



THE OXFORD HANDBOOK OF

---

**HISTORICAL  
PHONOLOGY**

---

*Edited by*

PATRICK HONEYBONE

*and*

JOSEPH SALMONS

**OXFORD**  
UNIVERSITY PRESS



**OXFORD**  
UNIVERSITY PRESS

Great Clarendon Street, Oxford, OX2 6DP,  
United Kingdom

Oxford University Press is a department of the University of Oxford.  
It furthers the University's objective of excellence in research, scholarship,  
and education by publishing worldwide. Oxford is a registered trade mark of  
Oxford University Press in the UK and in certain other countries

© editorial matter and organization Patrick Honeybone and Joseph Salmons 2015

© The chapters their several authors 2015

The moral rights of the authors have been asserted

First Edition published in 2015

Impression: 1

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, stored in  
a retrieval system, or transmitted, in any form or by any means, without the  
prior permission in writing of Oxford University Press, or as expressly permitted  
by law, by licence or under terms agreed with the appropriate reprographics  
rights organization. Enquiries concerning reproduction outside the scope of the  
above should be sent to the Rights Department, Oxford University Press, at the  
address above

You must not circulate this work in any other form  
and you must impose this same condition on any acquirer

Published in the United States of America by Oxford University Press  
198 Madison Avenue, New York, NY 10016, United States of America

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data  
Data available

Library of Congress Control Number: 2015940246

ISBN 978-0-19-923281-9

Printed and bound by  
CPI Group (UK) Ltd, Croydon, CRO 4YY

Links to third party websites are provided by Oxford in good faith and  
for information only. Oxford disclaims any responsibility for the materials  
contained in any third party website referenced in this work.

# CONTENTS

*The Contributors* ix

## PART I INTRODUCTION AND CONTEXT

- |   |   |    |
|---|---|----|
| 1 | Introduction: Key Questions for Historical Phonology            | 3  |
|   | PATRICK HONEYBONE AND JOSEPH SALMONS                            |    |
| 2 | The Early History of Historical Phonology                       | 11 |
|   | ROBERT W. MURRAY  |    |
| 3 | Structuralist Historical Phonology: Systems in Segmental Change | 32 |
|   | JOSEPH SALMONS AND PATRICK HONEYBONE                            |    |

## PART II EVIDENCE AND METHODS IN HISTORICAL PHONOLOGY

- |   |   |     |
|---|---|-----|
| 4 | Phonological Reconstruction   | 49  |
|   | ANTHONY FOX   |     |
| 5 | Establishing Phonemic Contrast in Written Sources                       | 72  |
|   | DONKA MINKOVA   |     |
| 6 | Interpreting Diffuse Orthographies and Orthographic Change              | 86  |
|   | J. MARSHALL UNGER   |     |
| 7 | Interpreting Alphabetic Orthographies: Early<br>Middle English Spelling | 100 |
|   | ROGER LASS  |     |
| 8 | The Role of Typology in Historical Phonology                            | 121 |
|   | MARTIN KÜMMEL   |     |
| 9 | Computational and Quantitative Approaches<br>to Historical Phonology    | 133 |
|   | BRETT KESSLER   |     |

## vi CONTENTS

- 
- |    |  |     |
|----|--|-----|
| 10 | Simulation as an Investigative Tool in Historical Phonology<br>ANDREW WEDEL                      | 149 |
| 11 | Using Corpora of Recorded Speech for Historical Phonology<br>WARREN MAGUIRE                      | 164 |
| 12 | Exploring Chain Shifts, Mergers, and Near-Mergers<br>as Changes in Progress<br>MATTHEW J. GORDON | 173 |

**PART III TYPES OF PHONOLOGICAL CHANGE**

- |    |   |     |
|----|---|-----|
| 13 | Basic Types of Phonological Change<br>ANDRÁS CSER                                       | 193 |
| 14 | Analogy and Morphophonological Change<br>DAVID FERTIG                                   | 205 |
| 15 | Change in Word Prosody: Stress and Quantity<br>ADITI LAHIRI                             | 219 |
| 16 | Tonoexodus, Tonogenesis, and Tone Change<br>MARTHA RATLIFF                              | 245 |
| 17 | The Role of Prosodic Templates in Diachrony<br>LAURA CATHARINE SMITH AND ADAM USSISHKIN | 262 |

**PART IV FUNDAMENTAL CONTROVERSIES  
IN PHONOLOGICAL CHANGE**

- |    |   |     |
|----|---|-----|
| 18 | First Language Acquisition and Phonological Change<br>PAUL FOULKES AND MARILYN VIHMAN                       | 289 |
| 19 | How Diachronic is Synchronic Grammar?<br>Crazy Rules, Regularity, and Naturalness<br>TOBIAS SCHEER          | 313 |
| 20 | An I-Language Approach to Phonologization and Lexification<br>MARK HALE, MADELYN KISSOCK, AND CHARLES REISS | 337 |
| 21 | Lexical Diffusion in Historical Phonology<br>BETTY S. PHILLIPS  | 359 |

22	Amphichronic Explanation and the Life Cycle of Phonological Processes	374
	RICARDO BERMÚDEZ-OTERO	
23	Individuals, Innovation, and Change	400
	MARK J. JONES	
24	The Role of Experimental Investigation in Understanding Sound Change	410
	ALAN C. L. YU	

## PART V THEORETICAL HISTORICAL PHONOLOGY

25	Natural Phonology and Sound Change	431
	PATRICIA J. DONEGAN AND GEOFFREY S. NATHAN	
26	Preference Laws in Phonological Change	450
	ROBERT MAILHAMMER, DAVID RESTLE, AND THEO VENNEMANN	
27	Articulatory Processing and Frequency of Use in Sound Change	467
	JOAN BYBEE	
28	Evolutionary Phonology: A Holistic Approach to Sound Change Typology	485
	JULIETTE BLEVINS	
29	Rule-Based Generative Historical Phonology	501
	B. ELAN DRESHER	
30	Distinctive Features, Levels of Representation, and Historical Phonology	522
	THOMAS PURNELL AND ERIC RAIMY	
31	Historical Sound Change in Optimality Theory: Achievements and Challenges	545
	D. ERIC HOLT	
32	Phonologization	563
	PAUL KIPARSKY	

**PART VI SOCIOLINGUISTIC AND EXOGENOUS  
FACTORS IN HISTORICAL PHONOLOGY**

33	Variation, Transmission, Incrementation ALEXANDRA D'ARCY	583
34	Phonological Change in Real Time DAVID BOWIE AND MALCAH YAEGER-DROR	603
35	Historical Phonology and Koinéization DANIEL SCHREIER	619
36	Second Language Acquisition and Phonological Change FRED R. ECKMAN AND GREGORY K. IVERSON	637
37	Loanword Adaptation CHRISTIAN UFFMANN	644
	<i>References</i>	667
	<i>Indexes</i>	757