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A DIACHRONIC PHONOLOGY  
FROM PROTO-GERMANIC  
TO OLD ENGLISH STRESSING  
WEST-SAXON CONDITIONS

*by*

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*To Nancy Esther Wessell (1898—1970)*  
*“Love’s not Time’s fool . . .”*



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## SYMBOLS AND ABBREVIATIONS

See (quasi-)phoneme lists, pp. 15ff. and Rule 71 for a discussion of the general format employed in the text.

Alpha Rules: Ambivalent. See Rule 72-II.

Assimilation. See Rule 112-II.

Complementary. See Rule 210-II.

|             |  |
|-------------|--|
| *           | indicates a hypothetical reconstruction.   |
| **          | indicates that a hypothetical reconstruction is being exhibited the reflexes of which would be at variance with the data.  |
| →           | Read: becomes.   |
| -----→      | Read: sometimes becomes. See 2.2.1., Free Variation.   |
| $R > R'$    | Read: The development $R$ is followed by the development $R'$ .  |
| $R \gg R'$  | See 3.2.5., Residual Reversal.   |
| [     ]     | Brackets appearing in section II of any rule enclose the features which define the segments indicated in section I. See Rule 71.   |
| [ ~ (   ) ] | Read: everything except . . . For example, Rule 114.   |
| ( [   ] )   | indicates that the enclosed features or segments are optional in the given environment.  |
| C           | indicates any non-syllabic or consonant cluster.   |
| č           | indicates any single non-syllabic.   |
| č̣          | indicates a palatalized non-syllabic.  |
| č̤          | indicates a pharyngealized non-syllabic.   |
| L           | indicates any liquid.  |
| N           | indicates any nasal.   |
| /           | Between segments, e.g., L/N, the slash indicates that either segment fulfills the conditions of the given development; in section II of any rule, it indicates that the preceding matrices define the change whereas the following define the environment. See Rule 71-II. |
| S           | indicates a syllable.  |
| V           | indicates any syllabic. But see Redundancy Rule A, p. 13.  |
| ŵ           | indicates tertiary stress, i.e., [accent 0].   |
| ŵ̇          | indicates secondary stress, i.e., [accent 1]. But see Redundancy Rule, E, p. 14.   |
| ŵ̇̇         | indicates primary stress, i.e., [accent 2].  |
| ṽ           | indicates a nasalized vowel.   |
| ∅           | indicates loss of a segment.   |
| Ā           | indicates loss of segment $A$ .  |

|           |  |
|-----------|--|
| #         | indicates word or free morpheme boundary. See 3.1., Primary Sources. |
| POE       | read: Prehistoric Old English.                                       |
| EOE       | read: Early Old English.   |
| LOE       | read: Late Old English.  |
| WS        | read: West-Saxon.  |
| PES       | read: Progressive Environmental Simplification, see 2.2.2.           |
| Red. Rule | read: Redundancy Rule or Definition. See pp. 13f.                    |

## REDUNDANCY RULES AND DEFINITIONS

A. In environmental matrices only:  $V_1$  implies  $V_2$  or  $V_1V_2$ . In feature notation:

$$\begin{bmatrix} \alpha \text{ lng} \\ +\text{syl} \end{bmatrix} \text{ implies } \begin{bmatrix} \alpha \text{ lng} \\ +\text{syl} \\ (+\beta - \beta \text{ fea}) \end{bmatrix}$$

Concerning  $[(\beta - \beta \text{ fea})]$  see Red. Rule C below.

This treatment of diphthongs ignores the distribution of length within the diphthong, a theoretical problem having little bearing on the rules presented in the present study.<sup>1</sup>

B. Consonant<sub>1</sub> nonsyllabic-sonorant consonant<sub>2</sub> > C<sub>1</sub> syllabic-sonorant C<sub>2</sub>. In feature notation:

$$[-\text{syl}] \longrightarrow [+ \text{syl}] / [-\text{syl}] [+ \text{son}] [-\text{syl}]$$

This assumes that # implies #C and that this has been leveled to cases of #V (See Rule 355.3). This environment is created by the application of Rules 331.1, 331.4b, 341 and 345. This rule provides an example of logical rather than chronological ordering, i.e., it may actually be simultaneous to the rules it immediately follows; it is ordered, however, in order to facilitate description. Hence, the ordering is probably merely formal and only one process is involved. See also Introduction, p. 24.

C. A feature matrix (in section II of any rule) represents one segment, i.e., it is homogeneous, unless the following is indicated:

$$\begin{bmatrix} \text{features} \\ (\alpha - \alpha \text{ features:}) \\ \text{features} \end{bmatrix}$$

The features listed above  $[(\alpha - \alpha \text{ fea})]$  must apply throughout the matrix whereas those listed below are permitted to vary. For example, see Rule 88, matrix 3.

<sup>1</sup> See Rule 275z; see Rule 131 on how this problem may have a bearing on ordering in at least one instance.

If only nonsyllabicity, [–syllabic], or length, [lng 1, 2, (or) 3], or a combination of nonsyllabicity and length, e.g.,  $\begin{bmatrix} \text{lng 2} \\ -\text{syl} \end{bmatrix}$ , is indicated,  $[(\alpha - \alpha \text{ fea})]$  is always implicit.

For example, see Rule 72, matrices 4–5, where [–syllabic] refers to single consonants or entire consonant clusters.

D. In environmental matrices,  $\text{length}_n$  implies  $\text{length}_{n+1}$  if “n” is greater than 1. For example, [lng 2] implies [lng 2] or [lng 3]. See, e.g., Rule 398.4a, matrix 3.

E. In environmental matrices, [accent 1], i.e.,  $\check{V}$ , implies [accent 1] or [accent 2], i.e.,  $\breve{V}$ , unless otherwise stated.

F. [+round] implies [+back] unless otherwise stated, e.g., see Rule 100.2, matrix 3.