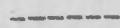


STUDIES IN THE OPERATION  
OF  
LINGUISTIC ANALOGY



A T H E S I S

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of the

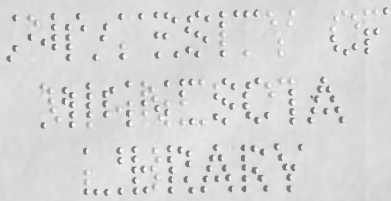
UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA

by

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CHAPTER 1. THE STUDY OF LINGUISTIC ANALOGY:  
AN HISTORICAL SKETCH.

The Term.

The term analogy is derived by way of the Latin analogia from the Greek 'αναλογία' meaning 'equality of ratios', 'proportion'. It was originally used in the science of mathematics, and has subsequently been applied on an extensive scale in theology, logic, and natural history.

Analogy in Ancient Times.

The earliest instances of the use of this term with regard to language are found in the writings of the Stoics, who recorded as 'analogy' cases of the

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ἡ ἀναλογία was derived from the noun ἀνάλογος which was also used as an adjective meaning "according to due ratio," "proportionate", "conformable". It was equivalent to ἀνάλογον Plato Tim. 37a. ἀνα-prefix, ἀνά prep., "up", "upon", hence "along", "throughout" Goth. ana, ōē, an, on, E. on; ὁ λόγος "word", hence "the power of mind which is manifested in speech", "reason".

agreement between the meaning and the form of a word, e. g., when a male being was denoted by a masculine noun. The opposite phenomenon was called Anomaly.

This terminology was soon taken up by the grammarians and rhetoricians. Their starting point was the investigation of the inflections, which at first sight appeared merely a chaotic mass of more or less closely related forms. The analogists tried to arrange the frequently recurring analogous forms of inflections in comprehensive groups or analogies, designating, for example, the endings *-ον, -ων, -η, and -ων* as regular singular masculine forms for the accusative relation. On the other hand, the anomalists instanced forms in *-α (φύλακα)* or *-(μέγαν)* having the same function, and pointed out the impossibility of including all inflections in comprehensive groups or so called analogies. From the third century B. C. to the first century A. D. Greek philology ranged itself about this question. Foremost of the analogists was Aristarchus, the Homeric critic of the School of Alexandria early in the second century B. C.,

who in his eagerness to smooth away every irregularity and remove all exceptions to the rules he had formulated, went so far as to determine, e.g., that the genitive of Ζεύς should no longer be Διός or Ζῆνος but Ζεός and Ζεΐ. His chief contemporaneous opponent was Crates of Mallus who defended the opposite views in a treatise, *περὶ Ἀνωμαλίας*."

A typical illustration may be cited from the grammar of Dionysius Thrax (about 100 B.C.), which was the first systematic school grammar ever composed. Scholia in Dionysii Thracis artem Grammaticam by A. Hilgard p.15:

Ἀναλογία ... ἐστὶν ἡ ἀκριβῆς τῶν ὁμοίων παράθεσις, δι' ἧς συνίστανται οἱ κανόνες τῶν γραμματικῶν, ὡσπερ ὅτε Ζητούμεν, τίνος ἔνεκεν ὁ Ὅμηρος τοῦ Ὁμήρου καὶ ὁ φίλος τοῦ φίλου, τὸ βέλος δὲ τοῦ βέλους· ἀκριβῶς οὖν Ζητήσας εὗρον εἶναι τὸν κανόνα τοιοῦτον, ὅτι πάντα τὰ εἰς ὄσ' ἀρσενικὰ καὶ θηλυκὰ εἰς ὄσ' ποιεῖ τὴν γενικὴν, οἷον Ἀλέξανδρος

"This use of anomaly is still retained in "nomina anomalia", "verba anomalia", etc.

Ἀλεξάνδρον, καλός καλοῦ, παρθένος παρθένου,  
 ἄμπελος ἀμπέλου, Σάμος Σάμου, τὰ δὲ οὐδέτερα εἰς ὄσ  
 λήγοντα εἰς ὄσ ποιεῖ τὴν γενικὴν, ὅσον μέρος μέρους,  
 ὄσος ὄσους, ὄρος ὄρους, οὕτως ὄν καὶ βέλος βέλους.

The Roman scholars took up the same controversy with reference to the Latin language. A remarkable illustration of the great interest aroused by this philological question is furnished by the fact that Julius Caesar while at the height of his political career wrote a book in two parts, 'de analogia', which however has been lost. Gradually, the cause of analogy began to prevail. It should be mentioned in particular that Varro<sup>†</sup> succeeded in slightly restating the question and in adducing conclusive arguments in favor of the analogists.

Still another meaning was attached to analogy in the succeeding period. That is to say, by 'analogy'

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<sup>†</sup>Varro, de lingua Latina 8, 47 etc.

students of language undertook to corroborate or correct uncertain inflectional forms, comparing these to the established paradigms. The greatest of Roman grammarians, M. Fabius Quintilianus (latter part of the first century A.D.) gives us the following illustration of this method: Analogiae "haec vis est, ut id, quod dubium est, ad aliquid simile de quo non quaeritur, referat et incerta certis probet, quod efficitur duplici via: comparatione similium in extremis maxime syllabis, propter quod ea quae sunt e singulis, negantur debere rationem, et deminutione comparatio in nominibus aut <sup>genus</sup>prehendit aut declinationem, genus, ut si quaeratur, 'funis' masculinum sit an femininum".. Institutio oratoriae 1, 6, 3. This is the sense in which analogy was understood in the following centuries, by Donatus<sup>1)</sup>, Charisius<sup>2)</sup>,

(1) Donatus, Ars Donati Grammatici urbis Romae.

(2) Charisius, Grammatica 1 143, 32 etc..

and Diomedes<sup>1)</sup> (fourth century A.D.) and by Isidore of Seville<sup>2)</sup> (seventh century). It is thus seen that in ancient times the term analogy shows three distinct meanings in its application to language, viz: a correspondence of a term with the thing signified, a method of forming inflectional groups, a method of correcting an inflectional form.

#### The Study of Analogy in Modern Times..

In the modern era of philology the term, 'analogy' has come to denote an accepted change in language which is brought about by association with one or more other forms or expressions. E.g., OE. pres. berstan, pp. borsten  $\times$  third of principal parts "b $\ddot{u}$ rston" = "burst" which is now used for all forms of the verb.  
 morior  $\rangle$  mortus  $\times$  vivus = mortuus.  
 nocte  $\times$  diu = noctu.

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- (1) Diomedes, Ars Grammatica.
  - (2) Sancti Isidori Hispalensis tomus tertius, caput 28 de analogia. Patrologiae Latinae tomus (31) paginae CIII-CV.
  - (3) This figure will hereafter be used as a symbol for "by analogy of".



Such changes appear in every phase of language as will be explained in the following chapter.

Analogical changes of this kind were noticed as early as in the twelfth century by Eustathius<sup>1)</sup>, who, in referring to words that leave their own system of inflection and follow another, used the expression *ἑναλλάξ* κατ' ἐναντιότητα.

J. Grimm, the father of modern philology, remarks on such changes in his monumental work on Germanic grammar. Thus in explaining the expression 'mit tuiren varwen zwo'<sup>2)</sup>, he states that the use of the form "zwo" for the regular "zwein" is due to the influence of the nom. and acc. form. And yet he did not appreciate the extent of this phenomenon of language, as may be seen from these words of his<sup>3)</sup>: Keine form bleibt bei sich

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(1) Eustathius Grammaticus Ed. Romana Opuscula Ed.

Tafel 341, 23.

(2) Minnesinger hsg. von v.d. Hagen 1. 342a.

(3) J. Grimm: Deutsche Grammatik 2, 75. In the recapitulation of the chapter, "Von der Bildung durch Laut und Ablaut"..

stehen, sie aendert ihre Gestalt, doch sie springt nie ganz von ihrem Wesen ab, sonst wuerde sie zur Uniform und unerfasslich. Ebensowenig haftet der Begriff des Wortes fest, aber auch seine Wechsel, Toene und Farben sind niemals Spruenge, sondern einander verknuepft durch offene und verborgene Faeden".

A distinct progress in the direction of a truer appreciation of analogy is noticeable in the writings of Steinthal<sup>1)</sup> and Lazarus, who laid especial emphasis upon the psychological basis of language.. The study of sound changes had led to the formulation of definite phonetic laws, whose validity, however, seemed impaired by the occurrence of certain exceptions. Some of those exceptions were supposed to be due to erroneous connection of unrelated forms in the mind of the speaker. Though this explanation was admitted by philologists in theory, it never had been examined scientifically.

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(1) Steinthal, Classification der Sprachen. (1850).  
Grammatik, Logik und Psychologie. (1855).

The impulse to such investigation was given by Professor W. D. Whitney of Yale University in his 'Language and the Study of Language' (1867). He instanced the naturalness of analogical changes in the speech of children and called attention to the psychological explanation of such changes, adding numerous examples of the supplanting of the regular inflectional forms, such as the principal parts of verbs, personal endings of verbs, case and number endings of nouns, e.g., pret. sg. spake \* pret. pl. spoken = spoke pret. sg.

holpen, wrought \* weak preterites = helped, worked.

Foreign words \* native words with accent) = forms accented on the first syllable) as native words.

In the following year Wilhelm Scherer in his 'Zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache' presented a more detailed investigation of this principle, which he called 'Formuebertragung', distinguishing between 1) Flexionsuebertragung and (2) Stammesuebertragung und Stammumbildung. He noted that such changes are most frequent

(1) Scherer, p. 111.

in rarely used words and forms. A word showing an analogical change must originally have had an element in common with the word influencing it. Analogy then partially obliterated the difference between these words. Scherer did not claim as universal a working of analogy in ancient times as may be observed in modern languages, still he maintained that such changes had always occurred.<sup>1)</sup>

A. Leskien took up the new study and both in his lectures and in his writings called attention to further manifestations of this principle, thus inducing many students to enter this field of research. A prize essay by Leskien, 'Declension in Letto-Slavonic and Germanic' (1876) is generally credited with having introduced the

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1) This theory, which was promptly accepted, together with a realization of the impossibility of determining the exact chronology of prehistoric phonetic changes discouraged further attempts at reconstructing a prehistoric language.

new term 'Ausnahmslosigkeit der Lautgesetze',<sup>1)</sup> which was to become the watchword of the Neogrammarians (Junggrammatiker<sup>2)</sup>).

A number of articles touching on various phases of the question were contributed by followers of Leskien, among whom may be mentioned Metzdorf,<sup>3)</sup> Brueckner,<sup>4)</sup> Ascoli,<sup>5)</sup> Osthoff,<sup>6)</sup> and Brugmann.

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- (1) It has however been shown that the same thought had been expressed in the preceding year by W. Scherer (Preussische Jahrbuecher, 35, 107. quoted by J. Schmidt. K.z.. 28, 308) "Die Veraenderung der Laute, die wir in beglaubigter Sprachgeschichte beobachten koennen, vollzieht sich nach festen Gesetzen, welche keine andere als wiederum gesetzmaessige Stoerung erfahren."
  - (2) The prevalent nickname Junggrammatiker was first used by Zarnke in Leipzig.
  - (3) Metzdorf, R., Curtius Studien LX 341f.
  - (4) Brueckner, Zur Lehre von den sprachlichen Neubildungen im Litauischen, Archiv fuer slavische Philologie III, 233ff.
  - (5) G. J. Ascoli, Die Entstehung des Griechischen Superlativ-suffixes -τατος Studien of Curtius LX, 342.
  - (6) Osthoff, Das Verbum in der Nominal-Composition. Jena, 1878.  
Osthoff, Jena Lit. Zeit. (1878) 33 review of Ascolis "Studj Critici".

So favorably was this subject received that in the second edition of his "Geschichte der deutschen Sprache," page 26, note (1878) Scherer could characterize in the following manner the change which had taken place within the ten years preceding: "Dann war die falsche Analogie noch sehr in Verruf. Heute koennte man sie fast als den sprachwissenschaft=lichen Modegoetzen bezeichnen, dem mancher Opferfaellt".

About this time (in 1878) appeared Osthoff and Brugmann's "Morphologische Untersuchungen" wherein they formulated as a doctrine what others had observed and discussed but had failed to carry to a logical conclusion, namely the decisive principles of the Neogrammarians (pXIII.): (1) Phonetic change proceeds according to laws which admit of no exceptions.. In other words, a sound changes uniformly over the whole area where a language is spoken, provided the language is not split into a number of dialects. Different dialects may and do develope in different ways.

(2) As it is an obvious and admitted fact that in the modern forms of language analogy or form association plays an important part in the history of words, we are justified in assuming a similar part for it in the past history of language.

In the year 1880 the first edition of H. Paul's 'Principien der Sprachgeschichte' came out.. The central thought of this work has been well summed up as follows: 'Alle Erkläerung sprachlicher Erscheinungen muss von der Sprachtaetigkeit des einzelnen Menschen ausgehen, der diese seine Taetigkeit natuerlich nur deshalb ausuebt, weil er ein gesellschaftliches Wesen ist..' Written by a brilliant scholar, who is a thorough psychologist as well as one of the foremost students of Germanic Philology, this book includes <sup>an</sup> admirable, clearcut treatment of analogy.

Our ideas, according to Paul, associate themselves into groups, and, as a natural result of this, the words which we employ to express these ideas come similarly

to associate themselves in our minds. Words, then, which express related ideas, form themselves into groups. Another source, though not equally prolific, of such association, is similarity in sound.

Correlation in the ideas, coupled with correlation of their contents, especially if accompanied by similarity of sound, makes the association most inevitable; and the closer the correlation, or the greater the similarity, the stronger will be the tie which binds the members of the group.

The association groups based on meaning are subdivided into matter groups and <sup>or formal</sup> modal groups. A matter or material group is formed by, for instance, the different cases of a substantive. This group again admits of division into smaller groups according to two different principles; into cases on the one hand of the singular, dual, and plural; or into the forms of the nominative of the singular, plural, and dual, and genitives, datives, etc., of the same numbers; and these two methods of grouping cross each other.



A more complicated system of groups principal and subordinate is supplied us by the forms of the verb, especially in Greek. Larger material-groups with looser connections arise next by the connection of all words which correspond in their meaning. As a rule, partial agreement in signification is accompanied by partial agreement in the form taken by the sounds; and this again commonly depends upon the etymological connection of the word. There are, however, material groups based solely on meaning and not upon sound: such as sein - werden, be - was, here - there, good - better, am - is, parvus - minor.

By formal groups Paul understands the sum of all nouns of action taken together, of all comparatives, of all nominatives, of all first persons of the verb, etc. There are also in this case larger groups, which again comprise smaller; for instance, the ~~last named~~ first singular indicative present may be grouped with the first singular subjunctive present. Further, the connection may be of a closer or looser character as it may happen.

Now the material-groups are all the way through crossed with the formal. Not merely do single words tend to coalesce into groups, but analogous proportions between different words do likewise. The motive to the creation of such proportion-groups, which form at the same time an equation of proportions, is given by the interpenetration of the material-and formal-groups spoken of. The basis for the comparison is in this case the correspondence of the signification of the material element in the one direction and the formal in the other; so that we may call this division the material-formal proportion-groups. A correspondence in sound may possibly occur in both directions; cf. tag: tages: tage = arm: armes: arme = fisch: fisches: fische; fuehren: <sup>Fuehrer</sup>fuehrung = erziehen: erzieher: erziehung *etc.*, cf. lead, leader, leading; ride, rider; riding; Rauben: Raub = ernten: Ernte = Saen: Saat = gewinnen: Gewinnst; amo: amas = amavi: amavisti = amabam: amabas. Such proportional associations are infinite in number, every word entering into one or many such associations, varying in the degree

of intensity with which they are impressed upon the mind. They readily give rise to newly formed expressions (analogical formations.) Sometimes this new form is in opposition to established usage.. If then the new associations are stronger, more direct, or more numerous than the old, this new form may supplant the older form.

(analogical change, false analogy or, simply, analogy)

The second edition (translated into English in 1889 by H. A. Strong) adds a discussion of contamination.

Its outline was closely followed in "An Introduction to the History of Language" by Strong, Logemann, Wheeler. In the treatment of analogy illustrations more familiar to English readers were cited, and the detailed classification as found in B. J. Wheeler's "Analogy and the Scope of its Application in Language", Studies in Classical Philology, Cornell U., was utilized.

After analogy had thus been placed on a scientific basis, there still remained many phases of its study to be investigated in detail.

Thus, the influence of analogy was traced in a number of individual languages.. An abundance of material from the Greek language was brought to light by scholars like Osthoff, Delbrueck, Brugmann, Curtius, Henry,<sup>1)</sup> and Meyer. Abel H. Huizinga made a special study of analogy in Semitic languages, in which he showed that most examples occur in the vocalization of verbs, fewer in the substantive derivatives. In 1884 C. Goeders collected many cases of analogy from Middle and Modern English.. Useful as his list of illustrations may be, the author neglected to distinguish between contamination, analogical formations,, false analogy, and analogy. Besides, each new historical grammar and etymological dictionary naturally called attention to some cases of analogy.

Analogy in syntax was studied by H. Ziemer and G. Middleton.<sup>2)</sup> Maurice Bloomfield investigated the working

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- (1) Henry, Etude sur l'Analogie en général et sur les Formations de la Langue Grecque. 1883.  
 (2) G. Middleton, Analogy in Syntax.

of analogy in the formation of groups of nouns, showing how certain suffixes have been gradually set apart for some definite grammatical or lexical use, though they were originally entirely devoid of such meaning, e.g., Indo-Germanic neuter stems in "r" referring to parts of the body, as: liver, udder, blood, thigh, wing, viscera, nerve, gall, flat of the hand. For this influence of analogy he used the term "adaption".

R. Loewe, in his desire for scientific accuracy, tried to prove that a law could be formulated which would cover all cases where analogy occur. Of the trend of his article, "Die Ausnahmslosigkeit der Analogiebildung" the following quotation will give an idea: "Das gemeinsame Worthelement einer Formenreihe, das bei demselben Individuum an gleichem Zeitpunkt unter den gleichen Bedingungen auf dem Wege analogischer Neuschöpfung durch ein anderes Worthelement verdraengt wird, muss in saemtlichen dieser Reihe angehuerigen Formen dieser Bildung unterliegen."

H. Oertel on the other hand properly emphasized the imitative element in the spread of analogy. Changes by analogy, he pointed out, are not made simultaneously by a great many speakers, but by one or at most a few and are then imitated by others. Very few of the numberless mistakes made in speaking are perpetuated, largely because they lack suggestibility and hence do not lend themselves to imitation.

For a long time one group of analogical changes was misunderstood, passing under the misnomer of "folk-etymology". This term was coined and fixed by Wilhelm Foerstemann in the opening article in "Zeitschrift fuer Vergleichende Sprachforschung", entitled "Ueber deutsche Volksetymologie". Three groups of etymology are distinguished by him, viz: scientific-, learned-, and folk-etymology, which in principle are alike, all striving to connect related words. But whereas the former two proceed in a critical, systematic way, folk-etymology vaguely and blindly attempts to explain the origin and relation of words.. The extent of the influence of

folketyymology was investigated by a number of scholars<sup>1</sup>.

In the year 1876 appeared a book containing 8500 examples of folketyymology, entitled "Ueber deutsche Volksetymologie", by K. G. Andresen. In 1882, A. S. Palmer published a similar volume of English examples, entitled "Folketyymology, a Dictionary of Verbal Corruptions".

In his monumental work, "Voelkerpsychologie" (I, 1, 477ff.) Wandt showed that this phenomenon was in principle an analogical change<sup>2</sup>, for which he coined the term, "begrifflich-stoffliche Aenderung". Though his explanation is entirely convincing, the old term continues to be used, being both convenient and suggestive.

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- 1(1) cf. C. Goeders, Zur Analogiebildung. 37f.  
 (2) W. Wackernagel, Die Umdeutschung fremder Woerter. 1861.  
 Max Mueller, Lectures 2, 486.  
 H. Steinthal, Geschichte der Sprachwissenschaft bei den Griechen und Roemern, 1863.  
 L. Malinowsky, Beitr. zur Vergl. Sprachf, 6(1870), 300ff.  
 O. Weise, Zur Charakteristik der Volksetymologie, zs. f. Voelkerpsych. und Sprachw. 12(1880), 203ff.

The most recent phase in the history of this problem is marked by the introduction of the experimental method. As early as 1895, R. Meringer and K. Mayer contributed highly interesting observations which might be described as a study of analogy in the making. They are contained in the volume 'Versprechen und Verlesen; eine psychologisch-linguistische Studie' (including an extensive classified list of mistakes actually made in speaking and reading) and deserve especial mention also on account of the stricter definition of the scope of analogy and of contamination established by the authors. A number of similar studies with regard to the language of children were undertaken by Clara and Wilhelm Stern<sup>1)</sup>, E. Tappolet,<sup>2)</sup> Ernst and Gertrud Scupin<sup>3)</sup> and R. Meringer<sup>4)</sup>. But the chief representatives of the experimental method are A. Thumb and K. Marbe, who in the past few years carried on re-

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 (1) Die Kindersprache, 1907.

(2) Die Sprache des Kindes, 1907.

(3) Ernst und Gertrud Scupin, Bubis erste Kindheit, 1907.

(4) Aus dem Leben der Sprache, 1908.

(5) A. Thumb & K. Marbe, Experimentelle Untersuchungen



searches into the limits and the course of analogy by means of experiments showing the relative intensity of the association of words<sup>1)</sup>. It was found that certain words, as a general rule, called up the same association of ideas in the minds of the numerous persons with whom experiments were made. Such words, which are closely connected in meaning or in use, are apt to influence one another under the press of spontaneity and rapidity. Though the value of this method has been called in question by K. Vossler and E. Herzog, it can hardly be doubted that the future investigator has to turn more and more to experimental psychology for scientific basic data.

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(1) A. Thumb & K. Marbe, Experimentelle Untersuchungen ueber die psychologischen Grundlagen der Sprachlichen Analogiebildung. A. Thumb, Psychologische Studien ueber die Sprachlichen Analogie bildungen. Indo-Germ. Forschungen 22.lff. Experimentelle Psychologie und Sprachwissenschaft. Ein Beitrag zur Methodenlehre der Philologie, Germ. Rom. Monatschrift. 3. lff & 65ff..

## CHAPTER 11. THE CLASSIFICATION OF ANALOGY.

Analogy is ultimately due to the association of elements of language in the mind of the speaker. We may therefore expect to find analogy in every category of language and may safely adopt the ~~inclusive~~ comprehensive classification which has been accepted for other phenomena of language, namely:

1. Grammatical, (1) Phonetic, (2) Inflectional,  
(3) Syntactical.
11. Lexical, (1) External, (2) Internal or Semantic.

## Analogy:

1. In Grammar, 1) Phonetic: Sound is involved in every case of analogy excepting in certain semantic changes (see below 11.2, A.) Therefore under this heading are to be considered only those cases of analogy which are essentially phonetic, unattended by inflectional, syntactic or semantic changes, e.g:

egoism × despotism, nepotism, patriotism = egotism

(Dutch) outloopen × elect, elude, elapse, elide = elope.

F. illustre	< lat. illustris	furious,	illustrious,
L. barbarus, pius, devius		* monstrous,	= pious.
		fabulous,	= barbarous
		glorious	devious.

OS. wastom \* compounds in -dom = wasdom. This may be a change in writing only.

Lat. census \* tehan, twelif = tins.

OS. t=OHG. z which was pronounced like Roman. c(=tz).

Lat. abbatissa \* OS. words with suffix-isc, = OS. Abūiska  
Fr.H.

OS. genugsamida OHG. ginuhtsam \* words interchanging =  
*fr = ht (cht) kraht, haht.*  
OS. genuftsamida. It is ht (cht) kraht, haht.

lat. sextarius \* lahan / lastar  
got. niuhsjan / niusion = OS. soster.  
h being lost before -s(t)

OS. erwito \* forms in which "w" was lost } = OS. erito.  
before "o" or "u" narō, gara, etc.

Modern Ger.: anderhalb \* drittehalb = anderthalb.

burthen, OE. byrden, \* burden (of a song) F. bo~~v~~arden =  
burden, 'load'.

Until the recent limitation of the term, contamination, many examples properly falling under phonetic analogy were treated in that group.

(2) Inflectional Analogy is manifested in A) material, B) formal and C) material-formal or proportional groups..

Under A) are grouped changes due to association of forms of the same word or of the same stem, e.g. MHG. mas. nom. sg. *rauch* × *rauhes* gen., *rauhem*, dat. etc. = MHG. *rauh*. *I. iuxi iuctum* × *jungere*, etc. = *iunxi*, *iunctum*.  
 MHG. noun *Amphane*, *Ursatz* × verb = *Empfang*, *Ersatz*, *Erlass*.  
 OHG. *Urlaz*.  
 MHG. *fahen*, *fan* × *fienc*, *gefangen*, preterite forms =  
 MHG. *fangen*. MHG. *liegen* × *Lug*, *Luege* = MHG. *Luegen*.  
*guelden* × *Gold* = *golden*.

Under B) are grouped all changes due to association of the same form or function of different words or stems, e.g., MHG. gen. sg. *fater*, *bruder* × *tages*, etc. = MHG. *Vaters*, *Bruders*. MHG. *du kant*, *sollt*, *darft* × *weisst*, *musst*, etc. = MHG. *du kannst*, *du sollst*, *darfst*.

*φέρωντων, φέροντα, φέροντες* × i-decl. *avis*, *collis*, etc = *ferentium*, *ferentia*, *ferentes* (for *ferenteis*)

λέων mas. n-stem  
 as is seen in Lat. leo, leonis <sup>x</sup> wt-stem of = gen. λέοντος  
 pres. part  
 + γέρων, etc.

These two influences of associations may cross each other giving rise to material-formal analogy, C), e.g.,  
 sancte x senken (pres. stem) = senkte  
 &  
 liebte, sagte, etc.

Lat estis x regular conjugations = Spanish 'sois':  
 &  
 first pl. sumus & third pl. sunt

MHG. stallte	pres. stem and	siellte
setzte,	by proportional	setzte,
sankte,	analogy as in =	senkte,
hankte,	sagte: sagen:	henkte,
schankte	liebte: lieben	schenkte,
horte		hoerte.

ward x	pret. pl. wurden	
	and pret. of duerfen,	
	durfte, sollen, sollte, =	wurde.
	muessen, musste, wollen,	
	wollte, koennen, konnte	

These three subdivisions are again classified under the following heads: a) nouns, b) adjectives, c) pronouns, d) verbs. This phase of analogy has been studied most systematically. Essentially the same outline was given for the first time in 1879 by H. Paul: Zur Geschichte des Germanischen Vocalismus, Beitr. zur Geschichte der deut. Spr. und Lit. VI. 7ff.

(3) On the other hand very little has been done in the study of syntactical analogy. The following phenomena present themselves:

A) Purely syntactical changes. The characteristic tendency in Modern English of using nouns as verbs and verbs as nouns is a very striking example of this type.

He wired his order to the publishers.

They had a laugh on the freshman.

'Wire' was formerly a noun only, but by analogy of words used as nouns and as verbs, e.g. 'light', 'love', it became a verb also. The reverse process took place in the case of 'laugh'. The terms, 'noun-verbs' and 'verb-nouns' are often applied to these large groups of words.

B) Inflectional changes in the field of syntax.

(Ziemer: Functions- Ausgleichung) e.g.,

quibus Hector ab oris expectate venis? Virg.Aen.2,283.

The nominative for 'expectate' in agreement with the subject of 'venis' understood might be expected, but by analogy of 'Hector' it is vocative.

Ze deru mahalsteti deru dar kimarchot ist. Muspilli 77.  
 Goethe, Herm. u. Dor.: Ihn verwirrt nicht die Sorge der  
 vielbegehrenden Staedter --- besonders die Weiber und  
 Maedchen. Weiber and Maedchen is nominative in place of  
 genitive agreeing with Staedter. Luther: Matt. 4,21.  
 Er sah zween andere Brueder, ---dass sie ihre Netze  
 flickten.

C) Semantic changes in the field of syntax (Ziemer:  
 'Bedeutungsausgleichung'). This group includes 'con-  
 structio ad sensum'.

pars urbes petunt.. (Liv.) λαὸς Ἀχαιῶν τεύονταί (Hom.).  
 Eine Menge Menschen standen da.

J. Grimm: "Es giebt im Menschen-Leben Augenblicke  
 wo er, etc. 'Menschen' which is part of a compound  
 word is referred to as an independent word.

D) Changes in the field of syntax at the same time  
 semantic and inflectional.(Ziemer: Reihen-Ausgleichung).  
 E.g. Es wird dem-Gottlosen nicht wohl gehen und wie ein  
 Schatten nicht lange leben.(Luther). Here we have a  
 combination of the two preceding changes, a change from

personal to impersonal construction and at the same time a change from dative to nominative, ἔδοξε αὐτῷ μόνος ἔλθεῖν. This case involves an inflectional change (from ἔδοξε αὐτῷ μόνῳ ἔλθεῖν ) and a semantic change from impersonal to personal construction. This change, which seems rather complicated, is also found in OHG., MHG., in Hans Sachs, Opitz, and even in Goethe and Schiller.

11. Lexical. 1) External additions to the vocabulary. Here belong the numerous analogical formations as distinguished from analogical changes, those, in particular, which involve composition and derivation.

Composition: OF. coque × steamboat = cockboat  
 × allmighty etc. = allpowerful, allpresent.

Derivation 1) By the extension of the use of suffixes countless words have been added to the English language, e.g., ownership, dearth, reddish, teacher, ceiling, powerful, sleepless, fruitage, punishment, admittance, goddess

2) By the extension of prefixes: inexperience, betray, disbelieve,



## 3) By backformation:

editor, beggar × *nomina agentis*  
 which are form-  
 ed from the stem = beg, edit.  
 by adding -er, -ar,  
 -or.

In ME. the infinitive 'corrumpen' and the past participle 'corrupt' > 'corrupted' were used, by analogy of weak verbs a new infinitive 'corrupt' was formed.

2) Internal changes in the vocabulary due to analogy are A) purely semantic and B) semantic changes induced by sound associations.

A) Purely semantic changes by analogy without change of sound are quite rare.<sup>1)</sup>

Landsknecht × Lanz = Landsknecht with the meaning 'Lanzknecht'. Freitag named after the Germanic goddess, suggests frei "free".

Rohrsperling × roher = (Schimpfen wie ein) Rohrsperling.

Eiland permits thought association with "Ei", "egg".

cutler { F. coutelier { L. cultellus is associated with "cut". Minneapolis (Indian Minne = water)

suggests the proper name, "Minnie". The use of puns  
 1) cf. John Phin, Seven Follies of Science. 219 ff.

is merely a humorous application of this feature of language.

Every metaphorical expression may be considered an example of semantic change by analogy, e. g. y foot of a mountain; arm of law; arm of the sea. Three fourths of our language consists of wornout metaphors.

B) a) Semantic changes by analogy may effect a change in accent merely:

Er-blasser \* Erb = Erb-lasser.

b) Semantic changes attended by change in the sounds of a word.

MEG. bispel \* spiel = Beispiel.

gōdspel (good message) \* God = gōdspel = gospel.

shamefast \* face = shamefaced.

rightwise \* adj. in eous { Fr. euz { lat. osus =  
righteous.

Lat. arcubalista \* Arm & Brust = Armbrust.

Moltwurf (d.h. Erdwerfer) = Maulwurf.

F. frontispice [L. frons + spicere (to view)] \* piece =  
frontispiece.

OF. cauchie L.L. (via) calciata \* roadway, highway =  
causeway. This aspect of analogy was for a long time  
treated under the name 'folk-etymology', as explained  
above. Here, too, one must be careful to distinguish  
the intentional changes of humorists and the occasional  
mistakes, which are not perpetuated, from true analogy.

humorous: (H. Heine) Millionaerren.

mistakes: Rollmops } roll 'em ups (Pooze's Delicatess-  
en, Mpls.)      coward = cow heart.

analogy MHG. Sinfluot \* Luende = MHG. Suendflut.

To define the field of analogy more clearly, I ap-  
pend a few remarks on some similar phenomena, which some-  
times are included in the treatment of the subject.

1) Contamination<sup>1)</sup> is a phenomenon of violent  
or abrupt change in words or in syntactical constructions,  
which it is often difficult to distinguish from analogy.  
Contamination occurs when two forms or constructions

---

(1) cf. Oertel, Lectures on the Study of Language. 171ff.

Weringer and Mayer, Versprechen und Verlesen. 53ff.

force themselves into consciousness simultaneously or at least in the very closest succession, so that one part of one replaces or ousts a corresponding part of the other, resulting in a new form of confused elements. When the alteration produced by this association is slight, and one of the two words retains by far the largest part of its original form as in the first example given below, we speak of analogy; when, however, the associative interference of the second is stronger and both have about equal share in the creation of the new form, it is called contamination. In analogy there is a shunting back to the original word or construction, or the change occurs at the close. In contamination it continues to travel along the track when once changed.

Analogy:  $\frac{\text{ΤΡΙΑΚΩΝΤΟΣ}}{\text{ΟΨΤΩ}} = \text{ΤΡΙΑΚΩΤΟΣ}$ .

Contamination: The classic example coined by a South Carolina legislator  $\frac{\text{insinuation}}{\text{innuendo}} = \text{insinuendo}$

~~Recordatus sum flagitia ea.~~  
~~Non oblitus sum flagitiorum eorum.~~

I know thee what thou art.

Der hat ja fort gewollt.

Der hat ja fortgehen wollen.

ueber~~staunt~~<sup>rascht</sup> = ueberstaunt.

Fare thee well (keep thee well & fare well).

2) On the borderland between these groups are pleonastic formations, viz:

Inflectional: as the double comparative or superlative. more SE. mo(comparative) worser; foremost OE. forma (superlative); double plural: 'children'. The weak ending 'en' is added to the old plural 'r': double gen. "of his" (of him and his).

Syntactical: The fair, for which love sighed for.

Semantic: reindeer (OE.hran, 'reindeer') Lindwurm, windhund. woman (wife + man).

3) The many slips of the tongue of which every speaker is found guilty, the mistakes made by children, and similar changes which have not gained currency, though in principle not different from analogy, are to be classed as "false analogy". For example, sang x weak preterites = singed.

worse \* comparatives in -er = wors(er).

Cases of false analogy are perhaps more numerous than anyone would suppose, who has not made it a point to note them. Very nearly all these are lost because the forms they would replace are too familiar, or more suitable, or because the cases of false analogy lack suggestibility.

4) Analogical changes are often limited to spelling!

OE. cruma	ME. crumme	climb, comb, dumb,	crumb,
OW. ME. lim		lamb, etc. in which	limb,
OE. genumen (seized) *		"b" became silent	numb,
ME. inumen.		about 1600 A.D.	thumb.
OE. <sup>^</sup> thuma	ME. thume		

rime \* *ῥυθμός* = rhyme.

CHAPTER III. INFLECTIONAL ANALOGY IN OLD GERMANIC  
DIALECTS.

The following examples of inflectional changes by analogy have been collected from the Gothic, Old Saxon and Old English dialects. They have been arranged according to the following classification:

I. Formal analogy or change of a form due to the influence of a form or forms not belonging to the same stem.

(1) The entire change of a word from one inflectional group to another.

(a) nouns, (b) adjs., (c) verbs.

(2) Words partly passing into another inflection and partly retaining the former inflection.

(a) nouns, (b) adjs. (c) verbs.

(3) Not only individual words but also inflectional groups tend to borrow forms from other inflections by analogy.

(a) nouns, (b) adjs., (c) verbs.

(4) Various other changes.

(5) Changes in spelling.

II. Material analogy or change of a form due to the

influence of a form or forms belonging to the same stem.

(1) Leveling of differences due to the operation of Verner's law.

(2) Leveling of differences by change of umlaut.

(3) Leveling of differences by loss or addition of a sound.

(4) Various other changes by material analogy.

## 1. Formal Analogy.

(1) Analogy in the change of words from one inflection to another:  
(a) nouns.

OE.(250-1).

hraw, hlaw (hlæw) X mas. wa- nouns = wa-decl.  
os- decl hraw, hlaw.  
OE.(254+2).

certain nouns of  
the fem. i-decl. X fem. o-decl. = o-decl. ides,  
dugud, geogud.  
OE.(263A4)

haele cons. decl X i-decl. = i-decl. for 'haele'  
(found only in the  
sg.)  
OE.(265 & 266).

Certain nouns of the  
i-decl. X a-decl = a decl.

bend, bielg, braew, daed,  
demn, ent, fierst, fyrs,  
giest, glaem, gylt, hyll,  
lieg, lyft, maew, sael,  
steng, streng, tyrs,  
waeg, wiell, brygd, byrst,  
cierr, ciern, drenc, dynt,  
feng, fiell, flyht, hlyat,  
hwyrft, hyht, lec,  
sliht, smiec, stenc,  
stiell, sweng, swylt,  
tyht, tyrst, wrenc,  
wyrp, aerist, aespryng,  
aefat.

For references as to changes marked OE.(250) see the corresponding section in "Angels. Gram," by E. Sievers.



## 2) OE.(273).

A few nouns of the  
u-decl. \* a-decl = <sup>a-decl.</sup> ar, dead, feorh, flod, sciold,  
dorn, hungor, cwid and verbal  
substantives in -nod, -nad,  
(got. -ōdos).

Also words of the  
mas. u-decl \* n. a-decl. = neut a-decl: frið, lid,  
feoh. ws. & kent.

## OS. (273).

ei 'egg' originally s-decl. x a-decl. = a-decl. (exc.  
occasional forms  
hon 'chicken' honero, eiro.g.  
hrith 'cattle' pl. & adj. hritherin)  
lamb 'lamb'

## OS. (275).

segg ja-decl. x i-decl = i-decl.

## OS. (281A)

sang < got. saggws wa-decl. \* a-decl. = sang a-decl.

For references as to changes marked OS (273)  
see in Altsaechsisches Elementarbuch by F. Holthausen:  
For Got. (152) see Gotisches Elementarbuch 3 & 4 by  
W. Streitberg.

(2) It will be noticed that Sievers names the declen-  
sions from the Indo-Germanic standpoint, using the term  
o-decl. for the more common term a-decl. and vice versa.

OS. (284).

leia 'rock'	o-decl.	* weak nouns with	= weak
lēra 'lore'		which they cor-	
bara 'bier'		responded in nom.	
seola 'soul'		sg. g. & d. pl.	
ahsla 'shoulder'			
stemma 'voice'			
alimosna 'alms'			
givogitha 'connection'			
erða 'earth'			
wise 'way'			
rasta 'rest'			
meda 'meed'			
folda 'earth'			
spzaka 'speech'			

OS. (265A2).

sundia 'sin'	jo-decl	* weak nouns	= weak.
udia 'wave'			
bruggia 'bridge'			
kribbia 'crib'			
got. piwi 'maid'			

OS. (290A).

seli, heti	s-decl. n. gerd	* i-decl	= i-decl.
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Got. (152-3a).

Forms which were probably originally a-decl., which they still are in OE. & OHG.	* i-decl = i-decl	aiws, arms, wags, barns, laists, saggws, gards.
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OE.(271).

Got. skadus  
 mas. U-decl. \* f. o-decl. = fem. o-decl. sceadu

Goth. &amp; OE.(276).

airpa fem. o-decl (Got.) \* weak fem. = eorde w. fem.

OS(299).

Certain nouns of  
 the i-decl. \* cons.decl.= cons. decl. kraft, maht,  
 giwald, abunst, giburd,  
 mundburd, hud, werold,  
 tid.

OS.(323).

heliđ, cons. decl.\* a-decl.= a-decl.

OS.(304).

Certain nouns of  
 the u-decl. \* a-decl. = a-decl. wald, werd, wethar,  
 thorn, weg.  
 " \* n. a-decl.= n. a-decl. lid.  
 " \* i-decl.= i-decl. er, kin, bog, skild.  
 " \* a-decl. = a-decl. in sg. dođ, flod,  
 luft, hed, hungar,  
 kus.

Got.(1456).

Several nouns of \* a-strong neuters = a-decl. agis,  
 cons. decl. hatis, riq(u)is.

Got.(159).

Participles \* nouns = nd-decl. nasjands, gibands, bi-  
sitands, allwaldands  
gardawaldands, daupjands,  
talzjands, fijands,  
frijonds, frauinonds,  
merjands, fraweitands,  
midumonds.

Inflectional change involving also a change of gender:

OE.(263A4).

bere, ege, hete, sigē, \* mas. forms = mas. i-decl.  
neuter i-decl. originally

OE. (280)..

Got. hairto, n. \* fem. weak decl. = heorte weak fem.

(b).. Changes of adjectives from one inflection  
to another..

OS. (362).

OE. cwicu, Got. hardus u-decl \* a-decl.= a-decl. hard, quik.  
\* wa decl. = wa-decl. glau  
Got. aggawus \* i-decl.= i-decl. engi.

OE. (305).

Got. pres. parts. \* ja-stem adjs. = ja-decl.  
were weak except  
some uses of mas. n. sg.

OE. (336).

izwar a-decl. in Goth. \* ja-decl.adj. = ja-decl. ure.

Got. (233-6).

þusund jo-stem × ja-stems = ja-stem in composition, e.g.,  
þusundifaps.

(c) Inflectional changes of verbs from one class  
to another.

OS. (430).

þiþhan (þiþhan str. lll. × bidan, bitan, witan, lēhan,  
etc. = str. l.

OS. (460).

long stem weak l. verbs  
diþrda, doþta, helda,  
mahalda, nemda, lestta,  
senkta, belda.

× short stem verbs =  
diþrda,  
doþida,  
helda,  
mahalida,  
nemida,  
lestida,  
senkida,  
beldida.

OS. (436 A2).

fehtan str. V. × flehtan str. lll. b. = fehtan str. lll. b.

OE(283,2).

Str. l. **deon**, **wreon**, **teon** × Str. ll. with which  
they were identical = Str.  
in first two of ll.ws..  
principal parts

OE. (407A6 & A 15).

settan W.lc. × W. la. class = settan, first group weak  
verbs.

OE.(411A5).

Verbs of W.lll. × W.ll. = W.ll.	arian, cunnian,
cf. O.H.G. eren, got. kunnan	folgian, hongian,
O.H.G. folgen, hangen, hassen, sorgen,	hatian, sorgian,
sparen, dolen, druyen, wachen, wonen.	sparian, dōlian,
	drowian, wacian,
	wunian.

Verbs of W.lll. × W. l. = W.l.	faestan, talian,
	hnappian, ondsvarian,
	bewitian.

OS. (466A1).

Certain verbs of W.lll × W.ll. = W.ll.	tholan, furan, roman,
	mornan, hlinan, folgen,
	sorgan, hatan, halan,
	likewise tilian,
	wunian, thagian.

" " " W.lll. × W.l. = W.l.	rumian, huggian.
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Got. (203 & 219A1).

keinan Str. l. × weak IV. = weak IV.

Got.(211-3 & 5).

hahan red. lll. × weak verbs = weak

bauan, trauan, red. V. × weak lll. = weak lll.

OE. (389A3)

frignan str. III. \* str. I. = str. I. in late ws.

OE. (391A6).

gefeon str. V. \* weak verbs = weak II. in Northh.

OE. (392A5).

weaxan str. VI. \* red. verbs = red. verb in old ws.

OE. (395A3).

raedan red. \* weak verbs = weak in WS.

OE. (400A).

frennan etc. weak I. a \* weak I. b. nerian = fremian,  
 gromian, temian,  
 behelian, sylian,  
 wredian, tenian,  
 bedian, ascylian,  
 hrisian, swefian,  
 hegian. WS.  
 especially in late  
 MSS.

OE (400A3 &amp; A 4).

Weak I. b. nerian, etc. \* weak II. = class II. nerast etc.  
 fremad etc. late WS.

Weak I. short stem (frennan) \* weak I. fremnan,  
 long stem = trynman,  
 (deman) etc. infl.  
 like long  
 stem verbs..

2.. Words tend to pass from one system of inflection to another and still retain the old inflection in part:

(a) nouns.

OS.(265-4).

loc. sg. *dagi* \* *te* hus in which 'i' was lost = *an dag*.

OS. (265-5).

*penningos*, \* neuters as *pund* = nom. acc. pl. *penning*,  
*shillingos* *shilling*.

OS.(276A2).

*feterum* dat: pl: ~~a~~-decl. \* *i*-decl. = *fiterium*.

OS(283-4&7).

*thiodu* dat.sg. ~~o~~-decl. \* *i*-decl. = *thiedi*.

*wisu*, *nonu* dat.sg. *o*-decl. \* cons. decl. = dat.sg. *non*, *wis*.

OS.(305).

*u*-decl. *hendi* \* cons. decl. = dat. sg. *hand*

" *handum* \* *i*-decl. = dat. pl. *handium*, likewise  
*kustum*.

OS.(306).

*lust*, *kust*, *u*-decl. \* *o*-decl. = gen. sg. *kustes*, nom.  
pl. *lusta*, gen. pl.  
*lustom*.



OS.(320).

friund nd-decl. × a-decl. = gen.sg. friundes, -as.  
 dat.sg. friunde, -a.

OS.(320).

fiand × adj. decl. = fianda nom. sg.

hettiandum × adj. dec. = hettiandium, dat.pl.

OS.(322).

cons. decl. × a-decl. = gen.sg. mannes, -as.  
 det.sg. manne, manna.

OS.(323).

fot nom. acc. pl. × i-decl. = foti gen. foto, dat. fotun.

OS.(283-2).

acc. sg. fem. o-decl.	nom. case of nouns	
halfa, hwila, ×	in which original	= acc.sg.- half,
antswora	"u" was lost	hwil.

OS.(324).

consont. decl. fem.gen.sg. × a-decl.	= -es, gen.sg. burges.
" " " <del>dat.</del> nom.acc.pl. × i-decl.	= -i, koi, magadi, idisi.
" " " dat.pl. × jo-decl.	= -iun, bugiun, bokion.

OE.(252-2).

Nouns of fem.	× a-decl. = es. L. & Rit. -es & aes.
e-decl. gen.sg..	in late WS. especially in formal phrases ihelpes, sorges and stres.

Got. (160).

cons. decl, baurs \* i-decl. = dat.pl.im, e.g. baurs,  
 alhs, brusts,  
 spaurds, miluks,  
 mitaps.

i-decl. \* cons.decl. = dat.sg.dulp, acc.pl. waihts.  
 nahtim \* dat.pl. dagam = nahtam.

Got. (145-6).

Andeis ja-decl. \* i-decl. = acc.pl. and ins..

OE. (264A).

Seaxa, Mierca gen.pl. i-decl. \* n-decl. = Seaxna, Miercna.

(b) adjectives.

OS. (336).

thana, thana \* adj. ending acc.sg.mas. -an, -en. = then, than.

OS. (354).

nom.acc. pl.neut. \* long stem syllable = no ending str.adj.  
 e.g. holu after \*mas.fem.nom.pl. = -a, -e, str.adj.  
 short syllable

OS. (185).

dem, them \* polysyllabic words changing  
 "m" to "n" = den, then likewise  
 verb "biun".

Got. (121-2).

Andeis \* i-stem-decl. = Andeis (hair) "at".

(c) verbs. Got.(227).

gaggan red. \* weak = gaggida Luk. 19,12.

Got.(233-2).

hrains \* i-stem adj. = hrainjo (hairtana) Matt. 58.

OS.(465).

habes, habed, haþe \* ja-& o verbs = habas, habad, haba,  
habis haþid, haþi.

OS.(467).

wissa pret. \* konsta, thorfta, skolda, mohta. = wistis.

OS.(472).

pret. of motan OHG. muosa \* weak verbs = muosta.

OE.(423A2).

Pret. pres. verb  
man, manst, man. \* strong pres. = gemune, gemunst,  
gemard, late WS.

OE.(389A1).

stregdan Str.111. \* weak verbs = straegde, stredde, etc.

OE.(392 A6).

hebban Str. Vl. \* weak = hefde, hefod.

OE.(407A2).

dwellan \*jan-verbs = dwelian, dwelede in late texts.

OS.(88 A1 &amp; A2).

ginuman \*pp Str. V. verbs giboran, gistolan, giskoran, etc.  
= ginoman.

OS.(444).

swerian str. Vl. \* str. IV. = pp. forsworen Oxf.Gl.

OS.(447A).

held, weld  
geng, feng,  
heng.Red.l. \* Red. ll. = hield, wield, gieng,  
fieng, hieng. occasion-  
al forms in C & Ess.Gl.

OS.(450).

saiu Red. \* weak verbs = saida pret.

OS.(458).

awaht, gilagd  
gihugd\*-ida pret. verbs = awekid, gilegid,  
gihugid..wahta \* weak pret. verbs = wekida, likewise quellian,  
rekkian.

OE.(384A2)

heaf, pret.sg.ind.Str.ll. \* Red. verbs & Weak verbs  
=heof & heofde.

OE.(386A4).

gebend Str.111.. \*weak verbs = gebinde pret.sg.ind.  
 ongunnen, drang, ~~bringde~~ <sup>bringde</sup> bringde,  
 swang, swingde.

OE.(387A4), &amp; (388A6).

feolan < \*feolhan, delfan Str.111, \* Str. IV. = isolated  
 forms of  
 Str. IV.

sweltan & weorpan Str.111. \* Weak verbs = isolated forms  
 of Weak.

OE(407-2 &amp; A16).

iecan, dryccean, cnyccan, wleccean, beþec(e)an, gewæc(e)an, syc(e)an, olecc(e)an, nealac(e)an	* which change 'c' of stem to 'h' in pret.	bohte, sohte, pret. inte etc. dohte, duhte, retaining = the um- laut of the pres.
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OS.(403).

2 sg.pres.ind.. bis \* pret. pres. verbs = bist.

OE.(367A).

Got. heitanda pl.pass.of haitan \* pl.pret  
 of weak = hatton.  
 verbs

OE.(387-2).

Str.111. < 11. \* Str.111. \* = ...  
 two as principal ...

(3) Inflectional groups borrow forms from other inflections by analogy.

OS.(2655 & 275-2).

Mas. & neut. nom. acc. = nom.acc.pl.. "a".  
 pljga-decl.-"os" \*pronominal decl.  
 e.g., hoŕa, hoŕe, especially in the  
 lesser fragments.

OS.(283-7).

dat. pl.. a-decl.-om > -en \* o-decl. & i-decl. = um > un.

OE.(243-3).

dissyllabic neuter  
 nouns a-decl. \* trisyllabic nouns in  
 -u = -u.nom.acc.pl.e.g. wæp(e)nu,  
 tunglu, etc.

OE.(271A1).

u-decl. gen.sg.-a \* a-decl. = gen.sg.-es. in late forms.  
 nom.acc.pl.-a (u), (ø) \* a-decl = nom.acc.pl.-as.

OE.(269A1).

acc.sg.fem. i-decl. \* o-decl.= -e. North. WS. & Kent.  
 without an ending.

Got.(146).

andbahti (gen.sg.-eis.) \* words with gen. in -jis =  
 gewairþi gen. andbahtjis,  
 gewairþjis.

The opposite change is found in waldufni, gen. waldufneis.

OS.(289-254).

dat.sg. i-decl. -i. × a-decl. = 'ie' e.g. stikie.  
 acc.nom.pl. stiki × a-decl. -os. e.g. stikios, twice in C.

OS.(296-2).

fem.sg.dat.i-decl. -e × jo-decl. = **ia** e.g. b*ri*diu, wadiu,  
 wihtiu.

OS.(302-2).

gen. sg. u-decl. -s. × ja-decl. = -ies, -eas.

dat. " " " × ja & a decl. = -ie & -e.

dat.pl. " " un. × ja-decl. = iun.

OS.(364-9).

mas. nom. acc. pl. weak adj. --an × fem. & n. form = -un, -on.  
 in lesser  
 monuments.

OE.(237A4).

gen.pl.a-decl. × weak decl. = -ana, -ona, -ena.  
 in North & late WS.

OE.(255-3).

oblique cases  
 sg. o-decl. -e. × nom. in -u = -u oblique cases sg.  
 and abstract strengda, cyddu,  
 nouns in -u. gesyntu, eadmettu,  
 ofermettu.

OE.(263A2).

nom. acc. pl. i-decl. -e × a-decl. = -as e.g. wiras.

OE,(278A1).

nom.sg.fem.weak  
decl. x o-decl = -u. cinu, faðu, hosu,  
hracu, moru, peru, spadu,  
swipu, trotu, wricu. ex-  
cept in old forms & com-  
pounds.

Got.(158).

r-decl. x u-decl. = nom.pl. broþrjus, etc.

Got.(159).

nd. decl. x a-decl. = dat.pl. -am. e.g., nasjandam.

(b) adjectives.

Got.(181).

nounal decl. of adjs. x pronominal  
decl. = mas.acc.sg.-ana,  
neut.nom.sg.-ata,  
dat.sg.-amma,  
neut.acc.sg.-ata,  
nom.pl.-ai,  
neut.dat.sg.-amma,  
neut.& mas.gen.pl.-aize,  
fem.gen.sg. -aizos,  
neut,fem.& mas.dat.pl. -aim,  
fem.gen.pl. -aizo.

adj. decl. x nounal a-decl. = dat.sg. -ai.



(c) verbs.

The ending of the second sg. pret. ind. of strong verbs was originally -t, as is seen in the Gothic and in pret. pres. verbs. In <sup>the</sup> West-Germanic dialects this has been changed to the vowel, "i", weakened to -e in OE. This is due to the influence of the same form of weak verbs, to the "i" found in preterit opt. of strong verbs and to the "i" found in the same form of the present.

OE.(366A1).

"Ge" was originally used in verbs to express perfective action but by analogy it was extended in its use until it became a sign of the perfect participle.

(3). Various changes.

OE.(277A1&275,3).

*bedi,*weri	×	bil(l), kin(n),	with double	= werr Wer.H.
feni, kuni,		net(t)i, wit(t)i	consonants	feddi, kunni,
				fenni.

OS.(332).

ina, it, is, imu,	×	he, hie, hi,	= his hiþ his, himu,
im, ira			him, hira.

## OS.(151A2).

Dissyllabic words ending in "i" lose "i" when the first syllable is long but retain it when the first syllable is short; however ferdi, bundi, and soki, retain "i" \* words with first syllable short.

## OS.(138,4A).

Hednes < hēdin	* adjs. in -in = unsyncopated in oblique cases Hēdines, etc. drohtines, etc.
drohtnes < drohtin	

## OS.(139).

Got.. batista, eli	trissyllabic words	bezto, letzto,
(got. aljis) with	that syncopate be-	elhor,
first syllable short.	* cause the first	=
second, third,	syllable is long	nexta, gē-
fourth, fifth,		sechta, te-
sixth, seventh,		achta, te-

## OS.(153A2).

nom.sg.fem..	trissyllabic words in "u"	forms with
nom.acc.pl.of	* with short syllables	= lost "u"
str.neuters	throughout	odar, etc.

## OS.(388A2).

kunsta, farmunsta \* dorste, skolda,  
mohta = konsta, farmonsta

## OS.(434A).

bigan \* gionsta (\*gian = bigonsta Beicht. & Greg. Gl.

## OS.(461A).

Gispnid \* gebrand, etc. = gispand Wer. Gl.

OS. (165).

gigerwi \* forms in which "w" was lost  
before "o" or "u" narō, gara, etc = gigeri

narao \* forms in "wi", "we", = narawa.

(4) In a few cases of formal analogy preserved in MSS. the change was probably only a change in spelling.

OS. (214A1).

that 'that'	words which	thaht,
hlutra 'clear'	sometimes lost	hluktra,
swart 'black'	'h' bifal, ho,	= swarht,
giwit 'understanding'	* fera, fortian	giwihht,
giwiton 'witness'		giwihhton,
femea 'woman'		fehmea.

OS. (195).

"f" * lat. v pronounced like 'f'		van, vilo,
in Old Saxon times in the	=	vram, M.C.
lesser MSS. and also in M.C.		vilo, bivoran,
		bivallan, envald.

11. Material Analogy or change of a form due to the influence of another form belonging to the same stem.

(1) Analogy often levels differences due to Verner's law.

OE.. (383A2 & 392-2&4).

đah, wraĥ log,  
sloh, đwoĥ, sceed. \* third and fourth forms = đag, wrag,  
of principal parts = log, slog,  
đwoĥ, sceed.

Got.(222).

aih × pret.pl forms = aig.

aigun × " sg. " = aihun.

OS.(425, 430, 432, 435, 437, 440, 443, & 451).

aheffian × last two of principal parts = ahebbian.

stoh	×	"	"	"	"	= slog.
midun,	gilidan	×	"	"	"	= mithun, gilithan.
tugin	×	first	"	"	"	= tuhin, M.
loh	×	last	"	"	"	= log.
fidan,	*fad	×	"	"	"	= finden, fand.
bifulgon,	×	first	"	"	"	= bifulhon, bi- folhen.
bifolgen					"	= werdān, ward.
werdan,	ward	×	last	"	"	
quadun,					"	= quadun, gique- dan.
giquedan	×	first	"	"	"	
larun,	gileran	×	"	"	"	= lasun, gilesan.
giweran	×	"	"	"	"	= giwesan.
Got. fraihnan,	frah	×	last	"	"	= OS. fregnān, fragn.

In 'werdan' the leveling is sometimes in favor of "đ"  
Gothic has leveled in favor of "h" in fraihnan.

Occasional interchange of d and đ occurs in sceedān.





(3) Analogy also causes the loss of a sound or the addition of a sound:

OS.(214A2).

hoh × hohe, hohes, in which "h" was a silent = ho.

OS.(218).

ihas × forms with final "h" pronounced  
"ch" == ichas 'yewtree' Oxf.Gl.

OS.(137).

Trisyllabic words with short middle vowel after a long vowel and before a single consonant syncopate this middle vowel, however:

hoōid	>	hoōdes	unsyncopated forms	hoōides,
losian	>	losda	× of the same word	losida,
oōar	>	oōres	and words with first syllable short	oōares.

OS.(143).

fagres,	gefagrida,		fagares,	gifa-
wedres,	aldres,	× nom.case with ==	giritha,	wedares,
bittra,	Got. timrja,	× the inorganic vowel	aldares,	bittera,
sewefnos			timmero,	swebanos.

OS.(143).& (269A2).

kumbal,	wesal	contract oblique	kumbl,	wesl
thegen,	gisal(el)	× cases =	thegn,	gisl,
appul			apl,	for nom.sg.

OS.(430).

spiun, liun, sullun × first two of principal parts = spiwan, liwan, swullun.

OS.(445).

stuod, gistadan × standan = stuond, gestandan.

OS.(151A2).

\*batiz, which should retain "i" × comparative in which first syll. = bet. is long OS.(167A1).

frac > fro, thraowerk × disappears before = fra, thrawerk. ("o" for final "w" "u" as fraun, thrau OS.(228).

got. maiz, diopazo advs. in which final "z" should be dropped × adj. = mer, diopor. OS.(144A1).

Oblique cases of disyllabic stems with first syllable long, followed by a short vowel, syncopate but, ×nom.sg.= eðeles, gebundene, deofoles, haliges.

OS.(138-7).

Likewise hodigo 'to-day' Bed. × dag retains "i" hodigo & hudigu.



OS.(164A1).

se we dat.sg. \* nom. se = see  
 snew - in oblique cases \* nom.sg.. noun = \*sneig > snegig adj.

OS.(164A2).

"w" was lost before 'o' or 'u'

saun	pret.pl.ind.*	{ sawin	=	sawun.
spiun		{ spiwin		spiwun.

OE.(174-3 &amp; 249-2).

hra, sna	* oblique cases =	snaw, hraw, smeoruw,
smeoru, melu		meluw. especially
		after diphthongs as
		gleaw, hreow.

4) Various other changes by material analogy.

OS.(88A2).

hugdun	* pret.sg.	hogda =	hoddun.
thurfti	pret.opt. * pret.sg.ind.	=	thorfti.

OS.(124).

gibundan M. & Oxf. Gl.	* gebundene, gebur <sup>h</sup> enes =	gibunden.
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OS.(167).

garo, treo, falu	* garwes, trewes, falw =	garu, treu, falu.
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OE.(218).

Short vowel +eons. +h was	* other cases =	short
lengthened upon the loss of "h"	of the word =	vowel
		feores,
		mearas,
		wealas
		dyrel & dyrhil.

OE.(240A2).

"ae" + single cons. in sg. \* "a" in pl. = g.sg. pad<sup>e</sup>s, fates.  
 dat.sg. pad<sup>e</sup>, fate

OS.(411).

gerund te ganne \* pres. part. = te gande Fr.H.

OE.(363A2).

gerund- anne, - enne \* pres. part. = ende in late WS.

OS.(221).

haðda, liðda \* hebbian, libbian = habda, libda.

OS.(222).

diuflas, etc. \* diuðal = diuðlas, etc.

OE.(370A3 &amp; 4).

beore, beores opt. pres. \* ind. pres. = beore in heort,  
 likewise spelled.

OE.(386A4).

North. changes:

urnon \* pret.sg. = ernon

druncon \* pres. = drincon.

ongunnon \* pret.sg. = ongannon.

OE.(391A9).

lagon, wagon \* remaining pret. = laegon. waegon.  
 pls. of Str.V.

OE.(407A9).

leahte, reahte, \* of pres. forms = lehte, rehte, Gura.past.  
 streahte, aweahte. astrehte, awehte. & late  
 WS.

OE.(385A4)..

curon pret. pl. \* pret.sg. = ceason pret.pl.(North.)  
 This form also shows a leveling of difference in con-  
 sonants due to the operation of Verner's law.

OE.(355).

1sg. pres.ind. u or >o \* 1 sg. pres.opt. = -e binde  
 (except in  
 Anglian).

OE.(365).

pl.pret.opt. -en \* pret.ind.pl. = -an, -on in late forms  
 -un.

OE.(361A).

pl.pres.opt. -en \* late pl.pret.opt. = -on -un, in late WS.

OE.(365A3).

2sg. pret.opt.weak verbs \* 2 sg.pret.ind. = -edest; nere-  
 dest, demdest,  
 in late texts.

OS.(428).

sg.imp. teoh, seoh. \* 2 sg. ind.pres. = tiuh, sih.

OS.(407 &amp; 417).

2 sg. pres. & pret. opt. -e or -i \* same form opt. -es,  
 of ind. = -ies, -os,  
 -is.

## OE.(304A1.)

mas.nom.sg.weak decl.adj. \* oblique cases = -an occasion-  
ally in late  
texts.

gen.pl.weak adj. (-ena) -ra \* nom.acc.pl. -an or a  
dat. " " " & oblique sg. =  
cases

OS.(326).

acc.sg.mik, thik \* dat.sg. = mi, thi

OS.(322).

nom.acc.sg.fem.            sio \* sie   nom.acc.pl.  
nom.acc. pl. neut        M.& F, nom.sg. = sie, sia.  
fem.

OS.(336).

gen. sg. n. thes \* nom. acc. n. that = thas.

" " " " \* n. sg. m thie = thies.

dat. sg. mas. & n. themu \* dat. pl. then, than, them = than,  
then,  
than.

nom. acc. pl. neut.        thiu \* mas, & fem, nom. acc. pl. = thia.  
nom. sg. fem.

dat. pl. them \* forms in thie = thiem, thien.

OS.(339).

thius nom. sg. fem. \* thio, thesa, thesaru = thesu.

nom. acc. pl. n. thius \* same forms mas. & fem. = thesa.

mas. & n. gen. sg. theses \* thie = thieses.

dat. pl. theson \* thie = thieson.

OS.(354).

gen, sg, fem, adj, -era, -ara. \* dat. sg. fem. = -eru, -ero.

dat. sg. fem. adj. -eru, -aru \* gen. sg. fem. = -ero, aro, ro.

## CHAPTER IV. SOME CONCLUSIONS.

Apart from its influence as a creative agent in giving rise to numberless new formations, analogy operates chiefly as a leveling factor and is thus conducive to regularity and simplicity. Much of the remarkable regularity, e. g., in the modern English system of inflection is due to the principle of analogy. It has been well remarked that a perfect grammar would be one which admitted no irregularities or exceptions; and if all the operations of analogy in forms and syntax could be thoroughly mastered and reduced to rule, exceptions and irregularities would be far less common than they are.<sup>1</sup> As a matter of fact, it is rather surprising to find so many exceptions to the rule of analogy. In general, the larger classes attract the smaller ones. Thus, the u-decl. of nouns in OHG. has been practically

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<sup>1</sup>Victor Henry, *Etude sur l'Analogie en général et sur les Formations de la Langue Grecque*. 1883.

absorbed by the i-decl., though a few nominatives in -u remain (situ, fridu, hugu, sigu, witu, and sunu). The long masc. i-stems in OE. (bend, dæll, giest, gylt, lyft, etc.) have nearly all conformed to the type of the o-stems (cf. above page 39). But the minority forms frequently show a remarkable power of resistance. For instance, even in Modern English where there is only one living declension of nouns (type: king, kings), a few relics of some minor types are preserved, viz., a) sheep, deer, swine. b) Unlaut plurals: man, foot, tooth, goose, cow (kine), mouse. c) Weak plurals: oxen, children, brethren.

The causes for such exceptions are sometimes not difficult to discover. When we find, e.g., that of all strong preterits of the West Germanic languages, those of the pret. pres. verbs only have retained the old ending "t" and the vowel of the second stem form (OE: wāst, ~~de~~arft, scealt, meht; OHG: weist, darft, scalt, maht, muost; OS: wēst, tharft, scalt, maht, most.), **this** may well be ascribed to their isolated position as regards meaning and development of

conjugation by which they were dissociated from the rest of the strong verbs. Similarly, functional isolation may be responsible for the retention of grammatical change (Verner's law) in Modern English: 'was' and 'were'. A number of OE. strong verbs have become weak or (according to modern grammatical terminology) 'regular'. e.g., creep, weep, seethe, lock, fare; but why not "give", "shake", "swear" etc.? Evidently the desire for brevity and ease of pronunciation added to the force of tradition, was stronger than the tendency towards regularity.

Quite instructive is a comparison of the development of noun declensions in English and in German. In OE. the only declension that had really distinctive endings for the gen. sg. and nom. acc. pl., i. e. endings which never denoted anything else, was the a-decl: gen. sg. -es, nom. acc. pl., -as. (the masc. i-decl. and nd-decl. had a similarly distinctive ending for the gen. sg, only). It is therefore natural that the a-decl. should have prevailed, especially since the

admixture of foreign elements to the English language somewhat broke up the force of tradition and thus increased the influence of analogy in respect to these changes. On the other hand, in German the nom. acc. pl. of the a-decl. terminated in "-a" which was less characteristic and more liable to confusion. But other declension types became strong competitors. Thus, the umlaut in the plural of the i-decl. and of the "os", "es"-decl. came to have the force of a plural sign, and attracted many words to these two declensions; it was even extended to certain nouns of the a-decl. e.g., the plurals, Laeden, Faeden, Gaerten, Haemmer, Hoefe, Haefen.

It will be observed that the "os", "es" decl. had two devices for expressing the plural relation, viz: the umlaut and the ending "ir". Hence it was able not only to save the isolated neuter nouns of this decl. (lamb, kalb, blat, grab, and a few others) and to attract numerous other neuter nouns, but even to make inroads into the masculine declension: Mann, Leib, Gott, etc.



An interesting instance of the working, of analogy in opposite directions resulting in a "merger", is afforded by the OHG. strong and weak feminine declensions a) e.g., era, ~~era~~, eru, era pl: era erono, eron, era. b) sg: zunga, zungun, zungun, zungun, pl.: zungun, zungono, zungon, zungun. The influence of the weak declension (which was characterized by the ~~n~~-suffix) on the strong feminine declension was noticeable in the OHG. in the ending of the gen. pl. "-ono" and was afterwards extended to the entire plural. On the other hand, since the "n" came to be regarded as the typical plural sign; the ending -un of the singular gen. and dat. was dropped in favor of the strong fem. type. The result is a single class of fem. declension which derives the singular from the old strong nouns and the plural from the weak nouns.

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## Abbreviations.

The usual abbreviations for grammatical terms are used. cons.-decl. = consonant declension; pret. pres. = preterite present verbs; adj. = adjective, etc.

E. = (Modern) English.

F. = " French.

Got. = Gothic.

Kent. = Kentish.

L. (lat.) = Latin

LL. = late Latin.

ME. = Middle English.

MHG. Middle High German.

NHG. = Modern High German.

North. = Northumbrian.

OE. = Old English.

OF. = Old French.

OHG. = Old High German.

OS. = Old Saxon.

Am. J. of Philol. = American Journal of Philology.

Beitr. zur G. der d. spr. u. Lit. = Beitrage zur Geschichte der Deutschen Sprache und Literatur.

Ind. G. Forsch. = Indogermanische Forschungen.

The following abbreviations refer to manuscripts:

Bed. = Homily of Bede.

Beicht. = Essen(er Beicht spiegel) Confessional.

C. = Cottonian manuscript of the Heliand.

Ess. Gl. = Essen Glosses of the Gospels.

Fr. H. = Freckenhorst(er Heberolle) Registry.

L. = Lindisfarne Gospels.

M. = Muenchen manuscript of the Heliand.

Oxf. Gl. = Oxford Glosses.

R. = Rushworth Glosses.

Rit. = Ritual of Durham.

Wer. Gl. = Werden Glosses.

\* is used as a symbol for "by analogy of".

The asterisk\* is used to indicate inferred forms.

< = derived from.

> = from which is derived.