UNIVERSITETET I BERGEN

DET HUMANISTISKE FAKULTET

Institutt for fremmedspråk

Master's Thesis in English Linguistics

November 2020

Maria Sortland Handal

Word order in clauses of purpose and result in Old English translated and non-translated prose

Supervisor: Jerzy Norbert Nykiel

Abstract in Norwegian

Mange av de overlevende tekstene vi har fra den gammelengelske perioden er tekster som er oversatt fra, eller inspirert av, latinske tekster. Spesielt tekster fra den tidligste gammelengelske perioden (800-950 evt) er oversettelser fra latinske tekster. Det har lenge vært antatt at ikke-bokstavlige oversettelser i liten grad har blitt påvirket av de latinske kildetekstene utover enkelte låneord, men dette er ikke blitt grundig undersøkt i en kvantitative undersøkelse før.

Denne masteroppgaven undersøker hvorvidt ordstillingen i gammelengelsk tekster kan ha blitt påvirket av at de er oversatt fra latin. Oppgaven undersøker dette gjennom å se på ordstillingen i to typer adverbiale leddsetninger: følgesetninger og hensiktsetninger. Hundre setninger fra fire typer gammelengelske tekster er hentet inn og analysert. Datasettet er hentet fra to korpuser med gammelengelske tekster ved bruk av dataverktøy. De fire teksttypene er bokstavelige ord-for-ord oversettelser, som utvilsomt har blitt påvirket av de latinske originalene og dermed fungerer et utgangspunkt for sammenligning, oversettelser av Det Nye Testamentet, ikke-bokstavelige oversettelser og tekster som ikke er oversatte, men komponert på gammelengelsk. Til sammen består datasettet av 400 adverbiale leddsetninger. Oppgaven sammenligner ordstillingene i disse fire teksttypene med hverandre for å avdekke i hvilken grad de er påvirket av Latin. Oppgaven har i tillegg som mål å beskrive ordstillingen i gammelengelske følgesetninger og hensiktssetninger generelt.

Acknowledgements

There are many people who deserves to be mentioned here. First, I would like to thank my supervisor Jerzy Norbert Nykiel, for his constant support and patience throughout the writing of my thesis. He has provided me with valuable suggestions and guidance, while at the same time allowing me to make my own choices. I would also like to thank my family for constant support and especially to my brother, Olav, who have helped me with technical difficulties along the way.

My close friend Sarah also deserves to be mentioned here. She has provided constructive support throughout the process and, by being my faithful hiking companion the last few months, made sure I have seen sunlight in the most intensive parts of the writing process. And last, but not least, a special thank you to my husband, Henrik, who have given me vital emotional support and have cooked most, if not all, dinners the last months.

Contents

List of Abbreviations

Corpora

DOEC The Dictionary of Old English Corpus

YCOE The York-Toronto-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Old English Prose

General

eOE early Old English

lOE late Old English

ME Middle English

MnE Modern English

OE Old English

OHG Old High German

PDE Present Day English

regex Regular Expression

Grammatical abbreviations

ADJ adjective

ADV adverbial

IND indicative

S subject

SBJV subjunctive

V verb

X any other element apart from the subject and the verb in the word order patterns

Old English Texts

Bede Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People

BlHom The Blickling Homilies

ChronA Anglo-Saxon Chronicle A

CP King Alfred's West-Saxon version of Gregory's Pastoral Care, Cura Pastoralis

Lch II Bald's Leechbook

Mart 1 The Old English Martyrology

Or The Old English Orosius

WSG The West Saxon Gospels

***Æ*cHom I** Ælfric's Catholic Homilies I

***Æ*Let4** Ælfric's Letter to Sigeweard

List of Figures

List of Tables

1 Introduction

The present thesis is an empirical study of word order in Old English (OE). The aim of this study is twofold. Firstly, it seeks to investigate OE adverbial clauses of purpose and result, which lack an in-depth investigation in syntactic studies of OE. Simultaneously, the study aims to investigate OE syntax in translated and non-translated prose. 400 clauses are collected from four types of texts from two corpora of OE. The study investigates synchronic variation in the OE period, and the data set is drawn from as short a time period as possible. The data set is collected from twelve OE texts spanning over a period of 200 years, from 900 - 1100. This chapter presents the aim and scope of this study, as well as a brief introduction to the background of this type of linguistic study. Lastly, this chapter presents an outline of the thesis' organization.

1.1 Aim and scope

There have been numerous studies on word order of OE, many of which have focused on main clauses. Subordinate clauses have been given less attention, and in many cases, data from subordinate clauses have been used to explain the development of main clauses. The largest study to date of OE subordinate clauses is Heggelund's (2010) doctoral thesis with his investigation of 4800 main clauses and 4800 subordinate clauses from four time periods spanning from early OE to late Middle English (ME) (Heggelund 2010: 3). In his study, Heggelund found differences in both main and subordinate clauses in The Old English Orosius (Or), a text containing material translated from Latin as well as originally composed OE. Comparison between translated and non-translated texts is not Heggelund's (2010) main focus, and he suggests that further study into the intertextual differences between translated and non-translated prose may be worthwhile (Heggelund 2010: 92).

Drawing on Heggelund's (2010) suggestion, the present study aims to highlight the discussion of word order in OE subordinate clauses. It will do this by investigating the differences in word order patterns in OE subordinate clauses of purpose and result between translated and non-translated OE prose. The three main text types compared in the study are interlinear glosses, which undeniably have been influenced by the Latin source text and will also be referred to as literal translations, non-literal translations from Latin into OE, and original OE texts. A fourth text type was added later, as it became apparent that a comparison between the glossed gospels and the same clauses in an OE Bible

translation may be worthwhile. As purpose and result clauses in OE have been devoted little attention to date, the present study will also discuss the main patterns found in these types of clauses in its dataset. The study is empirical and draws its data set from The York-Toronto-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Old English Prose (YCOE) and The Dictionary of Old English Corpus (DOEC).

1.2 Background

1.2.1 Word Order typology

In the simplest and broadest sense, linguistic typology is concerned with uncovering similarities and differences between languages or within one language by investigating recurring linguistic patterns (Velupillai 2012: 15). There are several ways of classifying the differences between languages. Differences in morphology, phonology, and vocabulary may all be the subject of typological surveys (Velupillai 2012: 15). Investigations of linguistic typology can be focused on diachronic change, i.e. comparing patterns in various historical stages of a language, or synchronic, i.e. comparing different languages contemporary to each other Velupillai (2012: 15). The present study is a synchronic study, but instead of comparing different languages, it investigates different text types in one language at a specific period of its development. Differences in the order of different clause constituents and how they appear in relation to one another are one of the primary ways languages differ from each other. The investigation of such differences is called word order typology (Dryer 2007: 61). For scholars of word order typology, the determination of a language's primary word order pattern is important in establishing and theorizing about language universals Dryer (2007: 61). The present study does not investigate language universals, which here [1] refer to typological generalizations based on quantitative data from cross-linguistic surveys (Velupillai 2012: 30). Still, it utilizes word order typology to investigate differences in the word order patterns of OE adverbial clauses of purpose and result between translated and non-translated prose.

In recent years, the development and distribution of machine searchable corpora of different languages have greatly aided scholars' work when conducting typological investigations. Especially annotated corpora, such as the YCOE used in the present study,

1. Scholars working within the generative framework also uses the term *universals* for features shared by all languages, but they do not base the claim on quantitative studies Velupillai (2012: 31)

have made the collection and analysis of data easier (Velupillai 2012: 54). Before the development of OE corpora, any scholar endeavoring to conduct quantitative surveys of the word order of OE had to compile and analyze their own corpus for their investigation manually. The word order of OE and previous research will be further discussed in section 2.1.

1.2.2 The issue of translation

A sizeable selection of the surviving texts from the OE period (450 – 1100) is translations from Latin manuscripts (Bech 2001: 6). Some are interlinear glosses or direct translations of Latin (e.g., the Rushworth and the Lindisfarne gospels), and some are non-literal translations. Timofeeva (2013: 4) points out that Anglo-Saxon scribes would have been working with both Latin and OE and would have had their primary education in Latin. This study investigates the possible influence of Latin word order on Old English translations by using data drawn from the YCOE and the DOEC.

Scholars of OE word order have had different approaches to the question of Latin influence. Some have solved this problem by focusing their attention on non-translated texts like the works of Ælfric or the Anglo Saxon Chronicle (e.g. Bean (1983). This approach avoids results being skewed by possible Latin influence. Still, it limits the possible source texts data may be drawn from, especially in synchronic studies where one may want data from different times in the OE time period, and many of the earliest OE prose texts are translated from Latin.

The editors of Modern English (MnE) translations of the Old English texts such as Sweet (1871), Sedgefield (1899), and Bately (1980) have all commented that Old English versions of Latin originals seem to be non-literal translations (Bech 2001: 7). Sweet and Bately's comments seem to be impressionistic, and Sedgefield presents some evidence from the Old English version of Boethius De Consolatione Philosophiae (Sedgefield et al. 1899: xxv–xxxv). However, in a subsection of a recent empirical study of OE and ME word order in subordinate clauses, Heggelund (2010) discovers differences in word order between the original OE parts of Or and the parts translated from Latin. Even though his results are only just statistically significant in main clauses and not in subordinate clauses, Heggelund (2010: 92) comments that an investigation of a larger sample 'could yield interesting results.'

1.3 Research questions and hypotheses

The main question the present thesis seeks to answer is whether or not non-literal translations from Latin have been affected by the Latin word order. As the data set in the thesis is limited to purpose and result clauses, it will only be able to ascertain differences in word order in these clause types. In addition, the thesis aims to investigate word order characteristics of OE purpose and result clauses compared to other types of subordinate clauses investigated in previous studies. Based on these goals, the following research questions have been formulated:

1. Is there a statistical significant difference in the distribution of word order patterns in purpose and result clauses between translated and non-translated OE prose?

2. Are there any particularities in the word order of purpose and result clauses that are different from other types of subordinate clauses in OE?

Although this study investigates possible influences from Latin on the word order of Old English texts, some scholars, e.g., Sweet (1871), Sedgefield (1899), and Bately (1980) have pointed out that the syntax of Old English is unlikely to have been influenced by Latin (Bech 2001: 7). According to Bately, the Anglo-Saxon prose style was well developed, and the translated texts show signs of being translated more sense by sense than word for word (2010: 75—87). My hypotheses regarding translation influence are based on these assumptions. Two hypotheses are needed to answer research question number one:

There will be statistically significant differences in word order patterns between literal translations and the other types of texts.

There will be no statistically significant difference in the word order patterns between original Old English texts and non-literal translations from Latin.

In other words, these hypotheses assume that Sweet (1871), Sedgefield (1899), and Bately (1980), and others are correct in their supposition that Latin did not influence OE on word order level.

Since there has been no in-depth study that has uncovered any particularities in terms of word order in OE purpose and result clauses, my hypothesis to answer the second research

question assumes that there are none:

The word order of OE purpose and result clauses are not significantly different from the word order of other types of subordinate clauses.

1.4 Thesis outline and preliminary remarks

The organization of this paper follows a common pattern for linguistic papers. This introductory chapter is followed by chapter 2 which presents relevant previous research on OE word order typology and contact influence and the influence of Latin on OE. Chapter 3 introduces and exemplifies the various labels used for the different word order patterns. The texts the clauses are collected from are presented in chapter 4, and so is the method used to search and collect clauses from the corpora. This chapter also discusses the problems that were met when analyzing the clauses. The study's overall results are found in chapter 5 followed by the discussion in chapter 6. Finally, chapter 7 contains a summary and conclusions.

In examples provided in the running text and in numbered and glossed examples, the OE text is collected either from the DOEC or the YCOE, and the glosses and translations are my own. Sometimes, abbreviations for clause function, such as adjective (ADJ), adverbial (ADV), subjunctive (SBJV) and indicative (IND), are used to illustrate a point or to aid the reader. The labels used in the description of word order patterns are subject (S), verb (V) and any other element apart from the subject and the verb in the word order patterns (X)

2 Theoretical Background

Word order studies have a long tradition in the study of Old English (henceforth OE) syntax. Early scholars have characterized the word order of OE as 'free' or relatively free', later, the V2 hypothesis developed and has in recent times been somewhat debated. Throughout, the word order of main clauses has been in focus for several reasons. Subordinate clauses have been to a lesser extent investigated. This chapter will give a general background on the studies which have devoted attention to the word order of subordinate clauses and the influences of Latin on OE. The chapter starts with a general introduction to the word order studies of OE with particular attention given to subordinate clauses, before it discusses the current theories of translation effects on OE.

2.1 The Word Order of OE

The word order of phrases and clauses in Old English has long been of interest to scholars of both diachronic and synchronic variation. As the rules governing word order in OE are strikingly different than those of Present Day English (PDE), it is no surprise that scholars interested in the development of English have devoted much time and effort to uncovering when, how and why English came to have the subject-verb (SV) order of PDE. Early scholars tended to view OE word order as 'relatively free' due to its inflectional case system (Sweet 1898). This view, however, changed over time, and generative linguists [2] introduced the theory of OE being a V2-language, or at least a language with a strong V2 tendency. Several modern languages can, with confidence, be classified as V2 languages. Norwegian and German are two examples. V2 refers to the rule in main clauses where the verb occupies the second position regardless of the initial element, illustrated here in Norwegian. Example (2.1) shows a clause where the initial element is the subject, and the verb occupies the second position. This pattern corresponds to the pattern in the idiomatic PDE gloss. It is first in clauses like the one in example (2.2), where another element holds the initial position, that the difference between PDE SV order and Norwegian V2 becomes

2. Word order studies can generally be divided into two groups, generative studies and non-generative studies. Both types of studies have some kind of interplay between theory and data, but they weigh the importance of the two differently. Scholars working within the generative framework tends to place most weight on theory and treat the surface structure of clauses as the result of rules applied to the base structure or underlying structure. Non-generative approaches, on the other hand, focus on the surface structure seen in their data and are more descriptive (Britannica 2020).

clear. In example (2.2), an adverbial of time is in clause-initial position. In a V2 language like Norwegian, the verb keeps its position and the subject moves to the right. In the idiomatic English translation, on the other hand, the subject is still in pre-verbal position.

(2.1) Stefan hjelper Tobias inn til helsesøstera
Stefan.SBJ helps.V Tobias.OBJ in to the school nurse
'Stefan helps Thobias to the school nurse'

(Åkerblom, Gull (2005: 48). Hamburgar og Coca-Cola, Det Norske Samlaget, Oslo)

(2.2) I året 974 hjelper jarlen den danske kongen i krigen
in the year 974.ADV helps.V the jarl.SBJ the Danish king.OBJ in the war
mot den tyske keisaren Otto II ved Danevirke i Holstein
against the German emperor Otto II by Danevirke in Holstein
'In the year 974, the jarl helps the Danish king in the war against the German emperor Otto II by Danevirke in Holstein'

(Orten, Øystein. (2007: 100) Rabarbrakrigen, Det Norske Samlaget, Oslo)

While the classification of OE as a V2 language, or at least a language with a V2 constraint, is generally accepted amongst most scholars (see e.g., Bech (2001: 3) and the scholars referenced therein), the reasons behind the notable amount of divergence from this V2 pattern, are still somewhat unclear. Several theories have sought to explain the frequency of non-V2 patterns in declarative main clauses. Van Kemenade (1987) and Pintzuk (1996) have used 'the clitic analysis', where non-topicalized light pronouns and some adverbs are regarded as clitics and not a clause constituent in its own right, in their attempts to explaining this (Bech 2001: 4). In recent years, scholars have applied theories of 'information structure', where the clause elements are analysed according to their 'information value,' i.e., whether they introduce old or new information, to see whether the information value of the elements affects their position in the clause. One early example of this is a quantitative study on word order development in OE religious prose by Kohonen (1978), and another is Bech's (2001) dissertation on the word order of main clauses. While most information structure studies have focused on main clauses (Bech 2012), Heggelund (2010) finds a correlation between information structure and word order in subordinate clauses and Taylor and Pintzuk (2012) finds that information structure has an effect on the position of objects in finite subordinate clauses with an overt object.

The V2 phenomenon is not as relevant for a study concerned mainly with subordinate

clauses in the OE period, because subordinate clauses do not display this order in as high frequencies as main clauses. It is a generally accepted theory that word order change takes place in main clauses before subordinate clauses show this effect (Heggelund 2010: 21–22). The main pattern of the subordinate clause has been thought to be SXV, also known as verb-final (Bech 2001: 14; Cichosz, Gaszewski, and Pęzik 2016: 154). It has been hypothesized that the verb-final order played a role in distinguishing main and subordinate clauses before formal markers of subordination became reliable (Stockwell and Minkova 1990: 508). Heggelund (2010: 191) finds that, although the pattern is the most frequent single pattern throughout the OE period (early Old English (eOE): 38% and late Old English (lOE): 34%), the frequency of the verb-final pattern is not as high as has been suggested by other scholars. He adds that the relatively high frequency of SV order in his data does not support ruling out the possibility that subordinate clauses may have contributed to the change to SV order, which is what Lightfoot (2006) does (Heggelund 2010: 191). Furthermore, in his recent critical article on data use in historical linguistics, Heggelund (2015) criticizes the use of data from previous studies, especially Lightfoot's (2006) interpretation of Gorell's (1895), Bean's (1983) and Hiltunen's (1983) data which he uses as evidence of his degree-0 hypothesis. The degree-0 theory, in essence, and in relation to OE, argues that children relied on the word order of main clauses when they acquired their vernacular in a period of OE change and therefore main clauses must be the origin of change (Heggelund 2010: 22–23). Heggelund (2015) finds that the data have been poorly analysed and that Lightfoot (2006) misinterprets the data and Heggelund (2015) concludes that the data revisited in his own article 'do not lend support to the degree-0 theory or the notion of sudden word order change in English' (Heggelund 2015: 103).

On the other hand, in a recent study, which is further discussed in section 2.4.3, based exclusively on translated texts in OE and Old High German (OHG), Cichosz, Gaszewski, and Pęzik (2016) find that their data from Bede, Genesis and The Gospel of Luke, 'confirms the importance of V-final as the order characteristic of subordinate clauses' (Cichosz, Gaszewski, and Pęzik 2016: 229). In their data, Genesis was the text which contained the lowest percentage of verb-final subordinate clauses with 46.3%. All in all, one may conclude that there are still some uncertainty and debate over the main word order of subordinate clauses.

2.2 Purpose and result clauses

As mentioned in chapter 1, this study will focus on two types of OE finite subordinate clauses: adverbial clauses of purpose and result. Previous OE word order studies have mostly concentrated on main clauses, and subordinate clauses have been offered far less attention in typology studies (Haugland 2006: 135). Apart from the study conducted by Heggelund (2010) on word order in OE and ME, where purpose/result is one of his subcategories of subordinate clauses, I know of no other empirical study focused on word order in adverbial clauses of purpose and result in OE. Bean (1983: 106) includes a subcategory for result clauses in her study of The Anglo Saxon Chronicle but gives no in-depth commentary. However, the particularities of purpose and result clauses have been commented on by several OE scholars, e.g., Mitchell (1985) Quirk and Wrenn (1957) for both clause types and Shearin (1903) for purpose and Benham (1908) for result.

Difficulties with distinguishing purpose and result and some limitations that accompanied the choice of this type of adverbial clauses will be discussed later in this subsection. First, an attempt to define what purpose and result clauses are will be presented. Schmidtke-Bode (2009: 20) who looks at the typology of purpose clauses across 80 languages proposes a definition of purpose clauses where 'purpose clauses are part of complex sentences which encode that one verbal situation, that of the matrix clause, is performed with the intention of bringing about another situation, that of the purpose clause.' Or in other words, the purpose clause, which is also a subordinate clause, states the purpose or the desired goal of the action performed in the main clause. In PDE there are several ways of marking a purpose clause. One way is exemplified in (2.3) and shows an infinitival clause of purpose. Because this clause is non-finite, this way marking purpose is not of interest to the present study. Example (2.4), on the other hand, shows a finite clause of purpose introduced by the subordinating conjunction *so that*. A finite clause of purpose could also be introduced by *in order that* or simply by *so*. If one omitted *that* or replaced *so that* with *in order that* in example (2.4), the sentence would still be grammatical and convey the same meaning.

(2.3) Before we head out she drags us through the apartment to make sure the windows are locked.

(Diaz 1997: 96)

(2.4) We went to the concert early so that we would get good seats.

(Schmidtke-Bode 2009: 30)

In finite purpose clauses in PDE, a modal is used to convey that the action is non-factual. In other words, a modal such as *will* or *can* are used in PDE to signal that the action in the purpose clause is the intended result and not the actual result of the action in the main clause. The sequence *would get* in example (2.4) shows this. In OE, the action's non-factuality could be expressed either by a modal verb [3] or by morphology with a subjunctive marker on the verb.

The predecessor to *so that* can be found in OE finite clauses of purpose. In OE, the spelling would be *swa þæt(te)* or *swa ðæt(te)*. It must be remarked here that while *so that* can introduce both purpose and result clauses in PDE (Huddleston and Pullum 2002: 733), *swa þæt(te)* more frequently introduced result clauses than purpose in the OE period (Nykiel 2016: 348). Purpose clauses are more frequently introduced simply by *þæt(te)* (sometimes spelled *ðæt(te)*) in OE. Example (2.5) shows a possible purpose clause introduced by *swa þæt*. A discussion on OE verb forms and their role in determining whether a clause is one of purpose or result follows later in this section. For now, I will point out that the finite verb *oferwinnan* 'overcome' in this example is subjunctive. Example (2.6) shows a purpose clause introduced by *þæt*. The mood of the finite verb *mihton* 'might' here is indicative, but it is a modal that functions as a replacement for the subjunctive mood.

(2.5) And we sceolon beon eac sigefæste þurh Godes mihte: **Swa þæt** we
and we should be also victorious through God's might: so that we
ure unþeawas. & ealle leahtras. & þone deoful oferwinnan
our bad-habit and all sins and the devil overcome.SBJV.
'and we should also be victorious through God's might, so that we can overcome our evil practices, and all sins, and the devil.'

(ACHom I, 14.1:297.204.2723)

(2.6) þa worhte he fela wundra. **þæt** men mihton gelyfan þæt he wæs
Then wrought he many miracles, that men might.IND believe that he was
Godes bearn
God's child

3. The OE modals had more characteristics typical of lexical verbs than PDE modals. Although they were not fully lexical in nature, there is evidence that they could take objects and clause complements and OE modals could e.g. have more lexical inflections. Because of this they are sometimes called *premodals* (Fischer et al. 2000: 6).

'Then he wrought many miracles, so that men might believe that he was God's child.'

(ACHom I, 1:187.253.265)

In result clauses, on the other hand, the subordinate clause indicates the result of the action performed in the main clause. Or in the words of Schmidtke-Bode (2009: 152), purpose and result clauses 'differ as to whether the realisation of the subordinate situation is actually entailed (result) or just implicated (purpose).' Example (2.7) shows an example of a PDE result clause introduced by *so that*. Notice that in this clause, there is no modal verb. This lack of a modal is the PDE indicator that we are dealing with a result clause and not a purpose clause. *so that* could also be replaced by *with the result* in this clause.

(2.7) The quiet dulled his senses, so that he became fixated on the clock beside the bed.

(Picoult 2014: 7)

Examples (2.8) and (2.9) show two OE sentences which I have judged to be result clauses. The former introduced by *swa þæt* and the latter by *þæt*. The form of the finite verbs *hleop* 'jumped', in example (2.8), and *wæs* 'was', in example (2.9), are indicative, indicating a finalized result, in both OE clauses.

(2.8) ða getrumede ic mec & gestrongad wæs, **swa þæt** ic on
then recovered health I me and strengthened was, so that I on
morgen hleop on min hors & ferde mid hiene in oðre
the morning jumped.IND on my horse and travelled with him to another
stowe to oðrum ham
place to another hamlet
'I recovered health and strength, so that the next morning I sprang upon my horse and travelled elsewhere with him to another hamlet.'

(Bede 5:6.404.3.4073)

(2.9) & ða þone ilcan welegan mon, þe heo ær from sended wæs, he
and then the same wealthy man, who it before from sent was, he
sceat, **þæt** he sona dead wæs
shot, that he soon dead was.IND
'and shot that same wealthy man by whom the arrow was previously sent, so that he died forthwith.'

(BlHom 17:199.47.2548)

While we are more easily able to distinguish between purpose and result in PDE (Huddleston and Pullum 2002: 733), OE is a little bit trickier. Mitchell (1985: 415) points out a few factors which make it hard to determine whether a clause expresses purpose or result in some OE sentences. Firstly, we have no access to the intonation patterns of OE and, with the exception of *þy læs (þe)*, which indicate negative purpose, both purpose and result clauses are introduced by the same subordinators (Mitchell 1985: 416). The verb forms may help with classification as an indicative verb often indicates that the clause is a result clause while a subjunctive verb indicates a clause of purpose. However, verb forms in OE may be ambiguous, and even if the verb form is unambiguous, an indicative verb may appear in a clause of purpose and vice versa (Mitchell 1985: 416).

These factors make it hard to determine whether the clause indicates purpose or result if the context allows both interpretations (Mitchell 1985: 416). As pointed out above, the verb form in example (2.5) is subjunctive as expected in a purpose clause, while the verb phrase in example 2.6 is a modal + infinitive, which is another way to express purpose in OE. In OE, purpose was usually indicated by a verb in the subjunctive form, but the use of modals could also take over the function of the subjunctive verb Mitchell (1985: 415). In example (2.8) and (2.9), the verbs are indicative as expected in result clauses. The problem of distinguishing purpose and result arises in cases such as the one in example (2.10) where there is an indicative verb, but the context suggests purpose. The indicative verb would usually suggest result, but in this example, the context implicates purpose or at least a non-finalized result.

(2.10) þæt eghwelc seðe gilefeð in hine ne losað ah hæfeð lif
so that every (one) who believe in him not perish.IND but have.IND life
ecce
eternal
'so that everyone who believes in him should not perish, but have everlasting life.'

(Rushworth: John 3.16)

Due to these similarities between purpose and result clauses, and the challenges in distinguishing them from each other, it makes sense to treat purpose and result clauses together in this study. Although his study is not specifically of OE but is a broad study of

80 languages, Schmidtke-Bode (2009: 152) also discusses the close relationship between purpose and result and comments that 'there are recurrent overlaps in the coding of purpose and some other adverbial functions, notably reason and result.'

This study will focus on finite clauses of purpose and result introduced by *swa þæt(te)* or *þæt(te)* with its various spellings. The reasons for choosing these subordinators are partly because they are the most frequent introducers of finite purpose (Shearin 1903: 56),[4] and result clauses and partly because of practical reasons. They are easily searchable in both the DOEC and YCOE corpora. Subordinators with intervening elements, like *swa...þæt(te)* and *þæs...þæt*, were not considered as they post practical problems with searchability, especially in the DOEC.

2.3 Translation

Because the corpus of surviving OE texts contains a significant number of translated texts, and many of the longer prose texts in the corpus are translations from Latin, scholars have been forced to take into account the possibility of Latin influence on OE. There are several types of Latin influence. Latin influence on OE vocabulary is undeniable and easily documented as is natural, considering the new terms and names introduced by Christianity. Influence on the syntax, however, is harder to uncover. This section will discuss three types of translations and the previous and current discussions concerning the possible influence of Latin on OE texts. Four recent studies on Latin influence on OE syntax will be discussed. Two of them are concerned with word order and one with other aspects of syntactic influence. The last is a more theoretical discussion on the language environment of Anglo-Saxon England.

2.3.1 Literal Translations

We may divide Latin translation into three distinct groups. In the first and most extreme one, namely OE glosses in Latin manuscripts, Latin influence is undeniable. In a glossed text, the OE equivalent is written above the Latin word and the syntax, therefore, follows that of the Latin source text. (Taylor 2008: 342). The glosses have naturally been of lesser interest to scholars working on OE word order, as they are seen not to represent OE word order. Some exceptions do occur, e.g., Crowley (2000: 123) who found that the glosses

4. Note that Mitchell (1985: 423) is suspicious of the representativeness of the numbers presented by Shearin(1903). Still, he uses them as a pointer for what the real numbers may be.

of the psalter frequently rendered Latin verb and noun phrases in an OE order instead of the Latin order. The gloss to the Rushworth Gospel, which is under investigation in the present study shows some divergence from the Latin original (Tamoto 2013: cii), see section 4.6.2.

2.3.2 Biblical Translations

The second group is biblical translations. Several studies have found evidence which points in the direction of OE Bible translation being closer to the Latin source text than non-biblical translations, e.g., Taylor (2008: 355) who investigated prepositional phrases with pronominal complements. Ælfirc's preface to his translation of The Book of Genesis lets us know that he is aware of the challenges of translating a biblical text:

> [...]and we ne durron na mare awritan on Englisc þonne þæt Læden hæfð, ne þa endebyrdnysse awendan buton þam anum þæt þæt Læden and þæt Englisc nabbað na ane wisan on þære spræce fandunge: æfre se ðe awent oððe se ðe tæcð of Ledene on Englisc, æfre he sceal gefadian hit swa þæt þæt Englisc hæbbe his agene wisan, elles hit bið swyðe gedwolsum to rædenne ðam ðe ðæs Lædenes wise ne can (Mitchell and Robinson 2012: 202).
>
> *and we do not dare to write in English more than the Latin has, nor change the order, except for that alone, which Latin and English do not have a single way in the ordering of the language. Always whoever translates or teaches from Latin into English he shall always order it so that the English has its own way, else it is very misleading for those to read who do not know the Latin ways.*

Alfric's statement shows us that he intends to diverge no more than necessary from the word order of the Latin original. Still, he is also aware that this sometimes has to give way for the benefit of the reader's ability to understand the text.

2.3.3 Non-Literal Translations

The third type of OE translations are translations of non-biblical works. Examples of this are works of history and ecclesiastical works. In these types of texts, syntactic influence is even harder to uncover. Scholars often either dismissed the possibility of significant

influence (Bech 2001) and (Heggelund 2010) or opted to avoid the problem by exclusively using vernacular OE as data material (Bean 1983). The former view is routed in comments from the editors of the OE translations such as Sedgefield et al. (1899: xxv–xxxv), the editor of King Alfred's old English version of Boethius Deconsolatione philosophiae, J. M. Bately (1980) the editor of The Old English Orosius (Or) and Sweet (1871), the editor of King Alfred's West-Saxon version of Gregory's Pastoral Care, Cura Pastoralis (CP). Sweet (1871) also comments on additional works past the CP and mentions both Or and Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People (Bede).

> 'In the Bede, where the ecclesiastical prevails over the purely historical, the general style is less national, less idiomatic than in the Orosius, and in purely theological works, such as the Pastoral, the influence of the Latin original reaches its height. Yet even here there seems to be no attempt to engraft Latin idioms on the English version: the foreign influence is only indirect, chiefly showing itself in the occasional clumsiness that results from the difficulty of expressing and defining abstract ideas in a language unused to theological and metaphysical subtleties' (Sweet 1871: xl).

In other words, Sweet (1871) regards the translation styles of all the three works as relatively free but notes that some of the texts seem to follow the Latin structure somewhat closer than others, but indirectly when the translator struggles with the Latin syntax. Rowley (2011: 9) also comments that the choices if the OE translator of Bede sometimes 'manifest themselves in somewhat artificial constructions'. He also refers to Waite (2010: 21 in Rowley 2011:9) who found that the translator's use of grammatical cases was occasionally incorrect and that his syntax was sometimes unidiomatic.

These comments by the editors are reinforced by some of the translators themselves, most notably perhaps by King Alfred. In his preface to CP, King Alfred states that he has translated the work 'sometimes word by word and sometimes according to sense' (Sweet 1871: 7). A common denominator of all the scholars mentioned in this subsection is that their statements are based on observational evidence. They present their evidence in the form of examples of specific passages where the OE diverts from the original or base it on the fact that several translators (e.g., the translator of Or and Alfred in Boethius Deconsolatione philosophiae) omitted or added passages. While their acute observations may hold true, they present no quantitative data set to back up their claims. Cichosz (2010:

47) argues that, even though the OE translations are usually considered to be relatively independent of their Latin sources, they 'cannot be idealised (...) either'.

2.4 Previous research into Latin influence on OE Syntax

Some studies have been done on possible Latin influence on the syntax of Old English. Much of the work is focused on constructions where there is uncertainty regarding whether or not the construction is borrowed from Latin or it is a native construction (Taylor 2008: 341). Notable examples of this are the study by Fischer (1992) assessing the rise and spread of the 'accusative-and-infinitive' construction and Timofeeva (2008) treatment of the absolute dative construction. This section will focus on a more indirect form of Latin borrowing, which manifests itself in, e.g., higher frequencies of native constructions due to Latin influence. Four such studies are presented below.

2.4.1 Taylor

In Taylor's (2008) pilot study on possible Latin influence on prepositional phrases with pronominal complements, the focus is not on borrowings or possible borrowings from Latin. She instead draws attention to on the possible contact effects Latin may have had on native constructions where no borrowing takes place, and where influence would present itself in higher frequencies in the translated texts (Taylor 2008: 341). She contrasts two different kinds of such influence. 'The direct effect' is when the translator copies the structure in the source text. This may either present itself in ungrammatical rendered glosses, or in text where the target language matches the structure of the source language, so that there is no reason for the translator to chose another structure. 'The indirect effect', on the other hand, is when a structure in the source text could be rendered in several different ways in the target language. If the translator then favours the order of the source text, the indirect translation effect results in higher than normal frequencies of that structure. (Taylor 2008: 342). In addition, she adds syntactic priming to the indirect effect. Syntactic priming is when a frequency in the source text also influences the parts of the translation that may have been added by the translator. As mentioned in section 2.3.3 this may pertain to, e.g., Orosius. The method of her study consists of matching the translations to the source texts and by that comparing both direct and indirect translation effects. She extracted her OE data from the YCOE and the Latin source texts were manually ob-

tained (Taylor 2008: 346). The study uncovered higher frequencies of head-initial order in prepositional phrases in translations than in non-translations. As mentioned in 2.3.2 she also found a frequency which is higher than expected in the biblical translations. She also found that the biblical translations had a higher frequency than expected in the cases where there was no prepositional phrase in the source text Taylor (2008: 355).

2.4.2 Cichosz

This comparative work by Cichosz (2010) on OE and OHG investigates word order differences between text types in OE and OHG and tests the hypotheses of a similar 'West Germanic Syntax'. The portion of her study that is of special interest to the present study, because the clauses investigated here are similar to the clauses investigated in the present study, is her data on adverbial clauses. She does not divide the clause into subtypes of adverbial clauses and her data set is relatively small (86 clauses for OE translated prose and 31 for OE translated prose), but the results show no statistically significant difference between the translated and non-translated prose in terms of the position of the finite verb (Cichosz 2010: 181) She draws her data set of non-translated prose from Ælfric's homily Alia Visio, Laws of Alfred, The Anglo Saxon Chronicle and Wulfstans Sermo Lupi ad Anglos and her data on translated prose from Genesis and The West Saxon Gospels (Cichosz 2010: 52).

2.4.3 Cichosz, Gaszewski, Pęzik

One of the latest works on word order of OE (and OHG) translations is a study done by Cichosz, Gaszewski, and Pęzik (2016). The purpose of their study is twofold. Firstly to compare the word order [5] of OE and OHG and secondly, to assess the possible influence on word order from the Latin source text. The reason why they have chosen to conduct these two studies simultaneously is due to the state of available source texts in OHG. Scholars of OE are in many ways privileged compared to scholars of other Old Germanic languages. The surviving OE corpus contains several surviving prose works, most notably The Anglo

5. Note that, unlike many other scholars, Cichosz, Gaszewski, and Pęzik (2016: 4–5) consistently use the term *element order* for the arrangement of elements within a clause, and *word order* for constituents of phrases. Mitchell (1985) also uses the term *element order* in this way. I have chosen to use the less precise, but more commonly used, term *word order* for clause constituents, so when I write *word order* here it corresponds to Cichosz, Gaszewski, and Pęzik (2016)'s *element order*

Saxon Chronicle. OHG, on the other hand, has few surviving non-translated prose texts (Cichosz, Gaszewski, and Pęzik 2016: 11–14). By comparing translated works from both languages, they aim to minimise the possibility for any variation they may find being due to comparing translated and non-translated works. The variation they may find can therefore be argued to be due to genuine differences between OE and OHG. The choice of using translated text in a syntactic study may be an unorthodox one, at least for OE scholars, but Cichosz, Gaszewski, and Pęzik (2016: 14–17) argue that 'with proper methodology, they can be a valuable source of information on both OE and OHG element order' (Cichosz, Gaszewski, and Pęzik 2016: 17).

Their study is a large, corpus-based study, utilising two self-compiled, syntactically annotated, parallel corpora. The two corpora are one Latin - Old English corpus with 12 000 words and one Latin - Old High German corpus with 9 000 words (Cichosz, Gaszewski, and Pęzik 2016: 22). All clauses are annotated at phrase level and connected to their Latin equivalent. A statistical model is applied to help validate their manually constructed models of word order patterns (Cichosz, Gaszewski, and Pęzik 2016: 46). The OE part of the data is extracted from Bede, Ælfric's translation of *Genesis*, and the Gospel of Luke from the *West Saxon Gospels*. Their study is extensive and investigates both main clauses, conjunct clauses and subordinate clauses. The study shows that there are signs of indirect or direct influence on all the texts and concludes by stating that the only way for scholars to keep track of the possible Latin influence is by 'constant reference to the source text' (Cichosz, Gaszewski, and Pęzik 2016: 381)

The study's specific findings on subordinate clauses are as follows: In subordinate clauses, they found no consistent differences between OE and OHG, but they found that Bede's strongly verb-final source text to an extent conceals and dominates the native patterns and that the 'influence of Latin on OE Bede is quite strong (Cichosz, Gaszewski, and Pęzik 2016: 231)'. In other words, they found that native rules are reinforced by the Latin source text. The authors also note the important implications of this finding. The OE Bede is often used in syntactical studies of OE (Cichosz, Gaszewski, and Pęzik 2016: 233) and if the word order of Bede, as their findings may imply, has been influenced by the Latin source text, this will have consequences for scholars using Bede to investigate native syntax of OE.

They found that there are three factors involved in the word order of subordinate clauses. One is the tendency towards verb-final word order in subordinate clauses in both

languages. The second is extraposition of heavy phrases which moves heavy constituents to the end of the clause, giving some clauses orders there the verb is in pre-final position. These two factors account for the majority of the clauses in their data. They note that translation effect 'plays some role in most of the texts' (Cichosz, Gaszewski, and Pęzik 2016: 233) but with the two aforementioned factors the Latin mostly reinforces native rules (Cichosz, Gaszewski, and Pęzik 2016: 234). The last factor is Latin interference. Here they count the clauses which have not been affected by the two aforementioned factors and divide them into two categories to determine Latin influence. The first one is clauses which follow Latin word order and accounts for 10.2% of the total sample of subordinate clauses in Genesis, 3.3% of the sample in Bede and 10.7% of the sample in Luke (and 31.0% in Tatian, 6.0% in Isidor and 4.4% in Physiologus, the OHG texts in their sample). The second category is clauses which modify Latin word order. This category accounts for 17.2% of the total sample of subordinate clauses in Genesis, 13.5% of the sample in Bede and 8.1% of the sample in Luke (and 5.8% in Tatian, 14.2% in Isidor and 13.9% in Physiologus). The only text where the remaining clauses (after the two factors described initially here are removed) where Latin plays a significant role in the remaining clauses is the OHG Tatian with 31.0% clauses following Latin. They conclude that 'Latin influence in combination with the two native rules is insufficient to explain the order distributions; subordinate clauses are simply subject to more native variation in both OE and OHG' (Cichosz, Gaszewski, and Pęzik 2016: 234). In their final conclusions they caution other scholars that the source text of Bede is responsible for many of the particularities in Bede's syntax. Eventhough the text is not translated phrase by phrase, they claim that the position of important clause constituents 'very often corresponds to the order found in the Latin source text' (Cichosz, Gaszewski, and Pęzik 2016: 407).

2.4.4 Heggelund

In his extensive study of word order in OE subordinate clauses described above in section 2.1, Heggelund (2010) finds variation between the translated and non-translated part of one of his primary sources, Orosius. His data shows a statistically significant increased frequency in of the SVX pattern in the non-translated part (Heggelund 2010: 91). He does not find it within the scope of his thesis to discuss this finding and points out that the number of non-translated clauses is relatively small and should be interpreted with caution, but he advocates for further study into the matter (Heggelund 2010: 91-92).

2.5 Theory of bilingualism

2.5.1 Timofeeva

According to Timofeeva (2013), the linguistic environment of Anglo-Saxon England can be said to be bilingual. Old English, the language of laymen, coexisted with Latin, the language of the church and official matters. The speech community of the former was vast as it was the vernacular language of the Anglo Saxons, and the latter was a language master by only the educated. Given this, it may seem strange to claim that the linguistic environment was a bilingual one. If one was to make a general statement about the bilingualism of the whole population of England in the OE period, this would undoubtedly be heavily disputed. However, when studying OE, one does, in fact, study the language of the clergy and highly educated laymen. Most of the surviving OE prose corpora are texts produced in monasteries and the court of the king. Timofeeva (2013) advocates for looking at the state of Latin and OE in the light of theory on bilingualism, and points out the although the speech community is very small, it is this speech community that is represented in the texts we study today. She also points out that it probably was more or less the same group consuming the texts as those producing it Timofeeva (2013: 197). Timofeeva (2010) argues in another article that we have evidence of *code-switching* and *code-alteration*. Code-switching refers to situations where a language user switches between languages in the course of a conversation. In the case of OE, our proof of this is only textual. Code-alteration refers to situations where the language user regularly switches between languages, but not in the course of one conversation. In the case of OE, this would be by priests switching between sermons and mass, and between conversations with laymen and in the monastery. According to Timofeeva (2010), the users of Latin in Anglo-Saxon England can consequently not merely be seen as second language users, but as bilingual users of OE and Latin.

2.6 Summary

This chapter has presented the theoretical background connected to this study and relevant investigation done on word order and translation by scholars of OE in the last decades. This chapter shows that there have been resent interest in whether or not the syntax of OE may have been influenced by the Latin originals they were translated from and the chapter have presented different theories on how such influence may present itself. This chapter

provides the theoretical background for the discussion in chapter 6.

3 The Word Order Patterns

This section describes the various word order patterns in the analysis. In this analysis, S represents the subject, V represents the finite verb in patterns where there is only one verb and in patterns where the verb phrase is contiguous. A contiguous verb phrase is a phrase where the finite and non-finite verbs immediately precede or follow one another (Bech 2001: 51). In a complex and non-contiguous verb phrase, and in cases where it is necessary to show the position of both, V_1 represents the finite verb, and V_2 the non-finite verb. In other words, V can represent a simple verb phrase, a contiguous verb phrase where the finite verb is immediately followed by the non-finite verb or two coordinated finite verbs. X stands for any element that is neither the subject nor the verb of the clause. This includes, but is not limited to, objects, adverbials and conjunctions. Note that the subordinating conjunction is not part of the word order patterns as it introduces all the clauses and is therefore always present.

For reasons of comparison, I initially wanted to base my patterns on Heggelund's (2010) recent doctoral thesis on subordinate clauses. It would have seemed most obvious to choose the same patterns as Heggelund (2010) since his subject matter is the closest to mine, but as will be made clear below, there are reasons for basing my patterns mostly on Bech (2001) instead. First and foremost, Bech (2001) is the more transparent of the two. Her patterns are, to a larger extent, exemplified and it is consequently easier to make sure my patterns match hers as closely as possible. Some amends to her patterns have been made since subordinate clauses do differ from main clauses. These amendments concern especially the SXV pattern, presented in section 3.4, and SXVX pattern, presented in section 3.5. All divergences from Bech's (2001) patterns will be made explicitly clear.

The description of these patterns will follow the general structure of first describing the patterns I have chosen, followed by comments on the differences between Heggelund (2010) and Bech (2001) and lastly how if at all, they vary from my patterns. Examples taken from the literal translations are marked with the name of the gospel, chapter and verse. The examples from the non-literal translations and the original OE are marked using the same reference system as the YCOE, i.e. the Dictionary of Old English short title of the text, book number (if several books), chapter (if organized into chapters), page number from the printed version used by the YCOE, and line number (if present in the printed version) (Taylor 2003a: 'The definition of a token').

3.1 SVX

The basic order of this pattern is that the subject is clause-initial and immediately followed by the finite verb, which in turn may be followed by one or more X element as observed in example (3.11) where the subject *he* 'he' is in first position after the subordinating conjunction *þæt* 'so that'. The subject is followed by the finite verb *læg* 'lay' and lastly a past participle with an adjetival function in this clause, *geswogen* 'killed'. A complex verb phrase has to be contiguous, and the non-finite verb must follow the finite verb. Both clauses with a single, verb as in example (3.11), and those with a contiguous verb phrase, as can be seen in example (3.12) and (3.13) are included in this pattern. Clauses with two coordinated finite verbs also occur and are included in this pattern. When coordinated verbs occur, as long as the verbs only are separated by a conjunction, they are treated as one verb phrase in all patterns.

Example (3.14 shows the SVX pattern with the subject *hiora* 'of them' in initial position followed by the finite verb *gedurfon* 'sank' and ending with *L & C* (roman numerals) 'hundred and fifty' which is part of the subject. The case is genitive because of the numerals. In this clause, the verb divides the subject in two and the pronominal subject which occurs initially is analyzed as the subject and the second half as an X element. For further discussion on this clause, see section 4.6.1.

Bech (2001: 51) includes clauses with only the subject followed by a finite verb and no other elements in this pattern, while Heggelund (2010: 62) has an individual pattern called SV-. However, he includes clauses like example (3.12) where the subject is followed by a contiguous V_1V_2 verb phrase and nothing more in his SVX pattern (Heggelund 2010: 60). In this case, Heggelund seems to regard the non-finite verb as an X element. Heggelund uses a system where he sometimes treats the non-finite verb as X. I have chosen, like Bech, to include both SV- and SV_1V_2 clauses in this category. Nevertheless, for the sake of transparency, and to allow for comparison with Heggelund's patterns, the number of clauses which would fit his SV- pattern in the different text types will be given and discussed in chapter 5 when it is relevant.

(3.11) **þæt** he læg geswogen
so that he lay killed
'so that he lay killed'

(ÆLet4 SigewardZ: 476.177)

(3.12) **þæt** he mage spiwan
so that he may spew
'so that he may spew'

(Lch II (1): 18.1.14.727)

(3.13) **ðæt** se eorðlica man sceolde geþeon & geearnian mid eaðmodnysse
so that the earthly man must grow and labour for with humility
þa wununga on heofonan rice.
the home in heaven kingdom
'that the earthly man must grow and labour for a home in the kingdom of heaven'

(ACHom I, 1:180.62.59)

(3.14) & eft hiora scipa oferhlæston, **þæt** hiora gedurfon
and afterwards their ships was overloaded, so that of them sank
L & C
hundred and fifty
'and afterwards the ships was overloaded so that a hundred and fifty of them sank.'

(Or 4:6.95.4.1939)

3.2 XVS

In this pattern, the initial element is an X immediately followed by the finite verb and the subject in any position after that. The verb phrase does not need to be contiguous in this pattern; the position of the finite verb is the most important factor. In other words, the non-finite verb, if there is one, may occupy any position in the clause apart from the first and second position as in example (3.15) where the finite verb *sien* 'be' is separated from the non-finite verb *geðreade* 'chastised' by the subject. The subject follows the finite verb, but there may be X elements in-between the verb and the subject, but this does not occur in my sample. Any number of X elements may also follow the subject as in example (3.16). Characteristic of this pattern is that it is V2, but the subject is not in the initial position. If more than one element precedes the verb, the clause would be classified as XXVS by Bech (2001: 64). Heggelund (2010: 61) includes clauses with XXVS order in his XVS patterns as he allows for more than one initial X element in this pattern. I have only one such clause in my sample and I have therfore placed it in miscellaneous.

(3.15) & **þætte** eft sien hiera scylda geðreade mid ðæm ðæt we hie tælen
and so that again be their sins chastised through that we them scold
'and again so that their sins may be chastised by our blame.'

(CP:32.211.14.1416)

(3.16) **þæt** on us ne sy gemeted næningu stow æmetig gastlicra mægena
so that in us not be found not-any spot empty of spiritual power
'so that there may not be found in us any place devoid of spiritual power.'

(BlHom 3:37.181.483)

3.3 XSV

This pattern also has an X as its initial element, but in this pattern the subject is the second element. Example 3.17 shows a clause where the initial X element is a noun phrase *cyricum ne mynstrum* 'church nor monastery' functioning as the direct object of the clause followed by the subject *seo herehand* 'the hand-of-war'. The subject is in turn immediately followed by the finite verb, in this case *sparode* 'spared'. If the verb phrase is complex, it must be contiguous, and the order of the verbs must be finite followed by non-finite, i.e. V_1V_2, as in example (3.17) were the coordinated non-finite verbs *cwaciende* 'trembeling' and *berstende* 'shattering' follows the finite verb *wæs* 'was'.

There may be additional X elements following the verb. As with the XVS pattern above, Bech (2001: 65) has a separate category for clauses like this with two initial X elements. My sample contains a few XXSV clauses, so the XXSV category has been included in my study. Further details about the XXSV pattern will be described below in section 3.9. Again, for reasons of transparency and to facilitate for comparison with Heggelund data, it is relevant to note that Heggelund (2010) does not have separate patterns for XSV or XXSV. Instead, he includes XSV and XXSV clauses with a simple verb phrase and no additional elements in his SV- pattern. XSV and XXSV clauses with a complex contiguous verb phrase or additional X elements following the a simple verb phrase are included in his SVX pattern. This is done by allowing for one or more initial X element in these patterns. Thus, a pattern like the one in example (3.17) or (3.19) would be included in Heggelund's (2010) SV- pattern and the pattern in example (3.18) in his SVX pattern.

(3.17) **swa ðæt** cyricum ne mynstrum seo herehand sparode nene
so that church nor monastery the hand of war spared and-not
arode
showed mercy
'so that the hand of war spared and showed mercy to neither church nor monastery'

(Bede 4:27.356.20.3590)

(3.18) **ðæt** ofer eall Romana rice seo eorþe wæs cwaciende &
so that over the whole Roman Empire the ground was trembling and
berstende
shattering
'so that the ground was trembeling and shattering over the whole Roman Empire.'

(Or 2:6.50.6.958)

(3.19) miððy leht hæbbe gilefeð in leht **ðætte** suno lehtes ge gesie
while light have believe in the light so that the sons of light you be
'While you have light, believe in the light, that you may be the sons of light.'

(Rushworth: John 12.36)

3.4 SXV

This pattern is often called the verb-final pattern because the finite verb is in clause-final position. If there is a non-finite verb present in the clause, it must precede the finite verb. At least one element must separate the subject and the finite verb. Usually, only one or two elements intervene between the subject and the verb, but there are cases like (3.20) where the subject end the finite verb are separated by two adverbials and the object and in more extreme and rare cases like (3.21) where there are as many as eight X elements between the subject *he* 'he' and the verb *sealde* 'give'. In this pattern, one or more X elements may also precede the subject like in example (3.23) where the subject is preceded by two adverbial phrases, one locative, *þær* 'there' and one temporal, *næfre* 'not any'.

Following Heggelund (2010: 58), the X element between the subject and the finite verb may be the non-finite verb. In (3.23) for example, the subject and the finite verb is only separated by the non-finite verb *incuman* 'enter'. The present study regards the negative particle *ne* 'not' as a clitic and therefore a part of the finite verb phrase. This will be further elaborated in section 4.6.3. Bech (2001: 57–58) does not include the non-finite

verb as a possible X element here, but since her study is focused on main clauses, these constructions probably do not occur in her sample. As my subject of study is subordinate clauses, it makes sense to include them as they naturally occur in subordinate clauses. I agree with Heggelund (2010: 58), who states: 'this structure is taken to be fundamentally different from that which has the non-finite verb finally'. This pattern, therefore, includes the SV_2V_1- structure but not the SV_1V_2- structure which is included in the SVX pattern. As will be discussed in section 4.6.4, the SV_2V_1 structure usually appears in structures where an adjective interpretation of the non-finite verb is possible, but there are exceptions, as in example (3.22) where *gerestan* 'rest' must be interpreted as a non-finite verb. This interpretation is backed up by the YCOE which tags *gerestan* 'rest' as infinitive. A supposed non-finite verb which should be interpreted as an adjective is only possible when the verb is a participle.

(3.20) **þæt** he þonne bliþe þæs earman lichoman gefylle
that he then happily the poor-man's body fill
that he then happily would fill the poor man's body

(BlHom 3:37.201.496)

(3.21) **swa ðæt** he æghwelce geare æfter Moyses æ, nales ðæt aan
so that he every year according-to Moses' law, by no means that one
feðerfotra neata ac swylce eac ealra wæstma & æppla & hrægla ðone
fourfooted beast as well as all fruit and apples and garments the
teoðan ðal for Gode to ælmessum ðearfum sealde
tenth part for God to alms those-in-need give
'so that, every year, according to the law of Moses, he gave for God's sale the tenth of a four-footed beast, as well as all fruits and textile fabrics, as alms to the poor'

(Bede 4:30.374.9.3739)

(3.22) **þæt** he gerestan meahte
that he rest might
'that he might rest'

(Bede 4:25.346.28.3489)

(3.23) **þæt** þær næfre nænig dæl regnes ne ungewidres incuman ne mæg
that there never not any part rain nor bad weather enter not can
'so that no rain or bad weather is able to enter'

(BlHom 11:125.180.1565)

3.5 SXVX

The main difference between this pattern and the SXV pattern is that the finite verb is not the clause-final element. There must be at least one element in post-verbal position. The subject can be preceded by one or more Xs, but this is not obligatory. It is, however, mandatory for the subject and the finite verb to be separated by at least one element. Unlike Bech (2001: 59) who only allows the non-finite verb to follow the finite verb immediately, I have chosen, like Heggelund (2010: 59) to allow the verb phrase to be either V2V1 or V1V2 so that 'complex verb phrases must be contiguous, but the order of the verbs is irrelevant' (Heggelund 2010: 60). This pattern, therefore, also includes SXV2V1X. Example (3.24) shows the SXVX pattern and is an example which fits both Bech and Heggelund's criteria. The subject, *he* 'he', is separated from the verb, *forgeafe* '(might) give', by a pronominal object, *us* 'us'. The presence of a pronominal object between the subject and the verb is quite common for this pattern in my data. Lastly, the verb is followed by one or more X elements. In this case it is the indirect object *þa undeadlican tunecan...* 'the immortal garment...'. Example (3.25) shows a clause from the gospels where a non-finite verb precedes a finite verb. But this since this is not a complex verb phrase but two separate simple verb phrases, the non-finite verb in this case is X. A more problematic example of V2V1 is the clause in example (3.26), where a non-finite verb, *gifulwad* baptized', precedes the finite verb, *were* 'were'. In this case the verbs form a complex verb phrase. Since here is an overt agent present, *from him* 'by him', as discussed in 4.6.4, the participle cannot be regarded as adjectival. As the finite verb is not clause final, the clause does not fit the SXV pattern. Because cases like this occur in both the gospels and in the non-translated original OE texts, I have allowed for the verb phrase to be either V2V1 or V1V2 in this pattern.

(3.24) **þæt** he us forgeafe þa undeadlican tunecan þe we forluron on þæs
that he.SBJ us give the immortal garment which we lost on the
frumsceapenan mannes forgægednesse
first-created man's transgression
'so that he might give us the immortal garment which we lost by the first created man's transgression'

(ACHom I, 2:193.92.370)

(3.25) **þæt** ic swilce cymende gebidde to him
that I also come pray to him
'so that I also may come and adore/pray to him'

(Rushworth: Matthew 2.8)

(3.26) **ðætte** hie gifulwad were from him
that they baptised were by him
'so that they could be baptised by him'

(Rushworth: Luke 3.7)

3.6 SV_1XV_2

This pattern is often called 'the brace construction'. The criteria for this pattern are that the subject and the finite verb cannot be separated and, the finite verb must immediately follow the subject. The finite and the non/finite verb on the other hand must be separated by one or more X elements. Any number of X elements can follow after the non-finite verb. Example (3.28) shows a clause with the full pattern SV_1XXV_2. The subject comes immediately before the finite verb and two X element separate the finite and non-finite verb. In example (3.27), there is only one element separating the finite and non-finite verb, and the non-finite verb is followed by an X element. The full pattern of this clause is thus SV_1XV_2X.

Bech (2001) does not clarify if the subject may be preceded by any elements but based on her examples and the fact that she classifies this as a V2 pattern, it is likely that she does not allow for initial X elements. Consequently, I have excluded one clause in my sample with the word order XSV_1XV_2. See example (3.34) in section 3.10. Heggelund (2010: 60), on the other hand, allows for initial X elements in this pattern.

(3.27) **þæt** hie magon bet fæstan ðonne oðre
so that they might better fast than others
'As many do who bridle their greediness and subdue their bodies so that they might be able to fast better than others.'

(Bede 3:1.154.4.1471)

(3.28) **þæt** he ne mehton Suð Seaxna lond utan berowan
so that he not might Sussex land outside row
'so that they could not row past Sussex'

(ChronA: 897.48.1150)

3.7 SXV_1XV_2

I introduce a new category here, which is not included by Heggelund or Bech. Both list this kind of sequence in their 'Miscellaneous' category (Bech 2001: 67–69; Heggelund 2010: 61). However, since my selection of clauses has numerous examples of this sequence, I found it best to include it as a separate pattern. Similar to the SV_1XV_2 pattern, this pattern has the finite and non-finite verbs separated by one or more X elements and the non-finite verb may be followed by one or more X elements. The subject is clause-initial. However, unlike the SV_1XV_2 pattern, the subject and the finite verb are separated by a single X element and the pattern is therefore not V2. The intervening Xs between the subject and the verb in my sample vary, but the most common ones are adverbials and objects. Example (3.29) shows an adverbial, *ealles* 'entirely', between the subject and the finite verb and example (3.30) shows an object, *him* 'them', in the same position.

(3.29) **þæt** þu ealles ne beo minra boca bedæled
so that you entirely not be.V_1 my books deprived.V_2
'so that you would not be deprived of my books entirely'

(SigeweardZ:16.11)

(3.30) **þæt** þa Deniscan him ne mehton þæs ripes forwiernan
so that the Danish them not could.V_1 the reaping prevent.V_2
'so that the Danish could not keep them from reaping'

(ChronA (Plummer):896.6.1103)

3.8 Verb initial

As the name of the pattern implies, this pattern has the finite verb in clause-initial position. In this pattern, the position of the subject and other clause elements is not important. This is exemplified in (3.31) where the finite verb *cyme* 'come', or 'would come' as the verb is

subjunctive, is the first element following the subordinating conjunction and thus clause initial. This pattern follows the same rules as the verb initial pattern in Bech (2001: 62). Heggelund does not include this pattern because, as he states, verb-initial clauses 'are less common in subordinate than in main clauses' (Heggelund 2010: 63). When they occur in his data, they are put in the miscellaneous section. However, as can be seen in section 5 they prove quite frequent in the gospels, and I have therefore decided to include the verb initial order in my patterns. Note that as discussed in section 4.6.3, the negative particle *ne* 'not' is regarded as a clitic to the verb and not an independent element. The clause in (3.32) is therefore verb initial even though *ne* 'not' precedes the verb.

(3.31) **ðætte** cyme moder drihtnes mines to me.
that would come mother lord my to me
'so that the mother of my Lord would come to me'

(Rushworth: Luke 1.43)

(3.32) **ðætte** ne were ic sald iudeum
that not was I given the jews
'so that I would not be given to the Jews

(Rushworth: John 18.36)

3.9 XXSV

As mentioned in section 3.3, this pattern is very similar to the XSV pattern, but instead of one initial X element, both first and second positions are occupied by X elements. The subject then occupies the third position and the finite verb the fourth. As in the XSV pattern, if the verb phrase is complex, it must be contiguous and follow the order V_1V_2. Additional X elements may follow the verb. Recall from section 3.3 that Heggelund (2010) does not have this pattern as a separate category, but includes it in either his SV- or SVX pattern, depending on whether the verb phrase is simple or complex.

(3.33) **ðætte** in mec sibbe ge habbað
that in me peace you have
'so that you may have peace in me'

(Rushworth: John 16.33)

3.10 Miscellaneous

All the clauses that for various reasons did not fit into the patterns described above were put in this category. The number of miscellaneous clauses in my sample is quite low in three of the text types. In the literal translations, that is the glosses, no clauses have been classified as miscellaneous. There are two in the non-literal translations and three in the original OE texts. The exception is the clauses from the The West Saxon Gospels (WSG) where there was 13 miscellaneous clauses (see section 4.2.2 for further details).

Example (3.34) is the only clause in my sample with the order XSV_1XV_2 and could have been classified as SV_1XV_2 if not for the presence of the initial X element. Heggelund (2010: 60) would have allowed for this order to be included in the SV_1XV_2 as he allows initial elements in his SV_1XV_2 pattern. However, I have followed Bech (2001: 67) here and therefore regard this order as miscellaneous. Example (3.35) shows a clause with the full pattern SXV_1V_2. This clause cannot be classified as SXV because it has the non-finite verb in final position. It cannot be classified as SXVX either since there is no element following the verb phrase.

The pattern in example (3.36) is similar to the XVS pattern. Bech (2001: 64) has a separate pattern for this but in Heggelund's (2010) study it is included in his XVS pattern. The only difference from my XVS is that the verb is preceded by two or more X elements. This pattern is thus not a V2 pattern and therefore not included in my XVS pattern. The only occurrence of this pattern in my sample are given here as example (3.36). Because there is only one occurrence of this pattern in my sample, it has been classified as miscellaneous. The finite verb in this pattern is preceded by two noun phrases in form of a second person plural dative pronoun *eow* 'to you' and a noun phrase *eower synna* 'your sins'.

(3.34) **ðæt** hi mon ne mæg mid nanre ðreaunge geðreatian
that him one not could with no reproof correct
'so that no one could correct him with any reproof'

(CP:37.263.1.1709)

(3.35) **ðæt** hi hine ne mehton ferian
that they him not could move
'so that they could not move him'

(ChronA:894.30.1039)

(3.36) **þæt** eow eower synna forgyfe eower heofonlica f+ader se ðe on
so that to you your sins forgive your heavenly father who in
heofonum ys
heaven is
'so that your heavenly father who is in heaven may forgive you your sins'

(Mk WSCp: 11.25.3071)

3.11 Summary

For clarity, I will end this section by summarizing the patterns in which my patterns are identical to the ones Bech (2001) operates with. The patterns in which I have made adjustments will also be summerized here. The SVX pattern, section 3.1, the XVS pattern, section 3.2, the XSV pattern, section 3.3, the SV_1XV_2 pattern, section 3.6 and the V-initial pattern, section 3.8 all follow the same conditions as those laid out by Bech (2001). In the SXV pattern, section 3.4, I have allowed for the non-finite verb to be regarded as an X element so that clauses with the word order SV_2V_1 are included in my version of the SXV pattern. Similarly, in the SXVX pattern, section 3.5, I have allowed complex contiguous verb phrases to be either V_1V_2 or V_2V_1. Instead of including the SXV_1XV_2 pattern in the miscellaneous category like Bech (2001) and Heggelund (2010) I have made a separate category for this pattern. This is due to the frequency of this pattern in my sample.

To sum up in terms of verb placement, all the patterns described here, except for the miscellaneous category, can be divided into four groups: The first is the verb initial group, consisting of the V-initial pattern, where the finite verb occupies first position in the clause. The second is the verb second group comprised of the SVX, SV_1XV_2 and XVS patterns where the finite verbs occupies second position. The third group is the verb late group, where the verb occurs in third position or later in the clause. The SXVX, SXV_1XV_2, XSV, XXSV and XXVS are sorted into this group. The fourth group is the verb final clauses and there is only one pattern in this group, the SXV pattern. The division into these groups will be further discussed in section 5 and 6.

4 Data and Methodology

This chapter presents the data collection process in this study. First, the corpora used are presented and justification for the texts selection is given. Then the process of searching the corpora and the method of choosing the data sample are elaborated on. The process of analyzing the clauses and especially the problems met in the analysis will be discussed. Lastly, the statistical test preformed on the results to check for statistical significance will be accounted for.

4.1 The Corpora

This study makes use of two corpora of Old English (OE), The Dictionary of Old English Corpus (DOEC) and The York-Toronto-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Old English Prose (YCOE). The reason for using two corpora is that glossed texts are not included in the YCOE or, to my knowledge, in any other parsed corpus of OE. The DOEC and the YCOE are two different types of corpora. While both contain OE, they differ in size and structure. The DOEC is the larger of the two, with over three million words. It contains at least one copy of every surviving OE text (Healey, Price, and Xiang 2020). The corpus is available from Oxford Text Archive and provides machine-readable files that are searchable. This corpus is not syntactically annotated, so no grammatical information is given.

Unlike the DOEC, the YCOE can be searched for specific constructions. It also offers grammatical information about every clause constituent. It contains 1.5 million words of different genres and is, as it offers grammatical information, syntactically annotated or parsed as its name implies (Bech 2017: 7). This corpus was also obtained through Oxford Text Archive.

To illustrate the differences between the two corpora, I will give an example relevant to this thesis. As discussed in 2.2 *þæt* is one of the most frequent subordinating conjunctions of purpose and result in OE, but it may also be another clause element, e.g. a pronoun or a determiner. A search for *þæt* in DOEC will result in all instances of *þæt* being shown and it is up to the researcher to eliminate all instances where *þæt* does not function as subordinating conjunction to adverbial clauses of purpose and result. When searching YCOE on the other hand, it is possible to search for only the instances where *þæt* introduces an adverbial clause. How this was accomplished will be elaborated on in section 4.3.2. While this method does not eliminate unwanted results, as *þæt* may introduce other types

of adverbial clauses as well as purpose and result, it filters out the instances where *þæt* is an article, a pronoun or a determiner. A simple search for *þæt*, with its alternative spelling *ðæt*, in Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People (Bede) renders 925 results. While a search for only the adverbial clauses where *ðæt* functions as the subordinating conjunction renders 125 results.

The YCOE is only searchable when using a particular program to handle the syntactical annotations. This is elaborated on in section 4.3.2 The DOEC is available in an online version. However, both corpora were downloaded to be able to manage the data more easily and to make searching the corpora more efficient. When downloaded, both corpora present themselves in the form of a folder, which in turn contains one file for each text in the corpus.

4.2 Text selection

As stated in chapter 1, this study compares and analyses clauses taken from four types of texts from the OE period: literal translations of Latin, and Bible translations, non-literal translations of Latin, and original OE texts, which are known or assumed not to be translations.

Three criteria were implemented in the process of selecting texts. First, the length of the text must be considered. The text should preferably be longer than 20.000–25.000 words to ensure that enough adverbial clauses of purpose and result are present in the text. In section 4.2.4, one may observe that this criterion could not always be met. Secondly, the dialect of the text should preferably be the same in all texts. As most of the surviving OE prose texts are in the West Saxon dialect (Rot et al. 1982: 108), this became a natural choice. As can be observed from table 3 below, Bede and Bald's Leechbook (Lch II) both contain some Anglican. The same is true for The Blickling Homilies (BlHom) and The Old English Martyrology (Mart 1). This was unavoidable due to how few texts have survived into modern times. More noticeable though are probably the dialects of the glossed gospels in table 1, Mercian and Northumbrian. To my knowledge, there exist no lengthy continuous interlinear glossed texts in the West-Saxon dialect.

Finally, the time of composition was considered. As this study is a synchronic study of syntactical variation, the ideal would have been to have all texts from the same time period but the same limitations as with regard to the dialects apply here too. There are not enough texts available to us for the selection to be from only one time period. However, I

have strived to ensure that the selected texts are as close to each other in time and dialect as possible. Information about time period and dialect of the various texts was obtained from Kahlas-Tarkka and Österman (2020) and Gelderen (2014: 52).

4.2.1 The Literal translations

Literal translations are included in this study for several reasons. First, they exemplify a type of translation where Latin influence on the syntax and word order are undeniable as the OE translation of a word was glossed above its Latin counterpart. Secondly, a close analysis of these glosses may offer insights into how OE scribes tackled the Latin word order when glossing.

Latin manuscripts from the OE period contain various kinds of glosses. Some manuscripts are only partially glossed either in the margins or interlinear, and some are glossed with glosses classified as 'continuous interlinear glosses'(Studer-Joho 2017: 18). Also, some glosses appear as scratched without ink or so-called 'dry-point glosses' (Studer-Joho 2017: 20). Continuous interlinear glosses are suitable for this study because they are the most complete glosses. Figure 1 show an example of such interlinear glosses with OE glosses over each Latin word. This adverbial clause of purpose is taken from Matthew 27.14 and the OE translates literally to 'so that he wondered the chief very'. An idiomatic translation reads 'so that the chief wondered greatly'.

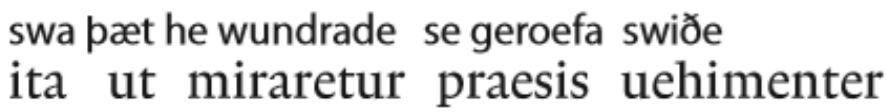

Figure 1: Example from the Rushworth gospels. Matthew 27.14. Modern version transcribed by Tamoto (2013).

As mentioned in 4.1, the YCOE does not contain any glossed texts, so the DOEC was used instead. This corpus includes all surviving texts and fragments containing OE (Healey, Price, and Xiang 2020). Guided by *A Plan for the Dictionary of Old English* by Frank, Cameron, et al. (1973) and *Catalogue of manuscripts containing Anglo-Saxon* by Ker (1957) the list of suitable texts were narrowed down. Frank, Cameron, et al. (1973) show all the texts and fragments included in the DOEC. The DOEC has a category for Glosses (section C), and specifically a subsection for continuous interlinear glosses. This list contains 59 texts. Poetry, fragments, and short texts were excluded as well as lists

of Latin words with OE glosses. Poetry was excluded because poetic devices such as alliteration, metaphor and meter are known to obscure the *normal* order of a language (McLaughlin 2012: 66). By excluding poetry, the fragments and short texts, nine texts remain. Furthermore, availability for a Modern English printed edition that shows the interlinear glosses as presented in the manuscripts was considered crucial in order to comment on OE word order in relation to the Latin original. After these factors were considered, the Rushworth Gospels were chosen. This text is of considerable length and contains continuous interlinear glosses throughout almost the whole text. In addition, *The Macregol gospels or the Rushworth gospels: Edition of the Latin text with the Old English interlinear gloss transcribed from Oxford Bodleian Library, MS Auctarium D. 2. 19* edited by Tamoto (2013) provides a searchable Modern English edition. Figure 1 is a xerox from this edition. Table 1 shows the number of clauses selected from each gospel as well as the dialect of the OE glosses in each gospel. Tamoto (2013: xxxi) presents discussions of the dialects of the two scribes and concludes that the gospel of St. Matthew is glossed in the Mercian dialect while the others are glossed in Northumbrian. Ideally, I would have wanted to use a text glossed in West-Saxon, but as pointed out in 4.2, no lengthy continuous interlinear gloss in West-Saxon have survived.

The Rushworth Gospels	Period	Dialect	Clauses
Gospel of St. Matthew	OE3 (950–1050)	Mercian	27
Gospel of St. Mark	OE3 (950–1050)	Northumbrian	31
Gospel of St. Luke	OE3 (950–1050)	Northumbrian	18
Gospel of St. John	OE3 (950–1050)	Northumbrian	24

Table 1: The selected glossed text with the individual gospels

4.2.2 Bible translations

This study was originally planned to include three text types: literal translations, non-literal translations and original OE texts. However, based on the findings of Taylor (2008) and Cichosz, Gaszewski, and Pęzik (2016) it became clear that the present study would benefit from including Bible translations as a separate category of text. As discussed in section 2.3.2, biblical translations are not literal translations, but they may be closer to the Latin source text than other non-literal translations and this merits a comparison.

The OE translation of the Bible, The West Saxon Gospels (WSG), was probably composed around the second half of the tenth century and are the earliest known complete vernacular Bible translation (Marsden 2010: 110). The gospels were made from the Latin Vulgate and, according to Marsden (2010: 110), probably not intended for the broader public but for use in the monasteries. The surviving manuscripts are written in late West Saxon dialect by four different scribes (Marsden 2010: 110).

It was judged as within the scope of the thesis to collect a hundred clauses from the WSG as long as the same clauses were taken from the same verses in the Bible as the clauses from the literal translations. In this way, the collection of clauses would not be as time consuming as it would have been to find new clauses and as touched upon in 4.6.2, most of the purpose and result clauses in the gospels were included in the data set from the non-literal translations. The WSG is in the YCOE, so this version was chosen over the one in the DOEC as it is syntactically annotated in the YCOE.

Note that because this is a late addition and the time limited, some difficult constructions were categorized as miscellaneous. This is, however, not the only reason for the relatively high number of miscellaneous clauses (see section 5.4). Some clauses were classified as miscellaneous because they were subjectless clauses (see section 4.6.2 and some that were purpose and result clauses in the Rushworth gospel, did not surface as purpose and result in the WSG.

The West Saxon Gospels	Period	Dialect	Clauses
Gospel of St. Matthew	OE3 (950–1000)	West Saxon	27
Gospel of St. Mark	OE3 (950–1000)	West Saxon	31
Gospel of St. Luke	OE3 (950–1000)	West Saxon	18
Gospel of St. John	OE3 (950–1000)	West Saxon	24

Table 2: The selected glossed text with the individual gospels

4.2.3 The Non-Literal Translations

The second major type of text in this study is non-literal translations. Many OE prose text surviving to this day are translations from Latin, especially among the texts predating the mid-tenth century (Taylor 2008: 341). Bede, King Alfred's West-Saxon version of Gregory's Pastoral Care, Cura Pastoralis (CP) and The Old English Orosius (Or) are all

well known OE translations of works originally written in Latin. Lch II is perhaps the least known.

This was the category of texts where it was easiest to meet the criteria set for the text selection. All texts are lengthy works with Lch II being the shortest one with a little less than 35.000 words. When it comes to dialects, Bede and Lch II, as pointed out above, contain some Anglian, but they are primarily written in West-Saxon. Gneuss (2010: 45) mentions that West-Saxon writings not always appear in the pure West-Saxon dialect as 'we often find scattered forms from other dialects, especially Anglian; for example, such forms are not uncommon in works copied in, or going back to, the Alfredian period'. As can be observed in table 3, all texts in this category are dated to the OE2 period.

There are more texts in the YCOE that could fit these criteria. In addition to the above-mentioned criteria, the texts in this selection were chosen both because of their style, because they are well-known texts that are thoroughly discussed in the literature and, for a more practical reason, because Modern English (MnE) translations of the texts are available to me.

Text	Period	Dialect	Clauses
Bede's Ecclastiestical History	OE2 (850-950)	West-Saxon/Anglican	25
Bald's Leechbook	OE2 (850-950)	West Saxon/Anglcian	25
Cura Pastoralis	OE2 (850-950)	West-Saxon	25
The Old English Orosius	OE2 (850–950)	West-Saxon	25

Table 3: The selected translated texts

4.2.4 The Original OE texts

As briefly stated in the introduction to this subsection 4.2, this category includes texts known or assumed not to be translated. However, it must be pointed out that Latin texts may have inspired some of the authors. For example, Ælfric draws 'on a wide range of Latin texts' in his homilies and sermons (J. Bately 2010: 79). While this may affect word choice with borrowings from Latin, it is unlikely that it has affected the syntax as this is rather a form of inspiration than translation. The number of non-translated or original OE texts surviving to this day is fewer than those translated from Latin.

In terms of fulfilling the criteria set for the text selection, the original OE texts proved

more challenging. Ælfric's Catholic Homilies I (ÆcHom I), BlHom and Mart 1 all have a word count of more than 25.000 words, but Anglo-Saxon Chronicle A (ChronA) and Ælfric's Letter to Sigeweard (ÆLet4) have a word count of just above 14.000 and 10.000 words respectively. However, ChronA was deemed a too important example of OE vernacular prose to be excluded. As can be seen from the number of clauses in the selection ChronA only 17 clauses were found to be adverbial clauses of purpose or result with the subordinating conjunctions specified in section 2.2. 8 clauses from Mart 1 therefore supplements the selection. ÆLet4 was used instead of The Homilies of Wulfstan, which I initially intended to use, but which was not included in the version of YCOE I received from Oxford Text Archive. The reason for this text not being included in the corpus I received is unknown to me. According to Taylor (2003b) The Homilies of Wulfstan is included in the corpus.

As in 4.2.3, some texts contain some Anglian. In this selection this is true for BlHom and Mart 1. Ideally, the time of composition would match for all three categories of texts, but as discussed in 4.2 the number surviving texts are limited, and many of the non-translated texts are from the late Old English (lOE) period. Table 4 shows the chosen texts, their period of composition and their dialects.

Text	Period	Dialect	Clauses
The Anglo Saxon Chronicle	OE2 (850-950)/ OE3 (950-1050)	West-Saxon	17
Blickling Homilies	OE3 (950–1050)	West-Saxon/ Anglian	25
An Old English Martyrology	OE3 (950–1050)	West-Saxon/ Anglian Mercian	8
Ælfric's Letter to Sigeweard	OE3 (950-1050)/ OE3 (1050-1150)	West-Saxon	25
Ælfric's Homilies	OE3 (950–1050)	West-Saxon	25

Table 4: The selected Original OE texts

4.3 Data Collection

4.3.1 Data Collection from DOEC

After downloading the DOEC corpus, I searched the files containing the four gospels of The Rushworth Gospels. The files were provided in .html format, which is readable in all modern internet browsers. I then used the 'search page' option (keyboard shortcut: CTRL+F) to search for *ðæt, ðætte, swa ðæt* or *swa ðætte* and their alternative spellings *þæt, þætte, swa þæt* and *swa þætte*. As exemplified in 4.1, these searches rendered a lot of unwanted results, especially when searching for *þæt*, as it may function as a determiner, article, pronoun or subordinating conjunction of other types of subordinate clauses than adverbial clauses of purpose and result.

Figure 2 shows a search for *þæt* in the Gospel of St. Matthew, where the hits are marked in yellow. The first, in blue, is an example of *þæt* functioning as subordinating conjunction of the adverbial clause of purpose: *þæt he wære costad from deofle* 'that he was tempted from devil' or idiomatically 'so that he would be tempted by the devil'.

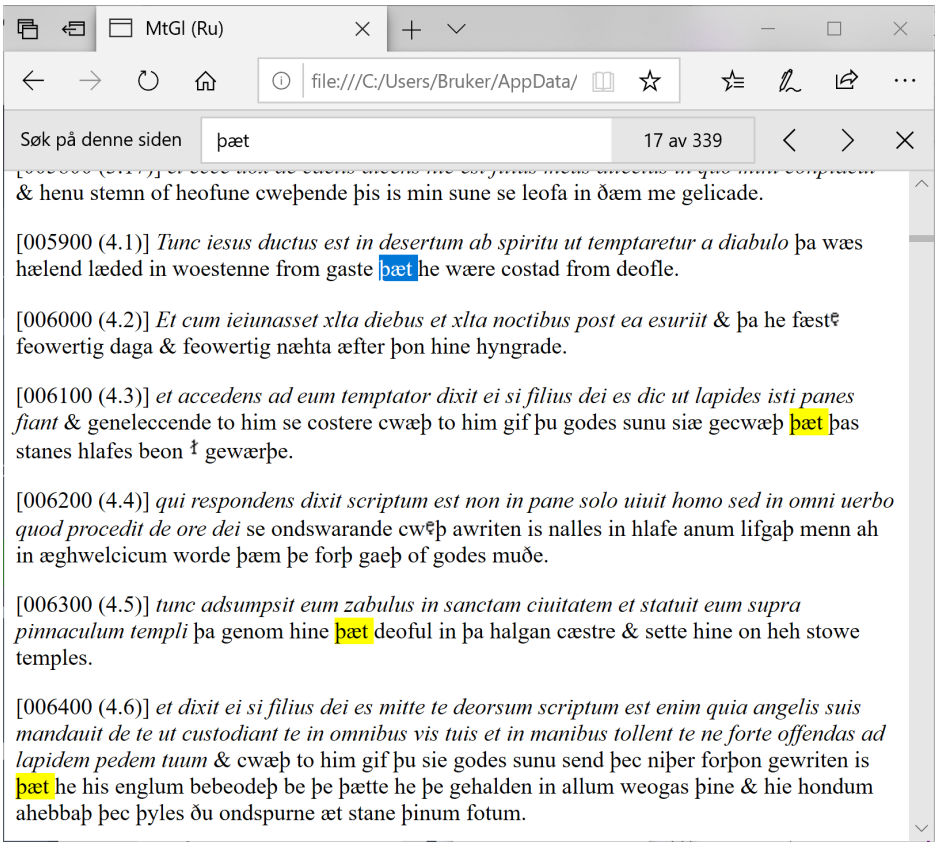

Figure 2: A search for *þæt* in the DOEC's Gospel of St. Matthew file

With regard to sample size and sampling method, I then proceeded by going through the results of the searches, selecting adverbial clauses of purpose and result. The selection of clauses can not be said to be random as I made an effort to represent the different spellings. Still, I have selected clauses throughout each of the text to make the selection representative. In addition, when replacing the subjectless clauses from the Rushworth gospels, I had to go trough all the gospels a second time. (See section 4.6.2). There may be a few more purpose or result clauses in the gospel of St Matthew and the in the last chapters of St John's gospel that are not included in my sample, but apart from this, I may say, with reasonable certainty, that my sample contains most of the purpose or result clauses with an overt subject that can be found in the four gospels of the Rushworth manuscript.

4.3.2 Data Collection from YCOE

The complete YCOE corpus was downloaded, and the files containing the selected texts were individually run through by the means of the program CorpusSearch 2, which allows the researcher to search for specific grammatical constructions (Randall, Kroch, and Taylor 2005).

CorpusSearch 2 is a program that runs in the terminal in the operating system on a computer (e.g., Windows, Mac OS, Linux). This program allows for searches in the parsed corpus using queries. The query tells the program what to search for in the corpus files. The query I have used is shown below in figure 3. The newest available version of CorpusSearch 2 is too old to run on Windows 10, the Open Source operating system Ubuntu 12.04 have therefore been used instead. CorpusSearch 2 carries out searches in the requested file and provides a result file, or output file (.out), which includes all the hits for the specific query. The program can also be instructed to print a 'complement file (.cpm)' which includes everything that did not match the search. The first line in figure 3 shows this instruction 'print complement: t, t here means 'true'. Line two in the figure 'node: IP*' instructs the program to search within all the clauses of the text it is searching. One could have instructed the program to search only within all subordinate clauses with 'node: IP-SUB*' but, as the subordinating conjunctions appear outside of the subordinate clause structure this would, with my search, have had the result that only adverbial clauses within another subordinate clause would appear in the result file. The instruction 'node: IP' was therefore used as it instructs the program to search all clauses both main and subordinate.

The third line, 'query: (CP-ADV* iDoms IP-SUB*) is the actual 'query' or the in-

struction that tells CorpusSearch 2 what to search for. The syntactical annotation in the YCOE does not tag adverbial clauses of purpose or result with any special tag, and all adverbial clauses are labelled CP-ADV (Taylor 2003a). Hence, the search command used asked the program to filter out all adverbial clauses (CP-ADV) dominating a subordinate clause (IP-SUB).

```
print_complement: t
node: IP*
query: (CP-ADV* iDoms  IP-SUB*)
```

Figure 3: Query used to search the YCOE

When the result files were produced by CorpusSearch 2 I used a Regular Expression (regex) command to search for the subordinating conjunctions I am interested in. The standard search function used in most commonly used word processing software is a verbatim search function (e.g a CTRL+F search in Microsoft Word and most web browsers). Such a search function renders only verbatim results for what the user types in. In contrast, a Regex search allows for conditions to be set for the search. It works by using a sequence of characters to define a search pattern. It is often used by programmers to, for example, find and replace a specific sequence in their programming code (Hock-Chuan 2018). It can also be very useful to linguists searching for specific constructions or patterns because it can be written so that it finds hits for different spellings. This can be seen in the example below, where +(t|d) searches for initial þ or ð. +t is YCOE way of representing þ, while +d represents ð. It also allows, if desired, for an unlimited amount of blank spaces and line breaks between the words. This is useful when searching the outputs from YCOE as the annotation represents syntax trees in form of line breaks and indents in the text. The two words of *swa þæt*, for example, appears on different lines with various quantity of spacing in between them in YCOE's output file and all instances of *swa þæt* would therefore not have been found by a verbatim search function. The Regex search string looks like this:

```
(\(CP-ADV \(C \+(t|d)\+(at|atte)\)|\(CP-ADV \(P swa\)\n.*\(C \+(t|d)\+
(at|atte)\))
```

This regex searches for *ðæt, ðætte, swa ðæt* or *swa ðætte* and their alternative spellings *þæt, þætte, swa þæt* and *swa þætte* all at the same time. In other words, it finds all the subordinating conjunctions I am looking for with one search. Figure 4 shows the output

file from a query of Bald's Leechbook with the Regex string searching for the above-mentioned spelling variation. The figure also shows an example of how the YCOE is syntactically annotated, with clause structure, function, case, gender, tense, and mood indicated. The clause highlighted in the figure translates to 'slay then that the blood burst out' and idiomatically to 'then slay it so that the blood bursts out'.

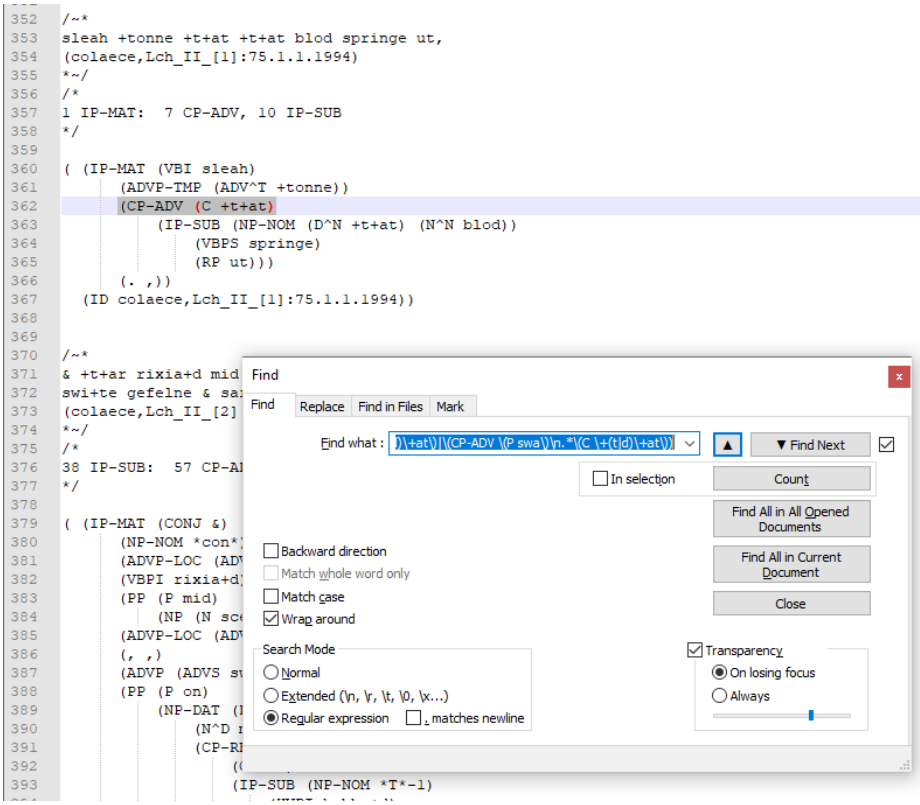

Figure 4: Example of Regex search string

I later discovered that it would have been possible to limit the search with the program CorpusSearch 2 further. This would have saved me some time, but the result would have turned out the same. To verify that all wanted and relevant data were included in my output files, I searched the complement file for all instances of adverbial clauses introduced by *ðæt, ðætte, swa ðæt* or *swa ðætte* and their alternative spellings *þæt, þætte, swa þæt* and *swa þætte*. This search rendered no matches in all texts, which proves that no relevant data were missed.

Although the YCOE greatly helped me determine the word order patterns of the clauses it should be noted that the present study does not fully utilize the potential of the search possibilities provided by the YCOE and CorpusSearch2. The corpora can facilitate extraction of large data sets for quantitative studies. Advanced search queries are possible

when one is fully aware of the structure and annotation of the corpus. Sets of extensive queries can be used to, e.g. extract all verb-final, verb late or verb second clauses from a specific subcategory of main or subordinate clauses. The output from such a set of queries would give the researcher the absolute frequencies of the different patterns in the whole text, text selection or whole corpus which they specified the query to search within. Two studies which came to my attention quite late in the process, Bech (2017) [6] and Koopman et al. (2005), are examples of quantitative studies utilizing the corpora in this way.

The present study focuses on purpose and result clauses, which require semantic and syntactic interpretation to distinguish them from other types of adverbial clauses. This semantic difference between purpose/result and other types of adverbial clauses is neither analyzed nor indicated by tagging by the YCOE. By choosing clauses of purpose and result, extraction of large scale data sets only by computerized tools were not necessary or feasible because I had to determine the clause type manually anyway. With other types of constructions and clause types, however, the YCOE can be used to extract large data-sets from all the texts in the corpora without requiring close analysis of every clause. This can, e.g. be all conjunct clauses in the 1.5 million word corpus as Bech (2017) did in her study of word order of OE conjunct clauses or as Koopman et al. (2005) did in their study of object-verb order with postverbal pronouns and particles. Section 7.3 gives suggestions for future quantitative research using the YCOE.

As some of the subordinating conjunctions, most notably *ðæt* may function as subordinator for other types of adverbial clauses, I could not randomly select 25 clauses from each text, they had to be manually verified as clauses of purpose or result. However, I used an online random number generator to guide me, so that I would not unconsciously be selecting a specific kind of clause. Table 5 shows the sample size in terms of clauses subordinated by the chosen subordinating conjunction. However, the actual number of adverbial clauses of purpose or result is not represented by this, as the subordinating conjunction could introduce other types of adverbial clauses and the YCOE has not distinguished between adverbials of reason, cause, purpose, result and in some cases adverbials

6. To test her findings from her doctoral thesis where she refuted the claim that conjunct clauses are commonly verb final, Bech uses the CorpusSearch to search for a number of different patterns in all conjunct clauses in the YCOE. This gives her a total clause selection of 25,339, which is all conjunct clauses in the corpus (Bech 2017: 8). Her findings in this study 'confirms and expands' her previous findings (Bech 2017: 1). Bech offers transparency with regards to her method in this article and have provided the queries used to search the corpora in form of a hyperlinked page in footnote 7 (Bech 2017: 7).

Text	Hits for subordinating conjunction	Sample size	**Percentage of total**
Bede	156	25	**16.0**
Lch II	53	25	**47.1**
CP	199	25	**12.6**
Or	181	25	**13.8**
AcHom	223	25	**11.2**
ChronA	31	17	**54.8**
BlHom	81	25	**30.9**
Mart1	51	8	**15.7**
ÆLet4	28	25	**89.3**
Total	983	200	**20.3**

Table 5: Total hits for the selected subordinating conjunction

with a more temporal nature. However, the table may work as an indicator for the representativeness of the sample. In two of the texts, ÆLet4 and ChronA, my sample consists of all the adverbial clauses of purpose and result in the text. In these two texts, the sample is therefore truly 100% of the total number of adverbial clauses of purpose and result. As can be observed in the row of ÆLet4 25 out of 28 adverbial clauses introduced by the subordinating conjunction are purpose and result clauses, while in ChronA only 54.8% or 17 out of 31 adverbial clauses are purpose and result clauses. How many of the adverbial clauses introduced by the subordinating conjunctions in the other text are purpose and result clauses were not within the scope of this thesis to determine, but it likely depends on the nature and style of the texts.

4.4 Statistics

A chi-square goodness-of-fit test has been used to test the significance of the differences between the categories of texts and individual texts. The acceptable significance level has been set to $p<0.05$, as is customary in quantitative linguistic studies (Lindquist 2009: 38). The p-values are given in chapter 5 in the form of footnotes. The online chi-square calculator for goodness of fit from Social Science Statistics was used[7]. Observed and expected frequencies were plotted in. As the null hypothesis is that there are no differences

7. https://www.socscistatistics.com/tests/goodnessoffit/default2.aspx

between the different categories of texts, the average was calculated and used as expected frequency. The test has not been applied to all results, as it is not within the scope of this thesis to discuss all results in detail. Also, some patterns are too marginal for a reliable p-value calculation. Similarly, when the results are clearly not significant, e.g. where the number of clauses of a pattern is the same in two text types, the test has not been applied.

4.5 Method of analysis

This section describes the process of tagging the clauses gathered in my sample for word order. The clauses extracted from the DOEC were, as mentioned above, not syntactically annotated, so this had to be done manually. When assigning the relevant labels to the clause elements, the guidelines provided in the Reference Manual for the YCOE (Taylor 2003a) were followed as closely as possible to ensure that the material would be comparable to the data from the YCOE. Then the surface order of all the clauses from all the text types was assigned to their respective word order patterns (described in chapter 3) according to the position of the subject, the finite verb and other elements in the clause. When all the clauses were assigned a pattern, they were organized in a spreadsheet. Additional information about the subject type, i.e. nominal or pronominal subject, type of X element, i.e. object, adverbial was noted on each clause to make it easier to search, count, and compare the results.

4.6 Problems of Analysis

The use of a tagged corpus like YCOE is of great aid to anyone investigating OE. The tagging greatly aids the analysis, but it cannot be blindly trusted. This section describes and exemplifies problems met in the analysis and how they were solved. The goal is to make the choices made as transparent and possible. However, most emphasis will naturally be placed on the aspects that affect the statistics shown in chapter 5, and some minor problems solved along the way, which did not affect the statistical significance of the results, will be left out.

4.6.1 Reliability of and challenges with YCOE's annotation system

As already touched upon, the process of tagging was greatly aided by the syntactic annotation of the YCOE. However, as the creators of the corpus point out, the annotation

should not be used uncritically. The annotation may have flaws. In addition, the creators of the corpus admit a 'slight theoretical bias in the annotation toward earlier versions of generative (X-bar) syntax in the choice of names for labels and some ways of representing relations (the use of traces, for instance). This follows partly from the history of these corpora as part of the Penn Treebank tradition, and partly from our conviction that this is a widely recognized system, and for parsing in tree format, a very useful one' (Taylor 2003c: Goals).

The generative approach and the Treebank structure of the annotation in the YCOE mean that in some clauses, the annotation show what is called 'underlying or deep structure' in generative linguistics (Shopen 2007: 77). Therefore, if the annotation were followed slavishly in all cases in this study, it could have ended up not always showing the clauses' surface structure, but sometimes the underlying structure or the re-analyzed structure. An example of one such feature, the annotation of traces, is elaborated on here.

In trace theory, it is posited that when a constituent is moved from its standard position in the clause to another position, e.g. as the result of topicalization or other types of movement, it leaves behind an empty trace of itself in the standard position of the constituent in the clause. The trace has the same properties as its antecedent but 'no phonetic content' (Radford 1997: 220). This tagging of traces in the clause structure is present in some of my clauses from the corpus. In most cases, this does not affect the word order; nevertheless, traces have been disregarded throughout the analysis as they do not represent the surface order. Example (4.37) illustrates a clause where a movement analysis would have affected the word order of the clause had the trace been a constituent on is own and not tagged as part of the subject.

(4.37) **þæt** þær na miht þæs deadan lices to lafe ne sie þæs þe
that there no bodily strength of the dead body remnant not be which
ær ne isen ne fyr gefelde.
earlier no iron nor fire felt
'so that there can be nothing left on the living body of the dead flesh which formerly felt neither iron nor fire'
(Lch II (1):35.2.3.1041)

Figure 5 shows how the clause is tagged in the output file from the corpus. The YCOE places the trace, which is the appositive noun phrase *þæs þe ær ne isen ne fyr gefelde*

'which before no iron nor fire felt' immediately after *miht þæs deadan lices* 'none of the dead bodies' as part of the subject. The annotation *ICH* in figure 5 marks an empty trace, and the numeral, in this case -3, is marked on both the trace and the element's surface position to signify the connection between the two. Also, if the position of the trace were taken to be the true position of this appositive noun phrase and its actual position ignored, this clause would have been assigned the SXV pattern. Because the present study is a study concerned with surface structure, such traces have been ignored, and the actual position of elements determines the pattern of the clause. Hence, this clause has been assigned the SXVX pattern.

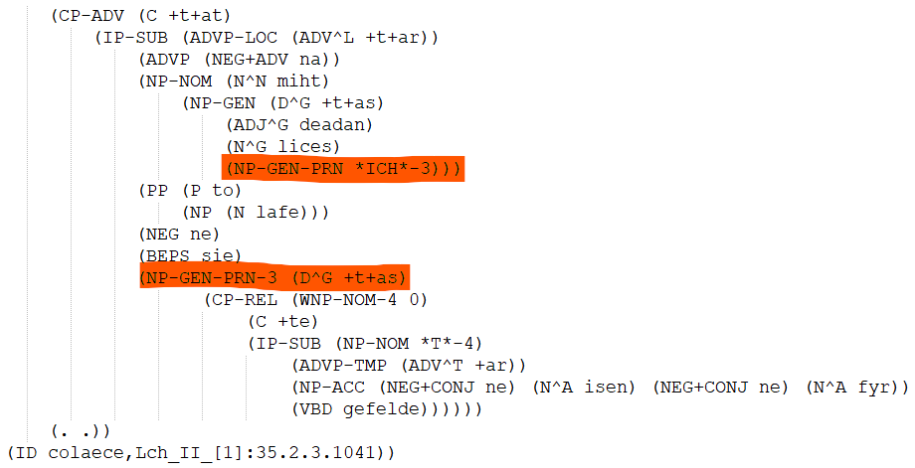

Figure 5: Example of YCOE's tagging of traces.

Another example of trace tagging is tagging of scrambled elements. Scrambling is a 'process which reorders maximal projections internally within clauses, moving them further to the front of the clause' (Radford 1997: 527). A 'projection' is an expansion of the head word in a phrase. In example (3.14), repeated here as example (4.38) with the YCOE's annotation illustrated in figure 6, the YCOE has analyzed *hiora* 'of them' to be a projection or expansion of the subject noun phrase. The YCOE has tagged its trace in post-verbal position preceding *L & C* (roman numerals) 'hundred and fifty'. The annotation *ICH* marks the empty trace, and the numeral, in this case -1, signifies the connection between the surface position and the trace position. A generative linguist could in this case say that *hiora* 'of them' have moved out of its normal post-verbal position and consequently claim that the word order of the clause is verb-initial with the subject in final position.

(4.38) & eft hiora scipa oferhlæston, **þæt** hiora gedurfon L
and afterwards their ships was overloaded so that they sank hundred
& C
and fifty
'and afterwards the ships was overloaded so that a hundred and fifty of them sank.'

(Or 4:6.95.4.1939)

```
(CP-ADV (C +t+at)
    (IP-SUB (NP-GEN-1 (PRO^G hiora))
        (VBDI gedurfon)
        (NP-NOM (NP-GEN *ICH*-1)
            (NUMP (NUM L) (CONJ &) (NUM C)))))
(. .))
(ID coorosiu,Or 4:6.95.4.1939))
```

Figure 6: Example of YCOE's tagging of a scrambled genitive.

As previously stated, traces and all other movement annotations were disregarded when the patterns were assigned in the present study. When the surface order of this clause was analyzed it was determined that the first part of the subject, the pronominal *hiora* 'of them', were tagged as the subject and the post-verbal subject as X. This analysis is similar to the decision to tag the pronominal subject as the subject in clauses containing repeated subjects and left-dislocated subjects (see section 4.6.6 and 4.6.5). Even though traces and movement annotations were ignored when assigning word order patterns, the YCOE's indications of the underlying structure aided the understanding of difficult clauses and were helpful when commenting on the results in the present study.

The specificity of the OE syntax has also affected the tagging of the corpus. An example is that the verb phrases are not annotated as phrases but as individual verbs. The verb phrases in OE were still in flux, and according to the creators of the YCOE, it would have been too time-consuming to determine the boundaries of the verb phrases correctly (Taylor 2003c: Goals), so this was done manually in the present study. Figure 7 shows how the verb phrase *geseon mæge* 'see might' in example (4.39) is tagged in the corpus. The labels used here: VB = verb, infinitive. MDPS = modal verb, present tense, unambiguous subjunctive.

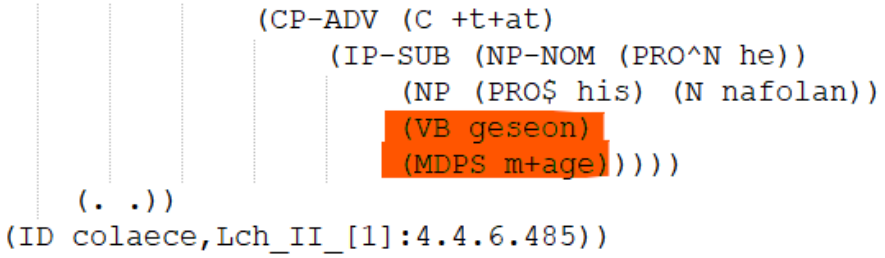

Figure 7: Example of YCOE's tagging of verb phrases.

(4.39) **ðæt** he his nafolan geseon.V_2 mæge.V_1
that he his navel see might
'so that he might see his navel'

(Lch II (1):4.4.6.485)

The YCOE also has to make alterations to the annotation to aid the searchability of the corpus. A relevant example of this is subordinating conjunctions of adverbial clauses, which appear inside the clause structure in the YCOE. The parsing represents subordinating conjunctions in this way because of how the parsing system in the corpus and the CorpusSearch2 program functions. Had the subordinating conjunction been outside the structure it signals subordination for, it would have made it difficult to search for the subordinating conjunction (Taylor 2003c: Goals).[8]

Lastly, I will note that my annotation of the Rushworth glosses is as similar as possible to the tagging of the YCOE (without null categories as traces of extraposition and topicalizations) to ensure that the data is comparable. When it comes to which type of subordinate clause a clause is, the decision was, of course, made manually in the case of the Rushworth gospels. In the YCOE, the type of subordinate clause is indicated by the tagging, CP-ADV for adverbial clauses, but whether or not the adverbial clauses were

8. Taylor (2003c) offers an illustration of this in their Beginner's Guide for the corpus:
'example (a)
(PP (P before) <– a reasonable linguistic analysis
(CP-ADV (C 0)
(IP-SUB she came))

example (b)
(CP-ADV (P before) <– an easily searchable structure
(C 0)
(IP-SUB she came))'

purpose or result, or another type of adverbial clause, had to be manually determined.

4.6.2 Subjectless clauses

Even though subjectless clauses are rare in OE subordinate clauses (Rusten 2010: 203), my initial sample contained quite a few of them. The literal translations, or glosses, in my sample, initially had about 30 percent subjectless clauses, while the other texts zero or only had one in Bede and CP and at the most three in Lch II. Example (4.40) shows a subjectless clause with an empty referential subject. The placement of the empty subject in this example reflects the YCOE annotation.

(4.40) do on wæter **ðæt** [$S_ø$] ofer yrne
do on water that [it] over-flow
'Put on water so that it might overflow'

(Lch II (1):4.4.6.485)

This large discrepancy in the numbers between the glosses and the other texts is somewhat consistent with the Walkden's (2016: 243) findings for the glosses and Rusten's (2010: 117–118) findings in his quantitative investigation of empty subjects in OE. The number of empty pronominal subjects in the glosses may be due to the nature of interlinear glosses. In these cases, an understood subject could usually be devised from the context. As the verb's inflection indicates pronominal subjects in Latin, no subject would be present in the Latin original text. The scribe probably did not find it necessary to provide an overt subject when one could be extrapolated from the context. In other cases, the scribe provides an overt subject, and this seems to be when the subject is harder to devise from the context. Another explanation is the one postulated by Walkden (2016: 256) based on his discussion on empty subjects in the Lindisfarne and Rushworth gospels. His study, building mainly on Berndt's (1956) data, found that 'null subjects could be found, frequently in the third person but only rarely in the first and second' (Walkden 2016: 256). He comments that the hypothesis that empty subjects, or 'null subjects' which is his choice of term, are simply due to the fact that this is a gloss of a Latin text does not hold. In Latin, empty subjects occur and are permitted with both first, second and third-person pronouns (Walkden 2016: 239). There are also differences between the two scribes in the Rushworth Gospels. Farman, who glossed Matthew, the first few chapters of Mark and a small

section in John, is characterized by his freer form of glossing. One of his choices in glossing was to insert pronouns where there were none in the Latin original (Tamoto 2013: ci). Owun, who glossed the rest of the gospels, followed the gloss of The Lindisfarne Gospels and the Latin original more closely (Tamoto 2013: cii).

Due to the nature of this study, it became clear to me that not enough information about word order could be devised from the subjectless clauses. If I were to keep the subjectless clauses in my sample, I would have had about 35 clauses, which would have been very difficult to compare with clauses with overt subjects, or I would have had to guess where the scribe would have inserted the subject had he done so. These guesses would have had to be made using what we think we know about the word order patterns of Old English in combination with what we think we know about the scribes' glossing practices. This option would have invalidated the present study's purpose, namely to show empirical data of the surface word order of various types of Old English texts.

In addition, Rusten (2010: 200) concludes in his investigation that empty referential subjects in OE are 'not due to influence from Latin.' Omission without adding new clauses would have rendered the sample from the literal translations significantly smaller than the other categories, so the choice fell on omission in favor of new clauses. The downside to this strategy would be that the sample would become less randomized than initially planned. However, after I excluded all clauses without an overt subject from all text types and adding new ones, my data set can still be said to be a somewhat randomized sample of adverbial clauses of purpose and result with an overt subject. For these reasons, the subjectless clauses were omitted from my data set.

When the subjectless clauses from the Rushworth gospels had been omitted, I had to go through the whole gospel of St Luke and the whole gospel of St Mark and the whole gospel of St John except for chapters 19–20 to keep the distribution from the different gospels somewhat equal. There may be a few more purpose or result clauses in the gospel of St Matthew and the last chapters of St John's gospel. Still, apart from this, I may say, with reasonable certainty, that my sample contains most of the purpose or result clauses with an overt subject that can be found in the four gospels of the Rushworth manuscript.

4.6.3 Clitics

According to Radford (1997: 498), the term clitic refers to ' an item which resembles a word but which has the property that it must cliticize (i.e. attach itself) to another words'.

Two PDE examples are the negative particle *n't* which attach itself to auxilliary verbs such as *should* and *can* or the cliticized *'ve* of *have* which can attach to a pronoun such as *I* or *we*.

As discussed in section 2.1, there has been some discussion in the field on which elements can be regarded as clitics. Some scholars have regarded certain elements in OE as clitics. These elements are light elements such as particles and adverbs that often occur preverbally in OE (Bech 2001: 79). Others have criticized this clitic hypothesis, e.g. by pointing out that the criteria for identifying a clitic are not agreed upon (Bech 2001: 80). To ascertain the correctness of the clitic hypothesis is not within the scope of this thesis. Consequently, I have, like Heggelund (2010) and Bech (2001), chosen to limit the clitic analysis to one element, namely the negative particle *ne*. The negative particle is special because it always occurs immediately before the verb, often merged with the verb, and is 'the one element in OE, which best fits the criteria for clitics' (Bech 2001: 41).

4.6.4 The function of participles

Present and past participles in OE may sometimes be more adjectival than verbal in nature. In the case of *beon, wesan* 'to be' and *weorþan* 'to become' + participle, there are two possible interpretations of the combination of these two. One is that they represent a passive verb phrase, and the other is that they represent a copula verb and an adjective. As there is no clear cut system to easily determine which of the two is the correct interpretation I have adopted Bech's (2001: 46) system where *beon, wesan* or *weorþan* + participle is labelled as a passive verb phrase if an overt agent is expressed, as illustrated in example (4.41), where *gifulwad* 'baptized' must be interpreted as the non-finite verb as there is an overt agent *him* 'him', and as a copula + adjective if there is no agent as shown in the first part of example (4.42) with the combination of *gimercad* 'marked' and *were* 'would (be)'. Example 4.43 is also copula + adjective and variations of this clause construction with the combination of *gefylled* 'fulfilled' and *wære* 'might (be)' are frequent in the literal translations.

The YCOE aids the determination as it marks participles with e.g. VBN'N, but this is not always correct. Example 3.26, repeated here as, (4.44), shows a clause where the corpus has tagged *forloren* 'lost' as a verb, but there is no agent, and the most likely interpretation seems to be copula + adjective. This shows the importance of checking the annotation.

(4.41) **ðætte** hie gifulwad.V_2 were.V_1 from him
that they baptised were by him
'so that they could be baptised by him'

(Rushworth: Luke 3.7)

(4.42) **ðætte** gimercad.ADJ were.V all ymbhwyrft.S
that marked would all the world
'so that the whole world would be enrolled'

(Rushworth gospels, Luke: 2.1)

(4.43) **þætte** gefylled.ADJ wære.V þæt acweden wæs þurh witgu
that fullfilled might that spoken was by the prophet
'so that it might be fulfilled that which was spoken by the prophet'

(Rushworth gospels, Matthew: 2.23)

(4.44) **þæt** his sawul.S forloren.ADJ beo.V
that his soul lost be
'so that his soul may be lost'

(ÆCHom I, 34:472.207.6841)

4.6.5 Left dislocation

When a noun phrase holds the initial position in a clause, and a pronoun reinforces it later in the clause, it is called left dislocation (Quirk et al. 1985: 1310). Example 4.45 shows a clause from the literal translations where a left-dislocated subject occurs clause-initial and is later reinforced by the pronoun *hiæ* 'they'. Left-dislocated clauses are often considered to be outside the clause structure (Bech 2001: 48). Still, as this clause clearly starts with the subordinating conjunction, the left-dislocated have been analyzed as part of the clause. The left-dislocated subject is analyzed as an X element, and the reinforcing pronoun has been analyzed to be the subject of the clause, giving example (4.45) the pattern XSV.

(4.45) ðætte ðaðe ingongas leht hiæ giseað
that those who enter the light they see
'so that those who enter may see the light.'

(Rushworth gospels, Luke: 11.33)

4.6.6 Repeated subjects

There are some examples of repeated subjects in my data. In example 4.46 from the literal translations the pronoun *he* 'he' which precedes the repeated subject *se gerofa* 'the chief' has been determined to be the 'true' subject and the repeated subject an X element. The word order is, therefore SVX, in example 4.46. An interesting note on this example is that the scribe added the pronominal subject, which in the rest of the data set from the literal translations is only done when the Latin clause has no overt subject.

(4.46) swæ þæt he wundrade se gerofa swiðe
so that he wondered the chief greatly
'so that the chief wondered greatly.'

(Rushworth gospels, Luke: 27.14)

4.6.7 Clause boundaries and punctuation

Punctuation was not an established way of indicating clause boundaries in the OE period and was not the same as in PDE, so the punctuation is not a reliable guide for where a clause starts and ends. Because the present study is concerned with clauses following subordinating conjunctions, where the clause start is not a problem. When labeling the non-literal translations and the OE original texts, I relied on the clause structures indicated by the YCOE annotation. In the literal translations, the glosses, I have used the modern English translation of the Latin Vulgate, which the OE is a gloss of as a guide to determine where the clauses end.

4.7 Summary

This chapter has described the corpora used in the present study, the choice of texts, and the method of data collection and analysis. The goal of the chapter has been to discuss, elaborate, and justified the choices that have been made in the data collection process and in the process of analyzing the data. The method for testing statistical significance has also been described in this chapter.

5 Results

This chapter presents the results from all the three text types that have been the focus of this study in the following order: the literal translations, e.g. the Rushworth gospels, the non-literal translations and the original OE texts. In addition, it presents the results from a small pilot investigation of the West Saxon Gospels for comparison. The results of this late inclusion of the West Saxon Gospels will be discussed in section 5.4 and the final comparison of all the four text types in section 5.5. This chapter will start by presenting the word order distribution in the literal translations, the glosses, where the deviations from the Latin word order will be discussed when it is relevant. Secondly, the data from the non-literal translations will be presented and thirdly, the data from the original OE texts. The full titles of the texts and their abbreviations are repeated when introduced in this chapter to aid the reader. When the numbers are given for a pattern in a specific text, percentages will be provided in parentheses. These percentages represent the proportion of the pattern relative to the sample size of that specific text. Because the sample size in all four data sets is a hundred clauses, the percentage is the same as the number of clauses when the whole set of clauses from a text type is discussed. Some intertextual differences will be discussed when relevant.

5.1 Word Order in Literal Translations

Table 6 shows the word order distribution in all the four gospels of the Rushworth Bible, i.e. the literal translations in the data set. Table 7 shows the same results in percentages per gospel and total. From the top of the table working downwards, the SXV pattern is among the most infrequent ones with two instances in Matthew (7.1%), one in Mark (4.5%), one in Luke (5.6%) and one in John (3.1%) which together add up to five instances (5.0%) of the full clause selection from the literal translations. The second pattern, SXVX, is also among the most infrequent ones in the literal translations, with only one instance in Matthew (3.6%), Mark (4.5%) and Luke (5.6%) respectively and none in John (0.0%). Both the SXV and SXVX patterns are more frequent in the non-literal translations and the original OE texts as shown in section 5.3 and 9. This pattern is followed in the table by the SVX pattern which is, by far, the most frequent one in the literal translations, with 54 instances (54.0%) in total, 16 in Matthew (57.1%), 12 in Mark (54.5%), seven in Luke (38.9%) and 19 in John (59.4%). This pattern will be further discussed in section 5.5.

Pattern	Matthew	Mark	Luke	John	**Total**
SXV	2	1	1	1	**5**
SXVX	1	1	1	0	**3**
SVX	16	12	7	19	**54**
SV_1XV_2	0	2	0	0	**2**
XVS	8	1	5	1	**15**
SXV_1XV_2	0	0	0	0	**0**
V-initial	1	2	3	3	**9**
XSV	0	3	0	7	**10**
XXSV	0	0	1	1	**2**
MISC	0	0	0	0	**0**
Total	28	22	18	32	**100**

Table 6: Word order distribution in literal translations

Pattern	Matthew %	Mark %	Luke %	John %	**Total %**
SXV	7.1	4.5	5.6	3.1	5.0
SXVX	3.6	4.5	5.6	0.0	3.0
SVX	57.1	54.5	38.9	59.4	54.0
SV_1XV_2	0.0	9.1	0.0	0.0	2.0
XVS	28.6	4.5	27.8	3.1	15.0
SXV_1XV_2	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
V-initial	3.6	9.1	16.7	9.4	9.0
XSV	0.0	13.6	0.0	21.9	10.0
XXSV	0.0	0.0	5.6	3.1	2.0
MISC	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Table 7: Word order distribution in literal translations in percentages

The fourth pattern is the SV_1XV_2, the brace construction, with only two clauses in total (2.0%) corresponding to this pattern, both instances in the gospel Mark (9.1%). The fifth pattern is the XVS pattern with 15 (15.0%) instances in total: eight in Matthew (28.6%), one in Mark (4.5%), five in Luke (27.8%) and one in John (3.1%). This pattern is followed

by the SXV_1XV_2 pattern, which is not present in the literal translations. The next pattern in the table is the verb initial pattern called V-initial in the table. There is one instance in Mathew (3.6%) of this pattern, two in Mark (9.1%) and three in Luke (16.7%) and three in John (9.4%). The XSV pattern has a total of 10 occurrences in the selection. Zero instances in Matthew and Luke (0.0%) three in Mark (13.6%) and seven in John (21.9%). The XXVS pattern has zero instances in the gospels overall, while the XXSV pattern has two in total (2.0%), one in Luke (5.6%) and one in John (3.1%). There are no clauses categorized as miscellaneous (MISC) in the selection from the literal translations.

Table 8 shows how the glosses relate to the original Latin text. In 23 (also 23%) of the clauses the word order of the OE gloss matches that of the Latin. In some of these, the OE scribe rendered a single Latin verb as an OE verb phrase. All these instances follow the finite followed by non-finite order which does not change the word order, and they have therefore been labeled MATCH as the word order matches that of the Latin text. Also, determiners were added to overt subjects and objects, and so were prepositions, but this does not change the word order as they appear immediately in front of the noun phrase they dominate.

Pattern	Matthew	Mark	Luke	John	**Total**
ADD-ADJ	8	1	5	2	**16**
ADD-SBJ	14	17	9	20	**60**
INVERT	1	0	0	0	**1**
MATCH	5	4	4	10	**23**
Total	28	22	18	32	**100**

Table 8: Changes to the Latin Word Order

The addition of a pronoun functioning as subject is the most frequent reason for word order change from the Latin text. It is discussed in section 4.6.2, that my sample originally contained about 30 subjectless clauses, so this practice of adding a pronominal subject is not always present. The reason why a pronoun was added in some clauses and not in some others have not been investigated here.

ADD-ADJ means 'added adjective' but this does not truly represent the case. In all the 16 instances marked ADD-ADJ, the scribe transcribed a single Latin verb with a past participle functioning as an adjective + a finite verb. This construction is further discussed in section 4.6.4. Example (4.42), repeated here as example (5.47), shows a reoccurring

construction in the gospels. Many of the cases where the scribe transcribed in this way are variations of this clause with the same adjective in combination with a variant of *beon* 'to be'. But there are also other instances of copula + adjectival complement such as example (4.41), repeated here as example (5.48).

(5.47) þætte gefylled.ADJ wære.V þæt acweden wæs þurh witgu
that fullfilled might that spoken was by the prophet
'so that it might be fulfilled that which was spoken by the prophet'

(Rushworth gospels, Matthew: 2.23)

(5.48) ðætte gimercad.ADJ were.V all ymbhwyrft.SBJ
that marked would all the world
'so that the whole world would be enrolled'

(Rushworth gospels, Luke: 2.1)

The label ADD-SBJ has been given to clauses where an overt subject was added to the OE version where the Latin does not have one. As can be seen in table 8 these occur quite frequently. This is not unexpected as the Latin inflection of the verb, in addition to tense and mood, also indicates person. Consequently, the added subject is a pronominal subject in all cases.

The third and last change to the word order occurs only once. I have labeled this change INVERT as the subject and an adverbial are inverted in the OE version, *ic swilce* 'I also', compared to the Latin text, *& ego* 'also I'. The clause can be seen in (5.49)

(5.49) þæt **ic swilce** cymende gebidde to him
ut **& ego** ueniens adorem eum
that I also / also I come pray to him
'so that I also may come and pray to him'

(Rushworth gospels, Matthew: 2.8)

5.2 Word Order in Non-Literal Translations

This section presents the results from the non-literal translations. Table 9, which is ordered in the same way as table 6 in terms of the word order patterns, shows the distribution of the word order patterns found in the non-literal translations. Table 10 shows the percentages of the patterns in the text. The three first patterns in this table are also the three most frequent patterns in this text type. The SXV pattern highest up on the table is somewhat

evenly distributed with five occurrences in Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People (Bede) (20.0%), six in Bald's Leechbook (Lch II) (24.0%), four in King Alfred's West-Saxon version of Gregory's Pastoral Care, Cura Pastoralis (CP) (16.0%) and seven in The Old English Orosius (Or) (28.0%) with a total of 22 (22.0%) of the 100 clauses from the non-literal translations.

Pattern	Bede	Lch II	CP	Or	**Total**
SXV	5	6	4	7	**22**
SXVX	7	2	5	8	**22**
SVX	5	15	9	5	**34**
SV_1XV_2	3	0	4	1	**8**
XVS	0	1	1	1	**3**
SXV_1XV_2	2	1	1	2	**6**
V-initial	0	0	0	0	**0**
XSV	1	0	0	1	**2**
XXSV	2	0	0	0	**2**
MISC	0	0	1	0	**1**
Total	25	25	25	25	**100**

Table 9: Word order distribution in non-literal translations

The relatively small number in Bede is interesting, as Cichosz, Gaszewski, and Pęzik (2016: 187) found a much higher number of verb-final clauses in their study of Bede. This will be discussed further in section 6.5. 56.1% of the clauses in adverbial clauses of consequence, the category closest corresponding to purpose and result clauses (Cichosz, Gaszewski, and Pęzik 2016: 187). This discrepancy in my results compared to theirs can be partly explained by the fact that they classify their verb late pattern only from the position of the verb regardless of the clause length, or in other words, as long as the verb is the final element in the clause, it is classified as verb-final in subordinate clauses. This means that their verb-final patterns, unlike mine, also include subjectless clauses. In addition, they include SV- clauses in their final verb pattern. As discussed in section 3, I have included SV- clauses in the SVX pattern. Nevertheless, this cannot be a full explanation because the SV- clauses only account for four clauses in the total non-literal translation sample.

Pattern	Bede %	Lch II %	CP %	Or %	**Total %**
SXV	20.0	24.0	16.0	28.0	**22.0**
SXVX	28.0	8.0	20.0	32.0	**22.0**
SVX	20.0	60.0	36.0	20.0	**34.0**
SV_1XV_2	12.0	0.0	16.0	4.0	**8.0**
XVS	0.0	4.0	4.0	4.0	**3.0**
SXV_1XV_2	8.0	4.0	4.0	8.0	**6.0**
V-initial	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	**0.0**
XSV	4.0	0.0	0.0	4.0	**2.0**
XXSV	8.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	**2.0**
MISC	0.0	0.0	4.0	0.0	**1.0**
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	**100.0**

Table 10: Word order distribution in percentages in non-literal translations

The SXVX pattern which follows has a total of 22 occurrences (22.0%) in the non-translated sample. The text which stands out here is Lch II with only two (8.0%) clauses with this pattern. Bede has seven clauses (28.0%) of this pattern, CP has five (20.0%) and Or has eight (32.0%). The SVX pattern, third from the top, is the most frequent pattern in this sample as well, albeit less frequent than in the literal translations. This pattern accounts for 34 (34.0%) of the total clauses in this sample with five in Bede (20.0%), 15 in Lch II (60.0%), nine in CP (36.0%) and five in Or (20.0%).

Note, as mentioned in section 3.1, my SVX pattern also includes clauses with only a subject and a verb phrase. Heggelund (2010: 62) has a separate pattern for these clauses, which he calls the SV- pattern. To make my data comparable with his, I have noted the number of SVX clauses in my sample that would be classified as SV- by Heggelund (2010): Two clauses in Bede and three in Lch II. These clauses would need to be subtracted to match Heggelund's (2010) SVX pattern. As Heggelund (2010: 60) also allows for one or more initial X elements in his SVX pattern, we would also have to include some of the XSV and XXSV clauses which Heggelund (2010) does not have separate patterns for (more details in section 3.3): Two XXSV clauses in Bede and one XSV in Or. This would give the following numbers and percentages for the SVX pattern if Heggelund's (2010) criteria were used: five in Bede (20.0%), 12 in Lch II (48.0%), nine in CP (36.0%)

and six in Or (24.0%). The total number of clauses following Heggelund's SVX pattern would be 32 (32.0%), slightly different from the number of clauses in my SVX pattern, where the total is 34 (34%).

Heggelund also allows for initial X elements in his SV- pattern. The number of clauses which would fit Heggelund's (2010) SV- pattern in my sample would be: three in Bede (12.0%), one following my XSV pattern and two my SVX pattern, three in Lch II (12.0%), following my SVX pattern, zero in CP (0.0%) and zero in Or (0.0%). Summing up to a total of six (6.0%) clauses in the non-literal translations that Heggelund (2010) would classify as SV- clauses.

The fourth pattern is the SV_1XV_2 pattern which account for eight (8.0%) of the total clauses in the non-literal translations. three (12.0%) of the clauses in Bede, zero (0.0%) in Lch II, four (16.0%) in CP and one (4.0%) in Or. The patterns which follows from here is mostly marginal. The SVX pattern with three (3.0%) instances, zero in Bede and one (4.0%) in the other three. The SXV_1XV_2 pattern counts six (6.0%) in total, two (8.0%) in Bede. one (4.0%) in Lch II, one (4.0%) in CP and two (8.0%) in Or. The V-initial pattern which follows in the table has no instances across the texts. The XSV pattern has only two instances in total, one in Bede and one in Or. There are no clauses in this selection which follows the XXVS pattern, but two clauses (2.0%) fall into the XXSV pattern, both in Bede (8.0%). There is one clause, occurring in Bede, which does not fit into any of the aforementioned patterns and is therefore classified as miscellaneous (MISC) (1.0%).

As can be seen in table 9 (and table 10 for percentages), there are significant differences between the texts. Lch II has the most striking difference with its high frequency of the SVX pattern. The difference is significant in this pattern but only just [9]. The difference is not significant in the SXV and SXVX patterns [10] and the observed frequencies are too small to reliably calculate p value in the other categories.

5.3 Word Order in OE originals

This section presents the word order distribution in the original OE texts, the non-translated data set. Note that the sample size in this category is not equally distributed between the different texts. As with the previous text categories, table 11 shows the number of clauses and table 12 shows the percentages of each pattern in each text.

9. p= .04851
10. SXV, p=.73253. SXVX p=.28178

Pattern	ÆcHom	ChronA	BlHom	Mart1	Ælet4	**Total**
SXV	12	2	9	1	4	**28**
SXVX	1	5	5	3	8	**22**
SVX	9	6	6	3	9	**31**
SV_1XV_2	2	3	2	0	1	**8**
XVS	1	0	1	1	0	**3**
SXV_1XV_2	0	1	2	0	2	**5**
V-initial	0	0	0	0	0	**0**
XSV	0	0	0	0	1	**0**
XXSV	0	0	0	0	0	**1**
MISC	0	0	0	0	0	**3**
Total	25	17	25	8	25	**100**

Table 11: Word order distribution in original OE texts

Pattern	ÆcHom %	ChronA %	BlHom %	Mart1 %	Ælet4 %	**Total %**
SXV	48.0	11.8	32.0	12.5	16.0	**27.0**
SXVX	4.0	29.4	20.0	37.5	32.0	**22.0**
SVX	26.0	35.3	16.0	37.5	26.0	**31.0**
SV_1XV_2	8.0	17.7	8.0	0.0	4.0	**8.0**
XVS	4.0	0.0	4.0	12.5	0.0	**3.0**
SXV_1XV_2	0.0	5.9	8.0	0.0	8.0	**5.0**
V-initial	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	**0.0**
XSV	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	**0.0**
XXSV	0.0	0.0	4.0	0.0	0.0	**1.0**
MISC	0.0	0.0	8.0	0.0	4.0	**3.0**
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	**100**

Table 12: Word order distribution in percentages in original OE texts

The SXV or verb final pattern at the top of the table is the second most frequent in the non-translated data set with 27 occurrences in total (27.0%). This total consists of 12 clauses in Ælfric's Catholic Homilies I (ÆcHom I) (48.0%), two in Anglo-Saxon Chronicle A (ChronA) (11.8%), eight in The Blickling Homilies (BlHom) (32.0%), one in

The Old English Martyrology (Mart 1) (12.5%) and four in Ælfric's Letter to Sigeweard (ÆLet4) (16.0%). The SXVX pattern accounts for 22 of clauses in the non-translated texts (22.0%) and is the third most frequent pattern in this category. One is found in ÆcHom I (4.0%), five in ChronA (29.4%), five in BlHom (20.0%), three in Mart 1 (37.5%) and eight in ÆLet4 (32.0%). Like the non-literal translations, the pattern which the most frequent in this category is also the SVX pattern with 31 occurrences in total in this category (31.0%), nine of which is found in ÆcHom I (26.0%), six in ChronA (35.3%), four in BlHom (16.0%), three in Mart 1 (37.5%) and nine in ÆLet4 (26.0%). As discussed above in section 5.2, there are some differences between my patterns and Heggelun's (2010) pattern SVX pattern. The number of SVX clauses in the original OE texts would be the same using Heggelund's (2010) system, but one (4.0%) XSV clause in BlHom and one (4.0%) XXSV in ÆLet4 which would be classified as SV- by Heggelund (2010: 62), which in turn summizes to two (2.0%) of the 100 clauses in the original OE texts.

The brace construction, or the SV_1XV_2 pattern, counts eight in total in this text type (8.0%), two in ÆcHom I (8.0%), three in ChronA (17.7%), two in BlHom (8.0%), zero in Mart 1 (0.0%) and one in ÆLet4 (4.0%). The XVS pattern only accounts for three clauses in this sample (3.0%), one in ÆcHom I (4.0%), one in BlHom (4.0%) and one in Mart 1 (12.5%). The SXV_1XV_2 pattern is present with one clause in ChronA (5.9%), two in BlHom (8.0%) and two in ÆLet4 (8.0%), which in turn sums up to five in total (5.0%) in the non-translated texts. The next three patterns: V-initial, XSV and XXVS, all have no hits in the non-translated texts. There is one clause with the XXSV pattern in the non-translated texts in BlHom (4.0% of the clauses in BlHom, 1.0% of the total in the non-translated texts). Three of the clauses from the non-translated texts (3.0%) have a pattern that did not fit any of the patterns and have therefore been classified as miscellaneous (MISC). Two of them are in BlHom (8.0%) and one is in ÆLet4 (4.0%).

In this category as well as with the non-literal translations, there are significant differences between the texts. An example is ÆcHom I, which shows a high frequency of the SXV pattern compared to the others.

5.4 West Saxon Gospels

This section shows the word order distribution in corresponding clauses to the clause selection from Rushworth gospels in the translated WSG. As can be seen in table 13, there are quite a few miscellaneous clauses. There are several reasons for this. First, not all

clauses present as adverbial clauses of purpose or result in the non-literal translation. Second, some of the corresponding clauses in the non-literal translation are subjectless clauses and, as discussed in 4.6.2 such clauses were excluded in the other three categories, I therefore found no reason to make a new category for those few instances. Third, as this section was included at the end of this study and just as a base comparison category, it was not within the scope of this thesis to closely analyze all the clauses, resulting in some complicated constructions being included in the miscellaneous category.

Pattern	Matthew	Mark	Luke	John	**Total**
SXV	3	10	5	4	**22**
SXVX	1	1	0	1	**3**
SVX	16	6	5	25	**52**
SV_1XV_2	1	0	0	2	**3**
XVS	1	0	0	0	**1**
SXV_1XV_2	0	0	0	0	**0**
V-initial	5	0	0	0	**5**
XSV	0	0	0	0	**0**
XXSV	0	0	0	0	**0**
MISC	1	5	6	2	**14**
Total	28	22	16	34	**100**

Table 13: Word order distribution the West Saxon Gospels

As in the previous categories, the patterns are listed in the same order in the table. Table 13 shows the number of each pattern, while table 14 shows the percentages in each gospel and in the total sample. Already in the first pattern, the SXV pattern, we see differences between the clauses from WSG and the Rushworth gospels, i.e. the literal translations. Where the Rushworth gospels only had five clauses (5.0%), the WSG has 22 clauses (22.0%). The difference here is statistically significant [11]. The number of clauses of SXVX pattern and the SVX pattern are more similar to the numbers in the Rushworth gospels with three (3.0%) in total from the SXVX pattern, one in Matthew (3.6%), one in Mark (4.5%) and one in John (2.9%), and 52 (52.0%) in total in the SVX pattern. The number of SVX clauses in the individual gospels is 16 in Matthew (57.1%), six in Mark

11. p=.00107.

(27.3%), five in Luke (31.3%) and 25 in John (73.5%), which makes it the most frequent pattern in both Matthew and John. The differences and similarities between the WSG and the other texts will be further discussed in section 5.5.

The SV_1XV_2 pattern accounts for only three clauses, one in Matthew (3.6%) and two in John (5.9%). The XVS pattern, likewise, is marginal with only one token (1.0%), occurring in the gospel of John (3.6%). The SXV_1XV_2 pattern does not occur at all in WSG and the v-initial pattern only occurs in Matthew with five clauses (17.8%) (5.0% of the total).The XSV pattern is also not present in the WSG and the XXVS pattern accounts for only one clause (1.0%), occurring in Mark (4.5%). The XXSV pattern does not occur in this sample. As discussed above, there are quite a few miscellaneous clauses in this sample. One of these occur in Matthew (3.6%), four in Mark (18.8%), six in Luke (37.5%) and two in John (5.9%) which sums up to 13 (13.0%) in total. Note here that the proportion of miscellaneous patterns in Mark is quite high (18.8%) and in Luke it is actually more frequent (37.5%) than the only two other patterns, SVX and SXV.

Pattern	Matthew %	Mark %	Luke %	John %	**Total %**
SXV	10.7	45.5	31.3	11.8	**27.0**
SXVX	3.6	4.5	0.0	2.9	**22.0**
SVX	57.1	27.3	31.3	73.5	**31.0**
SV_1XV_2	3.6	0.0	0.0	5.9	**8.0**
XVS	3.6	0.0	0.0	0.0	**1.0**
SXV_1XV_2	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	**0.0**
V-initial	17.8	0.0	0.0	0.0	**5.0**
XSV	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	**0.0**
XXVS	0.0	4.5	0.0	0.0	**1.0**
XXSV	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	**0.0**
MISC	3.6	22.7	37.5	5.9	**14.0**
Total	100.0	100.0	100.1	100.0	**100**

Table 14: Word order distribution in percentages in the West Saxon Gospels

The differences between the different gospels will not be discussed at length here, but it is remarked that the gospel of Mark, and to some degree the gospel of Luke, have a relatively high frequency of SXV clauses compared to the other gospels and that the

gospel of Matthew and especially the gospel of John has a high frequency of the SVX pattern. Compared to the literal translations, the percentages of SXV clauses are higher in the WSG but the percentages of SVX clauses are more similar, especially in the gospel of Matthew.

5.5 All text types compared

When all the four groups of texts are compared, that is the three main text types of the study, the literal translations, the non-literal translations and the non-translated original OE texts, and the results from the added category, the WSG, it becomes clear that the differences are small between the translated and non translated texts. Table 15 shows the distribution of the different patterns in all the four text types.

Pattern	Literal translations	West-Saxon Gospels	Non-literal translations	Original OE	**Total**	**%**
SXV	5	22	22	27	**76**	**19.0**
SXVX	2	3	22	22	**49**	**12.3**
SVX	55	52	34	31	**172**	**43.0**
SV_1XV_2	2	3	8	8	**21**	**5.3**
XVS	15	1	3	3	**22**	**5.5**
SXV_1XV_2	0	0	6	5	**11**	**2.8**
V-initial	9	5	0	0	**14**	**3.5**
XSV	10	0	2	0	**12**	**3.0**
XXSV	2	0	2	1	**5**	**1.3**
MISC	0	14	1	3	**18**	**4.5**
Total	100	100	100	100	**400**	**100.2**

Table 15: All four text categories compared

In the three most frequent patters, the SXV, the SXVX and the SVX pattern, the number of SXVX clauses in the non-literal translations and the original OE are exactly the same. The number of SVX clauses are also very similar, with 31 in the non-literal translations and slightly higher with 34 in the original OE text. This discrepancy in the numbers is not statistically significant. The biggest difference between the non-literal translations and the

original OE texts occurs in the SXV, i.e. verb final, pattern. The number of clauses fitting this pattern is highest in the original OE texts, which might not be surprising since this is often considered to be the most frequent pattern in OE subordinate clauses. Note, however, that this pattern is not the most frequent one in any of the text types. The difference in this pattern is 27 clauses in the original OE texts versus 22 in the non-literal translations. This difference, however, is not statistically significant [12]. As can be seen in table 15, the results show that the number of each pattern is almost identical between the non-literal translations and the original OE texts. None of the remaining differences are statistically significant and for most of the patterns except for the three most frequent ones, the number of clauses is too small to calculate p-value.

The pattern with the most difference between the literal translations and the non-literal translations and the original Old English texts is the difference in the SXV pattern, also called the verb final pattern. As can be observed in table 15, the frequency of the verb final pattern is highest in the original OE text (27%), slightly, but not statistically significant (the p-value is .4751), lower in the non-literal translation (22%). In the literal translation this pattern occurs in only five (5%) clauses.

The data shows statistically significant difference, as expected, when the literal translations are compared to the original OE texts. The differences observed in the SXV, SXVX, SVX, XVS and XSV patterns are statistically significant [13]. The same is true when the data from the literal translations is compared to the data from the non-literal translations [14]. The results from the WSG are interesting, as they show statistically significant differences both when compared with the literal translations and with the non-literal translations and the original OE texts, depending on the pattern. The number of SXV clauses is similar to those in the non-literal translations and original OE texts and the small difference is not statistically significant, but there is a statistically significant difference when the sample from the WSG is compared to the literal translations [15]. With the SXVX pattern, on the other hand, the similarities in numbers are shared by the literal translations and the WSG and the difference is found between the WSG and the non-literal translations and the original OE texts [16]. In the SVX pattern, the frequencies are again more similar to

12. p-value=.4751
13. SXV, p=.0001. SXVX, p=.00004. SVX, p=.00965. XVS, p=.00468. XSV, p=.00157.
14. SXV, p=.0017. SXVX, p=.00004. SVX, p=.034. XVS, p=.00468. XSV, p=.02092.
15. SXV p=.00206.
16. p=.00206 for both.

the literal translations and different from the non-literal translations and the original OE texts. The difference between the WSG and the non-literal translations are not statistically significant. The difference between the WSG and the original OE text are statistically significant[17].

Pattern	Literal translations	West-Saxon Gospels	Non-literal translations	Original OE	**Total**
Verb initial	9	5	0	0	**14**
Verb second	71	56	45	42	**214**
Verb late	15	3	32	28	**78**
Verb final	5	22	22	27	**76**
MISC	0	14	1	3	**18**
Total	100	100	100	100	**400**

Table 16: All four text categories compared, verb placement

The list of different patterns included in my sample is quite long, this is to show the variation in the patterns found in my samples. However, it is possible to condense the table and classify the different patterns only in terms of the position of the finite verb in the clause. This classification only represents where the verb is found in the clause. Table 16 shows the distribution of clauses if the patterns are ordered into four categories: verb initial, which is the same as in the previous tables, verb second, which is comprised of the SVX, SV_1XV_2 and XVS patterns, verb late, which is comprised of the SXVX, SXV_1XV_2, XSV, XXSV and XXVS patterns and finally the verb final pattern which is the SXV pattern. This allows for a discussion on the popular claim that the main pattern in OE subordinate clauses are verb final which will be discussed in section 6. It also makes it easier to compare the data to data from the other studies, especially the study by Cichosz, Gaszewski, and Pęzik (2016). As the table shows, the most frequent position of the finite verb in all four text types is the second position, or V2 position. Verb late and verb final positions are also quite frequent, especially in the non-literal translations and the original OE texts.

17. p=.05226 for non-literal translations and p=.02813 for original OE.

5.6 Word order of Purpose and result clauses

As the results have shown, no statistical significant difference in the word order patterns of purpose and result clauses in the sample from the non-literal translations and the original OE texts. A reasonable conclusion to draw from this is that both samples can be used to investigate the patterns of OE purpose and result clauses. Table 17 shows the combined number of clauses in each pattern and table 18 shows the distribution of verb placement in the selection.

Pattern	Non-literal translations	Original OE	Total	**%**
SXV	22	27	48	**24.5**
SXVX	22	22	44	**22.0**
SVX	34	31	65	**32.5**
SV_1XV_2	8	8	16	**8.0**
XVS	3	3	6	**3.0**
SXV_1XV_2	6	5	11	**5.5**
V-initial	0	0	0	**0.0**
XSV	2	0	2	**1.0**
XXSV	2	1	3	**1.5**
MISC	1	3	5	**2.0**
Total	100	100	200	**100.0**

Table 17: Word order in adverbial clauses of purpose and result - non-literal translations and original OE combined.

Pattern	Non-literal translations	Original OE	**Total**	**%**
Verb initial	0	0	**0**	**0.0**
Verb second	45	42	**87**	**43.5**
Verb late	32	28	**60**	**30.0**
Verb final	21	27	**48**	**24.0**
MISC	2	3	**5**	**2.5**
Total	100	100	**200**	**100**

Table 18: Purpose and result in OE originals and non-literal translations, verb placement

5.7 Summary

This chapter has shown the distribution of word order patterns in the four text types under investigation: The literal translations, i.e. the glosses, the Bible translation, i.e. the WSG, the non-literal translations and the original OE texts. The results will be further discussed in the subsequent chapter.

6 Discussion

This section will discuss the results from the present study and compare them to the results of previous studies. The results will be discussed in light of the theory regarding word order in OE subordinate clauses and possible language contact effects of translations presented in chapter 2. We recall from chapter 1 that the main focus of the present thesis has been to investigate the differences, if any, in word order between translated and non-translated OE prose. The thesis' second goal has been to investigate the specific traits of OE subordinate clauses of purpose and result and map out which word order patterns are typical for purpose and result clauses. This chapter will first discuss possible translation effects and compare the result from the different text types and previous research. When discussing the possible influence of Latin on the word order of OE, several comparisons need to be made. First, the literal translations will be compared to the non-literal translations and the original OE texts. Secondly, the non-literal translations will be compared to the original OE texts, and then the data from the WSG will be compared to the rest. The results from the non-literal translations and the OE texts will then constitute the basis for discussing the characteristics of OE purpose and result clauses.

6.1 Overall results and hypotheses

We first recall the hypotheses regarding translation effects for this study from section 1.3:

There will be statistically significant differences in word order patterns between literal translations and the two other types of texts.

There will be no statistically significant difference in the word order patterns between original Old English texts and non-literal translations from Latin.

Overall, the results show that both hypotheses seem to be confirmed. Between the literal translation and the non-literal translations, there are significant differences in the SXV, SXVX, SVX, XVS, and XSV patterns. The same is true when comparing the frequencies in the literal translations to the original OE texts. There is no statistically significant difference between the non-literal translations and the original OE texts in the patterns with enough clauses to perform the statistical test for significance.

Secondly, we recall the hypothesis about the particularities of purpose and result clauses:

The word order of OE purpose and result clauses is not significantly different from the word order of other types of subordinate clauses.

The overall finding is the higher than expected frequency of verb-second clauses in purpose and result clauses. Many scholars have characterized OE subordinate clauses as mainly verb-final, but the verb-final pattern in my sample is the third most frequent pattern. As table 16 shows, the verb-final pattern is surpassed by both the verb-second and the verb-late patterns.

6.2 Literal translations

The comparison between the literal translations and the others showed, as expected, strikingly different frequencies of the different patterns. The glosses were expected to show similar patterns to the Latin it was glossed over, which would be different from OE's natural patterns. However, the scribes who glossed the gospels did make some additions in the OE gloss, which makes the patterns in the OE gloss different from the Latin original. As table 8 in the previous chapter shows, the most frequent change the scribe did to the word order is the addition of an overt subject in the form of a pronoun. When the scribe does this in the Rushworth gospels, the pronoun is most often added immediately before the finite verb in the clause. Where the Latin has VX order, the subject is always added in front of the verb, rendering an SVX pattern in the gloss when the original Latin has VX. The high frequency of SVX clauses in the glosses may, in other words, be attributed to the high frequency of VX order in the Latin original.

The low frequency of SXV clauses may also, in turn, be partly attributed to where the scribe added the subject in the Latin XV clauses. As above, the scribe mostly added subjects immediately in front of the verb, and the gloss, therefore, renders XSV when the Latin has XV order or, as in one clause, XXSV where the Latin has XXV order. However, in three clauses, the scribe diverted from this 'rule' and placed the subject clause-initial, making the Latin XV pattern into SXV in the OE gloss. This choice in the placement of the added subject accounts for three of the SXV clauses in the gospels. The two remaining SXV clauses are also SXV in the Latin text. As the rules for the XSV and XXSV patterns allow for X-elements to follow the verb (see section 3.2 and 3.9), the XSV and XXSV patterns cannot be classified as verb-final, even though some clauses following these patterns may be verb-final.

The inclusion of literal translations in the form of glosses in a study like this may seem strange, as there is no question about whether or not the Latin original has influenced the word order in these glosses. I will argue, however, that the results are meaningful in several respects. Firstly, as the Latin original irrefutably influenced them, they show valuable indications of how direct Latin influence would manifest itself with respect to word order patterns in subordinate clauses of purpose and result. The results also show which changes to the Latin word order the scribe deemed necessary for his intended readers to understand the text. Secondly, and somewhat connected to the previous point, they, therefore, make a reasonable basis for comparison to the other types of translations. -

6.3 Non-literal translations and Original OE

As stated above, the hypothesis that there would be no statistically significant differences between the non-literal translations and the original OE texts is confirmed by the data. In all patterns with enough clauses to calculate statistical significance, no significant difference is found. In fact, as can be seen in table 15, the numbers of clauses in the different patterns are strikingly similar between the two text types. The number of clauses of SXVX, SV_1XV_2, and XVS is the same in both text types. There is a small but not statistically significant difference in the most frequent pattern, the SVX pattern, with 34 clauses in the non-literal translations and 31 in the original OE texts. A slightly more prominent, but still not statistically significant, difference is present between the two text types in the SXV pattern with 22 clauses in the non-literal translations and 27 in the original OE. Also, when only the finite verb's position is taken into account, there is still no statistically significant difference between the non-literal translations and the original OE texts. See table 16 in the previous chapter.

The SVX pattern is evenly distributed in both the non-literal translations and the original OE texts, unlike Heggelund's study, which found subordinate clauses with the SVX pattern to be significantly more frequent in the non-translated parts of The Old English Orosius (Or) than in the translated parts. Heggelund points out that the results are only just statistically significant in subordinate clauses (Heggelund 2010: 92). Heggelund (2010: 92) finds a higher frequency of the SXV pattern in subordinate clauses in the translated parts of Or than in the non-translated parts. The present study finds the opposite; the SXV pattern in the data is most frequent in the non-translated original OE texts. However, neither Heggelund's results nor the present study's results are statistically significant on this

point.

All in all, we can conclude that the present study found no statistically significant difference between the word order of non-literal translations and original OE texts in adverbial clauses of purpose and result. The intertextual differences between the texts in both categories are greater than the differences between the two categories. However, this is not to conclude that there may not be differences in syntax in other types of constructions and on e.g. phrase-level between non-literal translations and original OE prose as the results of (Taylor and Pintzuk 2012) and (Timofeeva 2008) suggest.

6.4 Bible translations

When comparing the frequencies of the different patterns in the literal translations to the frequencies of the same patterns in the biblical translations, that is, the clauses from the WSG, we see that the number of SXVX clauses and SVX clauses are strikingly similar. The frequency of the SXV, XVS, and XSV pattern is however, strikingly different. When comparing the WSG to the non-literal translations and the original OE text, on the other hand, we observe the opposite. Here the similarities lie in the frequencies of the SXV, XVS, and XSV patterns and the differences in the SXVX and SVX patterns.

A few interpretations are possible regarding the similarities between the results from the literal translations and the WSG. First, we may say that it appears that Bible translations follow the Latin source text more closely. As discussed in section 2.3.2, this interpretation of the data is corroborated by comments from contemporary Bible translators like Ælfric and previous research. Both Cichosz, Gaszewski, and Pęzik's (2016) and Taylor's (2008) results indicate that Bible translations are closer to the Latin source than other prose works (see section 2.4).

Another explanation for similar results is that both sets of clauses are sampled from the same source text and the same verses in the Bible. The Rushworth Gospels, i.e. the literal translations are glossed in a copy of the medieval Latin Vulgate, and the WSG is a translation of the medieval Latin Vulgate. In other words, the style of the text may have influenced the frequencies of the different patterns.

The literal translations contain somewhat high frequencies of patterns that are infrequent in the data from the non-literal translations, the Bible translations, and the original OE texts. These are, e.g. the XVS pattern with 15 clauses versus only three each in the non-literal translations and the original OE texts and one in the Bible translations and the

XSV pattern with ten clauses versus two in the non-literal translations and zero in the original OE texts and the Bible translations. These patterns are also relatively rare in OE subordinate clauses in general if we use Heggelund's (2010: 77) data as a reference point [18]. These alien patterns in the Latin original may be part of the explanation for the similarities in the SXV pattern between the Bible translations, that is the WSG, and the non-literal translations and OE texts. Some patterns in the Latin Vulgate may, for example, only need the addition of an overt subject like in the literal translations to be grammatical in OE. By adding an overt subject to a Latin VX clause, the translator would achieve a grammatically correct OE clause without changing the holy text too much. If this is the case, this may explain the high frequency of the SVX pattern in both the literal translations and the Bible translations. Although the SVX pattern is less frequent in the non-literal translations and the original OE texts compared to the Bible translations and the literal translations, it is clear that the SVX is an accepted structure in OE purpose and result clauses. An OE writer might have preferred to make certain clauses verb-final, but the translator abstained from this to not divert too much from the Latin word order. As Ælfric states in his preface to The Book of Genesis, he does not dare to change the order of elements, except where keeping the Latin order may confuse the reader and lead to misunderstandings (see section 2.3.2 for the full quote). Even though Ælfric did not translate the WSG, the translator may have had similar motivations and thoughts regarding the translation process.

Other patterns, such as the XVS and XSV patterns, may have needed more adjustment to render a grammatically correct OE clause without altering the text's meaning. This may, in turn, be the reason why the frequency of the SXV pattern is significantly higher in the Bible translations (22%) compared to the literal translations (5%).

In conclusion, the present study has found statistically significant differences in word order distributions between the Bible translations and the literal translations and between the Bible translations and the non-literal translations and original OE prose. This leads to the conclusion that, while there is no significant difference between the distribution of different word order patterns in non-literal translations and original OE texts, Biblical

18. The XVS pattern in Heggelund's data only account for 2% of the full clause selection from the OE period. His XVS pattern also includes clauses with the XXVS pattern. The frequencies of clauses having the XSV pattern is not decipherable from Heggelund's data as he does not have a separate pattern for XSV clauses. He includes them in his SV- pattern. Therefore, we cannot say what the real numbers of XSV clauses in his data are. Still, we can say that the percentage of XSV clauses must be below 5% for the early OE period and below 9% for the late OE period because this is the numbers he records of the SV- pattern

translations, which is a form of non-literal translations, represents a type of translations which has word order distributions similar to both literal translations and non-literal translations and original OE texts, but the similarities appear in different patterns. The Bible translations sampled in the present study, the WSG, show both some degree of dependence and some degree of independence from the Latin source text. This is what Taylor and Pintzuk (2012: 342) calls the 'indirect effect' where the translator can choose from several grammatically correct constructions in the target language but favors the order of the source text. Cichosz, Gaszewski, and Pęzik (2016: 231) also found this 'indirect effect' of translation in their results from Bede, The Gospel of Luke and Genesis.

6.5 Adverbial clauses of purpose and result

When discussing the characteristics of adverbial clauses of purpose and result, the data from the non-literal translations as well as the data from the original OE texts will be used. As the discussion in section 6.3 highlighted, there are no statistically significant differences between the non-literal translations and the original OE texts in terms of word order. This leads to the conclusion that both data sets can be used to describe the word order patterns of OE purpose and result clauses. Table 17 in the previous chapter shows the distribution of all the patterns in two categories combined. Table 18, also located in the previous chapter, shows the word order distribution in terms of verb placement.

Unlike, Heggelund (2010: 63) and Bech (2001: 67) I chose to include the SXV_1XV_2 order as a separate pattern. Both Heggelund (2010: 63) and Bech (2001: 67) state that the SXV_1XV_2 order is one of the most frequent orders among their miscellaneous clauses, but as the order is not one of their patterns, the frequencies are not listed. There are no clauses with the SXV_1XV_2 order in my sample from the literal translations and Bible translations. The non-literal translations and the original OE texts combined contain 11 clauses following the SXV_1XV_2 order (5.5% of their total). Although this pattern is among the infrequent ones in my samples, it may be more frequent in purpose and result clauses than in other types of clauses.

The distribution of the most frequent patterns in my sample is similar to the distribution in Heggelund 's (2010: 111) sample of 65 early OE purpose and result clauses in the SXV, SXVX, and SVX patterns. His early OE period is defined as 800-950 A.D. and his late OE period stretches from 950 to 1100 A.D. The early OE period corresponds to the time of the composition of the texts in my non-literal translations. The late OE period roughly

corresponds to the composition of the original OE texts in my sample (see section 4.2.1). The distribution of the word order pattern in his late OE period is not as similar to mine as his data from the early OE period. The increase in SXV clauses from 23% to 38% from his early OE sample to his late OE sample is not reflected in the same degree in my results, but there is a slight, not statistically significant, increase in SXV clauses from 22% to 27%. The decrease in SVX clauses is similarly not significant in my sample, and in my sample, the number of SXVX is the same in both text types, while it is most frequent in the early OE period in Heggelund 's (2010: 112) data.

An interesting observation we make when the data from the two categories are viewed together is that the most frequent pattern is the SVX pattern with 65 clauses or 32.5 %. The SVX pattern is, in fact, the most frequent in all the text types. If we combine all the V2 patterns, i.e. the SVX, SV_1XV_2 and XVS patterns, the frequency of patterns with V2 order is 72% in the literal translations, 56% in the WSG, 45% in the non-literal translations, and 42% in the original OE texts. See table 16. By contrast, the verb-final pattern, or the SXV pattern, accounts for 5% of the clauses in the literal translations, 22% in the WSG, and 24.5% of the total in the non-literal translations and the original OE texts combined.

The results from the literal translations may be expected as they are glosses of Latin and, therefore, may be expected to follow a different pattern than the others. The practice of adding a subject where the subject was lacking in the Latin version may also be a possible explanation for the high frequency of V2 clauses (see table 8 and section 6.2 above).

The results from the other three text types, on the other hand, are somewhat unexpected. Recall from section 2.1 that the word order of OE subordinate clauses is thought to be generally verb-final (Bech 2001: 14, Cichosz 2010: 154). The results in the present study are more in line with Heggelund's (2010) findings. He found the SXV pattern, although the most frequent pattern in his study, to be less frequent than previously thought (Heggelund 2010: 191). Only 23% of the purpose and result clauses in his sample follow the SXV order. My sample of non-literal translations and original OE texts combined have 24.5% of the total following this pattern. 20% of his clauses follow the SXVX pattern (Heggelund 2010: 111). My sample has 22% in both text types of the SXVX pattern. As in my data, the SVX pattern is the most frequent in his data as well. 32 % of his purpose and result clauses follow the SVX order[19]. Note that the high frequency of the SVX

19. Recall from 5.2 that my word order patterns have slightly different criteria compared to those

pattern in the non-literal translations is partly due to the high frequency (60%) of SVX in Lch II.

The number of SVX clauses are also similar to the percentages of SVX clauses Bean (1983: 106) finds in result clauses from the 9th century in her investigation of the Anglo Saxon Chronicle. Bean does not give the number of clauses in this subcategory. However, as (Heggelund 2010: 111) also points out, the number of clauses in her sample must be limited because her total number of subordinate clauses from this period are only 92 (Bean 1983: 104).

Cichosz, Gaszewski, and Pęzik (2016) also have a subsection for adverbial clauses of purpose and result in their investigation. They have, similar to the present investigation and Heggelund 's (2010: 111) survey, chosen to avoid the classification difficulties of distinguishing purpose and result, and grouped them in one category which they call 'clauses of consequence'. As discussed in section 2.4, their OE data include clauses from Bede, Ælfric's translation of Genesis, and the gospel of St. Luke from WSG. Interestingly, their number of verb-final clauses are significantly higher than mine and Heggelund 's (2010: 111) results.

It is important to note here, however, that Cichosz, Gaszewski, and Pęzik (2016: 39) classify the verb-final patterns only with regards to the finite verb. This means that SV-clauses would be included in their verb-final patterns, and so would subjectless clauses. Their findings in The Gospel of St. Luke and Bede are most comparable to mine as I have The Gospel of St. Luke from the WSG and Bede in my sample as well. Unfortunately, The Gospel of St. Luke has the most miscellaneous in my sample. In fact, it is the most frequent pattern with six clauses (37.5%). There are only two other patterns represented in my data from The Gospel of St. Luke. They are the SXV pattern with five clauses (31.3%) and the SVX pattern with five clauses (31.3%). Cichosz, Gaszewski, and Pęzik (2016: 188), on the other hand, found 30 (71.4%) verb-final clauses, which is significantly higher than the number of SXV clauses in my sample. However, my numbers must be treated with caution because of the number of miscellaneous clauses and because my sample is too small to calculate statistical significance reliably.

My data from Bede is more reliable. As mentioned above, SV- clauses are included in

Heggelund (2010) uses. To compare my result with his, the total number of SVX clauses in my sample must be reduced by two clauses, giving us a total of 63 clauses or 31.5 % when the non-literal translations and the original OE texts are combined. However, this is still almost identical to his 32%.

Cichosz, Gaszewski, and Pęzik's (2016: 39) verb-final pattern and as remarked in section 5.2 my sample of Bede has three such clauses. If these clauses are subtracted from the SVX pattern and combined with the SXV pattern, we get the number of verb-final clauses that would be comparable with Cichosz, Gaszewski, and Pęzik 's (2016: 187) frequency of 56.1% verb-final clauses in Bede. The number of verb-final clauses in my sample would then be 8 (32%), which is strikingly lower than the frequency Cichosz, Gaszewski, and Pęzik (2016: 187) found. The reason for this difference is not clear, but one possible explanation is differences in the criteria for assigning word order patterns.

The only similarity between their results and Heggelund 's (2010: 111) is that the purpose and result category (or consequence as Cichosz, Gaszewski, and Pęzik (2016) label the clause type) is the type of subordinate clause which is least verb-final in their sample. Clauses of time, cause, condition, and manner range in frequency from 58.9% in clauses of cause to 83,3% in clauses of manner.

Stockwell and Minkova 's (1990: 508) hypothesis that the verb-final order played a role in distinguishing subordinate and main clauses may be one possible explanation for the low frequency of verb-final and high frequency of verb-second patterns in my sample of adverbial clauses of purpose and result. All the clauses in my sample are introduced by subordinating conjunctions, making them more easily distinguishable from main clauses than some other subordinate clauses. One possible cause for this may be that the position of the verb in these clauses may have been less important in denoting subordination. As discussed in section 2.1 Heggelund (2010: 191) does not find it feasible, due to the high frequency of SV clauses[20] in his results, to rule out that subordinate clauses may have played a role in the development of the SV pattern of PDE as Lightfoot (2006) has done with his' degree-0 theory'. In a later article Heggelund (2015) also criticizes Lightfoot's (2006) interpretations of other scholars' data, which is the basis of his' degree-0 theory'. In terms of the frequency of SV order, my data supports Heggelund (2010: 191) statement.

In conclusion, my findings do not indicate that the primary word order pattern of OE purpose and result clauses is verb-final as OE subordinated clauses are often claimed to be. The result shows that the most frequent pattern in all the text types is the SVX order. As table 18 shows, some version of V2 order accounts for 43.5 % of the patterns in the

20. Note that SV clauses do not refer to Heggelund's (2010) SV- pattern. Here SV means that the clause is subject initial, and the finite verb immediately follows it. Any number of elements may follow the finite verb.

non-literal translations and the original OE texts. The SXV order, or verb-final order, is only the third most frequent order and accounts for 24.0% of the patterns in the sample from the non-literal translations and the original OE texts.

6.6 Summary

This chapter has been devoted to discussing the findings of the present study. The word order distribution in the four different text types has been compared with each other and with previous research in the field. The conclusions reached in this discussion will be summarized in next, and last, chapter of this thesis.

7 Conclusions

The final chapter in this thesis is devoted to a summary and final conclusions based on the present investigation findings and suggestions for future research in the field.

7.1 Thesis summary

The present thesis has sought to investigate if Latin syntax, specifically Latin word order, may have influenced the word order in OE translations of Latin texts, and at the same time, investigate the word order patterns of OE adverbial clauses of purpose and result. The data set has been comprised of four distinct types of texts: Three kinds of translations and one set of OE original texts were investigated. The three types of translations were: Literal translations, i.e. glosses of Latin gospels, Bible translations, i.e. the WSG and non-literal prose texts, e.g. the OE translation of Orosius. The purpose of using four different text types was to determine to what extent the different translations diverted from the original OE texts. The literal translations were included to create a baseline for what Latin influence on word order might look like.

The data analyzed in this investigation has been gathered from two corpora of OE, the DOEC and the syntactically annotated YCOE. Chapter 2 presents an overview of previous investigations into the word order of OE and the effects of translation on OE syntax. Chapter 3 describes the characteristics of the word order patterns used, and chapter 4 describes the method of data collection and problems of analysis. Chapter 5 presents the results of the investigation, and chapter 6 discusses these findings in light of the theory presented in chapter 2.

7.2 Conclusions

The main findings of the studies are that the literal translation shows the most divergence from the original OE texts as expected. The first hypothesis that there would be statistically significant differences in word order patterns between literal translations and the other types of texts is proven to be correct. The findings also show that the second hypothesis, that there would be no statistically significant difference in the word order patterns between original Old English texts and non-literal translations from Latin, also holds true.

Additional notable findings include the less than expected number of SXV, or verb-final, clauses that other scholars long have deemed to be the primary pattern of subordinate

clauses in OE. Interestingly, this is just the second most frequent pattern in my sample of purpose and result clauses, significantly behind the SVX pattern, and if all patterns are condensed and categorized according to the position of the finite verb, verb-final clauses are less frequent than both verb-second and verb-late clauses. This requires more investigation, but it may point to purpose and result clauses being more similar to main clauses in terms of word order than assumed. Or there may be a flaw in the assumption that OE subordinate clauses are typically verb-final.

The results from the present study also show that while non-literal translations and original OE texts show no statistically significant difference in word order, there are significant differences between biblical translations and the other text types. In some patterns, the frequencies are more similar to those of the non-literal translations and original OE text. In other patterns, most notably the SVX pattern, the frequencies are more similar to those of the literal translations. This finding points to influence from the Latin source text.

7.3 Future research

As briefly mentioned in section 4.3.2, the present study did not utilize all possibilities provided by the YCOE. A method similar to the one Bech (2017) uses in her study on conjunct clauses in OE could be applied to test some of the conclusions suggested by this study. As discussed in the above-mentioned section, it is not possible to sort out adverbial clauses of purpose and result automatically using the YCOE. However, it is possible to sort out all adverbial clauses and order them into word order patterns automatically. Future studies may, in this way, test the conclusions drawn in this pilot study, namely that there seems to be no statistically significant difference between non-literal translations and original OE texts. It may also be used to investigate further how the Bible translations differ from other OE texts in other clause types.

References

Bately, Janet. 2010. “The nature of Old English verse.” In *The Cambridge Companion to Old English literature,* edited by Malcolm Godden and Michael Lapidge. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Bately, Janet M. 1980. *The Old English Orosius.* Oxford University Press.

Bean, Marian C. 1983. *The development of word order patterns in Old English.* Rowman & Littlefield.

Bech, Kristin. 2001. *Word order patterns in Old and Middle English. A syntactic and pragmatic study.* The University of Bergen.

Bech, Kristin. 2012. “Word Order, Information Structure, an d Discourse Relations.” *Information structure and syntactic change in the history of English:* 66–86.

Bech, Kristin. 2017. “Old ‘truths’, new corpora: revisiting the word order of conjunct clauses in Old English 1.” *English Language & Linguistics* 21 (1): 1–25.

Benham, Allen R. 1908. “The clause of result in Old English Prose.” *Anglia-Zeitschrift für englische Philologie* 1908 (31): 197–255.

Berndt, Rolf. 1956. *Form und Funktion des Verbums im nördlichen Spätaltenglischen: eine Untersuchung der grammatischen Formen und ihrer syntaktischen Beziehungsbedeutungen in der großen sprachlichen Umbruchsperiode.* M. Niemeyer.

Britannica, Encyclopædia. 2020. *Transformational grammar.* [Online; accessed 15-March-2020]. `https://www.britannica.com/topic/transformational-grammar`.

Cichosz, Anna. 2010. *Influence of Text Type on Word Order of Old Germanic Languages: A Corpus-based Contrasive Study of Old English and Old High German.* Vol. 27. Peter Lang.

Cichosz, Anna, Jerzy Gaszewski, and Piotr Pęzik. 2016. *Element Order in Old English and Old High German Translations.* Vol. 28. John Benjamins Publishing Company.

Crowley, Joseph. 2000. “Anglicized word order in Old English continuous interlinear glosses in British Library, Royal 2. A. XX.” *Anglo-Saxon England* 29:123–151.

Diaz, Junot. 1997. *Drown.* Penguin.

Dryer, Matthew S. 2007. “Word order.” *Language typology and syntactic description* 1:61–131.

Fischer, Olga. 1992. “Syntactic change and borrowing: The case of the accusative-and-infinitive construction in English.” *Internal and external factors in syntactic change:* 17–88.

Fischer, Olga, Ans van Kemenade, Willem Koopman, and Wim van der Wurff. 2000. “The syntax of Early English.” *English Language & Linguistics* 7 (2): 26–64.

Frank, Roberta, Angus Cameron, et al. 1973. *A Plan for the Dictionary of Old English.* Centre for Medieval Studies University of Toronto.

Gelderen, Elly. 2014. *A History of the English Language: Revised edition.*

Gneuss, Helmut. 2010. “The Old English language.” In *The Cambridge Companion to Old English literature,* edited by Malcolm Godden and Michael Lapidge. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Haugland, Kari. 2006. “Non-subject-initial word orders in Old English subordinate clauses: a study of gif-clauses.” In *These things write I vnto thee... Essays in Honour of Bjørg Bækken,* edited by Sandra Halverson Leiv Egil Breivik and Kari E. Haugland, 135–151. Vol. 15. Studia Anglistica Norvegica. Oslo: Novus, 2006.

Healey, Antonette diPaolo, John Wilkin Price, and Xin Xiang. 2020. “Dictionary of Old English Web Corpus.” Accessed February 12. `https://www.doe.utoronto.ca/pages/pub/web-corpus.html`.

Heggelund, Øystein Imerslund. 2010. *Word order in Old English and Middle English subordinate clauses.* The University of Bergen.

Heggelund, Øystein Imerslund. 2015. “On the use of data in historical linguistics: word order in early English subordinate clauses.” *English Language & Linguistics* 19 (1): 83–106.

Hock-Chuan, Chua. 2018. *Regular expression (Regex).* [Online; accessed 19-November-2020]. `https://www3.ntu.edu.sg/home/ehchua/programming/howto/Regexe.html`.

Huddleston, Rodney, and Geoffrey K. Pullum. 2002. *The Cambridge Grammar of the English Language.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Kahlas-Tarkka, Matti Kilpiö, Leena, and Aune Österman. 2020. “Corpus Resource Database (CoRD).” Accessed February 12. `http://www.helsinki.fi/varieng/CoRD/corpora/HelsinkiCorpus/oldenglish.html`.

Ker, Neil Ripley. 1957. *Catalogue of manuscripts containing Anglo-Saxon.* Vol. 1. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Kohonen, Viljo. 1978. *On the development of English word order in religious prose around 1000 and 1200 AD: A quantitative study of word order in context.* Research Institute of the Abo Akademi Foundation.

Koopman, Willem, et al. 2005. “Transitional syntax: postverbal pronouns and particles in Old English.” *English Language and Linguistics* 9 (1): 47–62.

Lindquist, Hans. 2009. *Corpus linguistics and the description ofEnglish.* Edinburgh University Press.

Marsden, Richard. 2010. *The Cambridge Old English Reader.* Cambridge University Press.

McLaughlin, John. 2012. *Old English syntax: a handbook.* Vol. 4. Walter de Gruyter.

Mitchell, Bruce. 1985. *Old English Syntax: Volume I and II.* Oxford: Clarendon.

Mitchell, Bruce, and Fred C Robinson. 2012. *A guide to Old English.* Oxford: WileyBlackwell.

Nykiel, Jerzy. 2016. “The history of ’so that’ and the CP cycle.” In *Let Us Have Articles Betwixt Us. Papers in Historical and Comparative Linguistics in Honour of Johanna L. Wood,* edited by Henrik Jørgensen Sten Vikner and Elly van Gelderen, 341–360. Aarhus: Aarhus University Library.

Picoult, Jodi. 2014. *Mercy.* Simon / Schuster.

Quirk, Randolph, Sidney Greenbaum, Geoffrey Leech, and Jan Svartvik. 1985. *A Comprehensive Grammar of the English Language.*

Quirk, Randolph, and Charles Wrenn. 1957. *An old English grammar.* New York: Routledge.

Radford, Andrew. 1997. *Syntactic theory and the structure of English: A minimalist approach.* Cambridge University Press.

Randall, Beth, Antony Kroch, and Ann Taylor. 2005. "2013. CorpusSearch 2." *Online. http://corpussearch. sourceforge. net.*

Rot, Sándor, C Kretzoy, ID Hays, and V Kniezsa. 1982. *Old English.* Tankönyvkiadó.

Rowley, Sharon M. 2011. *The Old English Version of Bede's Historia Ecclesiastica.* Vol. 16. Boydell & Brewer Ltd.

Rusten, Kristian A. 2010. *A study of empty referential pronominal subjects in Old English.* Master's thesis, The University of Bergen.

Schmidtke-Bode, Karsten. 2009. *A typology of purpose clauses.* Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company.

Sedgefield, Walter John, et al. 1899. *King Alfred's old English version of Boethius De consolatione philosophiae.* Clarendon Press.

Shearin, Hubert Gibson. 1903. *The expression of purpose in Old English prose.* Vol. 18. H. Holt.

Shopen, Timothy. 2007. *Language Typology and Syntactic Description. Vol. I (Clause Structure).* Cambridge University Press.

Stockwell, Robert P, and Donka Minkova. 1990. "Verb phrase conjunction in Old English." In *Historical linguistics 1987 : papers from the 8th International Conference on Historical Linguistics,* 499–516. John Benjamins.

Studer-Joho, Dieter. 2017. *A Catalogue of Manuscripts Known to Contain Old English Dry-Point Glosses.* Vol. 142. Narr Francke Attempto Verlag.

Sweet, Henry. 1871. *King Alfred's West-Saxon Version of Gregory's Pastoral Care.* Vol. 1. Early English text society.

Sweet, Henry. 1898. *A new English grammar: logical and historical. 2. Syntax.* Clarendon Press.

Tamoto, Kenichi. 2013. *The Macregol gospels or the Rushworth gospels: Edition of the Latin text with the Old English interlinear gloss transcribed from Oxford Bodleian Library, MS Auctarium D. 2. 19.* John Benjamins Publishing.

Taylor, Ann. 2003a. *The York-Toronto-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Old English Prose. Syntactic Annotation Reference Manual.* [Online; accessed 15-January-2020]. `https://www-users.york.ac.uk/~lang22/YCOE/doc/annotation/YcoeRefToc.htm`.

Taylor, Ann. 2003b. *The York-Toronto-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Old English Prose. Text information.* [Online; accessed 20-June-2020]. `https://www-users.york.ac.uk/~lang22/YCOE/info/YcoeTextInfo.htm`.

Taylor, Ann. 2003c. *The York-Toronto-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Old English Prose. YCOE Lite: A beginner's guide.* `https://www-users.york.ac.uk/~lang22/YCOE/doc/annotation/YcoeLite.htmpos_labels`.

Taylor, Ann. 2008. "Contact effects of translation: Distinguishing two kinds of influence in Old English." *Language Variation and Change* 20 (2): 341–365.

Taylor, Ann, and Susan Pintzuk. 2012. “The effect of information structure on object position in Old English: A pilot study.” *Information structure and syntactic change in the history of English:* 47–65.

Timofeeva, Olga. 2008. “Translating the Texts where et verborum ordo mysterium est: Late Old English Idiom vs. ablativus absolutus.” *The Journal of Medieval Latin* 18:217–229.

Timofeeva, Olga. 2010. “Anglo-Latin bilingualism before 1066: Prospects and limitations.” In *Interfaces between language and culture in medieval England,* 1–36. Brill.

Timofeeva, Olga. 2013. “Anglo-Latin and Old English.” *New methods in historical corpora:* 195.

Velupillai, Viveka. 2012. *An introduction to linguistic typology*. John Benjamins Publishing Company AmsterdamPhiladelphia.

Walkden, George. 2016. “Null subjects in the Lindisfarne Gospels as evidence for syntactic variation in Old English.” *The Old English glosses to the Lindisfarne Gospels: Language, author and context:* 239–256.