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## Stress of Quantitative Adjectives and Some Common Adverbs in Old English Poetry: An Alternative to Kuhn's Law<sup>1</sup>

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Since 1933, when Hans Kuhn's article 'Zur Wortstellung und -betonung im Altgermanischen' appeared,<sup>2</sup> several scholars have fastened on Kuhn's laws as infallible rules for determining stress of finite verbs, quantitative adjectives, and certain adverbs in Old English poetry.<sup>3</sup> Recently, however, other scholars have questioned the utility of Kuhn's laws in determining stress.<sup>4</sup> Considering that Kuhn's law of sentence particles is increasingly being viewed as problematic by Old English metrists,<sup>5</sup> it now seems necessary to develop alternative methods for determining stress on Kuhn's *Satzpartikeln* in Old English poetry. What I hope to demonstrate in this article is that the presence or absence of alliteration is a far more reliable method than Kuhn's laws for determining stress on certain *Satzpartikeln* in Old English poetry – namely, indefinite adjectives of quantity and certain commonly occurring adverbs.<sup>6</sup> First, however, a brief review of Kuhn's formulations is necessary.

Kuhn defines *Satzpartikeln*<sup>7</sup> as 'substant. Pronomina, viele Adverbien und finite Verben, Bindewörter, zum Teil auch adjekt. Pronomina, gelegentlich infinite Verbformen und Prädikatsnomina, vielleicht auch Vokative' (p. 5).<sup>8</sup> The quantitative adjectives are presumably included under the category 'adjectival pronouns',<sup>9</sup> but note that he only includes these 'zum Teil', that is, in part.

Kuhn's first law of sentence particles, with which I shall be concerned in this article, is: 'Die Satzpartikeln stehen in der ersten Senkung des Satzes, in der Proklise entweder zu seinem ersten oder zweiten betonten Worte' (p. 9).<sup>10</sup> Hence Kuhn's law makes it clear that *Satzpartikeln* by definition must fall 'in the first dip of the clause';<sup>11</sup> in fact, Kuhn does not regard words that can be *Satzpartikeln* but that are not placed according to his first law as *Satzpartikeln* at all.<sup>12</sup>

As I have emphasized elsewhere, Kuhn's laws do not provide sound criteria for determining stress levels of words in Old English verse.<sup>13</sup> Furthermore, Kuhn himself plainly did not intend his laws to be used for determining stress; rather, his laws merely describe the placement of *Satzpartikeln* in the clause. Kuhn's law states that *Satzpartikeln* will be placed at the head of the clause, in which position they will usually – *but not always* – be unstressed. Violations of Kuhn's law occur when an unstressed *Satzpartikel* occurs outside of the positions allowed by the law (if the *Satzpartikel* is stressed in a position not allowed by the law, Kuhn regards it not as a *Satzpartikel* but as a *betontes Wort*). The present paper, therefore, does not oppose the position taken by Kuhn himself (though even Kuhn's own analysis is sometimes questionable); rather, it opposes the position of later scholars, most notably Bliss, Slay, Kendall, and Lucas, who put Kuhn's law to uses for which it was never intended by its author.<sup>14</sup>

The kinds of words listed as *Satzpartikeln* in Kuhn's article, moreover, do not always follow the same stress rules. Quantitative adjectives, for example, often bear functional alliteration, and are accordingly often stressed, while relative, interrogative, and personal pronouns, and subordinating and other conjunctions, are rarely if ever stressed, and almost never bear functional alliteration. Since Kuhn's term '*Satzpartikeln*' is in several respects an unsound classification, it seems best to consider the different types of words that Kuhn lists as *Satzpartikeln* separately, and perhaps to abandon the term '*Satzpartikel*' entirely.

The indefinite adjectives of quantity, since they are relatively few in number and occur quite frequently, provide a solid statistical basis for an examination of their stress patterns in Old English poetry, as do certain adverbs.<sup>15</sup> Because many adverbs do not occur often enough in the poetry to provide sufficient evidence for generalizations about their stress levels, I have chosen to examine adverbs that occur more frequently than most. The adverbs that occur most frequently in Old English poetry are temporal and directional adverbs, and I have selected *oft*, *ær*, *ut*, *sona*, and *hraðe*.<sup>16</sup> The quantitative adjectives that I shall examine are: *ænig*, *nænig*, *manig*, *fea*, *fela*, *sum*, and *eall*.<sup>17</sup> My corpus will be *Beowulf* (*Beo*), *The Battle of Maldon* (*Mald*), *The Dream of the Rood* (*Dream*), and the following Chronicle poems: *The Battle of Brunanburh* (*Brun*), *The Capture of the Five Boroughs* (*Capt*), *The Coronation of Edgar* (*CEdg*), *The Death of Edgar* (*DEdg*), *The Death of Edward* (*DEdw*), and *Durham* (*Dur*).<sup>18</sup>

While there is a general scholarly consensus that qualitative adjectives should be regarded as what I have elsewhere called Class A words and always stressed,<sup>19</sup>

as opposed to indefinite quantitative adjectives, which are sometimes stressed and sometimes not, there is no such clearcut distinction for adverbs. In fact, however, these frequently occurring temporal and directional adverbs are stressed differently from other types of adverbs, such as most adverbs of manner. Adverbs of manner formed from qualitative adjectives are Class A words, like the adjectives from which they are derived.

Space does not permit a thoroughly detailed investigation of each of the twelve words under consideration. In what follows, therefore, I shall examine the various words by observing the different positions in the line in which they occur. Where a given word is attested in a given position, I shall attempt to give examples. Absence of one of the twelve words under discussion from the examples for a given position, therefore, should be taken to indicate that that particular word is unattested in that position in the present corpus.

Because the strictures on alliteration are more clearly articulated for the off-verse than for the on-verse, off-verse attestations are more defining for purposes of stress. It is a well-known metrical rule for Old English poetry that the first stress of the off-verse must alliterate and that any subsequent stress cannot alliterate. In the off-verse, therefore, we know that any word that precedes the first alliterating Class A word of the verse cannot be stressed, and we also know that any stressed word that follows the first alliterating stress cannot alliterate. I accordingly begin with the positions in the off-verse in which the adjectives and adverbs to be considered may occur.

The first position in which these words may occur is before the first stress of the off-verse. Clearly, any word that is placed in a clause-initial dip, precedes the first lift of the verse, and does not alliterate is unstressed, even by Kuhn's criteria.<sup>20</sup> Six of the words presently under discussion occur in this position:<sup>21</sup>

- Beo* 1353 *næfne* he wæs *mara þone ænig man oðer*;  
*Beo* 1079 *morþorbealo maga, þær heo ær mæste heold*  
*Dream* 6 *beama beorhtost. Eall þæt beacen wæs*  
*Beo* 929 *lungre gelimpe! Fela ic laþes gebad,*  
*Mald* 212 *Gemunan þa mæla þe we oft æt meodo spræcon,*  
*Beo* 1113 *wundum awyrded; sume on wæle crungon.*

Since these words are placed in accordance with Kuhn's law and do not alliterate, there can be no doubt whatsoever that they are unstressed.

In certain other similar verses, however, the word alliterates:

*Beo* 534 *earfeþo* on *ȝum*, *ðonne ænig oðer* man.

*Beo* 2861 *eðbegete þam ðe ær* his *elne* forleas.

*Beo* 1238 *unrim eorla*, swa he *oft ær* dydon.

*Beo* 1251 *Sigon þa* to slæpe. *Sum* sare angeald

These five instances of alliteration must be regarded as accidental,<sup>22</sup> for the italicized adjective or adverb in each precedes the first stress of the verse; it is also important to note that in all five cases, the word is in a clause-initial dip.

The similarity of the first of these verses to *Beo* 1353 above is noteworthy. In *Beo* 534, needing to alliterate on a vowel, the poet places the quantitative adjective *ænig* before the quantitative adjective *oðer* in the first dip of the verse clause. Since *oðer* must be stressed,<sup>23</sup> *ænig* must not be, or the off-verse would have double alliteration.<sup>24</sup> In *Beo* 1353, needing to alliterate on <m>, the poet merely switches the position of *oðer* and *man*; *ænig*, of course, remains in the initial dip.

In *Beo* 2861, the noun *elne* quite naturally takes precedence over the temporal adverb *ær*;<sup>25</sup> in *Beo* 1251, the noun *sare* alliterates in preference to the quantitative adjective *sum*. *Beo* 1238 is problematic, for here too either of the two adverbs could perhaps be stressed without breaking Kuhn's law.<sup>26</sup> Probably *ænig* in *Beo* 534 and *oft* in *Beo* 1238 should simply be viewed as proclitic to *oðer* and *ær* respectively and hence unstressed.<sup>27</sup>

There are also three verses with *eall* in this position in which Kuhn's law does not apply:

*Dream* 12, 82 *men ofer moldan*, ond *eall* þeos *mære* gesceaft.

*Dream* 94 *geweorþode ofer eall* wifa cynn.

Here *eall* is placed in the attributive position, and is therefore not a *Satzpartikel* but a *Satzteilpartikel*, according to Kuhn.<sup>28</sup>

The second off-verse position – a position in which all twelve words occur – is as the first lift of the verse. Often such words are displaced from the first dip of the clause, and thus do not come under the operation of Kuhn's law:

*Beo* 2548 *unbyrnende ænige* hwile

*Mald* 198 Swa him *Offa* on dæg *ær* asæde

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*CEdg* 6 on þam eadgan dæge *eallum* geworden,  
*Beo* 1081 Finnes þegnas nemne *feaum* anum,<sup>29</sup>  
*Beo* 153 fyrene ond fæhðe *fela* missera,  
*Beo* 1390 Aris, rices weard, uton {*h*}*raþe* feran<sup>30</sup>  
*Dream* 99 for mancynnes *manegum* synnum  
*Beo* 2867 þonne he on ealubence *oft* gesealde  
*Beo* 1583 ond oðer swylc *ut* offerede,

Note that in many of these verses, the quantitative adjectives are in the attributive position, a position in which Slay asserts they should not normally be stressed (p. 2).

In an almost equal number of cases, however, words in this position are not displaced from the first dip of their clauses:

*Beo* 932 Ðæt wæs ungeara þæt ic *ænigra* me  
*DEdg* 6 in ðisse eðeltyrf, þa þe *ær* wæran  
*Dream* 58 to þam æðelinge. Ic þæt *eall* beheold.  
*Beo* 992 folmum gefrætwod. *Fela* þæra wæs,  
*Beo* 724 recedes muþan. *Raþe* æfter þon  
*Beo* 1576 hilderince, ac he *hraþe* wolde  
*Beo* 949 niwe sibbe. Ne bið þe [*n*]*ænigra* gad<sup>31</sup>  
*Beo* 444 etan unforhte, swa he *oft* dyde,  
*Beo* 2300 sincfæt sohte. He þæt *sona* onfand  
*Beo* 3106 ædre geæfned, þonne we *ut* cymen,

All these instances conform to Kuhn's law;<sup>32</sup> since, however, Kuhn's law would allow the *Satzpartikeln* to be unstressed in this position, the only indicator that they are stressed is their alliteration.

Another common position in which these words may occur is verse finally; all of the words under consideration except *fea* occur in this position in the present corpus:

*Beo* 842 sarlic þuhte secga *ænegum*  
*Dream* 154 and eallum ðam halgum þam þe on heofenum *ær*  
*Beo* 649 oþðe nipende niht ofer *ealle*  
*Beo* 36 mærne be mæste. þær wæs madma *fela*

- Mald* 30 heton ðe secgan þæt þu most sendan *raðe*  
*Beo* 838 ymb þa gifhealle guðrinc *monig*;  
*Beo* 242 þe on land Dena laðra *nænig*  
*Brun* 8 fram cneomagum, þæt hi æt campe *oft*  
*Beo* 1825 guðgeweorca, ic beo gearo *sona*.  
*Beo* 248 eorla ofer eorþan, ðonne is eower *sum*,  
*Beo* 537 on geogoðfeore) þæt wit on garsecg *ut*

Here there is compelling evidence that the words in this position are stressed: they almost never alliterate.<sup>33</sup> This observation provides a sound rationale for regarding these words as stressed when line final.

The fourth and last off-verse position in which the adjectives and adverbs under discussion occur is immediately following the alliterator for the line (but not line-finally). Six of the words presently under consideration are attested in this position in the corpus for this study. Representative examples of this placement are:

- Beo* 1615 since fage. Sweord *ær* gemealt,  
*Beo* 2973 ac he him on heafde helm *ær* gescer,  
*Beo* 1080 worolde wynne. Wig *ealle* fornam  
*Beo* 2794 Ic ðæra frætwa frean *ealles* ðanc,  
*Beo* 171 modes brecða. Monig *oft* gesæt  
*Beo* 1065 gomenwudu greted, gid *oft* wrecen,  
*Mald* 282 Sibyrhtes broðor and swiðe *manig* oper  
*Brun* 35 cread cnear on flot, cyning *ut* gewat  
*Beo* 2551 Wedergeata leod word *ut* faran,  
*Beo* 721 dreamum bedæled. Duru *sona* onarn.  
*Beo* 121 grim ond grædig, gearo *sona* wæs,

When possible, I have given two examples of the words in this position: in the first, the word stands in the first dip of its clause (i.e., is placed according to Kuhn's law); in the second, it stands in a position not permitted by Kuhn's law. When placed in the first dip, these adjectives and adverbs could be regarded as unstressed according to Kuhn's law.<sup>34</sup> In the unpermissible positions, according to Kuhn's law, the words must be stressed, for they are displaced from the first dip of the clause, and thus, for Kuhn, are not *Satzpartikeln* but *betonte Wörter*.

Fortunately, there is one sound criterion for determining stress on all these

words: the argument from accidental alliteration. If the quantitative adjectives and temporal and directional adverbs that are placed immediately following a verse-initial stress are unstressed, we should expect about ten percent to have accidental alliteration;<sup>35</sup> in fact, however, not a single one of the approximately 206 adjectives and adverbs of the type presently under consideration in this position in the corpus for this study alliterates.<sup>36</sup> This is strong evidence for regarding them as stressed. Note that with these words stressed, the verses have three primary stresses, and that most of these verses conclude with a finite verb.<sup>37</sup>

There is, however, one line in the present corpus in which stress on the quantitative adjective would produce unmetrical double alliteration in the off-verse:

*Mald* 271 æfre embe stunde he sealde sume wunde,

Here Kuhn's law is broken whether or not *sume* is stressed: with *sume* stressed, *he* and *sealde* are *Satzpartikeln* not placed in the clause-initial dip; with *sume* unstressed, *sume* and *he* would break the law. This verse is, moreover, anomalous in its alliteration; the cluster *st* usually only alliterates with itself. There is, furthermore, no logical emendation or repunctuation that would make this verse conform to the law, or that would clarify which of the two alliterating particles to stress.<sup>38</sup>

In the on-verse, on the other hand, due to the possibility of double alliteration, there are far more possible placements of the words presently under discussion. In certain of these placements, however, the stress on the word is unambiguous. *Ænig*, *eall*, *hraðe*, and *manig*, for example, occur as the only stressed and the only alliterating word in the line:

*Mald* 70 Ne mihte hyra *ænig* oþrum derian,  
*Dream* 110 Ne mæg þær *ænig* unforht wesan  
*Beo* 941 ðe we *ealle* ær ne meahton  
*Mald* 207 hi woldon þa *ealle* oðer twega,  
*Beo* 1541 Heo him eft *hraþe* {h}andlean forgeald<sup>39</sup>  
*Beo* 2982 Ða wæron *monige* þe his mæg wriðon,  
*Mald* 243 þæt he her swa *manigne* man aflymde!

Here the alliteration demonstrates that the words are undoubtedly stressed.<sup>40</sup>

As in the off-verse, many of the words under consideration occur verse finally



and do not alliterate:

- Beo* 474 *gumena ængum* hwæt me Grendel hafað  
*DEdw* 16 þeah he lange *ær*, lande bereafod,  
*Beo* 591 þæt næfre Gre[n]del swa *fela* gryra gefremede,  
*Mald* 73 wicinga *fela*, wiges georne.  
*Beo* 740 ac he gefeng *hraðe* forman siðe  
*Beo* 854 swylce geong *manig* of gomenwape  
*Beo* 1235 eorla *manegum*, syþðan æfen cwom  
*Mald* 188 þe him *mænigne oft* mear gesealde;  
*Mald* 149 Forlet þa drenga *sum* daroð of handa,

Those adjectives and adverbs in this position that occur in clause-initial half-lines are not placed in the first dips of their clauses; obviously, neither are those that are placed in clause non-initial verses. According to Kuhn's law, these must be stressed.<sup>41</sup> We may also regard these words as stressed by analogy to verse-final words in the off-verse (in which position the lack of accidental alliteration demonstrates that they are stressed).<sup>42</sup>

Seven of the twelve words under discussion occur as the only alliterating word of two stressed words in the verse:

- Beo* 655 Næfre ic *ænegum* men *ær* alyfde,<sup>43</sup>  
*Beo* 2500 þæt mec *ær* ond sið oft gelæste.  
*Beo* 1608 þæt hit *eal* gemealt ise gelicost,  
*Mald* 188 þe him *mænigne oft* mear gesealde;  
*Beo* 3116 þone ðe *oft* gebad isernscure,  
*Beo* 1412 He *feara* sum beforan gengde  
*Beo* 2081 No ðy *ær ut* ða gen idelhende<sup>44</sup>

Once again, the alliteration demonstrates that the words are stressed.

Most of the twelve words occur as the first alliterating stress of two alliterating stresses:

- Beo* 802 *ænig* ofer eorþan irenna cyst,  
*Beo* 616 *ærest* Eastdena eþelwearde,  
*DEdw* 13 ðæt *eall* Eadwarde, æðelum kinge,

- Beo* 705 *ealle* buton anum. þæt wæs yldum cup  
*Beo* 164 Swa *fela* fyrena feond mancynnes,  
*Beo* 2266 *fela* feorhcynna forð onsended!  
*Beo* 1914 *Hraþe* wæs æt holme hyðweard geara,  
*Beo* 5 *monegum* mægþum, meodosetla ofteah,  
*Beo* 3077 *Oft* sceall eorl monig anes willan  
*Beo* 1885 *oft* geæhted; þæt wæs an cyning,  
*Beo* 1591 *Sona* þæt gesawon snottre ceorlas,<sup>45</sup>  
*Beo* 713 *sumne* besyrwan in sele þam hean.

In some of these verses, the words are displaced from the first dip of the clause, and must be stressed according to Kuhn's law. In others, however, they are not, and would presumably be unstressed by, for example, Kendall and Lucas (see note 45, e.g.). Yet alliteration argues for their being stressed, and this, I suggest, is how we should regard them, for the alliteration rate of these when compared to similar placements that do not alliterate is far too high to be accidental.<sup>46</sup> In *DEdw* 13 and *Beo* 3077, on the other hand, a more usual metrical contour emerges from treating the words as unstressed, and unstressed words would satisfy Kuhn's law;<sup>47</sup> nevertheless, stressed words in these lines would produce attested metrical types as well.<sup>48</sup> It is, however, noteworthy that the alliteration in both these verses is on a vowel, and since vowels are the most common initial sounds in Old English, the alliteration in these two verses might be accidental.<sup>49</sup>

A number of these adjectives and adverbs occur as the second of two alliterating and stressed words:

- Beo* 2772 onsyn *ænig*, ac hyne ecg fornam.  
*Beo* 642 þa wæs eft swa *ær* inne on healle  
*Beo* 1187 umborwesendum *ær* arna gefremedon.  
*Beo* 145 ana wið *eallum*, oðþæt idel stod  
*Beo* 2268 an æfter *eallum*, unbliðe hwe[arf]  
*Beo* 991 Ða wæs haten *hreþe* Heort innanweard  
*Beo* 41 madma *mænigo*, þa him mid scoldon  
*Beo* 776 medubenc *monig*, mine gefræge,

The words are undoubtedly stressed in this position.

Two words occur before the first of two alliterating stresses:

*Beo* 4 *Oft* Scyld Scefing sceapena þreatum,  
*Beo* 2160 no ðy ær suna sinum syllan wolde,  
*Dream* 118 þe him ær in breostum bereð beacna selest,

Since the verses already have two stresses, and the adverbs do not alliterate, there can be no justification for stressing the adverbs in this position.

Somewhat more problematic are the quantitative adjectives and temporal and directional adverbs that are placed before the first and only alliterating stress in the verse:

*Beo* 2373 No ðy ær feasceafte findan meahton  
*Beo* 2466 no ðy ær he þone heaðorinc hatian ne meahte  
*Dream* 154 ond eallum ðam halgum þam þe on heofenum ær  
*Beo* 2426 *Fela* ic on giogoðe guðræsa genæs,  
*Beo* 691 *Nænig* heora þohte, þæt he þanon scolde  
*Beo* 1247 þæt hie *oft* wæron an wig gearwe,  
*Beo* 2928 *Sona* him se froda fæder Ohteres,  
*Mald* 164a To *raþe* hine gelette lidmanna sum,

Historically, many metrists have regarded some of the adjectives and adverbs in these lines as stressed – largely because they were dedicated to the two-stress-perverse theory – but if alliteration is the primary criterion for determining stress, then we should regard them as unstressed (as do Bliss and Hoover, for example). Towards the end of this article, I shall enumerate some strong reasons for regarding such words as these as unstressed; for now, I present a single telling argument in favour of regarding *Satzpartikeln* as unstressed when they precede the first alliterator: if non-alliterating words can occupy the first lift of the line, we should expect non-alliterating Class A words to occur in this position regularly. In fact, however, this happens so infrequently that most editors have regarded such lines as corrupt.<sup>50</sup> Surely it would be stretching credibility too far to say that the first lift of a line can be a word that does not alliterate if and only if it is a member of a class of words that are unequivocally unstressed in other metrical environments.

There is a single on-verse occurrence of a temporal adverb that is problematic:

*Beo* 2081 No ðy ær ut ða gen idelhende

Here the metrical contour that emerges with *ær* unstressed is xxx/x, a very common metrical pattern. But it alliterates; according to the precepts set out above, alliteration should raise it to stressed status. Considering the similarity between this verse and *Beo* 2160, 2373, and 2466 (above), however, and because there is an off-verse precedent for regarding these words as having accidental alliteration when placed before the first stress of the line, it is very likely that alliteration on *ær* in this verse is accidental, and that *ær* is unstressed.<sup>51</sup> The possibility does, however, remain that *ær* in *Beo* 2081 is stressed because it alliterates.

Finally, a single adverb occurs between two stresses in the line:

*Mald* 72 Se flod ut gewat; þa flotan stodon gearowe,

I regard this word as stressed by analogy to the similar placement in the off-verse.

A close survey of the different adjectives and adverbs under consideration reveals that there is a hierarchy of sorts that determines stress patterns in Old English poetry.<sup>52</sup> Thus, for example, *fea* is always stressed; *ut* is almost always stressed,<sup>53</sup> and is stressed in preference to other alliterating temporal and directional adverbs, like *ær*, which is never stressed in preference to any other alliterating adverb, but does alliterate in preference to other words in Kuhn's list of *Satzpartikeln*. Moreover, while the words presently under consideration usually do not alliterate in preference to a Class A word, like a noun, they sometimes do;<sup>54</sup> some, like *ut*, show a greater tendency than others to do so. Lexical finite verbs show a greater propensity to alliterate and bear stress than the adverbs and adjectives presently being considered, as is shown by their almost never accidentally alliterating.

According to Kendall's interpretation of Kuhn's law, verses containing no Class A words (i.e., nouns, qualitative adjectives, non-finite verb forms,<sup>55</sup> etc.) that are not clause-initial should contain at most two of Kuhn's *Satzpartikeln*, or else these verses would acquire more than two stresses ('Metrical Grammar', pp. 16-17). This is indeed the case, but it is hardly surprising; it is merely a kind of corollary to Kuhn's law, which says that *Satzpartikeln* will gather at the heads of clauses. That clause non-initial verses never contain more than two of Kuhn's *Satzpartikeln* is merely a syntactic fact about Old English poetry, not a rule of the 'metrical grammar'.<sup>56</sup>

What is noteworthy is the number of verses with stressed quantitative adjectives and temporal and directional adverbs in which no Class A words appear. Of the 211 verses with stressed and alliterating adjectives and adverbs of the kinds

that I have discussed above, 116 consist solely of Kuhn's *Satzpartikeln*, or about 54 percent (see Table I below). In clause-initial verses, these words are far more likely to alliterate in preference to other words that fall into Kuhn's *Satzpartikel* category than in preference to Class A words. This is true to a lesser extent for clause non-initial verses; for these, the word usually alliterates along with a Class A word in the on-verse, while in the off-verse the proportion of words that alliterate in preference over a Class A word to those that do not is about equal.<sup>57</sup> The following table charts the distribution of the twelve words presently under consideration.<sup>58</sup>

Table I: Stressed alliterating quantitative adjectives and temporal and directional adverbs

	<i>on verse</i>			<i>off-verse</i>		<i>Tot.</i>
	A <i>in pref.</i>	B <i>not pref.</i>	C <i>along w/</i>	D <i>in pref.</i>	E <i>not pref.</i>	
In clause-initial verses	1	21	8/0	17	59	106
In clause non-initial verses	0	1	25/10	35	35	107
Total	1 (.5%)	22 (10%)	43 (20%)	52 (25%)	94 (45%)	213

Comments: The single attestation in column A is *Beo* 655a, 'Næfre ic ænegum men' (note that Kuhn would have probably regarded *ænegum* not as a *Satzpartikel* but as a *Satzteilpartikel* in this verse). The single attestation in column B is *Beo* 2091a. The eight attestations in column C are: *Beo* 164a, 1618a, 1794a, 1914a, 1975a, 3077a; *DEdw* 13a; *Mald* 288a.<sup>59</sup>

As the table shows, these adjectives and adverbs are not as likely to be placed in clause-initial verses as Kuhn's law would imply.<sup>60</sup> It does, however, create a somewhat false picture to lump all of the adjectives and adverbs discussed above together in the same table, for among some of these words there is a great disparity of distribution, as I have indicated.

It is also worth noting that in neither clause-initial nor clause non-initial verses are the words in question likely to alliterate in preference to Class A words in the on-

verse, though they are free to do so in the off-verse, and that in clause-initial verses these words are far more likely to alliterate in verses that contain no Class A words (columns B and E) than in verses that do contain Class A words (columns C and D), though the same is not true for clause non-initial verses.

In the preceding pages, I have argued that all of these alliterating quantitative adjectives and temporal and directional adverbs should be stressed *because they alliterate*. As we have seen, Kuhn's law, as he himself formulates it, does not provide any grounds for determining stress on quantitative adjectives and temporal and directional adverbs that are placed before the first Class A word in the clause, for Kuhn sometimes stresses such words and sometimes not (see note 26). Kuhn's law also does not help, moreover, in any of the clause-initial verses with a quantitative adjective or temporal or directional adverb immediately following the first stress, such as *Beo* 215b, 'guman ut scufon', where, according to the law, the word could be unstressed. Kuhn's law, then, is only useful for determining stress patterns in verses that contain two alliterating *Satzpartikeln*, and then only marginally due to the vagueness of his formulations.

In fact, we can formulate a much more straightforward rule to cover this situation:<sup>61</sup> when two quantitative adjectives or temporal or directional adverbs alliterate in the off-verse, the first of the two is not stressed; when two such words alliterate in the on-verse, both are stressed. That unmetrical triple alliteration in the on-verse is never produced by the application of this rule is strong evidence in its favour.

The most useful criterion in determining stress is alliteration. As we have seen, the presence of alliteration on one of the words presently under consideration in the off-verse is taken as a sign that it is stressed, unless it is followed by another alliterating word that is capable of bearing stress; in this case, the adjective or adverb will be unstressed in the off-verse, even though it alliterates, because it is followed by an alliterating word of equal or higher stress level (i.e., anything except a proclitic). Obviously, non-alliterating quantitative adjectives and temporal and directional adverbs that precede the first alliterating word of the off-verse will not be stressed (if, that is, the first alliterating word is a word capable of bearing stress).

Conversely, the absence of alliteration of quantitative adjectives and temporal and directional adverbs in line-final position or placed immediately following the first lift of the off-verse should be taken as a sign that these too are stressed, for if they were not we should expect some accidental alliteration, when in fact none occurs. The presence of accidental alliteration on several of these words when they

precede the first lift of the off-verse, such as:

*Beo* 534 earfeþo on yþum, ðonne ænig oþer man.

*Beo* 1251 Sigon þa to slæpe. Sum sare angeald

*Beo* 2861 eðbegete þam ðe ær his elne forleas.<sup>62</sup>

is noteworthy, for these same words appear stressed elsewhere – usually when there are no Class A words in the verse. If accidental alliteration can occur on unstressed words in this sensitive position (sensitive in that the unstressed adjective or adverb is the first alliterating word in the verse, a position usually reserved for the first lift), we should expect it all the more in unstressed words placed in the less sensitive position following the first stressed word of the off-verse; this suggests all the more strongly that words of the type presently under discussion are indeed stressed when they follow the first stressed word of the verse, for none of them alliterates. These verses also provide further support for the unstressed status of quantitative adjectives and temporal and directional adverbs that precede the first lift of the on-verse and do not alliterate, for if the adjectives and adverbs can be unstressed in the off-verse even though they alliterate, it is very likely that they are unstressed in the on-verse when they do not alliterate. That they are stressed in the on-verse when they do alliterate is indicated by the absence of verses in which unmetrical triple alliteration would occur from a stressed quantitative adjective or temporal or directional adverb in the on-verse.

The proportion of alliterating quantitative adjectives and temporal and directional adverbs to non-alliterating instances of these words when the words are placed before the first Class A word in the on-verse indicates that the alliteration is not accidental and that the words are stressed. This proportion is 33 to 29 in the present corpus, obviously far out of the realm of possibility for accidental alliteration (see Tables I above and III below).

For the off-verse, then, there are four possible positions for the words presently being considered: 1) before the first stressed word in the verse; 2) as the first stressed word in the verse; 3) immediately after the first stressed word in the verse; 4) verse-finally. In the latter two cases, I have argued that the words are stressed, for accidental alliteration, which we should expect if they were unstressed, does not occur. If the quantitative adjective or temporal or directional adverb is the only alliterating element in the verse, it is clearly stressed; conversely, if it precedes the only alliterating element in the verse, it is clearly unstressed. A problem arises

only when the adjective or adverb alliterates with another word (besides a proclitic) in the verse. If the other word is a Class A word, the adjective or adverb is unstressed. In this case it *always precedes* the Class A word with which it alliterates (or else it would fall under position 3, but the adjectives and adverbs in this position never alliterate). Alliterating quantitative adjectives and temporal and directional adverbs that are placed before an alliterating Class A word in the off-verse are relatively rare; their incidence is well within the limits for accidental alliteration (see Table II below, and Hutcheson, 'Accidental Alliteration', p. 8). If the other alliterating word is another quantitative adjective or temporal or directional adverb, the first adjective or adverb is unstressed, and the second is stressed. This also provides a nice analogy to the case just discussed of an alliterating quantitative adjective or temporal directional adverb followed by an alliterating Class A word, where the first alliterating word is also unstressed. In the case of an off-verse quantitative adjective or temporal or directional adverb bearing the sole alliteration, most such verses, as already observed, contain no Class A words, and the stress hierarchy emerges as something of an alliteration hierarchy as well. Table II charts the possible positions for the words presently under consideration in the off-verse.

Table II: Off-verse quantitative adjectives and temporal and directional adverbs<sup>63</sup>

	<i>alliterating</i>		<i>non-alliterating</i>		<i>Tot.</i>
	<i>clause-initial</i>	<i>non-initial</i>	<i>clause-initial</i>	<i>non-initial</i>	
Position 1	5	1	30	3	39
Position 2	76	71	X	X	147
Position 3	0	0	37	12	49
Position 4	0	0	8	69	77
Total	81	72	75	84	312

Comments: the five position 1 verses in the first column are: *Beo* 503b, 1238b, 1251b, 1502b, 2861b; the single position 1 verse in the second column is *Beo* 534b (which is clause-initial if we take the verb as understood); the three position 1 verses in the fourth column are: *Dream* 12b, 82b, 94b. The eight position 4 verses in the third column are *Beo* 207b, 314b, 1240b, 1289b, 1419b, 1510b, 1525b, 1699b



(only those adjectives and adverbs that occur in a clause-initial dip – or would if they were unstressed – are listed here; all others are listed under position 4 clause non-initial).

As Table II shows, off-verse quantitative adjectives and temporal and directional adverbs occur most frequently – about 46% of the time – as the alliterators of their verses (position 2). Furthermore, these alliterators are split fairly evenly between clause-initial and clause non-initial; this distribution is not explainable by any interpretation of Kuhn's law, and the figures in Table II further undermine the usefulness of the law as a predictive tool. For position 1, on the other hand, Kuhn's law does hold good: most unstressed instances of the words under consideration are in the first dips of their clauses.<sup>64</sup> The law, however, only works in one direction: unstressed quantitative adjectives and temporal and directional adverbs are likely to be clause-initial, but the converse is not true, for many such words in clause-initial verses are stressed as well.<sup>65</sup> This is shown by positions 2, 3 and 4, where many of these words in clause-initial verses (and placed according to Kuhn's law) are stressed.

For the on-verse, the situation is somewhat different. Possible positions of the words presently under discussion are: 1) before the first and only alliterating word, in verses with no non-alliterating Class A words; 2) as the first of two alliterating words; 3) preceding the first of two stressed words at least the first of which alliterates; 4) as the second of two alliterating words, the first of which is stressed; 5) as the sole stressed and alliterating word; 6) as the sole alliterating word of two stressed words; 7) immediately following the first stressed alliterating word and before another stressed word; 8) verse-finally. In the latter two cases we can argue, by analogy to the off-verse positions 3 and 4, that the words in these positions are stressed. Clearly, moreover, the adjective or adverb is stressed when it is the sole alliterating word in the verse (positions 5 and 6); in these cases, the verse contains no Class A word 95% of the time (as opposed to 64% of the time for the off-verse; see Table I). In position 4 it is also usually clear that the adjective or adverb is stressed. In fact, the only thing that distinguishes position 4 from position 8 is the presence of alliteration; if position 8 is stressed even without alliterating, surely position 4 should be stressed in the presence of alliteration. Conversely, in position 3, it is always clear that the quantitative adjective or temporal or directional adverb is unstressed.

Positions 1 and 2 are the problematic positions for the on-verse. Many

previous metrists (Pope, Sievers, e.g.) stress all such adjectives and adverbs; Bliss, on the other hand, stresses none of group 1 and not all of group 2. Bliss's argument for considering some of Kuhn's *Satzpartikeln*, primarily finite verbs, that fall into group 2 as unstressed is, however, due to a faulty reading of Kuhn.<sup>66</sup> From the perspective of the audience, moreover, it makes sense to stress the first alliterating word in the verse – if, that is, it is a word that is capable of bearing stress; from the point of view of the poet, it adds to his virtuosity to stress two alliterating words in the on-verse – if he can – instead of one. The argument that such words in analogous position in the off-verse would be unstressed is irrelevant, for the on-verse admits double alliteration, while the off-verse does not. Nonetheless, there could be a few rare cases of an alliterating adjective or adverb being the first alliterating word in the verse and providing unmetrical triple alliteration if stressed; in these cases the alliteration would have to be viewed as accidental. These cases, then, would be analogous to the double alliteration on an initial quantitative adjective or temporal or directional adverb in the off-verse; but these cases are extremely rare<sup>67</sup> – far more so than accidental alliteration would predict. This suggests that the poets took care to avoid such usages.

Position 1 is the most controversial, for most previous metrists have assigned stress to many quantitative adjectives and temporal and directional adverbs when they precede the only alliterating word in the verse. Nevertheless, there are several arguments in favour of not assigning stress to such words. Since non-alliterating quantitative adjectives and temporal and directional adverbs that precede the first alliterating word in the off-verse are never stressed, it is natural that they should not be in the on-verse. Audience expectation would also require that the first stressed word alliterate. Finally, as I have already argued, lines in which a non-alliterating Class A word precedes the first alliterating word in the line are so extremely rare as to be very likely corrupt, and it seems unlikely that a non-alliterating word could bear stress when placed before the first alliterator in the line if and only if it is a member of a class of words that are sometimes unequivocally unstressed. The following table charts the distribution of quantitative adjectives and temporal and directional adverbs over the possible positions in the on-verse:

Table III: On-verse quantitative adjectives and temporal and directional adverbs

	<i>alliterating</i>		<i>non-alliterating</i>		<i>Tot.</i>
	<i>clause-initial</i>	<i>non-initial</i>	<i>clause-initial</i>	<i>non-initial</i>	
Position 1	X	X	20	5	25
Position 2	9	26	X	X	35
Position 3	0	0	4	0	4
Position 4	0	9	X	X	9
Position 5	8	0	X	X	8
Position 6	13	1	X	X	14
Position 7	0	0	1	0	1
Position 8	X	X	12	15	27
Total	30	36	37	20	123

Comments: The five position 1 verses in the fourth column are: *Beo* 486a, 1708a, 1955a, 3164a; *Dream* 154a. The nine position 2 verses in the first column are: *Beo* 164a, 1591a, 1618a, 1794a, 1914a, 1975a, 3077a; *Mald* 288a; *DEdw* 13a. The four position 3 verses are: *Beo* 4a, 1915a, 2160a; *Dream* 118a. The nine position 4 verses are: *Beo* 41a, 145a, 642a, 776a, 991a, 1015a, 1787a, 2268a, 2772a. The eight position 5 verses are: *Beo* 627a, 941a, 2982a; *Mald* 70a, 207a, 243a; *Dream* 110a, 117a. The single position 6 verse in the second column is *Beo* 2091a. The single position 7 verse is *Mald* 72a.

Once again, most unstressed quantitative adjectives and temporal and directional adverbs occur in clause-initial half-lines, but five instances of *eall* are unstressed in clause non-initial half lines.<sup>68</sup> While some previous metrists would stress *eall* in these lines – as they would stress many of the other position 1 words – the absence of alliteration must be taken as an indication that the words are not stressed. The presence of these adjectives and adverbs in position 3, where no metrist would place stress on them, supports the unstressed status of the position 1 words: both position 1 and position 3 place the word before the first alliterating word in the verse. As in the off-verse, on-verse quantitative adjectives and temporal

and directional adverbs are most likely to be the first stress of two in the verse (positions 2 and 6; in position 6 the adjective or adverb always precedes the other stressed word in the verse): they are placed as the first stress about 40% of the time.

Also noteworthy is the extreme paucity of adjectives and adverbs in position 7, unlike the off-verse, which exhibits this placement quite frequently (position 3 for the off-verse), and the absence of alliterating adjectives and adverbs in verse-final position in the first dip of the clause, position 4: all of the stressed alliterating words being considered here in clause-initial verses are the first alliterators in their lines, or, to put it another way, there are no A-, D-, or E-types – the only types in which a second lift could still be considered as being in the first dip of the clause<sup>69</sup> – that both begin a clause and contain an alliterating adjective or adverb of the type presently under consideration as the second primary stress. The *Beowulf* poet, for example, will begin a clause with a verse like 'þa wæs eft swa ær' (*Beo* 642a, 1787a), in which the position 4 temporal adverb *ær* falls in the second dip of the verse, but will not begin a clause with a verse like 'madma mænigo' (*Beo* 41a), in which the quantitative adjective *mænigo* falls in the first dip of the verse.<sup>70</sup> According to Kendall's and Lucas's interpretation of Kuhn's law, *mænigo* could be unstressed if the verse were clause-initial. Since such a verse would seem to demand stress on *mænigo* regardless of clause placement, the absence of such verses in clause-initial position might seem to provide support for Kendall's and Lucas's reading. This absence is, however, an independent metrical fact about Old English poetry.<sup>71</sup> For of the 38 on-verses in *Beo* with the same metrical pattern as *Beo* 41a (i.e., the most basic A-type with the second stress resolved), none begins a clause. Moreover, of the 441 attestations of the corresponding pattern with an unresolved second stress in the on-verse, only ten begin clauses.<sup>72</sup> Three of these ten, furthermore – *Beo* 2187a ('swiðe wendon'), 2706a ('Feond gefyldan'), and 3048a ('discas lagon') – contain finite verbs in verse-final position. Since these verses do not meet the criteria set out in one of Kendall's *ad hoc* formulations about particle stress – that 'any particle which extends beyond the second syllable after the first lift can be considered displaced' and therefore stressed by Kuhn's law ('Metrical Grammar', p. 10) – he would have to scan these verses with no stress on the verb. Since such a scansion would be contrary not only to the scansion I have suggested above, but also to that of virtually every Old English metrist, I suggest that Kuhn's law is useless for determining stress in Old English poetry: even when combined with *ad hoc* formulations that account for many apparent exceptions, it still does not work. Kendall implies that Kuhn's law may be used for determining stress in Old English

poetry (*Metrical Grammar*, pp. 16-17 *et passim*), yet as we have seen even Kendall's own extensions of Kuhn's laws do not always provide sound metre (see too note 49). Kuhn himself quite clearly did not use his laws for determining levels of stress; the testimony from alliteration is, in fact, a far more productive tool for this purpose.

With the exception of the two verses involving possible accidental alliteration discussed above (*Beo* 3077a, *DEdw* 13a), the alliteration-based rules for determining stress on quantitative adjectives and temporal and directional adverbs that I have suggested in this article always provide well-attested metrical patterns. Note, however, that even these two verses do not contain triple alliteration with both particles stressed, and that the verses provide metrical types attested elsewhere (though rarely) even with the particles stressed. Moreover, Kuhn's laws do not help here, for they would not be broken with the particles stressed, and they would not be broken with the particles unstressed (see above and note 49). The most important advantage of the stress rules that I have suggested, furthermore, is their simplicity: they obviate the need to determine clause boundaries or to determine whether the words in question are *Satzpartikeln* or *Satzteilpartikeln*. The evidence from alliteration provides, in fact, the soundest basis for determining stress on quantitative adjectives and temporal and directional adverbs in Old English poetry.

NOTES

<sup>1</sup> I should like to thank Mary Blockley and John Harkness, as well as the readers for *Leeds Studies in English*, for reading earlier versions of this paper and providing numerous helpful comments. My argument has benefited greatly from their insights.

<sup>2</sup> *Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur* 57 (1933), 1-109. The article sets forth Kuhn's rules for placement and stress of certain words, which Kuhn calls 'sentence particles' (*Satzpartikeln*), in early Germanic poetry.

<sup>3</sup> The most influential of these scholars is A. J. Bliss, in *An Introduction to Old English Metre* (Oxford, 1958), §§ 20-26. Following Bliss, and influenced by him, are Calvin B. Kendall, 'The Metrical Grammar of *Beowulf*: Displacement', *Speculum* 58 (1983), 1-30 and *The Metrical Grammar of 'Beowulf'* (Cambridge Studies in Anglo-Saxon England 5, 1991), esp. pp. 13-59, and Peter J. Lucas, 'On Some Breaches of Kuhn's Law of Particles and *Genesis A 2745*', *Philological Quarterly* 64 (1985), 386-91, 'On the Role of Some Adverbs in Old English Verse Grammar', *Papers from the Fifth International Conference on Historical Linguistics*, ed. Sylvia Adamson et al. (Current Issues in Linguistic Theory 65, Amsterdam, 1990), 293-312, and 'Some Aspects of the Interaction between Verse Grammar and Metre in Old English Poetry', *Studia Neophilologica* 59 (1987), 145-75. I suggest that all three of these scholars have misinterpreted Kuhn's work. See too D. Slay, 'Some Aspects of the Technique of Composition of Old English Verse', *Transactions of the Philological Society* (1952), 1-14, who also slightly misinterprets Kuhn.

<sup>4</sup> For example, David Hoover, *A New Theory of Old English Meter* (New York, 1985), p. 52, and Bruce Mitchell, *Old English Syntax*, 2 vols (Oxford, 1985), II, 984. Hoover's views on metre are presented concisely in 'Evidence for the Primacy of Alliteration in Old English Metre', *Anglo-Saxon England* 14 (1985), 75-96. Hoover argues throughout his work that alliteration is the most important criterion in scanning Old English verse, and his views have influenced my own.

<sup>5</sup> Not very much of the current debate concerning the validity of Kuhn's laws has yet appeared in print; there were, however, two sessions devoted to the topic at the Twenty-Seventh Annual International Congress on Medieval Studies, May 7-10, 1992, in Kalamazoo, Michigan, and the papers from these sessions are to be published soon. For a re-examination and analysis of Kuhn's Laws, see B. R. Hutcheson, 'Kuhn's Law, Finite Verb Stress, and the Critics', *Studia Neophilologica* 64 (1992), 129-39, and Robert Stockwell and Donka Minkova, 'Kuhn's Laws and the Rise of Verb-Second Syntax', in Toril Swan ed., *Old Germanic Languages in a Comparative Perspective* (Berlin, 1993), forthcoming. Both of these articles argue that Kuhn's laws, as he himself formulated them, have more to do with syntax than with stress or metre; Stockwell and Minkova, in assessments with which I agree, note that 'Kuhn did not create rules that metrists can use but . . . on the contrary he used what he assumed to be well-established metrical scansion to

make inferences about early Germanic word-order' ('Against the Notion "Metrical Grammar"', paper read at the Twenty-Seventh Annual International Congress on Medieval Studies, May 7, 1992) and that Kuhn's laws are merely 'syntax *poorly formulated*' (ibid., emphasis theirs).

<sup>6</sup> It is my contention that alliteration is a better indicator of stress in Old English than Kuhn's laws for all *Satzpartikeln* except those that are, in my view, never stressed, such as subordinating conjunctions and relative pronouns, but an examination of all *Satzpartikeln* is beyond the scope of this essay.

<sup>7</sup> Throughout this article, I use Kuhn's original term instead of the customary English translation 'particle', which is ambiguous since for most linguists it is synonymous with 'clitic'. Kuhn called clitics *Satzteilpartikeln*. Elsewhere I term the types of *Satzpartikeln* that I discuss in the present paper 'Class B words' ('Kuhn's Law', 133).

<sup>8</sup> Quotations from Kuhn are taken from the reprint of his article in *Kleine Schriften 1* (Berlin, 1969), pp. 18-103, with page numbers from the original article as given in the reprint.

<sup>9</sup> As in Modern English, these words can act in Old English as either adjectives or pronouns (as in 'some people were there' vs. 'some were there'). By calling them quantitative adjectives I do not intend to exclude pronominal uses.

<sup>10</sup> His second law, with which I shall be only tangentially concerned in this article, is: 'Im Satzaufakt müssen Satzpartikeln stehen' (p. 43).

<sup>11</sup> Slay, who also examines stress of indefinite quantitative adjectives but bases his analysis largely on Kuhn ('Some Aspects of the Technique of Composition of Old English Verse'), notes that 'the indefinite adjective of quantity may be readily moved from the natural position before its noun . . . . As soon as it is moved in this way the quantity word is subject to the "Law of Sentence Particles" formulated by H. Kuhn' (p. 6). Slay further asserts that 'as soon as [the quantitative adjective] is moved from this position [i.e., immediately before its noun] it counts as a sentence particle' (p. 7n). Yet in none of Slay's examples immediately following this statement is the quantitative adjective in one of the positions allowed by Kuhn's first law.

<sup>12</sup> See Kuhn, p. 75, for example.

<sup>13</sup> See Hutcheson, 'Kuhn's Law', *passim*.

<sup>14</sup> Kendall views, for example, a verse like *Beo* 217a, 'gewat þa ofer wægholm', as a violation of both of Kuhn's laws with the verb stressed ('Metrical Grammar', p. 7), whereas Kuhn himself, who in fact stresses the verb in this verse (Kuhn, p. 11), views it as a violation of neither of his laws. Bliss's, Slay's, and especially Lucas's interpretations are more in line with Kuhn's own writings; nevertheless, all three use Kuhn's laws for purposes that he clearly did not intend, and which are, I think, unwarranted.

<sup>15</sup> Adverbial stress in Old English poetry has been recently discussed by Lucas in 'On the Role of Some Adverbs'. Lucas, however, bases his stress rules explicitly and thoroughly on Kuhn's

laws; my focus is therefore different from his.

<sup>16</sup> This last is not strictly speaking a temporal adverb, but its distribution is similar to that of the other adverbs listed.

<sup>17</sup> I include adverbial uses of *eall*, in order to determine whether these show a different stress distribution than the adjectival uses. I do not, however, include adverbial uses of any of the other adjectives, nor do I include non-adverbial uses of any of the adverbs (such as, for example, conjunctive uses of *ær*).

<sup>18</sup> My text is *The Anglo-Saxon Poetic Records*, edited by George Philip Krapp and Elliott Van Kirk Dobbie, 6 vols. (New York, 1931-53). I omit quotation marks, and indicate editorial emendations or additions with square brackets: [ ]; I indicate manuscript readings that have been emended out with braces: { }.

<sup>19</sup> Class A words are words that are always stressed, regardless of metrical or syntactic context. These include nouns, qualitative adjectives, almost all non-finite verb forms, several pronouns, and many adverbs. See Hutcheson, 'Kuhn's Law', p. 133.

<sup>20</sup> Note, however, that Kuhn would have regarded some of these not as *Satzpartikeln* but as *Satzteilpartikeln*.

<sup>21</sup> In these examples and all subsequent examples, I indicate the alliterating stressed syllables with bold type for the initial letter(s).

<sup>22</sup> Note that three of these verses involve alliteration on vowels, the most common initial sound in Old English poetry, and the fourth involves alliteration on /s/, the fifth most common sound. The rates of alliteration on these words are well within the range for accidental alliteration. See B. R. Huteson, 'Accidental Alliteration in Old English Poetry: A Reconsideration', *English Language Notes* 30 (1992), 8.

<sup>23</sup> *Oðer* is stressed in all of its attestations in the corpus for this study except *Beo* 1351b, 'oðer earnsceapen', in which stress on *oðer* would provide double alliteration in the off-verse. This suggests that *oðer* is not like the qualitative adjectives, which are always stressed. Indeed, Jess B. Bessinger, Jr.'s *Concordance to 'The Anglo-Saxon Poetic Records'*, programmed by Philip H. Smith, Jr. (Ithaca, 1978), s.v. *oðer*, confirms this: while *oðer* is usually stressed, it is unstressed a significant number of times. Its behaviour as a word with variable stress is attributable to its being conceived as a quantitative adjective, with the primary meaning of 'second'. I am grateful to Paul Remley for pointing this out to me.

<sup>24</sup> The best justification for stressing *oðer* in preference to *ænig* in this verse is the analogy with *Beo* 1353 above. Kuhn's law does not really help here, for, since Kuhn allowed unstressed *Satzpartikeln* following stressed *Satzpartikeln* in clause-initial verses (see Kuhn, p. 11), *ænig* could be stressed in this verse and *oðer* unstressed, according to Kuhn's law (if, that is, Kuhn would have regarded both words as *Satzpartikeln*; it is not clear that he would have). See note 26.



<sup>25</sup> By Sievers's Rule of Precedence. See Eduard Sievers, *Altgermanische Metrik* (Halle, 1893), §§ 19-29, esp. § 22.

<sup>26</sup> Kuhn's law is ambiguous in this case as well. Kuhn gives examples such as *Beo* 1987a, 'hu lomp eow on lade', where he explicitly regards *hu*, *lomp*, and *eow* as *Satzpartikeln*, only stresses *lomp*, and still does not regard the verse as violating his first law (p. 11 and p. 11 note 2). Kuhn also stresses *Satzpartikeln* that do not alliterate, as in *Beo* 951a, 'ful oft ic for læssan', where he stresses *oft* and explicitly regards *ic* as a sentence particle as well (p. 11) (*ful* in this verse would probably be a *Satzteilpartikel* for Kuhn, not a *Satzpartikel*). Note, moreover, that Kuhn does not regard *oft* as stressed in *Beo* 480a, 'ful oft gebeotedon' (p. 11). According to Kuhn, *oft* is a sentence particle that follows his law in both *Beo* 951a and 480a; that he stresses the former and not the latter indicates *beyond a doubt* that he himself is using some criteria other than his law to determine stress.

<sup>27</sup> A stronger case may be made for this reading in *Beo* 534 than in *Beo* 1238. For *ænig* certainly seems to be proclitic to *oðer* in the former line (cf. \*'ðonne oðer ænig man', which would provide faulty syntax at best), but in the latter line both adverbs seem to be proclitic to the verb (cf. \*'swa he ær oft dydon', the syntax of which seems unexceptionable). I shall suggest a further criterion for stressing only the second of the two Class B words in these verses below.

<sup>28</sup> See Kuhn, p. 44. That quantitative adjectives must sometimes be regarded as *Satzpartikeln* and sometimes as *Satzteilpartikeln*, and that when the former they are sometimes stressed by Kuhn when they do not alliterate and sometimes unstressed, even when in similar syntactic environments, represent unnecessary complications. The evidence from alliteration provides far simpler criteria for determining stress on these words. Since Kuhn seems to base his scansion on Sievers and Heusler, and since Sievers relies largely on alliteration to determine stress, I suggest – though I cannot prove – that Kuhn himself relied more on alliteration than on his own laws for assigning stress. To the extent that Sievers, and hence Kuhn, stress non-alliterating *Satzpartikeln* in the openings of clauses, however, their scansion differs from the scansion I am advocating.

<sup>29</sup> In the off-verse (as well as the on-verse), *fea* is always stressed and bears the alliteration of the verse in the present corpus. This suggests that *fea* is different from the other indefinite adjectives of quantity; a glance at the *Concordance* confirms this: in every instance in which *fea* occurs, it is stressed (see the *Concordance*, s.v. *fea*). Furthermore, it bears the sole alliteration in the line in all but two attestations (*Christ III* 1170a and *Resignation* 66a). *Fea*, then, must be regarded as exceptional among the indefinite adjectives of quantity; the only reason I can suggest for this is its similarity to the nouns *fea*, 'joy', and *fea*, 'money'.

<sup>30</sup> *Hraðe* can alliterate on either *h* or *r*. While *hraðe* usually alliterates on *h*, it also alliterates on *r* in other poems besides *Beo* (see the *Concordance*, s.v. *hraðe*).

<sup>31</sup> Compare the following verse:

*Dream 47* opene inwidhlemmas. Ne dorste ic hira {n}ænigum sceððan

In *Beo* 949, the manuscript reading *ænigra* must be emended to *nænigra* to make the alliteration; conversely, in *Dream 47*, the manuscript reading *nængum* must be emended to *ænigum* to make the alliteration. Taken together, these verses indicate that the double negative in Old English was optional but not necessary; moreover, these verses support the validity of each other's emendations.

<sup>32</sup> Several scholars have misinterpreted Kuhn's law to imply that *Satzpartikeln* will be unstressed when placed according to his law (see, for example, Kendall, *Metrical Grammar*, 18; Lucas, 'Role of Some Adverbs', 302); that this is not so is demonstrated not only by the above examples but also by Kuhn's examples on p. 11 of his article, where he notes explicitly that the stressed words are *Satzpartikeln*.

<sup>33</sup> The point is Hoover's: 'if such words were truly unstressed, accidental alliteration should occur, as it does with other unstressed words in *Beowulf* (*A New Theory*, p. 68). Hoover makes the observation with regard to finite verbs, but it applies equally well to the words presently under consideration.

<sup>34</sup> Bliss assigns these words a secondary stress in verses of this sort, but does not give any justification for this procedure (pp. 139-61 *passim*).

<sup>35</sup> See Hutcheson, 'Accidental Alliteration', p. 8.

<sup>36</sup> There is an exception in *Mald* 271, but this line is metrically corrupt (see further below).

<sup>37</sup> Sievers tends to regard the adverbs in this position as bearing primary stress and the words that conclude the lines – almost always finite verbs – as bearing secondary stress (i.e., as type D), though he admits that it is often difficult to tell the difference between these and verses of type E ('Zur Rhythmik des germanischen Alliterationsverses', *Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur* 10 (1885), 257). Bliss, on the other hand, usually regards the adverbs as bearing secondary stress and the *Satzpartikeln* at the end of the line as bearing primary stress, basing his decision on alliteration and presumably the caesura (pp. 70-73), though for many of these he simply asserts that they 'must be referred to Type E' (p. 73). John C. Pope in *The Rhythm of 'Beowulf'* (New Haven, 1942), tends to regard these verses in the same way as Sievers (pp. 364-66, e.g.), though at times he is unsure (p. 368). What these three metrists have in common is that they are moulding the stress patterns to fit preconceived notions of metrical types, though Pope, in the 1966 edition of his book, did change his mind and treat some of these verses as having three primary stresses (cited in Thomas M. Cable, *The Meter and Melody of 'Beowulf'*, Illinois Studies in Language and Literature, 64 (Urbana, 1974), p. 78). Lucas regards many *Satzpartikeln* in this position as wholly unstressed, and gets around the apparent violations of Kuhn's law that such a scansion would produce by suggesting that they are not *Satzpartikeln* but enclitics ('Some Aspects of the Interaction between Verse Grammar and Metre in Old English Poetry', pp. 156-57).

<sup>38</sup> It has been oft noted that this line uses rhyme instead of alliterative metre. See, for example,

Bruce Mitchell and Fred C. Robinson, *An Introduction to Old English*, 4th edition (Oxford, 1988), p. 235n.

<sup>39</sup> Dobbie and other editors emend *handlean* to *andlean* in this verse and in 2094, which alliterates on a vowel. But since *handlean* is attested in lines with alliteration on *h* (at *Exodus* 19; *A Prayer* 14, 19), it seems best not to emend *Beo* 1541.

<sup>40</sup> Many previous metrists, such as Sievers and Pope, would place an additional stress on the first or second word in each of these verses. I shall present arguments against such a scansion presently.

<sup>41</sup> Kuhn, that is, would not have regarded these words as *Satzpartikeln* but as *betonte Wörter*. It is not, therefore, that Kuhn's law determines that these are stressed; rather, the law simply does not apply. It is worth reiterating here that Kuhn formulated his law after determining stress and in order to determine where in the clause certain types of unstressed words were allowed. Kuhn, in other words, probably would have stressed the adverbs and adjectives in the above verses not because his law told him they should be stressed, but rather in order to provide the second stress of the verse under Sievers's system, which allowed for two and only two primary stresses per verse.

<sup>42</sup> We cannot, that is, fall back on the two stress per verse theory, since this has been discredited (see, e.g., Bliss, *Metre*, Chapter 10). In the absence, therefore, of any compelling reason – such as the presence or absence of alliteration – to scan on-verses differently from off-verses when the verses are syntactically similar, I suggest that they should be scanned the same way. Note too that most of the adjectives and adverbs in these verses are postpositive to the words they modify, which might provide grounds for stressing them (cf. the verses in which they are proclitic and unstressed), except that *Beo* 591 and *Mald* 188 do not follow this model.

<sup>43</sup> Note that this on-verse breaks Sievers's Rule of Precedence. It is, however, possible that *man* was a Class B word (as it certainly is when it has the force of an indefinite pronoun) even when used as a noun.

<sup>44</sup> This problematic verse will be discussed in more detail below.

<sup>45</sup> Lucas argues that *Sona* in *Beo* 1591 should be unstressed since it conforms to Kuhn's law ('Role of Some Adverbs' 302); Kendall asserts that 'Comparison with line 750a shows that the alliteration on the initial adverb in *Sona þæt gesawon* (1591a) cannot be taken as evidence that the adverb is a stressed element' (*Metrical Grammar* 24). But I do not see that comparison of 1591a with 750a shows anything of the kind. According to my argument, *sona* does not alliterate in 750a, therefore it is not stressed; it does alliterate in 1591a, therefore it is stressed. All that comparison with 750a shows is that *sona* is not always stressed, which is why we need to examine stress on *sona* in the first place. That *sona* is not always unstressed is demonstrated by several verses outside the corpus for this study, like *Genesis A* 862a, where *sona*, though placed according to Kuhn's law, provides the sole alliteration in the verse.

<sup>46</sup> I have argued elsewhere that Bliss's theory of ornamental alliteration represents an unnecessary complication ('Kuhn's Law', section III).

<sup>47</sup> It is also worth noting that Bliss scans all of these verses except *Beo* 3077a with a stress on the adjective or adverb, even those that would follow Kuhn's law with an unstressed particle. This is curious considering that Bliss scans many alliterating finite verbs in this same position as unstressed, and posits ornamental alliteration on them.

<sup>48</sup> For the *Beo* 3077a metrical pattern, cf. *Beo* 496a, 896a, 1632a, and 1904a; for the *DEdw* 13a metrical pattern, cf. *Beo* 141a and 402b.

<sup>49</sup> Here it might be argued that Kendall's interpretation of Kuhn's law provides a better scansion for these verses than the criteria provided by alliteration. Kuhn's law simply states that *Satzpartikeln* will be placed early in the clause, in which position they are possibly, but not necessarily, unstressed. Kendall takes this a step further and argues that such sentence particles must be unstressed. Stress patterns should determine the metre, and not the other way around; in the two verses in question my argument from alliteration provides rare but attested metrical patterns, and in order to claim that the *Satzpartikeln* in these verses are unstressed and that the alliteration is accidental (a claim that I am not making, however), I should have to introduce the notion of metrical normality to my stress-rules, which puts the cart before the horse. Kendall's rules, however, assign no stress to the *Satzpartikeln* and provide the more usual metrical patterns on the first go-round. Yet even Kendall must fall back on some notion of metrical normality when his interpretation of Kuhn's laws fails to provide sound metre, and he formulates a 'transformational rule' to account for these cases (*Metrical Grammar*, p. 24). But this further rule does not always work. *Beo* 525, 'Ðonne wene ic to þe wyrsan geþingea', provides a case in point. Kendall observes, 'Here the [transformational] rule first assigns metrical stress to the phrase *to þe*. Since this does not generate a regular metrical contour, the rule then puts metrical stress on the phrase *wene ic*. The resulting pattern corresponds to a type B and *wene* must alliterate' (*Metrical Grammar*, p. 26). In fact, however, the transformational rule assigns stress to the *Satzpartikel ic*; the resulting pattern is still a type B, but *ic* does not alliterate. Thus Kendall's interpretation of Kuhn's laws, even when combined with the notion of normative metrical patterns, still does not provide consistent criteria for assigning stress. I suggest that some ambiguity about the stress levels of two words out of 437 is preferable to this state of affairs.

<sup>50</sup> Of the five examples of no alliteration on the first Class A word in the line in *Beo*, three – *Beo* 780, 1379, and 2094 – are emended by most editors. Of the remaining two, *Beo* 316a is a line proper to Old Norse poetry but not to Old English, as Roberta Frank notes in 'Skaldic Verse and the Date of *Beowulf*', in *The Dating of Beowulf*, edited by Colin Chase (Toronto, 1981), pp. 123-39 (at 132); see too Kuhn's remarks on the line (p. 84). *Beo* 3056a, 'He is manna gehyld', may be emended to 'he is gehyld manna' (cf. *Andreas* 1045a, 'on gehyld godes'), though it is also possible

that *man* should be regarded as a Class B word here. See above, note 43.

<sup>51</sup> Note that the alliteration is again on a vowel, and that Kuhn's law is ambiguous here and does not help. It is possible, as John Harkness has pointed out to me, that 'no þy ær' was a fixed phrase, seen as one word.

<sup>52</sup> Thus Sievers's Rule of Precedence; Lucas makes the hierarchical stress structure explicit ('Some Aspects', 159-60). Neither Sievers nor Lucas applies the hierarchy to the different words that belong to a specific part of speech, however.

<sup>53</sup> Of the 90 occurrences of *ut* listed in the *Concordance*, only one is undoubtedly unstressed: *Psalm* 87:8.3, 'eam ic swære geseald, þær ic ut swican ne mæg'.

<sup>54</sup> That is, they sometimes bear stress and alliteration in verses containing non-alliterating stressed elements. All except one of these are in off-verses (see Table I below).

<sup>55</sup> The position on Kuhn's law that Kendall takes in his book *The Metrical Grammar of Beowulf* represents merely an amplification of the views expressed in his earlier article. He does, however, change his stance on infinitives, which in the book he includes under *Satzpartikeln* (p. 17). Indeed, Kuhn lists non-finite verb forms as *Satzpartikeln* 'occasionally' (p. 5), that is, probably only when they are unstressed. To classify all infinitives as *Satzpartikeln*, as Kendall does, seems hasty, for there are only twenty-four certain instances of unstressed infinitives in Old English Poetry (see E. G. Stanley, 'Verbal Stress in Old English Verse', *Anglia* 93 (1975), 324), and infinitives are in general more likely to conclude their clauses than to be placed in accordance with Kuhn's law.

<sup>56</sup> As Stockwell and Minkova point out, this syntactic rule ('multiple particle fronting') is peculiar to Old English verse ('Against the Notion "Metrical Grammar"'). Such a rule would have facilitated composition of the verse, for it removed semantically necessary words for which synonyms were rare or unavailable to the beginning of the clause, where they could be unstressed, leaving the positions where stress – and hence alliteration – was necessary open for words for which synonyms were available, like nouns, or on which variation was possible, like qualitative adjectives. It is this phenomenon, in fact, that Kuhn's law describes.

<sup>57</sup> These data confirm the validity of Sievers's Rule of Precedence, especially inasmuch as Sievers is more willing to allow exceptions in the off-verse than in the on-verse. See *Metrik*, § 24, for example.

<sup>58</sup> This table lists the stressed alliterating quantitative adjectives and temporal and directional adverbs that I have just examined. Column A of Table I contains figures for those adjectives and adverbs that alliterate in preference to a Class A word in the on-verse, i.e., a Class A word that does not alliterate follows the alliterating adjective or adverb. Column B of the table contains figures for those that occur in on-verses that have no Class A words. Column C contains figures for the alliterating adjectives or adverbs that occur in on-verses in which a Class A word also alliterates; the

dual figures indicate that the adjective or adverb is placed before the Class A word or after it, respectively. Column D lists the off-verse figures for those adjectives and adverbs that alliterate in preference to a Class A word. Column E contains the off-verse figures for verses in which there are no Class A words; the final column contains the totals. I give line references for instances of fewer than ten attestations.

<sup>59</sup> It is, as observed above, possible that the adverbs in *Beo* 3077a and *DEdw* 13a are not stressed, and that the alliteration is accidental.

<sup>60</sup> By regarding certain words as *Satzpartikeln* only when they occur in the positions that his first law allows, Kuhn gives himself considerable latitude: a stressed *Satzpartikel* that does not follow his law ceases to be a *Satzpartikel* entirely, and thus does not break the law. A stressed *Satzpartikel* that follows the law is still, however, a *Satzpartikel* (see Kuhn, p. 11). Such flexibility weakens the power of Kuhn's law as a tool for determining stress patterns, a use in which, to repeat, Kuhn himself seems to have had no interest.

<sup>61</sup> By using the term 'rule' I do not intend to provide a prescription; rather, this is merely a description of the actual stress patterns that I have argued for above.

<sup>62</sup> Also *Beo* 503, 1238, 1502. See Table II below.

<sup>63</sup> Table II lists the words examined above, divided into alliterating and non-alliterating and subdivided into clause-initial and clause non-initial, by their placement under the four possible positions for off-verse particles. An X in the table marks the places where these words cannot occur by definition.

<sup>64</sup> The position 1 clause non-initial verses in Table II all contain a quantitative adjective in the attributive position, and are thus not subject to Kuhn's laws (i.e., Kuhn would have regarded them as *Satzteilpartikeln*).

<sup>65</sup> *Pace* Lucas, who implies that such words will be unstressed unless they are the only alliterators in their verses ('Role of Some Adverbs', pp. 298, 302 *et passim*; 'Some Aspects', *passim*).

<sup>66</sup> See Hutcheson, 'Kuhn's Law', section III.

<sup>67</sup> *Beo* 2767a, 'Swylce he siomian geseah,' is the only one I have found. *Swylce*, when an adverb (as here), seems to follow the same stress rules as the temporal and directional adverbs I am presently considering; it can also, however, be a conjunction, in which case it is never stressed. Note that both uses of *swylce* fall under Kuhn's definition of a *Satzpartikel*.

<sup>68</sup> Again these are all in the attributive position and thus do not break Kuhn's laws. Thus the adjectival uses of *eall* in the present corpus differ from the other adjectives and adverbs under consideration in that they are sometimes unstressed in positions that Kuhn's law does not allow yet are exempt from the law because they are in the attributive position, and thus not *Satzpartikeln* but *Satzteilpartikeln*.

<sup>69</sup> That is, it would be in the first dip of the clause if unstressed.

<sup>70</sup> See further Mitchell, *Old English Syntax*, §§ 149-77.

<sup>71</sup> Clearly, such clause-initial verses would not have bothered Kuhn, for he scans many *Satzpartikeln* in the first dip of the clause as stressed.

<sup>72</sup> *Beo* 1119a, 1529a, 1569a, 1925a, 2187a, 2663a, 2706a, 2778a (which is a clause in itself), 2988a, 3048a.