

Continuity or re-invention in functional stress-shifting

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1. Introduction and overview

1. OE stress-shifting prefixes: *æt-, mis-, of-, ofer-, on-, wip-, ymb-*:

ðæt ðu óndsware / mid óferhygdum	And 319
Oferhógode ða / hringa fengel	Bwf 2345
Sumes ýmbhogan, / ungemet gemen.	MB 7. 28
Sylf in þam solere / ond ymbséteð utan	Phx 204

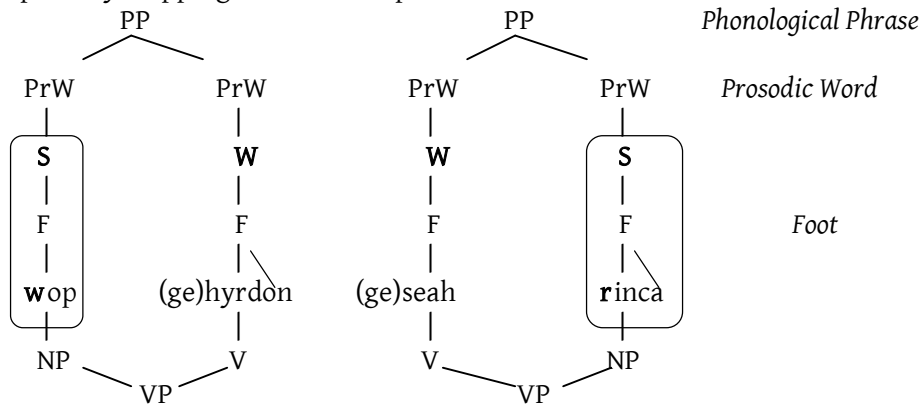
2. “There is **little or no coherent correlation** observable between prefixal stress and lexical categories.” (1977: 91) ...We have seen that LME word stress is by and large predictable from underlying segmental composition of words, **without being sensitive to the distinction of the categories that they belong to.**” (Nakao 1977: 182)

3. Stress-shifting in PDE Germanic vs. borrowed vocabulary:¹

<i>Germanic</i> : ≈ 14	<i>French and Latin</i> (sample): ≈ 140
offset	ab-stract, -sent
outbreak	accent, address
over-flow, -hang, -lap, -look, -throw	com-bine, -pact, -pound, -press
up-set, -lift, -turn	con-cord, -duct, -fine, -flict, -script, -sort...

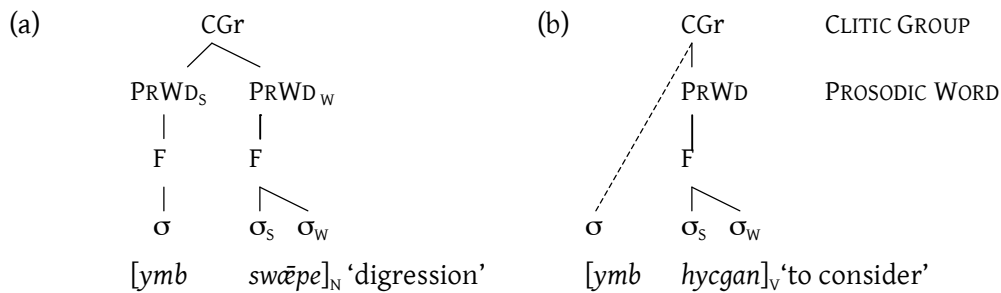
2. The origin of the prosodic dichotomy of prefixed words in OE

4. COMPLEMENT → STRONG: (Getty 2002: 143-144)
 In a phonological structure containing a syntactic head and any of its complements, the complement must be the strong member of the phrase.
5. Syntax-prosody mapping for verb-complement



¹ Data from Jespersen (1909), Fudge (1984: 188-192).

6. Possible factors influencing the verb-noun dichotomy:
- sentence prosody (COMPLEMENT → STRONG)
 - speech processing: complement associated with new information
 - semantic weakening/grammaticalization of prefixes *ge-*, *be-*, *a-*
 - token frequency (*be-*, *ge-*, *a-*)
 - The most frequent verbal prefixes are light syllables (C)V-
 - local rhythmic adjustments (W S (W) in OV clauses) (?)
7. Monosyllabic words in metrical S in Milton and Shakespeare (from Kelly & Bock 1988)
- Nouns 94% (*pride*, n. 100% in S in *Paradise Lost*)
- Verbs 76% (*ride*, v. 60% in S in *Paradise Lost*)
8. The prosodic structure of prefixed verbs and nouns in Old English (Minkova 2008b: 33):



9. Functional stress shifts in synchronically monomorphemic words (OED):

	Noun/Adjective	Verb
<i>ally</i>	1380	1297
<i>augment</i>	1430	1400
<i>frequent</i>	1531	1477
<i>rebel</i>	1297	1340
<i>record</i>	1300	1225
<i>torment</i>	1290	1290

3. Prefixed verbs and nouns in ME

10. (a) That al thys worlde schal do *honóur* (rhymes with *flour*) *Prl* 424
 Of his lynage am I and his *ofsprýng* (rhymes with *kyng*) *KnT* 1550²
 And he *hónoured* þat hit *hade euermore after* *SGGK* 2520
Córounde me *queen* in blysse to brede *Prl* 415
 And eten at here ese, for þei were *fórhungred* *WP* 2515
11. (a) Meter vs. prosody at line-edges:
 I make avow to Goddes digne bones!
Hérkneth, felawes, we thre been al ones *PT* 696³

² Compare: Thou and thyn *ófspryng* evere shul be blake (*MancT* 299)

- (b) Therto he koude endite, and make a thyng,
 Ther koude no wight pynche at his *writing* *CT Prologue* 325-6
12. Stress in rhyming position:
 ffor thogh the peple / hadde no greet *insíght* (: *wíght*) *CLT* 242
 Now mo ye here of thys *outláwe* (rhymes with *schawe*) 46
 And bade the *óutlawe* drynke a pull; 257 (?)⁴
13. (a) More rewarde bi resoun þen I reche myȝt *SGGK* 1804
 & y schal þe redly rewarde & to Rome sende *SJ* 88
 (b) Bot every labour axeth why
 Of som *rewárd*, wherof that I *CA* 4.2023
14. Prefixed verbs in ME:
 'Now forsake ȝe þis silke,' sayde þe burde þenne *SGGK* 1846
 Ouerwalt wyth a worde of on wyȝes speche, *SGGK* 314
 Forþi þis ȝol ouerȝede, and þe ȝere after *SGGK* 500
 Mony klyf he ouerclambe in contrayez straunge *SGGK* 713
15. Prefixed nouns in ME:
 Men clepen hym an Óutlawe or a theef *MancT* 234
 But speke to us of úntrust and repreeve *MerT* 2206
 And in the réscus / of this Palamon *KnT* 2643
 Such comfort of her compaynye caȝten togeder *SGGK* 1011
16. The sequence of W S positions **are realized by complex verbs alone.** (Nakao 1977: 95)
17. See (2) on p. 1: “There is **little or no coherent correlation** observable between prefixal stress and lexical categories.” (1977: 91) ...We have seen that LME word stress is by and large predictable from underlying segmental composition of words, **without being sensitive to the distinction of the categories that they belong to.**” (Nakao 1977: 182)

4. New features of the verb-noun prosodic dichotomy in PDE

18. *masthead*, v. First attestation 1809. “Webster’s (1886 and 1900) indicates stress on the second syllable, then (1909 onwards) variable stress, and finally (1961 onwards) stress on the first syllable.” (OED)
 Similarly: *înterlínk*, v. (1587) - *înterlink*, n. (1834); *còuntersígn*, v. (1611) - *cóuntersgn*, n. (1598).

³ Compare: Lordynges quod he / now *hérkneth* for the beste (*CT Prologue* 788). Only two out of the 31 attestations of *herkneth* in the verse portion of the *CT* are line-initial. None of the remaining instances start in odd (weak) metrical positions.

⁴The examples are taken from From *The Eremyte and the Outlawe* (Anon. 1100-1400).

4.1. Further conditions on stress-shifting in EModE

19. Absence of stress-shifting: *attire, concern, contour, control, council, debate, disdain, dismay, decline, endeavor, rescue, review, revolt*
20. The asymmetry of stress-shifting:
 Iambic (W S) -- > Trochaic (S W) shift for nouns: *affix, concert, convict, decrease, defect, discount, discourse, escort, exploit, prefix, rebate, recess, refuse*
 Trochaic (S W) -- > Iambic shift (W S): NO historically testable cases
21. Distribution of final consonants in stress-shifting words; data from Fudge (1984: 189-92).

Coda Type	# of pairs	% of total	% of total	Verb (example)
-V(C)t	65	51.1		<i>conduct</i>
-V(C)d	13	10.2	(61.3)	<i>concord</i>
-V(C)s/z	22	17.6		<i>decrease</i>
-Vj/-Vč	4	3.1	82.0	<i>discharge</i>
-Vn	6	4.6	86.6	<i>combine</i> ⁵
-VV	6	4.6		<i>inlay</i>
-V(C)l	4	3.1		<i>rebel</i> ⁶
-V(C)m	2	1.6		<i>perfume</i>
Others	5	4.0	13.3	<i>envelop(e)</i>
Total	127	99.9	99.9	

22. Unrestricted codas on non-stress-shifting disyllabic verbs

Iambic (W S)	Trochaic (S W)
agree	bicker
attack	copy
chagrin	blossom
crochet	forage
divorce	heckle
guffaw	hobble
malign	rescue
secure	sample
...	...

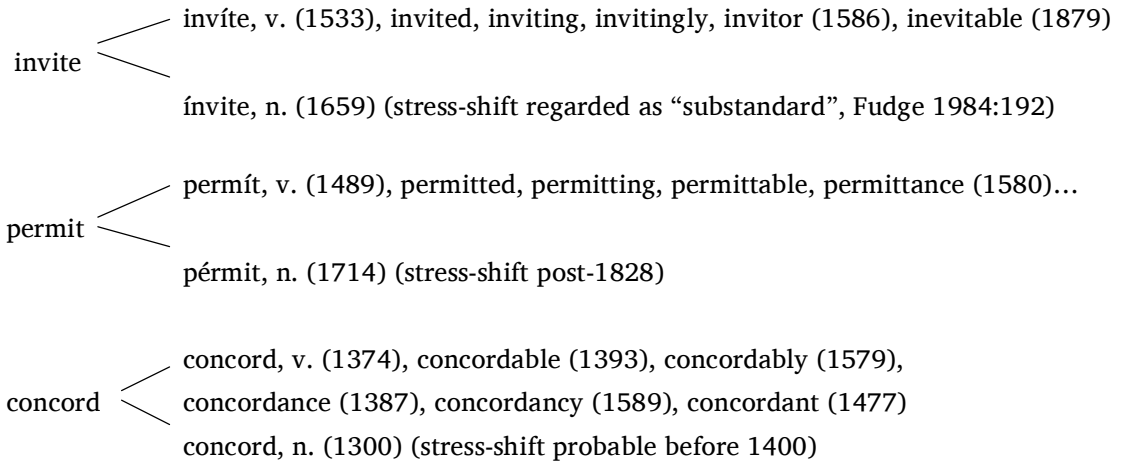
⁵ Also *commune confine, incline, rerun, underline*.

⁶ Also *recoil, defile, refill*

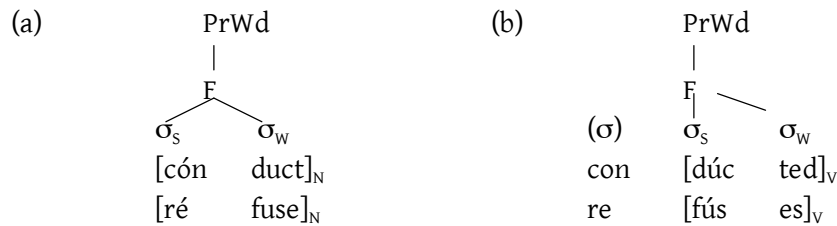
23. Contrast no longer in use (data from Jespersen 1909: 175-182):

† <i>ally</i>	† <i>conserve</i>	<i>essay</i>	† <i>revel</i>
† <i>assign</i>	<i>convoy</i>	† <i>exile</i>	† <i>rumour</i>
† <i>captive</i>	<i>costume</i>	† <i>ingrain</i>	† <i>sepulchre</i>
<i>certain</i>	† <i>curtal/curtail</i>	† <i>manure</i>	(†) <i>sojourn</i>
<i>colleague</i>	† <i>ensign</i>	† <i>massacre</i>	† <i>triumph</i>
† <i>commune</i>	† <i>envy</i>	(?) <i>perfume</i>	<i>turmoil</i>

24. Verb-noun suffixation asymmetry:



25. Right-to-left footing of stress-shifting loan-words in PDE:



5. What have we learned?

26. Continuity and innovation in functional stress-shifting

	Morphological compositionality	Syllabic & segmental restrictions	Directionality of stress-shifting
Germanic	Yes	No	No
Non-Germanic	No	Yes	Yes

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