KANSAI GAIDAI UNIVERSITY

Towards a linguistic interpretation of Kuhn's Laws:With special reference to Old English Beowulf (Part 2)

Towards a linguistic interpretation of Kuhn's Laws: With special reference to Old English *Beowulf*

Part II

Yasuko Suzuki

Abstract

Kuhn's (1933) two Laws concern clause-initial clustering of what he calls 'satzpartikel' such as pronouns, short adverbs, and light finite verbs in Germanic alliterative verse. The Laws are formulated in metrical terms and are claimed by the proponent to reflect archaic linguistic features preserved in poetry. This paper critically evaluates Kuhn's Laws from a linguistic perspective based on examination of Old English *Beowulf*.

　　Part I (Volume 95) first discussed cliticization phenomenon of pronouns, adverbs, and light finite verbs in early Germanic, especially *Beowulf* (section 2). With this as background, it then examined Kuhn's definition of clause particles (section 3) and the first type of violations of the First Law (section 4), showing, contrary to what Kuhn intends, that only part of Kuhn's clause particles are clitics and that only part of the First Law violations reflects the innovative word order. Part II (this volume) begins with the second type of violations of the First Law and discusses the issue of Kuhn's Laws as metrical conventions in Section 4. Section 5 examines the Second Law and shows that it reflects linguistic archaism only in an indirect way. The paper then takes up the issue that affects application of the Laws: the distinction between clause and phrase particles in section 6. This section continues through Part III (Volume 97), which also discusses metrical analyses in relation to the Laws.

Keywords: Kuhn's Laws, clitics, Germanic alliterative verse, Old English, *Beowulf*

4. Kuhn's First Law or Germanic law of clause particles (continued)

　　The second kind of violations is the case where clause particles occur both in the first and the second drops in the clause. Shortly after the formulation of the First Law, Kuhn adds specifically that clause particles may not be separated in two drops (Kuhn 1933: 9). As is clear from the way the First Law is formulated, this statement follows from the Law. In *Beowulf* there are three examples of this second kind given in (23) if the alliterating finite verb fills a lift as marked (Kuhn 1933: 11; Momma 1997: 57).

(23) a. Đonne   wḗne *ic* tō þḗ   wýrsan geþíngea,   525

therefore expect I to you   worse   results

'therefore I expect the worse results for you'

Hē gefḗng *þā*   fételhilt,   1563a

he seized then belted-hilt

'he seized then the linked hilt'

b. 'Hū   lómp *ēow* on láde,   1987a

how fared you on journey

'how did you fare on your journey?'

To cope with the violation due to the stressed finite verb, Kuhn (1933: 11–12) cites similar clause-initial verses where the finite verb occurs in a drop and argues that the stress on the verbs that creates violation may also not be strong. Pushing this line of reasoning further, Bliss (1967) claims, in order to avoid Kuhn's Law violations as given in (23), that the alliteration on the verb is not functional. However, Bliss's metrical analysis must be rejected because, as I maintain throughout, neither of Kuhn's Laws may supply a basis for a particular metrical analysis. This issue will be discussed in more detail in section 7 below.

Alternatively, verb-second order with light elements both before and after the verb as in (23) conforms to the First Law when the element directly following the verb is stressed as in (24) because only the clause-initial word is a clause particle.

(24)   'Hwæt *sýndon* gḗ   séarohǽbbendra,   237

what are   you   of-armor-bearers

'what are you bearers of armor'

Đonne *sǽgdon* þǽt   sǽlíþende,   377

then   said   that   seafarers

'then seafarers used to say that'

In all the examples in (23), the finite verb follows the clause-initial light element and is followed by another. While the given order is the only possibility in *wh*-questions as in (23b),

the order as represented in (23a) is rare in declarative sentences in *Beowulf*. More commonly, the verb either follows the clause-initial sequence of clause particles as in (25a) or occurs clause-initially preceding clause particles as in (25b) (Hock 1985; Momma 1997: 113–126; Suzuki 2008).

(25) a. Hī   hyne þā   *ætbǽron*   tō brímes fároðe,   28
       they him   then carried   to of-sea   current
       'they carried him down to the sea-currents'

       þā him *wæs* mánna   þéarf.   201b (also in (9))

  b. *Fand* þā   þǽr   ínne   ǽþelinga gedríht
       found then there inside   of-nobles band-of-retainers
       swéfan æfter sýmble;   118–119a
       sleep   after   feast
       'then he found therein a band of nobles asleep after the feast'

       Sécge ic þē   tō sốðe,   590a
       tell   I   you to truth
       'I tell you truly'

       Næs   þæt þonne mǽtost   mǽgenfúltuma   1455
       not-was that then   least   powerful-help
       'and of his strong supports that was not the least'

The two productive patterns as exemplified in (25) conform to the First Law unless clause-initial stressed verbs have an unstressed prefix or the negative particle, which will be discussed shortly. When the verb follows the clause-initial sequence of light elements as in (25a), then neither the verb nor the preceding clause particles incur violation of the First Law. Similarly, when the verb is clause-initial and is followed by a sequence of light elements as in (25b), then the verb, when unstressed, forms a drop together with the following light elements. On the other hand, when the verb fills the clause-initial lift, that is, when it is stressed on the initial syllable, then clause particles are in the drop after the clause-initial lift

in conformity with the Law.

If the Law represents archaism, it follows that the productive orders in (25) are more archaic than the rare order of (23a). This prediction of the Law conforms to Hock's (1985) observation discussed above in section 2. However, the Law simply predicts that any order of the verb with respect to unstressed light elements is innovative other than the two given in (25) and thus is not specific enough to predict second position (Stokwell and Minkova 1992: 225).

The pattern apparently similar to (23) is observed with the examples in (26) with the clause-initial finite verb with a negative particle and/or verbal prefix followed by one or more clause particles (Kuhn 1933: 11; Momma 1997: 69). The clause particles in italics violate the First Law if the negative particle and/or verbal prefix form the clause-initial drop, in which case the second drop accommodates one or more clause particles.

(26) ne geféah *hē* þǣre fǽhðe,   109a
      not rejoiced he that feud
      'he had no pleasure in that feud'

      Gewát *þā* ofer wǽgholm   wínde gefýsed   217 (also in (5))

      ne gewéox *hē him* tō wíllan   1711a
      not grew   he them for joy
      'he grew great not for their joy'

While Kuhn (1933: 11) treats examples as those in (26) as violations of the First Law, by assuming that the verse-initial negative particle and/or verbal prefix form an anacrusis and not a drop, one can dismiss violations of the type (26) because the clause-particles are in the first drop of the clause in conformity with the Law. This solves the problem in terms of meter. Alternatively, in parallel with violations given in (23) with the verb-second order, one might argue that stress on the verb may not be strong in (26) as well (Kuhn 1933: 12). In terms of syntax, the order of verses in (26) is identical with the order of those given in (25b) in that the clause-initial verb is followed by one or more clause particles. The verb-initial order as represented in (26) is by no means an innovative order in contrast to the order as represented in (23a). Nor is it ungrammatical in Old English. The same type of verses

with the clause-initial verb also incurs violation of the Second Law, but for the same reason the initial unstressed position that consists of the negative particle and verbal prefixes are considered irrelevant. See section 5 below for discussions.

As has been shown, application of the Laws depends on several uncertain factors. First, the distinction between clause and phrase particles is often unclear and changing the line of demarcation between two kinds of particles may reduce violation of the Laws. This issue will be discussed in section 6 below. Second, as has been discussed in relation to the second kind of the First Law violation, different metrical analyses, more specifically whether the verb is stressed or not, affect application of the Law. The problem of the metrical analysis, especially stress on clause-initial or -early alliterating verbs will be discussed in section 7 below. Third, moving clause boundaries by punctuation and linealization yields different results in the application of the Laws.

Lastly, albeit opinions to the contrary (Hutcheson 1992, 1993; Getty 2002: 33), the common understanding that both of Kuhn's Laws are metrical conventions may arise from the fact that they are stated in metrical terms. Kuhn's Laws are variously referred to as 'a syntactic constraint valid for Old English poetry as a whole' (Momma 1997: 64); 'prescriptive verse rules' (Blockley 2001: 6); 'a metrical syntactical rule' (Mines 2002). They are widely used as criteria for metrical analysis by scholars such as Bliss (1967), Stemsrud (1970) and Donoghue (1987) or to determine whether a certain text is verse or prose (Momma 1997). Emendation and repunctuation are conducted in accordance with Kuhn's Laws (Stanley 1974, 1992; Lucas 1985; Donoghue 1987: 178–199; Kendall 1991: 39–41; Momma 1997: 63–64; Fulk et al. 2008). Some metrical devices developed from Kuhn's Laws such as 'ornamental' alliteration (Bliss 1967) and 'displacement' (Bliss 1967; Kendall 1983, 1991; Lucas 1985; Donoghue 1987).

However, the Laws are description and not prescription as Donoghue (1987: 12–13) aptly states. The previous discussions have shown how the First Law phenomenon is in part related to the archaic word order in Old English as Kuhn assumes. Strict observation of the Laws is not mandatory nor, under appropriate interpretation, do exceptions invalidate the Laws. With the assumptions that Kuhn's Laws are not metrical conventions or strictly observed, it does not follow that violations are errors in composition or in transmission.

Metrical conventions refer to those rules that are peculiar to verse and are not observed typically in prose. For example, in Germanic alliterative poetry, alliteration is a metrical device that combines two verses to form a long line. It is a metrical convention because alliteration is not regularly observed in prose. On the other hand, the effect of

Kuhn's First Law is clause-initial clustering of light elements. As discussed in section 2 above, this phenomenon is observed in prose as well as in verse and is characteristic of the earliest attested stage of North and West Germanic. This fact supplies counterevidence to the assumption that the First Law was a metrical convention: what follows directly from language structure does not have to be attributed to metrical conventions. One could argue that Kuhn's Laws are metrical rules that follow from natural prosody. However, if the linguistic properties and metrical rules that follow from them yield the same effects, positing such metrical rules is apparently unnecessary and requires justification. Further, while the Law is generally considered peculiar to poetry, Kuhn apparently does not assume that the phenomenon reflected in his Law is restricted to poetry (Minkova and Stockwell 1992: 426).

In addition, Kuhn's Law phenomenon goes against regular and ideal rhythmic pattern in creating a sequence of unstressed syllables. Metrical structure is based on rhythm created by the phrasal and word stress, among which, in early Germanic, trochaic (and perhaps dactylic) pattern is predominant. The ideal rhythm is an alternate pattern of strong and weak beats. On the other hand, the effect of the First Law occasionally leads to a long sequence of unstressed syllables in clause-initial position, thereby disturbing the regular rhythm. In this respect the First Law is unlikely to have been a metrical convention. Instead, it is to be understood as a generalization on metrical facts that go against metrical regularity but are imposed by the language. In terms of metrical structure, it is apparently immaterial whether unstressed positions consist of clause particles, phrase particles, or unstressed syllables of stressed words. It is thus unlikely that clause-initial verses must differ from clause-non-initial verses in metrical structure. The different treatment of clause-initial and non-initial verses can hardly be attributed to metrical structure, but follow from language structure.

As a problem that follows from the assumption that Kuhn's Laws are metrical conventions, exceptions are often excluded as anomalies and are used to justify alternative metrical analyses or emendations. Even if Kuhn's Laws had been rules that governed verse composition, which the above discussions have shown is not likely to have been the case, it is not known for sure if they were strictly observed in verse composition. Moreover, rarities are not anomalies by definition. For example, as shown above, the verb-second order with a complex element in first position is rare in *Beowulf*. This rare order is an innovative pattern where archaic orders are predominant. It is by no means anomalous.

As a summary, Kuhn's First Law represents archaic linguistic features that are realized in early alliterative verse. Violation of the Law thus typically represents innovation but

unfortunately includes also examples that are irrelevant to innovative features as has been shown. Violations do not invalidate the Law nor are they to be excluded as anomalies. The same applies to the Second Law that will be discussed in the next section.

5. Kuhn's Second Law or Germanic law of the clause-initial position

Kuhn's Second Law or the Germanic law of clause-initial position states: In the upbeat of the clause, clause particles must occur (Das germanische satzspitzengesetz: Im satzauftakt müssen satzpartikeln stehen; cf. Kuhn 1933: 43). 'Auftakt' may either be a linguistics term: 'clause-initial unstressed position' or a metrical term: 'anacrusis'. However, the fact that the term forms a compound with 'clause' suggests the non-metrical meaning. Moreover, neither Kuhn nor later scholars restrict this position to anacrusis, but both clause-initial anacruses and drops are assumed (Kuhn 1933; Bliss 1967; Momma 1997; Orton 1999; Mines 2002; Fulk et al. 2008). The Second Law thus states that, if there is a clause-initial unstressed position, it must contain at least one clause particle. According to Kuhn (1933: 43), the Second Law reflects the fact that clause-initial drops consisting of phrase particles only are rare even in clauses without clause particles.

To illustrate, the two examples in (27a) (= (9a)) conform to the Law because there is at least one clause particle in the clause-initial drop, i.e. *wæs* in 102a and *þā him wæs* in 201b.

(27) a. *wæs* se grímma gǽst   Gréndel hǽten,   102
        þā him wæs mánna þéarf.   201b
     b. Hýge *wæs him* hínfūs,   755a

On the other hand, the verse in (27b) (= (9b)) also does not violate the Law because there is no clause-initial drop.

In contrast, all the examples in (28) violate the Second Law because the clause-initial drop in italics consists of phrase particles only: a demonstrative adjective in (28a), a preposition in (28b), both of them in (28c), and an adverb in (28d) (Kuhn 1933: 44–45; Kendall 1991: 76–77; Momma 1997: 70–72; Orton 1999; Mines 2002; Fulk et al. 2008: 324).

(28) a. *þone* cwéalm gewrǽc   107b

    the   killing   avenged

    'he avenged the murder'

    Also 202a, 363a, 639a, 801b, 928a

  b. *ymb* súnd   flíte,   507b

    about swimming competed

    'competed in swimming'

    Also 457a (emended), 1684a

  c. *Ymb*   *þæs* hélmes   hróf   1030a

    around the helmet's roof

    'around the helmet's crown'

    Æfter ðǽm wórdum   wýrm ýrre   cwōm,   2669a

    after those words   worm angry came

    'After these words, the worm came on, angry,'

    Also 1492a, 1110a

  d. *Tō* láng ys tō réccenne   2093a (also in (10a))

Excluding 457a that involves emendation (see (33) below), there are thirteen verses that violate the Second Law where the first drop consists of one or more phrase particles excluding the negative particle. In addition, the clause-initial unstressed position that consists of the negative particle and/or verbal prefix as indicated in italics in (29) (= (26)) violates the Second Law.

(29) *ne ge*féah hē þǽre fǽhðe,   109a

    *Ge*wát þā ofer wǽgholm   wínde gefýsed   217

    *ne ge*wéox hē him tō wíllan   1711a

According to Kuhn (1933: 43), clause-initial unstressed positions may consist of verbal prefixes as in (29), which he characterizes as phrase particles that belong to clause particles.

While this interpretation is problematical in that finite verbs in (29) are stressed (or at least understood as stressed by Kuhn; see section 7 below on stress on finite verbs) and thus are not clause particles, there is nothing linguistically aberrant or innovative with the clause-initial drops that consist of phrase particles only. Also, as discussed in section 4 in relation to the similar violations of the First Law, the verb-initial order as given in (29) is not anomalous or innovative, either. The verses in (29) are excluded by the Law simply because they share the same metrical pattern as those in (28) with the infrequent order in *Beowulf*.

The two Laws are not mutually exclusive but partly overlap. On the one hand, drop-initial clauses with no clause particles as in (28a, b, c) are excluded by the Second Law but not by the First Law, which has no implications for clauses without clause particles. On the other hand, both Laws exclude drop-initial clauses (or clauses that begin with an unstressed position) with one or more clause particles exclusively in the second unstressed position or later as in (10a/28d) and (26/29). Further, the First Law but not the Second excludes lift-initial clauses with one or more clause particle in the second drop or later, e.g. (10b) given above. The function of the Second Law is not at once obvious. In fact, the Second Law is less often discussed and receives lower evaluation than the First (Momma 1997: 55–75; Mines 2002).

Upon closer inspection, the Second Law effect follows from several linguistic properties, some of which are archaisms that changed during the Old English period. Thus, in contrast to the First Law that concerns the clause-initial clustering of light elements, the Second Law reflects the archaism only in an indirect way. The first factor that creates the Second Law effect is clause-initial clustering of light elements in parallel with the First Law. As has been shown, a number of clauses have clause particles in clause-initial position and this is the archaism, as discussed in section 2, that underwent change during the Old English period. The presence of one or more clause particles makes otherwise violations of the Law conform to the Law.

In contrast, if the clause begins with a stressed word, the initial word stress makes lift-initial clauses, as in (27b) above, to which the Second Law is inapplicable. In this way, the second factor that decreases the Second Law violation is the initial word stress. However, clause-initial words that begin with an unstressed syllable, i.e. verbs with a negative particle and/or a verbal prefix, consistently incur violation of the Second Law as in (29). The two factors discussed so far are also relevant to the application of the First Law and these shared factors make the two Laws partly overlap as mentioned earlier.

Third, infrequent use of definite articles, which is an archaic feature that characterizes the language of *Beowulf* (Fulk et al. 2008: cxlix), decreases the number of the Second Law violation of the type (28a) where the clause begins with a noun phrase (Slay 1952: 13). That is, given that most nominals have initial stress, sparse use of demonstrative adjectives reduces the number of drop-initial noun phrases that incur Second Law violation in clause-initial position. In fact, there are only a small number of clause-initial noun phrases with a demonstrative adjective. In order to account for this rare pattern, Kuhn (1933: 44–45) claims that this clause-initial demonstrative adjective has a linking function comparable to demonstrative/relative pronouns and short adverbs such as *þā*, *þær*, and *þonne*, which are typically used in clause-initial position. For example, in the passage given in (30), the demonstrative pronouns in italics are clause-linkers in both main and subordinate clauses.

(30) *Ðǣm* éafera wǽs   ǽfter   cénned
      that   son   was   afterwards born
      geóng in géardum,   *þone* Gód sénde
      young in homestead   whom God sent
      fólce tō frófre;   12–14a
      people to consolation
      'Afterwards a son was born to him, a young boy in his house, whom God sent to comfort the people'

In parallel with these clause particles with a linking function that typically occur in clause-initial position, demonstrative adjectives, though different in status, have a comparable function. Compare the clause in (28a) that begins with a phrase particle and thus violates the Second Law and the clauses in (30) that begin with a clause particle and thus conform to the Law. Thus, if reducing Kuhn's Law violations is the purpose, one can avoid violation by assuming that the demonstrative and the noun are separate elements in (28a). The same linking function may be assumed with the demonstrative adjective in a clause-initial prepositional phrase as in (28c), in which case the demonstrative cannot be made a clause particle.

Lastly, in an SOV language like Old English, prepositional phrases follow clause particles and the subject in the normal order. Therefore, prepositional phrases are only infrequently placed in clause-initial position as in (28c). They are usually preceded by a linking element

and other clause particles as in *Ðā wæs* on burgum 53a in (4), *þē* æt fōtum *sæt* 500a in (12), and *Ðā ic* on hlǽwe *gefrægn* 2773a in (20), and/or the subject, if any. The verb-initial order, which is considered an archaism, is common in *Beowulf*. Thus, prepositional phrases may also be preceded by the finite verb as in *Gewāt þā* ofer wǽgholm 217a in (5/26), *wolde on heolster fléon* 755b in (21), and *Secge ic þē* tō sōðe in (25b). Moreover, prepositional phrases are often placed towards clause-final position as heavy elements (Fourquet 1938; Hopper 1975; Pintzuk and Kroch 1989). For example, in (31) the three a-verses in italics consist of a prepositional phrase in the sequence of main and subordinate clauses.

(31)   Hine hálig Gód
                                  him holy God
    for árstáfum   ús onsénde,
    for grace   us sent
    tō Wést-Dénum,   þæs ic wén   hǽbbe,
    to West-Danes   of-that I expectation have
    wið   Gréndles grýre.   381b–384a
    against Grendel's terror
    'Holy God of His grace has sent him to us West-Danes, as I hope, against the terror of
    Grendel.'

In the main clause, the prepositional phrase in 382a is preceded by the object pronoun and the lexical subject. The other two in 383a and in 384a follow the verb and are apparently extraposed from the preverbal position as heavy elements.

    Since prepositional phrases follow clause particles and the subject in the normal order, clause-initial prepositional phrases may occur in non-verb-initial clauses without clause particles and the subject. Kuhn (1933: 44) also notes that prepositional phrases occur clause-initially in incomplete clauses that lack the subject and the object, which are perceived as phrases rather than clauses. For example, in (32), the clause with an initial prepositional phrase in italics shares the subject with the directly preceding clause and lacks both the subject and clause particles (Kuhn 1933: 44; Kendall 1991: 40–41).

(32) 'Eart þū se Béowulf,   sē þe   wið Brécan wúnne
       are you that Beowulf   he who with Breca contended
      on sídne sǽ,   *ymb súnd*   flíte,   506–507
      on broad see   in   swimming competed
      'Are you that Beowulf who contended with Breca on the broad sea, competed in
      swimming,'

Further, in (33), the prepositional phrase in italics is placed in clause-initial position as a focus
and thus precedes the subject.

(33) *Fore*   † *fýhtem* þǘ,   wíne mīn Béowulf,
      on-account-of fights   you   friend my Beowulf
      ond for árstáfum   úsic sóhtest.   457–458
      and for favors   us   sought
      'for fights, my friend Beowulf, and for past favors you have sought us.'

Rarity of clause-initial prepositional phrases thus follows from linguistic properties and can
hardly be attributed to metrical requirement. Nor are they to be excluded in that they are
logically possible.

    As has been shown, the Second Law reflects the archaism only in part and thus its
effect is less straightforward than the First. In lack of any apparent rhetorical or rhythmical
effect, it is not likely to be intended in verse composition nor is it necessary to resort to
Kuhn's Second Law to yield observed facts. As the way it is formulated, the Second Law
concerns the clause-initial unstressed position. Its violation does not represent syntactic or
perhaps metrical anomaly. In parallel with the First Law, the application of the Second Law
depends on the distinction between clause and phrase particles, metrical analyses, and clause
boundaries. The first two issues will be discussed in more detail in the next two sections. As
for the problem of repunctuation and relinealization of the Second Law, see especially Fulk
et al. (2008: 151–152, 208, 214, 221).

6. Distinction of clause particles and phrase particles

The distinction between the two kinds of particles is determined by whether a given word

has freedom in distribution on its own or must be confined within a particular phrase. As briefly discussed in section 3, pronouns, demonstratives, indefinite adjectives, short adverbs, and some conjunctions function as either kind of particles depending on context (Kuhn 1933: 12; Lucas 1987: 160). In addition, there are ambiguous cases and the distinction can be manipulated to reduce violations of Kuhn's Laws. Ambivalence and ambiguities of clause and phrase particles are attributed partly to freedom in word order in Old English that was lost later.

In relation to the Second Law violations, section 5 above has shown that demonstratives may either be pronouns, thus clause particles, or adjectives, thus phrase particles, both of which are comparable in function. Similarly, genitive/possessive pronouns that are phrase particles typically precede the modified noun directly and are unstressed as in (34).

(34) þæt mon *his* wínedrýhten   wórdum hérge,   3175
      that man his friendly-lord   words   would-honor
      'that man honor his liege lord with words'

Due to freedom in distribution, they may occur in other positions, i.e. those that directly follow the modified noun as in (35a) and those that are separated from the modified by a caesura, thus in a different prosodic phrase from the modified, or by one or more intervening words as in (35b).

(35) a. wínedryhten *hís*   wǽtere geláfede   2722
        friendly-lord his   water   refreshed
        'washed his beloved lord with water'

    b. þēah   ðe   óðer *hís*   éaldre gebóhte, 2481
      though that other his   life   bought
      'though one of them bought it with his life'

                          næs   sē fólccýning,
                          not-was the folk-king
      ýmbesíttendra   ǽnig *ðǽra*   2733b–2774
      of-neighboring-peoples   any of-them

'there was no folk-king of those dwelling about'

<div align="center">

þonne *mín* scéaceð

when my departs

</div>

líf of   líce.   2742b–2743a

life from body

'when life goes from my body'

All the pronouns in (35) are stressed and by definition are neither clause particles nor phrase particles. On the other hand, genitive/possessive pronouns that are separated from the modified may also occur in the clause-initial drop as in (36), in which case they are clause particles (Kuhn 1933: 43–44).

(36)   wæs *þǽra*   Gréndel súm,   1266b

        was of-them Grendel one

        'Grendel was one of them'

        þæt ic *his* ǽrest ðé   ést gesǽgde: 2157

        that I his first   you   gift should-tell

        'that I should first tell you about his gift'

In addition, there are also clause-initial unstressed pronouns that are directly followed by the modified noun as in (37) (Momma 1997: 67).

(37)   *þāra*   ánum stód

                          of-them one   stood

sádol séarwum   fāh,   1037b–1038a

saddle contrivances decorated

'the saddle of one of them stood shining with hand-ornaments'

                     Ðǽra óðer wǽs,

                     of-them one   was

…   …

ídese   ónlīcnæs;   *ōðer* éarmscéapen

woman likeness   other wretched

on wéres wǽstmum wrǽclāstas   trǽd,   1349b, 1351–1352

in man's forms   tracks-of-exile trod

'One of them was the likeness of a woman; the other wretched shape trod the tracks
of exile in the form of a man'

Given that they directly precede the head noun, they are phrase particles that are the sole
element in the clause-initial drop in violation of the Second Law. However, if the given order
is interpreted as comparable to that in (36) above, namely, the pronouns are placed clause-
initially and the head noun happens to follow them directly, they are clause particles and do
not incur violation of either Law. In this case, the pronoun and the following adjective can be
literally translated as 'of them, one stood…' for 1037b and 'of them, one was…' for 1349b. The
ambiguity arises from whether the two adjacent words form a constituent or not.

Similar ambiguity is observed with indefinite adjectives that are between grammatical
and content words in function and stress. For example, in 1351b in (37) above, the clause-
initial *ōðer* apparently bears non-functional alliteration and thus is unstressed. Since it
is directly followed by the adjective it modifies, it is a phrase particle and thus incurs
violation of the Second Law. Alternatively, given that the modifier and the modified may
form separate constituents, it is also possible to interpret the indefinite adjective as a quasi-
demonstrative, meaning 'the other, the wretched one'. Together with the preceding clause
that begins with *ðāra* in 1349b, the sentence contrasts two beings as: 'one…the other'. This
alternative interpretation is not intended to show how Kuhn's Law violations can be avoided.
Instead, it is to show that Kuhn's Law effect partly follows from freedom in word order and
that either of the two interpretations is motivated.

Appositive phrases do not have to be adjacent and are generally considered as separate
phrases. Separated appositive phrases may consist of a clause-initial unstressed pronoun and
a stressed element later in the same clause, as in (38).

(38)   *ūrum* sceal swéord ond hélm,

                                            us   shall sword   and helmet

byrne   ond béaduscrūd   *bǽm* gemǽne.'   2659b–2660

shirt-of-mail and war-garment   both common

'For us both shall there be a part in the work of sword and helmet, of battle-shirt and war-clothing.'

ond *hī* hyne þā *bḗgen*   ābróten hǽfdon,   2707 (also in (3))

As has been shown, stress and distribution of pronouns are the same whether they modify a noun/nominal or an appositive, namely, typically unstressed in clause-early position.

Freedom in word order and thus ambivalence/ambiguity in status are observed in other combinations of words. Pronouns are clause particles when they are the subject or the object on their own, but are by definition not when they are the object of a preposition although Kuhn appears to consider them clause particles (Kuhn 1933: 43). A pronoun in a prepositional phrase is typically stressed (assuming that prepositions are consistently unstressed) as in (39), in which case it is not a particle.

(39) Đū þē   lǽr *be þón*,   1722b
      you yourself teach by that
      'Teach yourself by him'

                ic þis gíd *be þḗ*
                I this tale by you
      āwrǽc wíntrum frōd.   1723b–1724a
      told   winters old
      'Old of winters, I told this tale for you.'

      hū ðā fólc   *mid*   *hím*   fǽhðe tōwéhton.   2948
      how the peoples among them   feud   stirred-up
      'how the peoples stirred up their feud between them'

Again, due to freedom in distribution, the two words that form a prepositional phrase may occur in an opposite order, as exemplified in (40a). As shown, postposed 'prepositions' or adverbs typically alliterate.

(40) a. þāra   þe   hē *him míd* hǽfde.   1625b
        of-those which he him with had
        'of those which he had with him'

                        þē   *him fóran* ongéan
                        in-which him against toward
        línde   bǽron;   2364b–2365a
        shields bore
        'when they bore their shields against him'

        ic *him   æfter* sceál.'   2816b
        I   them after should
        'I have to go after them.'

    b.   þǽr *mē* gífeðe   swǽ
                        if   me granted so
        ǽnig ýrfeweard   *æfter* wúrde
        any   heir   after would-be
        líce   gelénge.   2730b–2732a
        flesh beonging-to
        'if any heir after me, part of my flesh, were granted'

In parallel with (36) where the clause-early genitive/possessive pronouns are separated from the head noun, the preposition/adverb and the object pronoun may occur separately as in (40b), where the pronoun in clause-early position is unstressed.

    On the other hand, there are three examples in *Beowulf* where the entire prepositional phrase with the object pronoun occurs in the clause-initial drop as in (41).

(41)   *on þǽm* se ríca   bád;   310b
        in which the mighty waited
        'in which the mighty one waited'

on him býrne   scán,   405b

on him mail-shirt shone

'his mail-shirt glistened,'

                    On ðǽm wæs ór   wríten

                    on which was origin written

fýrngewínnes;   1688b–1689a

of-ancient-strife

'on which was written the origin of ancient strife'

Both the preposition and the pronoun that form an unstressed prepositional phrase are phrase particles by definition. Thus, unstressed clause-initial prepositional phrases violate Kuhn's Second Law unless the clause-initial drop has a clause particle as in 1688b. Kuhn (1933: 43) allows clause-initial drops such as 310b and 405b, saying that these phrase particles belong to clause particles in parallel with verbal prefixes as in (29) above. While I do not find his interpretation reasonable, in terms of word order and clause structure, clauses that begin with a prepositional phrase, whether with a lexical noun or a pronoun, are linguistically possible as discussed in section 5. Pronouns in a clause-initial prepositional phrase have a linking function comparable to pronouns and demonstratives that are clause particles. In terms of stress, prepositional phrases with a pronoun are comparable to Kuhn's clause particles, especially 'substantive' pronouns, in that they are unstressed clause-initially but stressed later in the clause: see the contrast in stress of (41) and (39). Prepositional phrases with a pronominal object as a whole are thus comparable to clause particles. They may violate the Second Law in its literal interpretation, but the violation is insignificant in that they do not represent a linguistically innovative feature or an ungrammatical pattern.

References

Bliss, A. J. 1967. *The metre of* Beowulf. 2nd edn. Oxford: Blackwell.

Blockley, Mary. 2001. *Aspects of Old English poetic syntax: Where clauses begin*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.

Donoghue, Daniel. 1987. *Style in Old English poetry: The test of the auxiliary*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Fourquet, J. 1938. *L'ordre des éléments de la phrase en germanique ancien*. Paris: Les Belles Lettres.

Fulk, R. D., Robert E. Bjork, and John D. Niles (eds.). 2008. *Klaeber's Beowulf and the Fight at Finnsburg*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Getty, Michael. 2002. *The metre of* Beowulf: *A constraint-based approach*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Hock, Hans Henrich. 1985. "Pronoun fronting and the notion 'verb-second' position in *Beowulf*." In *Germanic linguistics: Papers from a symposium at the University of Chicago*, ed. by Jan Terje Faarlund, 70–86. Bloomington: Indiana University Linguistics Club.

Hopper, Paul J. 1975. *The syntax of simple sentence in Proto-Germanic*. The Hague: Mouton.

Hutcheson, B. R. 1992. "Kuhn's Law, finite verb stress, and the critics." *Studia Neophilologica* 64: 129–139.

_____. 1993. "Stress of quantitative adjectives and some common adverbs in Old English poetry: An alternative to Kuhn's Law." *Leeds Studies in English* 24: 27–56.

Kendall, Calvin B. 1983. "The metrical grammar of *Beowulf*: Displacement." *Speculum* 58: 1–30.

_____. 1991. *The metrical grammar of* Beowulf. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Kuhn, Hans. 1933. "Zur Wortstellung und Betonung im altgermanischen." *Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur* 57: 1–109.

Lucas, P. J. 1985. "On some breaches of Kuhn's law of particles and *Genesis A* 2745." *Philological Quarterly* 64: 386–391.

_____. 1987. "Some aspects of the interaction between verse grammar and metre in Old English poetry." *Studia Neophilologica* 59: 145–175.

Mines, Rachel. 2002. "An examination of Kuhn's second law and its validity as a metrical syntactical rule." *Studies in Philology* 99: 337–355.

Minkova, Donka, and Robert P. Stockwell. 1992. "On the role of prosodic features in syntactic change." In *Internal and external factors in syntactic change*, ed. by Marinel Gerritsen and Dieter Stein, 417–432. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Momma, Haruko. 1997. *The composition of Old English poetry*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Orton, Peter. 1999. "Anglo-Saxon attitudes to Kuhn's laws." *The Review of English Studies* 50: 287–303.

Pintzuk, Susan, and Anthony S. Kroch. 1989. "The rightward movement of complements and adjuncts in

the Old English of *Beowulf*." *Language Variation and Change* 1: 115–143.

Slay, D. 1952. "Some aspects of the technique of composition of Old English verse." *Transactions of the Philological Society* [1952]: 1–14.

Stanley, E. G. 1974. "Some observations on the A3 lines in *Beowulf*." In *Old English studies in honour of J.C. Pope*, ed. by R. B. Burlin and E. B. Irving, 139–164. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

_____. 1992. "Unstressed initial clusters in the half-lines of *Beowulf*." In *Words, texts, and manuscripts: Studies in Anglo-Saxon culture presented to Helmut Gneuss on the occasion of his sixty-fifth birthday*, ed. by Michael Korhammer et al., 263–284. Cambridge: D. S. Brewer.

Stemsrud, David Walter. 1970. *Studien zum Stabverhalten des finiten Verbs in der altenglischen und altsächsischen Stabreimdichtung*. Ph.D. dissertation, Johann-Wolfgang-Goethe-Universität zu Frankfurt am Main.

Stockwell, Robert P., and Donka Minkova. 1992. "Kuhn's Laws and verb-second: On Kendall's theory of syntactic displacement in Beowulf." In *On Germanic linguistics: Issues and methods*, ed. by Irmengard Rauch, Gerald F. Carr, and Robert L. Kyes, 315–337. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Suzuki, Yasuko. 2008. *Finite verb stress and clitic verbs in Old English* Beowulf. Ph.D. dissertation, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign.

（すずき・やすこ　外国語学部准教授）