Element Order in
the Peterborough Chronicle 1070—1121

HIROSHI FUJIWARA

1.1 Many scholars have asserted that the language has no norm in element order while it has a richly inflected case system that can distinguish the subject from the object.1 But many others have opposed them, claiming that even the language with a complex case system arranges sentence elements according to a norm.2 Traugott (1972, p. 106) says, “It is often said that OE word order was much less constrained than that of NE. Recent scholars have shown, however, that word order is by no means free in OE.”

Greenberg (1963, 1966), who has revived typology, uses three element order parameters in classifying languages. Weil (1884) seems to have been his predecessor. Applying the method to historical linguistics, Lehmann (1974) states that Proto-Indo-European has the order SXV as its basic standard and that it changed into the order SVX in the European dialects (pp. 238 ff.). According to Vennemann (1975, p. 295) the process is as follows:

\[
\text{Phonological Change} \rightarrow \text{Loss of Morphology} \rightarrow \text{Compensating Change of Word Order}
\]

Lehmann (1978, p. 214) opposes this assertion.

“Accordingly inflection for case may well be unnecessary in SVO languages when the order of elements is fixed. Before it is fixed, affixes are significant in indiceting case forms and concord classes.”
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We may formulate his assertion as follows.

\[
\text{Change of Word Order } \implies \text{Loss of Morphology}
\]

1. 2 Clark (1957) divides the Peterborough Chronicle into three parts according to the ink colour and handwriting. They are:

- annals 0—1121 (A)
- annals 1122—1131 (B)
- annals 1132—1154 (C)

Text A has some "Interpolations", which are regarded as chronologically near Text B. As is evident from the title, here she follows the process of the weakening of gender in the transitional period from OE to ME. In it she naturally traces the use of the personal pronouns and the inflections of "articles" and adjectives employed with nouns as the key for perceiving gender consciousness. According to her, "In A the gender-inflections of both articles and adjectives are, except for certain phonetic weakenings, well preserved,... In B confusion and loss of gender forms are much further advanced.... In C the article has become almost invariable,... the adjective too has lost all its gender-inflections" (pp.112-3).

In Text B "confusion is general" in the concord of the determiners and inanimate nouns. False concord is generally masculine, but the neuter form pet is rather remarkable. Concerning this phenomenon, Jones (1988, p.134) offers us an explanation.

The following is one of the most important conclusions offered by Clark (1957).

For the analysis of the forms in B shows that in this text at least loss of gender proceeded not by the neutralization alleged in other texts but by masculinization" (p.115)

1. 3 Jones (1967b) does not regard this process called "masculinization" by Clark as gender change. According to him "the
unhistorical masculine forms are best considered as linguistic pointers to particular verbal/nominal group relationships” (p.294). This conclusion is repeated in his other works (Jones 1967a, p. 104; Jones 1988, pp. 17, 18, 143, etc.).

This inflexional ending is a morpheme, a fused form of gender, case and number indications and cannot be further segmented. The weakening and loss of inflections should concern not only gender, but also case.

1.4 Clark (1970, p.lxxviii) considers that the Peterborough Chronicle is a suitable material for following the syntactical history. But Text A belongs to the “standard West-Saxon Schriftsprache” (Clark 1957, p. 110), while Continuation I and Continuation II (that is, Text B and Text C) belong to the East-Midland dialect. Text A must be more conservative than the actual use in the 11th century, and there may be a linguistic gap between Text A and two Continuations on account of different dialects. Though admitting these unfavourable factors, this work cannot be neglected in linguistic studies.

1.5 We have many syntactic studies on the Peterborough Chronicle. Rothstein (1922) is criticized by Michell (1964, p. 117). Fourquet (1938) offers us and-clauses as principal ones (p. 95). Shores (1971a) and Shores (1971b) are structuralistic, containing many statistical tables about various facets of sentence structures. But he does not pay attention to the existence or non-existence of the “head” preceding “nucleus” after the terminology of Reszkiewicz (1966). These two works by Shores treat Text B, Text C and Interpolations in Text A, and so does Mitchell (1964) together with “Stephen”, ÆCHom I. Clark examined annals 1070–1154 concerning gender. In this unpretentious brief paper the present writer will observe Text A concerning element order.
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Against Clark (1958), Mitchell (1964) denies the modernity of English in the two Continuations of this Chronicle (p. 144). So we must expect the linguistic immodernity of Text A. Indeed we meet with many examples of the split constructions and the construction XVS.

Se cyng Willelm ... wæs swiðe wisman. & swiðe rice (1086/219: 20—1)

Dis wæs swiðe god gear & swiðe wistfull on wudan & on feldan (1121/243: 31—2)

The construction XVS will be referred to later.

At the same time we see the case weakening of the determiners, the analytic constructions, and the disagreement in inflections between modifier and modified.

swa þurhsmeade. þ næs an hid landes innan Englælande. þ hö nyste hwa heo hæfde (1086/220: 20—21)

On þisum geare eac æt Heamstede innan Barrucscire wæs geswen bloð of eorðan (1103/238: 26—7)

(Cf. Dise geares wurdon sehte seo cyng of Englælande & se of France (1120/249: 10—1))

On þisum yłcan geare bærnde eall þ mynstre of Burh. & eällæ þa husas butan se Captelhus & se Slæpperne. & þær to eac bærnde eall þa mæste dæl of þa tunæ (1116/247: 6—8)

1. 6 When producing actual sentences, thematization and topicalization have great effects in ordering elements (Kohonen 1978). In this paper the normal element order (or "grammatical order") is sought for, however variant actual sentences may be in element order. Declarative sentences alone will be considered and examples in verse are excluded. In annals 1070 to 1121 we could not find interpolations.

2. 1 In the simple sentences (or principal clauses), the frequency of the order V(X)SY is very small. Næfde, and nis are each the first word of a sentence in one example. This construc-
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tion may have been brought about by ne-VS, ne and the following verb fused into one word in time. The other example of VSX order begins with beleaf. As is well known, Campbell (1970) and Lehmann (1974) are opposed to each other in stress-patterning of this type of sentences. See Fujiwara (1988). After all, this type of sentences represents a receding pattern even in OE.

næfde he næfre swa mycel yfel gedon wið ðone oðerne (1086/220 : 15—16)
Nis eaðe to æscgenne þises landes earmða þe hit to þysan timan dreogende wæs þurh mistlice & mænig fealdlice unriht & gyld (1104/239 : 21—3)
beleaf þær nan butan an munec (1070/207 : 4)

2.2 As for the construction of SV(X), nouns fill the S-slot in 18 examples, and pronouns in 48 examples. We have only two examples of the construction SV without any other element.

forneah ælc tìs on mersc lande forferde (1098/234 : 30—1)
Hi gecuron & abugan to Cnute cynge (1086/221 : 31)

The following example is included in the Class SVX, but if the pronoun se is a relative particle, we shall need re-classifying.

se wæs eorl on Normandige æfter him (1086/219 : 12)

2.3 Concerning the XSV(Y) order, 32 examples have the noun as the subject and 24 examples the pronoun. In this construction the slot of X is filled by time expressions in most cases.

Syððan he þider com. he & his broðer Rodbeard se eorl gecwæðan. þi mid griðe togæedere cuman sceoldan (1094/229 : 5—7)
On þisum geare Willelm cyng geaf Raulfe eorle Willelmes dohtor Osbearnes sunu (1075/210 : 5—6)
Her Willelm cyng lædde scipþyrde & landþyrde to Scotia (1072/208 : 12—3)
Dissum þus gdeone. se cyng Willelm cearde ongean to Normandige (1086/218 : 35—6)
Table 1. Principal Clauses
(or Simple Sentences)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word Order</th>
<th>Number of Examples</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>VS</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SV</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SVX</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XSV(Y)</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SXVY</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XSYV(Z)</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VX</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XV</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XVS</td>
<td>158</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XVYS(Z)</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>358</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2. The Filler of the X-slot in the XSV(Y) Construction

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>X</th>
<th>S</th>
<th>Noun</th>
<th>Pronoun</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Time Expression</td>
<td>Clause</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Phrase</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Adverb</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Absolute Construction</td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Participle</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Introductory Adverb</td>
<td></td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Place Adverbial</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Object</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Complement</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td>32</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(If the X-slot is filled with two elements, the weightier one is counted.)

Das þing geseonde se arwro b Wlstan weard swiðe gedrefed on his mode (1087/223 : 15—6)
2. 4 In the order SXVY, the slot of X is mostly filled by personal pronouns or other small particles. Only in one example the filler of X is *syðan* + a phrase. In two examples phrases after the subject nouns may be elements making up the noun phrases in the node of the subject. The following are examples in case.

Se cyng mid his here ferde toweard Hrofceartre (1087/224 : 7—8)
Se b Odo mid *þam* mannum þe innan *þam* castele wæron ofer sæferdon (1087/224 : 37—225 : 1)

The typical examples are quoted below.

Ælmihtig God hit gemiltse þurh his mycele mild hertnesse (1070/207 : 22—3)
þreo þær wæron ofslagene to deaþe (1083/215 : 20)

2. 5 As for the order XSYV(Z), the following examples are put under this heading. But in one quotation *ut hlupon* may have formed one word, and in two others the prepositional phrase may possibly be an element of the subject. If so, those three examples must be put under the heading of the order XSV(Y).

Her Ælfwine eorl & Morkere eorl ut hlupon (1071/207 : 35)
On þisum geare se cyng Wilhelmi mid mycelre fyrde ferðe norð to Cardeol (1092/227 : 14—5)
Dær togeanes se eorl mid þes cynges fultume of France gewann pone castel æt Argentses (1094/229: 15—6)

In one example the construction has the verbal phrase “v... V”, and in some others adverbial elements are divided into two parts, one preceding the verb and the other following. In seven examples no element follows after the verb.

Eac þeos þeode þurh þis ylice þurh manigfealde gyld. wearð strange geswenct (1117/247 : 15—6)
**Table 3.** The Filler of the X-slot in the XSYV(Z) Construction

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>X</th>
<th>Pronoun</th>
<th>Noun</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Time Expression</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clause</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phrase</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adverb</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Introductory Adverb</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adverb of Manner</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>5</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table 4.** The Filler of the Y-slot in the XSYV(Z) Construction

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Y</th>
<th>Pronoun</th>
<th>Noun</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Personal Pronoun</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Particle</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adverb</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phrase</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Object+Phrase</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>5</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Syððan eft hi togædere coman mid þam ilcan mannan þe ær þe loc makedon (1094/229: 7—9)

2. 6 In some sentences not headed by the conjunction the subject is deleted, being easily supplied by the reader on account of the context. These sentences may be classified into two groups, i.e., those in the construction of VX and those of the XV order. The VX examples may be said faithfully to follow the SVO order. As to the XV constructions, three of them belong to the optionally chosen (in a sense, stubbornly remaining) type similar to the order of SXV.
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The following example may belong to the impersonal construction, though it is included here in the group of the XV constructions.

Eala reowlic & wependlic tid wæs þæs geares. þe swa manig ungelimp wæs forðbringende (1086/218: 26—7)

<p>| Table 5. The Constructions of the VX Order |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Construction</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>VO</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VO (O=reflexive)</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VX (X=adverbials)</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>20</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<p>| Table 6. The Fillers of the X-slot in the XV Construction |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>X</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>reflexive pronoun</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>refl. or demonstrative</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>syðdan</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>object + adverbials</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>indirect O + direct O</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>complement</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>7</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(a) wendon þ hi sceoldon winnon eall þ land (1070/205: 8—9)
ferden heom to Elig (1070/207 : 1—2)
clumen upp te þe halge rode (1070/205 : 26—7)
(b) him geyfelade (1086/218 : 37)
þa todrefodon ealle þa munekes (1070/207 : 3—4)
Syðdan geden heom to scipe (1070/207 : 1)
þa sume ihyder to lande sende (1094/229 : 14)
heom manege ealdras of heom sylfan gecuron (1097/233 : 20—1)

2.7 The frequency of the order SXV is small, and words of limited classes can be fillers of the X-slot in this construction. In Text A, nay, in the classical WS the order SXV may be generally said to be a recessive one (cf. Traugott, pp.108—9). Naturally in the Chronicle the “head” slot is often filled by time adverbials. In these cases we have indeed a few examples of the order XSYV(Z), but the frequency of the XVS order is far more
prevailant. Needless to say, this order feels literary and a little archaic. But in early ModE literature we can glean many examples of this order.

And because he was desirous for godlye purposes sometyme to be solitary, and sequester himself from worldly company, A good distaunce from his mansion house builded he a place called the newe building, wherein there was a Chapell, a library, and a gallery (Roper, *The Lyfe of Sir Thomas Moore, Knight*, pp. 25—6)

This order may be looked upon as belonging to the same group as the type SVX. In this model the verb occupies the second position, and not come to the third one. This group includes many examples, so we must be content to make only a brief observation. The pronouns and the adjectives in the nominal use fill the S-slot only in 22 examples of this group. In the others the noun is the filler of the S-slot. The verbs most frequently used are as follows:

The verbs of the movement.

*(cuman, gewendan, faran, forðferan, laedan, bringan, sendan, etc.)*

wesan 46

*(ge)weordan* 16

heidan 7

setwywan 5

wunian 5

(The number shows the frequency of examples.)

The fillers of the X-slot in the XVS construction are mostly time expressions. The others are very rare. The head-slot preceding the verbs of movement are filled with the following items:

*On ðisum geare and its similar idioms* 13

*Dises geares* 9

*Đa + time-phrases* 5

*pa* 7

*ponne* 2

*Syððan* 1
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| Her on disum geare           | 1 |
| Dær æfter + time-phrase      | 1 |
| Da hwile ða + time-phrase    | 1 |
| Time-clause                  | 7 |
| Total                        | 49 |

Syðdan heom ateorede mete wiðinnan þam castele (1087/224 : 20)
On þisum ilcan geare bærnde eall þ þynstre of Burh (1116/247 : 6)
Dises geares wæs se forma Pentecostes dæg on NO' Iun' (1104/239 : 4)

2. 8 As for the order XVYS, we have 21 examples. Here again the slot of X is time expressions in most cases. The subject is emphasized or weighty in this construction.

The fillers of the X-slot in the construction of XVYS are as follows:

| Dises geares         | 3 |
| On þisum geare      | 2 |
| Her on disum geare  | 4 |
| Other time-phrases  | 3 |
| þa                   | 3 |
| Time-adverbs        | 2 |
| Time-clause         | 1 |
| Phrases not signifying time | 3 |
| Adverbs not signifying time | 3 |

Her on þisum geare wurdon sæhte Franca cyng & Willelm Eng- lalandes cyng (1077/213 : 7—8)

3. 1 We shall now take up the and-clauses. In classic OE most of them are constructed on the model and-XV (Fujiwara 1983, and Fujiwara 1986). In Text A this order is still predominant. Excluding examples of the construction ‘and ne V’ and those with particles filling the slot X, we have 188 examples of this construction. On the other hand we have 91 examples of the order and-VX. The two orders, traditional and new-arriving, are
struggling against each other.

But the order *and-SVX* is more prevalent than that of *and-SXV*. The order *and-XSV(Y)* is rather frequent, and so is the order *and-XVS(Y)*. The order *and-SXV(Y)* is a minor type. We rarely find examples constructed on this model, unless the X-slot is filled by the sentence particles. Judging from this state of things we may conclude that the *and*-clauses are coming to be similar to the principal clauses in word-order.

*Ac*-clauses are not so many, but they have the same tendency as the *and*-clauses.

**Table 7.** *And*-clauses without the Subject

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>construction</th>
<th>frequency</th>
<th>subtotal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>and V</em></td>
<td>24</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>and VX</em></td>
<td>91</td>
<td>115</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(a) <em>and XV</em></td>
<td>32</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(b) <em>and XV</em></td>
<td>188</td>
<td>220</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sum Total</td>
<td></td>
<td>335</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As for the construction of *and-VX*, some of the fillers of the X-slot are as follows:

- personal pronouns 17
- *dær* 3
- *pa* 2
- *inn* 1
- *git* 1

Concerning the construction *and-XV (a)*, the following items fill the slot X.

- *ne* 3
- particles 29

Sixteen examples of the *and-SXV(Y)* order have compound forms (Vv) in the slot of the verb. As for the order *and-SXV(Y)*
the slot of X is filled by particles (sometimes together with full words) in 27 examples.

We have 37 examples of the formula and-S(X). They are put out of consideration.

3. 2 The distribution of the various forms of the ac-clauses will be given below.

As for the construction of ac-SXVV, the particles are fillers of the X-solt. In the sentence of the order ac-XSYV(a), the head is the apposition of the following subject. The Y-slot is filled by an particle.

3. 3 Some examples of the and-clauses are quoted below.

& pone cyng aflynda (1070/207 : 33)
& sende hine to Westmynstre (1072/209 : 3—4)
& p land folc comen him ongean (1070/205 : 4—5)
& he þær inne casteles gewrohte (1086/220 : 22—3)
& him ealle on þeosan lande to abugan (1100/236 : 12—3)
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Table 9 The Ac-Clauses

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>construction</th>
<th>frequency</th>
<th>subtotal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ac V</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ac VX</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ac X</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ac SV</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ac SVX</td>
<td>16</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ac XSVY</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ac S ne/ na VX</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ac SXVY</td>
<td>14</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(a) ac XSYV</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(b) ac XSYV(Z)</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ac XVS</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sum Total</td>
<td></td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

We have a few coordinate clauses introduced by other conjunctions than *and* and *ac*. They are *oode* and *ne*. They are put out of consideration here.

- *oode* XV  
- *ne* XXY  
- *ne* ne V

4.1 The most conservative in element order is said to be a relative clause among dependent ones. This applies mainly to the *pe*-relative clauses in which the subject generally deleted corresponds to the antecedent of the relative particle (Fujiwara 1986). In our corpus we have 113 examples of this construction. Here the conservative type of *pe*-XV is still predominant. The “identical noun deletion” and “topicalization” are mentioned as the causes of bringing about of this order as in the *and*-clauses in my former paper.
Element Order in Peterborough Chronicle 1070—1121 (FUJIWARA)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Element</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pe-VX</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pe-XV</td>
<td>86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>113</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 10  The Filler of the 
X-slot in pe-XV Clauses

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>X</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ne</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>particles</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>full words</td>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>86</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A few quotations will be given below.

mid þæm mannum þe innan þæm castele wæron (1087/224: 37—225: 1)
þæ arisan þa men þe wæron innan þæm castele (1087/224: 26)

The following sentence is put out of account, because the verb wæron is supplied by both Earle-Plummer and Clark. The word is wanting in the corresponding place of the Bodleian Manuscript Laud Misc. 636.

& þær þa bispic rïcen & abbod rïcen geaf. & sette. þe on Engleande 
oððe on Normandige buton ealdre & hyrde (wæron) (1107/241: 20—2)

4.2  As for the relative pe-clauses with the subject, we have the following distribution.

(a) pe SV  2
     pe SVX  10
     pe XSVY  1
     Total  13

(b) pe SXV  29
     pe XSYV  1
     Total  30

(c) pe XVS  1

—113—
A few quotations of these orders will be given below.

purh gyld þe se cyng nam for his dohter gyfte (1110/243 : 6—7)
þone wurðscipe þe he on þis land hæfde (1087/225 : 1—2)
& innan August he ferde ofer sæ into Normandig, for unsehte þe
wið him hæfdon sume be þam gemærnan of France. & gwiðost for þam
eorle of Angeow þe þa Mannie togeanes him heold (1111/243 : 13—6)

In this type of relative clauses, we must admit, the conjunctive order is still predominant.

4.3 The se-relative clauses are distributed as follows.

(a) $se + wesan + V$ 13
   $se +$ other verbs + X 2
   $seo +$ wesan + X 2
   $se ne +$ V + Y 1
   $se +$ X + V 2
   Total 20

(b) $þ$ or $past +$ wesan + X 14
   $þ$ or $past +$ particle + V + X 1
   $þ ne +$ V + Y 1
   $þ$ or $past +$ full word + V 5
   Total 21

(c) $pet +$ S + V 1
   $pet +$ S + particle + V 1
   $pet +$ S + X + V 2
   Total 4

Besides these we have one concatenated relative clause with
the construction of "relative + personal pronoun".

He rixade ofer Engławæland. & hit mid his geapsceipe swa þurh.
smeade. þ næs an hid landes innan Engławælande. þ he nyste hwa heo
hæfde. oððe hwæs heo wurð ðæs (1086/220 : 19—21)

We have other relative particles which are inflected forms
of $se$, that is $þæs$ (1), $þæþ þe$ (5), $þam$ (4), $ðone$ (1), and
ðæra (1). The numerals in the parentheses show the frequencies.
The relative $se$ and its inflected forms are difficult to discriminate.
from demonstratives. We have no space to describe the constructions of relative clauses led by these particles. The case is the same with the following relative particles.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Relative Particle</th>
<th>Count</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>on hwam/ for hwam</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>swa hwat swa</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>swice ... swa</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>panon</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dær</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5.1 As for Text A of the Peterborough Chronicle, in the principal clauses the order SVX may be said to be the norm, although we have “Rules Overriding Types 1, 2, and 3” in the term of Traugott (1972, p. 109). The and-clauses, when the S-slot is filled, are nearly the same as the principal clauses in element order. The se-relative clauses are approaching, or have approached the principal order. Only pe-relative clauses are still keeping the old type, especially when the subject is deleted in the clause. If we examine remaining problems of Text A, and take up Text B, we shall be able to say more things about the history of element order. Cannot we audaciously hope to settle the dispute between Vennemann and Lehmann, using the cue of “masculinization”?

(To be continued)

NOTES

1. See Bacquet (1962, pp. 11–2).
2. See Kohonen (1978, pp. 20–9).
3. Quoted from Clark (1957, p. 112).
4. “it (= pct) acted (a) as a means of ‘tracking’ the semantic identity relationships holding between temporarily sequential items in extended discourse; (b) as a device for highlighting the status of the presuppositions holding between speaker and hearer concerning the semantic range of reference of certain types of lexical item.”
Element Order in Peterborough Chronicle 1070—1121 (FUJIWARA)


6. Kohonen traces the process of the change of element order, using the computer. His materials are Ælfric’s Catholic Homilies, Sawles Warde and Vice and Vertues. As for his method of classifying examples, the present writer does not agree with him on some points. For example, he does not pay attention to the existence or non-existence of the subject in the and- / ac-clauses. He divides the sentence into three parts, that is, initial field, medial field and terminal field. If the sentence has the construction SvVX, he groups Sv as a unit and puts it in the initial field. But in the combination of vV, the element v is the finite verb in the sentence.

7. See Mitchell (1985, §3889).

[Addition]

The numerals after the quoted examples show “year/page: line” in Plummer’s edition.

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