

Meters of Boethius における助動詞と分詞 および助動詞と不定詞補語の語順について

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On AV/VA Order in the *Meters of Boethius**

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本研究は古英語詩の語順研究の一環であり、法助動詞構文における語順決定要因が他のタイプの助動詞構文全体にみられるかを調査したものである。データベースとして使用するものは古英語詩 *Meters of Boethius* である。この作品は古英語散文から作詩された特徴を持っており、対応する散文との比較が可能な利点を備えている。分析対象の助動詞構文は定形動詞 *beon* 'be,' *weorðan* 'become,' *habban* 'have' と現在分詞または過去分詞補語からなる構文および定形動詞(運動の動詞も含む)と不定詞補語からなる構文である。

分析の結果、法助動詞構文と比較してコーパスのサイズは小さいものの法助動詞構文でみられた頭韻の影響が他のタイプの助動詞構文でも見られた。したがって *Meters of Boethius* において助動詞構文全体にわたり、語順と頭韻の密接な関係が実証されたと言える。

1. Introduction

The current study is part of an ongoing project to find which factors primarily influence word order in Old English verse. On the whole, the principles of prose syntax in Old English are well established. Regarding the word order of the modal

auxiliary (M) and its infinitive complement, a non-finite verb (V) in the subordinate clauses of Old English prose, Ohkado (2000) argues that the choice between the MV and VM orders depends largely on the presence of an extra element (any element excluding S, M, V). This theory is useful for Old English prose; however, my study (2004) shows that the influence of the extra element cannot be observed in the Old English alliterative poem, *Beowulf*. Instead, the far more important factor in choosing between the MV and VM orders in the subordinate clauses is the distribution of alliteration. Thus, the VM order is always observed when only the nonfinite verb alliterates, and both appear within the same half-line boundary, as in (1a). On the other hand, the MV order is always observed either when the alliteration pattern differs from the above or when the modal and non-finite verbs are separated by the half-line boundary, as in (1b).

(1) Modal constructions

a. Verb-Modal Order

se þe secgan **wile** soð æfter rihte (Beowulf 1049)

‘he that will speak truth according to what is right’

(In quotations, auxiliaries are in boldface, and non-finite verbs are underlined.)

b. Modal-Verb Order

þæt hie ne **moste**, (þa Metod nolde,)

se s[c]ynscaþa under sceadu bregdan (Beowulf 706-7)

‘that the evil-doer might not drag them down into the shadows’

In this latest paper I seek to apply this theory regarding the importance of alliteration in determining word order across a wider variety of auxiliary types: participle constructions and infinitive constructions of another Old English alliterative poem, the *Meters of Boethius*

Participle constructions involve finite verbs (such as *beon* ‘be,’ *weorþan* ‘become,’ *habban* ‘have’) with dependent participles: either present participles, as in (2a) and (2b), or past participles, as in (3a) and (3b).

Infinitives constructions involve finite verbs with their dependent infinitives, as in (4a) and (4b).

(2) Participle constructions (with present participle)

a. Auxiliary-Verb order

ac **wæs** eft swa ær þurh þa æðelan miht
lof lædende, ond on his lice trum (Andreas 1476-77)
‘but through that glorious might he was once again as before giving praise
and sound in his body’

b. Verb-Auxiliary order

swa ic him sylfum ær secgende wæs (Andreas 949)
‘as I have earlier been telling Matthew himself’

(3) Participle constructions (with past participles)

a. Auxiliary-Verb order

þæt his aldres **wæs** ende gegongen,
dogera dægrim. (Denum eallum wearð) (Beowulf 822-23a)
‘that the end of his life had come, the full number of his days’

b. Verb-Auxiliary order

(Eodon þa fram rune), swa him sio rice cwen,
bald in burgum, beboden hæfde (Elene 411b-12)
‘as the strong queen, bold in her cities, had ordered’

(4) Infinitive constructions

a. Auxiliary-Verb order

Gewat him þa to waroðe wicge ridan
þegn Hroðgares, (þrymmum cwehte) (Beowulf 234-35a)
‘he went riding on his horse to the shore, Hrothgar’s thane’

b. Verb-Auxiliary order

(on ferhōsefan,) ond þa frignan **ongan**

(*Elene* 849b)

‘and then asked’

This survey confirms that alliteration does indeed also operate as an organizing factor in other groups of auxiliaries of the Old English alliterative poem, the *Meters of Boethius*, as is the case in *Beowulf*.

2. Text

The Old English alliterative poem, the *Meters of Boethius*, was chosen as the database for the current survey. All instances are taken from the edition by Sedgefield (1899, rpt. 1968), *King Alfred's Old English Version of Boethius: De Consolatione Philosophiae*. The chief source for both prose and verse texts, MS. Cotten Otho A. vi, dating from the second half of the tenth century, was greatly damaged in the fire of 1731. Thus, the prose text is supplemented by MS. Bodley 180, dating from the twelfth century and the verse text by a paper transcript, MS. Junius 12, from the seventeenth century. This verse version was made not directly from the Latin source, but from an Old English prose translation of the Latin *Meters*.¹

In this paper, the word order in the clauses with a single auxiliary (A) and a single infinitive complement (V) will be examined.² Sometimes a single modal auxiliary is accompanied by several dependent infinitives, and, in such cases, the clauses refuse to fall into clear categories of the AV order and the VA order. Therefore, such cases have had to be excluded. Subject to this limitation, the total number of clauses is 77.³

3. Clause types and word order frequencies

Can the influence of alliteration on the MV/VM orders observed also be discerned in participle constructions and infinitive constructions? Tables (5) and (6) show the clause types and word order frequencies. It has often been observed that the MV order is typically found in main clauses, while both the MV and VM orders are widely found in subordinate clauses. The figures in (5) and (6) confirm this tendency. In addition, this survey shows that the same pattern exists in the case of participle and infinitive constructions, too (only substituting auxiliary A for M), obviously, to give typically the AV order in main clauses, and both AV and VA orders in subordinate clauses. See Tables (5) and (6). Clearly, the same patterns of word order exist in both Old English prose and verse.

(5) Participle Constructions

<i>Met</i>	Main Clause		Subordinate Clause		<i>Ond/Ac</i> Clause		total	
AV	31	(97%)	14	(56%)	1	(100%)	46	(79%)
VA	1	(3%)	11	(44%)	0	(0%)	12	(21%)
total	32		25		1		58	

(6) Infinitive Constructions

<i>Met</i>	Main Clause		Subordinate Clause		<i>Ond/Ac</i> Clause		total	
AV	8	(89%)	7	(78%)	0	(0%)	15	(79%)
VA	1	(11%)	2	(22%)	1	(100%)	4	(21%)
total	9		9		1		19	

4. Alliteration and Order of Auxiliary and Non-Finite Verbs

The following tables exhibit the pattern of alliteration and the order of the

auxiliary and non-finite verbs by the boundary type: 'a'-verses, 'b'-verses, within the same lines, and across different lines (since the modal and non-finite verbs may appear in different units). Alliteration will be indicated by the symbol of a boxed \boxed{A} or \boxed{V} , the half line boundary by a dash, and the line boundary by a slash mark, while in quotations, auxiliaries continue to be in boldface, and non-finite verbs underlined.

The figures in (7) show the relation between the pattern of alliteration and the order of auxiliary and non-finite verbs by the boundary type for subordinate clauses. The first column shows the distribution of alliteration, providing four possible permutations: alliterating A and non-alliterating V; non-alliterating A and alliterating V; both alliterating; and neither alliterating.

(7) Distribution of alliteration and order of Auxiliary and Non-Finite Verbs in Participle Constructions (Subordinate Clauses)

a. A-verses

Met	AV	VA	total
\boxed{A} , V*	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0
A, \boxed{V}	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0
A, \boxed{V}	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0
\boxed{A} , \boxed{V}	0 (0%)	1 (100%)	1
total	0 (0%)	1 (100%)	1

*Note: boxed letters in the left-hand columns of these tables indicate just the alliterating element, not their order.

b. B-verses

Met	AV	VA	total
\boxed{A} , V	2 (100%)	0 (0%)	2
A, \boxed{V}	0 (0%)	10 (100%)	10
\boxed{A} , \boxed{V}	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0
A, V	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0
total	2 (17%)	10 (83%)	12

c. The same lines

<i>Met</i>	AV	VA	total
<u>A</u> , V	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0
A, <u>V</u>	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0
<u>A</u> , <u>V</u>	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0
A, V	4 (100%)	0 (0%)	4
total	4 (100%)	0 (0%)	4

d. Different lines

<i>Met</i>	AV	VA	total
<u>A</u> , V	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0
A, <u>V</u>	5 (100%)	0 (0%)	5
<u>A</u> , <u>V</u>	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0
A, V	3 (100%)	0 (0%)	3
total	8 (100%)	0 (0%)	8

- (8) a. VA þonne hi gebolgenc weorðað, (him wyrð on breostum inne)
(*Met* 25 45-49a)
'When they grow angry'
- b. VA (secgan geherde) þæt on sume tide
Troia burg ofertogen hæfde
lega leohtost, (lengest burne
hama under hefonum.) (*Met* 9 15b-17a)
'that at the same time the brightest of flames covered Troy city'
- c. AV (eaðe gecnawan) hwær þa ecan good,
soða gesælda, sindon gehydda. (*Met* 19 31b-32)
'where eternal blessings, true happiness, are hidden'
- d. A-V Se ðe ðonne nu sie nearwe gehefted
mid þisses mæran middangeardes
unnyttre lufe (*Met* 21 5-7a)
'He who is now tightly bound by the useless love of this glorious world'
- e. A/V (ofirneð þæt æpele tungol) oðþæt he be eastan weorðeð
eldum oðewed ær þonne sunne. (*Met* 29 32-33)
'until he in the east appears to men before the sun'
- f. A/V Sona swa se wisdom þas word hæfde
swetole arehte, (he þa siððan ongan) (*Met* 8 1-2b)
'As soon as Wisdom had clearly spoken these words'

As shown in (7a), where both the auxiliary and non-finite verb carry the alliteration, the AV order might be expected, as in the modal constructions.

However, the unexpected occurrence of the VA order here (as illustrated in (8a)) might be attributed to the fact that the kind of alliteration alters within the same half line, thus changing the poetic dynamics somewhat.

The figures in (7b) are concerned with cases where the auxiliary and non-finite verbs occur in the same 'b'-verse. The VA order appears (10 instances) only when the non-finite verb alliterates and the auxiliary does not alliterate in the same 'b'-verse, as illustrated in (8b). In contrast, the AV order appears with only the auxiliary alliterating (2 instances), as exemplified in (8c). Thus, within the bounds of half-line, the VA order occurs only when the non-finite verb alliterates.

Instances beyond the scope of each half-line boundary also warrant examination. The figures in (7c) are concerned with cases where the auxiliary and non-finite verbs appear in the same line. All the instances show the AV order with the auxiliary in 'a'-verse and the non-finite verb in 'b'-verse. There are four instances with neither of them alliterating in the same line, as evinced in (8d).

The figures in (7d) give data on cases where the auxiliary and non-finite verbs occur in different verse lines. Although the kind of alliteration alters from line to line, of the possible permutations of the AV and VA orders, all eight instances take the AV order, as illustrated in (8e) and (8f).

Thus, the results of (7c) and (7d) indicate that the AV order exclusively occurs when the auxiliary and non-finite verbs are separated by a half-line boundary. It should be noted that these results show a similar pattern to that of modal constructions.

The figures in (9) give data on the relationship between the pattern of alliteration and the order of auxiliary and non-finite verbs for main clauses.

**(9) Distribution of alliteration and order of Auxiliary and Non-Finite Verbs
in Participle Constructions (Main Clauses)**

a. A-verses

<i>Met</i>	AV	VA	total
\overline{A} , V	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0
A, \overline{V}	3 (100%)	0 (0%)	3
\overline{A} , \overline{V}	1 (100%)	0 (0%)	1
A, V	1 (100%)	0 (0%)	1
total	5 (100%)	0 (0%)	5

b. B-verses

<i>Met</i>	AV	VA	total
\overline{A} , V	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0
A, \overline{V}	0 (0%)	1 (100%)	1
\overline{A} , \overline{V}	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0
A, V	5 (100%)	0 (0%)	5
total	5 (83%)	1 (17%)	6

c. The same lines

<i>Met</i>	AV	VA	total
\overline{A} , V	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0
A, \overline{V}	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0
\overline{A} , \overline{V}	2 (100%)	0 (0%)	2
A, V	5 (100%)	0 (0%)	5
total	7 (100%)	0 (0%)	7

d. Different lines

<i>Met</i>	AV	VA	total
\overline{A} , V	0 (100%)	0 (0%)	0
A, \overline{V}	7 (100%)	0 (0%)	7
\overline{A} , \overline{V}	1 (100%)	0 (0%)	1
A, V	6 (100%)	0 (0%)	6
total	14 (100%)	0 (0%)	14

- (10) a. A Mid ðy is getacnod þæt his treowa sceal
and his modgeþonc ma up þonne niðer
habban to heofonum, þy læs he his higc
wende niðer swa ðær nyten (Met 31 18-21)
'Thereby is betokened that he shall turn his trust and his mind rather
upwards than downwards to the heavens, lest he bend his mind downwards
like animals.'
- b. A Swa hæfð geheaðærod hefonrices weard
mid his anwealde ealle gesceafta,
þæt hiora æghwile wið oðer winð,
and þeah winnende wreðiað fæste,
æghwile oðer utan ymbclyppeð,
þy læs hi toswifen. (Met 11 31-41a)
'Thus, He has constrained, the Guardian of heaven, with His power, all
of His creatures, so that the one strives with the other, and yet striving
holds each of them firm from outside enclasps, lest they break away.'
- c. A (weorulde waldeð) þæt is wis cyning,
þæt is se ðe waldeð giOND werðioda
ealra oðra eorðan cyninga,
se mid his bridle ymbebæted hæfð
ymbhwyrft ealne eorðan and heofones (Met 24 34b-38)
'That is a wise King, that is He that controls through all nations all other
kings over the world who with His bridle has restrained the whole compass
of earth and heaven.'
- d. A V (Stod þrage on ðam.) þeod wæs gewunnen
wintra mænigo, oðþæt wyrd gesgraf
þæt þe ðeodrice þegnas and eorlas
heran sceoldan (Met 1 28b-31a)
'The nation was conquered many times, until Fate decreed that thanes and
earls must obey Theodric.'
- e. A- Næfst þu to ænegum andan genumenne,
forðam þe nan þing nis þin gelica,
ne huru ænig ælcraeftigre,
forðam þu ealgood anes geþeahte
þines geþohtest, and hi þa worhtest. (Met 20 36-40)
'You have conceived no anger to anything for none is like you, nor even is
anything more powerful, for you, all good things, alone in your counsel,
did plan and make.'
- f. A-V Næfdon hi mare monnum gelices
eorðbuendum ðonne ingeþonc;
hæfde anra gehwylc his agen mod,
þæt wæs þeah swiðe sorgum gebunden
for ðæm earfoðum þe him on sæton. (Met 26 93-97)
'They had no more likeness to men, to earth-dwellers, each of them had
his own mind but that was beset with sorrow for the miseries which
attacked them.'

- g. A/√ (heran sceoldan.) **Wæs** se heretema
 Criste gecnoden. cýning selfa onfeng
 fulluhtþeawum. (Met 1 31b-33a)
 'The leader was claimed by Christ, the king himself received baptism.'
- h. A/V **Hæfð** se ilca god eorðan and wætere
 mearce **gesette.** (Merestream ne dear)
 (Met 11 64-65a)
 'The same God has set the boundary between land and sea.'

The figures in (9a) are concerned with cases where the auxiliary and non-finite verbs appear within the same 'a'-verse. Compare the figures in (9a) with those in (7a) and (7b). For these cases where the non-finite verb alliterates and the auxiliary does not alliterate within the same half-line, the typical VA order might be expected as in the subordinate clauses. However, in (9a) the AV order occurs exclusively (3 instances, as in (10a)) which shows a similar pattern to that of modal constructions. For cases featuring alliteration patterns different from the above, only the AV order appears. There is one instance with both of them alliterating, as illustrated in (10b), and another with neither of them alliterating.

For clauses where both the auxiliary and non-finite verbs appear in 'b'-verse, as presented in (9b), again a similar tendency exists to that of the subordinate clauses in that the VA order occurs where only the non-finite verb alliterates (1 instance), and in that the AV order occurs where neither of them alliterates (5 instances), as illustrated in (10c) and (10d).

The figures in (9c) are concerned with cases where the auxiliary and non-finite verbs appear in the same line. All seven instances show the AV order, irrespective of their alliteration patterns, as illustrated in (10e) and (10f).

The figures in (9d) show cases where the auxiliary and non-finite verbs occur in different lines. Showing an almost identical tendency to those in subordinate clauses, all fourteen instances take the AV order. There are seven instances where only the non-finite verb alliterates, one instance where both of them alliterate,

and six instances where neither of them alliterates in the different lines, as illustrated in (10g) and (10h).

Thus, the results of (9c) and (9d) again show that only the AV order occurs across the half-line boundary, as is the case with subordinate clauses.

These tendencies can also be observed in *ond/ac* clauses (see Table (11), with an example provided in (12a)),

(11) **Distribution of alliteration and order of Auxiliary and Non-Finite Verbs in Participle Constructions (*Ond/Ac* Clauses)**

a. B-verses

<i>Met</i>		AV		VA		total
Ⓐ, V		0	(0%)	0	(0%)	0
A, ⒱		0	(0%)	0	(0%)	0
Ⓐ, ⒱		0	(0%)	0	(0%)	0
A, V		1	(100%)	0	(0%)	1
total		1	(100%)	0	(0%)	1

- (12) a. A V (beorg oferbrædeð) Baru sond willað
 ren forswelgan; swa deð ricra nu
 grundleas gitsung gilpes and æhta,
 gedrinced to dryggum dreosendne welan,
 and þeah þæs þearfan ne bið þurst aceled. (Met 7 13b-17)
 'The bare sand will absorb the rain, so does the great one now with
 bottomless greed for glory and goods, drink to dryness the dross of
 riches, and yet the thirst of desire is never cooled.'

The figures in (13) - (17) provide data on infinitive constructions

(13) **Distribution of alliteration and order of Auxiliary and Non-Finite Verbs
in Infinitive Constructions (Subordinate Clauses)**

a. A-verses

<i>Met</i>	AV	VA	total
\overline{A} , V	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0
A, \overline{V}	0 (0%)	1 (100%)	1
\overline{A} , \overline{V}	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0
A, V	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0
total	0 (0%)	1 (100%)	1

b. B-verses

<i>Met</i>	AV	VA	total
\overline{A} , V	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0
A, \overline{V}	0 (0%)	1 (100%)	1
\overline{A} , \overline{V}	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0
A, V	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0
total	0 (0%)	1 (100%)	1

c. The same lines

<i>Met</i>	AV	VA	total
\overline{A} , V	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0
A, \overline{V}	1 (100%)	0 (0%)	1
\overline{A} , \overline{V}	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0
A, V	1 (100%)	0 (0%)	1
Total	2 (100%)	0 (0%)	2

d. Different lines

<i>Met</i>	AV	VA	total
\overline{A} , V	1 (100%)	0 (0%)	1
A, \overline{V}	2 (100%)	0 (0%)	2
\overline{A} , \overline{V}	2 (100%)	0 (0%)	2
A, V	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0
total	5 (100%)	0 (0%)	5

- (14) a. A Swelce þone mæran morgensteorran,
 þe we oðre naman æfensteorra
nemnan **herað**, ðu genedest þone
 þæt he þære sunnan sið bewitige;
 geara gehwelce he gongan sceal
 beforan feran. (Met 4 13-18a)
 'Just as the glorious morning star, that we by its other name evening
 star hear called, you compel to follow the sun; every year he must
 go, fare before.'
- b. A Hwý ge ymb ðæt unnet ealnig swincen,
 þæt ge þone hlisan habban **tíliað**
 ofer ðioda ma þonne eow þearf sie? (Met 10 21-23)
 'Why do you always labor in vain, strive to have fame, over the
 peoples, more than you need?'
- c. A-V Eac hit gesælde æt sumum cierre
 ðæt se ilca **het** ealle acwellan
 þa ricostan Romana witan
 and þa æpelestan eorlgebyrdum
 þe he on þæm folce gefrigen hæfde,
 and on uppan agene broðor
 and his modor mid meca ecgum,
 billum ofbeatan. (Met 9 23-30a)
 'Also it happened at one time that the same man ordered to kill all the
 wisest men of Rome, and all the best by birth that he had found in
 the folk: and also his own brother, and his mother, with swords,
 murder with blade-edges.'
- d. /V (haten for herigum.) Hio ricsode
 on ðæm iglonde þe Aulixes,
 cining þracia, com ane to
 ceole liðan. (Cuð wæssona) (Met 26 57b-60a)
 'She ruled on the island to which Aulixes king of Thracia came
 sailing in his ship.'
- e. /V Gif ðu nu **wilnige** weorlddrihtnes
 heane anwald hlutre mode
ongitan giorne, gem almægene
 heofones tunglu, hu hi him healdað
 betwuh sibbe singale, dydon swa lange. (Met 29 1-5)
 'If you now desire to learn the high power of the world's Lord with
 clear mind, consider with all your power the stars of heaven, how
 they keep up the lasting peace so long'

The figures in Table (13) also indicate a pattern similar to that of modal constructions in that, in subordinate clauses (see Tables (13a) and (13b)), the VA order always occurs when only the non-finite verb alliterates and both appear within the same half-line boundary, as in (14a) and (14b). On the other hand, the AV order predominates completely (see Tables (13c) and (13d)), when both are separated by a half-line boundary, as illustrated in (14c)–(14e). The same is true of *ond/ac* clauses (see figures in (15), as exemplified in (16a)). This phenomenon can also generally be observed in main clauses (see Table (17)), except for cases where the non-finite verb alliterates in ‘a’-verse (see Table (17a)), with the majority resulting in the AV order (2 of 3), as should now be expected, as exemplified in (18a)–(18d).

(15) **Distribution of alliteration and order of Auxiliary and Non-Finite Verbs in Infinitive Constructions (*Onđ/Ac* Clauses)**

a. B-verses

<i>Met</i>	AV	VA	total
<u>A</u> , V	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0
A, <u>V</u>	0 (0%)	1 (100%)	1
<u>A</u> , <u>V</u>	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0
A, V	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0
total	0 (0%)	1 (100%)	1

- (16) a. VA Sume hi to wulfum wurdon, ne meahton þonne word forðbringan, ac hio þragmælum ðioton ongunnon.

(*Met* 26 79–80)

‘Some became wolves and could not produce any word but at times roared.’

(17) **Distribution of alliteration and order of Auxiliary and Non-Finite Verbs in Infinitive Constructions (Main Clauses)**

a. A-verses

<i>Met</i>	AV	VA	total
<u>A</u> , V	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0
A, <u>V</u>	2 (67%)	1 (33%)	3
<u>A</u> , <u>V</u>	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0
A, V	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0
total	2 (67%)	1 (33%)	3

b. Different lines

<i>Met</i>	AV	VA	total
<u>A</u> , V	1 (100%)	0 (0%)	1
A, <u>V</u>	3 (100%)	0 (0%)	3
<u>A</u> , <u>V</u>	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0
A, V	2 (100%)	0 (0%)	2
total	6 (100%)	0 (0%)	6

(18) a. A V Ða **ongunnon** wercan werðeoda spell,
 sædon þæt hio sceolde mid hire scinlace
 beornas forbredan, and mid balocraftum
 wraðum weorpan on wildra lic
 cyninges þegnas, cyspan siððan
 and mid racentan eac ræpan mænigne. (Met 26 73-78)
 'Now people began to make up a story, said that with her witchcraft
 she should change the men, and with evil arts angrily turned the king's
 thanes into the bodies of beasts, and then bound them, and also
 fastened many in chains.'

b. V A (ealles eðelstol.) He for unsnyttrum
 wolde fandian gif þæt fyr meahthe
 lixan swa leohte and swa longe eac,
 read rasettan, swa he Romane
secgan **geherde** þæt on sume tide
 Troia burg ofertogen hæfde
 lega leohtost, lengest burne
 hama under hefonum. (Met 9 11b-18a)
 'For ignorance he wanted to see whether the fire could burn as brightly
 and long, rage as red, as he heard the Romans say that at one time the

brightest of flames had covered Troy city and that longest burned in homes under heaven.’

- c. A/√V (lete þone leodscipe.) Ða þa lare ongeat
Deodric Amuling, and þone þegn oferfeng,
heht fæstlice folgesiðas
healdon þone hererinc. (Wæs him hreoh sefa)
(Met 1 68b-72a)
‘When Theodoric an Amuling found out the design, and seized the
thane, he ordered the nobles to hold firmly the hero’
- d. A/V (ege from ðam eorle.) He hine inne **heht**
on carcernes cluster belucan. (Met 1 72b-73)
‘He ordered them to lock him in prison.’

5. Conclusion

To sum up, although the current corpus is somewhat smaller (77 instances, compared to the 184 modal constructions), the pattern emerging would seem to be consistent. Thus, this study at least tentatively suggests that not only is alliteration crucial in determining word order in the modal constructions, but it also seems to be important in determining word order in all auxiliary types in Old English verse.

Notes

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1. See Krapp and Dobbie (1931-53), *The Anglo-Saxon Poetic Records*, V, Introd., xxxv-vi.
2. Following Ohkado and Mitchell, the modal auxiliaries included in this study

are *agan* 'own,' *cunnan* 'know,' *durran* 'dare,' *magan* 'can,' *motan* 'may,' *sculan* 'must,' *þurfan* 'need,' and *willan* 'will.' See Ohkado (2001: 1) and Mitchell (1985: sections 990-1. Mitchell lists these eight verbs and explains, "I call these "modal" auxiliaries' for want of a better name").

3. In this survey (see section 2) I have excluded the constructions where a single auxiliary is accompanied by several dependent verbals as in (i) indicating Verb-Auxiliary-Verb order. However, if the position of the first verbal only is considered, the typical VA order appears where only the non-finite verb carries the alliteration and the auxiliary does not alliterate. Tables (ii)-(iv) indicate the relevant figures. It should be noted that the results also conform to the tendencies found in the participle and infinitive constructions in Old English verse in a more pronounced way.

- (i) VA (V) Hwær is nu se rica Romana wita,
and se aroda, þe we ymb sprecað,
hiora heretoga, se gehatan wæs
mid þæm burgwarum Brutus nemned? (*Met* 10 44-47)
'Where is the powerful senator of Rome now, and the bold of whom
we speak, their leader, he that was called and named Brutus among
the town-dwellers?'

(ii) Distribution of alliteration and order in Participle Constructions with Multiple Non-Finite Verbs (Subordinate Clauses)

a. B-verses

<i>Met</i>	AV	VA	total
A, <u>V</u>	0 (0%)	1 (100%)	1
total	0 (0%)	1 (100%)	1

b. The same lines

<i>Met</i>	AV	VA	total
<u>A</u> , V	1 (100%)	0 (0%)	1
total	1 (100%)	0 (0%)	1

c. Different lines

<i>Met</i>		AV		VA		total
<u>A</u> , V	1	(100%)	0	(0%)		1
A, <u>V</u>	2	(100%)	0	(0%)		2
total	3	(100%)	0	(0%)		3

(iii) Distribution of alliteration and order in Participle Constructions with Multiple Non-Finite Verbs (Main Clauses)

a. A-verses

<i>Met</i>		AV		VA		total
<u>A</u> , <u>V</u>	1	(100%)	0	(0%)		1
total	1	(100%)	0	(0%)		1

b. B-verses

<i>Met</i>		AV		VA		total
<u>A</u> , V	1	(100%)	0	(0%)		1
A, V	3	(100%)	0	(0%)		3
total	4	(100%)	0	(0%)		4

c. The same lines

<i>Met</i>		AV		VA		total
A, V	2	(100%)	0	(0%)		2
total	2	(100%)	0	(0%)		2

d. Different lines

<i>Met</i>		AV		VA		total
A, <u>V</u>	1	(100%)	0	(0%)		1
<u>A</u> , <u>V</u>	1	(100%)	0	(0%)		1
A, V	1	(100%)	0	(0%)		1
total	3	(100%)	0	(0%)		3

(iv) Distribution of alliteration and order in Infinitive Constructions with Multiple Non-Finite Verbs (Subordinate Clauses)

a. The same lines

<i>Met</i>	AV		VA		total
A, V	1	(100%)	0	(0%)	1
total	1	(100%)	0	(0%)	1

(v) Distribution of alliteration and order of Infinitive Constructions with Multiple Non-Finite Verbs (Main Clauses)

a. Different lines

<i>Met</i>	AV		VA		total
A, V	1	(100%)	0	(0%)	1
total	1	(100%)	0	(0%)	1

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