

Medial catalexis in Sir Thomas Wyatt's iambic pentameter

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Abstract

There is a reasonable scholarly consensus that the long (“heroic”) line of Sir Thomas Wyatt is an iambic pentameter. However, a significant number of his long lines are apparently syllabically hypometrical, calling into question this interpretation. The doubt is further compounded by Wyatt’s nontrivial use of phrase-medial inversions. I argue that it is nonetheless possible to infer an iambic pentameter intention behind Wyatt’s syllabically hypometrical lines, which can be ‘repaired’ by medial catalexis. Syllabically canonical lines are known to favour major prosodic breaks (Intonational Phrase boundaries) between the second and third foot and, to some extent, between the third and fourth. On the assumption that medial catalexis exploits the natural pauses that occur at the boundaries between Intonational Phrases, what emerges is a significant preference for catalexis to target the weak position of the third verse foot (half-line boundary), followed by the fourth (immediately following the verse-foot adjunct of the second half-line). The finding opens up further possibilities for understanding Wyatt’s other licences, and linguistically informed literary criticism of his verse. The final part of the paper offers some speculations as to the nature of medial catalexis and how it can be approached within a linguistically informed framework compatible with generative metrics.

Keywords: generative metrics, iambic pentameter, catalexis, oral performance, English Renaissance poetry, Sir Thomas Wyatt

1. Effectively expressive lines

Since the publication in 1557 of *Tottel's Miscellany* (Rollins 1966, Holton and McFaul 2011), the first printed anthology of English poetry, the problem of identifying the meter of Sir Thomas Wyatt’s long (“heroic”) line has vexed editors, critics and scholars alike. There is a substantial critical tradition, beginning with the work of A. K. Foxwell and Frederick Padelford, supporting an iambic pentameter interpretation (Foxwell 1911, Padelford 1923, Evans 1954, Daalder 1977, Kiparsky 1977, Noguchi 1983, Wright 1985, Rebholz 1997, Groves 2005). The proportion of anomalous lines given such an interpretation is nonetheless significant, raising questions regarding its adequacy. In this paper I look in particular at syllabically hypometrical lines, that is, lines with nine syllables or fewer (excluding extrametrical syllables and resolved disyllables), which on the face of things do not contain sufficient material for a replete iambic pentameter line. I argue that repleteness is achieved in such cases either through the use of intonation, as outlined below, or through medial catalexis at natural prosodic breaks, and whose distribution supports an iambic pentameter interpretation. Since intonation and catalectic pauses are in some sense an aspect of ‘performance’, the lesson of Wyatt’s verse is that the linguistically informed study of metrics cannot adhere to the rigorous separation of competence and performance of early generative metrics, as set out by Halle and Keyser (1966).

If the text is the only admissible evidence of the scansion, then Wyatt’s approach to the iambic pentameter line becomes, as Thompson (1989 [1961]:2) observes, “hard to define”, showing an “apparent disregard of the iambic metrical pattern” (p. 15). He adds that “no explanation of his practice has ever been generally accepted”. In the literature on Wyatt one can find judgments to the effect that certain lines simply cannot be scanned as iambic pentameter, such as Schwartz (1963:159), discussing the last four lines of Sonnet XI/Egerton MS VII (‘Who so List to Hounte’). Writing about Wyatt and his older contemporary John Skelton, Swallow (1950:5f.) wonders aloud “[w]hy, when both Skelton and Wyatt knew the iambic pattern [...] did they allow so many variations from the pattern, variations which even, on occasion, destroy the pattern?”. The assumption that Wyatt engaged in such destruction is one that is widely held, and

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can be traced back to the work of the literary critic George Saintsbury, who held Wyatt's metrics in rather low esteem (Saintsbury 1906; 1908; 1910; 1912). Chambers (1965 [1933]) paraphrases Saintsbury's view of Wyatt as one "fumbling his way to a comprehension of the pentameter [...] perverted by oblivion of Chaucerian inflections". This assessment is part of a more general perception of the poetry of the fifteenth century as suffering a loss of rhythmical quality.

Despite these doubts, more recent criticism suggests ways of scanning Wyatt's long lines that are consistent with a thoroughgoing iambic pentameter interpretation. One line that has attracted scholarly attention is l. 15 of Ballade LXXX/Egerton MS. XXXVII in (1a). In this line, the subject of the poem is recalling, in disbelief, an amorous encounter. Tottel's editors, however, amend to the prosodically regular (1b).

- (1) a. It was no dreme: I lay brode waking. Ball. LXXX.15
 b. It was no dreame: for I lay broade awakyng.

Commenting on Tottel's imposed pattern in (1b), Thomson (p. 16) writes: "we do not know how far any reader would have let this [metrical—P.B.] pattern influence his voice, but even if the influence was only slight, the words would sound like nothing anyone ever spontaneously said". Contrasting the two versions, he suggests Wyatt gave up the effect of the pattern "for the effect of the phrases", while Tottel's editor sacrificed this effect for the pattern. Whether "the effect of the phrases" really did require giving up the *pattern* is a good question. Thompson suggests later, however, in a comparison with the Earl of Surrey, that Wyatt was interested in "maintaining the intonation patterns of language" (p. 69). In fact, I think we can say that certain intonation patterns may have been recruited to sustain the iambic pentameter pattern where the number of syllables fell short. This metrical use of intonation is thus partly what underlies Wyatt's "expressively effective" lines.

Something like this understanding is also evident in the work on Wyatt by Peter Groves and Derek Attridge. For Wyatt's original Ball. LXXX.15 in (1a), Attridge (1982:347) provides two alternative scansion, shown in (2). The first scansion, in (2a), has four beats (designated), the second, in (2b), has five—essentially an iambic pentameter. In Attridge's notation, <o> is an offbeat. A double offbeat (as in *It was...*) is indicated by <ö>, and an 'implied' offbeat <ô>. Finally, an offbeat realised by a stressed syllable (called 'demotion' in Attridge's terminology) is designated by <ô>.

- (2) a. It was no dream: I lay broad waking
 ö Bô B o B ô B o
 b. It was no dream: I lay broad waking
 ö Bô B oBô Bô B

With reference to 'implied' offbeats, Attridge writes (p. 98) that "[o]ffbeats can also be implied in the rhythm but not realised in the language". In (2b) there are three such 'implied' offbeats according to his scansion: the words *no*, *lay*, and *broad* each realize a beat and are also assigned an 'implied' offbeat. Although Attridge talks about 'implied' offbeats, the real intuition here seems to be that, in these cases, a stressed monosyllable may span a beat and an offbeat, or, in generative terms, a strong and a weak position. The same intuition is matched in other work on Wyatt's metrics, including Foxwell (1911), Padelford (1923), and Wright (1985:148). The question is what licenses such mappings phonologically, and whether there are metrical constraints on their distribution. Although not the focus of the present article, it is worth briefly setting out my thoughts on this, since this brings us back to Thompson's intuition that intonation plays a role in the crafting of the lines.

Stretching a monosyllable over two metrical positions may be effected by a 'scooped', rising-falling or falling-rising contour. In his description of the present-day English intonation system, Gussenhoven (2004; 2016) posits two tritonal accents, *L*HL* and *H*LH*, respectively associated with meanings of 'significant addition' (Gussenhoven 2004:307) and 'listener engagement' (cf. 'uptalk'; Tyler and Burdin 2016, Warren 2016). Since such contours also exist in other west Germanic languages such as Dutch (Gussenhoven 2005),

it is not unreasonable to reconstruct them for Early Modern English as well. Allowing a tritonal accent to licence mapping a monosyllable to a SW sequence allows us to interpret (1a) as a full iambic pentameter as in (3). The rise-fall contours over *lay* and *brode*, communicating ‘unexpectedness’, compensate for the two ‘missing’ syllables.

W S W S WSW SW S
 (3) It was no dre^me: I lay brode wak<ing.> Ball. LXXX.15
 | |
 L*HL L*HL

The intuition, then, echoing Thompson, is that intonation may be recruited for metrical purposes. I leave the task of formalizing this idea to a future occasion, however.

Several commentators have sought to understand Wyatt’s prosodic practice in the light of the circumstances of his life. In Appendix A I provide an outline of Wyatt’s life based on the recent biography by Brigden (2012). For now, it is enough to note that, as a prominent member of Henry VIII’s court, Wyatt led a remarkably precarious life. Imprisoned in the Tower of London no less than twice on suspicion of betraying the king, it is a testament to Wyatt’s gifts that he found his way, on both occasions, back into Henry’s favour, and went on to die a natural death rather than suffer execution. Brigden describes a man with all the gifts necessary to succeed at court, and although he achieved the highest renown as a courtier, Wyatt experienced life as a game of dissimulation, success in which life—his, and others—depended on. The subject of Wyatt’s poems is thus someone that constantly has to monitor their thoughts in case unguarded speech betray them. Brigden perceives this inward deliberating consciousness as finding expression not only in the *themes* of Wyatt’s poetry, but in his prosody as well. Her judgment stands in stark contrast to Saintsbury’s.

Wyatt, who knew the poetic theory of the Italian Renaissance, certainly knew the rhythms of a decasyllabic line, Italian prosodic principles, and the rules for placing caesura in verse in Romance languages. Yet he chose in his own complex rhythms to imitate the cadences of voice and feeling rather than achieve prosodic regularity. [...] No easy flow or ‘riding rhyme’ fitted his subject’s unease or his purpose to disconcert or unsettle.

(Brigden 2012:13)

Brigden’s intuitions are echoed by Thompson, who again contrasts Wyatt’s practice with the emendations of Tottel’s editors.

For Wyatt, the metrical pattern of the ten-syllable iambic line had one use. It threw into relief the language of a man speaking, with the abrupt shifts from outburst to meditation that allowed him to include in poetry everything from godly things to the swine that chaw the turds molded on the ground. Ten syllables more or less, five relatively strong stresses more or less: it was a standard maintained steadily enough to declare itself. In doing that it accomplished what the metrical system of Wyatt’s immediate inheritance could not do, it emphasized the quality of living speech that brought with it all the qualities of the man. This is not exactly what the editors were looking for, nor what they were concerned to preserve.

(Thompson 1989 [1961]:29)

Along similar lines, Wright (1985:134) suggests that “the variant line was an instrument for suggesting complication, for expressing the agitated states of mind”.

Let us now return in more detail to the Foxwell-Padelford thesis regarding Wyatt’s long line meter. Before we do, though, it is important to draw attention to the use of the term *caesura* for major prosodic breaks within verse lines. As the relevant entry in Greene and Cushman (2012) makes clear, this term has several related but distinct senses. Most approaches to meter begin with the assumption that meter and prosody are distinct representations. As Minkova (2009:90) puts it, “[l]anguage and metre are two separate modules; the process of composing a poem involves finding the optimal fit between the two modules.” This entails that it is necessary to distinguish carefully between breaks in metrical structure and prosodic breaks. Since metrical structure is abstract, metrical breaks are not directly observable. The evidence for them is in the distribution of major prosodic breaks. Where certain researchers use *caesura* to refer to any major

prosodic break in a line, I shall follow classical usage (Maas 1962:§46) in reserving the term *specifically* for major breaks *within* verse feet. For major breaks *across* feet, I will use the term *diaeresis*. Any departure from this usage, for example, in quoting other authors, will be highlighted.

Foxwell (1911) argues that Wyatt's "departures from the strict iambic pentameter line are in accordance with a body of recognized prosodic variants" (Padelford 1923:129). These are enumerated by Padelford (1923:139–140) as shown below. For ease of reference I provide the current term on the right where appropriate. Note that Padelford uses *caesura* in the broad sense to refer to any major break, not just breaks within feet.

1. Initial trochee (line-initial inversion)
2. Initial monosyllabic foot (acephaly)
3. Trochee after caesura (phrase-initial inversion)
4. Monosyllabic foot after caesura, preceded by regular foot (medial catalexis, see below)
5. Caesura in the middle of a foot (perhaps almost too universal to be recorded)
6. Epic caesura: additional weak syllable before caesura, followed by normal foot after caesura
7. Monosyllabic foot elsewhere than at the beginning of a verse or after the caesura
8. Anapaestic foot
 - (a) First foot
 - (b) Other than first foot
9. Final *es* (and perhaps final *e*) pronounced
10. Alexandrine verse (hexameter)
11. Hendecasyllabic verse: additional weak syllable at end of verse (extrametricality)
12. Slurred syllables, of which the most frequent are: ('elision')
 - (a) *R, l, m* or *n* (usually unaccented), followed by weak syllable
 - (b) Suffixes, such as *eth, en, on, er* or *ing*
 - (c) Vowels in juxtaposition
 - (d) Unimportant monosyllables
13. Long vowels or diphthongs treated as disyllabic (intonation, see above)
14. Vowel sound inserted between consonants
15. Four stressed line (tetrameter)

In Saintsbury's spirit, Southall (1964:118) takes exception to the "numerous [...] departures from the strict iambic pentameter line" that Foxwell and Padelford assume Wyatt practised. If the iambic pentameter is the pattern, Southall goes on, Wyatt's lines suffer "death by a thousand qualifications". He concludes (p. 119) that "[t]he Foxwell-Padelford findings prove either that Wyatt wrote very 'bad' iambic pentameter verse or that he did not write iambic pentameter verse at all". Indeed, the Foxwell-Padelford thesis has fuelled alternative proposals that Wyatt was actually using an Anglo-Saxon strong stress meter (Schwartz 1963) or a flexible line of between four and six stresses (Lewis 1938, Harding 1946, Swallow 1950).

I argue that the Foxwell-Padelford thesis is substantially correct, but can be simplified in the light of research in generative metrics and phonology. For three of Padelford's licences, [6], [7], and [14], I find little or no empirical support. Padelford's [7] would presumably be medial catalexis within a Phonological Phrase or Clitic Group (or adjoined Prosodic Word). There are perhaps two or three cases where catalexis within a Phonological Phrase gives a decent reading, for example, between *bryght* and *sonne* in Pen.Ps. 309 (Appendix C, (5)), but not at prosodic junctures stronger than this. (For further discussion of this kind of case, see Section 3.) Evidence for the pronunciation of final *es* and *e* [9] is weak, especially given the possibility of [4] and [13]. Six of the items in Padelford's list, items [1–3], [5], [8], [11] (extrametricality), [12] are traditional and widespread licences. Wyatt does on occasion intersperse hexameters (Alexandrines) in otherwise pentameter verse [10], but tetrameters only very rarely [15]; see Section 2.4. This essentially leaves items [4] and [13]. Item [4] corresponds to medial catalexis at an Intonational Phrase boundary, generally in a weak position. Item [13] corresponds to my interpretation of Groves' and Attridge's proposals that a stressed monosyllable may span a beat-offbeat sequence, which I take to have an intonational interpretation, and which we won't pursue here. Here, we'll concentrate on [4], medial catalexis. Curiously, the

list makes no mention of phrase-medial inversion (“trochee elsewhere than at the beginning of a verse or after the caesura”), surely one of the most salient of Wyatt’s licences. This is a topic I will have to return to in a later paper, however.

I have made use of two editions of Wyatt’s poetry from the second half of the twentieth century, Muir and Thomson (1969), which retains Wyatt’s orthography, and Rebholz (1997), which uses modern spelling.¹ Muir and Thomson’s edition categorizes the poems by manuscript and numbers them consecutively. Rebholz’s distinguishes between poems that can reliably be attributed to Wyatt, and other poems ascribed to him. Within each of these categories, poems are further categorized by verse form and consecutively numbered from 1–154 (270 including poems attributed to Wyatt after the 16th century). I have restricted myself to the 154 poems which on external evidence can be ascribed to Wyatt—largely the poems contained in the Egerton manuscript. For this reason, I follow Rebholz’s organization of the material, but Muir & Thomson’s edition of the texts, which retain the spelling and punctuation of the original manuscripts. In scansions, verse feet are shown enclosed in brackets.

The material analysed includes seven rondeaux (Rond.; 106 lines), 29 sonnets (Son.; 420 lines), 30 epigrams (Ep.; 243 lines), one canzone (Can.) of 147 lines, eight ballades (Ball.; 193 lines), the three Epistolary Satires (Sat.; 306 lines), and the Paraphrase of the Penitential Psalms (Pen.Ps.; 775 lines). The total number of lines analysed thus comes to 2190. The structure of these difference verse forms is described in Section 2.5. The poems analysed are listed in Appendix B. All the lines which, under an iambic pentameter interpretation, implicate medial catalexis are given with scansions in Appendix C. Complete scansions of selected poems, including a scansion of Wyatt’s Sonnet X by George Saintsbury, are provided in Appendix D.

The remainder of the paper is organized as follows. In Section 2, we review the structure of the iambic pentameter, and go through some of the principal variations in Wyatt’s verse. Section 3 examines the distribution of medial catalexis, and argues that it falls out naturally from iambic pentameter assumptions. Finally, Section 4 looks at some of the broader implications for the linguistically informed study of Wyatt’s art.

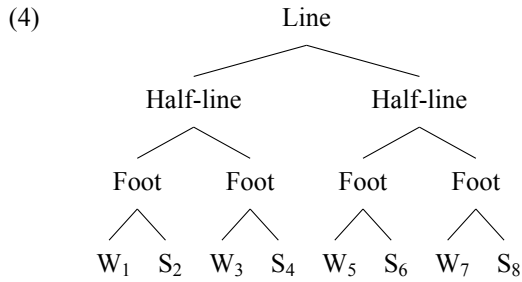
2. Language and meter

In this section we review the structure of the iambic pentameter (Section 2.1), go over some of the most important types of metrical variation that Wyatt employed (Section 2.3), review the factors at work in prosodic phrasing (Section 2.2), look at the small number of lines that defeat an iambic pentameter interpretation (Section 2.4), and review stanza structure and discuss how Wyatt’s use of rhyme can be used to bootstrap the scansion of ambiguous lines (Section 2.5).

2.1. *The iambic pentameter*

The earliest work in generative metrics represented a meter as a linear sequence of metrical positions that alternate between strong (S) and weak (W) (Halle and Keyser 1966; 1971, Halle 1970). With the shift to nonlinear representations in the 1970s and 80s, however, the idea of metrical constituency was adopted, beginning with Kiparsky (1977) and Hayes (1983). Since Hayes (1988), it has also been standard to assume that metrical representations are built from a hierarchy of metrical categories in a way that parallels the prosodic hierarchy (e. g., Nespor and Vogel 1986, Selkirk 1986). Metrical positions are grouped into verse feet, (S W) in the case of trochaic verse feet, (W S) in the case of iambic. Above the level of the foot, and below the level of the verse line, we can also recognize a half-line category (sometimes known as the ‘dipody’ or ‘colon’). An iambic tetrameter line is a balanced structure, consisting of two half-lines of two feet each, shown in (4).

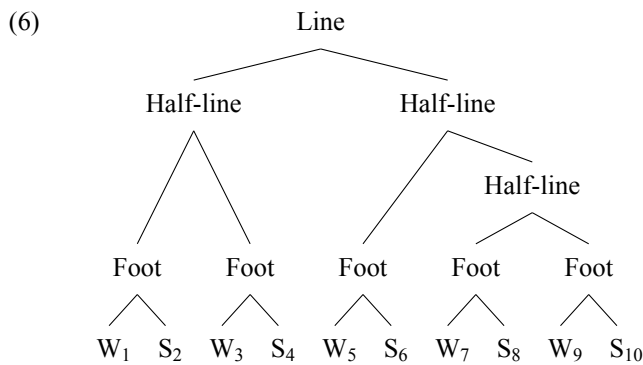
¹Earlier editions of Wyatt are Nott (1815-1816) and Foxwell (1914). Harrier (1975) is an edition of the Egerton MS, which was in Wyatt’s ownership.



A basic theoretical assumption of much metrical theory is that all metrical structure is binary. Prince (1989:55) dubs this principle MAXIMAL ARTICULATION, given in (5).

- (5) MAXIMAL ARTICULATION
All metrical structure is binary.

Now let us consider the iambic pentameter in the light of (5). There are four possible structures: the additional foot may adjoin either to the first or second half-line, and it may adjoin either to the left or the right of whichever half-line is chosen. The choice between these is, at least initially, empirical. According to Kiparsky (1977:230), the iambic pentameter has the structure shown in (6).² The additional foot is accommodated by left-adjointing it to the second half-line.



In line with the terminology of Ito and Mester (2009), adjunction gives rise to a *minimal* and a *maximal* half-line. The minimal half-line comprises positions 7-10 in (6); the maximal half-line positions 5-10. The major metrical break between the fourth and fifth metrical positions tallies with Renaissance verse criticism. Both Gascoigne (1868 [1575]:38) and Puttenham (1869 [1589]:86) note that the normative placement of the ‘caesura’ (i. e., what I term the ‘major break’) is after the fourth syllable.³ Kiparsky also bases his conclusion on the possible positions for major breaks described by Dillon (1977), who in turn attributes his observations to Home (Lord Kames) (2005 [1785]), in arguing that each line has a “capital pause” (Kames’ term) “which is expected to fall after the fourth, fifth, sixth, or seventh syllable” (Dillon 1977:17), that is, between positions 4-5, 5-6, 6-7, and 7-8. Although considerations of space prevent going into detail here, there may be metrical reasons to prefer Kiparsky’s proposed structure for the iambic pentameter over the three alternatives. As Hayes (1995) argues, the iamb is not simply a right-prominent mirror image of the trochee. The iamb is also quantitatively inherently uneven. Kiparsky’s proposed structure can be understood as projecting this unevenness at the level of the verse line and (maximal) half-line, making the pentameter

²Note that Kiparsky’s structure does not use constituent labels for different levels, but labels constituents as either W or S. The structures supplied here assume in line with later work, e. g., Hayes (1988), that the metrical hierarchy, like the prosodic hierarchy, consists of labeled constituents.

³See also Groves (1998:81f.) for discussion of the Renaissance conceptions.

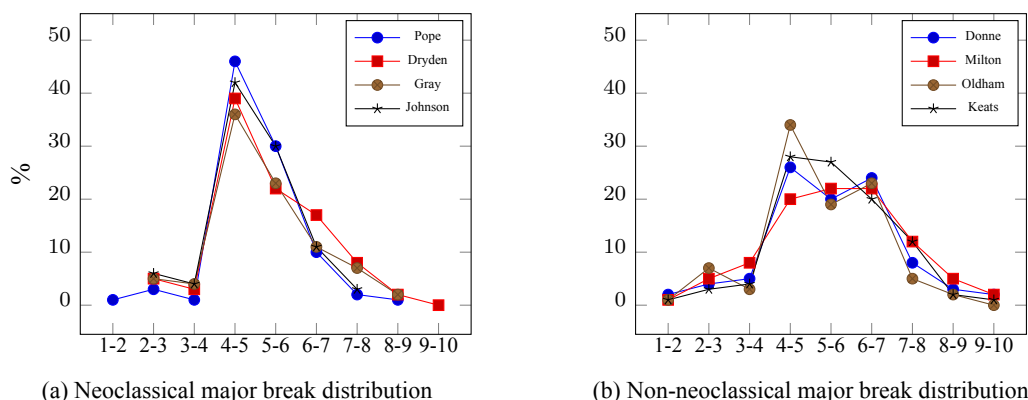


Figure 1: Major break distribution in neoclassical and non-neoclassical poems (after Groves 2019:275)

iambic at every level of metrical structure. In the same way that the iambic pentameter in the abstract may be seen as an invariant template compatible with limited variation in linguistic prominence assignment, I will assume that the higher-level metrical structure of the iambic pentameter is invariant, and is compatible with similarly limited variation in prosodic structure. The importance of this assumption will become clear below.

Recent research by Groves (2019) also addresses the placement of major breaks in English heroic verse. Groves, who also uses *caesura* to refer to major breaks whether they fall within or across verse feet, distinguishes between neoclassical and non-neoclassical ‘caesural’ styles, which he illustrates with four poets from each style. Groves’ own Figure 1 (p. 275) is reproduced below in Figure 1.⁴

With the exception of the 7-8 position, which is only marginally more likely than 3-4 to be associated with a major break, Groves’ findings are consistent with Dillon’s and Kiparsky’s claims. In both the neoclassical and non-neoclassical material that Groves examined, the major break occurred most frequently at 4-5. In the non-neoclassical material the second most likely position for a major break is 6-7. Assuming breaks in even-odd positions 4-5 and 6-7 occur within feet, these represent diaeresis (see Section 1). That is, as prosodic breaks, they align respectively with the strongest and second strongest metrical breaks in (6). Groves’ findings may thus be taken to support Kiparsky’s proposed structure for the iambic pentameter.

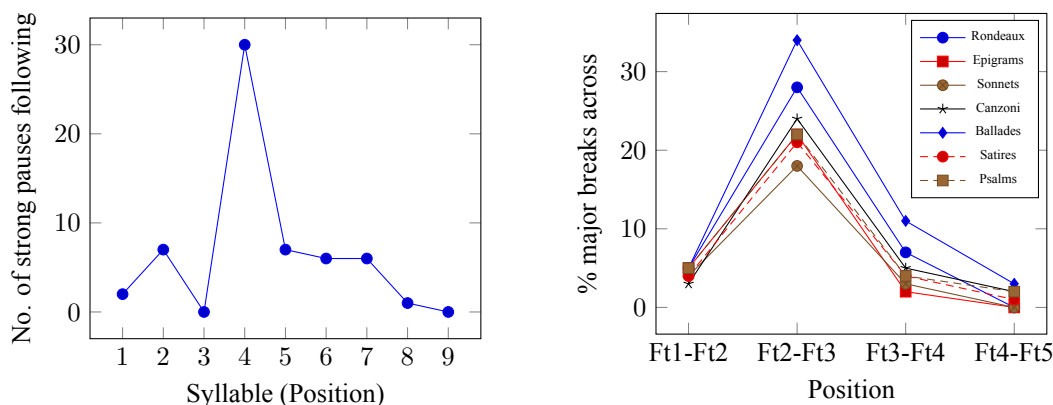
This brings us to the major breaks observed in the odd-even position 5-6, which as described in Section 1 corresponds to the definition of *caesura* in the narrow sense of a major break *within* a foot. The difference between diaeresis and (foot-medial) caesura in Alexander Pope’s *The Rape of the Lock* is illustrated in (7).

- (7) a. (A watch·) (·ful Sprite,) | (and A·) (·riel is) (my Name.) RL 1.106; diaeresis
 b. (And Love) (of Om·) (·bre, | af·) (·ter Death) (survive,) RL 1.56; caesura

In both the neoclassical and non-neoclassical material analysed by Groves, the foot-medial caesura in position 5-6 is frequent. In the neoclassical material, it is indeed second in frequency to a major break in position 4-5, while in the non-neoclassical material, it has third place, slightly behind major break in position 6-7. Because foot-medial caesura entails a misalignment between metrical and prosodic structure, its function may be assumed to be distinct from that of diaeresis. Although this is beyond the scope of the present paper, it is at least possible to give an indication what kind of avenue future research on this question might pursue. Discussing the Indo-European ‘long’ line, which was between 10 and 12 syllables, Gasparov (1996:57) notes that “the [foot-medial—P.B.] caesura was obligatory, since without it the ear could not encompass the

⁴Ten metrical positions gives nine ‘caesural’ positions, which Groves labels 1–9. I have relabelled these positions with the metrical positions on either side, thus: 1-2, 2-3, and so on. Groves’ corpus comprises 4006 lines from the following poets/poems: John Donne, *Satires* (544 lines); John Milton, *Paradise Lost Book 1* (798 lines); John Oldham, *Satires* (502 lines); John Keats, *Endymion* (500 lines); John Dryden, *Absalom and Achitophel* (500 lines); Alexander Pope, *The Rape of the Lock* (794 lines); Samuel Johnson, *The Vanity of Human Wishes* (368 lines).

MEDIAL CATALEXIS IN WYATT



(a) Distribution of strong pauses in Psalm 6: Domine ne in furore (Evans 1954)

(b) Distribution of major breaks across feet (diaeresis) in syllabically replete iambic pentameters

Figure 2: Major breaks in Wyatt's iambic pentameter

long line". Placing the major break between feet could risk that it be confused with the end of the line, and "the line [would—P.B.] fall apart into two identical hemistichs" (p. 71). A strategy for avoiding this was that "the caesura should not fall between feet, but intersect a foot in such a way that its beginning should belong to the first hemistich, and the second hemistich should begin with the non-initial part of the foot".

Now let us turn to the distribution of major breaks in Wyatt, which is illustrated in Figure 2. Some early work on this was carried out by Evans (1954), who examined the number of 'strong' pauses (marked by punctuation) after each position for the First Psalm (Psalm 6. Domine ne in furore). Evans tabular data are shown plotted in Figure 2a. They show that Wyatt's preference is for pauses to occur immediately following the fourth position, that is, between the second and the third foot. This is straightforwardly what we would expect given the structure in (6).

I also examined the major breaks at the juncture between verse feet and found a pattern consistent with Evans' findings for each type of verse. The results are shown in Figure 2b. For this analysis, I included only the syllabically replete lines, removing any syllabically hypometrical lines, as well as tetrameters and hexameters.⁵ Based on the distribution of punctuation in Muir and Thomson's (1969) edition, the major break in the line is between the second and third verse foot, that is, between the first and second half-line. On the same evidence, the juncture between the first and second verse feet, and between the fourth and fifth is strong, which is to say that this position *repels* prosodic breaks, consistent with membership in the same (minimal) half-line. The strength of the juncture between the third and fourth foot varies somewhat between verse forms, but seems intermediate in strength between the boundary across half-lines and the boundary within half-lines. This is again consistent with the claim that the third foot is adjoined to the second half-line. Future work may help nuance the picture by looking at the distribution of clausal and phrasal boundaries rather than punctuation. It is nonetheless perhaps surprising that diaeresis between the first and second foot is as common as it is in syllabically replete lines. As we will see in Section 3, the distribution of medial catalexis is closer to what we would expect given (6). The reason for the apparent relative strength of the break between the first and second foot may have to do with tendencies in information structure rather than anything metrical. For example, given the general correlation between verse lines and clauses, we might expect supplementary material such as vocatives and interjections to be more frequent in the first foot, as illustrated in (8). This might have the effect of inflating the frequency of diaeresis in this position.

⁵The number and percentage of lines retained for each type were therefore as follows: Rondeaux (43/106; 41%), Epigrams (208/243; 86%), Sonnets (313/420; 75%), Canzoni (103/147; 70%), Ballades (152/193; 79%), Satires (269/306; 88%), Psalms (709/775; 91%). The percentages reflect the degree to which Wyatt approaches Saintsbury's ideal of 'flow', which is most evident in the Psalms, while the rondeaux display the largest proportion of anomalous lines.

| | Ft1 | Ft2 | Ft3 | Ft4 | Ft5 | Ft1-Ft2 | Ft2-Ft3 | Ft3-Ft4 | Ft4-Ft5 |
|----------|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|---------|---------|---------|---------|
| Rondeaux | 0 | 0 | 3 | 3 | 0 | 2 | 12 | 3 | 0 |
| Epigrams | 0 | 1 | 6 | 1 | 0 | 10 | 45 | 5 | 0 |
| Sonnets | 4 | 1 | 7 | 2 | 2 | 12 | 57 | 8 | 1 |
| Canzoni | 3 | 4 | 10 | 2 | 1 | 3 | 25 | 5 | 2 |
| Ballades | 3 | 1 | 3 | 3 | 0 | 7 | 51 | 16 | 4 |
| Satires | 5 | 4 | 9 | 2 | 1 | 12 | 56 | 10 | 3 |
| Psalms | 5 | 6 | 15 | 9 | 1 | 35 | 153 | 29 | 14 |

(a) Within feet (caesura)

(b) Across feet (diaeresis)

Table 1: Number of major breaks in syllabically replete iambic pentameter lines

- (8) a. (Alas,) (of that) (sort I) (may be) (by right,) Son. XV.8
 b. (My swete,) (say yea) (and do) (away) (this drede.) Ball. LXXXIII.29

For comparison, Table 1a illustrates Wyatt’s use of foot-medial caesura. Because he used foot-medial caesura very rarely, only the raw numbers are given. As can be seen, there is an apparent preference for caesura to target the third foot, consistent with Groves’ findings. Table 1b also provides the raw numbers for Figure 2b.

2.2. Prosodic phrasing

The major breaks shown in Figure 2b are based on punctuation, which is taken to be indicative of the presence of an Intonational Phrase boundary. Although it is reasonable to assume that all punctuation marks evidence an Intonational Phrase boundary, not all Intonational Phrase boundaries will be evidenced by punctuation. Since we are assuming that medial catalexis will coincide with an Intonational Phrase boundary, let us examine the most important factors in the formation of Intonational Phrases.

After more than thirty years of research on Prosodic Phonology (Nespor and Vogel 1986), there is now a reasonable consensus regarding what categories the prosodic hierarchy contains, and how they relate to syntactic structure (Selkirk 1996; 2000; 2011). Above the level of the phonological foot, we must in addition to the Intonational Phrase (i) recognize the Prosodic Word (ω) and the Phonological Phrase (ϕ). The correspondence between these higher-level prosodic units and syntactic constituents is, according to Selkirk (2011), regulated by constraints that require particular syntactic and prosodic constituents to MATCH. Other things being equal, MATCH requires that a *clause* is matched by an Intonational Phrase, a syntactic *phrase* by a Phonological Phrase, and a syntactic *word* by a Prosodic Word. Each of these phonological domains also have certain phonological functions. For example, the Prosodic Word is the domain for the assignment of stress and the construction of iterating phonological feet; the Phonological Phrase is the domain for post-lexical rhythm and the distribution of pitch accents (Gussenhoven 2004:278f.); and the Intonational Phrase is delimited by initial and final boundary tones marking meanings such as ‘continuation’ and ‘finality’ (Gussenhoven 2004:123, 296–320).

In the unmarked case, a clause will map onto an Intonation Phrase, as in Selkirk’s (1978) example in (9a), quoted in Gussenhoven (2004:287).

- (9) a. { Tuesday is a holiday in Pakistan }
 b. { In Pakistan } { Tuesday } { which is a weekday } { is a holiday }
 c. { Tuesday } { is a holiday in Pakistan }
 d. { The second Tuesday of every month } { is a holiday }

Although the Intonational Phrase is sponsored by the clause, it may also commonly realize subclausal phrases. Information structure and phonological size or length are factors that increase the likelihood that

a subclausal phrase is prosodified as an Intonational Phrase. For example, topicalized or parenthetical material will tend strongly to be prosodified as an Intonation Phrase, as shown in (9b). In this example, the topicalized PP *In Pakistan* and the parenthetical relative clause *which is a weekday* are both prosodified within their own Intonational Phrases, as is the intervening material (*Tuesday*). The subject of a sentence is also commonly prosodified as a separate Intonational Phrase. Thus, (9a) may be reprosodified as (9c). If the subject is a longer phrase, it is also more likely to be prosodified as a separate Intonational Phrase, as illustrated in (9d).

Subclausal Intonational Phrase breaks within the VP are also possible. When such breaks occur, they show sensitivity to syntactic structure, in particular whether a phrasal modifier is attached ‘high’ or ‘low’. Consider the ambiguous example in (10a), from Gussenhoven (2004:288). The ambiguity consists in a high and a low attachment reading of the PP, (i) as modifier of the NP ‘every guest’, as in (10b), and (ii) as modifier of the VP ‘welcome every guest’, as in (10c).

- (10) a. We welcome every guest with champagne.
 b. [[NP We] [VP [V welcome] [NP [NP every guest] [PP with champagne]]]]
 c. [[NP We] [VP [VP [V welcome] [NP every guest]] [PP with champagne]]]

Three possible prosodifications of (10a) are shown in (11). Parsing the entire clause as a single Intonational Phrase, as in (11a), results in a phrasing that is compatible with either the high or the low reading. The phrasing in (11b), however, implies the structure in (10b), while (11c) implies (10c).

- (11) a. { We welcome every guest with champagne. }
 b. { We welcome } { every guest with champagne. }
 c. { We welcome every guest } { with champagne. }

In sum, although Intonational Phrases tend to match clauses, Intonational Phrase breaks may also occur within clauses, separating out the topic or parenthetical material, heavy constituents, the subject, or even VP-internal phrases.

2.3. Metrical variation

Perhaps one of the most immediately apparent points of variation in Wyatt’s verse is in the metrical treatment of verbal inflection, which is examined by Evans (1954). The metrical patterning indicates an alternation between a vowel and zero. Examples are shown in (12), where the unpronounced vowel is shown with an undererring <V>.

- (12) a. (Thou wouldeṣt) (my death:) (it plain:) (·ly doth) (appere.) Ball. LXXXIII.20
 b. (When o·) (·ther runne,) (perforcyd) (I am) (to crepe;) Ball. XCV.17

Where Wyatt writes an inflectional vowel between the exponents of a strong and a weak position, it is generally accepted that the vowel is not pronounced. This was no doubt variation in the spoken language that Wyatt exploited metrically. In at least one instance, there is also deletion of an inflectional vowel between the exponents of a weak and strong position, as in (13).

- (13) (‘Peace’, quod) (the towne·) (·mowse, ‘why’) (spekeṣt thou) (so lowde?’) Sat. CL.43

The third person singular present form of the verb deserves additional comment. Wyatt writes {-(e)th} for the suffix, which is the Southern pattern. The early modern period was a time of rapid evolution in the marking of tense, person, and number. As Lass (1999:162ff.) explains, Southern {-th} was replaced by the East Midland {-s} during this time. According to Lass, the {-s} marker is first attested in London in the fourteenth century and, after a period of slow growth, {-s} spread rapidly in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, becoming established as the spoken norm by about 1580. Thanks to the inertia of spelling, though,

“-*th* seems to have been written long after it stopped being said”. Shakespeare, for example, exploits both variants for metrical effect, as shown in (14). While *hateth* occupies two metrical positions (S W), *hates* occupies a single S position.

- (14) (With her,) (that hat·) (·eth thee) (and hates) (us all) 2H6.2.4.52

Regardless of Wyatt’s writing practice, he would have known both variants. We therefore cannot take his use of {-th} at face value. The intended pronunciation seems to have been either [-θ] or [-z], reflecting the more progressive East Midland norm.

- (15) a. (Frowne when) (he frownēth) (and grone) (when he) (is pale;) Sat. CXLIX.54
 b. (And with) (her foote) (anon) (she scrapēth) (full fast.) Sat. CL.37

Another process sometimes also called ‘elision’, is smoothing between adjacent vowels, which maps two syllable nuclei onto a single metrical position. Examples from weak position are shown in (16).

- (16) a. (Arrise,) (for shame!) (do away) (your slugg·) (·ardie!) Son. XXXIII.3
 b. (And yet) (can not) (I hide) (me in no) (darke place,) Son. XV.10
 c. (My body) (in tem·) (·pest her) (succour) (to embrace.) Son. XXVII.8

Since Wyatt allows anapaests as an optional expansion of the iamb, it is not mandatory to assume smoothing applies here. Smoothing in strong position also seems to be attested in Wyatt’s verse, although far more rarely. The examples in (17) may be adduced.

- (17) a. (‘Noli) (me tan·) (·gere) (for Ce·) (·sar’s I ame,) Son. XI.13
 b. (Stay him) (by the arme) (where so) (he walke) (or goo;) Sat. CLI.53

Resolution (Dresher and Lahiri 1991, Kager 1993, Hayes 1995) exploits the equivalence of a heavy syllable and a sequence of two light syllables, or a sequence of a light syllable followed by a heavy syllable. See Hanson (1993), Hanson and Kiparsky (1996) for a discussion of the use of resolution in Modern English metrics. Resolution applies exclusively in strong positions. Examples from Wyatt’s corpus are shown in (18).

- (18) a. (With sorrow·) (·full an·) (·ger fed·) (·ing biss·) (·ely,) Son. XIII.11
 b. (I love) (an othre) (and thus) (I hate) (myself;) Son. XXVI.11
 c. (As cru·) (·ell cause,) (that did) (the sperit) (sone haste) Son. XII.7
 d. (Like cloth,) (and thou) (shalt chainge) (them lik) (apearēll,) Pen.Ps. 623

Headless or acephalic lines are found throughout Wyatt’s corpus, as shown in (19). Groves (2001; 2007; 2011) proposes to deal with acephalic lines in Shakespeare in terms of initial catalexis, which I adopt here. Representative examples from Wyatt’s verse are shown in (19), where the catalectic position is represented as an empty [σ] node.

- (19) a. ([σ] And) (thou sest) (and rea·) (·son thee) (hath taught) Son. XXXVII.7
 b. ([σ] His) (liffit fote) (did on) (the yerth) (erect,) Pen.Ps. 319
 c. ([σ] So) (that wretch·) (·ed no) (way thou) (may bee) Ball. LXXXIV.13

Extrametricity is similarly ubiquitous throughout Wyatt’s verse. Straightforward examples are given in (20). Extrametrical material is shown in angled brackets.

- (20) a. (For to) (withstond) (her loke) (I ame) (not ab·) <·le;> Son. XV.9

MEDIAL CATALEXIS IN WYATT

- b. (As he) (my hert,) (where he) (is al·) (·waye resi·) <-dent;> Canz. LXIII.65
 c. (And geues) (the Moone) (her hornes) (and her) (eclips·) <-yng:> Ball. LXXXIV.11
 d. (Nor me) (correct) (in wrath·) (·full cast·) (·igat·) <-ion.> Pen.Ps. 330

Initially in the line, inversion occurs freely, as expected. For further discussion of inversion in iambic verse, see Jespersen (1933), Newton (1975), and several of the articles cited here by Halle and Keyser, and Hayes. The examples in (21) will suffice to illustrate its use in Wyatt's iambic pentameter.

- (21) a. (Broken) (she hath·) (and yet) (she bid·) (·eth sure,) Rond. I.4
 b. (Likewise) (displeas·) (·eth me) (both deth) (and lyffe;) Son. XVII.13
 c. (Tagus,) (fare well,) (that west·) (·ward with) (thy stremes) Ep. LX.1
 d. (Cracketh) (in son·) (·der, and in) (the ayer) (doeth rore) Ep. XLIII.4
 e. (Thynner) (vyle cloth) (then cloth·) (·yth pou·) (·erte) Pen.Ps. 51
 f. (Thinking) (so best) (his lord) (for to) (apese,) Pen.Ps. 199
 g. (Mercy) (shall reygne,) (gaine whome) (shall no) (assaute) Pen.Ps. 530
 h. (Sufferd) (by god) (my sinne) (for to) (correct;) Pen.Ps. 722

It is perhaps more surprising that Wyatt uses phrase-initial inversion within the line infrequently, at least on the evidence of punctuation. There are only seventeen examples, shown in (22), all with inversion in the third foot, with one apparent exception in (22o), with apparent inversion in the fourth.⁶ The location of the inversion, at the break between half-lines, is of course entirely as expected, given the structure of the iambic pentameter shown in (6).

- (22) a. (That is) (my lorde,) (sterith) (with cru·) (·elnes.) Son. XIX.4
 b. (In pris·) (·on ioyes,) (fettred) (with cheines) (of gold.) Ep. LXXI.7
 c. (Tho I) (be farre,) (alwayes) (my hert) (is nere;) Ball. XCV.9
 d. (Yet, for) (the best,) (suffer) (some small) (delay.) Ball. LXXXIII.24
 e. (Of lord·) (·ly lookes,) (wrappid) (within) (my cloke,) Sat. CXLIX.5
 f. (So fourth) (she goeth,) (trusting) (of all) (this welth,) Sat. CL.33
 g. (Sergeaunt) (with mace,) (hawbert,) ([σ] sword,) (nor knyff) Sat. CL.78
 h. (The gret) (offence,) (outrage) (and In·) (·iurye,) Pen.Ps. 35
 i. (With ruff·) (·eld here,) (knowyng) (his wyk·) (·ednes;) Pen.Ps. 54
 j. (Dressyd) (vptryght,) (sekyng) (to con·) (·terpese) Pen.Ps. 70
 k. (This song) (endid,) (David) (did stint) (his voyce,) Pen.Ps. 293
 l. (And stoud) (apart,) (reson) (and witt) (vniust,) Pen.Ps. 367
 m. (One word) (agayne,) (knowyng) (that from) (thi hand) Pen.Ps. 374
 n. (For to) (offend,) (juging) (thi syght) (as none,) Pen.Ps. 448
 o. (This know) (I and) (repent;) (pardon) (thow than,) Pen.Ps. 451
 p. (With spryte) (vptryght,) (voydid) (from fylth·) (·ye lust.) Pen.Ps. 480
 q. (Rue on) (Syon,) (Syon) (that, as) (I ffynd) Pen.Ps. 583
 r. (Complyshe) (my bone,) (answee) (to my) (desire.) Pen.Ps. 728

A licence that raises particular problems for the iambic pentameter interpretation is Wyatt's rather more frequent use of inversion in phrase-medial position. This apparently disruptive metrical practice is beyond the scope of the present article, but I will return to it in future research. The examples in (23) will suffice to illustrate here.

- (23) a. (By thy) (goodnes) (of the) (this thing) (require:) Pen.Ps. 80
 b. (A sa·) (·crid place) (worthi) (of reu·) (·erence.) Pen.Ps. 208
 c. (Then sins) (to this) (there may) (nothing) (rebell,) Pen.Ps. 627
 d. (With fayn·) (·ed vis·) (·age, now) (sad, now) (mery:) Son. IX.11

⁶With the Romance stress pattern, which was optional in Wyatt's time, *pardon* and *Syon* become perfectly iambic.

2.4. *Hypo- and hypermetrical lines*

Several critics, such as Schwartz (1963:159), report struggling to see an iambic pentameter underlying Wyatt's syllabically hypometrical lines. Assuming that monosyllables under defined intonational conditions may span a SW sequence, as suggested in Section 1, and that medial catalexis (to be discussed in Section 3) is used, I find that, of 2190 lines, there are very few that admit of no iambic pentameter scansion whatever. I found nineteen hypermetrical lines, all hexameters. Some unambiguous examples are shown in (24).

- | | | | |
|------|----|---|-----------------|
| (24) | a. | (Who may) (the hold,) (my hert,) (but thou) (thy self) (vnbynd?) | Son. XVIII.4 |
| | b. | (Boeth Joye) (and eke) (delite,) (behold) (yet how) (that I) | Ball. LXXXIX.4 |
| | c. | (Of an·) (·y hope) (whereby) (I may) (my self) (vphold,) | Ball. LXXXIX.23 |
| | d. | (For of) (great height) (be they,) (and high) (is my) (desire,) | Son. XXIV.3 |
| | e. | (She toke) (from me) (an hert) (and I) (a glove) (from her:) | Ep. XL.7 |
| | f. | (And he) (himself,) (he knoweth) (that that) (I say) (is true.) | Can. LXXIII.63 |
| | g. | (I can·) (·not crowche) (nor knelle,) (nor do) (so great) (a wrong) | Sat. CXLIX.25 |

There are fewer tetrameter lines, fourteen in total according to my analysis. There are two clear instances where these tetrameters are chained, suggesting that, for whatever reason, the shift to tetrameter occurs by design rather than oversight. The examples in (25) would seem to be straightforward.

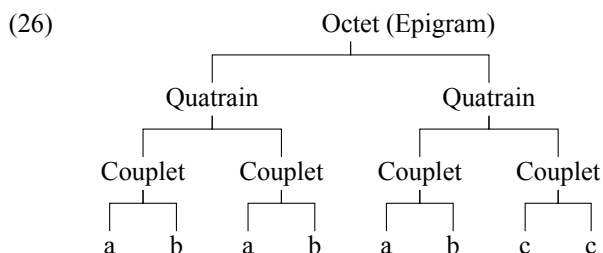
- | | | | |
|------|----|--|---------------|
| (25) | a. | (Decyved) (is he) (by craft·) (·y trayn) (That meaneth) (no gile) (and doeth) (remain) (Within) (the trapp,) (without) (redresse,) | Rond. IV.10–3 |
| | b. | (Ffor small) (plesure) (moche payne) (to suffer) | Ball. XC.12 |
| | c. | (By leynght) (off liefte) (yet shulde) (I suffer,) (Adwayt·) (·ing time) (and for·) (·tunes chauce;) (Manye) (thinges happen) (within) (an hower;) (That wyche) (me oppressed) (may me) (avauce;) | Ball. XC.15–8 |
| | d. | (To be) (the right) (of a prync·) (·es reigne.) | Sat. CXLIX.75 |
| | e. | (He damth) (his dede) (and fynd·) (·yth playne) | Pen.Ps. 649 |

In what follows I will ignore this small residue of hexameter and tetrameter lines.

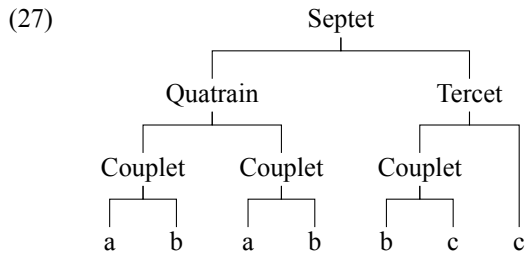
2.5. *Stanza structure and rhyming schemes*

The corpus includes poems written in a variety of verse forms, including rondeaux, sonnets, epigrams, canzoni, and ballades. The Satires and the Psalms are written in *terza rima*. I include a brief overview of these forms here, building to a certain extent on work on stanza structure by Aroui (2009). As will become clear, rhyme can play a useful role in choosing between competing scansions of a line.

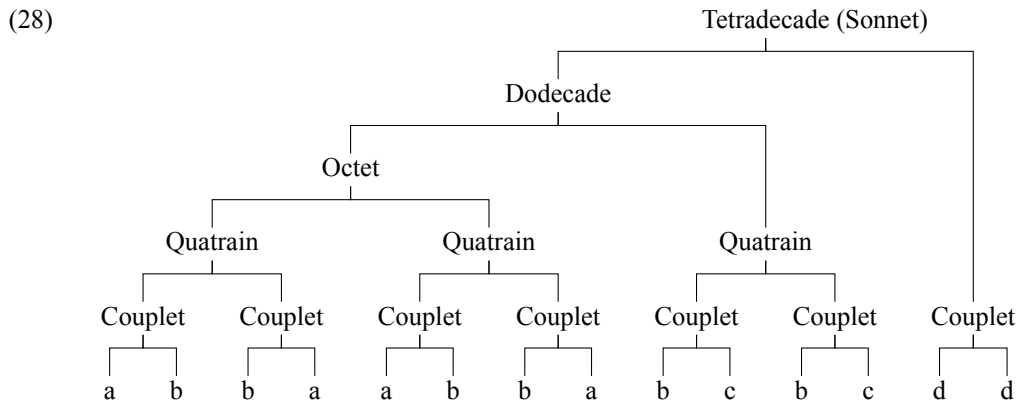
The simplest structure is displayed by the epigram, which is typically an octet, consisting of two quatrains, as in (26). The first three couplets consist of an *abab* rhyming pattern, with the final couplet closing on *cc*.



The ballades are also relatively simple, consisting of three septets, adding up to 21 lines. In (27) I supply a structure for the septet, which also forms the basis of Canzone LXXVIII. The rhyme pattern of each septet is independent of the others. There is no evidence of rhymal echo between septets, so there are no empirical grounds to assume any of the septets pair to form a larger intermediate unit under the ballade. Within each septet, however, we can posit a quatrain and a tercet. The quatrain contains two couplets iterating the rhyme pattern *ab*. The tercet contains a couplet *bc*, echoing the quatrain, and an appended line *c*.

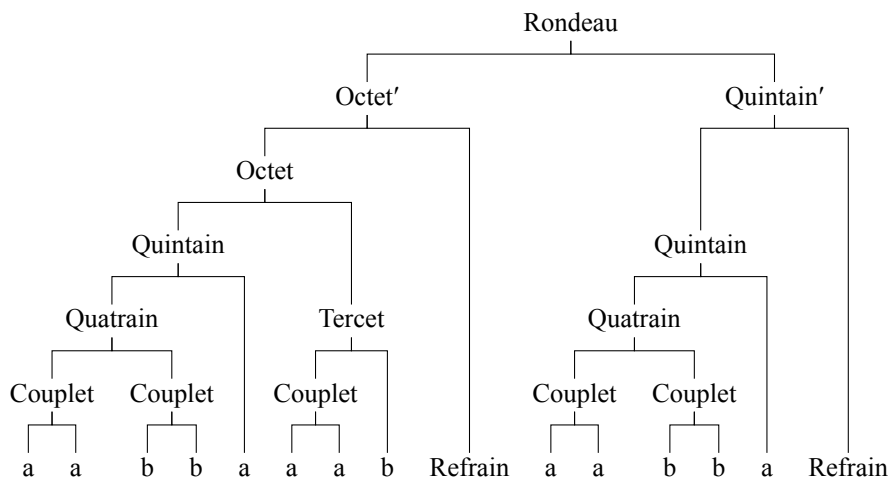


Wyatt's sonnets begin with an octet, each quatrain with the rhyme *abba* (mirrored couplets). A third quatrain of the form *bcbc* follows. Since the first line of each couplet in the third quatrain echoes the central rhyme of the first two quatrains, the octet and third quatrain may be argued to form a dodecade unit. Finally, the sonnet ends in a rhyming couplet *dd*.



The most complex verse form in the corpus is the rondeau, with its characteristic refrain, as shown in (29). The rondeau can be divided into two main constituents, each of which build on a quatrain augmented by a single line that rhymes with the initial couplet, giving an *aabba* quintain. The first quintain is further augmented by a tercet with the rhyme structure *aab* to give an octet. This octet is host to the first instance of the refrain. The second quintain is not augmented, and hosts the second repetition of the refrain directly. Traditionally, the refrain consisted of the repetition of the first quintain. Later, the refrain was an appended half-line, which is thus unrhymed.

(29)



The Epistolary Satires and the Penitential Psalms (excluding the prologues) have an interlocking three-line rhyming scheme (terza rima): *aba bcb cdc*, The prologues consist of octets with the pattern *abababcc*, as in (26).

Knowing the rhyme scheme is useful for identifying rhyming terms. Compared with metrics, rhyme is little theorized in generative theory, but see Kern (2015) for a recent approach. Wyatt’s use of rhyme has some unexpected features. In the unmarked case, the rhyme includes the last nucleus along with any extrametrical material. For example, in the Penitential Psalms 26–30, part of the first prologue, the rhyming terms are *myndyth*, *fyndyth*, and *vndermyndyth*. Consider (30).

- (30) (Whom more) (then God) ([σ] or) (hymselfff) (he mynd·) <·yth> Pen.Ps. 26–30
 (And af·) (·ter he) (had browght) (this thing) (abowt.)
 (And off) (that lust) (posest) (hym sellff,) (he fynd·) <·yth>
 (That hath) (and doth) (reurse) (and clene) (torn owt)
 (Kynges from) (kyndomes) (and cyt·) (·es vn·) (·dermynd·) <·yth:>

We find similar examples in Pen.Ps. 593–597 and Sonnet XIII, but the practice of rhyming nucleus along with extrametrical material is rare. It is actually far more common to find Wyatt rhyming on the extrametrical material alone, such that the nuclei immediately preceding the rhymes are distinct. An example is from the second quintain of Rondeau III, shown in (31).

- (31) (Alas,) ([σ] I) (cannot) (therefore) (assaill) <her> Rond. III.12–3
 ([σ] With) (pite·) (·full plaint) (and scald·) (·ing fy·) <·er,>

This pattern is dubbed ‘rhyme of the suppressed order’ by Stone (1899:14) and Young (1969 [1928]:110). We find similar examples in Rondeaux I. This practice is well-attested in the sonnets, where we find examples in Sonnets X, XII, XIV, XVII, XX, XXI, XXII, Canzone LXXIII, Ballades LXXXIV, LXXXIX, and XC. The epigrams show very little extrametricality, but Epigram LII provides a further example. The Satires use it very little, and the Penitential Psalms afford only one dubious example (534–538). Rhyme of the suppressed order has not fared well in the later tradition. Indeed, Young deems it ‘a disastrous experiment’. Being aware of it can nonetheless be very useful in helping disambiguate possible scansions. Although not absolute, I assume the STRUCTURAL IDENTITY OF RHYME in (32) as a strong constraint on rhyming terms.

- (32) STRUCTURAL IDENTITY OF RHYME (SIR)
 Rhyming terms occupy structurally identical positions, i. e., S rhymes with S, W with W, and extrametrical syllable with extrametrical syllable.

The assumption of SIR is useful in determining the scansion of the remainder of the line. To see how,

consider Pen.Ps. 328, which admits of two scansion.

- (33) a. (Mesuryng) (thy Jus·) (·tice by our) (Mutat·) (·ion) Pen.Ps. 328
 b. (Mesur·) (·yng thy) (Justice) (by our) (Mutat·) (<·ion>)

Both (33a) and (33b) are possible in Wyatt's practice. The choice turns on variability in the pronunciation of the suffix *-ion*, which could be pronounced as a disyllabic sequence with a full vowel in the second syllable [-iu:n], [-iʊn], [-iɔ:n], [-iɔn], such that it could be mapped onto a WS sequence in the metrical template. There was also a reduced variant, [-iʊn], [-iɔn], [-iən], or [-iən], corresponding either to a weak position, or simply extrametrical.⁷ By applying syncope in *Mesuring* and elision between the vowels in *by our*, it is possible to scan *-ion* as forming the final foot of the line, as in (33a). An alternative scansion in (33b) renders the suffix monosyllabic and, in this case, extrametrical. The metrical ambiguity is resolved by l. 330, which is straightforwardly iambic pentameter, and appeal to SIR, which points to the reduced form of the suffix in l. 328, i. e., the scansion in (33b).

- (34) (Nor me) (correct) (in wrath·) (·full cast·) (·igat·) (<·ion.> Pen.Ps. 330

3. Medial catalexis

Catalexis is generally associated with the catalectic form of the trochaic tetrameter, where the final W position in the line is unoccupied by linguistic material. Consider the first quatrains in the following poems by Ben Jonson (Parfitt 1996 [1975]) in (35) and (36), illustrating the difference between the two forms of the trochaic tetrameter.

- | | |
|--|--|
| <p>(35) S W S WS W S W Fools, they are the only nation S W S W S WS W Worth men's envy, or admiration; S W S W S W SW Free from care, or sorrow-taking, S W S W S W SW Selves, and others merry-making:</p> | <p>(36) S W S W S W S W Queen and huntress, chaste, and fair, [σ] S W S W S W S W Now the sun is laid to sleep, [σ] S W S W S W S W Seated, in thy silver chair, [σ] S W S W S W S W State in wonted manner keep: [σ]</p> |
|--|--|

The lines in (35) are acatalectic—each tetrameter is replete. Those on (36), however, show catalexis of the final W position. In iambic verse, catalexis of a metrical position is generally equivalent to acephaly, nonoccupancy of a line-initial W position. Catalexis may target higher-level metrical constituents as well. The ballad form, for example, alternates lines of four and three verse feet. It is common to assume that the trimetric lines are only apparently so, and have an empty verse foot in final position (Adams 1997, Hayes and MacEachern 1998, Kiparsky 2006). In Wyatt we find catalexis of verse feet in his use of the Poulter's measure, for example in the opening lines of 'In Spayne' (Can. LXXVI/Egerton MS. XCVIII), shown in (37).

- (37) So feble is the threde that doth the burden stay
 Of my pore lyff, In hevy plyght that fallyth in decay, Can. LXXVI.1-2

This measure is best understood as a ballad stanza consisting of four iambic tetrameters in which all but the third line end in a catalectic verse foot, as in (38).

- (38) W S W S W S WS
 So feble is the threde []

⁷For more information about the phonological reconstruction of Early Modern English, see Lass (1999).

W S W S W S WS
 that doth the burden stay []
 W S W S W S W S
 Of my pore lyff, In hevy plyght
 W S W S WS WS
 that fallyth in deokay, []

Apart from the Poulter’s measure, which I have relinedated in ballad stanza form, catalexis of a verse foot is not found medially, or initially. This is no doubt because it would destroy the perceptual integrity of the line. Medial catalexis of a metrical position is also potentially disruptive, but it is attested. Groves (2001) illustrates the use of medial catalexis in the verse of Philip Larkin, and Groves (2007; 2011) investigates the same technique in Shakespeare. Groves (2005) provides interesting examples of scansions of Wyatt invoking the same. Building on Groves’ work, Vaux and Myler (2012) propose that catalexis can be likened to a musical rest, thus pursuing an analogy between meter and music.

Even before Groves’ investigations, the idea that Wyatt availed himself of ‘pauses’ within the line is not new. Padelford (1923) seems to assume the equivalent when he suggests that “the word constituting a monosyllabic foot usually calls for a marked stress, and that when it occurs after the caesura the pause is pronounced and impressive, occupying the full time of a light syllable” (p. 141). For critics of Saintsbury’s persuasion that good verse entails ‘flow’—an uninterrupted chain of nonempty syllables—the apparent necessity to insert meditative pauses in order to maintain the iambic pentameter pattern was an affront to good poetic taste. The novel contribution of this paper is that inferred medial catalexis has a distribution that strengthens the interpretation that Wyatt’s syllabically hypometrical lines conform to an iambic pentameter template. Appendix B lists all the instances of inferred medial catalexis, noting any plausible alternative scansions.

Medial catalexis is something we would expect to be subject to both metrical and prosodic constraints. For one thing, medial catalexis should target weak metrical positions in preference to strong, since catalexis in weak positions is perceptually less disruptive. Lines that mandate medial catalexis in a strong position are indeed infrequent, although they are not unattested in Wyatt’s corpus. The examples in (39) are four of only twelve found. (See Appendix C for the complete list.) The first line shown in (39a), from Son. XXVII, in fact echoes the analysis of Groves (2005), as does (39d), with extrametricality.

- (39) a. (Retorn·) (·ing [σ]) (to lepe) (into) (the fire?) Son. XXVII.12
 b. (To be) (bestow·) (·ed [σ]) (and wist) (not where.) Rond. V.13
 c. (She cherȝd) (her with) (‘how sys·) (·ter, [σ]) (what chiere?’) Sat. CL.49
 d. (And there·) (·in camp·) (·eth [σ]) (spreading) (his ban·) <·er.> Son. X.4

Second, we would expect medial catalexis to coincide with a major prosodic break, preferably an Intonational Phrase boundary. As explained in Section 2.2, there is a tendency for Intonational Phrases to realize clauses, although other factors may favour prosodifying subclausal phrases as Intonational Phrases as well. In all examples of medial catalexis in a strong position, however, the pause does indeed coincide with a clause boundary, with one exception (Ep. XLIII.6; see Appendix C, (1)), where it is VP-internal.

The grammar of phrasing can be invoked to resolve competing scansions with medial catalexis. Let us look at medial catalexis in odd-numbered (W) positions. Consider the hypometrical line with nine syllables in (40), from Ballade XCV.

- (40) Tho tyme doth passe, yet shall not my love; Ball. XCV.8

Ball. XCV.8 in (40) may be prosodified as in (41), where Prosodic Words, including any clitic material, are shown enclosed in brackets. Phonological Phrases are given in square brackets, and Intonational Phrases in parentheses. The strongest break coincides with the comma, which marks an Intonational Phrase boundary.

- (41) { [(Tho) (tyme)] [(doth passe)] }, { [(yet)] [(shall not) (my love)] }

Assuming that there is a catalectic syllable somewhere in the line, the least disruptive position is at the boundary between the first and second Intonational Phrase, as shown in (42).

- (42) { [(Tho) (tyme)] [(doth passe)] }, [σ] { [(yet)] [(shall not) (my love)] }

The prosodic analysis in (42) corresponds to the scansion in (43) in which the catalectic syllable occupies the W position of the third foot.

- (43) (Tho tyme) (doth passe,) ([σ] yet) (shall not) (my love)

The scansion in (43) is one of four logically possible scansions with medial catalexis in a W position. The remaining three possibilities are shown in (44).

- (44) a. (Tho tyme) ([σ] doth) (passe, yet) (shall not) (my love)
 b. (Tho tyme) (doth passe,) (yet shall) ([σ] not) (my love)
 c. (Tho tyme) (doth passe,) (yet shall) (not my) ([σ] love)

Now let us consider how medial catalexis in these positions would interact with the prosodic analysis in (41). This is shown in (45).

- (45) a. { [(Tho) (tyme)] [σ] [(doth passe)] }, { [(yet)] [(shall not) (my love)] }
 b. { [(Tho) (tyme)] [(doth passe)] }, { [(yet)] [(shall [σ] not) (my love)] }
 c. { [(Tho) (tyme)] [(doth passe)] }, { [(yet)] [(shall not) (my [σ] love)] }

The first alternative (45a) introduces the catalectic syllable at the boundary between two Phonological Phrases—clearly more disruptive than at an Intonational Phrase boundary, as in (42). The second and third alternatives in (45b) and (45c) show the auxiliary *shall* and the possessive determiner *my* prosodified as proclitics to the following Prosodic Word, in line with the proposal of Ito and Mester (2009). Medial catalexis between a clitic and its host would be more disruptive than between Prosodic Words.⁸

Given the grammar of prosodic phrasing, we would not ordinarily expect medial catalexis to separate Phonological Phrases within an Intonational Phrase, or Prosodic Words within a Phonological Phrase. It would be even less expected that it separate a clitic from its host, or separate phonological feet of the same Prosodic Word. It is nevertheless possible that Wyatt used medial catalexis with disruptive intent. A catalectic pause between Prosodic Words, or between a clitic and its host, might mimic a self-interruption, or a word search episode. This could open up potentially interesting readings that invoke Wyatt’s ‘uneasy subject’ (Brigden 2012:13). Indeed, Groves (2007) suggests that something of this kind may have been exploited by Shakespeare, and even proposes to designate “a catalexis where there is no potential intonational break, as between an adjective and its noun” with its own term, *drag* (p. 135).⁹ There seems to be a very small number of cases in Wyatt’s verse where invoking *drag*-type medial catalexis gives a superior scansion, however. Two possible examples are given in (46).

- (46) a. (And will) (that my trust,) (and lustes) ([σ] neg·) (·ligence) Son. X.6
 b. (This while) (a beme) (that bryght) ([σ] sonne) (forth sendes,) Pen.Ps. 309

A complicating factor in determining the placement of an inferred catalectic syllable, as explained in Section 2.2, is that a subclausal phrase may also be mapped onto an Intonational Phrase, as in (47), where the subject of the sentence, *tyme*, is separated from the VP *doth passe*. (Cf. (41).)

- (47) { [(Tho) (tyme)] } { [(doth passe)] }, { [(yet)] [(shall not) (my love)] }

⁸If functional elements are prosodified as clitics by default, they may also be prosodified as Prosodic Words in their own right (Selkirk 1996), but this would entail that the functional element had focus. Functional elements are only obligatorily prosodified as Prosodic Words when final in the Phonological Phrase.

⁹A medial catalexis at natural prosodic boundary Groves terms a *jolt*.

MEDIAL CATALEXIS IN WYATT

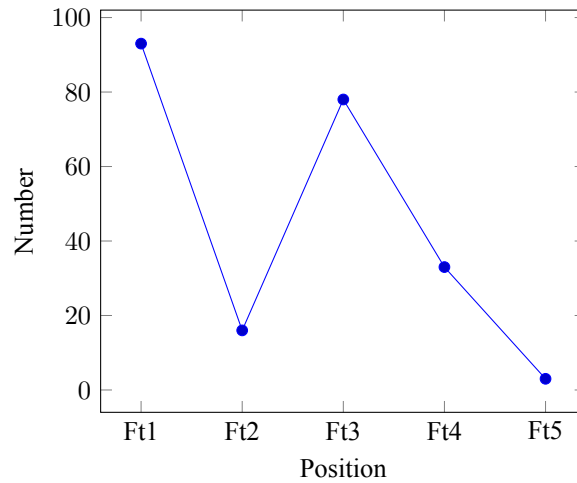


Figure 3: Distribution of medial catalexis in Wyatt

- | | | |
|----|---|----------------|
| j. | (Ffor nev·) (·er wormes) ([σ] have) (an old) (stock eat·) <·en> | Can. LXXIII.64 |
| k. | (Make playn) (thyn hert) ([σ] that) (it be) (not knott·) <·ed> | Sat. CL.92 |
| l. | (Thou knowst) (the teres) ([σ] of) (my la·) (·mentat·) <·ion> | Pen.Ps. 360 |

These results are summarized in the plot in Figure 3, which also includes acephalous cases (catalexis in the W position of the first foot). For a breakdown of the numbers according to verse form and line type, see Table 6 in Appendix C.

As might also be expected given the structure of the iambic pentameter in (6), there are some cases where inferred medial catalexis can alternate between the weak position of the third foot and the fourth. In Appendix C, I have identified thirteen cases with medial catalexis in the third foot for which there is a plausible alternative scansion with medial catalexis in the fourth. Four of these are shown in (53).

- | | | | | |
|------|----|------|--|---------------|
| (53) | a. | (i) | (Lo! how) (desire) ([σ] is) (boeth sprong) (and spent!) | Ep. LV.5 |
| | | (ii) | (Lo! how) (desire) (is boeth) ([σ] sprong) (and spent!) | |
| | b. | (i) | (I can·) (·not speke) ([σ] and) (lok lyke) (a saynct,) | Sat. CXLIX.31 |
| | | (ii) | (I can·) (·not speke) (and lok) ([σ] lyke) (a saynct,) | |
| | c. | (i) | (By day·) (·ly rage) ([σ] ror·) (·ing in) (excesse.) | Pen.Ps. 244 |
| | | (ii) | (By day·) (·ly rage) (roring) ([σ] in) (excesse.) | |
| | d. | (i) | (With nak·) (·ed fote) ([σ] stalk·) (·ing in) (my cham·) <·bre.> | Bal. LXXX.2 |
| | | (ii) | (With nak·) (·ed fote) (stalking) ([σ] in) (my cham·) <·bre.> | |

Comparing the scansions with medial catalexis in the third and fourth foot, the latter imply Intonational Phrase boundaries at more deeply embedded levels of syntactic structure. In (53a-i) the break occurs between the subject NP and the VP, while in (53b-i), (53c-i), and (53d-i), it coincides with a clausal boundary. In (53a-ii), (53b-ii), (53c-ii), and (53d-ii), on the other hand, the break is VP-internal. Shifting the location of the medial catalexis rightward in this way may trigger the use of additional licences. In (53c-ii) and (53d-ii), for example, it is necessary to invoke phrase-initial inversion of *stalking* and *roring*.

There are also five cases of medial catalexis in the fourth foot for which there is a plausible alternative scansion with medial catalexis in the third. Two examples are shown in (54). Again, medial catalexis in the fourth foot correlates with breaking at a more deeply embedded level. Shifting medial catalexis to the third foot aligns it with a clausal boundary.

- (54) a. (i) (This while) (a beme) (that bryght) ([σ] sonne) (forth sendes,) Pen.Ps. 309
 (ii) (This while) (a beme) ([σ] that) (bryght sonne) (forth sendes,)
 b. (i) (Thow must,) (o lord,) (my lypps) ([σ] furst) (vnlose:) Pen.Ps. 494
 (ii) (Thow must,) (o lord,) ([σ] my) (lypps furst) (vnlose:)

The variability shown in (53) and (54) does not alter the basic picture that major breaks preferentially occur in the third and fourth verse feet, with the third taking precedence over the fourth.

What we have seen in this section is that, if we make the inference that the hypometrical lines of otherwise iambic pentameter poems have medial catalexis, placing the catalectic syllable at an Intonational Phrase boundary results in a distribution that overwhelmingly tracks the structure of the iambic pentameter given in (6). Medial catalexis in W position is rarest in the second and fifth verse feet (within minimal half-lines). Apart from acephalous lines, it is most common in the third verse foot (between half-lines), and reasonably frequent in the fourth foot (between an adjoined verse foot and a minimal half-line).

4. Some implications

In this last section I would like to discuss some potential implications of these findings for both literary interpretation and the linguistically informed study of metrics.

Students of literature may find something to object to in the very attempt to reconstruct a particular metrical intention for Wyatt's anomalous lines, perhaps invoking the 'intentional fallacy' of Wimsatt and Beardsley (1946). Surely, the variety of critical responses to Wyatt's verse cited in this article shows that a number of metrical interpretations are possible? Certainly, many readers of Wyatt profess themselves enchanted by the apparent irregularity of his lines. Alice Oswald, for example, prefaces her reading of 'Whoso List to Hunt' (Sonnet XI/Egerton MS. VII)¹⁰ by saying "Wyatt was writing at a time when the pentameter was still being regularised and, for that reason there is a beautiful counterpoint in his verse, almost as if the prose rhythm and the verse rhythm were working against each other, and I think that's why I love his sonnets so much." Despite her positive assessment of Wyatt, Oswald's understanding of what he is doing clearly derives from Saintsbury's view that Wyatt and his contemporaries were groping towards realizing the iambic pentameter form in their verse—often unsuccessfully!

Writing about how the modern reader can approach Wyatt's 'They Flee from Me' (Ballade LXXX/Egerton MS. XXXVII), Attridge (1982:345) notes that "[t]he experience of a multitude of readers testifies to the poem's continuing vitality; it is unlikely [sic], therefore, that its rhythms are unsuccessful, whether or not they are what Wyatt or his audience heard". Indeed, he continues (p. 346), "[i]t would be a waste of time to look for a metrical structure common to all those lines, because the reader's experience is that they are metricaly different – and that it remains a satisfying poem". He nevertheless goes on to say that "[w]hether further research in metrical and phonological history will throw light on Wyatt's intentions is a separate question".

On the basis of the evidence bequeathed us in the manuscripts, we can agree that more than one metrical interpretation is possible. However, an iambic pentameter context for an anomalous line (on the page) can be taken to strongly implicate that the anomalous line, too, is iambic pentameter. In this paper, I have asked what follows from this inference for syllabically hypometrical lines. Clearly, it must imply that there are cases where syllables span both a strong and a weak metrical position, or metrical positions that lack phonological content (catalexis). Section 3 showed that, when we plot the distribution of inferred catalexis, it tracks the metrical breaks in iambic pentameter, strengthening the implicature that syllabically hypometrical lines are iambic pentameters. Only three dozen lines in the corpus completely resist iambic pentameter scansion. *Contra* Attridge, looking for a common metrical structure is not such a waste of time after all.

Catalexis also raises some interesting questions about the nature of meter and the material it orga-

¹⁰Available at: <https://poetryarchive.org/poet/thomas-wyatt/>

nizes. In addition to the distinction between meter and material, there is in most metrical theories a further distinction to be made between the poem and its performance. Wimsatt and Beardsley (1959:587) write: "A performance is an event, but the poem itself, if there is any poem, must be some kind of enduring object." Jakobson (1960:366) quotes this statement with approval, but in contrast to Wimsatt and Beardsley, who privilege the written text, Jakobson sees the linguistic system as primary, constraining composer, performer and reader alike. We thus have two different conceptions of the material organized by the meter—the 'text'—one grounded in the written language, the other in the spoken. The question now is whether even the linguistic vision of the text is quite inclusive enough, and how exactly to draw Wimsatt and Beardsley's line between the performance and the enduring object that is the poem itself.

With his characteristic fondness for binary oppositions, Jakobson (1960:364–366) distinguished, on the one hand, between *verse* and *delivery*, and, on the other, between *design* and *instance*. These two binary contrasts yield a four-way classification between 'verse design', 'verse instance', 'delivery design', and 'delivery instance'. Verse design, at least in metrical verse, minimally includes the meter that underlies a particular verse instance (particular line) that embodies the meter by association to prosodic units such as syllables and actual words. It would also include mappings between meter and specific text that constrain the verse as a whole, e. g., by being applicable to all lines. Final catalexis in a trochaic tetrameter verse such as Ben Jonson's in (35) would be considered an aspect of verse design. The verse instance would include metrical variations that arise in the mapping between meter and text, such as inversion and extrametrical syllables, and also Wyatt's (inferred) use of medial catalexis. Delivery instance refers to a particular recitation, which entails a particular act performed by a reciter at a particular time and place, but Jakobson also makes the case for the concept of delivery design. For example, the reciter may follow a particular tradition in reciting a verse, by adopting a more or less prose-like, more or less chanted, or more or less pronounced scanning style. The strong signalling of beats that is characteristic of teaching poetry at school has a different delivery design than, say, a style that hews more closely to natural spoken prosody. Jakobson (1960:365) adds, however, that verse design also includes things like the prosodic structure of the lines, or the cadence, understood as a recurring intonational pattern associated with a line.

Despite this inclusive stance, it is quite striking how little generative linguistic approaches to verse have strayed beyond the metrical. The reasons would seem to be historical, and may have to do with Chomsky and Halle's early relegation of prosody to the domain of performance (Chomsky and Halle 1968:372) and Halle and Keyser's explicit exclusion of performance from the purview of generative metrics (Halle and Keyser 1966; 1971). In the wake of progress in prosodic phonology and the syntax-phonology interface (Nespor and Vogel 1986, Selkirk 1986), few would subscribe to this view today. Generative approaches have nonetheless been slow to investigate nonmetrical verse and any constitutive role for prosody.

Of course, if the claim that Wyatt recruits intonation and medial catalexis to fill out the iambic pentameter pattern, this is a matter of the verse instance, not the verse design, but the point still carries over. It entails a more inclusive conception of the "enduring object" of the poem than that of New Criticism, certainly, but Jakobson's linguistically based view also encounters a difficulty. The difficulty in question is how to interpret medial catalexis in the context of Halle and Keyser's insistence that metrically organized material satisfy the linguistic givens. In this connection it is worth going back to the early debates between Halle and Keyser, Wimsatt, and Magnuson and Ryder in *College English*, where Halle and Keyser's seminal paper on Chaucer's metrics was published (Halle and Keyser 1966). In what follows, I'll focus on Magnuson and Ryder's critique (1970), and Halle and Keyser's (1971) revision of their theory in response. In a memorable exchange that bears directly on our question, Magnuson and Ryder accuse Halle and Keyser of failing to apply their own distinction between competence and performance. Consider the line in (55) from Chaucer's *General Prologue*, which Halle and Keyser take to exemplify contrastive stress. This requires analysing the line as headless, with an unfilled initial position. (Note: The earliest papers labeled metrical positions as O(dd) and E(ven), rather than W and S.)

(55) O EO E O E OEO E
 That if *gold* ruste, what shal *iren* do?

GP 502

In (55), the stressed syllables of both *gold* and *iren* align to a E (=S) position. Magnuson and Ryder dramatically characterize this appeal to contrastive stress as courting “the death of metrics”, a move that “kills all possibility of theoretical rigor”. They opt instead for the default line in (56), where there is no anacrusis and the stressed syllable of *gold* aligns to an O (=W) position, and invoke “the poetic effect which a writer can create by setting up a tension between his abstract matrix and his sense”.

O E O E O E O E O E

(56) That if gold ruste, what shal iren do? GP 502

Magnuson and Ryder’s scansion is, of course, unimpeachable, but so is Halle and Keyser’s. In responding to this criticism, Halle and Keyser (1971:174) argue on the grounds that emphatic stress is a linguistic given, provided that there are good contextual reasons to assume it. In this case, it is strongly implicated by the text, and so there is thus no reason to deny it metrical significance. In suggesting that Halle and Keyser have been hoist by their own petard, Magnuson and Ryder conflate linguistic givens with those of the written text. Halle and Keyser’s assumption of contrastive stress is nonetheless an inference from the written text—it cannot simply be read off. Whatever the “enduring object” of the poem is for Halle and Keyser, it is more than the linguistic content of the written text. If contrastive stress is admissible as an element of this *linguistic* text, then by the same token, so is intonation. It has to be conceded that a tritonal pitch accent may not be as strongly implicated by the written text as contrastive stress in (55). Since intonation is richer in pragmatic meaning, inferring its presence in the linguistic text requires a higher level of critical engagement. If it were any simpler, Wyatt’s syllabically hypometrical lines would not have occasioned as much metrical controversy as they have. But the point remains that certain elements of the linguistic text must be inferred, by Halle and Keyser’s own admission.

It is a fundamental assumption of the generative metrics program that the material satisfy the linguistic givens. It is here that catalexis presents us with more of a conceptual challenge, since it raises the question in what sense the *absence* of something can be a linguistic given. One interpretation of catalexis is that a metrical position lacks a prosodic exponent completely. Another interpretation is that a metrical position maps onto a prosodic unit with no segmental content. Up till now I have been assuming the latter, and that catalexis simply involves an empty syllable. Is such an empty syllable a possible linguistic given? Certainly, empty prosodic nodes are assumed to occur in inputs to the phonological grammar. For example, Saba Kirchner (2013) argues that bare syllables can be affixes, and Trommer and Zimmermann (2014) argue the same point for moras. However, if they are to be posited by a learner or user of the language, segmentally deficient prosodic nodes must be evidenced by their effects. In morphological systems, they generally acquire segmental content by associating to a featurally replete root node. It is imaginable that a prosodically deficient node may be realized by a pause of some duration. Since pauses do not seem to have a role in distinguishing minimal pairs in natural languages, however, this suggests that empty syllables are not linguistic givens, at least not in output representations.¹¹

What of the possibility that the metrical position simply has no corresponding linguistic same at all? From a hearer-oriented perspective, pauses are crucial evidence for inferring the metrical structure, and from the speaker’s, too, it is probably more accurate to see in the pause the effect of a momentary *arrest* of speech, rather than an absence of speech. As Levinson (2000) argues, if the hearer is to make use of what the speaker provides as evidence of their intention, and the speaker is to make use of evidence that the hearer can use in inference, they must share the same strategies. If pauses are evidence for the hearer, they should also be explicitly part of the speaker’s communicative intention. If intentional, an ‘arrest of speech’ must have some kind of symbolic representation.

This brings us to our third possibility, that the material organized by the meter is linguistic-gestural rather than just narrowly linguistic. Just as the linguistic text may prespecify certain intonational features of a performance, a multimodal, linguistic-gestural representation of the text may in addition prespecify certain gestural ones. The analysis of gesture initiated by McNeill (1985; 2012), Kendon (2004), Calbris

¹¹Kiparsky (1967) argues that the level at which linguistic sameness holds may be the underlying level of representation for some purposes. Since there is no evidence for underlying empty syllables in English, however, I will not pursue this line here.

(2011) has shown that a pause in speech may be synchronized with non-spoken gestures of various kinds (Quaeghebeur et al. 2014, Bavelas and Chovil 2018). An example is the quotative construction, exemplified by ‘he went (-)’, where the pause coincides with, say, a facial gesture that enacts what *he* did, presumably receiving a thematic role from the two-place quotative predicate *go*. Much of Wyatt’s medial catalexis may be interpreted as enacting deliberation, which has some well known more or less subtle gestural manifestations. An example of an obvious gesture is the ‘thinking face’ described by Goodwin and Goodwin (1986) to assert that one is thinking hard, implicating for example that one is searching for an expression (Clark 2006:380). Such gestures are not mere indices of increased cognitive load, but actually serve a communicative purpose. Equivalent gestures, according to Bavelas and Chovil (2018), might include turning the head, looking away with a thoughtful expression, making a grasping motion with a hand—all signalling engagement and an intention to resume speaking. Kita et al. (1998) and Bressemer and Ladewig (2011) also point out that a gestural *hold* may be independently meaningful. The existence of spoken gesture (e. g., Okrent 2002), invites the speculation that medial catalexis may involve exploiting for metrical purposes the spoken gesture counterpart of an independent hold. Groves (2007) makes compatible observations with regard to Shakespeare, citing his use of catalexis to “underscore attention-getting imperatives and vocatives” (p. 134).

Wyatt’s texts, on this view, were more than the written texts evidenced in the Egerton manuscript (and a few others). They were multimodal representations, including intonational and gestural elements, that were transmitted through a living performance tradition. When this performance tradition was lost in the generations following Wyatt’s, what was left was the incomplete evidence of the manuscripts, with problems of interpretation that were compounded by new expectations regarding the relation between template and written text. As Wright (1985:149) writes, “[t]he knack of hearing Wyatt’s rhythms vanished soon after his death”. It would be interesting indeed to see how these expectations line up with the invention and spread of the printing press, which began with William Caxton in 1476, a mere quarter of a century before Wyatt’s birth. This would have given considerable power to editors, like Tottel’s, who had to interpret the written evidence to come up with versions that could be distributed widely in print. Even if we assume our earliest editors were conversant with the performance tradition, there was no accepted way of representing intonation or gesture in print, and so we see a shift to verse with ‘flow’. Even so, writing as late as 1589, the critic George Puttenham had a very favourable assessment of Wyatt’s verse.

Sir Thomas Wyat th’elder and Henry Earle of Surrey [...] greatly pollifhed our rude and homely maner of vulgar Poefie [...] and for that cause may iuftly be layd the firft reformers of our English meetre and ftile.
(Puttenham 1869 [1589]:139)

Puttenham may have been writing within living memory of a performance tradition that preserved the integrity of Wyatt’s iambic pentameters and the intelligibility of his prosody. The difference between his judgment and Saintsbury’s is in any case striking.

A. Wyatt’s biography

Wyatt’s most recent biographer, Susan Brigden, suggests that an understanding of Wyatt’s prosody can be gleaned from an appreciation of his life (Brigden 2012:13). Thomas Wyatt was born at Allington Castle in Kent in 1503 and served in Henry VIII’s court from the age of thirteen. As courtier and diplomat, he was at the heart of events that led to the Reformation in England and Wales. When he died in 1541 from natural causes, this was no mean achievement, given that his life depended on the favour of his increasingly paranoid king. Wyatt was famously reputed to be one of the lovers of Anne Boleyn, who became Henry’s second wife. Although this idea lives on in literature, most recently in Hilary Mantel’s *Wolf Hall* trilogy, Brigden is sceptical to there ever having been a sexual relationship. She thinks it more likely that Wyatt admired Anne greatly, and that she used his status at court to further her own interests, in particular, her goal of marriage to Henry, which she achieved in 1533. Wyatt was able to revolutionize English verse form thanks to his diplomatic missions to Europe, first to Italy and, later, Spain. In 1527, Wyatt went to Venice on a diplomatic mission to raise money and forces for Pope Clement VII (Giulio de Medici), to prevent

him from submitting to Holy Roman Emperor Charles V, who was threatening to invade Italy. During this mission, Wyatt may have become acquainted with leading figures in the Italian Renaissance, such as Pietro Bembo, Lodovico Ariosto and Niccolò Macchiavelli. By 1532 Wyatt was friends with Thomas Cromwell, Henry's chief minister, who would play an essential role in protecting Wyatt from Henry's paranoia. In 1536, Anne miscarried a son, and Henry came to see his marriage as cursed. Anne was soon accused of adultery and incest and was imprisoned in the Tower of London, and Wyatt was gaoled under suspicion of adultery with Anne. While Anne was executed along with five men, including her own brother Thomas Boleyn, Wyatt was released, one suspects thanks to his friendship with Cromwell. After his release, Wyatt served on further diplomatic missions for Henry. While on a mission to Spain to try and prevent a pact between Francis I of France and Charles V against England and Wales, Wyatt was accused by the future Bishop of London, Edmund Bonner, who had joined the mission, of having abused his diplomatic position and spoken disparagingly of the king. The charges were investigated by Cromwell, who cleared him of all charges. The fear of a massive continental army against England, drove Henry to try and strengthen his alliances to the protestant princes of Germany through marriage to Anne of Cleves. Henry was finally excommunicated by Pope Paul III in 1538, triggering England and Wales' final break with Rome. By 1540, Cromwell had exhausted his national security role, and was arrested and executed. A year later, in 1541, Bonner's accusations were revived, and Wyatt found himself imprisoned in the Tower a second time. This time Wyatt had to rely on his own substantial intellectual gifts to acquit himself, which he succeeded in doing. Wyatt survived Henry's capricious rule only to die of a fever while on a diplomatic mission in 1541.

B. Corpus

The material analysed includes seven rondeaux (Rond.; 106 lines), 29 sonnets (Son.; 420 lines), 30 epigrams (Ep.; 243 lines), one canzone (Can.) of 147 lines, eight ballades (Ball.; 193 lines), the three Epistolary Satires (Sat.; 306 lines), and the Paraphrase of the Penitential Psalms (Pen.Ps.; 775 lines). The leftmost columns give the number of the poem in the editions by Rebholz (1997) (Rebh.) and Muir and Thomson (1969) (M&T).

| Rebh. | M&T | First line | No. lines |
|-------|----------|--|-----------|
| I | I | Behold, love, thy power how she dispiseth, | 15 |
| II | XVIII | Yf it be so that I forsake the, | 15 |
| III | XX | Goo burnyng sighes Vnto the frosen hert! | 15 |
| IV | II | What vailleth trouth? or, by it, to take payn? | 15 |
| V | XVII | Helpe me to seke for I lost it there: | 15 |
| VI | XIX | Thou hast no faith of him that hath none, | 15 |
| VII | XXXV, 25 | Ye old mule that thinck your self so fayre | 16 |

Table 2: Wyatt's Rondeaux (106 lines)

MEDIAL CATALEXIS IN WYATT

| Rebh. | M&T | First line | No. lines |
|--------|-----------|---|-----------|
| IX | III | Caesar, when that the traytour of Egipt | 14 |
| X | IV | The longe love, that in my thought doeth harbar | 14 |
| XI | VII | Who so list to hounte I know where is an hynde; | 14 |
| XII | IX | Was I never, yet, of your love greeved, | 14 |
| XIII | XII | Yf amours faith, an hert vnfayned, | 14 |
| XIV | XIV | My hert I gave the not to do it payn, | 14 |
| XV | XXIV | Som fowles there be that have so perfaict sight, | 14 |
| XVI | XXV | Bicause I have the still kept fro lyes and blame | 14 |
| XVII | XXVI | I fynde no peace and all my warr is done; | 14 |
| XVIII | XXVII | Though I my self be bridilled of my mynde, | 14 |
| XIX | XXVIII | My galy charged with forgetfulnes | 14 |
| XX | XXIX | Auysing the bright bemes of these fayer Iyes, | 14 |
| XXI | XXX | Ever myn happe is slack and slo in commyng, | 14 |
| XXII | XXXI | Love and fortune and my mynde, remembr, | 14 |
| XXIII | XXXII | How oft have I, my dere and cruell foo, | 14 |
| XXIV | XXXIII | Like to these vnmesurable montayns | 14 |
| XXV | XLVII | The lyvely sperkes that issue from those Iyes | 14 |
| XXVI | LVI | Suche vayn thought as wonted to myslede me | 14 |
| XXVII | XXVII | Vnstable dreame according to the place | 14 |
| XXVIII | XCVII | If waker care if sodayne pale Coulour | 14 |
| XXIX | CCXXXVI | The piller pearisht is whearto I Lent | 14 |
| XXX | X | Eche man me telleth I chaunge moost my devise. | 14 |
| XXXI | XIII | Ffarewell, Love, and all thy lawes for ever; | 14 |
| XXXII | XVI | There was never ffile half so well filed | 14 |
| XXXIII | XCII | You that in love finde lucke and habundaunce, | 14 |
| XXXIV | CCXXXVIII | The flaming Sighes that boile within my brest | 28 |
| XXXV | CCXI | To Rayle or gest ye kno I vse it not | 14 |
| XXXVI | CCXXXIII | Mye love toke skorne my servise to retaine | 14 |
| XXXVII | CCL | Such is the course, that natures kind hath wrought, | 14 |

Table 3: Wyatt's Sonnets (420 lines)

PATRIK BYE

| Rebh. | M&T | First line | |
|---------|----------|--|----|
| XXXVIII | XLIV | Alas madame for stelyng of a kysse | 8 |
| XXXIX | XLVI | The wandering gadlyng in the sommer tyde, | 8 |
| XL | XLVIII | What nedeth these thretning wordes and wasted wynde? | 8 |
| XLI | LIV | She sat and sowde that hath done me the wrong | 8 |
| XLII | LX | He is not ded that somtyme hath a fall. | 8 |
| XLIII | LXI | The furyous gonne in his raging yre, | 8 |
| XLIV | LXXVI | Venemus thornes that ar so sharp and kene | 8 |
| XLV | LXXX | In dowtfull brest, whilst moderly pitie, | 8 |
| XLVI | LXXXI | Off Cartage he that worthie warrier | 8 |
| XLVII | XCV | From thes hye hilles as when a spryng doth fall | 8 |
| XLIX | CCXL | Stond who so list vpon the Slipper toppe | 10 |
| L | CCVI | All yn thi sight my lif doth hole depende, | 8 |
| LI | CCLVII | For shamefast harm of great and hatefull nede, | 8 |
| LII | XLIX | Ryght true it is, and said full yore agoo: | 8 |
| LIII | XLII | Who hath herd of such crueltye before? | 8 |
| LV | LIX | Some tyme I fled the fyre that me brent | 8 |
| LVI | LXIV | Th'eny of liff, decayer of all kynde, | 8 |
| LVII | LXVIII | Nature, that gave the bee so feet a grace | 8 |
| LVIII | LXXV | Desire, alas, my master and my foo, | 8 |
| LIX | LXXXVIII | I lede a liff vnpleasant, nothing glad; | 8 |
| LX | XCIX | Tagus, fare well, that westward with thy stremes | 8 |
| LXI | C | Off purpos Love chase first for to be blynd, | 8 |
| LXII | CCXLIV | Sighes ar my foode, drynke are my teares; | 8 |
| LXV | CCVII | The fructe of all the seruise that I serue | 8 |
| LXVI | CXVI | Accused thoo I be without desert, | 12 |
| LXVII | CXVIII | A face that shuld content me wonders well | 8 |
| LXVIII | CCXLI | Luckes, my faire falcon, and your fellowes all, | 8 |
| LXIX | CCXLVII | Within my brest I neuer thought it gain, | 8 |
| LXXI | CCCLIX | In court to serue decked with freshe aray, | 7 |
| LXXII | CCLX | Speake thou and spede where will or power ought helpthe, | 6 |

Table 4: Wyatt's Epigrams (243 lines)

| Group | Rebh. | M&T | First line | No. lines |
|----------|---------|----------|--|-----------|
| Canzoni | LXXIII | VIII | Myne olde dere En'mye, my froward master, | 147 |
| Ballades | LXXIX | XXII | Resound my voyse, ye woodes that here me plain, | 21 |
| | LXXX | XXXVII | They fle from me that sometyme did me seke | 21 |
| | LXXXI | CLXXXVII | The restfull place, Revyver of my smarte | 21 |
| | LXXXIII | CCLV | It burneth yet, alas, my hartes desire | 32 |
| | LXXXIV | CCLXI | If thou wilt mighty be, flee from the rage | 21 |
| | LXXXIX | LXXVIII | Though this thy port and I thy seruaunt true | 28 |
| | XC | CCXLVI | Like as the byrde in the cage enclosed | 28 |
| | XCV | CCXII | The Joye so short, alas, the paine so nere | 21 |
| Satires | CXLIX | CV | Myne owne John Poyntz, sins ye delight to know | 103 |
| | CL | CVI | My mothers maydes when they did sowe and spynne, | 112 |
| | CLI | CVII | A spending hand that alway powreth owte | 91 |
| Psalms | CLI | CVIII | Love to gyve law vnto his subiect hertes | 775 |

Table 5: Wyatt's Other Poems (1421 lines)

C. Medial catalexis data

(C.1) Medial catalexis in strong position (N=8)

- a. (But rath·) (·er [σ]) (restore) (it mann·) (·erly,) Rond. V.6
- b. (To be) (bestow·) (·ed [σ]) (and wist) (not where.) Rond. V.13
- c. (Retorn·) (·ing [σ]) (to lepe) (into) (the fire?) Son. XXVII
- d. (Sonest) (he sped·) (·eth, [σ]) (that moost) (can fain;) Rond. IV.6
- e. (Whose flame) (encres·) (·eth [σ]) (from more) (to more,) Ep. XLIII.6
- f. (And call) (crafft coun·) (·sell, [σ]) (for prof·) (·fet styl) (to paint.) Sat. CXLIX.33
- g. (She chereȝ) (her with) (‘how sys·) (·ter, [σ]) (what chiere?’) Sat. CL.49
- h. (Hym selff) (accus·) (·ing, [σ]) (beknowyng) (his cace,) Pen.Ps. 198

(C.2) Medial catalexis in strong position (with extrametricality; N=4)

- a. (To the) (disdayn·) (·full, [σ]) (her liff) (she led·) <eth,> Rond. I.7
- b. (And there·) (·in camp·) (·eth [σ]) (spreding) (his ban·) <er.> Son. X.4
- c. (And ther) (him hid·) (·eth [σ]) (and not) (apper·) <eth.> Son. X.11
- d. (Of all) (my com·) (·fort; [σ]) (the fol·) (·isshe mynde) <then> Son. XXII.6

Table 6 summarizes, for each verse form, the number of inferred catalectic syllables in the W position of each foot in lines with and without extrametricality. The totals for each verse form (regardless of extrametricality) are shown in italics. The totals are plotted in Figure 3 in Section 3.

| | Extrametricality | Ft1/W | Ft2/W | Ft3/W | Ft4/W | Ft5/W |
|-----------------|------------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|----------|
| Rondeaux | – | 9 | 2 | 6 | 5 | 0 |
| Rondeaux | + | 4 | 2 | 2 | 0 | 0 |
| <i>Rondeaux</i> | | <i>13</i> | <i>4</i> | <i>8</i> | <i>5</i> | <i>0</i> |
| Sonnets | – | 21 | 3 | 7 | 4 | 0 |
| Sonnets | + | 22 | 2 | 8 | 3 | 0 |
| <i>Sonnets</i> | | <i>43</i> | <i>5</i> | <i>15</i> | <i>6</i> | <i>0</i> |
| Epigrams | – | 4 | 1 | 6 | 1 | 2 |
| Epigrams | + | 2 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| <i>Epigrams</i> | | <i>6</i> | <i>3</i> | <i>7</i> | <i>2</i> | <i>2</i> |
| Ballades | – | 7 | 1 | 6 | 2 | 0 |
| Ballades | + | 2 | 0 | 4 | 1 | 0 |
| <i>Ballades</i> | | <i>9</i> | <i>1</i> | <i>10</i> | <i>3</i> | <i>0</i> |
| Other | – | 18 | 1 | 22 | 12 | 0 |
| Other | + | 4 | 2 | 16 | 4 | 1 |
| <i>Other</i> | | <i>22</i> | <i>3</i> | <i>38</i> | <i>16</i> | <i>1</i> |
| Total | | 93 | 16 | 78 | 33 | 3 |

Table 6: Distribution of catalexis

(C.3) Medial catalexis in second foot (N=8)

- a. (Alas) ([σ] and) (is there) (no rem·) (·edy,) Rond. V.10
- b. (Thy thought) ([σ] is) (so light) (and va·) (·riable,)¹² Rond. VI.13
- c. (And wylde) ([σ] for) (to hold) (though I) (seme tame·.) Son. XI.14
- d. (For he) ([σ] that) (beleveth) (bering) (in hand) Son. XIV.13
- e. (Hath taught) ([σ] me) (to sett) (in tryfêls) (no store)¹³ Son. XXXI.7

¹²If *so* scopes over an &P *light and variable*, an alternative scansion of Rond. VI.13 with medial catalexis at Intonational Phrase boundary in Ft4: (Thy thought) (is so) ([σ] light) (and va·) (·riable,)

¹³The *Oxford English Dictionary* records *trifle* with a short vowel as a pronunciation variant, borne out by spellings with double

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- f. (Sighes) ([σ] ar) (my foode,) (drynke are) (my teares;) Ep. LXII.1
g. (With her,) ([σ] wiche) (for me) (salte teris) (ded Raine,) Ball. XCV.6
h. (The cawse) ([σ] why) (that home·) (·ward I) (me drawe,) Sat. CXLIX.2
- (C.4) Medial catalexis in second foot (with extrametricality; N=8)
- a. (Behold,) ([σ] love,) (thy power) (how she) (dispis·) <·eth,> Rond. I.1
b. (Alas,) ([σ] I) (cannot) (therefore) (assaill) <her> Rond. III.12
c. (She) ([σ] that) (me lernęth) (to love) (and suf·) <·fre> Son. X.5
d. (The See) ([σ] water·) (·les, fisse) ([σ] in) (the moyn·) <·taine,> Son. XXI.6
e. (To fynd) ([σ] hon·) (·y of) (so wonder·) (·ous fassh·) <·ion> Ep. LVII.2
f. (To fetch) ([σ] poy·) (·son, by) (straynge alt·) (·era·) <·tion,>¹⁴ Ep. LVII.4
g. (But, lo,) ([σ] there) (was nev·) (·er nyghte·) (·ly fant·) <·ome>¹⁵ Can. LXXIII.122
h. (At last,) ([σ] boethe,) (eche for) (himself,) (conclud·) <·ed,> Can. LXXIII.141
- (C.5) Medial catalexis in fourth foot (N=24)
- a. (I wis) (it was) (a thing) ([σ] all) (to dere) Rond. V.12
b. (Thou hast) (no faith) (of him) ([σ] that) (hath none,) Rond. VI.1
c. (But thou) (must love) (him nedes) ([σ] by) (reason;) Rond. VI.2
d. (Yet is) (it not) (the thing) ([σ] I) (passe on,) Rond. VI.6
e. (To fassh·) (·ion faith) (to wordes) ([σ] mut·) (·able:) Rond. VI.12
f. (And will) (that my trust,) (and lustes) ([σ] neg·) (·ligence) Son. X.6
g. (Or else) (in my sperk·) (·lyng voyse) ([σ] lower) (or higher,) Son. XIII.6
h. (To hast) (to slake) (my passe) ([σ] lesse) (or more,) Son. XXVIII.5
i. (I see) (that from) (myn hand) ([σ] fallęth) (my trust,) Son. XXII.13
j. (And now) (I folow) (the coles) ([σ] that) (be quent,) Ep. LV.3
k. (Thorough des·) (·ert wodes) (and sherp) ([σ] high) (mountaignes,) Can. LXXIII.44
l. (That never) (base thought) (his hert) ([σ] myght) (have reche.) Can. LXXIII.98
m. (Emong) (whome pitie) (I fynde) ([σ] doeth) (remayn:) Ball. LXXIX.6
- n. (The bodye) (gone, yet) (remaine) ([σ] shall) (the herte) Ball. XCV.5
o. (Where if) (thou list,) (my Poynz,) ([σ] for) (to com,) Sat. CXLIX.102
p. (The col·) (·our eke) (drowpįth down) ([σ] from) (his chere;) Pen.Ps. 43
q. (This unfin·) (·yte mar·) (·eye want,) ([σ] nedes) (it must) Pen.Ps. 129
- r. (Nor in) (his sprite) (is owght) ([σ] vn·) (·discoverd.) Pen.Ps. 236
s. (This while) (a beme) (that bryght) ([σ] sonne) (forth sendes,)¹⁶ Pen.Ps. 309
t. (His hand,) (his tune,) (his mynd,) ([σ] sowght) (his lay,) Pen.Ps. 323
u. (Thow must,) (o lord,) (my lypps) ([σ] furst) (vnlose:)¹⁷ Pen.Ps. 494
v. (And thus) (begynth) (his song) ([σ] ther·) (·withall.) Pen.Ps. 540
w. (And ffor) (my plaint·) (·full syghes,) ([σ] and) (my drede,) Pen.Ps. 556
x. (Thow wrowghtst) (the yerth,) (thy handes) ([σ] thevyns) (did mak;)¹⁸ Pen.Ps. 620

consonants, e. g., *tryffel*, between the 14th and 18th centuries (“trifle, n.” *OED Online*, Oxford University Press, December 2020, www.oed.com/view/Entry/205961. Accessed 1 February 2021.). This is the reason for invoking resolution here. In the proposed scansion, the catalectic syllable intervenes between a verb and an object pronoun that would ordinarily be prosodified as enclitic. This is the only proposed scansion that features a ‘meditative’ pause, that is, at a prosodic break most likely weaker than an Intonational Phrase boundary. An alternative scansion of Son. XXXI.7 with acephaly is nonetheless available: (Hath) (taught me) (to sett) (in tryfels) (no store)

¹⁴With final stress on *poyson* by the Romance Stress Rule, an alternative scansion of Ep. LVII.4 with medial catalexis at the Intonational Phrase boundary in Ft3: (To fetch) (poyson,) ([σ] by) (straynge alt·) (·era·) <·tion;>

¹⁵Alternative scansion of Can. LXXIII.122 with medial catalexis at VP-internal Intonational Phrase boundary in Ft3: (But, lo,) (there was) ([σ] nev·) (·er nyghte·) (·ly fant·) <·ome>

¹⁶Alternative scansion of Pen.Ps. 309 with medial catalexis following proposed object NP in Ft3: (This while) (a beme) ([σ] that) (bryght sonne) (forth sendes,)

¹⁷Alternative scansion of Pen.Ps. 494 with medial catalexis following vocative in Ft3: (Thow must,) (o lord,) ([σ] my) (lypps furst) (vnlose:)

¹⁸Alternative scansion of Pen.Ps. 620 with medial catalexis following clausal boundary in Ft3: (Thow wrowghtst) (the yerth,) (

MEDIAL CATALEXIS IN WYATT

- (C.6) Medial catalexis in fourth foot (with extrametricality; N=9)
- | | | |
|----|--|-----------------|
| a. | (And teeres) (· uell sore) ([σ] have) (me wer·) <·ied.> | Son. XII.4 |
| b. | (Nowe syns) (in the) (is none) ([σ] o·) (· thre rea·) <·son,> | Son. XIV.7 |
| c. | (And where) (he rose) (the sonne) ([σ] shall) (take lodg·) <·ing,> | Son. XXI.8 |
| d. | (Have I) (so much) (your mynd) ([σ] ther) (offend·) <·ed?> | Ep. XXXVIII.2 |
| e. | (I would) (fain knowe) (what she) ([σ] hath) (deseru·) <·ed.> | Ball. LXXX.21 |
| f. | (And doeth) (the same) (with deth) ([σ] dai·) (· ly thret·) <·yn.> | Can. LXXXIII.66 |
| g. | (Of wis·) (· dome, wo·) (· manhode,) ([σ] and) (discret·) <·ion;> | Can. LXXXIII.95 |
| h. | (Tho I) (seme lene) (and dry) ([σ] with·) (·oute moyst·) <·er,> | Sat. CLI.24 |
| i. | (That erst) (did make) (his fault) ([σ] for) (to trem·) <·ble,> | Pen.Ps. 202 |
- (C.7) Medial catalexis in fifth foot (N=3)
- | | | |
|----|--|-------------|
| a. | (His stumb·) (·ling foote) (did finde) (an hoorde,) ([σ] lo,) | Ep. LI.4 |
| b. | (And, in) (eschange,) (he left) (the corde,) ([σ] tho.) | Ep. LI.6 |
| c. | (Wherby) (thou shalt) (kepe still) (thi word) ([σ] sta·) <·ble,> ¹⁹ | Pen.Ps. 452 |
- (C.8) Medial catalexis in third foot (Rondeaux; N=6)
- | | | |
|----|--|-------------|
| a. | (Myght nev·) (·er perse,) ([σ] and) (if mort·) (·all prayer) | Rond. II.3 |
| b. | (As ban·) (·ished) ([σ] from) (thy com·) (·pany,) | Rond. II.2 |
| c. | (And of) (itself) ([σ] there) (cannot,) (perdy,) | Rond. II.12 |
| d. | (And, on) (my faith,) ([σ] good) (is the) (reason,) | Rond. II.14 |
| e. | (Whose cru·) (·eltie) ([σ] no·) (·thing can) (refrayn,) | Rond. IV.14 |
| f. | (Helpe me) (to seke) ([σ] for) (I lost) (it there:) | Rond. V.1 |
- (C.9) Medial catalexis in third foot (Sonnets; N=7)
- | | | |
|----|--|----------------|
| a. | (For goode) (is the liff,) ([σ] end·) (·ing faith·) (·fully.) | Son. X.14 |
| b. | (Ffarewell,) (I say,) ([σ] part·) (ing from) (the fyer:) ²⁰ | Son. XIV.12 |
| c. | (And fynde) (the swete) ([σ] bitter) (vnder) (this gyse.) | Son. XX.5 |
| d. | (Of such) (a rote) ([σ] comm·) (·eth ffryute) (fruytles.) | Son. XX.14 |
| e. | (Blynded) (with the stroke,) ([σ] err·) (·yng here) (and there,) | Son. XXV.10 |
| f. | (Paynles) (was th'one:) ([σ] th'o·) (·thre in) (delight.) | Son. XXXVII.10 |
| g. | (But you) (that blame) ([σ] this) (dyver·) (·nes moost,) | Son. XXX.9 |
- (C.10) Medial catalexis in third foot (Epigrams; N=6)
- | | | |
|----|---|-------------|
| a. | (To styng) (that hert) ([σ] that) (would have) (my place.) | Ep. XXXIX.8 |
| b. | (The fu·) (·ryous gonne) ([σ] in) (his rag·) (·ing yre,) | Ep. XLIII.1 |
| c. | (May hele,) (and hurt:) ([σ] and) (if these) (bene true,) | Ep. XLIV.6 |
| d. | (Lo! how) (desire) ([σ] is) (boeth sprong) (and spent!) ²¹ | Ep. LV.5 |
| e. | (That with) (his cold) ([σ] wethers) (away) (the grene,) | Ep. LVI.2 |
| f. | (In court) (to serue) ([σ] decked) (with freshe) (aray,) | Ep. LXXI.1 |
- (C.11) Medial catalexis in third foot (Ballades; N=6)
- | | | |
|----|---|------------------|
| a. | (There·) (·withall) ([σ] swete·) (·ly did) (me kysse) | Bal. LXXX.13 |
| b. | (Yet, for) (the best,) ([σ] suffer) (some small) (delay.) | Ball. LXXXIII.24 |
| c. | (From thy) (chieff howse) ([σ] promis·) (·ing to) (renew) | Ball. LXXXIX.3 |
| d. | (Like as) (the byrde) ([σ] in) (the cage) (enclos·) <·ed, > | Ball. XC.1 |
| e. | (In time) (is trust) ([σ] wyche) (by deathes) (greuance) | Ball. XC.19 |

[σ] thy) (handes thevyns) (did mak;)

¹⁹Alternative scansion of Pen.Ps. 452 with medial catalexis following Adverbial Phrase in Ft2: (Wherby) ([σ] thou) (shalt kepe) (still thi) (word sta·) <·ble,>; medial catalexis marking deliberation in Ft3: (Wherby) (thou shalt) ([σ] kepe) (still thi) (word sta·) <·ble,>

²⁰Alternative scansion of Son. XIV.12 with medial catalexis at Intonational Phrase boundary in Ft2: (Ffarewell,) ([σ] I) (say, part·) (ing from) (the fyer:); alternative scansion with medial catalexis at Intonational Phrase boundary in Ft4 and phrase-initial inversion in Ft3: (Ffarewell,) (I say,) (parting) ([σ] from) (the fyer:)

²¹Alternative scansion of Ep. LV.5 with medial catalexis in Ft4 at &P boundary: (Lo! how) (desire) (is boeth) ([σ] sprong) (and spent!)

- f. (Tho tyme) (doth passe,) ([σ] yet) (shall not) (my love;)²² Ball. XCV.8
- (C.12) Medial catalexis in third foot (Other; N=22)
- a. (Thorough rock·) (·y sees,) ([σ] ov·) (·er hilles) (and playnes,) Can. LXXIII.46
- b. (The ban·) (·nysshed slepe) ([σ] may) (no wyse) (recou^{er}.) Can. LXXIII.59
- c. (And the Af·) (·fricane) ([σ] Scip·) (·ion, the) (famous,) Can. LXXIII.88
- d. (I can·) (·not speke) ([σ] and) (lok lyke) (a saynct,)²³ Sat. CXLIX.31
- e. (And doo) (most hurt) ([σ] where) (most hellp) (I offer.) Sat. CXLIX.36
- f. (To make) (the crow) ([σ] sing·) (·ing as) (the swanne,) Sat. CXLIX.44
- g. (The frend·) (·ly ffoo) ([σ] with) (his dowb·) (·le face) Sat. CXLIX.65
- h. (That if) (she myght) ([σ] kepe) (herself) (in helth)²⁴ Sat. CL.34
- i. (Had not) (I-sene) ([σ] suche) (a beest) (before,) Sat. CL.56
- j. (Lyve in) (delight) ([σ] evyn) (as thy) (lust would.) Sat. CL.81
- k. (In this) (also) ([σ] se) (you be) (not I·) <·dell;>²⁵ Sat. CLI.67
- l. (With crep·) (·ing fyre,) ([σ] sparp·) (·lid for) (the nonis.) Pen.Ps. 8
- m. (Afore) (his brest,) ([σ] frawt·) (·yd with) (disese) Pen.Ps. 68
- n. (Wher the) (deceyte) ([σ] of) (your glos·) (·ing baite) Pen.Ps. 176
- o. (Withowte) (the same) ([σ] but) (by the) (goodnes) Pen.Ps. 221
- p. (By day·) (·ly rage) ([σ] ror·) (·ing in) (excesse.)²⁶ Pen.Ps. 244
- q. (Vnto) (the lord) ([σ] all) (my syn·) (·full plyght;) Pen.Ps. 255
- r. (As whil·) (·ow plant,) ([σ] haled) (by vy·) (·olence;) Pen.Ps. 344
- s. (Sins that) (my fayth) ([σ] doth) (not yet) (deokay;)²⁷ Pen.Ps. 468
- t. (But thou) (delyghtes) ([σ] not) (in no) (such glose) Pen.Ps. 498
- u. (Off goddes) (goodnes) ([σ] and) (of Jus·) (·tifying,) Pen.Ps. 511
- v. (He fyndes) (his hope) ([σ] much) (therewith) (revivid;) Pen.Ps. 536
- (C.13) Medial catalexis in third foot (Rondeaux; with extrametricality; N=2)
- a. (I ame) (in hold:) ([σ] if) (pitie) (the mev·) <·eth;> Rond. I.10
- b. (For it) (is true) ([σ] with·) (·oute an·) (·y fa·) <·ble;> Rond. VII.3
- (C.14) Medial catalexis in third foot (Sonnets; with extrametricality; N=8)
- a. (So chaunc·) (·eth it) ([σ] oft) (that evē·) (·ry pass·) <·ion>²⁸ Son. IX.9
- b. (Whereby,) (if) (I laught,) ([σ] an·) (·y tyme,) (or sea·) <·son> Son. IX.12
- c. (Alas,) (the snow) ([σ] shal·) (·be black) (and scald·) <·ing;>²⁹ Son. XXI.5
- d. (I will) (not yet) ([σ] in) (my grave) (be bur·) <·ied;> Son. XII.5
- e. (I seru·) (·ed the) ([σ] not) (to be) (forsak·) <·en;> Son. XIV.3
- f. (And Ti·) (·gre like,) ([σ] swift) (it is) (in part·) <·ing;> Son. XXI.4
- g. (Love sleith) (myn hert;) ([σ] for·) (·tune is) (depriv·) <·er>³⁰ Son. XXII.5
- h. (And the) (reward) ([σ] lit·) (·le trust) (for ev·) <·er;> Son. XXXII.14

²²Alternative scansion of Ball. XCV.8 with medial catalexis in Ft2 after subject NP, consistent with contrast of *tyme* and *love*: (Tho tyme) ([σ] doth) (passe, yet) (shall not) (my love)

²³Alternative scansion of Sat. CXLIX.31 with medial catalexis at VP-internal Intonational Phrase boundary in Ft4: (I can·) (·not speke) (and lok) ([σ] lyke) (a saynct,)

²⁴Alternative scansion of Sat. CL.34 with acephaly: ([σ] That) (if she) (myght kepe) (herself) (in helth)

²⁵Alternative scansion of Sat. CLI.67 with medial catalexis at Intonational Phrase boundary between NP and VP in Ft4: (In this) (also) (se you) ([σ] be) (not I·) <·dell;>

²⁶Alternative scansion of Pen.Ps. 244 with medial catalexis at VP-internal Intonational Phrase boundary in Ft4 and phrase-initial inversion in Ft3: (By day·) (·ly rage) (roring) ([σ] in) (excesse.)

²⁷NP/VP boundary; alternative scansion of Pen.Ps. 468 with medial catalexis at VP-internal Intonational Phrase boundary in Ft4: (Sins that) (my fayth) (doth not) ([σ] yet) (deokay;)

²⁸The medial catalexis occurs at a subclausal Intonational Phrase boundary, preceding an Adverbial Phrase *oft*.

²⁹The spelling *shalbe* suggests stress on *shal-*. Alternative scansion of Son. XXI.5 with medial catalexis in Ft4 before &P boundary: (Alas,) (the snow) (shalbe) ([σ] black) (and scald·) <·ing;>

³⁰Alternative scansion of Son. XXII.5 with final stress on *fortune* and medial catalexis at Intonational Phrase boundary in Ft4: (Love sleith) (myn hert;) (fortune) ([σ] is) (depriv·) <·er>

MEDIAL CATALEXIS IN WYATT

- (C.15) Medial catalexis in third foot (Epigrams; with extrametricality; N=1)
(An o·) (·thr kysse) ([σ] shall) (have my) (lyfe end·) <·id.>³¹ Ep. XXXVIII.6
- (C.16) Medial catalexis in third foot (Ballades; with extrametricality; N=4)
- a. (With nak·) (·ed fote) ([σ] stalk·) (·ing in) (my cham·) <·bre.>³² Bal. LXXX.2
- b. (That nowe) (are wyld) ([σ] and) (do not) (remem·) <·bre> Ball. LXXX.4
- c. (Into) (a straunge) ([σ] fassh·) (·ion of) (forsak·) <·ing.>³³ Ball. LXXX.17
- d. (Wyche shuld) (be best) ([σ] by) (deter·) (·minat·) <·ion.> Ball. XC.6
- (C.17) Medial catalexis in third foot (Other; with extrametricality; N=16)
- a. (In bit·) (·terness) ([σ] have) (my blynde) (lyfe taist·) <·ed> Can. LXXIII.23
- b. (Ffor nev·) (·er wormes) ([σ] have) (an old) (stock eat·) <·en> Can. LXXIII.64
- c. (Thens com) (the teres) ([σ] and) (the bit·) (·ter tor·) <·ment.> Can. LXXIII.67
- d. (And so) (hath he) ([σ] that) (th·unkynd) (doeth for·) <·ther.> Can. LXXIII.110
- e. (To honour) (and fame,) ([σ] and) (if he) (would far·) <·ther> Can. LXXIII.129
- f. (But leng·) (·er tyme) ([σ] doth) (aske res·) (·olut·) <·ion.>³⁴ Can. LXXIII.147
- g. (Make playn) (thyn hert) ([σ] that) (it be) (not knott·) <·ed> Sat. CL.92
- h. (Let the) (old mule) ([σ] byte) (vpon) (the bri·) <·dill.>³⁵ Sat. CLI.65
- i. (It is) (but love,) ([σ] turne) (it to) (a lawgh·) <·ter.> Sat. CLI.72
- j. (The moyst) (poyson) ([σ] in) (his hert) (he launc·) <·yd.> Pen.Ps. 10
- k. (And in) (this brawle) ([σ] as) (he stode) (and traunc·) <·yd.> Pen.Ps. 12
- l. (Whom more) (then God) ([σ] or) (hymselff) (he mynd·) <·yth> Pen.Ps. 26
- m. (So wond·) (·rus gret) ([σ] hath) (bene my) (vexat·) <·ion.>³⁶ Pen.Ps. 356
- n. (Thou knowst) (the teres) ([σ] of) (my la·) (·mentat·) <·ion> Pen.Ps. 360
- o. (Ffor I) (my selff,) ([σ] lo) (thing most) (vnsta·) <·ble.> Pen.Ps. 456
- p. (My tong) (shall prayse) ([σ] thy) (Justi·) (ficat·) <·ion.> Pen.Ps. 488

D. Sample scansions

The majority of Wyatt's lines, and many of his poems as a whole, are straightforwardly iambic pentameter. Sonnet XXXIV, for example, is twenty-eight lines of iambic pentameter as strict as anything written by Pope. The first fourteen are shown below in (1).

- (D.1) Scansion of Wyatt's Sonnet XXXIV/Arundel MS. CCXXXVIII. ll. 1–14

(The flam·) (·ing Sighes) (that boile) (within) (my brest)
(Somtyme) (brake forthe) (and they) (can well) (declare)
(The hartes) (vnrest) (and how) (that it) (doth fare,)
(The payne) (thearof,) (the greef) (and all) (the rest.)
(The wa·) (·trid eyes) (from whence) (the teares) (do fall)
(Do feele) (some force) (or ells) (they wolde) (be drye;)

³¹NP/VP boundary; alternative scansion of Ep. XXXVIII.6 with medial catalexis at VP-internal Intonational Phrase boundary in Ft4 or Ft5: (An o·) (·thr kysse) (shall have) ([σ] my) (lyfe end·) <·id.>; (An o·) (·thr kysse) (shall have) (my lyfe) ([σ] end·) <·id.>

³²Alternative scansion of Bal. LXXX.2 with medial catalexis at VP-internal Intonational Phrase boundary in Ft4 and phrase-initial inversion in Ft3: (With nak·) (·ed fote) (stalking) ([σ] in) (my cham·) <·bre.>

³³The proposed scansion posits a pause between an adjective and a noun, which is unexpected on prosodic grounds. It is one of the few cases where the sense makes plausible a word search gesture. An alternative scansion of Ball. LXXX.17 would place the medial catalexis in Ft4 preceding the PP boundary. The move would necessitate assuming that the final syllable of *fashion* was stressed (see the discussion in Section 2.5): (Into) (a straunge) (fasshion) ([σ] of) (forsak·) <·ing.>

³⁴NP/VP boundary; alternative scansion of Can. LXXIII.147 with medial catalexis at VP-internal Intonational Phrase boundary in Ft4: (But leng·) (·er tyme) (doth aske) ([σ] res·) (·olut·) <·ion.>

³⁵Alternative scansion of Sat. CLI.65 with elision and acephaly: ([σ] Let) (the old mule) ([σ] byte) (vpon) (the bri·) <·dill.>

³⁶Alternative scansion of Pen.Ps. 356 with medial catalexis at VP/NP Intonational Phrase boundary in Ft4: (So wond·) (·rus gret) (hath bene) ([σ] my) (vexat·) <·ion>

(The wast·) (·ed flesh) (of cowl·) (·our dead) (can trye)
 (And Some) (thing tell) (what Sweet·) (·nes is) (in gall;)
 (And he) (that list) (to see) (and to) (discerne)
 (How care) (can force) (within) (a we·) (·ried mynd)
 (Come hee) (to me,) (I am) (that place) (assynd.)
 (But for) (all this) (no force;) (it doth) (no harme)
 (The wound,) (alas,) (happ in) (some o·) (·ther place)
 (Ffrom whence) (no toole) (away) (the skarr) (can race.)

The questions raised by Wyatt's verse can be illustrated by Saintsbury's illustrative scansion of Sonnet X (Egerton MS. IV) in (2), from Saintsbury (1912:246).

(D.2) George Saintsbury's scansion of Wyatt's Sonnet X/Egerton MS. IV

(The longe) (love that) (in my) (thought I) (**harbèr**)
 (And in) (my heart) (doth keep) (his re·) (·sidence,)
 (Into) (my face) (**pressèth**) (with bold) (pretence,)
 (And there) (**campèth**) (display·) (·ing his) (**bannèr:**)
 (She that) (me learns) (to love) (and to) (**suffèr,**)
 (And wills) (that my) (trust and) (lust's neg·) (·ligence)
 (Be rein·) (·ed by rea·) (·son, shame,) (and rev·) (·erence,)
 (With his) (**hardi·**) (·ness tak·) (·es dis·) (·**pleasùre,**)
 (Wherewith) (love to) (the hart's fo·) (·rest he) (**fleèth,**)
 (Leaving) (his en·) (·terprise) (with pain) (and cry,)
 (And there) (him hi·) (·deth and) (not àp·) (·**pearèth,**)
 (What may) (I do ?) (when my) (**master**) (**feareth,**)
 (But in) (the field) (with him) (to live) (and die,)
 (For good) (is thè) (life) (end·) (·ing faithfully.)

The first point to note is that Sonnet X is syllabically almost entirely regular, each line being ten syllables. L. 7 has eleven syllables, assuming no syncope in *reverence*. L. 9 also appears to be eleven syllables, although the vowel of the definite article in *the hart's forest* may be elided (as I suggest below). Saintsbury generally forms disyllabic verse feet. In l. 14, however, this practice is abandoned: the third and fourth feet are monosyllabic, and the fifth contains four syllables. The reason for this is not clear, and it would be tempting to assume it was a typographic error; however, the same scansion is reprinted exactly in Saintsbury (1906:306). Nevertheless, the alternative scansion of l. 14 would be more consistent with Saintsbury's practice for the rest of the sonnet.

(D.3) (For good) (is thè) (life end·) (·ing faith·) (·fully.) (= Son. XXXIV.14)

Saintsbury's scansion results in a several troubling inversions, shown in bold. (The vowels with a grave accent are marked as such by Saintsbury.) These inversions break with the principle described by Hayes (1983), but also known in traditional work on metrics, that inversions are only licensed in line- or phrase-initial position. Such medial inversions are rhythmically disruptive and generally not admitted as iambic pentameter variations. I happen to think that Wyatt *did* avail himself of phrase-medial inversions, but in a far more restrictive way that Saintsbury suggests. This is a topic for future research. Saintsbury's judgment of Wyatt is nevertheless clearly influenced by his scansion and the presumption that the syllabic regularity suggests that Wyatt was writing decasyllabic meter in imitation of Italian models.

It is possible that at least some of the phrase-medial inversions reflect Early Modern English stress patterns that are no longer current. For example, if *displeasure* received main stress on the final syllable, it would no longer be an instance of inversion. Similarly, *baner*, from Old French *baniere*, may have had an oxytone variant [ba'ne:r].

Two considerations make this interpretation unlikely, though. First, there are no historical reasons to

support Saintsbury's scansion of the present third person singular suffix *-eth* in *presseth* (l. 3), *campeth* (l. 4), *fleeth* (l. 9) as stressed. (Saintsbury appears to have omitted a grave accent on the suffix in *feareth* in l. 12.)

Second, the rhyming scheme, which for the octave is *abba-abba*, implies questionable pronunciations for other rhyming terms, since this would require putting *baner* in correspondence with *harber*, *suffer*, as well as *pleasure*. Under the oxytone hypothesis, it is imaginable that a rhyme with *harber* is possible, since the latter derives from a compound, *hereberȝ* in Middle English (reconstructed Old English **here-beorg*, 'army shelter'). The compound structure was still visible in spellings as late as the sixteenth century. Chaucer (PardT 957) writes *herberwe*, although most other spellings from the late Middle English and Early Modern English periods (*herborow*, *herburgh*, and so on) indicate a back vowel in the second syllable, owing to a folk-etymological substitution of the phonologically similar word *burgh*. On the assumption that *displeasure* was finally stressed, the vowel quality was probably [iu]. Although the infinitive form of Anglo-Norman *sofrir* would have been stressed on the last syllable, the English verb is clearly borrowed from a finite form *sofre*, which would have received stress on the penultimate syllable (Pope 1952 [1934]). On the assumption that Wyatt was using an oxytone variant of *baner*, it is perhaps this rhyme with *suffer* that stretches credulity more than anything else.

My own scansion of Sonnet X is shown below. The triple length mark [:::] is used to indicate stretching of a monosyllable from a S to a W position, licensed as suggested in Section 1 by aligning with a tritonal pitch accent. Note that there are small differences between the version used by Saintsbury, who relied on the edition by Nott (1815-1816), and mine, drawn from Muir and Thomson (1969).

(D.4) My own scansion of Wyatt's Sonnet X/Egerton MS. IV

(The longe) ([:::] love,) (that in) (my thought) (doeth har·) <·bar>
 (And in) (my hert) (doeth kepe) (his res·) (·idence)
 (Into) (my face) (preseth) (with bolde) (pretence,)
 (And there·) (·in camp·) (·eth [σ]) (spreading) (his ban·) <·er.>
 ([σ] She) ([σ] that) (me lerneth) (to love) (and suf·) <·fre> 5
 (And will) (that my trust,) (and lustes) ([σ] neg·) (·ligence)
 (Be rayned) (by rea·) (·son, shame,) (and re·) (·verence)
 ([σ] With) (his hard·) (·ines) ([σ] taketh) (displeas·) <·ure.>
 ([σ] Where·) (·withall,) (vnto) (the hertes forrest) (he fle·) <·ith,>
 (Leving) (his en·) (·treprise) (with payne) (and cry) 10
 (And ther) (him hid·) (·eth [σ]) (and not) (apper·) <·eth.>
 ([σ] What) (may I) (do when) (my mais·) (·ter fer·) <·eth,>
 (But, in) (the felde,) (with him) (to lyve) (and dye?)
 (For goode) (is the liff,) ([σ] end·) (·ing faith·) (·fully.)

Sonnet X describes the poet hiding his desire from his love, a desire that he is nonetheless resigned will be his master (Rebholz 1997:342). It may thus not only epitomize the core themes of Wyatt's poetry, as understood by Brigden (2012), but also give a powerful illustration of the way in which Wyatt's 'uneasy subject' is communicated through prosodic techniques, including medial catalexis. Lines 4, 5, 11, and 14 all show medial catalexis at a clause boundary; line 8 has medial catalexis following a Prepositional Phrase *With his hardines*, assuming a monosyllabic pronunciation of *takes* (see Section 2.3 on the pronunciation of the present third person singular ending). Lines 5 and 8 additionally combine medial catalexis with acephaly. Less typically, line 6 places the medial catalexis between a Possessive Phrase and its complement. Line 9 takes advantage of both elision (*th'hertes*) and resolution in the fourth foot to bring the scansion into conformity with an iambic pentameter template.

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