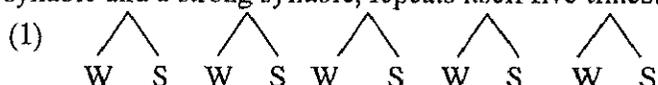


The Rhythmic Structure of Donne's Verse*

Masao Okazaki

1. Introduction

The most fundamental feature of the popular poetic form called the iambic pentameter is that a line of a poem contains ten syllables and is composed on the basis of the metrical template in (1), where the rhythmic unit, called a foot, which pairs a weak syllable and a strong syllable, repeats itself five times.



At the same time, however, a great majority of the actually attested poetic lines which are assumed to be composed on the basis of the template in (1) are not strictly iambic. Few lines qualify as genuinely iambic. In other words, there are a variety of mismatches, called here “rhythmic mismatches”, between the template in (1) and the actual rhythms of poetic lines.

The existence of the mismatch between the template in (1) and the actual rhythms of poetic lines has been noted since the 19th century and is a starting point for studying English metrics. Various attempts have been made to clarify the nature of the mismatch. Traditional metrics makes a detailed classification of a variety of mismatch facts, and sometimes refers to their effects, in Early Modern English poems (Saintsbury (1961) and Jespersen (1933), among others). The classification is based on the implicit assumption that the mismatch facts are genuinely phonological in nature and can be characterized in poetic terms like line, foot, caesura, stanza, and so forth. It does not clarify their linguistic nature.

Generative-phonological metrics, on the other hand, is devoted to identifying the linguistic nature of rhythmic mismatch facts mainly in Early Modern English poems. The generative-phonological study of Early Modern English metrics begins with Halle and Keyser's (1971) book, which provides a theoretical basis for studying the rhythmic structure of Early Modern English iambic poems. After the publication of Halle and Keyser's (1971) book, Kiparsky (1975) proposes a new theory of meter in which the syntax-phonology interface level plays a crucial role in identifying the nature of rhythmic mismatch facts. A lot of mismatch facts in Early Modern English poems have been shown to occur regularly in a limited class of syntactic environments. Kiparsky's (1975) theory has been revised and developed into new theories of English meter within the generative-phonological framework (Kiparsky (1977), Hayes (1983), and Hayes (1989), among others).

Given the above-mentioned circumstances in studies of English poetic meter, this

paper is concerned with an investigation of the rhythmic structure of John Donne's poems, which has not been treated in detail within the generative-phonological framework. The reason is that Donne's technique of versification seems to be deviant, in some respects, from the norms and practices that govern English versification. No theories of meter which build on the norms and practices can account for Donne's technique of versification.

In particular, this paper investigates the linguistic nature of the frequently observed rhythmic mismatch facts which are peculiar to Donne. The facts involve rhythmic mismatches where a monosyllabic word which serves as the strongest word in a phrase occupies a W-position in the template. Such rhythmic mismatches in Donne's poems, which are not utilized in "traditional" poems, have been seen as exceptional in both traditional and generative-phonological studies of poetic meter and have not been examined in detail. This paper provides a new clear-cut generalization about the rhythmic mismatch by utilizing prosodic categories in the sense of prosodic phonology, as advocated by Nespor and Vogel (1986), Selkirk (1986), and Hayes (1989).

This paper is organized as follows. Section 2 provides a set of rhythmic mismatch facts peculiar to Donne and derives a descriptive generalization about the facts. In the mismatch peculiar to Donne, a W-position in the template corresponds to the strongest phonological element in a syntactic phrase. It is shown to be frequently observed in Donne's poems and to occur in various syntactic environments which must be characterized phonologically. Section 3 lays out a set of hypotheses and rules which are most relevant to a characterization of the mismatch at issue. Given the hypotheses and rules, section 4 provides a prosodic characterization of the mismatch. A prosodic generalization is proposed which says that the mismatch at issue takes place at the right edge of a Phonological Phrase in the sense of prosodic phonology. It is further argued that the generalization receives support from its high frequency of occurrence and the fact that it is also observed in Shakespeare's poems. Section 5 is a critical review of Kiparsky (1975, 1977), who refers to the rhythmic structure of Donne's poems, and of Hayes (1989), who proposes a general theory of meter within the framework of prosodic phonology. It is argued that neither of them is capable of accounting for the mismatch facts which are of special interest here.

2. Facts

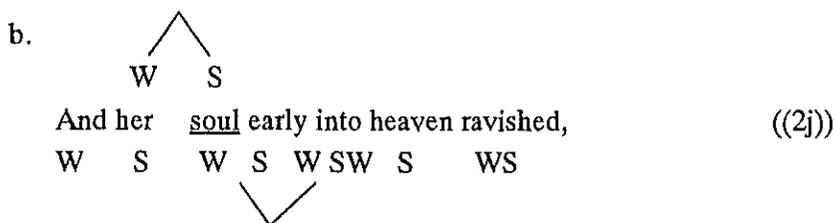
2.1. *Rhythmic Mismatches in Sentence Medial Position*

The first sort of rhythmic mismatch to be noted comes from cases where a W-position in the template corresponds to a sentence-medial S-position at a syntactic boundary not indicated by any punctuation mark.

Typical examples of the rhythmic mismatch in Donne's poems are given in (2). The underlined monosyllabic words occur in a W-position in the template and, at the same time, occupy the strongest phonological position in the syntactic phrases in which they are contained. (Throughout this paper, the lines of Donne's poems are all cited from Smith's (1996) text, in which spelling is modernized. The lack of citations from "canonical" texts like Gardner (1965), in which spelling is not modernized, does not undermine my arguments.)

- (2) a. And though her harsh hair fall, her skin is rough (Elegy 2.6)
 b. Thine, in my heart, where my soul dwells, shall dwell. (Elegy 5.2)
 c. Have my tears quenched my old poetic fire; (Sappho to Phileanis 5)
 d. So may thy cheek's red outwear scarlet dye, (Sappho to Philaenis 59)
 e. Leaves him and me; I for my lost sheep stay; (Satire 1.93)
 f. Like a wedge in a block, wring to the bar, (Satire 2.71)
 g. But do not, with a vile crown of frail bays, (La Corona 1.5)
 h. And life, by this death abled, shall control (La Corona 6.5)
 i. But black sin hath betrayed to endless night (Holy Sonnet 5.3)
 j. And her soul early into heaven ravished, (Holy Sonnet 17.3)
 k. other examples in *Elegies*: 1.23, 2.1, 2.4, 2.7, 2.29, 2.32, 3.1, 3.32, 4.21, 4.44, 4.48, 4.59, 4.68, 5.2, 5.6, 6.1, 6.4, 6.11, 6.42, 7.5, 7.13, 7.14, 8.4, 8.36, 8.38, 8.39, 8.44, 8.47, 10.3, 10.11, 11.28, 11.76, 11.105, 11.113, 12.27, 12.59, 12.62, 12.76, 12.102, 14.8, 14.13, 14.16, 14.60, 15.31, 15.33, 15.43, 15.20, 15.29, 16.42, 17.12, 17.15, 17.22, 17.61, 17.63, 19.37, 20.9, 20.29, 20.33
 l. other examples in *Sappho to Philaenis*: 5, 17, 39, 51, 53, 59
 m. other examples in *Satires*: 2.11, 2.34, 2.76, 2.77, 2.79, 2.98, 2.99, 2.103, 2.112, 3.13, 3.30, 3.34, 3.35, 3.40, 3.61, 3.89, 3.90, 3.91, 4.2, 4.9, 4.12, 4.19, 4.25, 4.37, 4.38, 4.41, 4.80, 4.99, 4.104, 4.142, 4.152, 4.157, 4.183, 4.189, 4.194, 4.205, 4.206, 4.209, 4.210, 4.213, 4.234, 4.238, 4.239, 4.243, 5.9, 5.16, 5.17, 5.20, 5.26, 5.28
 n. the examples in *Upon Mr Thomas Coryat's Crudites*: 3, 33, 37, 61, 74
 o. other examples in *La Corona*: 2.8, 3.4, 4.12, 6.5, 7.12, 7.13, 8.5
 p. other examples in *Holy Sonnets*: 2.6, 2.11, 4.9, 5.7, 5.8, 11.9, 12.7, 12.12, 13.6, 15.4, 15.10, 16.2, 16.8, 17.2, 18.11, 18.12

The positions where the rhythmic mismatch takes place do not seem to share any common linguistic environment with each other. In the first place, they do not share any syntactic property with each other. The mismatch takes place in a subject NP in (2a, b, c, d, e, i, j) and in an adjunct PP in (2f, g, h). Subject NPs and adjunct PPs like



2.2. Rhythmic Mismatches at a Syntactic Boundary Marked by a Punctuation Mark

Another sort of mismatch fact to be noted in Donne's poems involves cases where a W-position in the template corresponds to the strongest phonological position in a phrase which is at the right edge of a syntactic phrase boundary indicated by a punctuation mark.

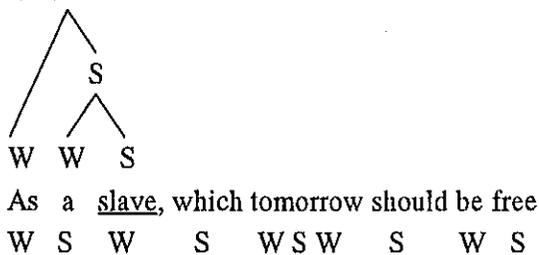
Typical examples are given in (5). The underlined monosyllabic words occupy a position which exhibits the mismatch under consideration.

- (5) a. As a slave, which tomorrow should be free (Elegy 1.12)
- b. To live in one land, is captivity (Elegy 3.29)
- c. My two lips, eyes, thighs, differ from thy two, (Sappho to Philaenis 4)
- d. And their white, whiteness of the galaxy, (Sappho to Philaenis 60)
- e. Great train of blue coat, twelve, or fourteen strong, (Satire 1.22)
- f. To man's laws, by which she shall not be tried (Satire 3.94)
- g. A licence, old iron, boot, shoes, and egg- (Satire 4.104)
- h. Call it some worse name, if aught equal it; (Satire 5.36)
- i. And gluttonous death, will instantly unjoint (Holy Sonnet 6.5)
- j. Thy true grief, for he put it in my breast. (Holy Sonnet 8.14)
- k. other examples in *Elegies*: 1.11, 1.13, 1.24, 1.30, 2.2, 2.10, 2.16, 2.28, 2.46, 2.55, 3.9, 3.12, 3.29, 4.9, 4.21, 4.32, 4.52, 5.11, 6.16, 8.6, 9.17, 11.8, 11.16, 11.21, 11.30, 11.37, 11.40, 11.62, 11.102, 12.81, 12.95, 12.100, 13.12, 14.39, 14.52, 15.1, 15.10, 16.8, 16.13, 16.15, 16.31, 16.33, 16.39, 17.35, 17.40, 17.46, 19.17, 19.27, 19.28, 20.2, 20.42, 20.44
- l. other examples in *Sappho to Philaenis*: 36, 45, 60
- m. other examples in *Satires*: 1.22, 1.46, 1.53, 1.57, 1.77, 1.78, 1.79, 1.80, 1.94, 3.3, 3.5, 3.26, 3.32, 3.33, 3.37, 3.38, 3.42, 3.46, 3.69, 3.71, 3.88, 3.94, 3.97, 3.100, 3.101, 3.103, 3.108, 4.13, 4.14, 4.44, 4.79, 4.95, 4.104, 4.117, 4.128, 4.136, 4.150, 4.163, 4.166, 4.174, 4.191, 4.207, 4.222, 4.227, 4.232, 5.1, 5.8, 5.11, 5.13, 5.15, 5.30, 5.36, 5.41, 5.44, 5.60, 5.63, 5.66, 5.71, 5.89
- n. other examples in *La Corona*: 1.9, 4.11, 5.14, 6.4, 6.6, 7.2, 7.6, 7.9
- o. other examples in *Holy Sonnets*: 7.6, 7.9, 3.7, 3.14, 4.14, 5.14, 6.5, 6.9, 8.14, 9.3, 9.11, 10.9, 12.5, 12.8, 15.9, 15.12, 16.9, 17.9, 18.6, 18.14

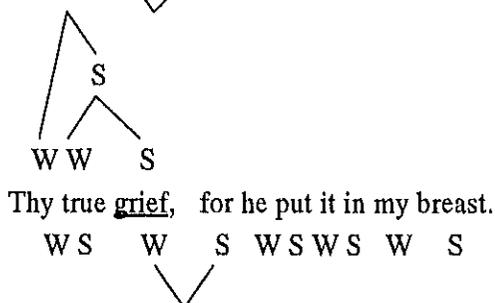
The mismatch facts in (5) seem to be different from those in (2) in one respect. They occur at a syntactic boundary marked by a punctuation mark. At the same time, however, they share an important linguistic property with the cases in (2). Although the positions where the mismatch takes place *prima facie* do not form any linguistic classes, they are all identified as being located at the right edge of a syntactic phrase. The phenomenon occurs at the right edge of a PP in (5a, b, e, f) and the right edge of an NP in the other cases. This fact shows that the presence of a punctuation mark immediately after the positions where the mismatch takes place is a superficial manifestation of a syntactic boundary and does not have any significance in identifying positions where it takes place. Most important here is the fact that the mismatches in (5), like those in (2), occur at the right edge of a syntactic phrase.

Notice again that a noun at the right edge of either an NP or a PP is the strongest phonological element. Thus, as shown in (6) by (5a) and (5j), the mismatches in (5) are also identified as cases which take place in a position where a W-position corresponds to the most prominent position at the right edge of a syntactic phrase and contains two kinds of rhythmic mismatches: the mismatch between a W-position in the template and an S-position in the actual prosodic structure of a line and the mismatch between a rhythmic unit in the template and a rhythmic unit in the actual rhythm of a line.

(6) a.

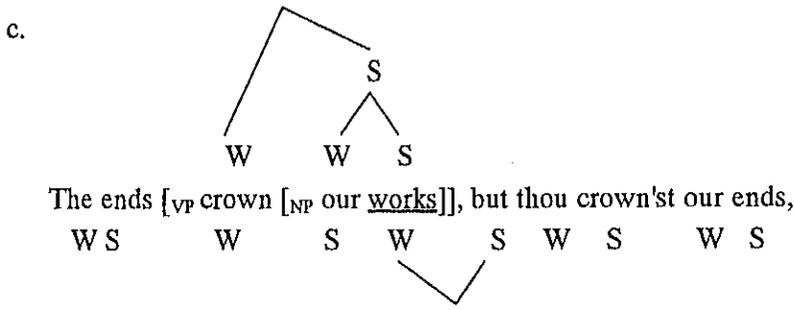


b.



2.3. The Puzzle

In the previous sections, we have observed that the rhythmic mismatch where a W-position in the template corresponds to the rightmost position in a phrase, occupied by the strongest syllable, is frequently attested in Donne's poems. There are about 320



(*La Corona* 1.9)

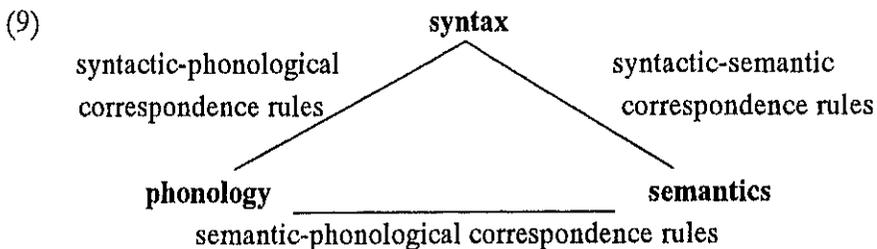
It is now clear that the three kinds of syntactic categories (NPs, PPs, and VPs), which do not share any syntactic properties with each other, constitute a natural class with respect to the mismatch phenomenon between the rhythmic template of the iambic pentameter and the actual rhythm of a line. This fact defies a conceivable syntactic explanation for the phenomenon. It could not explain why the three syntactic categories form a class with respect to the mismatch at issue.

The fact cannot be captured in semantic terms, either. The differences of the three kinds of syntactic categories which enter into the phenomenon exactly correspond to semantic differences. Thus, the three relevant syntactic categories do not constitute a semantic natural class despite the fact that they constitute a natural class with respect to the rhythmic mismatch.

The last possibility left for us is that the mismatch phenomenon at issue is highly likely to be regulated by a phonological factor that is still poorly understood. The next question is what sort of phonological factor is to be crucially involved. My impression is that a prosodic category called the Phonological Phrase in the field of prosodic phonology, as advocated by Nespor and Vogel (1986), Selkirk (1986), and Hayes (1989), regulates the rhythmic mismatch facts presented in (2) and (5). I will demonstrate that this is the case in the next two sections.

3. A Set of Hypotheses

In the first place, I assume, with Okazaki (1998), that the syntactic, the semantic, and the phonological component are all autonomous and, as shown in (9), are linked with each other by correspondence rules in Jackendoff's (1990) sense.



The three components in grammar, being autonomous, have their own structures which are not necessarily isomorphic to each other. Prosodic structures in the phonological component are not exceptions. They have their own structures which are independent of both syntactic and semantic structures. In particular, I assume, following Selkirk (1986), Nespor and Vogel (1986), and Hayes (1989), among others, that prosodic structures include at least five prosodic categories and are hierarchically organized, as shown in (10).

(10) Prosodic Hierarchy

()	Utterance (U)
()	Intonational Phrase (IPh)
())	Phonological Phrase (PPh)
())	Clitic Group (CG)
())	Phonological Word (PW)

Among the five prosodic categories in (10), the prosodic category Phonological Phrase (PPh) is most relevant to the mismatch phenomenon.

If the PPh is most relevant to the mismatch facts presented in sections 2.1 and 2.2, its formation rule is to be introduced. I assume that Hayes's (1989: 218) PPh formation rules, presented in (11), which are formulated on the basis of Present-Day English phonological facts at the phrase and the sentence level, are also operative in the Early Modern English period, when Donne's poems were composed.

(11) PPh-Formation Rules

In the configuration [_{XP} ... X⁰YP ...]

- The sequence [_{XP} ... X⁰] obligatorily occupies the same PPh.
- YP may optionally adjoin to the PPh of X⁰ if it contains only one CG, and
- All CGs unaffected by rules (a) and (b) form PPhs.

The rules in (11) are formulated on the basis of the hypothesis that prosodic categories are constructed with direct access to syntactic constituent structures themselves, not to edges of syntactic categories, as does Selkirk's (1986) theory of syntax-phonology mapping. The question of which theory is superior is a much discussed issue in the field of syntax-phonology mapping, but to answer the question is far beyond the scope of this paper.

Rule (11a) says that in the phrase XP, its head X⁰ and elements preceding it in the same phrase correspond to a PPh.

Rule (11b) says that a phrase immediately following the head which contains only one content word is optionally incorporated into a PPh formed by the head and elements preceding it. That is because CGs, aside from the details of their formation

rules, are formed in such a way that only one content word is contained in each of them. Function words are incorporated into a CG formed by a content word. The number of CGs depends on the number of content words in a phrase. Consider the cases in (12) as sample cases.

- (12) a. a boy \rightarrow [CG a boy]
 b. a good boy \rightarrow [CG a good][CG boy]
 c. He kept it in a large jar \rightarrow [CG He kept it][CG in a large][CG jar]

Example (12a) is an NP which consists of a determiner and a head noun. It contains only one content word, the noun *boy*. Thus, it corresponds to a single CG. Example (12b) is an NP which consists of a determiner, an adjective, and the head noun. It contains two content words: the adjective *good* and the noun *boy*. Thus, it corresponds to two CGs. Examples (12c), which is most complex among the three cases, is a sentence which contains three content words (*kept*, *large*, *jar*), and contains three CGs. For further details, see Hayes (1989: 207-211).

Rule (11c) says that all elements which are unaffected by either (11a) or (11b) form PPhs of their own. It follows from an implicit hypothesis which requires that phonological parsing be exhaustive.

In the next section, I will show that the rules in (11) enable us to formulate a proper generalization about the mismatch facts presented in section 2.1.

4. A Generalization in Terms of Prosodic Category

Having provided the hypotheses and the rules on which we essentially base our account of the relevant data, we now turn to their application to the data presented in sections 2.1 and 2.2.

The rules in (11) enable us to reveal a very simple fact about the relevant mismatch phenomenon. In the lines given in sections 2.1 and 2.2, the phenomenon takes place at the right edge of a PPh. This is indicated in (13), where the lines given in section 2.1 are repeated with the relevant syntactic and prosodic structures, and (14), where the lines in section 2.2 are repeated with the two relevant structures.

In (13), the syntactic phrases NP ((13a, b, c, d, e, i, j)) and PP ((13f, g, h)) are relevant, and their right edges are identified as the right edge of a PPh.

- (13) a. And though [NP her harsh hair] fall, her skin is rough:
 And though [PPh her harsh hair] fall, her skin is rough:
 b. Thine, in my heart, where [NP my soul] dwells, shall dwell.
 Thine, in my heart, where [PPh my soul] dwells, shall dwell.
 c. Have [NP my tears] quenched my old poetic fire;
 Have [PPh my tears] quenched my old poetic fire;

- d. So may [_{NP} thy cheek's red] wear out scarlet dye,
 So may [_{PPh} thy cheek's red] wear out scarlet dye,
- e. Leaves him and me; I for [_{NP} my lost sheep] stay;
 Leaves him and me; I for [_{PPh} my lost sheep] stay;
- f. [_{PP} Like [_{NP} a wedge]] in a block, wring to the bar,
 [_{PPh} Like a wedge] in a block, wring to the bar,
- g. But do not, [_{PP} with [_{NP} a vile crown]] of frail bay
 But do not, [_{PPh} with a vile crown] of frail bays,
- h. And life, [_{PP} by [_{NP} this death abled]], shall control
 And life, [_{PPh} by this death abled], shall control
- i. But [_{NP} black sin] hath betrayed to endless night
 But [_{PPh} black sin] hath betrayed to endless night
- j. And [_{NP} her soul] early into heaven ravished,
 And [_{PPh} her soul] early into heaven ravished,

The above-mentioned prosodic identification of the right edge of an NP and a PP follows from the set of rules in (11) as follows. In (13a, b, c, d, e, i, j), where the right edge of an NP is relevant, the head nouns are preceded by a modifier and a determiner and not followed by any complement or adjunct. This syntactic environment meets the structural description of rule (11a), and the rule designates the NPs as single PPhs. Thus, the head nouns in those lines (*hair*, *soul*, *tear*, *red*, *sheep*, *sin*, and *soul*) are naturally at the right edge of a PPh.

In (13f, g, h), where the phrase PP is relevant, the head prepositions are followed by their complement NPs. In (13f), the NP *a wedge* contains one content word and consists of a determiner and its head noun. It contains only one CG. The PP *like a wedge* meets the structural description of rule (11b) and forms a single PPh as a whole. In (13g), the NP *a vile crown* contains two content words, the adjective *vile* and the noun *crown*, so that it contains two CGs. It does not meet the structural description of rule (11b) and does not seem to form a PPh with the preposition *with*, the head of the PP. However, the preposition is a function word and cannot form a CG of its own. It is incorporated into a CG which the adjective *vile* forms with the determiner *a*. The PP is interpreted as containing the two CGs [_{CG} *with a vile*] and [_{CG} *crown*]. This means that the noun *crown* plays a head-like role in forming a PPh, although it is not the head of the PP. In other words, the PP, from a phonological viewpoint, behaves like an NP in which the noun *crown* is the head. Thus, the PP meets the structural description of rule (11b), and as a whole forms a single PPh. The same holds for the PP in (13h). The NP *this death abled* contains two content words (*death* and *abled*), so it contains two CGs. It does not meet the structural description of (11b) and does

not seem to form a PPh with the preposition *by*. However, it is incorporated into the CG formed by the noun on the grounds that it is a function word, which is designated as incapable of forming a CG. The PP as a whole forms a PPh of its own. In this case, the noun *death* also plays a head-like function in forming a PPh in that it is preceded by *by* and *this*, neither of which can form their own CGs, and is followed by an AP-like element *abled*, which forms a single syntactic phrase. The syntactic structure meets the structural descriptions of rules (11a) and (11b). Thus, the rules designate the whole PP as a single PPh. As a result, the relevant PPs all form their own PPhs. The relevant words *sheep*, *crown*, and *abled*, which are in a position where the mismatch takes place, are identified as being located at the right edge of a PPh.

The same applies to the examples in (5), repeated in (14), where the mismatch also takes place at the right edge of an NP ((14c, d, g, h, i, j)) and a PP ((14a, b, e, f)).

- (14) a. [PP AS [NP a slave]], which tomorrow should be free
 [PPh As a slave], which tomorrow should be free
- b. To live [PP in [NP one land]], is captivity
 To live [PPh in one land], is captivity
- c. [NP My two lips], eyes, thighs, differ from thy two,
 [PPh My two lips], eyes, thighs, differ from thy two,
- d. And [NP their white], whiteness of the galaxy,
 And [PPh their white], whiteness of the galaxy,
- e. Great train [PP of [NP blue coat]], twelve, or fourteen strong,
 Great train [PPh of blue coat], twelve, or fourteen strong,
- f. [PP To [NP man's laws]], by which she shall not be tried
 [PPh To man's laws], by which she shall not be tried
- g. A license, [NP old iron], boot, shoes, and egg-
 A license, [PPh old iron], boot, shoes, and egg-
- h. Call it [NP some worse name], if aught equal it;
 Call it [PPh some worse name], if aught equal it;
- i. And [NP gluttonous death], will instantly unjoint
 And [PPh gluttonous death], will instantly unjoint
- j. [NP Thy true grief], for he put it in my breast.
 [PPh Thy true grief], for he put it in my breast.

The prosodic identification of the NPs and the PPs in (14) follows from the fact that they have the same syntactic structures as those in (13). The NPs contain a head noun preceded either by both an adjective and a determiner or by either of them and not followed by any phrases. The PPs contain a head noun followed by its complement NP containing only one CG. As in the cases in (13), the words which are interpreted

as being in a position where the mismatch takes place (*slave, land, lips, white, coats, laws, works, clouds, death, and grief*) are phonologically identified as being at the right edge of a PPh.

The representations in (13) and (14) show that the right edge of an NP and a PP form a phonological class in that they are both identified as the right edge of a PPh in prosodic structure. The occurrence of the rhythmic mismatches of the sort that have been discussed here at the right edge of an NP and a PP is not a peculiar phenomenon. Rather, it is to be seen as a natural consequence of the fact that they are both identified as being located at the right edge of a PPh.

In addition to the right edge of an NP and a PP, that of a VP can also be identified as the right edge of a PPh in prosodic structure. Consider here the cases in (8), repeated in (15), where the monosyllabic words at the right edges of the VPs occupy the position where the mismatch occurs. As indicated in (15), the relevant mismatch is identified as occurring at the right edge of a PPh.

- (15) a. Must we [_{VP} usurp [_{NP} his own bed]] any more,
 Must we [_{PPh} usurp his own bed] any more,
 b. Though he [_{VP} have oft sworn], that he would remove
 Though he [_{PPh} have oft sworn], that he would remove
 c. The ends [_{VP} crown [_{NP} our works]], but thou crown'st our ends,
 The ends [_{PPh} crown our works], but thou crown'st our ends,

The prosodic identification of the right edge of a VP indicated above also follows from the set of rules in (11). In (15a, c, d), the VPs consist of a verb, its head, which is not preceded by any words in its maximal projection, and an object NP which contains a noun preceded by either a determiner or a possessive pronoun. The object NPs share one property with each other in that they contain one content word. Thus, they meet the structural description of rule (11b), and the VPs form a single PPh. In (15b), the VP consists of the perfective auxiliary *have*, the adverb *oft*, the main verb *sworn*. The auxiliary, which, given the auxiliary-as-a-main-verb hypothesis (Okazaki (1998)), can be seen as the head of the whole VP, is a function word and cannot form a CG of its own. The verb in its perfective form has a head-like function for forming a PPh. If the verbs serve as the head, the structure of the VP in (15d) meets the structural description of rule (11a). Thus, the VP as a whole forms a PPh, and the verb *sworn* is consequently located at the right edge of a PPh.

The prosodic identification of the position of the mismatch where a W-position in the template corresponds to the strongest phonological position in a syntactic phrase reveals that the position where the phenomenon occurs can be reduced to a single position: the right edge of a PPh. This indicates that the phenomenon can and must

be generalized in prosodic terms. In particular, a generalization such as (16) is formulated.

(16) Generalization

The mismatch between the rhythmic template in (1) and the actual rhythmic structure of a line may occur at the right edge of a PPh.

This generalization receives support from the following two facts. The first piece of evidence is the high frequency of occurrence of mismatch cases like those presented in sections 2.1 and 2.2. Recall that the survey of their frequency of occurrence in Donne's poems reveals that there are at least about 320 examples of the rhythmic mismatch. Cases like those presented in sections 2.1 and 2.2 are not taken to be exceptional.

The second piece of evidence for generalization (16) comes from the prosodic structure of poems composed by another poet of the same era. Specifically, Shakespeare makes a frequent use of the mismatch where a W-position in the template corresponds to the most prominent position in a phrase. The frequency survey of this kind of mismatch in Shakespeare's poems like *Sonnets*, *Venus and Adonis*, and *Lucrece* reveals that there are a lot of examples which exhibit the same kind of mismatch.

The examples in (17)-(19) exhaust the relevant cases in the three poems. (The examples in (17) are cited from Duncan-Jones (1998), and those in (18) and (19) are from Prince (1985).)

(17) *Sonnets* (14 lines × 154 poems)

- a. And see thy blood warm when thou feel'st it cold (Sonnet 2.13)
- b. Thou of thyself thy sweet self dost deceive (Sonnet 4.10)
- c. But flowers distilled, though thy with winter meet (Sonnet 5.13)
- d. Resembling strong youth in his middle age, (Sonnet 7.6)
- e. But thou none lov'st is most evident: (Sonnet 10.4)
- f. other examples: 15.8, 17.10, 21.4, 24.8, 24.9, 25.5, 25.11, 27.12, 29.3, 30.11, 31.1, 31.2, 31.6, 31.7, 32.13, 33.14, 34.13, 35.8, 36.10, 39.3, 39.5, 40.3, 41.5, 42.8, 42.12, 43.2, 43.9, 43.13, 44.2, 46.12, 46.13, 47.2, 48.3, 49.1, 50.5, 51.8, 51.11, 51.13, 51.14, 52.1, 52.6, 52.13, 53.6, 54.8, 55.11, 57.11, 59.10, 59.11, 62.7, 63.2, 65.7, 65.13, 68.8, 69.4, 70.9, 72.7, 72.9, 73.5, 74.4, 74.8, 74.11, 74.12, 75.10, 76.11, 78.12, 80.9, 81.3, 81.8, 82.10, 84.3, 85.13, 86.3, 86.5, 87.9, 89.6, 89.12, 90.4, 90.5, 91.13, 92.13, 93.2, 93.5, 94.4, 94.11, 95.12, 96.4, 96.8, 97.3, 98.3, 99.4, 99.6, 100.13, 103.14, 104.7, 112.10, 114.7, 116.5, 119.5, 121.10, 126.8, 131.6, 133.11, 134.6, 134.10, 135.4, 136.1, 136.11, 137.11, 138.1, 138.12, 140.7, 140.12, 140.14, 142.10, 151.4, 152.4, 154.9

(18) *Venus and Adonis* (1194 lines)

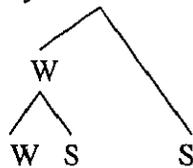
- a. From through his mane and tail the high wind sings, (305)
 b. Her eyes petitioners to his eyes suing (356)
 c. And all this dumb play had his acts made plain (359)
 d. And being steel'd, soft sighs can never grave it. (376)
 e. Melodious discord, heavenly tune harsh-sounding, (431)
 f. other examples: 649, 724, 727, 750, 765, 780, 815, 820, 836, 912,
 923, 957, 982, 983, 1050, 1052, 1064, 1069, 1071, 1073, 1144, 1163,
 1169

(19) *Lucrece* (1855 lines)

- a. With bruised arms and wreaths of victory (110)
 b. That from the cold stone sparks of fire do fly; (177)
 c. As from this cold flint I enforc'd this fire, (181)
 d. Mine eyes forgo their light, my false heart bleed? (228)
 e. Or were he not my dear friend, this desire (234)
 f. other examples: 440, 467, 488, 508, 517, 557, 558, 588, 643, 650,
 658, 671, 682, 768, 790, 871, 923, 983, 1010, 1136, 1138, 1149,
 1181, 1195, 1221, 1225, 1375, 1376, 1434, 1435, 1437, 1454, 1498,
 1526, 1595, 1611, 1612, 1619, 1666, 1673, 1674, 1677, 1699, 1718,
 1769, 1785, 1818, 1825, 1834, 1836

As shown by the representative examples in (20)-(22), the mismatch phenomenon in (17)-(19) is classified as the same kind of phenomenon that is frequently observed in Donne's poems. The mismatched positions are W-positions in the template and occupied mostly by a monosyllabic word which is strongest in a phrase.

(20) a.

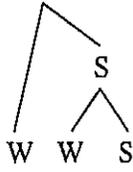


And see [_{NP} thy blood] [_{AP} warm] when thou feel'st it cold (= (17a))

W S W S W S W S WS

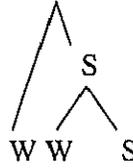


b.



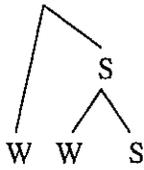
Thou of thyself [_{NP} thy sweet self] dost deceive (=17b)
 W S WS W S W S WS

(21) a.



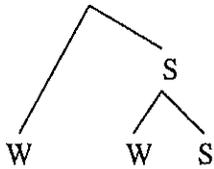
From through his mane and tail [_{NP} the high wind] sings, (=18a)
 W S W S W S WS WS WS

b.



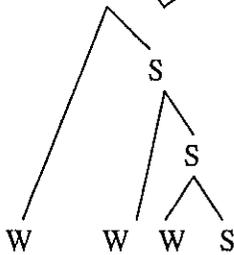
And [_{NP} all this dumb play] had his acts made plain (=18c)
 W S WS WS WS WS WS WS

(22) a.



[_{PP} With [_{NP} bruised arms]] and wreaths of victory ϕ (=19a)
 W S WS WS WS WS WS

b.



That [_{PP} from [_{NP} the cold stone]] sparks of fire do fly; (=19b)
 W S WS WS WS WS WS WS

The PPh formation rules in (11a) and (11b) say that the NPs, the AP, and the PPs in the above examples correspond to a single PPh, and that the words which are in a position where the mismatch takes place are also identified as being located at the right edge of a PPh, as shown by the representative cases in (23)-(25).

- (23) a. And see thy blood [_{PPh} warm] when thou feel'st it cold
 b. Thou of thyself [_{PPh} thy sweet self] dost deceive
- (24) a. From through his mane and tail [_{PPh} the high wind] sings,
 b. [_{PPh} And all this dumb play] had his acts made plain
- (25) a. [_{PPh} With bruised arms] and wreaths of victory
 b. That [_{PPh} from the cold stone] sparks of fire do fly;

It follows, then, that the generalization in (16) also holds in Shakespeare's poems. This consequence shows that the generalization is not at all ad hoc. It has a wide empirical coverage.

5. Previous Studies

5.1. Kiparsky (1975)

Kiparsky (1975) is to be seen as the first comprehensive attempt to clarify the relation between rhythmic mismatches and syntactic structure. In particular, he proposes a rule, called Metrical Rule 2, which, formulated as in (26), regulates the correspondence of a W-position in the template to the actual rhythm of a line.

(26) Metrical Rule 2 (MR 2):

[4 stress] → [β stress] in env. # ____ # (a)

r[# ____ (b)

(Kiparsky (1975:583))

This rule says that "in place of no stress, we can have a stress under two conditions: in a monosyllabic word (condition a), and after an intonational break (condition b)" (Kiparsky (1975:583)).

Kiparsky (1975:605) observes that Donne's poems do not obey MR2 in that the rule applies "rather freely in polysyllabic words." This is indicated by lines such as those in (27) (Kiparsky (1975:605)).

- (27) a. Weav'd in my low devout melancholy (La Corona 1.2)
 b. Weak enough, now into our world to come (La Corona 3.4)
 c. By sickness, death's herald, and champion (Holy Sonnet 4.2)
 d. Shall behold God, and never taste deaths woe (Holy Sonnet 7.8)

In the above examples, the underlined positions are filled with a syllable of a polysyllabic word and exhibit the mismatch between a W-position and an S-position. The mismatches violate MR2. The positions are not filled with a monosyllabic word

or immediately preceded by an intonational break. Despite the presence of problematic cases like those in (27), Kiparsky does not propose any particular conditions for Donne's poems. Instead, Kiparsky (1975: 605) remarks:

... It is quite possible, of course, that some restrictive condition on MR2 takes its place in Donne, though I cannot at present see what this condition would be. I also leave it for further investigation to decide whether the monosyllable condition is completely inoperative, or whether it has gone from a categorical to a restrictive condition, functioning in some way to determine metrical tension.

Kiparsky's MR2 is thus problematic in that it cannot predict the presence of mismatch cases like those in (27).

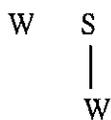
In addition to the problems mentioned above, there is another problem with MR2. It cannot predict the presence of the mismatch facts presented in sections 2.1 and 2.2, either. It predicts that they are also absent in Donne's poems. The reason is that the position where the mismatch at issue takes place meets condition (a) on the rule but does not meet condition (b). It is filled with a monosyllabic word in all the cases. Notice, however, that the positions are not immediately preceded by an intonational phrase boundary.

It follows, then, that Kiparsky's MR2, which is proposed to regulate the mismatch between a W-position in the template and an S-position in actual rhythm, is untenable. It does not correctly predict the presence of the mismatch facts presented in section 2.1 and 2.2, which do not meet both of the conditions of the rule and are predicted to be nonexistent. But many cases of such mismatch are really attested.

5.2. *Kiparsky (1977)*

Kiparsky (1977), revising his 1975 theory, constructed within the Chomsky and Halle's (1968) framework, into a theory within the framework of Liberman and Prince's (1977) version of metrical theory, proposes a rule, formulated as in (28), which regulates the correspondence between a W-position in the template and an S-position in actual rhythm.

(28) There is no matching of the form



where (i) W is #-level, (ii) S commands W, and (iii) S is not dominated by W.

Kiparsky (1977:206)

This rule says that mismatch facts of the sort that are presented in sections 2.1 and 2.2, are prohibited from occurring.

This rule does not account for the presence and the high frequency of occurrence of the mismatch facts in Donne's and Shakespeare's poems. It incorrectly predicts that they do not occur in their poems, either.

Kiparsky does not provide any device predicting the large number of cases which do not obey rule (28).

5.3. Hayes (1989)

Hayes (1989) proposes a general theory of meter by means of metrical grids and prosodic categories and argues that positions where mismatch phenomena take place can be identified in prosodic terms.

Most relevant to the issue here among Hayes's (1989) proposals is the rule in (29), which regulates the correspondence between a W-position in the template and a stressed syllable in an actual line.

(29) [... X]_D is disfavored. Acceptability depends on rank of D:

|
W

CG: better; PPh: worse; IPh: *; U: * (Hayes (1989:251))

This rule is formulated on at least two hypotheses. One is that the prohibition of the mismatch between a W-position in the template and an S-position in an actual line is not categorical. The other hypothesis is that whether the mismatch is possible or not is determined by prosodic categories.

The rule says that the mismatch between a W-position in the template and an S-position in an actual line, represented by a metrical grid ('X'), at the right edge of a phonological domain (D) is generally disfavored, not categorically prohibited, and that the acceptability of the mismatch varies according to the rank of the domain. The mismatch at the right edge of an IPh and an U is completely unacceptable. That at the right edge of a PPh is not unacceptable and, at the same time, not completely acceptable. By contrast, that at the right edge of a CG is completely acceptable.

Rule (29) predicts that the frequency of occurrence of the mismatch at the right edge of a PPh is low. Recall here that in Donne's and Shakespeare's poems, the frequency of such rhythmic mismatch is high. The prediction is false, and the rule does not account for the frequent occurrence of the mismatch presented in sections 2.1 and 2.2.

5.4. Summary

In this section, we have seen that the rhythmic mismatch facts presented in sections 2.1 and 2.2 cannot be accounted for in a proper way by some representative rules proposed in previous generative-phonological studies of metrics. This indicates that the generalization in (16), repeated below, is to be incorporated in a general theory

of English metrics, regardless of the framework within which it is constructed.

(16) Generalization

The mismatch between the rhythmic template in (1) and the actual rhythmic structure of a line may occur at the right edge of a PPh.

6. Concluding Remarks

In this paper, we have tried to identify a position where a mismatch which is peculiar to Donne's poems takes place. The mismatch at issue is that a W-position in the template corresponds to the strongest phonological position in an actual prosodic structure. We have succeeded in identifying a relevant position by means of the prosodic category PPh and proposed a clear-cut generalization of the phenomenon. It takes place at the right edge of a PPh.

The generalization has at least two implications for a theory of meter. One is that the generalization proposed here confirms the validity of a theory of meter wherein prosodic categories play a central role in identifying positions where rhythmic mismatches take place. As far as the cases presented in sections 2.1 and 2.2 are concerned, a clear-cut generalization could not be derived without recourse to the prosodic category PPh.

The other implication is concerned with a W-position in the template and the right edge of a PPh. It is generally said that the mismatch in a W-position of the template is much more constrained than that of an S-position in the template. In addition, the mismatch at the right-edge of a prosodic domain is much more constrained than that at the left-edge of a prosodic domain. The mismatch facts presented in sections 2.1 and 2.2 are not subject to either of the two conditions on rhythmic mismatches in a poetic line. A W-position of the template can correspond to an S-position of an actual line at the right edge of a PPh. This indicates that the two general statements concerning rhythmic mismatches are to be reformulated in some way or other.

One might argue here that Donne's technique of versification is different from that shared among main-stream poets. Donne's technique is not subject to a traditional manner of versification. It might be doubtful therefore that a generalization which is derived from Donne's poems is valid.

It is indeed true that Donne's technique of versification is different from that of poets who composed poems with traditional techniques of English versification. But this does not pose any problems for generalization (16), which is derived from facts about rhythmic mismatches in Donne's poems. Its captured mismatch is frequently observed in Donne's and Shakespeare's poems. The high frequency of occurrence of

the mismatch means that it should not be seen as an exceptional phenomenon. It is therefore not unreasonable to say that the mismatch captured by the generalization is qualified as a permissible option in English versification.

One problem remains unsolved, however. It is the question of what sort of effect the mismatches at the right edge of a PPh have. Notice that they produce the anapestic pattern (WWS). The question is thus what sort of effect the anapestic foot has at the right edge of a PPh, generally and particularly in Donne's poems. The effect of the anapestic foot is discussed in the literature. For example, Finch (1993: 24-25) observes that anapestic feet have a special effect in Emily Dickinson's poem 959. This poem is composed with the typical iambic hymn meter, and anapestic feet occur three times only in the last line. Finch observes that this implies the speaker's ambivalent relationship with Christianity, which is the theme of the poem.

It is indeed true that a rhythmic pattern contributes to "poetic meanings." In Donne's poems, however, the anapestic rhythm derived from the mismatch, even though it has the possibility of corresponding to a specific poetic meaning, does not seem to have any explicit meaning. Its "semantic effect" cannot be reduced to one and varies from case to case. In fact, the rhythm itself does not seem to have an explicit meaning but a rather vague meaning, as do a variety of intonation contours in Present-Day English. For this reason, investigation of semantic effects of the rhythmic mismatch peculiar to Donne's poems is left for future research.

NOTE

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