVE		SUBJUNCTIVE	
	MHG	OHG	
Sing. 1.	nime	nimu	nëme
2.	nimes(t)	nimis(t)	nëmes(t)
3.	nimet	nimit	nëme

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

MHG 2SG regularly *-st*

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)

<i>Present</i>							
INDICATIVE				SUBJUNCTIVE			
	MHG	OHG		MHG	OHG		
Plur. 1.	nëmen	nëmamēs, -ēm		nëmen	nëmēm		
2.	nëmet	nëmet		nëmet	nëmēt		
3.	nëment	nëmant		nëmen	nëmēn		
IMPERATIVE				INFINITIVE			
	MHG	OHG		MHG	OHG		
Sing. 2.	nim(e)	nim		nëmen	nëman		
Plur. 1.	nëmen	nëmēm					
2.	nëme(n)t	nëmet					
PRESENT PARTICIPLE				GERUND (INFL. INFIN.)			
	MHG	OHG		MHG	OHG		
	nëmende	nëmanti		Gen. nëmen(n)es	nëmannes		
				Dat. nëmen(n)e	nëmanne		

<i>Preterite</i>							
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.	nāmen	nāmum		næmen	nāmīm		
2.	nāmet	nāmut		næmet	nāmīt		
3.	nāmen	nāmun		næmen	nāmīn		

PAST PARTICIPLE	
MHG	OHG
genomen	ginoman

MHG Weak Verbs

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

→ **MHG:** all end *-en*

OHG. leggen	hōren	salbōn	lēbēn
MHG. legen	hœren	salben	lēben
NHG. legen	hören	salben	leben

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

		OHG.	II	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, (-ēn)	hōremēs, (-ēn)	salbōmēs, (-ōn)	lēbēmēs, (-ēn)
2.	legget	hōret	salbōt	lēbēt
3.	leggent	hōrent	salbōnt	lēbēnt
		MHG.		
Sing. 1.	lege	hœre	salbe	lēbe
2.	legest	hœrest	salbest	lēbest
3.	leget	hœret	salbet	lēbet
Plur. 1.	legen	hœren	salben	lēben
2.	leget	hœret	salbet	lēbet
3.	legent	hœrent	salbent	lēbent

		OHG.		
Sing. 1.	legita	hōrta	salbōta	lēbēta
2.	legitōs(t)	hōrtōs(t)	salbōtōs(t)	lēbētōs(t)
3.	legitā	hōrta	salbōta	lēbēta
Plur. 1.	legitum, (-un)	hōrtum	salbōtum	lēbētum
2.	legitut	hōrtut	salbōtut	lēbētut
3.	legitun	hōrtun	salbōtun	lēbētun
		MHG.		
Sing. 1.	<u>legete</u>	<u>hōrte</u>	<u>salbete</u>	<u>lēbete</u>
2.	legetest	hōrtest	salbetest	lēbetest
3.	legete	hōrte	salbete	lēbete
Plur. 1.	legeten	hōrten	salbeten	lēbeten
2.	legetet	hōrtet	salbetet	lēbetet
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. *hōr**ta***)
- CVC (*light**) stems:
 - + dental preterite with intervening /i/ (e.g. *ler**i****ta***)

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~dancte*
- 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 *legest*, *leget* & *sagest*, *saget*

MHG Weak Verbs

Class I are mostly *-jan* verbs, so show umlaut in the present stem

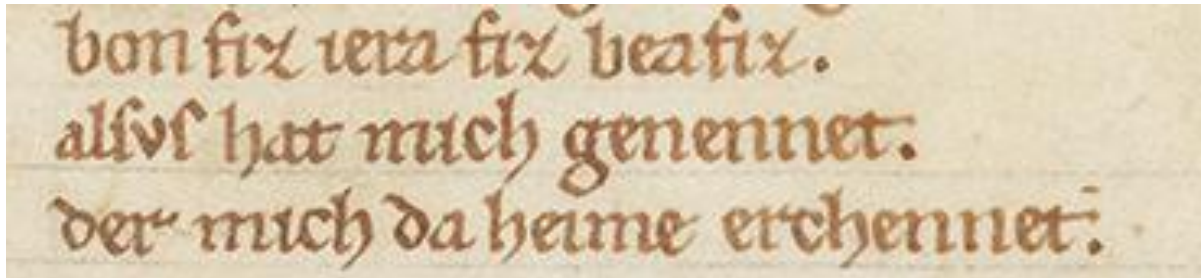
However, the *-j-* stem extension never appeared in the PRET

→ **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, *hæren* 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- l -ita/	/stall- j -en/	/stall- l -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
	→ h œ ren	→ h ô rte	→ z e llen	→ z e lte ~zalte (via analogy)	→ st e llen	→ st a lte

MHG Weak Verbs: Present

Indicative.			
OHG.			
Sing. 1.	leggu	hōru	salbōm,(-ōn)
2.	legis(t)	hōris(t)	salbōs(t)
3.	legit	hōrit	salbōt
Plur. 1.	leggemēs, (-ēn)	hōremēs, (-ēn)	salbōmēs, (-ōn)
2.	legget	hōret	salbōt
3.	leggent	hōrent	salbōnt
MHG.			
Sing. 1.	lege	høre	salbe
2.	legest	hørest	salbest
3.	leget	høret	salbet
Plur. 1.	legen	høren	salben
2.	leget	høret	salbet
3.	legent	hørent	salbent

Subjunctive.			
OHG.			
Sing. 1.	legge	hōre	salbo
2.	leggēs(t)	hōrēs(t)	salbōs(t)
3.	legge	hōre	salbo
Plur. 1.	leggēm, (-ēn,-emēs)	hōrēm	salbōm
2.	leggēt	hōrēt	salbōt
3.	leggēn	hōrēn	salbōn
MHG.			
Sing. 1.	lege	høre	salbe
2.	legest	hørest	salbest
3.	lege	høre	salbe
Plur. 1.	legen	høren	salben
2.	leget	høret	salbet
3.	legen	høren	salben

MHG Weak Verbs: Preterite

Indicative. OHG.				Subjunctive. OHG.			
Sing. 1. legita	hōrta	salbōta	lēbēta	Sing. 1. legiti	hōrti	salbōti	lēbēti
2. legitōs(t)	hōrtōs(t)	salbōtōs(t)	lēbētōs(t)	2. legitīs(t)	hōrtīs(t)	salbōtīs(t)	lēbētīs(t)
3. legitā	hōrta	salbōta	lēbēta	3. legiti	hōrti	salbōti	lēbēti
Plur. 1. legitum, (-un)	hōrtum	salbōtum	lēbētum	Plur. 1. legitīm, (-īn)	hōrtīm	salbōtīm	lēbētīm
2. legitut	hōrtut	salbōtut	lēbētut	2. legitīt	hōrtīt	salbōtīt	lēbētīt
3. legitun	hōrtun	salbōtun	lēbētun	3. legitīn	hōrtīn	salbōtīn	lēbētīn
MHG.				MHG.			
Sing. 1. legete	hōrte	salbete	lēbete	Sing. 1. legete	hōrte	salbete	lēbete
2. legetest	hōrtest	salbetest	lēbetest	2. legetest	hōrtest	salbetest	lēbetest
3. legete	hōrte	salbete	lēbete	3. legete	hōrte	salbete	lēbete
Plur. 1. legeten	hōrten	salbeten	lēbeten	Plur. 1. legeten	hōrten	salbeten	lēbeten
2. legetet	hōrtet	salbetet	lēbetet	2. legetet	hōrtet	salbetet	lēbetet
3. legeten	hōrten	salbeten	lēbeten	3. legeten	hōrten	salbeten	lēbeten
NHG.				NHG.			
Sing. 1. legte	hörte	salbte	lebte	Sing. 1. legte	hörte	salbte	lebte
2. legtest	hörtest	salbtest	lebtest	2. legtest	hörtest	salbtest	lebtest
3. legte	hörte	salbte	lebte	3. legte	hörte	salbte	lebte
Plur. 1. legten	hörten	salbten	lebten	Plur. 1. legten	hörten	salbten	lebten
2. legtet	hörtet	salbtet	lebtet	2. legtet	hörtet	salbtet	lebtet
3. legten	hörten	salbten	lebten	3. legten	hörten	salbten	lebten

MHG Weak Verbs

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

Gerund.			
OHG.			
{ Gen. leggenes	hōrennes	salbōnnes	lēbēnnes
{ Dat. leggenne	hōrenne	salbōnne	lēbēnne
MHG.			
{ Gen. legennes	hærennes	salbennes	lēbennes
{ Dat. legenne	hærenne	salbenne	lēbenne
NHG. legend-	hörend-	salbend-	lebend-
Participle.			
OHG. leggenti	hōrenti	salbōnti	lēbēnti
MHG. legende	hærende	salbende	lēbende
NHG. legend	hörend	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

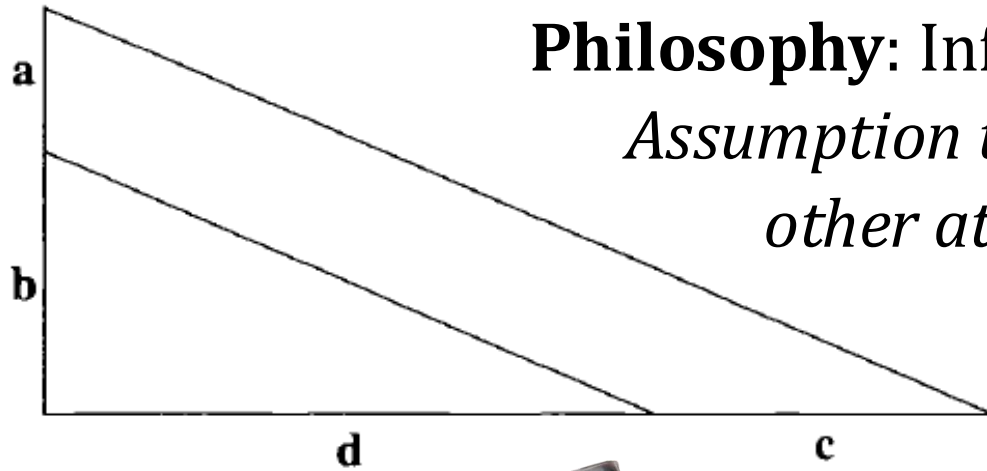
The indicative and subjunctive forms of weak verbs are identical in both the present and the preterite tense, as with the *-jan* verb *brennen* ‘burn’:

			INDICATIVE	SUBJUNCTIVE
PRESENT	SG	1	brenne	brenne
		2	brennest	brennest
		3	brennet	brennet
	PL	1	brennen	brennen
		2	brennet	brennet
		3	brennent	brennent
PRETERITE	SG	1	brante	brante
		2	brantest	brantest
		3	brante	brante
	PL	1	branten	branten
		2	brantet	brantet
		3	branten	branten

What do we
find instead
in NHG?

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'leu san	*fra'lau s	*fralu' sun	*fralu sa 'naz
PGmc II (VL)	*fra'leu san	*fra'lau s	*fralu' zun	*fralu za 'naz
PGmc III (SS)	*fra'leu san	*fra'lau s	*fra'luz un	*fra'luz anaz
WGmc (R)	*fraleu san	*fra'lau s	*fralu r un	*fralo r an
OHG	firlio san	firlō s	firlu r un	firlo r an
MHG	verlie sen	verlō s	verlu r n	verlo r n
NHG	verlie ren	verlo r	verlo r en	verlo r en
	/fərli _ə çən/	/fərlo _ɔ ç/	/fərlu(ː)rən/	/fərlo(ː)rən/
	→ [fə'li _ə n]	[fə'lo _ɔ]	[fə'lo _ɔ n]	[fə'lo _ɔ n]

Sturtevant's Paradox

	INF	3SG.PRET		
IE	' -s-	' -s-		
PGmc I	*fra'leu s an	*fra'lau s		
PGmc II (VL)	*fra'leu s an	*fra'lau s	*fralu' z un	*fralu z a'naz
PGmc III (SS)	*fra'leu s an	*fra'lau s	*fra'lu z un	*fra'lu z anaz
WGmc (R)	*fraleu s an	*fra'lau s	*fralu r un	*fralo r an
OHG	firlio s an	firlō s	firlu r un	firlo r an
MHG	verlie s en	verlō s	verlu r un	verlo r un
NHG	verlie r en	verlor r	verlor e n	verlor e n
	/fərli _ɪ çən/	/fərlo _ɔ ç/	/fərlu(ː)rən/	/fərlo(ː)rən/
	→ [fə'l _ɪ çən]	[fə'l _ɔ ç]	[fə'l _ɔ çən]	[fə'l _ɔ çən]

NHG *verlie**r**en ~ verlor**r***
BUT: *Verlie**s**, Verlu**s**t*

cf. NE *lose ~ lost*
BUT: *forlor**r**n, lovelor**r**n*

Proportional analogy

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

Emphasised almost exclusively forms of **proportional change**

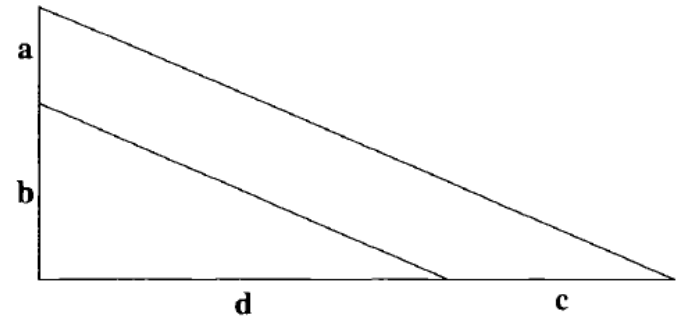
☞ analogy works through equations based on surface forms

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

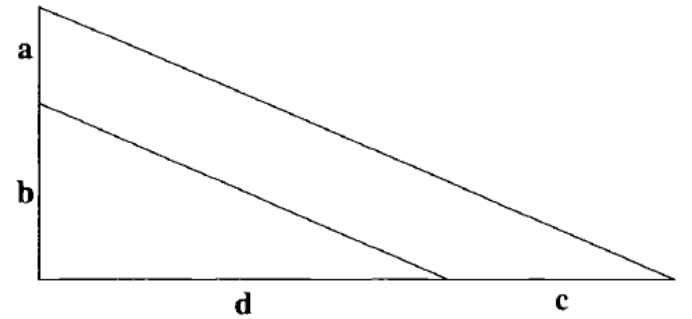
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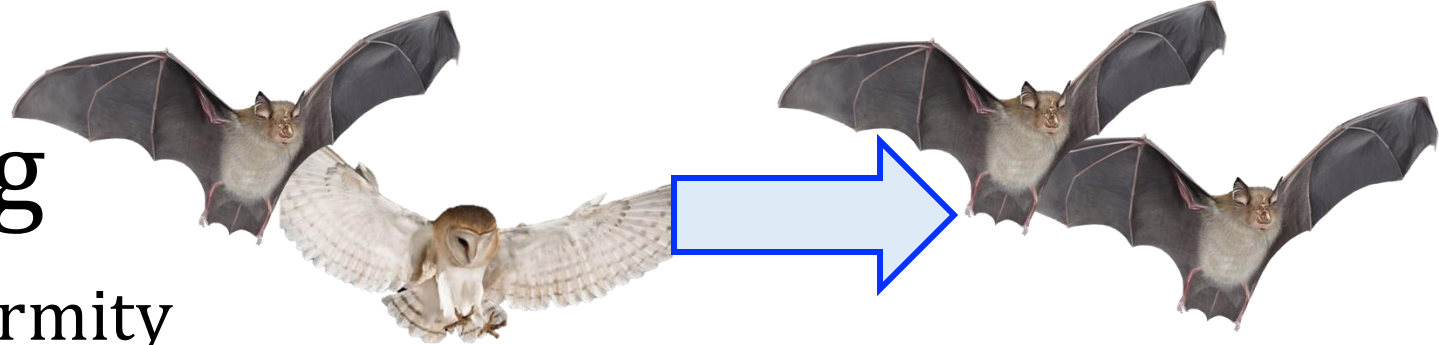
Ringe & Eska (2013: 152):

[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

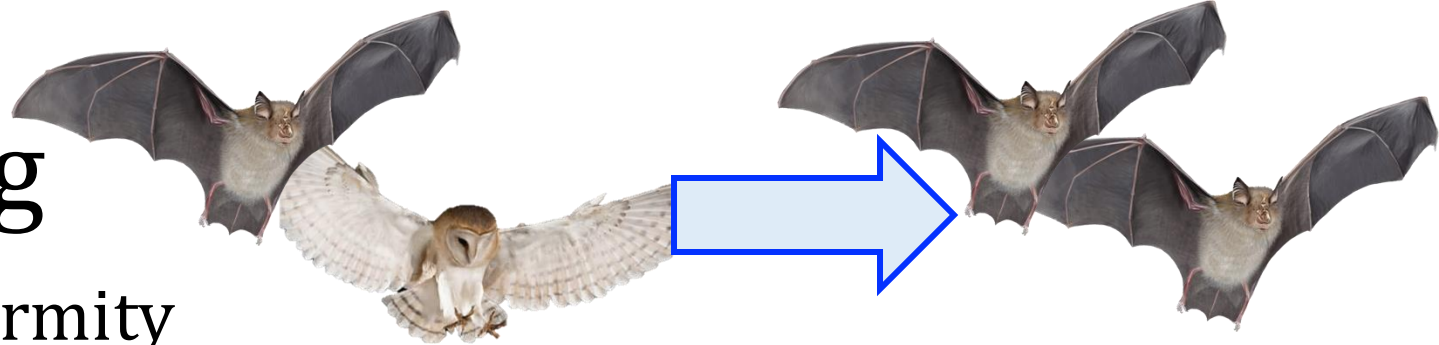
In Class II verbs, the stem vowel of the 3PL.PRES.INDIC has been
levelled out to the SG.PRES forms

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

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

*Note the levelling of the PST.PTCP's stem vowel to the PRET forms (after OSL):
/gəbɔgən/ > /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 /ε/ 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	n <u>i</u> mu	n <u>i</u> me	ne <u>h</u> me
		2	nimis, (-st)	nimest	nimmst
		3	nimit	nimet	nimmt
	PL	1	ne <u>m</u> emēs, (-ēm, -ēn)	ne <u>m</u> en	ne <u>h</u> men
		2	ne <u>m</u> et	ne <u>m</u> et	ne <u>h</u> m(e)t
		3	ne <u>m</u> ant	ne <u>m</u> ent	ne <u>h</u> men

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	nahm	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	'ʃpɤçən	ʃpɤa:x	'ʃpɤa:.xən	gə'ʃpɤɔxən
	'gɛ:.bən	ga: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

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

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

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 *head**s***, *word**s***)

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~lambir* > 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 *Lande~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:ɐ̯] ('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. <i>site</i> M > F; strong > weak verbs
Loss of declension classes	e.g. weak F nouns
Extension	e.g. <i>lamp~lambir</i> pattern extends to words like <i>wort~wörter</i>

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