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### Early Old English *Hēafudu* and Germanic Foot Structures

A number of phonological processes in early Germanic languages have long suggested that syllables were grouped in larger prosodic units of some sort. Early Old English provides a good starting point for the investigation of early Germanic foot structure, with good morphophonological evidence coming from deletions of high vowels in certain paradigms. For example, the neuter plural suffix *-u* is retained after the 'light' stem *scip-u* 'ships', but lost after the 'heavy' word 'words'; disyllabic nouns beginning with an open syllable, e.g. *werod* 'troops', behave like 'heavy' monosyllables and delete the *-u*. There have been a number of attempts to describe, or do away with, the prosodic units (feet) that determine 'resolution' and vowel deletions. Various earlier analyses have posited Old English feet, or branches of feet, that consist of two or more moras, but they differ in their treatments of how unstressed syllables are grouped. For example, the plural of *hēafod* 'head' occurs in texts as *hēafudu*, *hēafud*, and *hēafdu*, and interpretations have varied about which is 'correct' for Old English generally (e.g., Kiparsky and O'Neil 1976, Gašiorowski 1997, Drescher and Lahiri 1991). My analysis posits a change in foot structure between earlier and later Old English, triggered by the elimination of contrastive vowel length in unstressed syllables, predicting *hēafudu* as the correct older form, with *hēafud* and *hēafdu* representing well-motivated prosodic innovations. This accords well with the textual and morphological arguments of Fulk (2010). Building on earlier theories, I argue for an optimally bimoraic foot in early Old English. Monomoraic, 'light' syllables recruit moras from following syllables to fill a foot. Under stress, a foot may exceed two moras to avoid a monomoraic foot, as in earlier approaches: [*cy.ning*] [*μ.μμ*]. I further argue that unstressed syllables will be left unfooted and prone to syncope if they cannot be placed in precisely bimoraic feet: early dative singular [*hēa.fu.[dæ]*] [*μμ.μ.μμ*] >> *hēafdæ*. This new observation about foot formation in unstressed syllables receives support from the poetic phenomenon *Kaluza's Law*, and serves a starting point for interpreting other foot-structure-dependant phenomena in the other early Germanic languages.

Drescher, B. Elan, and Aditi Lahiri. 1991. "The Germanic Foot: Metrical Coherence in Old English." *Linguistic Inquiry* (2): 251–286.

Fulk, R. D. 2010. "The Roles of Phonology and Analogy in Old English High Vowel Deletion." *Transactions of the Philological Society* 108 (2): 126–144.

Gašiorowski, Piotr. 1997. *The Phonology of Old English Stress and Metrical Structure*. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang.

Kiparsky, Paul and Wayne O'Neil. 1976. "The Phonology of Old English Inflections." *Linguistic Inquiry* 7 (4):527-557