Continuity or re-invention in functional stress-shifting

Donka Minkova, UCLA (Minkova@humnet.UCLA.edu)

1. Introduction and overview

1. OE stress-shifting prefixes: æt-, mis-, of-, ofer-, on-, wiþ-, ymb-:
   δæt δu ðondswære / mid ðôferhygdum And 319
   Oferrhôgode δa / hringa fengel Bwf 2345
   Sumes ýmbhogan, / ungemet gemen. MB 7. 28
   Sylf in þam solere / ond ýmbséteð 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
   Germanic: ≈ 14 French and Latin (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):

   (a) \[ \text{CGr} \]
   \[
   \begin{array}{c}
   \text{PrWD}_S \\
   \text{F} \\
   \sigma \\
   \text{ymb swæpe}
   \end{array}
   \]
   'digression'

   (b) \[ \text{CGr} \]
   \[
   \begin{array}{c}
   \text{CGr} \\
   \text{PrWD}_W \\
   \text{F} \\
   \sigma \\
   \text{yng}
   \end{array}
   \]
   'to consider'


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Noun/Adjective</th>
<th>Verb</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ally</td>
<td>1380</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>augment</td>
<td>1430</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>frequent</td>
<td>1531</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rebel</td>
<td>1297</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>record</td>
<td>1300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>torment</td>
<td>1290</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3. Prefixed verbs and nouns in ME

10. (a) That al thys worlde schal do honóur (rhymes with flour) \( \text{Prl} 424 \)
    Of his lynage am I and his ofsprýng (rhymes with king) \( \text{KnT} 1550^2 \)
    And he hóňoured þat hit hitte euermore after \( \text{SGGK} 2520 \)
    \( \text{Córounde} \) me queen in blysse to brede \( \text{Prl} 415 \)
    And eten at here ese, for þei were förhungred \( \text{WP} 2515 \)

11. (a) Meter vs. prosody at line-edges:
    I make avow to Goddes digne bones!
    \( \text{Hérfkneth, felawes, we thre been al ones} \) \( \text{PT} 696^3 \)

---

\(^2\) Compare: Thou and thyn ofsprýng evere shul be blake (MancT 299)
Therto he koude endite, and make a thyng, Ther koude no wight pynche at his writing

12. Stress in rhyming position:
ffor thogh the peple / hadde no greet insight (wight) CIT 242
Now mo ye here of thys outlawe (rhymes with schawe) 46
And bade the outlawe drynke a pull; 257 (?)

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 reward, wherof that I CA 4.2023

14. Prefixed verbs in ME:
'Now forsake þe þis silke, sayde þe burde þenne SGGK 1846
Ouerwalt wyth a worde of on wyȝes speche, SGGK 314
Forþ þis ðol ouerȝede, and þe ȝere after SGGK 500
Mony klyf he ouerclambe in contraye 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)

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


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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Iambic (W S)</th>
<th>Trochaic (S W)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>agree</td>
<td>bicker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>attack</td>
<td>copy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chagrin</td>
<td>blossom</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>crochet</td>
<td>forage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>divorce</td>
<td>heckle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>guffaw</td>
<td>hobble</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>malign</td>
<td>rescue</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>secure</td>
<td>sample</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^5\) Also commune, confine, incline, rerun, underline.
\(^6\) Also recoil, defile, refill
23. Contrast no longer in use (data from Jespersen 1909: 175-182):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Word</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>†ally</td>
<td>†conserve</td>
<td>essay</td>
<td>†revel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>†assign</td>
<td>convoy</td>
<td>†exile</td>
<td>†rumour</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>†captive</td>
<td>costume</td>
<td>†ingrain</td>
<td>†sepulchre</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>certain</td>
<td>†curtal/curtail</td>
<td>†manure</td>
<td>†sojourn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>colleague</td>
<td>†ensign</td>
<td>†massacre</td>
<td>†triumph</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>†commune</td>
<td>†envy</td>
<td>(?)_perfume</td>
<td>turmoil</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

24. Verb-noun suffixation asymmetry:

invité, v. (1533), invited, inviting, invitingly, invitor (1586), inevitable (1879)

invite


permit, v. (1489), permitted, permitting, permittable, permittance (1580)

permit

pérmit, n. (1714) (stress-shift post-1828)

concord, v. (1374), concordable (1393), concordably (1579),

concord

concordance (1387), concordancy (1589), concordant (1477)

concord, n. (1300) (stress-shift probable before 1400)

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

(a)  PrWd  (b)  PrWd

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>(a)</th>
<th>(b)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><img src="" alt="Diagram" /></td>
<td><img src="" alt="Diagram" /></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5. What have we learned?

26. Continuity and innovation in functional stress-shifting

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Morphological compositionality</th>
<th>Syllabic &amp; segmental restrictions</th>
<th>Directionality of stress-shifting</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Germanic</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-Germanic</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
References (incomplete)