

**THE POSITION OF THE VERB IN OLD ENGLISH RELATIVE CLAUSES:
AN ANALYSIS OF THE ANGLO-SAXON GOSPELS**

by

CHRIS HANES MARTIN

(Under the Direction of Jared S. Klein)

ABSTRACT

Previous research has considered the Old English relative clause from many different perspectives and has used many different Old English sources. This dissertation adds to the investigation of the relative clause by taking the text of the Anglo-Saxon Gospels, identifying the relative clauses within the corpus, and analyzing the placement of the verb within each clause. In addition, the Latin source is included for the purpose of proving that the OE translation is a valid source for syntactic study.

INDEX WORDS: Relative clauses, Word order, Anglo Saxon Gospels

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
LIST OF TABLES.....	v
CHAPTER	
1 Introduction and Statement of Problem	1
2 Relative clauses with a simple verb structure	31
3 Periphrastic verb forms in passive voice	83
4 Non-passive periphrastic verbs	109
5 Summary and conclusion	126
REFERENCES.....	133

LIST OF TABLES

	Page
Table 1.1: Forms of the relative pronoun <i>se</i>	25
Table 2.1: Placement of the independent verb in the relative clause.....	33
Table 2.2: Function of relative pronouns and sentence types in Rel^X S V constructions	35
Table 2.3: Function of intervening element (X) and sentence types in Rel^S X V constructions	46
Table 2.4: Function of relative pronouns and sentence types in verb-initial constructions	56
Table 2.5: Function of relative pronouns and sentence types in verb-medial constructions.....	66
Table 3.1: Forms of <i>beon/wesan</i>	84
Table 3.2: Verb placement and passive voice structures in the relative clause.....	88
Table 3.3: Passive relative clause.....	105
Table 4.1: Frequency of finite verbs in verb cluster categories.....	111
Table 5.1: Sentence patterns and verb placement.....	127
Table 5.2: Relative markers and verb placement.....	128
Table 5.3: Relative markers and restrictiveness.....	129
Table 5.4: Function of relative marker and placement of verb..	130

Chapter One

Introduction and Statement of Problem

1.1 Introduction

This chapter contains a statement of the problem that will be addressed in this dissertation, a description of the corpus to be utilized and the analytical techniques to be employed, a review of the relevant literature related to relative clauses, and a brief description of the grammar of relative clauses in Old English.

1.2 Statement of Problem

An examination of the entries in *A Critical Bibliography of Old English Syntax* (Mitchell 1990) makes it clear that the relative clause has come under consideration in many studies, from Kolbing's (1872) work comparing relative pronouns in different Germanic languages, through more specific considerations of the Old English relative, up to Mitchell's (1987) two-volume *Old English Syntax*. Within these treatments, a wide range of Old English sources are employed as well as a variety of perspectives--traditional grammar as well as theories such as Principles and Parameters or Government and Binding.

Many of the studies address only the relative pronoun, some the antecedent, and others the body of the clause. This paper adds to the investigation of the relative clause by taking the text of the Anglo-Saxon Gospels, identifying the relative clauses within the corpus, and analyzing the position of the verb within each clause.

Most studies that address the issue of the verb have either taken some sort of transformational generative approach with the assumption that OE is underlyingly an SOV language (an assumption that Mitchell [1992] questions); or they have looked at the broader category of subordinate clauses or even main clauses, without necessarily distinguishing particular factors common to relative clauses. One researcher who adopts a combination of these two approaches is Koopman (1992) in an article that addresses verb cluster patterns in subordinate clauses, including relative clauses. A notable exception to these approaches is Gardner (1971), who addresses word order in relative clauses with the purpose of arguing that word order is just as important in Old English as is inflection.

Relating the basic ideas of verbal syntax and other elements in the clause found in these studies and using the Anglo-Saxon Gospels as a corpus, I propose in this dissertation to describe the word order, especially verb placement, in the relative clause and to analyze the elements that affect that

order. If, in areas where this study overlaps previous investigations, the results are similar, this will demonstrate that translation literature represents a good reflection of the way Anglo-Saxon speakers constructed their sentences rather than a mere imitation of the Latin original structures.

1.3 Description and defense of the corpus

Any time research focuses on translated literature, some critics question the validity of the results obtained. This criticism is based on the assumption that the syntax of the source language could affect the syntax of the translation itself; the main question is the amount of influence the source language has had on the target language. In the specific case of the translation of many Old English works, it is often assumed that Latin syntax influenced the translators' choice of syntax.

Because of the assumption that Latin has overwhelmingly influenced the translation process, an analysis of the English syntax of a translated text has not always been considered worthwhile. In fact, the validity of using translations for the purpose of syntactic description has come under criticism by various scholars. (Robinson [1992:163] calls such procedures "worthless"). For example, Sorenson (1957), in discussing a potential problem with the use of translations from a single

Latin source, suggests that Latin syntax may directly influence the syntax of the various translations to such an extent that the translations do not accurately reflect the true syntax of the target language. However, in the case of a text as fundamental as the Bible, translations were constructed so that people who knew no Latin could understand the text. That is, the translators used syntax, idioms, and vocabulary that reflected the way people actually spoke the target language.

Indeed, many scholars see no difficulty with using translated material as the basis for syntactic study. Klein (1992), for example, affirms that in the study of Gothic, syntax is a valid topic, despite the fact that almost the entire corpus is a translation from Greek. Although Curme (1912) believes Latin impact on Old English to be quite strong, he points out that even in the old glosses scribes often would give alternate translations for Latin constructions—one close to the Latin form, the other one more idiomatic. It would have been pointless for early English translators of the Bible to use Latin syntactic structures that were confusing to English speakers not familiar with Latin grammar. This is not to say, of course, that Latin has exerted no influence on English syntax; however, comparisons of various English constructions with their Latin sources make it clear that the Latin influence is fairly negligible. In a recent dissertation Govberg-Afros

(2002) investigates Latin relative clauses that are translated into Old English relatives as well as Old English relatives that correspond to non-relative clauses in Latin. She finds that

“the West-Saxon translation is not a slavish imitation of the original... Certain deviations from the regular pattern such as, for example, attraction or pleonastic insertion of the pronoun can be sometimes explained by the Latin source” (234).

Allen (1982) also addresses this issue and concurs that the Anglo-Saxon translation is a valid source of information for syntactic study. While in some cases the OE is syntactically similar to the Latin, two examples from the texts under discussion will serve to emphasize the independence of the OE. A Latin phrase can be rendered as a full-blown relative clause in the OE:

of þam wife þe wæs genemned thamar
of the woman who was named Tamar

de Thamar (Mt. 1.3)

The position of the OE verb can be different from the Latin:

oð þone dæg þe noe on þa earce eode
until the day when Noah went into the ark

usque ad eum diem quo introivit in arcam Noe (Mt. 24.38)

The two versions also can show differences in voice, and in some cases the two show no similarities at all. For clarity of this

issue, the Latin is included throughout the paper following the OE example.

Another problem with comparing Old English and Latin texts, at least in the case of Bible translation, is that there were many different versions of the Latin Bible. It is often impossible to know precisely which Latin versions a particular translator had available. The Latin Vulgate, originally translated by Jerome as a revision of the Old Latin versions, which themselves were plentiful, existed in over 10,000 manuscript copies. The Lindesfarne Gospels constitutes one of these copies, with Anglo-Saxon glosses. That particular version was copied ca. 700 CE, and the glosses were added prior to 970 CE in the Northumbrian dialect. Also, the Rushworth Gospels comprise a Latin copy from about 800 in which Matthew is glossed in the Old Mercian dialect (from central England).

1.4 Description of data and method of analysis

Texts of the Anglo-Saxon Gospels are available for downloading through the University of Georgia website and are included in the Chadwyck-Healy database of Bible translations; these texts are available in book form as well as online, and all versions are translated from the Latin Vulgate. The OE text in the corpus is taken from Skeat's edition of *Corpus MS. A of the West-Saxon Gospels* (1887), available over the internet in

the Chadwyck-Healy database. This particular edition deviates only slightly and in minor ways from the printed manuscript, such as by inserting hyphens for compound words and, for the sake of clarity, by expanding contractions.

MS. A is, according to Skeat, an eleventh century copy of one of a few versions of a tenth century translation, and most scholars agree that the original text of the Anglo-Saxon (or West-Saxon) Gospels dates from probably the second half of the tenth century. It is not known who translated this version; indeed, based on the style and vocabulary choices of the texts, various scholars argue that anywhere from one to three authors did the translation work. There are six manuscript versions of the Anglo-Saxon Gospels currently extant. Skeat says that all of these versions are basically copies of only one original. Grünberg, who has also studied the manuscripts, disagrees, pointing out that the relationship between the various manuscripts is complex enough to cast doubt on the direct connection between them.

1.5 Review of literature

In Mitchell and Robinson's *A Guide to Old English*, the authors comment that "the main difficulty of OE syntax lies ... in the word-order of the simple sentence or clause, and in the syntax of the subordinate clauses" (2001:63). Earlier

scholarship has addressed the general history of the relative pronoun, specific studies of the use of the relative pronoun, and the syntax of the relative clause.

1.5.1 General historical works

General historical works on English, such as Quirk and Wrenn's *Old English Grammar* (1955), discuss Old English syntax but focus on the reading of Old English texts and not specific descriptions of the various constructions. Visser's extensive work in cataloguing grammatical constructions throughout the history of English (1963) is helpful in showing the variety of changing structures, but is difficult to navigate because of its organization based on verbal valency in a construction. In addition, he covers so many different constructions that he does not go into much detail about any one of them. Mitchell's *Old English Syntax* (1987), generally focuses on poetry; he does, however, devote significant coverage to the relative clause, reviewing and critiquing Andrew's earlier work on the relative clause as well as surveying other scholarship. He also includes a general overview of the order of words in the sentence as well as a discussion of past participles and infinitives. Traugott (1972) presents a transformational-generative perspective in her general work on Old English syntax.

1.5.2 Relative Pronouns

A number of scholars have addressed the issue of the relative clause in the history of English. Curme's "History of the English Relative Constructions" (1912) focuses on asyndetic relative clauses, or relative clauses with no overt relative pronoun or particle. His analysis explains the development of hypotactic constructions from original paratactic ones. His comment that Chaucer "retarded" English usage reveals his bias toward what he calls the "terseness" that is a native English principle (15). In her 1977 dissertation Allen contends that his arguments are "not convincing" (20) and based on the fact that *þe* had already dropped out of the language by the time *which* began to be used, she specifically refutes Curme's assumption that the Old English *se þe* relative developed into Middle English *the which* (266). In his "Relative and Demonstrative Pronouns in Old English," S. O. Andrew (1936) distinguishes between true relative pronouns and the demonstrative pronouns which were increasingly used as relatives. His article describes the differences between the two types of pronouns, but he tends to emend the texts editorially where he disagrees with their usage. As is the case with Curme's work, this prescriptive approach may be said to skew Andrew's analysis. Mitchell finds Andrew's rules governing

the *se* relative "stimulating" (1987:978) but refutes many of them.

Smith (1893) notes that *se* clauses which are preceded by pronoun antecedents are probably relative. McIntosh (1847) compares the relative particles *þe* and *þat* at the period of time when they were competing forms. Koch's *The English Relative Pronouns* (1897) delves into the question of what conditions governed the use of various pronouns in different time periods. Karlberg investigates the development of *wh*-words into relative pronouns in *The English Interrogative Pronouns* (1954).

Dowsing (1979) analyzes antecedents and the relative use of *se* forms and points out the differing usages between *se* and *þæt*. She states that *þæt* is most commonly used with a non-nominal antecedent, while *se* usually refers to a noun or noun clause. She furthermore finds that *þæt* clauses are usually of the form SXV, while *se* clauses tend to take the form SVX. She also comments on the subordinate nature of subsequent *þæt* clauses and the fact that *se* clauses are not necessarily subordinate. Dowsing concludes that the primary difference between the two relatives in OE is that *þæt* is unstressed, and *se* is stressed. Mitchell (1987) disagrees, pointing out that with "dead" languages, we do not really have the capability to determine stress. With recapitulation *he* may replace *se*, but *hit* may not replace *þæt*, a state of affairs that Dowsing says reveals the

non-inflective nature of *þæt*, which led to its indeclinability in later stages of English.

Johnsen (1913) researches the indefinite relatives in the form *swa X swa*, where X is either *hwa*, *hwilc*, *hwæt*, *hwæper*, *hwider*, or *hwaer*. (*swa hwa swa*, *swa hwilc swa*, *swa hwæt swa*, *swa hwæper swa*, *swa hwider swa*, and *swa hwaer swa*) He considers the origins of the indefinite structure, the doubling of *swa* for emphasis, the omission of one occurrence of *swa* in some examples to simplify the indefinite construction, and the contamination of some *swa X swa* forms. He also rejects Curme's idea that *whaim that* comes from *þæm þe*; instead, he thinks that it comes from the OE use of *that* after an indefinite relative. He finds that over time as the indefinite relatives were used without *swa* (i.e., when *swa* was dropped), the adverb *æfre* was sometimes added to indicate the indefinite nature of the relative. Johnsen also sees a close relationship between indefinite and definite pronouns and states that it was only a matter of time before *swa hwæt swa* (indefinite) became *what* (definite).

Transformational grammarians have not remained uninvolved in this area of study and while their main goal is often a search for rules to describe the transformations from deep to surface structure, much of their work is relevant to my dissertation. Dekeyser (1997) studies the competition between the *wh-* and *that* relative constructions. In a 1989 article the

latter writes about relativizers in ME and ENE and includes tables with statistical data on the distribution of *who*, *which*, *that*, and unmarked relatives. He also considers restrictiveness/nonrestrictiveness as well as the feature plus or minus human.

In the revised and published form of her dissertation, Allen (1982) also researches relative pronouns. Adopting a transformational generative approach, she is primarily concerned with preposition stranding within the history of English, in the process considering relative pronouns but not the entire relative clause. She finds that *þe* is the most typical relative pronoun, but she analyzes it as a complementizer rather than a pronoun (92) and points out that it can be the subject or object of its clause as well as the object of a preposition. In a discussion of case with *se* relatives, Allen makes it clear that the relative (lower) clause decides the form of the relative pronoun; however, either the head noun phrase of the main (upper) clause or the relative clause may control the case of a *se þe* form. She concludes also that the neuter form of *se*, *þæt*, has only limited use in OE relative clauses: relatives with neuter heads, temporal heads, or those with *eall* as the head. Allen also comments that the case of an indefinite relative is determined by its function in the relative clause.

Hayes (1971), using transformational theory, constructs grammars of relative clauses in OE, ME, and ENE to show how these clauses have changed over time. She draws a distinction in OE between restrictive and nonrestrictive relative clauses (signaled by *pe/pæt* and *se/seþe*, respectively) and discusses the transformations that provide a foundation for the structures of these relative clauses. She comments on the major relative markers in ME (*that*, *which*, *which that*, *the which*, and *the which that*) and the transformations necessary to derive the relative constructions. Hayes considers the changes in grammar from ME to ENE to be minor. For example, ENE has no *which that*, ENE employs *where* as a relative marker, and ENE occasionally deletes relative constructions.

Robbins (1976) treats three types of OE relatives - restrictive, nonrestrictive, and correlative - within the framework of generative grammar. She discusses the distribution of prepositions along with the most common OE and ME relatives and states that "stylistic functions" or "semantic interpretations" differentiate the OE relatives from each other. Robbins also discusses changes in the application of transformations in OE and ENE, resulting in a restriction in "permissible linear orders."

1.5.3 Word order in main clauses

The majority of this dissertation will address the placement of the verb in relative clauses, but an overview of some of the research about word order in main clauses will serve as a touchstone against which to compare relative clause order. The example sentences come from Mitchell and Robinson (2002). In modern English SVO word order applies to both independent and dependent clauses; however, during the late OE period, word order was freer because of the somewhat richer inflectional system.

In main clauses the traditional approach identifies three major word order patterns. The most typical is SV(X), with no major intervening elements between the subject and the verb, as in the following example:

he hæfde an swithe ænlic wif
He had a most excellent wife (63)

This pattern, although it may also occur in subordinate clauses, is the one most closely associated with main clauses.

Intervening adverbs and indirect objects, according to Mitchell and Robinson, are "natural variations" of this order (2001:63), as we see in the following example:

roman gesealdon Gaiuse Iuliuse seofon legan
The Romans gave Gaius Julius seven legions (63)

In addition, Allen (1982) asserts that clauses which have pronoun direct objects occurring immediately after the subject

are considered part of this category, and Mitchell and Robinson (2001:64) concur. The relative lightness of a pronoun, because of its syllable length as well as lack of stress, contributes to its tendency toward leftward movement.

we hie ondredon
we feared them (64)

A second pattern is S(X)V, with various elements intervening between subject and verb. Although this order is considered typical for subordinate clauses, it also occurs quite often in main clauses. The verb is not necessarily clause final, as an adverbial element can appear after the verb.

Stephanus soðlice gebigedum cneowum Drihten bæd
Stephen however on bended knees besought the Lord (64)

The least common word order for main clauses is (X)VS, and it typically occurs because of some kind of fronting. Interrogatives typically use this form:

Gehyrst ðu, sælida
Do you hear, sailor? (64)

The V here is not an auxiliary, but rather is the main verb. Sometimes this pattern appears when an adverb or other element is topicalized; however, fronting of an element does not necessarily require this word order pattern, as Koopman points out in a 1997 article. Certain adverbs such as *pa* seem to require it, while other adverbs such as *witodlice* have no effect on word order. Mitchell and Robinson (2002) note that this

order seems, in main clauses, to occur as a marked form. In other words, although it appears in many OE main clauses, the order signifies a particular emphasis. In a 1995 study of main clauses in Old English, Koopman finds that "more often than not [main clauses] have the finite verb in second position. When the subject does not occupy first sentence position it usually follows the finite verb" (129).

Generative grammarians assume that the underlying, or deep structure, order of OE main clauses is verb final. Various theories have been presented to explain the surface structure which generally places the verb second in a main clause. Van Kemenade (1987) developed the argument that fronting of the finite verb, called a verb-second (V2) movement rule, is the transformation that results in SVO clauses. This analysis applies to many, but not all, OE main clauses. For instance, fronted pronominal objects (S Pronoun Object V) seem to be counter to the rule, but Van Kemenade explains that the pronoun is in this case a clitic attaching to the left of the finite verb and therefore does not count toward word order. In her analysis, nonfinite verbs are not necessarily subject to the V2 constraint and so may appear clause final.

Pintzuk (1991, 1993, 1995) offers the alternative view that one of two transformations may apply, resulting in either a verb second (INFL-medial) outcome or a verb final (INFL-final) one.

She also uses cliticization as a factor for explaining any seeming anomalies.

Koopman (1995) points out that neither of these views accounts for all OE main clauses. For those structures with major intervening elements (such as nominal direct objects) between the subject and the verb, V2 did not seem to apply. Using a number of OE prose works, he identifies three types of main clause orders which apparently do not use V2: S(X)Vv, where the nonfinite verb is placed between the subject and the verb, a pattern usually associated with subordinate clause order; SOv, a pattern involving intervention of a nominal object; and SCov, with a complement between the subject and the finite verb.

Two other main clause structures are more ambiguous, those with intervening prepositional phrases or adverbs (SPPv and SAV). Where prepositional phrases are non-restrictive, Koopman argues that they should not count for word order and so V2 is in place. The problem is that it is sometimes difficult to determine restrictiveness in OE phrases and clauses. When adverbs occur second in the clause, Koopman says that if they are conjunct (acting as connectors between clauses), they should not count for clause order. For the purposes of his paper, however, he calls all adverbs conjunct and so avoids addressing

this issue. Pintzuk call these adverbs clitics, but Koopman is not convinced.

Finally Koopman introduces rightward transformations called verb raising and verb projection raising, constraints which Van Kemenade applies only to subordinate clauses, as transformations when V2 is not the rule. He then presents possible reasons for the untransformed verb-final main clause. First, it may be an example of stylistic awkwardness. For example, later works of Ælfric show much fewer verb final structures than do his earlier writings. Latin influence is another possible factor. He points out that neither Pintzuk nor Van Kemenade offers any reasons for main clauses that do not follow the verb-seconding transformation.

With a diachronic perspective, Hock (1986) delineates a major view that cliticization and later reinterpretation brought about the change in basic word order from OE SOV to NE SVO. Originally an optional auxiliary followed the main verb in final position, as is frequently the case in SOV languages; however, in OE the auxiliary became cliticized and therefore was placed clause second (as is typical of clitics), thereby stranding the main verb at the end of the clause. One proof of the cliticized nature of the auxiliary is that in some of the manuscripts, it is shortened (as in *ist* > *is* or even *s*). Other semantically weak inflected verbs were then put in the same position as the

auxiliary, verbs like *shall* and *will* as well as copulas. At this point reinterpretation had begun to occur. Instead of seeing the auxiliary and other clause-second verbs as clitics, speakers of the language reinterpreted the reason for the movement as a verb-second rule. Then Behaghel's Law, a preference among languages for continuous constituents, explains the movement of the main verb. It is clear that relative clauses lag behind main clauses in this reinterpretation, and linguists disagree about the reasons.

1.5.4 Word Order in relative clauses

Pintzuk (1995) argues for the same underlying placement of the verb for Old English main and subordinate clauses, with the variation in surface structure being reliant on "synchronic variation in the underlying structure" (229). In a 1993 article Pintzuk uses a Principles and Parameters framework to explore the placement of the verb and the rules that may apply to that placement in both main and subordinate clauses. She subscribes to the idea that Old English is a symmetrical verb-second language, where independent and dependent clauses use the same transformation rules. These ideas are detailed earlier in the section about main clause word order.

Van Kemenade (1987) insists that OE is asymmetrical, with different constraints applying to the two types of clauses.

Subordinate clauses, including relative constructions, use a number of rightward-movement transformation to derive surface structure. These rules include verb raising, verb projection raising, and extraposition of noun and prepositional phrases. Both Van Kemenade and Pintzuk propose that light elements, such as particles and pronouns, always immediately precede the tensed verb in deep structure; in addition, these light elements cannot move rightward in a clause because only heavy elements may be postposed.

Kristin Bech (1998) addresses pragmatic factors encoded in the language and finds that Old English probably had a verb-second rule, but for different reasons than usual. She says that variations in the application of the rules governing word order stem from "pragmatic factors" (97) such as relative weight of different finite verbs and subjects. In the case of the XSV pattern, these factors compete with the transformation rules to cause variations in the pattern. Bech concludes, though, that "XVS is mainly a syntactic pattern" (98), without the interference of pragmatic considerations.

In a study of Old English modal verbs in the homilies of Ælfric, Ohkado (1999), pointing out that modals usually take an infinitive complement, claims that "the presence or absence of extra elements is an important determining factor of the order of modal and non-finite verbs" (80) in subordinate clauses. He,

like most generative grammarians, assumes SOV as the underlying structure of Old English. The more extra elements, including everything except subjects and verbs, in the clause the more likely it is that verb order will be MV (modal + verb). In addition this study examines the importance of the weight of the verbs, whether heavy non-finite verbs (longer syllables) tend to follow modals; he finds that this theory does not bear up under investigation.

Using V (nonfinite verb) and v (finite verb), Kohonen (1978) concludes that in relative clauses Vv occurs clause final more often than vV. Like Ohkado, he investigates weight as a factor in word order, showing that light objects (such as pronouns) are more likely to precede the verb than are heavy ones. Koopman (1992) points out that in subordinate clauses Old English offers a number of possibilities for word order when verb clusters appear: v...V, vV, Vv, and V. .. v (which does not seem to occur). His research into what he calls "verb clusters" takes into account not only the verb but also the placement of the cluster within the clause. Koopman's data include a variety of prose sources, and he does not differentiate between subordinate and relative clauses. His analysis is based on Government and Binding Theory, and he concludes that we usually find vV adjacent to the subject, while Vv tends to occur at the end of the clause.

Gardner (1971) describes word order within prepositional phrases, discusses placement of prepositional phrases within subordinate clauses, and then delineates the general word order of subordinate clauses. She differentiates relative clauses from other subordinate ones, but she does not discuss any differences between simple and periphrastic verb forms. Her finding (80) that if the complement is the relative pronoun, "the subject usually follows the includer and precedes the verb" is generally true; however, the fairly large number of exceptions requires further study.

1.6 Methods of data gathering and analysis, organization of dissertation

A careful reading of the corpus has resulted in a comprehensive list of the relative clause constructions within the text organized into simple verb structures versus periphrastic ones. In each instance the placement of the verb is analyzed with regard to the other elements making up the clause. An analysis of simple verbs follows this introductory chapter, followed by a study of those clauses with one finite and one non-finite verb, including both passive and non-passive structures. The clauses are organized by order (SOV, SVO, Vv, etc.), with notes on the distribution and frequency as well as placement of the verb within the clause. At that point the

other clause elements and their possible effect on the syntax of the verb will be examined.

The aims of this study are mainly descriptive. Chapter 2 provides an analysis of relative clauses containing simple verbs. Chapter 3 studies relative clauses with two verbs (one finite, one non-finite) that are passive. Chapter 4 discusses non-passive relative clauses involving two verbs. In each chapter the clauses will be organized based on word order: *sxv*, *svx*, etc. When a periphrastic verb appears, the finite verb will be designated *v*, and the nonfinite verb with *V*. The nature of *x* will be taken into account as it impinges on the verb ordering, and an analysis of the relationship between verb placement and the *x* element will follow. Finally, Chapter 5 will summarize and conclude the findings of this study.

1.7 Relative clauses in Old English

A *relative clause* is a subordinate clause in which the relativizer or complementizer, usually a pronoun, functions as a part of both the independent clause and the dependent clause, having for the most part an antecedent to which the relative pronoun refers. This pattern is one of various types of hypotactic constructions, which incorporate dependent structures, whereas parataxis simply juxtaposes equal elements.

Of the two examples below, the first is paratactic and the second hypotactic.

The children are out at the playground. It has a slide and a large swing set.

The children are out at the playground, which has a slide and a large swing set.

OE was, relatively speaking, more likely to use paratactic rather than hypotactic constructions; however, the language had a number of different possible ways to form relative clauses. The most common relative in OE, *þe*, was an indeclinable relative particle, usually translated *that* or *which* in more modern versions, although it can on occasion act as an adverbial relative. Note the three examples below, the second of which incorporates an adverbial relative, and the third an object of a preposition.

Hwæt is þes þe manna synna forgyfð
Who is this *who* forgives men's sins (Lk. 7.49)

of þæne dæg þe man me bebyrge
from the day *when* man buries me (Jn. 12.7)

wa þam men þe he þurh geseald bið
woe to the man through *whom* he is betrayed (Lk. 22.22)

Considered by Allen (1982) and Robbins (1976) to be a complementizer rather than a true relative pronoun because it is indeclinable and cannot occur following a preposition, *þe* is semantically flexible because it is morphologically ambiguous, able to substitute for a pronoun without having any of the other

properties of pronouns. Stevick (1965:30), calling *pe* a “relative particle,” points out that it cannot act as a noun in an independent clause but can only function as the head of a relative clause. Additionally, these linguists claim that *pe* is “semantically replaceable by a grammatically ‘integral’ word—either a noun or pronoun” (Govberg-Afros 2002:275).

A second method of relativizing involves the demonstrative pronoun (represented by *se*—the masculine, singular, nominative form of the pronoun), the forms of which are shown in Table 1.1.

Table 1.1 Forms of the relative pronoun *se*

Singular	Masculine	Feminine	Neuter
Nom.	<i>se</i>	<i>seo</i>	<i>æt</i>
Acc.	<i>pone</i>	<i>pa</i>	<i>æt</i>
Gen.	<i>pæs</i>	<i>pære</i>	<i>pæs</i>
Dat.	<i>pæm</i>	<i>pære</i>	<i>pæm</i>
Instr.	<i>py</i>	<i>pære</i>	<i>py</i>
Plural	Common Gender		
Nom./Acc.	<i>pa</i>		
Gen.	<i>para</i>		
Dat./Instr.	<i>pæm</i>		

This pronoun is a bit more problematic than *pe*, both because of its many forms and because it is not always clear whether in a given sentence it is to be read as a relative or simply a demonstrative. Many scholars have argued this question, and it will not be decided here; however, Mitchell (1987) has a good bit of helpful information on the topic, with

several rules for deciding that *se* is a relative. The first rule is that if there is no clause preceding the pronoun, it is a relative.

Second, if the *se* clause is clearly restrictive, it must be a relative.

þæt folc þæt þar beforan ferde
the people who had traveled there before (Mt. 21.9)

Third, if *se* has a definite reference but no overt antecedent, it is relative.

Þa eodon hig ut þæt hig gesawon þæt ðar geworden wæs
then they went out that they saw [might see] what was done
there. (Lk. 8.35)

þæt ge secgað on þystrum
what you say in secret (Lk. 12.3)

Castillo (1992) addresses the question of whether the relative pronoun here should be translated as "what" or as "that which"; however, this question is beyond the scope of this study. Brinton identifies these constructions as "free" or "headless" relatives, noting that they are nominal in function (2000:234).

Mitchell also takes into account stylistic considerations and sometimes the word order of the clause in which *se* appears. If, for instance, a *se* clause appears embedded within one independent clause, it is appropriate to designate it as a relative.

Þa comon him to sad[u]cei þa secgað þæt ærist ne sý &

hine ahsodon & þus cwædon

then the Sadducees, who say that [there] be no
resurrection, came to him and asked him and thus said
(Mk. 12.18)

It is interesting to note that almost all of the *se* clauses designated as independent based on the previous guidelines have the order SVX or SV(X), with *se* in the subject position. This fact seems to indicate that while SVX is a viable order for dependent clauses, it is nevertheless a significant marker for independent clauses. Of the original 242 possible *se*-clauses, 97 are restrictive and at least 10 are ambiguous. Three are noun clauses, as in the examples above. Of the 125 or so nonrestrictive relatives in this category, it is sometimes rather difficult to decide which are true relative constructions and which are demonstratives.

Another method of forming relative clauses was to use a combination of the first two, or *se þe*, with *se* declinable and *þe* not declinable, with the antecedent a separate noun or pronoun. In later English versions, this form is often translated *he who*. Of course, this combination shows up in all the case forms of *se*; it is less common in this corpus than the *þe* form, but one example follows here. Although it can be dative plural as well as dative singular (masculine/neuter), in this example *þam* is semantically instrumental in value:

ealle synna synd manna bearnum forgyfene & bysmorunga
þam ðe hi bysmeriað

all sins will be forgiven the sons of men, and
blasphemies with which they blaspheme (Mk. 3.28)

Certain ambiguities arise with this form; for instance, when the case of the demonstrative is in agreement with its role in the main clause and there is a nominal antecedent, as in the following example, Govberg-Afros (2002:242) points out that two possible interpretations apply. Mitchell and Robinson (2002:77) call this structure the *se'þe* relative, where *se* is not the antecedent, but carries the case of the higher clause.

Ic wat witodlice þæt ge seceað þone hælýnd þone þe on
rode ahangen wæs

I know truly that you seek the Savior who was
crucified

OR

I know truly that you seek the Savior, the one who was
crucified. (Mt. 28.5)

In fifteen instances in the Anglo-Saxon Gospels, the compound relative has as its antecedent *eall*. These structures can be interpreted as *eall se* being a constituent with *þe* as the relative particle, a view held by Govberg-Afros (2002:243). We will consider these as a variant of the *se þe* relative category. An example follows here.

eallum þam þe þu him sealdest
to all whom you gave him

OR

To all those whom you gave him (Jn. 17.2)

Besides these three major relative forms, several other relative forms appear in the corpus. The structure known as an asyndetic or indefinite relative, *swa ... swa*, is fairly well represented in the corpus, and is generally translated *whoever*, *whomever*, or *whichever* in later versions.

ic þe sylle swa hwæt swa þu me bitst
I will give you whatever you ask me (Mk. 6.23)

swa hwylc swa wyle be-tweox eow beon yldra sy he eower þen
whosoever will be greater among you, he should be your
servant (Mt. 20.26)

Unlike the previous relative constructions, this type of relative marker indicates some kind of nominal clause, or occasionally an adverbial relative. These types of relatives are variously called general, free, or indefinite, and we will use the latter term throughout the paper. Additionally, *þær* and other adverbial relatives represent a very small category in OE that has expanded in more recent English versions.

hwar ys cumena hus þar ic mine eastron wyrce mid minon
leorning-cnihtum

Where is the guest chamber where I will eat the Passover
with my disciples? (Lk. 22.11)

Hw-word structures, which often look like relative clauses, are not included in this study. Mitchell and Robinson (2001:74) say that the "stage has not been reached in OE" where interrogatives can be interpreted as relativizers. Almost all

of these structures can be interpreted as dependent questions rather than relatives, as in the following example.

þa he geswutelode hwylcon deaðe he swulte
when he revealed by which death he would die
(Jn. 18. 32)

Chapter Two

Relative clauses with a simple verb structure

2.1 Introduction

The corpus on which this research is based includes everything in the Gospels of Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John. In modern versions of the Bible, these four gospels include a total of 3,779 verse divisions. In these verses there are a total of about 1,480 relative clauses, with more than one relative clause in some verses. Thus, verses with relative clauses represent about 35-40% of all the verses included. The reason for an approximate number is the difficulty of confirming the relative nature of certain *se* clauses.

Of the 1,480 relative clauses in the corpus, 1,207 use a simple verb construction. A total of 62 of the single-verb verses have only two elements, a relative clause subject and a verb. Because the verb is always second to the relative subject in these structures and therefore can tell us little about verb order, they were eliminated from further consideration, leaving 1,145 relative constructions. Most of these relatives begin with *pe*; however, all the types of relativizers except *pær* are

represented. In addition, all of the adjective clauses with only two elements are restrictive.

This chapter will study the variant placement of the independent verb within the relative clause: initial, medial, or final. The relative pronoun is not included in this placement, as it always comes first. Also, because the relative pronoun cannot act as a verb, clauses with only three elements have only two possibilities for placement of the verb--initial or final. Initial verb placement, directly after the relativizer, correlates with the generativist V2 transformation as explained in chapter one. Because a large number of the clauses consist of only three elements, medial verb placement is the least well represented of the positions. For the sake of clarity, the antecedent of the relative pronoun (where relevant) is included in each example.

Table 2.1 shows the placement of verbs in these clauses. Of the relative constructions including more than two elements, 694 are verb final, 311 verb initial, 123 verb medial, and 17 show combinations of placements. From an examination of the table, it is obvious that certain constructions are very well represented; however, the word order within the clauses is quite varied, yet, as we shall see, clearly rule governed.

Table 2.1 Placement of the independent verb in the relative clause

Verb placement	#	%
Verb initial	311	25.8%
Verb medial	123	10.2%
Verb final	694	57.5%
Combination	17	1.4%
Rel ^S V only (no further consideration)	62	5.1%
Total relative clauses with one verb	1207	100.0%

The simplest way to divide and study this category is based on sentence patterns: clauses with transitive verbs (direct objects), those with intransitive linking verbs (subject complements), and those with intransitive complete verbs (no complement). Dative constructions which occur with direct objects will be designated as indirect objects. Those without direct objects will be called datives. Minor elements, adverbs and prepositional phrases, will also be considered as part of the word order.

2.2 Verb-final clauses

This section will examine the single-verb relative clauses where the verb is the final element of the clause. The clauses in this group are divided into two sub-groups: those where the relative pronoun is the subject of the relative clause (Rel^S X V), comprising 424 of the total, and those where it is other than the subject (Rel^X S V), comprising 270 instances.

2.2.1 Rel^x S V clauses

This particular type of clause is represented by 270 examples in the corpus. Here the relative pronoun functions as something other than subject, and variables such as adverbs, prepositional phrases, indirect objects, and dative or instrumental objects may appear elsewhere in the clause. The large number of examples necessitates a number of subdivisions based on the function of the verb as transitive, intransitive complete, and intransitive linking. As shown in Table 2.2, the relative functions as the direct object in 204 clauses, an adverb in 40, an object of a preposition in 17, an indirect object in 4, a possessive in 3, a dative/instrumental object in 1, and a genitive in 1.

2.2.1.1 Rel^x S V transitive clauses

With 216 total examples, the verb-final transitive clauses make up the largest percentage of cases (80.0%) in the Rel^x S V format. With 204 (75.6%) examples, the largest subgroup in this category usually has the relative pronoun functioning as the direct object of its clause.

Table 2.2 Function of relative pronouns and sentence types in Rel^x S V constructions

Function of relative	Form	#	%
Direct object	rel ^{do} s v	204	75.6%
Adverbial relative	rel ^{adv} s v	40	14.8%
Prepositional phrase	rel ^{op} s v	17	6.3%
Other	rel ^{other} s v	9	3.3%
Total		270	100.0%
Sentence type	#	#	%
Transitive			
Direct object	204		
Adverbial	5		
Prepositional	3		
Indirect object	4	216	80.0%
Intransitive complete			
Adverbial	35		
Prepositional phrase	14		
Other	5	54	20.0%
Intransitive linking		0	0.0%
Total		270	100.0%

The most basic and most numerous representation of this type of structure is example (1), where there are only three elements in the entire clause, Rel^{DO} S V. This relative construction appears with *pe* (1), *se* (2), *swa hw- swa* (3), and *se pe* (4) as relativizers. Only the first two, *pe* and *se*, mark both restrictive and nonrestrictive relative clauses. *Se pe* relatives in this category are always restrictive, and *swa hw- swa* relative clauses are nominals.

- (1) *pa ping pe he wyrçp*
 the things that he does

(Pater enim diligit Filium et omnia demonstrat ei) quae
 ipse facit (Jn. 5.20)

(2) anne laman to him berende þone feower men bæron
carrying to him one [who was] lame whom four men carried
ferentes ad eum paralyticum qui a quattuor portabatur
(Mk. 2.3)

(3) swa hwæt swa hig woldon
whatever they wanted
(fecerunt in eo) quaecumque voluerunt (Mt. 17.12)

(4) bysmorunga þam ðe hi bysmeriað
blasphemies with which they will blaspheme
blasphemiae quibus blasphemaverint (Mk. 3.28)

As Mitchell (1985), Koopman (1992), and Gardner (1971) among others have pointed out, if the direct object initiates the relative clause there is a clear tendency for the subject and the verb to follow in that order. It is also true that variables may appear between the direct object and the subject but are much less likely to occur there than between the subject and the verb. In one place in the text, an indirect object comes immediately after the direct object, as in (5), but it is the only type of interceding element in this position. The fact that it is a pronoun may explain its position early in the clause. The possibility that the order is influenced by the Latin is unlikely. Besides the fact that the Latin is passive rather than active, the OE constituent in question is clause-final in the Latin. All other cases of indirect objects in this category appear after the subject (9,10).

(5) be þam þe him þa hyrdas sædon
about those [words] that the shepherds told them

de his quae dicta erant a pastoribus ad ipsos (Lk. 2.18)

In other examples from this sub-category, additional variables may occur between the subject and the verb. Elements that intervene in this more common position include adverbs (6), prepositional phrases (7) and (8), object complements (9), and indirect objects (10) and (11). Indirect objects may occur as either nouns or pronouns. Only one example of a relative with an object complement occurs in the text. It is a noun and occurs directly after the subject of the relative clause.

(6) swa hwæt swa þu mare to-gedest
whatever more you spend

quodcumque supererogaveris (Lk. 10.35)

(7) þæt word þe he to him spræc
that word which he spoke to them

(et ipsi non intellexerunt) verbum quod locutus est ad
illos (Lk. 2.50)

(8) swa hwæt swa þu ofer eorþan gebindst þæt byþ on heofonum
gebunden
whatever you bind on earth, that will be bound in heaven

quodcumque ligaveris super terram erit ligatum in caelis
(Mt. 16.19)

(9) mid þam wyr-t-gemange þe hig nardus hatað
with the spice mixture that they call nardus¹ (Jn. 12.3)

¹ Here the Latin is completely different from Old English:
"Maria ergo accepit libram unguenti nardi pistici pretiosi
unxit pedes Iesu et extersit capillis suis pedes eius."
This passage shows the independence of the English
version.

(10) ealle þing þe ic eow fore-sæde
all things that I foretold you

(vos ergo videte ecce) praedixi vobis omnia (Mk. 13.23)

(11) þone að þe he urum fæder abrahame swor
that oath which he swore [to] our father Abraham

iusiurandum quod iuravit ad Abraham patrem nostrum
(Lk. 1.73)

Besides the relative direct object, other relatives account for a minority of transitive verb-final clauses. Transitive adverbial relatives occur five times, prepositional phrases three times, and indirect object relative markers occur in four instances. Examples of adverbial relatives are all quite similar, with no variables included (12), and the subject always follows the relative (Rel^{Adv} S DO V). A variety of relativizers—*þe* (12), *swa hw- swa* (13), and *þær* (14)—are used to introduce these clauses, with *þær* used in three instances. Three of these relative constructions are restrictive, as in (12), one is a nominal (13), and one is nonrestrictive (14).

(12) þæne dæg þe man me bebyrge
the day when someone buries me [I am buried]

in die sepulturae meae (Jn. 12.7)

(13) swa hwær swa he hine gelæcð forgnit hine
wherever he takes him [he] crushes him

ubicumque eum adprehenderit adludit eum
(Mk. 9.18; Latin Mk. 9.17)

(14) he cymb beforan eow on galileam þær ge hyne geseop
he precedes you into Galilee, where you will see him

praecedit vos in Galilaeam ibi eum videbitis (Mt. 28.7)

Transitive relative clauses built on a prepositional phrase are represented by (15), an impersonal construction introduced by the *se* relativizer which shows pied piping, where the preposition and its object are contiguous; and (16), where the preposition is stranded, or detached from its object, the relative marker *þe*. In our corpus, this phenomenon is rare with the relative marker, occurring only about four times. Mitchell (1980) uses the terms *preposition* and *postposition* to differentiate the placements. Allen (1980) explains in detail the phenomena of pied piping and preposition stranding as methods of movement in transformational grammar. She points out that preposition stranding occurs in OE *þe* as well as with *þær* and *þæt* relativizers. The similarities among these forms lead her to conclude that these three markers are complementizers rather than true relative pronouns. In her opinion *þæt* is not really the neuter form of the demonstrative/relative *se*, but rather is a homophonous complementizer.

(15) her is min sunu on þam me gelicode
here is my son, in whom I have found pleasure

hic est Filius meus ... in quo mihi conplacui (Mt. 3.17)

(16) hwæt ys se ðe he hyt big segð
who is it about whom he said it?

quis est de quo dicit

(Jn. 13.24)

Transitive clauses that begin with other objects are also rare in the corpus. Indirect object relative constructions, represented by (17), occur four times. All use *þe* as the relative marker, all are restrictive, and all show the order Rel^{IO} S DO V . This particular marker, although it is indeclinable, is quite flexible semantically, as described in the previous chapter and illustrated both with these indirect object examples and earlier adverbial relative constructions.

(17) þam þe hig micel befæstun
him [to] whom they entrusted much

cui commendaverunt multum

(Lk. 12.48)

2.2.1.2 Rel^X S V (Intransitive complete relative clauses)

Intransitive complete clauses with the verb in final position make up 54 examples in the text. Typically, two relative functions apply here: adverbs and prepositional objects. In addition, a genitive introduces one relative clause. Adverbial relatives form a sub-group in this category, with 35 examples. The basic form includes only the three elements (i.e., the adverbial relative, the subject, and the verb). Examples (18) and (19) show this basic form.

(18) þær þær ic eom
there where I am

ubi sum ego (illic et minister meus erit) (John 12.26)

(19) oð þone dæg þe ðas ðing gewurðap.
until the day when those things happen

usque in diem quo haec fiant (Lk. 1.20)

As is typical of the previous section, the subject in this sub-group always appears directly after the adverbial relative. If there is a variable present, it always occurs between the subject and the verb. The additional variable following the subject can be an adverb (20) or a prepositional phrase (21). Clauses beginning with *þe* appear ten times and there is one *se* clause (22), but no *se þe*. Most typically, these clauses begin with the adverbial relatives *þær* (209) and *þyder* (23), as well as with *sw hw- swa* (24).

(20) gyf ge geseop mannes sunu astigendne þær he ær wæs
if ye see man's son ascending where he was before

si ergo videritis Filium hominis ascendentem ubi erat prius
(Jn. 6.62; Latin Jn. 6.63)

(21) oð þone dæg þe noe on þa earce eode
until the day when Noah went into the ark

usque ad eum diem quo introivit in arcam Noe (Mt. 24.38)

(22) seo stow þæt man on gebidde
the place where men should worship

(Hierosolymis est) locus ubi adorare oportet (Jn. 4.20)

(23) ne miht þu me fylían þyder ic nu fare
you may not follow me where I now go

quo ego vado non potes me modo sequi (Jn. 13.36)

(24) Ic fylige þe swa hwyder swa þu færst
I will follow you wherever you go

sequar te quocumque ieris (Lk. 9.57)

All of the adjectival relative clauses given above are restrictive constructions; however, *þær* relative clauses in this group are occasionally nonrestrictive (25).

(25) Ðas ðing wæron gewordene on bethania begeondan
iordanen þær iohannes fullode
These things were done in Bethany beyond Jordan where John
was baptizing

haec in Bethania facta sunt trans Iordanen ubi erat
Iohannes baptizans (Jn. 1.28)

The Rel^x S V intransitive form can also begin with the relative as an object of the preposition. Fourteen examples appear in this category. Examples of basic organization in this group are (26) and (27). The examples with *swa hw- swa*, of which there are four, all have as the object of the preposition a noun which the *swa* relative modifies, but because the relative is part of the prepositional phrase introducing the clause, they will remain in this category. Most of the examples in this category show pied piping, with the exception of (28).

(26) moyses on þone ge ge-hyhtað
Moses in whom you trust

Moses in quo vos speratis (Jn. 5.45)

(27) On swa hwylce burh oððe ceastre swa ge ingað
into whichever town or city you go

in quamcumque civitatem aut castellum intraveritis
(Mt. 10.11)

(28) his wæpnu þe he on truwude
his arms in which he trusted

arma eius (aufert) in quibus confidebat (Lk. 11.22)

Once again the subject appears without exception directly after the object of the preposition; any other elements, if present, intervene between the subject and the single verb. Relative markers consist of *se* (26), *swa hw- swa* (27), and *þe* (28). Except for the *swa hw- swa* relative constructions, all but one of the clauses in this group are nonrestrictive. The one restrictive example, introduced by a *se* marker is shown below (29). Perhaps this clause should be considered under the verb-medial category because of its following independent clause of quoted speech.

(29) þa dagas cumað on þam hig cwepað eadige synt þa
untymyndan & in-nopas þe ne cendun & þa breost þe ne
sictun

the days are coming in which they will say, "Blessed
are the barren and wombs that did not conceive and the
breasts that did not give suck"

venient dies in quibus dicent beatae steriles et ventres
qui non genuerunt et ubera quae non lactaverunt (Lk. 23.29)

In the case where a genitive object acts as the relativizer in an intransitive complete clause (30), the relative marker is

þe and the clause is restrictive. Once again this relative marker exemplifies its grammatical flexibility.

(30) *þes wæs þe ic sæde.*
this was [the one] of whom I spoke

hic erat quem dixi (Jn. 1.15)

2.2.1.3 Summary of Rel^x S V forms

The last two sections have shown the variety of patterns and placement of interposed variables in the general Rel^x S V configuration. A review of these sections reveals a few common elements among the variations. First, when the relative pronoun is not the subject of the clause, the subject always directly follows the relative pronoun, except for one case with an indirect object. Gardner (1972), using a different corpus, also found one exception in her study. Second, any number of various elements may be inserted between the subject and the verb, but in none of the examples in the corpus is there more than one adverb, prepositional phrase, or other object inserted into a clause at a particular place.

Gardner (1972: 61) believes that while the direct object "frequently comes first in the clause" in adjective clauses (that is, the relative marker acts as the direct object), subject complements never begin a clause. The data above reinforces that finding, in that the relativizer is most

commonly the direct object of its clause, and in fact no intransitive linking verb constructions appear in this section. A number of indirect questions, which look much like relative clauses, do have the relative as subject complement; however, they are not considered in this paper.

Besides direct objects the relative may function as adverb, object of the preposition, and, in one case, genitive object. Of the total number of clauses in this group, only twenty-three are nonrestrictive, and those are limited to three types of relatives: *þe*, *se*, and *þær*. The restrictive clauses are heavily weighted toward *þe* relative constructions, but all of the markers are represented.

2.2.2 Rel^s X V clauses

Relative pronouns act as the subject of 424 verb-final relative clauses in the Anglo-Saxon Gospels. Once again they are divided into transitive, intransitive complete, and intransitive linking structures. Of these instances, the intervening element can fulfill any one of several functions, as shown in Table 2.3. The most common function of the interposed element, found in 222 (52.4%) cases, is as a direct object in a transitive sentence pattern. In 33 examples the intervening element is an adverb in an intransitive complete sentence pattern. In 38 cases the extra element is a predicate noun or

predicate adjective with a linking verb. In 128 instances the intervening element is a prepositional phrase. In the remaining few examples, the sentence contains a combination of forms.

Table 2.3 Function of intervening element (X) and sentence types in Rel^s X V constructions

Function of X	Form	#	%
Direct object	rel ^s x ^{do} v	222	52.4%
Adverbial relative	rel ^s x ^{adv} v	33	7.8%
Predicate adjective	rel ^s x ^{pa} v	38	9.0%
Prepositional phrase	rel ^s x ^{pp} v	128	30.2%
Combination		3	0.6%
Total		424	100.0%
Sentence type	#	#	%
Transitive			
Direct Object	222	222	52.4%
Intransitive complete			
Adverbial relative	33		
Prepositional phrase	128	161	38.0%
Intransitive linking			
Predicate adjective	38	38	9.0%
Combination	3	3	0.6%
Total		424	100.0%

2.2.2.1 Rel^s DO V

This category is represented by 222 relative clauses in the text. The basic form appears in (31), although there are two examples with possessive pronominals modifying the subject (32). Between the relative subject and the direct object may appear an indirect object (33) or in one case a prepositional phrase (34).

In the second variable position, after the direct object and before the verb, prepositional phrases most commonly intervene (35). In addition an indirect object may be placed here (36), although it is a less likely position than between the subject and the direct object. Usually only one variable occurs in a clause, but in (37) both positions are filled. Another common occurrence is a compound verb and direct object (38). Compound relatives which share a single relative pronoun subject occasionally occur (39).

- (31) swa hwylce swa hyne under-fengon
 whichever received him
 quotquot autem receperunt (Jn. 1.12)
- (32) swa hwylc mann swa his wif forlæt & oþer nimð
 whichever man his wife forsakes and another takes
 quicumque dimiserit uxorem suam et aliam duxerit (Mk. 10.11)
- (33) hwæt ys se ðe þe þisne anwald sealde
 who is he who gave you this power
 quis est qui dedit tibi hanc potestatem (Lk. 20.2)
- (34) mid þam ræplingum se þurh swic-cræft man-slyht geworhte
 with the prisoners who committed murder through
 treachery
 (Barabbas) qui cum seditiosis erat vinctus qui in seditione
 fecerant homicidium (Mk. 15.7)
- (35) se unriht-hæmð þe forlætene æfter him genimð
 he fornicates who takes for himself afterward a forsaken
 [woman]
 qui dimissam duxerit adulterat (Mt. 5.32)

(36) se ðe me þe sealde
he who gave me [to] you

qui tradidit me tibi (maius peccatum habet) (Jn. 19.11)

(37) oprum tilion þe him hys wæstm hyra tidon agyfon
to other workmen who might give him its fruit [in] their
time

(vineam locabit) aliis agricolis qui reddant ei fructum
temporibus suis (Mt. 21.41)

(38) Se þe me for-higð & mine word ne under-fehð
he who rejects me and [does] not receive my word

qui spernit me et non accipit verba mea (Jn 12.48)

(39) þa ðe on godre & on selestre heortan gehyrende
þæt word healdað & wæstm on geþylde bringað
those who having heard with a good and a noble heart
grasp that word and bring [forth] fruit in patience

(hii sunt) qui in corde bono et optimo audientes verbum
retinent et fructum adferunt in patientia (Lk. 8.15)

Relative markers for this configuration consist of *þe*

(33,34,35,36,37,38,39,42), *se þe* (40,41), *se* (34), and *swa hw-
swa* (31, (32)). The adjective clauses, relative structures that
modify a noun or pronoun in the upper clause, may be either
restrictive or nonrestrictive; however, only seventeen are
nonrestrictive, using mostly *þe* (42) or occasionally *se* as the
relativizer. *Swa hw- swa* clauses act as nominatives, where
restrictiveness does not apply.

(40) Se unholda man seþe þone coccel seow
The hostile man who sows tares

inimicus autem qui seminavit ea (Mt. 13.39)

(41) *ælc ðara þe yfele deð hatað þæt leoht*
each that does evil hates that light

omnis enim qui mala agit odit lucem (Jn. 3.20)

(42) *iudas scarioð þe hine belæwde*
Judas Iscariot who betrayed him

Iudas Scariotis qui erat eum traditurus (Jn. 12.4)

The *ðara þe* (41) construction occurs a number of times, but tends to be more fixed than other *se þe* relatives. Various scholars (Wülfing 1901; Delbrück 1909; Johansen 1935) have examined this structure and have found that it takes only animate, nominal antecedents, usually singular in spite of the fact that *ðara* is the plural genitive form of *se*. Typically in the corpus, *ælc*, *nan*, and *an* are the antecedents for this form. Govberg-Afros (2002:305), who treats it as a separate phenomenon from the *se þe* type, comments that “*ðara* has no function as a constituent of either principal or embedded clauses. The singular predicate of the relative clause indicates that *ðara* is not an antecedent of the relative clause and not a subject of the embedded clause on which it is relativized.” In fact, only one example in our text uses a plural verb (43).

(43) *swa we forgyfað ælcum þara þe wið us agyltað*
as we forgive everyone who offends against us

siquidem et ipsi dimittimus omni debenti nobis (Lk. 11.4)

Of interest for our purposes here is that all of these structures in the corpus are subject initial and verb final with

the proviso that a prepositional phrase occasionally follows the verb. Additionally, only two configurations are transitive, with the rest identified as intransitive complete.

2.2.2.2 Rel^s X V (intransitive complete verbs)

Intransitive complete verbs make up 161 relatives in the corpus for the Rel^s X V format. Most commonly these include an adverb (44) or a prepositional phrase (45) between the subject and the verb. Other variations include two adverbs (46), two prepositional phrases (47), and a combination of a prepositional phrase and an adverb (48).

(44) þa ðe nu wepað
those who now weep

qui lugent (Mt. 5.5)

(45) þa ðe on iudea synt
those who are in Judea

qui in Iudaea sunt (Lk. 21.21)

(46) an of þam þe ðar embe-uton stodon
one of them who stood there about

unus autem quidam de circumstantibus (Mk. 14.47)

(47) onlihtan þam þe on ðystrum & on deapes sceade sittað
to give light to those who sit in darkness and in death's shadow

inluminare his qui in tenebris et in umbra mortis
sedent (Lk. 1.79)

(48) and eall folc geblissode on eallum þam ðe wuldor-fullice
fram him ge-wurdon
and all the people rejoiced in all those [things] which
came to pass gloriously by him

et omnis populus gaudebat in universis quae gloriose
fiebant ab eo (Lk. 13.17)

The most typical relative markers is *þe*, as in (44-47) and (48), which can be interpreted as either a *se þe* construction with the antecedent *eallum* or a *þe* relative clause having the antecedent *eallum þam*. Mitchell and Robinson (2001:77) identify this type of construction as the *se'þe* relative, where *se* carries the case of the independent clause rather than the one indicated by its function in the relative clause. On the other hand, Govberg-Afros (2002:243) insists that "the demonstrative pronoun belongs to the principal clause and together with *eall* constitutes a definite antecedent of the relative *þe*-clause."

In example (49) the antecedent is missing, a typical occurrence in OE.

(49) Nu synd forð-farene þe ðæs cildes sawle sohton
now are dead [those] who sought the child's life

defuncti sunt enim qui quaerebant animam pueri (Mt. 2.20)

Mitchell (1987:486) believes that the relative marker in this case actually performs a dual function: relativizer and antecedent. Because there are examples in the corpus which require different cases for these two functions, Govberg-Afros (2002:258) assumes that either mistranslation of the Latin or

Latin influence is at work here. For instance, in (50) the main clause requires that the missing antecedent should be a genitive form, while the relative clause requires nominative. She believes that "the translator has probably overlooked the fact that the participle in the source text is in the genitive." Other similar OE relative clauses, she says, seem to copy the Latin (51). Note that this last example does not fit into the Rel^s X V category.

(50) mynetera þrocu & heah-setlu þe þa culfran cypton he to bræc
and overturned the tables of the money changers and
the seats [of those] who sold doves

et mensas nummulariorum et cathedras vendentium
columbas evertit (Mk. 11.15)

(51) Iohannes him andswarode ic fullige on wætere tomiddes
eow stod, þe ge ne cunnon
John answered them I baptize with water; there has stood
[one] among you whom you do not know

respondit eis Iohannes dicens ego baptizo in aqua
medius autem vestrum stetit quem vos non scitis (Jn. 1.26)

Other relativizers are *se* (52) and *swa hw- swa* (53). A particular type of *se* construction also appears in this group: *þæt* clauses with no antecedent (54). This type of relativizer occurs thirty-seven times with simple verbs and twenty-one with periphrastic constructions. Only three relative constructions in this sub-category are nonrestrictive, as in (55).

(52) þa þæt gafol namon
those who took that tribute

qui didragma accipiebant (Mt. 17.24; Latin Mt. 17.23)

- (53) swa hwylc swa his wif forlæt
 whoever abandons his wife
 quicumque dimiserit uxorem suam (Mt. 5.31)
- (54) ne besmit þone mann þæt on hys muþ gæð
 that which goes into his mouth does not defile that man
 non quod intrat in os coinquinat hominem (Mt. 15.11)
- (55) crist godes sunu þe on middan-eard come
 Christ God's son who has come to earth
 (tu es) Christus Filius Dei qui in mundum venisti
 (Jn. 11.27)

2.2.2.3 Rel^s SC LV (intransitive linking)

This type of clause is represented by 38 examples in the text. All of the examples are predicate adjectives (56), with no predicate nouns. A large number of these verses show only the basic structure (57), but they may include a preposition (58) or an adverb (59). *Ðe* clauses predominate, but there are a few *se* clauses (60), and only one *se þe* (61). All of these adjective clauses are restrictive, with the exception of this last example and the possible exception of (57), which is ambiguous.

- (56) an þam ðingum ðe mines fæder synt
 in the things that are my father's
 in his quae Patris mei sunt (Lk. 2.49)
- (57) ge þe yfle synt
 ye that are evil
 vos cum sitis mali (Mt. 7.11)

- (58) he is þe æfter me toward is
 he is [the one] who is approaching after me
 ipse est qui post me venturus est (Jn. 1.27)
- (59) þone mann þe ær blind wæs
 the man who was previously blind
 (vocaverunt) hominem qui fuerat caecus (Jn. 9.24)
- (60) nim þæt þin ys
 take that which is yours
 tolle quod tuum est (Mt. 20.14)
- (61) þa farisei gehyrdon þa ðe gifre wæron
 the pharisees who were greedy heard
 audiebant ... Pharisei qui erant avari (Lk. 16.14)

2.2.2.4 Clauses with combinations of structures

In this general section a few verb-final relative clauses use a combination of structures. They are compound clauses which share a relative pronoun, and they may be a combination of transitive and intransitive linking (62) or intransitive complete and transitive (63).

- (62) us ... ða þe hyt of frymðe gesawon. & þære spræce þenas wæron
 to us ... who saw it from [the] beginning and were servants
 of the word
 nobis qui ab initio ipsi viderunt et ministri fuerunt
 sermonis (Lk. 1:2)
- (63) Ælc þara þe to me cymb & mine spræca gehhoyrð & þa deþ
 each of them who comes to me and hears my words and does
 them
 omnis qui venit ad me et audit sermones meos et facit eos
 (Lk. 6. 47)

2.2.2.5 Summary of Rel^S X V clauses

A few commonalities bear mention here. When the relative pronoun is the subject of its clause, the complement, whether direct object or subject complement, directly precedes the verb; however, adverbial elements often intervene between the relative pronoun subject and the predicate noun. Added prepositional phrases occur in all but two cases between the complement and the verb. Twelve examples have the minor interposed element between the relative subject and the complement, and nineteen examples have the extra element between the complement and the verb. None of the other examples have any other intervening elements.

The majority of verb-final constructions are restrictive, and most of the nonrestrictive examples appear in the transitive relative clause group, thirty-two of a total of forty-nine nonrestrictive relative clauses.

2.3 Verb-initial clauses

As shown earlier in Table 2.1, the verb is the first element following the relative in 311 clauses; we therefore consider these clauses to be verb-initial. Organization of this section is based again on the sentence patterns: transitive, intransitive complete, and intransitive linking. As shown in Table 2.4, the transitive form comprises 114 examples,

intransitive linking 84 examples, intransitive complete 112 examples, and one is a combination of two of the sentence types.

Table 2.4 Function of relative pronouns and sentence types in verb-initial constructions

Sentence type	#	#	%
Transitive			
Rel ^S V DO	110		
Rel ^{DO} V S	4	114	36.7%
Intransitive linking	84	84	27.0%
Intransitive complete			
Rel ^S V (X)	109		
Rel ^{OP} V S	3	112	36.0%
Combination	1	1	0.3%
Total		311	100.0%

2.3.1 Verb-initial transitive relative clauses

Of the verb-initial relative clauses in the corpus, 114 contain transitive verbs. These structures are further divided into relative subjects (Rel^S V DO) and relative direct objects (Rel^{DO} V S).

2.3.1.1 Rel^S V DO

In 110 of the verb-initial clauses with a transitive structure, the relative acts as the subject of the sentence, and in one (64) the relative is a possessive adjective modifying the subject of the clause. The basic form, identical to the element order of Modern English, is represented by (65) and occurs 39

times. Sometimes the direct object is a clause consisting of quoted speech (66). Elements that occur after the direct object include prepositional phrases (67), adverbs (68) or an adverb phrase (69), and appositives (70). Indirect objects appear three times and genitive objects once (71). In NE of course the placement of this indirect object would automatically demand the use of a prepositional phrase.

- (64) wif ... þære dohtor hæfde unclæne gast
 a woman whose daughter had an unclean spirit
 mulier ... cuius habebat filia spiritum inmundum (Mk. 7.25)
- (65) ælc þe yrsað hys breþer
 each who is angry at his brother
 omnis qui irascitur fratri suo (Mt. 5.22)
- (66) se þe segð hys breðer þu awordena
 he who says to his brother you worthless one
 qui ... dixerit fratri suo racha (Mt. 5.22)
- (67) oðre þe mid him wæron þa sædon þas þing þam apostolum
 others who were with them who said those things to
 the apostles
 ceterae quae cum eis erant quae dicebant ad apostolos haec
 (Lk. 24.10)
- (68) tyn hreofe weras þa stodon hig feorran
 ten leprous men who they stood afar
 decem viri leprosi qui steterunt a longe (Lk. 17.12)
- (69) Se þe lufað fæder oððe modor ma þonne me
 he who loves father or mother more than me
 qui amat patrem aut matrem plus quam me (Mt. 10.37)

(70) *se here-toga se þe recð min folc israhel*
the lord who will rule my people Israel

dux qui reget populum meum Israhel (Mt. 2.6)

(71) *swa hwylc swa sylþ anne drinc cealdes wæteres*
anum þyssa lytylra manna on leorningcnihtes naman whoever
gives one drink [of] cold water [to]
one of these little persons in a disciple's name

quicumque potum dederit uni ex minimis istis calicem aquae
frigidae tantum in nomine discipuli (Mt. 10.42)

Example (68), where the pronoun *hig* repeats the function of the relative pronoun *þa*, is variously identified as pleonastic (Govberg-Afros 2002), resumptive (Fischer 1992), or returning (Allen 1977). Traugott (1972:104) submits that this seeming redundancy may be a result of pragmatic considerations. In many instances it might clarify ambiguous relative markers, or it could "also be used for emphasis." This type of insertion occurs sporadically in the corpus.

The typical relativizers for this group are *þe* (65-67), *se* (68), *se þe* (70), and *swa hw- swa* (71). When the latter relative marker is used, some other structure often follows the direct object, typically a prepositional phrase as in (71). Elements that intervene between the verb and the direct object are either indirect objects (72) or prepositional phrases (73). The majority of these constructions are restrictive. The fourteen nonrestrictive clauses are mostly *se* relative clauses (74), with two introduced by *þe*.

- (72) gelic cyninge þe macude hys suna gyfta
 like a king who prepared for his son a marriage
 simile ... est ... regi qui fecit nuptias filio suo
 (Mt. 22.2)
- (73) gelic þam hiredes ealdre þe forð-bringð of
 his gold-horde niwe þing & ealde
 like an elder of the household who brings forth from his
 treasure-trove new things and old
 similis est homini patri familias qui profert de thesauro
 suo nova et vetera (Mt. 13.52)
- (74) saducei þa secgeað þæt nan æryst ne sy
 Sadducees, who say that [there be] no resurrection
 Sadducaei qui dicunt non esse resurrectionem (Mt. 22.23)

2.3.1.2 Rel^{DO} V S

This verb-initial category is rather small, with only four entries, all with *se* as the relativizer. One occurs with a possessive *se* relative before the direct object (75). A prepositional phrase following the subject (76) occurs three times. In none of the constructions does a minor element intervene between major clause elements.

- (75) hys cuða þæs eare sloh petrus of
 relative of him whose ear Peter had struck off
 cognatus eius cuius abscidit Petrus auriculam (Jn. 18.26)
- (76) gelic senepes corne þæt seow se man on hys æcre
 like a mustard seed that the man sowed in his field
 simile est ... grano sinapis quod accipiens homo seminavit in
 agro suo (Mt. 13.31)

(77) Wens þu [sic] hwa sy getrywe & gleaw þeow
þone geset hys hlafurd ofer his hired
[thaet] he him on tide mete sylle
Who do you think would be a true and wise servant
whom his lord has set over his household so
that he might give them meat at the proper time?

quis putas est fidelis servus et prudens quem constituit
dominus suus supra familiam suam ut det illis cibum in
tempore (Mt. 24.45)

The fact that there are so few of these relatives in the text seems to indicate that this structure was not typical in OE. Identification of *se* as a relative rather than a demonstrative can sometimes be problematic; however, the first example is clearly restrictive, the second could be interpreted as restrictive, and the third (77) seems stylistically to warrant identification as a restrictive relative because it is part of an interrogative construction.

2.3.2 Rel^s LV SC

Of the verb-initial clauses in the corpus, 84 show the linking verb pattern. All of the examples begin with a relativizer that acts as the subject of the clause. The basic form can use a predicate noun (78) or a predicate adjective (79). Some predicate nouns are entire quotations (80), and a few of the sentences have a possessive relative before the subject (81) with either predicate nouns or adjectives. One example of a possessive that is stranded from its noun is (82).

Prepositional phrases may follow the main elements of the clause, as illustrated in (83).

(78) Ða eode satanas on iudam. se wæs oðre naman scariot
then Satan entered into Judas who was by another name
Iscariot

intravit autem Satanas in Iudam qui cognominatur Scarioth
(Lk. 22.3)

(79) hig brohton him dumbne man se wæs deoful-seoc
they brought to him a dumb man who was devil-sick

obtulerunt ei hominem mutum daemonium habentem (Mt. 9.32)

(80) þæt is on ure geðeode min god min god hwi for-lete þu me
that is in our language my God my God why have you forsaken
me?

quod est interpretatum Deus meus Deus meus ut quid
dereliquisti me (Mk. 15.34)

(81) Ða comon hi to anum tune þæs nama wæs gezemani
then they came to a town whose name was Gethsemane

et veniunt in praedium cui nomen Gethsemani (Mk. 14.32)

(82) strengra cymð æfter me þæs ne eom ic wyrðe þæt ic his
sceona þwanga bugende uncnytte
a stronger [one] comes after me of whom I am not worthy
that kneeling I should undo his shoes' thongs

venit fortior me post me cuius non sum dignus procumbens
solvere corrigiam calciamentorum eius (Mk. 1.7)

(83) ælc rice þe byð twyræde on him sylfum byþ toworpen
each kingdom that is divided against itself will be wasted

omne regnum divisum contra se desolatur (Mt. 12.25)

Variables that may appear between the verb and the subject complement include dative or genitive structures (84), adverbs (85), or prepositional phrases (86).

(84) *gelic senepes corne ... þæt is ealra sæda læst*
like a mustard seed ... that is least of all seeds

simile est ... grano sinapis ... quod minimum quidem est
omnibus seminibus (Mt. 13.31-32)

(85) *caiphas se wæs ða on gere bisceop*
Caiaphus who was then in [that] year high priest

Caiaphas cum esset pontifex anni illius (Jn. 11.49)

(86) *se þe ys on lytlum unriht-wis*
he who is unjust in little [things]

qui in modico iniquus est (Lk. 16.10)

Clauses with predicate adjectives may begin with either a *þe* or *se* subject, and predicate nominative relative clauses use *þe*, *se*, *se þe*, and *þær*; however, the latter two are used only once each, and these clauses are heavily weighted toward the *se* relativizer. Thirty-one of these clauses are restrictive, introduced mainly by *þe* or a form of *se*.

2.3.3 Verb-initial intransitive complete relative clauses

Another category of simple verb-initial relative clauses is the group of intransitive complete verbs, with 114 examples.

The main variant of this category is in the form $\text{Rel}^S V (X)$, with 110 examples in the corpus. The remaining four examples are in the basic form $\text{Rel}^{\text{OP}} V S$.

2.3.3.1 $\text{Rel}^S V (X)$

There are 114 relative clauses in this intransitive complete grouping. Most commonly the X is a prepositional

phrase (87). Other variables for the optional element include adverbs (88) or adverb clauses (89), dative or genitive object (90), and combinations of adverbs and prepositions (91).

(87) ac gað ma to þam sceapun þe forwurdun israhela hiwrædene
but go rather to the sheep which perished of Israel's house
sed potius ite ad oves quae perierunt domus Israhel
(Mt. 10.6)

(88) eadige synd ge ðe hingriað nu
blessed are you who hunger now
beati qui nunc esuritis (Lk. 6.21)

(89) Seo menio þe wæs mid him þa he ladzarum clypode of
ðære byrgene & hine awehte of deaðe
The crowd that was with him when he called Lazarus
from the grave and awakened him from death
turba quae erat cum eo quando Lazarum vocavit de monumento
et suscitavit eum a mortuis (Jn. 12.17)

(90) rice þe com ures fæder dauides
kingdom that has come of our father david
quod venit regnum patris nostri David (Mk. 11.10)

(91) and he sylþ eow oðerne frefriend þæt beo æfre mid eow
and he will give you another comforter who is ever with you
et alium paraclatum dabit vobis ut maneat vobiscum in
aeternum (Jn. 14.16)

All of the relativizers are represented except the adverbial *þær*. The *se þe* marker (92) is represented by seven examples, all restrictive. Only about seventeen relative clauses in this group are nonrestrictive, mostly introduced by *se* (91), with a few examples of *þe* relative constructions.

- (92) ælc þara þe drincð of þam wætere þe ic him sylle
 anyone who drinks of the water that I (shall) give him
- qui autem biberit ex aqua quam ego dabo ei
 (Jn. 4.14; Latin Jn. 4.13)

2.3.3.2 Rel^{OP} V S

In this smaller sub-category of intransitive complete structures, we find only four examples, all of which show the *se* relative marker. (93) uses just the basic elements of this type of relative. Another example includes the impersonal construction with *byrian* (94). One of the clauses is nonrestrictive (95).

- (93) israhelisc wer on ðam nis nan facn
 an Israelite man in whom not is no deceit
- Israhelita in quo dolus non est (Jn. 1.47)

- (94) Syx dagas synt on þam gebyrað þæt man wyrce
 [there] are six days in which [it is] proper that man
 should work
- sex dies sunt in quibus oportet operari (Lk. 13.14)

- (95) þær wæron manega wif feorran þa ðe fyligdon
 þam hælende fram galilea him ðenigende
 Be-twuh þam wæs seo magdalenisce maria & maria iacobes
 moder & iosephes modur & zebedeis sunena modor
- there were many women at a distance who followed the
 Savior from Galilee ministering to Him,
 among whom was Mary Magdalene and Mary, James and
 Joseph's mother, and the mother of Zebedee's sons
- erant autem ibi mulieres multae a longe quae secutae erant
 Iesum a Galilaea ministrantes ei inter quas erat Maria
 Magdalene et Maria Iacobi et Ioseph mater et mater filiorum
 Zebedaei (Mt. 27.55-6)

2.3.4 Summary of verb-initial clauses

The most common sentence patterns for the verb-initial relative clauses are the transitive (37%) and intransitive complete (36%), with intransitive linking making up the remaining examples (27%); however, these clauses reveal a general overall similarity. First, if the relative pronoun is not the subject, the subject instead is final, followed occasionally by a prepositional phrase.

Second, when the relative pronoun functions as the subject of the transitive or intransitive linking clause, direct objects and subject complements are final, with an occasional prepositional phrase following. This relative-as-subject configuration is also the only structure where minor intervening elements are present, and then only between the verb and the complement (i.e., direct object or subject complement), not between the subject and the verb. If the clause contains no complement, typically minor elements, prepositional phrases and/or adverbs, are final.

2.4 Verb-medial clauses

Of the three possible verb positions which we have recognized, medial position is the least common in the Anglo-Saxon Gospels. See Table 2.5 for a summary of these clauses. As before, the major categories are transitive, intransitive

complete, and intransitive linking. As shown in Table 2.5, of the 123 examples from the corpus, transitive sentence patterns comprise 102 (82.9%), intransitive linking patterns 8 (6.5%) cases, and intransitive complete patterns 13 (10.6%).

Table 2.5 Function of relative pronouns and sentence types in verb-medial constructions

Sentence type	#	#	%
Transitive			
DO S V	45		
S V DO	34		
Adv S (DO) V (DO)	15		
PP S (DO) V (DO)	7		
IO S V (DO)	1	102	82.9%
Intransitive linking	8	8	6.5%
Intransitive complete			
S V (X)	12		
PP Adv V S	1	13	10.6%
Total		123	100.0%

2.4.1 Verb-medial transitive verb relative clauses

The transitive verb category is by far the most numerous of the verb-medial relative clauses. A number of separate structures fall into this category, and there is a good bit of variation within each sub-category.

2.4.1.1 Rel^{DO} S V X

With 45 examples the largest homogeneous category in this section is Rel^{DO} S (X) V X, where the relative pronoun acts as

the direct object of the clause and a variety of sentence elements may follow the verb. In this type of clause, the subject directly follows the relative pronoun with no other elements intervening. Between the subject and the verb may appear an indirect object (96) or a prepositional phrase (97). Elements which follow the verb are much less restricted, as the examples show. In forms where the elements extraposed are minor (prepositional phrases and adverbs), this structure is very similar to verb final clauses. For instance, often the only extraposed element is a prepositional phrase (96-98). Final elements are occasionally adjectives (99), but adverb use is much more common (100). Appositives (101), dependent clauses (102), indirect objects (103), and even infinitives (104) can be placed after the verb. The final example here (105) shows a pleonastic insertion of a pronoun repeating the direct object relative within the clause.

- (96) Ðæt ic eow secge on þystrum
 What I say to you in darkness
 quod dico vobis in tenebris (Mt. 10.27)
- (97) þæt ge on earum spræcun on bedd-cofum
 what you spoke in ears in bed chambers
 quod in aurem locuti estis in cubiculis (Lk. 12.3)
- (98) se frefriend cymð þe ic eow sende fram fæder
 the comforter comes whom I send you from father
 venerit paracletus quem ego mittam vobis a Patre (Jn. 15.26)

- (99) gegaderedon ealle ða þe hig gemetton gode & yfele
they gathered all those whom they found, good and evil

congregaverunt omnes quos invenerunt malos et bonos
(Mt. 22.10)
- (100) Ðas abrahames dohtor þe satanas geband nu eahta-tyne gear
this daughter of Abraham whom Satan had bound now for
eighteen years

hanc autem filiam Abrahae quam alligavit Satanas ecce decem
et octo annis (Lk. 13.16)
- (101) her is min cnapa þone ic ge-ceas min gecorena
here is my child whom I chose, my beloved

ecce puer meus quem elegi dilectus meus (Mt. 12.18)
- (102) þa þing ðe ge wyllen [thaet] men eow don
the things that ye want men to do to you

omnia ergo quaecumque vultis ut faciant vobis homines
(Mt. 7.12)
- (103) neah þam tune þe iacob sealde iosepe his suna
near the town that Jacob gave Joseph his son

iuxta praedium quod dedit Iacob Ioseph filio suo (Jn. 4.5)
- (104) þæt weorc þæt þu me sealdest to donne
that work that you gave me to do

opus ... quod dedisti mihi ut faciam (Jn. 17.4)
- (105) eadig ys se þeow þe hys hlafurd hyne gemet þus don dne þonne
he cymð
blessed is the servant whom his lord him finds thus doing
when he comes

beatus ille servus quem cum venerit dominus eius invenerit
sic facientem (Mt. 24.46)

All of the relative markers except adverbials are
represented in this category, but over half of the examples use

þe. *Swa hw-* *swa* (106) is represented by four relative clauses. Only eight of these constructions are nonrestrictive, and their relative markers are limited to *þe* and *se*.

(106) *swa hwæt swa ge biddað on minum naman*
whatever you ask in my name

quodcumque petieritis ... in nomine meo (Jn. 15.16)

2.4.1.2 Verb-medial transitive clauses introduced by *Rel*^s

In this type, represented by 34 different clauses in the corpus, the subject is usually followed immediately by the direct object (107), either noun or pronoun, with the extraposed element a minor one, making it very similar to a verb-final relative. Other clauses have a compound direct object preceding and following the verb (108) or an adverb clause following (109), sometimes with a prepositional phrase (110).

(107) *Eadige synt þa þe ehþnysse þoliað for ihtwisnysse*
Blessed are those that suffer persecutions for
righteousness

beati qui persecutionem patiuntur propter iustitiam
(Mt. 5.10)

(108) *nis nan þe his hus for-læt. oððe gebroþru. opþe*
geswustra. oððe fæder opþe modor oððe bearn opþe
æceras for me & for þam god-spelle
there is no one who forsakes his house or brothers or
sisters or father or mother or children or
lands for me and for the gospel

nemo est qui reliquerit domum aut fratres aut sorores aut
matrem aut patrem aut filios aut agros propter me et
propter evangelium (Mk. 10.29)

(109) sume... þe deað ne onbyrigeað ær hi ge-seon
godes rice on mægne cuman
some... who will not taste death before they have seen
God's kingdom come in power

sunt quidam ... qui non gustabunt mortem donec videant regnum
Dei veniens in virtute (Mk. 9.1; Latin Mk. 8:39)

(110) ic næbbe nanne man þæt me do on þone mere þonne þæt wæter
astyred bið
I have no man who may put me in the water When the water is
stirred up

hominem non habeo ut cum turbata fuerit aqua mittat me in
piscinam (Jn. 5.7)

In the four cases where the direct object does not directly follow the relative subject, indirect objects may be placed after the relative (111), in which case the direct object is final. In only one instance does a minor variable, an adverb, intervene between the subject relative and the verb(112).

(111) an ... se him sceolde tyn þusend punda.
one who owed him ten thousand pounds

unus qui debebat decem milia talenta (Mt. 18.24)

(112) hwæt is þes þe her sprycþ woffunga
who is this who here speaks blasphemy?

quis est hic qui loquitur blasphemias (Lk. 5.21)

The main relative marker here is again *þe*, with twenty-two occurrences. *Se* may introduce one of these relatives (111), as well as *swa hw-* *swa* (113).

(113) swa hwylc swa me andet beforan mannum
whoever confesses me before men

omnis quicumque confessus fuerit in me coram hominibus
(Lk. 12.8)

2.4.1.3 Verb-medial transitive clauses introduced by Rel^{Adv}

A smaller category, consisting of 15 clauses, involves adverbial relatives. Here the subject is always the first element after the relative, and there is no intervening material between the first two words of the clause. The direct object and the object complement may occur either before (114) or after the verb (115), but they always occur together. Typically the direct object follows the verb (116), with prepositional phrases final (115). In one case there is a direct object dependent clause consisting of quoted speech (117). In two instances the direct object is preverbal, as in (114) and (118).

(114) oð þone dæg þonne ic hine niwne drince on godes rice
until the day when I drink it new in God's kingdom

usque in diem illum cum illud bibam novum in regno Dei
(Mk. 14.25)

(115) ær þam dæge þe ic drince þæt niwe mid eow on mines fæder
rice
before the day when I drink that new with you in my
father's kingdom

usque in diem illum cum illud bibam vobiscum novum in regno
Patris mei (Mt. 26.29)

(116) sume feollon on stænihte þær hyt næfde mycle eorþan
some fell on stony ground where it had not much earth

alia autem ceciderunt in petrosa ubi non habebat terram
multam (Mt. 13.5)

(117) hit wæs on þære tide ðe se hælend cwæð þin sunu leofað
it was at that time when the savior said your son lives

illa hora erat in qua dixit ei Iesus filius tuus vivit
(Jn. 4.53)

(118) hwar ys cumena hus þar ic mine eastron wyrce mid minon
leorning-cnihtum
where is the guesthouse where I will make my passover with
my disciples

ubi est diversorium ubi pascha cum discipulis meis manducem
(Lk. 22.11)

Relativizers used in these examples consist of *þonne* (114),
þær (116, 118), *þe* (115, 117), and one example with *se* (119).

Only three of the relative clauses are nonrestrictive (116), all
introduced by *þær*.

(119) seo tid cymð þæt ealle gehyrað his stefne þe on
byrgenum synt
the time is coming when all who are in graves will
hear his voice

venit hora in qua omnes qui in monumentis sunt audient
vocem eius (Jn. 5.28)

2.4.1.4 Verb-medial transitive clauses introduced by Rel^{OP}

Transitive relative clauses with a medial verb introduced
by a prepositional phrase occur only seven times in the text,
but they show a good bit of variety. All but one of these
clauses have a subject that immediately follows the relative
with the direct object in final position (120), but the direct
object precedes the verb in one instance (121). These clauses
are all *se*-relatives, two restrictive and the rest
nonrestrictive.

(120) æryst he æt-ywde þære magdaleniscan marian of ðære he ut
adraf seofon deofol-seocnyssa
he appeared first to Mary Magdalene out of whom he drove
seven demon possessions

apparuit primo Mariae Magdaleneae de qua eiecerat septem
daemonia (Mk. 16.9)

(121) Ðurh innopas ures godes mildheortnesse on þam he us
geneosode of east-dæle up-springende
through the entrails of mercy of our God in which he
visited us upspringing from the east

per viscera misericordiae Dei nostri in quibus visitavit
nos oriens ex alto (Lk. 1.78)

2.4.1.5 Verb-medial transitive clauses introduced by Rel^{IO}

Only one relative clause in the verb-medial category begins with an indirect object (122). The relative marker is *þe* and the clause is restrictive.

(122) he ys se ðe ic ræce bedyppedne hlaf
he it is to whom I give dipped bread

ille est cui ego intinctum panem porrexero (Jn. 13.26)

2.4.2 Verb-medial intransitive complete relatives

(Rel^S, Rel^{Adv}, Rel^{PP})

This category is reflected in only 13 instances. The majority of these clauses (11 total) begin with a subject relative and include minor sentence elements, adverbs and prepositional phrases, both before the verb and prepositional

phrases after (123,124). All of these subject relatives show *þe* as the relative marker, and all but two are restrictive.

(123) Ða begunnon þa ðe þar sæton betwux him cweðan
then began those who sat there to say amongst themselves
et coeperunt qui simul accumbebant dicere intra se
(Lk. 7.49)

(124) Se ðe mid þe wæs begeondan iordane ... he fullap
he who was with you beyond Jordan ... he is baptizing
qui erat tecum trans Iordanen ... hic baptizat (Jn. 3.26)

In four cases an adverbial relative followed immediately by the subject introduces the clause, once with a dative object (125), once with an appositive following the verb (126). The relative markers here are varied, with *þe* introducing two, *þænne* one, and *se* the remaining example. All four of these relative constructions are restrictive.

An introductory prepositional phrase accounts for the remaining example (127). In this category of intransitive relatives, only prepositional phrases occur extraposed after the verb, making them suspiciously similar to verb-final relative clauses.

(125) Seo tid cymð þænne ic eow ne sprece on big-spellum
the time will come when I speak to you not in parables
venit hora cum iam non in proverbiis loquar vobis
(Jn. 16.25)

(126) nu com tid ... þæt ge tofaron æg-hwylc to his agenon &
for-læton me anne
now the time is coming when you will each be scattered to
his own and will leave me alone

ecce venit hora ... ut dispergamini unusquisque in propria et
me solum relinquantis (Jn. 16.32)

(127) Her is min cnapa ... on þam wel gelicode minre sawle
here is my child ... in whom my soul has been well pleased

ecce puer meus ... in quo bene placuit animae meae
(Mt. 12.18)

2.4.3 Verb-medial intransitive linking relative clauses

(Rel^S, Rel^{Adv})

These clauses occur only eight times in the corpus, all with predicate adjectives, and they generally begin with the relative clause acting as the subject. The only exception involves an adverbial relative (128), where the order is Rel^{ADV} S LV PA. Of the subject-initial relatives, five have the subject complement as the second major element (129), while only one shows the subject complement last (130). Dative elements (130) may appear second in the clause, and prepositional phrases may be extraposed (129). Predicate adjectives appear in the same place, but they may also appear later in the clause (130, 131).

(128) Se hælend com ... to Bethania þar lazarus wæs dead
the Savior came ... to Bethany where Lazarus was dead

Iesus ... venit Bethaniam ubi fuerat Lazarus mortuus
(Jn. 12.1)

(129) ic name ... þæt min ys mid þam gafole
I (might) take ... that which is mine with interest

ego recepissem utique quod meum est cum usura (Mt. 25.27)

(130) þa ðing þe mannum synt unmihtelice
the things that are impossible for men

quae impossibilia sunt apud homines
(Lk. 18.26; Latin Lk. 18.27)

(131) bige þa þing þe us þearf sy to þam freols-dæge
buy the things that be needful to us for the feast day

eme ea quae opus sunt nobis ad diem festum (Jn. 13.29)

Example (129) shows a *se* relative with no antecedent. The other relative markers in this group consist of *þe* and *þar*. The adverbial relative is nonrestrictive, but all of the other examples are restrictive.

2.4.4 General summary of the verb-medial category

Verb-medial clauses look, at first glance, most like NE word order, S V O. Many of these examples have only prepositional phrases extraposed, raising the question of whether they should count as verb-final rather than medial. These clauses tend to be restrictive, and they are introduced by all of the different relative markers; however, *swa hw- swa* is used little here, as is *se þe*. Once again, *þe* is the relative marker of choice.

2.5 General summary of simple-verb relative clauses

A few of the relative clauses do not fit neatly into the major patterns. Generally, they are compound forms which combine several verb placements. For instance, (132) contains both verb-medial and verb-final clauses, each with a direct object. Example (133) combines transitive and intransitive structures. The problem is not that these examples cannot be categorized, but rather that they fit into two categories at once. Mitchell (1987:964) comments that "these are a warning to the over-enthusiastic statistician rather than a real problem."

(132)wa þæt ðes towyrpð godes templ& on þrim dagum hyt eft
getimbrað
woe [is] this one who destroys God's temple and in three
days builds it again

qui destruit templum et in triduo illud reaedificat²
(Mt. 27.40)

(133)and eall wered þe æt þisse wæfer-synne wæron and gesawon þa
þing þe ge-wurdon wæron agen gewende and hyra breost beoton
and all [the] company who were at this spectacle and saw
the things that were done returned and beat their breasts

et omnis turba eorum qui simul aderant ad spectaculum istud
et videbant quae fiebant percutientes pectora sua
revertebantur (Lk. 23.47; Latin Lk. 23.48)

In this chapter we have examined verb-final, verb-initial, and verb-medial relative clauses. In his study of verb clusters, Koopman (1992:322) does not even consider what he calls relative noun clauses, saying that they show no variation

² Some mss. show *uah* in the Latin, corresponding to OE *wa*.

in structure. Actually these indefinite clauses, although the majority are verb-final or verb-final plus a prepositional phrase, do show the variety of word order typical of the other relative clauses in the corpus.

Most relative clauses in the Anglo-Saxon Gospels tend to be adjectival; however, generally speaking, *swa hw- swa* relative pronouns mark the nominal relative clauses, of which there are sixty-five in the corpus. In six other cases, relative *þæt*, a form of *se*, acts without an antecedent and therefore could be interpreted as a noun clause. Additionally, certain indefinite *se þe* patterns, where *se* is the apparent antecedent but the reference is general rather than specific, can be translated as *he who* or *whoever*. Of the total number of indefinite relative clauses, forty-five are verb final and another fourteen have only a minor element (usually a prepositional phrase) following the verb. Eleven use the typical NE order S V (O).

Simple verb-final *se þe* relative constructions comprise thirty-nine examples in the corpus. Additionally nine others have only a prepositional phrase extraposed and so could possibly count as verb final. Out of the total of fifty-three, only a handful of this type of clause shows the verb in initial or medial position.

Se clauses show a different outcome from the previous relative markers. Verb-final clauses in this category of 178

clauses account for 52 of the examples. 16 more of these have only a minor element after the verb, but that still leaves 110 relative clauses that use initial or medial verb placement. Only 10 of these clauses are verb medial, and the 100 that are left show typical NE word order. This result leads us back to the ambiguity of *se* clauses and the difficulty of deciding whether they are relative or demonstrative. Interestingly *pæt* relative clauses with no overt antecedent (37 total), which we consider separately here, show 32 verb final clauses and 4 more that have only a prepositional phrase after the verb. This fact seems to indicate that these clauses are a special type that is somewhat different from the regular *se* clause.

When relative clauses are verb final with either a direct object or subject complement, the order is always Comp S V. Otherwise the order S DO V follows the relativizer in the sentence. In verb-final intransitive complete clauses, the order S V always follows the relative marker. In the case of subject relative clauses, an extra element may intervene between the subject and the verb. There are no intransitive linking structures in this category.

Verb-initial clauses follow a different, slightly less regular, pattern. When there is a complement, the order is usually S V Comp; however, there are some cases of DO V S. Predicate nouns do not occur here, or anywhere in the verb-final

category, as relative pronouns. Intransitive structures, of which there are few, are all headed by relative objects of a preposition and follow the pattern PP V S.

The verb-medial category is the most varied. Clauses with direct object complements may follow one of the following patterns: DO S V (X), DO S V IO, S DO V (X), (IO) S (IO) V DO, ADV S DO V (X), ADV S V DO, PP S DO V (X), PP S V DO. Verb-medial relative clauses with subject complements follow the following patterns: S SC LV (X), S LV SC (X), or ADV S LV SC. Intransitive clauses are either S V (X) or ADV S V (X). Final (X) refers to prepositional phrases and the occasional adverb; where these minor structures immediately follow the verb, seven of the above combinations, an interpretation of verb-final is possible. In fact, this outcome would eliminate intransitive complete structures from the category.

As noted, combining apparent verb-medial and verb-initial clauses which have only a prepositional phrase or adverb extraposed and adding them to the verb-final clause type would change the numbers fairly dramatically. It is possible that speakers of Old English saw these as verb final. The only way to know would be to hear the intonation of a native speaker of Anglo-Saxon, although even that information might be inconclusive.

It is clear that except for relatives that begin with adverbials, the verb may appear finally, initially, or medially with any relative pronoun and with intransitive or transitive structures. In clauses which are adverb initial, the verb may appear as final or medial in the clause, but there are no instances in the text where it occurs initially just after the adverbial relative.

Minor sentence elements occur in limited numbers in the text. Usually only one prepositional phrase or adverb appears in a clause, but two minor elements occur in a few instances. Prepositional phrases are the most frequently represented, are usually adverbial, and may occur in almost any place in the clause; in addition, they are the minor element that occurs most frequently at the end of a clause.

A few problems involving conclusions about restrictiveness can be drawn from the information in this chapter. First, most of the simple-verb adjective clauses in the text are restrictive, and without further examples from a broader range of texts, we can only talk about tendencies. Second, some of the clauses are ambiguous; they could be interpreted as either restrictive or nonrestrictive; once again, an understanding of Old English intonation would be invaluable. We can say, however, that restrictive clauses are more likely than not to be introduced by *þe* (770 out of 809 examples) and that *se* clauses

with an antecedent are more likely to be nonrestrictive (98 out of 164). In *se þe* relative clauses, 49 out of 52 examples are restrictive. *Þær* clauses, however, are split more equally: 15 restrictive and 11 nonrestrictive.

A total of 577 of the clauses are verb final; however, almost 100 of the verb-nonfinal examples have only a minor element, usually a prepositional phrase, placed after the verb. If we combine these two into one verb-final category, it becomes obvious that the clauses tend to be verb-final, although the intransitive complete clauses tell us little about verb placement if we remove the prepositional phrases and adverbs.

Chapter Three

Periphrastic verb forms in passive voice

3.1 Introduction

Passive voice in Modern English consists usually of a form of *be* and a past participle, as in the sentence *The dog was hit by a truck*. Less formally, the verb *get* may be used: *The dog got hit by a truck*. Mitchell (1987:12) uses the term *second participle*, citing confusion between "the passive participles of transitive verbs [and] the past participles of intransitive verbs." In Old English the irregular verb *beon/wesan* (*be*) is a major component of passive constructions (table 3.1), but the class III verb *weorþan* (*become*) may also be passive. At this point in the history of the language, the two forms were still somewhat in competition. According to Mitchell and Robinson (2001:111), differences in usage of the two forms "is not well defined," but generally *wesan* seems to "emphasize the state arising from the action," while *weorþan* refers to "the action itself." Kilpiö (1989) agrees that verbs from the *is* group are stative and that *weorþan* always reflects action, but he shows that *bið* verbs are also usually actional. Quirk and Wrenn (1994:80-1) call these uses "durative" (*beon/wesan*) and

“perfective” (*weorþan*), pointing out their aspectual differences; however they say that “there was much free variation, and writers seem often simply to have preferred one or the other auxiliary.”

Table 3.1 Forms of *beon/wesan*

	Present	Preterite
Indic. 1 sg.	<i>eom, beo</i>	<i>wæs</i>
2 sg.	<i>eart, bist</i>	<i>wære</i>
3 sg.	<i>Is, bið</i>	<i>wæs</i>
1-3 pl.	<i>sind(on), beoð</i>	<i>wæron</i>
Subj. 1-3 sg.	<i>Sy, beo</i>	<i>wære</i>
1-3 pl.	<i>syn, beon</i>	<i>wæren</i>
Imp. 2 sg.	<i>wes, beo</i>	
2 pl.	<i>wesað, beoð</i>	
Participles	<i>wesende, beonde</i>	<i>gebeon</i>

Passive voice verbs, as a sub-category of phrasal verbs, became necessary as a way of expressing a certain type of grammatical relationship, where the expressed subject of the sentence is the patient, or receiver, of the action of the verb. In OE only one verb, *hatan*, really entails passive in the meaning of one of its preterite forms (*hatte*), which could be used for both present and past. Another way of expressing passive meaning was with the pronoun *man* and an active-voice verb, as in the following example from Quirk and Wrenn (1994:81):

worhte man hit him to wite
it had been made as a punishment for them

Typically we view passive, where the expressed subject is the patient (receiver of the action), as a transformation from the underlying active voice, where the subject and the agent (actor) are identical. It follows that the active and the passive forms are equal semantically, although not formally. Brinton (2000:202-3) delineates a few types of verbs that may be passivized in NE. Monotransitive (S V DO), ditransitive (S V IO DO), and complex transitive (S V DO OC) verbs all are candidates for transformation. Direct objects or indirect objects, but not object complements, move to the subject position for passive voice. Below are examples of these types of sentences and their passive transformations. Sometimes the agent, indicated by parentheses here, can be omitted in passive voice.

S V DO
Sheila opened the package.
The package was opened (by Sheila.)

S V IO DO
The children gave the teacher a flower pot.
The teacher was given a flower pot (by the children.)
A flower pot was given to the teacher (by the children.)

S V DO OC
The class elected Tom president.
Tom was elected president (by the class.)

My husband set the planter on the back porch.
The planter was set on the back porch (by my husband.)

Hock (1986:325-26)) suggests that pragmatic considerations often motivate the use of passive voice. Speakers may use it to "deemphasize the underlying subject," either for the sake of politeness or because knowledge of the agent is unimportant in the context of the sentence. In our corpus relative clauses of the type *the prophet who was named Jeremiah* fit into this category. Alternatively, speakers may use passive voice to emphasize the receiver of the action, the expressed subject. The fact that most passive relative clauses in the Anglo-Saxon Gospels are subject initial might support that contention. A final reason for using passive voice is to make a transitive verb more stative in nature; Hock calls this "de-activation" of the verb, where the end-state rather than the process is the focus. For example, the relative in our text *the place where the Savior was hanged* emphasizes the finished work rather than the action itself.

Periphrastic forms are not well developed in Anglo-Saxon texts, as Mitchell (1980:236) points out. Modals like *willan* and *sculan* are not used to express future, for example, but instead context supplies the meaning. In addition, some linguists (including Mustanoja 1960:440) argue that the past participle was "originally a predicate adjective" that later came to be seen as part of the verb. Mitchell (1980:313)

responds that because these words are derived from verbs, the adjective form is secondary.

Passive voice structures, for the most part, must include at least two verb forms. One combination is vV (1), where the two verbs occur next to each other with the finite verb (represented by the lower case letter v) first. Another is Vv (2), in which the finite verb is second. The final form that occurs in the corpus is v...V (3). The finite verb, used in combination with past participles or infinitives which were sometimes inflected, represent an important category in the corpus of Old English.

- (1) of þam wife þe wæs genemned thamar
of the woman who was named Tamar
de Thamar³ (Mt. 1.3)
- (2) Ða com he to nazareth þar he afed wæs
then he came to Nazareth, where he was fed
et venit Nazareth ubi erat nutritus (Lk. 4.16)
- (3) þa þe synt hnescum gyrlum gescryddne synt on cyninga husum
those who are clothed [with] soft apparel are in the houses
of kings
qui mollibus vestiuntur in domibus regum sunt (Mt.11.8)

³ The OE shows a radical change from the Latin here.

In studying these structures, it is first necessary to separate the passive voice clauses which have no other elements besides the relative and the verb, because they give no particular information about element order other than the basic verb cluster order. As shown in Table 3.2., in the text there are thirteen Vv and eleven vV relatives which fit into this category, leaving 173 periphrastic relatives to study.

Table 3.2 Verb placement and passive voice structures in the relative clause

	Vv	vV	v...V	Other	Total
Initial	21	42	0	0	63
Medial	8	2	5	0	15
Non-final subtotal	29	44	5	0	78
Final	64	7	24	0	95
Total studied	93	51	29	0	173
Relative & verb only	13	11	0	1	25
Total	106	62	29	1	198
Percentage	53.5%	31.3%	14.7%	0.5%	100.0%

3.2 Vv clusters

Relative clauses with the order Vv occur ninety-three times in the corpus. Of the total number, twenty-one occur initially after the relative marker and eight are medial, for a total of twenty-nine non-final verb clusters in this category. Verb clusters occur finally in sixty-four relative clauses.

3.2.1 Vv medial

In the eight structures that are identified as verb-medial, a relativizer functioning as the subject almost always introduces the clause. (4-6) are agentless passive structures, but a couple of examples (7) show a prepositional phrase whose object is the agent. In most of these constructions, the direct object of the assumed underlying active voice is the subject of the passive; however, one example shows the expressed subject as the original object of the infinitive (8). A Rel^{Adv} introduces one relative clause in this category, where the subject is second and a prepositional phrase is extraposed (9).

- (4) onfoð þæt rice þæt eow gegearwod ys of middan-eardes frymþe
take possession of the kingdom that is prepared [for] you
from the earth's beginning

possidete paratum vobis regnum a constitutione mundi
(Mt. 25.34)

- (5) nystest þu þa þing þe on hyre gewordene synt on ðysum dagum
do you not know the things that are done in her [Jerusalem]
in these days?

non cognovisti quae facta sunt in illa his diebus
(Lk. 24.18)

- (6) be þam worde þe him gesæd wæs be þam cilde
by the word which was told them about the child

de verbo quod dictum erat illis de puero hoc (Lk. 2.17)

- (7) þt fram drihtne gecweden wæs þurh þone witegan
that which was said by the Lord through the prophet

id quod dictum est a Domino per prophetam (Mt. 1.22)

- (8) and he æt þa ofrung-hlafas þe him ne alyfede næron to
etanne buton sacerdon anum
and he ate the offering loaves, which were not allowed him
to eat except for the priests alone

et panes propositionis manducavit quos non licet manducare
nisi sacerdotibus (Mk. 2.26)

- (9) swa hwar swa þis godspell gebodad⁴ bið on eallum
middan-earde bið gebodod þæt heo þis on his gemynde dyde
wherever this gospel is preached in all the earth, it
will be preached that she did this in his memorial⁵

ubicumque praedicatum fuerit evangelium istud in universum
mundum et quod fecit haec narrabitur in memoriam eius
(Mk. 14.9)

Variables appearing between the relative subject and the verb include prepositional phrases (5,7) and dative structures that are retained indirect objects (4,6). One example (8) is somewhat more complicated, showing an infinitive following the verb phrase. Final extraposed elements are always prepositional phrases. Relative markers for the adjective clauses in this subcategory include only *se* (4,7) and *þe* (5,6) with the exception of one *swa hwar swa* clause (9), which acts nominally. All of the clauses are restrictive, with the exception of (8), a nonrestrictive relative, and (9), which is nominal.

⁴ It is typical for the manuscripts to show variations in the spelling of unstressed syllables.

⁵ The mistranslation is of the Latin trigeneric *eius*, which here refers to the woman, as is clear from the Greek original (αὐτῆς); but the OE translator has it refer to Jesus.

3.2.2 Vv initial

Verb-initial Vv clauses in the corpus almost invariably begin with a relative subject. Typically, a prepositional phrase appears after the verb cluster (10,11,), occasionally followed by an appositive (12) or quoted speech (13). Two relative clauses in this group begin with a prepositional phrase and have as subject a noun clause of quoted speech that is extraposed (14). Koopman (1992) believes that nominal clauses, because of their inherent weight, are always subject to rightward movement in a sentence; however, (9) in the previous section shows an indefinite relative initial. In this group *se* and *þe* are the only relativizers and once again all clauses are restrictive. The structures that include the agent, in a prepositional phrase, are usually very similar, referring to Old Testament prophets.

(10) þæt gecweden is þurh hieremiam þone witegan
what is spoken by Jeremiah the prophet

quod dictum est per Hieremiam prophetam (Mt. 27.9)

(11) þa mægnu þe gedone synt on eow
the miracles which were done in you

virtutes quae factae sunt in (Mt. 11.21)

(12) Ða wæs gefylled þt ge-cweden wæs þurh hieremiam þone
witegan
then that which was spoken by Jeremiah the prophet was
fulfilled

tunc adimpletum est quod dictum est per Hieremiam prophetam
(Mt. 2.17)

- (13) Ða gemundon his leorning-cnihtas þæt ðe awriten is þines
huses anda me et
then his disciples remembered that which is written,
"your house's envy devoured me"

recordati vero sunt discipuli eius quia scriptum est zelus
domus tuae comedit me (Jn. 2.17)

- (14) Ðes ys soþlice be þam awryten ys nu ic sende minne engyl
beforan þine ansyne
This one is truly about whom is written, "now I send my
angel before your face"

hic enim est de quo scriptum est ecce ego mitto angelum
meum ante faciem tuam (Mt. 11.10)

3.2.3 Vv final

Relative clauses which show the verb cluster in final position begin with a relative subject in forty-seven examples. Between the subject and the verb cluster may appear adverbs (16,19), prepositional phrases (17,18), dative structures (20), or a combination (21,22). In example (19) the subject is the genitive pronoun *þæs*. The most typical relative marker is *þe*, but *se* (21,22) is fairly widely represented also. *Se þe* appears in four examples, including the only nonrestrictive relative clause in this sub-category (23). Agents are usually omitted, but occasionally they appear as part of a prepositional phrase occurring immediately after the relativizer (17,21).

- (16) Se þe þær gehæled wæs
he who was healed there

is autem qui sanus fuerat effectus (Jn. 5.13)

- (17) þa ðing þe ðe fram drihtne gesæde synd
the things that were told you by the Lord

ea quae dicta sunt ei a Domino (Lk. 1.45)
- (18) and hig rehton þa þing þa ðe on wege gewordene wæron
and they recounted the things that were done on the way

et ipsi narrabant quae gesta erant in via (Lk. 24.35)
- (19) he ferde wundrigende þæs þar ge-worden wæs
he departed wondering about that which had been done there

abiit secum mirans quod factum fuerat (Lk. 24.12)
- (20) he manega gehælde þe missenlicum adlum gedrehte wæron
he healed many who were afflicted with various diseases

et curavit multos qui vexabantur variis languoribus
(Mk. 1.34)
- (21) Ne rædde ge be deadra manna æryste þæt eow fram gode
gesæd wæs
have you not read about resurrection of the dead, which was
told to you by God

de resurrectione autem mortuorum non legistis quod dictum
est a Deo dicente vobis (Mt. 22.31)
- (22) ac specað þæt eow on þære tide ge-seald bið
but speak that which is given you at that time

sed quod datum vobis fuerit in illa hora id loquimini
(Mk. 13.11)
- (23) Ic wat ... þæt ge seceað þone hælýnd þone þe on rode ahangen
wæs
I know ... that you seek the Savior, who was hanged on a
cross

scio enim quod Iesum qui crucifixus est quaeritis
(Mt. 28.5)

Adverbial relatives, all following the word order
 Rel^{Adv} S V v, account for six relatives (24, 25). Four examples
 show a retained indirect object as the relative (26, 27). Six
 are introduced by a relative object of the preposition (28,29),
 one stranded (30). These examples use the relative markers *þe*
 (24,26), *þær* (25), *se* (29), and *se þe* (28). Only two of these
 relative constructions are nonrestrictive, both with the
 adverbial relative *þær* (25).

(24) on þam dæge þe mannes sunu onwriġen bið
 on the day when man's son is revealed

qua die Filius hominis revelabitur (Lk. 17.30)

(25) and hig ... læddon hýne to caiphan þæra sacerda ealdre þær ða
 boceras & þa ealdras gesamnode wæron
 and they ... led him to Caiaphus the high priest, where the
 scribes and the elders were gathered

at illi ... duxerunt ad Caiaphan principem sacerdotum ubi
 scribae et seniores convenerant (Mt. 26.57)

(26) nys me inc to syllanne ac þam þe hyt fram minum fæder
 gegearwod ys
 it is not for me to give to you but to them for whom it is
 prepared by my Father

non est meum dare vobis sed quibus paratum est a Patre meo
 (Mt. 20.23)

(27) Læsse lufað þam ðe læsse forgyfen ys
 [one] loves less to whom less is forgiven

cui autem minus dimittitur minus diligit (Lk. 7.47)

(28) þæt ðu oncnawe þara worda soþfæstnesse of ðam ðe þu gelæred
eart
that you may know the truth of those words by which you are
taught

ut cognoscas eorum verborum de quibus eruditus es
veritatem (Lk. 1.4)

(29) and læddon hine ofer ðæs munes cnæpp ofer þone hyra buruh
getimbrud wæs
and they led him onto the summit of the mountain on which
their city was built

et duxerunt illum usque ad supercilium montis supra quem
civitas illorum erat aedificata (Lk. 4.29)

(30) wa þam men þe he þurh geseald bið
woe to the man through whom he is betrayed

vae illi homini per quem traditur (Lk. 22.22)

When the subject is not in first position as the relative marker, it is always the second element, as these clauses exemplify. Adverbs, prepositional phrases, or objects, but no combinations of variables, appear in these examples and may all intervene between the subject and the verb.

3.3 vV clusters

Of the fifty-one verb clusters which show the conjugated verb first (excluding those clauses with only a relative and a verb), seven are final in the clause. Initial verb clusters appear forty-two times and medial only twice, for forty-four non-final clusters. Medial clusters are rare largely because these constructions do not show many variable elements.

3.3.1 vV medial

One of the verb-medial structures is indefinite, using *swa hwær swa* as the relative marker (31). The subject is clause second with a prepositional phrase extraposed after the verb. The second is introduced by *þæt* but is best translated as "when" or "in which." In fact Lk. 5.35, translating the same material, uses the relative adverb *þonne*. In both cases below, the word order is identical to that of NE.

(31) *swa hwær swa þys godspel byð gebodud on eallum middan-earde
byð gesæd on hyre gemynd þæt heo ðiss dyde*
wherever this gospel is preached in all the earth, it will
be told in her memory that she did this

*ubicumque praedicatum fuerit hoc evangelium in toto mundo
dicetur et quod haec fecit in memoriam eius* (Mt. 26.13)

(32) *þa dagas cumað þæt se bryd-guma byð afyrred fram him*
the days are coming when the bridegroom will be taken away
from them

venient autem dies cum auferetur ab eis sponsus (Mt. 9.15)

3.3.2 vV final

Verb-final vV clauses have a relative subject followed by a retained indirect object in one case (33). Adverbial relatives occur three times (34), dative (35) and prepositional relatives (36) once each. If the subject is not first, it tends to be the second major element; however, there is one case of two adverbs intervening between the first two elements (36). Three relativizers are used in this category: two of the *se* clauses

are here nonrestrictive (33), while *ðær* (34) and *ðe* (35) relatives are restrictive.

(33) *maria geceas þæne selestan dæl se hyre ne byð afyrred*
Mary has chosen the best portion, which will not be removed
[from] her

Maria optimam partem elegit quae non auferetur ab ea
(Lk. 10.42)

(34) *ða dure wæron belocene ðær þa leorning-cnihtas wæron*
gegaderode
the doors where the disciples were gathered were locked

fores essent clausae ubi erant discipuli (Jn. 20.19)

(35) *gyt beoð gefullode þam fulluhte ðe ic beo gefullod*
you two will be baptized with that baptism with which I am
baptized

baptismum quo ego baptizor baptizabimini (Mk. 10.39)

(36) *on þam wirtune wæs niwe byrgen on þære þa gyt nan mann næs*
aled
in that garden was a new grave, in which no man had yet
been laid then

in horto monumentum novum in quo nondum quisquam positus
erat (Jn. 19.41)

3.3.3 vV initial

vV-initial structures, the largest category of this type of verb cluster, most commonly have a relative marker functioning as the subject and a noun complement following the verb cluster (37-41). This structure is similar to the sentence pattern S LV PN, because the complement renames the subject. Another interpretation, however, is that this structure is a

transformation of the sentence pattern S V DO OC; in this case the object complement has been retained in the passive. The underlying form for (37), then, would be *(Someone) named the city Ephraim*. In no case in the corpus is an agent named in this type of structure, and only a few verbs are used. Possibly this structure is a frozen one, a formula used in labeling. While it occurs four times in the v...V pattern and never with Vv, forty vV relative clauses use this configuration. Occasionally a prepositional phrase is inserted between the verb cluster and the noun complement (41). These structures can be either restrictive or nonrestrictive and are introduced by only *se* or *þe*.

- (37) for ... on þa burh þe ys ge-nemned effrem
 he went ... into the city that is named Ephraim
 abiit ... in civitatem quae dicitur Efrem (Jn. 11.54)
- (38) we gemetton messiam þæt is gereht crist
 we have met the Messiah, which is translated (as) Christ
 invenimus Messiam quod est interpretatum Christus
 (Jn. 1.41)
- (39) thomas an of þam twelfon þe ys gecweden didimus ... he næs
 mid him
 Thomas, one of the twelve, who is called Didimus, ... was not
 with them
 Thomas ... unus ex duodecim qui dicitur Didymus non erat cum
 eis (Jn. 20.24)
- (40) wunode on þam munte þe ys gecweden oliueti
 he remained on the mountain which is called Olivet
 morabatur in monte qui vocatur Oliveti (Lk. 21.37)

(41) On gerusalem ys an mere se is genemned on ebreisc betzaida
In Jerusalem is a pool which is named in Hebrew Bethesda

est ... Hierosolymis ... piscina quae cognominatur hebraice
Bethsaida (Jn. 5.2)

Another type of Rel^s construction, including only one or more prepositional phrases extraposed, also appears in this category (42,43). The same relativizers apply as with the previous sub-category, *se* and *þe*, but all of these constructions are restrictive.

(42) þæt ealra witegena blod sy ge-soht þe wæs agoten of
middan-geardes fruman fram þisse cneorysse
that all [the] prophets' blood that was shed from
earth's beginning be sought from this generation

ut inquiratur sanguis omnium prophetarum qui effusus
est a constitutione mundi a generatione ista (Lk. 11.50)

(43) Ða læddon ... to him an wif seo wæs aparod on unriht-hæmede
then they led ... to him a woman who was discovered in
adultery

adducunt ... mulierem in adulterio deprehensam (Jn. 8.3)

In the two verb-initial constructions which do not begin with the expressed subject, a relative object of a preposition introduces the clause. Both are introduced by *se*, and one is nonrestrictive (44) and one restrictive (45).

(44) marian ... of þære wæs acenned se hælend
(the husband) of Mary, of whom was born the Savior

(Iacob autem genuit Ioseph virum) Mariae de qua natus est
Iesus (Mt. 1.16)

(45) Ða ongan he hyspan þa burga on þam wærun gedone manega hys
mægena
then he began to revile the cities in which many of his
miracles were done

tunc coepit exprobrare civitatibus in quibus factae sunt
plurimae virtutes eius (Mt. 11.20)

3.4 v...V clusters

Twenty-five of the twenty-nine v...V clauses show one particular basic order: Rel^S v (X) V (X). In this configuration the relative pronoun is the subject of the clause, the inflected verb (v) follows the subject directly, and other elements intervene between the two verbs and may appear after the non-finite verb. One relative construction inserts an adverb after the Rel^S. Four relative clauses in this category begin with a Rel^{OP}. Analysis of the cluster as final or nonfinal is based on the position of the nonfinite verb because only two finite verbs are non-initial; twenty-four non-finite verbs are clause-final and five are non-final.

3.4.1 v...V nonfinal

The five examples of this cluster have various constructions extraposed after the nonfinite verb. Two of the extraposed elements are prepositional phrases (46), and another shows an adverb clause (47). Example (48) includes an infinitive at the end of the clause, with the unusual use of *to*

preceding. Finally, a few of these relative clauses show a noun that renames the subject (49), a structure typically associated in our corpus with the vV constructions. All clauses in this category begin with Rel^s v, introduced by three different relative markers: *se*, *þe*, and *se þe*. Only the latter example is nonrestrictive (50).

(46) *þis is ... mines bloddes calic ... þæt byð for manegum agoten on synna forgyfensse*
 this is ... my blood's chalice ... that is poured out for many for forgiveness of sins

hic est ... sanguis meus ... qui pro multis effunditur in remissionem peccatorum (Mt. 26.28)

(47) *his nama wæs hælend se wæs fram engle genemned, ær he on innoðe ge-eacnod wære*
 his name was savior who was named by an angel before he was conceived in the womb

vocatum est nomen eius Iesus quod vocatum est ab angelo priusquam in utero conciperetur (Lk. 2.21)

(48) *hu he ... æt þa offrings-hlafas þe nærun him alyfede to etynne*
 how he ... ate the offering loaves that were not allowed him to eat

quomodo ... panes propositionis comedit quos non licebat ei edere (Mt.12.4)

(49) *and hi læddon hine on ða stowe golgoða þæt is on ure geþeode gereht heafod-panna stow*
 and they led him to the place Golgotha which is in our language translated skulls' place

et perducunt illum in Golgotha locum quod est interpretatum Calvariae locus (Mk. 15.22)

(50) and þa hig onfengon þrittig scyllinga þæs gebohtan wurð
þone ðe wæs ær gewurþod fram israhela bearnum
and they took thirty shillings, the value of the one
purchased who was previously valued by Israel's children

et acceperunt triginta argenteos pretium adpretiati quem
adpretiaverunt a filiis Israhel (Mt. 27.9)

At first glance the relative marker in this last example seems to have been attracted into the case required by the main clause, accusative, rather than the nominative that would reflect its function as subject in the lower clause. However, it may be merely a calque on the Latin. Both of them represent erroneous syntax, and the OE is a mixture of active voice "whom the children of Israel had previously valued" and passive "who had been previously valued by the children of Israel."⁶

Various elements appear between the two verbs, including prepositional phrases (46,47, 49), a subject of an infinitive (48), and an adverb (50).

3.4.2 v...V final

Verb clusters which appear clause final are most typically introduced by a relative acting as the subject followed immediately by the finite verb. The most common intervening element between the two verbs is a prepositional phrase (51).

⁶ Thanks to Jared Klein for pointing out this complexity.

Other possibilities include adverbials (52) or retained indirect objects (53), a retained object complement adjective or noun that renames the subject (54,55). Following the same pattern of noun complement is (56), although it does not use one of the verbs typically associated with this configuration. Of the nineteen clusters in this category, ten use *þe* as the relative marker and seven use *se*. *Se þe* (57) and *swa hw-swa* (58) introduce the remaining two relative clauses. This group of clauses is equally divided between restrictive clauses usually introduced by *þe* and nonrestrictive ones typically introduced by *se*. There are, however, exceptions to this usage, as exemplified by (55).

(51) forþam þu minum wordum ne gelyfdest þa beoð on hyra timan
 gefyllede
 for you have not believed my words, which will be fulfilled
 in their time

pro eo quod non credidisti verbis meis quae implebuntur in
 tempore suo (Lk. 1.20)

(52) þa þe synt hnescum gyrlum gescryddne synt on cyninga husum
 those who are dressed [with] soft clothing are in the
 houses of kings

qui mollibus vestiuntur in domibus regum sunt (Mt. 11.8)

(53) Gewitað awyrgyde fram me, on þæt ece fyr þe ys deofle & hys
 englum gegearwud
 go away from me, cursed ones, into that perpetual fire that
 is prepared for the devil and his angels

discedite a me maledicti in ignem aeternum qui paratus est
 diabolo et angelis eius (Mt. 25.41)

- (54) elizabeth ... seo is unberende genemned
Elizabeth ... who is called barren

Elisabeth ... quae vocatur sterilis (Lk. 1.36)
- (55) Hwæper wylle ge þæt ic eow agyfe? þe barrabban ðe þone
hælynd ðe is crist gehaten?
Which of the two do you want me to give you? Barabbas or
the Savior, who is called Christ?

quem vultis dimittam vobis Barabban an Iesum qui dicitur
Christus (Mt. 27.17)
- (56) þa geseah he anne man þe wæs blind geboren
He saw a man who was born blind

vidit hominem caecum a nativitate (Jn. 9.1)
- (57) gyf æcyres weod þæt ðe to dæg is & bið to morgen on ofen
asend god scryt
if God clothes grass of the field that today is and
tomorrow is sent to the oven ...

si ... faenum agri quod hodie est et cras in clibanum
mittitur Deus sic vestit (Mt. 6.30)
- (58) eadig ys swa hwylc swa ne byð on me ge-untrywsud
blessed is whoever is not offended in me

beatus est quicumque non fuerit scandalizatus in me
(Lk. 7.23)

The four clauses which do not fit the general subject-first order all begin with a relative object of a preposition (59), one of which is stranded (60). Typically, the subject occurs just before the uninflected verb at the end of the clause, but (60) shows the subject just after the relative marker. All of these constructions are restrictive, but a variety of relative markers appear: *se* (59), *þe* (60) and *se þe* (61).

(59) and lede hine on aheawene byrgene on þære næs þa gyt nænig
aled

And he laid him in a hewn grave in which not was then yet
(not) anyone laid

et posuit eum in monumento exciso in quo nondum quisquam
positus fuerat (Lk. 23.53)

(60) and drigde hig mid þære lin-wæde þe he wæs mid begyrd
and he dried them with the linen cloth which he was with
clothed

et extergere linteo quo erat praecinctus (Jn. 13.5)

(61) Wa þam menn þurh þone þe byþ mannes sunu be-læwed
woe to the man through whom man's son is betrayed

vae autem homini illi per quem Filius hominis traditur
(Mt. 26.24)

3.5 Summary of passive voice relative clauses

Passive voice constructions show much less variety than simple verb relative clauses (table 3.4). Most of the passive voice relative clauses begin with the Rel^S and are immediately followed by a finite or non-finite verb.

Table 3.3 Passive relative clause

	Vv	vV	v...V	Other	Total
Rel ^S	87	53	25	1	166
Rel ^{OP}	7	3	4	0	14
Rel ^{Adv}	7	5	0	0	12
Rel ^{IO}	5	1	0	0	6
Total	106	62	29	1	198
Percentage	53.5%	31.3%	14.7%	0.5%	100.0%

The verb-initial categories, of course, show the verb second to the relative marker. Additionally, v...V shows the

finite verb second to the relative pronoun in all but two cases, and one of those has only an adverb interposed between the Rel^S and the verb. Elements intervening between subject and verb are either minor elements such as adverbs and prepositional phrases or retained indirect object pronouns. The leftward movement of pronoun objects is well documented in the literature, as pointed out in chapter one.

Rel^{Adv} clauses are fairly homogeneous, always showing the subject immediately second to the relativizer; however, this configuration does not occur with v...V. Rel^{OP} constructions, which occur thirteen times, use all three types of verb clusters and show a variety of word orders. The only other relativizer function is Rel^{IO}, where a retained indirect object introduces the clause and the subject immediately follows. This form does not occur with v...V.

As regards verb order, this chapter shows that Vv is predominant with ninety-three examples. In Middle English this configuration falls away, but in the Anglo-Saxon Gospels it is still the most common type. When only minor elements are extraposed, the verb cluster is more likely to be Vv, a fact that concurs with Koopman's (1992) finding that Vv structures are more likely to be clause final in subordinate clauses. It is not clear whether his designation "extraposed" includes minor elements or is limited to major sentence elements only. In only

one example of Vv in this corpus is a major sentence element extraposed, a noun clause functioning as the subject.

An analysis of vV structures reveals that retained object complements occur almost exclusively here and involve a small group verbs such as *nemnan*, *hatan*, *reccan*, and *cweþan*, all of which are verbs of naming or calling. The other construction that occurs a number of times involves a Rel^{Adv} S v V (PP); it also has little variation in structure, but occasionally a prepositional phrase is extraposed.

Clauses with v..V structures are rather fewer in number, with twenty-nine examples. In v..V structures, except for one instance involving Rel^{OP} with a stranded preposition, the finite verb appears initially, directly after the relative pronoun, with no intervening variables. The non-finite verb is then almost always non-final. Exceptions include one instance of a noun that renames the subject, a phenomenon typically associated with vV, and another instance where a clause is extraposed, presumably because of its relative weight. The remaining extraposed structures are prepositional phrases.

Forty-two nonrestrictive structures appear in the passive voice relative constructions: four in Vv, all with *se*; twenty-four vV, thirteen v..V, and one mixed construction. Although restrictive clauses predominate in all the adjective clauses in this corpus, it seems significant that so few of these passive

constructions are nonrestrictive. Also, over half of these examples are introduced by *se*, the most ambiguous of the relative markers. The second most common relativizer for nonrestrictive relative clauses is *pe*. All relative markers are represented in both restrictive and nonrestrictive relative clauses presented in this chapter, but *pe* predominates with 111 examples. 66 relatives use *se*, 11 *se pe*, 6 *pær*, and 4 *swa hw-swa*. Generally, passive constructions in relative clauses are much less well developed than their simple-verb counterparts.

Chapter 4

Non-passive periphrastic verbs

4.1 Introduction

According to Robinson (1992:168) many periphrastic verb constructions developed because of the need to clarify precise time with more than just an adverbial modifier. Old English had only two conjugated tenses: present and simple past. Present had to stand also for future, and past for many of the perfect tenses. Mitchell and Robinson (2002:108-9) explain that present tense verbs can show different time contexts: the simple present, which may or may not indicate a "continuing state"; future; and future perfect. Past tense can also express four uses: simple past, past progressive, present perfect, and past perfect.

Often context is the only clue in Old English to the exact nature of the tense. For example, a simple present tense verb can indicate future sense, as in the following example:

he cymð be-foran eow on galileam þær ge hyne geseop
he will go before you into Galilee, where you will see him
(Mt. 28.7)

Non-passive periphrastic constructions, however, consist of a conjugated verb and some sort of nonfinite verb. Mitchell

(1980:272) delineates three different periphrastic forms: the periphrastic passive discussed in the previous chapter, periphrastic forms which use an infinitive for the nonfinite verb, and the periphrastic perfect forms. Typically, these forms include the preterite-present verb forms, or modals: *magan*, *sculan*, *agan*, **motan*, *cunnan*, and *ðurfan*, although not all of these verbs occur in this corpus. Another verb that commonly appears and has become a modal in Modern English is *willan*. *Beon/wesan* is also occasionally incorporated here, as is *byrian* in one case. Of course, *habban* has become in Modern English the typical form for the perfect tenses, although it was in competition with *beon/wesan* for a while. Modern German still uses *be* (*sein*) in certain cases of the perfect, as the following example shows:

Er ist nach Hause gekommen.
He has come home.

4.2 Distribution of finite verbs

In this text *willan* is the most commonly used conjugated verb, appearing in twenty clauses. Robinson (1992:169) explains its development into the future marker of Modern English based on its meaning, "intend." Forms of *beon* are used in eight instances, *magon* in eight, *habban* in seven, and *sculan* in three, while *byrian* appears just one time. A few verbs, including

beon/wesan and *habban* as well as some that are not typically considered “helping” verbs, appear with a nonfinite verb but in a different relationship to each other than is typical of periphrastic forms. These structures generally occur in the vV category and will be dealt with as anomalous forms there. Koopman (1992:323) finds little difference between verb clusters which contain auxiliaries (*beon/wesan*, *weorþan*, *habban*) and those which use modals; however, it is clear from table 4.1 that certain finite verbs occur more frequently with particular verb cluster types. Because of the small number of clauses under consideration in this category, it is difficult to draw definite conclusions; however, *willan* occurs many more times in the v...V pattern than any other finite verb, and *beon/wesan* seems to show a preference for Vv.

Table 4.1 Frequency of finite verbs in verb cluster categories

	vV	Vv	v...V	Combo	Total	%
habban	3	2	2	0	7	13.7%
beon/wesan	1	7	0	0	8	15.7%
willan	3	3	14	0	20	39.2%
magan	1	5	2	1	8	15.7%
sculan	2	1	0	0	3	5.9%
byrian	0	1	0	0	1	2.0%
other	4	0	0	0	4	7.8%
Total	14	19	17	1	51	100.0%

The non-finite verb in these structures can be a present participle when it follows *beon/wesan* or *weorþan*. Mitchell

(1980:274, 278-80) points out that it is difficult to determine whether the periphrastic form is really verbal. Originally, scholars attributed the use of this periphrastic form to the Latin influence; however, Mitchell remarks that "periphrasis with the present participle is not of purely Latin origin." Instead, it is probably a result of a combination of factors, and the participle in this case can sometimes "be adjectival, appositive, or an agent noun." In any case most scholars seem to agree that, while Latin participial constructions certainly played a part in influencing these periphrastic forms, they mainly "developed independently in OE" (Nickel 1967:262).

Perfect tenses are prefigured in OE transitive forms with *habban* and in intransitive with *habban*, *wesan*, or *weorþan*. This last verb does not occur in our text in periphrastic form, and *wesan* does not occur with a past participle; however, *habban* occurs twice with a past participle, as in example (1):

(1) her ys þin pund þe ic hæfde on swat-lin aled
 here is your pound that I had laid in a napkin

ecce mna tua quam habui repositam in sudario (Lk. 19.20)

Most typically in the Anglo-Saxon Gospels, auxiliaries and modals appear with an infinitive, with or without *to*. This infinitive is sometimes inflected and sometimes not. When the finite form is a modal, the uninflected verb is always a bare infinitive (2,3). On the other hand, *beon/wesan* and *habban* can

have either type of infinitive and are always attached to nonfinite forms that are inflected in some way (4,5).

(2) Hig bindað hefige byrþyna þe man aberan ne mæg
they bind heavy burdens that no one may [is able to] bear
alligant autem onera gravia et inportabilia (Mt. 23.4)

(3) we dydon þæt we don sceolon
we did that which we should [ought to] do
quod debuimus facere fecimus (Lk. 17.10)

(4) sædon his gewitend-nesse þe he to gefyllenne wæs on
hierusalem
they spoke of his departing, which he was to fulfill in
Jerusalem
dicebant excessum eius quem completurus erat in Hierusalem
(Lk. 9.31)

(5) mage gyt drincan þone calic ðe ic to drincenne hæbbe
are you two able to drink the chalice which I have to
drink?
potestis bibere calicem quem ego bibiturus sum (Mt. 20.22)

As in chapter three, we divide these complex verbal structures into the categories vV , $v...V$, and Vv . For each of these groups, we will consider placement of the cluster, transitive and intransitive structures, the function of variable elements within the structure, and the type of relative markers and finite verbs used as well as whether the relatives are restrictive or nonrestrictive.

4.3 Vv Clusters

Of the fifty-one non-passive periphrastic forms in our corpus, nineteen appear with the Vv order. Five of these relative clauses contain no constituents besides subject and verb and are therefore not useful for analysis of verb ordering. All except one of the clauses in this category show the verb cluster in final position, and the verb phrase never appears clause-initially. All but two of the relative clauses are transitive, most with the direct object in the relativizer position (3), one with an extraposed prepositional phrase (4). Significantly, minor elements occur nowhere else in this category.

The relativizer functions as the subject of the relative clause in only two cases (6), both with a pronoun direct object interposed between subject and verb. An indirect object relative pronoun occurs once (7), with the order IO S DO Vv. Intransitive complete relatives with Vv clusters account for the other two clauses (8,9), both introduced by relative adverbs. Most of the clauses in this category are restrictive, but two are nonrestrictive (5,8). The major relative marker is *pe*, with fourteen examples; *se* appears three times, *se pe* once, and *ponne* once. One relative clause in this group is anomalous, Lk. 12.37, and will be dealt with later in the chapter.

- (6) nys nan þing of þam men an hine gangende þæt hine besmitan mæge
there is nothing from (outside) man entering him which may soil him

nihil est extra hominem introiens in eum quod possit eum coinquinare (Mk. 7.15)

- (7) nan man wat ... hwylc is se fæder, buton se sunu, and se ðe se sunu hit awaren wyle
nobody knows ... who the Father is except the son, and he [to]whom the son wants to reveal it

nemo scit ... qui sit Pater nisi Filius et cui voluerit Filius revelare (Lk. 10.22)

- (8) niht cymb þonne nan man wyrcaþ ne mæg
night comes, when no man may work

venit nox quando nemo potest operari (Jn. 9.4)

- (9) and sende hig ... on ælce ceastre & stowe þe he to cumenne wæs
and them into each city and town where he was to come

et misit illos ... in omnem civitatem et locum quo erat ipse venturus (Lk.10.1)

The variety of nonfinite verb forms includes only bare infinitives (3,6) and inflected infinitives with *to* (4,9). The example with *byrian* is an impersonal construction (10).

- (10) halig gast eow lærð... þa þing þe eow specan gebyrað
The Holy Spirit will teach you ...the things that it behooves you to say

Spiritus enim Sanctus docebit vos ... quae oporteat dicere (Lk. 12.12)

4.4 v...V clusters

With seventeen clear examples in the text, v...V clusters are nearly as common as Vv, but show less variety in the function of the relative pronoun. Transitive forms usually have the relative as subject (11,12), but one clause is introduced by a direct object relative (13, here re-cited for convenience) and one by an object of a preposition (14). The finite verb always directly follows the subject, whether the subject is the relative marker (11) or not (13,14). It is fairly rare to have any extraposed elements, but (11) shows a prepositional phrase final, a configuration which occurs only twice. Elements which intervene between the finite and the nonfinite verb include prepositional phrases (13,15), direct objects(11,15), and a direct object plus object complement (12). The nonfinite verb in the last example indicates passive sense.

(11) ac ondrædað ma þone þe mæg sawle & lichaman fordon on helle
But fear rather him who may destroy soul and body in hell

sed potius eum timete qui potest et animam et corpus
perdere in gehennam (Mt. 10.28)

(12) se þe wyle hys sawle hale gedon, he hig forspilþ
who wants his soul made whole, he will lose it

qui enim voluerit animam suam salvam facere perdet eam
(Mt. 16.25)

(13) her ys þin pund þe ic hæfde on swat-lin aled
here is your pound which I had laid in a napkin

ecce mna tua quam habui repositam in sudario (Lk. 19.20)

(14) Ða com se dæg azimorum on þam hi woldon hyra eastron
gewyrcean
Then came the day of unleavened bread, on which they would
make their passover

venit autem dies azymorum in qua necesse erat occidi pascha
(Lk. 22.7)

(15) se þe wyle hig for me forspyllan, se hig fint
(he) who desires to lose it (his soul) for me, he will find
it

qui autem perdidit (animam suam) propter me inveniet eam
(Mt. 16.25)

Intransitive linking verbs, which appear four times, occur only with a relative subject (16). Variable elements occur usually between the two verbs, although subject complements can appear after the final verb (17). Interposed between the two verbs can be prepositional phrases and subject complements.

(16) swa hwylc swa wyle mid eow yldest beon, se byð eower þen
whichever wants to be chief among you, he will be your
minister

quicumque voluerit fieri maior erit vester minister
(Mk. 10.43)

(17) seþe wyle betweox eow beon fyrrest, sy he eower þeow
(he) who wants to be first among you, he will be your
servant

et qui voluerit inter vos primus esse erit vester servus
(Mt. 20.27)

Intransitive complete structures appear seven times in the corpus. The typical minor element is a prepositional phrase, in one case along with an adverb (18). In one case two nonfinite verbs share an auxiliary (19). Another construction compounds a

simple intransitive complete verb with a periphrastic transitive one (20) and becomes rather lengthy because of its string of direct objects plus prepositional phrases, but this amount of material in a relative clause is rare in the corpus.

(18) þa ðe willað heonon to eow faran, ne magon
those who want to travel hence to you may not

hii qui volunt hinc transire ad vos non possint (Lk. 16.26)

(19) þam ðe wylle on dome wið þe flitan & niman þine tunecan,
læt him to þinne wæfels
to him who wants to dispute against you in law and take
your tunic, let him (take) also your mantel

ei qui vult tecum iudicio contendere et tunicam tuam
tollere remitte ei et pallium (Mt. 5.40)

(20) Warniað wið þa boceras ða þe wyllað on gegyrlum gan &
lufiað gretinga on stræte & þa yldstan setl on gesamnungum
& þa forman hlininga on gebeorscypum
be wary of the scribes who want to go out in garments and
love greetings in the street and the highest seats in the
congregation and the first couches at the feasts

adtemptate a scribis qui volunt ambulare in stolis et amant
salutationes in foro et primas cathedras in synagogis et
primos discubitus in conviviis (Lk. 20.46)

Another passage in this corpus includes a compound relative showing a simple verb and a v...V structure which share the relative subject (21). The first half of the structure is verb final and transitive, with a prepositional phrase intervening between subject and verb (Rel^S PP DO V). The second half is transitive with the order Rel^S v ADV PP DO V. The clause is introduced by þe and is restrictive.

(21) nis nan þe on minum naman mægen wyrce & mæge raðe be me
yfele specan
There is none who does a miracle in my name and may readily
speak evil of me

nemo est enim qui faciat virtutem in nomine meo et possit
cito male loqui de me (Mk. 9.39; Latin Mk. 9.38)

Habban and *magan* are used twice, but *willan* occurs as the finite verb in the majority of these clauses. *þe* is the most common relativizer, *se* and *swa hw- swa* each occur twice, and *se þe* once. Four relative constructions in this category are nonrestrictive (cf. 14 above), using a variety of relative markers.

4.5 vV clusters

There are fourteen examples of vV clusters in the corpus. Placement of this type of cluster is somewhat more varied than the others, with ten of the verbs occurring clause-finally (22) and four medially (23). While there are no linking verb constructions in this group, both transitive (24) and intransitive complete (25) formations may occur with the cluster final in the clause. Transitive constructions in this group always have the relative marker functioning as the direct object of the relative clause, followed immediately by the subject (22). Those clauses with intransitive complete verbs use a relative subject (23), object of a preposition with stranding

(24), or dative object (25). Where the subject is not first, it is always second.

(22) and he sylþ eow oðerne frefriend ... soðfæstnysse gast þe ðes middan-eard ne mæg under-fon
and he will give you another comforter ... the spirit of truth, which this earth not may receive

et alium paraclatum dabit vobis ... Spiritum veritatis quem mundus non potest accipere (Jn. 14.16,17)

(23) ne gebidde ic for hi ane ac eac for ða þe gyt sceolon gelyfan þurh hyra word on me
I do not pray for these only, but for those who shall yet believe in me through their word

non pro his autem rogo tantum sed et pro eis qui credituri sunt per verbum eorum in me (Jn.17.20)

(24) and sona þæt scyp wæs æt þam lande þe hig woldon to faran and soon that ship was upon the land which they wanted to travel to

et statim fuit navis ad terram quam ibant (Jn. 6.21)

(25) ne nan mann ne can þone fædyr butun sunu and þam þe se sunu wyle onwreon
no man knows the father, except the son and (he) [to] whom the son may wish to reveal (him)

neque Patrem quis novit nisi Filius et cui voluerit Filius revelare (Mt. 11.27)

Minor variables may intervene between the subject and the verb, such as adverbs (23). Constituents appearing after the verb cluster include mainly prepositional phrases (23,26). Only two of these constructions are clearly nonrestrictive (22), both with *þe* as the relative marker. In example (26), however, because the relative marker *þæt* can syntactically translate as "in order that," or "for him to," the clause is probably better

interpreted as a non-relative subordinate adverb clause. In that case it would be nonrestrictive, but it would also be outside the category of relative clauses. It should be noted that there are a few other examples in the corpus, all in the simple verb category, where a *þæt* clause is translated as a relative adverbial, but generally they are clearly relative.

(26) *Ær þam esterfreols-dæge se hælend wiste þæt his tid com þæt he wolde gewitan of þyson middan-earde to his fæder before the Passover day the Savior knew that his time had come when he would depart from this world to his Father*

ante diem autem festum paschae sciens Iesus quia venit eius hora ut transeat ex hoc mundo ad Patrem (Jn. 13.1)

Once again, *þe* is the main relativizer for this group, while *se* appears three times, and *swa hw- swa* once.

4.6 Anomalous forms

The structures included in this category do not follow the regular pattern of nonpassive periphrastic forms. Most typically, the combination includes a subject of the infinitive (27,28,29). Oddly enough, these examples of direct objects are not pronouns and so would not typically be moved into second position in a clause. The Latin is not the source here, because it puts the *have* verb first. Mt. 13.9, a *v...V* construction, does follow the pattern of the Latin.

(27) *ic ge-endode þæt weorc þæt þu me sealdest to donne I have completed that work that you gave me to do*

opus consummavi quod dedisti mihi ut faciam (Jn. 17.4)

- (28) Se ðe earan hæbbe to gehyryne, gehyre
he who has ears to hear, let him hear

qui habet aures audiendi audiat (Mt. 11.15)

- (29) Se þe hæbbe earan to gehyrenne, gehyre
he who has ears to hear, let him hear

qui habet aures audiendi audiat (Mt. 13.9)

Other relative clauses in this category use finite verbs that are not typical. They include *metan* (30), *secan* (31), and *hieran* (32). In the first example the nonfinite form is an object complement, while in the second the infinitive is part of the direct object of the finite verb. The third relative construction shows an unusual relative *swa fela swa* which acts as the subject of the nonfinite verb.

- (31) Eadige synt þa þeowas þe se hlaford wæccende gemet þonne he
cymð
happy are the servants whom the lord finds watching when he
comes

beati servi illi quos cum venerit dominus invenerit
vigilantes (Lk. 12.37)

- (32) hu nis ðis se ðe hi seceap to of-sleanne
Is not this he whom they seek to slay

nonne hic est quem quaerunt interficere (Jn. 7.25)

- (33) Do her on þinum earde swa fela wundra swa we ge-hyrdon
gedone on cafarnaum
Do here in your country as many wonders as we heard done in
Capernaum

quanta audivimus facta in Capharnaum fac et hic in patria
tua (Lk. 4.23)

4.7 Summary

The most common verb placement for nonpassive periphrastic constructions is final in the clause. Only five examples in the corpus show the verb in any other position. Those clauses where the verb is not final are all vV structures, a fact which agrees with the results of Kohonen (1978:100) as well as Koopman (1992:323) in studies of subordinate clauses. Koopman's comment that it "is the norm for vV clusters" to occur with extraposed elements, however, is not confirmed in our corpus since the majority of cases showing that type of cluster are here clause final. In all but one of those nonfinal vV clauses, the extraposed element is a prepositional phrase rather than any major sentence element. The remaining relative clause shows a subject complement after the verb cluster.

The most typical ordering for the clauses in this chapter is relative subject followed immediately by the verb. In a few exceptions, all with Vv ordering, the direct object follows the subject. In the corpus all of these examples show the direct object as a pronoun. The other major order has the direct object in relative position followed by the subject. v...V structures use Rel^{DO} S only once. More typically, direct object immediately follows the finite verb, whether the direct object is a noun or pronoun. In other words, where in NE we would put

the direct object last, these structures all have the nonfinite verb last and the finite verb second in the clause.

The lack of many variables is a striking difference from the simple-verb relative constructions. This fact possibly is related to the newness of these types of constructions. Even the v...V clusters, the most likely to have extra elements, are very limited. Prepositional phrases and subject complements are extraposed only twice each, and there are no other extraposed variables.

Many of the finite verb forms appear with all three verb orders; however, certain constraints seem to apply. For instance, *beon/wesan* occurs all but one time with Vv, and the one example of vV is marginal. *Willan* occurs most often with v...V. Or perhaps it would be more accurate to say that v...V prefers *willan*, because only three examples of this ordering use verbs other than *willan*. *Magan* occurs with Vv in six out of eight cases. The small number of forms makes it difficult to state definitely whether these findings are typical.

Only eight of the fifty-one clauses are nonrestrictive, a fact which is in alignment with the tendency in the Anglo-Saxon Gospels toward restrictive relative clauses. In this category of nonpassive periphrastic constructions, the nonrestrictive clauses are introduced by a variety of relative markers, use a variety of finite verbs, and appear with all three verb orders.

Three clauses, all introduced by the relative *swa hw- swa*, act as nominals. The major relative marker for this entire group of periphrastic verb forms is, as is the case with all relative clauses in the corpus, *pe; se* appears eight times, and the other markers occur two or three times each.

Chapter Five

Summary and Conclusion

5.1 Summary

In this dissertation we have studied the position of the verb in relative clauses within the Anglo-Saxon version of the Gospels. We have shown that overall, three verb placements occur: initial, medial and final. In addition, periphrastic patterns show vV, Vv, and v...V. These latter configurations may also occur initially, medially, or finally. In our corpus the preferred position of the verb in relative clauses is final; but non-final position of the verb is represented in over a third of the examples, and therefore constitutes an important alternative pattern. It is clear from the data that simple verb relative constructions are much better developed than their periphrastic verb counterparts; and passive constructions are likewise more common than nonpassive periphrastic ones.

Transitive patterns are the most common, followed closely by intransitive complete patterns. Transitive active patterns, whether simple or periphrastic, are twice as likely to be verb final than nonfinal. Intransitive linking constructions are the least well represented of the patterns. Of the 135 S LV SC

patterns, all but three are simple verb relatives. Additionally, all of the 38 linking verb-final constructions have a predicate adjective as the complement. When the linking verb is not final, the complement may be either an adjective or a noun. Of the linking verb patterns that show nonfinal verbs, almost all are S LV patterns, nearly identical to NE. All possible verb placements are represented in each of the various sentence patterns. Table 5.1, which does not include v...V relative clauses or relative clauses with combinations of verb forms, shows that relative clauses containing linking verb patterns have a preference for verb-initial placement, whereas intransitive complete patterns are more likely to be verb-final. Periphrastic passive verbs are about equally divided between initial and final, while transitive active clauses are more likely to be verb-final.

Table 5.1 Sentence patterns and verb placement

	Initial	Medial	Final	Total	%
Transitive active	114	103	442	659	51.4%
Intransitive linking	84	8	38	130	10.2%
Intransitive complete	112	16	221	349	27.2%
Passive	63	10	71	144	11.2%
Total	373	137	772	1282	100.0%
% of total	29.1%	10.7%	60.2%	100.0%	

Variable elements appear throughout the corpus. Major variables include indirect objects (dative), as well as genitive

and dative objects. Minor elements, adverbs and prepositional phrases, appear in about half of the relative clauses; the prepositional phrases are usually adverbial and occur in a variety of places in the relative clause. In 171 cases final prepositional phrases come directly after the verb. Adverbs, on the other hand, are not as flexible, typically occurring non-finally in the clause. In fact, in the Anglo-Saxon Gospels, adverbs almost always are placed directly before the verb, or between the finite and non-finite verbs.

The type of relative marker may have some effect on the position of the verb (Table 5.2). *þe*, *se þe*, and adverbial relative constructions are more likely to be verb-final, whereas the *se* clauses are slightly more likely to be verb-nonfinal. Adverbial and indefinite relativizers, although they introduce a much smaller number of clauses, favor verb-final position by more than a two-to-one margin.

5.2 Relative markers and verb placement

	Verb final	%	Verb nonfinal	%	Total
<i>þe</i>	574	65.8%	298	34.2%	872
<i>se þe</i>	48	72.7%	18	27.3%	66
<i>se</i>	121	42.8%	162	57.2%	283
adverbial	32	72.7%	12	27.3%	44
<i>swa hw- swa</i>	30	69.8%	13	30.2%	43
Total	805	61.5%	503	38.5%	1308

As Table 5.3 shows, the majority (84.9%) of the relative clauses in our corpus are restrictive. While there is not always a strong connection between placement of the verb and restrictiveness of the clause, a connection can sometimes be made between the type of relative marker and restrictiveness. Only 57 (5.9%) *pe* clauses are nonrestrictive, compared to 906 (94.1%) that are restrictive. *Se pe* relative constructions are also weighted overwhelmingly toward restrictiveness (90.8% restrictive, 9.2% nonrestrictive). *Se* clauses are split more evenly between the two (54.6% restrictive, 45.4% nonrestrictive).

Table 5.3 Relative markers and restrictiveness

	Restr.	%	Nonrestr.	%	Total
<i>pe</i>	906	94.1%	57	5.9%	963
<i>se pe</i>	59	90.8%	6	9.2%	65
<i>se</i>	153	54.6%	127	45.4%	280
adverbial	29	67.4%	14	32.6%	43
Total	1147	84.9%	204	15.1%	1351

Table 5.4 shows the relationship between the function of the relativizer and the placement of the verb. It is clear that relative clauses introduced by direct object or adverbial relativizers are more often verb-final (81.3% and 71.6%, respectively) than those introduced by a subject or an object of a preposition (59.7% and 63.6%, respectively). The possessive relative type is the only category that is more often verb-

initial (73.7%) than verb-final (15.8%). The verb occurs medially rather often with relative adverbs (27.0%) and relative direct objects (17.6%) because the subject often directly follows the relative marker in these constructions. This fact may also account for the overwhelming number of verb-final Rel^{DO} clauses. While elements may follow the verb in the Rel^{DO} S V order, the preference seems to insert those variables between the subject and the verb rather than clause-finally. No relative clauses in the corpus are introduced by subject complements; however, many interrogative pronouns which are involved in indirect questions do seem to perform in a similar way to the relativizers. These indirect questions are not included in this study.

Table 5.4 Function of relative marker and placement of verb

	Initial	%	Medial	%	Final	%	Total
Rel ^S	416	40.0%	3	0.3%	621	59.7%	1040
Rel ^{DO}	3	1.1%	47	17.6%	218	81.3%	268
Rel ^{Adv}	1	1.4%	20	27.0%	53	71.6%	74
Rel ^{OP}	11	25.0%	5	11.4%	28	63.6%	44
Rel ^{Poss}	14	73.7%	2	10.5%	3	15.8%	19
Rel ^{IO}	0	0.0%	1	8.3%	11	91.7%	12
Rel ^{DatObj}	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	2	100.0%	2

Interestingly, in only six examples in the Anglo-Saxon Gospels does the subject occur clause-finally. Typically these forms have the relative as object of the preposition; however, many Rel^{OP} structures do not follow this pattern. It has been

noted throughout the paper that pronoun complements are often subject to leftward movement. That is, they often occur earlier in the clause than is typical of NE. Sometimes noun complements appear in this position, but this phenomenon is fairly rare.

5.2 Conclusion

The major focus of this dissertation has been to examine placement of the verb within relative clauses. In the corpus under investigation, most often the verb, whether simple or periphrastic, is clause final. Periphrastic verbs show Vv as the most typical form. We have argued that linking verb patterns are fairly rare and that subject complements are never relative markers. Transitive active patterns are the most prevalent and relative markers most often function as the subject of the relative clause. Placement of complements was also examined. Direct objects are the most versatile, as they occur prior to as well as following the verb and may even act as the relativizer introducing the relative clause.

Additionally, this study has revealed information about the placement of the minor elements adverbs and prepositional phrases. Although it is typical to think of adverbs as being rather free in their placement, in this corpus they usually appear prior to the verb or between the finite and the nonfinite verb. Prepositional phrases, on the other hand, are quite

flexible in their placement, although they are typically adverbial in their modification. Both of these minor elements may act as relativizers.

Further study of indirect questions, which are introduced by *hw-* words, may shed more light on the position of the verb. This type of structure is common in the Anglo-Saxon Gospels and bear a close resemblance, at least superficially, to relative clauses.

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