

HISTORICAL GERMANIC PHONOLOGY & MORPHOLOGY

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OUTLINE

- 1 HT3 IE > Gmc > WGmc > OHG
- 2 HT4 Setting up underlying forms
- 3 TT1 The Germanic Foot
- 4 TT1 High Vowel Deletion
- 5 TT2 Open Syllable Lengthening
- 6 TT2 Stress Shift

THE GERMANIC FOOT

The Germanic Foot (Dresher & Lahiri 1991; Lahiri et al. 1999; Fikkert et al. 2006; Dresher & Lahiri 2022)

- a. Germanic Foot: From left to right, construct a resolved and expanded moraic trochee of the form ($|\text{head}| \text{dependent}$), where the head must consist of at least two moras and the dependent may have at most one mora.
- b. Main stress is on the leftmost foot.
- c. Defoot a foot ($|\text{⌘}|$) that does not carry the main stress, is final in the word, and has no dependent.

THE GERMANIC FOOT

- High Vowel Deletion (improving metrical coherence)
- Secondary Stress in OHG
- Final Defooting (defooting of non-branching feet)

THE GERMANIC FOOT

Old English stress: sample parsings (the head of the foot is indicated by |x|)

a. 'word GEN.PL'

x
 (|x| .)
 [H L]_ω
 wór da

b. 'army GEN.PL'

x
 (|x | .)
 [L L L]_ω
 wéo ru da

c. 'king DAT.SG'

x
 (|x | .)
 [L H L]_ω
 cý nin ge

d. 'ship NOM.PL'

x
 (|x |)
 [L L]_ω
 scí pu

e. 'other NOM.SG'

x
 (|x|) (~~|x|~~)
 [H H]_ω
 ô þer

f. 'other ACC.SG'

x
 (|x|) (|x| .)
 H H L
 ô þèr ne

(3) High Vowel Deletion in the weak branch of a foot: OE and OHG

OE		
<p>a) 'head NOM.SG'</p> <p>x</p> <p>(x) (x)</p> <p>[H H]_ω</p> <p>h^éa fud</p>	<p>b) 'head DAT.SG'</p> <p>x</p> <p>(x .) .</p> <p>[H L L]_ω</p> <p>h^éa fu de</p>	<p>c) 'head DAT.PL'</p> <p>x</p> <p>(x .) (x)</p> <p>[H L H]_ω</p> <p>h^éa fu dum</p>
<p>d) 'army NOM.SG'</p> <p>x</p> <p>(x)</p> <p>[L H]_ω</p> <p>w^éo rud</p>	<p>e) 'army NOM.PL'</p> <p>x</p> <p>(x .)</p> <p>[L L L]_ω</p> <p>w^éo ru du</p>	<p>f) 'word NOM.PL'</p> <p>x</p> <p>(x .)</p> <p>[H L]_ω</p> <p>w^ór du</p>
<p>g) 'journey NOM.SG'</p> <p>x</p> <p>(x .)</p> <p>[L H L]_ω</p> <p>f^æ rel du</p>	<p>h) 'journey GEN.PL'</p> <p>x</p> <p>(x .)</p> <p>[L H L]_ω</p> <p>f^æ rel da</p>	<p>'oppose 3.SG.PRET'</p> <p>i) 'journey DAT.PL'</p> <p>x</p> <p>(x) (x)</p> <p>[L H H]_ω</p> <p>f^æ rel dum</p>

OHG

<p>j) ‘word DAT.SG’</p> <p>x (x .) [H L]_ω wor te</p>	<p>k) ‘word NOM/ACC.PL’</p> <p>x (x .) [H L]_ω wor tæ (<*worðu)</p>	<p>l) ‘son NOM/ACC.SG’</p> <p>x (x) [L L]_ω su nu</p>
<p>m) ‘hand NOM/ACC.SG’</p> <p>x (x .) [H L]_ω han tæ (<*handu)</p>	<p>n) ‘hand DAT.PL’</p> <p>x (x) (æ) [H H]_ω han tum</p>	<p>o) ‘take 3.SG.PRES’</p> <p>x (x .) [L L L]_ω ni mi tæ (<*nemeti)</p>
<p>p) ‘fell 3.SG.PRET’</p> <p>x (x .) [H L L] fal læ ta (falta < *falliða)</p>	<p>q) ‘teach 3.SG.PRET’</p> <p>x (x .) [H L L] lē ræ ta (lērta < *lēriða)</p>	<p>r) ‘oppose 3.SG.PRET’</p> <p>x (x .) [L L L]_ω we ri ta (< *wariða)</p>

MASCULINE U-DECLENSION

Light Stem

fridu

mëto, older mëtu

sigu

situ

sunu

Heavy Stem

dorn

tōd

wald

skilt

widar

wirt

-heit

(Goth. þaúrnuš)

(Goth. dáuþuš)

(Goth. *walþuš)

(Goth. skilduš)

(Goth. wiþruš)

(Goth. waírduš)

(Goth. háiduš)

OHG *HANT* 'HAND'

<**handu*, c.f. Gothic *handus*

OHG	Singular	Plural
Nom/Acc	hant	handi
Gen	handi	hando
Dat	handi	hantum

MHG	Singular	Plural
Nom/Acc	hant	hende
Gen	hende, hant	hande, hende
Dat	hende, hant	handen, henden

PRETERITE OF WEAK VERBS

stellen (< stalljan)

*stalliða

stal.li.ta

stalta

hören (< haurjan)

*hauriða

hō.ri.ta

hōrta

zellen (< taljan)

*taliða

ze.li.ta

zelita

leggen (< legjan)

*legiða

le.gi.ta

legita

weren (< warjan)

*wariða

we.ri.ta

werita

A MORAIC TROCHEE?

e.g. Bermudez-Otero (2005) & Goering (2016)

Difficulty of accounting for Nom/Acc plural of ‘head’ in OE
hēafudu < xauþudu (vs. Dat singular hēafde)

(|LH|) only possible in initial position, else all heads precisely bimoraic.

Deletion results from unfooted L syllables

It is deleted in hēafde (*hēafude), because the original ending was long -ǣ

How does this account for the synchronic grammar, though?

(3) High Vowel Deletion in the weak branch of a foot: OE and OHG

OE		
<p>a) 'head NOM.SG'</p> <p>x (x) (x) [H H]_ω h^éa fud</p>	<p>b) 'head DAT.SG'</p> <p>x (x .) . [H L L]_ω h^éa fu de</p>	<p>c) 'head DAT.PL'</p> <p>x (x .) (x) [H L H]_ω h^éa fu dum</p>
<p>d) 'army NOM.SG'</p> <p>x (x) [L H]_ω w^éo rud</p>	<p>e) 'army NOM.PL'</p> <p>x (x .) [L L L]_ω w^éo ru du</p>	<p>f) 'word NOM.PL'</p> <p>x (x .) [H L]_ω w^ór du</p>
<p>g) 'journey NOM.SG'</p> <p>x (x .) [L H L]_ω f^æ rel du</p>	<p>h) 'journey GEN.PL'</p> <p>x (x .) [L H L]_ω f^æ rel da</p>	<p>'oppose 3.SG.PRET'</p> <p>i) 'journey DAT.PL'</p> <p>x (x) (x) [L H H]_ω f^æ rel dum</p>

OHG

<p>j) ‘word DAT.SG’</p> <p>x (x .) [H L]_ω wor te</p>	<p>k) ‘word NOM/ACC.PL’</p> <p>x (x .) [H L]_ω wor th (<*wordu)</p>	<p>l) ‘son NOM/ACC.SG’</p> <p>x (x) [L L]_ω su nu</p>
<p>m) ‘hand NOM/ACC.SG’</p> <p>x (x .) [H L]_ω han th (<*handu)</p>	<p>n) ‘hand DAT.PL’</p> <p>x (x) (h) [H H]_ω han tum</p>	<p>o) ‘take 3.SG.PRES’</p> <p>x (x .) [L L L]_ω ni mi th (<*nemeti)</p>
<p>p) ‘fell 3.SG.PRET’</p> <p>x (x .) [H L L] fal lh ta (falta < *falliða)</p>	<p>q) ‘teach 3.SG.PRET’</p> <p>x (x .) [H L L] lh ri ta (lherta < *lheriða)</p>	<p>r) ‘oppose 3.SG.PRET’</p> <p>x (x .) [L L L]_ω we ri ta (< *wariða)</p>

A MORAIC TROCHEE?

Variation between $-u \sim -\emptyset$ in NEUTER NOM/ACC.PL nouns in $Ps(A)$

- a. hēafudu (2x) ~ hēafud (5x) 'head'
- b. wolcenu (2x) ~ wolcen (6x) 'cloud'
- c. calferu (1x) ~ calfur (2x) 'calf'
- d. lomberu (1x) ~ lombur (1x) 'lamb'