

WORD-ORDER IN THE *ANCRENE WISSE*

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1. Introduction

1.1. Previous Works

The *Ancrene Riwle*, 'Anchoresses' Rule', has developed a considerable philological literature since the publication of James Morton's original edition of the Cotton Nero MS. in 1853.¹ Few studies of the language of the *Riwle* to date, however, have been concerned with its syntactic features, especially its word-order. A detailed account of its language is to be found in S. R. T. O. d'Ardenne (ed.), *De Liflade ant te Passiun of Seinte Iuliane* (E. E. T. S. 248, 1936), Introduction, and Shigetake Suzuki, *The Language of the Ancrene Wisse* (Tokyo, 1967), but both of them have no description of the positional syntax as exemplified in the *Riwle*: the former deals only with the morphology and vocabulary and the latter chiefly with the phonology and the syntax of the parts of speech.

As far as we are aware, August Dahlstedt's *The Word-Order of the Ancren Riwle with Special Reference to the Word-Order in Anglo-Saxon and Modern English* (Sundsvell, 1903) seems to be the only exception. As early as 1903, Dahlstedt provided *Ancrene Riwle* scholarship with a detailed and useful analysis of the prose style of the *Ancren Riwle* (the Nero MS.) as compared with Old English and Modern English prose. His investigation, however, is concerned only with the relative position of the subject and the finite verb, especially inverted order, and the relationship, from the point of view of rhythm of sentence, of the modifier to the finite verb or the subject. Possibly another exception might be found in R. M. Wilson, "On the Continuity of English Prose", *Mélanges de linguistique et de philologie Fernand Mossé In Memoriam* (Paris, 1959, pp. 486-494). But, as his chief concern is about the 'theory of continuity' and the connection of the *Ancrene Riwle* with the *Katherine Group*, his account of the positional syntax of the *Riwle*, valuable and suggestive as it is, is not quite satisfactory.

1.2. The Purpose of the Present Study

New analyses of the positional syntax of the *Ancrene Riwle*, the detail and coverage of which can claim to be equal to those of Professor Bruce Mitchell's excellent study of the syntax and word-order of the *Peterborough Chronicle* 1122-1154,² are now, therefore, badly needed. The present study, although it is far from an exhaustive description, aims at

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¹ James Morton (ed.), *The Ancren Riwle*, Camden Society, 1852-3.

² R. Bruce Mitchell, "Syntax and Word-Order in *The Peterborough Chronicle* 1122-1154", *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen*, LXV (1964), pp. 113-144 (Referred to hereafter as "Syntax").

satisfying part of this need by providing an analysis of some aspects of the word-order usage in Parts Six and Seven of the *Ancrene Wisse* (referred to hereafter as *AW*). In the following pages an attempt will be made to show which word-order patterns were common or unmarked and which were uncommon or marked in the corpus, by tabulating their frequency of occurrence, and to try to reveal which patterns tended to increase and which tended to diminish, by comparing them with the word-orders of earlier texts. Although the stylistic aspect of the prose of *AW* will still remain to be considered further, the results obtained in the following analysis will enable us to get some idea of the stylistic considerations which must have affected the word-order in *AW*.

1.3. The Text

'Ancrene Wisse' is the contemporary name given to the text of the *Ancrene Riwe* as is contained in the MS. Corpus Christi College Cambridge 402 (MS. CCCC 402). Modifying J. R. R. Tolkien's view that the Corpus MS. constituted a second edition within the knowledge of the author,³ E. J. Dobson assumes that the Corpus MS. is a close copy of the author's own final and definitive redaction of his work.⁴ Although this assumption remains to be proved, the Corpus MS. is generally considered to be linguistically the most reliable among the extant manuscripts, as a witness to the supposed original *Ancrene Riwe*,⁵ and this is why the *Wisse* has been chosen here as the text for the present study.

As to the date, while 'about 1230'⁶ is the one that is usually accepted, E. J. Dobson states as follows:

The sort of time-scheme that I have in mind is that the work was first written after the Lateran decrees had become known in England, even possibly after the Council of Oxford of 1222; and that there soon began a process of progressive revision of the text, culminating in the correction and revision of the Cleopatra MS. and the making of the Corpus version about 1228-30, followed almost immediately by the writing of the Corpus MS. itself as a fair copy of the revised text.⁷

As to the dialect, Arne Zettersten's view is so far the most convincing. According to his view, the AB language, *i.e.* the language of the *Ancrene Wisse* and of the text of MS. Bodley 34 is a literary dialect which must be based on a spoken variety of West Midlands that had its roots in the Herefordshire—Staffordshire—Shropshire area.⁸

The edition used in the present study is Geoffrey Shepherd's edition, *Ancrene Wisse* (Nelson, 1959). But J. R. R. Tolkien's diplomatic edition, *Ancrene Wisse* (E. E. T. S. 249, 1962), was constantly referred to throughout the study.

³ J. R. R. Tolkien, "Ancrene Wisse and Hali Meidhad," *Essays and Studies*, VIX (1929), p. 110.

⁴ E. J. Dobson, "The Affiliations of the Manuscripts of the *Ancrene Wisse*", *English and Medieval Studies Presented to J. R. R. Tolkien*, 1962, pp. 128-163, and "The Date and Composition of *Ancrene Wisse*", *Proceedings of the British Academy*, LII (1966), pp. 195 and 206.

⁵ The Cleopatra MS. is the earliest of the extant manuscripts, but its text is said to be inferior to that of the Corpus MS. Cf. E. J. Dobson (ed.), *The English Text of the Ancrene Riwe* (British Museum Cotton MS. Cleopatra C. VI), E. E. T. S. 267, 1972, pp. xf.

⁶ R. W. Chambers, *On the Continuity of English Prose from Alfred to More and his School*, E. E. T. S. 191A, 1932, p. xcvi.

⁷ E. J. Dobson (1966), p. 206.

⁸ Arne Zettersten, *Studies in the Dialect and Vocabulary of the Ancrene Riwe*, Lund, 1965, pp. 286-7.

2. *Independent Clauses*

Independent clauses in our corpus may, in view of the fact that the order of the primary clause-level units in them is influenced by the linguistic environment at the front of the clause, be classified as follows:

- (A) Independent clauses which are not introduced by a coordinate conjunction or adverbials;
- (B) Independent clauses which are introduced by adverbials;
- (C) Coordinate clauses which are introduced by a coordinate conjunction;
- (D) Imperative and interrogative sentences.

2.1. Independent Clauses of Type A

The distribution of word-order patterns in independent clauses of Type A is shown in Table 1 below.⁹

TABLE 1

Word-Order ¹⁰	Number of Clauses	Percentages
1. S.V.	62 ¹¹ } 65	95
2. V.S.	3 } 65	5
3. S.V.O.	79 } 106	74.5
4. O.S.V.	13 } 106	12
5. S.O.V.	8 } 106	7.5
6. O.V.S.	3 } 106	3
7. V.S.O.	3 } 106	3
8. S.V.C.	59 } 67	88
9. C.V.S.	6 } 67	9
10. Object-C.S.V.	2 } 67	3
11. S.v....p.p.	2	
12. S.V. expressing a wish	2	
Total	242	

2.1.1. Clauses with the Subject and Verb (Word-Orders 1-2 in Table 1)

The dominant order here is S.V., as would be expected. Table 1 shows that out of the 65 examples 62 (95%) are found in this order. Examples are:

- (1) 2318¹² *MUCHE luue is ofte bitweone mon z wummon.*

⁹ The figures below exclude subjectless clauses, the 'pet is' type of clauses and the 'quod he' type of clauses.

¹⁰ The symbols S., v., V., O., C. and A. stand for a subject, an auxiliary verb, a main verb, an object, a complement and an adverbial element, respectively.

¹¹ This figure excludes 1226 and 2231, which are of ambiguous construction.

¹² The figures preceding citations refer to page and line of G. Shepherd's edition. The first two digits refer to the page and the last two to the line.

- (2) 2118 *He com him seolf on ende.*
- (3) 2215 *Pet pis scheld naued siden is for bitacnunge pet . . .*
- (4) 3028 *Ze habbed of peos blissen iwriten ellesher.*

The order V.S. occurs only three times (5%). It will be seen from the result that this order in the clauses of Type A is a minor pattern which is of limited productivity.

- (5) 0833 *Wat Crist.*¹³
- (6) 1231 *Dude swa seinte Agace pe*
- (7) 1311 *Stod an hali mon of feor, biheold al pis ilke.*

2.1.2. Clauses with the Subject, Object and Verb (Word-Orders 3-7 in Table 1)

The order S.V.O. is the most frequent form here, appearing 77 times (74.5%) out of 104 occurrences. The second most frequent pattern is O.S.V., of which there are thirteen examples (12%). As Examples 11-14 cited below show, this pattern is used when the object is topicalized or emphasized. These two patterns account for about 86% of the examples and they can be said to be productive patterns.

S.V.O.:

- (8) 1409 *Peos preo Maries bitacnið preo bitternesses.*
- (9) 2231 *He bohte us wið his heorte blod.*
- (10) 2132 *Ich wat pah to soðe pet ich schal bituhen ham neomen deades wunde.*

O.S.V.:

- (11) 1602 *Aromaz me maked of myrre ⁊ of rechles.*
- (12) 2412 *Preo beades he greidede to his deore leofmon forte weschen hire in ham.*
- (13) 0937 *Folc tolaimet ⁊ totoren wið strong liflade ⁊ wið heard, he cleoped folc fearlac.*
- (14) 2818 *Hu ze hit schule warpen, Salomon teached.*

When the object is a pronoun, the preferred pattern is still the S.V.O. (25 examples), but the order S.O.V. also occurs, of which there are eight examples. However, this pattern, although it is close to the O.S.V. order in frequency, must be said to be of limited productivity, as far as our corpus is concerned. For there is a preference for the S.V.O., the ratio between the S.V.O. and the S.O.V. being roughly 3:1 in our corpus, and, as it is seen in Examples 15-18 below, some formulaic expressions account for about a half of our examples.

- (15) 1815 *Christ hit wat.*
- (16) 1802 *Godd hit wat.*
- (17) 1820 *Godd hit wat.*
- (18) 0517 *Crist me schilde forte habben eani blisse i pis world bute*
- (19) 1517 *Peos Maries hit bugged.*
- (20) 2419 *Pet he lued us mare pen eani moder hire child, he hit seid him seoluen purh Ysaie.*
- (21) 1313 *he hit mei wel notien.*
- (22) 2002 *Ich hit habbe iseid ear.*

¹³ Cf. 0514 *Godd wat pe pe seide*

When the object is a noun, the most frequently occurring pattern is the S.V.O. (54 examples). The next most frequent pattern is the O.S.V., of which there are eleven examples. But there are no examples of the order S. noun-O.V. in clauses of this type.

The remaining minor patterns are O.V.S. and V.S.O., each with three examples.

O.V.S.:

- (23) 1235 *Fleschlich medecine ne dude ich me neaure*.¹⁴
- (24) 1928 *Schir heorte, as seint Bernard seid, makied twa pinges*.
- (25) 2408 *pis dude ure lauerd us pe . . .*

V.S.O. (with verbs in the subjunctive form):¹⁵

- (26) 0830 *abide we ure healent pe . . .*
- (27) 1828 *Luuie we hare god*.
- (28) 2913 *Cheose nu euch an of pes twa, eordlich elne z heouenlich*.

2.1.3. Clauses with the Subject, Complement and Verb (Word-Orders 8-10 in Table 1)

The normal order here is S.V.C. Out of our 67 examples 59 (88%) are found in this order. Examples are:

- (29) 2018 *Luuie is heouene stiward for hire muchele freolec*.
- (30) 0304 *AL is penitence ant strong penitence pet ze eauer drehed*.
- (31) 3029 *Pis luue is pe riwle pe riwled pe heorte*.

When C. is emphasized, C.V.S. appears to be the preferred pattern, as far as our corpus is concerned. Six examples are found in this order (9%), four of which are with the verb *be* and two with modal auxiliary verbs:

- (32) 0903 *His lim penne nis he nawt pe naued eche under se sar akinde heued*.
- (33) 1123 *igracet beo his milce!*
- (34) 1530 *iblescet ibeo pu lauerd*.
- (35) 2411 *iblescet beo he eaure!*
- (36) 0308 *Blide mahe ze beon prof*.
- (37) 2330 *welcume schalt tu beo me*.

While there are no examples of the order Subject-C.S.V., two examples are found in the order Object-C.S.V.O.:

- (38) 0715 *Scheome ich cleopie eauer her beon itald unwurd z beggin as an hearlot*.
(Cotton Nero A.xiv reads: *scheome ich telle uorte beon euer itold unwurd and beggen ase on harlot*.)
- (39) 2933 *Vndeore he maked Godd*.

2.1.4. Clauses with Word-Orders 11-12 in Table 1

Word-order 11, in which the object appears between the auxiliary verb and the past

¹⁴ This sentence is the translation of the Latin line, directly preceding it, which is said to have been used as an anthem on St. Agatha's day and reads: *Medicinam carnalem corpori meo nunquam adhibui?*

¹⁵ Cf. 0829 *Let opre acemin hare bodi pe . . .*

participle, occurs in two examples, each with the pronoun object:¹⁶

(40) 2023 *He haued muchel idon us, ⁊ mare bihaten.*

(41) 2928 *Streche pi luue to Iesu Crist, pu hauest him iwunnen.*

Incidentally, there are no examples of the 'ic Ælfric wolde pas lytlan boc acwenden' type of construction in our corpus. For the order S.O.v.V. see Example 22.

The Old English pattern seen in *God pe sie milde a on ecnesse* (Ælfric)¹⁷ with the verb in subjunctive form occurs twice in *AW*:

(42) 1526 *pe polemode polie bitter ane hwile, he schal sone prefter habben zeld of blisse.*

(43) 3005 *Pi word beo ifordet.*

2.1.5. Historical Comparison

The figures from Ælfric's Homily on the Passion of St. Stephen (hereafter *Stephen*) and the First and Second Continuations of the *Peterborough Chronicle* (hereafter *P.C.C.I* and *P.C.C.II*) are subjoined below for comparison. They are from R. B. Mitchell, "*Syntax*", pp. 120ff. Here the differences in the amount of text in each work should be taken into consideration. Thus our comparison must rest largely on marked differences in the relative percentages.

TABLE 2

Number in Table 1	Word-Order	<i>Stephen</i>	<i>P.C.C.I</i>	<i>P.C.C.II</i>	<i>AW</i>
1, 3, 8	S.V.(O./C.)	39(72%)	52(75%)	22(56%)	200(83%)
2, 7	V.S.(O./C.)	2	1	5	6
4	O.S.V.	2	4	6	13
5	S. pronoun-O.V.	2	3	2	8
5'	S. noun-O.V.	2	0	0	0
6	O.V.S.	3	2	1	3
9	C.V.S.	0	1	0	6
10	C.S.V.	0	0	2	2 ¹⁸
11	S.v...p.p.	4	0	1	2
12	S.V. expressing a wish	0	6	0	2
Totals		54	69	39	242
Approximate Percentages of Word-Orders 1, 3, 4, 8 and 10		76	81	77	89

Table 2 above reveals some important aspects in the development of the word-order in independent clauses of Type A:

1. There is a marked tendency that Word-orders 1, 3, 4 and 8 are beginning to be

¹⁶ The modern order S.v.V.O. occurs in 2002, 2324 and 2507.

¹⁷ R. B. Mitchell, "*Syntax*", p. 122.

¹⁸ For convenience's sake, examples of the order OC.S.V.O. are included here.

established as the norm of these clauses, while the word-orders 5', 6, 11 and 12 tend to diminish;

2. Word-orders 2, 5, 7 and 10 seem to remain stable as regards growth and decline.

2.2. Independent Clauses of Type B

2.2.1. Clauses Introduced by Adverbials Other than *ne* (Type B1)

When an adverb or adverbial phrase was the initial element, the so-called 'demonstrative order' (A.V.S.) was almost the rule in OE. Our text shows a marked divergence from this OE practice.

TABLE 3

Word-Order	Number of Clauses	Percentages
1. A.V.S.	41	53
2. A.S.V.	37 } 78	47
3. A.S.v. . . . p.p.	1(2223)	
4. A.O.S.V.	2(2510, 1637)	
5. A.O.V.S.	1(2031)	
6. Dative noun V.S.	2(0501, 0529)	
Total	84	
Approximate Percentage A.S.V.	44%	

Table 3 shows that the modern S.V. order occurs with roughly the same frequency (47% of the 78 occurrences) as the inverted order (53%). This is a particularly noteworthy difference between *AW* and the earlier prose. According to R. B. Mitchell, "*Syntax*," p. 138, Table 12, approximate percentages of the word-order S.V. in independent clauses of Type B1 are, 28% (8 out of 29 examples) in *Stephen*, 4% (4 out of 96) in *P.C.C.I.* and 12% (6 out of 49) in *P.C.C.II.* The percentage in *AW* is 44% (37 out of 84). It will be seen from these figures that the order A.V.S. is on the decline. After adverbs of time and connection the order V.S. is well preserved:

- (44) 2732 *Pa pe nidfule Giws offreden ure lauerd pis sure present up o pe rode, pa seide he pet reowdfule word, Consumatum est.*
- (45) 1716 *Penne beo ze dunes ihehet toward heouene.*
- (46) 2134 *Nu penne biseche ich pe, for pe luue pet ich cude pe, pet*
- (47) 1431 *for pi is eauer bitter feht neod azein Pharaon.*
- (48) 1121 *Pus dude ure lauerd Iesu Crist.*
- (49) 1402 *Nu is al pis meast iseid of bitternesse utewið.*

But the S.V. order also occurs:

- (50) 2322 *For pi Crist luued mare.*
- (51) 2630 *Nu ze habbed iherd, mine leoue sustren, hu z for hwi Godd is swiðe to luuien.*

- (52) 2825, 26 *Pus pu schalt*, seid Salomon, *rukelin* on his heaved bearninde gleden, pet is to seggen, *pus pu schalt ontenden his heorte forte luuie pe*.

D. L. Shores, in his *A Descriptive Syntax of the Peterborough Chronicle from 1122 to 1154* (Mouton, 1971), p. 87, says that inversion of subject and predicator was likely to occur in *P.C.C.I* and *P.C.C.II* if an adverbial tagmeme occurred initially, regardless of whether the subject slot was filled by a noun or pronoun. After prepositional phrases, however, when the subject is a noun, there is to be found in our corpus a tendency to the V.S. order. Examples are:

- (53) 0934 *Of peo pe hare curtles toteored o pisse wise, seid Ysaie, . . .*
 (54) 1508 *Pus lo, in euch stat rixled bitterness . . .*
 (55) 2011 *I pis is al pe strengde of alle religiuns, pe ende of alle ordres.*
 (56) 0633 *I pe heate is understonden euch wa pet eiled flesch.*

When the subject is a pronoun, the S.V. order is usually found after prepositional phrases:

- (57) 0817 *purh schentful pine he com to gloire of blisful ariste.*
 (58) 1517 *peos Maries hit bugged, pet is, purh bitterness me kimed to swotnesse.*
 (59) 2437 *Wid al pis luue zetten he wohed hire o pis wise.*

The exceptions are as follows:

V.pronoun-S.:

- (60) 1403 *Of bitterness inwid segge we nu sumhweat.*

Noun-S.V.:

- (61) 1522 *Purh Maries bone wes, ed te neoces, weater iwent to wine, pet is to understonden, purh bone of bitterness pet me drehed for Godd, pe heorte pe wes weattri, smechles, ne ne felde na sauur of Godd namare pen i weater, schal beon iwent to wine, . . .*

The examples of the S.V. and V.S. orders after adverbial elements are given in Table 4 on page 19.

It is generally known that inversion caused by an initial dependent clause is not frequent even in Old English.¹⁹ There are no examples of such a construction in our corpus. The inversion seen in the following example is caused by the negative particle *ne*.

- (62) 1429 *Hwil eauer Israles folc wes in Egypte under Pharaones hond, ne leadde he newer ferd pron, . . .*

2.2.2. Clauses Introduced by *ne* (Type B2)

There are sixteen independent clauses beginning with the negative particle *ne*, of which thirteen have the V.S.(O./C.) order, two have the V.O.S. order and one the order O.V.S. The particle *ne* in the one example that has the O.V.S. order is considered to be a conjunction:

- (63) 2833 *zef pu maht ondswerien, Alle wa ha duden me, ne na luue ne ahte ich ham, ah, sire, ich luuede ham for pi luue.*

¹⁹ C. A. Smith, "The Order of Words in Anglo-Saxon Prose," *PMLA*, VIII (1893), p. 223; also cf. Leon Kellner, *Historical Outlines of English Syntax* (London, 1892; Tokyo, 1956), p. 286.

TABLE 4

Adverbials	S.V.		V.S.	
	Noun-S.V.	Pron.-S.V.	V.noun-S.	V.pron.-S.
Prepositional phrase	1(1522)	10	15	1(1403)
<i>alswa</i>	3(1407, 1922, 2802)		2(2234, 2301)	
<i>for pi</i>	1(2322)		4(0311, 1431, 1524, 2613)	
<i>pus</i>	2(2609, 1117)	2(2825, 2826)	2(0512, 1121)	
<i>nu</i>		1(2630)	4(0418, 1402, 1604, 3022)	
Multiple adv.		1(2102)		
Multiple adv. with <i>ne</i>			2(2020, 2724)	4(1115, 1624, 2734, 2831)
<i>deore</i>			1(2922)	
<i>hehe</i>				1(0520)
<i>herto</i>			1(2107)	
<i>inoh</i>			1(1434)	
<i>nu penne</i>				1(2134)
(<i>pa...</i>) <i>pa</i>				1(2732)
<i>penne</i>				1(1716)
<i>alswa as</i>		1(3025)		
<i>zet</i>		4(1819, 2328, 2331, 2937)		
<i>leasse</i>		1(2609)		
<i>muchel</i>	1(2407)			
<i>nawt ane</i>	1(2220)			
<i>nawt forpi</i>		1(1811)		
<i>neauer</i>	1(2317)			
<i>sikerliche</i>	1(1027)	1(2706)		
<i>swa</i>		2(1319, 2425)		
<i>swa ouerswide</i>		1(2936)		
<i>witerliche</i>	1(3006)			
Totals	12	25	32	9
Totals	37		41	

All the remaining examples have the adverb *ne*:

V.S.(O./C.):

(64) 0406 *pet is, nabbe we na wununge her.*

(65) 1026 *Nis per nawiht prof.*

(66) 0701 *Ne kimeð nan in to parais bute purh pis leitinde sweord pe wes hat ⁊ read.*

V.O.S.:

(67) 1005 *ne geined me nawt to asailin him.*

(68) 1206 *Ne grapi hire nan to softeliche hire seoluen to bichearren.*

L. Kellner, *Historical Outlines of English Syntax* (London, 1892; Tokyo, 1956), p. 286, states that the inverted order was the rule in negative sentences in Old English,²⁰ as in the other Germanic languages. The Early ME usage as it is seen in our corpus remarkably deviates from it. There are 42²¹ independent clauses of Types A and B with the expressed subject and the negated verb in our corpus. When our examples are grouped according to different environments in the initial position of clauses, we get the figures below.

Of the 30 clauses which are not initiated by any adverbial elements other than *ne* (Types A and B),

14 occur in the order S.V. (48%),

15 occur in the order V.S. (52%);

Of the 12 clauses which are initiated by adverbial elements other than *ne* (Type B1),

3 occur in the order S.V. (25%),

9 occur in the order V.S. (75%).

Examples are:

S.V. (Type A):

(69) 0331 Þah he seo oðer here idele gomenes ⁊ wundres bi pe weie, *he ne edstont nawt*,
as foles doð.

(70) 0332 *He ne bered na gersum* bute his speonse gnedeliche.

(71) 2526, 27 Ðu schalt te seolf beo seoueuald brihtre pen pe sunne, *nan uuel ne schal nahhi pe, na wunne ne schal wonti pe.*

A.S.V. (Type B1):

(72) 1922 *alswa na flesches derf nis to huuen* bute for pi pet

(73) 2220 *Nawt ane pis scheld ne schilt us* from alle uueles.

(74) 2317 *Neauer fere ne dude swuch fordede* for his fere.

The figures above show that while there was still in our corpus a predilection for inversion in negative clauses beginning with adverbial elements, inversion was by no means compulsory but optional in transforming independent clauses of Types A and B2 into negative sentences. Here again the S.V. order shows a tendency to increase in its use and in this respect the language of *AW* deviates not only from the earlier prose but also from that of the *Katherine Group*.²²

2.3. Coordinate Clauses Introduced by a Coordinate Conjunction (Type C)

2.3.1. Clauses Introduced by *ant* and *ah*

As far as our corpus is concerned, word-order of clauses introduced by *ant* and *ah* appears very much like that of clauses of Types A and B in its distribution as shown in Table 5 below. This may seem to imply that the presence of the conjunctions *ant* and *ah* is not of so much significance to the selection of word-orders in *AW*. This system of classification, however, may be justified, in view of the evidence from earlier stages of the language.

²⁰ Also cf. S. O. Andrew, *Syntax and Style in Old English*, New York, 1966, p. 62.

²¹ This figure excludes 1235, the order of which is O.V.S.

²² Kikuo Miyabe, "On Some Features of Negative Sentences of Early Middle English", *Studies in English Literature*, English Number 1968, pp. 83-103.

TABLE 5

<i>Ant</i>		<i>Ah</i>	
Word-Order	Number of Clauses	Word-Order	Number of Clauses
1. <i>z</i> V.	20	21. <i>ah</i> V.	3
2. <i>z</i> V.O.	31 ²³	22. <i>ah</i> A.V.	1
3. <i>z</i> V.C.	4	23. <i>ah</i> V.O.	6
4. <i>z</i> A.V.O.	2	24. <i>ah</i> V.C.	1
5. <i>z</i> A.V.C.	1	25. <i>ah</i> S.V.	6
6. <i>z</i> S.V.	17	26. <i>ah</i> A.S.V.	2(0505, 1419)
7. <i>z</i> A.V.S.	1(0615)	27. <i>ah</i> A.V.S.	2(0513, 1430)
8. <i>z</i> S.V.O.	6	28. <i>ah</i> S.V.O.	9
9. <i>z</i> O.S.V.	3(0819, 1738, 2025)	29. <i>ah</i> O.S.V.	2(0511, 1602)
10. <i>z</i> S.O.V.	3(2133, 2714, 2834)	30. <i>ah</i> O.V.S.	1(0608)
11. <i>z</i> O. <i>ne</i> V.S.	2(1325, 2712)	31. <i>ah</i> A.S.V.O.	4(0801, 2126, 2628, 2906)
12. <i>z</i> A.S.V.O.	8	32. <i>ah</i> S.V.C.	5
13. <i>z</i> A. <i>ne</i> V.S.O.	1(0531)	33. <i>ah</i> Dat. pron. S.V.C.	1(0837)
14. <i>z</i> S.V.C.	6	34. <i>ah</i> A.S.V.C.	1(2319)
15. <i>z</i> C.V.S.	1(1127)	35. <i>ah</i> A.V.S.C.	1(0418)
16. <i>z</i> Dat. pron. V.C.S.	1(1702)	36. <i>ah nis per</i>	1(1826)
17. <i>z nis per</i>	1(0909)		
18. <i>z</i> v.O.V.	1(2209)		
19. <i>z</i> S.v.O.V.	2(0919, 1025)		
20. <i>z</i> A.S.v.O.V.	1(2422)		
Total	112	Total	46

A comparison with the results from earlier texts explicitly reveals a tendency in the use of word-orders in clauses after *ant* and *ah* in our corpus. The non-modern orders, by which are meant word-orders 7, 10, 11, 13, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 27, 30, 35 and 36 in Table 5, account for 30% of examples in *Stephen*, 20% in *P.C.C.I*, 15% in *P.C.C.II*,²⁴ and 11% in *AW*. Here *AW* represents a fulfilment of the tendency shown in the earlier texts. Besides, it will be seen that there is an increasing tendency for word-order in these clauses to conform to its usage in other types of independent clauses, namely, clauses of Types A and B.

A comment on the word-order S.noun-O.V. will be needed. It has often been pointed out²⁵ that coordinate conjunctions were syntactically subordinating and that after *ond* and also *ac* the word-order S.O.V. or the 'conjunctive' or 'subordinate' order was common in Old English. This use, however, could hardly survive the Old English period. In *AW* a noun object never precedes the verb in coordinate clauses after *ant* and *ah*, while in the

²³ Excluding 1808, which is within an interrogative sentence.

²⁴ The figures are from R. B. Mitchell, "Syntax", p. 133.

²⁵ Cf. Alistair Campbell, "Verse Influences in Old English Prose", *Philological Essays in Honour of Herbert Dean Meritt*, ed. by J. L. Rosier, The Hague, 1970, p. 93; S. O. Andrew, *op. cit.*, pp. 1ff.; Henry Sweet, *Sweet's Anglo-Saxon Primer*, Oxford, 1953, p. 61.

Final Continuation of the *Peterborough Chronicle* two examples were found in this pattern, one after *ond* (1140 / 53) and the other after *ac* (1137 / 12).²⁶ As shown in Table 5, in our corpus the S.O.V. pattern occurs only when the object is a pronoun. The examples are:

- (75) 2133 *z ich hit wulle heorteliche forte ofgan pin heorte.*
 (76) 2714 *z ze hit schule makien of reade monnes blod.*
 (77) 2834 *for hit wes izeuen him z he hit wule pe zelden.*

Here again *AW* stands apart from the earlier texts.

2.3.2. Clauses Introduced by *for*, *oder* and *me*

Table 6 gives the number of examples of each word-order after *for*, *oder*, and *me*.

For-clauses in *AW* may be considered as coordinate with their main clauses, partly because they are almost always post-posed and partly because the conjunction *for* is used without *pat* following it. But the comparatively low percentage (71%) of the modern orders (Word-orders 1, 2, 5, 6, 13 and 15 in Table 6) in contrast to that in clauses of Type A (89%) might arouse a doubt about the status of *for* in our corpus. We will not go any further, however, than pointing out that while in clauses of Type A the order S.V. pronoun-O. is preferred to the order S. pronoun-O.V. with a ratio of about 3 to 1, in clauses after *for* the ratio is 5 to 3.

TABLE 6

Word-Order	Number of Clauses
1. <i>for</i> S.V.	7(1608, 0307, 0411, 1931, 0419, 2834, 2935)
2. <i>for</i> A.S.V.	1(3001)
3. <i>for</i> A.V.S.	4(0722, 0734, 1404, 1830)
4. <i>for</i> S.v.A.V.	2(1001, 2827)
5. <i>for</i> S.V.O.	11(0530, 1118, 1411, 1416, 1423, 1505, 1804, 1926, 2019, 2427, 2512)
6. <i>for</i> O.S.V.	1(2920)
7. <i>for</i> S. pron.-O.V.	2(1606, 2018)
8. <i>for</i> O.V.S.	2(0438, 2915)
9. <i>for</i> A.S.V.O.	6(0728, 1514, 2224, 2507, 2519, 2729)
10. <i>for</i> A.S. pron.-O.V.	1(2410)
11. <i>for</i> A. ne v.S.V.O.	2(1823, 2916)
12. <i>for</i> A. ne v.S.O.V.	1(3015)
13. <i>for</i> S.V.C.	11(0506, 0536, 0539, 1007, 1126, 1328, 1617, 1707, 2125, 2431, 3007)
14. <i>for</i> C.V.S.	2(0712, 0910)
15. <i>for</i> A.S.V.C.	2(1917, 2324)
<i>oder</i> S.V.	3(2501, 2502, 2502)
<i>oder</i> S.V.C.	1(0921)
<i>me</i> O.S.V.	1(2024)
Totals	<i>for</i> 55, <i>oder</i> 4, <i>me</i> 1

²⁶ R. B. Mitchell, "Syntax", p. 132

2.4. Imperative and Interrogative Sentences

2.4.1. Imperative Sentences

As is the case with Old English and also with Modern English, the order V.(O./C.) is the rule in imperative sentences. This pattern can account for 63 out of our 64 examples of subjectless imperative sentences.

Examples:

(78) 2731 *Understodeð pis word.*

(79) 2001 Forpi, mine leoue sustren, ouer alle ping *beoð bisie* to habben schir heorte.

(80) 2607 oder *zette me pi luue.*

The word-order O.V. appears only once:

(81) 0625 *Ba peos bihald* in me, quod̄ Daudi.

The subject is expressed in:

S.V.:

(82) 1017 Ant *tu zeld me ondswe*re—of tweie men hweðer is wisre?

V.S.:

(83) 1627 *3e, went tu* alswa of ba pine ancre huses as he dude.

2.4.2. Interrogative Sentences

Yes-no questions are regularly formed by placing the finite verb before the subject as in OE:

(84) 1621 *Beo 3e ibunden* inwið fowr large wahes?

(85) 0911 *Cwemeð he* nu wel Godd . . . ?

(86) 0838 Ant *is pet* eani wunder?

The arrangement of clause-level units is the same as in Modern English excepting the absence of the periphrastic 'do' forms.

Although this is not the complete description of the criteria distinguishing *yes-no* questions from inverted declarative sentences in Early ME as attested in *AW*, the following, among others, may safely be mentioned:

- (i) Sentences with inverted order, if it is not caused by the preceding adverbial element, are likely to be interrogative;²⁷
- (ii) An inverted negative sentence is likely to be interrogative if it is with simple negation.²⁸

Some instances of the latter criterion are found in:

(87) 0833 *Nis pis god* foreward?

(88) 0923 *Nes seinte Peter ⁊ seinte Andrew* peruore *istraht* o rode?

(89) 2537 *Nalde a mon* for an of peos *3eouen al pet he ahte*?

²⁷ For exceptions to this rule, see Examples 5-7.

²⁸ Cf. K. Miyabe, *op. cit.*, p. 100.

With *Wh*-questions the arrangement of clause-level units shows the same patterns as in Modern English. But here again it should be noted that the periphrastic 'do' forms are completely absent:

- (90) 0429 *Hwa* (S.) *beoð* (V.) *betere* (C.) *pene peos*?
 (91) 3017 *Hwet* (O.) *wult* (V.) *tu* (S.) *mare*?
 (92) 2829 *Hwi* (A.) *luedest* (V.) *tu* (S.) *pe mon oðer pe wummon* (O.)?

3. *Dependent Clauses*

Table 7 below shows the distribution of word-order patterns in dependent clauses in *AW*.

3.1. Clauses with the Subject and Verb (Word-Orders 1-10 in Table 7)

The dominant word-order is S.V. Word-orders 1, 2, 8 and 9 in Table 7 account for 95% of our examples (196 out of 207 examples). The minor V.S. pattern occurs in:

hu-clauses:

- (93) 1513 *hu* efter bitternesse *kimed* *swetnesse*.
 (94) 1717 For lo, *hu spekeð pe leafdi* i pet swete luue boc.

as-clauses:

- (95) 1432 for *ase seid Ezechiel, Sanguinem fugies . . .*
 (96) 1810 ne mei meistrin us se forð *as ded pe luue of sunne*.
 (97) 2007 for *ase seid seint Austin* ⁊ spekeð pus to ure lauerd.
 (98) 2208 *as weren* sumhwile *cnihtes iwunet* to donne.
 (99) 2901 Hweat flesch wes on eorðe se swete ⁊ se hali *as wes Iesu Cristes flesch*?

pet- and *zef*-clauses with impersonal verbs:

- (100) 2406 Child pet hefde swuch uuel *pet him bihofde beað of blod . . .*
 (101) 2912 Ne punche hire neuer wunder *zef hire wonti pe hali gastes froure*.

a *hweat*-clause:

- (102) 1419 purh *hwet is bitacnet hope of heh mearci ⁊ of heouene blisse*.

Another minor pattern with a periphrastic verbal form occurs in a relative clause:

- (103) 1614 *pe strecheð him toward us as ping pet ismired is*.

3.2. Clauses with the Subject, Object and Verb (Word-Orders 11-24 in Table 7)

The order S.V.O. (Word-orders 11, 12 and 22 in Table 7) is the most frequent (72% or 167 of 231 examples). The next most frequent pattern is O.S.V., of which there are 64 examples (16%). These two orders account for 88% of the examples here. What S. O. Andrew called 'the conjunctive order'²⁹ is now a minor pattern. In our 116 examples of dependent clauses with the noun object, there are five examples of the order S.O.V. (4%), while 101 (87%) appear in the S.V.O.:

²⁹ S. O. Andrew, *op. cit.*, p. 1; *Postscript on Beowulf*, Cambridge, 1948, pp. 1-2.

TABLE 7

Word-Order	Noun	Adverb	Relative	Totals
1. S.V.	12	93	38	143
2. S.v.V.	5	17	15	37
3. S.V.v.			1(1614)	1
4. V.S.		4		4
5. v.S.V.		1(2208)		1
6. A.V.S.	2(1513, 1717)			2
7. Dat. pron. V.S.		2(2406, 2912)		2
8. A.S.V.			13	13
9. A.S.v.V.		1	2	3
10. A.v.V.S.			1(1419)	1
				<hr/> 207
11. S.V.O.	24	63	54	141 (n. 82, pr. 42, cl. 16, inf. 1)
12. S.v.V.O.	5	10	5	20 (n. 15, pr. 4, cl. 1)
13. S.v. noun-O.V.	1	3	4	8
14. S.v. pron.-O.V.	2	2		4
15. S. pron.-O.V.	1	4	4	9
16. S. pron.-O.v.V.	1	1		2
17. S. noun-O.V.	1	2	2	5
18. O.S.V.	3		50	53 (n. 1, pr. 52)
19. Pron.-O.S.v.V.	2	1	8	11
20. Pron.-O.S.V.v.			1(2809)	1
21. Pron.-O.V.S.			1(1821)	1
22. A.S.V.O.	1		5	6 (n. 4, pr. 1, inf. 1)
23. A.S. pron.-O.V.	1(0803)		1(2303)	2
24. A.S.v. noun-O.V.			1(1817)	1
				<hr/> 264
25. S.V.C.	9	22	33	64
26. S.v.V.C.			2	2
27. S.C.V.		1(0618)	2(1327, 2021)	3
28. C.S.V.	3			3
29. C.S.v.V.	1(2521)			1
30. C.V.S.	2(1536, 1801)			2
31. A.S.V.C.			2	2
32. A.v.S.V.C.		1(2117)		1
				<hr/> 78
33. inverted concession		2(1805, 2333)		2
Totals	76	230	245	551

(104) 2003 *pet is, pet ze na ping ne wilnin*, ne ne luuien bute Godd ane.

(105) 1136 *z talde him pet his deore spuse se swide murnede efter him pet heo wid uten him delit nefde i na ping.*

- (106) 1824 *3ef ei mon eani swuch ping ortrowi* bi him, he is mare mat pen peof inume wid peofde.
 (107) 0933 Of peo *pe hare curtles toteored* o pisse wise, seid Ysaie,
 (108) 2132 Ich chulle, for pe luue of pe, neome pet feht up o me τ arudde pe of ham *pe pi deað seched*.

When the object is a pronoun, 13 (10%) out of 129 examples have their object preposed and their consequent word-order is S.O.V.:

- (109) 1031 *3e, mon*, for loke nu *hu he hit heated* swide.
 (110) 1121 ase moder pet is reowdful ded hire bitweonen hire child ant te wraðe sturne feader *hwen he hit wule beaten*.
 (111) 3002 for pus he speked to Moyses, *pe monne meast him luuede*.

Among other minor patterns are the S.v.O.V. and O.S.V.v. orders:

S.v.O.V.:

- (112) 2721 *pet*, as Salomon seid, *nane weattres*, pet beoð worldliche tribulatiuns, *nane temtatiuns*, nowder inre ne uttre, *ne mahen pis luue acwenchen*.
 (113) 1626 forte schawin ancren *pet ha ne schulen* wið pe world *na ping hebben* imeane.

O.S.V.v.:

- (114) 2809 pet ich biteo al *pet ich idon hadde*.

3.3. Clauses with the Subject, Complement and Verb (Word-Orders 25-32 in Table 7)

The word-order S.V.C. forms a major pattern, which appears in 68 examples (87% of 78 clauses). The orders S.V.C. and C.S.V., which are to survive, account for 92% of our examples. The old conjunctive order S.C.V. still occurs (three times). Of these three examples, two are relative clauses and the third is a *pah*-clause:

- (115) 1327 Ant pis ne segge ich nawt swa pet wisdom τ meosure ne beon ouer al iloket, *pe moder is τ nurrice of alle gode peawes*.
 (116) 2021 for heo ne edhalt na ping, ah zeued al pet ha haued, τ ec hire seoluen —elles ne kepte Godd nawt of *pet hiren were*.
 (117) 0618 *pah he king were*,

3.4. Historical Comparison

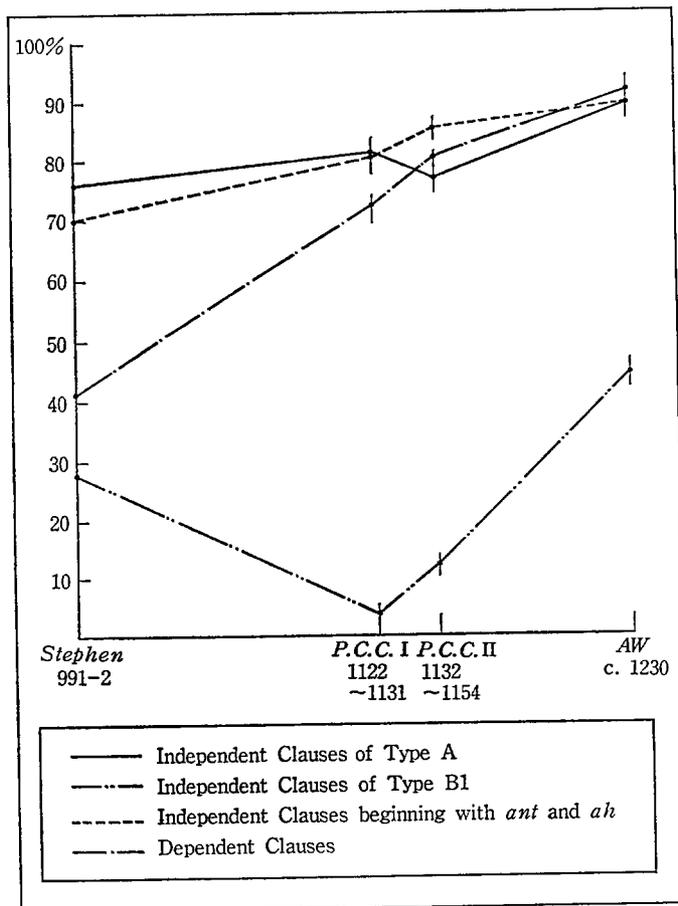
As C. A. Smith says,³⁰ the leading difference between the word-order in Old English and that in Middle English or Modern English is found in the frequent use of the conjunctive order in OE dependent clauses. This conjunctive order rapidly decreased and disappeared in the course of the Late Old English and the Early Middle English periods. This change may be evidenced by the difference in percentages of the modern orders between *AW* and the earlier texts. The modern word-orders, viz. Word-orders 1, 2, 8, 9, 11, 12, 18, 19, 22, 25, 26, 28, 29 and 31 in Table 7, account for 91% of our examples. According to R. B. Mitchell, "Syntax", p. 136, figures from *Stephen, P.C.C.I* and *P.C.C.II* are 41(%), 72(%) and 80(%) respectively. It will be inferred from these figures that the

³⁰ C. A. Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 238.

conjunctive order had become a minor pattern of very limited productivity by the time *AW* was written and that the word-order patterns in dependent clauses in *AW* showed a marked tendency to conform to those in independent clauses.

Subjoined below is Figure 1 to illustrate the development of the modern word-orders in dependent clauses which presents a remarkable contrast to the development in other types of clauses.

FIG. 1



4. Summary and Conclusions

This study has aimed to give the general idea of the word-order usage in *AW* and to reveal some of its important trends. It may be summed up as follows:

1. In all the types of clauses, unless preceded by adverbials, the use of the S.V. and S.V.O. or S.V.C. orders is widespread and shows a tendency to increase.
2. When O. or C. comes first the patterns O.S.V. and C.V.S. seem to be the norm. The patterns O.V.S. and C.S.V. are of limited productivity and the O.V.S. tends to diminish.
3. While the word-order S.pron.-O.V. is still found not only in dependent clauses but also in independent ones, the order S.noun-O.V. is found only in dependent clauses. Even in coordinate clauses after *ant* and *ah* a noun object never precedes the verb in *AW*. The order S.O.V. shows a marked tendency to diminish.
4. When independent clauses begin with an adverb other than *ne* or adverb phrases the order S.V. occurs as often as the V.S., which seems to be on the decline. After prepositional phrases, there is a tendency to the V.S. order, when the subject is a noun.
5. When clauses begin with the adverb *ne* the order V.S. is the norm. But inversion is by no means compulsory in transforming statements (independent clauses of Types A and B2) into negative sentences.
6. There is a marked tendency that the word-orders S.V.(O./C.) and O.S.V. are beginning to be established as the norm not only of independent clauses of Type A but also of those of Type C and of dependent clauses.
7. In imperative clauses the order V.(O./C.) is the norm, as is seen in OE as well as in Modern English.
8. In interrogative sentences the word-order is the same as in Modern English excepting the absence of the periphrastic 'do' forms.