

Word Order and Old French Loanwords in the *Ancrene Wisse*: Syntactic Change Induced by the Shifting of Word Stress

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1. INTRODUCTION

🍏 AIM OF THE TALK

To demonstrate that low frequency of object-verb (OV) order (hence high frequency of VO order) with loanwords from Old French (OF) (or Anglo-Norman (AN)) in the *Ancrene Wisse* (AW), a text written in the West Midland dialect of 13th century English, supports Tokizaki's theory of linearization.

- 👉 ORGANIZATION: §2 ⇒ Tokizaki's theory of linearization
 §3 ⇒ stress patterns of earlier English and OF
 §4 ⇒ basic facts of word order and OF loanwords in the AW
 §5 ⇒ conclusion

(1) THREE MAIN PERIODS OF THE HISTORY OF ENGLISH

| | | |
|--------------|-----------------------|------------------------------|
| 700—900 | Old English (OE) | Early Old English (EOE) |
| 900—1100 | | Late Old English (LOE) |
| 1100—1350 | Middle English (ME) | Early Middle English (EME) |
| 1350—1500 | | Late Middle English (LME) |
| 1500—1700 | Modern English (ModE) | Early Modern English (EModE) |
| 1700—1900 | | Late Modern English (LModE) |
| 1900—PRESENT | | Present-day English (PDE) |

(Sweet (1891: 211))

2. TOKIZAKI'S THEORY OF LINEARIZATION

(2) LINEARIZATION IN THE MINIMALIST PROGRAM

There is no clear evidence that order plays a role at LF or in the computation from N to LF [i.e. narrow syntax].
 [...] Then ordering is part of phonological component, [...] (Chomsky (1995: 334))

---> (3)

(3) TOKIZAKI'S (2011, 2013) THEORY OF LINEARIZATION

a. [T]he juncture between constituents in left-branching structures is stronger than that in right-branching structures: this strong juncture in left-branching structures makes the structures compounds. (Tokizaki (2013: 280))

b. [T]his junctural asymmetry leads to the stress constraint on complement movement, which determines head-complement orders in languages. (Tokizaki (2011: 228))

---> (4) & (7)

(4) ASSUMING (5) AND (6)...

a. *Right-branching structure*

$[_{\alpha P} \alpha \beta P]$ ⇒ WEAK JUNCTURE = PHRASE 👉 PHRASAL STRESS

b. *Left-branching structure*

$[_{\alpha P} \beta P [_{\alpha} \alpha t_{PP}]]$ ⇒ STRONG JUNCTURE = QUASI-COMPOUND 👉 WORD/COMPOUND STRESS

- (5) CINQUE'S (1993) NULL THEORY OF STRESS ASSIGNMENT
 [The] main stress is located on its most deeply embedded constituent [in a structure]. (Cinque (1993: 271))
 ✂ THE LOCATION OF THE MAIN STRESS COVARIES WITH THE LOCATION OF THE INNERMOST COMPLEMENT.
 a. *VO languages*: main stress to the right of V in a VP \Rightarrow [_{VP} V Ó]
 b. *OV languages*: main stress to the left of V in a VP \Rightarrow [_{VP} Ó [_V V t_O]]
- (6) KAYNE'S (1994) LINEAR CORRESPONDENCE AXIOM (LCA)
 [I]f two phrases differ in linear order, they must also differ in hierarchical structure. [...] [A]symmetric
 c-command invariably maps into linear precedence. (Kayne (1994: 3))
- (7) STRESS CONSTRAINT ON COMPLEMENT MOVEMENT
 Complement moves to the specifier position of its head (or a higher functional head) only if the resulting
 left-branching structure has the same stress location as the words in the language. (Tokizaki (2011: 243))
 ✂ TYPOLOGY OF STRESS LOCATION AND RELATIVE ORDER OF A HEAD (H) AND A COMPLEMENT (C)
 a. *penultimate-stress languages*: more H-C orders \Rightarrow [H Ċ] / *[Ċ [H t_C]] = PHRASE
 b. *initial-stress languages*: more C-H orders \Rightarrow [Ċ [H t_C]] = COMPOUND
 \Rightarrow EVIDENCE FROM THE SURVEY ON DRYER & HASPELMATH [EDS.] (2013) ---> (8) & (9)
- (8) RELATIVE WORD ORDER OF A NOUN (N) AND A GENITIVE (GEN) IN THE WALS ONLINE
- | | 語頭指向強勢言語 | 語末指向強勢言語 | |
|-------------|-------------------|-------------------|------------------|
| GEN-N | 60 (69.8%) | 60 (40.5%) | |
| GEN-N/N-GEN | 11 (12.8%) | 13 (8.8%) | |
| N-GEN | 15 (17.4%) | 75 (50.7%) | |
| 計 | 86 (100%) | 148 (100%) | (時崎 (2015: 263)) |
- (9) RELATIVE WORD ORDER OF A VERB (V) AND AN OBJECT (O) IN THE WALS ONLINE
- | | 語頭指向強勢言語 | 語末指向強勢言語 | |
|-------|-------------------|-------------------|------------------|
| OV | 55 (58.5%) | 49 (30.6%) | |
| OV/VO | 6 (6.4%) | 16 (10.0%) | |
| VO | 33 (35.1%) | 95 (59.4%) | |
| 計 | 94 (100%) | 160 (100%) | (時崎 (2015: 264)) |
- (10) PREDICTION FOR LANGUAGE CHANGE UNDER (4) AND (7)
 Shifting of word stress and hence change in word order (i.e. relative order of H and C) may take place in
 initial-stress languages when they borrow words from penultimate-stress languages, and vice versa.
 ✂ BORROWING OF WORDS FROM OF AND WORD ORDER CHANGE (LOSS OF OV ORDER AND RISE OF VO ORDER)
 IN ME ---> §3 & §4

3. STRESS PATTERNS OF ME

- (11) STRESS PATTERNS
- a. PDE: right-oriented (antepenultimate, penultimate or ultimate) word stress (Tokizaki (2013: 298))
- b. OE: left-edge (i.e. initial) word stress ---> (12)
- i. initial stress
 - ii. no ultimate stress
 - iii. primary stress on the word-initial stressed syllable (in case of the double stress)
 (Halle & Keyser (1971: 88ff), 小野・中尾 (1980: 153), 中尾 (1985: 474ff), 田中 (2014: 153))
- c. OF: right-oriented (i.e. antepenultimate, penultimate or ultimate) word stress (田中 (2014: 153))

- d. ME: mixture of the OE stress system and the OF stress system ---> (13)
- i. avoidance of the initial stress (under the OF stress system)
 - ii. avoidance of the ultimate stress (under the OE stress system) ---> (14)
- (Halle & Keyser (1971: 97ff), 中尾 (1972: 455f), 中尾 (1985: 479ff), 田中 (2014: 151ff))

(12) OE NOUNS

fīðele ‘fiddle’ / *háfela* ‘head’ / *náfela* ‘navel’ / *bīscop* ‘bishop’ / *cwéne* ‘woman’ / *cýning* ‘king’ / *déofol* ‘devil’
(中尾 (1985: 474))

(13) MIXTURE OF THE OE STRESS SYSTEM AND THE OF STRESS SYSTEM

In dívers art and in divérse figures
In *diverse* (OF) art (OF) and in *diverse* (OF) figures (OF) (c1395: Chaucer, *FrT* 1486 / 田中 (2014: 153))

(14) SHIFTING OF WORD STRESS VIA DOUBLE STRESS

- a. OF *honōrem* > AN *onour* > ME *honour*: *honóur* > *hónòur* > *hónor* ‘honor’
- b. OF *nātūram* > AN *nātiūr(e)* > ME *nature*: *natúre* > *nátùr* > *nátur* ‘nature’
(田中 (2014: 153f); cf. 中尾 (1972: 456))

4. WORD ORDER AND OF LOANWORDS IN THE AW

4.1. Philological Information

(15) ME TEXTS INFLUENCED BY OF AFTER THE NORMAN CONQUEST OF ENGLAND IN 1066

- a. *Lazamon’s Brut, or chronicle of Britain* [c1300: Southwestern]: about 150 OF loanwords
- b. **Ancrene Riwe (Ancrene Wisse) [c1230: West Midland] ← ONLY ONE EME TEXT**
- c. *King Horn* [c1300: Southwestern]: about 200 OF loanwords
- d. *The lay of Havelok the Dane* [c1300: East Midland]: about 140 OF loanwords
- e. *The life of Alexander: Kyng Alisaunder* [c1330: East Midland]: about 800 OF loanwords
- f. *The metrical chronicle of Robert of Gloucester* [c1325: Southwestern]: about 570 OF loanwords
- g. Chaucer [late 14C: London (East Midland)]: 51.8%
- h. *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight* [1400: West Midland]: 28.08%
- i. *Cleanness* [c1380: West Midland]: 31.82%
- j. *Patience* [c1380: West Midland]: 25.3%
- k. *Pearl* [c1380: West Midland]: 32.29%
- l. *A good short debate between Winner and Waster* [c1353: East Midland]: 21.11%
- m. *St Erkenwald* [c1386: West Midland]: 30.46%
- n. *The parlement of the thre ages* [a1450: East Midland]: 27.56%
- o. *The romance of Emaré* [c1400: East Midland]: 19%
- p. *Mandeville’s Travels* [c1400: East Midland]: 51% (中尾 (1972: 426ff); cf. 中島 (1979 [1951]: 66f))

(16) *Ancrene Wisse / Ancrene Riwe* (written in the West Midland dialect of EME)

- a. Ms. A (Ms. 402) [c1230] (Tolkien [ed.] (1962), Millett [ed.] (2005–2006))
✎ Zettersten (1965), 中尾 (1972), Kubouchi (1975), Diensberg (1992)
- b. Ms. C (Cotton Ms. Cleopatra C vi) [1215-1222] (Dobson [ed.] (1972), Ackerman & Dahood [eds.] (1984))
✎ Penn-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Middle English, 2nd edition (PPCME2) (Kroch & Taylor (2000))

4.2. Frequency of OF Loanwords in the AW

(17) PROPORTION OF OF LOANWORDS IN MS. A (MS. 402): 3.18% (10.71% in Parts 6 & 7 of the AW)

(Diensberg (1992: 309))

- (17) a. about 580 OF loanwords in Ms. A (Ms. 402) (Zettersten (1965: 283), 中尾 (1972: 426))
 b. 9,320 words in total Ms. C (Cotton Ms. Cleopatra C vi) (Nevanlinna et al. (1993: 35))
 ⇒ 6.2%

4.3. Relative Word Order of V and O in the AW

4.3.1. Kubouchi (1975)

- (18) KUBOUCHI'S (1975) SURVEY ON MS. A (MS. 402): Parts 6 & 7 of the AW ---> (19)
- (19) RELATIVE WORD ORDER OF A S, A FULL NOMINAL O AND A MAIN V IN DEPENDENT CLAUSES
 a. SVO: 101 out of 116 instances (87%)
 b. SOV: 5 out of 116 instances (4%) ---> (20) (Kubouchi (1975: 24))
- (20) SOV ORDER WITH A FULL NOMINAL O IN MS. A (MS. 402)
 ʒef **ei mon eani swuch þing ortrowi** bi him, he is mare mat þen þeof inume wið
 If any one any such thing suspects by him he is more confounded than thief taken with
 þeofðe.
 theft
 'If anyone suspects him of any such thing, he is more confounded than the thief caught in the act of theft.'
 (AW 2003 / Kubouchi (1975: 25))
- (21) RELATIVE WORD ORDER OF A S, A PRONOMINAL O AND A MAIN V IN DEPENDENT CLAUSES
 SOV: 13 out of 129 instances (10%) ---> (22) (Kubouchi (1975: 26))
- (22) SOV ORDER WITH A PRONOMINAL O IN MS. A (MS. 402)
 ase moder þet is reowðful deð hire bitweonen hire child ant te wraðe sturne feader hwen **he**
 as mother that is piteous does her between her child and the angry strict father when he
hit wule beaten.
 it will beat
 'as a mother who is piteous puts herself between her child and the strict angry father when he is going to strike it.'
 (AW 1121 / Kubouchi (1975: 26))

4.3.2. PPCME2

- (23) SURVEY ON THE MS. C (COTTON MS. CLEOPATRA C VI): cmancriw-1.m1 & cmancriw-2.m1 of the PPCME2
 ---> (24) & (25)

- (24) RELATIVE WORD ORDER OF A MAIN V AND A DEFINITE FULL NOMINAL O IN SUBORDINATE CLAUSES

| | VO | OV | TOTAL | SENTENCES |
|---------------|-------------------|------------|-------|-----------|
| cmancriw-1.m1 | 195 (87.8%) [220] | 27 (12.2%) | 222 | 3,558 |
| cmancriw-2.m1 | 49 (84.5%) [56] | 9 (15.5%) | 58 | 1,163 |
| TOTAL | 244 (87.1%) [276] | 36 (12.9%) | 280 | 4,721 |

☞ The numbers in square brackets indicate the instances of the VO order including the one with a complex NP O.

- (25) OF LOANWORDS APPEARING AS AN O IN VO AND OV ORDERS ---> (27) & (28)

| | VO | OV | TOTAL |
|---------------|---------------|-------------|----------------|
| cmancriw-1.m1 | 17/195 (8.7%) | 2/27 (7.4%) | 19/222 (8.56%) |
| cmancriw-2.m1 | 3/49 (6.1%) | 0/9 (0%) | 3/58 (5.2%) |
| TOTAL | 20/244 (8.2%) | 2/36 (5.6%) | 22/280 (7.9%) |

(25) RATES OF VO AND OV ORDERS WITH OF LOANWORDS

| | VO WITH OF LOANWORDS | OV WITH OF LOANWORDS | TOTAL |
|---------------|----------------------|----------------------|-------|
| cmancriw-1.m1 | 17 (89.5%) | 2 (10.5%) | 19 |
| cmancriw-2.m1 | 3 (100%) | 0 (0%) | 3 |
| TOTAL | 20 (90.9%) | 2 (9.1%) | 22 |

(26) OF LOANWORDS FOUND IN THE GRAMMATICAL OBJECTS IN THE SUBORDINATE CLAUSE IN *ANCRENE WISSE*

crune ‘crown’ × 3 / *priuetez* ‘privates’ / *messen* ‘masses’ / *vreisuns* ‘prayers’ / *penitence* ‘penitence’ / (*castel* ‘castle’ × 2 (AN/Latin/CF)) / *ures* ‘letters’ / *sturbinge* ‘trouble’ / *seruise* ‘service’ / *hurt* ‘injury’ / *beast* ‘beast’ / *meoster* ‘role’ / *ermite* ‘hermit’ / *fame* ‘fame’ / *feblesce* ‘weakness’ / *spuse* ‘spouse’ / *pris* ‘price’ / *present* ‘presence’ / *graces* ‘grace’

(27) VO ORDER WITH OF LOANWORDS IN THE MS. C (COTTON MS. CLEOPATRA C VI)

- a. Ach þencheð anan. þt he is ower feder 3erde. & he wule 3elden him **his** **seruise**.
 But think at once that he is your father’s rod and he will yield him his (OE) service (OF)
 ‘But remind yourself at once that he is your father’s rod and that he will repay him for acting as his rod.’
 (CMANCRIW-1,II.141.1887/ PPCME2)
- b. for þi hwen þe deouel beodeð forð **þis** **beast** he beot hit to sullen & bid
 for that when the devil offers forth this (OE) beast (OF) he offers it to sell and ask
 þi saule þerfore.
 your soul therefore
 ‘so, when the devil offers this beast, he offers it for sale and ask your soul in return.’
 (CMANCRIW-1,II.154.2105 / PPCME2)

(28) OV ORDER WITH OF LOANWORDS IN THE MS. C (COTTON MS. CLEOPATRA C VI)

- a. ‘Leauedi Sainte Marie, for þe muchele blisse þet fullede alle þe opere þa he vnderfeng
 Lady Saint Mary for the great bliss that fulfilled all the other when he accepted
 þe wið vnmete blisse ant wið hise blisfulle armes sette þe in trone ant **cwenene**
 you with enormous bliss and with his blessed arms set you in throne and queen’s (OE)
crune sette þe on heaued brichtere þenne þe sunne, heze heouenliche quen, vnderfeng
 crown (OF) set you on head brighter than the sun noble heavenly queen accept
 þeose gretunges of me swa in eorðe, þet ich mote blisfulliche grete þe in heouene.’
 those greetings of me so in Earth that I may gloriously greet you in Heaven
 ‘Lady Saint Mary, for the great bliss that fulfilled all the other when he accepted you with enormous bliss, and
 set you in the throne with his blessed arms and set queen’s crown on your head brighter than the sun, noble
 heavenly queen, accept my greeting on Earth, so that I can gloriously greet you in Heaven.’
 (CMANCRIW-1,I.72.277 / PPCME2)
- b. for inbaðe me ifint þt god **hise** **dearne** **runes** & **heouenliche**
 for in-both one discovers that God his (OE) secret (OE) mysteries (OE) and heavenly (OE)
priuetez schaude hise leoueste freont, naut in monie floc, ach dude þer ha weren
 privates (OF) showed his dearest friends not in many flock but did there they were
 ane bi ham seolf,
 alone by themselves
 ‘... because in both one discovers that God showed his secret mysteries and sacred mysteries to his dearest
 friends, not in many companies, but he did it where they are alone...’ (CMANCRIW-1,II.121.1544 / PPCME2)

(28') DERIVATION OF THE OV ORDERS IN (28)

- i. ... [_{VP} *cwénene* **priuetez**] [_V *sette* *t_{cwénene priuetez}* þe on heaued ...]]
- ii. ... [_{VP} *cwénene* **priuetez**] [_{V*} *sette*-v* [_{VP} *t_{sette}* *t_{cwénene priuetez}* þe on heaued ...]]]

- b. i. ... [_{VP} *hise dearne rúnes & heouenliche priuetez*] [_{V'} *schaude* *t*_{hise dearne rúnes & heouenliche priuetez} ...]]
- ii. ... [_{VP} *hise dearne rúnes & heouenliche priuetez*] [_{V'} *schaude-v** [_{VP} *t*_{schaude} *t*_{hise dearne rúnes & heouenliche priuetez} ...]]]

(29) DISTRIBUTION OF THE PERSONAL PRONOMINAL O IN SUBORDINATE CLAUSES IN THE AW ---> (30)

| | SOAV | SAOV | SAVO | SOVA | SVAO | TOTAL |
|-------------|------------|------------|------------|----------|------|-------|
| cmancriw.m1 | 20 (28.2%) | 14 (19.7%) | 36 (50.7%) | 1 (1.4%) | 0 | 71 |

(Miyashita (2013: 63))

(30) SOAV AND SAOV ORDERS WITH A PRONOMINAL O IN THE MS. C (COTTON MS. CLEOPATRA C VI)

- a. & þuseli ancre þt art his deore spuse leorne hit ʒeorne ed him þt þu **hit**
 and you+happy anchoress that are his dear spouse learn it earnestly from him that you it
cunnee & maʒ soðeliche seggen.
 can (know) and may truly say

‘and you, happy anchoress, who are his dear spouse, learn it from earnestly until you can say it with truth.’

(CMANCRIW,II.86.1042 / PPCME2)

- b. Pis is sum ancre þt þolieð se swiðe hire fondunges & is se sare of dred þt
 This is some anchoress that endures so greatly her temptations and is so sore of dread that
 nan gastlich cumfort nemei hire gladden ne maken understonden þt ha muchte &
 no ghostly comfort NEG+may her gladden nor make understand that she can and
 schulde þurch ham þe betere beon iboreʒen.
 should through them the better be saved

‘This is a case of the anchoress who endures her temptations so much and is in so much pain with fear, that no spiritual comfort can cheer her nor make her understand she can and should be better saved better through them.’

(CMANCRIW,II.137.1820 / PPCME2)

(31) WORD ORDER CHANGE IN THE HISTORY OF ENGLISH

| | | | |
|--------------------|----------|-----------------|--|
| OE | OV order | ↔ COMPATIBLE | left-edge word stress system |
| ↓ VIA OF LOANWORDS | | | |
| ME | VO order | ⇐ INDUCING | mixture of the OE stress system and the OF stress system |

5. CONCLUSION: COMPATIBILITY WITH SYNTACTIC CHANGE CAPTURED IN TERMS OF THE MINIMALIST PROGRAM

- (32) STRONG MINIMALIST THESIS: Interfaces + Merge = Language (Chomsky (2010: 52))

(33) INERTIAL THEORY

- a. [S]yntax, by itself, is diachronically completely inert. (Longobardi (2001: 277f))
- b. [L]inguistic change proper may only originate as an interface phenomenon... (op.cit.: 278)
- c. [S]yntactic change should not arise, unless it can be shown to be *caused* — that is, a well-motivated consequence of other types of change (phonological changes and semantic changes, including the appearance/disappearance of whole lexical items) or, recursively of other syntactic changes... (op.cit.: 278)
- (cf. Keenan (2002: 327f, 2003: 154f, 2009: 18f); Biberauer & Roberts (2007: 51, 2008: 80, 2009: 74), Roberts (2007: 227, 231ff), Crisma (2011: 189, 2012: 198))

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