

- 9) If we take into consideration the kind or meaning of the individual adjectivals, it is not so easy question to say of the pattern as a whole. Cf. S. Haraguchi: "Expletive 'there' and Verbs" in *The Rising Generation*, Vol, CXVI No. 3, pp. 134-135. and my brief refuting comment to it. (*The Rising Generation* Vol. CXVI No. 7, p. 418)

Several examples of this pattern are given by Jespersen in *MEG* (17. 72). Some of them are, 'there is none *good* but one, that is God. there was very much of it *true*. There was not a single person *sober* in the house.' The point is that he insists to analyze these adjectives into a predicative one in showing them.

- 10) L. Kellner: *Historical Outline of English Syntax*, p. 141
- 11) The adjectivals in question here are reduced to the two words, 'uele' and 'ueawe'. It may not be impossible to regard them as adverbials. In that case the construction becomes quite a common one. According to *OED* and *MED*, 'uele' is in fact shown under the head of both adjective and adverb. But as to 'ueawe' there is no description of adverbial use in them. Hence it may be more natural to construe them as an adjective.
- 12) One more analogous sentence is 'hi ne moze y-wyte hou moch pet hi weren uayre uor ase moche per is be-tuene dyad col and quyk man dyad and man libbinde: ase moche per is be-tuene uirtue pet is wyp-oute charite pet is pe quodnesse and pe worp and pet lif of pe opre uirtues'. (126) This seems to be similar to the construction above but it may be reasonable to regard it as a parallel to the preceding sentence, 'ase moche ase per is be-tuene...'

ples of other corpuses.¹²⁾

4. We have made a brief survey of the FWT-construction over the Kentish dialect through one corpus. It is naturally unreasonable to give some definite remarks deducing from this. But some suggestive points are revealed here. The construction 'FWT+beon+N' itself is almost established in this period but as to the use of it it is not so simple. The use of the construction without FWT, that is, 'N+beon' according to the basic pattern 'S+P' does not seem to be particularized yet. And verbs collocated with FWT are quite limited: it is not too much to say that verbs other than 'cumen' scarcely appear in this construction. The extension of the range of the verbs employed in the construction is closely related to the stages of the development of the construction.

Another remarkable point revealed here is the existence of the peculiar construction 'Adjectivals + per + beon + (N)', to which there seems to be no reference anywhere. It can not be disposed of as a mere exception, on account of its not infrequent occurrence.

1) *Dan Michel's Ayenbite of Inwyrt*, ed. R. Morris, EETS (os 23) 1866; reissued by P. Gordon, 1965.

2) For example, R. Quirk says about the FWT-construction, "It may be wondered how much the rarity of the construction in early OE prose is due to the rarity of texts that are not translations from the Latin. At any rate it is less rare in certain original texts where we see the colloquial language in advance of the literary one..." (*London Mediaeval Studies*, vol. II, part I, 1951, p. 32. 'Expletive or Existential there')

Other studies, cf. Visser: *An Historical Syntax of the English Language* I, p. 52, ; T. Mustanoja: *A Middle English Syntax* I, pp. 342-344. Perhaps the latest one is D. Nagashima's 'A Historical Study of the Introductory There Pt. 1' in *Studies in Foreign Language and Literature* 8, 1972.

3) The various nomenclatures for the 'per (there)' show the fact that the content of it is never monochromatic.

4) Numbers at the end of each quotation show pages.

5) Cf. also, 'Under po mentle wes y-hole uram pe dyeule pe priuite and pe red of oure scele and of oure helpe.' (221)

6) N means nominals.

7) Cf. R. Sugiyama: 'The Origin of the Function Word *there*' in *Bulletin of Kagoshima Pref. Jr. College*, XX, 1969, p. 128.

8) Cf. R. Sugiyama: 'Function Word *there* Construction' in *Bulletin of Kagoshima Pref. Jr. College*, XIX, 1968, p. 113.

31. Vele per byep opre zennes and of diuers cas ine symonye. (42)
32. uele per byep zuyche pet ine po vizt byep ouercome. (180)
33. A god uele byep per kynges and of barouns ine pe wordle pet habbep casteles cites and... (85)
34. ac pet is zuo grat ping pet ueawe per byep zuiche pet dorre pise niminge meki. (162)

In these sentences there appear nominals after 'per byep', in addition to the adjectivals at the head.¹¹⁾ From a purely semantic point of view, the adjectivals naturally modify the following nominals separated by intervening 'per byep'.

Analogous constructions also appear in OE.

35. Monge sindon geond middan-geard hadas under heofonum. (St. Guthlac, 30)
36. twegen ðær wæron bisceop-hades men (AElfric's Lives of Saints, XXIII, 365)

There are, of course, many examples in which these adjective attributively modify the following nominals without any intervening word.

37. Of zuichen per byep uele manneres. ine londe and ine ze. (37)
38. Per byep zuo uele opre maneres of roberies: (39)
39. Efterward per byep manie men to huam god hep largeliche y-yeue of timliche guodes... (187)

From the other point of view, it is also conceivable that the aforementioned post-positioned adjectivals, which are rather predicative than attributive as mentioned above, might be put forward by reason of emphasis or the other. In connection with emphasis the adjectivals in question are limited to a few quantifiers, 'manie', 'uele', 'ueawe', 'a god uele', as far as our corpus is concerned.

A defect of this presumption, however, would be in the fact that we do not have any corresponding construction in PE whereas we have the sentence pattern 'FWT+be+N+adjectivals'.

It is very curious that there is not any reference in ME grammars at hand to such an attributive adjective or adjectival disjuncted by intervening of other elements, nor to the pattern itself, 'Adjectivals +per+beon+(N)'. Further detailed discussion will need more exam-

of the type 'Local adverbials+per+beon+N' in the corpus.

22. Ine non opre manyere ne is no rigt to zuerie. (6)

23. Ine prouesse byep pri pinges to-deld. hardyesse. strengpe. an stedeuestnesse. (83)

24. Ine pise boze byep vif leaues. pet byep vif manere of yelpinges. (59)

25. and pet ine one drope is zuo moche zuetnesse pet hy ssel by ... (92)

3.1. The following sentence pattern is quite common in PE,

26. Vor per byep zome euele ytagt: (63)

that is, a past participle is added after the subject. The next one is also quite common viewed on a level of its sentece structure.⁹⁾

27. Ac per is anoper lenere corteys. pet lenep wyp-oute chapfare makiinde ... (35)

28. Vor per byep zome wordes ydele huer of pe tonges byep zuo uolle pet spekep beuore and behynde. (58)

After the subjective nominals follow adjectives. From the other point of view, these abjectives may be regarded as an adjective post-positioned attributively to the preceding noun, which is quite common in ME.

The following sentences show peculiar construction to which we do not have any equivalent in PE.

29. Vor manie per byep ine paradis of ham pet habbep yby ine spoushod and ine wodewehod pet more byep nier god: (234)

30. Ac moche uolk of religion zettep pe zuol beuore pe oksen. uor uele per byep and pet is hire harm pet ... (243)

An adjective 'manie' (=many) occurs at the initial position of the sentence, being followed by the form 'per byep' without any nominal as a subject in the construction. It is not impossible to regard the adjective as a nominal, taking into consideration the fact that 'adjectives substantively used in the plural occur pretty often in Middle English prose.'¹⁰⁾ In that case, however, such a construction as 'per+beon+adj. (nomial)' should be found in our corpus but it is not.

The following are a little more different:

common sentence pattern 'S+P' in PE. The latter is, of course, not impossible, but employed in a particular context. This is, however, not so particular in OE⁷⁾ and presumably in ME either. It is quite natural because its frequency seems to be closely related to the establishment of this peculiar construction with FWT. In other words, the proportion of the construction 'N (indefinite) + be' may decrease according to the growth of the FWT-construction. It is not so simple but at least the condition of the former construction partly relates to that of the latter.

The examples in our corpus are as follows:

18. Voulhede: generalliche is ine eche zenne. vor no zenne ne is wyp-oute uoulhede. (17)

19 A kni3t wes pet zuor be godes ezen. an haste his on e3e lhip ope pet cheker. (45)

20. Fole op-nymynge is huer lite profit lip. and moche cost. and of peril. and of payne. (83)

21. zuyche difference is betune pe rearde of pe bene and pe deuocioun of pe herte. (10)

Considering the PE equivalents as well, this pattern could be, as it were, an emphatic form of the FWT-construction.⁸⁾ But it may be free from an error to surmise that this construction is not yet such a particular form contrasted with the FWT-construction as in PE. In other words, it is another way of expression following the common sentence pattern 'S+P'. The frequency is not so high as far as our corpus is concerned; several more are added to them in all. It suggests considerable permeation of the FWT construction.

Among these, the second quotation, 19, deserves particular attention. It is a sentence occurring at the head of a new paragraph, in which a new character (therefore an indefinite subject) is introduced. This is a typical situation for the FWT-construction to occur.

2.2. FWT is apt to be unemployed when an adverbial, often with local meaning, comes to the initial position of a sentence. This is also the case in PE. But it must be mentioned here that there is no example

12. Ine pise trawe ase ine pe opren we vindep zeue bozes. Vor ine zeue maneres of vizt: per comeþ zeue maneres ouercominges. (169)

This is also one of the reliable clues to the elucidation of to what extent 'per' is attenuated in its original local meaning.

The corresponding construction to this may be the one lacking 'per' where it is expected. The following is the case:

13. Efterward com pe pridde. pet ansuerde pet ... (239)
14. Efter pan: com anoper pet alsuo to him leat ase pe uerste. (239)
15. Ate lasten com an-oper to-uore pe prince. (239)

These are in the same paragraph relating to each other, introducing an appearance of a person one by one. And all of them is preceded by adverbials.

1.4. The subjective nominal of the FWT-construction sometimes precedes 'per+beon', as is seen in PE. It may be quite reasonable to presume that this construction is a form in which the very subject is marked out, instead of the vague presentation of existence in the normal pattern 'per+beon+N.'⁶⁾

16. Vor lite uolk per byep pet by diligent ine pet hi byep yhyealde to done auorye god and hire nixte. (32)

17. Zome per byep zuo childhedi and of zuo nice manere pet hi makepe ham-zelue to by hyealde foles. (259)

If this construction could be regarded as a variant of 'per+beon+N', it might be revealing a considerable measure of the establishment of this peculiar device in presentation of existence of something. Because when the subject comes to the head of a sentence, probably by reason of emphasis, the 'per' still remains in the construction. What matters most is that there is no example of this construction with local adverbials in the corpus.

2.1. When existence of something indefinite is set forth, usually the FWT-construction is employed under normal conditions, avoiding the

10. A god uele byep per kynges and of barouns ine pe wordle pet habbep casteles cites and... (85)

11. Alsuo per byep yzet pe festes of halzen ine holy cherche uor to worpssipie an uor to serui god and... (213)

Many variants of the construction with FWT occur in the corpus, which are not so different in general from those in PE. In 4 'per is' follows a relative pronoun 'ase' (=as). And in 5 it is preceded by 'huer' (=where) which is also considered here as a local adverbial for convenience.

Much attention should be called to the next two examples, 6 and 7. In these sentences, the word 'hier' (=here) appears as the adverbial with a local meaning. 'Hier' and adverbial 'per' are both demonstrative adverbs indicating place, whereas their direction of indication is conspicuously different. They are an antonym to each other. If the 'per's in the above sentences are the demonstrative adverb, the coexistence is evidently impossible. Consequently these examples are revealing the emptiness of the word 'per', at least in its local meaning as a demonstrative adverb. The most extreme case of it may be the one in which 'per' itself appears as a local adverbial in the construction which is begun with another 'per', for instance, 'per beon... per.' But we can find no example of this kind in our corpus.

As to the examples of 8, 9, 10, we are to discuss in detail independently so that we only point out here the peculiarity of the sentence pattern, namely, the appearance of adjectivals preceding 'per byep'. In 11 a past participle follows just after 'per byep' and the subject noun is qualified with a definite article. This kind of sentence is rare in the corpus.⁵⁾

1.3. The verbs which follow 'per' are not limited to 'beon', although they are limited to 'cumen' and few others. The frequency of the collocation of FWT and verbs other than 'beon' is very low compared with those of non-local 'per' and 'beon'.

Making a step further, if we exclude the sentences without local adverbials in question, only the following remains.

It is, however, an extremely difficult task for us to measure the weight of the word in each case without any effective device, solely relying upon quite uncertain, ambiguous judgement of individuals at quite a long time intervals. Apart from the importance of context, one of convincing clues to this problem may be in the duplication of a 'per' and local adverbials in the same clause.

1.2. From the rhetorical point of view the duplication of synonymous words and phrases does not always mean that one of them is semantically weak or empty. The relation of a demonstrative adverb 'per' and a definite local adverbial may be compared to that of a pronoun and a noun or nouns referred to. The only possibility of the simultaneous occurrence of the two elements in the same clause may be in the case of apposition, on condition that the two are in the same grammatical case. It may hold true of the former, for example, 'there in the field', etc. It is, therefore, reasonable to say that when a 'per' and a local adverbial appear in a clause the 'per' is a function word with no local meaning, or at least not a local adverb, if it is not collocated appositively.

Some of the examples for the construction are the following:⁴⁾

1. Vor huanne per is werre betuene tuaye men: hit yualp ofte pet per byep moche uolke dyade pet ne habbeþ... (30)
2. Of zuichen per byep uele maneres. ine londe and ine ze. (37)
3. per byep dropen of rayn ine pe ze. (84)
4. Vor per ne may go out of pe uete: bote zuych ase per is inne. (203)
5. pet of manie riche men pet hi habbeþ aboute ham huer per ne is bote covay[ti]se ulaterie yelpinge and ... (197)
6. Huer-of oure lhord zayp ine his spelle. pet ine pe oprisinge ne ssel by non spousynge ase per is hyer. (227)
7. 'Allas' zayp saybt bernard 'huet per is hier zorzuolle yelpinge.'
8. Vor manie per byep ine paradis of ham pet habbeþ yby ine spoushod and ine wodewehod pet more byep nier god: (234)
9. Vele per byep opre zennes and of diuers cas ine symonye. (42)

The Function Word *there* in the Fourteenth Century Prose

Part I. The Kentish Dialect

Ryuichi Sugiyama

0. This is a part of the study intended to survey the function word *there* (further referred to as FWT) in the fourteenth century English prose, covering the main dialects of the period. To begin with, we will examine the Kentish. But there are very few works in that dialect which are applicable to the conditions. Hence the work chosen as the corpus of the present study is *Dan Michel's Ayenbite of Inwyt*.¹⁾

As is mentioned before, this is only one part of the whole scheme. Therefore we dare not describe the corpus in every detail nor present minute statistics about them in this paper. We will present only a thumbnail sketch of the FWT-construction, with special reference to some points: the duplication of 'per' and local adverbials, constructions without FWT expected to occur in PE and few other remarkable points. Based upon these formal, in other words, much objective, criteria we will try to turn a partial spotlight on the FWT-construction.

1.1. Although historical studies on the non-local *there* or FWT are not to be said exhaustive, a common conclusion so far is that the non-local *there* is already recognized in OE.²⁾ Going into details, however, nuances in their attitudes towards the recognition of the word exhibit a wide range. The variation is due to the difference of valuation of the contents of the 'empty word'. It may be quite natural to presume that there are various stages of the 'emptiness' from OE, through ME, and to PE.³⁾