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Verb-Initial Word Order in Alliterative Verse in Middle English

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Abstract

Alliteration was the characteristic technique used in Old English verse. After the Norman Conquest, the tradition of alliterative verse seemed to come to an end, replaced instead by rhyme verse, with which *The Owl and the Nightingale* was composed in the late twelfth century to the early thirteenth century. However, alliterative verse was revived in the fourteenth century.

Verb-initial word order appears in Old English alliterative verse on the basis of one of the metrical conditions. Sentences often start the second half line in Old English alliterative verse. However, this rarely occurs in Middle English alliterative verse.

This brief note compares *The Battle of Brunanburh*, which follows the entry for the year 937 in the five versions of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, with *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight* written in the fourteenth century, to discuss the extinction of verb-initial word order in Middle English.

Key words: Verb-initial word order, Middle English, Alliterative Verse, The Battle of Brunanburh, Sir Gawain and the Green Knight

0　Introduction

Ogawa (2000, 2003) pointed out that verb-initial sentential word order occurs frequently in the *Vercelli Homilies*, which were written in the later part of the tenth century. Kobayashi (2015) noted that verb-initial word order also occurs in the verse and prose of the early Old English (OE) version of *Boethius*, which was authored in the ninth century by Alfred's circle.

The verb-initial word orders in OE verse are separated into two types. One type occurs in the a-verse as a null subject construction, and functions as a subordinate clause, being translated as a participial construction in Modern English (ModE). The second type occurs in the b-verse in a subject-verb inversion construction, and functions to indicate the beginning of a new

paragraph and to contrast the paragraph to another one, the effect of which is supported by stress on the verb by metrical grammar.

　　The use of verb-initial word order in the *Vercelli Homilies* conforms to the latter type mentioned above, from which it developed.　Its use in prose became extinct by the end of the OE period.　The decline of verb-initial word order was fated because alliteration is firmly combined with Germanic prosody and Middle English (ME) was greatly affected by Norman French and Latin after the middle of the eleventh century.

　　In this paper, I discuss the extinction of verb-initial word order in ME by focusing on the difference between *The Battle of Brunanburh*, which follows the entry for the year 937 in the five versions of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, and *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*, written in the fourteenth century.

1　Verb-Initial Word Order in Early Old English

It is well known that verb-initial word order is frequently observed in OE verse.　Certain terms used in the study of OE metre need to be defined before discussing the relationship between verb-initial word order and metrical grammar in OE.[1]

1.1　Metrical Grammar in Old English

1.1.1　Alliteration

Alliteration in OE poetry involves the repetition of the same sound at the beginnings of two or three stressed words in a line.　In the examples below, '/' represents stress and 'A' represents alliteration.

(1)　　/　　　　/　　　　　　　　/　　　　/

　　Fēasceaft fundan.　Hē þæs frōfre gebād

　　destitute found　　he for　that consolation experienced

　　A　　　　A　　　　　　A　　　　X

　　'(he was) found destitute.　For that, he lived to see consolation'

(*Beo 7*, Terasawa 2011: 3)

(2)　　　/　　/　　/　　　/

    on flōdes ǣht feor gewītan

    in of-ocean possession far go

       A　X　A　　Y

    '(many treasures should) go far into the possession of the ocean'

                                      (*Beo 42*, Terasawa 2011: 4)

The alliterative pattern of (1) is [AA: AX], and that of (2) is [AX: AY]. These are the most general patterns of alliteration.

1.1.2 Lift and Dip

Syllables are usually classified into two kinds of metrical positions. One is called the *lift*, which is a rhythmically stressed part marked '/'. The other is called the *dip*, a rhythmically unstressed part marked with ' × '. A foot consists of a lift and one or more dips. Examples are as follows:[1]

(3)　/ ×　|/ ×

    nights hwilum

    f-night every

    FOOT FOOT

    'every night'

                                     (*Beo* 3044a, Terasawa 2011: 32)

(4)　× ×　/ |× /

    syðþan flōd ofslōh

    after flood destroyed

    FOOT　　FOOT

    'after the flood destroyed (the race of giants)'

                                     (*Beo* 1689b, Terasawa 2011: 32)

1.1.3 Word Classes in Metrics

There are three classes of words in OE poetry: stress-words, proclitics, and particles. Stress-words are always stressed, and comprise nouns, adjectives, non-finite verbs, adverbs, and some heavy pronouns. Proclitics, which include prepositions, demonstratives, possessives, copulative conjunctions, and prefixes, are not usually rhythmically stressed. Finally, particles, which comprise finite verbs, demonstrative adverbs, personal pronouns, demonstrative pronouns, and

some conjunctions, are not usually rhythmically stressed.

1.1.4　Kuhn's Laws

Kuhn's Laws for OE metre are well known.　Terasawa (2011: 95) describes them as follows:

⑸　Kuhn's First Law: Particles must be placed together in the first dip of a clause (i.e.
either before or immediately after the first lift).

⑹　Kuhn's Second Law: At the beginning of a clause, the dip must contain particles; in
other words, proclitics alone cannot occupy the clause-initial dip.

According to Kuhn's Second Law, a finite verb can appear in the first position of a sentence as a particle which is not rhythmically stressed.　I examine the syntax of verb-initial constructions in OE in later parts of this paper.　Analysis of the verb-initial order from a metrical point of view is a fruitful avenue, as a point of contact between syntax and prosody in the verb-initial construction is to be expected in light of Kuhn's Laws describing metrical grammar.

1.1.5　Word Class

As mentioned in 1.1.3 above, words in OE are usually classified into three categories with three degrees of rhythmic stress: stress-words (nouns, adjectives, non-finite verbs, many adverbs, and some heavy pronouns), proclitics, not usually stressed (prepositions, demonstratives, possessives, copulative conjunctions, and prefixes), and particles, sometimes but not usually stressed (finite verbs, demonstrative adverbs, personal pronouns, demonstrative pronouns, and some conjunctions).

According to the above classifications, verbs are separated into two types: non-finite verbs, which always receive stress, and finite verbs, which do not usually receive stress.　Verb-initial examples are examined in relation to metrical characteristics in the following section.

1.2　Some Effects of Metrics on Verb-Initial Word Order

Here we examine some effects of metrics on verb-initial word order in examples from metre 1 of *Boethius*.[2]　Non-infinitival verbs are discussed in section 1.2.1, and Infinitival verbs in 1.2.2.

1.2.1　Non-Infinitival Verbs

According to Kuhn's Laws, non-infinitival verbs, which are particles, are placed in the first dip of a clause in the a-verse, as follows:

⑺　**Stod** þrage　　　on ðam. Þeod wæs gewunnen
stood for a time on them nation was conquered

(Metre 1, l. 28, Godden & Irvine 2009, vol. 1, 385)

'It remained thus for a time; the nation was conquered for many years …'

(Godden & Irvine 2009, vol. 2, 98)

In (7), it is natural that *stod*, 'stood' is the first dip because þrage, 'for a time', which it follows, is alliterative. Consider now the case in (8).

(8) **setton** suðweardes   sigeþeoda   twa.
    set   southwards   victorious nations two

(Metre 1, 4, Godden & Irvine 2009, vol. 1, 384)

'two victorious nations setting out southwards'

(Godden & Irvine 2009, vol. 2, 97–8)

In (8), *setton*, 'set' seems to be alliterated with the words which start with *s*. However, it need not receive stress because *suðweardes*, 'southward' in the a-verse and *sigeþeoda*, 'victorious nations' in the b-verse are sufficient for alliteration. These finite verbs in (7) and (8) are analysed as having moved to the initial position in the a-verse, where they do not receive stress, according to the alliterative requirement.

When a non-infinitival verb moves to the initial position in the b-verse, it can receive stress and take part in alliteration, as follows:

(9) fulluhtþeawum. **Fægnodon** ealle Romwara bearn …
    rite of baptism rejoiced   all   Romans' children

(Metre 1, 33–34a, Godden & Irvine 2009, vol. 1, 385)

'(the king himself received) baptism. All the offspring of Roman citizens rejoiced …'

(Godden & Irvine 2009, vol. 2, 98)

(10) Boetius. **Breae** longe   ær wlencea   under wolcnum;
    Boethius enjoyed for a long time mercy prosperity under cloud

(Metre 1, 75–76a, Godden & Irvine 2009, vol. 1, 386)

'For a long time he had enjoyed prosperity under the skies; '

(Godden & Irvine 2009, vol. 2, 98–9)

In the above examples, *Fægnodon*, 'rejoiced' in (9) and *Breae*, 'enjoyed' in (10) are finite verbs,

each receiving stress in initial position in the b-verse.　That is, finite verbs in the b-verse move to the initial clause position when they are alliterative.

1.2.2　Infinitival Verbs

In contrast to non-infinitival verbs, infinitival verbs can receive stress in the initial position of the a-verse because they belong to the category of stress-words, as shown below.

> (11) Ne wende　　þonan　　æfre ／ **cuman** of　　ðæm clammum.
>　　　 not expected therefrom ever　　come　from the　　fetters
>　　　 Cleopode to Drihtne
>　　　 call　　　 to the Lord
>
> 　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　(Metre 1, 82b-83, Godden & Irvine 2009, vol. 1, 386)
>
>　　　 '[He] … never expecting to come from there out of those fetters …'
>
> 　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　(Godden & Irvine 2009, vol. 2, 99)

In (11), the infinite verb *cuman*, 'come' takes the initial position in the a-verse, which is not syntactically the clause-initial position.　This phenomenon should be regarded as a metrical requirement and as irrelevant to verb movement.

2　The functions of Verb-Initial Word Order in Early Old English

Now let us examine the functions of verb-initial word order in the earlier period of OE, considering examples from both verse and prose in the OE version of *Boethius* to represent this earlier period of OE.

2.1　Verb-Initial Word Order in Metre in *Boethius*

As we have seen in the previous sections, finite verbs may occur in sentence-initial position in OE metrical texts.　When finite verbs occur in the first position in the a-verse, they must not be stressed, according to Kuhn's Laws.　On the other hand, when finite verbs occur in the first position in the b-verse, they must be stressed.　Consider the examples in (12), repeated from (8) above, in context.

(12) **Stod** þrage on ðam. Þeod wæs gewtnnen

wintra mænigo, oðþæt wyrd gescraf

þæt þe Deodrice þegnas and eorlas

heran sceoldan. Wæs se heretema

(Metre 1, 28–31, Godden & Irvine 2009, vol. 1, 385)

'It remained thus for a time; the nation was conquered for many years until fate

ordained that thanes and noblemen should obey Theodoric.'

(Godden & Irvine 2009, vol. 2, 98)

In (12), *stod* is in the initial position of the sentence in line 1. The following noun, *þrage*, is not the subject because it is not a nominative form. The expletive subject 'it' is phonologically expressed in this sentence.

It is assumed from the context that these sentence-initial verbs are not stressed because they serve as a kind of parentheses. The contextual requirement is fulfilled by metrical grammar by way of Kuhn's Laws.

Next, we examine the contexts in which verbs in sentence-initial position in the b-verse are stressed by Kuhn's Laws. Consider the passages in (13) and (14).

(13) heran sceoldan. Wæs se heretema

Criste gecnoden, cyning selfa onfeng

fulluht þeawum. **Fægnodon** ealle

Romwara bearn and him recene to

friðes wilnedon. He him fæste gehet

þæt hy ealdrihta ælces mosten

wyrðe gewunigen on þære welegan byrig,

ðenden God wuolde þæt he Gotena geweald

agan moste

(Metre 1, 31–38, Godden & Irvine 2009, vol. 1, 385)

'(Thanes and noblemen) should obey Theodoric. That ruler was committed to Christ; the king himself received baptism. All the offspring of Roman citizens rejoiced and immediately sought peace with him. He promised them firmly that they would be permitted to remain in possession of their ancient rights in that wealthy city, for as long as God wished that he might have power over the Goths.'

<div style="text-align: right">（Godden & Irvine 2009, vol. 2, 98）</div>

(14) healdon þone hererinc. Wæs him hreoh sefa,

　　 ege from ðam eorle. He hine inne heht

　　 on carcernes cluster belucan.

　　 Þa wæs modsefa miclum gedrefed

　　 Boetius. **Breac** longe ær

　　 wlencea under wolcnum;

<div style="text-align: right">（Metre 1, 71−76, Godden & Irvine 2009, vol. 1, 386）</div>

'(he [(Theodoric)] commanded the lords of the people) to hold that warrior (firmly). His mind was troubled, in him was fear of that nobleman. He commanded him to be locked in a prison cell. Then Boethius's mind was greatly troubled. For a long time he had enjoyed prosperity under the skies; '

<div style="text-align: right">（Godden & Irvine 2009, vol. 2, 98−99）</div>

　　In the context of (13), '**Fægnodon** ealle Romwara bearn …' is contrasted with the preceding sentence, 'Wæs se heretema …'. In (14), '**Breac** longe ær …' starts the passage describing Boethius's prosperity in the past, contrasting it to his present situation. The function of the verb-initial word order is to attract the reader's attention.[3]

2.2　Verb-Initial Word Order in the Prose in *Boethius*

　　Next, we examine verb-initial sentences in the prose version of *Boethius* in Early OE to compare the use of verb-initial word order in prose to that in verse. Examples of verb-initial word order in prose are found in main clauses, as shown in (15) and (16) below.

(15) **Sende** þa　　digellice　　ærendgewritu to þam kasere　to Constentinopolim,

　　 sent　then　secretary　letter　　　　　to the　emperor　to Constantinople

<div style="text-align: right">（Chapter 1, 19−20, Godden & Irvine 2009, vol. 1, 244）</div>

　　 'He then secretly sent letters to the emperor in Constantinople …'

<div style="text-align: right">（Godden & Irvine 2009, vol. 2, 5）</div>

(16) **Bædon** hine þæt …

　　 asked　him that

<div style="text-align: right">（Chapter 1, 22, Godden & Irvine 2009, vol. 1, 244）</div>

'asking him (［the emperor］) to …'

(Godden & Irvine 2009 vol. 2, 5)

The subject position is obscure in this word order pattern because the subjects of the finite verbs do not appear in the above examples. The use of verb-initial word order in these sentences is independent of the alliteration requirement.

The frequency of use of verb-initial word order is lower in prose than in verse, as illustrated in Table 1.

Table 1   Comparison of Word Order in Prose and Verse in Main
Clauses in the OE Version of *Boethius*

	V2 (except for SV)	SV	V-Initial	Others
Prose (I)	5	4	2	2
Metre (I)	6	7	14	5
Sum	11	11	16	7

The fact that the verb-initial order is more frequent in verse is considered to be a natural consequence of the fact that its use is determined by metrical grammar.

Next, we examine the effects of verb-initial word order in prose in the absence of effects of metrical grammar. The sentences in (15) and (16) are repeated below in context.

(17) Þa ongan he smeagan and leornigan on him selfum hu he þæt rice þam unrihtwisan cvninge aferran mihte, and on ryhtgcleaffulra and on rihtwisra anwealde gcbringan. **Sende** þa digellice ærendgewritu to þam kasere to Constentinopolim, þær is Creca hcahburg and heora cynestol, forþæm se kasere wæs heora ealdhlafordcynnes; **bædon** hine þæt he him to heora cristendome and to heora ealdrihtum gefultumede.

(Chapter 1, 18–23, Godden & Irvine 2009, vol. 1, 244)

'Then he began to ponder and study within himself how he could detach the kingdom from that unjust king and bring it under the control of right-believing and just people. He then secretly sent letters to the emperor in Constantinople, where the chief city of the Greeks and their royal seat is, because the emperor was of the kin of their old lords, asking him to help them recover their Christianity and their old rights.'

<div align="right">(Godden & Irvine 2009, vol. 2, 4–5)</div>

The context in (17) represents a series of political acts Boethius made against King Theodoric. The use of verb-initial word order here is assumed to serve the purpose of contrasting the two sentences which begin with verbs.　These null subject sentences are produced by the operation of pronoun dropping, which allows cohesion of the sentences in one common context.　The character of such use of verb-initial word order in prose differs substantially from that in verse.[4]

3　Verb-Initial Word Order in Alliterative Verse

3.1　*The Battle of Brunanburh*

As we have seen in the previous sections, finite verbs may occur in sentence-initial position in OE metrical texts.　When finite verbs occur in the first position in the a-verse, they must not be stressed, according to Kuhn's Laws.　We can also observe an example of a non-infinitival verb, which is a particle, being placed in the first dip of a clause in the a-verse in *The Battle of Brunanburh*, as in (18).

> (18) **crēad** cnear　　　　　 on flot, cyning ūt gewāt
> hastened (a) small ship on sea　king　out went
> on fealene flōd,　feorth generede.
> on yellow flood　life　　saved
>
> <div align="right">(*Brunanburh* 35–6, Masden 2007: 89)</div>
>
> 'The boat was pushed afloat; the king withdrew,
> saved life, over the fallow flood.'
>
> <div align="right">(Swanton (trans.) 2000: 106)</div>

According to Kuhn's Law, *crēad* in (18) must not be stressed because its position is in the first dip of the line.　The alliterative requirement can be filled by both *cnear* in the a-verse and *cyning* in the b-verse, as in (8) in *Boethius*.

The sentence in (18) above starts in the a-verse, as does the *Boethius* example in (12) in the previous section.　In contrast, the type which starts in the b-verse, as in the *Boethius* examples in (13) and (14) in the previous section, is not attested in *The Battle of Brunanburh*.

In the first line of (18), the a-verse and the b-verse are in the same sentence, which is the

initial part of the new stanza. The verb *crēad* is followed by the subject *cnear*, which is expressed in contrast to the non-existence of a subject in (12). The function of verb-initial word order in (18) differs from that in (12). Its function in such a line in *The Battle of Brunanburh* shows the beginning of a new stanza, which should attract the reader's attention

3.2 Sir Gawain and the Green Knight

In this section, we proceed to examine verb-initial word order in *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*, which is written in the alliterative verse of ME. Consider the examples in (19) and (20).

(19) Þer tournayed tulks by tymez   ful mony,

　　 there tourneyed knights on occasions very many

　　 Justed ful jolilé þise gentyle kniȝtes,

　　 jousted very lustily these noble knights

<div align="right">(Gawain 41–2, Burrow & Turville-Petre 2005: 185)</div>

　　 'Tournament trumpets rang there time and again,

　　 All knights jarred knights, with jubilant hearts, in the joust,'

<div align="right">(Gardner (trans.) 1965: 225)</div>

(20) 'Gladly, sir, for soþe',

　　 Gladly, sir, truly

　　 Quoþ Garwan; his ax   he strokes.

　　 said   Garwan his axe he strokes

<div align="right">(Gawain 414–5, Burrow & Turville-Petre 2005: 198)[5]</div>

　　 'Just as you wish, my friend

　　 said he—and stroked his axe.'

<div align="right">(Gardner (trans.) 1965: 240)</div>

　　 The examples from ME are more similar to those from the earlier period of OE than those from the later period. The subjects in (19) and (20) follow the verb in the same line, as in the earlier OE example in (8). Consider now the examples in (21) and (22).

(21) **Ȝeȝed**   ȝeres   ȝiftes on hiȝ, ȝelde hem bi hond,

　　 announced New Year's gifts loudly   repaid them by hand

    Debated busyly aboute þo giftes

    argued busily about those gifts

                   （*Gawain* 65–6, Burrow & Turville-Petre 2005: 186）

    'Cried out the gifts on high and gave them in person;

    They debated busily, briskly, about those gifts'

                      （Gardner (trans.) 1965: 226）

（22）With a runisch rout þe raynez he tornez,

   with a wild jerk the reins he turns

   Halled out þe hal dor, his hed in his hande

   pulled out the hall door his head in his hand

             （*Gawain* 457–8, Burrow & Turville-Petre 2005: 199–200）

   'Then with a rough jerk he turned the reins

   And haled away through the hall-door, his head in his hand,'

                      （Gardner (trans.) 1965: 242）

  The subjects in (21) and (22) are not overtly expressed in the same line, as in the earlier OE examples of (12), in which such expression functioned to create cohesion in the context.

  However, there is a difference between alliterative verse in the earlier period of OE and that in ME. In ME, there is no occurrence of verb-initial word order beginning in the b-verse of a line. This fact can be related to a characteristic of alliterative verse in ME, which does not so clearly show half lines as does alliterative verse in the earlier period of OE.

4 The Decline of Verb-Initial Word Order in Middle English

4.1 Subjunctive and Imperative Mood

In *Garwan*, verb-initial word order is observed in subjunctive and imperative mood, as follows:

（23）Refourme we oure forwardes er we fyrre passe.

   repeat (subj.) we our agreements before we farther proceed

                 （*Gawain* 378, Burrow & Turville-Petre 2005: 197）

   'My friend, let's go over our terms here before we go further'

                      （Gardner (trans.) 1965: 239）

(24) Lepe lyȝtly   me to and lach þis weppen;

    leap quickly me to and take this weapon

<div align="right">(Gawain 378, Burrow & Turville-Petre 2005: 194)</div>

    'Leap to me lightly, lad; lift up this weapon'

<div align="right">(Gardner (trans.) 1965: 235)</div>

The present tense of the subjunctive in main clauses is used for wishes and commands, as in (23). Although the forms of the imperative singular and subjunctive present singular coalesced, *lepe* in (24) should be regarded as the imperative form because it is not followed by the overt subject.[6] If verb-initial word order became predominantly used for subjunctive and imperative mood, as in ModE, it is natural to assume that the other use of verb-initial word order, namely to attract the reader's attention, declined.

4.2 Verb-Initial Word Order in Late Old English Prose

According to Ogawa (2000), there is a remarkable stylistic characteristic in the *Vercelli Homilie*s and XVIII which relates to verb-initial word order.[7] Ogawa (2003) claims that these verb-initial sentences were translated from Latin to OE, dissolving the many kinds of constructions in the original Latin text into simple sentences in OE.

    Following Ogawa's (2003) claim, verb-initial constructions in OE prose may be thought to have developed with quite limited influence from word order in Latin literature. The possibility that verb-initial word order developed from metre in Early OE ought to be examined.

    Ogawa (2003) claims that the style of Vercelli X in the *Vercelli Homilies* is rhythmical prose and indicates that lines 196–199 can be interpreted as follows:

(25) Men þa leofestan, sceoldon þa word bion

    ealle **cuðlice** gelæste þe se hælend **cwæð**.

    Sona þa on þone welegan mann on þære ilcan nihte

    deaþ on becwom, 7 on his bearn ealle.

    Fengon þa to gestreonum **fremde** syþþan.

<div align="right">(Vercelli X, l., 196–199)</div>

    'Dearest people, these words that the Saviour spoke shall all be clearly fulfilled. Immediately, death came upon that rich man and all his children on that same night. Strangers took the treasures afterwards.'

<div align="right">(Treharne (ed.) 2010: 116)</div>

Ogawa (2003) points out that this passage is introduced by vocative *men*, that *cuðlice* and *cwæð* in line 2 are alliterated, as are *fengon* and *fremde* in line 5, and that the repetition of the construction 'on + noun' in lines 3 and 5 supports the form of poetic style.

The poetic style of the *Vercelli Homilies* is assumed to have developed under the influence of OE metre because repetition of the construction can be seen in prose 1 in *Boethius* (17) in Early OE. When the use of verb-initial word order declined in verse in ME, the poetic style of prose influenced by alliterative verse is assumed not to have been restored, despite the revival of alliterative verse in ME.

5　Conclusion

Few examples of verb-initial word order starting in a-verse are observed in *The Battle of Brunanburh*, whereas no such a word order starting in b-verse occurs. This fact can be regarded as evidence that verb-initial word order had already begun to decline in the late period of OE.

Alliterative verse was revived in ME. However, only the type of verb-initial order starting in a-verse is observed in *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*. No such word order starting in b-verse is observed in either that or *The Battle of Brunanburh*.

The decline of verb-initial word order, which had been developed in prose in OE, reflects a change of word order during the period from Late OE to ME. This may be regarded as a syntactic change, involving verb movement to the sentence-initial position, which should be pursued in further study.

Notes

⑴　The explanation of another metrical position, which is called the *half-lift*, is omitted here because it will not be mentioned in the remainder of this paper.

⑵　The OE version of *Boethius* has two texts, the B text (Bodley 180) and the C text (Cotton Otho A. Vi). The B text consists of prose translations of the original Latin text. The C text consists of prose and verse translations, the latter of which were authorized from prose translations of the B text. Prose 1 in the B text does not include the corresponding Latin text from which it was

translated to introduce readers of *Boethius*.

⑶　The position to which the finite verbs in (15) and (16) move should be higher than TP because they function to indicate the beginning of the clause.　Fischer et al. (2000: 155) adopt FP for the position to which the finite verb moves in OE.　However, Roberts (2004) describes the position as FinP in a Split-C system.　The projection FP is used to indicate that they are lower than CP and higher than TP.

⑷　Examples (15) and (16) are supposedly derived by pro-drop because the finite verb is followed by a particle and an adverbial phrase.　Pronominal subjects are not necessarily assumed to occupy a position under the CP projection because they are not semantically focused (considering Rizzi's (1997) split-CP hypothesis).　It can be deduced that the finite verb should move to T because pronominal pronouns would be focused in the Spec-CP position.

⑸　This line is one example of a non-standard alliterative pattern.　Burrow and Turville-Petre (2005: 60) propose the emendation to *Wawan* instead of *Garwan*, as follows:

Wolde ȝe worþlych lorde. quoþ Wawan to þe kyng

⑹　Fischer (1992: 249) states 'In Middle English the forms of the imperative singular and the subjunctive present singular coalesced ….　In function, the hortatory subjunctive and the imperative were practically similar already in Old English, ….　In the plural there was still a morphological distinction … when subject pronoun did not immediately follow the verb'.

⑺　Ogawa (2000) investigated verb-initial word order in the *Vercelli Homilie*s, as illustrated in Table 2.

Table 2　Verb-Initial Word Order in the *Vercelli Homilies*

Homily	*beon/wesan*	modal verbs	others	Total
I	13	3	9	25
II				0
III				0
IV			4	4
V	1			1
VI			1	1
VII				0
VIII			2	2
IX			3	3
X	3	1	2	6
XI	1	1		2
XII	2		1	3
XIII	2			2
XIV	2	2	4	8
XV	2			2
XVI		2	1	3
XVII			1	1
XVIII	16	2	5	23
XIX				0
XX				0
XXI				0
XXII			11	11
XXIII	2			2

(Ogawa 2000, 237)

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中英語頭韻韻文における動詞先頭語順について

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頭韻は古英語韻文に用いられた特徴的な技法である。ノルマン人による征服後，頭韻詩の伝統は一時的には途絶えたようにみえた。12 世紀末に作成された『梟とナインチンゲール』では脚韻は，頭韻にとって代わって，用いられた。しかし，頭韻韻文は，14 世紀に復活した。

古英語頭韻韻文における動詞先頭語順は，韻律による制約の一つに基づいて現れる。文はしばしば古英語韻文では後半の半行から始まる。しかし，それは中英語の頭韻韻文では稀にしか起こらない。

この小論では，五つの版の『アングロ・サクソン年代記』において西暦 937 年の記事に続く『ブルナンバラの戦い』と，14 世紀の『ガーウェン卿と緑の騎士』とを比較することで，中英語における動詞先頭語順の消滅を論じる。

キーワード：動詞先頭語順，中英語，頭韻韻文，ブルナンバラの戦い，ガーウェン卿と緑の騎士