Contents

Aci	knowl	edgement	ts	X
Lis	t of al	bbreviati	ions and symbols	xii
			npanion to A Historical Phonology of English	XV
1	Periods in the history of English			1
	1.1	Period	ls in the history of English	2
	1.2	Old E	nglish (450–1066)	2 9
	1.3	Middl	e English (1066–1476)	9
	1.4	Early 1	Modern English (1476–1776)	15
	1.5	Englis	h after 1776	17
	1.6	The e	vidence for early pronunciation	20
2	The sounds of English			24
	2.1	The co	onsonants of PDE	24
			Voicing	26
			Place of articulation	27
			Manner of articulation	29
		2.1.4	Short and long consonants	31
	2.2		owels of PDE	32
		2.2.1	Short and long vowels	35
		2.2.2	Complexity: monophthongs and diphthongs	37
	2.3	The sy	yllable: some basics	39
		2.3.1	Syllable structure	39
		2.3.2	Syllabification	40
		2.3.3	Syllable weight	43
	2.4	Notes	on vowel representation	45
	2.5	Phono	ological change: some types and causes	46
3	Discovering the earliest links: Indo-European – Germanic –			
	Old English			
	FOOT-PODIUM, TOOTH-DENTAL, HILL-CULMINATE, THREE-TRIPLE 54			
	3.1		y matters: Indo-European – Germanic – Old	
		Englis	h	54

	3.2	The I	ndo-European family of languages	55		
	3.3		Germanic branch of Indo-European	59		
	3.4		pre-Old English segmental and prosodic changes	61		
		3.4.1	Grimm's Law, or the First Germanic Consonant			
			Shift	61		
		3.4.2	Some IE vowel changes in Germanic	68		
		3.4.3	Early prosodic changes: stress and syllable			
			weight in Germanic	69		
		3.4.4	Lengthening of final vowels in stressed			
			monosyllables	70		
		3.4.5	West Germanic (Consonant) Gemination (WGG)	71		
4	Con	sonanta	ıl histories: Old English			
			CH, DAY-DAWN, SAY-SAW-SAGA, SKIRT-SHIRT,			
	SHRI	FT-SCRI	IPT, DISH-DISK-DISCUS, LOAF-LOAVES VS SERF-SERFS,			
			VEN, BATH-BATHS-BATHE, BELIEF-BELIEFS-BELIEVE	74		
	4.1	The co	onsonants of OE	74		
		4.1.1	Singletons	74		
		4.1.2	Geminates	76		
	4.2	Sound	-to-spelling correspondences of the consonants in			
		OE		81		
		4.2.1	The $\leq g \geq s$ of OE	82		
	4.3	Palata	lisation and affrication of velars in OE	84		
	4.4	Morph	nophonemic alternations: fricative voicing. CLOSE			
			h to CLOSE the door?	88		
5	Con	sonanta	ll developments in the second millennium			
			AVE WE 'ERE, GUV'NOR?', WHICH-WITCH, THOUGH-			
			-fa, Bridgestowe-Bristol, write-right, iamb-			
			OLO, MATURE-GOCHA, BETTER-BEDDER, MUS GO	99		
	5.1 H-related histories: AND WOT 'AVE WE 'ERE, GUV'NOR? 99					
		5.1.1	Phonetic and phonological properties of /h/ in			
			PDE	99		
		5.1.2	The velar and glottal fricatives of OE	102		
		5.1.3	Initial glottal fricatives in ME and EModE:			
			ABLE-HABILITATE, WHICH-WITCH, WHINE-WINE	105		
		5.1.4	Non-initial glottal fricatives in ME:			
			THOUGH-TOUGH	112		
	5.2	R-rela	ated histories	115		
		5.2.1	Phonetic and phonological properties of the			
			rhotics in PDE	115		
		5.2.2	Reconstructing the phonetics of <r> in OE</r>	116		
		5 2 3	Pre-consonantal /r/-loss	121		

CONTENTS	vi

		5.2.4	Post-vocalic /r/-loss	125			
		5.2.5	The other liquid: BRIDGESTOWE-BRISTOL				
			Historical parallels between $/r/$ and $/l/$	128			
	5.3	Cluste	r simplification: KNIGHT-NIGHT, WRITE-RIGHT,				
		IAMB-I	AMBIC	132			
		5.3.1	Initial <kn-, gn-,="" wr-="">: KNIGHT-NIGHT, WRITE-</kn-,>				
			RIGHT	132			
		5.3.2	Final <-mb, -mn, -ng>: IAMB-IAMBIC, DAMN-				
			DAMNATION, SINGER-LINGER	134			
	5.4	Other	inventory changes: the adoption of /3/	141			
		5.4.1	More alveolar palatalisations and affrications:				
			s-, t-, d- + -j. GOTCHA, INJUN	143			
	5.5	The gl	ottal stop [?] and the alveolar tap [r]	145			
		5.5.1	The glottal stop	145			
		5.5.2	Voicing of [t] and tapping of [t] and [d]:				
			MATTER-MADDER	147			
	5.6	Recent	t trends: [ts-, ∫m-, ∫l-, ∫t-]: MASH POTATO,				
			GE CARE, STAIN GLASS	148			
6	The vowels in Old English: spelling, pronunciation. PDE alternations traced back to OE FOOT-FEET, FULL-FILL, MAN-MEN, CHILD-CHILDREN,						
		HOUNE	D-HUNDRED	151			
	6.1		the vowel inventories of PDE and OE: a comparison 1				
	6.2	0 1 7					
	6.3	I-Mutation: FOOT-FEET, FULL-FILL, SELL-SALE 15					
	6.4	OE ho	morganic-cluster lengthening: CHILD-CHILDREN,				
		HOUND-HUNDRED					
		6.4.1	Are pre-cluster lengthenings prosodically				
			incongruous?	169			
	6.5	The late OE vowel inventory in detail					
		6.5.1	The short vowels in late OE	171			
		6.5.2	The long vowels in late OE:				
			STREET-STRATFORD	173			
		6.5.3	Diphthongs and diphthongoids	175			
		6.5.4	Unstressed vowels	179			
7	Vow ME	el quali	in Middle English. Dialects. Spelling innovations. ty and quantity. PDE alternations traced back to				
		DIZZY-BUSY, FURY-BURY, MOON-MONDAY, STEAL-STEALTH,					
			ION, GRASS-GRAZE	184			
	7.1	ME di	alects	184			

	7.2	Notes	on ME spelling (vowels): <taxi>-<ataxy>,</ataxy></taxi>	
			E>- <tire>, <come>-<cut>, <see>-<sea></sea></see></cut></come></tire>	186
		7.2.1	Letter-to-vowel correspondences in ME (single	
			letters): SUN-SON, CONE-COME	187
		7.2.2	Letter-to-vowel correspondences in ME	
			(digraphs): BEAT-BEET, ROAD-ROOD	190
	7.3	Qualit	rative changes in ME	192
		7.3.1	Short vowels: DIZZY-BUSY, FURY-BURY, MERRY-	
			MIRTH	192
		7.3.2	Long vowels: GAE-GO, OAKE (Somerset) - AIKE	
			(East Riding of Yorkshire)	200
	7.4	The di	iphthongal system of ME	204
	7.5		itative changes: why do they matter?	209
		7.5.1	Shortenings: CREEP-CREPT, MOON-MONDAY,	
			MOUTH-PORTSMOUTH, LEEK-GARLIC	212
			7.5.1.1 Pre-consonantal shortening: FEED-FED,	
			WIDE-WIDTH, SHEEP-SHEPHERD	212
			7.5.1.2 Trisyllabic shortening: HOLY-HOLIDAY,	
			SOUTH-SOUTHERN	216
			7.5.1.3 Vowel shortening in unstressed syllables:	
			BUT-ABOUT, LEEK-GARLIC	219
		7.5.2	Lengthenings: GAME-GAMMON, GRAZE-GRASS	220
			7.5.2.1 ME open-syllable lengthening	221
		7.5.3	Orthography and quantitative changes	225
	7.6	Reduc	etion and loss of unstressed vowels in ME	227
3	Vow	el quali	ity and quantity in Early Modern English and later	
	МОТ	H-MOTI	HER, DULL-BULL, LOST-POST, FEAR-BEAR, HERE-	
	THE	RE, MOO	DD-STOOD-BLOOD, DEAD-BEAD	234
	8.1	Inform	nation glut. New sources of phonological	
		recons	struction	234
	8.2	Qualit	rative changes	236
		8.2.1	Short vowels: QUASH-QUACK, WASH-WAX, GOD-	
			EGAD, PUTT-PUT	236
		8.2.2	The Great/Long/English Vowel Shift	248
			8.2.2.1 Chronology and dating	252
			8.2.2.2 Mechanism and causation	256
			8.2.2.3 Further instability and enrichment:	
			BREW-NEW, DO-DUE, AUNT-HAUNT	267
	8.3	The ef	ffect of phonotactics on long vowel shifting	271
		8.3.1	Shortening in monosyllabic words: LEAD (Pb)-	
			LEAD. V., DEAF-LEAF, MOOD-STOOD-BLOOD	271

CONTENTS ix

		8.3.2	Vowels in relation to $/r/$: PERSON-PARSON, TEAR,		
			v TEAR, n., FLOOR-POOR	274	
	8.4	Contin	nuity or reinvention	281	
		8.4.1	Canadian or long-vowel 'Raising': ICE [AIS] -		
			EYES $[aiz] \sim [a\epsilon z] \sim [a^{\mathfrak{d}}] \sim [ar]$	281	
9	The	evoluti	on of the English stress system		
	ALWAYS-CAUSEWAYS, PRÉSENT, n PRESÉNT, v.,				
			S ~ HÁRASS	284	
	9.1	Prelim	inaries: definition of some terms	284	
	9.2		le structure and syllable weight	286	
	9.3	ical sources of information for prosodic			
			truction	288	
		9.3.1	Orthographic evidence for word-stress	289	
		9.3.2	Verse evidence for stress	290	
	9.4	OE str	ess placement	294	
		9.4.1	OE word-stress	294	
		9.4.2	OE stress above the word level	298	
	9.5	ME str	ess placement: the native component	303	
	9.6	ME prosodic innovations			
		9.6.1	Grammar, meaning and stress-shifting:		
			PERFÉCT-PÉRFECT, CANÁL-CHÁNNEL	310	
	9.7	ME co	mpound and phrasal stress	312	
	9.8		ME prosodic innovations	314	
10	Early English verse forms: from Cædmon to Chaucer 32				
			inaries: speech prosody vs poetic meter, stress vs		
		ictus		323	
	10.2	Alliter	ative verse	326	
		10.2.1	Classical OE alliterative verse	327	
		10.2.2	Continuity and reinvention of alliterative		
			versification in ME	339	
	10.3	Introdu	uction of rhyme, syllable-counting, and binary		
		foot str	ructure	345	
	10.4	Chauce	er and the invention of the iambic pentameter	356	
Bik	liogra	ρbν		367	
				396	
				412	
				417	