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Pronominal and adverbial clitics in Old English:

Evidence from *Beowulf**

Part I

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Abstract

In Old English pronouns and short adverbs such as *þā* ‘then’, *þær* ‘there’, and *þonne* ‘then’ tend to cluster in clause-initial position together with conjunctions as indicated in italics in the following example (cf. Kuhn 1933, Fourquet 1938, Hopper 1975, Hock 1985, van Kemenade 1987, Pintzuk 1991, 1996, 1999, and Fischer et al. 2000).

ond *hī* *hine* *þā* bēgen ābroten hæfdon, Beo 2707
and they-NOM. him-ACC. then both destroyed had
‘and they had destroyed him together’

This paper examines the distribution and stress of pronouns and short sentential adverbs in Old English *Beowulf* and show that they are sentential clitics.

As evidence for this claim, those pronouns and short adverbs that cluster in clause-initial position are metrically unstressed (cf. Kuhn 1933 and Pintzuk 1991, 1996, 1999). In addition, these elements occur in a sequence in a specific order and some of the pronouns show the phenomenon of clitic climbing. Also, personal pronouns tend to avoid clause-initial position although not demonstrative pronouns and adverbs (cf. Hopper 1975 and Pintzuk 1991, 1996, 1999). On the other hand, many of the non-clitic i.e. stressed counterparts appear to be under emphasis: they occur in pre-verbal position. In case of pronouns, they are accompanied by appositive phrases. Also, the first and the second person pronouns are more often stressed than the third person pronouns presumably because they are discourse prominent.

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

1. Introduction

In Old English pronouns and short adverbs tend to cluster in clause-initial position (cf. Kuhn 1933, Fourquet 1938, Hopper 1975, Hock 1985, van Kemenade 1987, Pintzuk 1991, 1996, 1999, and Fischer et al. 2000).¹ For example, in line 2707 from the alliterative verse *Beowulf* given in (1), two pronouns and an adverb occur in a sequence following the clause-initial conjunction, as indicated in italics.

- (1) ond *hī* *hine* *bā* bēgen ābroten hæfdon,
 and they-NOM. him-ACC. then both destroyed had
 ‘and they had destroyed him together’

These pronouns and short adverbs are unstressed in verse (cf. Kuhn 1933 and Pintzuk 1991, 1996, 1999). Based on their distribution and stress status, some scholars such as Kuhn (1933), van Kemenade (1987), and Pintzuk (1999) claim that they are clitics in Old English. On the other hand, Hock (1985) calls them ‘light elements’ instead and Koopman (1997) is skeptical about their clitic status.

This paper examines the distribution and stress of pronouns and short adverbs in the Old English epic poetry *Beowulf* and shows that they have several features that are characteristic of clitics. In what follows, section 2 discusses general properties of clitics that have been reported in earlier literature, i.e. prosodic deficiency and syntactic anomaly. Section 3 illustrates the structure of Germanic alliterative verse in which *Beowulf* is composed. It shows how to interpret the information on phrase-level stress that is not marked in the texts but is encoded in verse structure. Based on these two sections, section 4 below and in Part II presents prosodic and syntactic evidence for the clitic status of pronouns and short adverbs. They typically occur in clause-initial unstressed position in a specific order among themselves. On the other hand, many of the stressed non-clitic counterparts appear to be under emphasis.

2. General properties of clitics

Clitics are typically grammatical elements such as pronouns, conjunctions, auxiliaries, determiners, adpositions, and particles that are prosodically dependent on a neighboring word. Numerous studies on clitics in various languages report two prominent characteristics, i.e.

phonological deficiency and distributional anomaly, although one of these two is sufficient to be a clitic (cf. Zwicky 1977, Klavans 1982, 1985, Spencer 1991, Anderson 1992, 1993, 2005, and Hale 2007 among others).

Phonologically, clitics lack their own prosodic domain, lean on a neighboring accented word or their host, and form a phonological word with this host. They are generally unaccented and often undergo phonological reduction although they may receive accent by position.

Syntactically, clitics tend to be placed in specific positions in the clause, which are often different from the positions for non-clitic counterparts. In many languages such as Serbo-Croatian, Sanskrit, Warlbiri, and Tagalog, sentential clitics occur in ‘second’ position, either as the second word or the second element of the clause (cf. Wackernagel 1892, Hale 1973, Zwicky 1977, Klavans 1982, 1985, Spencer 1991, Anderson 1992, 1993, 2005, Hock 1991, 1996, and Hale 2007). For example, in Serbo-Croatian second position clitics, i.e. pronouns, auxiliaries, and the question particle, occur either as the second word, as in (2a), or as the second constituent, as in (2b) (cf. Spencer 1991: 355, Anderson 1992: 203 and 2005: 110-111; also Radanović-Kocić 1988: 99, 1996).

- (2) a. ‘Second’ after the first word
 Taj *mi* *je* pesnik napisao knjigu.
 that me-DAT. AUX poet wrote book
 ‘That poet wrote me a book.’

- b. ‘Second’ after the first constituent
 Taj pesnik *mi je* napisao knjigu.
 (Examples from Spencer 1991: 355, 9.19)

While second position is typical of sentential clitics in many languages including Serbo-Croatian, recent studies on the position of clitics posit two independent but interacting ordering principles that yield second position (cf. Halpern 1995, Pintzuk 1991, 1996, 1999, Taylor 1996, and Hale 2007 among others). First, clitics occur at the periphery of their domain, in case of sentential clitics, typically in clause-initial position. Second, the domain-initial clitics and the next word or element are inverted possibly in order for enclitics to gain a host. Of the two processes, the first is assumed to be a syntactic process while the second is attributed to prosody and is called ‘Prosodic Inversion’ (cf. Halpern 1995) or ‘phonological cliticization’ as opposed to ‘syn-

tactic cliticization’ (cf. Pintzuk 1996, 1999). Alternatively, in Optimality Theoretic analysis of clitic placement by Anderson (2005: 145), second position is defined in terms of interaction of two constraints: LeftMost that places elements at the left periphery of their domain and NonInitial that prohibits elements from being initial in their domain. These two constraints correspond to syntactic cliticization and Prosodic Inversion in the rule-based analysis just mentioned.

Placing clitics in second position or any other specific position in the clause neglects the otherwise observed rules of syntax, thereby creating distributional anomalies. For example, in the example given in (2a) above, placing the pronoun and the auxiliary in second position creates a discontinuous element that consists of the demonstrative preceding these clitics and the head noun following them.

In addition, clitics may have different distributional patterns from those of non-clitic counterparts. To take examples from Serbo-Croatian again, since clitics are placed consistently in second position irrespective of what precedes and follows, in (3a) the dative pronominal clitic is placed between the verb and the direct object, while the non-clitic dative pronoun in (3b) and the nominal dative object in (3c) follow the direct object.

(3) a. Pronominal clitic

Daj *mi* knjigu.
 give-2SG.IMP. me-DAT. book
 ‘Give me a book.’

b. Non-clitic pronoun

Daj knjigu *meni*.
 give book me-DAT.
 ‘Give me a book.’

c. NP

Daj knjigu *Biljani*.
 give book Biljana-DAT.
 ‘Give Biljana a book.’

(Examples from Radanović-Kocić 1988: 77-78, (35), (35’), and (35’))

That is, second position clitics are subject to ordering principles distinct from those for non-clitics.

Another piece of evidence that clitic placement is in part insensitive to the structural information is a phenomenon called ‘clitic climbing’. That is, pronominal clitics that are the arguments of the infinitive are moved from their domain to a higher clause. In (4), again a Serbo-Croatian example, the pronominal clitics *mu* and *ga* occur preceding the finite verb rather than adjacent to the infinitive to which they belong (cf. Zwicky 1977: 22, Radanović-Kocić 1988: 66, 1996, Spencer 1991: 358, and Anderson 2005: 117-118).

- (4) Ja *mu* *ga* želim dati.
 I-NOM. him-DAT. it-ACC. I-want give-INF.
 ‘It’s me that wants to give it to him.’
 (Example from Spencer 1991: 358, 9.23b)

This phenomenon shows that cliticization as a prosodic phenomenon may neglect the internal structure of the clause, which is syntactic information.

While cliticization may neglect the basic order as just shown, clitics observe ordering principles among themselves (cf. Zwicky 1977: 23-24, 1985: 288, Klavans 1982: 18-19, Hock 1996: 210-213, and Anderson 2005: 125-126). For example, while Serbo-Croatian has free word order, clitics are subject to rigid ordering principles given in (5) (cf. Radanović-Kocić 1988: 137 and Spencer 1991: 356).

- (5) Serbo-Croatian clitic order
li – AUX/COPULA – DAT. – ACC./GEN. – REFL. – *je*
 N.B. *li* question marker
 je 3SG.PRES. of the verb ‘to be’
 AUX all the auxiliaries except *je*

In (6) is given an example of ordered clitics indicated in italics.

- (6) Da *li si* *mi* *ga* *se* zasitio?
 EXPLETIVE Q be-2SG.PRES. 1SG.DAT. 3SG.GEN.M. REFL. be-fed-up
 ‘Are you fed up with it?’
 (Example from Radanović-Kocić 1988: 138, (132))

The clause-initial particle in (6) is an expletive element that serves as a host of the following clitics.

Before showing in section 4 that Old English pronouns and adverbs have similar distributional properties as Serbo-Croatian clitics, interpretation of stress in alliterative verse is discussed in the next section.

3. Structure of Germanic alliterative verse

In the traditional metrical analysis, one verse or halfline typically consists of two stressed positions and two unstressed positions or lifts and drops, respectively. Two verses form a long line by means of alliteration of lifts: the first lift of the second halfline alliterates with at least one lift in the first halfline (cf. Sievers 1885, 1893, Pope 1966, Cable 1974, Bliss 1962, 1967, Hutcheson 1995, Suzuki 1996, and Stockwell and Minkova 1997). For example, in line 102 from Old English *Beowulf* given in (7), the stressed syllables of the four content words fill the lifts, as indicated by the acute accent, while grammatical words and the unstressed syllables form drops.²

- (7) wæs se grímma gæst Gréndel hāten, 102
 was the grim spirit Grendel called
 ‘the grim spirit was called Grendel’

The two lifts of the first halfline or the a-verse begin with the same sound with the first lift of the second halfline or the b-verse, as indicated by the underline. The pattern of alliteration must be trochee in the b-verse: the first but not the second lift alliterate. On the other hand, either lift or both may alliterate in the a-verse: in (7) the a-verse shows double alliteration. The non-alliterating lift in the trochaic verse is filled by a stressable word that follows the alliterating word, e.g. *hāten* in 102b in (7).

As another prominent feature of alliterative poetry, while lifts are typically filled by one stressed syllable unless resolved, drops may accommodate more than one syllable, in *Beowulf* as many as six (cf. Bliss 1962, 1967, Fulk 1992, Suzuki 1996, and Suzuki 2006-7). Polysyllabic drops are characteristic of clause-initial positions. For example, in (7) the first and the clause-initial drop consists of two syllables, i.e. *wæs se*, while the other three drops consist of one syllable each, i.e. *-ma* in the a-verse and *-del* and *-ten* in the b-verse.

Although stress is not marked in the texts, alliteration, lifts, drops, and other metrical

properties reflect prosodic structure. Thus, lifts are filled by the stressed syllable of content words such as nouns, adjectives, and lexical verbs while drops are filled by grammatical words and the unstressed syllables of content words (cf. Rieger 1876, Sievers 1885, 1893, Suzuki 1996, Stockwell and Minkova 1997, and Minkova 2006). Alliteration marks strong phrasal stress in that alliterating words stand out. It has also been pointed out that stress of finite verbs and grammatical words is determined by the position where they occur in the clause (cf. Kuhn 1933). That is, clause-initial sequences of light elements generally occur in metrically unstressed positions. These stress-related metrical patterns are likely to reflect natural stress, possibly not in every detail, but at least recurrent patterns must follow from actual phrasal stress.

In anticipation of the discussions in section 4, some further qualifications in the interpretation of metrical structure are necessary. First, alliteration on grammatical words are considered non-functional when there are more stressable elements that alliterate. For example, in 755a in (8) below, the two content words as well as the pronoun *him* begin with the alliterating sound. Since *hyge* and *hinfūs* are more stressable than *him* and thus are better candidates for the two lifts, alliteration on *him* must be unintentional. The pronoun *him* is thus part of a drop.

- (8) Hýge wæs *him* hinfūs, wolde on héolster fléon, 755
 mind was him-DAT. eager-to-get-away would to hiding-place flee
 ‘his heart was eager to get away, he would flee to his hiding-place’

éafoð úncūpes. Ūþe *ic* swīþor, 960
 strength unkown wished I-NOM. rather
 ‘the strength of the unknown one. I should have wished rather’

Similarly, in 960b there are two words that begin with the alliterating sound: *ūþe* and *ic*. Since the b-verse allows only one alliterating lift and the verb is more stressable and thus is a better candidate for a lift than the pronoun, the initial stressed syllable of *ūþe* fills the third lift while *ic* fills a drop.

While analysis of the verses given in (8) is straightforward, there are subtler cases where the two alliterating candidates for one stressed position are both weakly stressable elements. Alliteration of such verses is determined by the metrical behaviors of these words in other verses. For example, two pronouns begin with the alliterating sound in 251b in (9), i.e. *ic* and *eo-*
wer.

- (9) ænlic ánsȳn. Nū *ic* ēower scéal 251
 unique form now I-NOM. your-GEN. must
 ‘his unequalled form. Now I must [learn] your [lineage]’
 OR ænlic ánsȳn. nū *ic* ēower scéal

While *ic* never bears unambiguous alliteration in *Beowulf*, *ēower* occurs in an alliterating lift in the verse given in (10).

- (10) átole écgþræce ēower lēode 596
 terrible sword-storm your people
 ‘the terrible sword-storm of your people’

Pronouns as a group are weakly stressable. However, when two pronouns occur in a sequence, it is always the second or non-nominative that alliterates, as in (11).

- (11) Ic him þā māðmas, þē hē mē séalde, 2490
 I-NOM. him-DAT. the treasures that he-NOM. me-DAT. gave
 ‘I repaid him the treasures that he gave me’

þēoden Hrōðgār, þæt ic bē sōhte, 417
 lord Hrothgar that I-NOM. you-DAT. sought
 ‘lord Hrothgar, that I should seek you’

ðing wið þyrse. Ic bē nū ðā, 426
 meeting with demon I you-DAT. now then
 ‘affairs with the demon. Therefore, I [will make a request] of you’

Whether it is a matter of the position, i.e. earlier vs. later, or of the case, i.e. nominative vs. non-nominative, is not obvious. At any rate, the evidence just given suggests that in (9) *ēower* rather than *ic* must fill the third lift. That is, the alliteration on *ic* is non-functional.

Another example is the choice between the pronoun *ūs* and the adverb *ā* in the b-verse given in (12).

- (12) éaldor dúgoðe. Ūs wæs ā sýððan 2920
 chief body-of-retainers us-DAT. was ever since
 ‘that chief to his retainers. Ever since then has been [denied] us’
 OR éaldor dúgoðe. Ūs wæs ā sýððan

Although both pronouns and short adverbs are weakly stressable, clause-initial pronouns do not bear unambiguous alliteration while non-initial weakly stressable elements sometimes do. For example, in 881b in (13) the adverb *ā* is likewise the third element in the clause and is the only element that alliterates.

- (13) ēam his néfan, swā hīe ā wæron 881
 uncle his nephew as they-NOM. always were
 ‘the uncle to his nephew, for they were always...’

The metrical status of the adverb in (13) suggests that also in (12) above the adverb rather than the pronoun fills the third lift. Yet another example is the choice between a pronoun and a verbal prefix in (14), again both of which are weakly stressable, i.e. *ūs* and *on-* in the b-verse.

- (14) for ārstáfum ūs onsénde, 382
 by grace us-DAT. sent
 ‘he sent [him] to us of His grace’
 OR for ārstáfum ūs onsénde,

Verbal prefixes generally do not alliterate and the prefix *on-* never bears unambiguous alliteration. On the other hand, clause-non-initial non-nominative pronouns sometimes fill a lift as discussed above. Although none of the other occurrences of *ūs* fills a lift, other inflected forms of the first person plural pronouns may alliterate, as *ūsic* in the third lift in 458b in (15).

- (15) ond for ārstáfum ūsic sōhtest. 458
 and for favors us-ACC. sought
 ‘and for past favors you have sought us’

The evidence just presented suggests that in 382b in (14) the pronoun is more stressable than

the verbal prefix and thus fills the alliterating lift as indicated in the first line.

In addition to non-functional alliteration, another complexity in metrical structure is violation of the two-lift requirement. That is, many of clause-initial a-verses apparently have only one lift. For example, in (16) the a-verse consists of a sequence of clause-initial light elements and one alliterating word. While the alliterating word fills a lift and a drop, none of the preceding grammatical words is a likely candidate for the first lift.

(16) *þā mē þæt gelærdon lēode míne,* 415
 then me-DAT. that-ACC. advised people my
 ‘therefore my people advised me thus’

þæt ðū mē ne forwýrne, 429a
 that you-NOM. me-DAT. not refuse
 ‘that you refuse me not’

ond hī hyne þā bægen ābróten hæfdon, 2707
 and they-NOM. him-ACC. then both destroyed had
 ‘and they had destroyed him together’ (same as (1) above)

There are two possible interpretations for verses as those in (16). First, since the canonical verse has two lifts, choosing one of the grammatical words preceding the alliterating word as the first lift would make the verse conform to the two-lift requirement (cf. Sievers 1885, 1893, Kuhn 1933, Pope 1966, and Cable 1970, 1974). However, this analysis has the disadvantage of arbitrarily choosing one of the weakly stressable light elements as metrically stressed. In addition, this type of verses has the exceptional iambic pattern of alliteration while trochee or double alliteration is the norm.

The second possibility is to claim that clause-initial a-verses as in (16) have only one lift in violation of the two-lift requirement (cf. Bliss 1967, Hoover 1985, Suzuki 1996, Stockwell and Mikova 1997, and Suzuki 2006-7). This analysis has the advantage of avoiding the arbitrary decision concerning the first lift in addition to not yielding the exceptional iambic alliterative pattern. As support for this one-lift analysis, similar clause-initial sequences of light elements often precede the first lift in regular two-lift verses. In (17) are given a clause-initial a-verse with two alliterating lifts, i.e. 183a, and clause-initial b-verses, i.e. 1590b and 1674b (cf. also Hoover

1985).

- (17) *nē hīc* *hīru* *hēofena Hēlm* *hērian ne cūþon,* 182
 nor they-NOM. indeed heavens protector praise not knew
 ‘nor indeed did they know how to praise the Protector of Heaven’

ond hine *þā* *hēafde* *becēarf.* 1590b
 and him-ACC. then head cut-off
 ‘and thus he cut off his head’

þæt þū *him* *ondrædan* *ne þearft,* 1674b
 that you-NOM. him-DAT. fear not need
 ‘that you need not have fear for him’

As shown, the italicized words together form a drop in (17). The fact that the entire sequence of light elements is unstressed in two-lift verses suggests that similar sequences in a-verses as in (16) form a drop as well in violation of the two-lift requirement.

The analysis just given implies that grammatical words in similar clause-initial sequences do not bear functional alliteration where there is at least one alliterating content word in the same verse. For example, in the a-verse in (18), both the demonstrative *þæs* and the adverb *þonne* as well as the root syllable of the following verb *ofþyncan* begin with the alliterating sound.

- (18) *Mæg þæs* *þonne* *ofþyncan* *ðēodne Hēaðo-Beardna* 2032
 may that-GEN. then displease lord Heathobards
 ‘it may then displease the lord of the Heathobards’

Given that the entire clause-initial sequence of grammatical words must be unstressed, neither the demonstrative nor the adverb bears functional alliteration and thus these two words together with the initial auxiliary must be metrically unstressed.

Based on the metrical analysis just illustrated, section 4.2 in Part II will show that pronouns and short adverbs tend to be unstressed in clause-early position, but are typically stressed in clause-late position. On the other hand, the analyses of ambiguous cases such as (9), (12), and

(14) partly follow from this very claim on the relation between stress and word order, which gives the impression of circularity. Note, however, that the decision made above is supported by independent evidence of unambiguous cases. Therefore, metrical stress as has been shown so far supplies the firm basis of the claim made in section 4.

4. Pronominal and adverbial clitics in *Beowulf*

A number of earlier literature has observed that pronouns and short adverbs in *Beowulf* cluster in clause-early position and are unstressed in verse (cf. Kuhn 1933, Fourquet 1938, van Kemenade 1987, 2002, Hock 1985, Pintzuk 1991, 1996, 1999, Suzuki 2001, and van Kemenade and Los 2006). They occur predominantly at the beginning of the clause together with a conjunction or a subordinator, as in (19a) (cf. also (16), (17), and (18)), but may also occur after a stressed word, especially after the finite verb, as in (19b) (cf. also (8)).

- (19) a. Unstressed pronouns and short adverbs in clause-initial position

hī hīne þā ætþæron tō hrīmes fároðe, 28
 they-NOM. him-ACC. then carried to sea's current
 'then they carried him down to the sea-currents'

þā him swā geþéarfod wæs; 1103b
 since them-DAT. so necessitated was
 'since necessity forced them'

Hē mec þær on innan únýnnigne,
 he-NOM. me-ACC. there in inside guiltless
ḡīor ḡædfruma gedōn wólde
 fierce doer-of-evil-deeds do would
mánigra súmne; 2089-2091a
 many one
 'the fell doer of evils would put me therein guiltless, one of many'

b. Unstressed pronouns and short adverbs after a stressed word

Hýlde *hine* *þā* héaþodēor, 688a

bent-down him-ACC. then battle-brave

‘then the battle-brave one laid himself down’

Métod *hīe* *ne* cūþon, 180b

God they-NOM. not know

‘they recognized not the Lord God’

This section provides evidence from *Beowulf* that most pronouns and many of adverbs that form a phrasal category on their own are sentential clitics. Cliticness is determined on a token basis rather than a type or category basis.

Pronouns discussed in this section refer to both personal and demonstrative pronouns. Pronominal objects of prepositions or genitive/possessive pronouns that directly precede or follow the noun that they modify are part of a phrasal category and are not sentential clitics. However, genitive pronouns that form a constituent on their own or are separated from the head noun are discussed as possible candidates for clitics. Relative and interrogative pronouns have no freedom in distribution, like conjunctions, and thus are exempted from considerations.

Other than lack of stress, there is no phonological evidence in Old English that shows that pronouns are sentential clitics. Koopman (1992: 80-83) provides evidence that the second person pronoun is encliticized to the verb, but there is apparently no restrictions on the position of the verb that serves as the host for the enclitic pronoun. Therefore, Koopman’s examples show that the pronoun is a verbal clitic, i.e. a clitic that is prosodically attached to a finite verb, rather than a sentential clitic. Also, Suzuki (2008) gives some examples of the contracted *wēn’ ic* from the verb-pronoun sequence *wēne ic* ‘think I’ in *Beowulf*, which again suggests that the pronoun is a verbal clitic.

By ‘short’ adverbs is meant sentential adverbs, especially those called ‘demonstrative’ (cf. Andrew 1940), ‘pronominal’ (cf. Hopper 1975), ‘deictic’ (cf. Hock 1985), or ‘orientational’ (cf. Stockwell and Minkova 1992) and some other adverbs that may also be used as a conjunction to introduce a subordinate clause, such as *þā* ‘then’, *þær* ‘there’, *þonne* ‘then’, *swā* ‘so, thus’, *swylce* ‘also’, *syððan* ‘after’, *ǣr* ‘before’, and *nū* ‘now’. They are typically mono- or disyllabic, i.e. ‘short’, and underived. They are anaphoric in meaning and have a linking function. These adverbs are weakly stressable, often occur in the unstressed position in verse but occasionally fill a

lift. In contrast, denominal and other derived adverbs such as *sōðlice* ‘truly’, *swīðe* ‘very’, and *ætgædere* ‘together’ are content words and cannot be clitics (cf. Hale 2007: 212-213). In fact they usually fill a lift. Directional adverbs such as *forð* ‘forth’, *up* ‘up’, and *ūt* ‘out’ and those adverbs that may be used as a preposition such as *in* ‘in’, *on* ‘on’ *tō* ‘to’, and *under* ‘under’ also fill a lift. Among other underived adverbs, *eft* ‘again’, *ēac* ‘also’, *gýt* ‘yet’, *sōna* ‘soon’, and *hraðe* ‘quickly’ tend to fill a lift while some other adverbs such as *oft* ‘often’ and *ā* ‘ever’ may also fill a drop. The negative adverb *ne* consistently precedes the finite verb and may be contracted with it, e.g. *næs* from *ne wæs* ‘not was’ (cf. Campbell 1959, Brunner 1965, and Suzuki 2008). However, *ne* is a verbal clitic and not a sentential clitic. For many of adverbs such as *næfre* ‘never’, there are not enough examples for determining their status. I discuss in this section only those adverbs that have a linking function and in this respect form a semantic class together with pronouns. Again adverbial clitics are only those that form a constituent on their own and do not include adverbs that modify an adjective or another adverb and adverbs in idioms, e.g. *þā gēn* ‘further, still’, *þā gýt*, ‘further, besides’, *nū þā* ‘now then’ (cf. 426b in (11) above), and *swā þēah* ‘so nevertheless’ (cf. Kuhn 1933: 13 and Klaeber 1950).

Section 4.1 below examines distributional peculiarities of pronouns and short adverbs in *Beowulf*. Since pronouns tend to occur in clause-early position, they observe different ordering principles from those of nouns. Also, pronouns and adverbs occur in a specific order in clause-early position. Section 4.2 in Part II examines the correlation between stress and distribution of pronouns and short adverbs in *Beowulf*. As was pointed out by Kuhn (1933) and Pintzuk (1991, 1996, 1999), they tend to be unstressed in clause-early position but are more often stressed in clause-late position. For examination of particular word forms, I used Klaeber’s (1950) glossary and Bessinger and Smith (1969).

4.1. Order of pronouns and short adverbs

In *Beowulf* most pronouns and short adverbs occur in a clause-initial sequence and less often in second position after the clause-initial stressed word. Although these words may also occur later in the clause, they seem to have little freedom in their distribution, as Serbo-Croatian sentential clitics. Since pronouns are normally placed before any lexical element except for the verb, the pronominal object usually precedes the nominal subject, thus creating an anomalous OS-order (cf. van Kemenade 1987 and Pintzuk 1999). For example, in (20) the accusative pronoun precedes the nominal subject in both examples.

pronominal subject. Alternatively, more than half of the clauses with SV-order has a pronominal subject but only about one fourth of the clauses with VS-order has a pronominal subject. Also in later Old English there is a difference in order between pronominal and nominal subjects. That is, in main clauses beginning with a topic or the adverb *þā* ‘then’, subject-verb inversion is the norm with a nominal subject but not with a pronominal subject (cf. Fischer et al. 2000: 49-50, 118 and Fischer and van der Wurff 2006: 183).

There are also examples of clitic climbing in *Beowulf* and in Old English in general (cf. van Kemenade 1987). For example, in (22) the pronoun *ēower* in 251b is the object of the infinitive *witan* that occurs later in the clause and not the auxiliary *sceal*.

- (22) Nū ic *ēower* scéal
 now I-NOM. your-GEN. must
 frūmcyn witan, 251b-252a
 lineage know
 ‘now I must learn your lineage’
- Ēow* hēt *secgan* *sīgedrihten* mīn, 391
 you-DAT. ordered say victorious-lord my
 ‘my victorious lord has bidden [me] to say to you’

In 391a the clause-initial pronoun is not the indirect object of the directly following finite verb *hēt*, but of the infinitive *secgan* after the finite verb. This sentence occurs in a speech by Wulfgar, where he tells Beowulf and his companions that his master Hrothgar, the subject of *hēt*, ordered him, i.e. Wulfgar, which is suppressed in the sentence given, to tell the addressees, i.e. *ēow*, Beowulf and his companions, that Hrothgar knows who Beowulf is. Thus the clause-initial pronoun must be an argument of *secgan* rather than of *hēt*.

Furthermore, as discussed in section 2 above, pronouns and short adverbs together with conjunctions are arranged in a specific order given in (23) (cf. Hopper 1975: 72, Hock 1985, Pintzuk 1991: 284, 1999: 160, and Koopman 1997: 88).

(23) Order of light elements in *Beowulf*

(i)	(ii)	(iii)	(iv)
conjunction	– personal pronouns	– demonstrative pronoun	– adverb
adverb	NOM. - ACC. - DAT.		
demonstrative pronoun			
relative marker			

That is, the order of clause-initial light elements is: (i) a clause-linker, i.e. a conjunction, an adverb, a demonstrative pronoun, or a relative marker, (ii) one or more personal pronouns in the order nominative - accusative - dative, (iii) a demonstrative pronoun, and (iv) an adverb. A demonstrative pronoun or a short adverb may either occur initially or after the personal pronoun(s). Not all the four positions are necessarily filled. The sequence of clitics as given in (23) is rarely disrupted by any other element including light finite verbs in *Beowulf* (cf. also section 4.2. in Part II). While unstressed pronouns and adverbs occur clause-initially more often than in second position, clause-initial position tend to have longer sequences of clitics than second position. I give examples of main clauses first.

Examples in (24) below show the order of a short adverb with respect to pronouns: it may occur clause-initially, preceding pronouns, as in (24a) (cf. also 415a in (16) above), or follow the clause-initial sequence of pronouns, as in (24b) (cf. also 28a and 2089a in (19a) above).

- (24) a. *þær* hē *ðōme* forlēas, 1470b
 there he-NOM. glory lost
 ‘there he lost his glory’
- b. Ic hit þē *þonne* gehāte, 1671a
 I-NOM. it-ACC. you-DAT. then promise
 ‘then I promise you that’
- ic þæt *þonne* forhīcge, 435a
 I-NOM. that-ACC. then scorn
 ‘then I scorn that’

The first position is often occupied by a finite verb: cf. 688a in (19b) above. In some examples

two adverbs occur in a sequence without any pronouns between them, as in (25).

- (25) Fand *þā ðær inne æþelinga gedriht* 118
 found then there inside nobles band-of-retainers
 ‘then he found therein a band of nobles’

Þā ðær sōna wéarð
 then there quickly came-to-pass
éðhwyrft éorlum, 1280b-1281a
 change noblemen
 ‘then change came quickly to the earls there’

Again a sequence of adverbs may either be clause-initial as in 1280b or follow the clause-initial verb as in 118a.

Among different types of pronouns, a demonstrative pronoun may either precede or follow personal pronouns, e.g. (26a) and (26b), respectively, but does not occur between two personal pronouns (cf. also 415a in (16)).

- (26) a. *ðā ic ðē, þéorncýning, þríngan wýlle,* 2148
 those-ACC. I-NOM. you-DAT. king-of-warriors bring will
 ‘I will bring these to you, great king’

þæt hē on Bīowúlfe þéarm ālégde, 2194
 that-ACC. he-NOM. in Beowulf’s lap laid
 ‘he laid that in Beowulf’s lap’

Dē hē ūsic on hēрге gecēas 2638b
 for-that-reason-INS. he-NOM. us-ACC. in army chose
 ‘therefore he chose us among the host’

- b. *Him þæt tō mēarce wéarð;* 2384b
 him-DAT. that-NOM. to limit became
 ‘that became his life’s limit’

The order between different kinds of pronouns is determined irrespective of their case and may not conform to the basic SO-order. For example, in (26b) the dative personal pronoun precedes the nominative demonstrative pronoun. As another difference between the two types of pronouns, demonstrative pronouns may occur clause-initially as a linking word and there is one in a clause. On the other hand, personal pronouns tend to avoid clause-initial position (cf. Hopper 1975: 35 and Pintzuk 1996: 396-397, 1999: 161) and there are often more than one in a clause.

In coordinate and subordinate clauses, the clause-initial conjunction is followed by other light elements as given in (27) (cf. also 429a and 2707a in (16) and 1590b and 1674b in (17)).

(27) a. Order in coordinate clauses

ac *hig* *him* geþingo búdon, 1085b
 but they-NOM. them-DAT. terms offered
 ‘but they offered them peace-terms’

b. Order in subordinate clauses

þēah *hē* *him* lēof wære; 203b
 although he-NOM. them-DAT. dear would-be
 ‘though he was dear to them’

þā *him* swā geþearfod wæs; 1103b
 since them-DAT. so necessitated was
 ‘since necessity forced them’

Gif *ic* *þæt* gefricge ofer flōða begáng, 1826
 if I-NOM. that-ACC. hear over floods expanse
 ‘if beyond the sea’s expanse I hear that’

Lastly, among personal pronouns, the order is nominative, accusative, and dative: cf. 2707a in (16), 28a and 2089a in (19a), and 2638b in (26a) for the order nominative - accusative; 429a in (16), 2148a in (26a), 1085b in (27a), and 203b in (27b) for the order nominative - dative. The order of oblique case pronouns is accusative - dative: cf. e.g. 1671a in (24b) (cf. also Koopman 1997: 82-83 for Old English in general). There are few examples that show the order of genitive

pronouns with respect to pronouns of other cases. As expected, genitive pronouns follow nominative pronouns, as given in (28).

- (28) *swā hē hyra mā wólde,* 1055b
 as he-NOM. their-GEN. more would
 ‘as he would have [killed] more’

- þæt ic his ærest ðē ēst gesægde;* 2157
 that I-NOM. his-GEN. first you-DAT. gift should-tell
 ‘that I should first tell you about his gift’

While the status of the genitive pronoun *hyra* in 1055b is ambiguous, *his* in 2157a is an example of a genitive pronoun following a nominative pronoun. There are no examples in *Beowulf* that show the order between genitive pronouns and other oblique case pronouns. In 2157a in (28) above the genitive *his* does precede the dative *ðē*, but the latter is both stressed and placed later, which suggests that it is not a clitic. However, there is an example in *Genesis* that shows the order genitive - accusative, given in (29).³

- (29) *þonne lēte hē his hine lānge wéaldan:* Gen 258b
 then let he-NOM. his-GEN. him-ACC. long rule
 ‘then he would have let him rule it in perpetuity’

As already stated, unstressed pronouns and adverbs occur in a sequence given in (23) and are rarely separated by other elements in *Beowulf*, e. g. (30) where the clause-initial adverb and the unstressed pronoun are separated by the stressed finite verb.

- (30) *Donne wēne ic tō þē wýrsan geþíngæa,* 525
 therefore expect I-NOM. to you-DAT worse results
 ‘therefore I expect the worse results for you’

While pronominal and adverbial clitics may follow the clause-initial stressed word, thus occurring in second position, there is no evidence in *Beowulf* for discontinuous elements due to cliticization (cf. also Pintzuk 1996, 1999).

To summarize the discussions so far, unstressed pronouns and short adverbs tend to occur in a sequence in clause-initial position or less often after a stressed word. Their distributional properties as discussed in this section suggest that they are sentential clitics.

Notes

- * I am grateful to Hans Henrich Hock for discussions. I also thank two anonymous reviewers for their suggestions for improvement.
- 1 References are given in Part II.
- 2 Examples from Old English *Beowulf* are taken from Klaeber's (1950) edition. The number refers to the line number and a and b after the line number (e.g. 417b in (11) below) represent the a-verse and the b-verse, respectively. The two verses that form a long line are separated by a space. Alliteration is marked by an underline. Translation to Present-day English is taken from Donaldson (2002) and adapted where necessary.
- 3 The example in (29) is taken from Behaghel and Taeger (1984: 220). The translation is from Bradley (1982: 19).

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