

**On Two Half-Line Types in Sievers's Theory of Old English Meter:
A Case for Clash Deletion on the Second Metrical Plane in Old English***

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1. Introduction

The well-formedness of half-lines in Old English (henceforth, OE) alliterative verse has been a central topic in Germanic metrics since the 19th century. Traditional metrics, as represented by Sievers's (1893) theory of meter, argues that the rhythm produced by the distribution of stress is a dominant factor for determining the occurrence of half-lines. By contrast, generative metrics, as represented by Halle and Keyser's (1971) theory of meter, argues that alliteration plays a dominant role in determining the occurrence of half-lines. Recently, new comprehensive theories have been constructed in both the traditional and the generative-phonological framework. Included in the former are Creed (1990) and Hutcheson (1995), among others. Included in the latter are Russom (1987, 1998) and Fujiwara (1990), among others.

Given these two main streams of OE metrics, I argued in Okazaki (1998) that the well-formedness of half-lines is also determined by the disposition of syllables on the basis of the distribution of quadrisyllabic half-lines containing two unprefixed disyllabic words. Assuming that OE is a syllabic language which, in addition to the stress plane, has another metrical plane, called the second metrical plane, I proposed two devices to explain the well-formedness of half-lines. One is a constraint, called the Minimal Half-Line Constraint (MHLC), which requires that half-lines of OE alliterative verse contain at least three feet on the second metrical plane. The other is a clash deletion rule operative on the second metrical plane which requires that a degenerate foot preceded by a binary foot and followed by another degenerate foot be deleted.

In this paper, I will be engaged in the task of illustrating the validity of the MHLC and the clash deletion rule by examining properties of two half-line types in Sievers's theory of OE meter. In particular, after reviewing Okazaki's (1998) proposal in section 2, I will suggest in section 3 that the two devices make certain predictions about the occurrence and nonoccurrence of half-lines containing the word-types as schematized in (1).

- (1) a. [_{WORD} HLXX] b. [_{WORD} LXHX] c. [_{WORD} LXX]

H=heavy syllable ($C_0\bar{V}C_0$, C_0VC_1), L=light syllable (C_0V), X=heavy or light syllable (\bar{V} =long vowel and diphthong; V=short vowel)

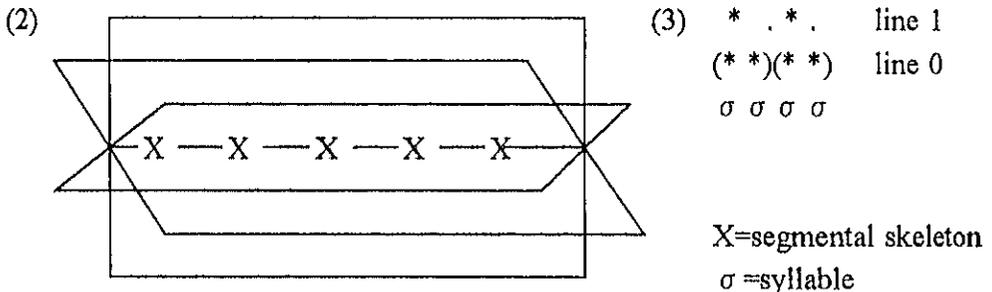
(1a) and (1b) are expected to show a sharp contrast with each other. The former occurs as a single half-line (TYPE D in Sievers's theory), but the latter does not. (1c) is also expected to exhibit peculiar metrical behavior. It occurs in quadrisyllabic

half-lines identified as Sievers's TYPE D half-lines and does not in quadrisyllabic half-lines identified as his TYPE E half-lines. Given these factual predictions, I will demonstrate in sections 4 and 5 that the predictions are borne out on the basis of a survey of the distribution of the words schematized in (1) in Krapp and Dobbie's *Anglo-Saxon Poetic Records* (henceforth, *ASPR*). The facts are elegantly captured by the MHLC and the clash deletion rule. In fact, the clash deletion rule is argued to be indispensable for explaining the peculiar distribution of the word-types in (1). In section 6, I will provide an explanation for exceptional cases. Finally, in section 7, I will be concerned with a critical review of dominant previous studies on OE meter and show that they cannot capture the peculiar distribution of the word-types in (1).

2. Okazaki's (1998) Proposal

2.1. Backgrounds

Okazaki (1998) assumes that phonological structure consists of a set of planes, as shown in (2) (cf. Sagey (1986)) and that metrical structure consists of layers of metrical grids, which are represented by asterisks, and of constituents, which are represented by parentheses, as shown in (3) (cf. Halle and Vergnaud (1987)).



On these two theoretical assumptions, Okazaki (1998) further assumes, following Keyser and O'Neil (1985), that OE is a syllabic language with two metrical planes, one for stress, called the stress plane, which is irrelevant here, and the other for other phonological phenomena, called the second metrical plane, which is crucially relevant here. Metrical constituents on the second metrical plane are constructed by the following algorithm, which was originally proposed by Keyser and O'Neil (1985:4) and is restated in Halle and Vergnaud's (1987) terms without distorting its essence.

- (4) a. Assign a line 1 asterisk to heavy syllables.
- b. On line 1, construct right-headed quantity sensitive binary constituents from left to right.

Okazaki (1998) also adds a proviso which regulates metrical structure construction at the postlexical level, for half-lines of OE alliterative verse mostly contain more than one word. The proviso is formulated as in (5).

- (5) The metrical structure on the second metrical plane is constructed in such a way that the boundaries of a metrical constituent do not cross a word boundary.

Finally, Okazaki (1998) assumes that syllable division in OE obeys Clements and Keyser's (1983:37) Onset First Principle, which requires that a cluster of consonants which occurs as an onset consonant cluster of monosyllabic monomorphemic words be licensed as an onset consonant cluster of a syllable and incorporated into the syllable before the incorporation of coda consonants.

2.2. The Minimal Half-Line Constraint

Given the above-mentioned assumptions and devices, Okazaki (1998) proposes a language-specific constraint on the well-formedness of half-lines of OE alliterative verse, called the Minimal Half-Line Constraint (henceforth, MHLC). It is formulated as in (6).

- (6) Minimal Half-Line Constraint (MHLC)

Half-lines of OE alliterative verse must contain at least three feet on the second metrical plane.

This constraint is formulated on the basis of the distributional contrast between half-line type (7a) and half-line types (7b) and (7c).

- (7) a. [WORD HX][WORD LX] b. *[WORD LX][WORD HX] c. *[WORD LX][WORD LX]

Half-line type (7a) often occurs in OE alliterative verse. Typical examples are:

- (8) a. arlēas cyning 'the cruel king' (*Juliana* 4a)
 b. Frēobearn Godes 'God's noble child' (*Genesis A* 289a)
 c. gealgmōd guma 'the cruel man' (*Genesis A* 531a)
 d. gūdrinc monig 'many heroes' (*Beowulf* 838b)
 e. mihtmōd wera 'violent men' (*Exodus* 149a)

Half-line types (7b) and (7c) are seen to be ill-formed. They rarely occur in OE alliterative verse. Their rarity is confirmed by the fact that only 14 examples of (7b) and (7c) are found among the 4102 relevant half-lines that Okazaki (1998) examines. Their frequency of occurrence is about 0.3%.

The sharp distributional contrast between (7a) and (7b, c) follows from the MHLC. Half-line type (7a), as shown in (9), contains three feet on the second metrical plane in accordance with the algorithm in (4) and the proviso in (5).

- (9) * * *
 (*) (*) (**)
 [WORD H X] [WORD LX]

Thus, half-line type (7a) is licensed as well-formed and occurs frequently.

Half-line type (7b) prima facie contains three feet, as shown in (10), and is

expected to be well-formed. In fact, however, it is seen to be ill-formed.

$$(10) \quad \begin{array}{c} \cdot * \quad * * \\ (* *) \quad (*) (*) \\ \text{[WORD LX]} \text{ [WORD H X]} \end{array}$$

Characteristic of the metrical structure in (10) is the fact that the three heads are adjacent to each other. In particular, the second foot receives pressure from both the preceding binary foot and the following degenerate foot. Okazaki (1998) then argues that it is not unreasonable to postulate a language-specific clash deletion rule such as (11) which deletes the second foot in the metrical configuration in (10).

$$(11) \text{ Clash Deletion} \\ * \rightarrow \cdot / \cdot * \underline{\quad} * \\ (* *) \chi (* *) (*)$$

As shown in (12), application of rule (11) renders half-line type (7b) two-footed. Two-foot half-lines are excluded by the MHLC, which requires that there be at least three feet in half-lines. That is why half-line type (7b) rarely occurs.

$$(12) \quad \begin{array}{c} \cdot * \quad * * \quad \cdot * \quad \cdot * \\ (* *) \quad (*) (*) (11) \quad (**) \quad *(*) \\ \text{[WORD LX]} \text{ [WORD HX]} \rightarrow \text{[WORD LX]} \text{ [WORD HX]} \end{array}$$

The ill-formedness of half-line type (7c) follows straightforwardly from the MHLC. The half-line type, as shown in (13), contains only two feet on the second metrical plane. Again, two-foot half-lines are prohibited from occurring by the MHLC. Thus, the type is naturally ill-formed.

$$(13) \quad \begin{array}{c} \cdot * \quad \cdot * \\ (* *) \quad (* *) \\ \text{[WORD LX]} \text{ [WORD LX]} \end{array}$$

2.3. Evidence for the MHLC

The MHLC has at least three other pieces of evidence. The first piece of evidence is the fact that no disyllabic half-lines occur in OE alliterative verse. In generative metrics, the lack of disyllabic half-lines is seen as a mere accident. Okazaki (1998) argues, however, that the fact follows directly from the MHLC.

Disyllabic half-lines, as illustrated in (14), would contain a single foot or two, depending on whether they contain a word or two.

$$(14) \text{ a.} \quad \begin{array}{c} \cdot * \\ (**) \\ \text{[WORD LL]} \end{array} \quad \text{b.} \quad \begin{array}{c} * \quad * \\ (*) \quad (*) \\ \text{[WORD L]} \text{ [WORD L]} \end{array} \quad \text{c.} \quad \begin{array}{c} \cdot * \\ (**) \\ \text{[WORD LH]} \end{array} \quad \text{d.} \quad \begin{array}{c} * \quad * \\ (*) \quad (*) \\ \text{[WORD L]} \text{ [WORD H]} \end{array}$$

- e. * * f. * * g. * * h. * *
- (*)(*) (*) (*) (*) (*) (*) (*)
- [WORD H H] [WORD H][WORD H] [WORD H L] [WORD H][WORD L]

The MHLC requires that half-lines contain at least three feet on the second metrical plane. Thus, disyllabic half-lines are excluded as ill-formed in OE alliterative verse.

The second piece of evidence for the MHLC comes from the fact that trisyllabic half-lines containing a monosyllabic word and an unprefixated disyllabic word headed by a light syllable do not occur in OE alliterative verse. The relevant half-line types are schematized in (15).

- (15) a. [WORD X][WORD LX] b. [WORD LX][WORD X]

In generative metrics, the lack of half-lines such as those in (15) is also seen as a mere accident. Okazaki (1998) argues, however, that the fact also follows from the MHLC.

The half-lines schematized in (15), as illustrated in (16), contain only two feet on the second metrical plane, regardless of the weight of the syllable 'X.'

- (16) a. * . * b. . * , *
- (*) (**) (* *) (*)
- [WORD X][WORD LX] [WORD LX][WORD X]

Recall again that the MHLC requires that there be at least three feet in half-lines. Thus, the half-line types in (15) are naturally ill-formed and do not occur.

The final piece of evidence for the MHLC involves the fact that trisyllabic half-lines like those in (17) actually occur in OE alliterative verse.

- (17) a. [WORD HX][WORD X] b. [WORD X][WORD HX] c. [WORD X][WORD X][WORD X]

Typical examples of the half-line types in (17a-c) are given in (18)-(20).

- (18) a. *ælc̄es twā* 'two of each' (*Genesis A* 1338b)
 b. *ōðer Cham* 'the second (is) Cham' (*Genesis A* 1241b)
- (19) a. *nēan bīdan* 'wait for (Grendel)' (*Christ and Satan* 528b)
 b. *secg betsta* 'the best man' (*Beowulf* 947b/1759b)
- (20) a. *hāt in gān* 'bid (them) come in' (*Christ and Satan* 386b)
 b. *on flet tēon* 'lead into the floor' (*Beowulf* 1036b)

These half-lines have been seen as puzzling in traditional metrics. Since the framework is constructed on the assumption that canonical half-lines in OE alliterative verse contain four metrical positions, they are expected to be unattested. They contain only three metrical positions. Actually, however, they often occur. Given the MHLC, their occurrence ceases to be a puzzle and is explained in a straightforward manner.

The half-lines in (18)-(20), as illustrated in (21), contain three feet on the second metrical plane, in accordance with the algorithm in (4) and the proviso in (5).

- (21) a. * * * b. * * * c. * * *
- (*) (*) (*) (*) (*) (*) (*) (*) (*)
- [WORD H X][WORD X] [WORD X][WORD HX] [WORD X][WORD X][WORD X]

Thus, the half-line types in (17) are licensed as well-formed and actually occur.

One might argue here that the metrical configuration in (21), like that in (10), is a configuration which can be a trigger for the deletion of the second foot. That is because the three heads are adjacent to each other in (21). In fact, however, the deletion of the second foot should not take place. The reason for the nonoccurrence of the foot deletion is that the pressure that the second foot in (21) receives from the preceding and the following degenerate foot is assumed to be weaker than the pressure that the second foot in (10) receives from the preceding binary foot and the following degenerate foot. For further details, see Okazaki (1998).

3. Sievers's Two Half-Line Types and an Issue to be Resolved

3.1. *Setting a Problem*

In the preceding section, I have reviewed Okazaki's (1998) proposal and adduced some pieces of evidence for the MHLC. However, I have not adduced any piece of evidence for Clash Deletion (11). Without further pieces of evidence, the rule would be ad hoc. It must be shown to be applicable to explanations for the distribution of a wide range of half-lines. In particular, we must examine whether or not it works in deciding the well-formedness of half-line types other than (7b, c).

3.2. *Sievers's Type D and Type E Half-Lines*

Sievers (1893), hypothesizing that half-lines of Old Germanic alliterative verse canonically contain four metrical positions, aims at classifying half-line types of OE alliterative verse and argues that basic types of its half-lines are classified into five types. Among the five types, I selected Type D and Type E half-lines as bases for examining the validity of Clash Deletion (11). The two half-line types are schematized as in (22).

- (22) a. TYPE D: S|SWW b. TYPE E: SWW|S

S=strong; W=weak; |=foot boundary in Sievers's sense

- Conditions: (i) S corresponds either to primary word stress or to primary stress of a subordinate element in compounds.
- (ii) The foot boundary corresponds to either a word boundary or a constituent boundary in compounds.
- (iii) One of the two W syllables bears secondary word stress.

Typical examples of TYPE D and TYPE E half-lines are given in (23) and (24), respectively.

- (23) a. *mæg ælfsīeno* ‘a beautiful (kins)woman’ (*Genesis A* 1827a)
 b. *mæw singende* ‘a seagull singing’ (*Seafarer* 22a)
 c. *wearp wælfyre* ‘threw out the murderous fire’ (*Beowulf* 2582a)
- (24) a. *entiscne helm* ‘the giant’s lord’ (*Beowulf* 2979b)
 b. *hēalærna mæst* ‘most of the hall buildings’ (*Beowulf* 78a)
 c. *þancolmōd wer* ‘the wise man’ (*Genesis A* 1705a)

3.3. Predictions about the Distribution of TYPE D and TYPE E Half-Lines

Clash Deletion (11) makes some specific predictions about the distribution of Sievers’s TYPE D and TYPE E half-lines. The first prediction that the rule makes is as follows. The word-type in (25) (word-type (1a)), which mostly corresponds to an inflected form of a trisyllabic compound headed by a monosyllabic word, occurs as a single half-line identified as TYPE D. By contrast, the word-type in (26) (word type (1b)), which corresponds to either a citation form of a quadrisyllabic compound consisting of two disyllabic words or an inflected form of a trisyllabic compound headed by a disyllabic word, does not occur as a single half-line identified as TYPE D.

- (25) [WORD HLXX] (=1a) (26) [WORD LXHX] (=1b)

The algorithm in (4) and the proviso in (5) produce metrical structures for (25) and (26) in (27) and (28), respectively.

- (27) * . * * (28) . * * *
- (*)(**)(*) (**)(*)(*)
- [WORD H LX X] [WORD LX H X]

The metrical structure in (27) does not meet the structural description of rule (11) and contains three feet on the second metrical plane. Thus, the word-type in (25) is expected to constitute a single half-line in OE alliterative verse. The metrical structure in (28) by contrast meets the structural description of rule (11) and, as shown in (29), is transformed into a two-foot structure, which the MHLC prohibits from occurring.

- (29) . * * * . * . *
- (**)(*)(*)(11) (**)*(*)
- [WORD LX H X] → [WORD LXH X]

It is predicted that the word-type in (26) does not constitute a single half-line.

Another prediction Clash Deletion (11) makes is that the word-type in (30) (word-type (1c)) occur in quadrisyllabic half-lines identified as TYPE D but not in those identified as TYPE E.

- (30) [WORD LXX] (=1c)

In particular, the word-type in (30) is expected to occur in half-lines schematized as (31) but not in those schematized as (32).

- (31) [WORD X][WORD LXX] (TYPE D) (32) *[WORD LXX][WORD X] (TYPE E)

The occurrence of (31) and the nonoccurrence of (32) are also predicted by the application and the nonapplication of Clash Deletion (11). As shown in (33), the half-line type in (31) does not meet the structural description of the rule and contain three feet on the second metrical plane. Thus, the half-line type obeys the MHLIC and is expected to be licensed as well-formed.

$$(33) \quad \begin{array}{c} * \quad . \quad * \quad * \\ (*) \quad (* \quad *) (*) \\ [\text{WORD X}][\text{WORD LX X}] \end{array}$$

By contrast, the half-line type in (32), as illustrated in (34), meets the structural description of the rule and is transformed into a two-foot half-line.

$$(34) \quad \begin{array}{c} . * \quad * \quad * \quad . * \quad . \quad * \\ (**)(*) \quad (*) (11) \quad (**) * \quad (*) \\ [\text{WORD LX X}] [\text{WORD X}] \rightarrow [\text{WORD LXX}] [\text{WORD X}] \end{array}$$

Thus, the half-line type does not obey the MHLIC, which requires that there be at least three feet in half-lines, and is expected to be excluded as an ill-formed half-line type.

3.4. *The Issue*

In this section, I have pointed out that rule (11) makes two specific predictions about the occurrence and the nonoccurrence of subtypes of Sievers's TYPE D and TYPE E half-lines. The issue to be resolved is therefore whether or not the two predictions that rule (11) makes are borne out on empirical grounds. In the following two sections, I will be engaged in the task of indicating that the predictions are correct.

4. The Distribution of Quadrisyllabic Words in the *ASPR*

In this section, I will examine the distribution of quadrisyllabic words like those listed in (25) and (26), repeated as (35) and (36) below, in the *ASPR*.

$$(35) \quad [\text{WORD HLXX}] \qquad (36) \quad [\text{WORD LXHX}]$$

The prediction that Clash Deletion (11) makes about (35) and (36) is that the former occurs as a single half-line, whereas the latter does not occur as a single half-line.

This prediction is in fact borne out.

The occurrence of the half-line type in (35) is exemplified by the half-lines in (37).

- (37) a. andswarede ' (He) answered' (*Genesis A* 872a)
 b. mismicelra 'of varying sizes' (*Exodus* 373a)
 c. reordberendum 'of the men' (*Dream of the Rood* 89b)
 d. þēodcýninga 'kings' (*Beowulf* 2a)
 e. þēodcýninges 'the king's' (*Beowulf* 1155b)

Half-lines like those in (37) occur so often that they cannot be seen as irregular.

The rarity of the half-line type in (36) is confirmed by two facts. One is that quadrisyllabic words of the type in (36) often occur in pentasyllabic half-lines such as (38) and (39), which retain three feet on the second metrical plane even through the application of Clash Deletion (11).

- (38) * . * * * * . * . *
- (*) (**)(*)(*) (11) (*) (**)(*)
- [WORD X][WORD LX H X] → [WORD X][WORD LXH X]
- (39) . * * * * . * . * *
- (**)(*)(*) (*) (11) (**)(*) (*)
- [WORD LX H X][WORD X] → [WORD LXHX][WORD X]

Typical examples of (38) and (39) are given in (40) and (41), respectively.

- (40) a. frōd, felagēomor 'wise, sorrowful' (*Beowulf* 2950a)
 b. hæft hygegiomor 'the slave who is sad in mind' (*Beowulf* 2408a)
 c. hrim heorugrimma 'the fierce rime ice' (*Riddle* 40 55a)
- (41) a. bealblonden niþ 'the pernicious abyss' (*Maxims 1* 196a)
 b. legerbedde fæst 'the fixed grave' (*Beowulf* 1007b/*Guthlac B* 1032b)
 c. nearocræftum fæst 'the firm skill in enclosing' (*Beowulf* 2243b)

A second fact which exemplifies the rarity of half-lines of the type in (36) comes from a statistical survey of the distribution of word type (36) in the *ASPR*. I examined the distribution of the words in (42), which, listed in alphabetical order, include quadrisyllabic compounds and quadrisyllabic inflected forms of trisyllabic compounds, in the *ASPR*. In particular, I examined whether or not the words in (42) constitute a single half-line in the *ASPR*.

- (42) a. æþeltungla (gen pl of *æþeltungol* 'noble star')
- b. balocræftum (dat pl of *balocræft* 'magic art'), beaducāfa (nom/acc pl fem of *beaducāf* 'bald in battle'), beaducræftig 'warlike', beadumægnes (gen sg of *beadumægen* 'battlestrength'), beadurincum (dat pl of *beadurinc* 'warrior'), beadurōfe (acc sg fem of *beadurōf* 'strong in battle'), beadorōfe (=beadurōfe), beadurōfes (gen sg masc/neut of *beadurōf*), beadurōfne (acc sg masc of *beadurōf*), beadurōfre (gen/dat sg fem of *beadurōf*), beadurūne (dat sg of *beadurūn* 'secret of quarrel'), beadusercean (nom/acc pl of *beaduserce* 'coat of mail' (weak declension)), beaduprēahta (gen pl of *beaduprēaht* 'army'), beaduwange (dat sg of *beaduwang* 'battle field'), beaduweorca (gen pl of *beaduweorc* 'warlike operation'), beadoweorca (=beaduweorca), bealblonden 'pernicious', bealodæde (dat sg of *bealodæd* 'evil deed'), bealubenne (dat sg of *bealubenn* 'mortal wound'), bealuclommum (dat pl of

bealuclomm ‘oppressive bond’), *bealohȳdig* ‘mediating mischief’, *bealonīde* (dat sg of *bealonīd* ‘wickedness’), *bealosorg* (dat sg of *bealosorg* ‘dire sorrow’), *bealopancum* (dat pl of *bealopanc* ‘evil thought’), *bealonīda* (gen pl of *bealanīd* (=bealonid)), *bealanīdum* (dat pl of *bealanīd* (=bealonīd)), *bealoraþum* (dat pl of *bealorað* ‘oppressive fetter’), *bregorīcas* (nom/acc pl of *bregorīce* ‘kingdom’), *bryrehātre* (gen/dat sg fem of *bryrehāt* ‘burning’)

- c. *duruþegnum* (dat pl of *duruþegn* ‘door keeper’)
- d. *ealogāra* (gen pl of *ealogāl* ‘drunk with ale’), *ealowæge* ‘ale-flagon’, *ealuwæge* (=ealowæge), *eofolcumbul* ‘helmet’, *eofolcumble* (dat sg of *eofolcumbul*), *efenmidre* (dat sg fem of *efenmid* ‘middle’), *efenpynde* (dat sg of *efenpynd* ‘calm lake’), *efenscearpe* (acc sg fem of *efenscearp* ‘equally sharp’)
- e. *fægerwyrde* ‘smooth speaking’, *farodstræte* (dat sg of *farodstræt* ‘path of the sea’), *felagēomor* ‘very sad’, *felageongre* (gen/dat sg fem of *felageong* ‘very young’), *fealohlīte* (inst masc/neut sg of *fealohlīt* ‘yellow-hilted’), *felalēofan* (nom/acc pl of *felalēofa* ‘very dear’), *fugoltimber* ‘young bird’
- f. *gearobrygda* (gen pl of *gearobrygd* ‘quick movement’), *gearosnottor* ‘very skillful’, *gearowyrdig* ‘ready of speech’, *gearuwyrdig* (=gearowyrdig), *geogudcnōsle* (dat sg of *geogudcnōsl* ‘young offspring’), *geogudmyrde* (dat sg of *geogudmyrd* ‘joy of youth’), *gryrehwīle* (dat sg of *gryrehwīl* ‘terrible time’)
- g. *hagulscūras* (nom/acc pl of *hagulscūr* ‘hail shower’), *hagolscūrum* (dat pl of *hagolscūr* (=hagulscūr)), *hægelscūrum* (dat pl of *hægelscūr* (=hagulscūr)), *heolophelme* (dat sg of *heolophelm* ‘helmet which makes the warrior invisible’), *headobyrne* ‘war corslet’, *headubyrnan* (nom/acc pl of *headobyrne* (weak declension)), *headugrimne* (acc sg masc of *headugrim* ‘fierce’ (=headogrim)), *headulāce* (dat sg of *headulāc* ‘battle’), *headolāce* (=headulāce), *headolāces* (gen sg of *headolāc* (=headolāc)), *headumære* ‘famed in battle’, *headoræsa* (gen pl of *headoræs* ‘attack’), *headoræsas* (nom/acc pl of *headoræs*), *headorinca* (gen pl of *headorinc* ‘warrior’), *headorincas* (nom/acc pl of *headorinc*), *headorinces* (gen sg of *headorinc*), *headorōfe* (acc sg fem of *headorōf* ‘famed in battle’), *headurōfe* (=headorōfe), *headorōfes* (gen sg masc/neut of *headorōf*), *headoscearde* (dat sg of *headosceard* ‘dinted in war’), *headuswenge* (dat sg of *headusweng* ‘battle stroke’), *headowælma* (gen pl of *headowælm*

'fierce flame'), heaðowæpen 'weapon of war', heaðowæpum (dat pl of *heaðowæpen*), heaðuwērgan (nom/acc pl of *heaðuwērig* 'weary from fighting' (weak declension)), heofonbȳman (nom/acc pl of *heofonbȳma* 'heavenly trumpet' (weak declension)), heofoncandel 'sun', heofonhālig 'holy and heavenly', heofonhāmas (nom/acc of *heofonhām* 'heavenly home'), heofonhāme (dat sg of *heofonhām*), heofenhāme (dat sg of *heofenhāme* (=heofenhām)), heofonhlāfe (dat sg of *heofonhlāf* 'bread of heaven'), heofunhrōfe (dat sg of *heofunhrōf* 'vault of heaven'), heofonhwearfe (dat sg of *heofonhwearf* 'vault of heaven'), heofonleohte (dat sg of *heofonleoht* 'heavenly light'), heofonmægnes (gen sg of *heofonmægen* 'heavenly force'), heofonrīce 'kingdom of heaven', heofonrīces (gen sg of *heofonrīce*), heofenrīce (=heofonrīce), heofenrīces (=heofonrīces), heofonsetle (dat sg of *heofonsetl* 'throne of heaven'), heofonstōles (gen sg of *heofonstōl* 'throne of heaven'), heofontimber 'heavenly structure', heofontorhtan (nom/acc pl of *heofontorht* 'glorious'), heofontungol 'heavenly luminary', heofontunglum (dat pl of *heofontungol*), heofonwolcnum (dat pl of *heofonwolcen* 'cloud of heaven'), heofonwōman (nom/acc pl of *heofonwōma* 'terrible noise from heaven'), heofonwuldre (dat sg of *heofonwuldor* 'heavenly glory'), heofonþrymme (dat sg of *heofonþrym* 'heavenly glory'), heofonweardes (gen sg of *heofonweard* 'god'), heoluwæpum (dat pl of *heoluwæpen* 'sword'), heorucumbul 'standard', heorowulfas (nom/acc pl of *heorowulf* 'warrior'), heopolinde (dat sg of *heopolind* 'shield'), herebrōgan (nom/acc pl of *herebrōga* 'dread of war' (weak declension)), herebyrne 'corslet', herecyste (dat sg of *herecyst* 'warlike band'), herehlōþe (dat sg of *herehlōþ* 'troop'), herehūþe (acc sg fem of *herehūþ* 'booty'), herelāfūm (dat pl of *herelāf* 'remains of a host'), herewīcum (dat pl of *herewīc* 'dwelling camp'), hererēaswan (nom/acc pl of *hererēaswa* 'commander' (weak declension)), hererēafes (gen sg of *hererēaf* 'war spoil'), herestrēata (gen pl of *herestrēat* 'highway'), herestrēate (dat sg of *herestrēat*), heresyrcan (nom/acc pl of *hetesyrc(e)* 'corslet' (weak declension)), heretēama (gen pl of *heretēam* 'plunder'), heretēame (dat sg of *heretēam*), heretēames (gen sg of *heretēam*), heretēaman (nom/acc pl of *heretēam* (weak declension)), heretōga 'commander', heretȳma 'king', herewæsmum (dat pl of *herewæsma* 'prowess'), herewædum (dat pl of *herewæda* 'warrior'), hereweorces (gen sg of *hereweorc* 'mighty work'), herewōsan (nom/acc pl of

herewōsa ‘warrior’ (weak declension)), *herewulfa* (gen pl of *herewulf* ‘warrior’), *hetenīda* (gen pl of *hetenīd* ‘hostility’), *hetenīdas* (nom/acc pl of *hetenīd*), *heterōfra* (gen pl of *heterōf* ‘full of hate’), *heterūne* (dat sg of *heterūn* ‘charm which produces hate’), *heteswengas* (nom/acc pl of *hetesweng* ‘hostile blow’), *hetēpancum* (dat pl of *hetēpanc* ‘hostile design’), *hetēponca* (gen pl of *hetēponc* (=hetēpanc)), *higegēomor* ‘sad in mind’, *hygegēomor* (=higegēomor), *hygefēaste* (dat sg of *hygefēast* ‘thoughtless’), *hrēpercōfan* (nom/acc pl of *hrēpercōfa* ‘breast’ (weak declension)), *hygecræftig* ‘wise’, *hygegālan* (nom/acc pl of *hygegāl* ‘loose’ (weak declension)), *hygerōfe* (acc sg fem of *hygerōf* ‘stout-hearted’), *higerōfe* (=hygerōfe), *higerōfre* (gen/dat sg fem of *higerōf* (=hygerōf)), *hygerūne* (dat sg of *heterūn* ‘secret’), *hygesnottor* ‘wise’, *hygesorga* (gen pl of *hygesorg* ‘anxiety’), *higesorga* (=hygesorga), *hygesorge* (dat sg of *hygesorg*), *hygetēonan* (nom/acc pl of *hygetēona* ‘insult’), *hygetēonan* (=hygetēonan), *higetrēowa* (gen pl of *higetrēow* ‘fidelity’), *hygeþancas* (nom/acc pl of *hygeþanc* ‘thought’), *hygeþancas* (=hygeþancas), *higeþancum* (dat pl of *higeþanc* (=hygeþanc)), *hygeþonces* (gen sg of *hygeþonc* (=hygeþanc)), *higeþoncum* (dat pl of *higeþonc* (=hygeþanc)), *hygeþancol* ‘wise’, *higeþancle* (acc sg fem of *higeþancol* (=higeþancol)), *higeþrimmum* (dat pl of *higeþrym* ‘courage’), *higeþrýde* (dat sg of *higeþrýd* ‘pride’), *hiorosercean* (nom/acc pl of *hioroserc* ‘coat of mail’ (weak declension))

- h. *kingwuldor* ‘king’s glory’
- i. *lagucræftig* ‘skilled in searching’, *lagulāde* (dat sg of *lagulād* ‘sea’), *lagolāde* (=lagulāde), *legerbedde* (dat sg of *legerbedd* ‘grave’), *lagustræte* (dat sg of *lagustræt* ‘sea-path’), *lagustrēama* (gen pl of *lagustrēam* ‘ocean’), *lagostrēama* (=lagustrēama), *lagustrēamas* (nom/acc pl of *lagustrēam*), *lagostrēame* (dat sg of *lagostrēam* (=lagustrēam)), *leodōsyrcean* (nom/acc pl of *leodōsyrce*) ‘corslet’ (weak declension))
- j. *mægendēde* (dat sg of *mægendēd* ‘mighty deed’), *mægenhēapum* (dat pl of *mægenhēap* ‘powerful band’), *mægenheardum* (dat/inst pl of *mægenheard* ‘very strong’), *mægenrōfa* (nom/acc pl fem of *mægenrōf* ‘powerful’), *mægenspēde* (dat sg of *mægenspēd* ‘virtue’), *mægenstrengo* ‘great might’, *mægenstrango* (=mægenstrengo), *mægenstranga* (gen pl of *mægenstrang* (=mægenstrengo)), *mægenþegnes* (gen sg of *mægenþegn* ‘mighty minister’), *mægenþīsan* (nom/acc pl of *mægenþīse* ‘force’), *mægenþrēahtas* (nom/acc pl of

- mægenprēahht* ‘mighty host’), *mægenþrymma* (gen pl of *mægenþrym* ‘power’), *mægenþrymmes* (gem sg of *mægenþrym*), *mægenþrymmum* (dat pl of *mægenþrym*), *mægenwundrum* (dat pl of *mægenwundor* ‘striking wonder’), *magorǣswa* ‘chief’, *magorǣswan* (nom/acc pl of *magorǣswa*), *magorinca* (gen pl of *magorinc* ‘warrior’), *magorincas* (nom/acc pl of *magorinc*), *magorince* (dat sg of *magorinc*), *magotimbres* (gen sg of *magotimber* ‘son’), *magutimbre* (dat sg of *magutimber* (=magotimber)), *magotūdre* (dat sg of *magotūdor* ‘offspring’), *magutūdre* (=magotūdre), *magoþegna* (gen pl of *magoþegn* ‘warrior’), *magoþegnas* (nom/acc pl of *magoþegn*), *magoþegne* (dat sg of *magoþegn*), *magoþegnum* (dat pl of *magoþegn*), *maguþegnas* (=magoþegnas), *maguþegne* (=magoþegne), *meodugāles* (gen sg masc/neut of *meodugāl* ‘drunk’), *meodohēale* (dat sg of *meodohēal* ‘mead hall’), *meoduhēale* (=meodohēale), *meoduscencum* (dat pl of *meoduscenc* ‘mead-cup’), *meodosetla* (gen pl of *meodosetl* ‘mead seat’), *meotudwange* (dat sg of *meotudwang* ‘battlefield’), *merebāte* (dat sg of *merebāt* ‘vessel’), *merecīeste* (dat sg of *merecīest* ‘ark’), *meregrundas* (nom/acc pl of *meregrund* ‘depth of sea’), *merehengest* ‘ship’, *merehūses* (gen sg of *merehūs* ‘ship’), *merehwearfe* (dat sg of *merehwearf* ‘seashore’), *merelāde* (dat sg of *merelād* ‘sea-way’), *merestrēta* (gen pl of *merestrēt* ‘sea-path’), *merestrēte* (dat sg of *merestrēt*), *merestrēama* (gen pl of *merestrēam* ‘sea-water’), *merestrēamas* (nom/acc pl of *merestrēam*), *merestrēame* (dat pl of *merestrēam*), *merestrēames* (gen sg of *merestrēam*), *merestrēamum* (dat pl of *merestrēam*), *merestrengo* ‘strength in swimming’, *meretorhtre* (dat sg fem of *meretorht* ‘bright from the sea’), *meretorras* (nom/acc pl of *meretorr* ‘towering wall of the Red Sea’), *mereþissan* (nom/acc pl of *mereþissa* ‘ship’ (weak declension)), *mereþyssan* (=mereþissan), *metelēaste* (dat sg of *metelēast* ‘lack of food’), *meteþegnas* (nom/acc pl of *meteþegn* ‘steward’)
- k. *nearocræftum* (dat pl of *nearocræft* ‘skill in enclosing’), *nearonēdum* (dat pl of *nearonēd* ‘urgent need’), *nearusearu* (dat sg of *nearusearu* ‘dark cunning’), *nearusorge* (dat sg of *nearusorg* ‘crushing distress’), *nearoþearfe* (dat sg of *nearoþearf* ‘dire need’), *nearowrencum* (dat pl of *nearowrenc* ‘evil trick’)
- l. *rodorstōlas* (nom/acc pl of *rodorstōl* ‘heavenly throne’), *rodortunglum* (dat pl of *rodortungol* ‘star of heaven’)
- m. *salopāde* (dat sg of *salopād* ‘dark-coated’), *sceadugenga* ‘wanderer in

- darkness', *sceaduhelma* (gen pl of *sceaduhelm* 'darkness'), *searocræftig* 'cunning', *searogrimmes* (gen sg of *searogrim* 'fierce'), *searonīþa* (gen pl of *searonīð* 'strife'), *searonīþas* (nom/acc pl of *searonīð*), *searorūna* (gen pl of *searorūn* 'mystery'), *searosæled* 'cleverly bound', *searōþancum* (dat pl of *searōþanc* 'skill'), *searūþancum* (=searōþanc), *searūþancle* (acc sg fem of *searūþancol* 'wise'), *searōþancol* (=searōþancol), *searōþancle* (=searōþancle), *sigebyman* (nom/acc pl of *sigebyma* 'triumph' (weak declension)), *sigehræmig* 'rejoicing in victory', *sigehrēmig* (=sigehræmg), *sigehwīla* (gen pl of *sigehwīl* 'hour of victory'), *sigelēana* (gen pl of *sigelēan* 'reward of victory'), *sigerōfe* (acc sg fem of *sigerōf* 'triumphant'), *sigerōfne* (acc sg masc of *sigerōf*), *sigerōfra* (gen pl of *sigerōf*), *sigerōfum* (dat/inst pl of *sigerōf*), *sigetūdre* (dat sg of *sigetūdor* 'dominating race'), *sigeþræhte* (dat sg of *sigeþræht* 'victorious troop'), *sigewæpum* (dat pl of *sigewæpen* 'victorious weapon'), *sigorlēanum* (dat pl of *sigorlēan* 'reward of victory'), *sigortācum* (dat pl of *sigortācen* 'convincing sign'), *sigortīfre* (dat sg of *sigortīfer* 'offering for victory'), *sigorwuldre* (dat sg of *sigorwuldor* 'glory of victory'), *snytruhūse* (dat sg of *snytruhūs* 'house of wisdom'), *sperebrōgan* (nom/acc pl of *sperebrōga* 'terror at spears' (weak declension)), *sperenīde* (dat sg of *sperenīð* 'battle'), *stapolwngas* (nom/acc pl of *stapolwng* 'settling place'), *stapolwange* (dat sg of *stapolwng*), *sumorlangne* (acc sg masc of *sumorlang* 'summer-long'), *sumurlange* (acc sg fem of *sumurlang* (=sumorlang)), *sumerlonge* (acc sg masc of *sumerlong* (=sumerlang)), *sygegealdor* 'victory-bringing charm'
- n. *wæterbrōgan* (gen pl of *wæterbrōga* 'frightful flood'), *wæterburnan* (nom/acc pl of *wæterburne* 'water stream' (weak declension)), *wætergrundum* (dat pl of *wa tergrund* 'sea-bottom'), *wæterstrēamas* (nom/acc pl of *wæterstrēam* 'river'), *wæterþissa* 'whale ship', *wæterþrydum* (dat pl of *wæterþryð* 'rush of water'), *wæteryðum* (dat pl of *wæteryð* 'conduit'), *wedercandel* 'sun', *wedercondel* (=wedercandel), *winegēomor* 'mourning for friends', *wederwolcan* 'cloud', *winemæg* (gen pl of *winemæg* 'dear kinsman'), *winemægum* (dat pl *winemæg*), *winemāga* (=winemæg), *winemāgas* (nom/acc pl of *winemæg*), *winemāgum* (=winemægum), *woruldhyhte* (dat sg of *woruldhyht* 'earthly joy'), *wudubēama* (gen pl of *wudubēam*), *woruldcræfta* (gen pl of *woruldcræft* 'secular art'), *woruldcræftas* (nom/acc pl of *woruldcræft*), *worldlīfe* (dat sg of *woruldlif* 'life in this world'), *weoruldlife*

(=woruldlīfe), woruldmāgas (nom/acc pl of *woruldmāg* ‘earthly kinsman’), woruldrīce ‘earthly kingdom’, woruldrīcu (nom/acc pl of *woruldrīce*), woruldrīcum (dat pl of *woruldrīce*), woruldrīce (=woruldrīce), woruldrihte (dat sg of *woruldriht* ‘world right’), woruldsælīða (gen pl of *woruldsælđ* ‘earthly blessing’), woruldsceafta (gen pl of *woruldsceaft* ‘earthly creature’), woruldstrenga (gen pl of *woruldstrengo* ‘physical strength’), woruldstundum (dat pl of *woruldstund* ‘sojourn upon earth’), woruldpinga (gen pl of *woruldping* ‘worldly affair’), woruldwīdes (gen sg of *woruldwīd* ‘world filth’), woruldwīte ‘punishment’, woruldyrmdo ‘earthly wretchedness’, wuduholtum (dat pl of *wuduholt* ‘forest’), wudurece ‘smoke from funeral pyre’, wudutelga ‘branch of a tree’

o. yfeldæda (gen pl of *yfeldæd* ‘evil deed’)

The result of the survey is that the word-type in (36) rarely constitutes a single half-line. There are about 800 half-lines which contain the words in (42). Among them, four examples of half-line type (36) are found. (*Paris Psalter* 68.8 4b, 77.6 1b, 73.11 3b, *Precepts* 12a). Its frequency of occurrence is about 0.5%. Recall that the rarity of the half-line type is assumed to be attributed to the application of Clash Deletion (11). The result of the survey indicates therefore that rule (11) is indispensable for explaining the rarity of (36) by means of the MHLC.

5. The Distribution of Trisyllabic Words in the ASPR

I turn to an examination of the distribution of the word-type in (30), repeated as (43) below, in the ASPR.

(43) [WORD LXX]

The prediction that Clash Deletion (11) makes about word-type (43) is that it occurs in Sievers’s quadrisyllabic Type D half-lines, as shown in (44), and does not in his quadrisyllabic Type E half-lines, as shown in (45).

(44) [WORD X][WORD LXX]

(45) *[WORD LXX][WORD X]

This prediction is also borne out by facts about the occurrence and the nonoccurrence of half-lines in OE alliterative verse.

The occurrence of half-lines like (44) is exemplified by the data in (46).

- (46) a. feorh cyninges ‘the king’s life’ (*Beowulf* 1210b)
 b. folc Cananēa ‘the people of Cannan’ (*Genesis A* 1909a)
 c. fyll cyninges ‘the king’s death’ (*Beowulf* 2912b)
 d. sār wanian ‘(shall) diminish the pain’ (*Guthlac B* 1073b)
 e. wroht wrīdian ‘to flourish the sin’ (*Genesis A* 1903a)

These half-lines consist of two words, one being a monosyllabic word and the other being a trisyllabic word headed by a light syllable.

The rarity of half-lines like (45) is also confirmed by at least two facts. One is that half-lines beginning with a trisyllabic word headed by a light syllable mostly contain five syllables, as the half-lines in (47) indicate.

- (47) a. felahrōr fēran 'strong comrades' (*Beowulf* 27a)
 b. merehūs micel 'the great Ark' (*Genesis A* 1303a)
 c. searohwit sōlaþ '... soil the beautiful witeness' (*Riming Poem* 67a)
 d. sigelēan sēcan 'to seek the reward of victory' (*Fates of Apostles* 81a)
 e. sigorlēan sōhte '... sought the reward of victory' (*Guthlac B* 1370a)

Another fact which confirms the rarity of the half-line type in (45) comes from a statistical survey of the distribution of trisyllabic words in the *ASPR*. I examined the distribution of the trisyllabic words in (48), which include citation forms of trisyllabic words headed by a light syllable, and of those in (49), which include trisyllabic inflected forms of disyllabic words headed by a light syllable. In particular, I examined whether or not the words in (48) and (49) occur in Sievers's quadrisyllabic TYPE E half-lines.

- (48) a. æðele 'excellent', æðeling 'prince', æðelu 'nobility'
 b. berian 'to make bare', berigean (=berian), beredon (pret pl of *berian*),
 bysigu 'affliction'
 c. culufre 'pigeon'
 d. eafora 'son', egesa 'fear'
 e. ferian 'to go', feredest (pres 2 sg of *ferian*), feriaþ (pres pl of *ferian*),
 ferigan (=ferian), ferigean (=ferian), ferede (pret 1, 3 sg of *ferian*),
 feredon (pret pl of *ferian*)
 f. gædeling 'kinsman', gifede 'given'
 g. hatian 'to be hot', herian 'to praise', herigan (=herian), herige (pres 1 sg
 of *herian*) (=herie), heriaþ (pres pl of *herian*), herigað (=heriaþ),
 herigeað (=heriaþ), herede (pret 1, 3 sg of *herian*), heredon (pret pl of
herian), herigen (subj pl of *herian*) (=herien), hwæþere 'still'
 h. lifian 'to live', lufian 'to love', lufie (pres 1 sg of *lufian*), lufige (=lufie),
 lufiað (pres pl of *lufian*), lufode (pret 1, 3 sg of *lufian*), lufodon (pret pl
 of *lufian*), lufien (subj pl of *lufian*)
 i. nerian 'to save', neredede (pret 1, 3 sg of *nerian*)
 j. scirian 'to ordain', scyrian (=scirian), scyrede (pret 1, 3 sg of *scyrian*),
 swerian 'to swear', swerigean (=swerian), sweriað (pres pl of *swerian*)
 k. tidian 'to give', tiðiað (imp pl of *tidian*)

- l. ufera 'later', ufara (=ufera)
- m. wanian 'to diminish', wanigean (=wanian), wanige (pres 1 sg of *wanian*), waniad̅ (pres pl of *wanian*), wanode (pret 1, 3 sg of *wanian*), warian 'to guard', wariad̅ (pres pl of *warian*), warigead̅ (=wariad̅), weotena 'wise man', werian 'to guard', werigean (=werian), werie (pres 1 sg of *werian*), weriad̅ (pres pl of *werian*), werede (pret 1, 3 sg of *werian*), weredon (pret pl of *werian*), wunian 'to inhabit', wunigean (=wunian), wunodest (pres 2 sg of *wunian*), wunode (pret 1, 3 sg of *wunian*), wunude (=wunode), wunodon (pret pl of *wunian*)
- (49) a. duguđa (gen pl of *duguđ* 'people'), duguđe (dat sg of *duguđ*), duguđum (dat pl of *duguđ*), dugeđa (=duguđa), dugeđe (=duguđe), dugeđum (=duguđum), dugoda (=duguđa), dugode (=dugeđe), dugodum (=duguđum)
- b. fædera (gen pl of *fæder* 'father'), fæderas (nom/acc pl of *fæder*), fæderes (gen sg of *fæder*), fæderum (dat pl of *fæder*), færođe (dat sg of *færođ* 'sea'), fugolas (nom/acc pl of *fugol*), fugule (dat sg of *fugol* (=fugol)), fugelas (nom/acc pl of *fugel* (=fugol)), fugeles (gen sg of *fugel* (=fugol))
- c. gafole (dat sg of *gafol* 'tribute'), gafoles (gen sg of *gafol*), geogode (dat sg of *geogod* 'the state of youth'), geogude (=geogode), gomene (dat sg of *gomen* 'joy'), gomenes (gen sg of *gomen*), gamene (=gomene), gamenes (=gomenes)
- d. hæleđa (gen pl of *hæleđ* 'hero'), hæleđas (nom/acc pl of *hæleđ*), hæleđe (dat sg of *hæleđ*), hælidum (=hæleđum), heofona (gen pl of *heofon* 'heaven'), heofones (gen sg of *heofon*), heofonum (dat pl of *heofon*), heofena (=heofona), heofenas (=heofonas), heofenes (=heofones), heofenum (=heofonum)
- e. idesa (gen pl of *ides* 'woman'), idese (dat sg of *ides*), idesum (dat pl of *ides*)
- f. legere (dat sg of *leger* 'place of lying')
- g. mægena (gen pl of *mægen* 'strength'), mægene (dat sg of *mægen*), mægenes (gen sg of *mægen*), micela (nom/acc pl fem of *micel* 'much'), micelan (nom/acc pl masc/neut/fem of *micel* (weak declension)), micle acc sg fem of *micel*), micles (gen sg masc/neut of *micel*), micelra (gen pl masc/neut/fem of *micel*), mycelan (=micelan), mycele (=micle), mycelra (=micelra), mycelum (=micelum), monige (inst sg of masc/neut/fem of *monig* 'many'), moniges (gen sg of masc/neut/fem of *monig*),

- monigum (dat/inst pl masc/neut/fem of *monig*)
- h. nacodan (nom/acc pl masc/neut/fem of *nacod* ‘nude’), nocode (inst sg masc/neut of *nacod*), neowolne (acc sg masc of *neowol* ‘steep’), neowulne (=neowolne)
- i. openan (nom/acc pl masc/neut/fem of *open* ‘open’ (weak declension)), opene (acc sg fem, inst sg masc/neut of *open*), openum (dat sg masc/neut of *open*)
- j. rodora (gen pl of *rodor* ‘heaven’), rodoras (nom/acc pl of *rodor*), rodore (dat sg of *rodor*), rodores (gen sg of *rodor*), rodorum (dat pl of *rodor*), rodera (=rodora), roderas (=rodoras), rodere (=rodore), roderes (=rodores), roderum (=rodorum)
- k. weliga (nom/acc pl fem of *welig* ‘wealthy’), weligan (nom/acc masc/neut/fem of *welig* (weak declension)), welige (acc sg fem of *welig*), weligne (acc sg masc of *welig*), weroda (gen pl of *werod* ‘host’), werode (dat sg of *werod*), werodas (nom/acc pl of *werod*), werodum (dat pl of *werod*)
- l. yfela (nom/acc pl fem of *yfel* ‘evil’), yfelan (nom/acc pl masc/neut/fem of *yfel* (weak declension)), yfele (acc sg fem of *yfel*), yfeles (gen sg masc/neut of *yfel*), yfelne (acc sg masc of *yfel*), yfelum (dat sg masc/neut of *yfel*)

The result of the survey is that only one example of half-line type (45) is found (*Genesis A* 2518b). This implies that the half-line type is identified as ill-formed. It meets the structural description of Clash Deletion (11) and is transformed into an illegitimate two-foot half-line through the application of the rule.

Given the MHLIC, the rarity of half-line type (45) is explained only by recourse to Clash Deletion (11). In other words, the result of the survey indicates that rule (11) is indispensable for explaining the rarity of half-line type (45) and the distributional contrast between (44) and (45).

6. Exceptions and Their Explanations

In this section, I will explain exceptional cases to the factual generalization I have proposed in this paper, arguing that they do not serve as counterexamples. There are two kinds of exceptional cases. One involves exceptions to the generalization that quadrisyllabic words headed by a light syllable cannot constitute a single half-line. As mentioned in section 4, four exceptions are found among the half-lines I examined. They are given in (50).

- (50) a. modercildum ‘a child of one’s own mother’ (*Paris Psalter* 68.8 4b)

Mainly for the two above-mentioned reasons, resolution is untenable. Thus, the resolution-based explanation for the relevant facts is also untenable.

6.2. *Russom (1987, 1998)*

Russom (1987) constructs a new theory of OE meter on the assumption that alliteration and its produced rhythmic pattern play the most important role in generating half-lines of OE alliterative verse. In this respect, Russom's theory diverges from the traditional OE metrics. However, the theory also contains rules for resolution as one of its essential elements. Most relevant to the discussion here is the following rule (Russom (1987:45)).

(57) A short syllable on an S position normally undergoes resolution.

(S position=a metrical position corresponding to a syllable bearing primary word stress)

The distributional contrast between (25) and (26), repeated below, is explained by (57).

(25) [WORD HLXX]

(26) *[WORD LXHX]

In (25), the sequence of a light syllable plus another syllable is in word-medial position, which is not identified as an S position in Russom's theory. Thus, resolution does not apply. The half-line type has four metrical positions and is licensed as well-formed.

In (26), by contrast, the relevant sequence is in word-initial position, which is identified as an S position in Russom's theory. Thus, resolution applies to the half-line type to transform it into a half-line containing three metrical positions. That is why (26) is ill-formed.

Rule (57), however, fails to explain the distributional contrast between (31) and (32), repeated below.

(31) [WORD X][WORD LXX]

(32) *[WORD LXX][WORD X]

In both sorts of cases, the sequence of a light syllable plus another syllable is in word-initial position, which is identified as an S position in Russom's theory. Thus, the rules are expected to apply to both types of half-lines, and the two types are identified as ill-formed and do not occur. This expectation is, however, factually incompatible. Half-line type (31) actually occurs. Thus, Russom should explain why resolution does not apply to (31), although it meets the structural description of the rule.

Russom (1998:98) goes one step further and proposes articulated versions of rules for resolution. Most relevant to the discussion here is the following rule.

(58) Alliteration on the most prominent S position makes resolution less natural on a subordinate S or s position within the same metrical domain.

(S position=a metrical position corresponding to a syllable bearing primary

word stress; s position=a metrical position corresponding to a syllable bearing secondary word stress)

This rule naturally applies to half-line type (31). In this type of half-line, as indicated in (59), the monosyllabic word in the initial position of the half-line corresponds to the most prominent S position because of alliteration, and the light syllable in the initial position of the trisyllabic word corresponds to a subordinate S position.

(59) S S
 [_{WORD} X][_{WORD} LXX]
 (X=a syllable containing an alliterating consonant)

The sequence of a light syllable plus another syllable corresponds to a subordinate S position. Thus, resolution does not apply to the relevant sequence in (31).

However, it is still unclear why resolution at a subordinate S position and at an s position is less natural than that at the most prominent S position. Thus, his proposed rules for resolution, though valid as descriptive devices, do not provide any principled explanations for the application and nonapplication of resolution.

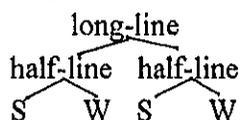
Recall here again that, as mentioned in the previous subsection, there are many half-lines like those in (17) which contain only three metrical positions. In fact, they should not be seen as merely irregular cases. The presence of such cases indicates that rules for resolution, even if they are highly articulated in an unarbitrary way, do not have any firm empirical bases. There are too many exceptions to maintain the rules.

Although Russom's theory of meter seems to be novel, it contains the same empirical problems that Sievers's theory of meter has and cannot explain in a principled way the distributional contrast between (25) and (26) or that between (31) and (32). This implies in fact that theories of OE meter which include resolution as one of the essential elements cannot explain the distributional contrasts under discussion.

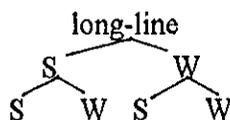
6.3. Fujiwara (1990)

Fujiwara (1990) points out problems with both the traditional and the generative-phonological theories of OE meter and proposes an alternative theory. In particular, Fujiwara proposes that what is metrically relevant in half-lines is a strong syllable containing an alliterating consonant and the following weak syllable and that half-line types are reduced ultimately to the two types in (60) in accordance with alliteration (Fujiwara (1990:181)).

(60) a. single alliteration



b. double alliteration



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