# KANSAI GAIDAI UNIVERSITY

# Pronominal and adverbial clitics in Old English : Evidence from Beowulf (Part 2)

# Pronominal and adverbial clitics in Old English:

## Evidence from *Beowulf*

## Part II

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### Abstract

In Part I, after the introduction in section 1, section 2 illustrated prosodic deficiency and distributional anomaly of sentential clitics with Serbo-Croatian examples. Section 3 illustrated the structure of Germanic alliterative verse and showed how to interpret stress encoded in the metrical structure. In section 4, after the definition of pronominal and adverbial clitics in Old English, section 4.1 examined the distributional patterns of these pronouns and adverbs in *Beowulf*: they tend to occur in a sequence in a specific order and some of the pronouns show the phenomenon of clitic climbing. In Part II, section 4.2 examines the stress and distribution of pronouns and short adverbs in *Beowulf*. As Kuhn (1933) and Pintzuk (1991, 1996, 1999) point out, most pronouns and a number of short sentential adverbs are unstressed in clause-early position, which suggests, together with the evidence presented in Part I, that these pronouns and short adverbs are sentential clitics. On the other hand, many of the stressed counterparts are apparently under emphasis. That is, they tend to occur in clause-late position and especially in the pre-verbal position. Also, stressed pronouns are often accompanied by appositive phrases. Further, the first and the second person pronouns are more often stressed than the third person pronouns due to a greater degree of discourse prominence. Finally, section 5 summarizes the findings of the present work.

**Keywords**: clitics, pronouns, adverbs, Old English, *Beowulf*

## 4. Pronominal and adverbial clitics in *Beowulf* (continued)

### 4.2. Stress and distribution of pronouns and short adverbs

In *Beowulf* the only phonological evidence for the clitic status of pronouns and short adverbs is that they occur in metrically unstressed position. However, lack of stress is generally a necessary but not a sufficient condition for clitichood. Otherwise, there is no evidence for phonological reduction or phonologically distinct clitic forms as opposed to full forms of pronouns and adverbs. Concerning the stress and distribution of pronouns and short adverbs,

some earlier scholars have observed the contrast between clause-early and unstressed vs. clause-late and stressed and have claimed that clause-early unstressed pronouns and adverbs are clitics.

Based on his observation on *Beowulf* and other early Germanic alliterative poetry, Kuhn (1933) proposed two laws on the stress and distribution of what he calls 'sentence particles', i.e. conjunctions, pronouns, adverbs, and other words that are unstressed and belong to the entire clause rather than to its part (cf. Kuhn 1933: 5-6). His first law states that they occur in the first drop of the clause, either clause-initially or, when the clause begins with a lift, after the first stressed word (cf. Kuhn 1933: 8). Sentence particles may not occur in more than one drop in a clause or after the first lift when the clause begins with a drop, i.e. in the second drop (cf. Kuhn 1933: 9). As implied by the first law, sentence particles may be preceded by one stress only. This means that sentence particles do not occur after a complex element, i.e. elements that consist of a demonstrative and a noun, which makes a drop and a lift, compounds, which make two lifts, and other longer elements that form more than one lift. Kuhn's second law states that clause-initial drops must accommodate at least one sentence particle (cf. Kuhn 1933: 43). Kuhn's sentence particles, when they are stressed, are exempt from these two laws (cf. Kuhn 1933: 10, 50). His laws represent archaic features of early Germanic and are more faithfully observed by early Old English poetry such as *Beowulf* than other early Germanic poems. On the other hand, violation of the laws represents innovative features, which reflects the fact that clause-initial clustering of sentence particles gradually declined. In addition, the second position in early Germanic was originally after the first word and shifted towards second position after the first constituent, which may be more than one word (cf. Kuhn 1933: 93). Later metrists such as Bliss (1967) and Kendall (1983, 1991) treat Kuhn's two laws as metrical conventions and use them as a basis for their metrical analysis, which, as Hutcheson (1993) aptly claimed, was never Kuhn's intention nor is justified.

While Kuhn's definition on the position of sentential clitics is a significant contribution, as will be discussed below, his definition of 'sentence particles' requires some modification (cf. Suzuki 2001). The problem is that Kuhn includes in this category all the words that are unstressed in the clause-initial drop including lexical verbs and vocatives, which are obviously not clitics. Conjunctions are also included although they have no freedom in distribution in contrast to pronouns and adverbs. That is, his definition of sentence particles or clitics lacks independent justification. Clitics in Old English must be a more restrictive group of words than Kuhn posited. Other than part of finite verbs, which are not discussed in this paper, pronouns

and short adverbs are shown to be clitics.

Much later, Pintzuk (1991, 1996, 1999) independently noticed the same correlation between the stress and distribution of pronouns and adverbs in *Beowulf*. That is, they are unstressed and occur preceding the first stress of the clause (cf. Pintzuk 1999: 129).[1] On the other hand, those pronouns and adverbs that occur later in the clause are more often stressed than not. Concerning the shift in the position for clitics, again like Kuhn (1933), Pintzuk (1999: 175) noticed that, while the stressed topic consists of one word in *Beowulf*, in later Old English the topic preceding clitic pronouns are often complex, as given in (31) (cf. Pintzuk 1991: 265-266, 1999: 175; also Koopman 1996).

(31)  þas drohtunge &  þis liif *þu*       scealt gesettan     Bede 64.21-22
      this conduct    and this life you-NOM. shall   establish
      'you shall establish this conduct and this life'
      (Example from Pintzuk 1999: 175, (105))

Kuhn-Pintzuk's observation is in fact born out in *Beowulf* as will be shown for pronouns in section 4.2.1 and for short adverbs in section 4.2.2 below. The fact that most pronouns and many of short adverbs are unstressed in clause-early position suggests, together with other distributional patterns discussed in section 4.1 in Part I, that they are clitics. The following sections also discuss the exceptional cases of stressed examples and of unstressed clause-late examples, which neither Kuhn (1933) nor Pintzuk (1991, 1996, 1999) did. For many of the stressed pronouns, there is evidence such as their distribution and appositive elaboration that indicates that they are under emphasis.

### 4.2.1. Pronouns

Of 1,099 personal pronouns and unambiguous demonstrative pronouns, 1,066 are unstressed while only thirty-three are stressed. Most unstressed pronouns occur in clause-early position, preceding any stressed word except for the finite verb (cf. 688a in (19b) in Part I). There are eleven unstressed pronouns that occur later in the clause. Five of them directly follow the clause-initial stressed word, which is not a finite verb, as in (32a).

(32)  a. After a clause-initial lexical word

S̱óna  *þæt*  ge̱s̱áwon  s̱nóttre céorlas,  1591

at-once that-ACC. saw  wise  men

'at once the wise men saw that'

Also *hīe* in 180b in (19b) in Part I and *ic* in 274b, 532b, and 1997b

b. After a lexical word and a light verb

H̱ýge wæs *him*  ẖínfūs,  755a

heart was him-DAT. eager-to-get-away

'his heart was eager to get away'

Also *mē* in 316b and 473a

In three examples given in (32b) an unstressed finite verb intervenes between the clause-initial stressed word and an unstressed pronoun. Further, in two other examples given in (33), the unstressed pronoun follows one longer element; in 1554b in a main clause and in 2592b in a subordinate clause excluding the conjunction.

(33)  w̱ítig Dríhten,

wise Lord

ṟódera Ṟǽdend  *hit*  on ṟýht gescéd

heavens Ruler  it-ACC. on right decided

ȳ̱ðelíce,  1554b-1556a

easily

'the wise Lord, Ruler of the Heavens, decided it with right, easily'

þæt ðā ā̱glǽcean  *hȳ*  éft gemḗtton.  2592

that the warriors  them-ACC. again met

'that they came together again, dreadful foes'

Clause-late occurrences of unstressed pronouns in (33) may be accounted for as follows. In 1555b, if the object pronoun were clause-initial instead, which is the more common position, the grammatical relation would be obscured due to the long intervening subject that occupies two verses. The object pronoun thus follows the nominal subject rather than precedes it. In 2592b

the unstressed pronoun is reciprocal (accusative plural; cf. Klaeber 1950: 352), referring to the preceding subject that stands for Beowulf and the dragon (cf. Klaeber 1950: 298). Since pronouns are typically anaphoric rather than cataphoric, the reflexive *hȳ* is placed after the nominal subject and not before it.

The last example of the unstressed clause-late pronouns is given in (34), where the pronoun *him* in 2775a occurs at the beginning of the infinitival phrase, which is preceded by another that shares the same finite verb, i.e. *gefrægn* in 2773a.

(34)    Đā   ic on h̲lǽwe gefrǽgn     h̲órd  rḗafian,        2773
        then I  in  mound heard      hoard  plunder

        ḗa̲ld ḗn̲ta   gewḕorc        ā̲nne mánnan,    2774
        old   giants work           one   man

        *him*         on b̲éarm hládon    b̲únan ond díscas    2775
        him-DAT. in  bosom load       cups   and plates

        s̲ýlfes dṓme;                        2776
        self   choice

        'then I heard that one man in the mound pillaged the hoard, the old work of giants, loaded in his bosom cups and plates at his own desire'

In (34) the unstressed pronoun is at the beginning of the second infinitival phrase to which it belongs and cannot occur earlier than it does due to the presence of the first.

As has been shown, clause-late unstressed pronouns in *Beowulf* appear to be reasonable deviations. Similarly, stressed pronouns show certain patterns.

Of thirty-three stressed pronouns, eleven are genitive with or without the head noun in the same clause, as in (35).

(35)                    Nū  ic     *ḗower*     scéal
                    now I-NOM. your-GEN. must

     f̲rúmcyn wítan,                 251b-252a
     lineage   know

     'now I must learn your lineage'

Ic on <u>é</u>arde b&#x101;d

I   in land   waited

<u>m&aelig;</u>lgescéafta,     h&#x113;old *m&#x12B;n*       téla,      2736b-2737b

time-allotment    held   mine-GEN. well

'in my land I waited what fate brought me, held my own well'


þonne *m&#x12B;n*       scéaceð

when   my-GEN. departs

*l&#x12B;f* of    l&#x12B;ce.                    2742b-2743a

life from body

'when life goes from my body'


In 251b *&#x113;ower* modifies *frumcyn* 'lineage' in the next verse and in 2742b *m&#x12B;n* modifies *l&#x12B;f* 'life' in 2743a. In 2737b, on the other hand, the pronoun *m&#x12B;n* refers back to *m&aelig;lgesceafta* 'time-allotment, fate' in the previous verse. Genitive pronouns are stressed in these examples presumably because they are comparable to full NPs.

Eleven of the stressed pronouns occur directly preceding the main verb, which is the basic position for the object in an SOV language, e.g. (36) below and also 2742b in (35) above. Pronouns in this position are stressed because they are comparable to the nominal object.


(36)                Hine      <u>h</u>&#x101;lig Gód

                   him-ACC. holy  god

for <u>&#x101;</u>rstáfum     <u>&#x16B;</u>s        onsénde,

by grace          us-DAT. sent

t&#x14D; <u>W</u>ést-Dénum,     þæs ic <u>w</u>&#x113;n        hæbbe,

to West-Danes       as  I  expectation have

wið   <u>Gr</u>éndles grýre.                 381b-384a

agains Grendel's terror

'Holy God of His grace has sent him to us West-Danes, as I hope, against the terror of Grendel'

þæt ic        þḗ        sṍhte,        417b

that I-NOM. you-DAT. sought

'that I should seek you'


'For gewýrhtum þū́,        wíne   mīn Bḗowulf,

for   deeds-done  you-NOM.    friend my  Beowulf

ond for ā́rstáfum        ū́sic        sṍhtest.        457-458

and for favors        us-ACC. sought

'for deeds done, my friend Beowulf, and for past favors you have sought us'


In the above examples, pronouns fill the alliterating lift, which indicates that they receive strong stress (cf. section 3 in Part I). Note, in the first example in (36), the contrast between the clause-initial unstressed *hine* in 381b and the alliterating *ūs* in pre-verbal position in 382b. The stressed *ūs* but not the unstressed *hine* is accompanied by the appositive *tō West-Denum* in 383a, which suggests that there is more attention to the indirect object than the direct object. Further, in (36), the pre-verbal alliterating pronouns are either first or second person. See below for further discussions on the relationship between stress and the persons of pronouns.

Other than the above two patterns of stressed pronouns, some clause-early second person singular pronouns are stressed, e.g. *þē* in 426 below.


(37)                        Ic     þḗ        nū́   ð̄a,        426

                        I-NOM. you-DAT. now then

                        brégo Bḗorht-Dena,        bíddan wílle,        427

                        lord Bright-Danes        ask      will

                        éodor    Scýldinga,        ā́nre bḗne,        428

                        protector Scyldings        one   request

þæt ð̄u   mē ne forwýrne,        wīgendra hlḗo,        429

that you me not refuse        warriors   shelter

frḗowine        fólca,        430

noble-friend nation

'Therefore, lord of the Bright-Danes, protector of the Scyldings, I will make a request of you, refuge of warriors, fair friend of nations'

The sentence in (37) occurs in Beowulf's speech where he tells Hrothgar that he must accept Beowulf's offer to fight with Grendel. As indicated in italics, the stressed second person pronoun *þē* in 426b is accompanied by four appositive vocatives in 427a, 428a, 429b, and 430a, which indicate emphasis on the addressee. Another similar example is given in (38), where the clause-initial sequence of light elements *Nū ic þec mē...* is disrupted by two vocatives, i.e. *Bēowulf* in 946b and *secg betsta* in 947a.

| (38) | | Nū | *ic,* | *B̄eowulf, þéc,* | |
|------|---|-----|-------|------------------|---|
| | | now | I-NOM. | Beowulf you-ACC. | |
| *sécg bétsta,* | | | *mē* | for súnu wýlle | |
| man best | | | me-DAT. as son will | | |
| fr̄eogan on férhþe; | | | | | 946b-948a |
| love in heart | | | | | |

'now, Beowulf, best of men, in my heart I will love you as a son'

This sentence occurs in Hrothgar's speech to Beowulf after his killing of Grendel. Given that vocatives are not part of the sentence and thus are neglected in terms of the position in the clause, both the stressed *þec* in 946b and the unstressed *mē* in 947b are considered clause-early. The stressed pronoun is again accompanied by two appositive phrases, i.e. *Bēowulf* and *secg betsta*, while the unstressed pronoun is not. The presence of vocatives indicates focus on the addressee and the stress on pronouns can be interpreted as a different realization of this focus although, in general, the presence of appositive vocatives is not always associated with stress on pronouns. As for other evidence, in both of the above examples, i.e. (37) and (38), the context in which they occur may but does not appear to impose emphasis on the addressee.

An additional factor that affects stress on pronouns is stressability of other elements in the same verse. If the halfline consists only of grammatical words, it is one of them that alliterates. The pronoun *þē* in (37) above is one such example. However, when there are more stressable words in the same halfline, weakly stressable words normally occur in a drop. For example, in 953b in (39), there are one noun and a disyllabic verb, which fill the two lifts, and the two pronouns together form a drop.

(39) sǽmran æt sǽcce.     Þū        þē        sélf háfast

weaker at  fighting     you-NOM. you-DAT. self have

dǽdum gefrémed,                                  953-954a

deeds   brought-about

'...weaker in fighting. With your deeds you yourself have made sure'


The causal relationship between the stress on a pronoun and the stressability of other elements in the same verse is not at once obvious. That is, one possibility is that the pronoun is stressed because the verse in which it occurs consists of weakly stressable elements only. Alternatively, because there is emphasis on the pronoun, it cooccurs with weakly stressable elements in the same verse so that it may receive stress. As already shown, examination of the sentences and the context suggests that the second possibility is more plausible than the first in the examples discussed above. That is, the stressed pronouns in (37) and (38) are accompanied by appositive phrases. On the other hand, the unstressed pronouns in (39) are not, as expected. Further, in terms of the position in a verse, pronouns are typically unstressed in verse-initial position but fill a non-alliterating lift in verse-final position, which presumably reflects phrasal prosody. The verse-medial position could either be strong or weak positions depending on what other elements occur in the given verse.

In addition to the examples already discussed, there are two other alliterating pronouns given in (40), which lack an explicit indication for emphasis.


(40)  Dýs dōgor þū           geþýld   háfa

this day   you-NOM.    patience have

wéana gehwýlces,                              1395-1396a

woes   every

'this day have patience in every woe'


Hróðgār máþelode       him       on ándsware:   1840

Hroðgar spoke           him-DAT. in  answer

'Hroðgar spoke to him in answer'

In 1395a the two grammatical words and not the noun *dōgor* alliterate, which is unusual; cf. section 3 above. This sentence occurs at the end of Beowulf's speech to Hrothgar on his determination for avenging Grendel's mother. The pronoun is not accompanied by vocatives in contrast to examples in (37) and (38) above. Emphasis on the demonstrative and the personal pronoun is possible but does not appear to be compelling. On the other hand, the second example in (40) is a fixed expression that precedes a quoted discourse. In *Beowulf* there are 25 occurrences of the a-verse *X maþelode* 'X spoke' that is followed by one or more halflines that describe the speaker X or the situation where X speaks. See (41) for some further examples with *Hrōðgār* as the speaker X.

(41)  H̲rōðgār máþelode,    h̲élm    Scýldinga:    371, 456, 1321
      Hrothgar spoke           protector Scyldings
      'Hrothgar spoke, protector of the Scyldings'


      H̲rōðgār máþelode,    – hē    tō h̲éalle géong,    925
      Hrothgar spoke           he-NOM. to hall    went
      'Hrothgar spoke–he had gone to the hall'


Note that the contrast between the alliterating *him* in 1840b in (40) above and the unstressed *hē* in 925b in (41) conforms to the generalization that pronouns tend to be stressed when they occur later in the clause.

In addition to the above examples, most of which are alliterating pronouns, there are nine pronouns that fill the non-alliterating lift in clause-medial position, e.g. (42) (also 457a in (36) above).


(42)    Clause-late stressed pronouns
        a. After one word
                               Álwalda    *þéc*
                              omnipotent you-ACC.

        gṓde    forgýlde,                    955b-956a
        goodness reward
        'may the Almighty reward you with good'

b. After a complex element

Ðone sīðfæt      *hím*          snótere céorlas

that adventure him-DAT.      wise      men

lŷthwōn  lōgon,                                 202-203a

very-little blamed

'very little did wise men blame him for that adventure'


c. After more than one element

Þā    se  ðēoden *méc*      ōíne līfe

then the king    me-ACC.    your life

héalsode  hrēohmōd,                          2131-2132a

implored troubled-in-mind

'then the king, sore-hearted, implored me by your life'


Ðonne sægdon *þǽt*          sǽlīþende,          377

then    said    that-ACC.      seafarers

'then seafarers used to say that'


'Hwæt sýndon *gē*            séarohǽbbendra,    237

what    are      you-NOM.      armor-bearers

'what are you bearers of armor'


Pronouns in (42) lack clear indication for emphasis and appear to receive stress by position. In contrast to the examples already discussed, the stressed pronouns in (42) are in similar contexts. That is, they typically follow two words or elements, i.e. a compound in (42a), a complex element in (42b), a conjunction and one complex element or a light element and a finite verb in (42c). In contrast to the unstressed pronouns after a simplex word in (32) above, a compound is comparable to a complex element, as given in (42a). As a possible interpretation for the examples in (42a, b), the pronoun is placed after the initial focused element and gets stress by position. In the direct question in 237 in (42c), the given order of the pronoun is the only possibility and may receive stress by position.

In sum, while more than 99% of the clause-early pronouns are unstressed, only 40% of clause-late pronouns are unstressed. Clause-early unstressed pronouns are sentential clitics. As

has been shown, pronouns show a higher ratio of being stressed the later they occur in the clause. Further, among clause-late pronouns, eight out of eleven unstressed pronouns occur after one word with or without a light verb intervening.

Explicit cues to the emphasis on pronouns are the appositive vocatives and the placement in the pre-verbal position. When one of these conditions is met, pronouns tend to fill an alliterating lift. Context may suggest emphasis on pronouns, but is susceptible to different interpretations and thus is not decisive. Also, pronouns tend to be stressed when other elements in the same verse are less stressable. However, this arrangement is likely to follow from the emphasis on pronouns rather than vice versa.

An additional factor that determines stress on pronouns is the person as already mentioned. Among thirty-three stressed pronouns, eighteen including nine possessives are first person, twelve are second person, two are third person, and one is a demonstrative. The higher ratio of the first and the second person pronouns than the third is presumably because they are more discourse prominent. In terms of number, singular pronouns are more stressable than plural pronouns, i.e. twenty-four vs. nine.

### 4.2.2. Adverbs

Like pronouns, short sentential adverbs show the pattern of clause-early and unstressed vs. clause-late and stressed. In *Beowulf* the most frequent adverb is *þā* 'then'. Of 199 occurrences of the adverb *þā* excluding those in idioms, 192 are unstressed and they all occur preceding the first stressed word, e.g. 415a and 2707a in (16), 1590b in (17), 28a and 688a in (19), 340a in (21), 118a and 1280b in (25), 2773a in (34), 2131a in (42c) above.[2] On the other hand, among examples of the stressed *þā*, six fill a non-alliterating lift directly following the clause-initial verb, as in (43).

(43)  Ymbēode   þā́      ídes  Hélminga          620
      went-round then    woman Helmings
      'then the woman of the Helmings went about'

There is only one example of the clause-late *þā* used on its own and this *þā* is stressed, as shown in (44).

(44)  næs    mid    Ḡeatum ðá

was-not among Geats    then

s&#x0301;ncmāðþum s&#x0332;elra    on s&#x0332;wéordes hád;    2192b-2193

treasures    better    in sword's    form

'there was not then among the Geats a better treasure in sword's kind'

While *þā* is typically used for a temporal sequence of events and actions, the stressed *þā* in (44) means that what is described in this sentence is contemporaneous with the events in the surrounding context. More specifically, in the context in which the sentence in (44) occurs, the sword mentioned here is brought in and given to Beowulf and this sentence describes the superiority of that sword. The adverb *þā* thus means 'at that time' rather than 'thereupon' and this less common use may be the reason for the clause-late position of and the stress on the adverb.

Other short adverbs are less frequent than *þā* but show a similar correlation between stress and distribution. Table 1 shows the stress and distribution of eight short adverbs in *Beowulf*. 'Clause-early' adverbs are those preceded by no stress except for a finite verb while 'clause-late' adverbs are preceded by at least one stress other than the finite verb if any. The numbers in the parentheses of the 'clause-early stressed' adverbs in the third column refer to those that are followed only by a finite verb in the same clause and thus may also be interpreted as 'clause-late', e.g. 400b and 900b in (45) below. 'Clause-late' adverbs are consistently stressed. For examples, see 2032a in (18), 435a and 1671a in (24b), and 525a in (30) for *þonne*, 2089a in (19a), 1470b in (24a), and 118a and 1280b in (25) for *þǣr*.[2]

Table 1: Stress and distribution of short adverbs

| Adverbs | Clause-early | | Clause-late | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Unstressed | Stressed | | |
| *þā* 'then' | 192 | 6 | 1 | 199 |
| *þǣr* 'there' | 70 | 3 (2) | 8 | 81 |
| *ǣr* 'before' | 11 | 14 (8) | 17 | 42 |
| *þonne* 'then' | 20 | 0 | 1 | 21 |
| *nū* 'now' | 30 | 1 (1) | 2 | 33 |
| *swā* 'so' | 28 | 0 | 8 | 36 |
| *siððan* 'afterwards' | 4 | 8 | 8 | 20 |
| *swylce* 'also' | 14 | 0 | 1 | 15 |
| Total | 369 | 32 | 46 | 447 |

The ratio of occurring unstressed in clause-early position varies depending on the adverbs. Other than the eight adverbs in the table above, a number of adverbs are not frequent enough so that judgement of their clitic status is difficult.

Two of the adverbs in the table, i.e. *ǣr* and *siððan*, show especially a high ratio of being stressed. As one notable pattern, adverbs in the pre-verbal position fill an alliterating lift, as in (45).

(45)    sume *þ*ǣ*r*   bídon,      400b
        some there waited
        'some waited there'


        – hē       þæs     ǣ́r     onðȁh – ,      900b
           he-NOM. that-GEN. before prospered
        'he had prospered from that before'


        þē   him     se éorðdráca       ǣ́r      gewórhte,      2712
        that him-DAT. the earth-dragon      before made
        'that the earth-dragon caused him before'


        þæt hit sǣ́lȉðend    sýððan        hȁtan
        that it  sea-farers    afterwards call
        Bȉowulfes bȉorh,                          2806-2807a
        Beowulf's barrow
        'so that sea-travelers later will call it Beowulf's barrow'


The number of the alliterating pre-verbal occurrences varies depending on the adverbs, e.g. none with *þā* and *þonne*, six out of 81 with *þǣr*, but as many as 25 in both 'clause-early' and 'clause-late' positions out of 42 with *ǣr*. Alliteration on the pre-verbal adverbs suggests that, like pronouns, the pre-verbal position may be a strong position for adverbs as well. The stressed adverbs in the pre-verbal position may be what Huddleston and Pullum (2002) call VP-oriented adverbs as opposed to clause-oriented adverbs for Present-day English. VP-oriented adverbs occur within a VP and in this respect have less freedom in distribution. Thus, they must be exempted from candidates for sentential clitics. However, the line of demarcation between

these two types is not always clear both in meaning and in distribution. In meaning, both the clause-early *þǣr*, e.g. 2089a in (19a) and 1470b in (24a), 118a and 1280b in (25), and the pre-verbal *þǣr*, e.g. 3008b in (45), likewise refer to the place of verbal action. In terms of distribution, the adverb is both 'clause-early' and 'pre-verbal' in clauses that consist of the finite verb and light elements only, e.g. 400b and 900b in (45) above, although there are a number of examples that are either one of the two.

As a summary, in parallel with pronouns, many of the short adverbs discussed above are unstressed in clause-early position, which suggests that they are clitics, while others are stressed especially in the pre-verbal position.

## 5. Conclusions

I have shown that most pronouns and many short sentential adverbs in Old English *Beowulf* are unstressed in clause-early position. They occur in a specific order clause-initially or, less often, after the clause-initial stressed word. Together with the distributional properties of the order among these unstressed light elements and clitic climbing, the evidence suggests that the unstressed pronouns and short adverbs are sentential clitics. On the other hand, there are scarcely unstressed pronouns that occur later and many of the stressed pronouns and short adverbs appear to be under emphasis. While sentential clitics in Serbo-Croatian has the clause-initial stressed word as the host (cf. section 2), pronominal and adverbial clitics in Old English often occur clause-initially and apparently lack a host. However, provided that prosodic lightness and distributional anomaly are qualifications for clitic status, the language of *Beowulf* shows enough evidence that they are sentential clitics.

## Notes

1    In claiming that clitics precede the first stress in *Beowulf*, Pintzuk (1991, 1996, 1999) does not give any discussions or justification for the stress she marks in the texts given. In fact, metrical analysis of alliterative poetry is not always monolithic. More specifically, among the controversial issues, clause-early alliterating verbs as in (i) (cf. also 688a in (19b) in Part I) are unstressed according to Bliss (1967) whom Pintzuk apparently follows (Pintzuk 1999: 134).

(i)    'Hū    *lomp*  ēow on ḹáde,        1987a

    how fared you   on journey

    'how did you fare on your journey?'

That is, according to Pintzuk's understanding, the verse given in (i) is a one-lift verse as shown. However, the alliterating verbs are stressed in other analyses such as Sievers (1885, 1893), Cable (1974), Hutcheson (1995), Suzuki (1996), and Suzuki (2006-7). Bliss's (1967) justification for the analysis in (i) is his interpretation of Kuhn's laws as metrical conventions, which, as mentioned above, requires discussion. Thus, her claim that most pronouns and adverbs precede the first stress of the clause follows partly from this presupposition. Assuming that the alliterating verb in verses as in (i) is stressed requires an additional qualification on her claim: except for the clause-early finite verb.

2    See Part I for examples with the numbers (1) to (30).

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