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## The sixth type of Germanic alliterative verse : the case of Old English Beowulf (Part 3)

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# The sixth type of Germanic alliterative verse:

the case of Old English *Beowulf*\*

## Part III

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### Abstract

According to the traditional metrical analysis, a basic unit of Germanic alliterative poetry consists of two stressed positions and two unstressed positions, i.e. S and W, respectively, and there are five possibilities of arranging these four positions, i.e. SWSW, WSWS, WSSW, SSWW, and SWWS (cf. Sievers 1885, 1893, Bliss 1962, 1967, Russom 1987, Cable 1991, Fulk 1992, Hucheson 1995, Suzuki 1996 among others). This paper (Parts I-III) claims, based on the examination of Old English *Beowulf*, that there is the sixth type of Germanic alliterative verse, i.e. WWSS, in addition to Sievers's five metrical types. Following the introduction in Part I, section 2 in Parts I and II illustrated properties of early Germanic alliterative poetry and Sievers's (1885, 1893) metrical analysis as background information. Section 3 is devoted to the discussions of the sixth-type verses in *Beowulf*. Section 3.1 in Part II discussed the sixth-type verses with a disyllabic compound filling two lifts (e.g. *Mē þone wæðlraðs* '... me for the murderous onslaught'). Part III in the present volume discusses the sixth-type verses with a verse-final 'contracted' vowel in section 3.2 (e.g. *Swā sceal mán dōn* 'as a man should do'), other possible sixth-type verses in section 3.3, and various problems associated with the proposed analysis in section 3.4. Part III also gives an appendix of a complete list of the sixth-type verses in *Beowulf* and, following the references, a table of contents of the previous two parts.

**Keywords:** metrical types, Germanic alliterative verse, Old English, *Beowulf*, decontraction

### 3. The sixth type (continued)

#### 3.2. Verses with a 'contracted' vowel as the second lift

There are twenty-four verses of the WWSS pattern, two a-verses and twenty-two b-verses, that

involve a verse-final ‘contracted’ vowel (cf. section 2.5.2 in Part II), such as in *gān* (386b), *dōn* (1534b), *rēon* (512b), and *slēa* (681b), as given in (49).<sup>1</sup>

(49) hāt      ın gān      386b

ordered in go      ‘he ordered ... to walk in’

Swā sceal    mán dōn      1534b

as    should    man do      ‘As a man should do’

pā    git      on gūnd rēon      512b

when you-both in    sea    swim      ‘when you two swim in the sea’

pæt hē mē ongēan slēa      681b

that he me against strike      ‘that he would strike at me’

As already noted, the syllable that contains a contracted vowel is decomposed into a lift and a drop in Sieversian scansion. Thus, verses of this group have been analyzed as Type C, i.e. WSSW. However, as extensively discussed in section 2.5.2 in Part II, decontraction as a metrical device lacks enough evidence and must be rejected. Therefore, the claim that verses as those given in (49) are of Type C is not justified. For a complete list of the verses of this group, see Appendix, section 2, below.

The analysis without decontraction was earlier proposed by Touster (1954: 38) for verses with a verse-final monophthong (e.g. 386b and 1534b in (49) above), who claims that disyllabic interpretation of monophthongs is required only by the arbitrary requirement on the meter. However, she claims that diphthongs resulting from contraction are disyllabic (e.g. 512b and 681b in (49)), saying that such an analysis conforms to the general pattern of falling diphthongs (cf. Touster 1954: 37-38, also 34-35). Based on the discussions in section 2.5.2 in Part II, I propose that any ‘contracted’ vowel, whether it is a monophthong or a diphthong, is metrically monosyllabic because decontraction as a metrical device lacks enough evidence.

In this group of sixth-type verses, the merged weak position consists of one to four unstressed syllables or one to four words. For example, in (49) above, the verse-initial weak position is filled by one, two, three, and four unstressed syllables in verses 386b, 1534b, 512b, and 681b, respectively.

In nineteen out of twenty-four verses of this group, the two lifts are filled by two monosyllabic words and the second word is a verb (cf. (49) above). In the other five verses, the two lifts are filled by two stressed syllables of a compound noun, as given in (50).

- (50) *nefne s̥ínfréa*                      1934b  
       except great-lord        ‘except the great lord’

*ƿæ̃r wæs Hóndsió*                      2076a  
       there was Hondsioh        ‘There was ... for Hondsioh’

These verses are the same as those given in section 3.1 in Part II in that the two lifts are filled by a disyllabic compound. I categorize the five verses just mentioned with the other nineteen verses with a verse-final verb because their class affiliation depends on the interpretation of the verse-final syllable.

In fourteen out of nineteen verses that have a verse-final verb, the ‘contracted’ verb form does not involve consonant loss but results from juxtaposition of a vowel-final stem and a vowel-initial ending (cf. section 2.5.2 in Part II). In (51) are given all these verb forms together with the line numbers in which they occur.<sup>2</sup>

- (51) *gān*    inf., ‘to go’                                      386b, 1644a  
       *gæð*    3sg.pres.ind. of *gān* ‘to go’              2034b, 2054b  
       *dōn*    inf., ‘to do’                                      1116b, 1172b, 1534b, 2166b  
       *dēð*    3sg.pres.ind. of *dōn* ‘to do’              1058b, 1134b, 2859b  
       *sȳ*     3sg.pres.subj. of ‘to be’                      1831b, 2649b  
       *sȳe*    3sg.pres.subj. of ‘to be’                      682b

Since ‘contracted’ vowels that do not involve consonant loss lack evidence for earlier disyllabic forms (cf. section 2.5.2 in Part II), more than half of the alleged decontracted vowels in the sixth type verses lack historical justification, which gives further support to the proposed analysis without decontraction.

Among the other ten verses that involve either a verse-final verb or a disyllabic compound, the verse-final stressed syllable involves loss of *h* in four verses given in (52), *j*-loss in two verses given in (53), and *w*-loss in four verses given in (54).

(52)	<i>slēa</i>	3sg.pres.subj. of <i>slēan</i> ‘strike’, VI	681b
	<i>tēon</i>	inf., ‘to draw’, II	1036b
	<i>l̥yhð</i>	3sg.pres.ind. of <i>lēan</i> ‘blame’, IV	1048b
	<i>Hondsiō</i>	dat.sg. of <i>Hond-siōh</i> (proper name)	2076a
(53)	<i>-frēa</i>	nom.sg. of <i>frēa</i> ‘lord’ (as the second element of a compound)	16b, 1934b
(54)	<i>orcneāas</i>	nom.pl. of ‘evil spirits’	112b
	<i>rēon</i>	1pl.pres.ind. of <i>rōwan</i> ‘swim’	512b, 539b
	<i>Wealhþēon</i>	dat.sg. of <i>Weah-þēo(w)</i> (proper name)	629b

As has been just shown, most of the verses of this group involve verb forms and occur as b-verses. This is because the line-final position is frequently occupied by a verb, both finite and non-finite. In the first 500 lines of *Beowulf*, i.e. about one-sixth of the entire poem, 279 b-verses out of 500, ca. 55.8%, have a verb, either finite or non-finite, in verse-final position. Alternatively, of 548 verb forms in the first 500 lines, 279 or 50.9% occur in line-final position, i.e. at the end of b-verses.<sup>3</sup> There are two reasons, metrical and linguistic, for this tendency.

Metrically, finite verbs tend to bear less stress than other lexical words such as nouns and adjectives and thus tend to be placed in the weakest lift, i.e. the fourth lift in the long line (cf. section 2.1 in Part I).

Linguistically, Old English is an SOV language or at least show SOV order typically in subordinate clauses in general and also often in main clauses in *Beowulf* (cf. e.g. Klaeber 1950: xciv, Hopper 1975: 83, Mitchell 1985: §3944, Hock 1982, 1991a: 330, van Kemenade 1987: 64 fn. 5, Traugott 1992: 274, Denison 1993: 29-30, Pintzuk 1999: 1, 39 fn. 3, and Fischer et al. 2000: 49). Therefore, while verbs may occur in clause-initial or in second position, a number of verbs occur in clause-final or clause-late phrase-final position, following the object and other elements in the same sentence. On the other hand, line boundaries and caesurae in alliterative verse coincide with phrase-boundaries (cf. Sievers 1893: 46-47, Hock 1988, 1991b: 57, Pintzuk and Kroch 1989, Getty 2002: 139-140, 246, Taylor 2005). Therefore, clause-late verbs, whether finite or non-finite, tend to occur in the verse-final and especially in the line-final position.

### 3.3. Other possible sixth-type verses

#### 3.3.1. Verses with a thematic vowel as the second lift

In Sievers's scansion, not only the second element of compounds but also the medial syllable directly following the primary stress may fill a non-alliterating lift or a secondary lift (cf. section 2.3 in Part I). If this medial syllable is metrically stressable in inflected forms such as *ābredwade* 'killed (3sg. pret. ind.)' and *gebīdanne* 'endure (dat. sg. inf.)' (cf. (12) in Part I), the same posttonic syllable is potentially stressable in word-final position as in *gefālsod* 'cleansed' (cf. (55) below), although in Sieversian analysis it is metrically unstressed. If the metrical stress is on the posttonic syllable, verses such as the one in (55) may be a candidate for the sixth-type verse.

- (55) ?Hæfde þā gefālsod 825a  
           had then cleansed 'Then he had cleansed ...'

However, unlike the second element of compounds, stressability of the posttonic syllable is questionable as discussed in section 2.3 in Part I. Thus, following Sieversian scansion, verses as given in (55) are of Type A3 with only one lift.

#### 3.3.2. Other sporadic examples

Two other verses may be interpreted as belonging to the sixth type.

The first is the verse given in (56) with an unstressed word followed by two stressed monosyllabic words.

- (56) siþðan Cāin wéarð 1261b  
           after Cain became 'after Cain became ...'

The word *Cāin* in this verse is emended from *camp* 'battle, fight' in Klaeber's (1950: 48) edition (cf. also Jack 1994: 34). In contrast to *Cāin*, *camp* unequivocally makes only one strong position. Thus the verse 1261b is of the sixth type as it originally is.

In order to see why the verse is emended, I give in (57) the sentence in which the verse 1261b occurs.

- (57)
- |   |        |         |        |             |
|---|--------|---------|--------|-------------|
|   | sipðan | Cáin    | wéarð  |             |
|   | after  | Cain    | became |             |
| tō ecgbánan   | āngan  | brēper  |        |             |
| to slayer-by-sword  | only   | brother |        |             |
| fæderenmæge   |        |         |        | 1261b-1263a |
| kinsman-by-the-father   |        |         |        |             |
| 'after Cain killed by his sword his only brother, his father's son' |        |         |        |             |

The context that precedes this sentence refers to Grendel's mother and, according to the given emendation, the sentence in (57) implies Grendel as progeny of Cain (cf. Klaeber 1950: 132, Jack 1994: 34-35). I leave open the validity of the emendation and return to the metrical interpretation of the emended verse in (56).

The question centers around whether the foreign name *Cāin* has a diphthong or a hiatus. If the vowel of this word is a diphthong, the verse 1261b in (56) has two successive verse-final lifts and thus is of the sixth type. If, on the other hand, *ai* is a hiatus, as is assumed in Sieversian scansion, then the word *Cāin* makes a sequence of a lift and a drop. In this case the entire verse is of Type B, i.e. WSWs (cf. e.g. Bliss 1967: 147 and Suzuki 1996: 513). This disyllabic interpretation of *Cāin* is reasonable in that *ai* is not in the inventory of Old English diphthongs (cf. Campbell 1959: §§30, 37-39). However, since hiatus is not preferred in Old English, lack of *ai* in the inventory of Old English diphthongs does not necessarily exclude its monosyllabic status.

Unfortunately, there is no unequivocal evidence that shows if *āi* is a diphthong or a hiatus. A possible piece of evidence for monosyllabic status of *Cāin* is the following verse in (58) from *Genesis*, where the genitive form occurs in verse-final position.<sup>4</sup>

- (58) mægburg Caines      Gen 1066a  
kinsman    of-Cain      ‘a kinsman of Cain’

With the assumption that verses must conform to Sieversian scansion, this verse is of Type A, i.e. SWSW. The verse-final drop normally accommodates one unstressed syllable only (cf. section 2.1 in Part I) and the genitive singular ending *-es* fills this drop. Therefore, the stem syllable *Cain-* as a whole must fill the second lift and thus must be metrically monosyllabic. However, since there are a number of verses that do not conform to Sieversian scansion at any rate (cf. section 2 in Parts I and II), this verse alone does not provide enough evidence for the monosyl-

labic status of *Cain*.

In conclusion, the emended verse given in (56) is of the sixth type if the proper name *Cain* is monosyllabic. As has been shown, there is not enough evidence that indicates the diphthongal status of *ai*.

The second verse to be discussed in this section is given in (59).

- (59) þenden hē wið wūlf 3027a  
when he with wolf ‘when he ... with the wolf’  
OR þenden hē wið wūlf

If alliteration on *wið* is intentional and thus fills the first lift, this verse is the only verse of the sixth type with double alliteration. The question centers around whether alliteration on *wið* is functional or not.

In general, prepositions such as *wið* are unstressed and thus the alliteration on prepositions and other grammatical words are interpreted as accidental when there are lexical words that fill the lifts in the same verse (cf. section 2.1 in Part I). For example, the preposition *on* in verses given in (60) is interpreted as part of a drop even though the given verses involve vowel alliteration. That is, when there are two other alliterating words that are more stressable than *on* as in 2715a, the alliteration on the preposition is considered as accidental and thus the verse is of Type A and not a hypermetrical verse with three lifts (cf. section 2.4.2.2 in Part I).

- (60) áttor *on* ínnan 2715a  
poison in inside ‘poison inside’  
NOT áttor ón ínnan

- Ðā wæs *on* úhtan 126a  
then was at dawn ‘Then at dawn was ...’  
NOT Ðā wæs ón úhtan

Further, even when there is only one other alliterating word and no other candidate for the first lift as in 126a, the preposition is more likely to be unstressed than stressed and thus is usually interpreted as metrically unstressed. Therefore, the given verse is of Type A3 with only one lift (cf. section 2.4.2.1 in Part I) rather than of Type C.



On the other hand, when the same word form is used as an adverb, i.e. when it is not directly followed by a noun phrase, it normally bears metrical stress, as *in* in the verse given in (61).

- (61) Ðā cōm *in* gǣn      éaldor ðégna      1644  
           then came in go      lord    of-thanes    ‘Then the lord of thanes came in’

In (61) the word *in* is the only alliterating word in the verse in which it occurs and thus must fill a lift.

However, there is at least one verse in *Beowulf* where a preposition fills an alliterating lift. In verse 1903b given in (62), *on* is the only alliterating word and thus must fill a lift.

- (62) ýrfeláfe                      Gewāt him      on náca  
           heirloom                      went    himself on ship  
           ḡrēfan ḡēop wæter                      1903-1904a  
           stir-up deep water  
           ‘... the heirloom. He went onto the ship to stir up the deep water’

According to Klaeber (1950: 384), the word *on* in 1903b is an adverb. The reason for this classification appears to be its occurrence in the alliterating lift. Contrary to Klaeber’s assumption, *on* in (62) must be a rare case of an alliterating preposition because it is in fact followed by a noun.

The alliterating preposition given in (62) suggests that also *wið* in (59) is metrically stressed. However, since in this verse there is an alliterating noun *wulf* that is more stressable than a preposition, the assumption that *wið* bears functional alliteration cannot be supported.

As has been shown, due to their uncertain status, the two verses discussed in this section are not included in the list of verses of the sixth type in the Appendix.

### 3.4. Summary and some further questions

There are in total forty-five verses of the sixth type, i.e. twenty-one verses with a disyllabic compound filling two lifts without contraction (cf. section 3.1 in Part II) and twenty-four verses with a ‘contracted’ vowel as the second lift (cf. section 3.2 above), excluding two verses of questionable status (cf. section 3.3 above). Of the total of 6,360 verses in *Beowulf*, only 0.71% belongs to the sixth type.

According to Bliss's (1967: 122-123) scansion, the number of verses of Type E, the least frequent among the five metrical types, is 551, about 8.66% of the total. Compared to this number, the frequency of verses of the sixth type is excessively low, which might make one suspect that the pattern is only of exceptional status. However, as the discussions in section 2 in Parts I and II have made clear, Sievers's metrical types follow from the stress patterns of words and phrases rather than impose restrictions on choice and arrangement of words. Thus, the low frequency of the sixth-type verses results from the fact that in Old English words can hardly be arranged so that the WWSS pattern would arise; it does not necessarily indicate the dubious status of the sixth type.

A verse-final sequence of two stressed syllables is necessary to form a WWSS pattern. A sequence of two stressed syllables that is not followed by any unstressed syllable results from either a sequence of two stressable monosyllabic words or a disyllabic compound. There are two cases where the element or word that fills the lift consists of more than one syllable, i.e. first, when the first lift is resolved and, second, when the first lift but not the second is preceded by an unstressed prefix. In *Beowulf*, there are five sixth-type verses with a resolved first lift (cf. section 3.1 in Part II; also section 1.2 of Appendix below) but none with an unstressed prefix preceding the first lift. That is, in most of the sixth-type verses in *Beowulf* each lift is filled by a monosyllabic element. As will be shown below, the low frequency of the sixth-type verses is a natural result of the fact that a sequence of two stressed monosyllabic elements itself is infrequent.

In Old English, due to rich inflection, the number of monosyllabic elements is smaller than in Present-day English, even smaller excluding unstressed grammatical words. Thus, a sequence of two stressed syllables that is not followed by any unstressed syllable does not occur frequently not only in verse-final positions, as already shown, but also in verse-non-final positions. In (63) are some examples of the SS pattern in verse-non-final positions. Verses 210a and 426b have a sequence of two stressed monosyllabic words indicated in italics.

- |      |                                      |                      |
|------|--------------------------------------|----------------------|
| (63) | <i>Fýrst fōrð</i> gewāt              | 210a                 |
|      | time forth went                      | ‘Time went forth’    |
|      | <br>Ic <i>þē</i> <i>nū</i> <i>ðā</i> | <br>426b             |
|      | I you now then                       | ‘I ... you now then’ |

*swítol sáng* scopes 90a<sup>5</sup>  
 clear song-of-poet ‘the clear song of the poet’

With resolution of the first lift, the verse 90a in (63) has two successive lifts in verse-initial position, both of which are metrically monosyllabic, and thus another example of the SS pattern.

In addition, there are verses of the basic five types in *Beowulf* with either a sequence of two stressable words or a compound that could potentially create an SS pattern that is necessary for the sixth-type verses. For example, the italicized part of the verses given in (64), although it is trochaic in the given verses, can be of an SS pattern if other words in the same verse were less stressable.

(64) *líf* *ēac* gescēop 97b  
 life also created ‘he also created life’

*wōp* *up* āhāfen 128b  
 weeping up raised ‘weeping raised up’

*scēaðona* ic *nāt* *hwylc* 274b  
 of-enemies I not-know which ‘I do not know which of the enemies’

*bēagas* ond *brād* gold 3105a  
 rings and broad gold ‘rings and broad gold’

Short adverbs and pronominals such as *ēac*, *up*, and *hwylc* in 97b, 128b, and 274b, respectively, are generally weakly stressable as has been discussed by a number of metrists (cf. Rieger 1876: 27-28, 29-31, Sievers 1893: §§26, 27, Kuhn 1933, Campbell 1959: 36-37, Russom 1987: 108-110, Cable 1991: 21-22, Suzuki 1996: 282-285). However, these words may fill a lift. For example, in (65) below, *ēac*, *up*, and *hwylc* fill a lift in 1683b, 224b, 1104a, respectively.

(65) ond his *mōdor* *ēac* 1683b  
 and his mother also ‘and his mother also’

*Ðanon* *up* hráðe 224b  
 thence up quickly ‘Thence ... up quickly’

gyf þonne *Fr̥sna*    *hwylc*    1104a  
if    then    of-Frisians any    ‘if then any of the Frisians...’

Nouns such as *gold* (cf. 3105a in (64) above) are among the most stressable and normally fill a lift, as in 2765a in (66) (cf. references just given).

(66) *góld* on grúnde    2765a  
gold on ground    ‘gold on the ground’

On the other hand, sequences of monosyllabic words in verses given in (67) below, e.g. either *sē þe* or *þe wēl* in 289b, cannot be a potential SS pattern because grammatical words such as nominative pronouns (e.g. *sē* and *hē*), the relative particle *þe*, and conjunctions (e.g. *swā*) consistently occur in a drop and thus cannot be metrically stressed (cf. Kuhn 1933, Campbell 1959: 36, Russom 1987: 102-103, 112, Suzuki 1996: 283, but Rieger 1876: 31-32, Sievers 1893: §28).

(67) *sē þe wēl* þenceð    289b  
he who well thinks    ‘he who thinks well’

*swā hē oft* dýde    444b  
as he often did    ‘as he often did’

Another type of the potential SS pattern are disyllabic compounds as those indicated in italics in (68) although, in the given verses, the monosyllabic second element of a compound fills a heavy drop and not a lift according to Sieversian scansion.

(68) *gūðrinc góldwanc*    1881a  
warrior proud-of-gold    ‘warrior proud of his gold’

Gewāt þā ofer *wægholm*    217a  
went then over sea    ‘Then he went over the sea’

If the actual SS pattern as given in (63) or the potential SS pattern as given in (64) and (68) occurs frequently other than in the verses of the sixth type discussed in the previous sections,

then one might assume that the pattern WWSS is intentionally avoided. However, if the SS pattern is rare to begin with, then verses of the sixth type must necessarily be small in number. This latter case does in fact hold in *Beowulf*.

In the first 500 lines of *Beowulf* there are only two verses that contain two stressed monosyllables in verse-non-final position, i.e. 210a and 426b in (63) above. One of them, i.e. *lc þē nū ðā* 426b, has the second stressed syllable as part of the collocation *nū ðā*, which is SW. Thus, the SS pattern in this verse cannot occur in verse-final position, which is necessary for a sixth-type verse. One verse, i.e. 90a in (63) shows the SS pattern with resolution of the first lift. Further, three verses, i.e. 97b, 128b, and 274b in (64), contain two stressable (but NOT stressed) monosyllables that may create an SS pattern. Seventy-two other verses have one or two disyllabic compounds that may create an SS pattern, such as *wæg-holm* ‘sea’ in 217a (cf. (68) above), *gold-fāh* ‘ornamented with gold’ in 308a, proper names such as *Bēo-wulf* in 405a and *Hrōð-gār* in 407a, and with the resolved first lift *fela-hrōr* ‘very strong’ in 27a, *here-spēd* ‘success in war’ in 64b, and *Hige-lāc* in 435b. In total, although there are seventy-five verses with a potential SS pattern, there are only two verses with the actual SS pattern other than the sixth type verses in the first 500 lines or 1,000 verses of *Beowulf*. That is, although a potential SS pattern is observed in 7.5% of the total, the actual SS pattern occurs only in 0.2% of the verses examined. This number is smaller than the ratio of the sixth-type verses given above, i.e. 0.71%.

More often, in a sequence of two stressable words with a monosyllabic stem, an unstressed syllable, either the inflectional ending of the first word or the prefix of the second word, intervenes between the two stressed syllables. For example, in (69) below the two lifts are separated by the genitive singular ending *-es* of *swerdes* in 1106a or the prefix *ge-* in 2042b, thus creating an SWS pattern.

- |      |       |     |          |           |                                     |
|------|-------|-----|----------|-----------|-------------------------------------|
| (69) | þonne | hit | swéordes | écg       | 1106a                               |
|      | then  | it  | of-sword | edge      | ‘then it ... the edge of the sword’ |
|      | sē    | ðe  | gall     | gemán     | 2042b                               |
|      | he    | who | all      | remembers | ‘he who remembers all’              |

Alternatively, even where there are two successive stressed syllables, the second monosyllabic stem is often followed by an unstressed ending syllable both in a sequence of two words as in 13b and in a compound as in 1149a in (70).

- (70) þone Gód sénðe 13b  
 whom God send 'whom God would send'
- æfter sæs<sup>7</sup>ðe 1149a  
 after sea-journey 'after the sea journey'

The stress pattern created in these verses is SSW and not SS.

As a summary of the discussions so far, verses of the sixth type are rare not because the WWSS pattern is not among the legitimate metrical types and thus is intentionally avoided, but because stressable monosyllabic elements are not large in number and because sequences of elements that create an SS pattern are small in number.

Another potential problem associated with the sixth type is lack of double alliteration other than the verse 3027a *þenden hē wið wulf* (cf. (59) above), which more likely involves accidental alliteration than double alliteration. Since double alliteration is otherwise quite common, the total absence of this frequent pattern might appear odd. Recall, however, that double alliteration is allowed only in a-verses (cf. section 2.1 in Part I) and that in most of the a-verses of the sixth type the two lifts are filled by a disyllabic compound (cf. section 3.1 in Part II). However, compounds are mostly trochaic and rarely involve double alliteration. In the first 500 lines of *Beowulf*, there are 325 compounds where both elements are stressable. Only five or 1.54% are 'self-alliterating', i.e. *wīg-weorþunga* 'honor to idols' in 176a, *þēod-þrēaum* 'distress of the people' in 178a, *dēað-dæge* 'death-day' in 187a, *gryre-geatwum* 'terrible armor' in 324a, and *heard-higende* 'brave-minded' in 394a. When this percentage is applied to the number of the sixth-type a-verses with a disyllabic compound, i.e. twenty-two (twenty-one without and one with a 'contracted' vowel), the expected number of double alliteration of the sixth-type verses is 0.3. Therefore, lack of double alliteration in verses of the sixth type is a natural result of two factors, low frequency both of the sixth type and of self-alliterating compounds.

In sum, although not all the questions concerning the sixth metrical type have been answered satisfactorily, the pattern WWSS is a logical possibility in lack of factors which prevent this pattern.

#### 4. Conclusions

I have attempted to answer the question: Is there the sixth metrical type, i.e. WWSS, in Ger-

manic alliterative verse? The answer can both be affirmative and negative. To the extent that the linguistic structure does not hinder it, this pattern exists because it is a logical possibility. So the answer to the above question is yes. However, the given metrical types presuppose Sievers's scansion, which has been shown to follow from the linguistic structure rather than to rule the poetic language. In this sense the sixth type does not exist because the other five do not.

While not all the questions raised in this paper have been answered, enough evidence has been presented to show the existence of the sixth metrical type in case there are other five.

## NOTES

\* I thank two anonymous reviewers for comments on an earlier version of this paper.

- 1 As in Parts I and II, 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 represent the a-verse and the b-verse, respectively. Accent marks are supplied to show strong positions in verse. Alliteration is marked by an underline. Punctuation marks are omitted.
- 2 The grammatical information given in (51), (52), (53), and (54) follows Klaeber's (1950) glossary. Abbreviations used are:

1	first person	3	third person
dat.	dative	ind.	indicative
inf.	infinitive	nom.	nominative
pl.	plural	pres.	present
sg.	singular	subj.	subjunctive

Roman numerals designate classes of strong verbs.

- 3 The 548 verb forms include any finite and non-finite verbs including inflected and uninflected infinitives and participles, but not inflected participles used as a noun, as in (ia), or compounds with a participle as the second element, as in (ib).

(i) a. <i>þæt ðā <u>l</u>ifðe</i>	221a
that the voyagers	'that the voyagers ...'
b. <i><u>l</u>indhæbbende</i>	245a
shield-bearers	'warriors'
<i><u>s</u>ælfþende</i>	377b
sea-farers	'sea-farers'

- 4 I referred to Bessinger and Smith (1978: 161) for the verses that contain the word *Cain* and its inflected forms in Old English poems. Following the reference just cited, macrons are omitted in the verse in (58).
- 5 For alliteration of the *s*-initial clusters, see footnote 3, p. 55, in Part I.

## Appendix

### List of verses of the sixth type

N.B. The alliterating sounds are marked with an underline.

#### 1. Verses with a disyllabic compound filling two lifts (cf. section 3.1, Part II)

##### 1.1. Verses without resolution

oð þæt him <u>æ</u> ghwylc	9a
nō hē þone <u>g</u> ifstōl	168a
oð þæt ymb <u>ā</u> ntīd	219a
Forþan bið <u>a</u> ndgit	1059a
ær hē þone grundwong	1496a
þæt hēo þone <u>f</u> yrðhom	1504a
þæt hine sēo <u>h</u> rimwylf	1599a
Hwæt wē þē <u>p</u> ās <u>s</u> ælāc	1652a
Gif him þonne <u>H</u> rēþrīc	1836a
þæt hē þone <u>h</u> rēostwylm	1877a
þæt ðū þone <u>w</u> ælgæst	1995a
Mē þone <u>w</u> ælræs	2101a
syððan hyne <u>H</u> æðcyn	2437a
þæt hē þone <u>n</u> īðgæst	2699a
þæt hē þone grundwong	2770a
oð þæt hē ðā <u>h</u> ānhūs	3147a

Also 16b, 112b, 629b, 1934b, 2076a, cf. section 2 below.

##### 1.2. Verses with resolution of the first lift

Ðonne wæs þeos <u>m</u> edoheal	484a
gē swylce sēo <u>h</u> erepād	2258a
oððe þone <u>c</u> ynedōm	2376a
lēt ðone <u>h</u> regostōl	2389a
nō ðy ær hē þone <u>h</u> eaðorinc	2466a



2. Verses with a ‘contracted’ vowel as the second lift (cf. section 3.2 above)

him þæs <u>l</u> iffreā	16b
ond <u>o</u> rcneās	112b
hāt <u>i</u> n gān	386b
þā git on <u>s</u> und réon	512b
þā wit on <u>s</u> und réon	539b
æt <u>W</u> ealhþeôn	629b
þæt hē mē ongēan slēa	681b
þeah ðe hē <u>r</u> ōf siē	682b
on <u>f</u> let tēon	1036b
swā hȳ nāfre <u>m</u> an lýhð	1048b
swā hē nū <u>g</u> īt dēð	1058b
ond on <u>h</u> æl dōn	1116b
swā nū <u>g</u> ýt dēð	1134b
swā sceal <u>m</u> an dōn	1172b
Swā sceal <u>m</u> an dōn	1534b
Ðā cōm <u>i</u> n gān	1644a
þeah ðe hē geong sȳ	1831b
nefne <u>s</u> infrēa	1934b
on <u>f</u> lett gæð	2034b
on <u>f</u> let gæð	2054b
Ðær wæs <u>H</u> ondsið	2076a
Swā sceal <u>m</u> æg dōn	2166b
þenden <u>h</u> yt sȳ	2649b
swā hē nū <u>g</u> ēn dēð	2859b

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