

**SECONDARY
STRESS IN
ANGLO-SAXON**

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JULIAN HUGUENIN

**SECONDARY
STRESS IN
ANGLO-SAXON**

SECONDARY STRESS

IN

ANGLO-SAXON.

(DETERMINED BY METRICAL CRITERIA.)

A DISSERTATION

PRESENTED TO THE BOARD OF UNIVERSITY STUDIES OF
THE JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY FOR THE
DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY.

BY

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SECONDARY STRESS IN ANGLO-SAXON.

(DETERMINED BY METRICAL CRITERIA.)

“Vor allem ist neben dem Hauptton der Nebenton, oder der zweite Hauptton, für die Sprachgeschichte von Bedeutung. Auf ihn sollte man noch mehr sein Augenmerk richten.”

Hirt, *Indg. Akzent*, p. 12.

I. PREFACE.

All accounts of the range of secondary stress in Anglo-Saxon,¹ based upon results obtained through the five-type system, show no divergences from the statements of Sievers himself. A belief that Sievers' treatment might with advantage be carried out more in detail has occasioned the present study.

Sievers' rules for the position of secondary stress as given in his *Metrik*, § 78, are as follows:—

1. The root-syllable of the second member of a compound which is still clearly felt as a compound has a heavy secondary stress. Such a word is, as a rule, stressed with a secondary accent in the alliterative verse.

2. The root-syllable of the second member of compound proper names has a weak secondary stress. This stress may, or may not, be used in the verse.

¹The following are the chief works which should be consulted on the general subject of secondary stress in Germanic:—Lachmann, *Ueber althochdeutsche Betonung und Verslemt* (*Kleinere Schriften* I, 358–406); Sievers, *Zur Accent und Lautlehre der germanischen Sprachen* (*Beitr.* iv, 522 ff; v, 63 ff); Paul, *Zur Geschichte des germanischen Vocalismus* (*Beitr.* vi, 124 ff); Kock, *Der I-Umlaut*, etc. (*Beitr.* xiv, 52 ff); *Zur urgermanischen Betonungslehre* (*Beitr.* xiv, 75 ff.); Kluge, *Grundriss der germanischen Philologie*² I, 302 ff; Hirt, *Indogermantische Akzent*, §§ 39, 40, and passim.

3. The final syllable of a compound which is no longer felt as a compound is unstressed.

4. All long middle syllables after a long root have a secondary stress in the older monuments. At a later period this secondary stress may be neglected.

5. A short middle syllable after a long root has often a secondary stress in verse, but may also be unstressed. Such a syllable can, therefore, have had only a weak stress.

6. Some final syllables are capable of secondary stress, but are usually unaccented. E. g., *æðelung manig* Beo. 1112.

My own work has been based upon a scansion, according to the five-type system, of the entire corpus of the poetry. Wherever possible I have compared my scansions with those made by others. The text used was that of the Grein-Wülker *Bibliothek der angelsächsischen Poesie*, Kassel and Leipzig, 1883-98, modified by emendations suggested for metrical reasons in the various journals by Sievers, Cosijn, Holthausen, and others.

Sievers' terminology has been made use of for the designation of the different types.

For convenience of reference I give here the five types—including subsidiary forms.

- I. A $\bar{\iota} \times / \bar{\iota} \times$ *stíðum wordum.*
 A^{2a} $\bar{\iota} \bar{\iota} / \bar{\iota} \times$ *wírfæst wordum.*
 A^{2ak} $\bar{\iota} \bar{\iota} / \bar{\iota} \times$ *gūðrinc manig.*
 A^{2b} $\bar{\iota} \times / \bar{\iota} \bar{\iota}$ *Grendles gūðroeft.*
 A^{2ba} $\bar{\iota} \bar{\iota} / \bar{\iota} \bar{\iota}$. *gūðrinc goldwone.*
 A³ $\acute{\iota} \times \times \times / \bar{\iota} \times$ *ond þone gebete.*
 A^{3b} $\acute{\iota} \times \times / \bar{\iota} \bar{\iota}$ *þæt þone mǣndrinc.*
 A⁴ $\bar{\iota} \bar{\iota} \times / \bar{\iota} \times$ *cildgeong on crybbe.*
 A^{4b} $\bar{\iota} \bar{\iota} \times / \bar{\iota} \bar{\iota}$ *ǣnroed ond yrefweorg.*
 A^{4c} $\bar{\iota} \times \bar{\iota} / \bar{\iota} \times$ *ungemet lange.*

II. B $\times \bar{\iota} / \times (\times) \bar{\iota}$ *þin ægen bearn.*

- III. C $\times \bar{\iota} / \bar{\iota} \times$ *oft Scyld Scöfing.*
 C³ $\times \bar{\iota} / \bar{\iota} \times$ *of feorwegum.*
 C^a $\times \bar{\iota} / \bar{\iota} \bar{\iota}$ *ond eall ondweard.*

- IV. D¹ / / ∪ × *fēond mancynnes.*
 D² / / ∪ × *bearn Healfdenes.*
 D³ / / ∪ × *eorðcyminges.*
 D⁴ / / ∪ × ∪ *flet innanweard.*
 D⁵ ∪ × / / ∪ × *wrætleð wōðcrafte.*
 D⁶ ∪ × / / ∪ × *beorna bæahgifa.*
 D⁷ ∪ × / / ∪ × ∪ *fleogan feðrum enel.*
- V. E¹ ∪ ∪ × / / *weorðmyndum pāh.*
 E² ∪ × ∪ / / *morðorbed strēd.*
 E³ ∪ ∪ × / / *bēahroden cwēn.*

N. B.—It will be seen later that my opinion in regard to the function of the potential secondary accent between two arses, or between an arsis and a pause at the verse end, is somewhat different from that of Sievers.

Any of the types may be varied by the occurrence of a resolved stress—i. e., two short syllables may be substituted for one long.

Rare types of verse, different from the above, will be easily understood from the combination of symbols.

A verse with anacrusis will be denoted by a prefixed asterisk.

The abbreviations employed for the titles of the poetical monuments are those of Grein in the *Sprachschatz*.

The following works have been of service:—

- Bartlett, Helen: *The Metrical Division of the Paris Psalter.* Baltimore. 1896.
- Bradshaw, Margaret R.: *The Versification of the Old English Poem Phoenix.* *American Journal of Philology*, XV, 454 ff.
- Cremer, Matthias; *Metrische und sprachliche Untersuchung der allenglischen Gedichte, Andreas, Guðlac, Phoenix (Elene, Juliana, Crist).* Bonn. 1888.
- Frucht, Philipp: *Metrisches und Sprachliches zu Cynewulfs Elene, Juliana, und Crist.* Greifswald. 1887.
- Herzfeld, Georg: *Die Räthsel des Exeterbuches und ihr Verfasser.* Berlin. 1890.
- Luick, Karl: *Ueber den Versbau des angelsächsischen Gedichtes Judith.* *Beitr.* XI, 470 ff.

Luick, Karl: *Zur Theorie der Entstehung der Schwellverse*. Beitr. XII, 388 ff.

— *Zur altenglischen und altsächsischen Metrik*. Beitr. XV, 441 ff.

Rieger, Max: *Die alt- und angelsächsische Verskunst*. Halle. 1876.

Schipper, J.: *Grundriss der englischen Metrik*. Wien und Leipzig. 1895.

Sievers, Eduard: *Zur Rythmik des germanischen Alliterationsverses*. Beitr. X, 209–314, 451–545; XII, 454 ff.

— *Altgermanische Metrik*. Halle. 1893.

— *Angelsächsische Grammatik*. Halle. 1898.

II. GENERAL INTRODUCTION.

§ 1. Beat-verse,¹ as can be seen from the following example—

/ / / /
Of Man's first disobedience and the fruit—

utilizes that portion of a word possessing secondary accent, whether actual or potential, in either of two ways: (a) in the arsis (*dis-*); (b) in the thesis (*-dience*).

In alliterative verse, on account of its peculiar structure, secondary accent becomes often a necessary part of the verse-scheme—i. e., the metrical ictus in certain verse-types always falls upon a syllable which has a secondary, not a primary, accent. E. g.,

E¹ $\angle \backslash \times / \angle$ *wīðowðne wēam* Beo. 1991^a.

D¹ $\acute{\sigma} \times / \angle \backslash \times$ *meotud mancynnes* And. 446^a.

D¹ $\acute{\sigma} \times / \angle \times \backslash$ *fæder fletgstæald* Gen. 1611^a.

¹An interesting theory has recently been advanced by Professor James W. Bright ("Proper Names in Old English Verse," *Publ. Mod. Lang. Ass.*, XIV, 347 ff.) as to the use of pitch-accent in verse. That portion of his paper which directly concerns us may be summarized as follows: The exigencies of verse often demand that the ictus fall upon a syllable which is not accented with a primary stress. In other words, the verse-structure calls for an unusual accentuation. This call is answered by bringing into relative prominence one of the inherent characteristics of English stress, viz., pitch. "Therefore, the complete inference is that the verse-accent, the ictus, when in 'conflict,' is attended with a pitch-accent" (p. 365). . . . "The conclusion that ictus in 'conflict' requires a pitch-accent, is perhaps applicable to Old English verse. . . . It is possible, for example, that in the case of the secondary word-stresses of $\angle \backslash / \angle \times$ (A), and $\times \angle / \backslash \times$ (C) the pitch-accent distinguishes the secondary word-accent as ictus from the same accent when it remains in the thesis." (p. 367.)

While this practice is a peculiarity of the older Germanic verse, the two elective methods of handling in beat-verse a syllable capable of secondary accent are common property also of the alliterative measure. For example:—

(a) In the arsis,—

A $\angle \times / \angle \times$ *dryhtgestræona* Rät. 18, 3^a.

B $\times \times \angle / \times \angle$ *in þā eastortīd* Gū. 1075^b.

If we accept Professor Bright's theory, the ictus under such conditions is marked by an increase of pitch.

(b) In the thesis,—

B $\times \times \angle / \times \angle$ *ond sē frumgār his* Gen. 1183¹.

D¹ $\angle \times / \angle \times$ *ānræd ðretta* And. 983^a.

§ 2. Nothing has been said of the nature of the accentuation in one of these heavy theses, the use of which is assumed in both the older and younger systems of versification. Some judgment on the subject may be reached by an examination of the employment of words of the same formation in the theses of the different types of Anglo-Saxon verse.

Suffixes and the root-syllable of the second member of dissyllabic compounds may occur in the thesis of types A², B, C^a, and D²—the number of examples decreasing in the order named. Both theses of type A concern us; while in D we need regard only the first thesis, and in B and C only the second.

The following list of examples, which might be multiplied, will perhaps be serviceable in illustrating the above remarks:¹—

B $\times \times \angle / \times \angle$ *ond sē frumgār his* Gen. 1183^a.

D¹ $\angle \times / \angle \times$ *ānræd ðretta* And. 983^a.

A² $\angle \times / \text{ú} \times$ *dēaðwealm* Denigea Beo. 1670^a.

A² $\angle \times / \angle \times$ *wōd on wægstrēam* Ex. 311^a.

A² $\acute{\times} \times \times \times / \angle \times$ *hwonne hēo sīo gūðwēn* El. 254^a.

C^a $\times \text{ú} \times / \angle \times$ *in godes þeowdōm* El. 201^b.

B $\times \times \times \angle / \times \times \angle$ *þeah þe hīo ænlicu sý* Beo. 1941^b.

¹ Cf. on the last six examples §§ 15, 16.