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# On Verb-Second Phenomenon in *Ælfric's Lives of Saints*

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アルフリッチ『諸聖人の生涯』(the *Lives of Saints*)における V2 現象について

小 林 茂 之

英語における語序の歴史的変化は、通時統語論における主要なテーマの一つである。主文において定形動詞が二番目の構成素となる V2 現象は、ドイツ語など、ゲルマン語系の諸語においてよく知られた文法現象である。英語史においては古英語では頻繁に見られるが、中期英語の間に衰退し、近代英語までに消滅した。

アルフリッチの説教集は、古英語の最後期である 10C 末から 11C 初期 (AD 992-1002) に制作された。本研究では、『諸聖人の生涯』(the *Lives of Saints*) に関する小規模な調査を行い、他のアルフリッチ説教集に関する Davis (1997) の調査結果と比較した。Davis による調査結果を検討すると、他のアルフリッチ説教集では主語が重い場合には V2 現象が優勢であると判断されるのに対して、『諸聖人の生涯』では V2 現象は主語が重い場合でも優勢ではないことが判明した。このことから、同作品では主語が主文の第一要素になる傾向が高く、同作品の語序は他のアルフリッチによる説教集よりも規範的な古英語文法によって固定されていないと考えられる。

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**Key words;** Verb-Second, Old English, Ælfric, the *Lives of Saints*, diachronic syntax

## O Introduction

The word order of the English language has changed from Verb-second to SVO at a certain stage of Middle English. There must have been a competition between the two word orders in Old English prior to the change.

The purpose of this study is to make clear the competitive state of the word order of finite verbs in main clauses in Old English. An investigation on a small scale was made into the *Lives of Saints* issued by Ælfric between 992 and 1002. Following Pope (1967), as many scholars have, I

view this literature as rhythmically ordered prose which has some characteristics of Old English poems.

I argue for the difference between it and other of Ælfric's homilies which were exhaustively investigated by Davis (1997). The statistical comparison of the results of the investigations shows that Ælfric's other homilies, investigated by Davis, have more characteristics of Verb-Second languages than those of *Lives of Saints*.

## 1 Verb Second Phenomenon

### 1.1 V-to-C-Movement Analysis

The Verb-Second in main clauses in Old English has been analysed as verb-movement in the analyses of van Kemenade (1987), which were examined by Pintzuk (1999) and Fischer et al. (2000). The Verb-Second phenomenon is also observed in present-day Germanic languages. OE has been analysed syntactically as a variant of these languages since the study of van Kemenade (1987). According to such analysis, OE has INFL-final phrase structure, with Verb Movement to Comp. This phenomenon can be seen in German, as follows:

- (1) a. Ich **las** schon letztes Jahr diesen Roman.  
       I read already last year this novel  
       b. Diesen Roman **las** ich schon letztes Jahr.  
           this novel read I already last year  
       c. Schon letztes Jahr **las** ich diesen Roman.  
           already last year read I this book  
           'I read this novel last year already.'  
       d. \*Schon letztes Jahr ich **las** diesen Roman.  
           (Roberts 2007: 50, (56))

In (1a-c) one constituent precedes the finite verb *las*: the subject *ich* in (1a), the direct object is *diesen Roman* in (1b), and the adverbial phrase *schon letztes Jahr* in (1c). More than one constituent cannot precede the finite verb, as the ungrammaticality of (1d) shows.

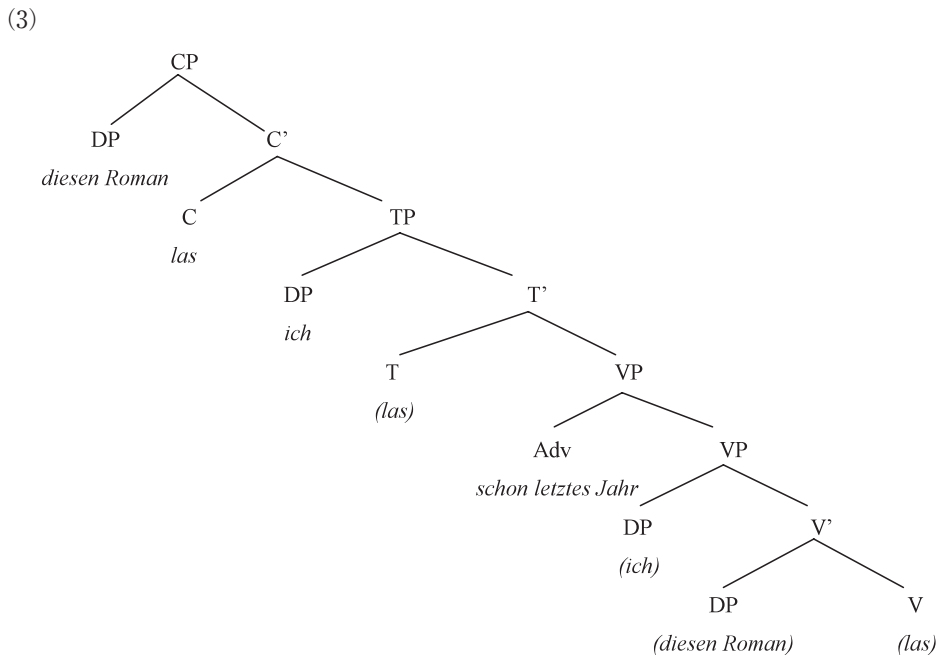
V2 is largely restricted to main clauses in many languages. In subordinate clauses, the finite verb or auxiliary must appear in final position in German, as follows:

- (2) Du weißt wohl,  
 you know well
- a. ... daß ich schon letztes Jahr diesen Roman las.  
 ... that I already last year this novel read
- b. ... daß ich schon letztes Jahr diesen Roman **gelesen habe**.  
 ... that I already last year this book read have

(Roberts 2007: 50, (59))

Subordinate clauses are typically introduced by a subordinate conjunction or complementizer: *daß* ('that') as in (2). The position which is supposed to be occupied by the complementizer is called C. It is assumed in the Minimalist Program that C merges with TP, the head position of which is occupied by an abstract tense element.

It can be assumed that the finite verb or auxiliary moves to C in V2 in embedded clauses and, since C already contains a complementizer in embedded clauses, position C is already filled, and so the verb is unable to move to C. Thus it can be explained that V2 doesn't occur in embedded clauses, as in (2). If the finite verb moves to C in V2 constructions, the structure of (1a) will be as illustrated in (3):



(Roberts 2007: 51, (62))

It should be also assumed that one constituent occupies a Specifier of CP or the initial position of CP by another mechanism, which lack of time and space does not permit me to discuss here.

## 1.2 Verb-Second Phenomenon in Old English

In OE the finite verb in main clauses is usually in second position. The first constituent is immediately followed by a verb, as follows:

- (4) a. *Se Hælend wearð þa gelomlice ætiwed his leornung-cnihtum.*  
 the Lord was then frequently shown his disciples  
 ‘the Lord then frequently appeared to his disciples’ (*ÆCHomI*, 15.220.21, Fischer et al. 2000: 114 (33))
- b. *Maran cyððe habbað englas to Gode þonne men*  
 More affinity have angels to God than men  
 ‘angels have more affinity to God than people’ (*AHth*, I, 10, Kemenade1987: 42 (61b))
- c. *On twam þingum hæfde God þæs mannes sawle gegodod*  
 in two things had God the man’s soul endowed  
 ‘with two things God had endowed man’s soul’ (*AHth*, I, 20, Kemenade1987: 42 (61c))
- d. *þonne beoð eowere eagan geopenode*  
 then are your eyes opened  
 ‘then your eyes will be opened’ (*AHth*, I, 10, Kemenade1987: 42 (61d))
- e. *Hwi wolde God swa lytles þinges him forwyrnan*  
 why would God such small thing him deny  
 ‘why would God deny him such a small thing’ (*AHth*, I, 10, Kemenade1987: 43 (61e))

In (4) the first constituent is the subject in (4a), the object in (4b), a prepositional phrase in (4c), an adverbial in (4d), and a wh-interrogative in (4e). It should be remembered that the position of the finite verbs is C, as in Verb-Second in the German language as illustrated in (3).

V2 is only observed in main clauses in OE, as we have seen in German. The finite verb or auxiliary is typically final in subordinate or embedded clauses, as follows:

- (5) *þæt ic þas boc   od   Ledenum gereorde to Engliscra spræce*  
 that I this book from Latin      language to English   tongue  
**awende**  
 translate  
 'that I translate this book from the Latin language to the English tongue'  
 (*AHTh*, I, pref, 6, Kemenade1987: 16 (2a))

The finite verb or auxiliary doesn't move to C, whereas it moves there in the case of Verb-Second in main clauses, because the head position of CP is occupied by a complementizer.

Some cases which may seem to be Verb-Second phenomena in subordinate or embedded clauses are observed in OE. For example, the finite verb follows a subject, as in (4a), as follows:

- (6) *Ac hie   næron   to ðan swiðe onbryrde þæt hi   mihton swa*  
 but they not-were to that very excited   that they could   so  
 bealdlice Godes geleafan bodian  
 boldly   God's faith      preach (*ÆCHom* I, 16.232.23, Fisher et al. 2000: 114 (36))

Although the position of the finite verb in (6) is similar to that in (4a), (6) is not thought to be a case of Verb-Second, according to Fisher et al. (2000: 114–5), who argue that '[a] moved finite verb in non-root clauses is never preceded by a topic ...'. In other words, the V2 clauses with topicalization like (4b) are limited in main clauses. In the Verb-Second construction, as in the German language, the position of the finite verbs is C in main clauses; on the other hand, it is I or T that are in the position of the finite verbs in subordinate or embedded clauses. Thus the position of the finite verb in (6) is supposed to be I or T.<sup>1</sup>

There are a few cases in OE where the finite verb comes first in main clauses, as follows:

- (7) *wæs Hæsten þa   þær cumen mid his herge, þe ær   æt Middeltune sæt*  
 was Hæstern then there come with his host   that before at Milton      camped  
 'Hæsten had come there with his host, which had been encamped at Milton'  
 (Parker 894, Kemenade 1987: 44)

Example (7) is cited from the episode in the Parker manuscript of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicles*, which 'is very much like an eye-witness account and comes close to spoken narrative style'.

(Kemenade 1987: 44).

It has been found that the first constituent, which is called the TOPIC-drop, is not obligatory in spoken language in Verb-Second languages like modern Dutch and German. The following cases where the finite verb comes first in OE, as in (7), can be recognized as Topic-drops too.

- (8) a. **was** Hæsten þa þær cumen mid his herge, þe ær æt Middeltune sæt  
 was Hæstern then there come with his host that before at Milton camped  
 ‘Hæstern had come there with his host, which had been encamped at Milton’  
 (Parker 894, Kemenade 1987: 44)
- b. **hæfdon** hi hiora confangen ær Hæsten to Beamfleote come  
 had they them received before Hæsten to Benfleat came  
 ‘they had stood sponsore for them before Hæsten had come to Bemfleat’  
 (Parker 894, Kemenade 1987: 45)
- c. **foron** begen ætgædere up be Temese  
 marched both together up by Thames  
 ‘both march in company up along the Thames’  
 (Parker 894, Kemenade 1987: 45)

The structure of (8) should be considered the same as the Verb-Second construction in OE in (4), although the first slot of CP is not filled with the topic constituent. The word order in OE is subject to Verb-Second criteria, as we have seen above.

## 2 Verb-Second in Ælfric’s *Catholic Homilies*

The word order of Ælfric’s *Catholic Homilies* has been investigated by Davis (1997). His investigation is quite comprehensive, but it was made without reference to the verb movement analysis which was introduced in the previous section.

I will show the result of a part of Davis’s investigation (Davis 1997: 27, 29) adjusted for this study as shown below:<sup>2</sup>

(9) Table1: V2 (S-V and ADV-V-S) in the main clauses in Ælfric's *Catholic Homilies*

	S1	S2	S3	
S-V ( <i>Supplementary Homilies</i> )	554	188	217	959
ADV-V-S ( <i>Catholic Homilies</i> )	86	225	156	467
	640	413	373	1426

- 1) Ælfric's *Catholic Homilies* are generally classified into two groups: the first series and the second series. Davis investigated the latter, edited by Godden (1979), and Ælfric's *Supplementary Homilies*, edited by Pope (1967).
- 2) Each subscript number (in S1, S2 and S3) indicates the length of the subject nouns.
- 3) The difference of the data between S-V and ADV-V-S needs some explanation, as shown below.

Davis classified the cases according to the weight of the subject though he did not show the details of the criteria of his classification. Examples will be listed below to show the classification in his study.

The example S1 of S-V in Table 1 is illustrated below, as follows:

- (10) a. He is seo micelle Lufu and se mihtiga Willa þæs Fæder and þæs Suna of heom bam gelice.  
(*SH*: VII-210, Davis 1997: 27)
- b. He beleac þa his temple mid onbryd  
(*SH*: XXI-630, Davis 1997: 27)

The example S2 of S-V in Table 1 is illustrated below, as follows:

- (11) a. Ure Drihten gehælde þa þuth his heofonlican mihte þone earmann woda fram his wodnysse and fram his dumbnysse þas deoflican bendas and fram þæræ blindnysse ...  
(*SH*: IV-059, Davis 1997: 27)
- b. His gifa syndon micele on seofonfealde wisan: ...  
(*SH*: IX-139, Davis 1997: 27)



The example of S3 of S-V in Table 1 is illustrated below, as follows:

- (12) a. þa seofan gastas syndon þa seofan heafodleahtras ...  
 (SH: IV-249, Davis 1997: 27)
- b. Iacob se rihtwisa awrat on his pistol  
 (SH: XIII-100, Davis 1997: 27)

The example S1 of V-S in Table 1 is illustrated below, as follows:

- (13) a. Ða beeode heo sume dæge þurh nytennessy into ðam scræfe þæs eadigan  
 Benedictes  
 (CH: XI-580, Davis 1997: 29)
- b. Ða asende he him to ðone scearpan here of Romana rice mid reðum wæpnum  
 (CH: XVII-128, Davis 1997: 29)

The example S2 of V-S in Table 1 is illustrated below, as follows:

- (14) a. þa axode Pilatius hine orgolice  
 (CH: XIV-167, Davis 1997: 29)
- b. þa arn se ceorl geond ealle ða stræt dægges and nihtes ...  
 (CH: XVII-118, Davis 1997: 29)

The example S3 of V-S in Table 1 is illustrated below, as follows:

- (15) ne bið seo geendung þysse worulde na gyt  
 (CH: XX-178, Davis 1997: 29)

It can be understood that the subject of S1 is a pronoun, that that of S2 is a NP or DP which consists of a determiner and a nominal, and that that of S3 is a NP or DP which consists of three morphemes or more.

Although the data in Table 1 contains some examples which should be excluded for the purpose of this study, as Davis didn't assume V-to-C movement for Verb-Second in the studies introduced in the previous section, the frequency of ADV-V-S can be used as an approximation of

that of X-V-S construction as seen in the examples.<sup>3</sup> It is clear that S-V construction is predominant in the case of S1, while ADV-V-S construction is predominant in the cases of S2 and S3. Subject-Verb and Verb-Second show the contrastive distribution related to the weight of the subject.

The contrast of the distribution of subjects is clearly showed in Table 1. The frequencies of S1, S2, and S3 are all shown to be significant between S-V and ADV-V-S by a chi-square test:<sup>4</sup> S1 is predominant in S-V ( $\chi^2 = 195.02$ ,  $df = 1$ ,  $p = 0.00$ ), and S2 and S3 are predominant in ADV-V-S (S2:  $\chi^2 = 123.27$ ,  $df = 1$ ,  $p = 0.00$ , S3:  $\chi^2 = 18.33$ ,  $df = 1$ ,  $p = 0.00$ ).

It has been generally thought that reanalysis plays a crucial role in syntactic change. It can be assumed that the subject-verb word order in Verb-Second constructions triggered the abandonment in the English language of Verb-Movement in the long run.

### 3 Verb-Second in *Ælfric's Lives of Saints*

#### 3.1 S-V Construction

An investigation was made into some literature of *Ælfric's Lives of Saints* (i. e. XX, XXVI, and XXXII) in order to make clear their Verb-Second phenomena.<sup>5</sup> The examples of S-V construction from the data are classified into three groups according to the weight of the subject NP or DP, according to Davis (1997). It should be noted that the data below is limited to examples where no element intervenes between S and V, which is different from Davis's data.

The examples of S1 are limited to pronouns, as shown below. The examples of S1-V are illustrated as follows:

- (16) a. *Heo lufode þone hælend þe hi heold unwemme.* (*Lives of Saints (LS)*: XX-13)  
       'She loved the Savior who kept her unspotted,' (*Skeat's vol. I (SI)*: 433)
- b. *'ic wat gearre þæt ...'* (*LS*: XX-54)  
       'I know verily that ...' (*SI*: 435)
- c. *se ferde on his iugoðe fram freondum and magum to scot-lande on sêe*  
       (*LS*: XXVI-4)  
       'He went in his youth from his friends and kindred to Scotland by sea, ...'  
       (*SII*: 127)
- d. *Hi sendon þa sona þam gesæligan cyninge sumne arwurðne bisceop aidan gehatan.*  
       (*LS*: XXVI-52)

'Then they sent straightway to the blessed king a certain venerable bishop, named Aidan.' (*SII*: 129)

- e. He was cystig wædlum and wydewum swa swa fæder ... (*LS*: XXXII-16)

'He was bountiful to the poor and to widows even like a father, ...' (*SII*: 315)

- f. Hi scuton þa mid gafelucum swilce him to gamenes to ... (*LS*: XXXII-116)

'They shot at him with javelins as if for their amusement, ...' (*SII*: 323)

Some proper nouns which consist of many syllables should be classified into S2, as in (17a) below. The examples of S2-V are illustrated as follows:

- (17) a. *Æðeldryð wearð gewurðod þa for-gifen anum ealdor-menn to wife.* (*LS*: XX-8)

'Æthelthryth was (then) given to a certain alder man [Tondbyrht] to wife.'

(*SI*: 433)

- b. *Manega bysna synd on bocum be swylcum ...* (*LS*: XX-131)

'Many examples of such are (there) in books, ...' (*SI*: 441)

- d. *god sylf wat geare þæt we winnað rihtlice wið þysne reðan cyning.* (*LS*: XXVI-22)

'God Himself knoweth well that we fight justly against this cruel king,' (*SII*: 127)

- e. *Birinus witodlice gewende fram rome be ðæs papan ræde þe ða on rome wæs.*

(*LS*: XXVI-123)

'Birinus indeed came from Rome, by desire of the Pope, who was then in Rome, ...'

(*SII*: 133-123)

- f. *Se ærendraca com þa to eadmunde cynincge ...* (*LS*: XXXII-46)

'So the messenger came to king Edmund, ...' (*SII*: 317)

- g. *Crist geswutelap mannum þurh his mæran halgan þæt he is ælmihtig god þe macað*

*swilce wundra ...* (*LS*: XXXII-267)

'Christ showeth to men, through His illustrious saints, that He is Almighty God who causeth such wonders, ...' (*SII*: 335)

Some nouns which consist of many syllables following the determiner should be classified into S3, as in (18f) below. The examples of S3-V are illustrated as follows:

- (18) a. *Se ealdor-man gewat þa ða hit wolde god.* (*LS*: XX-13)

'The alderman died when God would' (*SI*: 433)

- b. **an þæra wæs wilfrid bisceop** þe heo swyðost lufode. (*LS*: XX-19)  
 'one of these (them) was bishop Wilfrid, whom she especially loved,' (*SI*: 433)
- c. **Seo ylce rod siððan** þe oswold þær arærde on wurðmynte þær stod.  
 (*LS*: XXVI-30)  
 'The same cross which Oswald had there erected, afterward stood there for worship  
 (honour).' (*SII*: 127)
- d. **Oswoldes cynerice wearð** gerymed þa swyðe. (*LS*: XXVI-104)  
 'Then Oswald's kingdom became greatly enlarged.' (*SII*: 133)
- e. **Eadmund se eadiga eastenglia cyning** wæs snotor and wurðful and wurðode  
 symble mid æpelum þeawum þone ælmihtigan god. (*LS*: XXXII-13)  
 'Edmund the blessed, king of the East Angles, was wise and honourable, and ever  
 glorified, by his excellent conduct, Almighty God.' (*SII*: 315)
- f. **Se ærendraca** com þa to eadmunde cynincge (*LS*: XXXII-46)  
 'So the messenger came to king Edmund, ...' (*SII*: 317)

The result of the investigation shown in this section will be illustrated in Table 2, as follows:

(19) Table2: S-V Construction in the main clauses in *Ælfric's Lives of the Saints*

	S1-V	S2-V	S3-V	
<i>LS</i> : XX	7	3	2	12
<i>LS</i> : XXVI	14	4	7	25
<i>LS</i> : XXXII	10	2	3	15
	31	9	12	52

### 3.2 X-V-S Construction

The first constituent of Verb-Second construction should be expanded to any category which is indicated by X below. The examples of X-S-V construction from the data are classified into three groups according to the weight of the subject NP or DP in the same way as in the previous section.

The data of S1 are limited to pronouns, as in 3.1. The examples of X-S1-V are illustrated as follows:

- (20) a. **þa dyde he sona swa** (*LS*: XX-64)  
 'he did so forthwith,' (*SI*: 437)

- b. **þa læg heo** on ðære cyste swilce heo læge on slæpe (*LS*: XX-90)  
 ‘There she lay in the coffin as if she lay sleep, ...’ (*SI*: 439)
- c. **þa becom he** to westseaxan þe wæs ða gyt hæþen and gebigde þone cynincg kynegyls to gode. (*LS*: XXVI-128)  
 ‘Then he came to Wessex, which was as yet heathen, and converted to God the king Cynegils.’ (*SII*: 133)
- d. **þa geseah he** genealecan his lifes geendunge. (*LS*: XXVI-158)  
 ‘Then he saw approach his life’s ending, ...’ (*SII*: 137)
- e. **þa wurdon hi** æt spræce oþþæt dunstan rehte be sancte eadmunde.  
 (*LS*: XXXII-4)  
 ‘Then they were in conversation till Dunstan told him’ (*SII*: 315)
- f. **Nu het he** þe dælan þine digean gold-hordas. (*LS*: XXXII-52)  
 ‘Now he commandeth thee to divide thy secret treasures.’ (*SII*: 317)

The examples of X-S2-V are illustrated as follows:

- (21) a. **þa naman ða gebroðra** blyðelice þa ðruh. (*LS*: XX-84)  
 ‘Then the brethren joyfully took the coffin’ (*SI*: 437)
- b. **þa wæs seo wund** gehæled, þe se læce worhte ær. (*LS*: XX-93)  
 ‘The wound which the leech had once made was healed’ (*SI*: 439)
- c. **þa sende se cyning** sona þam þearfum þone sylfrenan disc ... (*LS*: XXVI-94)  
 ‘Then the king immediately sent to the poor the silver dish, ...’ (*SII*: 131)
- d. **þa asprang his hlisa** geond þa land wide. (*LS*: XXVI-239)  
 ‘His fame spread widely throughout those lands,’ (*SII*: 141)
- e. **þa gesette se munuc** ealle þa gereccednysse on anre béc. (*LS*: XXXII-7)  
 ‘Then the monk put all this story in a book,’ (*SII*: 315)
- f. **Wryðe is seo stow** for þam wurðfullan halgan þæt hi man wurþige  
 (*LS*: XXXII-255)  
 ‘Worthy is the place for the sake of the venerable saint that men should venerate it,’  
 (*SII*: 332)

The examples of X-S3-V are illustrated as follows:

- (22) a. **Anna hatta hyre fæder east engla cynincg.** (*LS*: XX-5)  
 'Her father, the king of the East Angles, was called Anna,' (*SI*: 433)
- b. **þa wearð hire swustor sexburh gehadod** to abbudissan æfter hire geedunge.  
 (*LS*: XX-70)  
 'Then, after her death, her sister Sexburh was consecrated as the abbess,' (*SI*: 437)
- c. **þa genam aidanus se æðela bisceop** þæs cyninges swyþran hand mid swiðlicre blysse. (*LS*: XXVI-98)  
 'Then the noble bishop Aidan took the king's right hand with much joy.' (*SII*: 98)
- d. **þa het se hæþena cynineg** his heafod of-aslean.. (*LS*: XXVI-162)  
 'Then the heathen king commanded to strike off his head.' (*SII*: 137)
- e. **þa cwæþ eadmund cyning** swa swa he ful cene wæs ... (*LS*: XXXII-73)  
 'Then said Edmund the king, full of brave as he was;' (*SII*: 319)
- f. **On þam lande wæs sum man leofstan gehaten** ... (*LS*: XXXII-231)  
 'In that land was a certain man called Leofstan' (*SII*: 331)

The result of the investigation shown in this section will be illustrated in Table 3, as follows:

(23) Table 3: X-V-S Construction in the main clauses in *Ælfric's Lives of the Saints*

	X-V-S1	X-V-S2	X-V-S3	
<i>LS</i> : XX	2	2	4	8
<i>LS</i> : XXVI	8	3	6	17
<i>LS</i> : XXXII	5	4	8	17
	15	9	18	42

## 4 Conclusion

It is quite natural to ask how the results of this investigation can be interpreted from the view of the changes in the English Language over time. I'd like to respond to this with the statistic tests in this section.

The word order of the English language changed from Verb-second to SVO without verb movement at some stage of Middle English. The 11<sup>th</sup> century was the last stage of Old English, when the changes in Middle English must have already begun.

The S-V construction seen in §3.1 must have become predominant gradually and the Verb-

Second construction seen in §3.2 must have declined and finally perished. I will examine what stage of the change can be seen in the investigation into Ælfric's *Lives of Saints*, even though the investigation was carried out on a small scale.

(24) Table 4: S-V and X-V-S Construction in the main clauses in Ælfric's *Lives of the Saints*

	S1	S2	S3	
S-V	31	9	12	52
X-V-S	15	9	18	42
	46	18	30	94

The frequency of S1 is shown as significant between S-V and X-V-S in Table 4 by a chi-square test ( $\chi^2=4.40$ ,  $df=1$ ,  $p=0.36$ ), but those of S2 and S3 are shown to be not significant.<sup>6</sup>

In contrast to this statistic result, the data in Table 1 relating to Davis's investigation shows a different result, i. e., that the frequencies of S1, S2, and S3 are all shown to be significant between S-V and ADV-V-S by a chi-square test (the figures are repeatedly shown here.): S1 is predominant in S-V ( $\chi^2=195.02$ ,  $df=1$ ,  $p=0.00$ ), and S2 and S3 are predominant in ADV-V-S (S2:  $\chi^2=123.27$ ,  $df=1$ ,  $p=0.00$ , S3:  $\chi^2=18.33$ ,  $df=1$ ,  $p=0.00$ ).

Statistical comparison of the results of the investigations shows that other of Ælfric's homilies investigated by Davis have more characteristics of Verb-Second languages than the *Lives of Saints*. Thus the language of the *Lives of the Saints* is regarded not being as fixed by a normative OE grammar as other of Ælfric's homilies.<sup>7</sup>

#### Notes

- 1 Pintzuk (1999: 47-8) assumes that OE has two base structures, INFL-medial phrase structure and INFL-final phrase structure. According to her analysis, TP is structurally ambiguous because it could be either head-final or head-initial in OE.
- 2 Davis's original data are cited below.  
SH (Davis 1997: 26):

#### The order of subject and simple verb in clauses without an initial adverbial

	S1	S2	S3	
S-V	554	188	217	959
V-S	0	34	23	57
	554	222	240	1016

( $\chi^2=79.568$  with 2 degrees of freedom)

CH (Davis 1997: 28):

**The order of subject and simple verb in clauses  
with an initial adverbial**

	S1	S2	S3	
S-V	102	47	42	191
V-S	86	225	156	467
	188	272	198	658

( $\chi^2 = 82.172$  with 2 degrees of freedom.)

It should be noted that Davis's data above contain examples where some elements intervene between S and V, because his investigations were not made for the purpose of studying Verb-Second phenomenon. The figures containing such examples are listed in Table 1. A more precise and comprehensive investigation is needed.

3 Davis also classified the following example into this type:

þa on sumere nihte hlosnode sum oðer munuc his færeldes (CH: X-076, Davis 1997: 29)

The above example is included in S3 type, although it is not a Verb-Second construction, because Davis's investigation was not made for the purpose of studying the Verb-Second characteristics of OE. The figures of Davis's investigation are not modified in Table 1, although the result of Davis's investigation should be verified by a syntactic view of Verb-Second.

4 The chi-square test was done with the statistic tool attached to Ishikawa et al. (2010).

5 LS: XX is glossed by Marsden (2004), LS: XXVI by Mitchell and Robinson (2007), and LS: XXXII by Cassidy and Ringer (1971).

6 The chi-square test was done with the statistic tool attached to Ishikawa et al. (2010).

7 It is generally supposed that a new trend in language change is taking place in colloquial language, and the decline of Verb-Second showing the colloquial character of the *Lives of Saints* reflects this. The character of *Ælfric's* compositions, called *rhythmical prose* by Pope (1967: 105-36), is worthy of being examined in relation to language change in a further study.

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