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〈原著論文〉

Some Basic Observations of Word Order in Old English with Special Reference to Ælfric's Translations of the *Old Testament* and the *Old English Gospels*

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古英語における語序の基礎的観察
——アルフリッチ訳『旧約聖書』と『古英語福音書』に関連して

小 林 茂 之

古英語資料の中で、アルフリッチによる『旧約聖書』(The *Heptateuch*) はラテン語からの古英語への翻訳として有名である。また、『古英語福音書』(The *Old English Gospels*) も古英語への訳者は不明であるが、アルフリッチのものと同等に資料的価値が高い。

前者は 10C 末、後者は 10C 後半にウェセックス地方で作られ、11C に書写されたものである。また、ほぼ同時期に同じ地域で書かれたものであるため、これらを比較することによって、翻訳者による古英語の違いを明らかにすることは基礎的研究として有意義であると思われる。

本論文における調査は予備的研究として限られた資料の上で行ったが、VO/OV 語序と SV/VS 語序に関する違いが認められた。

Key words; Word Order, Old English, Ælfric, the *Old Testament*, the *Old English Gospels*

0 Introduction

The *Heptateuch* is Ælfric's translations of the *Old Testament* from Latin. The *Old English Gospels* were translated into Old English by unknown scholars. The former was made in the late 10th century in the Wessex district, and the latter was made in the second half of the 10th century in the same district. Both of them were copied in the 11th century.

Though the data which I surveyed is quite limited in amount, this survey is significant as a preliminary survey for full-scale study of the word order in Old English.

The texts which are used in this survey are some parts of Genesis in the *Heptateuch* and some parts of the *Old English Gospels*. They have been fully glossed by Marsden (2008).

1 VO/OV Word Order in Ælfric's Translations of the *Old Testament* and the *Old English Gospels*

The VO/OV variations of OE word order have been controversial. According to a basic concept of syntactic analysis, one of two VO/OV variations is supposed to be adopted as the underlying word order.

In this section, we will first examine the VO/OV word order in a fragment of Ælfric's translations of the *Old Testament*. Secondly, we will examine the VO/OV word order in a fragment of the *Old English Gospels*.

1.1 VO/OV Word Order in Ælfric's translations of the *Old Testament* (The *Heptateuch*)

In main clauses, the VO word order is observed. We will show a case where the subject noun is a pronoun, as follows:

- (1) Efne nu ic sette min wed to eow ... (Gen. 9.9)

thus now I set my oath to you

The clauses following the conjunction *and* are considered to be subordinate clauses in Old English (Mitchell & Robinson 2007: 100, § 183). Thus OV word order can be expected in such clauses; however, VO word order is observed in constructions following *and*, as follows:

- (2) ..., and he genam hi in to ðam arce. (Gen. 8.9)

and he took her into the ark

The weight of object nouns should be irrelevant here because the object is a pronoun. The tendency for the VO word order to be predominant in main clauses can be considered to intrude into clauses following the conjunction *and*.

In such constructions, subject nouns were dropped, as follows:

- (3) Noe ..., and asende ut ænne hremn. (Gen. 8.6-7)

Noah and sent forth out a raven

(4) He **asende** ut ane **culfran**. (Gen. 8.10)

he sent forth out a dove

(5) He ... and **asende** ut eft **culfran**. (Gen. 8.10)

he and sent forth out again (a) dove

(6) Heo ..., and **brohte** an twig of anum elebeame mid **grenum leafum** on hyre she and brought a twig of an olive-tree with green leaves on her muðe. (Gen. 8.11)

mouth

OV word order can be expected to be observed in subordinate constructions, as is observed in

(7). However, VO word order is observed as well as OV word order, as in (8).

(7) ... hwær heo **hire fot** a sette, ... (Gen. 8.9)

where she her foot put

(8) Ðæt is, ðæt ic sette **minne renbogan** on wolcnum, ... (Gen 9.13)

that is that I set my rainbow on (the) skies

In the above sentences the object noun phrases consist of genitive pronouns and common nouns. The weight of object noun phrases should be irrelevant.

OV word order is observed in bare infinitive constructions as follows:

(9) ðæt ic nateshwon nelle heononforð eal **flæsc adydon**

that I in no way not to wish henceforth all flesh destroy

mid flodes wæterum; (Gen 9.11)

with flood's water

We have shown that VO word order is observed in main clauses and clauses following *and* and that both VO word order and OV word order are used in subordinate clauses in Ælfric's transla-

tions of the *Old Testament*. We can assume OV word order to be the underlying construction because it is observed in the infinitive constructions. We will also show some evidence of OV word order as the underlying construction in chapter 3.

1.2 VO/OV Word Order in the *Old English Gospels*

VO word order is not predominant over OV word order in main clauses in the *Old English Gospels*. OV word order and VO word order are observed when the object noun phrase is a pronoun, as follows:

- (10) Eac þæra sacerda ealdras **hyne bysmeredon** mid þam bocerum ... (Mt27: 41)
 also the priest's chiefs him mocked with the scribes
- (11) And hig **beheoldon hyne** sittende. (Mt27: 36)
 and they regarded him sitting
- (12) And æfter þam þe hig hyne þus bysmerodon, hig **unscryddon hyne**
 and after they him thus mocked they undressed him
 þam scyccelse... (Mt27: 31)
 the cloak

VO order is observed when the object noun phrase is a heavy noun phrase, as follows:

- (13) Soþlice æfter þam þe hig hyne on rode ahengon, hig **todældon hys reaf** ...
 truly after they him on a cross crucified they divided his garments
 (Mt27: 35)

Noun phrases are regarded as heavy noun phrases when they consist of nouns and pronouns followed by such phrases. The VO order would be predominant in such cases.

The OV word order can be expected in subordinate clauses and the constructions following *and* on the assumption that clauses following *and* are subordinate clauses, as follows:

- (14) ... and se dema **hyne axode**, ... (Mt27: 11)
 and the governor him asked

- (15) ... mid þy ðe **hyne wregdon** þæra sacerda ealdras
 when **him accused** the of the priests elders
 and þa hlafordas, ... (Mt27: 12)
 and the lords

The object nouns in (14) and (15) are pronouns. However, VO order is also observed in such constructions, as follows:

- (16) ... and **scryddon hyne** mid weolcenreadum scyccelse (Mt27: 28)
 and (they) dressed him with scarlet cloak

VO word order and OV word order are to be found in the following sentence, where the object nouns phrases are not pronouns. This shows that both word orders are possible when object noun phrases are not pronouns in subordinate clauses.

- (17) ... þæt hig **bædon barrabban** and þone hælyn fordydon. (Mt27: 20)
 that they asked for Barabbas and the savior ruin

However, VO word order seems predominant when object noun phrases are not pronouns, as follows:

- (18) ... and **wundon cynehelm of þornum** ... (Mt27: 29)
 and (they) wove a crown of thorns

- (19) ... and **bigdon heora cneow** beforan him and bysmorudum
 and (they) bent their knees before him and (they) mocked
 hyne, ... (Mt27: 29)
 him

- (20) and **namon hreod** and beotun hys heafod. (Mt27: 30)
 and (they) took a reed and beat his head.

- (21) ,þa ... he ... and **þwoh hys handa** ... (Mt27: 23)

then he and washed his hands

OV word order can be expected to be observed in subordinate constructions when object noun phrases are pronouns, as can be observed in (15). However, VO word order is also observed, as in (22), (23) and (24).

(22) Ða... þæs deman cempan ... and **unscryddon hyne** hys agenum
 Then the governor's soldiers and (they) undressed him his own
 reafe (Mt27: 28)
 clothing

(23) and **scryddon hyne** mid hys agenum reafe ... (Mt27: 31)
 and (they) dressed him with his own garment

(24) and **læddon hyne** to ahonne. (Mt27: 31)
 and (they) led him to hang

When other constituents intervene between verbs and their objects, the construction seems to show a different word order, according to the object noun phrases. Object pronouns can be followed by verbs, as in (25) while object noun phrases follow the verbs, as in (26).

(25) ... þæt hig **hyne** for andan him **sealdon**. (Mt27: 18)
 that they him because of envy to him delivered

(26) ... þæt se dema sceolde **forgyfan** þam folce **æne forwyrhtne mann**
 that the governor should release to the people one condemned man
 swylcne hig habban woldon; (Mt27: 13)
 such they have wanted

It can be observed that the verbs and their object noun phrases need not be adjacent in either case.

2 VS/SV Word Order in Ælfric's Translations of the *Old Testament* and the *Old English Gospels*

In this section, we will first examine the SV/VS word order in a fragment of Ælfric's translations of the *Old Testament*. Secondly, we will examine this word order in a fragment of the *Old English Gospels*.

2.1 VS/SV Word Order in Ælfric's Translations of the *Old Testament*

The constraint on verbs as the second constituents of main clauses is called Verb Second (V2), as seen in (27) and (28), where VS word order is observed in Ælfric's translations of the *Old Testament*.

(27) Ða **undergeat** Noe ðæt ða wætera wæron abruwode ofer
 then understood Noah that the waters were dried up over
 eorðan, ... (Gen. 8: 11)
 (the) earth

(28) Ða **geopenode** Noe ðæs arces hrof, ... (Gen. 8: 13)
 then opened Noah the ark's roof

It is well-known that this phenomenon is seen in main clauses in German.

However, there are cases in which verbs are employed as the third constituents of main clauses, as seen in (29).

(29) Ða æfter feowertigum dagum **undyde** Noe his eahðyrl, ... (Gen. 8: 6)
 then after forty days undo (open) Noah his window

VS word order occurs in the above sentences. This phenomenon is also observed in Welsh (Roberts 2007: 45-8).

SV word orders are also observed in main clauses, as follows:

(30) He **asende** ða eft ut **ane culfan**, ... (Gen. 8:8)
 he sent forth then next out a dove

- (31) **God** **ða** **spræc** to Noe, **ðus** cweðende: ... (Gen. 8: 15)

God then spoke to Noah, thus saying

- (32) **Heo com** **ða** on æfnunge eft to Noe, ...

she came then on evening again to Noah (Gen. 8: 11)

- (33) **God cwað** eft to Noe and to his sunum: ... (Gen. 9: 8)

God said then to Noah and to his sons

The positions of the verbs in (32) and (33) are ambiguous, as this word order can be interpreted as both a verb second and SV word order. Such ambiguity in constructions is thought to play a large role in determining English word order (Niyogi 2002).

SV word order is used in subordinate clauses, as follows:

- (34) ... **ðan ðe ða wæteru adruwodon** ofer eorðan. (Gen. 8: 7)

until the waters dried up over (the) earth

Other constituents intervene between verbs and their subject noun phrases.

- (35) **gyf ða wætera ðagyt geswicon** ofer ðære eorðan brandnysse. (Gen. 8: 8)

if the water yet decreased over the earth's surface

- (36) **Swa heo ne gecyrde** ongear to him. (Gen. 8: 12)

when she not returned toward to him

The adverb *ðagyt* intervenes between the subject noun phrase and the verb in (35), while the negative adverb *ne* intervenes between them in (36).

2.2 VS/SV Word Order in the *Old English Gospels*

VS word order, which also shows V2 word order, is common in the *Old English Gospels*, as follows:

- (37) **Ða stod se hælend** beforan þam deman ... (Mt27: 11)

then stood the savior before the governor

(38) Ða cwæð se hælend, ... (Mt27: 11)

then said the Saviour

(39) Ða cwæð pilatus to him, ... (Mt27: 13)

then said Pilate to him

(40) Ða lærdon þæra sacerda ealdras and þa hlafordas þæt folc ... (Mt27: 20)

then persuaded the of priests elders and the lords the people

(41) Ða andwyrde se dema ... (Mt27: 21)

then answered the governor

(42) Ða cwæð pilatus to heom ... (Mt27: 22)

then said Pilate to them

(43) Ða cwædon hig ealle: (Mt27: 22)

then said they all

(44) Ða cwæð se dema to heom: (Mt27: 23)

then said the governor to them

(45) Ða geseah pilatus þæt... (Mt27: 24)

then saw Pilate that

(46) Ða andswarode eall þæt folc ... (Mt27: 25)

then answered all the people

(47) Ða forgeaf he hym barrabban ... (Mt27: 26)

then gave he to them Brabbas

(48) Ða underfengon þæs deman cempaþone hælynd on ðam

then conducted the governor's soldiers the Savior into the
 domerne (Mt27: 27)
 judgement-hall

- (49) Ða comon hig on þa stowe ... (Mt27: 33)
 then come they to the place

VS word order is predominant in main clauses; however, SV word order is also found there, as follows:

- (50) Hi ða swiþor clypodon, ... (Mt27: 23)
 they then more violently called out

VS word order which shows V2 is also found in coordinated clauses, as follows:

- (51) Ða geseah pilatus ..., þa genam he wæter ... (Mt27: 24)
 Then saw Pilate then took he water

VS word order is much more frequently found in the *Old English Gospels*. The language in which these were written is more likely to have the property of Germanic languages rather than the language in which Ælfric's translations of the *Old Testament* were written.

3 Evidence of OV Word Order in Main Clauses in Ælfric's Translations of the *Old Testament* and the *Old English Gospels*

The constraint on WH movement is well-known as the bounding theory (Chomsky 1986) or the subjacency condition.

- (52) Hwæþer wylle ge þæt ic eow agyfe: þe barrabban ðe þone
 Which of the two want you that I you give: either Barabbas or the
 hælynd ðe is crist gehaten? (Mt27: 17)
 savior who is Christ called

The structure of (52) can be analysed if we assume VO word order for the underlying structure, as follows¹⁾:

(53) [_{CP} Hwæþer [_{TP} wylle ge [_{CP} [_{NP} þæt [_{TP} ic eow agyfe *t*

The notation of *t* represents the position from which wh-words (*hwæþer* in (53)) move to the CP-Spec in the sentence-initial position.

If the underlying word order in (52) is OV, wh-movement does not need to be subjected to the above constraint, because it is well-known that OV languages don't have such a constraint on wh-movement. Though detailed discussion is needed, this problem must be left for further study.

4 Conclusion

VO word order is predominant over OV word order in main clauses, and neither of them is predominant over the other in subordinate clauses in Ælfric's translations. In contrast to this, OV word order is predominant over VO word order in subordinate clauses in the *Old English Gospels*.

SV word order is predominant over VS word order in Ælfric's translations. In contrast to this, VS word order is predominant over SV word order in the *Old English Gospels*. The residue of V2 can be frequently observed in the *Old English Gospels*.

Although this survey is limited, the difference between the above mentioned examples of literature is clear. Ælfric's translations are thought to reflect the trend of the English language after OE, while the *Old English Gospels* are thought to have properties more typical of OE than Ælfric's translations.

Remarks

- 1) I assume that the *þæt* clause in (52) is a noun phrase. Mitchell & Robinson (2008: 71, § 155) say, '*þæt* clauses are, however, more common in OE than their equivalent in MnE, for they are often found where we should use an accusative and infinitive...'. If it is a complementizer, the wh-movement in (52) is possible without violation of the bounding condition because spec-CP can be a landing site for *hwæþer* on the way to the sentence initial position in a successive cyclic movement.

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