

Borrowing, Stress Shift and Word Order Change in the History of English

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1. INTRODUCTION

AIM OF THE TALK

To demonstrate the stress-based theory of linearization (Tokizaki (2011, 2013, 2017), Tokizaki & Kuwana (2013)) verifies that borrowing of Old French (OF) (or Anglo-Norman (AN)) words into Middle English brought about the change in the stress system of Old English, thereby causing the well-known change from object-verb (OV) to verb-object (VO) order in the history of English.

- ✂️ ROADMAP: §2 ⇒ stress-based theory of linearization
- §3 ⇒ basic facts of word order and OF loanwords in Early Middle English
- §4 ⇒ timing of stress shift in the history of English
- §5 ⇒ conclusion

BACKGROUND: The stress system of Old English is strictly governed by the Germanic Stress Rule while that of Present-day English is defined by the Romance Stress Rule as well as the Germanic Stress Rule. How and when this metrical innovation took place in the history of English is still controversial.

- (i) borrowing of OF (or AN) words into (Late) Middle English
(Halle & Keyser (1971: 97ff), Nakao (1972: 455f), Lass (1992: 87ff), Tanaka (2014: 151ff))
- (ii) borrowing of Latin words into Early Modern English
(Dresher & Lahiri (2005: 84, 2015: 4f), Fikkert et al. (2006: 144ff), Díaz-Vera (2013: 42), Minkova (2007: 171f, 2014: 314ff))

(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. STRESS-BASED 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) STRESS-BASED THEORY OF LINEARIZATION (TOKIZAKI (2011, 2013, 2017), TOKIZAKI & KUWANA (2013))

(WITH CINQUE'S (1993) NULL THEORY OF STRESS ASSIGNMENT --> (4))

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))

i. *Right-branching structures:*

[_{αP} α βP] ⇒ WEAK JUNCTURE = PHRASE ✂️ PHRASAL STRESS

ii. *Left-branching structures:*

[_{αP} βP α] ⇒ STRONG JUNCTURE = QUASI-COMPOUND ✂️ COMPOUND STRESS

b. Assuming [...] that the stress location in compounds is similar to that in a simplex word [...], languages with word-initial stress choose OV order for stress conformity at the linearization. Languages with right-hand stress choose VO order for the same reason. (Tokizaki (2017: 93))

i. *Languages with word-righthand stress:*

$[_{VP} V [_{O} \dots \sigma \dots \underline{\sigma \sigma \sigma}]] / *[_{VP} [_{O} \dots \sigma \dots \underline{\sigma \sigma \sigma}] V] = \text{PHRASE}$

ii. *Languages with word-lefthand stress:*

$[_{VP} [_{O} \underline{\sigma \sigma \sigma} \dots \sigma \dots] V] / *[_{VP} V [_{O} \underline{\sigma \sigma \sigma} \dots \sigma \dots]] = \text{COMPOUND}$

⇒ EVIDENCE: INVESTIGATION WITH THE *WORLD ATLAS OF LANGUAGE STRUCTURES ONLINE* (WALS ONLINE)

(Dryer & Haspelmath [eds.] (2013)) ---> (5)

(4) 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 ⇒ $[_{VP} V [_{O} \dots \underline{\sigma \sigma \sigma}]]$

b. *OV languages:* main stress to the left of V in a VP ⇒ $[_{VP} [_{O} \underline{\sigma \sigma \sigma} \dots] V]$

(5) RELATIVE WORD ORDER OF A V AND ITS O IN THE WALS ONLINE

	<i>Languages with word-lefthand stress</i>	<i>Languages with word-righthand stress</i>	
OV	55 (58.5%)	49 (30.6%)	
OV/VO	6 (6.4%)	16 (10.0%)	
VO	33 (35.1%)	95 (59.4%)	
TOTAL	94 (100%)	160 (100%)	(Tokizaki (2015: 264))

(6) PREDICTION FOR LANGUAGE CHANGE UNDER THE STRESS-BASED THEORY OF LINEARIZATION

Shift of word stress and change in word order (i.e. relative order of a V and its O) may take place in lefthand-stress languages when they borrow words from righthand-stress languages, or 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. WORD ORDER AND OF LOANWORDS IN EME

3.1. Philological Information on the Texts Surveyed by Miyashita & Tokizaki (2017a, 2017b)

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

a. **Ancrene Riwe (Ancrene Wisse) [c1230: West Midland] ← ONLY ONE EME TEXT**

b. Chaucer [late 14C: London (East Midland)]: 51.8%

c. *Mandeville's Travels* [c1400: East Midland]: 51% (Nakao (1972: 426ff))

(8) ME TEXTS COMPOSED IN THE SO-CALLED AB LANGUAGE (ONE OF THE WEST MIDLAND DIALECTS OF 13C ENGLISH)

a. *Ancrene Riwe (Ancrene Wisse)* [c1230: West Midland]

b. **Five Texts of the Katherine Group [c1225: West Midland]** (cf. Tolkien (1929: 106ff))

i. *Sawles Warde* ii. *Hali Meidhad* iii. *St. Katherine* iv. *St. Juliana* v. *St. Margaret*

(9) MANUSCRIPT

a. *Ancrene Wisse / Ancrene Riwe*

i. Ms. A (Ms. 402) [c1230] (Tolkien [ed.] (1962), Millett [ed.] (2005–2006))

✎ Zettersten (1965), Nakao (1972), Diensberg (1992)

ii. 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))

b. Five Texts of the Katherine Group: Ms. B (Ms. Bodley 34) [c1225] (Ker [ed.] (1960), D'Ardenne [ed.] (1977))

✎ PPCME2

3.2. Frequency of OF Loanwords in the AW and the KG

(10) AW: Ms. A (Ms. 402)

- a. Number of OF loanwords: about 580 words (Zettersten (1965: 283), Nakao (1972: 426))
 b. Proportion of OF loanwords: 3.18% (10.71% in Parts 6 & 7 of the AW) (Diensberg (1992: 309))

(11) KG: Ms. B (Ms. Bodley 34)

	TOTAL WORDS	ROMANCE LOANWORDS	PROPORTION OF ROMANCE LOANWORDS
<i>Hali Meidhad</i>	1265	80	6.32%
<i>Sawles Warde</i>	690	29	4.20%
<i>St. Katherine</i>	1420	55	3.87%
<i>St. Juliana</i>	1175	34	2.89%
<i>St. Margaret</i>	1340	34	2.54%
TOTAL	5890	232	3.94%

(Clark (1966: 118))

3.3. Relative Word Order of V and O in the AW and the KG

(12) SURVEY ON THE MS. C (COTTON MS. CLEOPATRA C VI) AND THE MS. B (MS. BODLEY 34):

cmancriw-1.m1/cmancriw-2.m1 & cmsawles.m1/cmhali.m1/cmkathe.m1/cmjulia.m1/cmmarga.m1 of the PPCME2
 ---> (13)-(16)

- a. Restricted to subordinate clauses (i.e. excluding main clauses)
 b. Restricted to definite full nominal objects (i.e. excluding indefinite full nominal and pronominal objects)
 c. Excluding complex NP objects (e.g. full nominal objects with a relative clause or a *that*-clause)

(13) RELATIVE WORD ORDER OF A MAIN V AND A DEFINITE FULL NOMINAL O IN SUBORDINATE CLAUSES IN THE AW

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

(Miyashita & Tokizaki (2017a: 101))

(14) RELATIVE WORD ORDER OF A MAIN V AND A DEFINITE FULL NOMINAL O IN SUBORDINATE CLAUSES IN THE KG

	VO	OV	TOTAL	SENTENCES
cmsawles.m1	14 (87.5%)	2 (12.5%)	16	276
cmhali.m1	38 (86.4%)	6 (13.6%)	44	511
cmkathe.m1	41 (70.7%)	17 (29.3%)	58	544
cmjulia.m1	21 (72.4%)	8 (27.6%)	29	568
cmmarga.m1	32 (74.4%)	11 (25.6%)	43	639
TOTAL	146 (76.8%)	44 (23.2%)	190	2538

(Miyashita & Tokizaki (2017b: 3))

(15) OF LOANWORDS APPEARING AS AN O IN VO AND OV ORDERS IN THE AW ---> (19)

	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%)

(Miyashita & Tokizaki (2017a: 101))

(16) OF LOANWORDS APPEARING AS AN O IN VO AND OV ORDERS IN THE KG ---> (20)

	VO	OV	TOTAL
cmsawles.m1	1/14 (7.1%)	0/2 (0%)	1
cmhali.m1	8/38 (21.1%)	0/6 (0%)	8
cmkathe.m1	3/41 (7.3%)	0/17 (0%)	3
cmjulia.m1	1/21 (4.8%)	0/8 (0%)	1
cmmarga.m1	1/32 (3.1%)	1/11 (9.1%)	2
TOTAL	14/146 (9.6%)	1/44 (2.3%)	15

(Miyashita & Tokizaki (2017b: 3))

(15) PROPORTION OF VO AND OV ORDERS WITH OF LOANWORDS IN THE AW

	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

(Miyashita & Tokizaki (2017a: 102))

(16) PROPORTION OF VO AND OV ORDERS WITH OF LOANWORDS IN THE KG

	VO WITH OF LOANWORDS	OV WITH OF LOANWORDS	TOTAL
cmsawles.m1	1 (100%)	0 (0%)	1
cmhali.m1	8 (100%)	0 (0%)	8
cmkathe.m1	3 (100%)	0 (0%)	3
cmjulia.m1	1 (100%)	0 (0%)	1
cmmarga.m1	1 (50%)	1 (50%)	2
TOTAL	14 (93.3%)	1 (6.7%)	15

(Miyashita & Tokizaki (2017b: 4))

(17) OF LOANWORDS APPEARING AS AN O IN THE SUBORDINATE CLAUSE IN THE AW

crune ‘crown’ × 3 / *priuetez* ‘privates’ / *messen* ‘masses’ / *vreisuns* ‘prayers’ / *penitence* ‘penitence’ / *ures* ‘letters’ / (*castel* ‘castle’ × 2 (AN/Latin/CF)) / *sturbinge* ‘trouble’ / *seruise* ‘service’ / *hurt* ‘injury’ / *beast* ‘beast’ / *pris* ‘price’ / *meoster* ‘role’ / *ermite* ‘hermit’ / *fame* ‘fame’ / *feblesce* ‘weakness’ / *spuse* ‘spouse’ / *present* ‘presence’ / *graces* ‘grace’
(Miyashita & Tokizaki (2017b: 4))

(18) OF LOANWORDS APPEARING AS AN O IN THE SUBORDINATE CLAUSE IN THE KG

ouergant ‘arrogance’ / *stat* ‘state’ (AN/CF) / *engel* ‘angel’ × 3 / *sabaz* ‘Sabath’ / *spuse* ‘spouse’ × 2 / *crune* ‘crown’ / *maumez* ‘idols’ × 2 / *strif* ‘strife’ (OF/AN) / *lei* ‘law’ × 2 / (*castel* ‘castle’ (AN/Latin/CF))

(Miyashita & Tokizaki (2017b: 4))

4. STRESS SYSTEM OF EME AND WORD ORDER CHANGE

(19) STRESS SYSTEM OF PDE

Stress pattern: right-oriented (antepenultimate, penultimate or ultimate) word stress (Tokizaki (2013: 298))

a. ... PDE has a layered stress-system. (Minkova (2014: 58))

b. ... [S]tress-placement in PDE is a mixture of prosodic patterns patterns, some inherited from Old English, some introduced in Early Modern English. (ibid.: 320)

✎ GERMANIC STRESS RULE & ROMANCE STRESS RULE ---> (20) & (21)

(20) GERMANIC STRESS RULE

Stress [is placed] on the stem-initial syllable, regardless of quantity, building secondary stress from left to right.

(Dresher & Lahiri (2005: 76))

(21) ROMANCE STRESS RULE

- a.
 - i. If the final σ is heavy, assign S.
 - ii. If the final σ is light, go back to the penult.
- b.
 - i. If the penult is heavy, assign S.
 - ii. If the penult is light, go back to the antepenult.
- c. Assign S to the antepenult regardless of weight.

(Lass (1992: 87))

(22) STRESS SYSTEM OF OE

Stress pattern: left-edge (i.e. initial) word stress

<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 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))
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a. Main stress falls on the initial syllable of a word.

b. Certain prefixes do not receive a stress.

(Dresher & Lahiri (2015: 1))

✎ GERMANIC STRESS RULE

(23) STRESS SYSTEM OF OF

Stress pattern: right-oriented (i.e. antepenultimate, penultimate or ultimate) word stress (Tanaka (2014: 153))

- a. The further application of reduction... — traditionally referred to as apocope — led ultimately to Old French becoming an oxytonic language, which can be described by End Rule Right only. (Lahiri et al. (1999: 394))
- b. ... [I]n the evolution from Preclassical Latin (initial syllable) to Old French (final syllable), the location of stress shifted from the left edge of the word to the right edge. (ibid.: 396)

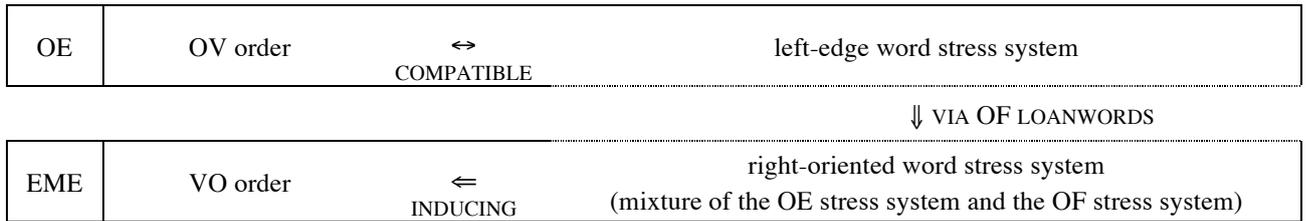
✎ ROMANCE STRESS RULE

(24) PROBABLE STRESS SYSTEM OF EME

Stress pattern: mixture of the OE stress system and the OF stress system

- | |
|--|
| i. avoidance of the initial stress (under the influence of the OF stress system) |
| ii. avoidance of the ultimate stress (under the influence of the OE stress system) |
| (cf. Halle & Keyser (1971: 97ff), Nakao (1972: 455f), Tanaka (2014: 151ff)) |

(25) WORD ORDER CHANGE IN THE HISTORY OF ENGLISH: SCENARIO 1



(26) STRESS SYSTEM OF (CLASSICAL) LATIN

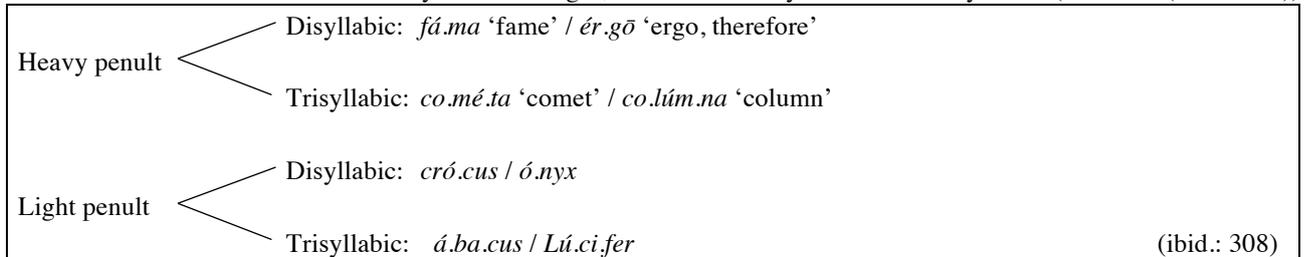
Stress pattern: right-oriented (i.e. antepenultimate or penultimate) word stress

... [S]tress was on the penultimate syllable if this syllable was heavy, and on the antepenultimate if the penultimate was light. Except in monosyllables, stress never fell on the final syllable. (Lahiri et al. (1999: 379))

✎ LATIN STRESS RULE

(27) LATIN STRESS RULE

... [S]tress falls on the penultimate syllable if it is heavy, otherwise, on the antepenultimate syllable. The final syllable is invisible to the stress rule and CV syllables are light, while all other syllables are heavy. (Minkova (2014: 307))



(28) STRESS SYSTEM OF EMODE

Stress pattern: mixture of the OE stress system and the Latin stress system

- a. ... [T]he important innovations [are dated] to a later time, due to the influence of Latin borrowing. (Dresher & Lahiri (2005: 76))
- b. ... [T]he change in directionality [is associated] with the accumulation of words with Latinate stress-affecting suffixes in Early Modern English. (Dresher & Lahiri (2015: 1))

Approximate dates of changes in English metrical structure	
Foot type = Resolved moraic trochee throughout.	
i.	-1570 Foot direction <i>left</i> , main stress <i>left</i> (as in Old English).
ii.	1570 Foot direction <i>right</i> , main stress <i>left</i> .
iii.	1660 Foot direction <i>right</i> , main stress <i>right</i> .
(Dresher & Lahiri (2015: 4); italic emphasis theirs, cf. Dresher & Lahiri (2005: 83))	

(29) WORD ORDER CHANGE IN THE HISTORY OF ENGLISH: SCENARIO 2

OE	OV order	↔ COMPATIBLE	left-edge word stress system
↓ VIA OF LOANWORDS			
EME	VO order	↔ INCOMPATIBLE	left-edge word stress system
↓ VIA LATIN LOANWORDS			
LME EMODE	VO order	← STABILIZING	right-oriented word stress system (mixture of the OE stress system and the OF stress system)

5. CONCLUSION

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APPENDIX

[1] OV ORDER WITH OF LOANWORDS IN THE MS. C (COTTON MS. CLEOPATRA C VI)

- a. ‘Leuedi Seinte Marie, for þe muchele blisse þet fullede alle þe opere þa he vnderfeng þe Lady Saint Mary for the great bliss that fulfilled all the other when he accepted you wið vnimete blisse ant wið hise blisfule armes sette þe in trone ant **cwenene** with enormous bliss and with his blessed arms set you in throne and queen’s (OE) **crune** sette þe on heued 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 / Miyashita & Tokizaki (2017a: 102))

- b. for inbaðe me ifint þt god **hise dearne runes & heouenliche priuetez** for in-both one discovers that God his (OE) secret (OE) mysteries (OE) and heavenly (OE) privates (OF) **schaude** hise leoueste freont, naut in monie floc, ach dude þer ha weren ane bi ham seolf, showed his dearest friends not in many flock but did there they were 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 / ibid.)

[2] OV ORDER WITH OF LOANWORDS IN THE MS. B (MS. BODLEY 34)

wei wake beo we nu. Ah noht wurð mid alle. hwen ameyden **ure muchele ouergant** alas weak are we now and not worthy with all when a-maiden our (OE) much (OE) arrogance (OF) þus **aealleð**. thus cast-down

‘Alas! We are weak now and utterly helpless, when a maiden casts down our immense pride like this.’

(CMMARGA,81.411 / PPCME2 / Miyashita & Tokizaki (2017b: 4))