

SYNTACTIC AND PRAGMATIC FUNCTIONS OF *þa*
IN OLD ENGLISH PROSE AND VERSE

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ABBREVIATIONS

7	<i>ond</i> (manuscript abbreviation)
<i>And</i>	<i>Andreas</i>
<i>APS</i>	<i>Aspects of Old English Poetic Syntax</i> (Blockley 2001)
AS	Anglo-Saxon
<i>ASC</i>	<i>Anglo-Saxon Chronicle</i>
Aux	Auxiliary verb
<i>Beo</i>	<i>Beowulf</i>
<i>Cas</i>	<i>Recensio Casanatensis</i>
dO	Direct Object
<i>ITT</i>	<i>The Influence of Text Type on Word Order of Old Germanic Languages</i> (Cichosz 2010)
<i>l</i>	<i>vel</i> (manuscript abbreviation)
Lex	Lexical verb
Li	Lindisfarne Gospel
Ha	Hatton Manuscript (OE Gospels)
MS	Manuscript
O	Object
OE	Old English
<i>OES</i>	<i>Old English Syntax</i> (Mitchell 1985), Vol. I & II
OP	Original prose
O _p	Object pronoun
PP	Prepositional phrase
<i>Prax</i>	<i>Praxeis</i>
<i>PS</i>	<i>Postscript on Beowulf</i> (Andrew 1948)
Ru	Rushworth Gospel
S	Subject
S _p	Subject pronoun
SA-B	<i>Saint Andrew</i> , text B (Blickling MS)ᵝ
SA-C	<i>Saint Andrew</i> , text C (Cambridge MS)
<i>SS</i>	<i>Syntax and Style</i> (Andrew 1940)
TP	Translated prose
V	Finite Verb
V1	Verb-initial clause structure
V2	Verb second clause structure
<i>Val</i>	<i>Recensio Vallicellensis</i>
Vf	Verb-final clause structure
WS	West-Saxon
ᵝ	<i>hæt</i> (manuscript abbreviation)

DEUTSCHE KURZFASSUNG

Das altenglische Wort *þa*, wie die deutsche Entsprechung *da*, kann als Adverb oder als Konjunktion gebraucht werden, so dass es entweder einen Hauptsatz (‘dann/da/daraufhin’) oder einen Nebensatz (‘als/weil’) einleitet. Im Deutschen ist die Wortstellung für die Interpretation der Sätze entscheidend; das gilt zu einem gewissen Grad auch für die altenglische Prosa, nicht jedoch für die Versdichtung. Diese Mehrdeutigkeit teilt *þa* mit anderen altenglischen Adverbien/Konjunktionen wie *swa*, *syððan*, *nu*, *þonne* und *þær*. Von diesen ist *þa* allerdings das bei weitem am häufigsten gebrauchte Wort, da es als strukturierendes und hervorhebendes Element im narrativen Diskurs verwendet wird. Die syntaktischen und pragmatischen Funktionen sind in verschiedenen Studien beschrieben worden, wobei die beiden Aspekte jedoch selten systematisch in Zusammenhang gebracht worden sind. Die vorliegende Arbeit verbindet unterschiedliche Ansätze zur Untersuchung altenglischer Syntax und historischer Pragmatik, um einerseits die Interpretation mehrdeutiger Teilsätze zu ermöglichen und um andererseits den Gebrauch von *þa* in unterschiedlichen Textsorten genauer zu beleuchten. Dabei werden die Funktionen in Dichtung und Prosa analysiert und verglichen. In diesem Zusammenhang wird auch der mögliche Einfluss des Lateinischen berücksichtigt, um zu klären, inwieweit *þa* als Element originärer angelsächsischer Erzähltechnik systematisch in übersetzter Prosa gebraucht wird. Hier ist wiederum die syntaktische Funktion von *þa* von besonderer Bedeutung, da den volkssprachlichen Erzähleinheiten, die aus Ketten von koordinierten Hauptsätzen bestehen (*Dann... und... und...*), die hypotaktischen Konstruktionen der Quellen (*Als..., da...*) gegenüberstehen.

Als Grundlage für die Untersuchung dient unter anderem das altenglische Heldenepos *Beowulf*, anhand dessen die Besonderheiten der Versdichtung in Hinblick auf die Wortstellung aufgezeigt werden: Da die metrische Struktur die Position einzelner Satzglieder beeinflusst, können *þa*-Sätze nicht anhand der Wortstellung interpretiert werden. Des Weiteren wird das altenglische Gedicht *Andreas* in die Untersuchung einbezogen, da es einerseits viele stilistische und sprachliche Parallelen zu *Beowulf* aufweist, andererseits aber auf einer klassischen Apokryphe basiert; somit kann anhand dieses Textes aufgezeigt werden, welche sprachlichen, stilistischen und rhetorischen Mittel eingesetzt werden, um einen lateinischen Prosatext in ein angelsächsisches Heldengedicht zu übertragen. Neben den überlieferten griechischen und lateinischen Versionen der Andreaslegende existiert auch eine altenglische Prosaübersetzung, *Saint Andrew*, die, wie auch das altenglische Gedicht, inhaltlich sehr genau den klassischen Quellen folgt. Der lateinische Text, der als

Grundlage für die sehr wörtliche Übersetzung diente, ist nicht überliefert. Es existieren jedoch lateinische Versionen, i.e. die *Recensio Casanatensis* und die *Recensio Vallicellensis*, welche die griechische Vorlage ebenfalls sinngetreu wiedergeben. Somit ermöglichen die ausgewählten Texte nicht nur einen Vergleich der stilistischen und sprachlichen Mittel, die in den altenglischen Vers- und Prosatexten verwendet werden, sondern auch den Vergleich beider Versionen mit den klassischen Quellen. Dadurch wird deutlich, wie die Vorlagen bearbeitet wurden, um einerseits ein altenglisches Gedicht zu schaffen, das sich der Rhetorik der angelsächsischen Heldendichtung bedient, und andererseits eine wortgetreue Prosaübersetzung, die trotz des Einfluss des Lateinischen Elemente der volkssprachlichen Erzähltechnik aufweist.

Obwohl die altenglische Wortstellung nicht den grammatischen Restriktionen des Neuenglischen unterliegt, ist sie auch nicht „frei“, wie in früheren Studien angenommen.¹ Bruce Mitchell hat in seinem zweibändigen Werk *Old English Syntax (OES I & II)* die Grundwortstellung in Haupt- oder in Nebensätzen beschrieben: Ähnlich wie im Deutschen rückt das Verb in Nebensätzen in Endposition (S ...V), während es in Hauptsätzen entweder an erster oder zweiter Stelle steht (VS oder SV).² Diese Regularität liefert einen wichtigen Beitrag zur Interpretation von Teilsätzen, die mit einem mehrdeutigen Wort beginnen. So leitet *þa* als Adverb einen Hauptsatz ein, wenn das finite Verb unmittelbar darauf folgt (*þa* VS), während es normalerweise eine Konjunktion ist, wenn das Verb später folgt (*þa* S...V). Neben Mitchells Werk, das sicherlich die umfangreichste Sammlung von Beispielen enthält und darauf basierend versucht eine möglichst vollständige Beschreibung der altenglischen Syntax zu liefern, dient Anna Cichoszs Studie *The Influence of Text Type on Word Order of Old Germanic Languages* (2010) als weitere Grundlage für die Untersuchung. Anders als Mitchells deskriptiver Ansatz ist Cichoszs Analyse computerbasiert; anhand eines ausgewählten Textkorpus untersucht sie die Häufigkeit von Wortstellungsmustern in altenglischen und althochdeutschen Prosa- und Verstexten, wobei die Prosa weiter in Übersetzungen und Originaltexte unterteilt wird. Obwohl die statistischen Auswertungen in vielerlei Hinsicht aufschlussreich sind, zeigt sich doch gleichzeitig, dass der korpuslinguistische Ansatz in Hinblick auf die Interpretation mehrdeutiger Teilsätze an seine Grenzen stößt, da die grammatische Funktion eines Satzes bereits Teil der Programmierung sein muss; die Kategorisierung kann jedoch nicht anhand der Wortstellung erfolgen, wenn man einen Zirkelschluss vermeiden will. Für die Analyse mehrdeutiger Sätze ist der

¹ Siehe Visser 1973: 1991, fn. 1.

² Zur Definition und Beschreibung der Wortstellungsmuster siehe Campbell 1970: 93-94.

deskriptive Ansatz Mitchells somit vorzuziehen. Dennoch bestätigt der computerbasierte Ansatz die grundlegenden Annahmen über die häufigsten Wortstellungsmuster in Haupt- und Nebensätzen in der altenglischen Prosa.

Anhand dieser Studien lässt sich der systematische Gebrauch der Wortstellung zumindest für die altenglische Prosa nachweisen, selbst wenn er auch hier nicht an den Status einer grammatischen Regel heranreicht.³ Dahingegen scheint diese Regelmäßigkeit in der Dichtung nicht zu bestehen: Mitchell nennt als Beispiel die drei ersten Hauptsätze aus *Beowulf*, die alle mit dem finiten Verb enden (vgl. *OES II*: 981 und 969). Da sich in der Dichtung somit keine syntaktische Regel erkennen lässt, liegt die Interpretation mehrdeutiger Sätze im Ermessen des Herausgebers (angedeutet durch die Interpunktion) oder des Übersetzers. Dementsprechend variiert die Auslegung solcher Sätze nicht nur zwischen verschiedenen Editionen und Übersetzungen, sondern auch zwischen verschiedenen Passagen innerhalb derselben Edition oder Übersetzung. Um diese „Unzulänglichkeit“ auszuräumen, wurden Versuche unternommen, die Regularitäten der Prosa so zu modifizieren, dass sie auch auf die Dichtung anwendbar sind, indem Besonderheiten wie Metrik, Rhythmus und Stabreim miteinbezogen werden. In diesem Zusammenhang sind vor allem die Werke von Samuel Andrew zu nennen, *Syntax and Style in Old English* (1940) und *Postscript on Beowulf* (1948), in denen er an die Prosa angelehnte syntaktische Regel aufstellt. Da er davon ausgeht, dass *þa* S ...V auch in der Dichtung ein Nebensatz sein muss, interpretiert er viele Sätze neu, die in den gängigen Editionen als Hauptsätze gekennzeichnet sind. Das hat zur Folge, dass er die altenglische Dichtung als vornehmlich hypotaktisch bezeichnet und ihr viel komplexere Satzstrukturen zuschreibt als in früheren Studien angenommen.⁴

Da einige von Andrews Reinterpretationen sich augenscheinlich nicht mit dem Kontext vereinbaren lassen, verbindet er die Nebensätze teilweise mit dem nachfolgenden Hauptsatz. Vor allem, wenn zwei aufeinanderfolgende Teilsätze mit *þa* eingeleitet werden, interpretiert er sie als korrelativen Satz: *þa* ('als'), *þa* ('da'). Dagegen spricht, dass Nebensätze, zumindest in der zweiten Halbzeile, in der germanischen Dichtung ursprünglich nachgestellt waren, als sich der jüngere Hakenstil entwickelte.⁵ Geht man zudem davon aus, dass sich die Hypotaxe aus der Parataxe entwickelt hat, sollten die zuvor unabhängigen Sätze in chronologischer

³ Für Beispiele und Gegenbeispiele in der altenglischen Prosa siehe *OES* §§ 2437-2560.

⁴ Kellner beispielsweise schreibt, dass das Griechische und das Lateinische komplexe Sätze verwenden, um die Beziehung zwischen dem Haupt- und Nebensatz genau auszudrücken, während diese Deutung in den germanischen Dialekten, die einfache und parallele Sätze aneinanderreihen, weitgehend dem Leser überlassen bleibt (vgl. 1892: 51-52).

⁵ Vergleiche Heusler 1925.

Reihenfolge stehen. Aus diesen Gründen vermeiden die meisten Editoren und Übersetzer vorangestellte Temporalsätze. Andrews Idee sollte aber nicht aufgrund der offensichtlichen Tendenz von temporalen Nebensätzen ihrem Hauptsatz zu folgen verworfen werden, da es auch in der altenglischen Dichtung vorangestellte Nebensätze gibt.

Obwohl Andrews Ansatz und Methodologie in nachfolgenden Studien teilweise in Frage gestellt wurden,⁶ wurde seine Idee, dass die Wortstellung in der altenglischen Dichtung klar definierten syntaktischen Regeln folgt, in jüngeren Studien wieder aufgegriffen. Mary Blockleys *Aspects of Old English Poetic Syntax* (2001) präsentiert eine überarbeitete Version von Andrews Regeln, welche die vorigen Unstimmigkeiten ausräumen soll und zudem gleichermaßen für Prosa und Versdichtung gilt: Satzeinleitende Wörter wie *þa* dienen als Konjunktion, wenn auf sie ein Satzelement folgt, das nicht das finite Verb ist (*þa...V*) (vgl. Blockley 2001: 219). Dieser rein formale Ansatz lässt jedoch die metrischen Besonderheiten der Dichtung außer Acht, die, wie sowohl deskriptive als auch korpuslinguistische Studien gezeigt haben, keineswegs unerheblich für die Position des finiten Verbs sind. Alistair Campbell (1970) führt mehrdeutige Wortstellungsmuster in der Dichtung auf die Metrik zurück, welche die Position der Satzelemente beeinflusst. In Anlehnung an die Beobachtungen Kuhns (1933), der die grundlegenden Restriktionen für unterschiedliche Satzelemente am Satzanfang in seinen Gesetzen festgehalten hat, argumentiert Campbell, dass die Wortstellung hinter Satzpartikeln wie *þa* allein von der Metrik abhängt und somit keinerlei grammatische Information enthalten kann. Trotz dieser Feststellung argumentiert Blockley dreißig Jahre später, dass die Wortstellung in der Dichtung klaren grammatischen Regeln folgt. So interpretiert Blockley viele Sätze als Nebensätze.

Auch Blockley benutzt vorangestellte Nebensätze als Erklärung, wenn die Nebenordnung eines *þa*-Satzes andernfalls gegen den Kontext spricht. Trotzdem ist ihre Reinterpretation in vielen Fällen fragwürdig. Diese Gegenbeispiele sind allerdings kein Beweis für die Ungültigkeit ihrer Regel, da auch in der Prosa Ausnahmen auftauchen und da Fehler im Transmissionsprozess nicht ausgeschlossen werden können. Jedoch zeigt die Untersuchung von *þa*-Sätzen in *Beowulf* und *Andreas*, dass die Wortstellung von der Art des finiten Verbs abhängig ist: Während fast alle Verben in der ersten Halbzeile *þa* vorangehen (*V þa*), folgt die Verbform *wæs* ('war') der Satzpartikel unmittelbar (*þa V*); die Verbform *com* ('kam') kommt dagegen in beiden Wortstellungsmustern vor. In der zweiten Halbzeile, in der *þa* nur die erste Position einnehmen kann, folgt *wæs* wiederum unmittelbar auf *þa*; alle anderen

⁶ Siehe zum Beispiel Mitchell (1985: §§ 2548-2557).

Verben stehen dagegen am Ende der Halbzeile, so dass immer ein anderes Satzelement zwischen *þa* und dem finiten Verb steht (*þa ...V*). Dieses Satzstellungsmuster ist Blockleys Regel zufolge nur in Nebensätzen zu finden. Die offensichtliche Frage, die sich hier stellt, ist, warum es in der zweiten Halbzeile nur Hauptsätze mit den Verben *wæs* und *com* geben sollte. Schon Andrew ist zu dem Schluss gekommen, dass die Position des finiten Verbs von dessen Betonung abhängt. Da *wæs* unbetont ist und somit Kuhns Gesetzen der Satzpartikeln unterliegt, wird es in die schwache Position vor der ersten Hebung am Beginn des Satzes verschoben, wodurch die gleiche Wortstellung entsteht, die in der Prosa für Hauptsätze gebraucht wird. Im Gegensatz zu Blockley akzeptiert Andrew die Mehrdeutigkeit der Sätze mit *wæs*, allerdings überträgt er die Erkenntnis über die metrischen Besonderheiten der Dichtung nicht auf die zweite Halbzeile. So interpretiert er alle Sätze der Form *þa SV* als Nebensätze, obwohl nur unbetonte Verben an zweiter Stelle stehen können.

Die Beobachtung, dass die Wortstellung von den prosodischen Eigenschaften des finiten Verbs abhängt, wird von korpuslinguistischen Studien bestätigt: Michael Gettys statistische Analyse der Stellung des finiten Verbs in *Beowulf* (2000, 2002) zeigt, dass lexikalische Verben für gewöhnlich nicht in der Mitte der Halbzeile vorkommen, sondern entweder in Anfangs- oder Endposition stehen. Diese Restriktion gilt jedoch nicht für Hilfs- oder Modalverben. Gettys Untersuchungsgegenstand ist eigentlich nicht die Funktion der Wortstellung in der Versdichtung, sondern die Grammatikalisierung bestimmter altenglischer Verben. Das Vorkommen eines bestimmten Verbs in der schwachen Mittelposition wird dabei als Zeichen fortschreitender Grammatikalisierung angesehen, da dieser Prozess den Verlust der prosodischen Eigenschaften nach sich zieht. Die variable Stellung von *com* kann somit mit der Entwicklung des Verbs zu einem Hilfsverb erklärt werden.⁷ Des Weiteren zeigen Gettys Untersuchungen, dass die Silbenanzahl der Verben ebenfalls Einfluss auf deren Position nimmt. So sind es vor allem einsilbige Verbformen, die in die Mittelposition verschoben werden, während zwei- oder mehrsilbige Formen häufiger in peripherer Position bleiben, selbst wenn es sich um nicht-lexikalische Verben handelt. Es zeigt sich also, dass die Position des Verbs allein von den prosodischen Eigenschaften abhängt und die Wortstellung somit keinerlei Rückschlüsse auf die grammatische Funktion eines Satzes zulässt. Wie sich an der Verbform *com* zeigt, können sogar die prosodischen Eigenschaften ein und desselben Verbs je nach Funktion variieren. Dementsprechend müssen die semantischen Eigenschaften

⁷ Diese Entwicklung hat sich zum Neuenglischen hin nicht fortgesetzt. Ein Vergleich zwischen *Beowulf* und dem späteren *The Battle of Maldon* zeigt aber, dass *com* im Spätaltenglischen zunehmend häufiger in mittlerer Position vorkommt.

des finiten Verbs in die Untersuchung der Wortstellung in der altenglischen Dichtung miteinbezogen werden.

Aus diesen Beobachtungen ergeben sich somit zwei mehrdeutige Wortstellungsmuster für *þa*-Sätze, die auf die metrischen Besonderheiten der Versdichtung zurückzuführen sind: *þa* V-Sätze mit einem unbetonten Verb und *þa* ...V mit einem betonten Verb. Im ersten Fall wird das Verb in beiden Halbzeilen in die schwache Position vor der ersten Hebung der Halbzeile verschoben. Das zweite Wortstellungsmuster kommt dagegen nur in der zweiten Halbzeile vor: Da *þa* hier grundsätzlich an erster Stelle steht, kann das Verb nur in Endposition stehen. Diese Wortstellung ist somit das Äquivalent für V *þa*-Sätze aus der ersten Halbzeile, die den metrischen Restriktionen der zweiten Halbzeile angepasst wurde.⁸ Die Abhängigkeit der Wortstellung von den Eigenschaften des Verbs unterstützt Campbells Annahme, dass die Anordnung der Satzelemente in der altenglischen Dichtung nicht als Kriterium für die Interpretation mehrdeutiger Sätze gelten kann. Er schließt daraus, dass die Interpretation dieser Sätze im Ermessen des Rezipienten liegt. Mitchell geht so weit, diese Sätze als Stadium zwischen Parataxe und Hypotaxe zu bezeichnen. Zwei Punkte sollten hier jedoch berücksichtigt werden: Erstens sind die Sätze vermutlich nur in ihrer schriftlichen Form mehrdeutig; zweitens bedeutet der Umstand, dass die Mehrdeutigkeit nicht anhand der Wortstellung aufgelöst werden kann, weder, dass es keine anderen Möglichkeiten zur Interpretation gibt, noch, dass die Unterscheidung gar nicht existiert.

Die Beobachtungen im Bereich der Metrik machen deutlich, dass ein rein formaler Ansatz keinen Beitrag zur Deutung von *þa*-Sätzen leisten kann. Sowohl Andrew als auch Blockley weisen der altenglischen poetischen Syntax einen Grad an grammatischer Funktionalität zu, wie er nicht einmal in der Prosa, welche nicht von der Metrik beeinflusst ist, zu finden ist. Das Altenglische kann im Gegensatz zum Neuenglischen nicht als syntaktische Sprache klassifiziert werden. Grammatische Relationen werden zum Großteil über die Morphologie angezeigt, wodurch die Wortstellung sehr viel empfänglicher für andere Einflüsse wie Informationsstruktur, Topikalisierung oder Fokussierung ist. Dementsprechend kann ein syntaktischer Ansatz weder zur Disambiguierung einzelner Teilsätze beitragen, noch zu der damit verbundenen Frage, ob die altenglische Dichtung vornehmlich parataktisch oder hypotaktisch ist.

⁸ Teilsätze, die in der zweiten Halbzeile beginnen, haben die Tendenz, zwei unbetonte Silben vor der ersten Hebung zu haben (vgl. Bliss 1980).

Eine alternative Herangehensweise zu diesen Fragen kommt aus dem Gebiet der historischen Pragmatik. Seit den frühen 1970er Jahren wurde eine Reihe von Studien veröffentlicht, die sich mit der textlinguistischen Funktion des Wortes *þa* beschäftigen und frühere Annahmen in Frage stellen, laut denen *þa* eine weitgehend bedeutungslose Partikel ist, die verwendet wird, um die Inversion von Subjekt und Verb innerhalb einer V2-Syntax zu erreichen. Nils Enkvists Artikel über den Gebrauch von *þa* in *Beowulf* (1972) lenkte die Aufmerksamkeit erstmals auf die pragmatischen Funktionen von *þa* in narrativen Texten. Enkvist bezeichnet *þa* darin als *Action-Marker*, da es in handlungsreichen Passagen besonders häufig vorkommt. Daran anschließend stellte Robert Foster (1975) die strukturierende Funktion von *þa* im narrativen Diskurs heraus: Ursprünglich wurde es als Element mündlicher Erzählungen verwendet, in denen es Erzähleinheiten der Form *þa ... and ... and ... and* eingeleitet hat. Daraus hat es sich zu einem Diskursmarker entwickelt, der einen Text auf unterschiedlichen Ebenen strukturiert: Zum einen werden damit neue Episoden einleitet, zum anderen lässt die Markierung der Haupthandlung ein moderates Maß an Digressionen zu, ohne dass die Übersichtlichkeit des Handlungsverlaufs gefährdet wird. In nachfolgenden Studien wurde die strukturierende Funktion von *þa* in Zusammenhang mit den morphosyntaktischen Merkmalen der weiteren Satzelemente untersucht: Als Marker neuer Episoden tritt *þa* in Zusammenhang mit Brüchen im Erzählverlauf auf, d. h. mit der Unterbrechung der Einheit von Zeit, Raum oder der Charaktere. Paul Hopper (1992) beschreibt in diesem Zusammenhang die Eigenschaften von Verb und Subjekt sowie die Wortstellungsmuster, die in diesen episodischen Sätzen am häufigsten auftreten. In allen Fällen wird *þa* mit invertierter Wortstellung gebraucht (*þa* VS). Zudem verlangen die intrinsischen Eigenschaften der gebrauchten Verben eine Spezifizierung entweder des Raumes oder der beteiligten Charaktere. Die Unterbrechung der Einheit der Zeit erfordert dahingegen eine weitere temporale Adverbialphrase, die von *þa* verstärkt wird.

Neben diesen strukturierenden Eigenschaften wird *þa* auch systematisch für die Fokussierung von Sätzen oder Teilsätzen gebraucht. Die Segmentierung der Erzählung in Vordergrund und Hintergrund (*grounding*) ist dabei keine dichotome Unterscheidung, sondern ein Kontinuum, in dem die relative Position der Sätze von einer Vielzahl morphosyntaktischer Merkmale abhängt. So korrelieren hervorgehobene Sätze oder Teilsätze, welche meist die Handlungen und Taten der Hauptcharaktere erzählen, mit transitiven und dynamischen Verben sowie mit menschlichen und bekannten Subjekten. Hintergrundinformationen haben hingegen häufig unbelebte Subjekte oder solche, die sich auf Nebencharaktere beziehen; die Verben sind oftmals statisch oder es werden Modal- oder Hilfsverben gebraucht. Diese Merkmale wurden von Hopper und Thompson auf der Transitivitätsskala festgehalten (vgl. 1980: 252, Tab. 1).

Zudem werden Vordergrundhandlungen in sequentieller Abfolge erzählt, so dass sich ein Ereignis unmittelbar an das zuvor abgeschlossene Ereignis anschließt. Hintergrundinformationen müssen dieser Zeitlinie hingegen nicht folgen, sondern können Zustände beschreiben oder auf frühere oder zukünftige Ereignisse verweisen. Neben der Korrelation mit Transitivität und Sequenzialität werden Vordergründereignisse normalerweise in Hauptsätzen kodiert, während Hintergrundinformationen häufig in Nebensätzen stehen, die Erklärungen oder Beschreibungen enthalten, die nicht unmittelbar zur Haupthandlung gehören.

Diese Segmentierung von Erzähltexten ist eine sprachliche Universale, die in verschiedenen Sprachen durch unterschiedliche Strategien vorgenommen wird, beispielsweise durch die Verbmorphologie, die Wortstellung oder den Gebrauch von unabhängigen Markern. Hopper (1979) verdeutlicht den strategischen Einsatz der Wortstellung in diesem Zusammenhang anhand der altenglischen Prosa: Während Wortstellungsmuster mit exponierter Verbstellung (VS oder OV) für Vordergründereignisse verwendet werden, wird die unmarkierte Wortstellung SV... für Hintergrundinformationen verwendet. Diese Strategie wird durch den Gebrauch von *þa* komplementiert, welches hervorgehobene Handlungsstränge markiert. Daran zeigt sich das Zusammenspiel von pragmatischen und syntaktischen Einflüssen: Durch den Gebrauch eines satzeinleitenden Adverbs rückt das Verb vor das Subjekt und gelangt somit in exponierte Position. Daraus ergibt sich, dass *þa* als Marker handlungsreicher Passagen mit dynamischen Verben und Subjekten, die sich auf die Hauptfiguren beziehen, korreliert. In dieser Funktion dient *þa* als Adverb, das den zeitlichen Ablauf der Handlungen markiert (*Dann ... und dann ... und dann ...*). Wird *þa* hingegen mit statischen Verben und unbelebten Subjekten benutzt, dient es nicht als hervorhebendes Element, sondern erfüllt eine grammatische Funktion und verbindet kausale oder temporale Informationen mit dem Hauptsatz (*als/weil*). Wenn davon ausgegangen wird, dass *þa* die gleichen Funktionen in der Dichtung erfüllt, können die morphosyntaktischen Merkmale der Satzelemente dazu beitragen einen formal mehrdeutigen Satz zu interpretieren.

Abgesehen von Enkvists erster Untersuchung zum Gebrauch von *þa* in *Beowulf* basieren die meisten textlinguistischen Studien zu diesem Thema vor allem auf altenglischer Originalprosa: Während die Wortstellung in der Versdichtung von der Metrik beeinflusst wird, sind übersetzte Prosatexte von der Syntax des Lateinischen geprägt. Obwohl diese Einflüsse sicherlich berücksichtigt werden müssen, zeigen sich doch sowohl in altenglischen Gedichten als auch in übersetzter Prosa die gleichen textstrukturierenden Funktionen von *þa*.

Wie auch in der Originalprosa lassen bestimmte pragmatische Funktionen Rückschlüsse auf die syntaktische Funktion zu: Als Marker von Vordergrundhandlungen ist *þa* ein Adverb, das die Handlungsabfolge anzeigt ohne die Sätze hierarchisch, d.h. in einer hypotaktischen Konstruktion, anzuordnen. Diese Struktur von primären Erzählungen kann als „dramatische Parataxe“ bezeichnet werden und ist vielmehr ein Mittel, um die Unmittelbarkeit der Handlung auszudrücken, als ein Zeichen von stilistischer Einfachheit oder der Minderwertigkeit der Volkssprachen gegenüber der hypotaktischen Struktur der klassischen Sprachen. Episodische *þa*-Sätze lassen sich dagegen schwerer einer bestimmten syntaktischen Funktion zuordnen, da diese häufig Hintergrundinformationen bezüglich des Schauplatzes beinhalten. Obwohl diese Sätze in Originalprosa häufig Hauptsätze sind, lässt sich doch vor allem in übersetzter Prosa eine Tendenz zur Subordination erkennen, die vermutlich auf lateinische *cum*-Sätze zurückgeht.

Die Analyse der mehrdeutigen *þa*-Sätze in *Beowulf* unter dem Aspekt der Merkmale der Satzelemente und der pragmatischen Funktion von *þa* bestätigt, dass die Wortstellung keinesfalls den grammatischen Status eines Satzes anzeigt: Das häufig in der zweiten Halbzeile vorkommende Wortstellungsmuster *þa ...V*, das von Blockley und Andrew mit Subordination assoziiert wird, kommt in der Mehrzahl der Fälle mit dynamischen Verben vor; es werden Vordergründereignisse erzählt, die sich auf Grund ihrer Sequenzialität nicht mit Subordination verbinden lassen. Die wenigen Sätze, die ein Zustandsverb enthalten und deren Subjekt sich nicht auf eine der Hauptfiguren bezieht, lassen sich hingegen am besten mit einem Nebensatz übersetzen: *þa* markiert nicht das Voranschreiten der Handlung, sondern stellt einen temporalen oder kausalen Zusammenhang zwischen den Sätzen her. Die Verben, die in *Andreas* mit *þa* verwendet werden, sind oftmals weniger dynamisch als in *Beowulf*; häufig leiten sie direkte Rede ein oder beschreiben den Gefühlswandel der Charaktere. Hierin zeigt sich ein deutlicher Unterschied zwischen den Gedichten: Obwohl *Andreas* sich der Elemente und Wortfelder altenglischer Heldendichtung bedient, ist *Andreas* kein germanischer Krieger, sondern ein Abgesandter Gottes, dessen „Waffen“ sein Glaube und das Wort Gottes sind. Hervorgehoben wird also nicht der physische Kampf, sondern die mentale Entwicklung und die Verbreitung des heiligen Wortes. Diese Verschiebung des Schwerpunktes spiegelt sich im Gebrauch von *þa* wieder, das wichtige Elemente und Entwicklungen innerhalb der Erzählung markiert.

Das zweite mehrdeutige Wortstellungsmuster, *þa V*, kann nur mit unbetonten, das heißt oftmals nicht-lexikalischen Verben auftreten. Hierin zeigt sich die Ironie, welche die

Anwendung von Blockleys syntaktischer Regel mit sich bringt: Während sie Satzstellungsmuster mit lexikalischen Verben (in der zweiten Halbzeile) mit Subordination assoziiert, interpretiert sie gerade solche Sätze, die keine dynamischen Verben enthalten und somit nicht unbedingt Teil der Haupthandlung sind, als Hauptsätze. Aber auch der textlinguistische Ansatz kann nicht zweifelsfrei klären, ob *þa* V-Sätze Haupt- oder Nebensätze sind. Das am häufigsten in dieser Konstruktion vorkommende Verb ist *wæs*, das sich nicht mit dynamischen Handlungen assoziieren lässt. Viele der Sätze erhalten Hintergrundinformationen, aber sie sind nicht zwangsläufig Nebensätze. *þa* dient häufig als Platzhalter in thetischen Sätzen, in denen der temporale Aspekt untergeordnet ist, wie zum Beispiel in *þa wæs forma sið* – ‘Es war das erste Mal’. *þa* zeigt hier keine Handlungsabfolge an. Solche Sätze sind vielmehr episodisch oder transitorisch, d.h., sie markieren neue Episoden oder den Übergang von einem Handlungsstrang zum nächsten. *þa* hat also ebenfalls eine pragmatische Funktion; damit unterscheiden sich diese Sätze von Nebensätzen, in denen *þa* nur als grammatischer Subordinator dient. Diese von *þa* eingeleiteten Nebensätze, wie sie in *Beowulf* gelegentlich auftreten, sind in *Andreas* fast gar nicht vorhanden. Offensichtlich handelt es sich um eine archaische Konstruktion, die in späteren Gedichten kaum noch gebraucht wurde. (Vgl. Fulk 2007).

Der textlinguistische Ansatz zeigt, dass sich die syntaktische Funktion formal mehrdeutiger Sätze tatsächlich von morphosyntaktischen Merkmalen der Satzelemente ableiten lässt und dass sich die pragmatischen Hauptfunktionen von *þa*, d.h. die Markierung von Vordergrundereignissen und die Gliederung der Erzählung in Episoden und Erzähleinheiten, auch in der Versdichtung wiederfinden lassen. Dass *Andreas* sich trotz seiner klassischen Prosaquellen dieses Elements altenglischer Erzähltechnik bedient, ist nicht überraschend, da die Transformation in ein altenglisches Gedicht eine substantielle Veränderung von Stil und Sprache mit sich bringt. Interessant ist allerdings, dass sich auch die altenglische Prosaversion der Legende, die eine sehr wortgetreue Übersetzung der lateinischen Version ist, der Funktionen von *þa* als Marker der Haupthandlung und für die Gliederung der Erzählung bedient. Der Ausschluss von übersetzter Prosa von Untersuchungen zur historischen Syntax oder Pragmatik des Altenglischen wird damit begründet, dass der Einfluss des Lateinischen die Ergebnisse verfälschen würde. Dagegen lassen sich zwei Punkte einwenden: Erstens zeigt auch Originalprosa Einflüsse des Lateinischen, da die Entstehung der angelsächsischen Prosaliteratur eng mit der lateinischen Literatur verflochten war (vgl. Stanton 2002: 1-4). Zweitens sind es gerade die Sprachelemente, die keine genaue Entsprechung im Lateinischen haben, die den idiomatischen Gebrauch des Altenglischen in Übersetzungen belegen.

Um den Gebrauch von *þa* in den altenglischen Texten beschreiben zu können, müssen also der Gesamtkontext, die Erzählstruktur, die Textsorte und der mögliche Einfluss der Quellen berücksichtigt werden. Beide altenglischen Versionen der Andreaslegende halten sich inhaltlich nahe an die *Praxeis*, eine griechische Version der Legende, die in neun Manuskripten erhalten ist. Allerdings gehen die altenglischen Bearbeitungen nicht direkt auf diese Version zurück, sondern auf eine lateinische Quelle, die wiederum eine textnahe Übersetzung des Griechischen gewesen sein muss. Zwar sind verschiedene lateinische Versionen erhalten, jedoch kommt keine davon als direkte Vorlage für die altenglischen Autoren in Frage. Nur zwei sind inhaltlich mit der griechischen und den altenglischen Versionen vergleichbar: die *Recensio Casanatensis* und die *Recensio Vallicellensis*, wobei von der Letzteren nur ein Fragment erhalten ist. Dass zwischen der griechischen Version und den altenglischen Texten eine lateinische Version steht, lässt sich aus zweierlei Umständen schließen: Erstens enthalten die noch existierenden lateinischen Texte Details, die auch in den altenglischen Versionen zu finden sind, nicht aber in der *Praxeis*. Zweitens ist in einem Manuskript der altenglischen Prosaversion⁹ eine lateinische Textzeile eingefügt, die offenbar vom Übersetzer aus der Vorlage übernommen wurde. Obwohl die altenglische Prosaversion eine stark gekürzte Version darstellt, wurden die wesentlichen Elemente der Erzählung sowie deren Abfolge weitgehend erhalten. Das Gleiche gilt für *Andreas*, obwohl verschiedene Elemente, vor allem die Beschreibung von Naturereignissen, ausführlicher und nach dem Stil der angelsächsischen Dichtung geschildert werden.

Die Betrachtung der altenglischen Versionen schließt nicht nur den Einfluss der Quellen und die davon vorgegebene Erzählstruktur, sondern auch die literarischen Traditionen ein, aus denen die altenglischen Texte hervorgegangen sind. Die wortgetreue Übersetzung hat ihre Wurzeln in der Glossierung lateinischer Text: Zunächst hatte das Altenglische eine erläuternde Funktion, die nur in Verbindung mit dem lateinischen Text eine Funktion hatte. Das gleiche gilt für fortlaufende Interlinearversionen, die, auch wenn jedes einzelne Wort glossiert ist, keine unabhängigen Übersetzungen darstellen. Die endgültige Loslösung der volkssprachlichen Übersetzung vom Lateinischen markiert die Emanzipation des Altenglischen zu einer eigenen Schriftsprache. Gleichzeitig bedeutet diese Emanzipation gegenüber den klassischen Sprachen, dass die sprachlichen und rhetorischen Mittel der Zielsprache verwendet werden müssen, um den Text zu übersetzen. Eine Wort-für-Wort-Übersetzung, wie sie in den fortlaufenden Glossen zu finden ist, würde die Bedeutung des

⁹ Die Version ist in zwei Manuskripten erhalten: Der Gesamttext findet sich im Cambridge Manuskript, Corpus Christi Collage 198, während ein Fragment im Blickling Manuskript erhalten ist.

Originaltextes verändern, anstatt ihn sinngemäß wiederzugeben. Jede Übersetzung bleibt damit eine Gratwanderung zwischen wörtlicher Übertragung und sinngemäßer Wiedergabe, wobei letzteres den Gebrauch der stilistischen und rhetorischen Mittel der Zielsprache voraussetzt und eine gewisse Abweichung von der Struktur der Vorlage verlangt.

Diese Spannung zeigt sich auch in der altenglischen Prosaversion: Einerseits werden Konstruktionen aus dem Lateinischen übernommen, die nicht der altenglischen Idiomatik entsprechen, andererseits zeigen sich Abweichungen, die auf den Gebrauch altenglischer Rhetorik und Erzähltechnik zurückzuführen sind. Auch wenn die Originalvorlage nicht überliefert wurde, zeigt der Vergleich mit anderen textnahen Übersetzungen wie den altenglischen Evangelien,¹⁰ dass gerade der Gebrauch von *þa* nicht etwa von der wörtlichen Übersetzung einer lateinischen Entsprechung abhängt, sondern unabhängig davon als rhetorisches Mittel zur Strukturierung und Hervorhebung verwendet wird. Das altenglische Gedicht bedient sich hingegen einer anderen Übersetzungspraxis, die sich nicht mit der Wörtlichkeit der Prosaübersetzung vergleichen lässt. Der Dichter ergänzt vielmehr bewusst Motive, die keine Vorlage in den Quellen haben, und bedient sich des Vokabulars und der Formeln der altenglischen Heldendichtung. Der Gebrauch von heroischer Sprache in *Andreas* wurde oft als unpassend beschrieben, da sie einen bevorstehenden Kampf anzukündigen scheint, der dann jedoch nicht stattfindet (vgl. Hill 1981). Die Unstimmigkeiten verschwinden aber, berücksichtigt man die durch *þa* angedeutete Verschiebung des Schwerpunkts auf den mentalen Kampf, den Andreas gegen seine eigenen Zweifel und gegen die Angst vor Leid und Folter führt. Auch auf der linguistischen Ebene ist *Andreas* eher vom Stil der altenglischen Dichtung als von den klassischen Vorlagen beeinflusst. Wie in *Beowulf* sind episodische und transitorische *þa*-Sätze im Allgemeinen Hauptsätze und keine korrelativen *als-da*-Sätze.

Die altenglische Prosaübersetzung zeigt zwar linguistische Einflüsse der Quelle, andererseits ist aber auch der Stil der altenglischen Erzähltechnik unverkennbar: Es gibt Passagen, die dem Aufbau der von Foster beschriebenen Erzähleinheiten entsprechen (*þa...and...and...and*), die nicht auf die Struktur der Quellen zurückgeführt werden können. Des Weiteren werden episodische Sätze nur der hypotaktischen Struktur der Vorlage angepasst, wenn der Nebensatz Hintergrundinformationen enthält. Die Handlungen der Hauptpersonen werden dagegen in Hauptsätzen erzählt. Wenn der Übersetzer hypotaktische Konstruktionen übernimmt, unterscheidet er zudem zwischen episodischen Sätzen und solchen, die innerhalb einer

¹⁰ Die altenglischen Evangelien sind interessant, da es zum einen zwei fortlaufende Interlinearversionen gibt, die in lateinischen Manuskripten erhalten sind, zum anderen aber auch freie Übersetzungen existieren, die ursprünglich unabhängig von der lateinischen Fassung verwendet wurden.

Episode auftauchen. Nur bei der ersten Kategorie wird die Konjunktion *ba* verwendet; andernfalls werden die Nebensätze mit *mid bi be* eingeleitet, das am ehesten dem lateinischen *cum* (als) entspricht. Somit hat auch die Konjunktion *ba* eine pragmatische Funktion in diesen Sätzen. Hier zeigt sich wiederum der Unterschied zu den nachgestellten Nebensätzen in der Dichtung, die keine pragmatische Funktion haben.

Die Untersuchung hat gezeigt, dass sich systematische Korrespondenzen zwischen der pragmatischen Funktion und der syntaktischen Funktion von *ba* feststellen lassen. Als Marker von Vordergrundhandlungen leitet *ba* sowohl in der Prosa als auch in der Dichtung einen Hauptsatz ein. Die Bildung von Korrelativsätzen in handlungsreichen Passagen, wie von Andrew vorgeschlagen, würde die Unmittelbarkeit der Handlungsabfolge unterbrechen und somit keine Verbesserung des Stils darstellen. In episodischen oder transitorischen Sätzen markiert *ba* einen neuen Handlungsstrang, was häufig die Bereitstellung von Hintergrundinformationen beinhaltet. Damit können diese Sätze oft als Nebensätze übersetzt werden, wenn ihre komplementäre Funktion wiedergeben werden soll. In der Dichtung sind diese Sätze Hauptsätze, in denen der temporale Aspekt jedoch untergeordnet ist, so dass *ba* nicht mit 'dann' übersetzt werden sollte. In der frühen Originalprosa werden hier ebenfalls Hauptsätze verwendet, während die übersetzte Prosa häufig die komplexen Sätze der lateinischen Vorlage übernimmt, die auch in späterer Originalprosa zu finden sind. In diesen Konstruktionen behält die Konjunktion *ba* ihre pragmatische Funktion bei.

Introduction

A good deal of research work has already been dedicated to the analysis of word order in Old English and to the changes it underwent during its history. In early works, OE word order was sometimes referred to as being ‘free’, and though Bruce Mitchell, whose two-volume work *Old English Syntax (OES I & II)* is still one of the most important reference text for questions on OE syntax, stated as late as 1985 that this myth ‘dies hard’¹¹, the assumption has long been overhauled: of course OE word order is not subjected to the same grammatical constraints as Modern English and is much more sensitive to pragmatic influences, yet there are principles which govern the position and displacement of clause elements. Mitchell, for example, describes the tendency of three basic word order patterns to occur in either principal or subordinate clauses; the word order S...V with a delayed verb is strongly associated with subordinate clauses as it usually follows after a conjunction (thus, it is often called *conjunctive order*), while VS with subject-verb inversion is generally restricted to principal clauses. It is often preceded by an adverb and mostly referred to as *demonstrative order*. The *common order* SV, which is also frequently used for principal clauses, starts with the subject immediately followed by the finite verb.¹² These principles are of particular importance to the interpretation of clauses introduced by ambiguous headwords such as *þa*, *þær*, *þonne*, *syððan*, *nu* and *swa*, which can function both as conjunction and adverb. Especially the ambivalence of *þa* (‘then’ or ‘when’), due to its frequency, has caused a lively discussion since the different readings, though not necessarily changing the literal meaning of a passage, have an effect on style.

In prose, the abovementioned regularities can be a clue to the interpretation of ambiguous clauses: the pattern *þa* VS (*demonstrative order*) is frequently used in principal clauses with *þa* being an adverb (‘then’), while the pattern *þa* S(...)V (*conjunctive order*) usually denotes a subordinate clause introduced by the conjunction *þa* (‘when’). Though this association certainly never acquired the status of grammatical rule (not even in prose: there are enough counterexamples where context suggests a different reading), word order may be considered a valuable indication of whether a clause is principal or subordinate (*OES* §§ 2437-2560). In poetry, however, the matter is different: though Mitchell’s description of element order (*OES II*, ch. IX) is for the most part concerned with prose syntax, he touches upon differences

¹¹ Mitchell refers to Visser’s statement of 1973 (1991, fn. 1) that ‘the word order in Old English was so free that serious offences against it were not easily perpetuable’ (*OES* §3883).

¹² The definitions of the common, demonstrative and conjunctive orders are based on Campbell 1970: 93-94.

observed for poetic texts. He remarks, for example, that the first three principal clauses in *Beowulf* have a delayed verb, which is a feature of conjunctive order:

<i>Beo</i> 1	Hwæt, we Gardena	in geardagum, þeodcyninga þrym gefrunon ,
<i>Beo</i> 4	Oft Scyld Scefing	sceaþena þreatum, monegum mægþum meodosetla ofteah ,
<i>Beo</i> 7		he þæs fofre gebat ,

(See *OES II*: 981 and 969; emphasis mine).

It is by no means an exception that the S...V order occurs with principal clauses in OE poetry. Obviously, the regularities found in prose do not extend to poetry; therefore, Mitchell concedes that the distribution of the three basic word orders on different clause types does not seem to be following the same lines in poetic text and proposes that additional factors, such as metrical patterns, rules governing alliteration, allotment of stress, and the deliberate avoidance of monotony and parallelism, have to be taken into account by future scholars (*OES* §3946). In fact, all three constructions (SV, VS and S...V) are used in poetry irrespective of whether a clause is principal or subordinate. Regarding ambiguous headwords such as *þa*, the lacking regularity of word order patterns is indeed an obstacle to construing these clauses as either principal or subordinate. The problem becomes evident in different *Beowulf* editions, where the punctuation deviates according to whether the editor interprets the ambiguous clause as subordinate or as principal, and also in different translations preferring one reading over the other. The following example can be translated in various ways:

<i>Beo</i> 2566-8	stiðmod gestod	(wið) steapne rond
	winia bealdor	<u>ða se wyr(m) gebeah</u>
	snude tosomne	he on searwum bad ¹³

(1) As main clause:

Bravely stood the leader of the friends with his upright shield. Then the dragon suddenly coiled. He waited in his armour.

(2) As subordinate clause dependent on the preceding main clause:

He stood bravely with his upright shield when the dragon suddenly coiled. He waited in his armour.

(3) As subordinate clause dependent on the following main clause:

He stood bravely with his upright shield. When the dragon suddenly coiled, he still waited in his armour.

¹³ I used the diplomatic text version here as found on <http://www.heorot.dk/beo-intro-ms.html> in order to render it independent of the interpretation of the major editions which manifests itself in the modern punctuation imposed on the text.

The deciding factor for the interpretation of ambiguous passages is usually the context, that is, it is not based on formal criteria such as element order. As a consequence, clauses introduced by *þa* are punctuated inconsistently, with the interpretation varying not only from edition to edition but also from passage to passage within one and the same edition, leaving at least some scholars of Old English with the unsatisfactory feeling that the readings are chosen arbitrarily.

Efforts were made to amend this ‘shortcoming’, if it may be called so, by attempts to modify the regularities found in prose in order to extend them to poetry by making allowances for the peculiarities of verse such as metre, alliteration and rhythm. These approaches do not only challenge the lacking grammatical functionality of poetic word order, but also the associated assumption that OE poetry is predominantly paratactic. The link between these two aspects is the following: in the major editions of *Beowulf*¹⁴ ambiguous clause-initial particles are frequently interpreted as adverbs introducing main clauses. According to this reading, the style of OE verse is characterised by parataxis, i.e. by constructions ‘in which sentences or clauses are not formally subordinated one to the other’ (*OES* §1683).¹⁵ Now if the syntactic ‘rules’ found in prose, i.e. that an ambiguous headword followed by SV denotes conjunctive order, were extended to poetry, a number of clauses would have to be reinterpreted as subordinate, and thus, hypotactic constructions were much more common in OE verse. In fact, this is the central hypothesis postulated by Samuel Andrew in *Syntax and Style in Old English* (1940, henceforth *SS*) which he further developed and amended in *Postscript on Beowulf* (1948, henceforth *PS*).

Though Andrew’s approach to OE poetic syntax has received much attention in the scholarly world, many of his assumptions were rejected, partly because of inconsistencies within his methodology, including the syntactic rules he formulated, according to which considerably more clauses would have to be interpreted as subordinate. Yet, his idea to consider word order as the decisive factor for interpreting the grammatical function of a clause has been taken up and further developed by other scholars of OE syntax. One of the more recent works in this field is Mary Blockley’s *Aspects of Old English Poetic Syntax* (2001, henceforth *APS*), where

¹⁴ Of course *Beowulf* is not the only OE poem available for analysis; nonetheless, most discussions focus on this work: besides its popularity, its length provides a substantial basis for linguistic analyses.

¹⁵ I follow Donoghue & Mitchell (1992) in their use of the terms parataxis and hypotaxis to describe stylistic phenomena. The grammatical relation between clauses is referred to by the terms principal or main clauses for independent clauses, and coordinate and subordinate for clauses linked by a relating element. In general, however, the terms hypotaxis and parataxis are frequently applied to grammatical constructions and it is not always possible to keep the categories apart. For further discussion of the term ‘parataxis’ and its use by different scholars see Stockwell & Minkova 1991: 402-3, fn. 4.

she extends the regularities which Mitchell described for prose to OE poetry and re-assesses Andrew's rules in order to eliminate former inconsistencies. She finally formulates the following rule which is supposed to apply to prose as well as to verse: 'Words like *þa* serve as conjunctions when they are clause-initial and immediately followed by some sentence element other than the finite verb (APS: 219).'

The hypotaxis/parataxis question and the discussion about the syntactic rules disambiguating particles such as *þa* in OE poetry form the basis for this work. Though both topics are closely connected, the first is more concerned with stylistic differences between prose and verse, while the second highlights syntactic aspects. Mitchell includes both approaches in his treatment of the problem, but his work is mostly concerned with prose and does not include a systematic analysis of poetic texts. Blockley tries to achieve this, but her investigation is often focused on the syntactic aspect alone, with the result that ambiguous clauses are strictly interpreted according to her rule although the context strongly implies another interpretation. This does not necessarily mean that her rule is generally wrong, but rather that it does not incorporate all parameters that might be important, i.e. the factors mentioned by Mitchell which must necessarily form a part of the analysis of Old English poetic syntax.

The controversy resulting from the context-based and rule-based approaches to OE syntax is further kindled by observations made in the field of historical pragmatics. From the early 1970s onwards, several articles were published that analyse the textual functions of the particle *þa*. Starting with Nils Enkvist's observation of 1972 that *þa* tends to occur most frequently in passages of dense action, a range of text-linguistic functions have been attributed to it. Among others, Enkvist himself investigated the different pragmatic functions of *þa* within narrative texts. As a result, *þa* was found to be an important device for narrative structuring adopting a range of different functions, for example foregrounding,¹⁶ according to its correlation with other morphosyntactic features, one of them being word order. The inclusion of the pragmatic use of word order into the discussion raises a number of questions: for example, why S...V occurred so frequently in dependent clauses that it was associated with subordination in general, and, even more intriguing, why this correlation seems to be absent from poetry. So far, the role of *þa* in narrative discourse has been discussed independently of its syntactic function. Though many scholars briefly addressed the formal ambiguity of *þa*-clauses, no systematic correlations holding for syntactic and pragmatic

¹⁶ The term *foregrounding* is again used inconsistently by different scholars. A discussion on that score will be provided in Chapter 2. Generally, the parts of the narrative which belong to the main storyline are foregrounded, while descriptive, explanatory and other supplementary material is backgrounded.

function have yet been established. Blockley's syntactic rule even contradicts the findings made in the field of narrative discourse as its output predicts the exact opposite to the pragmatic or text-linguistic interpretation of ambiguous clauses. For this reason, both approaches are discussed and applied in this work, not necessarily in order to disambiguate every single *þa*-clause, but in order to shed some light on the principles governing OE poetic syntax by combining the different factors influencing word order.

The analysis of Old English texts focuses on *Beowulf*, the poem *Andreas* and the prose version of the *Andreas*-legend. There are several reasons for this choice: it has been mentioned before that works on OE poetic syntax largely draw on examples from *Beowulf*. As this poem alone constitutes about ten percent of the extant OE poetry corpus, it is not surprising that it forms a central part of works on OE poetic syntax, irrespective of its popularity. As so many scholars base their argumentation on examples taken from this poem, it is hardly possible to avoid it. However, this is not the only reason for including *Beowulf* into the present analysis: though text-linguistic approaches are mostly concerned with prose narratives, Enkvist's first assumption that *þa* functions as action-marker is actually based on its frequent occurrence in eventful passages in *Beowulf*. The reason why this poem is also attractive for the analysis of the pragmatic function of *þa* is that it occurs frequently in this text, while it is almost absent from elegiac and contemplative poems, which can be attributed to its function within narrative texts. As *Andreas* is a narrative poem, too, recounting 'the acts of Andreas and Matheus among the cannibals',¹⁷ it goes along the same lines as *Beowulf* in its frequent use of *þa* for marking action and important events, and, as a matter of course, also in regard to the scholarly disagreement about the grammatical function of clauses introduced by this word.

A comparison of the texts in this regard is not only interesting because the *Andreas*-poet presumably imitated the poetic style of *Beowulf*, but also because the Christian context of *Andreas* involves a shift of what is considered important within the narrative: while *Beowulf*'s fights against his opponents form the most central parts of the narrative, *Andreas*, in his role as Christian saint, does not distinguish himself by physical strength nor does he fight his battles with a sword: his most powerful weapon is the word. Though the *Andreas*-poem might imitate Anglo-Saxon heroic poetry, its hero is provokingly passive. This shift has to have consequences for the pragmatic use of *þa*: in *Beowulf* the marking of action coincides

¹⁷ The OE versions of the legend are based on an apocryphal text, whose Latin versions are known as *Acta Andreae et Matthiae apud anthropophagos*.

with the marking of what is important in the narrative, while the two aspects deviate in *Andreas*.

The use of *þa* in different poetic texts cannot be discussed independently of its function in prose. As was mentioned before, most scholars who analysed the text-linguistic functions of *þa* based their hypotheses on original (that is non-translated) OE prose narratives, for the reason that translated texts were supposed to be too much coined by Latin influence to reflect OE characteristics of narrative structuring. However, it will be argued that translations are in fact most suitable for examining language-specific pragmatic phenomena. Foregrounding, for example, is a cross-linguistic phenomenon, but the pragmatic markers and morphosyntactic features by which it is achieved vary from language to language. The OE prose version of the *Andreas*-legend is supposed to be a fairly slavish translation of a Latin version, which is, unfortunately, lost. Yet there are other Latin versions which bear a close resemblance to the version preserved in the OE manuscript and which may serve as a basis for comparing the narrative structure (and the connected use of *þa*) with the Latin model. What is interesting about such an analysis is not the translation of a Latin expression into Old English (including the structural changes this entails) but the deviations from the model which occur above the sentence level and which afford a wider perspective than the syntactic analysis of single sentences. The occurrence of *þa*, which has no one-to-one Latin equivalent, as structuring device in a text which is a fairly faithful translation proves it to be deeply rooted in Old English narrative style which outlasted Latin influence on prose.

The inclusion of the prose legend provides a third possibility of analysis: as the OE prose and verse versions of the *Andreas*-legend draw on the same sources, the different modes of adapting the classical material are revealing for determining how the native means of the language are employed in order to convert pragmatic or rhetorical features into either prose or verse. Though the authors presumably used different Latin texts as models, the content and structure of the OE versions imply that the Latin source texts were closely related versions. The way in which the Latin source is thus transformed into different styles can tell much about the differences occurring in OE prose and verse, especially in regards to the use of *þa*; it may also contribute to the question whether OE poetry indeed favours paratactic constructions. As all texts treat the same narrative, the means of prose and verse to structure it or to foreground important passages can be compared and, in addition, they can even be contrasted with a non-vernacular text. This comparison of source, prose translation and poem will contribute to establishing correlations between specific pragmatic and syntactic functions

of *þa*, thus providing further indications of whether an ambiguous clause had best been interpreted as principal or subordinate. This closes the circle to the original question of the principles governing OE poetic syntax: the exemplary analysis of *þa*-clauses may open a new perspective on the interaction of syntactic and pragmatic factors operating on word order, thus reducing, not eliminating, ambiguity, at least where it was presumably never intended but is a result of our lacking understanding of the principles governing OE word order.

STRUCTURE

The present study is divided into three main chapters which are devoted to different approaches to OE poetic syntax and different levels of textual analysis. Chapter 1 focuses on the rule-based approaches to OE word order, starting with a description of the regularities found in prose and an introduction to the problem of ambiguous clauses introduced by *þa* (1.1). The subsequent part (1.2) outlines the different attempts to apply the regularities of prose word order to poetic texts. The discussion centres on the question of which additional parameters act upon poetry that might be responsible for the deviations between prose and verse. One of the most influential factors is the metrical structure of OE poetry. Especially the position of the finite verb, which proponents of the syntactic approach suppose to indicate the grammatical function of a clause, seems to be highly sensitive to stress patterns which may ‘override’ the regular word order pattern. Thus, this part also presents the limits of basing studies about OE syntax exclusively on the grammatical function of word order. The third part (1.3) will provide an analysis of different word order patterns found in ambiguous clauses introduced by *þa* in the two OE poems *Beowulf* and *Andreas*. Despite the restriction to two Old English poetic texts, a total of 363 *þa*-clauses that are relevant to the analysis can be found in them: 224 in *Beowulf* and 139 in *Andreas*. The contextual interpretation of these clauses will be taken into consideration as well as the metrical constraints limiting the position of the finite verb in order to find out in how far the syntactic regularities found in prose are valid for poetry. The main aspects discussed in this chapter and the insights gained by the analysis of the OE texts will be summarised in a short conclusion (1.4).

In Chapter 2 an alternative approach to the interpretation of ambiguous clauses will be introduced. The first part (2.1) summarises the pragmatic functions attributed to *þa* in connection with narrative structuring and grounding. The second part (2.2) focuses on the latter concept and presents different frameworks for analysing how foregroundedness and backgroundedness are achieved in narrative texts by different morphosyntactic features. The interplay of those features with *þa* in its function as pragmatic marker will form the basis for

establishing correlations between the pragmatic and syntactic functions of word order. In the following analysis (2.3), the examples of ambiguous clauses taken from *Beowulf* and *Andreas* will be reassessed by taking the pragmatic principles into account. The inclusion of morphosyntactic features, such as the kind of subject and the kind of verb, which are immaterial to Blockley's syntactic rule, provides an alternative to resolve ambiguity. Apart from testing the usefulness of the text-linguistic approach to disambiguate *þa*-clauses, the analysis will also explore if *þa* is used differently in the two OE poems in consequence of the different subject matters. In the conclusion (2.4) the main hypotheses discussed in this chapter will be outlined and the results of the textual analysis summarised.

The third chapter illustrates the functional use of *þa* via the example of the different OE versions of the *Andreas*-legend. The aim is to identify syntactic and functional differences in the use of *þa* in prose and verse. For this purpose general stylistic differences are considered as well as the impact of the classical sources. After introducing the OE text versions and the classical reference texts (3.1), the discussion will turn to the different ways in which the sources are adapted and translated into OE prose and verse in the larger context of different translation practices and traditions in Anglo-Saxon England. The focus is on the question of how the native means of Old English are employed in prose and verse in order to deal with the non-vernacular input (3.2). The following analysis and comparison of the OE texts (3.3) contrasts the pragmatic and syntactic use of *þa* in order to investigate in how far different linguistic or stylistic means are used in prose and verse in order to delineate the same content or situation. In analysing the impact of narrative techniques on word order, further insights to the functional use will be gained, thus contributing to the understanding of the differences described for prose and verse in Chapter 1. The results will again be summarised at the end of the chapter (3.4). The major aspects raised and discussed in this work will be outlined again in a final summary and conclusion of the insights gained about the principles governing OE syntax.

The analyses at the end of each chapter include many examples from the Old English texts. A modern English translation is generally provided below or in the footnotes. Sometimes translations of other scholars are given in order to illustrate their interpretation of a specific passage. Otherwise, the translations are my own. They mostly focus on the connection between clauses so that not necessarily every phrase is considered in the translation, especially repeated ones. This is also true when longer passages are translated to supply the

larger context: as these translations are not supposed to render or explain single constructions, they are generally less close to the OE text.

WORKING METHOD

The approach chosen in this thesis is strongly text-oriented and the analyses carried out are limited to a small number of texts so that the results cannot per se be considered absolute principles of OE syntax. Like the results of the text-linguistic works of Enkvist (1972 & 1986), Foster (1975) and Hopper (1979), who base their assumptions on single texts, the general validity or applicability of these insights to other texts has to be proven by further research and the examination of a wider range of text samples. However, there are several reasons for preferring this method over a large-scale investigation on the basis of a broader text corpus: first of all, this thesis is concerned with ambiguous clauses whose interpretation must be context-dependent; a statistical analysis of word order patterns in principal and subordinate clauses as conducted by Cichosz (2010) cannot contribute to this issue. When it is assumed, as it is done in this paper, that word order is not a reliable guide to the grammatical function of clauses, a computer-based analysis must fail with respect to the coding of these clauses as either principal or dependent. The same is true for the statistical analyses of clause types in prose and verse: nothing can be said about the style, i.e. whether it is paratactic or hypotactic, as long as we do not know how to deal with ambiguous clauses.

Secondly, the generalisation of syntactic regularities induces Andrew and Blockley to interpret clauses in accordance to their rule even if the context points to another reading. If the assumptions about a syntactic rule are valued higher than our instinctive feel for the interpretation of difficult passages, the opportunity to find additional factors influencing word order are lost to us. This is especially true for factors intrinsic to verse, such as alliteration, metrics and stress, which certainly influence the syntax but which do not form a part of the syntactic rules. For example, Blockley does not distinguish between patterns in the on-verse and the off-verse, though the metrical properties of the second hemistich limit the range of syntactic constructions which are possible in the on-verse. In order to identify these additional factors it is necessary to stick close to the texts examined; otherwise the danger of interpreting all instances according to a given hypothesis is too high.

Thirdly, the investigation of text-linguistic factors as conducted in Chapter two makes it absolutely necessary to analyse a specific text as the whole context has to be considered in order to determine the text-structuring functions of a clause. This does not only include the passage in question, but always the whole narrative because otherwise it would not be

possible to determine if, for instance, *þa* introduces a new episode, marks a return to the main storyline or serves to indicate the chronology of events. Furthermore, variances within a text, i.e. narrative passages, dialogues, re-narrations, flashbacks and digressions, should be taken into account: calling the style of *Beowulf* predominantly paratactic veils the fact that it is only the narrative passages which show this tendency and that this style can also be observed in narrative passages in prose. Thus, parataxis may well be a feature of narratives and not of OE poetic style. Basing the analysis on contemplative poetry and not heroic poetry would bring different results. Furthermore, any text-specific features should be taken into consideration: the more we know about a text, its composition, use and function, the more can we say about its individual features and distinguish them from general features characteristic of prose, verse, narratives, translations etc. For this reason, the presumed functions and uses of the different versions of the Andreas-legend are discussed in some detail.

Finally, to speak of OE prose or verse as opposing categories implies a homogeneity within the groups which does not exist. OE poetry comprises a range of different genres dating from different periods which can seldom be specified with certainty due to the disparity between the date of composition and manuscript production and due to uncertainties about the transmission history. However, the scarceness of available texts hardly allows us to exclude anything when trying to pin down ‘OE poetic style’ or poetic syntax. How can these labels accommodate all those differences between heroic and religious poetry, contemplative and narrative passages, riddles, epics and lays, early works and later works, a text based on oral tradition and a text based on Latin prose? Mitchell claimed that any assertion about OE syntax requires a description of every single text that came down to us in that language. I am willing to agree with him for the reason that premature generalisations may prevent us from grasping the complexity of a given text. Thus, I do not claim the results presented in this thesis to be general principles of OE syntax; they are tendencies discovered in the texts chosen for this work which may serve as a starting point for further research.

1 Aspects of Old English Syntax

The chapter starts with a short overview of studies on Old English syntax focusing on findings about reoccurring word order patterns in independent and subordinate clauses. Though OE word order is relatively flexible in comparison to the rigid SVO order of Modern English, certain regularities have been detected for Old English, too, at least regarding prose texts. These findings, which largely coincide throughout different approaches to OE syntax, are important for the disambiguation of clauses introduced by ambiguous headwords such as *þa*, *þær*, and *þonne*, which can function either as a conjunction or an adverb. In prose, the word order following these words has proved to be an indication of the grammatical status of the given clause, i.e. whether it is principle or subordinate. These regularities, however, do not seem to be valid for poetry. The attempts to account for the deviations of poetic word order from the regularities found in OE prose are presented and discussed in the second part of this chapter. It becomes evident that word order in poetry is influenced by additional factors, for example by the rules governing alliteration and the metrical constraints barring some clause elements from particular positions within the half-line.

Furthermore, the rules proposed for word order patterns in verse can hardly be sustained on the evidence of textual examples: in the third part of the chapter, the different word order

patterns for subordinate clauses and main clauses are analysed on the basis of the two Old English poems *Andreas* and *Beowulf*. In doing so, it will be demonstrated that a purely syntactic approach to OE poetic word order – to the exclusion of other crucial factors operating in verse – does not provide a solution for the disambiguation of clauses introduced by ambivalent headwords as claimed by Andrew and Blockley. The analysis also shows that the metrical constraints of verse are not the sole explanation for differing word order patterns in the poetry: the placing of different sentence elements within the half-line is also dependent upon non-grammatical factors such as topicality, narrative structuring and grounding. The interaction of these factors with word order will be discussed and analysed in the Chapter 2.

1.1 ELEMENT ORDER IN OE PROSE

Besides a general overview of major studies and developments in this field, two works will be discussed in some detail here: Bruce Mitchell's *Old English Syntax (OES)* of 1985 and Anna Cichosz's *The Influence of Text Type on Word Order of Old Germanic Languages* (henceforth *ITT*) of 2010. The main reason for focusing on these studies is their diverging methodology. Mitchell's account of possible syntactic constructions is certainly the most extensive compilation of examples and the most detailed description of OE syntax, which is highly valuable for the present work because of his reliance on a context-based interpretation of each sentence. Cichosz's work, on the other hand, provides a large-scale computer-based analysis of OE (and Old High German) word order in different text types, namely verse, original prose and translated prose.¹⁸ Though Cichosz's results are quite revealing with respect to the distribution of word order patterns in different text types, this kind of analysis proves unsuitable for addressing the problem of ambiguous clauses. Therefore, the analysis of single clauses within their textual context as conducted by Mitchell is more suitable in this regard. Accordingly, Mitchell's observations regarding ambivalent headwords in prose will be rendered in some detail here (i.e. *OES*: §§ 2437-2560). However, his observations are complemented by the more general results obtained by Cichosz's statistical overview of the distribution of word order patterns in different text types.

1.1.1 BASIC WORD ORDER PATTERNS IN OLD ENGLISH

The myth of a free word order has long disappeared from studies on Old English syntax. Alfred Reszkiewicz summarises his analysis of Late Old English syntax by stating that 'the final conclusion must be that it was regulated by well defined-principles, fundamentally

¹⁸ Cichosz also gives a short account of the major studies on Old English syntax in chronological order (see *ITT*: Chapter 1).

different from those of Modern English, and that any deviation from the norm was, as a rule, significant' (1966: 166). What Reszkiewicz describes as a 'fundamental difference' to Modern English is the fact that word order in Old English was not bound to indicate the grammatical function of the sentence elements. It took some time before scholars realised that this independence of the grammatical level does by no means entail that word order in languages with a rich morphology is generally chaotic or arbitrary. In fact, there are various non-grammatical factors which may influence element order, most of them operating on the pragmatic level. Reszkiewicz's study, for instance, focuses on the influence of constituent weight.¹⁹ In Modern English, too, weight has an influence on word order as heavy constituents are often shifted to the right; however, the SVO pattern is usually preserved, for example by using cleft sentences. As word order in Old English is not subjected to grammar in the same way as Modern English is, it is much more sensitive to pragmatic influences such as focus structure and, regarding poetry, to metrics. Considering this, it is surprising that some studies focus on word order alone in order to gain information about the grammatical function of ambiguous clauses.

However, the fact that element order in Old English is strongly influenced by pragmatic factors does not necessarily mean that it entirely lacks grammatical information as the two are interrelated: the reduction and loss of inflectional endings already emerged in Old English times; it resulted in an increasing syncretism of grammatical forms, especially in the case of the subject and the accusative object. The fixed word order SVO is often understood as a result of the progressing ambiguity:

The traditional explanation for these changes appeals to the erosive effect of phonological change: the fixing of a heavy stress accent on the initial syllable in Proto-Germanic is alleged to have led to a loss of distinctions in final syllables, and hence to the demise of the case system, which in turn entailed a therapeutic fixing of word order and development of function words (Lightfoot 1979: 389).²⁰

This connection between the loss of morphological endings and the fixing of word order seems to be a linguistic universal as it can be observed in the history of other languages as well:

We clearly see that in cases where case marking as a ground for distinguishing grammatical function is neutralized due to case syncretism as in the German case or simply due to the drop of case markers as in colloquial Korean, we find that another

¹⁹ The connection between constituent weight and position has first been analysed by Behaghel (1909), who described to tendency of short constituents to precede longer ones in German.

²⁰ For a further discussion of this see Allen 1995 and 1996, Danchev 1991, Fries 1969, van Kemenade 1987, McFadden 2005 and Trips 2002.

clue for DISTINGUISHABILITY, i.e. word order, takes over and helps us in interpreting transitive constructions (De Swart 2005: 217).

As Proto-Indo-European and Proto-Germanic are generally considered to be SOV languages, the fixing on the Modern English SVO order entails that the English language changed its basic word order during its history. This shift is already evident in OE, where both orders are frequently used. Though none of the orders seem to be dominating in general, the preference to either OV or VO obviously differs in main and subordinate clauses. In summing up Barret's work on word order in Ælfric's prose (1953), Cichosz remarks that the results imply that

the word order of subordinate clauses is closer to the traditional patterns inherited from Proto-Germanic, while main clauses are more innovative and the shift towards the Modern English SVO order is already visible in them (*ITT*: 7).

Viljo Kohonen, too, observed in his study on element order in OE religious prose that the shift was evident earlier in principal clauses, while the verb-final order in dependent clauses is still frequent in Middle English (1978: 132-33).

Despite the fact that subordinate and main clauses tend to prefer one pattern over the other, these observations do not necessarily imply that word order was used to indicate a grammatical distinction between the clauses as in Modern German, where main clauses are verb-second (V2) and subordinate clauses verb-final (V-f). These rules developed from the generalisation of frequently reoccurring patterns, eventually leading to a grammaticalisation of the different orders. The question is why specific patterns tend to occur in the different clause types in the first place.²¹ Thus, the tendencies of Old English subordinate and principal clauses to have OV and VO order, respectively, have to be explained by other principles influencing word order. Constituent weight is certainly of importance here: Kohonen observes that VO frequently occurs with heavy objects while pronoun objects retained their preverbal position for quite some time (1978: 199). Besides the weight of object or verb complement, there are other factors which may cause the object to be shifted to the right. Kuno observed that SOV languages generally tend to have an alternative VO order to avoid complex clause embedding between the subject and the verb in cases where the verb complement forms a clause of its own (1974: 131-32). Other movements to the right may be triggered by stylistic or pragmatic factors such as 'after thought' and 'ambiguity avoidance' (Kohonen 1978: 200). The conspiracy of the various factors may then lead to a progressive shift towards SVO:

²¹ A recent study focusing on this question has been conducted for Old High German by Hinterhölzl & Petrova (2005).

In a language undergoing a change from SOV to SVO order I would expect to find a steadily increasing number of SVO sentences. These would arise in various ways, perhaps by a rule postponing direct objects for the purposes of topicalization or some other such expressive function, since I assume that one of the ways for a speaker to achieve greater expressivity is to adopt a novel or unusual form of construction (Lightfoot 1979: 393).

Thus, the increasing use of SVO patterns is largely due to the rightward movement of the object or verb complement which are triggered by pragmatic factors such as expressiveness, topicalisation and comprehensibility. This implies that any analysis of Old English syntax has to incorporate pragmatic principles regarding discourse structure, text coherence, and constituent weight into the examination of element order.²²

Most of the above mentioned studies on OE syntax are rather limited as they focus on a specific type of text, sometimes even on one author, at a specific period of time.²³ Cichosz claims to provide an extensive analysis of OE syntax without these restrictions:

[...] there is no study which would give an account of the distribution of various word order patterns across individual text types. The present study aims to fill this gap. Its objective is to check the frequencies of various word order patterns in two language corpora – Old English and Old High German – subdivided into verse, original prose and translated prose texts (*ITT*: 42).

As Cichosz's study does not only analyse the differences between prose and verse but also between genuine and translated texts, it provides valuable data for the present work. However, there are two methodological aspects which require further comment: firstly, considering Cichosz's claim about the generality of her analysis, the corpus used for her study is rather limited:²⁴ for Old English, it consists of about 2,000 clauses distributed among the different text types (poetry: 876 clauses, original prose: 774 clauses, and translated prose: 448 clauses). The verse corpus seems to focus on heroic and elegiac poetry²⁵ to the exclusion of religious texts except for *Cædmon's hymn*, which consists of only a few lines. Still, the poetry sample containing six different texts may be broad enough for to provide representative results about word order patterns in Old English verse. The translated prose sample, however, is limited to two texts, i.e. excerpts from *Genesis* and the *West Saxon Gospels*. Thus, the whole sample is

²² For further discussion of triggers causing a shift in the basic word order see Lightfoot 1997.

²³ The limitation of the studies is mostly due to the scarcity of comparable texts available. Though a quite comfortable amount of texts from the OE period came down to us (at least compared with, for example, Old High German texts), they represent different genres composed and written down at different dates and originating from different dialectal areas.

²⁴ Cichosz argues that it is sufficient to analyse samples of each text type in order to 'check whether the intuitive differences between them are really as substantial as they are thought to be' (*ITT*: 51).

²⁵ I.e. *Beowulf* (excerpts), *The Battle of Maldon*, *The Seafarer*, *The Wanderer* and *Widsið*.

potentially tainted by the idiosyncratic syntax of one of the translators.²⁶ Furthermore, both texts are biblical translations; these had rather be treated separately as translation practices seem to differ between biblical and non-biblical texts (see Taylor 2008). Besides the unvariedness of the corpus, its general restrictedness causes further problems: the features of single clause types (for example the position of the direct object in adverbial sub-clauses with a complex verb phrase) are represented by a few single clauses. It is doubtful if the results for clauses in which so many sub-categories are involved can be considered significant at all.

My second point of criticism refers to Cichosz's treatment of ambiguous clauses: she generally agrees with Mitchell that subordination was not fully developed in OE so that some clauses may represent a kind of intermediate stage (see p. 19). Her solution to this problem, however, is rather difficult to comprehend:

[...] almost all subordinate clauses in Old English and Old High German are ambiguous. Thus, in this study, every clause that can possibly be treated as subordinate (context does not clearly exclude it) is classified as subordinate, with the assumption that ambiguity is an inherent feature of this clause type and it is impossible to eliminate it, so it is better to analyse everything than to select clauses according to some vague and potentially wrong criteria (*ITT*: 138).

The first statement, i.e. that almost all subordinate clauses are ambiguous, is misleading as it creates a category (subordinate) for clauses that evade any categorising. Consequently, ambiguous clauses are no longer treated as ambiguous, but as subordinate and are analysed together with unambiguously subordinate clauses (i.e. most relative and nominal clauses, and adverbial clauses introduced by *gif*). To treat all ambiguous clauses as subordinate leads to a paradoxical situation: in prose, word order is a valuable tool for disambiguating clauses, which, however, cannot be used for this study as the frequency of different word order patterns in main and subordinate clauses is supposed to be the result of the analysis. Clauses that might be disambiguated by word order would have to be treated as ambiguous and, therefore, as subordinate. This reduces the usability of data for the analysis of ambiguous clauses, especially since it does not become clear which clauses from the corpus are sorted into either the main clause or the subordinate clause category and according to which criteria this selection is carried out – it can hardly be word order as this is supposed to be the outcome of the analysis. Mitchell's warning against computer-based syntactical analyses proves to be well-founded here:

²⁶ Cichosz herself has to admit more than once that some intriguing results, especially for Old High German, have to be attributed to the peculiar sentence structure of single text samples (see *ITT*: 117-18, 128 and 189).

Future syntacticians of OE will have to take care that they do not spend happy years programming a computer to produce detailed analyses of OE texts only to find themselves in complete agreement with the computer when it tells them what they have told it. At their present stages of development at any rate, the brain of the scholar is both more speedy and more sensitive for OE syntactical analysis than any computer' (*OES II*: 989).

To examine clauses 'according to some vague and potentially wrong criteria', that is within their textual context, is certainly more suitable for addressing ambiguous clauses. Fortunately, Cichosz differentiates between nominal, relative and adverbial sub-clauses; as only the last category contains a high percentage of ambiguous clauses, the results for the other two clause-categories ought to be reliable.

Despite these aspects, the analysis provides a neat overview of word order patterns in the different text types, i.e. poetry, original prose (OP) and translated prose (TP). The general results (i.e. those that refer to patterns in subordinate and main clauses without the differentiation into various sub-categories) show that subordinate clauses have a clear tendency to postpone the finite verb.²⁷ Table 1-1 shows that this word order occurs in about half of the clauses in all text types:

	postponed	V1	V2	ambiguous
Poetry	50%	6%	20%	30%
OP	48%	8%	21%	23%
TP	42%	12%	21%	25%

Table 1-1 Position of finite verb in subordinate clauses²⁸

If the ambiguous²⁹ clauses are deleted from the data, the percentage is even higher (poetry: 70%, OP: 61%, TP: 55%). As the relation between verb and subject is almost exclusively SV in all subordinate clauses (*ITT*: 204), the results demonstrate that SOV is indeed the most common word order in OE subordinate clauses. If the ambiguous clauses are again excluded from the total number, SVO occurs in less than one quarter of the clauses in all text types.

Table 1-2 shows the word order patterns in main clauses, which are more varied as the verb-subject relation is not restricted to SV.

²⁷ Following Cichosz's definition, 'postponed verb' means that the clause is either V-final or V3. The latter includes all instances where the finite verb stands 'somewhere between the second and the final position' (*ITT*: 140), i.e. it is not restricted to the third position.

²⁸ Based on Fig. 11 (*ITT*: 141).

²⁹ In this context 'ambiguous' means that the position of the finite verb is at the same time V2 (or sometimes V1) and V-final, i.e. there are no other constituents which would indicate if the verb is postponed or not.

	SVO	SOV	OVS	OSV	VSO	VOS
Poetry	21%	26%	13%	11%	25%	4%
OP	32%	29%	3%	25%	11%	0%
TP	58%	13%	0%	13%	13%	3%

Table 1-2 Word order patterns in main clauses with direct object³⁰

Except for translated prose the SVO and SOV pattern is evenly distributed. The analysis of clauses with indirect or prepositional objects shows a similar distribution with a balanced occurrence of OV and VO (*ITT*: 107). Both patterns seem to be equally acceptable for independent clauses. The choice for one pattern over the other is often dependent upon the weight of the object: objects in the VO order show a clear tendency to be heavy or medium (these categories comprise all objects except pronouns) while only about 10% are light in original OE texts. Only in translated prose the percentage is significantly higher (29%). In the OV order, on the other hand, all object weights are equally present, with varying percentages for the different text types (*ITT*: 108-9). The fact that OV order is independent of constituent weight may be an indication that this order is the original one while VO order is due to a rightward movement of the object triggered by weight.

If these results are compared to Mitchell's observations about the distribution of basic word orders on main and sub-clauses, i.e. that VS and SV are associated with principal clauses while S...V indicates subordination, it seems surprising that almost 30% of the principal clauses in original prose show the SOV order. In 60% of these clauses, however, the object intervening between the subject and the finite verb is a pronoun. Mitchell interprets pronoun objects as preverbal clitics so that such clauses are variations of the SV type (*OES*: §§ 3918-20). Regarding subordinate clauses, Cichosz's results support Mitchell's observation that they generally take the form S...V with a postponed verb. In contrast, the subordinate clauses with V1 order, i.e. where the conjunction is directly followed by the finite verb, need further comment as they apparently contradict Mitchell's observation that verb-fronting is associated with principal clauses. The instances in Cichosz's data are almost exclusively due to relative clauses where the subject coincides with the relative pronoun. As Cichosz does not count the pronoun as regular clause constituent (*ITT*: 161 and 166), the verb following it takes the first position. Only six clauses do not fall into this category. The remaining V1 instances can be considered SV clauses without verb-fronting and are thus not contradictory to Mitchell's statement. What is astonishing about Cichosz's data is the fact that there are no significant differences between subordinate clauses in prose and verse. This would imply that prose

³⁰ Based on Fig. 8 (*ITT*: 106).

syntax does not differ as much from poetic syntax, at least regarding word order tendencies in subordinate clauses.

1.1.2 WORD ORDER AND AMBIGUOUS ADVERBS/CONJUNCTIONS

Mitchell's account of the association of VS and SV with principal clauses and S...V with subordinate clauses is supported by Cichosz's statistical analysis. With respect to ambiguous headwords, however, word order patterns cannot be considered infallible principles to resolve ambiguity as the tendencies described above are only regularities, not rules. Accordingly, there are numerous examples in OE prose that elude a clear interpretation. Mitchell agrees with Campbell that 'such passages were open to personal interpretation' (1970: 95) and adds that they might be examples of an intermediate stage between parataxis and hypotaxis (*OES* §§ 2444-2446 & 2536). Still, Mitchell describes element order in prose as a 'valuable guide' for determining whether a clause introduced by *þa* is principal or subordinate on account of the following principles: two correlated clauses with clause-initial *þa* generally take the form *þa* S...V, *þa* VS, where the first is the subordinate clause and the second the main clause introduced by the correlative adverb *þa*. This pattern does not only occur with *þa* but with other ambiguous adverbs and conjunctions as well, so Mitchell sets up the more general pattern *Conj.* S...V, *adv.* VS. A less frequent but equally unambiguous pattern is *Adv.* VS, *conj.* S...V, where the sub-clause follows its main clause.

Beyond these straightforward patterns the disambiguation of clauses introduced by ambivalent headwords causes greater problems. Firstly, not all clauses introduced by *þa* are correlative (even though they occur in successive sentences). Secondly, there are examples where the context implies that a *þa* S...V clause had rather be interpreted as principle, and, vice versa, where a *þa* VS clause seems to be subordinate. When two successive clauses have the same element order, for example *þa* VS, *þa* VS, the question arises if both clauses are principal or if one of them is subordinated to the other.³¹ Andrew (*SS*: 11-13) and Campbell (1970: 95f) both accept some instances of *þa* VS as subordinate (although for different reasons), and Mitchell agrees that they might be interpreted in this way, again remarking that such examples suggest an intermediate stage between hypotaxis and parataxis and adding that 'modern punctuation forces us into unnecessarily rigid distinctions' (*OES II*: 299). The reverse possibility, where *þa* S...V is a principal clause also causes some debate. Though Andrew considers this pattern to be unambiguously subordinate (*SS*: §10) and explains away

³¹ The pattern can occur with more than two successive clauses. This makes it even harder to determine which of them are subordinate and which are principal. For examples see *OES II*: 279-280.

all counterexamples by re-punctuating them or by assuming scribal errors,³² Mitchell is rather sceptical about these arguments and assumes that the order is indeed possible (although not common) in principal clauses:

I am at present forced to concede the possibility that in the prose *þa/þonne* VS sometimes occurs in what can be taken as a subordinate clause – here I agree with Andrew (SS §§ 13 and 19 (iii)) – and that *þa/þonne* S(...)V sometimes occurs in what can be taken as a principal clause – here I disagree with Andrew (SS, §§ 13 and 19 (i)). So I do not claim that the patterns Adv. VS, conj. S(...)V, and Conj. S(...)V, adv. VS are the inviolable rule for *þa* and *þonne* (*OES II*: 303).

Mitchell's conclusion on element order in prose texts indicates that the tendencies observed here do not unambiguously determine whether a clause headed by an ambiguous adverb/conjunction is principal or subordinate. The strong association of specific patterns with either main or subordinate clauses, however, implies that different word orders started to indicate a grammatical distinction between the respective clauses.

This 'system' of prose syntax also evident in the legend of *Saint Andrew* (SA)³³ including those *þa*-clauses where a clear interpretation proves difficult.

þa S(...)V in subordinate clauses:

- (1) Gemune hu manega earfoðnesse fram Judeum ic wæs þrowiende þa hie me swungon and hie me spætton on mine onsyne. (SA-C 128)
- (2) Þæt deofol þa he þis gehyred, he him to-cwæð: (SA-C 189)
- (3) Ða æfen geworden wæs, hi hine sendon on þæt carcern, and hie gebunden his handa... (244)
- (4) And þa eall þæt folc þæt gehierde, hit him licode. (SA-C 207)
- (5) Þa se mergen geworden wæs, þa se haliga Andreas licgende wæs beforan Marmadonia ceastre and his discipulos þær slæpende wæron mid him. (SA-C 102)
- (6) Þa þis gecweden wæs, þa Drihten him ætywde his onsyne on fægeres cildes hiew, and him to cwæð: (SA-C 112)

Examples (1) to (4) are straightforward: according to the 'rule' that a clause introduced by *þa* with a postponed verb is subordinate, the sentences can be translated in the following way:

³² For a detailed discussion of Andrew's solutions (*OES*: §§2544-2551).

³³ The title of the prose version differs according to different editions and scholars. In the following the prose version will be referred to as *St. Andrew* (SA) in order to distinguish it from the poem *Andreas*. Line numbers refer to the most recent edition of the text by Cassidy & Ringler (1971: 205-219). The abbreviation SA-C is chosen to distinguish the text in the Cambridge Manuscript from the fragment in the Blickling MS (henceforth SA-B) following Cassidy & Ringler who call to the former version text C and the latter text B. The different texts will be discussed more detailed in Chapter 3.

- 1 *Remember how much affliction I was suffering from the Jews, **when** they scourged me and spat into my face.*
- 2 *The devil, **when** he heard this, (he) said to him:*
- 3 ***When** evening came, they sent him into the dungeon and they bound his hands...*
- 4 *And **when** all the people heard this, it pleased them*

In the first sentence the subordinate clause is postpositional, in the second it is a parenthesis, and in the last two sentences it precedes its main clause. The position of the subordinate clause in relation to its main clause does not cause any problems for the interpretation. Examples (5) and (6) show instances of correlation, i.e. the repetition of *þa* in the principle clause:

- 5 ***When** morning came, (**then**) the holy Andrew was lying before the city of Marmedonia...*
- 6 ***When** this was said, (**then**) the Lord appeared unto him in the guise of a fair child.*

Though the main clause shows the conjunctive word order *þa* S...V, too, the context indicates that it is principle. These are two instances where the *þa* SV structure denotes a principal clause. A comparison with the fragmentary B-text³⁴ shows that the correlative adverb is no necessary sentence element:

- (a) *Þa þis gecweden wæs, þa Drihten him ætywde his onsyne on fægere cildes hiew, and him to cwæð: (SA-C 112)*
- (b) *Þa ðis gecweden wæs, Drihten him æteowde, his onsyne on fægere cildes heowe, ond him to-cwæð: (SA-B 93)*

þa VS in principal clauses:

There are only two examples where clause-initial *þa* is followed by the finite verb. Though *þa* is a fairly frequent word in the text, all other instances are unambiguous as the adverb is generally preceded by the subject as in SA-C 51 *Se halga Andreas þa aras...*

- (7) *Þa wæs se deofol ingangende, and cwæð to þam folce: (SA-C 203).*
- (8) *And þa ascan leoht ofer hieora heafod (SA-C 313).*

- 7 *Then the devil had entered and said to the people:*
- 8 *And then a light shone over their heads.*

Examples (7) and (8) are clearly principle clauses though the content of the source was partly misinterpreted in both cases. The annotations to these passages in the present edition run as follows:

³⁴ Quotations from the fragment are based on the text version published in *The Blickling Homilies* by Kelly (2003: 158-163). Line numbers refer to this edition.

- 203 **þā wæs...folce** A somewhat garbled version of Gr. [Greek version] “Then one of them, the devil having entered into him, said to the multitudes” etc (Cassidy & Ringler 1971: 214).
- 313 f. **And þā... hēafod** Gr. “and they cast ashes upon their heads.” We can no doubt attribute the OE version to a scribe who mistook *ascan* (“ashes”) in his exemplar for *āscān* (“shone”) and adjusted the context to agree with him (Cassidy & Ringler 1971: 218).

For *Saint Andrew* the tendencies discovered for OE verse syntax seem to be valid. The conjunctive order *þa S...V* is generally used for subordinate clauses and the demonstrative order *þa VS* for main clauses. Only in two principal clauses is the conjunctive order used, but both clauses occur within a correlative sentence structure where the usual order is *subordinate clause, main clause*. Furthermore, the text of the fragment omits the correlative adverb in one case, which would not be possible if the respective clause was subordinate and *þa* a conjunction. Ambiguous clauses with initial *þa*, however, are fairly rare in this text: firstly, the adverb *þa* is often clause-medial; secondly, temporal sub-clauses are frequently introduced by *mid þy (þe)*, which never functions as adverb. Although the sparse examples can hardly be sufficient to make a general statement about prose syntax, the tendencies observed in other studies can be detected in this text, thus supporting the assumption that different word order patterns were indeed used to distinguish between subordinate and principal clauses:

There seems little reason to doubt that end-position of the finite verb in the clause was associated with subordination in Old English. But unlike modern German and Dutch, this association was never categorical [...] (Stockwell & Minkova 1991: 374).

1.2 ELEMENT ORDER IN OE POETRY

There are many reasons why verse syntax should differ, at least in some respects, from the syntax of prose. The Old English poetic tradition is known to have been conservative, and it is therefore possible that certain ancient syntactic patterns, obsolete in prose, might have survived in verse. The more ‘rhetorical’ purposes of verse might have made it necessary to call extensively on usages either rare or unknown in prose. Above all, the metre might have exercised such a constraint on the syntax that certain syntactic patterns could not be used at all, or could be used only in favourable circumstances (Bliss 1980: 157).

Though Mitchell’s work is basically concerned with prose syntax, he mentions that poetic syntax does not follow the tendencies found in prose: the conjunctive and demonstrative orders, which are at least associated with either subordinate or principal clauses in prose, occur with both in the poetry, as the first three principal clauses in *Beowulf* demonstrate (see p. 2). It is by no means an exception that the ‘conjunctive order’ occurs in principal clauses in

the poetry (and can therefore hardly be called so). Generally, this deviation from the regularities found in prose does not form a problem for the interpretation of these clauses as they cannot be mistaken for subordinate ones. Regarding clauses with ambiguous headwords, however, the lacking regularity of word order patterns is indeed an obstacle to construe these clauses as either principal or subordinate.

The various factors influencing OE poetic syntax have to be analysed in order to get a better understanding of the principles governing word order in verse:

There are many considerations which future workers on element order in the poetry will find relevant. They obviously include the metrical patterns, the rules governing alliteration, the priorities accorded to the various parts of speech in the allotment of stress, and the effects of the choice of one part of speech or form of expression rather than another (*OES*: § 3946).

The most notable influences on verse syntax are the constraints conditioned by the metrical structure of poetry, which are not effective in prose texts. In the following, different approaches to OE poetic syntax are discussed which aim at establishing elaborated rules for word order patterns in subordinate and principal clauses in regard to the additional factors influencing element order in verse. Alistair Campbell (1970) links the deviation of poetic syntax from the tendencies found in prose directly to the metrical constraints limiting the arrangement of elements at the beginning of clauses (see section 1.2.1). The following section (1.2.2) explores the work of S. O. Andrew (1940; 1948) and Mary Blockley (2001). Both assume that there are clearly defined grammatical rules governing word order in OE poetry which indicate whether a clause is subordinate or principal. The crucial factor is supposed to be the position of the finite verb. As the type of verb (i.e. whether it is stressed or unstressed) seems to have some influence on its position within the clause, the last section (1.2.3) is dedicated to the metrical placement of different categories of finite verbs.

1.2.1 METRICAL CONSTRAINTS ON POETIC SYNTAX

Campbell explains the variances between word order in prose and verse by the fact that certain sentence elements are influenced by metrical constraints which restrict the primary word orders of Germanic speech, namely common, conjunctive and demonstrative order, which correspond to Mitchell's three basic word orders. Common order means that the clause begins with the subject followed by the verb (SV). In conjunctive order the clause begins with a conjunction followed by subject and verb with the latter being free to be infinitely delayed. A clause in demonstrative order is headed by an element other than subject or conjunction

followed by the finite verb (Campbell 1970: 93-94). Even if the initial adverb/conjunction is ambiguous, the conjunctive and demonstrative order can usually be distinguished in speech and prose as the latter inverts subject and verb, e.g. *þa he com* ‘when he came’ versus *þa com he* ‘then he came.’ Campbell argues that this distinction is not possible in OE poetry as the metrical restrictions known as Kuhn’s law limit the freedom of unstressed verbs to be infinitely delayed. Campbell summarises the major principles of these restrictions as follows:

This law is simply that unaccented elements which are not proclitic or enclitic to accented elements in a clause must be placed either before the first stress, or between the first and the second stress of their clause. [...] They are, principally, finite verbs, adverbs, conjunctions, and pronouns. They are contrasted with prepositions, articles, and grammatical endings, which are proclitic or enclitic to the accented elements of their clause. [...] If a clause has two or more sentence-particles, they must be grouped together in one or other of the permitted positions, not divided between them [...]. If the position before the first stress of a clause is used at all, it must contain a sentence-particle. [...] we seldom find in the position before the first stress material enclitic to that stress alone (1970: 94).

There are three basic assumptions about sentence-particles³⁵ which include adverbs, conjunctions and unaccented finite verbs:

- (1) Sentence-particles occur either before or after the first stress of the half-line.
- (2) They are grouped together in one of the positions given in (1).
- (3) If the position before the first stress is used (i.e. by a proclitic element), it must contain a particle, too.

The following clause-beginnings represent the different primary word orders of Germanic speech commonly present in speech and prose.

<u>Common:</u>	<i>se cyning wæs...</i>	(The king was...)
<u>Conjunctive:</u>	<i>þa se cyning wæs</i>	(When the king was...)
<u>Demonstrative:</u>	<i>þa wæs se cyning</i>	(Then the king was...)

In poetry, these orders are modified according to the principles of Kuhn’s law. The common order is prohibited by principle (3) because the position before the first stressed element must contain a sentence particle if it is occupied by a proclitic element. This problem can be solved by inversion (*wæs se cyning*) where the proclitic article *se* is accompanied by the particle *wæs*. The metrical principles that govern certain sentence-particles thus prevent the clause elements from occurring in the same order as in speech. Campbell assumes that this verse

³⁵ Kuhn distinguishes between three different categories for clause elements: firstly, elements that receive stress irrespective of their position in the half-line (adjectives, nouns), secondly, unstressed elements that are attached or adjacent to stressed elements (clitics), and sentence-particles which receive positional stress when they are displaced and occur in a metrically strong position (Kuhn 1933: 4-5).

construction spread to the poetry and gave rise to analogical patterns with other subjects (for example pronouns or proper names), where Kuhn's law does not apply and inversion would not be necessary in the first place. With respect to the grammatical status of ambiguous clauses this modification is not significant as both orders are used for principal clauses.

Regarding conjunctive order, however, the metrical constraints do have an effect on the distinction between subordinate and principal word order: the usual conjunctive order *þa se cyning wæs* conflicts with principle (2) of Kuhn's law as the particles *þa* and *wæs* are divided between the two permitted positions. One possibility would be to shift both to the second position (*se cyning þa wæs*) which again violates constraint (3). Thus, the verb is displaced to the first position (*þa wæs se cyning*) with the result that the clause now equals the demonstrative order:

In verse, subordinate and demonstrative order are the same. The clause is introduced by a conjunction or adverb, and these are of the same effect on word-order. They open the clause with a dip, and all unaccented adverbs and pronouns, and the verb if it be unaccented, are drawn into that dip [...]. There is no way to distinguish the two, if the initial word be ambiguously adverb or conjunction in form, except through our conception of the structure of the whole passage (Campbell 1970: 95).

These metrically triggered displacements of the verb explain why some instances of *þa VS* mentioned by Mitchell had rather be interpreted as subordinate clauses. Andrew, too, acknowledges that subordinate clauses can take this form in verse and prose when the verb is unaccented. Campbell suggests that the blurred distinction between demonstrative and conjunctive order in poetry was considered too crude to match 'the need for precision' of the newly emerging art of prose which, therefore, 'had to develop a more rigid distinction of demonstrative and subordinate word-order' (1970: 95). Thus, Campbell takes the ambiguous order *þa VS* to be an inherent feature of OE poetry suggesting that 'such passages were open to personal interpretation' and adding that any attempts to resolve this ambiguity by word order (here he particularly relates to Andrew's work) must fail (1970: 95, fn. 9). Despite this warning against grammatical approaches to word order in OE poetry, other scholars followed Andrew's lead in assuming that ambiguous clauses can be interpreted by element order.

1.2.2 SYNTACTIC RULES AND REGULARITIES

Some of Andrew's principles have already been mentioned above: he assumes that word order (in most cases) indicates whether a clause is principal or subordinate, i.e. that OE poetry has a conjunctive word order that is distinct from the word order in main clauses. Unfortunately,

Andrew applies his rules too rigidly without leaving much space for exceptions. However, even the severest critics of Andrew's work cannot deny that his insights into poetic syntax have proved valuable for any scholar of Old English:

Andrew's presentation of his work is defective: the style and terminology are often obscure, so that the meaning cannot be fully understood without frequent re-reading; the arrangement is unsystematic, so that it is often difficult to locate the discussion of a particular construction [...] Moreover, Andrew's views on Old English metre, to which he constantly appeals, are too eccentric to command acceptance. Above all, he is much too ready to remove by emendation all the instances in which the text do not conform to his hypotheses; and such a desire for complete uniformity is as dangerous in syntactic as it is in metrical studies. Nevertheless [...] there remains in Andrew's work a solid core of fact which no editor can afford to ignore (Dunning & Bliss 1969: 14-15).

Andrew's rules (though they had better be called regularities) built the foundation for a systematic analysis of OE poetic syntax. The basis of his study is the assumption that Old English prose used three basic orders (corresponding to those described by Mitchell and Campbell) outlined in *Syntax and Style in Old English* (SS) and further developed in *Postscript on Beowulf* (PS):

The three kinds of word-order in OE prose may conveniently be exemplified by a sentence in which both subject and object are pronouns:

- (1) *Common order*, usual in principal sentences: Hi hine gebundon mid bæstenum rapum.
- (2) *Conjunctive order*, the regular form after conjunctions and relatives: Ða hi hine mid bæstenum rapum gebundon.
- (3) *Demonstrative order*, found in principal sentences of which the headword is a demonstrative adverb: Ða gebundon hi hine mid bæstenum rapum (PS: 1).

The conjunctive order used for dependent clauses is considered 'unambiguously subordinate' in prose (PS: 4) as well as in poetry (PS: §§ 2-10). Andrew represents it by the form *þa he com*, i.e. clause-initial *þa* followed by SV. The demonstrative order, where clause initial *þa* is followed by VS, however, is ambiguous in prose and verse as it is sometimes used for subordinate clauses. It is divided into two subgroups, depending on whether the verb bears stress or not, represented by *þa com he* and *þa wæs he*, respectively. In prose, both clause-types are usually principal though they may sometimes be subordinate as well – they are therefore ambiguous. In poetry, Andrew considers only the second type with unstressed verb as being ambiguous; the *þa com he* type is taken as unambiguously subordinate (SS: 18).

Table 1-3 summarises the different types as defined by Andrew and their possible function in prose and verse are.³⁶

	<u>conjunctive order</u>	<u>demonstrative order</u>		<u>common order</u>
<i>Type</i>	<i>þa he (...) com</i>	<i>þa com he</i>	<i>þa wæs he</i>	<i>he com</i>
POETRY	subordinate	subordinate	ambiguous	principal
PROSE	subordinate	ambiguous (generally principal)		principal

Table 1-3 Element order in principal and subordinate þa-clauses according to Andrew

Andrew observes that the type *þa com he* with a stressed verb hardly ever occurs in OE poetry. Therefore, he assumes that principal clauses with a stressed verb generally take the form *com þa* in verse which corresponds to the demonstrative order *þa com he* in prose.

The absence from *Beowulf* (and from poetry generally) of such a common type as the demonstrative sentence is certainly surprising [...]; there are often five instances on a single page of prose, and five in over 3000 lines would represent a degree of rarity as conspicuous as total absence, and would need a good deal of explaining. There is indeed cogent evidence that poetic convention deliberately eschewed the ‘þa com’ form in principal sentences, [...] (SS: 12-13).

The general avoidance of the *þa com he* type in poetry leads Andrew to the assumption that this order is reserved for subordinate clauses as otherwise the poet would not have any reason to exchange the common *com þa* for *þa com he*:

There are in *Beowulf* about 90 instances of the ‘com þa’ form, and we are justified in asking those who make ‘þa com’ a principal sentence what is the difference between ‘þa com’ and ‘com þa’, and why the poet uses the first in

710 *Ða com of more...Grendel gongan*

and the second just below,

720 *Com þa of recede rinc siðian*

If our argument has been correct, there is a difference of grammar, the first example being a temporal clause (SS: 13).

There are two aspects in Andrew’s argumentation that are worth considering, namely non-trailing sub-clauses and correlative clauses. The latter has been mentioned before: Andrew generally links successive clauses introduced by *þa* as one being dependent on and correlative to the other. The most uncontroversial patterns have already been introduced as Mitchell’s *Conj. S(...)V, adv. VS* type and the less frequent *Adv. VS, conj. S(...)V* type. Andrew extends this ‘correlation rule’ to other sequences of *þa*-clauses in which the differentiation between

³⁶ An overview of the different basic word order patterns, possible sub-types and their interpretation according to different scholars is provided in Appendix I, p. 230.

principal and dependent clause is less obvious. Though Mitchell considers the assumption that ‘two successive þa/þonne clauses must be correlative whatever the element order [...] untenable’ (*OES II*: 298-99), he admits that the order þa VS may be interpreted as subordinate in such sequences as, for example, in *Beo* 126-130:

Da wæs on uhtan mid ærdæge
 Grendles guðcræft gumum undyrne;
 Þa wæs æfter wiste wop up ahafen,
 micel morgensweg.³⁷

The punctuation chosen in the present edition indicates that the passage is taken to consist of two (grammatically) independent clauses; in the annotation the editors even call this passage a ‘genuine case of parataxis’ (Fulk et al. 2008: 124). Andrew’s correlation rule implies another interpretation:

[I]t may be taken as a general rule that, wherever we have two þa-sentences in sequence, there is a þa...þa correlation and that one of the sentences, usually the first, is subordinate to the other and should be so punctuated. [...] ‘When at dawn Grendel’s war-power became manifest, then after feasting was lamentation raised’ (*PS*: 15).

This rule has been severely criticised by other scholars as an instance of ‘Andrew’s determination to eliminate parataxis from OE poetry whenever he could by producing correlative pairs’ (*OES II*: 306).³⁸ However, the principles of correlation in OE are not quite explored yet and Andrew’s ideas about it should be kept in mind when discussing OE poetic style.

The second aspect discussed in Andrew’s work on OE poetic syntax is the concept of anticipatory or periodic sub-clauses, i.e. dependent clauses that precede their main clauses. He discovered that ‘[t]hough all the four modern editions [of *Beowulf*] admit the subordination of a temporal clause when it follows the principal sentence, not one of them does so when the clause precedes the principal sentence’ (*PS*: vii-viii). Mitchell shows that what Andrew calls a ‘curious superstition’ (*OES II*: 293) of the editors has in fact some plausible reasons: firstly, OE poetry originally preferred what Heusler (1925) calls *Zeilenstil*, i.e. the congruity of a sentence with a whole line, as opposed to the younger *Bogenstil* or *Hakenstil*, where sentences are continued in the next line and may thus end with the line-medial caesura. This implies that

³⁷ ‘When in the morning at the break of day Grendel’s destructive powers were revealed to the men, a great cry was lifted after the feasting, mighty morning-noises.’

³⁸ This point of criticism was echoed by Blockley: ‘Andrew’s focus is upon seeing in every clause-initial word like þa an invitation to subordination. He is not concerned with reducing ambiguity so much as he is with redirecting the benefit of the doubt to subordination. Just as the early editors tended to treat clauses headed with þa as principal unless the conjunction were absolutely necessary to sense, so Andrew punctuates even clauses with parallel structure as necessarily having one of the parallel clauses subordinate to the other’ (*APS*: 125-26).

subordinate clauses beginning in the second half-line were originally trailing. Secondly, if hypotaxis developed from parataxis, the originally independent clauses would be arranged according to the chronology of events (*OES*: § 2537). Both aspects favour the prevalence of trailing temporal clauses in OE poetry. In addition, Mitchell argues that *when-then* constructions (as suggested by Andrew for correlative pairs) developed under Latin influence in prose and were not extended to the poetry ‘possibly for the very reason that it was felt to be prosaic’ (*OES II*: 294). However, anticipatory sub-clauses do occur in Old English, so there is no reason to assume that they were excluded from poetry in general. Consequently, Andrew’s idea to connect a subordinate clause to the subsequent main clause should not be rejected on principle.

Before discussing these assumptions any further some general remarks about Andrew’s working method should be made here. Many of Andrew’s results were questioned by other scholars, mostly for the following reasons: firstly, Andrew’s rigid application of his rules often leads him to re-punctuate clauses as subordinate though the context seems to require a different reading. Some examples of this are discussed by Mitchell in *OES*: § 2548, where he argues that the passages were probably open to the individual interpretation of the reader/hearer. Secondly, when examples do not seem to fit Andrew’s rules, he either attributes this to scribal errors and corruption or he simply disregards them (*OES*: § 2549). Mitchell also criticises that some text passages are misrepresented or truncated in a way that distorts content and meaning:

His [Andrew’s] examples are carefully selected, e.g. he does not mention in either of his books *Beo* 730a or *Beo* 1522b, which according to his rules must be subordinate but can scarcely be so taken. Many of the examples he quotes are judiciously censored, with the result that interpretations which seem plausible as he presents them frequently prove on examination of the full text to involve an intolerable hiatus (*OES II*: 305).

Finally, Andrew’s approach is at least in parts inconsistent: Mitchell remarks that Andrew argues at one point that prose and verse syntax follow the same usage, while he claims that they in fact do differ at another (*OES*: § 2557). Another inconsistency commented on by Mitchell (*OES*: § 2557) and Blockley (*APS*: 125) is that the rules Andrew lays down for *þa*, *þær* and *þonne* do not apply to other ambiguous words such as *nu* and *swa*.³⁹ In addition,

³⁹In contrast, Campbell assumes that it is legitimate to treat *þa*, *þær*, and *þonne* separately because demonstrative order occurs much more consistently with these adverbs than with other (ambiguous) adverbs. ‘The reason for this imperfect introduction of demonstrative order is not clear. Its more regular observance after *þa*, *þonne* and *þær* is no doubt due to the fact that these three adverbs were identical in form with particularly common conjunctions, and avoidance of ambiguity was accordingly very desirable where they were concerned’ (1970: 96).

Blockley criticises that the clause structure of Andrew's conjunctive order is 'loosely and variously stated, sometimes as "verb final," sometimes as "the separation of the subject-pronoun from the finite verb"' (APS: 125). Finally, Andrew's assumptions about stressed and unstressed verbs need further comment. This distinction is by no means undisputed: the stress properties of finite verbs were already disconcerting for Hans Kuhn when he first formulated his metrical principles of Germanic alliterative verse.⁴⁰ Andrew's dichotomous division of stressed/unstressed seems to be oversimplified. The issue will be addressed more detailed in the next section.

Despite these various and in some cases fundamental points of criticism, Mary Blockley took up several of Andrew's ideas. Though Blockley herself finds much fault with his work,⁴¹ she shares Andrew's belief that word order in OE poetry is basically governed by syntax. In *Aspects of Old English Poetic Syntax* she claims to 'pick up where Mitchell leaves off' (ASP: 1), referring to the fact that Mitchell describes syntactic regularities for prose but denies that the same are valid in poetry:

Mitchell shows that under at least some circumstances in both prose and verse almost any form, any order of words at the head of a clause, can introduce either a principal clause or a main clause.⁴² While this is a salutary warning, such freedom is a bit overstated. Decades before Andrew has sought to demonstrate the contrary [...] (APS: 3).

Regarding ambiguous clauses, Mitchell suggests that modern punctuation is not suitable for OE poetry as it does not admit of an intermediate stage between subordination and independence (OES: § 3957).⁴³ This is rejected by Blockley as she considers the distinction crucial for evaluating the style of OE poetry (APS: 1). Her view is shared by other scholars, although for different reasons, who argue that the absence of overt markers for main and subordinate clauses does by no means imply that the language generally lacks a clear distinction in this regard:

Whenever subordination was marked by correlative particles [...] the possibility of genuine ambiguity or of deliberate vagueness [...] was very real [...]. This is not all the same as asserting that the internalised grammar of the speaker of Old English fails to discriminate between main and subordinate clauses [...]. It is reasonable to assume that this distinction is a genuine linguistic universal (Stockwell & Minkova 1991: 372).

⁴⁰ These principles are outlined in Kuhn 1933.

⁴¹ See especially APS: 3-4; 125-6.

⁴² Blockley probably meant 'subordinate clause' here.

⁴³ For a further discussion of this assumption see p. 223.

Campbell, too, actually never states that the grammatical relation between clauses in OE poetry is not fully developed; instead, he suggests ‘that such passages were open to personal interpretation, and that reciters would indicate their view of the passage by intonation’ (1970: 95), thus implying that the formal ambiguity has to be resolved one way or the other by the speakers of OE.

Blockley agrees with Andrew that ambiguous clauses can be interpreted on the basis of word order. She formulates the following rule which is – oddly enough, considering the differences described above – supposed to apply to verse as well as prose:

VERSE

Conjunctions are defined by element order even more than has been acknowledged, and therefore less by function than has been assumed by the anachronistic punctuation of verse. Words like *þa* serve as conjunctions when they are clause-initial and immediately followed by some sentence element other than the finite verb. The adverbial clause that they introduce and define need not be causal, coreferent, or correlated, or trailing to be subordinate [...].

PROSE

An element intervening between the conjunction and the finite verb indicates that a headword in prose is the conjunction and not a clause-initial adverb. The prose clauses are identical to the verse subordinate clauses in this aspect of their form [...] (APS: 219-220).

This rule slightly differs from Andrew’s assumptions: firstly, no distinction is made between stressed and unstressed verbs. It follows that the *þa com he* and the *þa wæs he* type are the same. Secondly, Blockley’s rule focuses on the finite verb alone, i.e. the intervening element between headword and verb does not have to be the subject.

	<u>subordinate order</u>	<u>principal order</u>
<i>Type</i>	<i>þa X V</i>	<i>þa V</i>
Poetry	subordinate	principal
Prose	subordinate	principal

Table 1-4 Element order in *þa*-clauses according to Blockley

One of Blockley’s specifications for subordinate clauses is that they neither have to be correlative, coreferential or trailing (see quotation above). The concept of correlation was already touched upon when discussing Andrew’s work. Stockwell and Minkova’s analysis of subordination markers in Old English (1991) substantiates Blockley’s assumption that a conjunction does not have to be correlative. They adopt Kellner’s framework (1892: 51-56)

for the development of subordinate clauses which recognises four stages from parataxis (here: logical subordination without formal markers)⁴⁴ to the use of conjunctions:

STAGE 1: Two formally independent clauses are logically linked in a hierarchical structure.

STAGE 2: Demonstrative adverbs are used as connectives.

STAGE 3: Correlative particles that are identical in spelling to the demonstrative adverb (copy-correlatives) are used to introduce the logically subordinate clause.

STAGE 4: The correlative adverb is dropped leaving the corresponding conjunction

(See Stockwell & Minkova 1991: 369-371).

Stockwell and Minkova demonstrate that all stages are attested in OE, which entails that subordination may occur with or without a correlative adverb in the corresponding main clause. In the analysis of *þa*-clauses in *Saint Andrew* in section 1.1.2 this became evident, too, since the correlative adverb was retained in one MS while it was dropped in the other.

The other two aspects mentioned by Blockley, i.e. the coreference of the subject and the position dependent clauses take in relation to their main clauses, are intertwined:

If in any language a sentence consists of two clauses, it is normal for the subject to be specified by a noun in the first of the two and referred to by a pronoun in the second. In Old English it is normal for a subordinate clause to follow the principal clause on which it depends, and for this reason a subordinate clause normally has a pronoun subject (Bliss 1980: 174).

Blockley, however, is sceptical about both assumptions. Regarding coreference, she argues that though it is frequent in subordinate clauses, it is not necessary:

In Old English texts, the coreferential pronoun subject [...] is treated [...] as though we should assume it is the type of subject that created the conjunctive *þa* out of and alongside the adverb. It is true that the majority of subject pronouns in subordinate clauses are coreferential with noun subjects within the sentence. But the minority of pronouns that are not suggest that the conjunction *þa* tolerated coreference rather than requiring it (*APS*: 145).

On the other hand, coreference may occur without subordination as ‘in Old English the majority of pronoun subjects of clearly independent clauses are also coreferential with preceding nouns (*APS*: 12). Blockley concludes from these observations that coreference and subordination are not as closely linked as suggested by Bliss:

⁴⁴ The terminology is often used inconsistently by different scholar (sometimes even by one scholar). For a discussion see Stockwell & Minkova 1991: 402-3; note 4 and Donoghue & Mitchell 1992.

In deciphering the ambiguity of clause linkages, the unquestioned and often unstated assumption has been that a dependent clause will have a subject that is coreferent with the subject of its main clause and, so, that a noncoreferent subject after a clause-initial *þa* confirms the independence of the clause. But the dependency created by a conjunction is a separate system from the linkage created by coreference between noun phrases in different clauses. The two systems can combine, but the second does not determine the first (*APS*: 12).

The independence of subordination and coreference is certainly something to be kept in mind. Yet ignoring that the two factors correlate frequently is equally inadvisable. Since reoccurring patterns are likely to become markers of the grammatical function they accompany, any regularity observed for subordinate clauses must be considered significant for the interpretation of ambiguous clauses (see section 2.3.2).

The other assumption opposed by Blockley, i.e. that subordinate clauses generally follow their main clauses in Old English, has already been challenged by Andrew; nor does Mitchell reject the idea of non-trailing sub-clauses altogether though he provides good reason why temporal clauses generally follow their main clauses in OE poetry. Both Andrew and Blockley refer to anticipatory subordinate clauses in order to explain cases where their rules require subordination but where context does not permit connecting the ambiguous clause to the preceding main clause. The following passage from *Beowulf* is the beginning of a *fitt*; thus the *þa*-clause cannot be connected to the preceding clause. As punctuation and translation suggest, the ambiguous clause is generally taken to be principal.

Beo 2312 Ða se gæst ongan gledum spiwan,
 beorht hofu bænan – bryneleoma stod
 eldum on andan;

Then the fiend began to vomit forth flames, to burn the noble dwellings; the gleam of fire blazed forth, a terror to the son of men (Hall 1950: 137).

According to Blockley and Andrew, the *þa*-clause is in conjunctive order and thus subordinate. It follows that the clause has to be linked to the subsequent main clause: ‘When the fiend began to vomit flames, the gleam of fire blazed forth.’ Andrew lists similar examples of a *when-then* sentence structure in *PS*: § 3 (i), which will be discussed in the analysis in section 1.3.

In this regard, Blockley accepts Andrew’s explanations. The most striking difference to Andrew’s approach, however, is that Blockley does not make any distinction between stressed and unstressed verbs. Recalling Campbell’s observations about the metrical constraints on element order in OE poetry, this seems to be a step back. The metrically triggered

displacements of the verb imply that the adherence to the metrical structure is more important in verse than the indication of the grammatical function of a clause. Even though Andrew's dichotomous distinction between unstressed and stressed is by no means undisputed, he at least acknowledges that word order in verse is partly dependent on the type of verb used. Blockley's rule, on the other hand, implies that the syntactic system emerging in prose was equally valid for verse, irrespective of any other factors that may influence word order in OE poetry, i.e. metrics, rhetorical purposes and the preservation of archaic or conservative syntactic patterns. This turns the regularities into a grammaticalised system that even surpassed the syntactic functionality of word order ascribed to prose. The warnings against such a rigorous rule-system, however, are well founded as the observations on the positioning of verbs within the half-line will demonstrate.

1.2.3 NOTE ON FINITE VERB STRESS

Within Kuhn's framework, finite verbs are mostly considered to be unstressed particles which receive positional stress only when they are displaced from their usual position among other unstressed elements before or after the first stressed element. Bliss, who provides a detailed discussion about the stressing of finite verbs in *Beowulf* (1958: ch. 3), generally follows Kuhn's propositions but argues that some verbs had better be treated as stressed in order to make the respective verse legible to scansion. While Bliss's argumentation thus focuses on metrical reasons for stressing verbs, a linguistic argument was brought forward by Cosmos:

Theoretically, at least, there is reason to be suspicious of Kuhn's classification of all finite verbs in a single category, and especially in a category which distinguishes the verb from the noun and adjective. For, in general, the correlation between phonological prominence and word class category shows a linguistically universal distinction between lexical and nonlexical roots – regardless of the part of speech – but not, however, between nouns and adjectives on the one hand and verbs on the other (1976: 308).

A third argument against the assumption that verbs are indiscriminately unstressed in the two positions defined by Kuhn's law is that many verbs participate in the alliteration. As alliteration is directly connected with stress,⁴⁵ this observation is rather difficult to account for. However, considering verbs to be stressed in verses such as *Beo* 217a *gewat þa ofer wægholm*, would violate Kuhn's law that sentence particles (here *þa*) group in the first position if it is filled by a clitic (here *ge-*). This problem does not arise if the verse-initial verb is not prefixed as in *Beo* 1506a *bær þa seo brimwulf*,⁴⁶ but it seems unlikely that the verb is

⁴⁵ See Sievers 1893: 42.

⁴⁶ For further discussion of these examples see Kendall 1983: 6-8 and Willard & Clemons 1967.

unstressed in one pattern and stressed in the other depending on whether it is prefixed or not; especially since the verb participates in the alliteration in both cases. Kuhn evades this obstacle to his own framework by stating that patterns like *Beo* 217a are rare (*‘gelegentliche Stellung’*).

Der fall, daß satzpartikeln dadurch in die zweite senkung des satzes (die erste innere nach auftakt) geraten, daß einer vorausgehenden satzpartikel eine hebung im verse zufällt, kommt im Beow. gut 50mal vor. In etwa der hälfte der fälle nimmt diese hebung am stabreim teil (Kuhn 1933: 11).

Given that Kuhn is right that there are only about 25 examples of this kind in *Beowulf*, the pattern could indeed be called ‘occasional.’ However, as far as V *ba* clauses are concerned, the verb frequently alliterates: in 34 out of 67 examples the verb participates in the alliteration. If only prefixed verbs are considered (35 in total), the rate of alliterating verbs (21) is even higher (60%). At least regarding the V *ba* pattern the stressing of the finite verb can hardly be called occasional or even exceptional. Bliss tries to explain some examples by stating that ‘the possibility of “accidental” alliteration must not be dismissed too lightly (1958: 9). This may well be the case in some instances, but the frequency with which Bliss refers to this explanation, or to ‘ornamental’ or ‘non-functional’ alliteration (*Ibid.* 12), is rather conspicuous (see f. ex. p. 16, 17, 18, 21 (thrice), 22 (four times) and 23). The dilemma of explaining why the verbs are unstressed in V *ba*-constructions even though they frequently alliterate is due to Bliss’s strict adherence to Kuhn’s law:

If the finite verb is stressed in these verses, then the particles following them must also be stressed; but in many cases a stress on the particle, even a secondary stress, will produce an impossible metrical pattern [...] The only possible conclusion seems to be that in these verses the finite verb is not stressed, and that the alliteration of the verb is non-functional (Bliss 1958: 16).

Bliss’s conclusion on finite verb stress is basically the same as Kuhn’s, namely that finite verbs ‘may sometimes bear stress (and alliteration) and sometimes not’ (1958: 13). This treatment of finite verb stress was considered to be ‘highly suspect’ by Michael Getty because the allotment of finite verb stress seems to be following rather arbitrary rules in order to comply with Kuhn’s metrical principles.

Essentially, one is left having to say that finite verbs are stressless except when they are not, meaning that the stress properties of finite verbs are subordinated to the need for Kuhn’s Law to appear regular (Getty 2002: 36).

Getty tries to amend this shortcoming by attributing the regularities observed by Kuhn to the metrical properties of different categories of verbs. Though his constraint-based framework is

highly theoretical, the statistical data about finite verbs in *Beowulf* validate earlier assumptions that there is a difference in the stress properties of fully lexical verbs (LEX) and quasi-auxiliary verbs (AUX).⁴⁷

Getty's main objective is to examine if specific verbs show signs of grammaticalisation in Old English, which is supposed to be indicated by their metrical profiles. The AUX group contains verbs that can take non-finite complements (i.e. infinitives and participles) and which show thematic transparency.⁴⁸

AUX verbs ⁴⁹
- <i>beon/wesan</i>
- <i>sculan, weorðan, habban, motan, magan, onginnan, willan</i>
- (<i>gan, cuman</i>)

Table 1-5 Quasi-auxiliaries in OE

Later on, Getty excludes *gan* and *cuman* from this group as these verbs do not further develop into auxiliaries. The metrical profiles of these verbs, however, are displayed in a separate table (Getty 2000: 40-41, fn. 4). In the following, *beon* is treated separately from the other AUX verbs as it generally makes for more than 50 % of the examples and (what Getty does not seem to consider) its metrical profile partly deviates from that of the other AUX verbs.

As alliteration is closely related to stress, Getty's first objective is to analyse how often lexical verbs participate in the alliteration in contrast to the other verbs.

	alliterating	non-alliterating
AUX + <i>beon</i>	3.7%	96.3 %
LEX verbs	23.6 %	76.4 %

Table 1-6 Alliterating verbs in *Beowulf*
(based on Getty 2002: 62, Tab. 1)

Regarding alliteration, AUX verbs are clearly distinguished from the other verbs as they hardly ever alliterate and the rare examples where they do (28 in total) are mostly restricted to on-

⁴⁷ Though the data presented below is based on Getty's tables, the percentages are recalculated according to the figures given in Tab. 6 (Getty 2000: 52). The reason for this is that there is some mistake in the original tables due to the fact that Getty sometimes includes alliterating verbs into the analysis of the metrical position of verbs and sometimes not. This leads to some confusion about the total number of verbs analysed on which the percentages are based.

⁴⁸ This means that the complementary infinitive does not take syntactic arguments of its own, i.e. that the finite verb and the infinitive have the same subject. A verb without thematic transparency is, for instance, *seon* in *Beo* 728-29:

Geseah he in recede	rinca manige,
swefan sibbedriht	samod ætgædere

where the subject of the finite verb (*he*) differs from the subject of the complementary infinitive (*sibbedriht*).

⁴⁹ The group given in Table 1-5 corresponds to Group 1 in Getty 2000 (without *gan* and *cuman*) and to the verbs in Fig. 21 in Getty 2002.

verses, where the verbs only participate in the alliteration (double alliteration), which may partly be accidental as in *Beo* 2952 *hæfde Higelaces | hilde gefrunen*. Getty interprets this observation as the indication of beginning grammaticalisation:

If alliteration coincides with stress, and if the ability to bear stress is a property of lexical words, and the inability to bear stress (except under emphasis or contrast) a property of grammatical words, then what we may be looking at in Table 1 [here Table 1-6] is a pattern symptomatic of some sort of incipient decategorization (Getty 2002: 62).

Getty also analyses the position of verbs within the half-line. According to his framework the line-internal position is only allowed to be occupied by elements which lack prosodic autonomy, i.e. ‘the ability to bear stress [...] outside of contrastive or emphatic uses’ (Getty 2000: 41); this is a feature of grammatical words while lexical words like nouns, adjectives and lexical verbs have their own prosodic profile. Consequently, the ability of verbs to occur in the line-internal position indicates their beginning grammaticalisation. Regarding the instances of non-alliterating verbs, Getty at first distinguishes between a non-final position (line-initial or line-internal). The reason for this is that the displacement of finite verbs to another position than those assigned by Kuhn for sentence particles implies that they receive positional stress. Thus, LEX verbs are likely to occur more frequently in line-final position than grammaticalised verbs whose occurrence in a metrically strong position is avoided.

	alliterating	line-final	non-final
AUX + <i>beon</i>	3.7 %	49.2 %	47.1 %
LEX	23.6 %	71.8 %	4.6 %

Table 1-7 Position of finite verbs in *Beowulf*
(based on Getty 2000: 51, Tab. 4)

Table 1-7 shows that the two verb categories show the predicted tendencies. However, if the metrical placement of *beon* is considered separately as in Table 1-8, it becomes evident that the data are strongly influenced by it.

	alliterating	line-final	non-final
<i>beon</i>	1 %	26.8 %	72.2 %
AUX	6.2 %	70.4 %	23.4 %

Table 1-8 Position of non-alliterating finite verbs in *Beowulf*
(based on Getty 2000: 51, Tab. 4).

If the distribution of AUX verbs without *beon* is compared to the one of lexical verbs, no great differences can be detected as far as position is concerned: both groups show a tendency to occur in final position (about 70 %). It is obvious that the tendency of auxiliary verbs to occur in a non-final position is largely due to the distribution of *beon*. Therefore, the conclusion

Getty draws for the other potentially decategorising verbs have to be treated with care: Table 1-8 indicates that their metrical placement indeed differs from fully lexical verbs, but to a lesser extent than Getty's data imply.

In a further step Getty subdivides the non-final position into line-initial and line-internal and identifies these positions with V1 and V2 word order, respectively (Getty 2000: 51).

	line-initial	line-internal
<i>beon</i> (278)	23.0 % (64)	77.0 % (214)
AUX (95)	46.8 % (45)	53.2 % (45)
LEX (74)	77.2 % (57)	20.8 % (15)

Table 1-9 Position of non-final verbs⁵⁰

Lexical verbs and forms of *beon* show a reverse behaviour in terms of V1 or V2 placement: while the former group has a strong tendency to occur line-initially, *beon* preferably occurs line-internally. The other AUX verbs take a place somewhere in between and they are more or less evenly distributed among the two positions. Getty assumes that the position is strongly influenced by the number of syllables:

The key factor in this turns out to be syllable count [...]. The line-initial and line-internal tokens of each verb in the sample [i.e. G1] divide up in virtually the same way as the verbs discussed just above [i.e. fully lexical verbs], namely that line-internal/V2 placement occurs most frequently with monosyllabic forms [...] (Getty 2000: 51-52).

The idea that monosyllabic verbs behave differently in regard to their placement within the half-line is by no means new, nor is the explanation for it. In his article on auxiliaries and verbals in *Beowulf*, Bliss (1980) noticed that monosyllabic auxiliaries may occur with specific word orders that are avoided with disyllabic forms. The avoided patterns are exactly those where the disyllabic verb would occur in medial position:

If the auxiliary is disyllabic, the first word order hardly occurs at all [...]. It may be relevant that a disyllabic auxiliary cannot be as fully unstressed as a monosyllabic auxiliary: in a disyllabic auxiliary there must be a difference of stress between the two syllables, so that if one of them is fully unstressed the other cannot be [...] (Bliss 1980: 173).

Getty, too, explains the restrictions for polysyllabic verbs with the fact that a prosodically complex form is usually barred from weak positions; only fully grammaticalised words such as disyllabic conjunctions (*syððan*, *oððæt*, *forðon*, etc.) are not subjected to these constraints.

⁵⁰ The numbers are based on Tab. 7 (Getty 2000: 53) and Tab. 6 (Getty 2002: 67). Alliterating verbs are again excluded from the data. The total number of occurrences is given in brackets.

Getty concludes from his data that AUX verbs still show the same behaviour in *Beowulf* as polysyllabic forms of any lexical verb (2000: 58).⁵¹ This, however, is not exactly true since the forms of *beon* again taint the data to some extent: according to Getty's calculation, about 90% of the AUX verbs in line-internal position are monosyllables. The percentage is approximately the same for lexical verbs (87%). This indeed suggests that both groups were subject to the same restrictions in *Beowulf*. However, monosyllabic forms of *beon* (most often *wæs*) make for 86.3% of the monosyllables occurring in line-internal position. If *beon* is excluded, the percentage of monosyllabic AUX verbs in this position only amounts to about 65%. Thus, 35% of the line-internal AUX verbs are polysyllabic while only 13 % of lexical polysyllabic verbs occur in this position.⁵² This observation shows that AUX verbs are already less restricted in their metrical placement in *Beowulf* than fully lexical verbs. It should also be mentioned that the forms of *beon* in internal position tending to be monosyllabic (97%) is not necessarily due to metrical restriction on disyllabic forms: the number is due to the mere fact that 96 % of the forms are monosyllabic anyway. Therefore, it would be better to compare the metrical placement of polysyllabic verb forms for the different groups separately. The results are displayed in the Table 1-10, while Table 1-11 shows the distribution of corresponding monosyllabic forms.

	line-initial	line-internal
<i>beon</i>	36 %	63 %
AUX	46 %	53 %
LEX	79 %	21 %

Table 1-10 Position of non-final polysyllabic verbs

	line-initial	line-internal
<i>beon</i>	22 %	78 %
AUX	17.5 %	82.5 %
LEX	64 %	33 %

Table 1-11 Position of non-final monosyllabic verbs

If the data are arranged in this way, it becomes clear that polysyllabic forms of *beon* frequently occur in line-internal position (though less often than the corresponding monosyllabic forms) suggesting that the metrical placement has already become less influenced by the number of syllables. To a lesser extent this tendency can be observed for the remainder of the AUX verbs. Only polysyllabic forms of lexical verbs show a clear preference

⁵¹ Getty contrasts the results to the verb position in *The Battle of Maldon* where the 'decategorized' verbs are free to occupy metrically weak positions irrespective of their syllable count due to the loss of prosodic autonomy (Getty 2000: 61).

⁵² Percentages based on Tab. 3-6 (Getty 2002: 65-66).

for the line-initial position, which even surpasses the general tendency of LEX verbs to occur in initial rather than line-internal position.

The metrical profiles of the different verb categories suggest that the word order of OE poetry is sensitive to the choice of verb: verbs lacking lexical content and prosodic autonomy are more likely to occupy weak positions within the metrical structure of the hemistich. Lexical verbs, on the other hand, tend to occur line-initially or line-finally in a stressed position and they frequently alliterate. These differences in the positioning of lexical and auxiliary verbs were also noted by other scholar though the observation was not connected to syntax:

In particular, I believe that a distinction between lexical and nonlexical finite verbs is necessary to interpretation of the prosodic status of finite verbs in *Beowulf*. [...] I shall show that finite forms of lexical verbs normally occur in positions of metrical ictus in *Beowulf* [and] that nonlexical verbs, on the other hand, occur in metrically stressed positions only under very specific circumstances (Cosmos 1976: 308).

These tendencies imply that Andrew was right when he suggested different rules for clauses with unstressed verbs, even though he did not manage to define this term adequately. On the other hand, Blockley's view that word order is independent of the type of verb used is not sustainable. Though the analysis provided by Getty is far from exhaustive – for example, it would be insightful to treat the positioning of finite verbs in the on-verse and the off-verse separately as the metrical features clearly differ here – it supports Campbell's assumption that the position of clause elements in OE verse is strongly influenced by metrical constraints. Bliss, too, concludes that his data suggest that word order cannot be a guide to the interpretation of ambiguous clauses as the positioning of auxiliaries varies according to the metrical structure of the whole clause:

It is now plain that my study of auxiliary and verbal is not going to help to classify these 'doubtful' clauses, since it has been shown that the position of the auxiliary is dictated, not by the grammatical function of the clause, but by the presence or absence on an introductory particle or (if the auxiliary is monosyllabic by the number of introductory particles) (Bliss 1980: 178).

It seems that the position of clause elements, especially of finite verbs, is determined by the metrical structure. This, however, might put the cart before the horse as it implies that the metrical structure exists outside and independently of OE poetry forcing the language into a particular form. Instead, it is the metrical patterns that are based on the natural structure of the language. Bliss notices that many clauses-types begin with two particles, which presumably

left an imprint in the metrical structure of OE poetry so that the pattern was extended to other clauses:

It is no more than a conjecture, but an attractive one, that the occurrence of two particles in so many different types of clause led to a general preference in verse for precisely two particles at the beginning of the clause, and that this preference caused some disturbance of the original patterns of word order (Bliss 1980: 175).

Thus, the question is not necessarily why some elements cannot occur in specific positions in poetry but why these elements did not occur there in the first place. This would require the study of element order at an earlier language stage. At any rate, it has been demonstrated that the position of finite verbs within the metrical line is indeed dependent on various factors, i.e. lexicality of the verb, syllable count and clause structure. These influences hardly leave room for the verb position to carry any grammatical information about the clause and the warning that any attempt on disambiguating clauses introduced by *þa* on the basis of word order cannot but fail is conclusively justified.

1.3 POETIC SYNTAX: EXAMPLES FROM *BEOWULF* AND *ANDREAS*

The preceding sections outlined and discussed the syntactic rules formulated by Andrew and Blockley for OE poetry. The general assumption is – though the rules differ in some details – that the regularities found in prose, i.e. that *þa VS* is associated with principal clauses while a delayed verb (*þa...V*) usually denotes subordination, are also valid for verse. Table 1-12 gives an overview of different word order types together with corresponding examples from *Beowulf* and *Andreas*:

	pattern	<i>Beowulf</i>	<i>Andreas</i>
conjunctive order	(1) <i>þa S V</i>	<i>þa his mod ahlog</i>	<i>þa ure mod ahloh</i>
	(2) <i>þa S V</i>	<i>þa he to holme stag</i>	<i>þa ic on ceol gestah</i>
	(3) <i>þa X V</i>	<i>þa of wealle geseah</i>	<i>þa on last beseah</i>
demonstrative order	(4) <i>þa wæs S</i>	<i>þa wæs forma sið</i>	<i>þa wæs rinc manig</i>
	(5) <i>þa com S</i>	<i>þa com Wealhþeo forð</i>	<i>þa com dryhten god</i>

Table 1-12 Conjunctive and demonstrative word order patterns

The upper part of the table (1-3) contains patterns in conjunctive order (*þa...V*) with a delayed verb. In the first two patterns, *þa* is followed by the subject which is either a noun as in (1) or a pronoun as in (2). Andrew's and Blockley's rules coincide in that they consider both examples as subordinate, though for different reasons: for Andrew, the order of subject and verb is the crucial factor, while for Blockley any element intervening between *þa* and the finite verb implies subordination. Therefore, a third pattern is added (*þa X V*), where *X* stands

for any element other than the subject.⁵³ The patterns in the lower part of Table 1-12 (4-5) show demonstrative order (*þa* V). For Blockley, all examples are indiscriminately principal. Andrew interprets them as subordinate when the verb is stressed as in (5), and as potentially subordinate when the verb is unstressed as in (4). In section 1.3.1 the conjunctive patterns are analysed while the patterns in demonstrative order are examined in section 1.3.2.

1.3.1 *þa* ... V – A PATTERN DENOTING SUBORDINATION?

Notwithstanding the differences between Blockley's and Andrew's rules, the rigorous application of them entails principally the same problems: clauses that seem perfectly fine as principal clauses are turned into subordinate clauses. Both take recourse to non-trailing sub-clauses in order to explain some of these passages; the example Blockley chooses for illustrating this concept, however, is not at all convincing. The passage, namely *Beo* 728-33,⁵⁴ runs as follows:

Beo 730
 Geseah he in recede rinca manige,
 swefan sibbedriht samod ætgædere,
 magorinca heap. þa his mod ahlog:
 mynte þæt he gedælde, ær þon dæg cwome
 atol aglæca anra gehwylces
 lif wið lice,

He saw many men in the hall, a troop of kinsman, a band of warriors, sleeping all together. Then his spirit laughed aloud: he, the cruel monster, resolved that he would sever the life of every one of them from his body before day came (Hall, 1950: 58; emphasis mine).

The translation represents the most common interpretation, i.e. that *Beo* 730b is an independent clause. The passage does not seem to make sense when the *þa*-clause is taken to be subordinate:

As a trailing clause, “He saw them sleep when his mind rejoiced” sounds wrong in that the subordinate clause seems to be a condition on the main clause, especially since a clause with adverbial *þa* would make sense as an independent result clause. (APS: 140).

Blockley criticises Andrew for violating his own rule by translating the clause ‘as though it were principal’ in *Postscript* (APS: 139), not realizing that Andrew earlier explicitly classifies

⁵³ In this analysis, instances with pronominal objects immediately preceding the verb are excluded as most scholars would consider them to be preverbal clitics.

⁵⁴ Passages from *Beowulf* are cited according to the 4th edition of *Klaeber's Beowulf* (Fulk et. al.: 2008) without diacritics.

the clause as straightforwardly subordinate.⁵⁵ Andrew evades the problem of the reversal of cause and effect by arguing that *þa* is used as a ‘continuative’ conjunction here (=whereupon), which, though rare in poetry, occurs frequently in prose (SS: § 39; PS: § 3-4); he logically links the subordinate *þa*-clause (effect) to the preceding main clause (cause). Though Blockley gives the same explanation of a continuative conjunction (*and then*) for another example from *Beowulf* (i.e. 1512b, see APS: 141-2), she provides a different argument in this case:

The wrongness of the trailing clause interpretation may be the crucial indication that the subordinate clause actually belongs with the subsequent clause. [...] The subordinate-main sequence “When/As his mind rejoiced, he intended that he divide the life from the body of each of them” does away with the possibility for a cause-effect relationship between the *geseah* and the *ahlog* (APS: 140).

In spite of the fact that this assumed hierarchical relationship between the clauses is not really convincing, there is another counterargument against Blockley’s interpretation. The following passage from *Andreas*⁵⁶ (453-457) contains a fairly similar clause:

And 454 sæ sessade, smylte wurdon
 merestreama gemeotu. Ða ure mod ahloh,
 syððan we gesegon under swegles gang
 windas ond wægas ond wæterbrogan
 forhte gewordne for frean egesan.

The sea was hushed; calm where the stretches of the ocean-streams. Then our hearts were glad, when we beheld, beneath the span of heaven, the wind and waves and tumbling seas, smitten with fear for terror of the Lord (Kennedy 2000:10; emphasis mine).

Again, the clause is generally taken to be principal. As is the case with *Beo* 730, the connection with the preceding main clause would reverse cause and effect by making the calming of wind and waves a result of the gladdened hearts. In contrast to the corresponding passage in *Beowulf*, however, the subsequent clause is not principal but itself a subordinate clause introduced by the conjunction *syþþan* so that it is impossible to assume a non-trailing clause⁵⁷ Instead, the successive clause is clearly dependent upon *þa ure mod ahloh*. This makes even Andrew’s idea of a continuative conjunction unlikely unless we assume an *apo*

⁵⁵ It is true that Andrew translates the clause with ‘he laughed in his heart’ in PS, § 61, but here he only wants to explain why *his mod* can be taken as co-referent to *he* (Grendel), i.e. to the subject of the adjacent clauses. His analysis of the use of *þa* is conducted elsewhere (PS § 3-4).

⁵⁶ Examples from *Andreas* are based on Brooks’ edition of 1961.

⁵⁷ Of course *syþþan* is ambiguous, too, but in this context it can hardly function as adverb. Furthermore, the clause structure is subordinate according to Blockley’s rule.

koinou construction on clause level where *þa ure mod ahloh* is both subordinate to the preceding clause and superordinate the successive dependent clause introduced by *syððan*.⁵⁸

There is another passage in *Andreas* where Andrew's continuative conjunction makes more sense than Blockley's anticipatory sub-clause, namely *And* 1446-50. It is framed by passages of direct speech so that the *þa*-clauses at the beginning and the end can only be connected to the principal clause between them:

<i>And</i> 1446	<u>þa on last beseah</u>	leoflic cempa
	æfter wordcwidum	wuldorcyninges;
	geseh he geblowene	bearwas standan
	blædum gehrodene,	swa he ær his blod aget.
	<u>Ða worde cwæð</u>	wigendra hleo:

Andrew and Blockley interpret *þa* in both instances as conjunction, again for different reasons: Andrew considers the clauses as 'simply varieties of the "þa com he type" [...] with an adverb or object preceding the [stressed] verb (*SS*: 15),' while it is exactly this intervening element that indicates subordination for Blockley. Syntactically, there are no difficulties to translate *þa on last beseah* as subordinate clause. However, *þa worde cwæð* causes some problems now. Connecting the clause with the subsequent main clause is not possible here. But as *Andreas*' speaking out is the result his perception of the trees, *whereupon* would be a fitting linkage:

*When, according to the words of God, the dear warrior looked back on his track, he beheld blowing trees standing, adorned with blossoms, where he had shed his blood before, whereupon the warriors' protector spoke out.*⁵⁹

The question, however, is in how far this 'continuative conjunction' (which Blockley translates as 'and then') differs from the connective adverb 'then' (*Then the warriors' protector spoke out*). In this respect is it hard to keep the grammatical categories (subordination and coordination vs. independent clauses) apart from the stylistic categories (parataxis vs. hypotaxis) as stipulated by Donoghue & Mitchell (1992: § 10).

Yet, as the translation given above is possible in regard to syntax (although there might be other reasons for rejecting it), the example cannot really serve as counterevidence to Andrew's and Blockley's assumptions. However, there are other instances of *þa...V*-clauses

⁵⁸ On *apu koinou* constructions in Old English see *OES*: §§ 3793-3799. Mitchell argues that modern English punctuation is not at all suitable to accommodate a phenomenon like 'recursive linkage' (*OES*: § 3957). Though a looser punctuation might solve this problem for editions of OE poetic texts, this is not true for translations as there is no Modern English equivalent for *þa* which can function as conjunction and adverb.

⁵⁹ Translations mine if not otherwise indicated.

where none of the proposed solutions, i.e. anticipatory sub-clauses or continuative conjunctions, seems to be working, especially if the respective clause occurs between two instances of direct speech and cannot possibly be connected to either preceding or successive clause. Blockley herself gives two examples:

Elene 462-3 Ða me yldra min ageaf ondsware,
frod on fyrhðe fæder reordode:

When/since my leader gave an answer to me, wise in spirit, the father spoke (APS: 142).

The translation is misleading because, firstly, it sounds as if *leader* and *father* refer to different persons, and, secondly, the second clause seems to be the result of the first, or – if interpreted purely temporal – seem to happen after the first clause. Instead, *yldra min* is a variation of *fæder* and *ageaf ondsware* of *reordode*. Thus, the translation ‘then my elder answered, wise in spirit my father spoke’ is certainly superior to the construction of a subordinate-main-clause sequence.

The next example is taken from Christ:

Christ 194-5 Ða seo fæmne onwrah
ryhtgeryno, ond þus reordade.⁶⁰

The *ond* is obstructive for the interpretation according to Blockley’s rules. However, she states that *reordade* can still be interpreted as the verb of the principal clause if it is assumed that *ond* is a scribal error or ‘an otious *positura*’ (APS: 140), or – which Blockley considers more plausible – if parts of the passage were lost.⁶¹ Accepting these arguments would be equivalent to conceding that quite some passages are erroneous or corrupted in *Andreas* as the two following examples, which are also framed by direct speech, demonstrate:

And 349-54 Ða in ceol stigon collenfyrhðe,
ellenrofe; æghwylcum wearð
on merefaroðe mod geblissod.
Ða ofer yða geswing Andreas ongann
mereliðendum miltsa biddan
wuldres aldor, ond þus wordum cwæð:

Then, stout of heart, these valiant men went up into the ship - soul of every man was gladdened upon the tossing sea. And mid the ocean surges Andrew prayed the Prince of glory for favour on that seafaring man and spake this word (Kennedy 2000: 8).

⁶⁰ ‘Then the woman revealed a mystery and spoke thus.’

⁶¹ Blockley argues that alliterating *reordade* generally occurs in the on-verse and not in the off-verse as is the case with this example. Thus, she proposes that such evidence could be used for textual emendations given that further examples substantiate her assumption (ASP: 140).

According to Blockley's rule the structure of both *þa*-clauses makes them subordinate. It is certainly possible to translate the first part as 'when they boarded the ship, their mind was gladdened.' This, however, would leave the second part without a principal clause unless it was either assumed that *ond* is erroneous, i.e. 'when amidst the ocean surges Andrew prayed to God for favour, he spoke these words,' or that the whole passage is corrupted. Andrew's solution in this case is the 'correlation rule' which makes successive *þa*-clauses dependent upon one another, usually first clause upon the second one (*PS*: 16). The translation of the whole passage would then run as follows:

When these stout and valiant men (had) boarded the ship – the soul of each of them was gladdened upon the tossing sea – Andreas prayed amidst the ocean waves for God's mercy and he spoke these words.

This translation, though syntactically possible, somewhat veils the fact that the boarding of the ship is a reaction to the words spoken before; after discussing the terms of conveyance with Andreas for some time, Christ finally says that he will gladly take the saint and his disciples to Marmedonia even though they have no money to pay him.⁶² Consequently, as the boarding is new and important information within the narrative, it is rather an infelicitous decision to put it into a subordinate clause.

The second example also indicates turn-taking within a longer passage of direct speech:

And 314-5 Ða him Andreas ðurh ondsware,
 wis on gewitte, wordhord onleac:

Kennedy translates 'then Andrew gave answer Him and, wise of heart, revealed his thought' (2000:7). More literally it could perhaps be rendered as 'by way of answer Andrew then revealed his thoughts.' Whatever the best translation, the Old English sentence only contains one verb, so any attempt to find a main and a subordinate clause is vain. Unless this passage is corrupted again, the conclusion can only be that both Blockley's and Andrew's rules fail here.

So far, only single counterexamples have been discussed, which might well be considered exceptions to a generally valid rule that the pattern *þa...V* denotes subordinate clauses. However, most clauses of this form are taken to be principal by other scholars, for example *Beo* 1512, 1698, 2718 and 2567. The frequent occurrence of the pattern in the off-verse of *Andreas* and *Beowulf* is rather suspicious, especially since the 'principal' pattern *þa V* only occurs with specific verbs, most notably with *wæs*. The same is true for the on-verse: *þa V* mostly occurs with *wæs* while all other verbs occur in clause-initial position (*V þa*). Table

⁶² The Andreas-legend is outlined in section 3.1.1.

1-13 and Table 1-14 show how the distribution of *þa* V and V *þa* patterns in *Andreas* and *Beowulf* as well as the verbs occurring in these patterns.⁶³

	<i>þa</i> V			V <i>þa</i>			total
	AUX ⁶⁴	<i>com</i> ⁶⁵	others	AUX	<i>com</i>	others	
<i>Beowulf</i>	49	5	1	1	4	63	123
<i>Andreas</i>	21	7	7 ⁶⁶	-	1	19	55

Table 1-13 Verbs used in *þa* V and V *þa* patterns in *Andreas* and *Beowulf*

It is obvious that the order of verb and *þa* is dependent upon the kind of verb used. There is a clear distinction in the distribution of AUX and all other verbs. Only *com* has a kind of special status as it occurs with both orders. Though this observation is of no consequence for Blockley's rule as both patterns denote principal clauses, the distribution of different verbs on the patterns is at least suspicious: if *þa* V and V *þa* are solely dependent upon the verb, the different patterns do not carry any grammatical information about the clause. Additionally, if such a syntactic rule or regularity does not exist in OE poetry in general, it is fairly unlikely that it should apply to one single verb, i.e. *com*, as suggested by Andrew. The influence of the verb on word order becomes even more evident when the occurrences in first and second half-line are analysed separately.

	total	<i>þa</i> V		V <i>þa</i>	
		on-verse	off-verse	on-verse	off-verse
<i>Beowulf</i>	123	33	22	68	-
<i>Andreas</i>	55	25	10	20	-

Table 1-14 Distribution of *þa* V and V *þa* patterns among the hemistichs

The pattern V *þa* actually never occurs in the off-verse. *þa* V, on the other hand, only occurs with *wæs* or *com* (or other unstressed verbs). Consequently, a stressed verb is never used in the first two positions of the off-verse in *þa*-clauses, but is delayed with at least one clause element intervening between *þa* and the verb (*þa* ... V). This observation admits of two interpretations: this pattern either corresponds to the V *þa* type of the on-verse modified according to the metrics of the off-verse, i.e. Blockley's rule does not apply, or – if it does apply – all *þa*-clauses in the off-verse containing a stressed verb are subordinate. The latter hypothesis is not as outrageous as it would seem at first: recalling Heusler's remarks on the

⁶³ Only instances where the finite verb and *þa* occupy the first two positions are included. All examples where a pronoun or another adverb intervenes are not taken into account here.

⁶⁴ The category AUX includes forms of *beon* and other verbs that are considered to lack lexical content (see section 1.2.3).

⁶⁵ Including other forms of *cuman*.

⁶⁶ The seven instances in *Andreas* where a stressed verb follows clause-initial *þa* seem a rather high ratio considering that there is only one example in *Beowulf*. The examples in *Andreas*, however, all include verbs with at least three syllables which occupy, together with *þa*, the whole half-line. These examples are discussed separately.

older *Zeilenstil* of early Germanic poetry, it is not unlikely that temporal sub-clauses, originally trailing, would frequently occur in the second half-line. But the examples from *Beowulf* or *Andreas* discussed above can hardly be construed as subordinate clauses. Consequently, it is hard to believe that all *þa*-clauses with a stressed verb should be subordinate. It is more likely that principal clauses beginning in the off-verse were modified according to the metrical constraints when the *Hakenstil* developed. Accordingly, the form of clauses such as *þa his mod ahlog* does not indicate subordination but is triggered by the metrical structure of the second half-line, where clauses tend to begin with two unstressed syllables (see Bliss 1980). According to Blockley's rule, an unambiguously principal clause would either put the adverb in non-initial position as in **ahlog þa his mod* – but *þa* actually never occurs in any other position than the first in the off-verse – or *þa* would have to be immediately followed by the finite verb as in **þa ahlog his mod*; stressed verbs, however, hardly ever occur in medial position. It follows that the only admissible pattern for clauses with a stressed verb beginning in the off-verse is *þa ...V* and that verb-finality does not necessarily resolve the ambiguity of the headword in this pattern in favour of subordination as suggested by Zimmermann (1983: 351).

However, the pattern also occurs in the on-verse where the variant *V þa* is possible. The question is whether these examples are all subordinate clauses. There are seven examples of the *þa...V* pattern in the on-verse in *Beowulf* and fourteen in *Andreas*. The intervening element coming after *þa* is either the subject, the object (only in *Andreas*), or a prepositional phrase. The verb may follow directly afterwards in the same half-line, which it generally does if this pattern occurs in the b-verse; in the a-verse, however, it is often further delayed. Some examples have already been discussed, for example *Andreas* 349-54 and 1446-50, which proved that the *þa*-clauses cannot be constructed as subordinate in each case. There is one further example in *Andreas*, again framed by direct speech, which negates Andrew's and Blockley's interpretation:

And 1607 Ða se halga ongann hæleð blissigean,
 wigendra þreat wordum retan:

And the holy one began to cheer those men, make glad the band of warriors with his words
(Kennedy 2000: 31).

Here, too, the *þa*-clause is certainly not subordinate: the infinitives *blissigean* and *retan* are both depending on the finite verb *ongann* so that no complex sentence structure can be construed. The common 'principal' pattern for the first half-line would be **Ongann þa se halga*. As metre does not prohibit this structure, there have to be other motivations for

choosing one pattern over the other. Some assumptions can be made for the clauses found in *Beowulf* and *Andreas*, but there are hardly enough examples for generalisations:

Assumption 1:

The pattern is due to metrical constraints after all:

Beo 2287 Ða se wyrm onwoc, wroht wæs geniwad⁶⁷

Beo 2312 Ða se gæst ongan gledum spiwan.

In these cases, the more common V *þa* pattern would bring the main bearer of the alliteration in final position (*wyrm* and *gæst*, respectively) without any further syllable before the alliterating syllable of the second half-line, which does not comply with any the usual metrical types. The same explanation could account for *And* 349 and 1446, where the element intervening between *þa* and V is a prepositional phrase. Table 1-15 shows the examples in question from *Beowulf* and *Andreas* in contrast to the ‘common’ pattern usually found in the on-verse:⁶⁸

<i>þa ... V</i>		<i>V þa</i>	
<i>Beo</i> 2287	Ða se <u>wyrm</u> onwoc, <u>wroht</u> wæs geniwad	<i>Beo</i> 399	Aras þa se <u>rica</u> , ymb hine <u>rinc</u> manig
<i>Beo</i> 2312	Ða se <u>gæst</u> ongan <u>gledum</u> spiwan	<i>Beo</i> 675	gespræc þa se <u>goda</u> <u>gylp</u> worda sum
<i>And</i> 349	Ða in <u>ceol</u> stigon <u>collen</u> fyrdhe	<i>Beo</i> 1807	Heht þa se <u>hearda</u> <u>Hrunting</u> beran
<i>And</i> 1446	Ða on <u>last</u> beseah <u>leoflic</u> cempa	<i>And</i> 918	Feoll þa to <u>foldan</u> , <u>frioðo</u> wilnode
		<i>And</i> 1009	Geseh þa under <u>swegle</u> <u>swæsne</u> geferan
		<i>Beo</i> 1251	Sigon þa to <u>slæpe</u> sum <u>sare</u> angeald
		<i>Beo</i> 1506	bugon þa to <u>bençe</u> <u>blædagande</u>

Table 1-15 Conjunctive order in on-verses in *Beowulf* and *Andreas*

This distribution seems to follow a clear pattern: if the alliterating word is a monosyllable, the pattern that brings the word into a non-final position is preferred over the usual V *þa* pattern. This tendency, however, cannot account for all examples: there are some instances of the *þa...V* type in the on-verse where the alliterating word has more than one syllable. Consequently, the deviation from the usual pattern has to have another motivation here.

⁶⁷ The punctuation implies that the editors accept a subordinate clause here: ‘When the worm woke, the feud was renewed.’ The same is true for older editions and translations (see Klaeber 1922, Hall 1950 and Wrenn 1958).

⁶⁸ The second column does not list all examples of this pattern – there are numerous more – however, it is important to mention that none in of the examples the alliterating noun is a monosyllabic word as in the other four examples from in the first column.

Assumption 2:

The pattern focuses on the subject rather than the verb (*þa* V-clauses often have an unexpressed or a delayed subject), or on any other element put into second position.

Beo 86 Ða se ellengæst earfoðlice
 þrage geþolode, se þe in þystrum bad,
 þæt he dogora gehwam dream gehyrde
 hludne in healle.

Then the mighty spirit who dwelt in darkness bore grievously a time of hardship, in that he heard each day loud revelry in hall (Hall 1950: 24).

This passage introduces Grendel to the narrative, so it would make sense to put the focus on the subject rather than on his actions (or endurances).⁶⁹ Another reason to bring the subject into prominence is the return to the main participant(s) of the narrative after a passage of additional information, in *And* 696 and 773, or a change of subject from one main acting party of the scene to the other, as in *And* 1458:

 Swa hleoðrodon hæleða ræswan,
 dugoð domgeorne; dyrnan þohton
 meotudes mihte. Man eft gehwearf,
 yfel endeleas, þær hit ær aras.
And 696 Ða se þeoden gewat þegna heape
 fram þam meðelstede mihtum geswiðed,
 dugeða dryhten, secan digol land.

Thus spake the leader [sic] of the folk, eager for fame, and thought to veil the might of God. And crime was come and endless evil there where it rose aforetime. Then the Prince, the Lord of men, with a band of His liege thanes, departed away from the assemblage, strong in might, to seek His secret kingdom (Kennedy 2000: 14).

 Pær <wæs> orcnawe
 þurh teoncwide tweogende mod,
 mægga misgehygd morðre bewunden.
And 773 Ða se þeoden bebead þryðweorc faran,
 stan <on> stræte of stedewange,

Then was evident by bitter speech a doubting heart, misthought of men compassed about by death. And the Prince bade that imaged stone go forth from that spot upon the road, to journey forth and tread the ways of earth... (Kennedy 2000: 16).

⁶⁹ Andrew provides a complete different interpretation of the passage by connecting it logically (and grammatically) to the preceding sentence foreshadowing the burning of Heorot:

The sense would be “loathy flame it (Hart) awaited, nor was it long e’en then ere the murderous strife awoke of marriage-kin, since the Alien Spirit that dwelt in darkness could not endure the joy in hall” (SS: 17).

Swa se dædfruma dryhten herede
 halgan stefne, oððæt hador sig<e>l
 wuldortorht gewat under waðu scriðan.
And 1458 Ða þa folctogan feorðan siðe,
 egle ondsacan, æðeling læddon
 to þam carcerne;

So he praised the Lord with holy voice until the radiant sun had departed. Then the leaders for the fourth time led the noble man to the prison.

There are also some examples where the second element is not the subject but a prepositional phrase or the object as in *Beo* 229 and *And* 349, 1168 and 1620. In some cases the pattern seems to be due to focus:

And 1168 Ða for þære dugoðe deoful ætywde,
 wann ond witeleas;

Then before the multitude the devil appeared, wan and ugly.

However, the pattern is rather unaccountable in *Beo* 229, which is the only example of *þa...V* in the on-verse in *Beowulf* where *þa* is followed by some other element than the subject:

Beo 229 Ða of wealle geseah weard Scildinga,
 se þe holmclifu healdan scolde,
 beran ofer bolcan beorhte randas,
 fyrdsearu fuslicu;

Then from the rampart the watchman of the Scyldings, who had to guard the sea-cliffs, saw them lift bright shields and trim war-harness over the gangway (Hall 1950: 32).

The assumptions suggested so far do not seem to be suitable for this example which requires another explanation.

Assumption 3:

The usual pattern of the b-verse sometimes slipped into the on-verse.

The fact that this pattern is more frequent in *Andreas* could imply that the original b-verse pattern developed into an acceptable alternative for the usual *V þa* in the on-verse. It would be worthwhile to analyse the occurrence of this pattern in the first hemistich on the basis of a larger corpus.

So far, only patterns with noun phrases as intervening elements between *þa* and *V* (i.e. (1) and (3) of Table 1-12) have been discussed, to the exclusion of clauses with subject pronouns as in

þa he to holme stag (*Beo* 2362) and *þa ic on ceol gestah* (*And* 899). This type of clause does not cause much debate among scholars: it is quite consistently interpreted as subordinate clause across different text editions. For this reason it is not really necessary in the context of ambiguous clauses to discuss single examples, but the fact that these clauses are frequently interpreted as subordinate is at least noteworthy. Blockley noticed that coreference and subordination are two independent systems; however, the correlation of the two systems should not be dismissed as accidental. The matter will be taken up again in Chapter 2. Furthermore, the analysis has demonstrated that *þa...V* is not an unambiguous indication of subordination. Besides single examples that evade Andrew's and Blockley's predictions, the general observation that word order is sensitive to the type of verb used entails that the pattern does not carry grammatical information about the clause. Therefore, the ambiguity of the patterns (1) and (3) cannot be solved on the basis of syntactic rules.

1.3.2 *þa V* – PRINCIPAL OR SUBORDINATE?

The previous section has demonstrated that the position of the finite verb is largely dependent on its stress patterns. The 'conjunctive' order *þa...V* is ambiguous in OE poetry, because the position of the verb is influenced by metrical constraints that prohibit lexical verbs from occurring in medial position. The fact that unstressed verbs may occur in medial position but are not restricted to it entails that clauses containing such verbs might be sensitive to grammatical information. Thus, it will be analysed if the pattern *þa V* is unambiguously principal or not. Generally, forms of the verb *beon* and auxiliaries occur in this order in both hemistichs while clauses containing a stressed verb usually take the form *V þa* in the on-verse and *þa...V* in the off-verse. One exception is the verb *com*, which may occur with both orders. In addition, there are six instances in *Andreas* where a lexical verb follows clause-initial *þa*. Both phenomena fall into Andrew's *þa com*-category, i.e. clauses containing a stressed verb (pattern (5) of Table 1-12), which he takes to be unambiguously subordinate. The *þa wæs*-type (patterns (4)), on the other hand, is ambiguous for Andrew as his approach allows for metrical constraints to take an influence on word order if the verb is unstressed. For Blockley, both types are principal because the verb immediately follows clause-initial *þa*. Since verse syntax is indeed sensitive to the type of verb used, the patterns are discussed separately.

a) *Ða com*

Andrew for the most part ignores the fact that the only stressed verb that actually occurs in medial position is *com*. There is only one example in *Beowulf* where the pattern is used with another verb, i.e. *Beo* 2980b *ða gebeah cyning*. In *Andreas*, on the other hand, there are six

instances were a stressed verb other than *com* follows clause-initial *þa*, which seems a rather high ratio in comparison to *Beowulf*. However, the examples in *Andreas* all include verbs with at least three syllables which occupy, together with *þa*, the whole half-line. Table 1-16 lists these examples and contrasts them to all clause beginnings in *Beowulf* where polysyllabic verbs and *þa* extend over the whole half-line:

<i>Beowulf</i>			<i>Andreas</i>		
34	aledon þa	leofne þeoden	364	Ða reordade	rice þeoden
620	Ymbeode þa	ides Helminga	415	Þa reordade	rice þeoden
1408	Ofereode þa	æþelinga bearn	537	Þa hleoðrade	halgan stefne
1870	Gecyste þa	cyning æpelum god,	1067	Þa gesamnedon	side herigeas
2345	Oferhogode ða	hringa fengel	1360	Þa hleoðrade	hludan stefne
2516	Gegrette ða	gumena gehwylcne	1636	Þa gesamnodon	secga þreate
3156	Geworhton ða	Wedra leode			

Table 1-16 On-verses containing only *þa* and the finite verb in *Beowulf* and *Andreas*

The examples from *Beowulf* caused some discussion among scholars since they can hardly be reconciled with Kuhn's laws on sentence particles: the verb occupies a stressed position and contains the alliterating syllable so that it can hardly be considered unstressed, which has consequences for the particle *þa*:

If the finite verb is stressed the particle following it may be viewed in two ways: it may be considered to occupy the thesis after the first stress, the second of the two allowable positions; or it may be considered as displaced from its normal position before the first stressed element, in which case it will bear a positional stress (Bliss 1958: 15).

The two solutions, however, are still problematic respecting metrical regularity: if *þa* is unstressed, the verses contain only one lift so that they would be light verses which cannot be scanned in terms of Sievers's metrical types. If *þa* is stressed, on the other hand, the verses violate one of Kuhn's laws as demonstrated by *Beo* 620 *Ymbeode þa ides Helminga*.

If *ymbēode* is one of the stressed elements of the clause, than *þā* must be stressed as well [...]. This reanalysis produces a normal metrical contour for 620a (type B) and conforms to Kuhn's first law. However the clause now has an upbeat (*ymb-*) that lacks a sentence particle in apparent violation of the second law (Kendall 1983: 6).

The examples from *Andreas* are no less problematic: in most cases, i.e. in those where the verb is not prefixed, *þa* cannot be stressed as this would lead to verses beginning with two lifts. If *þa* is indiscriminately unstressed, all verses are light. However, as the examples in *Beowulf* follow the pattern V *þa* without exception and all examples in *Andreas*, again without exception, take the form *þa* V, it stands to reason that the choice is stylistic rather

than a grammatical, depending on the preferences of the poet to accommodate a pattern that is unmetrical or at least unusual either way.

According to Andrew's rule, all clauses in *Beowulf* are principal while all clauses in *Andreas* are subordinate.⁷⁰ Andrew himself has to admit that he has problems to accommodate some of the *þa* + stressed verb instances from *Andreas* into his rule system (SS: 13), which is quite comprehensible considering the following passages:

And 415 Ða reordade rice þeoden,
 wærfæst cyning, word stunde ahof:

Then spake the mighty Prince, the covenant-keeping King lifted up His voice (Kennedy 2000: 9).

And 537 Ða hleoðrade halgan stefne
 cempa collenferhð, cyning wyrðude,
 wuldres waldend, ond þus wordum cwæð:

Then stout of heart, with holy voice, that champion spake, revered the King, the Lord of glory, and spake this word (Kennedy 2000: 12).

And 1360 Ða hleoðrade hludan stefne,
 witum bewæled, ond þæt word gecwæð:

And weighed down with torment, he cried with a loud voice and spake (Kennedy 2000: 26).

All of these clauses occur between two passages of direct speech so that they cannot be connected to any preceding or successive clause. Even if the examples contain two finite verbs, these are always variations denoting the act of speaking, which makes a *when-then* construction unlikely. An exception to this is probably *And 537*, where *cyning wyrðude* could constitute the principal clause which the *þa*-clause is subordinate to. In the last example, however, it is simply impossible to construe a complex sentence (unless *ond* was considered erroneous again as Blockley proposed for similar examples).

Andrew's assumption that the *þa com he* type is unambiguously subordinate is based on the fact that OE syntax provides alternative orders which are clearly principal:

In all the editions these [i.e. *þa com he*-clauses] are taken as principal sentences. What are the objections to this construction? First, their extreme rarity, which is surely a warning sign of something exceptional; the *com ða* and *he ða* forms, which [...] take their place in *Beowulf*, number nearly a hundred (PS: 11).

Andrew suggests that the frequently occurring prose construction *þa com* is replaced in poetry by *com þa* or *he þa com*, both denoting principal clauses, while the *þa com* pattern is then

⁷⁰ For Blockley, all clauses are principle.

reserved for subordinate clauses. Apart from the objection mentioned earlier that it is rather unlikely that such a rule existed for a single verb, Andrew's count of counterexamples, i.e. 'nearly a hundred', requires some comment. Actually, there are four examples of *com þa* in *Beowulf* and altogether three examples of a subject pronoun followed by *þa* (never once occurring with the verb *com*).⁷¹ Thus, the rarity of the *þa com* construction can hardly be an argument for subordination: the constructions Andrew proposes as alternative patterns for principal clauses are equally rare. If Andrew meant that the *V þa* pattern in general is fairly frequent, this cannot be denied; however, none of the other stressed verbs actually ever occurs in the order *þa V* as the distribution of verbs in Table 1-13 shows. Only *com* occurs with both orders; no other stressed verb behaves in this way. This either means that none of the other verbs occurs in subordinate clauses or that *com* simply behaves differently than the rest of the stressed verbs. In this case, *com* cannot serve as a model for other verbs, nor can they for *com*. If *com* is treated separately, it has to be admitted that the patterns *þa com* and *com þa* (including the corresponding off-verse pattern *þa...com*) are evenly distributed, at least in *Beowulf*, and that the rarity of one pattern cannot be an indication of subordination.

	<i>þa com</i>			<i>com þa</i> on-verse	<i>þa ... com</i> off-verse	total
	on-verse	off-verse	total			
<i>Beowulf</i>	3	2	5	4	1 ⁷²	5
<i>Andreas</i>	2	5	7	1	-	1

Table 1-17 Distribution of *com* on word order patterns in *Beowulf* and *Andreas*

Though Andrew's suggestion that the different word orders are due to grammar is not convincing, the fact that different patterns occur with the same verb requires explanation. Thomas Cable assumes that the patterns are due to whether *com* is used as auxiliary or as lexical verb:

What Andrew fails to observe is that of the five occurrences of *Ðā cōm* in *Beowulf*, four are construed with a complementary infinitive. Instead of asserting that the verb *cōm* always receives stress, it would be sounder to examine the specific structures in which it occurs. There is reason to assume that a finite verb in the structure *Ðā V... N* is always unstressed when an infinitive follows. The *V* is usually an auxiliary and thus would occur regularly without stress, but certain other verbs such as *cuman* may also be used without a following infinitive (Cable 1970: 83).

⁷¹ Andrew counts eleven examples for this construction (*PS*: 12), possibly including examples with objective pronouns. However, as *cuman* is intransitive those constructions cannot really serve as examples of an alternative construction.

⁷² There are some other examples where *com* is in final position, but these examples also contain a personal pronoun. As the analysis of *þa wæs* will show, this often entails the postponing of the verb. Therefore, these examples will be discussed separately.

Although this assumption seems convincing, the analysis of the patterns with *com* does not support it: of the seven clauses containing *com* and *þa* in the on-verse,⁷³ three take the form *þa com* and four the form *com þa*. According to Cable, the former pattern indicates that *com* is unstressed, i.e. used as an auxiliary and followed by an infinitive, while in the latter pattern, *com* is a fully lexical verb. However, both patterns occur with and without infinitive.

		<i>Com þa</i>	
with infinitive	<i>Beo</i> 720	Com þa to recede	rinc <u>siðian</u>
	<i>Beo</i> 1623	Com þa ... lidmanna helm ...	<u>swymman</u>
without infinitive	<i>Beo</i> 1279	Com þa to Heorote...	Grendles modor
	<i>Beo</i> 1888	Cwom þa to flode	fela modigra hægstealdra

Table 1-18 *Com þa* in the a-verse in *Beowulf*

		<i>þa com</i>	
with infinitive	<i>Beo</i> 710	Ða com of more...	Grendel <u>gongan</u>
	<i>Beo</i> 1644	Ða com in <u>gan</u>	ealdor ðegna
without infinitive	<i>Beo</i> 1600	Ða com non dægēs	

Table 1-19 *þa com* in the a-verse in *Beowulf*

Table 1-18 and Table 1-19 demonstrate that a complementary infinitive cannot be the crucial factor for choosing one pattern over the other. The following three passages from *Beowulf* contain the *þa com* pattern. Andrew interprets all clauses as unambiguously subordinate, but they are usually translated and punctuated as principal clauses.

Beo 710 Ða com of more under misthleopum
 Grendel gongan, godes yrre bæŕ;

Then came Grendel, advancing from the moor under the misty slopes, God's anger rested on him (Hall 1950: 57).

Beo 1600 Ða com non dægēs. Næs ofgeafon
 hwate Scyldingas; gewat him ham þonon
 goldwine gumena.

Then came the ninth hour of the day; the brave Scyldings quitted the headland; the generous friend of men returned home from thence (Hall 1950: 101-2).

Beo 1644 Ða com in gan ealdor ðegna,
 dædcene mon dome gewurþad,
 hæle hildedor, Hroðgar gretan.

Then entered in the chief of the thanes, the man valiant in deeds, exalted with renown, the hero bold in battle, to greet Hrothgar (Hall 1950: 104).

In line 710 and 1644, *com* is complemented by an infinitive while it is used alone in line 1600. This does not influence the position of *þa* and *com*. There is also nothing significant in

⁷³ Examples from the off-verse are excluded here as the stressed-verb-pattern takes the alternative form *þa...com*.

the following clause elements: it is a prepositional phrase in one case, the subject in another and the complementary infinitive in the last example. Nothing in the syntactic structure of the clauses seems to be triggering the position of *þa* and *com*.

The line-internal position of *com*, however, indicates that it is unstressed in the examples quoted above, while it behaves like stressed verbs in the other examples. Cosmos (1976) analyses instances of unstressed non-auxiliary verbs in *Beowulf*, noting that the ability of verbs to take a complementary infinitive is not a property restricted to auxiliaries:

In alliterative verse both auxiliary and nonauxiliary verbs have infinitive forms dependent on them, thus making isomorphic two constructions which are distinct in Modern English. [...] The problem of interpreting the three degrees of lexicality (and hence phonological prominence) of the auxiliary, grammatical, and lexical finite verbs is made difficult in *Beowulf* by the isomorphism of the three constructions (Cosmos 1976: 310).

What Cosmos refers to as ‘degree of lexicality’ is closely connected to the concept of ‘communicative dynamism’ which he defines according to Firbas (1964) as ‘the extent to which the sentence element contributes to the development of the communication’ (Cosmos 1976: 314). Therefore, Cosmos assumes that stress is not solely a property of specific types of verbs, but is also dependent on the context in which the verb is used:

So, by combining a study of the distribution of alliteration with an analysis of the information content of a given verse *in its context*, it is possible to understand why a verb is unstressed in one line of verse, though it may occur stressed elsewhere (Cosmos 1976: 314).

On the basis of the verb *seon* he demonstrates that the semantic range of OE verbs tends to be less limited than that of their Modern English decedents:

Thus in Modern English we differentiate *see* and *look at*, as in “I’m looking at the table, but I can’t see the book you want.” The first verb formulates a visual concept as an action while the second formulates it as an experience. [...] As a formulation of visual experience, the verb *see* often occurs in sentences which are primarily concerned not with the act of vision but with the thing or event seen [...]. In such sentences, *see* is little more than a filler vehicle to relate the experiencer to something experienced. Its specific meaning is deflated to semantic colorlessness [...] (Cosmos 1976: 314-15).

If the verb *cuman* is analysed in terms of its semantic content, different degrees of lexicality can be defined, independent of whether a complementary infinitive follows or not.

Regarding the passages quoted above, *com* certainly lacks semantic content in *Beo* 1600, but the other examples are less straightforward. However, if they are contrasted to the alternative construction *com þa*, where *com* presumably bears stress, there appears to be a recurring feature:

Beo 720 Com þa to recede rinc siðian
dreamum bedæled.

Thus the creature, deprived of joys, came journeying to the hall (Hall 1950: 57).

Beo 1279 Com þa to Heorote, ðær Hring-Dene
geond þæt sæld swæfun.

So she came to Heorot, where the Ring-Danes slept about the hall (Hall 1950: 85).

Beo 1623 Com þa to lande lidmanna helm
swiðmod swymman;

Then came to land the seamen's chief, boldly swimming (Hall 1950: 103).

Beo 1888 Cwom þa to flode fela modigra,
hægstealdra [heap], hringnet bæron,
locene leoðosyrca.

Thus to the water came the troop of most courageous liegemen: - ring-mail they wore, corslets interlocked (Hall 1950: 116).

In all four examples *com þa* is immediately followed by the place the subject is heading for, thus making the actual arrival the focus of the action rather than the act of travelling. This slight shift in meaning does not seem to be making a great difference when considering the clauses in isolation, but within the context of the whole passage the impact on style is substantial: the passage where Grendel approaches Heorot is a fairly good example of this: Andrew takes the fact that the *þa com* in line 710 and *com þa* in line 720 occur in immediate succession as further evidence that the former construction has to denote subordination: '[I]f *þa com* is a principal sentence in 710 *Ða com* of more, why does it suddenly change to *com ða* in 720 *com ða to recede*, just below? (*PS*: 12).' The question itself is justified, but searching for the answer in the field of grammar to the exclusion of all other possibilities is certainly not.

In this passage the verb *com* actually occurs three times, i.e. in 702, 710, and 720, all of them referring to Grendel's journey to Heorot. Fulk et al. describe this 'threefold bell-like

announcement of Grendel's approach' as 'dramatic device,' which I fully agree to, though I am sceptical about the addition that 'the verb is in each instance unstressed' (2008: 158).⁷⁴

<i>Beo</i> 702	<u>Com</u> on wanre niht scriðan sceadugenga. Sceotend swæfon, þa þæt hornreced healdan scoldon,
	...
<i>Beo</i> 710	<u>Da com</u> of more under misthleopum Grendel gongan, godes yrre bær; mynte se manscaða manna cynnes sumne besyrwan in sele þam hean.
	...
<i>Beo</i> 720	<u>Com þa</u> to recede rinc siðian dreamum bedæled. Duru sona onarn fyrbendum fæst, syþðan he hire folmum (æt)hran;

Came in the dark of night the shadow-walker stalking. The warriors were sleeping, who should guard the hall... Came from the moors under misty slopes Grendel walking, carrying God's anger; the evil-doer intended to ensnare some men in the lofty hall... Came then to the hall, travelling bereft of joys. The iron-clad door instantly burst open when he touched it with his hand.

The first instance is a fairly vague mentioning of Grendel walking by night, which disrupts the description of the proceedings within the hall but shortly. The verb is clearly unstressed as it does not carry the alliteration or – as Stanley puts it – is 'metrically suppressed before the initial stress of the second half-line' (1989: 328). In the second instance, the verb is accompanied by *þa*, which emphasises it, and Grendel's approach becomes more threatening: firstly, because the journey is visualised by a more detailed description of the environment; secondly because the recipients receive some insight into Grendel's inner thoughts, which are rather alarming. This 'excursion' into Grendel's mind entails some retarding of the immediate action: the recipient is invited to take part in Grendel's journey to the hall which entails a shift of perspective from the sleeping warriors (who feel safe) to the approaching Grendel (who intends evil). Eventually, both parties meet, and the action is resumed. Thus, there is a clear distinction between the *com* in 710 where Grendel is still travelling and thinks about his proceedings, and the *com* in 720 which signals that Grendel actually arrives at Heorot and executes his plan (at least up to some extent). The *com* in the first two examples denotes durative action, while it is punctual in the third.

The aspect of actual arrival is also indicated by the other examples where *com þa* is followed by a prepositional phrase denoting the destination of the subject. In *Beo* 1279, Grendel's mother arrives at Heorot, which immediately spreads fear amongst the warriors resting there.

⁷⁴ The statement is based on Stanley's evaluation of the passage who concludes that '*com* is used here three times as a function word, a metrically unstressed pseudo-auxiliary' (1989: 329).

Again, the encounter of the two parties is described, not the act of travelling. The same is true for *Beo* 1623 where the two parties mentioned before, i.e. Beowulf, who finally leaves the sea-monsters' cave, and the warriors waiting on the bank of the lake, meet again. Thus, Beowulf *arrives by swimming* with the lexical focus on the arrival rather than on the specific type of locomotion. This is the same distinction Cosmos draws between Modern English *he started*, *running*, where *started* is a lexical verb, as opposed to *he started running*, where *started* fulfils a grammatical function (1976: 310).

The choice of one word order pattern over the other is again dependent on the verb, namely whether it is used as quasi-auxiliary/grammatical verb or whether its lexical content contributes to the advancement of the narration in terms of communicative dynamism. The evenly distributed patterns found in *Beowulf* can be contrasted to the occurrence of *com* in *Andreas*, where the *þa com* pattern with unstressed verb is clearly preferred (see Table 1-17). Only in one of eight clauses the stressed-verb pattern is used. Following Getty, this could indicate an increasing decategorisation of the verb (although two texts with each providing only a few examples are certainly not enough to establish a general tendency). This would imply that *com* in its grammatical use behaves like *wæs*, i.e. that it is subjected to metrical constraints that prohibit it from occurring in a stressed position so that demonstrative order and conjunctive order are the same. In this case, the pattern *þa com* is ambiguous and potentially subordinate. However, at least in the example discussed above, such an interpretation would deprive the passage of much of its dramatic force.

b) *Da wæs*

According to Andrew, the pattern *þa* + unstressed verb is ambiguous, not only in verse, but also in prose.

Da wæs. In prose this sentence-form [...] is ambivalent, though predominantly a principal sentence. In *Beowulf* the subordinate clause is almost as common as the principal sentence, especially in *b* verses [...] (PS: 14).

Campbell provides an explanation for this ambiguity by applying Kuhn's law to the regular orders of prose, adding that the *þa wæs* order found in subordinate clauses in verse spread to prose (see section 1.2.1). The major argument for the ambiguity of this pattern is that the unstressed verb is drawn into the dip at the beginning of the clause and cannot be delayed as verbs usually are in subordinate clauses. Thus, there is a clear difference between the *þa com* and the *þa wæs* type as defined by Andrew: the former is subordinate because of the alternative order *com þa* for principal clauses; for *þa wæs*, on the other hand, there is no

alternative order. (Andrew notes that *wæs þa* is not a variant of *þa wæs* (*PS*: §§ 15 & 62), which occurs only twice in *Beowulf* (2304a and 3045b) and not once in *Andreas*.) Thus, the form *þa wæs* is the regular pattern for principal clauses; the ambiguity results from the fact that subordinate clauses take the same form because of the metrical constraints on unstressed verbs. Therefore, Andrew's assumption that the pattern is ambiguous is quite plausible. Blockley, on the other hand, rejects all ambiguity for prose and verse: according to her rule, all *þa wæs*-clauses are principal.

Table 1-20 gives an overview of the different word order patterns with forms of *wesan* in *Beowulf* and *Andreas* according to their position in the first or second hemistich.

	<i>þa wæs</i>			<i>wæs þa</i> on-verse	<i>þa ... wæs</i> off-verse	total
	on-verse	off-verse	total			
<i>Beowulf</i>	30	18	48	2 ⁷⁵	8	10
<i>Andreas</i>	13	3	16	-	1	1

Table 1-20 Position of *wæs* in *þa*-clauses in *Beowulf* and *Andreas*

The distribution shows that the pattern *þa wæs* is the most frequent one in both half-lines. The alternative patterns (if they can be called alternatives) are hardly ever used – which is not surprising if it is assumed that *V þa* and *þa V* are restricted to clauses with stressed verbs. In *Beowulf*, however, there are too many instances of *þa...wæs* in the off-verse as to claim that this order is exceptional. All instances from *Beowulf* and the one found in *Andreas* are listed below.

<i>þa X wæs</i>	
<i>Beo</i> 140b	ðā him gebeacnod wæs
<i>Beo</i> 723b	ðā he gebolgen wæs
<i>Beo</i> 733b	þa him alumpen wæs
<i>Beo</i> 1103b	þa him swa geþearfod wæs
<i>Beo</i> 1293b	þa heo onfunden wæs
<i>Beo</i> 2550b	ðā he gebolgen wæs
<i>Beo</i> 2676b	þa his agen wæs
<i>Beo</i> 3088b	þa me gerymed wæs
<i>And</i> 385b	þa he gereordod wæs

Table 1-21 *þa...wæs* in *Andreas* and *Beowulf*

The fact that almost all clauses contain a personal pronoun is conspicuous; only in *Beo* 2676b the unstressed element following *þa* is not another sentence particle, but a clitic modifying the following word. In contrast, *wæs* always occupies the second position if no other particle is present, as in the following examples:⁷⁶

⁷⁵ One of the examples for this pattern actually occurs in the b-verse (*Beo* 3073).

⁷⁶ There are numerous others in *Beowulf* and *Andreas*.

<i>þa wæs X</i>	
<i>Beo</i> 223b	þa wæs sund liden
<i>Beo</i> 467b	ða wæs Heregar dead
<i>Beo</i> 917b	Ða wæs morgenleohht
<i>Beo</i> 1008b	Þa wæs sæl ond mæl
<i>Beo</i> 1306b	þa wæs frod cyning
<i>Beo</i> 2580b	Þa wæs beorges weard
<i>Beo</i> 2625b	Þa wæs forma sið
<i>And</i> 1116b	Þa wæs rinc manig
<i>And</i> 1584b	þa wæs forð cumen

Table 1-22 Examples of *þa wæs*-clauses in *Beowulf* and *Andreas*

Bliss makes the same observation in his analysis of the position of verbals and auxiliaries:

[E]ach clause has precisely two particles before the first stressed word [...]. When the clause contains only one particle other than the auxiliary, the auxiliary itself is the second particle; when the clause contains two particles other than the auxiliary, the auxiliary is stressed and postponed (Bliss 1980: 170).

Later on, Bliss extends his assumption to clitics, as ‘it seems that a proclitic as well as a particle could sometimes provoke the disturbance of the prose word order’ (1980: 176). He finally realises that a metrical structure where exactly two unstressed syllable precede the first lift are generally preferred in the clauses he analysed.

A possible but highly conjectural explanation would depend on the assumption of a preference, not only for precisely two particles, but also for precisely two unstressed syllable before the first stressed word. The majority of particles are monosyllabic, so that two initial particles (among which a monosyllabic auxiliary might be numbered) would be equivalent to two unstressed syllables [...] (Bliss 1980: 177).

This is not restricted to *wæs* but other unstressed verbs, such as *sceall*, *mæg*, *wearð* and even *com*, behave the same way:

Without another unstressed element:

<i>Beo</i> 2306	Þa wæs dæg sceacen
<i>And</i> 241	Þa <u>com</u> morgen torht
<i>And</i> 1462	Þa <u>com</u> dryhten God
<i>And</i> 1085	Þa <u>wearð</u> forht manig
<i>Beo</i> 3014	þa <u>sceall</u> brond fretan,
<i>Beo</i> 1802	Ða <u>com</u> beorht scacan

With pronoun:

<i>Beo</i> 733	þa him alumpen <u>wæs</u>
<i>Beo</i> 723	ða he gebolgen <u>wæs</u>
<i>Beo</i> 2983	ða him gerymed <u>wearð</u>
<i>Beo</i> 419	ða ic of searwum <u>cwom</u>

With article/modifier:

<i>Beo</i> 2676	þa his agen <u>wæs</u>
<i>Beo</i> 2944	þa se goda <u>com</u>
<i>And</i> 467	þa þam halgan <u>wearð</u>

Thus, the position of unstressed verbs, at least in the second hemistich, is subjected to metrical constraints, too. The option whether the verb is delayed or not seems to be dependent on the number of particles or unstressed syllables preceding the first stress. However, since pronouns, whose presence trigger the postposition of the verb, frequently occur in subordinate clauses, there may still be a positive correlation between subordination and verb-lateness in poetry, although it is unlikely that this regularity acquired the same strong association as in prose, let alone any rule-like status. Thus, it is indispensable to analyse *þa wæs* clauses within their context in order to make any assertions about their grammatical function.

The focus is set on b-verses because Andrew states that a high percentage of them are subordinate clauses (see above). There are 18 instances of *þa wæs* in *Beowulf* with actually only one of them being frequently punctuated as subordinate clause, namely *Beo* 2372b *ða wæs Hygelac dead*. Though Hall (1950) and Fulk et al. (2008) consider the similar clause in *Beo* 467b *ða wæs Heregar dead* as subordinate, too, this is not the case in older editions (f. ex. Wrenn 1953; Klaeber 1922 and 1941). This apparent inconsistency is questioned by Andrew because ‘[s]ense and metre alike indicate subordination’ (*PS*: 14). In this case, metre is connected to Andrew’s assumptions about the stress properties of *þa*:

The reader should observe that the ambivalence of *ða wæs* is true only of the sentence in its written form; in speech the stressed adverb must always have been distinguished from the unstressed conjunction (*PS*: 15).

According to this, the interpretation of the two verses from *Beowulf* as principal entails an additional lift making it rather hard to align them with the usual metrical patterns described by Sievers. Andrew’s assumption, however, needs further comment as the unconditional stressing of adverbial *þa* is questionable. Cable suggests that the stressing is dependent on the metrical structure of the verse rather than on the grammatical function of the word. According to him, neither the position held by Andrew nor the reverse view proposed by Bliss claiming that adverbial *þa* is always unstressed (1958: 123-27) can bear close examination:

Neither approach gives an adequate reading; one leads to a dubious repunctuation of standard editions, the other to equally dubious light verses. If, however, one accepts that the adverb *þā* may be stressed and unstressed in different structures, it is possible to describe quite precisely where it should be stressed and where it should not be (Cable 1970: 84).

This position is sustained by the fact that there are clauses where *þa* has to be stressed in order to make them eligible to scansion, as well as examples where the stressing of *þa* seems impossible: in on-verses which consist only of a polysyllabic verb and *þa*, such as *Beo* 34 *aledon þa | leofne þeoden*, Bliss himself has to admit that *þa* is a displaced particle receiving positional stress (Bliss 1958: 15). On the other hand, initial *þa* in the off-verse has to be unstressed, since stressing it would violate the usual patterns of alliteration (see below).

Cable focuses his work on the pattern *þa* V because he does not consider the other possible patterns as subject to any debate among scholars.

[T]he introductory word *þā* occurs in two basic structures as the adverb:

- (1) V *þā* ... N
- (2) *Ðā* V... N

And in a third as the conjunction:

- (3) *Ðā* N ... V.

There is general agreement that the structures (1) and (3) usually contain adverbs and conjunctions respectively, but there is some confusion about structure (2) [...] (1970: 82).

The preceding discussion has shown that there is no ‘general agreement’ about the third pattern. However, Cable’s concern is the second pattern where *þa* is followed by the finite verb. According to him, the stressing of *þa* is linked to the metrical structure of the clause:

Rule I. If there is only one unstressed syllable (usually *wæs*) between *þa* and the first alliterative syllable of the hemistich, *þa* does not receive metrical stress, and the caesura falls after the alliterative word. [...]

Rule II. If there is more than one unstressed syllable (usually *wæs* plus a preposition) between *þa* and the first alliterative syllable of the hemistich, *þa* receives metrical stress, and the caesura falls immediately after the verb’ (Cable 1970: 84).

It follows that *þa* is unstressed in verses such as *Beo* 64, 1644 and 2472 where the verb is followed by the first lift, while it receives metrical stress in *Beo* 53, 710 and 2821 where another unstressed syllable follows the verb.

Rule I *Þa* wæs **Hroðgare** heresped gyfen
 Ða com **in gan** ealdor ðegna
 Þa wæs **synn** ond **sacu** Sweona on Geata

Rule II **Ða** wæs on **burgum** Beowulf Scyldinga
 Ða com of **more** under misthleoþum
 Ða wæs **gegongen** guman unfrodum

The stressing of *þa*, according to Rule II, makes these verses regular examples of Sievers' metrical types to the avoidance of light verses with only one lift. However, this is only applicable for the on-verse: if *þa* was stressed in the second half-line it either would have to alliterate, which it never does, or 'alliteration would occur only in the second arsis' (Cable 1970: 86). Therefore, Cable considers the fact that the pattern *þa wæs* + unstressed syllable actually never occurs in the off-verse as further evidence for the validity of his rules.

Within the framework of metrical regularity, these stressing rules are quite sound; however, Cable's conclusions about the syntactic or grammatical implications of his findings are rather vague: on the one hand he claims that the stressing of *þa* is independent of its grammatical function, on the other hand he states that his 'approach suggests that there are fewer subordinating conjunctions in *Beowulf* than Andrew finds and that the style is largely paratactic' (1970: 88). Cable does not really explain how he has reached this conclusion. It is probably based on these premises:

- a) Andrew assumes that the adverb *þa* is stressed while the conjunction is unstressed.
- b) *þa* is never stressed in the b-verse as it would have to alliterate.
- c) It follows that Andrew interprets all b-verses with clause-initial *þa* as subordinate.

The absence of the pattern where *þa* is presumable stressed from the b-verse, however, can be explained by the strong tendency of b-clauses⁷⁷ to begin with two unstressed syllables: the reason why *wæs* is never followed by an unstressed syllable, as required for Rule II to apply, is that it is delayed when two other unstressed elements occupy the position at the beginning of the clause.⁷⁸ This observation does not only weaken Cable's stressing rules, it also implies that the metrical structure, which Andrew claims to be an indication that *Beo* 467 and 2372 are subordinate clauses, is not a convincing argument. As all *þa wæs*-clauses in the b-verse follow this structure, metre cannot be invoked for signaling subordination.

This leaves Andrew's second argument, i.e. context, for interpreting *Beo* 467 and 2372 as subordinate clauses:

Beo 467 ða ic furþum weold folce Deniga
 ond on geogoðe heold ginne rice,
 hordburh hæleþa, ða wæs Heregar dead
 min yldra mæg unlifigende,
 bearn Healfdenes; se wæs betera ðonne ic!

⁷⁷ The term refers to clauses beginning in the b-verse.

⁷⁸ Regarding *þa-wæs* clauses, there are hardly any exceptions to this pattern. Examples would be *Beo* 201b *þa him wæs manna þearf* and *Beo* 2876 *þa him wæs elnes þearf*.

I had just begun to rule the people of the Danes, held in my younger days the stronghold of heroes, my spacious kingdom, when Heorogar, my elder brother, the son of Healfdene, was dead and lifeless. He was better than I! (Hall 1950: 44).

 þær him Hygd gebead hord ond rice,
 beagas ond bregostol; bearne ne truwoðe,
 þæt he wið ælfylcum eþelstolas
Beo 2372 healdan cuðe, ða wæs Hygelac dead.

'There Hygd offered him wealth and a kingdom, treasure and a royal throne; she trusted not her child, that he could hold the royal seats against foreign armies, now that Hygelac was dead.' (Hall 1950: 140).

The obvious reason why the *þa*-clauses are frequently interpreted as subordinate is that they do not follow the usual time frame that would be expected of clauses connected by adverbial *þa*. The translation 'then Hygelac/Heregar was dead' implies that their death occurred after the accession of the throne by their successors. Instead, the succession is the consequence of the decease of the previous king. If *þa* is understood as 'at that time' the chronology of events is preserved, but the causal relationship remains unexpressed. That is why Fulk et al. (2008: 243) propose the translation 'now that' for *Beo 2372* which captures both the temporal and the causal connection between the events described. The same is true for *Beo 467*:

467^b. ðā. Andrew [...] regards this as a subordinator [...], and this would appear to be correct, since the word introduces an explanation how Hrōðgār came to the throne, as indicated in the preceding clause [...] (Fulk et al. 2008: 146).

The example shows that *þa* can indeed function as subordinating conjunction within the clause structure *þa wæs*. In this case, many editors follow Andrew's propositions. All other clauses of this form, however, are almost invariably punctuated as principal clauses. Andrew interprets many of them, though not all, as subordinate clauses (see *PS*: § 104). Despite this discordance, it is obvious that the pattern is ambiguous. If *Beo 2372b ða wæs Hygelac dead* is compared, for instance, to *Beo 2625b Þa wæs forma sið*, there seems to be nothing in the order of elements that could help to disambiguate them. However, the analysis of *com* has demonstrated that the way in which a verb is used is by no means irrelevant to word order. It is quite reasonable to assume that the same is true for *wesan*. In order to analyse these aspects, it is necessary to move beyond a mechanical analysis of the arrangement of clauses constituents.

1.4 CONCLUSION CHAPTER 1

The association between verb-lateness and subordination as found in Old English prose cannot be attested for poetry. The analysis of the position of finite verbs has demonstrated that

the metrical constraints operating on verse cause two kinds of ambiguous clause structures: on the one hand, stressed verbs are banned from the line-internal position; in the on-verse, this results in inversion (*V þa*). In the off-verse, this structure is not possible and the verb is moved to the line-final position (*þa...V*). It follows that the postponing of the verb is not necessarily an indication of subordination. On the other hand, unstressed verbs are drawn into the dip at the beginning of the clause unless this position is occupied by another unstressed element. Thus, verb-lateness is prohibited in clauses containing an unstressed verb which means that the pattern *þa V* is not necessarily a principal clause. The following passages from *Beowulf* illustrate the ambiguity of the two patterns.

<i>subordinate</i>	<i>principal</i>
<i>þa V</i>	
2372	2625
bearne ne truwoðe, þæt he wið ælfylcum eþelstolas healdan cuðe, ða wæs Hygelac dead.	Þa wæs forma sið geongan cempan þæt he guðe ræs mid his freodryhtne fremman sceolde.
<i>V ... þa</i>	
2978	1512
Let se hearda Higelaces þegn brad[n]e mece, þa his broðor læg, ...brecan ofer bordweal;	Ða se eorl ongeat þæt he [in] niðsele nathwylcum wæs, þær him nænig wæter wihte ne sceþede,

Table 1-23 Ambiguous patterns in OE poetry

The dependency of word order on the type of verb used supports Campbell's warning that any attempt at disambiguating clauses by element order in OE poetry cannot but fail. 'Type of verb,' however, is a rather loose concept regarding the fact that lexical verbs can be used as grammatical words, too, as the example of *com* has demonstrated. Therefore, it is indispensable to integrate the internal properties of clause elements and their meaning within the structural and textual context into the analysis of the principles governing OE poetic syntax. This cannot be accomplished by a purely grammatical approach which neither acknowledges the influence of metrical constraints on poetic syntax nor allows for pragmatic factors to take an effect on element order. The exclusion of the latter aspect from approaches to OE syntax defies any explanation given that Old English cannot be classified as a 'syntactic language'. The grammatical function of clause elements is marked by morphology rather than by word order. Thus, the sentence structure of OE is much more sensitive to other factors such as focus structure, topicalisation, constituent weight, etc. Accordingly, the next chapter focuses on pragmatic and text-linguistic approaches to OE poetic syntax which might provide

a solution to the disambiguation of clauses where the grammar-based approach seems to be a dead end.

2

A Text-Linguistic Approach to *þa*

The preceding chapter has demonstrated that word order in OE poetry is largely dependent on metrical constraints limiting the possible positions of the finite verb in the half-line. It has also become evident that these restrictions cause syntactically ambiguous word order patterns where the position of the verb is dependent on its stress properties. This circumstance entails that a syntactic approach to the interpretation of these clauses cannot be successful; the metrical peculiarities of verse override the grammatically triggered word order patterns found in prose that might otherwise indicate whether a clause is principal or subordinate. Still, the analysis of some formally ambiguous clauses shows that there is something within these clauses that indicates how to interpret them. The crucial factor, however, is not the order of elements but the internal properties of the elements, for example, the degree of lexicality of the verb (or its communicative dynamism) or whether it is stative or active, durative or punctual, etc. This chapter focuses on these properties of clause elements and their interplay with the pragmatic functions of *þa*.

The first part is dedicated to text-linguistic functions which have been attributed to *þa* in various studies exploring the use of this word from a non-syntactic perspective. Starting with Nils Enkvist's groundbreaking article 'OE adverbial *þa* – an action marker?' of 1972, section 2.1 summarises the scholarly discourse following up on this work and outlines the recent

developments of this approach. It will be demonstrated that the role *þa* plays in narrative structuring is closely linked to foregrounding, which is in turn associated with various features such as topical subjects, active and punctual verbs, unmarked focus structure and, last but not least, principal clauses. Therefore, in the second part of this chapter (2.2) the correlation of *þa* with foregrounded events will be discussed in order to examine if the properties of clause elements associated with foregrounding and backgrounding can serve as indication of whether a clause is principle or subordinate. The hypothesis that these features are indeed a guide to disambiguation will be tested in the analysis of clauses from *Beowulf* and *Andreas*, which forms the third part of the chapter (3.3).

2.1 *þA* AS TEXT-LINGUISTIC TOOL

The particle *þa* has not only attracted much attention by scholars of Old English syntax: ever since Enkvist demonstrated that adverbial *þa* is not a meaningless particle, it has also been in the focus of debate in historical pragmatics and narrative discourse:

Recent studies of text and discourse have disproved the classic view that Old English *þa* is an innocuous particle, one we should not worry about in translation for instance. Apart from dictionaries [...] and from comprehensive studies of various aspects of OE syntax [...], a succession of recent papers has thrown new light more specifically on various important functions of *þa* (Enkvist & Wårvik 1987: 221).

Before that, the functional use of the particle was supposed to be restricted to syntax where it was considered a convenient way of bringing the verb into initial position. Even this function was questioned by scholars of early Germanic such as McKnight (1898: 187-8) and Fourquet (1938: 68), who suggest that inversion is not necessarily the result of the presence of adverbs such as *þa* and *þonne*, but its cause. This view, however, ignores that *þa* might fulfil non-syntactic functions within a text and it ignores that there might be a reason – and most certainly a pragmatic reason – for bringing the verb into initial position. It will be shown in the following that the word order VS plays an important role in Old English as a device for narrative structuring and that *þa* may be considered an amplifying element within this discourse strategy.

In addition, several other pragmatic functions of *þa* have been detected and analysed in recent years; these developed alongside studies and theories on historical pragmatics and narrative discourse. The following sections trace the functional range of *þa* within the text-linguistic approach from its first mentioning as action marker (Enkvist 1972) and device for narrative structuring (Foster 1975) to its status as multifunctional pragmatic tool covering a range of

functions such as marking foregrounded information, subdividing the narrative into episodes and units, as well as sequencing and connecting events of the main storyline.

2.1.1 *PA* AS ACTION MARKER

The first systematic approach to the pragmatic use of *pa* in Old English literature was Enkvist's article on the function of *pa* within narrative texts. His study on the occurrence of the particle in *Beowulf* is the result of an 'increasing suspicion that passages describing vigorous physical action in Old English tend to be marked by a frequent use of adverbial *pā*, "then"' (Enkvist 1972: 90). In order to test this hypothesis, Enkvist analyses the relative density of the particle in the different fitts of *Beowulf*, acknowledging that the fitt as basic unit for his analysis seems an arbitrary choice but arguing that it avoids 'stylistic gerrymandering':

Actually the adoption of the fitt as a division for the measurement of densities of *pā* can, and should, be queried. The fitt can hardly be characterized as the basic narrative or structural unit in *Beowulf*. But its traditional nature guarantees that the investigator is not manipulating his text by dividing it into such, perhaps accidental or arbitrary, portions that best prove his thesis (Enkvist 1972: 90).

The results of this analysis show that the density of *pa* is greatest in the fitts containing the battle with Grendel's mother (rank 1) and her attack on Heorot (rank 2). Other passages which frequently employ *pa* are the return to Heorot after Beowulf's fight with Grendel's mother, his fight with the dragon and his funeral (ranks 3-5). Surprisingly, Beowulf's fight with Grendel is only placed sixth in this list. Enkvist connects this distant ranking to the general lack of dramatic force that has been attributed to this passage by Klaeber (1950: lii) who characterised it 'as inferior to the two other great crises of the poem, as "rather monotonous" and "altogether too short and easy to give much opportunity for excitement"' (Enkvist 1972: 92-3).

The link between *pa* and action is also evident when considering the other end of the scale, where the fitts with a very low density of *pa* range, including the long conversation between Hroðgar and Beowulf, the lays about Sigemund and Harold, and Beowulf's arrivals in Denmark and at Hygelac's court:

One of the common denominators of these passages with a low density of adverbial *pā* seems to be their emphasis on speeches, explanations and stories rather than on the depictions of dramatic, violent, climactic events (Enkvist 1972: 93).

So far, the association of *pa* with action-packed passages proves well-founded. It is further supported by the fact that the adverb seldom occurs in contemplative poetry, which lacks

these kind of dramatic climaxes found in *Beowulf*. For example, there is not a single instance of adverbial *þa* in *The Dream of the Rood*. Instead, *þonne* is frequently used, which can be translated as ‘then’, too, but which mostly relates to indefinite or future events and not to successive events of immediate narrative action:

Þanne and þā differ in force; the former is used where the time of an action is indefinite, and is found with the future, the indefinite present and the indefinite past; the latter is used where a definite action has taken place (Bosworth & Toller, s. v. *þanne*).

Furthermore, adverbial *þa* is seldom used in direct speech; this may be demonstrated by comparing Beowulf’s renarration of the attack of Grendel’s mother on Heorot and the ensuing fight in the underwater cave after he has returned to Hygelac (*Beo* 2115-2143) with the first-hand descriptions (i.e. *Beo* 1279-1309 and 1492-1556). While the latter passages show the highest density of *þa*, Beowulf recounts them almost entirely without using it. Robert Foster, who analysed the use of *þa* in prose texts, observed the same phenomenon in Ælfric’s writings, which seem to distinguish between primary narrative and renarration:

The difference can be seen most clearly in those of Ælfric’s homilies in which he first tells a story and then in retelling it explains its significance; the first narration will contain *þa*-headed discourse units, while the second will not (1975: 409).

In Beowulf’s renarration of his adventure, the immediate succession of events is replaced by a retrospective view interrupted by his own interpretation of the events. For example, Beowulf relates the attacker’s motives (*Beo* 2119-22) or contemplates the fact that the Danes were not able to bury Æschere (*Beo* 2124-2128) before resuming his story. Furthermore, the temporal and causal relations between the events are expressed explicitly by adverbs and conjunctions such as *syððan*, *oððæt*, *ac* and *swa* since the events are now modified according to the perception of a participant who has experienced them before. In contrast, the chain of events presented ‘in real-time’ is unreflected by the main participants and the interpretation is, for the most part, shifted to the recipient.

In this context, Enkvist’s hypothesis that *þa* is an action marker is convincing: it occurs in passages that are characterised by dense and immediate action, which entail a high involvement of the recipients since they experience the action in the same way as the hero: the events are not commented on or interpreted by a mediating authority⁷⁹ but are related

⁷⁹ Of course the narrator fulfils such a function when commenting events and anticipating their future development, thus creating a greater distance between the narrative and its recipients – this, however, is seldom the case in action-packed passages.

unreflectedly in chronological order. From a stylistic point of view, there is no need to interpret such strings of clauses introduced by *þa* as sequences of main and subordinate clauses because all events are on a par:

By marking action, *þa*-clauses and sentences signal a likelihood that such clauses and sentences belong to the main story line. Chains of *þa...þa...þa* indicate sequences of actions presented with experiential iconicity [...]: their linear order in the text corresponds to the temporal order of the events in the story (Enkvist 1994: 55-56).

Any attempt to classify some of the clauses as subordinated requires an evaluation of their content or of the information given in them. This involves a distancing from the immediate action, thus spoiling the dramatic effect of these unreflected passages. This observation provides a strong argument against Andrew's correlation rule (see 1.2.2) which turns all sequences of *þa*-clauses into *when-then* constructions:

Discussions such as Andrew's of strings of *þa* or *and þa* clauses are generally concerned with the *þa...þa* construction in which the first clause is clearly dependent on the second. Yet there are strings of many more than two clauses each of which is headed by *þa*, and these strings, like the majority of *þa* clauses, occur in narrative passages (Foster 1975: 405).

These passages with a high density of adverbial *þa* are perhaps the best examples of 'dramatic parataxis', where the use of strings of principal *þa*-clauses is by no means a sign of linguistic simplicity but much rather a stylistic device reinforcing the climactic tension.

2.1.2 *þA* AS TOOL FOR NARRATIVE STRUCTURING

Enkvist's article has given the starting signal for further research on the text-linguistic function of *þa* in Old English (and Middle English) literature. Three years later Robert Foster's article on the function of *þa* for narrative structuring was published. Following Enkvist's approach, he assumes that *þa* is an important device in narrative composition which developed from the originally oral 'primary narrative, that is, one whose purpose is to describe actions [...] with a minimal number of descriptive or reflective discursions' (Foster 1975: 406). In this context, *þa* can again be described as action marker, though Foster expands its function to a very basic means of narrative segmentation: it introduces independent narrative units in which closely related actions are linked by *ond*, while new events or a turn in the plot are again marked by *þa*. Thus, the simplest kind of prose narration can be structured by strings of *þa...ond...ond...ond*, each string forming a narrative unit (Foster 1975: 406-7). On the other hand, *þa* occurs when the story returns to the main action,

i.e. after digressions, dialogues, or flashbacks, allowing the narrative structure to be more complex without impairing clarity:

Since the repetition of *þa* is a convention understood by the audience, a moderate amount of digression, static description or clarification [...] can be inserted in a discourse unit without seriously lessening the continuity or comprehensibility of the narrative; the next *þa* will set everything straight (Foster 1975: 409).

In this context, Foster also addresses the parataxis/hypotaxis question stating that

many Old English narrative passages are composed of strings of largely independent units marked and coordinated by *þa*, which is used here as an infinitely repeatable marker of temporal sequentiality and carries little or no information about the grammatical relation of clauses (*Ibid.* 406).

Foster assumes that the *þa*-clauses marking the beginning of a new discourse unit are independent clauses, while '[w]ithin each unit, there may be found both coordination and subordination, and even cases of subordination by the *þa...þa* "when...then" construction' (*Ibid.* 406).

This suggestion seems straightforward as long as the narrative structure of a text is assumed to be identifiable by common principles. Narrative segmentation, however, is subjected to the personal interpretation of the recipient, just as formally ambiguous clauses. Although there are formal and content criteria that define episode boundaries (see Brinton 1993: 74-76), the danger of embarking on some kind of circular argumentation is all too real. Foster circumvents this pitfall by concluding that 'the question of parataxis and hypotaxis is far more relevant to style and mood than to literal meaning, which is usually unambiguous' and that 'Old English authors were not aware of the distinction between the two modes' (Foster 1975: 405; n. 1), thus disentangling his approach from any considerations about the grammatical status of single clauses. Foster assumes that prose, like poetry, was composed 'by clauses, not sentences, connected not by subordination or coordination but simply by relation' (*Ibid.* 405). This hypothesis equates to Mitchell's suggestion of an intermediate state between independence and subordination; however, extending it to OE prose in general seems inappropriate as the emergence of an Anglo-Saxon literary culture was too strongly intertwined with Latin literature⁸⁰ than to assume that Anglo-Saxon authors did not have a clear sense of hypotactic constructions. This argument is in line with Campbell's suggestion that the inherent ambiguity of verse was considered unsuitable for the concise art of prose (see section 1.2.2). Independent of the question of whether the *grammatical* distinction between

⁸⁰ On the development of AS prose and the influence of Latin see Stanton 2002: 1-4.

independence and subordination is a linguistic universal, as proposed by Stockwell and Minkova (1991), or not, Foster's account still demonstrates that there is a *pragmatic* distinction between *pa* occurring at the beginning of a narrative unit and *pa* occurring within a narrative unit. Furthermore, it is not Foster's primary aim to disambiguate *pa*-clauses but to describe their function in narrative structuring, namely dividing the plot into narrative units and episodes and marking the main plot or the return to it.

These findings do not contradict the role Enkvist attributes to *pa* but complement and extend its functional range. What Enkvist calls 'passages of dense action' roughly corresponds to Foster's concept of 'primary narrative' where events are narrated without interruptions by contemplative or explanatory insertions. Thus, *pa* occurs with events that advance the narrative, which includes but is not restricted to passages of dense action. Enkvist further refines this conception in his article 'More about the textual functions of the Old English adverbial *pa*' of 1986 by contrasting these main storyline events with backgrounded information:

[N]arrative texts systematically distinguish between foregrounded elements, which are on the main line of the narrative and carry the action forwards, and backgrounded elements, which are off the main story line, explain settings, comment on the action, and generally provide the action with the necessary backdrops (Enkvist 1986: 302).

Besides foregrounding, Enkvist further extends the list of possible text-linguistic functions of *pa* to dramatising stative conditions, sequencing events, and imitating impromptu storytelling:

<i>Text-linguistic functions of pa</i>	
Action marker	in clauses that describe action (collocation with active verbs)
Foregrounding device	contrasting events to supplementary information
Dramatiser	highlighting a dramatic view of stative conditions (collocation with stative verbs)
Narrative segmentation	indication the division of narrative discourse into narrative units
Marking main storyline	marking the beginning of main story and narrative units relating new actions.
Time sequencing	indicating the sequencing of events on the main storyline (chronology)
Impromptu storytelling	creating style reminiscent of oral ad lib narration

Table 2-1 Text-linguistic functions of *pa* according to Enkvist (1986: 306-7)

The distinction Enkvist draws between *þa* as action marker and as dramatiser already shows that the attributed function is dependent on other clause constituents and their features, here on the internal properties of the verb. Enkvist suggests further research on the functional interaction between *þa* and other clause properties, such as word order, the kind of verb used, the presence of other adverbs of time and the topicality of the subject (1986: 308).⁸¹ In spite of these specialised functions and their correlation with other factors, Enkvist argues that all functions can still be combined under the label of distinguishing ‘what is essential from what is non-essential’ or ‘what is on the main storyline from what is off it’ (1986: 307-8). The primary function would then be closely connected to foregrounding, which will be discussed in detail in section 2.2.

2.1.3 MULTIFUNCTIONALITY OF *þa*

The interplay of *þa* with other linguistic factors as proposed by Enkvist has been followed up by Brita Wårvik in various articles. One study (Wårvik 2011) treats the apparently conflicting functions of *þa* as connective element marking the main storyline and as disconnective element marking new narrative episodes. Wårvik concludes that marking the main storyline seems to be the primary and principal function of *þa*. In this role as a connective element, *þa* marks the main storyline and the main participant(s) of the narrative, thus creating text cohesion. Further functions are indicated by the interaction with other features: together with active verbs and inversion (VS) *þa* functions as action marker; together with a break in the continuity of time, place or persons it is a tool for narrative structuring by marking new episodes:

Old English *þa* signals a specific kind of continuity in narrative text, combining story-line sequentiality and text structuring; it marks the continuation of (or return to) the main-line at different levels: the level of the temporal sequentiality of the story line (next, after that), the level of participant continuity (return to main participant), and the level of text structuring (next episode or next substory) (Wårvik 2011).

Paul Hopper (1992), in analysing original OE prose texts (namely the different versions of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*), detected an even more specialised correlation between the structuring function of *þa* and the kind of verb used: following Foster, Hopper argues that narrative texts are constructed by a sequence of ‘quasi-formulaic’ narrative units, each of which consisting of a string of clauses introduced by *þa* VS and connected with *ond* (S)...V

⁸¹ Other starting points suggested by him are the investigation of equivalent expressions in other languages (esp. Latin) and the use of *þa* in different types of texts. These aspects will be addressed in Chapter 3.

(Hopper 1992: 218-19).⁸² The types of verbs heading these strings tend to differ from unit-internal verbs in regard to transitivity and semantics. Hopper divides the former group of verbs (i.e. those frequently occurring with *pa*) into four semantic subcategories, namely motion into a direction, static location, identified subject, and newly introduced patient (see Table 2-2, p. 77), which, though they ‘appear to be disconnected from a semantic perspective’, share a ‘common function of “reorientation” of the discourse’ by either ‘introducing a new participant’ or by ‘specifying a location (or re-location) for the new episode’ (Hopper 1992: 221).

A new episode is often connected with a break of continuity which is indicated by the internal property of the verb. A break in the continuity of time is also marked by *pa*, but the transition is mostly indicated by an additional adverbial phrase of time, for instance, *pa on morgenne* (*Ibid.* 219). On the other hand, verbs that frequently occur unit-internal are usually ‘transitive verbs in which an Agent actively affects a Patient, and in which no intrinsic location is involved nor a presentative⁸³ function’ (*Ibid.* 219).

	Intrinsic feature of verb	Function	Break in continuity
<i>pa VS</i>	Motion in a direction (<i>ridon, eode, for...</i>)	spatial orientation (relocation)	of space
	Static location (<i>sæt, wicode...</i>)	spatial orientation	of space
	Identified subject (<i>feng, gefor</i> ‘died’)	specification of participant(s)	of participants
	Newly introduced patient (<i>metton, ongeat...</i>)	(re-)introduction of participant(s)	of participants
<i>pa</i> + temp. adv. phrase	-	temporal orientation	of time

Table 2-2 Features of verbs correlating with episode-initial *pa*

Hopper’s analysis of verbs co-occurring with episode-initial *pa* and his definition of the structure of the narrative unit are based on prose. In how far these concepts are transferable to poetry has yet to be investigated. As the formulaic structured units are especially frequent in original prose, it is reasonable to assume that similar patterns occur in verse, even though they may be modified according to the specifics of metrical language. It has already become evident in Chapter 1 that a-clauses with any lexical verbs (i.e. irrespective of whether it is

⁸² Hopper observes that these clausal clusters cannot be referred to as sentences in modern terms. He therefore argues that any diachronic change within these units had better been studied from a text-linguistic perspective rather than within an abstract syntactic framework (1992: 219; 229; 235-6).

⁸³ Verbs with presentive function include *mētan*, *findan*, or *ongitan*, which generally introduce a new participant (Hopper 1992: 221).

transitive or intransitive) take the form V *þa* X, while *þa* precedes the verb in prose. Furthermore, *ond* is used less frequently in poetry, partly because it is replaced or implied by the caesura.⁸⁴ Therefore, a narrative unit is much harder to define in verse. The assumption that V *þa* in poetry corresponds to the prose patterns defined in Table 2-2 would imply that the pattern frequently occurs with verbs that are intransitive or presentive, marking the beginning of a new episode. This ‘disconnective’ function, however, seems to contradict Enkvist’s observation that *þa* is frequently employed in passages of dense action, involving fights and attacks which necessarily require transitive verbs:

Thus we find a conflict between the hypothesis of *þa* as story-line signal, which associates it with dynamic actions and transitive verbs and with the continuity of the main story-line, and the hypotheses of *þa* as a presentative particle and as an episode marker, which associate it with intransitive and reorienting verbs (Wårvik 2011).

According to Wårvik’s data, *þa* shows an affinity to occur with structures involving two or more participants, which supports Enkvist’s proportion; yet she also admits that Hopper’s conclusion is in line with the data he analysed as the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* (ASC) frequently starts its entries with intransitive verbs of motion. Thus, Wårvik concludes that both functions can still be consolidated by assuming that in both cases the main storyline is marked:

As verbs of movement typically involve intransitive, one-participant structures, the preference of *þa* for transitive clauses with two or more participants may appear contradictory, but in fact it brings out more clearly the association of *þa* with dynamic verbs: though movement verbs are the largest groups, they are not the majority. The pattern that emerges from these two parameters put together is the preference of *þa* for verbs that are typical of the story-line, whether the story proceeds by movement, acceding to the throne or saying something (Wårvik 2011).

The analysis of Ruth Waterhouse on the use of *þa* in Ælfric’s *Lives of Saints* largely supports this conclusion as *þa* ‘appears frequently in narrative sections and tends to be absent from direct speech, from introductory sections that set the scene and from homiletic passages’ and its rarity ‘in passages of description, explanation, exhortation or didactic teaching seems to support Enkvist’s arguments’ (1984: 260). For all that, Waterhouse argues that neither Enkvist’s nor Foster’s approach capture the full range of functional meaning because ‘*þa* is often used in clauses that narrate not action but speech or mental perception, and it does not always indicate the next in a sequence of actions’ (*Ibid.* 262). The former reservation can be done away with by referring to Enkvist’s later articles where he elaborated and further

⁸⁴ For a discussion of phrasal and clausal coordination with and without *ond* see *APS*: ch. 3.

developed his notions about the textual functions of *þa*. The latter aspect, however, needs further comment. Waterhouse quotes the following example from *Lives*:

II.92 Eugenia *þa* wunode on þam mynstre
 mid wærlicum mode . þeah þe heo mæden wære .
 mit hyre twam cnihtum – uncuð gehwam .⁸⁵

In this passage, *þa* has some temporal sense, but not that of immediate sequence, since the aspect of the clauses is durative, covering a considerable period of time' and 'it is partly explanatory of the situation as a whole' (1984: 262). Although the moving to the minster is sequenced after the bishop's commission mentioned a few lines earlier, the following events take place *while* Eugenia inhabits the minster. The causal aspect of the adverb seems to be paramount here: 'Eugenia thus lived in the minster... even though she was a maiden'; yet, the temporal connection filters through as well. The break in the sequentiality of events is due to the semantic content of the verb *wunian* denoting a durative state. Again, it is the correlation with the type of verb that determines the function of *þa*.

Waterhouse quotes another example where she doubts the sequential aspect of *þa* because 'the temporal sense is again subordinated':

II.133 Ða wæs sum wif wælig on æhtum .
 melantia gecyged – swiðe þearle gedreht –
 mid langsumum feofore – and com to ðære femnan .⁸⁶

Here *þa* introduces a passage which follows a general remark on Eugenia's healing powers:

This is not temporal sequentiality in its usual sense, nor the marking of an action, but rather the recounting of a specific incident to illustrate a generalisation, and such examples occur elsewhere in *LS* (Waterhouse 1984: 262).

In such cases, *þa* seems to be nothing more than an empty topic as in Modern English 'There was' which lacks a temporal connection to the adjacent clauses; it could even be translated as 'Once there was a wealthy woman...' referring to an unspecific point in Eugenia's life not immediately sequenced with other episodes or the preceding statement. However, as the clause introduces a new participant, it is consistent with Hopper's hypothesis that *þa* in conjunction with a break in the continuity of time, space or participants marks the beginning

⁸⁵ 'Eugenia thus lived with true heart in the minster, even though she was a maiden, with her two servants, both unknown.'

⁸⁶ 'There was a wealthy woman called Melantia – severely afflicted with protracted fever – who came to the virgin.'

of a new episode. The same can be said for the passage quoted before where *on þam mynstere* specifies a new location and marks a new episode in Eugenia's life.

So far, the various text-linguistic functions ascribed to *þa* were discussed from a larger perspective above clause-level, thus evading the question about the syntactic ambiguity of *þa*-clauses. Enkvist restricted his analysis to adverbial *þa* from the very start, which seems sensible, considering that dramatic sequences of immediate action are hardly compatible with subordination (see section 2.1.1). Foster, on the other hand, remarked that the question is hardly relevant for his analysis because the grammatical details do not change the literal meaning of a passage; nonetheless, he excludes subordinate clauses from the beginning of narrative units. Waterhouse discusses various ambiguous examples in some detail, especially anticipatory sub-clauses, stating that Ælfric's style is generally quite concise: he usually marks these clauses by doubling *þa* or by using unambiguous temporal conjunctions, such as *(þa) mid þam þe*, which shows that 'Ælfric can make quite clear those sentences where he wants the initial clause to be immediately recognised as a temporal (usually with a strong causal function)' (Waterhouse 1984: 268). This explicitness at the very beginning of the clause leads Waterhouse to the conclusion that the grammatical distinction is not really important in the remaining ambiguous clauses:

It may well be that in the ambiguous examples, the audience would probably expect the first *þa* clause to be a principal clause, and when the second *þa* clause occurs [...], it is immaterial whether there is a formal hypotactic relationship between them, provided that there is at least an implicit one (*Ibid.* 268).

Only in *The Life of Martin*, the sentence boundaries are less clearly marked and Waterhouse assumes that Ælfric 'is experimenting with a blended relationship intermediate between parataxis and hypotaxis' (*Ibid.* 272). Especially the use of *þa* near the chapter openings is puzzling as *þa* is seldom capitalised but usually followed by inverted order as in

366 VIII Æft on sumne sæl siðode martinus
on his bisceoprice . þa bær man þær an lic
anes hæðenes mannes þæt hi hine bebyrigdon .⁸⁷

(Cited in Waterhouse 1984: 269).

Waterhouse further notices that the introductory clauses frequently contain an imperfective verb, while the *þa*-clauses are usually perfective; she interprets this as a kind of stylistic

⁸⁷ 'At another time Martinus travelled through his diocese; the body of a heathen man was born along to be buried.'

device zooming from the general scene to a particular action, assuming that the ambiguity of *pa* is a deliberate choice in this construction:

This suggests that there is a closer relationship than the juxtaposition of two principal clauses between them, while it may not be as close as that of formal hypotaxis. The “panning in” effect of the *pa* clause, the movement from the more general to the more particular, as well as the sequential relationship, makes this group different from the normal relationship of either parataxis or hypotaxis, and *pa* is not an action marker so much as pointing to this intermediate relationship between clauses (*Ibid.* 269).

Leaving the syntactic construction aside for the moment, the text-linguistic function of *pa*, i.e. what Waterhouse calls ‘the movement from the more general to the more particular’, could also be described as a movement from background information, namely the setting of the scene, to the concrete events of the narrative, which leads the discussion back to the assumption that the core function of *pa* is that of marking ‘what is essential’ in a narrative.

2.2 *PA* AS FOREGROUNDING DEVICE

As early as 1982,⁸⁸ Enkvist added FOREGROUNDING to the list of the text-linguistic functions of *pa*, noting that though the word was beginning to receive some attention in historical pragmatics, no one has yet ventured to ‘emphasize more systematically the role of *pa* as marking the action rather than the background in the narrative’ (1986: 301). Before embarking on this train of thought, the larger framework of grounding in narrative discourse needs to be outlined, since the emergence of studies in different linguistic and literary traditions caused some confusion and overlaps in the use of terminology. First of all, GROUNDING is used here in its linguistic tradition, where it first denoted the ‘distinction between foreground (=storyline) and background (non-sequential material)’ and not in literary terms (*poetic foregrounding*) where it is a ‘deviation from a norm as a means of highlighting’ connected to ‘estrangement’ or ‘defamiliarization’ (Wårvik 1996). Based on the definition of a narrative by Labov and Waletzky (1967) as ‘sequence of clauses [...] that are connected by an AND-THEN relationship and whose ordering cannot be changed without changing the order of the events depicted in the narrative’, the sequentiality of foregrounded events implies their chronological order and the completion of the former event as necessary prerequisite to the beginning of subsequent event (Wårvik 1996).

⁸⁸ The conclusions published in Enkvist’s article of 1986 on further textual functions of *pa* are based on a paper read at the Societas Linguistica Europaea Congress in Athens in 1982.

Besides SEQUENTIALITY, grounding is related to TRANSITIVITY as defined by Hopper and Thompson (1980) by a set of morphosyntactic features, which are listed in Table 2-3 (section 2.2.2, p. 84). Within this framework, high transitivity correlates with foregrounding, while low transitivity is associated with background information. The identification of foregrounding with high transitivity, however, was renounced in later studies, for though they often co-occur, they are in fact two different concepts: transitivity does not always correlate with foregrounding but with sequentiality:

[W]hereas main-line sequentiality mark[s] those high-transitivity actions that make up the main story line, foregrounding can be a property not only of main-line actions but also of other elements, such as low-transitivity actions or events, and features of setting, which are important for and relevant to the proper comprehension of the story (Enkvist & Wårvik 1987: 224).

Accordingly, foregrounding and sequentiality have to be treated separately since ‘foregrounding does not presuppose temporal sequentiality, though sequentiality implies foregrounding’ (Wårvik 1996). The fact that non-sequential material can be foregrounded has already been observed by Enkvist when he described *pa* as dramatiser of static conditions:

Once *pa* becomes associated with foregrounded action, it can be used to indicate that a story-teller regards something as part of the foregrounded action, even if it might be regarded as stative or static in its basic decontextualized sense (Enkvist 1986: 304).

However, since sequentiality and transitivity presuppose foregrounding, the terms are often used as synonyms, as is also done in many of the works on foregrounding discussed in the following. In spite of this, it has to be kept in mind that foregrounding may occur in non-sequenced clauses of low transitivity.

2.2.1 FOREGROUNDING IN NARRATIVE DISCOURSE

It is evidently a universal of narrative discourse that in any extended text an overt distinction is made between the language of the actual story line and the language of supportive material which does not itself narrate the main events. I refer to the former – the parts of the narrative which relate events belonging to the skeletal structure of the discourse – as FOREGROUND and the latter as BACKGROUND (Hopper 1979: 213).

As the previous section suggested, foreground and background are created by a cluster of various linguistic features that conspire to create a structure that distinguishes between narrative material and supplementary material:

[G]rounding is best seen as a cluster concept, so that the foregroundedness vs. backgroundedness of a clause is dependent on several criteria: each of them affects the grounding degree of the clause, but none of them is alone decisive (Wårvik 2004: 102).

Thus, grounding cannot be defined as a dichotomous option, but as a continuum in which the degree of the foregroundedness or backgroundedness of a clause is dependent on the interplay of the features of the clause element. In addition, the relative degree of groundedness of the adjacent clauses is of importance since ‘the real grounding value of a clause is, like all textual phenomena, dependent on the context’ (*Ibid.* 102). Although the relational character of grounding implies that the perception of it may vary, it cannot be considered completely subjective, ‘as research has shown that grounding distinctions can be systematically marked and that the grounding judgements of different receivers agree to a large extent’ (Wårvik 2011).

The morphosyntactic and semantic features creating groundedness cluster around properties of verb, subject and object. One important aspect already mentioned is the timeframe: foregrounded events ‘succeed one another in the narrative in the same order as their succession in the real world’, while backgrounded events ‘are not in sequence to the foregrounded events, but are concurrent with them’ (Hopper 1979: 214). This means that foregrounded events are subjected to a sequentiality constraint which does not hold for backgrounded events and which may therefore ‘be located at any point along the time axis or indeed may not be located on the time axis at all (*Ibid.* 215).’ This has some impact on the verbs used: in foregrounded passages the verbs tend to be punctual rather than stative, durative or iterative, denoting dynamic and active events where the former is completed before the start of the next event. In languages with an elaborate tense and aspect system, such as French and Russian, grounding is often supported by verb morphology indicating perfective and imperfective aspect:⁸⁹

The aspects pick out the main route through the text and allow the listener (reader) to store the actual events of the discourse as a linear group while simultaneously processing accumulations of commentary and supportive information which add texture but not substance to the discourse itself (*Ibid.* 220).

The inherent properties of the verb forwarding the narrative can also be described in terms of transitivity as defined by Hopper and Thompson. Transitivity involves that ‘an activity is “carried over” or “transferred” from an agent to a patient’ (Hopper & Thompson 1980: 251).

⁸⁹ For example, the *passé simple* in French is associated with active and affirmative verbs denoting foregrounded events (see Hopper 1979: 216-9).

Thus, it is the semantic content of a verb that determines the degree of transitivity and not the grammatical construction: while *John beats Paul* involves the transfer of action, *John likes Paul* does not. Accordingly, Hopper and Thompson set up a list with morphosyntactic and semantic properties that sum up to the degree of transitivity of a clause:

	High Transitivity	Low Transitivity
<i>Participants</i>	two or more participants	one participant
<i>Kinesis</i>	action	non-action
<i>Aspect</i>	telic	atelic
<i>Punctuality</i>	punctual	non-punctual
<i>Volitionality</i>	volitional	non-volitional
<i>Affirmation</i>	affirmative	negative
<i>Mode</i>	realis	irrealis
<i>Agency</i>	agent high in potency	agent low in potency
<i>Affectiveness of Object</i>	totally affected	not affected
<i>Individuation of Object</i>	highly individuated	non-individuated

Table 2-3 Transitivity (based on Hopper & Thompson 1980: 252, Tab. 1)

Besides the number of participants, verbal criteria determining transitivity include KINESIS, ASPECT, PUNCTUALITY, VOLITIONALITY, AFFIRMATION and MODE. KINESIS refers to the degree to which an action is transferred, as explained by the examples above. Regarding ASPECT, telic sentences have a higher degree of transitivity as the ‘activity is viewed as completed, and the transferral is carried out in its entirety’ (Hopper & Thompson 1980: 252). Similarly, the transfer of punctual action has a more prominent effect on the patient than durative actions, for example *to kick* vs. *to carry*.⁹⁰ VOLITIONALITY refers to the degree to which the agent’s actions are purposeful, for example, *I wrote your name* vs. *I forgot your name*. The fact that only affirmative clauses can denote the transfer of action is captured in the AFFIRMATION parameter; MODE encodes the distinction between realis and irrealis: actions in the realis mode are more effective as their ‘occurrence is actually asserted as corresponding directly with a real event’ (*Ibid.* 525). In general, backgrounded passages, i.e. those containing low transitivity clauses, show a higher occurrence of irrealis forms, i.e. subjunctive or optative constructions with modal auxiliaries and negations.

Besides verbal criteria, there are participant criteria, i.e. properties referring to agent and patient, which also share in the relative degree of transitivity. The criteria AGENCY denotes the degree to which the subject ‘can affect a transfer of an action’ (Hopper & Thompson 1980: 252). For instance, *George startled me* implies an active involvement of the agent while *the picture startled me* is rather ‘a matter of an internal state’ (*Ibid.* 252). Thus, human subjects

⁹⁰ The examples on the following pages are taken from Hopper & Thompson 1980: 252-3.

frequently occur in foregrounded clauses.⁹¹ Another property of the participants not included into the transitivity scale, as it is a contextual feature and not a clause-inherent one, is TOPICALITY:

Topicality of participants [...] refers to the information status, givenness, thematicity or continuity of participants. The more topical or continuous a participant is, the more foregrounded it tends to be (Wårvik 2004: 103).

As the main storyline is associated with the actions and deeds of the main character(s),⁹² foregrounded clauses usually have a topical human subject referred to by proper names and singular personal pronouns. In backgrounded passages, on the other hand, non-human subjects, plural subjects, and subjects referring to secondary characters are much more frequent. Besides the features referring to the agent, the AFFECTEDNESS and INDIVIDUATION of the patient contributes to the degree of transitivity. The former refers to the degree to which the action affects an object, i.e. *I drank up the milk* implies a higher affectedness than *I drank some of the milk*. The individuation of the object ‘refers both to the distinctness of the patient from the A [the agent] and to its distinctness from its own background’ (Hopper & Thompson 1980: 252). Highly individuated participants have the following properties: they are proper, human/animate, concrete, singular, countable and definite. Individuated objects rank higher on the transitivity scale because ‘an action can be more effectively transferred to a patient which is individuated than to one which is not’ (*Ibid.* 253).

Besides the participant and verbal criteria of the transitivity scale, the informational structure of a clause contributes to its degree of foregroundedness: the focus structure in foregrounded passages is generally unmarked: the subjects are highly presuppositional while new material is introduced in the predicate, i.e. in the verb itself or in its direct complement (Hopper 1979: 215). New events are seldom introduced in backgrounded passages; instead, they frequently renarrate events. Furthermore, the informational structure is frequently marked, with the focus on elements other than the predicate, for example, a subject of low topicality or sentence adverbials (*Ibid.* 215-7). The different focus structures of foregrounded and backgrounded clauses influence word order because focused elements generally occur in the most exposed positions of the sentence. The connection between focus structure, element order, and groundedness will be addressed more detailed in the next section. Table 2-4 gives an overview of the correlations between groundedness and the different morphosyntactic,

⁹¹ Of course thematic roles should not be confused with grammatical categories; however, in foregrounded passages the subject usually coincides with the agent.

⁹² For this reason Wårvik adds ‘participant-tracking’ to the list of text-linguistic functions of *ba* (see Wårvik 1994).

semantic and contextual features as described by Hopper, which partly overlap with features on the transitivity scale.⁹³

	Foregrounded events	Backgrounded events
Aspect	Perfective	Imperfective
Time axis	Chronological sequencing Events completed before next event	Simultaneity or overlapping Events not necessarily completed
Verbs	Active, punctual High assertiveness, realis	Stative, iterative, durative Irrealis, negation, modal auxiliaries
Subject	Identity of subject within episode Human topics High topicality: proper names, singular pronouns	Frequent changes of subject Variety of topics; natural phenomena Low topicality: complex or marked subjects
Focus	Unmarked focus structure Focus on predicate	Marked focus structure Focus on subject, instrument or sentence adverbial
Content	Dynamic events Narrated events of main storyline Events indispensable to narrative	Stative, descriptive situations Comments, amplification, explanation or re-telling of old events State, comment or situation necessary for understanding motives etc.

Table 2-4 Foregrounding devices (based on Hopper 1979: 216)

One last point, which is of special importance for the present work, is that backgrounded material is associated with subordination while foregrounded events are usually presented in main clauses. This correlation, like the others listed in the table above, does not imply that all foregrounded clauses are principal and all backgrounded clauses subordinate. The tendency, however, is also evident in the analysis of Russell Tomlin (1985) on foreground-background coding in Modern English; it confirms that '[d]ependent clauses do code background information' and that 'independent clauses do code pivotal or foreground information' (1985: 118). The task of backgrounded clauses to provide motivations and explanations for the course of action naturally entails the use of conjunctions which explicitly express causal, temporal, concessive and other relations between clauses. The correlation between

⁹³ As there are various approaches to the partly coinciding concepts of transitivity, sequentiality and grounding, the list is by no means exhaustive. For a summary of the most influential works see Wårvik (2004: 100-104), who also tries to combine the different frameworks in order to present a most complete overview of features associated with grounding.

groundedness and clause type and the correlation between focus structure and word order again evoke the question to what extent word order can be related to grounding strategies.

2.2.2 FOREGROUNDING BY WORD ORDER

In the account of cross-linguistic foregrounding strategies in discourse, Hopper dedicates one section to Old English (1979: 220-6). As OE does not possess an elaborate tense and aspect system, it draws on other strategies to distinguish between foregrounded action and background information, one of them being word order. As mentioned in the preceding section, focus structure differs in backgrounded and foregrounded clauses; new information is usually encoded in the predicate in the latter while focus may be set on various clause constituents in backgrounded clauses. This has direct consequences for word order: in foregrounded clauses, the finite verb will be moved to a prominent position within the clause:

The significant parameter here is the position of the verb with respect to the other constituents of the clause. In foregrounded patterns, the principle is that the verb is peripheral. This means that the verb either precedes the subject (VS) or follows its immediate complements (OV). The alternation VS/OV is itself governed by further discourse considerations: The OV pattern is found when a chain of events in the same episodic series follows a sequence-initial VS clause (Hopper 1979: 221).

Hopper's observation about the distribution of VS and OV evokes Foster's account of narrative structuring: the pattern VS-OV-OV-OV, comprising a foregrounded narrative unit, resembles Foster's *þa...and...and...and* sequences of primary narratives.⁹⁴ Observations on OE syntax suggest that both approaches describe the same phenomenon since conjoined clauses frequently have a delayed verb.⁹⁵ Foregrounding in OE is thus achieved by word order as well as by the overt marker *þa*, suggesting the interplay of syntactic and pragmatic forces.

With regard to the syntax of such constructions, Leiv Breivik (2003) observed that *þa* is not a completely independent marker, as suggested by Enkvist (1972: 95), because it is not removable without jeopardising the well-formedness of the clause (Breivik 2003: 40).⁹⁶ Just as much as the followers of the text-linguistic approach rebuked early scholars for calling *þa* a meaningless particle, Breivik complains about the text-linguists' habit of denying that *þa* has any syntactic function at all:

⁹⁴ However, Hopper is uncertain about the actual motivation for a break in the pattern. Though some breaks seem to be due to 'thematic shifts', i.e. the start of a new narrative unit, some others seem to be a kind of 'breath pause' or an 'aesthetic effect' (1979: 221).

⁹⁵ However, this view has been challenged by more recent (mostly statistical) analyses of conjoined clauses (see *ITT*: 115).

⁹⁶ Breivik starts his article with the observation that discourse markers in their modern definition 'appear to be without propositional meaning and grammatical function' (2003: 39), i.e. they are not integrated into the syntactic structure of a clause.

There can be no doubt that this particle shares some of the pragmatic features of contemporary oral discourse, and that these features should figure prominently in an inventory of its functions. However, it would appear that in their eagerness to attribute discourse functions to *þa*, recent studies have lost sight of the fact that it also plays an important syntactic role (Breivik 2003: 40).

Breivik agrees with Stockwell (1984: 576) that V2 syntax in OE main clauses, though never grammaticalised as in German, acquired the status of a word order norm that was strong enough to require an additional element if the verb precedes the subject as is the case in episodic VS clauses, i.e. those clauses introducing a new narrative unit:

[T]he *raison d'être* for *þa* should be attributed more to syntactic factors than recent discourse studies suggest. Even when it has textual functions (e.g. as a marker of narrative segmentation), it carries out an important job on the syntactic level as a topical element in the V2 structure (Breivik: 2003: 50).

Thus, the syntactic and pragmatic functions of word order and *þa* do not simply correlate in foregrounded narrative units of OE prose, but are interdependent; the two factors are interwoven in a way that makes it impossible to say whether the presence of *þa* triggers the VS word order or whether *þa* is the result of inversion. Nevertheless, the pragmatic function and force of these clauses is undisputed.

Considering unit-internal clauses, however, Hopper's statement that OV indicates foregroundedness is problematic. Hopper's sample text is taken from the *ASC* (entry for 870 A.D.) and, admittedly, the verb consistently 'follows its immediate complements' in the coordinated clauses following unit-initial *Adv. VS*.

- | | | |
|----|---|----|
| 1. | <i>her rad se here ofer Mierce innan East Engle</i> | VS |
| 2. | <i>ond winter setl namon æt Peodforda</i> | OV |
| 3. | <i>ond þy wintre Eadmund cyning him wiþ feaht</i> | OV |
| 4. | <i>ond þa Denscan sige namon</i> | OV |
| 5. | <i>ond þone cyning ofslogon</i> | OV |
| 6. | <i>ond þæt lond all ge eodon</i> | OV |

(Hopper 1979: 221)⁹⁷

The text samples chosen by Foster, however, paint a different picture. The *þa...ond...ond...ond* sequences illustrating the structure of narrative units are taken from *Ælfric's Life* and give an account of Edmund's martyrdom.⁹⁸ The following clauses show the reverse order of verb and object:

⁹⁷ See Hopper 1992: 218 for further examples from the *Chronicle*.

⁹⁸ For the whole text sample see Foster 1975: 407-8.

- | | | |
|----|---|----|
| 1. | <i>þa gewende se ærendraca ardllice aweg</i> | VS |
| 2. | <i>and gemette be wæge þone wælhreowan Hingwar [...]</i> | VO |
| 3. | <i>and sæde þam arlesan hu him geandwyrd wæs.
[...]</i> | VO |
| 4. | <i>þa tugon þa hæþenan þone halgan to slæge</i> | VS |
| 5. | <i>and mid anum swencge slogon him of þa heafod...</i> | VO |

Since both text samples illustrate narrative units occurring in foregrounded passages, the factor GROUNDEDNESS cannot be considered as crucial for the position of verb and object. The statistical analysis conducted by Cichosz of the position of V and O in conjoined clauses shows that both patterns are almost equally frequent in OE original prose, while the VO pattern exceeds constructions with delayed verb in translated prose:

	<i>Original prose</i>		<i>Translated prose</i>	
	dOV	VdO	dOV	VdO
Constructions with direct object	52%	48%	36%	64%
Constructions with direct, indirect and prep. objects, and complements	49%	51%	29%	71%

Table 2-5 Position of O and V in conjoined clauses in OE prose
(based on *ITT*: 124-25; Tab. 46 & 47)

The analysis demonstrates that coordinated clauses do not show an obvious tendency of preferring patterns with a delayed verb; Cichosz analyses in how far object weight influences the choice of one order over the other, confirming the results of earlier studies (at least regarding OE prose)⁹⁹ that heavy objects correlate with VO and light and medium objects with OV (*ITT*: 105-111). Object weight, however, is only apparently unconnected with grounding: recalling Hopper and Thompson's transitivity scale and the participant features of affectedness and individuation, foregrounded passages tend to employ highly individuated human objects of high topicality. This entails pronominalisation and proper names, i.e. light and medium objects.

Thus, Hopper's assumptions are not contradicted by Cichosz's data, but the counterevidence from Foster's text cannot be ignored. There are interdependent factors which may be responsible for the increase of VO patterns in foregrounded clauses: influenced by Latin, the developing art of prose became more precise in terms of the grammatical distinction between subordination and independence while the increase of VO patterns in main clauses already

⁹⁹ Cichosz (*ITT*: 207) questions earlier assumption of a common West Germanic syntax as put forward by Graeme (2002) as her results demonstrate that the syntax of Old High German deviates in many respects from Old English.

evident in late OE (see Chapter 1, p. 14) may have contributed to the association of verb-lateness with the grammatical function SUBORDINATION rather than with foregrounding. In fact, subordinated clauses show a positive correlation with OV patterns:

	<i>Original prose</i>		<i>Translated prose</i>	
	dOV	VdO	dOV	VdO
Constructions with direct object	76%	24%	76%	24%
Constructions with direct, indirect and prep. objects, and complements	OV 75%	VO 25%	OV 62%	VO 38%

Table 2-6 Position of O and V in subordinated clauses in OE prose
(based on *ITT*: 202-3; Tab. 112)

The correlation of verb-lateness with subordination may have been the reason for the dissociation of foregroundedness from OV patterns, even though subordinated and coordinated clauses are still distinct as the former frequently have an expressed (and often pronominalised) subject, while the latter clauses omit the subject when it is coreferential with the preceding clause. The evidence from the two short text samples from Hopper and Foster is inconclusive as well as the statistical analysis conducted by Cichosz. Further research which factors in groundedness would be necessary to determine which principles govern OV and VO word order.¹⁰⁰

In contrast to verb-peripheral foregrounded clauses, Hopper claims that SV clauses with the verb in medial position prevail in backgrounded passages:

SV clauses in Old English are found whenever the narrative material is part of the supporting or amplifying discourse rather than of the main story line. They are, therefore, found when preliminary actions, explanations, or lasting states are being presented (Hopper 1079: 222).

This systematic distinction is again demonstrated by an example from the *ASC* (755 A.D.) where the subject directly precedes the verb as long as the text describes prior historical events before the account of the main events starts:

Her Cynewulf benam Sigebryht his rices ond West Seaxna wiotan for unryhtum dædum, butan Ham tun scire; ond he hæfde þa oþ he ofslog þone aldor mon þe him lengest wunode [...]; ond þa geascode he þone cyning lytle werode on wifcubbe on Merantune, [...].

¹⁰⁰ The relation of pragmatic factors with the position of the verb has also been analysed for Old High German. Hinterhölzl & Petrova conclude that verb-placement in the early stages of German was sensitive to salience and discourse-structural factors, too: 'The empirical investigation of the syntax of Old High German Tatian gives reason to relate the variation of verb placement to the discourse properties of the sentences involved' (2005: 78).

The onset of VS/OV syntax coincides with the start of the actual events of the narrative (*ond þa geascode he* ‘And he found...’), and the verb-peripheral sentence type is used consistently until the Ausleitung (coda), when we are told what happened AFTER the main events:

Ond se Cynewulf ricsode.xxxi. wint. ond [...]

(Hopper 1979: 222).

Regarding SV, the syntactic changes described above do not disturb the grounding system: in the case of the episode-initial clause, there is a conceivable distinction between VS (demonstrative order) in foregrounded passages and SV (common order) in backgrounded passages which is not affected by verb-lateness. In the case of unit-internal clauses the SV pattern is created by the use of a personal pronoun referential to the subject of the initial clause, which is frequently omitted in foregrounded passages.

In conclusion, the following correlations between word order and groundedness in OE prose can be observed:

	<i>unit-initial</i>	<i>unit-internal</i>
FOREGROUND	<i>þa VS</i> - demonstrative order - subject verb inversion	<i>ond VO / ond OV</i> - subject omitted when coreferential
BACKGROUND	<i>SV</i> - common order	<i>SV</i> - subject pronominalised when coreferential

Table 2-7 Grounding by word order in OE prose

How do these principles relate to poetry, where word order is, on the one hand, more constraint by metrics but, on the other hand, more conservative in preserving archaic syntactic constructions? If the systematic use of word order is indeed a feature of oral storytelling, is not there good reason to believe that the patterns can be traced in poetry as well? The very fact that finite verbs only ever occur in line-internal position when they are (quasi-)auxiliaries may be a relic of this system: verbs such *sceal*, *mæg*, *wolde*, *wæs*, *hæfde* and *wearð* are associated with supplementary material denoting either options, wishes and possibilities or non-sequential events, which are not part of the main storyline. Lexical verbs, on the other hand, are restricted to a peripheral position of the half-line which entails their frequent occurrence in a peripheral position of the clause. Yet, whatever the origins of the rhythm of OE poetry, once the metrical patterns are fixed, the position of the finite verb is too constrained, at least in b-clauses, as to indicate groundedness, unless it were assumed that unstressed verbs can only occur in backgrounded clauses and stressed verbs only in foregrounded clauses (which is definitely not the case). Therefore, the principles of functional

word order use observed in prose cannot simply be transferred to poetry. Just as word order in verse can be no indication of the grammatical status of clauses, it proves an equally unreliable guide for groundedness. Instead, the internal properties of clause elements which are associated with backgrounding and foregrounding are the crucial factors for determining function. The following section analyses in how far the correlations found in prose between different pragmatic functions of *þa* with specific morphosyntactic features can be transferred to poetry. Furthermore, it will be discussed whether the grammatical function of a clause can be inferred from the text-linguistic function, i.e. whether there are systematic correspondences between the syntactic and pragmatic functions of *þa*.

2.2.3 INTERRELATION OF PRAGMATIC AND SYNTACTIC FUNCTIONS

The preceding sections have demonstrated that many of the different functions of *þa*, i.e. action marking, main storyline marking and participant tracking, are associated with foregrounding. What Enkvist called ‘action marking’ could as well be described as instance of a highly foregrounded passage. Foregrounding, however, is not created by the use of *þa* alone, but is much rather a cluster of different features co-occurring with it, which can be described in terms of transitivity and sequentiality. In foregrounded passages of OE prose, *þa* is accompanied by highly topical subjects denoting the main participants and active and often punctual verbs. These features extend to the following clauses coordinated by *ond*, while VS word order is restricted to the *þa*-clause. In poetry, this clause-type seems to correspond to the V *þa* X pattern frequently found in a-verses of narrative passages. The following examples are taken from Beowulf’s fight with Grendel’s mother, i.e. the passage in which Enkvist recognised the highest frequency of action marking *þa*:

1501	Grap þa togeanes, atolan clommum;	guðrinc gefeng	<i>Then she grabbed towards him, took hold of the warrior with terrible claws.</i>
1506	Bær þa seo brimwyl[f], hringa þengel	þa heo to botme com, to hofe sinum,	<i>Then the sea-wolf, when she came to the bottom, bore the rings’ lord to her court</i>
1518	Ongeat þa se goda merewif mihtig;	grundwyrgenne,	<i>Then the good one perceived the mighty, ground-cursed mere-wife.</i>
1537	Gefeng þa be eaxle – Guð-Geata leod	nalas for fæhðe mearn – Grendles modor;	<i>Then he, the Geats’ prince, grasped Grendel’s mother by the shoulder – not regretting the battle.</i>

- | | | |
|------|--|---|
| 1539 | brægd þa beadwe heard, þa he gebolgen wæs,
feorhgeniðlan, þæt heo on flet gebeah. | <i>Then the battle-hard, as he was furious,
hurled his deadly foe that she fell to the
floor.</i> |
| 1545 | Ofsæt þa þone selegyst, ond hyre seax geteah
brad [ond] brunecg; | <i>Then she overwhelmed her hall-guest
and drew her blade, broad and brown-
edged.</i> |

With regard to the subject, the examples show that the construction V *þa* is used either with a definite noun phrase or, as in the first and the last example, an unexpressed subject. Subject pronouns are excluded from these examples; this observation corresponds to the prose system, where the subject is a noun phrase or proper name in the *þa*-clause while it is unexpressed in the coordinated clauses. Although pronouns imply a high degree of topicality, they seem to occur more frequently in backgrounded clauses where they fill the grammatical slot SUBJECT, thus creating the common order typical for these clauses. The same seems to be true for poetry where pronouns are basically grammatical phenomena which are redundant in the examples above: the subject is either inferable¹⁰¹ or, if the subject is expressed, it contributes lexical material including alliterating syllables to the poetic line (i.e. *seo brimwylf*, *se goda*, *Guð-Geata leod*, and *beadwe heard*). The use of pronouns would only increase the number of unstressed syllables without providing any information or marking a specific function. This absence of pronouns from foregrounded clauses of this type makes them suitable markers for dependent clauses where they fill the grammatical subject-slot as in *Beo* 1506b and 1539b (see above). These clauses will be further discussed in the analysis in 2.3.2.

The finite verb in the examples is generally active, though it is not always punctual (e.g. *bær*), and takes a direct object affected to a high degree, which denotes the respective antagonist. Thus, the verbal and participant criteria generally point to a high degree of transitivity on Hopper and Thompson's transitivity scale. These clauses are comparable to foregrounded clauses in prose though a distinction between unit-internal and unit-initial clauses seems superfluous since there are hardly any actions coordinated by *ond* (except in the last example).¹⁰² Foster explicitly excludes subordination from this kind of clauses and the

¹⁰¹ Of course, as there are two acting participants here, it is not always instantly clear whether the sea-monster or Beowulf is the subject. Even though confusion could have been prevented by the use of feminine and masculine pronouns (which is not possible in the Grendel-fight episode), disambiguation does not seem to be the ultimate aim of the author, for he frequently addresses Grendel's mother with a masculine pronoun (see *Beo* 1260a, 1392b, 1394b and 1497b).

¹⁰² This is partly due to the fact that coordinating *ond* is often omitted (see p. 80) and partly to the fact that the poet elaborates on attending circumstances instead of simply stating the main proceedings as in the examples for narrative units quoted by Foster and Hopper. Thus, the V *þa* X pattern is certainly used for highly foregrounded actions, but the inversion does not necessarily indicate the beginning of a narrative unit since this conception is not easily transferable to poetry.

previous discussions have proved that there are good reasons to do so as highly foregrounded clauses, i.e. those where *þa* is used as ‘action marker’, are hardly compatible with subordination. Of course the examples are syntactically unambiguous a-clauses, but there are structurally ambiguous b-clauses in *Beowulf* which show the same morphosyntactic features. These will be further discussed in the analysis of the *þa* X V pattern in 2.3.1.

Besides action marking, *þa* can also mark the return to the main storyline after digressions or longer passages of supplementary material. This function does not necessarily correlate with transitivity and sequentiality. The same is true for *þa*-clauses marking new episodes or sub-episodes. In this function, it is not accompanied by morphosyntactic features indicating a high transitivity, but by breaks in the continuity of time, place or participants. The break is mostly implied by the intrinsic features of the verb (see Table 2-2, p. 77) requiring either spatial specifications (verbs of motion or of static location) or the specification of participants (presentative verbs). Only breaks in the continuity of time are expressed by temporal phrases independent of the verb. These clauses specifying time, place or participants are often descriptive, providing additional information which sets the scene before the beginning of the main action. The arguments provided for the incompatibility of highly foregrounded clauses with subordination do not hold for these clauses; instead, there is a hierarchy between those introductory clauses and sequenced events of the main action, which can well be expressed by a hypotactic sentence structure. In fact, the use of *when-then* constructions is not at all uncommon in prose, where the subordinate clause providing spatial or temporal specifications. The following examples from the OE Gospels¹⁰³ exemplify this kind of clauses:

- | | |
|------------|---|
| Mt 27:57 | Soplice, þa hyt æfen wæs, com sum weli man of arimathia...
<i>Truly, when it was evening, a wealthy man from Arimathea arrived...</i> |
| Mt 20:8 | Soplice, þa hyt wæs æfen geworðen, þa sægde þas wingeardes hlaford hys gerefen:
<i>Truly, when evening had arrived, the lord of the vineyard said to his manager:</i> |
| Lk 5: 12 | þa he wæs on anre ceastre, þa wæs þær an hreofla...
<i>When he was in a certain city, there was a leper...</i> |
| Mt 9:23-24 | Ænd þa se hælend com in-to þas ealdres halle 7 he geseah hwistleres and hlydende menigeo, he cwæð:
<i>And when Jesus came into the ruler's hall and saw musicians and a tumultuous crowd, he said:</i> |

¹⁰³ The OE Gospels are discussed more detailed in Chapter 3. The quotations are taken from the Hatton MS as featured in Skeat's edition of the OE Gospels (1871-1887).

The Gospels, however, as a close translation of the Latin source text, are strongly influenced by Latin syntax. The model for the OE sentence structure is a Latin construction introduced by the conjunction *cum* as in Mt 23: *et cum venisset iesus in domum principis et vidisset...*¹⁰⁴ In contrast, Hopper's examples (1992) from the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* of episodic clauses in OE original prose are evidently principle clauses; as they are usually accompanied by inversion (*þa* V S), their structure is not even ambiguous. The OE Gospels and the *ASC* certainly represent two very marked narrative styles: the former is strongly coined on the plain biblical style of the Latin source text, while the latter preserves the also rather plain and unvaried style of a chronicle. There can be no doubt that the hypotactic structure of the former is influenced by Latin, while the latter is closer to the paratactic structure of OE primary narratives; however, this can be no reason to assume that only translated prose uses hypotactic constructions in these instances. In fact, the hypotactic *when-then* constructions are very frequent in the later entries of the *ASC* and in its continuation, the *Peterborough Chronicle*. Despite the fact that OE original prose is also influenced by Latin, the backgroundedness of episodic clauses makes them susceptible to subordination in any case.

The syntactic function of *þa* may be more diverse in these clauses than in foregrounded clauses of the main storyline; at least there is no stylistic reason to exclude subordination from the beginning of episodes. However, episode-initial clauses indicating relocation, i.e. those containing a verb of motion, are clearly principal in poetry since they take the same form as clauses of high transitivity:

Beo 115 Gewat ða neosian syþðan niht becom
Beo 2367 Oferswam ða sioleða bigong sunu Ecgðeowes

Presentative verbs also adopt this structure as is evident from *Beo* 1518 (see above) which reintroduces Grendel's mother to the scene of action. Though these clauses lack transitivity, they share the morphosyntactic features of other main storyline events: i.e. active verbs and highly topical subjects. Only clauses conveying spatial or temporal specifications which are not directly connected to the actions of the main participants are more difficult to classify. However, it is hardly possible to identify such clear-cut examples of *when-then* constructions in OE poetry; even episodic clauses with stative verbs appear to be principal:

¹⁰⁴ The Latin text quoted here is taken from the Lindisfarne Gospel edited by Skeat (1871-1887), which is supposed to be close to the lost source text for the OE translation in the Hatton MS (see Ch. 3).

The clause as a whole is foregrounded in relation to the surrounding clauses and it alerts the audience to the continuation of the narrative by introducing one of the main participants to the scene of action. The text-linguistic functions of episode-marking and marking the return to the main-storyline do not seem to co-occur with subordination in poetry; yet, *þa*-clauses of this kind clearly need further qualification since the arguments provided for *Beo* 1008 do not hold for *Beo* 53 and 837: neither of them contains an active verb nor does the subject refer to a main participant.

In prose, *when-then* constructions are also common after passages of direct speech; the narrative text is frequently resumed by expressions such as ‘when this was said’ before the next event is narrated in the following main clause:

Mk 1:42 And þa he þus cwæð, sona syo reoflyss him fram gewat and he wæs clænsed.
And when he had thus spoken, the leprosy at once departed and he was cleansed.

Jh 19:8 Ða Pilatus gehyrde þas spræce, þa ondredde he him.
When Pilatus heard that speech, he became fearful.

This kind of *when-then* construction is absent from verse: the resuming of the action after a passage of direct speech is simply marked by *þa* (if marked at all), as for instance in *Beo* 399, 491 and 662, even if the subsequent action is closely linked to the words spoken before: in *Beo* 399 *Aras þa se rinca*, Beowulf and his retainers rise after they have been informed by the guard that Hroþgar will receive them in his hall. *Beo* 491 *þa wæs Geatmæcgum... benc gerymed*, narrates how room is made for the new-comers after Hroþgar ends his speech by bidding them to sit down to the banquet. In *Beo* 662 *Ða him Hroþgar gewat*, the king retreats from the feast only after he has commissioned the guard of the hall to Beowulf. The repetitive constructions as found in prose seem to be avoided in poetic style; the use of *þa* is enough to imply the progress of the action as well as the implied connection between the speech and the subsequent action. The redundant information is skipped and the main narrative continues in the principal *þa*-clause.

In conclusion, the following correlations between the syntactic and pragmatic functions of *þa* can be observed: when *þa* correlates with highly foregrounded events on the main storyline, it indicates the unreflected sequentiality of events which is hardly compatible with subordination. *þa*-clauses indicating the return to the main storyline or marking new episodes are principal as well when they relate main storyline events, i.e. when they contain an active verb and have a main participant subject, even if the morphosyntactic features do not indicate

a high degree of transitivity. In this, poetry deviates from prose, especially translated prose, where *when-then* constructions frequently set the scene or sum up previous events. Here, *þa* still functions as a marker, but it has also acquired a grammatical function which subordinates additional information or given information to the main narrative. In poetry, the avoidance of redundant information seems to imply that such constructions are not used. Even in works that are based on Latin prose, such as *Andreas*, the construction might have been avoided because, as Mitchell suggests, it was felt to be prosaic and too much coined by Latin influence to suit AS poetic style. This difference in the use of *þa* is in line with a more general observation on the differences between prose and verse, namely that prose is often more concise and explicit than verse. These stylistic differences will be further discussed in Chapter 3.

The preceding paragraphs demonstrated that the text-linguistic functions of *þa* are not completely independent of the syntactic function. Thus, determining the pragmatic function of a *þa*-clause can indeed help to deduce whether the clause is principal or subordinate. Sequenced events do not seem to be reconcilable with subordination. The conclusions about episodic clauses are more tentative as poetry seems to deviate in this respect from prose. Episode-marking or transition-marking does not on principle preclude subordination since the clauses may contain backgrounded material. However, there seems to be a general tendency of OE poetic style to avoid *when-then* constructions typical for translated prose. For this reason, it may be assumed that only *þa*-clauses which are void of the text-linguistic functions described above are potential sub-clauses, that is, episode-internal clauses containing backgrounded material. This hypothesis will be tested in the following analysis by re-examining the ambiguous clauses in *Beowulf* and *Andreas*, this time focusing on the morphosyntactic properties of the clause elements and the larger context of the narrative.

2.3 THE TEXT-LINGUISTIC PERSPECTIVE: *BEOWULF* AND *ANDREAS* REVISITED

The analysis of different ambiguous clauses in *Beowulf* and *Andreas* in Chapter 1 has demonstrated that word order does not provide conclusive evidence of whether a clause is principal or subordinate. Due to the fact that the finite verb is subjected to metrical constraints, two ambiguous patterns emerge (see also Table 1-23, p. 67):

- a) *þa* X V, which frequently occurs in b-verses and which seems to be a variation of V *þa* of the a-verse. The verb, when stressed, has to be delayed in these clauses because it cannot occur in either initial or medial position.
- b) *þa* V, with unstressed verbs, occurring both in a- and b-verses.

As the metrical constraints operating in verse do not allow word order to become grammatically systematised in the same way as in prose, the question arose whether the ambiguity of *þa*-clauses can be solved by other means. The examination of the pragmatic function of those clauses moves away from the mechanical scanning of word order and focuses on the internal properties of the clause elements instead. In the following sections, it will be analysed whether the morphosyntactic properties of clause elements may be used as guidelines for the interpretation of ambiguous clauses.

2.3.1 *þa* X V

Table 2-8 lists all b-clauses of the *þa* X V pattern occurring in *Beowulf* and *Andreas*.¹⁰⁵ The clauses which are punctuated as subordinate clauses in the editions used for this work are printed bold.

<i>Beowulf</i>		<i>Andreas</i>	
706	þa metod nolde	167	þa sio stefn gewearð
730	þa his mod ahlog	449	þa seo menigo ongan
967	þa metod nolde	467	þa þam halgan wearð
1512	Ða se eorl ongeat	804	þa þæt folc gewearð
1522	(Ð)a se gist onfand	843	þa se wis<a> oncneow
1605	þa þæt sweord ongan	996	Ða se halga gebæd
1698	Ða se wisa spræc	1103	Ða se tan gehwearf
2567	ða se wurm gebeah	1575	þa se æðeling het
2676	þa his agen (wæs)	1587	þa se beorg tohlad
2711	Ða sio wund ongon	1632	þa se modiga het
2715	Ða se æðeling giong		
2944	þa se goda com		
2978	þa his broðor læg		
3061	þa sio fæhð gewearð		

Table 2-8 *þa* X V clauses in *Beowulf* and *Andreas*

According to the syntactic approaches of Andrew and Blockley, *þa* X V clauses are subordinate. It was demonstrated, however, that this pattern is ambiguous as the placement of the verb is dependent on the type of verb. The pattern can be subordinate as in *Beo* 2987 *þa his broþor læg* or principal as in *Beo* 730 *þa his mod ahlog*. As both clauses extend no further than one half-line, there is nothing in the formal structure that could help to disambiguate them. The text-linguistic approach provides indications for either interpretation, namely the association of linguistic features with either backgrounded or foregrounded events. If these features are analysed for the two clauses, the decision to interpret one clause as principal and the other as subordinate is no longer arbitrary: the verb *ahlog* marks action, while *læg* describes a state. If *his mod* is taken to denote the continuative subject *Grendel*, as Andrew

¹⁰⁵ That is, all clauses where X is a noun phrase. Clauses where a pronoun follows after *þa* are discussed separately in the next section (2.3.2, p. 120). *Beo* 402 and 2629 are excluded, too, because the occurrence of *þa* in the manuscript is debated; it is often either omitted or emended to *þæt* in the editions.

interprets it (*PS*: § 61), there is a given subject which refers to a main participant. *His broþor*, on the other hand, is not the subject of the surrounding clauses, nor does the clause provide any new information, that is, it does not forward the narrative in any way; quite the contrary, the reader is already informed about the fact that Eofer's brother Wulf was severely injured and fell to the ground:

Beo 2971 Ne meahte se snella sunu Wonredes
 ealdum ceorle ondslyht giofan,
 ac he him on heafde helm ær gescer
 þæt he blode fah bugan sceolde,
 feoll on foldan;

The active son of Wonred could not give the return blow to the older man; but Ongentheow first gave Wulf's helmet on his head, so that he was forced to sink down, stained with blood. He fell to earth (Hall 1950: 168).

Consequently, the *þa* in *Beo* 2978 neither correlates with high transitivity, as might be expected in foregrounded passages forwarding the narration, nor does it mark the return to the major events or the beginning of a new episode. The time frame, too, shows a typical feature of backgrounded events as the stative verb *læg* is not sequenced with the other events but is concurrent with them, which is also captured in Hall's translation of the passage:

Beo 2978 Let se hearda Higelaces þegn
 brad[n]e mece, þa his broðor læg,
 ealdsweord eotonisc entiscne helm
 brecan ofer bordweal;

*Hygelac's sturdy follower (Eofer) broke his broad blade, his sword made by giants of old, over the protection shield, the massive helmet, **the while** his brother lay dead* (Hall 1950: 168; emphasis mine).

So, instead of fulfilling any pragmatic function, *þa* connects the additional information of the clause to the foregrounded events of the narration, either providing a time frame for the main plot (temporal) or explaining the actions of the main participants (causal). Fulk interprets *Beo* 2978 as one example where both, i.e. a temporal and a causal relationship, are expressed:

The resolute thane of Hygelac (i.e. Eofer), now that his brother lay (wounded), let his broad blade, an old sword made by giants, break the trollish helmet over the protection shield.

“Since” might do as well as “now” to render *þa* in 2978b, but either would be superior to non-causal “when”, after which one might expect an action verb like *crang* “fell” rather than a stative one like *læg* “lay” (Fulk 2007: 624).

The properties of the verb indicate that the clause is not part of the sequenced events of the main narrative. The same observation was made for *Beo* 467 and 2372 (*þa Hygelac/Heregar*

wæs dead) where the time frame is interrupted, too (see section 1.3.2). In all cases, the break is indicated by the verb describing a state, i.e. by its internal property, and not by its position. The subject, too, though animated, refers to a minor character which is not the agent of the adjacent clauses, nor is any object affected. All features point to a low ranking on the transitivity scale and thus to the backgroundedness of these clauses.

The same is true for *Beo* 2676, which explains why Wiglaf takes shelter under Beowulf's shield:

Beo 2676 ac se maga geonga under his mæges scyld
 elne geeode, þa his agen (wæs)¹⁰⁶
 gledum forgrunden.

But the young warrior quickly hid under his kinsman's shield since his own had crumbled in the blaze.

Here the signals for subordination or backgrounding are the inanimate subject and the predicate describing the state in which the shield now is rather than an active account of what happened to it: the burning of the shield itself was related earlier:

Beo 2672-3 Lig yðum for;
 born bord wið rond.

The blaze burst forth and burned the shield to the boss.

Again, the *þa*-clause does not forward the narrative, but connects given information with the actual events, thus explaining Wiglaf's actions. Constructions with *wæs* + past participle expressing a kind of pluperfect also occur with the *þa* V X pattern. Although the position of *wæs* differs according to the presence or absence of other unstressed elements, the syntactic function stays the same (see section 2.3.3).

In contrast, other examples of the pattern *þa* X V in *Beowulf* do narrate events concerning the main participants:

1512 Ða se eorl ongeat
 þæt he [in] niðsele nathwylcum wæs,
 þær him nænig wæter wihte ne sceþede,

Then Beowulf perceived that he was in a kind of hall where the water could not harm him.

1698 Ða se wisa spræc
 sunu Healfdenes; swigedon ealle:

¹⁰⁶ The brackets indicate emendation in the edition used: 'Round brackets (parentheses) are used when the conjecturally inserted letters correspond to letters of the MS which on account of its damaged conditions are missing or illegible and were so when the Thorkelin transcripts were made' (Fulk et al. 2008: 2).

- þær him nænig wæter wihte ne sceþede,
 ne him for hrofsele hrinan ne mehte
 færgripe flodes; fyrleoht geseah,
 blacne leoman beorhte scinan.
 1518 **Ongeat þa se goda** grundwyrgenne
 merewif mihtig; mægenræs forgeaf
 hildebille, hond swenge ne ofteah,
 þæt hire on hafelan hringmæl agol
 1522 grædig guðleoð. **(Ð)a se gist onfand**
 þæt se beadoleoma bitan nolde,
 aldre sceþðan, ac seo ecg geswac
 ðeodne æt þearfe;

Then the chief perceived that he was in some unfriendly hall or other, where no water harmed him in any way, nor might the sudden rush of the flood touch him, by reason of the vaulted chamber; - a fiery light he saw, a glaring flame shine brightly. Then the brave man perceived the accursed monster of the deep, the mighty mere-wife. He gave a forceful impulse to his battle-sword; his hand did not hold back the blow, - so that the patterned blade sang out a greedy war-song on her head. Then the stranger found that the shining weapon would not bite, could do no harm to life; but the blade failed the chieftain in his need (Hall 1950: 97-98; emphasis mine).

All three clauses introduce the reader to a new circumstance Beowulf comes to realise, each gradually increasing the threat to the hero:

1. Beowulf perceives that he is in an inhospitable underwater cave, where the water can no longer harm him.
2. Then he discovers that the sea-monster, Grendel's mother, is also there and attacks her.
3. Then he realises that his sword is useless against his enemy.

The increasing tension finally closes, again by using a *þa*-clause, with the words '*þa wæs forma sið... þæt his dom alæg*' referring to the powerful sword failing for the first time, which seems to mirror the fate of the hero by creating a seemingly hopeless situation which can hardly be solved to Beowulf's advantage. Even if the subordination of some *þa*-clauses rendered a fluid translation, it would spoil the suspense built up by the use of parallel clauses.¹⁰⁷ Yet, the *þa*-clauses are indeed linked, forming a kind of core structure of the passage. Therefore, I agree that *þa* creates text cohesion over a longer distance, but I object to the idea that this linkage is grammatical. Eric Stanley proposes that adverbs in initial position frequently function as links between related ideas.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁷ I call them parallel despite the difference in word order because of the observation made in Chapter 1 that V *þa* of the on-verse seems to correspond to *þa* X V in the off-verse.

¹⁰⁸ On the development of these 'adverbial connectors', including *þa*, see Lenker 2010.

By utilising the initial dips of clauses, occupying them with connectives – *hwilum*, for example – the poet is able to embark on a complex idea, extending it over one sentence or two or more, without losing lucidity [...] (Stanley 1966: 122).

While this device allows for the connection of an indefinite number of clauses, grammatical correlation results in paired clauses with a hierarchical structure. Although Andrew is certainly right in assuming a close connection between subsequent *þa*-clauses, I would prefer considering his correlation rule as operating on a textual level, rather than on a grammatical one.

The second clause, *Beo* 1698, is described by Andrew as one example where the ‘curious superstition’ against non-trailing temporal sub-clauses prevents editors from connecting the *þa*-clause with the successive principal clause (see *PS*: § 3):

Beo 1698 Ða se wisa spræc,
 sunu Healfdenes, – swigedon ealle.

Andrew’s interpretation ‘when the wise spoke, all were silent’ is certainly not amiss here, but it somewhat veils the focus of the clause. It occurs after the hilt¹⁰⁹ that is given to Hrothgar is described in some detail before the action is resumed. The crucial information is that Hrothgar addresses Beowulf again, carrying the narrative forward after a longer descriptive part; the silence of the others, on the other hand, is ancillary. It follows that *þa* in this clause does not have same the function as in *Beo* 467, 706 and 2676 discussed earlier, where it links the supplementary information to the main events; instead, it signals the return to the main events. However, some doubts remain about the interpretation proposed here, due to the fact that the description of the hilt starts with *Hroðgar maðelode* (*Beo* 1687a), which already announces direct speech.

It has been proposed by Annina Seiler (2012: 184-5) that the inscription on the hilt, narrating the destruction of the giants by a flood, is read aloud by Hroðgar in presence of the other hall-guests.¹¹⁰ If *Beo* 1698b-1699 is taken to refer to this recital, the interpretation of the *þa*-clause as subordinate makes good sense: ‘While Hroðgar was speaking, everyone was silent’, especially since the information in the subordinate clause would not be new. This interpretation, however, leaves Hroðgar’s subsequent admonishing speech to Beowulf without

¹⁰⁹ This is the hilt of the sword Beowulf discovered in the sea-monster’s cave. It was brought back to Heorot by him as a trophy after the blade had melted when Grendel’s mother was eventually defeated and Grendel decapitated.

¹¹⁰ The nature of the inscription is itself much debated (see Fulk et al. 2008: 212, note on ll. 1688f); if indeed only a name is inscribed (which introduces a short digression about the giants), the assumption that *Hroðgar maðelode* introduces this recital cannot be upheld.

any introductory words, which always announce passages of direct speech in *Beowulf*.¹¹¹ The peculiarity about the whole passage is that *maðelode* always signals direct speech in *Beowulf*: including *Beo* 1698 it occurs 25 times and in 21 cases a passage of direct speech follows within the next two lines. Only in *Beo* 499, 925 and 2734 the beginning of the speech is delayed, but never as long as in the passage discussed here. In the case of *Beo* 499 ff, *Unferð maþelode* and his actual speech are interrupted by a short account of Unferð's motive for his verbal attack against Beowulf. In *Beo* 925 ff, the interruption relates that Hroðgar has approached the hall and looks upon Grendel's severed limp while speaking. The speech itself, starting with *Disse ansyne*, which refers to the sight of Grendel's hand, indicates that Hroðgar has actually approached the hall before he starts to speak, even though the verbs stand in reverse order:

Beo 925 Hroðgar maþelode - he to healle geong,
 stod on stapole, geseah steapne hrof
 golde fahne, ond Grendeles hond:

With regard to the time line, the inserted material describes events happening prior (*geong*) or in simultaneity to the speech (*stod, geseah*),¹¹² again including a motive for it, namely Grendel's severed arm. The same is true for the last example, *Beo* 2725, where the additional material informs the reader that Beowulf is already aware that the injury he has received during his fight with the dragon is mortal, inducing him to contemplate the life he has led and to lament that he has no son (*Beo* 2725-28).

All three examples delay the actual speech in order to provide some additional information explaining some of the inner thoughts of the speaker or outlining the situation the speaker is in. Although the beginning of the speech is delayed by this material, *maðelode* clearly signals that some kind of direct speech is to follow. It stands to reason that the same applies to the passage starting in *Beo* 1687, where the *maðelode* alerts the audience to expect a recital of Hroðgar's words. In this case, however, the inserted material extends over eleven lines, possibly inducing the poet to mark the end of the digression by calling attention to the act of speaking again. The passage can then be interpreted like in *Beo* 925 ff., namely that the verbs following *maðelode* refer to events predating Hroðgar's speech and providing background information to what the king has to say:

¹¹¹ Seiler evades this problem by proposing that *ða se wisa spræc* 'could refer not only to Hrothgar's direct speech, beginning in line 1700, but also to the previous lines that describe the sword hilt and which are introduced by *Hroðgar maðelode*' (2012: 185).

¹¹² The same observation has been made by Anderson: 'When *maðelode* is paired with another verb, or followed by an adverb or independent clause, the syntax suggests simultaneity' (2010: 148).

Beo 1687 Hroðgar maðelode; hylt sceawode,
 ealde lafe. On ðæm wæs or writen
 fyrngewinnes...

So, instead of coordinating *maðolode* and *sceawode*, the latter could be taken as pluperfect denoting a prior event: ‘Hroðgar spoke. He had examined the hilt, the old heirloom, on which was inscribed...’ In this way, *maðolode* would not refer to Hroðgar reading the inscription aloud, but to the direct speech following some thirteen lines later. *ða* could then indeed be interpreted as marking the return to the main storyline; however, translating it with the temporal adverb ‘then’ seems amiss since the act of speaking has already been announced. Perhaps a resuming ‘thus’ or ‘so’ would make a better translation; even a subordinating conjunction seems fitting, although the question remains whether it captures the pragmatic function of returning to the narrative events. In fact, no other example of the *pa* X V pattern listed in Table 2-8 can be interpreted as an anticipatory sub-clause.¹¹³

Instead, all subordinate clauses either follow their main clauses or are inserted into them. The remaining subordinate clauses in *Beowulf*, which have not been discussed yet, are *Beo* 706, 967, 2567 and 2944. *Beo* 706 and 967, which context and sentence structure certainly do not allow being anything but subordinate clauses, support the text-linguistic approach: they are insertions explaining the reasoning or course of action of the participants:

706 – þæt wæs yldum cup
 þæt hie ne moste, þa metod nolde,
 se s[c]ynscaþa under sceadu bregdan –

It was well known to men that the demon foe could not drag them to the shades below when the Creator did not will it (Hall 1950: 56-7).

967 ic hine ne mihte þa metod nolde,
 ganges getwæman,

*I could not keep him from going – the Creator did not will it (Hall 1950: 69).*¹¹⁴

In the first case, the parenthesis explains why the warriors dare to fall asleep in spite of the approaching danger; in the second case, Beowulf reasons that it was due to divine providence and not to the failing of his own strength that he could not prevent Grendel’s flight after their battle. Both clauses provide background information; this is not only evident from the context,

¹¹³ There are, however, ambiguous clauses of the *pa* V pattern which have a similar function and whose grammatical status is equally doubtful (see section 2.3.3).

¹¹⁴ Hall’s translation is a rather nice specimen of asyndetic parataxis: the causal link between the clauses is implied without any connecting element.

but also from the subject (which is, though animated, not one of the main participants)¹¹⁵ and the verb, which is not only negated but refers to a state of mind instead of to narrated action. Again, *þa* does not fulfil any pragmatic function in terms of foregrounding, sequencing, action marking, episode marking or marking the return to the main action. Although *þa* is sometimes translated as ‘when’, both clauses have a strong causal colouring, even to the effect that any temporal relation is completely lost (especially in the second example). This causality is another indication of the material being backgrounded: it provides an explanation for the events or actions. In fact, many subordinate clauses in *Beowulf* introduced by *þa* seem to be providing an explanation instead of simply indicating the temporal relation between the clauses. Fulk (2007) considers ‘now that’ as the most suiting translation for many of these clauses since it implies a causal relation while the temporal origin is maintained:¹¹⁶

Similar is the passage describing Grendel’s mother’s thoughts immediately after she has killed Æschere:

Heo was ofste, wolde ut þanon,
feore beorgan, þa heo onfunden wæs. (1292-3)

She was in haste, wished to get away from there, save her life, now that she had been discovered.

It may be adequate to translate *þa* in 1292b “when”, but this fails to capture the causation implied. The poet has not told us before this that any of the Danes have awakened, and so the final clause serves that purpose and thus explains her sudden haste (Fulk 2007: 626).

Fulk observes that this specific use of *þa* can only be found in *Beowulf* and *Genesis A*; he argues that ‘though “now that” would not be an inappropriate translation’, there are hardly any examples, in either prose or verse, where ‘subordinating *þa* actually demands a translation other than “when”’ (Fulk 2007: 629). Fulk proposes different hypotheses for the ‘perceivable difference between the way *þa* is used in *Genesis A* and *Beowulf*, on the one hand, and in the remainder of the Old English records on the other’ (*Ibid.* 628), obviously favouring the assumption that its use is archaic or an archaism:

Although literary scholars are in disagreement among themselves, most linguists seem to be persuaded that *Beowulf* and *Genesis A* are relatively early compositions. Regardless of whether *Beowulf* was actually first recorded at an early date or whether it is simply the work of a poet particularly adept at archaic form and

¹¹⁵ The case is different in *Andreas*: here God takes in active part in the narration.

¹¹⁶ Fulk discusses *Beo* 201b, 467b, 733b, 1293b, 1539b, 1621b, 2372b, 2550b and 2978b in detail and proposes *Beo* 140b, 1103b, 1681b and 2676b as further examples where ‘now that’ seems to capture the intended meaning.

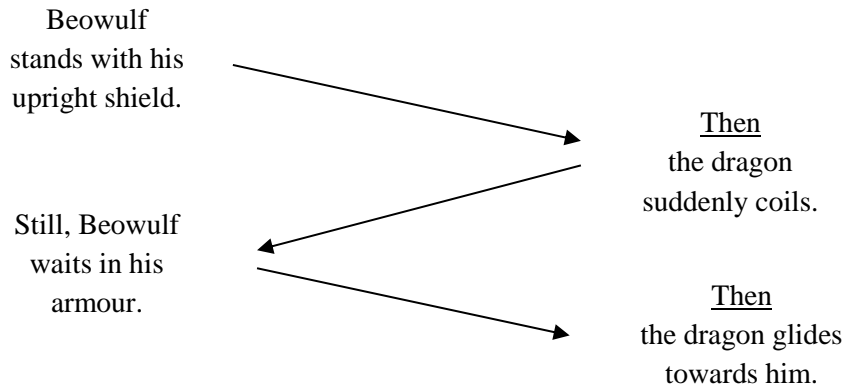
language, however, it evinces a fairly remarkable array of linguistic archaisms. And so it should not be surprising if this is an archaism, as well (*Ibid.* 628).

The remaining examples which are punctuated as subordinate clauses, i.e. *Beo* 2567 and 2944, are different in that the properties of the clause elements resemble those of foregrounded and principal clauses such as *Beo* 730 *Þa his mod ahlog* and 2715 *Ða se æðeling giong*, where the subject refers to the main participants (of the passage) and the verb is active, sometimes even punctual. For an analysis, it is again necessary to consider the whole passage. The first instance describes Beowulf's fight with the dragon (*Beo* 2562b-2570a):

Sweord ær gebræd
 god guðcýning, gomele lafe,
 ecgum unslaw; æghwæðrum wæs
 bealohycendra broga fram oðrum.
 Stiðmod gestod wi(ð) steapne rond
Beo 2567 winia bealdor, **ða se wyrm gebeah**
 snude tosomne; he on searwum bad.
 Gewat ða byrnende gebogen scriðan,
 to gescipe scyndan.

The doughty war-prince had drawn his sword, an ancient inheritance, very keen of edge; in each one of the hostile pair was terror at the other. Stout-heartedly the lord of friends stood by his upright shield, what time the serpent quickly coiled itself together; he waited in his armour. Then, fiery and twisted, he came gliding towards him – hastening to his fate (Hall 1950: 149; emphasis mine).

Hall's ungrammatical translation of the clause might be an indication of his unwillingness to use a temporal clause grammatically linked to one of the adjacent main clauses, thus acknowledging that the clause describes an event on its own right. In this case, the relation between the events is clearly temporal, not causal; the clauses describe the actions of two independent subjects (which are of course intertwined since Beowulf and the dragon are in a combat situation after all) instead of giving explanations for actions or events. Thus, the *þa*-clause is as foregrounded as the surrounding clauses describing Beowulf's action (or rather inaction), which is certainly a strong argument against its subordination. In addition, the text-linguistic function of *þa* seems to be much more prominent than that of creating a grammatical linkage between the clauses: considering the structure of the passage, it is clearly construed as interplay between the two antagonists, while the dragon takes the more active part which is possibly the reason why his actions are marked by *þa*:



Again, the clauses *Beo* 2567b *ða se wyrm gebeah* and 2569a *Gewat ða byrnende* are in a way parallel: although word order differs due to the fact that one is a b-clause and the other an a-clause, both describe the dragon's course of action which is contrasted with Beowulf's wait-and-see attitude. The repetitive use of *þa* highlights the suddenness and imminence of the dragon's attacks, instead of simply indicating temporal sequentially. It is again evident that action marking clashes with grammatical subordination: although context does not prohibit the construction of a hierarchical structure, such an interpretation spoils the effect of the composition.

The other example, *Beo* 2944, is not part of the main storyline but occurs in a digression where the messenger sent out to report Beowulf's death recounts the events at the battle of Ravenswood in a historical retrospect: after king Ongentheow has killed Hæthcyn, he encompasses the rest of the now leaderless army. The doomed warriors are again filled with hope when they hear that Hygelac comes to their rescue (*Beo* 2941b-2945):

Frofor eft gelamp
sarigmodum somod ærdæge,
syððan hie Hygelaces horn ond byman
Beo 2944 gealdor ongeaton, þa se goda com,
leoda dugoðe on last faran.

Once more came help to the sad-hearted ones with early dawn, when they were ware of Hygelac's horn, his trumpet blast, - when the hero came, bearing down on their track with a picked body of his troops (Hall 1950: 167).

Hall interprets the clauses introduced by *syððan* and *þa* as parallel constructions which are both subordinated to the preceding main clause and which both provide the reason for the relief of the leaderless army. However, there are other interpretations:

relief came back
to the sorrow-spirited ones together with early day,

*when they Hygelac's horn and trumpet,
and his battle-yell recognised, then the good man came,
with the tribe's veteran warriors travelling on the path.*¹¹⁷

The difference here is that the sound of the trumpet and the actual arrival of the king are interpreted as two distinct events. The use of *þa* as announcing a new turn in the action (and introducing a new participant to the set), however, is questionable since the arrival of the king is neither surprising nor unexpected. Furthermore, the clause occurs at the very end of a fitt, concluding the events described before (i.e. the dire affliction of the Geats), but at the same time building a bridge to the events following in fitt XLI, i.e. the turning of the fortunes of war in favour of the Geats. This transitory function is not uncommon with b-clauses introduced by *þa*, although they most frequently occur with the verb *wæs*. These are discussed in detail in section 2.3.3, especially in regard to their grammatical status. Their pragmatic function of concluding narrative units is not easily reconcilable with interpreting *þa* as marker of foregroundedness and sequentiality. Instead, it assumes a resumptive function: ‘Thus, the good one came travelling on their tracks’. In general, in both *Andreas* and *Beowulf*, the use of *þa* as marker of action is rare in direct speech except it contains a narrative on its own. All of the other examples in Table 2-8 are part of the narrated text. It is noteworthy that the conjunction *þa*, on the other hand, is much more frequent in passages of direct speech or in digressions. These clauses, however, usually contain a personal pronoun and will be discussed separately in the next section.

The observations for the *þa* X V pattern in b-clauses in *Beowulf* can be summarised in the following way: first of all, the X-position in these clauses is always occupied by the nominal subject. The impact of this will be further analysed in regard to the use of pronouns. Second, the verb can be both, stressed or unstressed, at least when the preceding noun subject is modified by an article; the additional unstressed element prohibits the fronting of unstressed monosyllabic verbs. Third, the form is ambiguous as the *þa*-clause can function as subordinate clause providing additional information for the main events or as principal clause itself relating major events of the narrative. The interpretation of the clauses can be guided by the internal properties of verb and subject: a clause containing a subject referring to one of the main participants (either of the whole narrative or of the given scene) is more likely to be a principal, especially if the verb is active. The subject is thus active, i.e. performing an action, and activated for the reader/hearer, i.e. it is either continuous or an active player in the scene. In contrast to this, a clause having an inanimate subject or a subject referring to a minor

¹¹⁷ *Beowulf on Steorarume*. <http://www.heorot.dk/beo-intro-rede.html>.

character who is not one of the main acting parties of the scene is more likely to be subordinate, while the verb in those clauses is generally stative. Thus, the subject is inactive and, as it is not part of the foregrounded elements, inactivated. The clauses from Table 2-8 would then fall into the following subcategories:

	Principal <i>active & activated</i>		Subordinate <i>inactive & inactivated</i>		Doubtful cases
730	Ʒa his mod ahlog	706	Ʒa metod nolde	1605	Ʒa Ʒæt sweord ongan
1512	Ʒa se eorl ongeat	967	Ʒa metod nolde	2711	Ʒa sio wund ongon
1522	(Ʒ)a se gist onfand	2676	Ʒa his agen (wæs)	3061	Ʒa sio fæhð gewearð
1698	Ʒa se wisa spræc	2978	Ʒa his broðor læg		
2567	ða se wurm gebeah				
2715	Ʒa se æðeling giong				
2944	Ʒa se goda com				

Table 2-9 Principle and subordinate *Ʒa* X V clauses in *Beowulf*

Table 2-9 retains the marking of the clauses which are punctuated as subordinate clauses in Fulk's edition in order to indicate which clauses are reinterpreted according to the properties of the clause elements. It also shows that the 'doubtful cases' are all considered to be principal, which I agree with in the first two cases. Even though the subject is inanimate, the clauses relate major events which are important for the following course of action. At the same time *Ʒa* marks the return to the main storyline after a short excursion to minor events in the first (*Beo* 1605) and after some contemplative thoughts in the latter (*Beo* 2711). In the first passage, the events taking place in the underwater cave after Beowulf has defeated Grendel's mother are interrupted by a short account of the warriors awaiting the hero's return at the banks of the mere (*Beo* 1590b to 1605a):

- ond hine Ʒa heafde becearf.
 Sona Ʒæt gesawon snottre ceorlas,
 Ʒa ðe mid Hroðgar on holm wliton,
 Ʒæt wæs yðgeblond eal gemenged
 brim blode fah.
 [...]
 wiston ond ne wendon Ʒæt hie heora winedrihten
 selfne gesawon. **Ʒa Ʒæt sweord ongan**
 æfter heaƷoswate hildegecelum,
 wigbil wanian;

Beo 1605

And Beowulf cut off Grendel's head. Soon the wise warriors, who with Hrothgar observed the water, saw that it was stained with blood [...]. They wished but did not expect to see Beowulf again. Then the sword [with which Beowulf had decapitated Grendel] began to waste away in the gory.

In the second instance, the main events narrate how Wiglaf and Beowulf eventually defeat the dragon by combined effort after Beowulf has already been mortally wounded. Before this

wound is referred to again, the poet inserts a few moralising lines about the heroes (*Beo* 2706-2713a):

Feond gefyldan – ferh ellen wræc –
 ond hi hyne þa begen abroten hæfdon,
 sibæðelingas; swylc sceolde secg wasan,
 þegn æt ðearfe! þæt ðam þeodne wæs
 siðas[t] sigewhila sylfes dædum,
Beo 2711 worlde geweorces. **Ða sio wund ongon,**
 þe him se eorðdraca ær geworhte,
 swelan on swellan;

They had felled the foe: daring had driven out his life, and they, the kindred nobles, had destroyed him. So should a man and chieftain be in time of need! That was for the prince the last of days of victory by his own deeds, - of work in the world. Then the wound which erewhile the dragon had inflicted on him began to burn and swell (Hall 1950: 156; emphasis mine).

The function of marking the return to the main storyline is absent in the third example (*Beo* 3061). Instead, the content of the *þa*-clause is clearly connected to the preceding clauses. The exact meaning of the passage, however, is subject to considerable debate and has been emended in different ways (see Fulk et al. 2008: 265). The various readings make it futile to classify the clause according to context.

In the other two examples, however, the function of marking a turn in the action, or return to the main action, is supported by the use of the verb *onginnan*. In her analysis of this verb in Ælfric’s writing, Bettelou Los observes that it is frequently used with patterns associated with foregrounding (i.e. V1 and *þa* V), either marking ‘episodes in which the narrative takes a dramatic turn’ or ‘the smooth flow of the narrative’ in foregrounded passages (Los 2000: 263). Los argues that the verb *onginnan* used with a bare infinitive might, at least temporarily, have acquired a discourse function of its own, as ‘element used as a device to arouse the interest of an audience by creating suspense’ (*Ibid.* 271). This pragmatical function is especially conceivable in *Andreas*, where five of the seventeen V *þa*-clauses of the on-verse employ this verb:

<i>And</i>	V <i>þa</i>
427	Ongan þa gleawlice gingran sine ... wordum trymman
469	Ongan þa reordigan rædum snottor
1170	Ongan þa meldigan morþres brytta
1315	Ongan þa þam halgan hospword sprecen
1398	Ongan þa geomormod to Gode cleopian

Table 2-10 *Ongan þa* + infinitive in *Andreas*

Los furthermore argues that *onginnan* most frequently ‘interacts with thematic continuity’ (*Ibid.* 264) rather with the introduction of new episodes. This is again in line with the examples from *Andreas* since the infinitives all refer to the act of speaking which presupposes the continuity of time, space and participants. This is also true for the two examples from *Beowulf*: though the narrative flow is interrupted, the clauses mark the continuation of the preceding events rather than introducing a completely new episode. Furthermore, *þa* sequences the new events with the events related before the interruption.

There is also a b-clause containing *ongan* in *Andreas*, namely 449b *þa seo menigo ongan*. As can be seen in Table 2-8 (p. 99), this is actually the only clause of the *þa* X V pattern which is punctuated as subordinate clause in Brooks’ edition. It is part of a passage of direct speech where *Andreas* comforts his disciples by recounting the miracle of Christ calming the sea (*And* 445b-454a):

	Ælmihtig þær,
	meotud mancynnes, on mereþyssan
	beorht basnode; beornas wurdon
	forhte on mode, friðes wilnedon,
<i>And</i> 449	miltsa to mærum. Þa seo menigo ongan
	clypian on ceole, cyning sona aras,
	engla eadgifa, yðum stilde,
	wæteres wælmum, windas þreade;
	sæ sessade, smylte wurdon
	merestreama gemeotu.

And there the Almighty bode upon our ship, the radiant Lord of men. Then were the men fearful of heart; they yearned for calm and mercy at the hand of the sublime God. And the company began to cry aloud upon the ship; then straight the King arose and stilled the waves, the surging seas, and rebuked the winds. The sea was hushed; calm were the stretches of the ocean-streams (Kennedy 2000: 10; emphasis mine).

Other than Kennedy’s translation, Brooks’ punctuation implies that the *þa*-clause is subordinated to the following main clause: ‘When the crowd aboard the ship began to cry out aloud, the king soon arose and stilled the waves.’ Although this renders a smooth reading, there are two arguments against it: the presence of the verb *ongan* indicating the foregroundedness of the action and the ‘prosaic’ use of an anticipatory temporal clause. The use of *ongan* complies with Los’s observation that it usually occurs episode-internal rather than marking the beginning of a completely new line of action. The resulting foregroundedness of the clause makes its interpretation as subordinate clause questionable, especially since it would actually be the only instance of a subordinate b-clause of the form *þa* X V in the whole poem and the only anticipatory temporal sub-clauses introduced by *þa*. On

the other hand, the word *sona* in the next clause connects Christ's course of action temporally and causally to the outcry of the fearful disciples and can perhaps best be captured with Modern English 'As soon as they cried out, Christ arose...' But then, it is not necessary to have a complex sentence to express this meaning: two principal clauses can serve exactly the same purpose, at least as far as meaning is concerned. The difference is basically a stylistic one: 'Then the crowd aboard the ship cried out. At once the king arose.' Interpreting the passage as employing parataxis for foregrounded action would comply with the poetic style typical for narrative passages. In contrast, the reading with an anticipatory temporal clause is reminiscent of the *when-then* constructions found in prose as translations of Latin *cum*-constructions. As *Andreas* is based on a classical apocryphal narrative, the style may have been adopted in spite of Mitchell's assumption that it was considered prosaic. However, neither the closely related Latin version nor the OE prose version, which is supposed to be a fairly slavish translation of the Latin source, subordinate the outcry of the disciples to Jesus' actions.¹¹⁸

Latin (*Recensio Casanatensis*)¹¹⁹

Conmota est omnis mare, ita ut inundation maris, ita transiebat desuper edificium navis. Nos autem validissime timentes exclamavimus, in inpetu voce magna dicentes, domine libera nos. Que statim exurgens dominus imperavit venti et mari,

The whole sea was whipped up and the surge rose so high it came over the boat's side. We were dreadfully afraid and cried out impulsively with a loud voice, 'Lord, save us.' The Lord arose at once and gave orders to the wind and sea (Translation by Allen & Calder 1976: 20).

OE prose (*Saint Andrew* – C text)

[F]ram þam winde wæs geworden swa þæt þa selfan yþa wæron ahafene ofer þæt scip. We us þa swiðe andredon and cigdon to him, Drihtne Hælendum Criste. And he þa aras and behead þam winde þæt he gestilde,

And it happened that the very waves were heaved over the ship by the wind. We were dreadfully afraid and cried out to him, 'Saviour Jesus Christ.' And then he arose and ordered the wind to calm.

Further evidence for a paratactic construction is the virtual absence of temporal *þa*-clauses in *Andreas*. None of the b-clauses of the *þa* X V pattern listed in Table 2-8 seems to subordinate. The following table lists them again together with the clause elements following in the succeeding half-line(s):

¹¹⁸ The connection between the different versions will be discussed in detail in the next chapter. The Latin version cited here is supposed to be closely related to the direct source of *Andreas*. The OE prose text is presumably also based on a related, though abridged, Latin version.

¹¹⁹ Passages of the *Casanatensis* are taken from Franz Blatt's edition of 1930.

<i>Andreas</i>	
167	Ɔa sio stefn gewearð gehered
449	Ɔa seo menigo ongan clypian
467	Ɔa Ɔam halgan wearð ... gast geblissod
804	Ɔa Ɔæt folc gewearð egesan geaclod
843	Ɔa se wis<a> oncneow Ɔæt...
996	Ɔa se halga gebæd bilwytne fæder
1103	Ɔa se tan gehwearf efne ofer anne
1575	Ɔa se æðeling het streamfare stillan
1587	Ɔa se beorg tohlad
1632	Ɔa se modiga het ... ciricean getimbran

Table 2-11 *Ɔa X V* patterns in *Andreas*

The events described are always part of the main story and relate a new turn of the action. Like in *Beowulf*, the subject is not always animate, but the verb is frequently punctual and active (though this statement needs further qualification in some instances). At least none of the features found in the subordinate clauses in *Beowulf* can be detected here: the verb never describes a state (such as *læg* or *wæs forgrunden*) nor does the subject of the clause refer to a minor inactive or inactivated subject (such as *metod* or *his broþor*). In regard to the verbal criteria, the only doubtful cases are those with the verb (*ge*)*wearð*, i.e. *And* 167, 467 and 804. *And* 167 is an impersonal, passive construction where the subject is not the agent of the clause: ‘Then the voice (of God) was heard.’ The function of *Ɔa* in the passage can perhaps be best compared to what Ruth Waterhouse called ‘panning in effect’ or ‘the movement from the more general to the more concrete’ (see p. 81), i.e. the beginning of concrete action after the more general ‘scene setting’ at the beginning of new episodes. In this case, the new episode begins in line 161 (*Ɔa wæs gemyndig, se ðe middangeard | gestaðelode...*, ‘Then he, who has created the earth, remembered...’), marking the most significant break in the narrative: the action turns from the acts of Matheus to those of Andreas. The preceding episode ends with a description of the afflictions Matheus has to suffer in the dungeons of the Marmedonians. The transitory part then mentions how God is reminded of his own sufferings among the Jews, which is followed by the account of how he orders Andreas to travel to Marmedonia and release Matheus and the other prisoners. It is not surprising that the morphosyntactic features of the clause elements do not comply with the properties usually found in foregrounded clauses since the main action has not started yet. Nonetheless, *Ɔa* has a distinct pragmatic function here, namely alerting the audience to a new turn after the backgrounded account of God’s sufferings.

The other two clauses employing the verb (*ge*)*wearð* are different. The verb does not signal a passive construction but refers to the altering of the state of mind of the subject.¹²⁰ Thus, both lines indicate a change rather than a state; yet the clauses can hardly be said to refer to the actions of the main participants. At this point, however, it has to be remembered that foregrounding does not always involve action. The problem here is certainly the application of a concept that emerged from narratives focused on action; i.e. where the action advances the narrative and is thus important and foregrounded. In *Andreas*, on the other hand, the action is often secondary to its effect or motive. For example, Andreas only orders the stone-column to stop spewing water when he perceives that the Marmedonians have changed their former attitude (*And* 1569-77). The same can be said for the passage discussed before where Christ only leaps into action after his disciples show their fear by crying out. Likewise, the Marmedonians' state of mind is revealed to Andreas by their speaking out (*And* 1558-1568):

And 1558 ‘Ne ge magon sylfe soð gecnawan,
 þæt we mid unrihte ellþeodigne
 on carcerne clommum belegdon,
 witebendum. Us seo wyrd scyðeð,
 heard on hetegrim; þæt is <her> swa cuð!
 Is hit mycle selre, þæs þe ic soð talige,
 þæt we hine alysan of leoðobendum
 ealle anmode, (ofost is selost),
 ond us þone halgan helpe biddan,
 geoce ond fofre; us bið gearu sona
 sybb æfter sorge, gif we secað to him.’

Now you clearly know yourselves that we have imprisoned the stranger unrightfully, fettered him in torturing bonds. Now harm befell us, hard and fierce. So, it is known by now that it would be better, I can truly tell you, to release him from his chains unanimously – the sooner the better – and ask the holy man for help, support and comfort. There will soon be peace for us after the affliction if we speak to him.

Not only is this revelation of the Marmedonians' contemplations introduced by a *þa*-clause (*And* 1555b *þa þær an ongan*), but likewise is Andreas' perception of this change (*And* 1569 *þa þær Andrea orgete wearð*) and his resulting action (*And* 1575b *þa se æðeling het | streamfare stillan, stormas restan*). Thus, the passage reveals a similar structure as those discussed for *Beowulf*, i.e. Grendel's approach to Heorot and Beowulf's fight against Grendel's mother, where the important events and turns are marked by *þa*. In *Andreas*, however, important events are not primarily concerned with action but often with attitudes

¹²⁰ Although *þam halgan* (i.e. Andreas) is in the dative in *And* 467 and the grammatical subject is *gast*, it is actually Andreas' feeling which changes after the storm has subsided (*And* 465b-467a *Mere sweoðerade, yða ongin eft oncyrde, | hreoh holþracu*).

and, in order to unfold these attitudes, with direct speech.¹²¹ This shift will be further explored in the next chapter; it is obvious, however, that it conditions that *þa* regularly correlates with verbs which are not associated with transitivity or action.

In *Andreas*, these verbs often require a more complex clause structure: besides *weorþan* which is used with a complementary participle, the verb *onginnan* regularly occurs with infinitives indicating speech or interjections. Both constructions cause the clauses to extend over more than one half-line because the required verb complement cannot be accommodated in the *þa* X V pattern. The same can be said for most other clauses in Table 2-11: they frequently contain verbs requiring complementary constructions, such as *hatan* and *oncnawan*. The only exception to this is *And* 1587 *Pa se beorg tohlad* where all indispensable clause elements fit into the b-verse. Besides the fact that these clauses narrate ‘what is essential’, there is a further argument against subordination: although structural simplicity is no necessary requirement for subordination, a comparison with the clauses of this pattern in *Beowulf* shows that there is a noticeable tendency of subordinate clauses to avoid complements following in the subsequent line. This structural simplicity can also be witnessed in other subordinate b-clauses; whether they are nominal, adverbial or relative clauses, they frequently extend no further than the end of the verse (for examples see p. 121 f). Except *And* 1587, which is clearly foregrounded and, in addition, is continued by a coordinating *ond*, neither of the b-clauses in *Andreas* share this property. Instead, they resemble *þa*-clauses of the V *þa* X pattern typical for the on-verse. In ten of the 21 examples of this pattern in *Andreas* the verb has a complementary infinitive: *onginnan* (five times, listed in Table 2-10, p. 112), *hatan* (three times), *geseon* and *gewitan*. Especially if *onginnan* is considered a marker of foregrounding on its own, it is unlikely that it should occur in a subordinate clause. This would mean that actually none of the *þa* X V clauses in *Andreas* is subordinate. This absence may seem suspicious; however, the analysis of unambiguously subordinate clauses, i.e. those with pronoun subjects (S_P), confirms that temporal sub-clauses introduced by *þa* hardly ever occur in *Andreas*.

2.3.2 SUB-CLAUSES WITH PERSONAL PRONOUNS

It has been noted before that the use of *þa* as device for narrative structuring seldom occurs in direct speech for the simple reason that such speeches seldom contain a narrative on its own.¹²² On the other hand, events related in direct speech are not sequenced in the usual time

¹²¹ The importance of the exchange of ideas in the poem is evident in the long dialogue between Christ and Andreas, which extends from line 469 to 818, during their sea-voyage to Marmedonia.

¹²² An exception to this are of course the lays included in *Beowulf* and the miracles renarrated in *Andreas*.

frame of the main narrative and often require temporal and spatial specifications; within the chronological order of the main narrative there are fewer occasions to specify the point in time when an event took place. Considering this, it is not surprising to find the temporal conjunction more frequently in direct speech or in digressions. These subordinate clauses also frequently specify the place of action by combining a verb of motion with a prepositional phrase:

	<i>þa</i> S _P PP V
<i>Beo</i> 419b	þa ic of searwum cwom
<i>Beo</i> 512b	þa git on sund reon
<i>Beo</i> 539b	þa wit on sund reon
<i>Beo</i> 631b	þa ic on holm gestah
<i>Beo</i> 1295b	þa heo to fenne gang
<i>Beo</i> 2362b	þa he to holme þrong
<i>Beo</i> 2756b	þa ge bi sesse geong
<i>Beo</i> 2992b	þa he to ham becom

Table 2-12 Temporal clauses with verbs of motion and prepositional phrases in *Beowulf*

Regarding the internal properties of the clause elements, these examples resemble clauses that introduce new episodes, where they indicate a break in the continuity of place by employing an intransitive verb of motion and specifying the location. At the beginning of episodes or narrative units, however, those clauses take the form V + *þa* + PP, as in *Beo* 217a *Gewat þa ofer wægholm* or *Beo* 1623a *Com þa to lande*, which comply with Hopper's classification of episodic clauses in prose (see Table 2-2, p. 77).

The clauses listed above fulfil the same function of setting the scene, but not at the beginning of a new episode followed by the events of the main storyline; they rather give a short explanation of time and place for the events recounted in the adjunct main clause, which either precedes the sub-clause or embraces it. This dependency on the main clause is indicated by the use of the pronoun: although its omission would not violate the metrical system, there is not a single example of the form **þa to holme þrong* in either *Beowulf* or *Andreas*. Assuming that this pattern would have been interpreted as a principle clause (according to the internal properties of the clause elements) its absence from b-lines allows for two conclusions: first, major breaks involving a break in the continuity of space do not occur in the off-verse; second, subject pronouns after ambiguous headwords systematically indicate subordination. The latter statement does not mean to imply that the pattern *þa* S_P is grammaticalised, but that its frequent occurrence in dependent clauses resulted in a strong association with subordination. Thus, the function of *þa* in the examples listed in Table 2-12 is always grammatical as it links the supplementary information to the main clause instead of

sequencing events on the main storyline or introducing new episodes. Indeed, only one of the clauses actually relates to the main action (*Beo* 1295b); all other clauses are part of direct speeches, digressions or sub-plots.

The passages in which *Beo* 631 *þa ic on holm gestah* and *Beo* 2992 *þa he to ham becom* occur may serve as examples for the function described above. The former is contained in a speech of Beowulf, promising to relieve the Danes of Grendel's attacks (*Beo* 630b-637):

Beo 631 Beowulf maþelode, bearn Ecgþeowes:
 ' Ic þæt hogode, **þa ic on holm gestah,**
 sæbat gesæt mid minra secga gedriht,
 þæt ic anunga eowra leoda
 willan geworhte oþðe on wæl crunge
 feondgrapum fæst. Ic gefremman sceal
 eorlic ellen, oþðe endedæg
 on þisse meoduhealle minne gebidan.'

Beowulf spoke, Ecgtheow's son: 'I determined, when I put to sea and sat on the boat with my retainers, that I would either satisfy your people's desire or perish in the fiend's firm grips. I shall accomplish the heroic deed or pass my last day in this mead-hall.'

The temporal specification is punctual in this case, which is also true for the other example, which is part of the Ravenwood-episode. It relates how Eofor, after the defeat of Ongentheow, takes the spoils of the battle to Hygelac, who rewards him and his brother Wulf with treasures (*Beo* 2985-2993):

Beo 2992 þenden reafode rinc oþerne,
 nam on Ongerðio irenbyrnan,
 heard swyrd hilted, on his helm somod,
 hares hyrst Higelace bær.
 He (ðam) fræt wum feng on him fægre gehet
 leana (mid) leodum, on gelæste swa;
 geald þone guðræs, Geata dryhten,
 Hreðles eafora, þa he to ham becom,
 Iofore ond Wulfe mid ofermaðmum,

Meanwhile one warrior (Eofor) robbed the other, took Ongentheow's iron coat of mail, the hard-hilted sword and the helmet, and bore all of the old warrior's armour to Hygelac. He received the spoils and promised him rewards among men, and kept his word; he, lord of the Geats, son of Hrethel, rewarded Eofor and Wulf for the battle, when he came home, with great treasures.

The temporal specification indicated in the subordinate clauses, however, can also refer to a period of time, as in *Beo* 539, depending on whether the verb is punctual (such as *arrive* or *set out*) or durative (such as *travel*, *walk* or *swim*).

Beo 539 Hæfdon swurd nacod, **þa wit on sund reon,**
 heard on handa; wit unc wiþ hronfixas
 werian þohton.

We had our swords unsheathed, while rowing the sea, firm in our hands; we thought to defend ourselves against the whales.

In contrast to the causal clauses discussed earlier, this group of temporal clauses involving a verb of motion seems to require a personal pronoun. This might be due to the specific form of subordinate b-clauses: they frequently extend no further than one half-line and are framed by the conjunction and the finite verb. Thus, only one lift remains for any further clause elements. In the causal clauses, such as *Beo* 706b *þa metod nolde* and 2978 *þa his broðor læg*, this position is occupied by the subject of the clause. In the latter group the lift is filled by the noun of the prepositional phrase leaving no room for a noun subject. Cichosz's analysis demonstrates that subordinate clauses in Old English (in all text types) generally have an expressed subject which most frequently precedes the verb.¹²³

	Total number of clauses	Clauses with SV order		Clauses with unexpressed S	
	Σ	Σ	%	Σ	%
Poetry	160	148	92.5	3	1.9
Orig. prose	154	148	96.1	1	0.7
Trans. prose	65	62	95.4	5	7.8

Table 2-13 Subordinate clauses: unexpressed subjects and SV-relation¹²⁴

This observation explains the presence of subject pronouns in b-clauses in which the preverbal position is filled by an element other than the subject. Thus, when a one half-line sub-clause contains a stressed clause element other than S and V, a pronominalised subject frequently occupies the second position; in addition, as pronouns refer back to the preceding clause, it is not surprising that these subordinate clauses tend to trailing. Of course there are subordinate clauses which extend beyond the half-line (see below) but the short insertions, which often split their main clauses (as can also be seen in the last three examples from *Beowulf*), are the most common type of subordinate b-clauses. This is not only true for *þa*-clauses, but also for other adverbial clauses as well as for relative and nominal clauses:

¹²³ In the following table only the results for adverbial and nominal clauses are included since Cichosz classifies relative clauses with a relative pronoun as subject as clauses with unexpressed subjects; see *ITT*: 166.

¹²⁴ Table based on tables 55, 56, 93 and 94 (*ITT*: 150-1; 184-5); total numbers taken from *ITT*: 145 and 179 for nominal and adverbial clauses, respectively.

- adverbial clauses:

Beo 203 Ðone siðfæt him snotere ceorlas
lythwon logon **þeah he him leof wære;**
hwetton hige(r)ofne, hæl sceawedon.

The wise men did not dissuade Beowulf from this journey, though he was dear to them; they encouraged the brave one and watched the omens.

Beo 485 Ðonne wæs þeos medoheal on morgentid,
drihtsele dreorfah **þonne dæg lixte,**
eal bencþelu blode bestymed,
heall heorudreore;

Then in the morning, when day brightened, the mead-hall was stained with blood, all benches drained in gore, the hall covered with blood.

- relative clauses

Beo 996 Goldfag scinon
web æfter wagum, wundorsiona fela
secga gehwylcum **þara þe on swylc starað.**

Gold-adorned the webs were shining on the walls, many a wonderful sight for any man beholding them.

Beo 825 hæfde þa gefælsod **se þe ær feorran com**
snotor ond swyðferhð sele Hroðgares,

He who had come from afar before had cleansed, wise and strong, Hrothgar's hall.

- nominal clauses

Beo 1528 ða wæs forma sið
deorum madme **þæt his dom alæg.**

This was the first time for the dear treasure that its power failed.

Beo 1543 oferwearp þa werigmod wigena strengest
feþecempa **þæt he on fülle wearð.**

Then, wearily, the strongest of warriors, the fighter on foot, knocked her down so that she lay on the ground.

Even if the sub-clause does extend over the b-line, the order of elements is preserved since the finite verb regularly ends the line, requiring the subject to occupy a position between the conjunction and the verb:

Him þa hildedeor hof modigra

valence also requires a complement to follow in the preceding lines. The extension of necessary clause elements across line-boundaries is rare with subordinate b-clauses, especially when introduced by *þa*. Thus, the pronominalisation of the object does not only establish a link to the preceding main clause, it also prohibits that the verb complements have to be shifted to the next line.

This structure, however, does not extend to subordinate a-clauses. Clauses beginning with a conjunction immediately followed by a pronoun are nearly as common in a-verses (though subordinate a-clauses introduced by *þa* are less frequent); yet, their structure differs from b-clauses: first of all, the position of the finite verb is not restricted to the same half-line, but is frequently delayed to the end of the long line. In consequence, all clause elements can be accommodated between the conjunction and the finite verb, as in *Beo* 544 *þa wit ætsomme on sæ wæron*. The tables below demonstrate this structural difference in both half-lines of *Beowulf* and *Andreas* by representative clauses introduced by different conjunctions.¹²⁵

<i>Beo</i>	<i>on-verse</i>		<i>off-verse</i>
2084	ac he mægnes rof min <u>costode</u>	2146b	ac he me maddða <u>geaf</u>
661	gif þu þæt ellenweorc aldre <u>gedigest</u>	1185b	gif he þæt eal <u>gemon</u>
3147	oð þæt he ða banhus gebrocen <u>hæfde</u>	2782b	oð þæt he morðre <u>swealt</u> .
2012	syððan he modsefan minne <u>cuðe</u>	722b	syþðan he hire folmum <u>æthran</u>
2397	swa he niða gehwane genesen <u>hæfde</u>	29b	swa he selfa <u>bæd</u>
717	þæt he dogora gehwam dream <u>gehyrde</u>	1540b	þæt heo on flet <u>gebeah</u>
513	þær git eagorstream earmum <u>þehton</u>	522b	þær he folc <u>ahte</u>
587	þeah ðu þinum broðrum to banan <u>wurde</u>	203b	þeah he him leof <u>wære</u>
880	þonne he swulces hwæt secgan <u>wolde</u>	1485b	þonne he on þæt sinc <u>starað</u>

Table 2-15 Subordinate a- and b-clauses in *Beowulf*

<i>And</i>	<i>on-verse</i>		<i>off-verse</i>
1424	gif we þine lare læstan <u>woldon</u>	1612b	gif ge teala <u>hycgað</u>
268	oðþæt we þiss<a> leoda land <u>gesohton</u>	-	-
949	swa ic him sylfum ær secgende <u>wæs</u>	304b	swa ðu worde <u>becwist</u>
276	þæt ðu us on lade liðe <u>weorðe</u>	1690b	þæt he ða menigeo <u>geseah</u>
1403	þær ic dryhtnes æ deman <u>sceolde</u>	923b	þær ic worda <u>gespræc</u>
53	þeah ðe he atres drync atulne <u>onfenge</u>	955b	þeh þu drype <u>ðolie</u>
142	þonne hie unlædra eaueðum <u>gelyfdon</u>	1500b	þonne hie fæder <u>geseoð</u>

Table 2-16 Subordinate a- and b-clauses in *Andreas*

There is an obvious tendency of subordinate clauses of this form to end with the verb in the same long-line. In the case of b-clauses this restricts the number of preverbal positions exceedingly so that pronouns are frequently employed to accommodate all necessary clause

¹²⁵ Although the same structure for a- and b-clauses can be observed in *Andreas*, it is used less consistently: the typically shorter b-clause pattern occurs more frequently in the on-verse and, vice versa, the finite verb of b-clauses occurs more frequently in the next half-line.

elements.¹²⁶ Thus, subordinate b-clauses correlate, on the one hand, with pronominalisation and, on the other hand, with shortness, which precludes structural complexity.

However, even though pronominalisation correlates with subordination, it does not create it.¹²⁷ Especially object pronouns are a less certain guide to the interpretation of clauses since they may also occur after adverbial *þa*. In *Andreas*, *þa*-clauses often indicate turn-taking in dialogues while the pronoun denotes the addressee. The pronoun usually precedes *þa* but there are examples with reverse order:

And 171 *þa* him *cinebaldum* *cininga wuldor,*
 meotud mancynnes, *modhord onleac,*

And 315 *Ða* him *Andreas* *ðurh ondsware,*
 wis on gewitte, *wordhord onleac:*

Of course it could be argued that the pattern denotes subordination; indeed, it is possible to construe *And 171* as subordinate clause, but *And 315* occurs between two passages of direct speech. The variation does not seem to indicate a grammatical distinction; however, it is obvious that the ambiguous pattern is avoided: there are 17 examples where the pronoun precedes *þa*, such as *And 202* and *270*, and only three with reverse order.

And 202 *Him* *ða ondswarude* *ece dryhten:*
And 270 *Him þa Andreas* *eaðmod oncwæð:*

The same observation can be made for the use of reflexive pronouns, which are usually inserted between *V* and *þa* in the *V þa* pattern of the a-clause:

Beo 1963 *Gewat* him *ða se hearda* *mid his hondscole*
Beo 1125 *Gewiton* him *ða wigend* *wica neosian*
And 235 *Gewat* him *þa on uhtan* *mid ærdæge*
And 359 *Gesæt* him *þa se halga* *holmwearde neah*

In *Beo 662* the ambiguous order is used without any further indication that the clause is subordinate; however, this order seems to be exceptional again:

Beo 662 *Ða* him *Hropgar gewat* *mid his hæleþa gedryht*
 eodur Scyldinga *ut of healle.*

¹²⁶ However, the number of weak positions is restricted, too. This is evident in the tendency of using nouns rather than pronouns after disyllabic conjunctions such as *oþþæt* or *syþþan* in the second half-line due to the tendency of b-clauses to begin with two unstressed syllables.

¹²⁷ Van Bergen's study of OE word order and the use of pronouns demonstrates that the occurrence of subject pronouns in main clauses with a fronted element (such as *þa*) prevents subject-verb inversion in prose. These clauses have the form X S_p V though they are principal (2003: 6-11).

Thus, the ambiguous *þa* + pronoun order, which is associated with subordination, is generally avoided in principal a-clauses by using alternative constructions. However, the exceptions, unless they are all attributed to scribal errors, demonstrate that pronominalisation is independent of subordination.

Regarding b-clauses, there are no alternative constructions since *þa* always occupies the initial position. Therefore, *þa*-clauses containing a pronoun follow the ambiguous *þa* + pronoun order.¹²⁸ Yet, there are few principal clauses with the structure *þa* + pronoun, presumably four in *Beowulf* and only one in *Andreas*. Three of these clauses do not follow the usual structure of subordinate b-clauses in regard to the position of the finite verb, which is delayed to the next long line, instead:

Pæt wæs þam weorode weor<c> to geþoligenne,
 þæt hie se leodfruma leng ne wolde
 And 1661 wihte gewunian; þa him wuldres God
 on þam siðfæte sylfum ætywde,
 ond þæt word gecwæð weoruda dryhten:

Hard was it for the host to bear, that the prince would bide no longer with them. Then upon that journey there appeared to him the God of glory, the Lord of hosts, and spake this word (Kennedy 2000: 31-32).

Gesloh þin fæder fæhðe mæste:
 wearþ he Heaþolafe to handbonan
 Beo 461 mid Wilfingum; ða hine gara cyn
 for herebrogan habban ne mihte.

Thy father brought about by fight the greatest of feuds; he was the slayer of Heatholaf among the Wylfings; then the people of the Geats could not harbour him, for fear of war (Hall 1950: 43-44).

he þe æt sunde oferflat
 Beo 518 hæfde mare mægen. Þa hine on morgentid
 on Heaþo-Ræmes holm up ætbær

[H]e overcame thee at swimming: he had greater strength. Then, at morning-time, the ocean cast him up on the Heathoræmas' land (Hall 1950: 47).

The clauses relate independent events, which are not supplementary to the preceding clause; the use of the object pronoun establishes a close link to the preceding clause, but *þa* is not

¹²⁸ Except *Beo* 1274b which is discussed below.

necessarily a grammatical subordinator.¹²⁹ Furthermore, the complex clause-structure does not align with the former observations made for subordinate *þa*-clauses in *Beowulf*.¹³⁰

The latter argument does not hold for the other two examples with the ambiguous *þa* + pronoun order, i.e. *Beo* 579 *Ða mec sæ oþbær* and *Beo* 1274 *þa he hean gewat*. The former example closes Beowulf's account of his adventures on the sea, stating how he finally reaches dry soil again:

Beo 579 hwæþere ic fara feng feore gedigde,
 sipes werig. **Ða mec sæ oþbær,**
 flod æfter faroðe on Finna land

Yet I escaped the grip of the monsters with my life, weary of my enterprise. Then the sea-flood bore me by its current, the surging ocean, to the land of the Lapps (Hall 1950: 50).

The function of the clause is not comparable with those listed in Table 2-12 (p. 118) which specify the temporal and spatial setting of the main clause; instead, the clause again relates an event on its own. The ambiguous structure which seems to indicate subordination might be attributed to the fact that the use of the pronoun is unavoidable here as Beowulf can hardly refer to himself with a full noun phrase. This explanation, however, cannot account for the second exception. Here, it is even a subject pronoun that follows *þa*, but context prevents the construction of a temporal or causal sub-clause. The passage gives a short summary of the events that induce Grendel's mother to attack Heorot (*Beo* 1270-1278):

Beo 1274 þær him aglæca ætgræpe wearð;
 hwæþre he gemunde mægenes strenge,
 gimfæste gife ðe him God sealed,
 ond him to anwaldan are gelyfde,
 frofre ond fultum; ðy he þone feond ofercwom,
 gehnægde helle gast. **þa he hean gewat,**
 dreame bedæled deaþwic seon,
 mancynnes feond, ond his modor þa gyt
 gifre ond galgmod gegan wolde
 sorhfulne sið, sunu deoð wrecan

There the attacker got hold of him; however, Beowulf remembered the great strength, the ample gift that God had given him and he counted on the Ruler's favour, comfort and help; therefore he vanquished the fiend and subdued the hellish spirit; he went debased and deprived of joy to

¹²⁹ Yet, there are various propositions for subordinating *Beo* 461b to any of the surrounding clauses (see Fulk et al 2008: 146).

¹³⁰ Of course it could be opposed that the complexity of a clause is not a strong argument against subordination: there are sub-clauses in *Beowulf* which embark on more complex ideas, but this does not seem to extend to *þa*-clauses. All clauses headed by the conjunction *þa* discussed so far are only short insertions either explaining the motive (causal) or specifying the time frame (temporal) of the main events.

see his deadly abode, mankind's enemy, and his mother still ravenous and gloomy would go on the sorrowful journey to revenge her son's death.

In this context, *þa* does not function as a discourse marker as found in primary narrations; the battle with Grendel is not related here in the usual narrative time frame, but is summarised in order to provide background information to the circumstances that brought this new attack about. The retreat of the humiliated Grendel to the fens, where he meets his end, is a direct consequence of Beowulf's victory. This logical connection is implied by *þa* but not made explicit by it: any other string of events loosely connected by *þa* can establish the same logical connection; for example *Beo* 399 *Aras þa se rica* relates that Beowulf gets up only after he has received permission to enter Hroðgar's hall. In *Beo* 1274, this implied connection is strengthened by the use of a personal pronoun establishing a much closer link between the clauses; this might even justify the grammatical subordination of the clause, but temporal 'when' would reverse cause and effect. Blockley and Andrew both interpret *þa* in such cases as continuous conjunction 'whereupon'.¹³¹ In the present example, this interpretation renders a sound translation which captures the linkage between the clauses.

However, agreeing with this reading of the passage does not entail that I consider the clause to be necessarily subordinate. Except for the beginning *þa* + subject pronoun, the clause does not exhibit any of the features typical for the subordinate clauses described above. Although the half-line ends with the finite verb, it does not comprise all indispensable clause elements, as the verb *gewitan* usually requires a specification of either destination or point of departure and it frequently entails a complementary infinitive construction. Thus, the clause extends over four half-lines, even employing variation to elaborate on the clause's subject Grendel (*mancynnes feond*). Furthermore, the clause does not resemble the other sub-clauses introduced by *þa* regarding their function: it neither provides an explanation for the preceding events, i.e. Beowulf's victory, nor does it specify time or place for it; it much rather describes an event on its own. It echoes the events mentioned only a few lines before where Cain's exile is related (*Beo* 1261b-1265a):

		[...] Cain wearð
	to ecgbanan	angan breþer,
<i>Beo</i> 1263	fæderenmæge;	he þa fag gewat
	morþre gemearcod	mandream fleön
	westen warode.	

¹³¹ At least when it is not possible to link the subordinate clause to the subsequent main clause.

[...] *Cain slew by the sword his one brother, - his father's son. Cain then had gone forth outlawed, branded for murder, to flee the joys of men, - lodged in the wilderness* (Hall 1950: 84-85).

The resemblance of the two passages created by the parallel structure is enhanced by the choice of words contrasting the death-stained Grendel and Cain, now banned to their barren fen-land, to the joys of mankind:

<i>Pa he hean gewat </i>	<i>dreame bedæled</i>	<i>deapwic seon </i>	<i>mancynnes feond</i>
<i>he þa fag gewat </i>	<i>morþre gemearcod</i>	<i>mandream fleon </i>	<i>westen warode.</i>

Besides this similarity in form and content, the logical linkage seems to be the same: ‘Cain slew his brother, *whereupon* he fled from men’s joys’, but with the small but substantial difference that *grammatical* subordination is no option because of the position of *þa* and *he*. Thus, interpreting the former passage as hypotactic construction is not necessary to preserve the inherent linkage between the clauses, which is primarily created by the use of the pronoun *he*.

It is obvious that pronominalisation is not an infallible indication of subordination, especially when object pronouns are involved. It is conspicuous, however, that the exceptions discussed above do not form a part of the main storyline (except the example from *Andreas*), but are condensed renarrations. *Pa* does not have a foregrounding function here. It can, therefore, be argued that there is a negative correlation between foregrounded *þa*-clauses and pronominalisation. Furthermore, the frequent use of pronouns in subordinate clauses is conspicuous: in *Beowulf*, 31 of the 35 subordinate *þa*-clauses of the pattern *þa...V* include a personal pronoun. The four remaining examples were discussed in the preceding section in connection with the ambiguous pattern *þa X V*. Considering that these clauses are so rare in *Beowulf*, it might be a mere coincidence that there is not a single example in *Andreas*. However, it is surprising that even the common pattern with a personal pronoun hardly ever occurs in *Andreas*. There are actually only two examples: *And 899 þa ic on ceol gestah* and *And 385 þa he gereordod wæs*. The former example fulfils the same purpose as similar clauses in *Beowulf* listed in Table 2-12: it specifies time and space of an event related in direct speech. The following passage is the beginning of *Andreas*’ speech after he realises that Christ himself has fared him to Marmedonia (*And 897-901*):

	‘Nu ic, God dryhten,	ongiten hæbbe
	þæt ðu on faroðstræte	feor ne wære,
<i>And 899</i>	cyninga wuldur,	þa ic on ceol gestah,
	ðeh ic on yðfare,	engla þeoden,
	gasta geocend,	ongitan ne cuðe...’

'Now, Lord, I know that you were never far from us on the sea, Glory of Kings, **when I boarded the ship**, though I did not recognise you on our sea-voyage, Lord of Angels, Saviour of Souls...'

The latter example, which is part of the main narrative, is also unambiguously subordinate and might even have a causal shade:

Andreas þa git,
 þegn þeodenhold, þanc gesægde,
 And 385 ricum ræsboran, þa he gereordod wæs:

Yet Andreas, the thane dear to the Lord, thanked their guide now that he was satisfied.

The fact that only two clauses of this kind exist in *Andreas* is very conspicuous. In order to provide a benchmark for this divergence between *Beowulf* and *Andreas*, the following table lists the occurrence of b-clauses where the headword is followed by a personal pronoun (to avoid as many ambiguous clauses as possible) for different conjunctions.

	<i>Beowulf</i>	<i>Andreas</i>	A of B
<i>ac</i>	21	4	20%
<i>gif</i>	14	6	43%
<i>swa</i>	42	15	36%
<i>syððan</i>	5	1	20%
<i>þa</i>	31	2	6%
<i>þær</i>	21	8	38%
<i>þeah</i>	10	6	60%
<i>þonne</i>	12	3	25%

Table 2-17 B-clauses with personal pronouns in *Beowulf* and *Andreas*

It is self-evident that in *Andreas*, which is about half as long as *Beowulf*, there are generally fewer sub-clauses of this pattern; however, for no other conjunction the difference is as striking as is the case with *þa*. Whether this kind of sub-clause is archaic altogether and began to fall out of use cannot be answered here due to the scarcity of comparable texts and the uncertainty about their relative chronology. What can be said, however, is that the conjunction *þa* occurs only in the unambiguous pattern with a nominative pronoun in *Andreas*. Obviously, the prevailing function of *þa* is that of a device for narrative structuring and foregrounding. Furthermore, the pragmatic and grammatical uses do not overlap: there is a clear-cut distinction between foregrounded clauses marked by *þa* and backgrounded clauses providing additional information. The problem of clauses that take an intermediate position between subordination and independence does not arise; at least the clause-patterns discussed so far are unambiguous in *Andreas*: b-clauses introduced by *þa* with a subject pronoun are subordinate,

while those with a noun subject are principle. In *Beowulf* the distinction is less straight because the latter category of b-clauses may also be subordinate; however, ambiguity can be resolved by reference to the morphosyntactic features of the clause elements. Thus, there is a clear relation between the pragmatic function of a clause and its grammatical status. Only some clauses offside the main storyline are more difficult to classify as the function of *þa* is neither clearly grammatical nor pragmatic. This in-between status of clauses will be further explored with reference to the second ambiguous pattern, i.e. *þa* V.

2.3.3 *þA* V

This pattern, where the headword is immediately followed by the verb, is classified as ambiguous by Andrew, while Blockley argues that all clauses of this type are unambiguously principal. However, it has been demonstrated that the position of the verb is conditioned by metrics: the pattern occurs in b-clauses when the clause's finite verb is unstressed and monosyllabic and when no other unstressed clause elements (such as pronouns, articles or prepositions) occupy the weak position after the headword. Only then is the finite verb, which is most frequently *wæs*, shifted from its usual position at the end of the half-line into the weak position between *þa* and the first lift. Although it is rather ironic that Blockley's rule predicts of all clauses those containing an unstressed and often non-lexical verb to be principal, the *þa* V construction also poses problems for the text-linguistic approach: since non-lexical verbs are associated with low transitivity, none of the clauses can be expected to occur in highly foregrounded passages. As the verb *wæs* never denotes action, the a priori assumption would have to be that all clauses beginning with *þa wæs* are backgrounded and thus likely to be subordinate clauses. However, the fact that these clauses do not correlate with action does not necessarily imply that they are backgrounded; Enkvist suggested that *þa* may function as dramatiser when used with stative verbs highlighting stative conditions (see p. 75). Furthermore, episodic clauses where *þa* is reinforced by a temporal expression as in *Saint Andrew* (C-text, 238) *on morgen þa geworden wæs* may also begin with *þa wæs* when adapted to the metrics of poetry; indeed, there is a comparable a-clause in *Beowulf* beginning a new episode:

Beo 837-840 **Ða wæs on morgen** mine gefræge
 ymb þa gifhealle guðrinc monig;
 ferdon folctogan feorran ond nean
 geond widwegas wundor sceawian,

Then in the morning, I heard, there was many a warrior about the hall, chieftains travelling from near and far along the wide paths to see the miracle.

Thus, the beginning *þa wæs* is not necessarily void of any text-linguistic function and not necessarily backgrounded.

There are only two clearly backgrounded and subordinate clauses of this pattern i.e. *Beo* 467 and 2372 (*þa wæs Heregar/Hygelaç dead*), which have been discussed before, where *þa* functions as subordinator. All other clauses of the *þa V* pattern are punctuated as principal clauses in the 2007 edition of *Beowulf* and translated accordingly by Hall. The limited number of subordinate clauses of the form *þa V*, however, can be explained by the metrical features of the off-verse: the previous section has demonstrated that there is a positive correlation between subordination and pronominalisation: of the 35 sub-clauses of the form *þa X V* in *Beowulf*, 31 have a personal pronoun after the conjunction. As a pronoun occupies the unstressed position after *þa*, the verb is never drawn to this position. Therefore, clauses with a pronoun will retain the form *þa X V* even though the verb is unstressed, as in *Beo* 723 *ða he gebolgen wæs* and *Beo* 733 *þa him alumpen wæs*. Consequently, the form *þa V* can only occur when the clause contains a noun subject and no pronominalised objects. This absence of pronouns is already rare in subordinate clauses, but there are even more restrictions: any other unstressed element also prevents the shift, as in *Beo* 2676 *þa his agen wæs | forgrunden*.

For the other clauses of this pattern, it has yet to be established whether *þa* fulfils a pragmatic function, whether the clauses are foregrounded or backgrounded, and how this relates to their syntactic function. The table below shows that a very restricted set of verbs is used in medial position in b-clauses introduced by *þa*: in *Beowulf*, any verb other than *wæs* seems rather exceptional: besides the two instances of *c(w)om*, there is only one other instance of the form (*Beo* 3014b *ða gebeah cyning*) which is not listed here. Furthermore, there is a significant difference between the two poems: in *Andreas*, there are actually only three examples containing the verb *wæs*, while *com* is used much more frequently. In addition, there are two clauses with *wearð*. The clauses are arranged in different categories: categories I and II cover the clauses containing *wæs*. They are established according to the function of the verb and the structure of the half-line. In category I, *wæs* is a full verb while it functions as copula or auxiliary in category II; the latter category it is subdivided according to whether the predicative follows in the same half-line (a) or whether it follows in one of the succeeding half-lines (b). The clauses of category IIb thus resemble those of the first category in sharing the structure *þa wæs S*, but the function of the verb differs. Category III contains all verbs other than *wæs*, i.e. *com* and *wearð*.

	<i>Beowulf</i>		<i>Andreas</i>	
I	1008	Ʒa wæs sæl ond mæl		
	1495	Ʒa wæs hwil dægēs,		
	1527	ða wæs forma sið		
	2625	Ʒa wæs forma sið		
IIa	467	ða wæs Heregar deað	1097	Ʒa wæs eall geador
	2372	ða wæs Hygelac deað	1584	þa wæs forð cumen
	223	þa wæs sund liden		
	1136	Ʒa wæs winter scacen		
	1151	Ʒa wæs heal roden		
	2283	Ʒa wæs hord rasod		
	2306	Ʒa wæs dæg sceacen		
	2727	ða wæs eall sceacen		
	2957	Ʒa wæs æht boden		
IIb	917	Ʒa wæs morgenleoht	1116	Ʒa wæs rinc manig
	1306	þa wæs frod cyning		
	2580	Ʒa wæs beorges weard		
	3035	þa wæs endedæg		
III	1162	Ʒa cwom Wealhþeo forð	241	Ʒa com morgen torht
	1802	Ʒa com beorht scacan	837	þa com wederes blæst
			1269	Ʒa com hæleða þreat
			1278	Ʒa cwom wopes hring
			1462	Ʒa com dryhten God
			1085	Ʒa wearð forht manig
		1595	Ʒa wearð acolmod	

Table 2-18 B-clauses of the *pa* V pattern in *Beowulf* and *Andreas*

In the clauses of the first category, where *wæs* is used as a full verb, the subject is always a temporal phrase: *forma sið* ‘first time’ (2x), *hwil dægēs* ‘a day’s while’ and *sæl and mæl* ‘due time’. This property makes the clauses good candidates for episodic clauses. In two examples, i.e. *Beo* 1008 and 1495, the temporal expression does indeed imply a lapse in time and introduces a new turn in the action. *Beo* 1008 marks the transition for the preparations of the feast after Grendel’s defeat, including a short contemplative part on the inevitability of death, to the feast itself (*Beo* 1007-1011a); *Beo* 1495 indicates the beginning of the events Beowulf has to face in the sea-monster’s mere (*Beo* 1492-1499a):

...
Beo 1008 þær his lichoma legerebedde fæst
 swefeþ æfter symle. **Ʒa wæs sæl ond mæl**
 þæt to healle gang Healfdenes sunu;
 wolde self cyning symble þicgan.
 Ne gefrægen ic...

... when his body, fast in its bed of rest, shall sleep after the banquet of this life. **Then it was due time** that Halfdane’s son should go into the hall; the king himself would take part in the banquet. Never have I heard... (Hall 1950: 71; emphasis mine).

Æfter þæm wordum Weder-Geata leod
 efste mid elne, nalas andsware

Beo 1495 bidan wolde; brimwylm onfeng
 hilderince. **Ða wæs hwil dæg**
 ær he þone grundwong ongytan mehte.
 Sona þæt onfunde se ðe floda begong
 heorogifre beheold hund missera,
 grim ond grædig, ...

After these words the chief of the Geats pressed bravely on, and would not even await an answer. The surging waters received the warrior. It was a good part of the day before he could descry the solid bottom. Quickly she who, fiercely ravenous, had ranged the watery realm for fifty years, greedy and grim, found that... (Hall 1950: 96; emphasis mine).

In these examples, the text-structuring function of *þa* is prevalent and the clauses can be compared with episodic clauses in prose as described by Hopper (see Table 2-2 p. 77), where *þa* is accompanied by a temporal specification indicating a break in the continuity of time.

However, the presence of *þa* is not sufficient to mark the break; in fact, it is the temporal expression which indicates temporal progress. This becomes obvious when considering the remaining clauses of the first category, i.e. *Beo* 1527 and 2625:

Beo 1527 ða wæs forma sið
 deorum madme þæt his dom alæg.

It was the first time for dear treasure that its glory failed.

Beo 2625 Ða wæs forma sið
 geongan ceman þæt he guðe ræs
 mid his freodryhtne fremman sceolde.

This was the first time for the young warrior that he should fight a battle with his lord.

In these clauses *þa* does not seem to have any pragmatic function; neither is it used as grammatical subordinator since the clauses bear no causal or temporal connection to the adjacent main clauses. A similar clause, this time negated, occurs in the description of Grendel's approach to Heorot (*Beo* 716b-717): *Ne wæs hit forma sið | þæt he Hroðgares ham gesohte*; 'This was not the first time that he approached Hroðgar's home', where the position occupied by *þa* in the other examples is filled by the negative particle *ne*. This shows that *þa* functions as empty topic in the affirmative clauses; thus, its presence is syntactically triggered. This observation is supported by similar b-clauses in *Beowulf* where *wæs* is also a full verb, but where the subject has no temporal dimension:

Beo 1063a Þær wæs sang ond sweg
Beo 2105a þær wæs gidd ond gleo
Beo 36b þær wæs madma fela

Beo 89b þær wæs hearpan sweg

Here, the adverb *þær* fills the unstressed position before *wæs*. In both cases the adverb can be considered an empty topic as in Modern English ‘It was the first time...’ or ‘There was song and sound.’ In the clauses of category I, *þa* does not itself convey sequentiality or temporal progress; when narrative progress is implied, this function is dependent on the subject rather than on *þa*.

In the clauses of the second category, *wæs* serves as copula assigning a property to the subject. In subcategory IIa, this predicative follows immediately after the subject in the same half-line.¹³² In the clauses already discussed, i.e. *Beo* 467 and 2374, it is the adjective *dead*, while in the remaining clauses a past participle follows the subject. This suggests that it can also be interpreted as auxiliary in a periphrastic verb phrase. Though the construction is fairly similar to *Beo* 467 and 2374, only the latter clauses are considered to be subordinate, while the others are usually interpreted as principal clauses. However, if *þa* does not subordinate the clauses to adjacent principal clauses, what function does it have then? Considering the context in which those clauses occur, the text-linguistic options of marking foregrounded events, returning to the main storyline or introducing new episodes do not seem to apply here as the majority of them provide old information. Four of them, namely *Beo* 223, 1136, 2283 and 2306, are even preceded by a sub-clause introduced by *oþþæt* (‘until’) relating the same event which is then repeated in the *þa*-clause. The first example (*Beo* 217-225) relates how Beowulf and his retainers cross the sea and arrive at the coast of Denmark:

Gewat þa ofer wægholm winde gefysed
flota famiheals fugle gelicost
oð þæt ymb antid oþres dogores
wundenstefna gewaden hæfde
þæt ða liðende land gesawon,
brimclifu blican, beorgas steape
Beo 223 side sænæssas **þa wæs sund liden**
eoletes æt ende. Þanon up hraðe
Wedera leode on wang stigon...

It went over the sea, driven by the wind, the foam-necked ship, most like a bird, until after some time of the other day, with wound steven, it had gone so far that the voyagers saw land and cliffs blinking and steep maintains, broad headlands. Thus, the sea was crossed, the waters at an end. From there they swiftly went ashore...

¹³² *Beo* 917b should perhaps be grouped into this category: although the participle is not part of the b-line (since the subject *morgen torht* is too long), it follows immediately after the subject, which is not the case in the other clauses of category IIb. For a discussion of the clause see Fulck et al. 2008: 172.

The *þa*-clause sums up the preceding description of the crossing, thus announcing the resumption of the actions of the participants. In this, the clause can easily be interpreted as complementary to the following main clause ‘Now that the sea was crossed, the Geats swiftly went ashore...’ forming a transition from the descriptive to the narrative part. The same applies in the next two passages: *Beo* 1129b-1138a relates how Hengest has to await the end of winter before he can leave Finn’s realm and *Beo* 2302b-2309a recounts how the dragon is first aroused against Beowulf’s kingdom after the plundering of his hoard:

Holm storme weol,
won wið winde, winter yþe beleac
isgebinde **oþ ðæt** oþer com
gear in geardas swa nu gyt deð,
þa ðe syngales sele bewitiað,
Beo 1136 wuldortorhtan weder. **Ða wæs winter scacen,**
fæger foldan bearm. Fundode wrecca
gist of geardum;¹³³

Winter froze the waves, bound them in ice, until another year came into town, as it ever does to those who always await the gloriously bright spring. So, when winter was gone and the bosom of the earth fair, the exiled was eager to depart, the stranger in the dwelling place.

Hordweard onbad
earfoðlice **oð ðæt** æfen cwom;
wæs ða gebolgen beorges hyrde,
wolde se laða lige forgyldan
Beo 2306 drincfæt dyre. **Þa wæs dæg sceacen**
wyrme on willan; no on wealle læg
bidan wolde ac mid bæle for,
fyre gefysed.

The hoard’s guard waited impatiently until evening came. The mountain’s herd was enraged. The loath one wanted to repay the dear goblet with flames. So, when the day was gone after the dragon’s wish, he no longer wanted to wait within the walls, but flew with ready fire.

The former passage is similar to the first example in that the *þa*-clause concludes the descriptive part, i.e. the hard winter, and leads over to Hengest’s actions after spring enables him to leave his exile. The second passage has a comparable structure, though the descriptive part does not focus on nature but on the mood and intentions of the dragon, whose realisation are delayed by the light of day, just as Hengest’s intentions are delayed by the frosts of winter.

I chose to translate these examples with an anticipatory subordinate clause for various reasons: first, as mentioned before, the information in the *þa*-clause is already known to the reader/hearer. Consequently, it seems redundant to stress the circumstance with the adverb *þa*.

¹³³ The passage is rendered without the hyphens inserted in Fulk’s edition.

Secondly, the *þa* does not immediately resume the main storyline but states attendant circumstances which influence the behaviour of the acting participants: in *Beo* 1136, Hengest makes ready to depart *because* the winter has passed away, and in 2306 the dragon starts his revenge *because* evening falls at last. Finally, *þa* does not integrate the event into the chronological time frame of the main storyline; instead, it recapitulates an event described before and marks it as completed, thus expressing anteriority. The distortion of the time sequence as well as the causality explaining the motives of the acting parties are features of backgrounded events. The decision to translate *þa* with ‘so when’ is intended to capture the different pragmatic functions and render the OE meaning of *þa* as faithfully as possible, i.e. recapitulating the descriptive part as well as expressing the causal relation to the subsequent event.

The translation with a subordinate clause, however, is not always possible, nor do I consider it necessary. The following example relates how the hoard of the dragon is plundered by a man hoping to obtain his lord’s mercy by presenting a part of the treasure to him (*Beo* 2278-2286):

Swa se ðeodsceaða þreohund wintra
heold on hrusan hordærna sum
eacencræftig, oð ðæt hyne an abealch
mon on mode; mandryhtne bær
fæted wæge, frioðowære bæd
Beo 2283 hlaford sinne. **Ða wæs hord rasod,**
onboren beaga hord, bene getiðad
feasceaftum men; frea sceawode
fira fyrngeweorc forman siðe.

So the people’s enemy guarded in the earth the mighty hoard-hall for three hundred winters until one enraged him in his heart: for his lord he bore a plated vessel and begged him for peace. So the hoard was discovered, the treasure diminished, and mercy granted to the wretched man; the lord beheld the ancient work for the first time.

The difficulty to render the clause as subordinate is that this would establish a logical connection to the following main clause (*frea sceawode*). Such an interpretation, i.e. ‘so when the hoard was discovered... the lord looked at the ancient work for the first time’ seems to be putting too much emphasis on the inspection of the treasure by the wretched man’s lord. Actually, the whole passage provides supplementary information recounting how it came to pass that a dragon started to devastate Beowulf’s kingdom. The time-line is taken up only one line later in 2287b *Pa se wyrm onwoc*, where the reaction of the dragon, now one of the main participants, to the plundering of his hoard is described. Thus, *Beo* 2283 does not provide supplementary information to the principal clause immediately following it, which could

perhaps be treated as insertion, but to the subsequent event, i.e. the waking of the dragon. This would result in a rather complex construction in Modern English, ‘So when the hoard was explored, the treasure diminished and mercy granted to the wretched man – his lord beheld the ancient work for the first time – the dragon awoke’. At this point Mitchell’s assumption that some clauses seem to constitute some kind of transitory stage between parataxis and hypotaxis should be recalled. The clauses presently discussed appear to be good candidates for such an intermediate state: they are certainly backgrounded, i.e. subordinated to the main events of the narrative, but this ‘pragmatic subordination’ is not necessarily reflected in the grammatical structure. Instead, such clauses may be subordinated to the whole passage, i.e. to all foregrounded events, thus not necessarily providing causal or temporal background information for only one principal clause.

This rather loose grammatical structure poses some problems to translators since the grammatical rules of Modern English limit the means of rendering the whole range of meanings of the OE clause: if a subordinate clause is chosen, it has to be connected to one principal clause, thus establishing a causal or temporal relationship between the two. If a paratactic translation is chosen, in which the *þa*-clause stands on its own right, its subordination is no longer explicit. The latter option is certainly a good choice for the clause discussed just now;h, translating *þa* with the temporal adverb ‘then’ would certainly misrepresent the original meaning since the information given in the *þa*-clause are not part of the chronological time frame of the main events. It is certainly more fitting to translate *þa* with summarizing or recapitulating adverbs, such as ‘so’ or ‘thus’, which are not associated with sequentiality.

The lack of sequentiality is also evident in the other clauses which are not preceded by an *opþæt*-clause. Nonetheless, the information given in the *þa*-clause are not narrated actively as in foregrounded passages, but in retrospection, stating the result of events instead of their course, as in *Beo* 1146-1159a, which concludes the Finnsburg episode:

	Swylce ferhðfreca	Fin eft begeat
	sweordbealo sliðen	æt his selfes ham,
	sipðan grimne gripe	Guðlaf ond Oslaf
	æfter sæsiðe	sorge mændon,
	æt witon weana dæl;	ne meahte wæfre mod
<i>Beo</i> 1151	forhabban in hrepre.	Ða wæs heal roden
	feonda feorum,	swilce Fin slægen,
	cyning on corpre	ond seo cwen numen.
	Sceotend Scyldinga	to scypon feredon

eal ingesteald eorðcyninges,
swylce hie æt Finnes ham findan meahton
sigla searogimma. Hie on sælade
drihtlice wif to denum feredon,
læddon to leodum.

Moreover, cruel death by the sword afterwards befell the daring-minded Finn at his own home, when Guthlaf and Oslaf made sad complaint, after their sea-voyage, about the fierce attack, - blamed him for their share of woes. The troubled spirit (of strife) in their breasts could no longer be repressed.

Then was the hall reddened with corpses of the foes; Finn, the king, likewise was slain among his guard, and the queen taken. The warriors of the Scyldings bore to the ship all the possessions of the country's king, - whatsoever they could find at Finn's homestead of necklaces and curious gems. They brought the noble lady over the sea-path to the Danes, and led her to their people (Hall 1950: 78).

I quoted Hall's translation here for various reasons: first, the passage itself is so much debated that any engagement in the discussion would lead astray (see Fulk et. al. 2008: 190-1). Second, Hall's decision to start a new paragraph with the *þa*-clause shows its structuring function. Third, Hall chooses the translation 'then' for *þa*, thus illustrating the problems of such an interpretation, i.e. the inconsistency created by sequencing 'then' followed by the outcome of events. Again, 'thus' would be a preferable translation for *þa* since the preceding clauses provide the motive for the onslaught (at least in Hall's interpretation). If more stress is to be put on the events afterwards, which are again related actively and which form the conclusion of the episode, a hypotactic construction would do as well: 'So when the hall was reddened, Finn slain, and his queen taken, the Scyldings bore all treasures to the ship...'. Although these *þa*-clauses cannot always be subordinated to the subsequent clause (*Beo* 2727, for instance, is followed by a passage of direct speech), it is common to all the examples that *þa* never sequences the events on the main storyline but provides some background information or recapitulates events mentioned earlier. They share many properties with the subordinate clauses *Beo* 467 and 2372; however, *þa* is not completely void of a pragmatic function as it summarises previous events and at the same time announces a new turn to come. This two-fold pragmatic function is the reason why these clauses are rather hard to categorise on a syntactic level. However, their backgrounded character makes them good candidates for subordinate clauses, even if they precede their main clauses.

In *Andreas*, there are only two clauses that fit this category and *And* 1584 is the only example with a past participle; although the structure of this clause differs from those in *Beowulf* as the subject does not form a part of the b-verse but is delayed to the next line, the use of the past

participle of the intransitive verb *cuman* suggests a pluperfect again. Brooks' punctuation, too, indicates a trailing sub-clause (*And* 1581-1585a):

Smeolt wæs se sigewang, symble wæs dryge
folde fram flode, swa his fot gestop;
wurdon burgware bliðe on mode,
And 1584 ferhðgefeonde, **þa wæs forð cumen**
geoc æfter gyrne.

Fair was the victor-plain, the earth was swiftly dried after the flood where his foot trod. Then were the city-dwellers blithe of heart, joyous of soul. Peace after woe was come (Kennedy 2000: 30).

Kennedy decides in favour of a paratactic construction, skipping the translation of *þa* entirely. If *geoc* in its sense of 'help' or 'comfort' is taken to refer to the circumstances described in the lines before, i.e. that *Andreas* commands the flood to stop and the waters retreat, the providing of help is no new information. Therefore, the clause can also be treated as expressing the reason for the Marmedonians' joy: 'The city-dwellers became joyful in their hearts, now that help had arrived after their sorrow'.

Although the other example does not contain a participle, it shares more features with those clauses from *Beowulf* because it casts a retrospective view on events described before: it marks the gathering of the Marmedonians as completed, who want to hold council after *Andreas* has released *Matheus* (*And* 1093-1099):

Ða ic lungre gefrægn leode tosomne,
burgwara bannan; beornas comon,
wiggendra þreat, wicgum gengan,
on mearum modige, mæðelhegende,
And 1097 æscum dealle. **Þa wæs eall geador**
to þam þingstede þeod gesamnod,
leton him þa betweenum taan wisian

Then, as I learned, quickly were the people mustered together, the dwellers of the city. Heroes came, a throng of warriors on their chargers, upon their steeds men stout of heart, and counsellors, strong with the spear. When all the folk was come together to the place of conclave, they let the lots decree... (Kennedy 2000: 21).

Here Kennedy chooses to translate the clause as anticipatory sub-clause to the following principal clause, as also suggested by the editor's punctuation, thus capturing the transitory function of summing up the previous events and marking them as completed, as well as introducing the new turn. Here, too, the information that the people gathered has already been given in the sentence before and it would sound odd to emphasise the same circumstance only

a few lines later with sequential *þa*. Again, I do not suggest that the clause is unambiguously subordinate in OE; the question is rather how its backgroundedness as well as its specific pragmatic function can be best transferred into Modern English.

The clauses of category IIb seem to have the same structure as the clauses of category I, i.e. *þa wæs S* with no other clause elements following in the same half-line. However, neither is the subject a temporal expression (perhaps with the exception of *Beo* 3035b) nor is *wæs* used as a full verb. The predicative, which does not have to be a participle, follows in one of the subsequent half-lines. With regard to clause-structure, therefore, the clauses share more properties with the clauses of category IIa; however, they are more complex: as the property assigned to the subject does not conclude the b-line introduced by *þa*, the clause is still incomplete at this point. While the b-lines of category IIa are complete clauses on their own, e.g. *þa wæs heal roden*, the b-lines of category IIb are not (*þa wæs beorges weard...*). In this, the latter clauses are like those of the first category, where a complementary clause necessarily follows the b-line (*þa wæs forma sið...*). The clauses of the category IIa, therefore, share the property of subordinate clauses discussed in the previous section, which generally end with the half-line, while the clauses of category I, which have already been established as being principal, as well as the clauses of category IIb, do not.

In regard to function, there is also a noticeable difference between categories IIa and b: while the former conclude or summarise previous events, the latter usually describe circumstances on their own: the first example describes Hroðgar's reaction to the death of Æschere after the attack of Grendel's mother (*Beo* 1303b-1310), while the second refers to the mood of the dragon after he is attacked by Beowulf (*Beo* 2576-2582a):

	...	cearu wæs geniwod,
	geworden in wicun.	Ne wæs þæt gewrixle til,
	þæt hie on ba healfa	bicgan scoldon
<i>Beo</i> 1305	freonda feorum.	Þa wæs frod cyning,
	har hilderinc	on hreon mode
	syðþan he aldorþegn	unlyfigendne,
	þone deorestan	deadne wisse.
	Hraþe wæs to bure	Beowulf fetod

Grief was renewed and entered again the dwellings. It was no good exchange that both sides should pay with their friends' lives. The old king, the grey warrior, was in his heart troubled. Swiftly Beowulf was fetched to his room...

Geata dryhten,	gryrefahne sloh
incgelafe,	þæt sio ecg gewac
brun on bane,	bat unswiðor

Beo 2580 þonne his ðiodcýning þearfe hæfde
 bysigum gebæded. **Þa wæs beorges weard**
 æfter heaðuswenge **on hreoum mode**
 wearp wælfyre;

The Lord of the Geats struck the terrible monster with the mighty heirloom while the blade gave way on the dragon's hide and bit less deep than the king had need of. The mountain's guard was enraged after the stroke, he spat a deadly fire.

In these clauses, the presence of *þa* might again be syntactically triggered and function as an empty topic (it certainly does in *Beo* 3035); for this reason, I did not translate it at all in the preceding examples: it neither conveys sequentiality nor does it summarise previous events. On the other hand, it could be argued that *þa* functions as a dramatiser here. I would not dismiss the possibility in these cases, especially since the clauses refer to the mood of the main participants. In that, they resemble the clauses in *Andreas* with the verb *wearð*, which are certainly foregrounded. *And* 1085 and 1595 denote a crucial change for the advancement of the narration: the first instance describes the Marmedonians' reaction to the empty prison and their resulting fear of hunger which induces them to eat the dead prison guards; the second describes their fear caused by the death of the 'fourteen worst Marmedonians' who are swept underground by the subsiding waters. This time their reaction is quite different and they turn their hearts to God. In function, these clauses are therefore comparable to *And* 467 *þa þam halgan wearð* and *And* 804 *þa þæt folc gewearð* discussed earlier (see pp. 116f), only that here the noun modifier prohibits that the verb is shifted into the weak position.

Before concluding this analysis, the clauses containing *com* should shortly be mentioned. As was discussed in Chapter 1, *com* can denote active and (potentially) punctual events, but it can also be used as a quasi-auxiliary. The 'degree of lexicality' or the 'communicative dynamism' of the verb has consequences for the allotment of stress (see section 1.2.3). It was argued that *com* can behave like a fully stressed verb in *Beowulf*, taking the pattern *com þa* in the a-verse or like an unstressed quasi-auxiliary taking the same pattern as *wæs*, i.e. *þa com*. The frequent occurrence of the verb in unstressed positions in *Andreas* may be due to its increasing degree of grammaticalisation: though it can still function as fully lexical verb, it is generally unstressed. Thus, the occurrence of *com* in the unstressed position of the b-clause in *Andreas* does not necessarily imply that it is used as an auxiliary verb.

The tendency of *com* to occur in unstressed positions irrespective of its lexical content provides another set of structuring b-clauses. Other than *wæs*, which usually refers to states, *com* implies movement: the verb can either be used to denote the relocation of the main

participant or to introduce a new participant to the set, thus indicating either a break in the continuity of participants or of place. *And* 1269 and 1462 are examples of the latter option. In the first passage, the Marmedonians come to the prison to torture Andreas (*And* 1267-1272); in the second, God appears in the dungeon to comfort and heal Andreas after his sufferings (*And* 1460b-1467a);¹³⁴

þæt he a domlicost dryhten herede,
weorðade wordum, oððæt wuldres gim
And 1269 heofontorht onhlad. **Ða com hæleða þreat**
to ðære dimman ding, duguð unlytel,
wadan wælgifre weorodes brehtme;
heton ut hræðe æðeling lædan

...that he ever praised the Lord, worshipped him with his words until glory's gem, the heaven-light appeared. Then a throng of warriors came marching to the dim dungeon, a great host, war-greedy with rattling sounds. They ordered to lead the prisoner out instantly...

... woldon cræfta gehygd,
magorædendes mod oncyrran
And 1462 on þære deorcan niht. **Þa com dryhten God**
in þæt hlinræced, hæleða wuldor,
ond þa wine synne wordum grette
ond frofre gecwæð, fæder manncynnes,
lifes lareow. Heht his lichoman
hales brucan:

...they wanted to break his mind in the dark night. Then the lord came to the prison, the glory of heroes, and greeted his friend and comforted him, teacher of life, and ordered his body to heal.

Beo 1162 *Þa cwom Wealhþeow forð* falls into the same category. Furthermore, the verb can indicate a break in the continuity of time by using the arrival of the sun as structuring element. In the former example from *Andreas*, the new turn is again prepared by the sunrise which always brings new sufferings to Andreas during his martyrdom. But even before his imprisonment the sun ever announces change as in *And* 837 when Andreas awakes in the morning before the gates of the city after the sea-voyage (*And* 836b-840a):¹³⁵

Sceadu sweðerodon
And 837 wonn under wolcnum; **þa com wederes blæst,**
hador heofonleoma, ofer hofu blican.
Onwoc þa wiges heard, wang sceawode,
fore burggeatum;

¹³⁴ The examples show that whether *com* is used with or without complementary infinitive does not affect its position (see discussion pp. 55 ff).

¹³⁵ Another example is *And* 241 *Þa com morgen torht*, when Andreas first goes to the coast in order to find a ship that can take him and his disciples to Marmedonia.

*The shadows withdrew wan under the sky when weather's flame came, the bright light of heaven, blinking over the dwellings. Then the warrior awoke, beholding the plain, before the city's gates.*¹³⁶

Again, there is a corresponding example in *Beowulf*, i.e. 1802 *Ða com beorht scacan*, which announces Beowulf's departure from Denmark. With regards to function, these clauses can be compared with episodic *þa wæs*-clauses, which also structure the narrative by indicating a lapse in time.

The functions described for b-clauses can also be traced in a-clauses of the pattern *þa* V. They can have a structuring function employing the verbs *com* or *wæs*:

Time:

<i>Beo</i> 837	þa wæs on morgen	mine gefræge
<i>Beo</i> 126	Ða wæs on uhtan	mid ærdæge
<i>And</i> 147	Ða wæs frist angan	frumrædenne
<i>Beo</i> 1600	Ða com non dæg	næs ofgeafon

Participants:

<i>Beo</i> 1644	Ða com in gaan	ealdor ðegna
<i>And</i> 1311	þa com seofona sum	to sele geongan

In other clauses, *þa* seems to be nothing more than an empty topic; however, in some instances, i.e. when it is used with a non-temporal subject, it might also function as dramatiser, especially when describing the moods of the main participants:

<i>Beo</i> 607	þa wæs on sælum	sinces brytta
<i>And</i> 122	Ða wæs Matheus	miclum onbryrðed

Finally, there are clauses where *wæs* is complemented by a participle. Only these clauses are potentially subordinate. In some instances this construction denotes anteriority:

<i>And</i> 40	þa was Matheus	to þære mæran byrig cumen...
<i>Beo</i> 2821	Ða wæs gegongen	guman unfroðum

However, impersonal constructions are more frequent:

<i>Beo</i> 1288	þa wæs on healle	heardecg togen
<i>Beo</i> 1399	þa wæs Hroðgare	hors gebæted

¹³⁶ I chose to translate the clause as subordinate in this context since the arrival of the sun is announced a few lines earlier in an *oppæt*-clause. Thus, this clause resembles those *þa wæs*-clauses in *Beowulf* which provide old information. The clause will be further discussed in Chapter 3 (p. 197).

Their backgroundedness is supported by the marked focus structure and the fact that they are not directly connected with the actions of the main participants.

2.4 CONCLUSION CHAPTER 2

After the syntactic attempts to interpret ambiguous clauses outlined in Chapter 1 have proved futile, this chapter presented a different perspective by discussing approaches to the text-linguistic functions of *þa*. It was demonstrated that it can assume different functions connected to foregrounding and narrative structuring, depending on the morphosyntactic properties of the attendant clause elements. These correlations, originally established for prose texts, were applied to the poems *Andreas* and *Beowulf*, on the one hand to see whether they hold for poetry, on the other to show how the results help to solve ambiguity. Lenker's statement that the 'recurrent use of *þa* is a shibboleth of Old English narrative prose style, in particular in the sequence *þa* followed by a verb, which is, by contrast virtually absent in Old English poetry' (2010: 65) seems to imply that OE prose and verse differ in the use of *þa* as pragmatic device. The absence of *þa* V patterns in verse, however, can be explained by the metrical constraints influencing the position of the verb. Otherwise the functions of *þa* in prose and verse coincide in many respects:

- With verbs of motion and main participant subjects, *þa* indicates a break in the continuity of place which often marks the beginning of a new episode. In poetry, such major breaks seem to be restricted to on-verses of the form V *þa* S.
- Similar episodic clauses can introduce a new player to the set, thus indicating a break in the continuity of participants. Such minor breaks are especially frequent in the off-verse with the unstressed verb *com*, taking the form *þa* V.
- In combination with other temporal expressions, *þa* marks narrative structuring on the level of time. Other than in translated and later prose, these clauses stand on their own right and are not grammatically subordinated to the main events. In poetry, the unstressed verbs *wæs* and *com* are used in these constructions so that they also take the form *þa* V.
- Within episodes, *þa* frequently correlates with morphosyntactic features that imply high transitivity, for example active and punctual verbs, human subjects and highly affected objects (see Table 2-3, p. 84). As these features generally imply action, Enkvist first applied the term 'action marker' to *þa*. In poetry, these clauses, since they contain a stressed verb, take the form V *þa* in the on-verse and *þa* X V in the off-verse.
- *þa* can also be used as foregrounding device when the morphosyntactic features do not indicate high transitivity or temporal sequentiality. In these cases, it marks events (or

even states) that are important for the narrative (for example direct speech or the mood of the main participants).

Chapter 1 has demonstrated that there are two ambiguous b-clause patterns in OE poetry which result from the metrical constraints of the off-verse:

- a) *þa ...V* occurring with all verbs
- b) *þa V* occurring with unstressed verbs when no other unstressed syllable occupies the weak position between *þa* and the first lift.

The ambiguity of the first pattern arises from the fact that principal b-clauses are aligned with the metrical pattern of the off-verse prohibiting the V1 word order usually found in a-clauses (V *þa* X).¹³⁷ With reference to the properties of verb and subject, however, the solving of ambiguity is generally straightforward. Subordinate clauses of this form are principally rare because they require a noun subject which is distinct from the subject of the main clause, as in *þa metod nolde* and *þa his broðor læg*. In contrast, a continuous subject is usually pronominalised in trailing sub-clauses, so that most subordinate clauses introduced by *þa* take the pattern *þa S_p X V*.

The analysis of the second pattern is more complex due to the fact that the verb most frequent occurring in it, i.e. *wæs*, can never be considered to refer to narrative action. There is a general distinction between clauses where *wæs* is a full verb and where it is either copula or auxiliary. As a full verb, *wæs* is often used with temporal expressions which indicate a lapse in time, thus structuring the narrative. Some clauses with *com*, when referring to daytimes, can be added to this list. *Wæs* as a full verb can also occur with other subjects, but these clauses are usually not sequenced in the time frame of foregrounded events and are general statements which often refer to an unspecific period of time, such as *Beo* 53 *þa was on burgum Beowulf Scyldinga* and the example cited by Waterhouse from *Ælfric's Life of Saints: Þa wæs sum wif wælig on æhtum* (see p. 79). In these cases, *þa* is an empty topic, neither foregrounding the information nor functioning as grammatical subordinator. Still, these clauses fulfil a pragmatic function in introducing a new episode. Brinton noticed that 'entire clauses are used in Old English for the purposes of narrative segmentation. These contain a variety of neutral change of state verbs' (1993:76), including *beon*.

Clauses where *wæs* is used as copula assigning a property to the subject often describe the mood of the affected party. The same function is evident in the *þa-wearð* clauses in *Andreas*.

¹³⁷ These restrictions hold for *Beowulf* and *Andreas* while later poems, such as *The Battle of Maldon*, have b-verses of the form V *þa* X.

As those moods are often relevant for the subsequent action, *þa* can be considered to function as dramatiser, i.e. as foregrounding device marking essential parts of the narrative. When *wæs* is an auxiliary followed by a past participle, it may indicate the anteriority of an action or event whose course has been mentioned before. The repetition of information in retrospection makes these clauses good candidates for anticipatory sub-clauses conveying a temporal and often also causal relation to subsequent events. However, a hypotactic translation or interpretation is not always the best choice. The grammatical blurriness of these clauses reflects the twofold pragmatic function of summing up previous events and providing a motive for the new turn of action. Though providing background information, these clauses also have a structuring function, which other sub-clauses, such as *þa metod nolde*, are totally without.

The analysis has shown that the use of *þa* as narrative tool in poetry is in many aspects comparable to its use in original prose, despite the stylistic differences between the two text types: in foregrounded passages, *þa* correlates with active verbs, main-participant subjects and parataxis. It is important to note that the latter aspect is a feature of primary narratives, rather than of poetry. A passage of narrative action in prose will employ similar strings of main clauses to express the immediacy and unreflectedness of the action as poetry; it is certainly no sign of stylistic simplicity. In these passages, the primary function of *þa* is that of emphasising the action and indicating temporal progress. In backgrounded passages, on the other hand, *þa* correlates with stative conditions or breaks in the continuity of the narrative. The introduction of new information is not restricted to the predicate but may occur in adverbials or the subject; thus, it is not the verb or action which is highlighted by *þa*, but the whole clause or the specifications about time or place. In this function, *þa* shares many features of a subordinator, especially regarding the suppletion of information attendant to the plot. Thus, it is exactly this class of *þa-wæs* clauses which can easily be translated as subordinate clauses in order to capture their function as supplementing the main storyline. The deviations of poetry from prose usage include the lack of a systematic use of word order in poetry to distinguish principal and subordinate clauses; they also include the absence of correlative *þa...þa*-clauses from poetry, which are frequently used in translated prose and which seem to be coined on Latin syntax. The following chapter will further explore these differences by comparing the OE prose and verse version of the Andreas-legend with regard to the functional use of *þa* and the impact the sources might have had on the linguistic and stylistic devices used in the OE adaptations.

3

Functional Use of *þa*: an Example

The preceding chapter explored the text-linguistic functions of *þa* in connection with different morphosyntactic features of the clause elements. The findings of various studies were applied to the Old English poems *Andreas* and *Beowulf* in order to examine in how far the pragmatic principles detected for OE prose narratives are applicable to poetry. It was demonstrated that *þa*-clauses occur in the same contexts as in prose and assume either a structuring function by marking narrative units and episodes or track the main events and/or participants, thus marking the essential turns in the narrative. There are some differences between the use of *þa* in *Beowulf* and *Andreas*, but the basic textual functions are the same. Thus, *þa* is used as narrative tool in *Andreas* in spite of its classical sources. Given that the transformation of Latin prose into Anglo-Saxon poetic style necessarily entails a substantial change in language and style, this discovery is not altogether surprising; however, the presence of this device of genuine OE story-telling can also be traced in the prose version of the *Andreas*-legend, which is a much closer translation of a Latin source. The present chapter will demonstrate that both OE versions, i.e. prose and verse, draw on the different textual functions of *þa* in order to structure the narrative or to mark the essential parts of it, independent of linguistic expressions found in the classical sources.

The analysis of the functional use of *þa* in Chapter 2 was focused on single clauses and their function within the passage in which they occur. The present chapter will analyse the clauses from a wider perspective and consider them within the narrative structure as a whole. The OE adaptations of the Andreas-legend in comparison to the extant sources provide the basis for analysing the narrative structure of the texts as well as the linguistic devices used for indicating this structure in OE prose and verse. The first part of the chapter is dedicated to the detailed description of the OE versions. Besides outlining the story, including major differences between the prose and the verse versions, the existing sources and their assumed relation to the OE texts will be discussed. The second part focuses on how the OE authors/translators used their sources in order to produce the different OE versions. Starting with a general comment on translation practices in Anglo-Saxon England, the discussion then turns to a separate examination of the language and style of the OE versions, influenced, on the one hand, by the sources and, on the other hand, by the literary style of the adaptation/translation. The third part of the chapter constitutes a close textual analysis of the OE versions in regards to the functional use of *þa*. Besides establishing correspondences and deviations in prose and verse, the analysis also seeks to prove the hypothesis that *þa* is indeed systematically used in OE in spite of the reliance on a Latin source. Furthermore, the parataxis/hypotaxis question is addressed again within the larger context of general stylistic differences between prose and verse and within the context of correspondences between syntactic and pragmatic uses of *þa*. In doing so, the chapter provides an example of how *þa* functions within a narrative and how its use differs in prose and verse regarding pragmatic and grammatical functions.

3.1 THE ANDREAS-LEGEND IN OE PROSE AND VERSE

There are two Old English versions of the Andreas-legend: the 1722-line poem *Andreas*,¹³⁸ which came down to us as a single manuscript in the Vercelli Book, and a prose version, *Saint Andrew*,¹³⁹ extant in two manuscripts; one of them contains a complete but fairly shortened account of the original story, while the other is only a fragment, which is very close to the complete verse version.

- I. Verse: *Andreas*: Vercelli Book
- II. Prose: *Saint Andrew-C*: Cambridge MS, Corpus Christi College 198 (Ker 48),
Saint Andrew-B: Blickling MS (Ker 382), fragment.

¹³⁸ The original poem must have been slightly longer since some verses are incomplete or entirely lost; see lines 828, 1024-5 and 1664.

¹³⁹ The OE prose version is not referred any consistent title. I use the name *Saint Andrew (SA)* to distinguish it from the poem. It refers to both extant prose texts, i.e. the complete version (C-text) and the fragment in the Blickling Homilies (B-text).

For the poem *Andreas*, Brooks' edition of 1961 is used. Quotations from the prose version *Saint Andrew* (SA) are based on Cassidy and Ringler's 1971 edition of the C-text. There is also an older edition of the complete prose version (Goodwin 1851), but this edition uses the fragment in order to fill some gaps in the manuscript:

[A] portion of the legend is found in a MS. volume of Anglo-Saxon Homilies which is preserved in the library at Blickling Hall, Norfolk. [...] It has proved of service in correcting one or two corrupt passages in the Corpus MS (Goodwin 1851: v).

The newer edition is therefore a more reliable basis for a textual analysis:

We have chosen to print the complete text of C, without interpolating that of B, for two reasons: (1) we thus get a linguistically and orthographically coherent text; (2) whereas the C-text is not available in a reliable modern edition, the B-text is readily obtainable in collotype facsimile (Cassidy & Ringler 1971: 205).

The prose fragment, which is part of the Blickling Homilies, is only referred to where it differs from the Cambridge Manuscript in the use of *þa*. Quotations are based on the text version published in *The Blickling Homilies* (Kelly 2003: 158-163). It is interesting to note, however, that the fragment is the older of the two prose manuscripts and bears a closer relation to the Latin source. It is thus 'of greater textual authority' (Cassidy & Ringler 1971: 205) for an analysis of the influence of the Latin texts. The content of the OE versions and the relation to the classical sources is described in the next section, which is followed by a more detailed description of the differences between the OE versions regarding content and style. In this context, the question of general stylistic differences between prose and verse is also discussed. Finally, more specific influences on the OE versions are addressed: although *Andreas* treats Christian content, it shows influences of the Anglo-Saxon heroic style and even contains phrases and wordings also found in *Beowulf*.¹⁴⁰ The prose version, on the other hand, employs a set of quasi-formulaic clause beginnings pointing to its sermonic character, which is supported by its inclusion in the *Blickling Homilies*. Since the use and the function of the versions influence language and style, they have to be considered when analysing the narrative structure of the legend and the use of *þa* as foregrounding device or marker of important parts.

¹⁴⁰ Although the relation between *Beowulf* and *Andreas* is still debated, it has been noted that '[t]he similarities of phrasing between these two poems are closer than would be expected if their authors were doing no more than drawing on a common word hoard' (Fulk et al. 2008: clxxv; for examples see fn. 6 on this page). For further discussion see pp. 166f.

3.1.1 SOURCES AND CONTENT

The legend of ‘the Acts of Matthew and Andrew in the City of the Cannibals’ was probably composed by an anonymous Egyptian monk in Greek about the second half of the third century AD. As one of the most popular apocryphal stories, it was translated into different languages such as Syrian, Latin, and Coptic (see Cassidy & Ringler, 1971: 203f).¹⁴¹ The Greek *Praxeis* (*Πράξεις Ἀνδρέου καὶ Ματθαίου εἰς τὴν χώραν τῶν ἀνθρωποφάγων* – ‘The Acts of Andrew and Matthew in the land of the Anthropophagi’), also known as *Version P*, survives in nine manuscripts, which all give a fairly similar account of the legend.¹⁴² The Old English poem *Andreas* bears many similarities to this version, but it was not the direct source for the OE poet:

It has long been recognized that this Greek version is the ultimate source of the Old English poem; but none of the extant manuscripts can stand as the immediate source. For example, P does not mention the consecration of a bishop for the Anthropophagi after their conversion; but the line 1651 names this bishop as Platan, an anglicization of the name Plato which appears in some other versions of the legend (Brooks 1961: xv).

It is assumed that the OE poet drew on a Latin version of the legend which is itself a close adaptation of the Greek source. This was first suggested by Zupitza in 1886 and the evidence from a Latin version discovered a few years later supported this hypothesis (see Friesen 2008: 429). Five Latin manuscripts featuring the legend are known today, three of them are fragments.¹⁴³ Other than the Greek *Version P*, the Latin manuscripts preserve versions of the legend that diverge much from one another. One of the complete versions, the *Recensio Casanatensis* (*Cas*),¹⁴⁴ shows some striking similarities to the OE verse version which cannot be found in the Greek version. However, in some details the OE poem is more closely related to the *Version P* than to *Cas*. This means that *Cas*, too, is not likely to be direct source of *Andreas*:

For example, the episode of the statue proceeding to the plain of Mamre and awakening the patriarchs from their tombs is found both in *Andreas* (786 ff.) and P, but is absent from C [i.e. the *Recensio Casanatensis*]. Again, the name of the city or country (ciuitas or prouincia in C) of the Anthropophagi occurs in C and in *Andreas*

¹⁴¹ Modern English translations of the Latin, Greek and Old English versions are provided in Boenig 1991.

¹⁴² The Greek MSS were first edited by Thilo (1846), *Acta SS. Apostolorum Andreae et Matthiae*, Halle, and again by Tischendorf in 1851.

¹⁴³ For a short description of the Latin manuscripts and available editions see Friesen 2008: 41.

¹⁴⁴ The Codex Casanatensis was edited by Franz Blatt (1930: 33-95) in *Die lateinischen Bearbeitungen der Acta Andreae et Matthiae apud anthropophagos*. The paragraph numbers (see Appendix I) and lines, which are not numbered consecutively but start anew each page, refer to this edition. A Modern English translation based on this edition and retaining the paragraph numbers can be found in Allen & Calder (1976: 15-34).

as *Mermedonia* (also *Marmedonia* in the poem), but is absent from P [...] (Brooks: 1961: xvii).

Even though *Cas* may not be the direct source for the OE poet, it is probable that both texts go back to a common version:

[W]hether a Latin or Greek version is the actual source of *Andreas* is, upon the present evidence, impossible to determine, and all versions differ from the Old English to some extent. Of these versions, the text with the fewest narrative discrepancies seems to be that of the Casanatensis manuscript (Friesen 2008: 42).

Besides the *Praxeis*, the Latin *Casanatensis* is the most useful text available for a comparison of the narrative structure of the OE version with the sources. The other complete Latin version, the rhythmic *Recensio Vaticana* (*Vat*),¹⁴⁵ is less valuable for this analysis as it renders a very free account of the original legend and does neither bear a close relation to the *Praxeis* nor to the Old English versions (see Brooks 1961: xvi). The same is true for the version found in MS 1576 University of Bologna, which is ‘a severely abridged version of the story and is probably much the shortest of all the extant Latin versions’ (Cassidy & Ringler 1971: 204, fn. 8). Both versions are ‘representing independent recensions’ (*Ibid.*).

Compared with the *Version P*, the *Recensio Casanatensis* and *Andreas*, the Old English prose version lacks some of the details given in the other texts. The source seems to be an abridged Latin version of the legend, of which it is a fairly close translation.¹⁴⁶ This version is lost, except for some words included in one of the OE verse texts (see below). However, a short Latin fragment, the *Recensio Vallicellensis* (*Val*), sometimes referred to as the Bonnet fragment,¹⁴⁷ has survived, which seems to be closely related to it:

A short Latin fragment (*Val*) [...] is preserved in an eleventh-century palimpsest. This fragment belongs to the same recension as the lost Latin version and is consequently very close to the OE; we have printed its relevant portions in the middle of the appropriate pages (Cassidy & Ringler 1971: 204).

Although this fragment only corresponds to a few lines of the OE prose version,¹⁴⁸ it provides valuable information about the impact of the Latin source on the translation, especially with

¹⁴⁵ An edition of the *Vaticana* can also be found in Blatt (1930: 96-146).

¹⁴⁶ Cassidy and Ringler even call it ‘often slavishly close’ (1971: 204).

¹⁴⁷ The fragment was discovered by Max Bonnet and first printed in 1898 in his edition of the Greek version (1898: 65-116). A literal transcript of it, along with the corresponding Greek lines, can be found in Krapp’s edition of *Andreas* (1906: xxiii-xxv). The line numbers in Appendix I refer to Krapp’s edition and not the parts included in Cassidy and Ringler’s edition because the latter edition skips parts of the Latin fragment which have no correspondence in the OE version.

¹⁴⁸ I.e. to lines 103-124 of Cassidy & Ringler’s edition. This is the part where Andrew and his disciples awake on the coast of Marmedonia, including parts of the following dialogue between Christ and Andreas (see App. II).

respect to corresponding adverbs in Latin and Old English. In addition, syntactic features (or oddities) of the OE text can be explained by referring back to the Latin text.

It should be noted, however, that the Bonnet fragment, though it bears linguistic similarities to the OE prose version, is much closer to the OE poem, at least in regard to its content: it contains the account of the heavenly experience of Andreas' disciples after Andreas falls asleep on the ship, which is not contained in the OE prose version. The fragment is sometimes referred to as the 'missing link' between the Greek version and the OE poem: some details agreeing in the fragment and the poem do not occur in the *Praxeis*. The *Recensio Vallicellensis* is thus even closer to the OE poem than the *Recensio Casanatensis*; however, as it is only a fragment and corresponds to only 111 lines of *Andreas* (ll. 843-954),¹⁴⁹ it cannot be used for a large-scale comparison of the content and the narrative structure.

One last Latin fragment is of interest for the discussion of the ultimate source of the OE prose version: a few lines of the Latin text are inserted into the fragment of the OE prose version, which indicates that it is indeed a translation of a lost Latin version:

Tunc Sanctus Andreas surgens mane abiit ad mare cum discipulis suis, et vidit nauiculam in litore, et intra naue sedentes tres uiros. Se halga Andreas þa aras on morgen ond he eode to þære sæ mid his discipulum, ond he geseah scip on þæm warþe ond þry weras on þæm sittende (SA-B 39-42).

*The holy Andrew arose in the morning and went to the sea with his disciples he saw there a boat on the shore and there men sitting therein.*¹⁵⁰

The insertion of the original language into translated texts was obviously not an uncommon practice for OE translators:

Dass zwischen der griechischen legende und der altenglischen homilie der lat. text steht, von dem uns die gewohnheit der mittelalterlichen homiletten, in ihre arbeit in der volkssprache gelegentlich ein stück in der gelehrten sprache ihrer quelle einzuschieben, ein kleines bruckstück erhalten hat, das wird doch wohl niemand bestreiten (Zupitza 1886: 181).

'There can be no doubt that the Latin text, of which a small fragment came down to us due to the habit of medieval homilists to insert a piece of the learned language of their source into the vernacular language of their work, stands between the Greek legend and the Old English homily' (translation mine).

¹⁴⁹ See Brooks (1961: xvi).

¹⁵⁰ Text and translation according to Kelly's edition of the *Blickling Homilies* (2003: 158)

Krapp's comparison of the Latin insertion with the *Version P* demonstrates that the lost Latin text must in its turn have been a fairly close, though abridged, translation of the Greek *Praxeis* (see 1906: xxii).

Finally, it can be said that the OE prose version and the poem are both relatively close to the Greek version of the legend. The abridgement of the former was presumably already present in the intermediate Latin source. The poem *Andreas* deviates in some details from the Greek version which makes the existence of another intermediate Latin text probable. This lost source is again closely related to the Latin versions preserved in the *Recensio Casanatensis* and the *Recensio Vallicellensis*. Consequently, these texts are used for the examination of the impact of the sources on the Old English versions of the legend. The following account of the legend renarrates the core structure of these versions.¹⁵¹

The legend begins with Matheus,¹⁵² who, after the apostles part, has the lot to journey to the people of Marmedonia¹⁵³ [THE APOSTLES & MATHEUS' TASK]. These are anthropophagi, whose custom it is to imprison any foreigners entering their territory, to blind them and to pour them a poisonous drink, which turns their mind and induces them to feed on hay and grass. After the exact period of 30 days in prison, the Marmedonians finally eat their victims and drink their blood [MARMEDONIA]. The cannibals proceed in this manner with Matheus as soon as he enters the city, but the poisonous drink does not harm him because his mind is focused on God. In this detail, the poem deviates from the prose versions: here, Matheus simply refuses to drink the poison [MATHEUS' FATE & PRAYER].

After 27 days of imprisonment, God orders Andreas, who teaches his disciples in Achaia, to make his way to Marmedonia and rescue Matheus [3 DAY'S LEFT; GOD ORDERING ANDREAS]. Andreas doubts that he can make it in time and asks God to send one of his angels instead, but God insists on his journey. Accordingly, Andreas and his disciples set out for the coast in order to take a ship to Marmedonia [ANDREAS' ANSWER; GOING TO SEA-SHORE]. This is where the main story starts.

As soon as Andreas arrives at the shore, he spots a ship with three persons aboard. He greets them and asks for a passage to Marmedonia, not knowing that the mariners are Jesus and two

¹⁵¹ For an overview of corresponding passages in the different versions see Appendix I (p. 229); line or paragraph numbers are based on the editions used. The headings of the passages in App. I are indicated by capitals in the following account.

¹⁵² The name as found in the OE prose versions as well as in the Latin versions is retained here. The same is true for 'Andreas'. Modern translations of the texts usually render the names as 'St. Andrew' and 'St. Matthew'.

¹⁵³ The spelling varies in the versions: while the C text has 'Marmedonia', the B text has 'Mermedonia'. In the poem both varieties are used.

of his angels in disguise. After some negotiating, Andreas and his disciples finally board the ship [NEGOTIATIONS AND BOARDING]. The disciples are anxious about the impending sea-voyage; in the prose version their fear is simply due to the crossing of the sea in general. In the poem, there is an elaborate description of an uprising STORM, which is only shortly mentioned in the classical versions. Jesus offers Andreas' disciples to stay ashore and await their master's return, but they decline [DISCIPLES ASHORE?]. Jesus then asks Andreas to recount a mystery in order to calm his disciples [CHRIST'S MIRACLE].

After Andreas has rendered the account of Jesus calming a tempest during one of his journeys with the apostles, the disciples fall asleep. At this point, the poem and the classical versions continue with a LONG DIALOGUE between Andreas and Jesus (for more than 400 lines in the OE poem), after which Andreas falls asleep, too; Jesus orders his angels to transport them to the Marmedonian shore [ANGELS' JOURNEY]. In the OE prose version this dialogue is omitted completely: after recounting the mystery, Andreas instantly falls asleep. This is the most substantial abridgement of the prose version; the dialogue is the longest digression from the main storyline and it does not instantly contribute to the development of the plot, but relates some of Christ's miracles among the Jews. The conversation fits into the topic of Christian teaching and conversion, and it prepares Andreas for his role as a teacher. Although this is certainly not inessential for the story's development, the passage is not considered in the analysis for two reasons: first, there is no corresponding part in the prose version, which makes any comparison impossible. Second, as the passage consists entirely of direct speech offsite the main storyline, it is futile to consider it within an analysis of structuring or foregrounding *pa*-clauses.

When Andreas awakes on the Marmedonian coast [THE GATES OF MARMEDONIA], he eventually perceives that Jesus must have been the steersman of the ship. Here again the OE prose version is abridged: in the poem and the classical sources the disciples now tell Andreas what happened after he fell asleep. The DISCIPLES' STORY confirms Andreas' assumption that Christ guided them on their sea-voyage. When he starts to pray – here the prose version takes up again – Christ appears and Andreas apologises for his blindness. Jesus answers that he only appeared in disguise in order to illustrate his power (which Andreas questioned when he was first ordered to Marmedonia). Jesus then asks Andreas to enter the city and rescue Matheus, predicting that Andreas will have to suffer severely, but bidding him to endure all afflictions in order to lead the Marmedonians to God [CHRIST'S REVELATION].

Andreas thus ENTERS THE CITY and remains undetected when he approaches the prison. At the door seven guards bar the way. When Andreas prays for help, the guards soon fall dead and the door opens. He finds Matheus and prays with him [MATHEUS AND ANDREAS]. Finally, they release all other people who were imprisoned by the cannibals and Matheus leads them away [MATHEUS' DEPARTURE], while Andreas wanders about the city – still unobserved by the Marmedonians – and waits [ANDREAS WAITING]. The details in this passage vary slightly from version to version: for example, in the OE prose version and the Latin *Casanatensis*, Andreas prays when he sees the guards whereupon they die. In the poem and the Greek version, Andreas prays to God (to thank him) *because* the guards fall dead when he approaches. Furthermore, in the classical texts, Andreas, when perceiving that the other prisoners behave like beasts, addresses the devil and rebukes him for his continual scheming against God's providence. This speech occurs in none of the OE versions. The healing of the prisoners is described differently, too: in the Greek version and the OE prose version, Andreas performs this miracle himself by laying his hands on their blinded eyes and their hearts. In the Latin *Casanatensis* Andreas and Matheus share this task, while the OE poem does not mention it at all.

When the Marmedonians notice that all their prisoners have gone – that is, that they actually ran out of food – they gather to discuss how to avoid an imminent period of hunger. Here again the versions differ: in the OE poem, the Marmedonians first eat the seven dead guards (in the Greek and Latin versions Andreas prevents this with God's help) and then cast lots to appoint some of their own people to serve as food for the others. The lot falls on an old man; as he is not willing to die, he offers his son (in the *Praxeis* his son and daughter) as compensation. The Marmedonians accept, but again, God prevents them from actually touching the boy. The whole LOT EPISODE is omitted in the OE prose version. In midst of the MARMEDONIANS' DESPAIR following these events, the devil appears (here the OE prose version takes up again) and explains that a stranger, namely Andreas, is somewhere in the city and that he is the cause of all their trouble [DEVIL'S APPEARANCE]. God then bids Andreas to reveal himself; thus, the saint is eventually caught by the Marmedonians and stays their prisoner for three days [ANDREAS CAPTURED]. The *Casanatensis* condenses this part as well as the following account of Andreas' imprisonment.

During the day the cannibals torture Andreas by dragging him through the city; at night he abides in prison. After a day of torture, Andreas' first night in prison is described in some detail in the OE poem, which elaborates on drifting snow and bitter frosts, while the prose

version spends no more than one sentence on this night, thus following the Greek version [FIRST NIGHT]. In the second night, Andreas prays to God to release him [ENTREATING GOD'S MERCY], but only the devil appears with seven other devils and mocks him [SEVEN DEVILS]. In the Latin version, the devils are replaced by Marmedonians who shrink back from killing Andreas immediately (as proposed by the devil) because he wears God's sign on his forehead. On the following day of torture [TORTURE DAY 3] Andreas cries out in pain and asks God WHY HAST THOU FORSAKEN ME? This time God answers and asks Andreas to look back on the bloody track his body has left; doing so, Andreas sees WONDROUS TREES flowering behind him, which revives his belief in God's power. After Andreas has been brought back to prison – the Marmedonians expect him to die that night – God appears in prison and heals all of Andreas' wounds [EVENING (HEALING)] At this point the narrator of the OE poem digresses for a short while and elaborates on his own deficiencies in retelling Andreas' (future) deeds.

After being healed, Andreas discovers a COLUMN with a stone statue in the dungeon and orders it to spout water to flood the whole city [WATERS RISING]. Many Marmedonians drown, others try to flee, but the city is encircled by a fiery cloud. In the uprising panic the cannibals show first signs of repentance for their inhuman behaviour and TURN TO ANDREAS for help. When Andreas perceives this, he orders the column to stop spouting water [WATER STOPPED]. Then the earth cracks open and engulfs the water together with the fourteen worst citizens of Marmedonia. In the Latin and Greek versions the old Marmedonian who wanted to save his life by sacrificing his son (and daughter) applies to Andreas to spare him. He refutes this plea and says that the man will die in the abyss with the others and will remain in hell till Judgement Day. Seeing the men die in the flood, the MARMEDONIANS GROW FEARFUL again. COMFORTED BY ANDREAS, they finally recognise God's power in him and turn to Christianity. Andreas then prays to God and the drowned Marmedonians not swallowed by the earth come alive again [RESURRECTION].

After this, a CHURCH is built, a BISHOP appointed and the reformed cannibals receive BAPTISM. Andreas is then EAGER TO DEPART and to return to his disciples. On hearing this, the Marmedonian plead that he stays, but Andreas does not hear them and leaves. On his quitting the city, God appears and orders him to return and stay for another seven days in order to strengthen the Marmedonians in their new belief [AWAY AND BACK AGAIN]. After this period of TEACHING, Andreas eventually leaves the city for good [FINAL DEPARTURE].

3.1.2 STYLISTIC DIFFERENCES BETWEEN PROSE AND VERSE

Of course the abridgement of the OE prose version has some impact on content and style when compared to the longer verse version. Besides this, further differences have to be expected which are due to the different styles used in prose and verse. The question of whether OE verse is basically paratactic or hypotactic has come up repeatedly in the preceding chapters. Andrew's eagerness to promote the interpretation of ambiguous clauses in favour of subordination in Anglo-Saxon poetry was perhaps partly founded in the prejudice of early researchers that prevailing parataxis is an indication of linguistic or stylistic simplicity.

While in Latin and Greek the complex sentence, as a combination of independent and dependent sentences, expressed precisely the inward connection existing between the principal and the accessory thought, the simple sentences in the Teutonic dialects showed a mere heap of phrases running parallel with each other, the reader being free to make out what was the intended connection (Kellner 1892: 51-52).

As OE poetry by no means lacks the faculty of expressing more complex ideas by 'a combination of independent and dependent sentences', the 'heap of phrases running parallel' may be a deliberate choice for narrative passages. Sequences of main clauses in poetry can be considered a stylistic device when they occur in action-packed passages of the main storyline, instead of pointing to stylistic simplicity or to a lack of conceptual complexity.¹⁵⁴ The use of parataxis creates a feeling of immediacy in the reader/hearer because the action is presented in an unreflecting way, just as it happens to the hero of the narrative. The use of hypotactic constructions would reduce this immediacy as it implies some kind of retrospection on the events, whether temporal or causal, as demonstrated in the following example:

- (1) A cold shiver ran down my spine. I stood up and closed the window.
- (2) As a cold shiver ran down my spine, I stood up and closed the window.

In the second example an explicit temporal and also causal relation is expressed between the shiver and the closing of the window by the conjunction *as*. Of course the same relation is implied in the first example, but here the readers have to make the connection themselves. Kellner, too, acknowledges this difference between syntax and style:

[I]n fact we find that a parataxis with complete independence of the sentences nowhere occurs, that it is scarcely possible to connect sentences together without a certain kind of hypotaxis or subordination. The mere fact that two sentences are put paratactically to each other proves that there is a logical connection between them, that is, that one sentence in some way modifies the other (Kellner 1892: 52-53).

¹⁵⁴ For a discussion about the dramatic effects of parataxis in OE poetry see *OES* §§1686-1688 and Rynell (1952: 31-36).

Thus, the paratactic construction does not only create a feeling of immediate action, but also involves the reader actively. In addition, the second construction puts the information given in the subordinate clause into the background, with the result that the tension is lessened, while the paratactic construction leaves room for a pause between the clauses enhancing the effect of the first clause.

This stylistic use of parataxis is of course not restricted to poetry but can also be witnessed in the examples for narrative units in OE prose texts as cited by Foster and Hopper (see section 2.2.2, pp. 87ff). It is therefore not necessarily a feature of poetic diction, but of primary narratives, which may occur in prose and verse alike. The distribution of principal and dependent clauses is dependent on content (i.e. whether the text is primarily narrative or not) rather than on text type. Cichosz's data illustrate this aspect: when all dependent and independent clauses analysed for OE are counted together and their distribution on the different text types is displayed (ignoring for the moment the difficulties resulting from Cichosz's treatment of ambiguous clauses), the following figures emerge:

	Clauses Σ	principal	dependent
Poetry	706	460 (65%)	246 (35%)
Orig. Prose	395	130 (33%)	265 (67%)
Trans. Prose	273	156 (57%)	117 (43%)

Table 3-1 Distribution of main and sub-clauses on different text types¹⁵⁵

At first, the percentages for poetry and original prose seem to enforce the notion that poetry, where 65% of the clauses are independent, is primarily paratactic, while prose favours hypotaxis, with the reverse distribution of main and sub-clauses. The high percentage of independent clauses in translated prose (57%), however, does not seem to fit into this picture, as its dependence on the hypotactic structure of Latin would suggest a larger share of subordinate clauses. However, the corpus chosen by Cichosz provides a simple explanation for this distribution: while the poetry sample focuses on heroic poetry (see p. 15),¹⁵⁶ the original prose corpus contains only the excerpts of *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* as narrative text, whereas all other samples (i.e. *Ælfric's Alia Visio*, *Wulfstan's Sermo Lupi ad Anglos* and the *Laws of Alfred*) are either homiletic or legal texts. The distribution of main and sub-clauses clearly depends on text function rather than on text type: the sermon, for example, conveys complex trains of thoughts in order to explain coherencies, clarify a specific point of view, provide arguments, etc; the use of conjunctions is therefore essential to its function. In

¹⁵⁵ Total numbers taken from *ITT*: 72 (non-conjoined declarative clauses), 111-112 (conjoined declarative clauses) and 138 (subordinate clauses), excluding split clauses and subordinate clauses without finite verb.

¹⁵⁶ For the description of the whole corpus for Cichosz's study see *ITT*: 51-55.

contrast, the entertaining aspect of Anglo-Saxon (heroic) poetry makes the creation of tension, the immediacy of the action and the involvement of the recipients indispensable stylistic devices. Considering the text samples of translated prose under this aspect, the distribution of clauses is no longer puzzling: it consists only of excerpts from *Genesis* and the *West Saxon Gospels*, both featuring the rather simple style of biblical narrations.

The Old English prose version of the Andreas-legend does not necessarily have more hypotactic construction than the poem simply because it is written in prose; even the contrary may be the case since the abridgement of the prose version primarily affects parts which do not form a part of the main storyline, i.e. non-narrative passages such as the long dialogue between Andreas and Christ. Nonetheless, the different versions of the Andreas-legend, though treating principally the same narrative, are subjected to stylistic differences depending on the texts' function. In this context, the tradition of translating a prose text into verse known from ancient Greek may be of relevance; this technique creates twin works whose different versions agree in content, but differ in function:

[T]he *opus geminatum* [is] a pair of texts, one in verse and one in prose, which ostensibly treat the same subject. The definition does not require that the same writer must compose both halves, nor in what order they are to be either written or read (Friesen 2008: 8).

In *Visions and Revisions: The Sources and Analogues of the Old English Andreas* (2008), Bill Friesen puts the OE poem *Andreas* in the context of this tradition and analyses which stylistic adaptations were made in order to translate a Latin prose source into OE poetry.

The term *opus geminatum* was first used by Bede when referring to Aldhelm's twin works about virginity. However, the concept itself is much older and was described by authors like Cicero and Quintilian:

[...] Quintilian articulates [...] that verse raises inspiration to sublime levels of style, while prose makes good his diffusion treatments and omissions of content, and that there is a complementary relationship between verse's metaphorical concision and prose's literal comprehensiveness, between elegance and eloquence respectively (*Ibid.* 13).

The *opus geminatum* originates from the classical tradition of translating a prose text, which was learned by heart, into verse. The purpose of the practice was to create a text that was easier to memorise and entertaining. The two versions form a kind of unit: the verse version is supposed to please and to amuse; it is sublime and elegant, but not necessarily concise. The gaps and omissions are supplied by the prose text, which uses a clear language and avoids

ambiguities. Besides the use of the *opus geminatum* for the scholar as a kind of rhetoric practice, the verse version has the advantage of being more interesting to listen to, i.e. one text is useful while the other is enjoyed (see Friesen 2008: 8, 11-13).

Interpreting *Andreas* as originating from this tradition, Friesen takes a Latin prose version of the legend as the author's basis for transferring the content into Anglo-Saxon poetic style, noting that 'the *Andreas*-poet is not merely translating, but paraphrasing' (2008: 238) his source.¹⁵⁷ Friesen enforces his assumption that the Anglo-Saxons were familiar with the classical tradition of the *opus geminatum* and the different functions of the texts by citing Alcuin's prologue to his *Vita Willibrordi*:

I have obeyed your command, Holy Father, and have set down two books: one: walking along in prose, can be read publicly by the brothers in church, if it seems worthy to your wisdom, the other, running with the muse of poetry, your pupils ought to ruminare over and over again in their cells (*Ibid.* 27).

The functions within a monastic or ecclesiastical setting described by Alcuin point to the comprehensible language of prose suitable for an unlearned audience and to the more sophisticated language of verse reserved for trained minds.

Friesen finds that most adjustments made in *Andreas* are in line with general features ascribed to the verse texts of *opera geminata*: the more fluent but often imprecise language of poetry creates ambiguities which might be a deliberate choice to heighten the involvement of the recipients. Vague passages and allusions leave the audience in a state of uncertainty and doubt causing a much stronger identification with the participants than an explicit and reflected account of events (see Friesen 2008: 47). Ambiguities are thus used as a stylistic device to create tension and to actively involve the reader/hearer into the story. This assumption renders some substance to Mitchell's and Campbell's arguments that single passages were open to the recipient's personal interpretation and that modern editors should keep the ambiguity in order to preserve the style of the original text. Friesen argues that the different function of a verse version necessarily entails a shift in style, which may even influence the content. The following section discusses these shifts with regard to the composition of the OE versions and their literary reception.

¹⁵⁷ Friesen agrees with other scholars that none of the existing Latin texts can be taken as the direct source for the OE poet. As the *Recensio Casanatensis* bears most similarities to *Andreas*, he uses it as reference text for his analysis (see 2008: 41-43).

3.1.3 FEATURES OF THE OE VERSIONS

a) The Poem:

An early transcription of the poem by C. Maier in 1833/34, who probably damaged parts of the manuscript (see Ker 1957), and an unpublished edition by Thorpe in 1836 form the basis for the first edition by J. Grimm in 1840. Some other early editions followed, but the fact that Kenneth Brooks' 1961 edition is still the most recent shows that *Andreas* has received much less scholarly interest than *Beowulf*. Brooks himself is critical about the literary value of the poem, which becomes particularly evident when he argues against the formerly assumed authorship of Cynewulf:

Unlike Cynewulf, the author of *Andreas* is not preoccupied with abstract conceptions or with wisdom and learning, and shows no desire to probe spiritual mysteries; in his use of the battle *motif* he gives no suggestion of a spiritual struggle, but introduces this theme in and out of season, often with ludicrous effect. [...] The sentence-structure and the use of variation in *Andreas* are in complete contrast to the methods of the signed poems; in particular, *Andreas* is characterized by a habit of placing essential features of the narrative in a subordinate position so that the attention of the reader or hearer is distracted from them. Again, expressions which are appropriate in the signed poems and in *Beowulf* are found in *Andreas* in contexts to which they are not suited; [...] they may be stock formulas which the *Andreas* poet has used in a clumsy manner. The same poet uses the old epic military terminology whenever he sees a chance. [...]. Finally, there is a looseness and lack of organization in the narrative [...] (Brooks 1961: xx-xxi).

One reason for the moderate interest in the poem mentioned by Brooks is that *Andreas* is often regarded as a bumbling attempt of the poet to transfer Christian material into an Anglo-Saxon heroic poem using Germanic warrior terminology in order to describe a Christian saint. The use of words from a military context in itself is not necessarily problematic: Joyce Hill (1981) has argued that the heroic battle language of Anglo-Saxon Christian poetry does not necessarily have its origin in the Germanic formulaic tradition, but is a feature of early Christian literature in general; the concept of the saint as *miles Christi* is often already present in the Latin sources. One example of the effects of the Christian warrior metaphor in Latin is the semantic shift of *militare*, originally referring military service alone, to denoting 'to serve' in a Christian context (Hill 1981:57-60). A similar shift in meaning can be identified in OE military terms which assume different connotations when used in a Christian context:

[W]riters of Christian vernacular prose so consistently modify the significance of the military language employed that, within a Christian context, it becomes a specialized, even stereotyped vocabulary, dependent for its peculiar connotations

more on Christian tradition than on any native one for which some of the items of vocabulary were also inevitably used (Hill 1981: 63).

Thus, the battle language used in OE Christian poetry is not necessarily a clumsy attempt to imitate heroic style but might originate in the ‘deliberate exploitation of the Christian warrior metaphor’ (*Ibid.* 58).

However, Hill does not extend this ‘rehabilitation’ of AS religious poetry to *Andreas* because the battle language used here is not modified by the concept of service:

[A] poem [...] that is so rich in epithets for Andreas drawn from the heroic tradition [...] does not suggest a consistent attempt by the poet to present his hero as a *miles Christi*. His effort lies rather in presenting him as a hero of the Germanic tradition since the Christian epithets are surpassed by nouns and adjectives more familiar in heroic poetry [...] (Hill 1981: 73).

Although there are some religious terms, such as the epithet *se halga* for Andreas, they do not seem to counterbalance the excessive use of military designations. The incongruity of *Andreas* is at least partly due to this exhaustive use of heroic battle language: in contrast to a worldly hero like *Beowulf*, a ‘soldier of Christ’ is primarily passive. While the former actively fights his opponents or reacts to their attacks, the ‘battle’ of the latter is characterised by hagiographic motifs such as suffering, patience and endurance. Consequently, battles in Christian poetry are all but action-packed; instead, they excel with the extreme passivity of the saint. In *Andreas*, the author’s exploitation of heroic language, especially cumulating before a scene of battle, arouses expectations of serious action which are never fulfilled:

The hero’s advance on the gaol is one of the climaxes of the narrative and the description of this approach is reminiscent of a heroic warrior advancing to battle:

Ða wæs gemyndig modgeþyldig,
beorn beaduwe heard, eode in burh hraðe,
anræd oretta, elne gefyrðred,
maga mode rof, meotude getreowe,
stop on stræte, (stig wisode)¹⁵⁸ (981-85)

Indeed the whole episode can be used to argue a relationship between *Andreas* and *Beowulf*. The traditional build-up is completely undercut, however, by the fact that there is no battle, God grants the victory, death mysteriously carries off the warders so that Andreas meets with no opposition, and his bold front as a courageous and resolute warrior is inappropriate since he cannot even be seen (Hill 1981: 72).

¹⁵⁸ ‘And the hero of enduring heart was heedful and bold unto the battle. Into the city swiftly went the unflinching warrior, strong with courage, brave of heart, faithful unto God. He strode upon the street and took his way [...]’ (Kennedy 2000: 19).

As Andreas is not a Germanic hero burning for action but a Christian saint, his merits are not valour and physical strength but the unwavering belief in God's providence. If any course of action is required, it is God who makes things happen, thus 'fighting' on Andreas' behalf.

Although Brian Shaw (1995) acknowledges this incongruity, his article on translation and transformation in *Andreas* is first and foremost a defence of the literary art employed by the poet: Shaw emphasises the way the author has expanded patterns of thought only implied in the source, which results in a new version setting the focus appropriate to the new context, i.e. to Anglo-Saxon vernacular poetry:

While it is true that *Andreas* ultimately relies on a previous text, it is also clear that the poet does not merely translate: he adapts. [...] the *Andreas* poet must be faithful to the spirit of the original and, simultaneously, rework the texture of the story to reinforce the idea of the validity of the spoken word, as Andrew's story moves from the Latin to the vernacular (Shaw 1995: 165).

According to Shaw the *Andreas*-poet develops the idea of the creative power of God's word which is inherent to the source texts, too, but only marginally, by shifting nuances of the original legend, thus creating 'a hagiographical story with a new emphasis on the way in which the saint's power is to be seen as primarily oral (165).' Shaw shows in a number of examples that the OE verse version is chiefly concerned with the power of the spoken word (*Ibid.* 165-172). One example is Andreas' doubt when God orders him to journey to Marmedonia within three days and he answers that he can never accomplish it in such a short period of time. In the OE verse version, Andreas adds *swa ðu worde becwist* ('as thou sayest by word', which draws the audience's attention to God's spoken word (*Ibid.* 169-70).¹⁵⁹ The idea is already present in the source: in the Greek version and the Latin *Casanatensis*, God answers as follows:

Praxeis 517 *Obey Him who made thee, and Him who is able to say in a ward, and that city shall be removed thence, and all that dwell in. For I command the horns of the winds, and they drive it thence.*¹⁶⁰

Cas §4 *Andrew, what did you say? What you ask for is nothing. Only listen to me who made you. I tell you truly that if I gave the word, if I ordered [the angels] who mingle the winds, my word would bring the city into my presence at once.*¹⁶¹

Here, too, the power of God's word is alluded to, but only the OE verse version emphasises it by echoing Andreas' *swa ðu worde becwist* in God's answer:

¹⁵⁹ The OE prose version, in contrast, does not contain this reference to the power of God's word.

¹⁶⁰ Translation by Roberts and Donaldson 1903: 517.

¹⁶¹ Translation by Allen & Calder 1976: 17.

And 205-210 Nis þæt uneaðe eallwealdan gode
 to gefremmanne on foldwege,
 ðæt sio ceaster hider on þas cneorisse
 under swegles gang aseted wyrðe,
 breogostol breme, mid þam burgwarum,
 gif hit worde becwið wuldres agend.

It is not difficult for the almighty God to perform on earth that the city would be planted here, into this very land under the sun, the famous kingdom with all its citizens, if the owner of glory would say this by word.

With this and other examples Shaw demonstrates how the *Andreas*-poet shifted the focus of the narrative to the power of the spoken word. This fits in with the observation made in Chapter 2 that *þa* in *Andreas* much more frequently accompanies verbs indicating direct speech than in *Beowulf*. The act of speaking is in the centre of attention rather than the action. Shaw further argues that the climax of the OE poem is not Andreas' martyrdom, nor the subsequent conversion of the Marmedonians, but his 'journey' to become a legitimate wielder of God's word:

The actual deeds of Andrew as he confronts the Marmedonians simply display his now-legitimized power, for he is able to re-enact many miracles to bring about the conversion of the cannibals. But the interesting part of the hagiographic process is not really the litany of Andrew's miracles, but the preparation of the saint to perform them (Shaw 1995: 176).

Indeed, the events after Andreas' release from prison are rather condensed and the narrative hurries to its conclusion. This implies that the poem is not primarily concerned with Andreas' deeds and actions, but with the preceding dialogues with Christ, where Andreas has to encounter his own doubts and where his unrestrained belief in the power of God's word finally unfolds. This interpretation reevaluates the long dialogue which does not seem to be an essential part of the narrative but which is essential for Andreas' mental development. This aspect also sheds a new light on Brooks' comment of the poet's 'habit of placing essential features of the narrative in a subordinate position'; given that the essential features of the narrative are words, not deeds, this point of criticism might be unjust.

In this context, the passage cited by Hill (*And* 981-985, see above) can also be reevaluated: the approach to the prison is indeed the climax of the narrative since the formerly doubting Andreas is now fully confirmed in his belief in God and prepared to endure any torment awaiting him in order to fulfil his tasks. The passage is preceded by Christ admonishing Andreas that severe sufferings await him when he passes the gates of Marmedonia, but that

his martyrdom will redeem the souls of the people of that city, just as Christ's sufferings among the Jews delivered mankind from sins (*And* 950-976):

'Soon shalt thou struggle, Andrew, in the clutch of cruel men. Battle shall be brought against thee [...]. Endure that woe; neither let the might of heathen men turn thee aside that thou forsake the Lord, thy God. Be eager of glory always, and mindful in heart how it was known to many a folk, through many a land, that wretched men mocked me, fast in bonds, taunted and struck and scourged me. [...] Many a woe I suffered in the world, for I would fain give you, blithe of heart, a pattern as it shall be known among all peoples. Many are there in this mighty city whom thou shalt turn unto the light of heaven, by My name, though many a deed of murder have they wrought in days of old (Kennedy 2000: 19).

Thus, the 'battle' Andreas prepares for was never meant to be fought with swords. Christ uses the same warlike language when preparing Andreas for his task (*Is þe guð weotod / heardum heorswengum*, 951-2), but at the same time asks him to endure the cannibals' attacks (*ðolie synnigra slege*, 955-6). Reading Andreas' way to the prison under this aspect, the language is neither inappropriate nor does it promise action. The phrase *þa wæs gemyndig... beaduwe* may even refer to Christ's suffering as he asks Andreas to keep them in mind during his ordeal (*læt ðe on gemyndum / [...] þæt me bysmredon bennum fæstne / weras wansælige*, 960ff), especially since the same phrase is used when God recalls these sufferings before he sends Andreas to release Matheus (*þa wæs gemyndig, se ðe middangeard / gestaðelode strangum mihtum, | hu he in ellþeodigum yrmðum wunode...*, 161ff).¹⁶² Furthermore, the adjective *anræd* does not simply mean 'brave', but 'resolute' or 'one-minded', that is 'without any doubt' in God's providence. This is enhanced by the phrase *meotude getreowe* 'trusting in God'. Andreas is indeed brave when he enters the city, unwavering and unfaltering even though he is aware that untold misery awaits him there.

Furthermore, Hill's criticism that 'his bold front as a courageous and resolute warrior is inappropriate since he cannot even be seen' is unjustified since the text does not imply that Andreas is aware of his coverage, if he has any coverage at all. Neither the *Praxeis* nor the OE prose text are explicit on that point; the former simply states that 'no one beheld him' (*Praxeis* 521) which might even indicate that it is by pure chance that no one discovers Andreas when he approaches the prison. The OE prose equivalent *nænig man hine ne mihte geseon* (SA-C 133-34) 'no one was able to see him' at least hints at some power which conceals Andreas, but again, there is no positive assurance that God has made Andreas invisible or that the saint is conscious of it. Only the *Casanatensis* states that Andreas indeed

¹⁶² 'Then he, who has created the earth with his power, remembered how he himself dwelled in misery among strangers...'

passes ‘through the middle of the people, whose eyes were possessed so they could not see him’ (*Cas* § 19). This explanation is implied in the *Praxeis*, but only later in the dialogue between Andreas and the devil, just before Andreas rises and shows himself to the multitudes:

And Andrew saw the devil, how he was talking to the multitudes; but the devil did not see the blessed Andrew. Then Andrew answered the devil, and said: O Belial most fiendish, who art the foe of every creature; but my lord Jesus Christ will bring thee down to the abyss. And the devil, having heard this, said: I hear thy voice indeed, and I know thy voice, but where thou art standing I know not. And Andrew answered and said to the devil: Why, then, hast thou been called Amael? is it not because thou art blind, not seeing all the saints? (Praxeis 523).

This is also adapted in the OE prose version where Andreas says: *For þon þe þu eart blind, þe ne gesihst ænige of Godes þam halgum (SA-C 191-92)* ‘Because you are blind, you cannot see any of God’s saints.’ This connection between the blindness of the devil and those possessed by him is not made in *Andreas* and the passage that follows on Andreas entering the city, which seems to have induced Hill to argue against Andreas’ valour, is ambiguous (*And* 985-989):

And 985 Stop on stræte (stig wisode),
 swa hine nænig gumena ongitan ne mihte,
 synfulra geseon; hæfde sigora weard
 on þam wangstede wære betolden
 leofne leodfruman mid lofe sinum.

He strode upon the street and took his way, so that no one of sinful men might know or see him. The Lord of victory had sheltered the dear prince with favour in that place (Kennedy 2000: 19-20).

The latter sentence indeed implies that Andreas is protected by God, but on the other hand the former sentence states that Andreas moves deliberately in a way that he might not be discovered. Thus, the passage neither indicates that Andreas is invisible nor that he is aware of it. In this detail the *Andreas*-poet follows the *Praxeis*: it simply says that Andreas *is* not discovered, not that he *cannot* be discovered; it is Andreas’ courage and trust in God that renders his mission successful and not a favour of God granted beforehand. Therefore, the incongruity between language and actual deeds is perhaps not as severe as often stated but part of the poet’s adaptation.

Another point of criticism is the occurrence of motifs and vocabulary in *Andreas* which seem to be used in close imitation of *Beowulf*. The poet’s indebtedness to *Beowulf*, however, has been moderated in recent times, too. The use of certain expressions found both in *Beowulf* and *Andreas* may as well be due to a common stock of formulas; in this case they can be no evidence for an assumed imitation of *Beowulf*:

Often traditional phrases were available to an Old English poet for subjects occurring frequently in traditional poetry. Some of the details which *Andreas* shares with *Beowulf* can be ascribed to that cause. For example, Heorot, the Danish hall in *Beowulf* (82), like the Temple of Jerusalem (*Andreas* 668), is described as *heah ond horngeap*. There are *stræte stanfage* in *Andreas* (1236) and *stræt wæs stanfag* in *Beowulf* (320). Such parallels do not provide evidence of indebtedness; after all, if ‘lofty and wide-gabled’ represents an ideal in a hall and if roads paved with stones in the Roman manner are an impressive sight, it is not very surprising that two suitable and alliterating epithets should be used of the hall in a number of Old English poems and that *stræt* should come in collocation with *stanfah* in more places than one (Stanley 1966: 111-112).¹⁶³

The reproach of drawing heavily on the plot of *Beowulf* has also to be moderated: although there are obvious parallels between Andreas’ journey to the land of the cannibals and Beowulf’s journey to Denmark, the story rendered in *Andreas* is dependent on its ancient sources, i.e. there are no major events which do not also occur in the Greek source of the legend (see Brooks 1961: xxv). Still, there are undeniable similarities and parallels between the two poems¹⁶⁴ and most scholars agree that the *Andreas* poet was at least familiar with the *Beowulf* epic. This, however, does not mean that he tried to imitate either style or language; he may have drawn on it in order to modify and develop common themes and motifs for his own purposes.

Although *Andreas* may not match *Beowulf* stylistically and may not be as skilfully composed, it should be judged on its own right as a poem independent of *Beowulf*. Edward B. Irving (1983) argues that the parallels are no blunt imitation of *Beowulf* but a conscious means of the author to draw on the audience’s knowledge of contemporary literature, placing his poem deliberately amidst the tension between the Germanic heroic tradition and Christian literature; thus, the *Andreas*-poet modified his source in a way that it sometimes recalls Beowulf’s heroic actions and sometimes Christ’s passion (Irving 1983: 233-5). Although Irving does not consider this balancing act to be always successful, he refuses to accept that the poet’s use of heroic vocabulary in unfitting contexts is due to his incapability to transfer the Christian content of his source into Anglo-Saxon poetry. On the contrary, *Andreas* contains numerous examples of parody and irony created by the use of heroic language in contexts that have nothing heroic at all:¹⁶⁵

Travesty and parody must again be drawn in to relate the Mermedonians’ strange actions to the heroic atmosphere of the poem. What they do is necessarily depicted

¹⁶³ For a further discussion on the use of common formulas in *Beowulf* and *Andreas* see Shippey 1972: 92-95.

¹⁶⁴ For a discussion of single words and expressions see Brooks 1961: xxiv ff. For a detailed analysis of contentual and formulaic similarities between *Andreas* and *Beowulf* see Friesen 2008: ch. 3.

¹⁶⁵ For further examples of irony in *Andreas* see Irving 1983: 219, 224, 226, 230 and 234.

as mock-heroic. The epithet *collenferhð* (1108a) applied to the old father is defined by Brooks as here meaning ‘panic-stricken’, but it can be taken in its normal sense of ‘courageous’ with a strongly ironic twist (Irving 1983: 229).

Another example is the use of *meoduscwren* (1526b), which Stanley describes as a bungled borrowing of the metaphor used in *Beowulf* (1966: 111),¹⁶⁶ while Irving again argues for an interpretation on its own right:

Leaving *Beowulf* aside for the moment, we should look first at the use of the flood metaphor in *Andreas*. The flood is presented ironically as a drinking-party for the Mermedonians, with generous servings of ‘mead’ and ‘beer’. [...] The Latin source provides some ground for such irony, since it views the flood as appropriate punishment for cannibals who use salted water for boiling human flesh; in the salt flood they merely get what they already wanted. But it seems clear that the Old English poet prefers to substitute an ironic metaphor almost certainly of long standing in his own heroic tradition (and by chance surviving elsewhere only in the *Beowulf* passage), in which destruction visited on a hall or its inhabitants is seen as a party typified by heavy drinking (rather than eating). [...] To sum up, the use of *meoduscwren* in *Andreas* seems natural in its context, being suggested in part by the source and developed in a consistent ironic tone, and requiring in no way the hypothesis that it is a crude imitation of a passage in *Beowulf* (Irving 1983: 234-235).

Although the examples do not exhaust the literary accomplishments of the *Andreas*-poet, they should be enough to show that *Andreas* is much more than a moderately successful attempt to transfer a classical hagiography into vernacular poetry. Its intertextuality and the extensive use of irony and parody in the poem challenge Friesen’s assumption that it was composed for making the Christian content more accessible to an unlearned audience by translating it into Anglo-Saxon poetic style:

Christian matter is remodulated to reach down to the comparatively unlearned reader, and certainly this might have been the end result of paraphrasing the prose Latin version of *Andreas* into Old English verse (Friesen 2008: 24).

It is not easy to determine the ultimate function of the *Andreas* poem or to what primary purpose it was composed, but the poem’s position between different literary traditions makes it an interesting subject for literary as well as linguistic investigations: it shares properties with heroic poetry such as the active involvement of the recipients, their identification with the hero and the unreflected experience of immediate action, as well as elements of classical hagiography taken from the Latin source text, thus evoking connotations of the Germanic hero as well as of the *miles Christi*. Furthermore, it merges the authority of a classical prose

¹⁶⁶ For a detailed discussion of the use of *ealuscwren* and *meoduscwren* and the possible meanings in *Beowulf* and *Andreas* see Mitchell 1992: 4-7.

source with the rhetoric of vernacular heroic poetry; on a linguistic level, the textual analysis can therefore focus on similarities between *Andreas* and *Beowulf* with respect to the pragmatic use of *þa*-clause, as conducted in Chapter 2. On the other hand, the extant classical versions can help to assess the text from another angle by analysing how the linguistic means of Old English verse are employed in order to translate a given content, including single expressions, phrases, textual links and the narrative structure, into Anglo-Saxon poetry. These aspects are addressed in the analysis in section 3.3.

b) The Prose Texts:

The prose version is extant in one complete text (C-text) in the Cambridge Manuscript, Corpus Christi College 198 (Ker 48), dating from the early eleventh-century, and a fragment (B-text), which corresponds to lines 11-128 of the complete text, preserved in a slightly earlier manuscript containing the Blickling Homilies (Ker 382). The two texts are fairly similar and only differ in some details, which are partly due to the slight abridgement of the C-text. The fragment seems to be closer to the first translation of the Latin original while the later text features some scribal errors and inferior readings which are not in the B-text.¹⁶⁷ The fact that the fragment seems to have ‘greater textual authority’ (Cassidy & Ringler 1971: 205) might be the reason why it received greater scholarly attention than the complete text. Still, the fragment cannot be referred to as stylistically superior: the language of both versions is rather unvaried and in parts monotonous: the sentence-initial phrase *Se haliga Andreas þa*, which occurs various times in the complete text, is never modified in wording or structure, except for the one instance of *Se eadiga Andreas þa*. Furthermore, the closeness of the translation results in some Latinisms not modified according to OE idiomatic usage.

The OE prose version gives a shortened account of the legend which focuses on the events rather than on Andreas’ mental development:

The reason the CCCC 198 version has attracted so little attention might in large part be due to its comparative plainness. Much of the dialogue and description found in the other texts, especially of a more wondrous or fantastic nature, has been cut. What remains is delivered in a stark account that explains away problematic issues, erases typological connections and downplays most subjective psychological aspects (Friesen 2008: 244).

Friesen states that the plain style of the OE prose version is due to ‘a deliberate decision, for deliberate reasons’ (*Ibid.* 244) of the author, who either ‘knew of or even worked from a source text whose story he himself edited in various ways’ or who copied or translated from a

¹⁶⁷ See Cassidy & Ringler 1971: 205, fns. 9 and 10 for examples of abridgements and different readings.

source where these changes had already been made (*Ibid.* 244, fn. 9). Friesen accounts for the changes by setting this version into the context of the *opus geminatum*, too:

[T]hese tendencies once more are just what the comments and practices of the *opus geminatum* tradition would lead one to expect from a prose rendering [...] to either cut out or explain away portions of the story which invite active, critical engagement by the audience, and this has the effect of producing a saint's life which is considerably more pragmatic, which seems much better suited to practical reading contexts such as suggested by Alcuin, as a *lectio*, for the prose version of his *opus geminatum* on Willibrord (*Ibid.* 297).

Friesen takes the fact that both OE prose texts are last in a collection of homilies 'in the proper liturgical position for his [St. Andrew's] feast day, on November 30th' as backing his hypothesis that the versions served as 'daily *lectio* during meal-times which precede celebration of the saint's feast day' (*Ibid.* 243).

If this lectionary character within a monastic setting is accepted as the primary function of the prose version, the peculiar style truncating the legend to its barest facts becomes accountable. Language and style are deliberately plain and concise, avoiding allusions and ambiguities which would invite the active participation of the recipients. Besides the fact that the difference in function, compared to the verse version, entails some significant stylistic and linguistic variances between the two versions, it may also cause a shift regarding the question of what is essential. This would of course affect the use of *pa* in its function as foregrounding device; for even though the narrative structure is basically retained in all versions, the emphasis may still be set on different elements according the different readings of the legend. These aspects are addressed in the analysis in section 3.3. However, the OE versions, though constituting texts on their own right within the cultural setting of Anglo-Saxon England, are not completely independent of their sources. They both emerged from a long-standing tradition of translating and adapting Latin writings into the vernacular.

3.2 TRANSLATION AND ADAPTATION

The features of the OE versions of the legend show that the authors/translators used their sources in quite different ways in order to fit them to their purposes. Though the core structure of the narrative as found in the Greek *Praxeis* is basically retained, the abridgement of 'inessential' parts as well as the elaboration on themes and motives only implied in the sources results in two quite independent readings of the legend. Some of these differences were already present in the immediate sources, for example the abridgments of the prose version, while others are due to the translation process. As the direct sources did not come

down to us, it is not possible to pinpoint these changes by a close textual comparison of the OE and classical versions. Furthermore, the existence of crucially differing versions preserved in the Latin manuscripts suggests that textual changes, deletions and insertions, and the cross-contamination between the different versions are forces that make it impossible to find an ultimate source. Consequently, the reference to the extant Latin versions when analysing the OE prose text cannot indicate how specific constructions were handled and transferred into Old English. The sources can only serve as a reference when contrasting the OE prose version with respect to content and style, but not for analysing the translation of specific syntactic constructions. However, it is possible to examine the features of the OE texts within the larger context of translation practices in Anglo-Saxon England in general. The transformation of Latin prose into Anglo-Saxon poetry and its most literal translation into vernacular prose were well-established practices. The stylistic changes made in those translations and adaptations as well as the linguistic devices used are documented for texts where the Latin sources are still extant. The following discussion explores these features of different translation practices and traces them in the different OE versions of the Andreas-legend.

3.2.1 TRANSLATION IN ANGLO-SAXON ENGLAND

The translation of a given text is never the mechanical process of transferring words and expressions from one language into another but always involves the interpretation and transformation of the source text. The linguistic properties, such as stylistic devices, certain syntactic constructions and even single words, can never be rendered one to one; instead, the translator has to draw on the rhetoric features, grammar and lexicon (with all its connotations and ambiguities) of the target language. In his work on *The Culture of Translation in Anglo-Saxon England*, Robert Stanton (2002) argues that early Anglo-Saxon translators were facing the same problem, perhaps even more acutely because Old English as their native vernacular had not yet developed a literary standard; early translations may have been restricted to practical uses before English acquired its own literary value in the subsequent centuries (Stanton 2002: 115-6). As means of spoken communication, Old English, like other European vernaculars of the Middle Ages, was long considered unfit to match the literary refinement and elaboration of the classical languages: this conception is also mirrored in Kellner's comment on the stylistic and structural simplicity of the Germanic dialects (see p. 157).

Still, the 'deficiencies' of Old English to reproduce the complexity of Latin prose syntax are only part of the problem: written Latin texts were highly authoritative, especially in their function to disseminate the Christian faith. The textual authority and sanctity was even more

acutely felt in regard to the word of God; the necessary interpretation of the source inherent to all translation processes is a problem common to all bible translators, who faced ‘the danger of stepping outside the boundaries of accepted, regulated interpretation’ (Stanton 2002: 102). Jerome, who himself was much concerned with translation practices, was aware that any translator has to use the rhetorical means of the target language in order to reproduce content and style of the source; yet, he at first excluded biblical translations from this notion:

His most famous work on the topic, *Letter 57*, also known as *On the Best Kind of Translation*, was not a treatise as such but a polemical letter rebutting the harsh accusations of his enemies about his translations of another letter. The main thesis of *Letter 57* was that translators must render sense for sense and eschew any excessive concern for literalism [...]. But he made a major exception to the sense-for-sense rule: *Ego enim non solum fateor, sed libera voce profiteor me in interpretatione Graecorum absque scripturis sanctis, ubi et verborum ordo mysterium est, non verbum e verbo, sed sensum exprimere de sensu* (“Therefore I not only confess but openly proclaim that in translating from Greek [except for the holy scriptures, where the very order of the words is a mystery], I have rendered not word for word, but sense for sense” (Stanton 2002: 110).

In spite of this, Jerome’s Vulgate clearly shows that he did not follow his own dictum; in part his deviations from the Greek Septuagint were due to his awareness that the transmission and translation history of the Bible had already resulted in different versions and readings (*Ibid.* 107-109) so that he could no longer consider his source to have ultimate textual authority. On the other hand, Jerome certainly had to concede that the adherence to literalism proved impracticable as the structural differences between source and target language prohibit the retention of the order of words. Furthermore, word for word translations can never capture the inherent meaning of the source text as literalism also changes the meaning of the original text (or even renders it unintelligible); it cannot be the means of preserving the textual authority of the source. The process of translation always involves interpretative work on the part of the translator.

This balancing act between literalism and accuracy evident in Jerome’s theorising on different translation practices is echoed in the prefaces of Alfred and Ælfric to their translations of Latin sources.¹⁶⁸ Ælfric’s statement in the preface to *Genesis* that *we ne durron na mare awritan on Englisc þonne ðæt Leden hæfð, ne ða endebyrdnysse awendan*¹⁶⁹ (cited in Taylor 2008: 356) shows his respect for the Holy Word; the adherence to it, however, has been considered the reason for his ‘nonsense English’ (Greenfield and Calder 1986: 85). Harvey

¹⁶⁸ For a more detailed discussion of the translation practices as either ‘word for word’ or ‘sense for sense’ in Anglo-Saxon England see Timofeeva 2006.

¹⁶⁹ ‘We do not dare write more in English than the Latin has, nor to change the order’ (Nichols 1964:10).

Minkoff (1976) discusses several instances where Ælfric's 'literalness results in meaningless phrases' (30). However, Minkoff observes that these phrases only occur where the meaning of the source was obscure, too, arguing that Ælfric simply follows Jerome's practice in those cases: 'he translated the individual words, and hoped that God's truth would shine through' (*Ibid.* 32). Thus, Ælfric's statement is no general appeal to literalism, but an explanation for its use in specific contexts, i.e. when the idiomatic use of English would not contribute to transparency. In other instances, Ælfric considers the deviation from Latin as necessary requirement for producing a coherent and comprehensible English text:

[...] ðæt Leden 7 ðæt Englisc nabbað ne ane wisan on ðære spræce fadunge: æfre se ðe awent oððe ðe tæcð ledene on Englisc, æfre he sceal gefadian hit swa ðæt ðæt Englisce hæbbe his agene wisan, elles hit bið swyðe gedwolsum to rædenne ðam ðe ðæs Ledenes wise ne can (quoted in Marsden 1991: 323).

Latin and English do not follow the same order: whenever someone turns Latin into English, he must order it according to the English way; otherwise it is misleading (to read) for those who are not familiar with Latin.

Accordingly, Ælfric's anxiety about biblical translations is not restricted to the necessary 'tampering' with the Holy Word, but he is apprehensive of a possible misconstruction of unlearned readers who do not have the means of referring back to the original text. Jerome's and Ælfric's statements reflect their awareness of the problems a biblical translation entails and are perhaps better interpreted as a justification of their methods rather than a plea for literalism:

Ælfric and Jerome, as translators of Scripture, in essence faced the same problems and the same responsibilities, and both have revealed in their comments on their methods how sensible of those problems and responsibility they were (Marsden 1991: 344).

The inadequacy of the vernacular to convey or preserve the sanctity of the Holy Word, on the one hand, and the necessity of translations for spreading the Christian faith, on the other, caused a continuous tension which manifested itself in different ways of circumventing the danger of offending against the textual authority of the source. One of them is to present the vernacular text as divinely inspired, which allows for a certain degree of independence from the source, not only from the exact wording but also from different versions of approved interpretations:

It was only by an infusion of divine spirit that the fundamental disparity between variable, changeable language and immutable, even ineffable truth could be cancelled. [...] the interpreter of God's word did not create anything, but instead

mystically mediated God's word, making the transparent power of language into a priestly function. Inspiration was now equated with literalism, accuracy, truthfulness, and permanence (Stanton 2002: 108-109).

A variation of the concept of the divinely inspired translator can be found in Bede's story of Cædmon, who receives the godly gift of turning *þæt getæl þæs hālgan stāeres ond spelles* ('the series of the holy story and narrative') into *þæt swēteste lēoð*, 'the sweetest song'. The account does not only initialise but also legitimise the practice of transferring parts of the Holy Scripture into Anglo-Saxon poetry by evading the need for literalism and transparency (*Ibid.* 116-7).

A quite different method of turning the Holy Word into the vernacular without jeopardising the sanctity of the source text manifests itself in interlinear glosses. Though glossing had a quite practical use in teaching, this function cannot be attributed to continuous glosses. Stanton argues that these glosses answered the need for literalism and the preservation of the sanctity of the source by avoiding a real translation which would involve innovation and reperformance (2002: 118-9). While the glossing of Latin manuscripts was a commonplace practice in Anglo-Saxon England,¹⁷⁰ continuous glosses as found in the Lindisfarne and Rushworth Gospels are rare and their position in the larger context of translation theory and practices is not entirely clear:

It is obvious that what St. Jerome had to say about translation is echoed several times by Alfred and Ælfric and can perfectly well serve as a basis for our understanding of Old English prose versions of Latin texts. But what about interlinear glosses, their methods, aims and function? (Gneuss 1993: 144).

Gneuss argues against notions that interlinear glosses are 'slavish nonsense' (Kornexl 1993: ccxvi) or 'word-by-word cribs of a text which the glossers' abject reverence tempted them to render all too literally' (Haugen 1956: 761) by pointing out the glossators' awareness of the structural differences between English and Latin:¹⁷¹

Another important aspect of Old English interlinear glossing is the glossators' concern for inflexion and syntax. They do not reproduce the Latin forms slavishly; instead, they choose the case, tense or mood appropriate in Old English; they supply prepositions in order to indicate the function of the Latin ablative, or another Latin case form; they add the definite article to nouns where English grammar requires this, and they insert personal pronouns in the appropriate position, so as to complete the finite forms of English verbs as well as the sentence' (Gneuss 1993: 146-7).

¹⁷⁰ On the tradition of glossing in Anglo-Saxon England see Stanton 2002: ch. 1.

¹⁷¹ For further discussion see Korhammer (1980) and Robinson (1973).

In spite of the fact that ‘Anglo-Saxon glossators knew very well how to cope with the problems of what would today be called contrastive syntax’ (*Ibid.* 147), continuous glosses do not constitute a translation proper that can be used without the Latin source; however, they were used as a pattern for translations independent of the source text (Stanton 2002: 14) and played an important role in justifying the emancipation of English from Latin:

By engaging closely with another language, they [i.e. OE glosses] fundamentally altered the nature of English: in introducing new vocabulary and calling attention to the basic differences between English and Latin syntax, glosses set up a pattern of interlingual correspondence that helped define the structure of the relatively new written language. [...] And ultimately, by helping to set interpretive standards in the vernacular and by positioning English commentary vis-à-vis a Latin literary tradition, English glosses establish the legitimacy of the vernacular to perform a rhetorical function [...] (Stanton 2002: 13).

The continuous interlinear glosses in the manuscript of the Lindisfarne Gospels testify the rise of OE glosses from a mere practical use for scholars of Latin. As interlinear or marginal notes, OE glosses frequently serve as means for teaching at elementary and intermediate levels in school books and in library books.¹⁷² Though the function of the gloss in the Lindisfarne Gospel is uncertain, the richly adorned manuscript was certainly not intended for the instruction of Latin (*Ibid.* 50; Backhouse 1987: 16).¹⁷³ The double or multiple glosses for simple words also point to a different function than simply explaining the Latin meaning, especially since the OE variations often alliterate, which leads Stanton to ask if ‘such alliterating glosses function as stylistic models for Old English poetry and prose?’ (2002: 52). This assumption seems to be justified in the continued use of word pairs in early English prose.¹⁷⁴ The use of alliterating glosses as well as the physical presence of Old English in ‘such a high-status manuscript is a clear sign that English possessed an authority drawn at least partly from its ability to address Latin vocabulary and syntax at an intimate level’ (Stanton 2002: 53).

The different modes of translation, one originally legitimising its independence from Latin by divine inspiration, the other, though striving for literacy and accuracy, gradually emancipating English prose as literary medium on its own right, can be witnessed in the Old English versions of the Andreas-legend. The *Andreas* poem lines up in a long tradition of AS Christian poetry which is neither concerned with accuracy nor literalism even though the

¹⁷² See Gneuss 1993: 145-147, Stanton 2002: 34-47 and Wieland 1985. The reason for assuming that glosses often served for teaching at lower level is that the glossed texts do not contain difficult Latin (Stanton 2002: 36).

¹⁷³ For the history of the Lindisfarne Gospel, its historical context and the description of the manuscript see Brown 2003.

¹⁷⁴ For a study on these word pairs see Koskeniemi 1968.

source treats Christian or even biblical content. Language and style are therefore not immediately influenced by the Latin source; much rather, the content is poured into a new form employing its own linguistic and stylistic devices and rhetoric. In contrast, the new art of OE prose *is* modelled on Latin, not necessarily in terms of syntax and grammar (though there are constructions coined on Latin),¹⁷⁵ but in regards to the concise style of Latin prose, on the one hand, and in regards to the set of canonical expressions translating Latin words and phrases into Old English, on the other.

3.2.2 THE PROSE VERSION AS BIBLICAL TRANSLATION

Although the legend of St. Andrew is an apocryphal text and its translator was perhaps less careful in the preservation of the wording on the grounds of the sanctity of the Holy Word, the OE prose version has been described as a fairly literal translation.¹⁷⁶ Furthermore, Stanton considers the translation of apocryphal texts as part of a long tradition of biblical translations in Anglo-Saxon England (2002: 104-5). The first extended prose translations originating in this tradition are the West-Saxon Gospels, a set of related manuscripts derived from an unknown Latin Vulgate version¹⁷⁷ which is assumed to be similar to the Latin text in the Lindisfarne and Rushworth Gospels (Skeat 1871: x-xi). Roy M. Liuzza (1994: 5-12) assumes that the WS Gospels, unlike the Lindisfarne and Rushworth glosses, were originally independent translations, which, however, seemed to have been used in conjunction with the Latin text, thus constituting a ‘supplement rather than substitute’ (*Ibid.* 12). The original separation from the Latin text indicates a further step in the gradual emancipation and independence of English, while the subsequent use of the Gospels points to the still prevailing rootedness of early biblical prose translations in the tradition of literal glossing.

If the OE prose version of the Andreas-legend is considered in this tradition, the ‘slavishness’ of the translation can be viewed as the result of attempted literalism which might either originate from a gloss of the lost Latin source or in the tradition of glossing in general, employing set expressions for Latin words and phrases as done in the free Gospel translations. Due to the striving for literal fidelity evident in the OE Gospels, Liuzza even suggests that it would be possible to reconstruct the Latin source text of the free translations ‘at least in broad terms’ (2000: 1). The diversity of different Latin versions of the Gospels in circulation at that time makes it impossible to find one original text or to bring the different versions into

¹⁷⁵ For an overview see Scheler 1961. More recent and specified studies include Taylor 2008 and Timofeeva 2010. For the influence of Latin Syntax on the OE Gospels see Owen 1882.

¹⁷⁶ For example, the Old English text contains some participial constructions uncommon for OE syntax which seem to originate in the imitation of Latin participial constructions. See Cassidy & Ringler 1971: 207, fn. 31.

¹⁷⁷ On the relationship and source of the OE Gospels see Skeat 1871: vi-viii.

chronological order. Even the grouping of different manuscripts proves difficult due to the extensive cross-contamination between the versions (*Ibid.* 2-3). Such a reconstruction on the basis of the OE manuscripts relies on the assumption that the translator systematically rendered the Latin phrases and words into fixed OE expressions long-established by the tradition of glossing biblical texts. I do not propose to do the same for the lost source text of *Saint Andrew*, but at least some assumptions about the most likely equivalents for OE *þa*-clauses can be made by referring to the established practices used in the Lindisfarne and Rushworth glosses and in the free translations.

In the context of biblical translations, the Lindisfarne and Rushworth glosses are interesting sources for studying how single Latin expressions were transferred into Old English, not as explanation for the Latin, but as stylistic equivalents. In addition, they bear testimony to the tradition of glossing, since it is evident that the Rushworth gloss was in parts influenced by the Lindisfarne gloss and is not a completely independent work.¹⁷⁸ Furthermore, the West-Saxon Gospels, which are based on a similar Latin source text but whose status as independent translation distances them further from the literalism of glossing, provide additional material for this analysis. In this way, a close linguistic comparison between the Latin source and the OE translation of these phrases can be conducted, which is not possible for the OE prose version of Andreas.

The comparison of the Latin source, the Lindisfarne and Rushworth glosses and the free translations of the Gospels, represented by the Hatton MS which preserves the text in its latest form, shows that the most obvious Latin correspondence of adverbial *þa* is *tunc*:¹⁷⁹

Mt 2:17

Latin (Li)	tunc adinpletum est quod dictum est per hieremiam prophetam dicentem
Gloss (Li)	ða gefylled wæs þ̅ gecuoeden wæs ðerh hieremias ðone witge cuoedende
Hatton	Ða wæs gefylled þ̅ gecweðen wæs þurh ieremiam þam witegan <i>Then what was spoken through the prophet Jeremiah was fulfilled, saying</i>

Mt 12:22

Latin (Li)	Tunc oblatuſ est ei daemōnium habens caecus et mutus
Gloss (Li)	ða bebroht wæs him diowl hæbbende blind 7 dumb

¹⁷⁸ According to Ross and Squires ‘[t]he whole of Rushworth 2 and Rushworth 1 from Mt 26, 7, have been influenced by the completed Lindisfarne gloss’ (1980: 489). For a detailed linguistic discussion and how the manuscripts came into contact see also Ross 1979 & 1981 and Bibire & Ross 1981.

¹⁷⁹ The following examples are based on Skeat’s edition of the OE Gospels (1871-1876), which shows the Latin text of the Lindisfarne Gospel alongside the Lindisfarne and Rushworth glosses (Skeat omits the Latin text of the Rushworth Gospel as it ‘differs but slightly from the Lindisfarne MS’ (Preface to St. Mark. iv)). The texts of the Hatton and Corpus MSS are printed on the reverse page with notes on variants occurring in the other MSS of the WS Gospels. All MSS are described in the preface to St. Mark’s Gospel (v-xxi).

Hatton **Þa** wæs him broht an deofel-seoc man se wæs blind 7 dumb
Then one who had a demon was brought to him, who was blind and mute

The Lindisfarne glossator consistently renders *tunc* as *þa*, except in some instances, mostly in passages of direct speech, where it is replaced by *þonne* (f. ex. Mk 13:14, Lk 21:21, Lk 14:10). The latter observation is consistent with comments on the semantic difference between the two OE words as defined by Bosworth and Toller (see p. 72). Without following up on this aspect in this context, the variation shows that glossing is indeed not a mechanical transformation of single words, but carefully considers context and semantics. In some instances, where both words are considered appropriate, *tunc* is double glossed with *þa l (vel) þonne* (f. ex. Mt 7:23, Mt 9:15, Mt 24:10).

	<u>Latin (Li)</u>	<u>Gloss (Li)</u>
Mt 4:11	Tunc relinquit eum diabolus <i>Then the devil left him.</i>	ða forleot hine diowl
Lk 14:10	... tunc erit tibi gloriam... <i>Then yours is glory...</i>	... ðonne bið ðe wuldor ...
Mt 24:23	Tunc se quis vobis dixerit... <i>Then, if anyone shall say to you...</i>	ða l ðonne gif huelc iuh cueðas

The Rushworth glossators follow this practice with only some variation in single instances. The same is true for the independent translations (though *þonne* is used more frequently and generally replaces the double glosses), but for one important modification, namely element order: the glosses are bound to the order in which the Latin words occur, that is, though words such as prepositions and articles may be added to clarify the grammatical function, the Latin word order is preserved. In consequence, *þa*, like *tunc*, consistently stands in sentence-initial position,¹⁸⁰ i.e. a position where it is potentially ambiguous in OE, and is followed by any element featured in the Latin text, most frequently either verb or subject. In this way, the patterns *þa V* and *þa S* emerge in the glosses, which would, if separated from the Latin text, be associated with principal and subordinate clauses, respectively. The force of this association in OE prose is evident in the reordering of elements in the free translations: almost all instances of *þa S...V* are changed into *þa V S*, leaving only few exceptions of principal clauses in conjunctive order (f. ex. Mt 26:65, Mk 2:20, Lk 21:27).

Mt 4:1	Tunc <i>iesus</i> ductus est in desertum ab spiritu	<u>(Latin (Li))</u>
	ða hælend gelæded wæs in woesten fram gaste	<u>(Gloss (Li))</u>
	Þa wæs se hælend gelæd fram gaste on westen.	<u>(Hatton)</u>
	<i>Then Jesus was led into the desert by the spirit.</i>	

¹⁸⁰ The only word frequently preceding *tunc* is *et*, which is consistently glossed by the abbreviation 7 (*ond*).

Mt 26:56 ...tunc discipuli omnes [...] fugerunt
 ...ðā ðegnas alle [...] geflugun
Ða flugen ealle þa leorning-cnihtes [...]
Then all disciples fled [...]

There is one example, where the conjunctive order is changed into S *þa* V in the free translation:

Mt 2:7 Tunc herodes [...] didicit ab eis...
 ða heroðes [...] gelearnade from him...
Herodes þa [...] **befran** hyo...
Then Herodes [...] learned from them...

The same way of reordering the clause-initial elements to comply with OE prose syntax can be seen in the only sentence in the OE prose version of the Andreas-legend which permits a direct comparison with source text, i.e. the part where the Latin sentence has been copied into the manuscript of the B-text:

SA-B 39 Tunc Sanctus Andreas surgens mane...
 SA-B 40 Se halga Andreas þa aras on morgen...
Then the holy Andreas arose in the morning ...

The choice whether *þa* V S or S *þa* V is chosen for rendering the Latin seems to be a stylistic one; Waterhouse notices that the position of adverbial *þa* is dependent upon the type of subject: if a proper name is used, *þa* stands in second position in 72% of the clauses (1984: 263-4). The examples quoted above are in line with this tendency; however, the Gospels provide rather poor evidence, since there are too few examples where *tunc* is followed by a proper name to make any generalisations about the word order in the translations.

Besides *tunc*, the Latin text uses *et* as sentence-initial connective, which is faithfully glossed by 7, the MS abbreviation for *ond*, in the Lindisfarne and Rushworth manuscripts. The free translations, however, do not show the same accuracy in this respect and use adverbial *þa* much more frequently to connect sentences:

Mt 7: 28 Et factum est...
 7 geworden is 7 uæs...
Ða wæs ge-worden...
And it happened...

Mt 14: 9 et contristatus est rex
 7 un-rót-sande wæs cynig
Ða wæs se kyng unbliðe
And the king was greatly saddened

Lk 13: 22 Et ibat per ciuitates et castella...
 7 foerde ðerh ceastro 7 woerco...
 Ða ferde he þurh ceastre 7 castella...
 And he travelled through the cities and towns...

Considering Foster's observation that *pa* introduces narrative units and turns, while *ond* connects related events within those units, this slight modification of the Latin text (with so little expense at literality) causes the OE translation to comply with the rhetoric of OE narrative style.¹⁸¹ For example, the Latin phrase *Et factum est*, which also has a structuring function, is frequently glossed with *ond aworden wæs*, but is translated as *Pa wæs geworden* (e.g. Lk 1:23, Lk 1:41, Lk 8:1, etc.). The same practice seems to have been applied by the author of the OE prose translation of the Andreas-legend (although the body of source material renders the textual evidence more speculative): there are several instances where the two Latin versions, *Casanatensis* and *Vallicellensis*, introduce a sentence with *et*, while the OE version uses *pa*:¹⁸²

<i>Cas</i> 67: 16	Et dominus inquit ad eum:
<i>Val</i> 55	Et dominus Iesus ait illi:
<i>SA-C</i> 117	Drihten him þa to cwæð:
	<i>And the Lord said to him:</i>

OE adverbial *pa* in its use as tool for narrative structuring is, therefore, quite independent of the source text, slavish as the translation may be, as it hardly interferes with either literality or accuracy. Wårvik uses this argument for justifying her analysis of the functional use of *pa* in Ælfric's works even though he relied on Latin sources:

[T]hese texts would hardly be called translations by modern standards: they are mostly rather unfaithful translations, and more accurately characterized as paraphrases or adaptations. [...] Furthermore, since there is nothing in Latin that resembles Old English adverbial *pa* in distribution or function, I have some confidence in using these texts to study discourse-pragmatic features of Old English narrative prose (Wårvik 2011).

Besides *tunc*, Latin *autem* is sometimes glossed with *pa* (or *þonne*) in the Lindisfarne and Rushworth Gospels. As *autem* is not used sentence-initially, the glosses also put *pa* in medial position, while the free translations prefer demonstrative order (*pa* VS):

Lk 22: 52 Dixit autem *iesus* ad eos
 cwoeð ða se hælend to him
 þa cwæð se hælend to þam ealdor-mannen
 Then Jesus said to them/to the leaders

¹⁸¹ For a large-scale analysis of the discourse functions of *pa* in the WS Gospels see Kim 1992.

¹⁸² In this passage, Andreas asks Christ for forgiveness for not having recognised him aboard the ship. The clauses cited introduce Christ's answer to this plea.

Lk 23: 34 *Iesus autem dicebat*
 se hælend ða gecuoedað
 Ða cwæð se hælend
Then Jesus said

In the Lindisfarne Gospels, however, *autem* is much more frequently glossed by *soðlice* and *wutodlice*¹⁸³ (in various spellings), both meaning ‘truly’ or ‘indeed’. To a lesser extent, this is also true for the Rushworth gloss. The free translations also use *soðlice* and *wutodlice* as equivalents for Latin *autem*,¹⁸⁴ but in some constructions *þa* seems to be preferred, for example for translating a sentence-initial past participle followed by *autem* as in Mt 3:15 *Respondens autem Iesus, dixit ei*. The glosses coincide in retaining the Latin word order, but they differ in that the Rushworth manuscript uses *þa* for *autem* much more frequently. In the case of semantically similar verbs, the free translations regularly transfer these constructions into *þa* V S clauses, either retaining both verbs and coordinating them or skipping one of them:

Mt 14: 28 *Respondens autem petrus dixit*
 geonduearde uutedlice ____ [name not glossed] cueð
 Ða andswerede hym petrus. 7 cwæð
Then Petrus answered him and said

Mt 17:4 *respondens autem petrus dixit ad iesum*
 ge-onduearde soðlice ____ cueð to hælend
 þa cwæð petrus to hym.

Another construction where *autem* is sometimes translated with *þa* is *factum est autem*, which only occurs in Luke. The glosses and the translations vary between *wutodlice*, *soðlice*, *þa* and *þonne*. Like *et factum est* (which is also most frequently used in Luke but also occurs in the other Gospels), *factum est autem* has a structuring function and is frequently accompanied by a temporal specification:

Lk 8:22 *Factum est autem in una dierum...*
 aworden wæs ða on án ðara dagana...
 Soðlice anen daige wæs geworden...
On a certain day it happened...

¹⁸³ On the function of these adverbs in OE texts see Lenker 2007.

¹⁸⁴ This is especially true for clauses starting with *cum autem* since the conjunction *cum* is translated with conjunctive *þa* in the free translations. The use of *soðlice* prohibits the doubling of *þa* which is used to indicate subordinate clauses in OE prose.

Mt 9:28 **cum autem** uenisset domum accesserunt ad eum caeci
 mið ðy uutedlice gecuome to hus geneolecdon to him bisena † blinde
Soðlice þa he ham com. þa blinde ge-neahlahte hym to.
Truly, when he came to the house, the blind men approached him.

The OE equivalent of the Latin *factum autem est* and *et factum est* also occurs in the OE prose version of the Andreas-legend as the phrase *þa wæs geworden*, or variants of it, which are also used in conjunction with temporal specifications as in SA-C 239 *On mergen þa geworden wæs* [...]. They will be further discussed in the analysis in section 3.3.

With regard to the Latin equivalents of the conjunction *þa*, there is a significant difference between the Lindisfarne and Rushworth glosses: while the latter uses *þa* for translating Latin conjunctive *cum*, the former consistently uses *mið ðy*, which corresponds to the more commonly used OE conjunction *mid ðy ðe* (see Ogura 1984: 277). The free translations follow the practice of the Rushworth glossators in preferring *þa* for Latin *cum*, except where *þonne* is again more appropriate.¹⁸⁵

Mt 21:23	Et cum uenisset in templum accesserunt ad eum docentem principes sacerdotum...
	7 mið ðy gecuome in tempel geneolecdon to him lærende aldormenn sacerda...
	Ða he com in-to þam temple þa comen þare sacerda aldres him to...
	<i>When he came into the temple, the priests approached him...</i>

Since sentence-initial (*et*) *cum* is most frequently followed by the finite verb and the glossators again retain this order, the Lindisfarne and Rushworth glosses regularly begin the OE ‘sentence’ with demonstrative order, even though it is associated with principal clauses; the force of this association, however, manifests itself in the occasional insertion of a personal pronoun between the conjunction and the verb when the Latin sentence allows for such an addition:

Mt 6:5	et cum oratis non eritis sicut hypocritae...
	7 mið ðy ge gebiddas ne wosas ge suæ legeras...
	And þanne ge eow gebyddon ne by ge swilce licteras
	<i>And when you pray, you should not be like the hypocrites...</i>

The free translations almost invariably render the clauses in conjunctive order, either by putting the subject before the verb or by adding a personal pronoun:

Mt 9:4	et cum uidisset <i>iesus</i> cogitations eorum dixit
	7 mið ðy gesaeh ðe hælend smeawunga heora cueð
	þa se hælend ge-seah hire ge-þanc. þa cwæð he
	<i>And when Jesus had perceived their thoughts, he said</i>

¹⁸⁵ See Ogura 1984 for the conjunctions meaning ‘when’ or ‘while’ in the OE Gospels. For the distinction between *þa* and *þonne* in this context see p. 278, where Ogura observes that *þonne* is generally used with the present, while *þa* is used with the preterite.

Mt 19:15 et cum imposuisset eis manus abiit inde
 7 mið ðy gesette him hond foerde ðona
 7 þa he heom hys hand on asette. þa ferde he þanon
And when he had imposed his hands upon them, he went away from there

The examples above show another deviation of the free translations from the Latin *cum*-constructions and the attendant glosses: they frequently introduce the corresponding main clause with the correlative adverb *þa* (underlined), which results in those ‘prosaic’ *when-then* constructions discussed in Chapter 1 and 2. Unlike the Gospels which either uses *þa* or *mið ðy* consistently, the author of *Saint Andrew* employs both conjunctions. Their distribution within the text and the possible reasons for one choice over the other will be the subject of the analysis in the next section. Besides *cum*, the conjunction *dum* is also often translated by *þa* and glossed with *mið ðy*; furthermore, *quando* may be the model for *þa*, as is probably the case in the following example from *Saint Andrew* where the text seems fairly close to the Latin *Casanatensis*:

SA 127-8 Gemune hu manega earfoþnesse fram Judeum ic wæs þrowiende **þa**
 hie me swungon and hie me spætton on mine onsyne.

Remember how I suffered many hardships from the Jews when they scourged me and spat into my face.

Cas 67:32-3 Recordare mei, quoniam ego prior tui passus sum, **tunc quando** in
 faciem meam spuebant, et alapis cedebant

Remember me, for I suffered before you, when they spat on my face and struck me

A last correspondence between Latin phrases and *þa*-clauses are participle or absolute constructions that cannot easily be imitated in Old English. In the free translations, the sequentiality or simultaneity of two events indicated by Latin sentences such as in Mt 1:24 and Mt 2:3 below are either expressed by coordinating the two verbs, as in the former example, or by a hypotactic construction, as in the latter example:

Mt 1:24 exurgens autem ioseph á somno fecit sicut precepit ei angelus domini
 et accepit coniugem suam

aras weotetlice iosep of slepe gedyde suæ geheht him engel drihtnes 7
 onfeng gebed his

Þa aras ioseph of swefne. 7 dyde swa drihtnes ængel him bebead 7 he
 on-feng hys mæcchen.

Then Joseph arose from sleep and did as the angel of the Lord had instructed him, and he accepted her as his wife.

Mt 2:3 audiens autem herodes rex turbatus est et omnis hierosolima cum illo

geherde wiototlice herodes ðe cynig gedroefed wes 7 alle ða hierusolimisca 7 ða burgwæras mið him

þa herodes þ̅ geherde þa warð he gedrefeð 7 eal ierosolime-wære mid him.

When king Herodes heard this, he was disturbed, and all Jerusalem with him.

While the Lindisfarne glossator does not try to imitate this construction in Old English but mostly glosses the past participles with finite past forms (i.e. *aras* and *geherde*), the Rushworth gloss frequently uses a present participle (*arisende*) and only sometimes a finite form (*geherde*). The practice of retaining participle constructions is also evident in the prose version of the Andreas-legend:¹⁸⁶

SA-B 12-3 Se eadiga Matheus þa **locionde** geseah Drihten Crist ond eft Drihten wæs cweðende

SA-C 23-4 Matheus þa **lociende** he geseah Drihten Crist and eft Drihtnes stefn wæs cweðende¹⁸⁷

Matheus (then/when) looking (he) saw the Lord Christ and the Lord again was saying:

The fragment, which is considered to be closer to the original translation (see p. 149), integrates the participle *locionde* into the clause according to Latin usage. The corresponding passage in the complete version inserts a personal pronoun, which might indicate that the construction used in the fragment was felt to be ungrammatical, or at least unidiomatic. There are two other examples of this construction in the complete version, both repeating the subject:

SA-C 255-6 Se halga Andreas þa lociende, he geseah geblowen treow wæstm berende and he cwæð:

When Andreas was looking, he saw a flowering tree bearing fruits and he said:

SA-C 262-3 Se haliga Andreas þa lociende, he geseah on middum þæm carcerne swer standan, ond ofer þone swer stænenne anlicness.

Then Andreas, when looking, he saw in the middle of the dungeon a pillar standing, and on the pillar a stone statue.

¹⁸⁶ The transfer of Latin participle constructions into Old English prose translation and the further development of the functions of these forms is discussed in Nickel 1966.

¹⁸⁷ I have skipped the punctuation used in the editions lest it imposes the editors' interpretation of the clause structure.

Unfortunately, the fragment does not cover these lines of the legend, which makes it impossible to ascertain if the B-text generally omits the pronoun. Even though the C-text seems to try to emend these constructions, the use of participles is rather peculiar in this text since they are sometimes the only verb form within a clause:

SA-C 31-2 Matheus þa þurhwuniende mid gebedum and Drihtnes lof singende on þam carcerne.

Matheus then continued to pray and sang in praise of the Lord in the dungeon.

These constructions are obviously coined on the syntax of the Latin source as they can also be found in the related Latin versions:

Here and elsewhere in our text (ll. 212, 223) the omission of forms of *wesan* with participles is probably only apparent. What we in fact seem to have is the reproduction in OE of a peculiarity of the Latin original, i.e. its use of participles instead of finite verbs in a number of situations where strict syntax demands the latter. This usage is very frequent in Cas (see Blatt, ed. cit., p. 32, n. to l. 14; also his Index s.v. *Partizipia*) and even occurs once in Val (*Tunc respiciens Sanctus Andreas in caelum et dixit* etc.) (Cassidy & Ringler 1971: 207, note on line 31).¹⁸⁸

The Latin insertion in the B-text, however, demonstrates that not all participle constructions were handled in this way, but were translated like similar examples in the free translations of the Gospels, i.e. by using two finite verb forms and coordinating the clauses:

Tunc Sanctus Andreas **surgens** mane **abiit** ad mare cum discipulis suis, et vidit nauculam in litore, et intra naue sedentes tres uiros.

Se halga Andreas þa **aras** on morgen **ond** he **eode** to þære sæ mid his discipulum, ond he geseah scip on þæm warþe ond þry weras on þæm sittende.

In conclusion, the following observations about Latin phrases and constructions that may serve as models for OE *þa*-clauses can be made:

Adverbial *þa*:

- Sentence-initial *tunc* is generally translated as *þa*.
- Sentence-initial *et* is also rendered as *þa*, especially at the beginning of narrative units.
- *Factum est autem* and *Et factum est* are generally translated by variants of *þa wæs geworden*, though other adverbs are used as well.

¹⁸⁸ The use of a present participle instead of a finite verb form is, however, no singular occurrence in Latin. See Leumann et al. 1972, Vol. II: § 206 on participles, esp. addition e (p. 389).

- The word order in the free translations is usually adapted to OE principal clauses, i.e. *þa* V S or S *þa* V.

þa as conjunction:

- Latin *cum* (as conjunction) is frequently rendered as conjunctive *þa*, though some glossators/translators seem to prefer the more literal *mið ði ðe* or its variants.¹⁸⁹
- Other conjunctions which are sometimes, but rather rarely, translated with *þa* are *dum* and *quando*.
- Participle constructions may be rendered as *when-then* constructions, though the coordination of the clauses is also possible.
- The word order is again adapted to OE usage in the free translations by either inserting a subject pronoun or by putting the nominal subject in second position (*þa* S V).

These principles, on which Latin syntax and style is transferred into Old English, show that even the most literal translation practice leaves room for modifications specific to OE syntax and OE narrative style. There is, therefore, no reason to assume that the OE prose translation of the Andreas-legend, slavish though it be, dispenses with genuine devices of narrative structuring or foregrounding.

3.2.3 THE VERSE VERSION AS ADAPTATION INTO AS POETIC STYLE

The relationship of Old English Christian poetry to its Latin sources is a subject which offers numerous problems: The initial difficulty of locating the actual source is notorious [...]. Consequently one can seldom advance with much confidence into the stage of examining the way the Anglo-Saxon poet uses his borrowings and the skill he shows in incorporating them into his poem (Irving 1957: 588).

Edward Irving's comment on the difficulties accompanying the study of the source for OE Christian poetry, which introduces his investigation of the Latin source to the OE poem *Christ III*, is a sound caution: the discussion of the different Greek and Latin MSS of the Andreas-legend has demonstrated that various versions of the legend were in circulation. Some of them are qualified for having been used by the *Andreas*-poet, but none of them seems to be the direct source. Furthermore, the OE author may have been familiar with different versions, even with the Greek *Praxeis*. However, some details found in the versions of the 'Western group' (i.e. the Latin and OE versions) are not present in the *Praxeis*, e.g. the name *Marmedonia* for the land of the anthropophagi, the mentioning of the name *Achaia* and the

¹⁸⁹ For the use of *mið ðy*, *mið þy* (*þe*) and *mið þam þe* see Ogura 1984: 275, fn. 6.

apostle's name *Matheus* instead of *Matthias* (Krapp 1906: xxi-xxix).¹⁹⁰ This makes the assumption probable that the *Andreas*-poet used a Latin adaptation or translation of the legend. Of the extant Latin versions, the *Recensio Casanatensis* and *Recensio Vallicellensis* are closest to the OE *Andreas* and form therefore the basis for the investigation of how the OE poet used his source; however, the uncertainty about the ultimate source has to be kept in mind.

The attempt to find direct linguistic correspondences between *Andreas* and the Latin versions is not only prohibited by the uncertainties about the source material: even if an ultimate source existed, it would hardly be possible to detect such correspondences because the conversion into AS poetry involves a rather free treatment of the source. David Crowne, in his investigation of the use of 'the hero on the beach' theme, where he compares the *Praxeis* with the Latin *Cas* and the OE prose and verse versions, demonstrates that the process of transformation into AS-poetry cannot be compared with the practices used for prose translations:

The poem [...] is not simply a verified translation of some one of the prose versions, but is a native idiom. By comparing the prose versions with relevant parts of *Andreas* we can easily see that the poet's treatment is rather different from the usual manner of literary adaptation. The two translations [i.e. the Latin and OE prose versions] reproduce the content and the simple style of the original quite faithfully. There are one or two trifling omissions or compressions, but, in general, the words of the original are translated as closely as idiomatic usage will permit. The poem *Andreas* exhibits no such exacting respects for the phrasing of its model. Nevertheless, it preserves the essential details of the scene and does not alter the arrangement (Crowne 1960: 366).

The adaptation does not only involve modifications according to the form and language of OE poetry, but also to the use of motifs and themes characteristic for this literary style. Crowne shows this by pointing out the poet's addition of elements to the scene when Andreas and his disciples come to the shore to find a ship that brings them to Marmedonia:

Andreas adds a number of concrete details to flesh out the description, as well as bringing in references to the rising sun and the completion of a journey. These additions, particularly the latter two, are not merely "poetic elaborations". They are elements of the traditional theme with the poet is using to fill in this part of the plan of the story (*Ibid.* 167).

¹⁹⁰ The statement that the Greek source has *Matthias* instead of *Matheus* is not absolutely true: only the oldest MS of the *Praxeis* has *Matthias* while all other MSS have *Matheus* (see *Praxeis*: 517).

Another addition of the poet is the elaborate description of the uprising storm during the sea-voyage to Marmedonia, which is barely alluded to in the other versions; in the poem, it extends from line 369b-376a. Furthermore, Andreas' first night in the dungeon, again only touched upon in the sources, is described at some length and, rather surprisingly, with words connoting bitter frosts and snow drifts:

And 1253-62a <P>a se halga wæs under heolstorscuwan,
eorl ellenheard, ondlange niht
searopancum beseted. Snaw eorðan band
wintergeworpum; weder coledon
heardum hægelscurum, swylce hrim ond forst,
hare hildstapan, hæleða eðel
lucon, leoda gesetu. Land wæron freorig;
cealdum cylegicelum clang wæteres þrym,
ofer eastreamas is brycgade
blæce brimrade.

The the holy man was covered in darkness, the brave man, during the long-lasting night, in deep contemplation. Snow bound the earth with winter-storms. The air grew chill with hail showers; likewise rime and frost, the grey warriors, locked up the earth, the dwellings of men. The lands were frozen; clad in icicles the water's glory withered, yond the ocean currents ice bridged the water-roads.

Janie Steen cites this passage as an example of the excessive use of compounds, which she claims to be frequently used for establishing a link to vernacular intertexts (Steen 2008: 62-63). Not only the compounds link the passage to the tradition of OE poetry, but so does the motif: the reference to snow and frost, which seems unfitting with regard to the Mediterranean context of the source text, may originate in the Anglo-Saxon tradition of associating winter with isolation and exile. A fairly recent account of the development of the winter-motif can be found in the second chapter ('The Psychogeography of Winter') of Langeslag's work of 2012 on the seasonal setting in Anglo-Saxon and Old Norse literature, where he claims that winter 'has such potent connotative value that it is commonly evoked with disregard for the regular succession of the seasons: to Anglo-Saxon and early Icelandic authors, winter was a literary device that could be divorced from cyclical time' (Langeslag 2012:106).

Furthermore, Steen uses a passage from *Andreas*, i.e. the flooding of the Marmedonian city (*And* 1523b-1553), to discuss and illustrate a number of rhetorical and stylistic devices characteristic for Old English poetry, including assonance, double alliteration, interlinear alliteration, doublets, compounding and variation (2008: 29-349). Again, the description has no parallel in any of the prose versions:

[W]e can tell (from the surviving Latin analogues) that the passage chosen here is not a translation of the source, but a free “digression”, modelled on a passage from a vernacular poem rather than a Latin source: Grendel’s attack on Heorot. It is a showpiece of a vernacular art (Steen 2008: 29).

Furthermore, there are changes that are due to the stylistic differences between prose and verse, which were shortly addressed in section 3.1.2. Friesen points out that some of the shifts in style and content in *Andreas* are an inevitable part of translating a prose source into poetry (2008: 47). He conducts a detailed analysis of the stylistic and contentual shifts which distinguish the OE poem from the Latin *Casanatensis*, testifying by various examples that the author’s omission and addition of content changes the tone of the whole narrative:

[W]hat is lacking from or added to the content does have a clear relationship to how we read this legend, and [...] the author’s decisions of fidelity, addition or omission upon his source material conditions the style in which the reader is able to engage [in] the plot (Friesen 2008: 51).

The poem deliberately shortens the description of how the Marmedonians proceed with their prisoners, which is present in *Cas* and the *Praxeis*. Friesen claims that the omission of the cruel details is in line with the poet’s tendency ‘to cut content which is not necessary to the exploration of his themes’ (*Ibid.* 45). Furthermore, the inexplicitness often increases the apprehension of the recipients by inciting their imagination:

[T]he *Andreas*-poet begins a narratological tendency of culling the explicit, divine reassurances which are found in the Latin tradition, and seeding in their place numerous occasions for doubt and anxiety. As a consequence, the doubts and anxieties of the saint [...] potentially afforded a very present parallel in the doubts and anxieties fostered in the reader [...] (*Ibid.* 47).

Friesen argues that these changes conspire to a style that entails a high involvement of the recipients by creating anxiety and doubt and by adding irony (*Ibid.* 97).

Despite these modifications and additions, Crowne has noticed that the OE verse version ‘preserves with notable fidelity the “arrangement of events”’ (1960: 366). Thus, the core structure of the source is preserved, as well as the main elements of the narrative, which makes it possible to compare the beginning of episodes not only with the classical versions but also with the OE prose text.

In the context of narrative structuring, the stylistic changes discussed above do not seem to be of much consequence for the analysis. They are, however, when other text-linguistic functions of *þa* are examined: the adaptation of the legend into AS poetic style does not necessarily

affect the arrangement of events, but it does affect the question of what is essential; the poem gives prominence to other parts of the narrative than either the sources or the OE prose translation. This means that *þa* as a foregrounding device might be used in completely different situations; furthermore, *þa* cannot be said to be used as action marker in *Andreas* in the sense of marking highly foregrounded passages of high transitivity because Andreas is not an acting hero such as Beowulf. Even the use of *þa* as a marker of the main storyline may differ as, for example, the dialogues are not perceived as digressions in the poem, but as central stages of Andreas' development to a legitimate bearer of the word of God.

3.3 USE OF *þa* IN THE OE PROSE AND VERSE VERSIONS

It has been demonstrated that not only genuine OE prose narrations use *þa* as pragmatic device in narrative discourse, but that it is also used in poetry and in translated prose. The text-linguistic functions of *þa* traced in original prose involve narrative structuring and foregrounding, including specified functions such as action marking, participant tracking or marking the return to the main storyline. The different functions correlate with a range of morphosyntactic features as well as with specific word order patterns. While foregrounded, episode-internal clauses correlate with features of high-transitivity and verb-peripheral word orders, episodic clauses correlate with breaks in the continuity of time, place or participants and with inversion. The following sections examine how these principles are applied in the different OE versions of the Andreas-legend and how they are modified according to the peculiarities of Anglo-Saxon heroic poetry, on the one hand, and translated prose in the tradition of biblical translations, on the other hand.

The first part focuses on the disconnective function of *þa*, i.e. its use in connection with breaks in the continuity of the narrative indicating new episodes or sub-episodes. The fact that the narrative structure and the main components of the Andreas-legend, as outlined in section 3.1.1, are to a large extent predefined by the sources and preserved by the OE adaptations, facilitates the task of comparing episode-beginnings in the different versions. The second part of the analysis is certainly more liable to a subjective reading, not only because the question of what is essential might be answered differently by different recipients, but also because the focus might (and does) differ from version to version. Therefore, a direct comparison of foregrounded parts within the different texts is hardly practicable and, therefore, not attempted here. Instead, the use and distribution of *þa*-clauses is considered within the context of the respective version in order to analyse in how far they guide the reading of the different text by structuring it and by highlighting specific events and actions. Thus, the different

pragmatic functions of *þa* are traced and compared in the two Old English versions which differ in syntax and style but which both reveal the innate rhetoric of OE story-telling in spite of metrical constraints or of foreign-language influences.

3.3.1 *þA* AND NARRATIVE STRUCTURING

The Andreas-legend, as preserved in the Greek manuscripts, consists of the following major episodes which are largely preserved in the Latin *Casanatensis* and the OE versions:

- Prologue:

The account starts with the apostles gathered together and casting lots for deciding who will travel into which region. As Matheus' lot falls on Marmedonia, the customs of its inhabitants are described.

- Matheus' Fate and Andreas' Mission:

After the account of Matheus' imprisonment, God orders Andreas to rescue him and to convert the Marmedonians to Christianity.

- Ship Voyage:

The episode starts with Andreas walking with his disciples along the sea-shore the next morning to find a ship that will bring them to Marmedonia. It concludes with Andreas falling asleep after his long conversation with Christ, who then orders his angels to convey the travellers to Marmedonia.

- Release of Matheus:

Andreas awakes before the gates of Marmedonia and finds his disciples sleeping on the shore. After Andreas has entered the city and released all prisoners, which causes some disturbance in the meat supply of the cannibals, the devil urges the city-dwellers to capture Andreas.

- Andreas' Martyrdom:

Andreas reveals himself and is instantly captured by the Marmedonians. He remains imprisoned for three days.

- Conversion of the Marmedonians:

At the end of the third day, God appears in the dungeon and heals Andreas. Andreas finds the stone statue and commands it to flood the city. After the conversion of the Marmedonians, Andreas prepares to leave.

- Epilogue:

After being sent back by God to stay another seven days among the Marmedonians, Andreas finally leaves the city for good.

These main elements consist of sub-episodes which are again largely preserved in the versions; the differences are mostly due to abridgements or extensions of minor events. In the following, the beginnings of the major episodes in the different complete versions are contrasted:¹⁹¹

PROLOGUE

<i>Prax</i> 517	About that time all the apostles had come together to the same place	
<i>Cas</i> § 1	In illo tempore errant apostolic simul in unum congregati	<i>At that time all the apostles were gathered together</i>
SA-C 1	Her segð þæt æfter þam Drihten Hælend Crist to heofonum astah þæt þa apostol(as) wæron ætsomne	<i>It is said that after Christ had ascended into heaven the apostles were gathered together</i>
<i>And</i> 1	Hwæt! We gefrunan on fyrndagum twelfe under tunglum tireadige hæleð, þeodnes þegnas	<i>Listen! We have heard in days of old of the twelve glorious heroes under the stars, thanes of the Lord.</i>

The beginning of the legend is not marked by *þa* in either of the two Old English versions. This is quite consistent with Foster's 'rules' for the use of *þa* in OE original prose where *þa* only marks the beginning of the main action, but not the introductory part:

- 1) The first discourse unit is never headed by *þa*. Since *þa* is a sequential marker, it can only be used when one narrative segment follows another (Foster 1975: 409).

In the prose version, the first *þa*-clause appears when Matheus first enters the city. Before that the descriptive parts informing the recipient about Matheus' lot and the habits of the Marmedonians are introduced by *segð*, thus echoing the first sentence:

SA-C 3	Segþ þæt se eadiga Matheus gehleat to Marmadonia... <i>It is said that the blessed Matheus was appointed by lot to go to Marmedonia</i>
SA-C 4	Segð þonne þæt þa men on þære ceastre wæron þæt hi(e) half ne æton... <i>It is further said that the men of that city did not eat bread</i>
SA-C 6	segð þæt hie hine sona genamon and his eagan ut astungan... <i>It is said that they would instantly take them [i.e. any foreigners] and blind them</i>

¹⁹¹ The *Praxeis* (*Prax*) is only quoted in its English translation by Roberts & Donaldson (1903). The numbers given refer to the pages of this edition. The *Casanatensis* (*Cas*) is either quoted in Latin (Blatt 1930) or in English translation (Allen & Calder 1976); the paragraph numbers refer to both editions.

The beginnings of the prose versions are very similar, while the verse version directly sets the story into the context of Old English heroic poetry by describing the apostles as valiant warriors; furthermore the beginning recalls the opening lines of *Beowulf*:¹⁹²

Beo 1-3 Hwæt, we Gar-dena in geardagum,
 þeodcyninga þrym gefrunon
 hu ða æþelingas ellen fremedon.

Listen, we have heard of the glory of the folc-kings, of the spear-Danes, in the days of old, how the noble men performed valiant deeds.

With respect to the use of *þa*, *Andreas* goes along the same line as the OE prose version: the first *þa*-clause occurs when Matheus enters the city of Marmedonia and is captured. This transition to the narrative part coincides with the beginning of the second paragraph in the classical versions:

THE MISSION

<i>Prax</i> 517	Matthias then having come into the gate of their city, the men of that city laid hold of him	
<i>Cas</i> § 2	Ipse vero Matheus, cum ingrederetur in eadem civitatem mermedoniam, ad verbum salutis predicandum, statim ab iniquissimis viris civitatis illius comprehensus est	<i>When Matthew entered the city of Mermedonia to preach the word of salvation, he was immediately seized by the wicked men of that city.</i>
<i>SA-C</i> 10	Se eadiga Matheus þa ineode on þa ceastre, and hraðe hie hine genamon...	<i>The blessed Matheus then entered the city and was instantly taken by them.</i>
<i>And</i> 40	Þa wæs Matheus to þære mæran byrig cumen in þa ceastre	<i>Then Matheus had arrived in the famous city</i>

Since *þa* does not have a one-to-one equivalent in Latin, the use of it in both OE versions in this context seems to be dependent on the coinciding perception of the authors that the concrete action starts at this point after the more general scene setting.

The next major episode starts when *Andreas* sets out on his mission of releasing Matheus and the other prisoners and of converting the Marmedonians:

¹⁹² On the exploitation of the *we gefrunon* formula in these poems and the possibility of a coincidental resemblance see Shippey 1972: 92-93.

VOYAGE		
<i>Prax</i> 518	And Andreas having risen up early, proceeded to the sea along with his disciples	
<i>Cas</i> § 5	Mane autem factus beatus andreas una cum suis discipulis descendit, et cepit ambulare secus litus maris	<i>When the morning came, blessed Andrew went down with his disciples and began to walk along the seashore</i>
<i>SA-C</i> 51	Se haliga Andreas þa aras on mergen and he eode to þære sæ mid his discipulum	<i>Then Andreas arose in the morning and went to the seashore with his disciples</i>
<i>And</i> 235	Gewat him þa on uhtan mid ærdæge ofer sandhleodū to sæs faruðe, þriste on geþance, ond his þegnas mid, gangan on greote;	<i>In the morning with the break of day, he came boldly across the dunes to the sea coast with his disciples, walking on the sand.</i>

The OE prose and verse versions both show the clause type typical for the beginning of a new episode, i.e. a *þa*-clause with a temporal specification indicating a break in the continuity of time. Furthermore, the clauses contain an active verb, a main participant subject and a further specification of the setting. The clause in *Andreas* is adapted to the specifics of OE poetry by putting the verb first, followed by *þa*, and leaving the subject unexpressed. The clause in the prose version does not have subject-verb inversion, which is uncommon in episodic clauses, but *þa*-clauses in *Saint Andrew* all take the form *S þa V*. It has been observed before that this repetitive beginning, i.e. *Se haliga Andreas þa...*, is a conspicuous feature of the prose version and certainly deserves some remark. It will be discussed more detailed in the next section; suffice it to say at this point that the pattern frequently occurs with verbs of motion and with main participant subjects, thus constituting exactly those clauses which intrinsically denote relocation and mark a break in the continuity of place. This set of structuring clauses outlines the main steps of Andreas (and at first of Matheus) towards his martyrdom:

	SA-C	CONTEXT
10	Se eadiga Matheus þa ineode ...	Matheus enters the city of Marmedonia and is imprisoned.
51	Se haliga Andreas þa aras ... and eode...	Andreas, after having received his orders from God, rises in the morning and goes to the coast in order to find a ship that conveys him to Marmedonia.
133	Se haliga Andreas þa ineode ...	Andreas enters the city of Marmedonia.
136	Se halga Andreas þa eode...	Andreas approaches the prison.
168	Se haliga Andreas þa uteode ...	Andreas, after releasing Matheus and the other prisoners, leaves the dungeon and walks through the city.

It is noteworthy that these clauses neither put *þa* into initial position, nor do they show inversion. In fact, none of the clauses in *Saint Andrew* do, but for two exceptions of *þa* V clauses, i.e. SA-C 203 and 313, which are, however, problematic since the author seems to have misunderstood his source (see p. 21). The clauses seem to be an instance of Jerome and Aelfric's strategy to translate the source word for word if the meaning of the source is not transparent.

The formulaic repetition of *Se haliga Andreas þa*, though deviating from element order found in OE original prose, is not coined on Latin word order; this becomes clear when comparing the Latin fragment inserted into the text with the OE translation (see p. 152):

Tunc Sanctus Andreas surgens mane abiit ad mare cum discipulis suis...

Se halga Andreas þa aras on morgen ond he eode eode to þære sæ mid his discipulum...

The Latin *tunc*, corresponding to OE *þa*, is in initial position, while *þa* is not. If the OE translator had followed the Latin word order, the corresponding OE clause would be in conjunctive order (*þa* SV). The options for the translator for a principal clause are either to retain *þa* in initial position and to invert subject and verb (*þa* VS), or to put *þa* into a non-initial position (S *þa* V). His choice for the latter option might be explained by Waterhouse's observation that S *þa* V as variation of the more common *þa* VS order seems to have been preferred when the subject is a proper name (see p. 179). Whether this is indeed the reason for the author's choice must remain obscure; if he was originally guided by this principle, he extended the pattern to other subjects as well, possibly in order to preserve the parallelism:

SA-C 224 Ðæt deofol þa cwæð to þam folce:
The devil then said to the people:

SA-C 232 Ðæt folc þa arn, and hie hine genamon and cwædon:
The people then ran and took him and said:

Whatever might have been the reason for preferring common order, the structuring *Se halga Andreas þa* clauses clearly mark the major steps in the course of Andreas' journey. A comparison with the corresponding clauses in the *Casanatensis*, which usually begin a new paragraph, shows that this Latin text does by no means display a similar formulaic wording in episodic clauses: quite the contrary, the clauses vary exceedingly, neither showing a common syntax nor common adverbs:

<i>Saint Andrew</i>	<i>Recensio Casanatensis</i>
10 Se eadiga Matheus þa ineode on þa ceastre, and hraðe hie hine genamon...	§ 2 Ipse vero Matheus, cum ingrederetur in eadem civitatem mermedoniam, (ad verbum salutis predicandum), statim ab iniquissimis viris civitatis illius comprehensus est ¹⁹³
51 Se haliga Andreas þa aras on mergen and he eode to þære sæ mid his discipulum and he geseah scip on þam waroðe and	§ 5 Mane autem facto beatus andreas una cum suis discipulis descendit, et cepit ambulare secus litus maris Cum autem ambularetur intendens mediis fluctibus, et vidit... ¹⁹⁴
133 Se haliga Andreas þa ineode on þa ceastre mid his discipulum, and nænig man hine ne mihte geseon.	§ 19 Andreas vero confortatus nimis verbis domini, cum discipulis suis ingressus est civitatem per medium illorum ibant, oculi eorum tenebantur, ne viderent eum. ¹⁹⁵
136 Se haliga Andreas þa eode to þæs carceres duru, and he worhte Cristes rode tacen...	§ 19 Venientes autem ad carcerem ubi erat beatus Matheus, aspiciens in celum et oravit. ¹⁹⁶
168 Se haliga Andreas þa uteode of þæm carcerne, and he ongan gangan ut þurh midde þa ceastre...	§ 22 Andreas vero cepit deambulare per eadem civitatem. Venit namque in quodam vicum ipsius civitatis... ¹⁹⁷

In the first instance, the Latin uses a hypotactic construction with *cum* to express that Matheus is instantly captured by the anthropophagi when he enters the city. In the second, the Latin begins the paragraph by specifying the time. In the third passage, the Latin text begins the new turn with the information that Andreas is greatly comforted by the Lord's word before the entering of the city is mentioned. The last example occurs paragraph-internal in the Latin version and is therefore even harder to compare. The formula most close to the Old English *Se halga Andreas þa* seems to be the Latin *Andreas vero*, but it is obvious that it is not used with the same consequence. However, since a direct relation between *Saint Andrew* and the *Casanatensis* cannot be established, this observation does not necessarily mean that the OE author deliberately deviated from his source: the parallelism might still have been present in the ultimate source. The *Vallicellensis*, which is said to be an even closer version, is too short to be of any help in this regard. The lines in the C-text of *Saint Andrew* corresponding to the

¹⁹³ 'When Matthew entered the city of Mermedonia to preach the word of salvation, he was immediately seized by the wicked men of that city.'

¹⁹⁴ 'When the morning came, blessed Andrew went down with his disciples and began to walk along the seashore... While he was walking along looking intently across the waves, he saw...'

¹⁹⁵ 'Andrew was greatly comforted by the Lord's words. With his disciples he entered the city, passing through the middle of the people, whose eyes were possessed so they could not see him.'

¹⁹⁶ 'When he came to the prison where blessed Matthew was, he looked up to heaven and prayed.'

¹⁹⁷ 'Andrew began to walk around the city. He came to a spot in the city...'

Latin fragment contain none of these structuring clauses and only one S *þa* V clause; this, however is very close to the Latin equivalent:

SA-C 126 Se halga Andreas þa locode to heofonum, and he cwæð,

Val 46f Tunc respiciens Sanctus Andreas in caelum et dixit:

Then Andreas looked into the sky and said:

The Latin shows exactly the same construction as the clause copied into the Blickling MS (*Tunc Sanctus Andreas surgens mane abiit ad mare...*) and is translated in the same way, except that Val 46 coordinates the participle *respiciens* with *dixit*, using the former as finite verb form. Though the OE translator does not transfer this usage in this case but uses a finite verb form instead, he does so in other cases. The peculiar use of participles was obviously present in the ultimate Latin source text, too. This feature of the Latin texts, which has already been commented on (see p. 185), seems to go back to the Greek source.¹⁹⁸ A comparison of the structuring clauses in *Saint Andrew* with the corresponding clauses in the *Praxeis* shows that many of them originally contained a participle construction, which was not retained in Old English:

	<i>Saint Andrew</i>		<i>Praxeis</i>
10	Se eadiga Matheus þa ineode on þa ceastre, and hraðe hie hine genamon...	517	Matthias then having come into the gate of their city, the men of that city laid hold of him...
51	Se haliga Andreas þa aras on mergen and he eode to þære sæ mid his discipulum and he geseah scip on þam waroðe and	518	And Andrew having risen up early, proceeded to the sea along with his disciples; and having come down to the shore, he saw a little boat, and...
133	Se haliga Andreas þa ineode on þa ceastre mid his discipulum, and nænig man hine ne mihte geseon.	521	And Andrew went into the city along with his disciples, and no one beheld him.
136	Se halga Andreas þa eode to þæs carceres duru, and he worhte Cristes rode tacen...	521	And when he came to the prison he saw seven warders standing at the gate guarding, ... and he marked the gate with the sign of the cross, and it opened of its own accord
168	Se haliga Andreas þa uteode of þæm carcerne, and he ongan gangan ut þurh midde þa ceastre...	522	And Andrew, having gone forth from the prison, walked about in the city

¹⁹⁸ Owen notes that the transferring of participles from the Greek is also a conspicuous feature of the Vulgate (1882: 60).

The Greek clauses corresponding to *SA* 10, 51 and 168 all use a participle construction to connect the motion or relocation with the subsequent events; in the third example, the verbs are coordinated and in the fourth example the Greek uses a subordinate clause. Thus, the *Praxeis*, too, does not use formulaic clauses in this case. The OE version, on the other hand, uses principal clauses with a finite verb each time, irrespective of the construction and word order found in any of the classical versions. This at least suggests that the parallelism is an innovation of the OE author aligning his translation to the rhetoric of OE story-telling.

A comparison with the corresponding clauses in the verse version shows that the *Andreas*-poet does not apply the same rigidity in using typical episodic clauses for indicating the relocation of the hero:

	<i>Saint Andrew</i>		<i>Andreas</i>
10	Se eadiga Matheus þa ineode on þa ceastre, and hraðe hie hine genamon...	40	þa wæs Matheus to þære mæran byrig cumen in þa ceastre.
51	Se haliga Andreas þa aras on mergen and he eode to þære sæ mid his discipulum and he geseah scip on þam waroðe and	235	Gewat him þa on uhtan mid ærdæge ofer sandhleoðu to sæs faruðe, þriste on geþance, ond his þegnas mid, gangan on greote;
133	Se haliga Andreas þa ineode on þa ceastre mid his discipulum, and nænig man hine ne mihte geseon.	981	Ða wæs gemyndig modgeþyldig, beorn beaduwe heard, eode in burh hraðe
136	Se halga Andreas þa eode to þæs carcernes duru, and he worhte Cristes rode tacen...	990	Hæfde þa se æðeling in geþrunge, Cristes cempa, carcerne neh.
168	Se haliga Andreas þa uteode of þæm carcerne, and he ongan gangan ut þurh midde þa ceastre...	1058	Gewat him þa Andreas inn on ceastre

And 335 and 168 show the corresponding verse pattern for episodic clauses, *V þa*, with a verb of motion. The other clauses, however, though each marked by *þa*, deviate from this pattern: *And* 981 has already been discussed with regard to the seemingly inappropriate use of heroic vocabulary in the poem (see p. 162). Interpreting the *þa*-clause in this context as describing how Andreas fixes his mind on Christ's Passion and fortifies himself against future sufferings, the clause beginning shows a shift of focus which is in line with former observations: it is not necessarily the action that forms the central part of the narrative, but the inner attitude of the

participants. At this stage of his voyage, Andreas has cast away his doubts and is prepared to fulfil his task faithfully, relying on the power and providence of God. Thus, not the fact that he enters the city is essential, but how he enters it.

The other two examples, i.e. *And* 40 and 990, are constructions with auxiliary verbs. *And* 40 has already been mentioned in the context of *þa wæs* + past participle clauses which frequently denote anteriority and whose backgroundedness makes them suitable candidates for subordination. The intransitive verb *cuman* cannot form a passive; instead, the construction seems to express a pluperfect. The syntactic structure of the passage, however, is not easy to interpret since the clauses can be connected in various ways (*And* 40-45):

<i>þa wæs Matheus</i>	<i>to þære mæran byrig</i>	<i>Then/when Matheus had come</i>
<i>cumen in þa ceastre</i>	<i>þær wæs cirm micel</i>	<i>to that famous city there was great clamour</i>
<i>geond Mermedonia</i>	<i>manfulra hloð</i>	<i>yond Marmedonia a host of wicked men</i>
<i>fordenera gedræg</i>	<i>syþþan deofles þegnas</i>	<i>a tumult among the defiled when the devil's</i>
<i>geascodon</i>	<i>æðelinges sið</i>	<i>retainers heard of the Saints journey</i>
<i>eodon him þa togenes</i>	<i>garum gehyrsted</i> ¹⁹⁹	<i>they rushed against him with spears poised</i>

The same connection between events is expressed in the Latin version, where Matheus' imprisonment is the instant result of his arrival:

When [*cum*] Matthew entered the city of Mermedonia to preach the word of salvation, he was immediately seized by the wicked men of that city (*Cas* § 2).

The preservation of this construction is perhaps due to its position within the narration: *And* 40 marks the point where the narrative action starts after a prelude about the apostles' mission and the habits of the Marmedonians. Matheus' arrival in the city is thus not sequenced with any former event but starts the course of narrated action; it is therefore not surprising that *And* 40 is also the first *þa*-clause of the narration. It is certainly comparable with the clauses described by Waterhouse in *Ælfric's Lives*, which mark the transition from the general scene setting to concrete action.

The construction in *And* 990, on the other hand, cannot be explained on these grounds. Again, the anteriority of events is implied; it starts in the preceding clause and is extended to *And* 990. The passage follows on Andreas entering the city; the first clause introduced by *hæfde* explains why the Marmedonians do not discover Andreas when he first walks into the city (*And* 987b-994a):

¹⁹⁹ I have omitted the punctuation and capitalisation proposed in Brooks' edition.

hæfde sigora weard
 on þam wangstede wære betolden
 leofne leodfruman mid lofe sinum.
And 990 Hæfde þa se æðeling in geþrunge,
 Cristes cempa, carcerne neh;
 geseh he hæðenra hloð ætgædere
 fore hlindura, hyrdas standan
 seofone ætsomme.

The Lord of victory had sheltered the dear prince with favour in that place. Then had the noble champion of Christ hastened onward nigh unto the prison. And he beheld a band of heathen men gathered together before the fast-closed door, seven prison wardens standing (Kennedy 2000: 19-20).

Thus, the poet continues the timeline of sequenced events only with Andreas seeing the guards, while his ‘invisibility’ and his arrival at the prison are ancillary information explaining that he reaches his destination unobserved. However, it is rather uncommon to find an auxiliary verb in the V *þa* pattern, which is usually used for sequenced events of the main storyline. This is actually the only example of this kind in *Andreas*; there is also only one comparable clause in *Beowulf*, also with the verb *hæfde*, but it expresses a past conditional instead of anteriority:

Beo 1550 Hæfde ða forsiðod sunu Ecgþeowes
 under gynne grund, Geata cempa,
 nemne him heaðobyrne helpe gefremede,
 herenet hearde

Then the son of Ecgtheow, the hero of the Geats, would have perished under the wide earth, had not his war-corslet, his strong coat of mail, furnished him succour (Hall 1950: 99).

Although the construction is used differently in *Beowulf* and *Andreas*, it interrupts the timeline of sequenced events in both cases. In *Andreas* it subordinates the approach to the prison, at least on the pragmatic level, instead of sequencing it with the previous and subsequent events as in ‘Then he entered the city; then he walked towards the prison; then he saw the guards’. This does indeed recall similar clauses in prose where the subordination is expressed by the grammatical structure as well: ‘When he had reached the prison, he saw...’. Since the Greek version chooses a similar hierarchy in the succession of events, this clause might indeed have been influenced by the sources, which might also be true for the other clause expressing anteriority (i.e. *And* 40):

40	Ða wæs Matheus to þære mæran byrig cumen in þa ceastre þær wæs cirm micel	Matthias then having come into the gate of their city, the men of that city laid hold of him... (<i>Prax</i> 517)
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Both clauses in the poem suggest that there has indeed been some influence by the source(s) which is, surprisingly enough, not evident in the prose version, at least not in those clauses indicating relocation, the case seems to be different for episodic clauses which indicate a break in the continuity of time, as is evident in the next episode.

The beginning of the episode after Andreas' sea-voyage starts with the break of day. Here, the OE prose version retains the hypotactic structure found in the sources:

	RELEASE	
<i>Prax</i> 520	And when it was morning, Andrew, having awakened and looked up, found himself sitting on the ground	
<i>Cas</i> § 17	Cum autem beatus andreas experge factus esset, aspiciens in omni parte putantes se adhuc esse in mare	<i>When blessed Andrew woke up, he looked all around thinking he was still at sea</i>
SA-C 102	Ða se mergen geworden wæs, þa se haliga Andreas licende wæs beforan Marmadonia ceastre and his discipulos þær slæpende wæron mid him.	<i>When morning had come, Andreas was lying before the city of Marmedonia and his disciples were sleeping there, too.</i>

Considering the correlation of foregroundedness with principal clauses, this different treatment of episodic clauses is not surprising: while the break in the continuity of place is inextricably linked to the action of the main participant(s), the break in the continuity of time is an independent and circumstantial event. Thus, the latter category of clauses is certainly more liable to subordination, even independent of Latin prose influence.

The verse version does not have a clear break between the episodes because the rising of the sun is described in some detail before the action is resumed (*And* 831-841a):

<i>And</i> 838	leton þone halgan be herestræte swefan on sybbe under swegles hleo, bliðne bidan burhwealle neh, his niðhetum, nihtlangne fyrst, oðþæt dryhten forlet dægscandelle scire scinan. Sceadu sweðerodon, wonn under wolcnum; þa com wederes blæst, hador heofonleoma, ofer hofu blican. Onwoc þa wiges heard, wang sceawode, fore burggeatum,
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They left the holy man sleeping in peace by the sea under heaven's shelter, resting blissful near the city walls and its hostile inhabitants all night long, until the Lord let day's candle shine brightly. The shadows withdrew wan under the sky when weather's flame came, the bright light of heaven, blinking over the dwellings. Then the warrior awoke ready for battle, beholding the plain, before the city's gates.

I have suggested in Chapter 2 (p. 143) that *And* 838b may be translated as subordinate clause due to the fact that the rising of the sun is announced before. The subordinate clause can as well be connected with the following main clause: 'When the sun came blinking over the dwellings, the warrior awoke', according to the structure of the sources. In this case, however, I would not argue for an anticipatory sub-clause on the basis of the sources: in the prose versions, the break of day coincides with a clear break in the narrative, which is not the case in the poem since the transition from the events on the ship to the events on the beach is not abrupt. The transition is similar to the passages in *Beowulf* in which subsequent events are connected by a descriptive and backgrounded part (see section 2.2.3); therefore, the *Andreas*-poet seems to be influenced by OE poetic style rather than by the syntactic peculiarities of the source. The suggestion that these transitory clauses, including their ambiguous grammatical status, are a feature of OE poetry rather than of Latin prose is supported by other examples where the transition from one episode to the other is not as clear-cut as in the prose texts. A good example of this is the imprisonment of Andreas, which is divided into nights and days in the prose texts, while the poem again supplies transitory descriptions of dusk and dawn. This episode will be discussed below. It is obvious that the poem deviates in some instances from the structure of the source by adding descriptive material which links the episodes. In this way, the transitions between the episodes become blurred and it is not always possible to pinpoint episodic clauses. The action is resumed when Andreas awakes (*And* 840), but the break in time and place occurs earlier.

The next episode marks a turning point as Andreas ceases to be an active player in the narrative, at least for a while. The OE prose version closely follows the Greek *Praxeis* again, stating that Andreas rises and proclaims himself after he was ordered to do so by God. This action of Andreas gives the starting signal to the Marmedonians and leads to his imprisonment and torture:

MARTYRDOM

<i>Prax</i> 523	Then Andrew rose up, and said in presence of all: Behold, I am Andrew whom you seek.	
<i>Cas</i> §§ 25-26	Persuadente diabolus, insurrexerunt onmes adversus beatum andream ut interficerent illum, querentes autem et invenerunt eum.	<i>With the devil urging them on, they all rose up against blessed Andrew to kill him. Having looked for him, they found him.</i>
<i>SA-C</i> 199	Se haliga Andreas þa aras on þæs folces gesihþe and he cwæþ: “Ic eom se Andreas þe ge secap̄.”	<i>Then Andreas arose in the sight of the people and said: I am the Andreas you are searching for.</i>
<i>And</i> 1219	Æfter þam wordum com werod unmæte, lyswe larsmeoðas mid lindgecrode, bolgenmode; bæron ut hræðe on þam halgan þær handa gebundon.,	<i>After these words a great army of wicked men appeared, enraged, with a shielded troop; they quickly came forth to the holy man and bound his hands.</i>

From this point onwards, Andreas is no longer an active participant, but the passive hero enduring the torture of his antagonists. This change is reflected in the use of a different set of episodic clause: the narrative structure is no longer based on Andreas’ movements but on the alternation of night and day:

<i>Saint Andrew</i>		<i>Version P</i>	
DAY 1			
207	And þa eall þæt folc þæt gehierde, hit him licode, and hraðe hie sendon rap on his sweoran and hine teon þurh þisse ceastre lanan.	523	And they did as he said to them; and having fastened a rope round his neck, they dragged him through the streets and lanes of the city...
211	<i>Da æfen geworden wæs</i> , hi hine sendon on þæt carcern, and hie gebunden his handa behindan...	523	<i>And when it was evening</i> they cast him into the prison, having bound his hands behind him;
DAY 2			
213	Swilce opre dæge þæt ilce hie dydon.	523	And in the morning again they brought him out, ...
220	<i>Da geworden wæs þæt</i> hie hine eft betyndon on þam carcerne. Ðæt deofle þa genam...	523	<i>And when it was evening</i> they took him again to the prison, [...] And the devil having taken ...

DAY 3

239 *On mergen þa geworden wæs*, eft hie
tugon þone halgan Andreas. And he
cigde mid mycle wope to Drihtne and
cwæþ:

257 *On æfenne þa geworden* hie hine
betyndon on þam carcerne, and hie
cwædon him betwynum:

524 *And when it was morning* they
brought him out again, and having
fastened a rope about his neck, they
dragged him; [...] And the blessed
one, as he was being dragged along,
wept, saying:

524 *And when it was evening* they took
him up again, and cast him into the
prison, [...] And the men of the city
said among themselves:

The structuring of the three days of Andreas' imprisonment into night and day bears close resemblance to the account given in the *Praxeis* which shows that the Latin source text of the OE prose version must indeed have been a close translation of the Greek version. The *Recensio Casanatensis*, on the other hand, which is supposed to be a closely related version, too, contracts this episode considerably to the effect that the regular threefold alteration of torture by day and imprisonment by night is lost. The version condenses the first two days into one and simply starts the account of the third day with *Alia vero die* (*Cas* § 28) 'Another day'; the alternation of night and day is not used as structuring element here. This shows again that the lost Latin source has to be a much closer translation of the Greek source than the version represented by *Cas*.

The OE clauses denoting the coming of night or day, i.e. a lapse in the continuity of time, are clearly subordinated, though the translator seems to have had some trouble with translating the Latin construction; especially the grammar of the clauses introducing the third day and night is not transparent since the preposition *on* indicates that it is morning/evening, making *þa geworden* (*wæs*) superfluous. Connecting *geworden wæs* with the ensuing clause in the sense 'In the morning, it happened...' would require the insertion of *þæt* as in the clause introducing the second night. Whatever the reasons for the OE constructions, it is clear that the author adopts the hypotactic structure in the case of these temporal clauses, which he did not in the case of episodic clauses containing a verb of motion. This distinction is quite suggestive since it shows that the translator avoids subordination when the verb involves action, while this restriction does not hold for the specification of time.

The equivalent passages in the poem again show that the times of day are not simply used for indicating a break in the continuity of time, which can easily be done in an anticipatory temporal clause, but are an integral part of the description which forms the transition from one setting to the other:

NIGHT 1

And 1245 Swa wæs ealne dæg oððæt æfen com
 sigetorht swungen; sar eft gewod
 ymb þæs beornes breost, oðþæt beorht gewat
 sunne swegeltorht to sete glidan.
 Læddan þa leode laðne gewinnan
 to carcerne.

So he was scourged the whole day until the bright evening came. Woe closed around the man's breast until the bright sun glided to its rest. Then the people led their antagonist to the dungeon.

DAY 2

And 1267 ...dryhten herede,
 weorðade wordum, oððæt wuldres gim
 heofontorht onhlad. Ða com hæleða þreat
 to ðære dimman ding,

... he praised the Lord until glory's gem, the light of heaven was disclosed. Then came a host of men to the dim dungeon.

NIGHT 2

And 1303 nið upp aras,
 oþðæt sunne gewat to sete glidan
 under niflan næs. Niht helmade,
 brunwann oferbræd beorgas steape,
 ond se halga wæs to hofe læded,

Hatred rose up until the sun glided to its rest behind the headland. The night wanly covered the steep mountains ond the holy man was led to the dungeon.

DAY 3

And 1388 Com þa on uhtan mid ærdæge
 hæðenra hloð haliges neosan
 leoda weorude; heton lædan ut
 þrohheardne þegn þriddan siðe

Then in the morning with the break of day the heathen troop came to the saint, a host of man. They ordered to lead the suffering warrior out for the third time.

NIGHT 3

And 1455 Swa se dædfruma dryhten herede
 halgan stefne, oððæt hador sig<e>l
 wuldortorht Gewat under wadu scriðan.
 Þa þa folctogan feorðan siðe,
 egle onsacan, æðeling læddon
 to þam carcerne;

So the warrior praised the Lord with holy voice until the bright sun departed, gliding under the sea. Then the folk-leaders, the fierce assailants for the fourth time led the saint to the dungeon.

Except for the introduction to the third day, the verse version uses the times of day to close the account of the former events instead of marking a clear break as done in the prose texts. In this, the poem is again in line with similar examples marking transitions from *Beowulf*, such as Beowulf's arrival at the coast of Denmark, the passing of winter before Hengest's departure or the dragon's impatient waiting for dusk (see p. 135). The whole episode is also interesting in terms of foregrounding since Andreas stops being an active participant in the narrative. This aspect will be addressed more detailed in the next section; however, this change might be the reason for the uncommon episodic clause in the poem, i.e. *Æfter þam wordum*. In contrast to the other versions, the *Andreas*-poet chose to skip Andreas last action, i.e. that of rising and revealing himself, and makes his imprisonment the direct consequence of God's words. The last action which Andreas actually performs is leaving the prison and sitting down behind a stone column (*And* 1058-1066):

And 1058 Gewat him þa Andreas inn on ceastre
 glædmod gangan, to þæs ðe he gramra gemot,
 fara folcmægen, gefrægen hæfde,
 oððæt he gemette be mearcþaðe,
 standan stræte neah, stapul ærenne.
 Gesæt him þa be healfe, hæfde hluttre lufan,
 ece upgemynd engla blisse;
 þanon basnode under burhlocan
 hwæt him guðweorca gifeðe wurde.

Then Andreas entered the city and walked gladly to where he knew of a meeting of the hostile people until he found near the road a brazen pillar. Then he sat down at its side, with devout heart ever turned towards the angels' bliss; there under the walls he awaited which war-deeds were assigned to him.

After this account, the narrative turns to the deeds of the Marmedonians and their reaction to the loss of their prisoners. Before Andreas' imprisonment some 150 lines later, the saint is only mentioned two times: first, in *And* 1135, where he regrets the fate of the youth who is destined to be killed for the good of the Marmedonians. Other than in the classical sources, however, it is not Andreas himself who interferes, nor is it explicitly said that he prays to God to prevent the deed; instead, Andreas remains completely passive.²⁰⁰ In the second instance, Andreas answers the devil who urges the Marmedonians to find the man who is responsible for their lack of food (*And* 1184). The poem consistently develops the theme of Andreas as

²⁰⁰ In the *Praxeis* and the *Casanatensis*, Andreas bids God to spare the children (*Prax* 522, *Cas* § 23); in the OE prose version this episode is omitted.

wielder of God's word: after having fulfilled his first mission, i.e. releasing Matheus, Andreas prepares for his second task, the conversion of the Marmedonians. This cannot be accomplished by deeds but only by endurance, patience and suffering in imitation of Christ's passion. This is the part of Andreas' mission which God prepared him for when he reminds him of his sufferings among the Jew's before Andreas enters the city and which God repeats before Andreas is imprisoned (*And* 1208-1218):

And 1208 'Scealt ðu, Andreas, ellen fremman;
 ne mið ðu for menigo, ah þinne modsefan
 staðola wið strangum! Nis seo stund latu
 þæt þe wæltreowe witum belecgaþ,
 cealdan clommum.; cyð þe sylfne,
 herd hige þinne, heortan staðola,
 þæt hie min on ðe mægen oncnawan.
 Ne magon hie ond ne moton ofer mine est
 þinne lichoman lehrum scyldige
 deaðe gedælan, ðeah ðu drype þolige,
 mirce manslaga; ic þe mid wunige.'

'Andreas, you shall perform glorious deeds! Do not shrink from the crowds, but fortify your mind! The hour is near that the fierce assailants will bind you with affliction, with cold fetters. Reveal yourself, guard your mind and strengthen your heart, so that they perceive my power in you. They neither can nor shall divide your soul from your body against my will, those guilty of crime, though you will suffer blows and cruel torture; I will be with you.'

Andreas' passivity only ends when God appears in the dungeon after the Marmedonians have led Andreas back to it for the night, expecting him to die of his injuries. The healing of Andreas certainly marks a turn in the narration, but the other versions treat the event differently:

CONVERSION

<i>Prax</i> 524	And the Lord appeared in the prison, and having stretched out His hand, said to Andrew:	
<i>Cas</i> § 29	Apparuit in eadem carcere beati andree lux intolerabilis, et ex ipsa lux, dominus porrexit manum suam, et elevavit eum sanum.	<i>A blinding light appeared to blessed Andrew in the prison and out of the light the Lord stretched forth his hand and lifted up Andrew sound and whole.</i>
SA-C 259	Him æteowde Drihten Hælend Crist on þæm carcerne and he aþenede his hand and genam, and he cwæþ	<i>The Lord appeared in the dungeon and he stretched out his hand and lifted him and said:</i>

<i>And</i> 1462b	þa com dryhten God in þæt hlinræced, hæleða wuldor, ond þa wine synne wordum grette ond frofre gecwæð, fæder manncynnes, lifes lareow. Heht his lichoman hales brucan:	<i>Then came the Lord to the dungeon, the glory of heroes and greeted his friend with words and comforted him, the father of mankind, the teacher of Life, and ordered his body to be healed.</i>
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There is no overt indication of the turn in the classical sources and the OE prose version retains this feature. Only in *Andreas* the recipients are alerted by the use of *þa* in combination with a verb of motion which introduces a new participant to the set. However, since the clause occurs in the b-line, it rather marks a turn than the beginning of a new episode. Indeed, there is no clear division between episodes in the remainder of the narrative. Even *Andreas*' first departure is announced in the same hurried way as the baptism of the Marmedonians and the building of a church. Thus, the last part of the legend had better been considered in terms of focus than of structure.

The same is true for the Epilogue where God interferes for the last time and orders *Andreas* to stay another week in Marmedonia. Again, there is no clear break indicated:

EPILOGUE

<i>Prax</i> 525	And the Lord Jesus Christ came down, being like a comely little child, and met Andrew, and said:	
<i>Cas</i> § 33	Euntem autem illo per viam, et ecce dominus apparuit ei dicens	<i>As he was going along, the Lord suddenly appeared to him and said</i>
SA-C 315	Mid þi se halga Adreas þanon wæs farende, him ætiwde Drihten Hælend(e) Christ on þam wege on ansine fægeres cildes and him to cwæþ	<i>When the holy Andreas was departing from there, the Lord appeared to him on the way in the likeness of a fair child and said to him</i>
<i>And</i> 1661b	þa him wuldres God on þam siðfæte sylfum ætywde, ond þæt word gecwæð weoruda dryhten:	<i>Then the God of glory himself appeared to him on his journey and he said, the Lord of hosts:</i>

The use of *mid þi* to introduce an anticipatory temporal clause in *Saint Andrew* is very conspicuous: in the episodic clauses discussed before, the translator used *þa* to paraphrase participial constructions or sub-clauses. Indeed, the translator seems to make a deliberate distinction between episodic clauses and clauses occurring episode-internal. Furthermore, he seems to use different translation methods for backgrounded and foregrounded material in spite of unchanging constructions in the sources. Whether these translation practices are applied systematically will be further explored in the next section.

3.3.2 *þa* AND FOREGROUNDING

The most foregrounded clauses in the Old English prose version are certainly those formulaic *S þa V* clauses which occur 32 times in *Saint Andrew*. In these clauses, the subject is either a proper name or a noun phrase. There are but three clauses where *þa* is preceded by a personal pronoun; however, these clauses occur in direct speech and are not part of the main narrative. This shows again that there is a negative correlation between adverbial *þa* and pronoun subjects. In 18 of the 32 clauses, Andreas is the subject; he is almost invariably addressed as *se haliga Andreas* except in one case where he receives the epithet *eadiga* which usually accompanies Matheus. Before the narrative turns to Andreas, two of the clauses have Matheus as subject; when the saints meet in the dungeons the formula includes both as subject of the clause (*Se halga Andreas þa and se halga Matheus*). The other clauses of this type have animated subjects, too: God (three times), the devil (two times and once with a plural) and the Marmedonians (three times). Thus, the pattern only occurs with subjects that refer to the participants of the narrative; no inanimate subjects are included. Furthermore, the verbs used in this pattern are generally active, relating the actions of the participants, first and foremost those of Andreas and to a lesser extent those of the other parties involved. The verbs, though involving action, do not imply transitivity: the vast majority of them either denote motion or speaking and praying. The former category includes those clauses involving relocation which have been discussed in the previous section. Not all of these clauses are episodic, but they are certainly foregrounded.

There are some passages in the OE prose version where the density of these *S þa V*-clauses is noticeably high; these include Andreas' first approach to the prison, the proceedings which lead to his imprisonment and the contention between Andreas and the devil during the imprisonment. The following passage narrates how Andreas is discovered by the Marmedonians and made prisoner (*SA-C* 193-202):

Ðæt deofol **þa** cwæþ to þam folce: "Behealdað eow and geseoð hine, for þon þe he þæt is se wið me spræc."

Ða burhleode **þa** urnon, **and** hi betyndon þære ceastre gatu **and** hie sohton þæne halgan Andreas þæt hie hine genamon.

Drihten Hælend hine **þa** æteowde þam haligan Andrea **and** him to cwæð: "Andreas aris and gecyþ him, þæt hie ongieton min mægen on þe wesan."

Se haliga Andreas **þa** aras on þæs folces gesihþe **and** he cwæþ: "Ic eom se Andreas þe gesecaþ."

Þæt folc **þa** arn **and** hie hine genamon **and** cwædon: “Forþon þu us þus dydest we hit þe forgyldað.” **And** hie þohton hu hie hine acwellan meahton.

Then the devil said to the people: ‘Look around and search for him because it is he who spoke to me. Then the city-dwellers hurried and shut the city gates and they sought Saint Andrew to imprison him. Then the Lord revealed himself to Andrew and said to him: ‘Andreas, arise and show yourself so that they perceive my power in you.’ Then Andreas arose in the sight of the people and said: I am the Andrew you are searching for.’ The people came running and took him and said: ‘For what you did to us, we will repay you.’ And they contemplated how they might kill him.

The structure evidently mirrors Foster’s description of narrative units in OE original prose, which is composed of strings *þa... and... and... and* so that the notion that the concept cannot be applied to translated prose seems questionable. The OE passage is a fairly faithful rendering of the *Praxeis*, but the participle constructions which occur in the Greek text are replaced by coordination:

And the devil, having heard this, said to the citizens: Look round now for him speaking to me, for he is the man. And the citizens, having run in different directions, shut the gates of the city, and searched for the blessed one, and did not see him. Then the Lord showed Himself to Andrew, and said to him; Andrew, rise up and show thyself to them, that they may learn my power, and the powerlessness of the devil working in them. Then Andrew rose up and said in presence of all: Behold, I am Andrew whom you see. And the multitudes ran upon him, and laid hold of him, saying: What thou hast done to us, we also will do to thee. And they reasoned among themselves, saying: By what death shall we kill him? (*Prax* 523)

Furthermore, the Greek account invariably uses *καί* as connective, i.e. for beginning new sentences as well as for coordinating events within the sentences. Since there is no distinction between unit-internal and unit-initial connectives, this feature seems to be an innovation of the OE version, unless something in the Latin source suggested this translation practice.

Unfortunately, the corresponding account in the *Casanatensis* is so condensed that no comparison is possible:

With the devil urging them on, they all rose up against blessed Andrew to kill him. Having looked for him, they found him (*Cas* §§ 25-26).

However, the comparison of other clauses, especially in case of the more faithful account found in the *Recensio Vallicellensis*, shows that the participle constructions of the *Praxeis* are either retained in Latin or are replaced by subordinate clauses introduced by *cum* (see below). The structuring into units found in the OE prose version is not likely to be coined on the source text; quite the contrary: it shows how evidently the rhetoric of OE prose is employed in this text. It even renders Cassidy and Ringler’s assumption of it being a fairly slavish

translation questionable, were it not for the conspicuous participle constructions that reflect Latin usage.

This comparison of the prose versions also shows that the *Recensio Casanatensis*, though similar in the general account of events, is much farther from the OE prose version than the *Praxeis*, especially since the part shortened by the Latin author is obviously considered one of the central parts of the narration in the Old English version. The poem, too, gives a more detailed account of the capturing of Andreas (*And* 1195-1222) which roughly follows the steps as featured in the Greek version, except for the alteration discussed earlier that Andreas does not rise after God's words. The former actions, however, are marked by *þa* in the same way as in the prose version:

	<i>Andreas</i>	<i>Saint Andrew</i> (186-197)
1184	Him þa Andreas agef ondsware:	Se haliga Andreas þa cwæþ to þam deofle:
1195	Ða gyt se wiðermeda wordum lærde folc to gefeohte, feondes cræfte:	Ðæt deofol þa cwæþ to þam folce
1201	Ða wæs beacen boden burhsittendum; ahleoþon hildfreme heriges brehtme, ond to weallgeatum wigend þrungon	Ða burhleode þa urnon, and hi betyndon þære ceastre gatū
1206	Þa worde cwæð weoroda dryhten, meotud mihtum swið, sægde his magoþegne:	Drihten Hælend hine þa æteowde þam haligan Andrea and him to cwæð

Then Andreas answered him: [...]. *Then* still the adversary taught the people with fiendish power to fight: [...]. *Then* a sign was given to the city-dwellers; they leapt up, ready for battle, with battle cries and pushed towards the city-gates. [...]. *Then* the God of hosts spoke word, the Lord of great powers said to his warrior: [...].

And 1201 is interesting because it is one of those ambiguous *þa wæs*-clauses, described in the previous chapter, containing a past participle. Like *And* 40 *Þa wæs Matheus | to þære mæran byrig | cumen*, it may denote anteriority: in this case the sign (*beacon*) given to the Marmedonians would refer to the speech of the devil, which certainly makes good sense: 'When/after the signal had been given to the city-dweller, they leapt up and hurried towards the gates.' If this interpretation is accepted, this would answer the question if the conjunction *þa* has enough pragmatic force to mark a turn in the action or even a new episode. It clearly has in these two examples in *Andreas*; similar examples in *Beowulf* have also shown that *þa wæs*-clauses with participles do indeed have a structuring function even though they are

backgrounded. The same seems to be true for the prose version: there are various clauses where *þa* occupies the same position as in the foregrounded S *þa* V clauses, thus indicating sequentiality, but where it also functions as conjunction of an inserted sub-clause:

- SA-C 189 Þæt deofol þa he þis gehyred, he him to-cwæð:
Then the devil, when he heard this, said to him:
- SA-C 255 Se halga Andreas þa lociende he geseah geblowen treow wæstm-berende;
 and he cwæð:
Then the holy Andreas, when looking, saw a flowering tree and said:

Furthermore, the episodic clauses indicating a break in the continuity of time use *þa* as conjunction, too. This does not weaken the structuring function of these clauses:

- SA-C 211 Ða æfen geworden wæs, hi hine sendon on þæt carcern, and hie gebunden his
 handa...
When it was evening, they sent him to the dungeon and bound his hands ...

That the conjunction *þa* may have the same structuring function within a text is supported by the fact that the author of the prose version makes a clear distinction between episodic and non-episodic temporal clauses: in episode-internal constructions, the conjunction *mid þi (þe)* is used instead of *þa*:

- SA-C 208 Mid þi þe se eadiga Andreas wæs togen his lichama wæs gemenged mid þære
 eorðan
When Andreas was dragged, his body mingled with the earth.
- SA-C 261 Mid þi þe he þæt gehyrde hraþe he þa aras gesund
When he heard that he at once arose sound.
- SA-C 276 Mid þy þæt ongeat se eadiga Andreas, he bletsode Drihten.
When Andreas perceived this, he blessed the Lord.

The translator of the OE prose version makes a deliberate choice when translating Latin temporal clauses, which were most likely introduced by *cum*, by using either *þa* or *mid þi þe*. This distinguishes his translation practice from that of the translators or glossators of the Gospels, who preferred one conjunction over the other and used it consistently.

There is another set of clauses where the Gospels frequently use *when-then* constructions which seem to be coined on Latin *cum*-clauses, i.e. after direct speech or for stating attendant, and often redundant, circumstances (see p. 97). Such clauses also occur in the Latin version of the Andreas-legend, which are coined on the syntax of the *Praxeis*. I have chosen the following examples as they occur in a part of the legend which is also preserved in the *Vallicellensis* fragment, so that two Latin texts may serve as examples:

- (1) *Prax* 521 *Then Andrew, **having heard**, rejoiced with great joy*
- Cas* 65: 9 Talia haec **cum audisset** beatus andreas, propterea gavisus est valde
Val 42-44 Et **cum** haec **audisset** sanctus Andreas, letus factus est
- (2) *Prax* 521 *And **when** Andrew **had said** this, Jesus appeared to him*
- Cas* 67: 4-5 Hec **cum dississet** beatus andreas, statim apparuit ei dominus
Val 51-53 Haec **dicentem** sanctum Andream venit ad eum dominus Iesus Crhistus
- (3) *Prax* 521 *And Andrew, **having beheld** Him, worshipped Him, saying:*
- Cas* 67: 6-7 At ille **cum agnovisset** eum, statimque corruens pronus in terram adoravit
eum dicens:
Val 55-58 Et **cum vidisset** sanctum Andream, procidens in terra adoravit eum dicens:

It has been argued that OE poetry deliberately avoids such constructions and marks the progress of the narrative by adverbial *þa*. The corresponding parts in *Andreas* run as follows:

And 892 Þa wæs modsefa myclum geblissod
haliges on hreðre,

Then the heart of the holy man was much gladdened.

And 910 Ða him fore eagum onsyne we<a>rð
æðeling oðywed in þa ilcan tid,
cining cwicera gehwæs,

Then before his eyes the prince was revealed instantly, the king of every living creature.

And 918 Feoll þa to foldan, frioðo wilnode
wordum wis hæleð, winedryhten frægn:

Then he fell to the ground and, begging for favour, the wise man asked his Lord:

As was expected, the clauses simply continue the narrative by adverbial *þa* without repeating the previous events in a subordinated clause; the prose version, on the other hand, is not consistent in its translation of such sentences: unfortunately, the first example occurs in a passage which is omitted in the OE prose version, but examples (2) and (3) are treated quite differently by the translator: while the redundant phrase is retained in the former example, thus introducing a correlative *þa*-clause, it is skipped in the latter and the narrative simply continues with adverbial *þa* as is common in poetry:

(2) *SA-C* 112 **Þa** þis gecweden wæs, **þa** Drihten him ætywde
When this was said, the Lord appeared to him.

(3) *SA-C* 117 Se halga Andreas **þa** hine gebæd and cwæð
Then Andreas prayed to him and said:

The skipping of the redundant information as in example (3) is by no means a unique incidence in the prose version. Especially in the episodes which show the highest density of adverbial *þa*, the translator usually deviates from the sources in coordinating the events instead of using hypotactic constructions. The events are again presented in an unreflected way, underlining the rapid flow of immediate action, as for example in the passage featuring Andreas' imprisonment cited above. This shows that even OE translated prose shows some resistance against *when-then* construction coined on Latin syntax. It was perhaps not only considered prosaic but generally too much unlike OE usage, at least where primary narrations are concerned. On the other hand, there are passages where the hypotactic structure of the classical texts is retained. Again, it is the text of the *Praxeis* which bears the closest resemblance to the OE prose version. The *Casanatensis* is often less faithful in recounting the events, so that a direct comparison is not always possible:

- (4) SA-C 177 Mid þi þe hie gehyrdon þara sacerda ealdormen and hie cwædon him betweenon:
*When they heard this, the priests said among themselves:*²⁰¹
- Prax 522 *And the rulers having heard this, said among themselves:*
- Cas 75: 4-6 Hec cum talia auditi essent principes civitatis, ammirantes intra se, dixerunt:
When the city's leaders heard this, they puzzled among themselves and said:
- (5) SA-C 177 Mid þi he þus cwæþ, þæt deofol cwæþ to þam folce: Swingað hine on his muð þæt he þus ne sprece.
When he had thus spoken, the devil said to the people: Strike him on his mouth lest he speaks thus.
- Prax 523 *And as he was praying, the devil walked behind, and said to the multitudes: Strike him on the mouth, that he may not speak.*
- (6) SA-C 269f Mid þe he þus cwæþ, se eadiga Andreas, hraþe sio stænene onlicnes sendde mycel wæter þurh hiora muþ...
When he, Andreas, had thus spoken, the stone statue at once poured forth much water from its mouth...
- Prax 524 *When the blessed Andrew had said this, straightway the stone statue cast out of its mouth water in abundance...*

These clauses neither occur at the beginning of new episodes nor in passages of dense action. In these cases, the translator chooses to translate Latin constructions with *cum* or participles with the unambiguous conjunction *mid þi (þe)*. There are few instances where the conjunction *þa* is used: except for SA-C 112 (see above), conjunctive *þa* is only used in connection with

²⁰¹ Cassidy & Ringler suggest that the redundant *and* in this sentence is 'yet another reflection of the bad Latin of the original' (1971: 213, note on line 177).

episodic clauses indicating a break in the continuity of time. Again, there cannot be any certainty about the exact expressions used in the ultimate source for the OE translation; however, the interlinear glosses in the Lindisfarne and Rushworth Gospels demonstrate that both *mið þi þe* and *þa* frequently translate Latin *cum* which occurs episode-internal as well as at the beginning of episodes.²⁰² There is no indication that *cum* itself has any text-linguistic function or alternates with another conjunction according to its position within the narrative. OE *þa*, on the other hand, shows a clear preference for episode-initial clauses. It seems more likely that the OE translator adapted the text to the idiomatic use of OE prose instead of being guided by his source.

The use of *þa* as opposed to *mid þi þe* shows that foregrounding is also a factor which influences the choice of one conjunction over the other. It has already become clear that *þa* is frequently used with verbs of motion in *Saint Andrew*. Here, *þa* functions as adverb since *when-then* constructions are avoided when strings of action are narrated. The largest group of verbs occurring with *þa*, however, are verbs introducing direct speech (usually *cwæþ*); of the eighteen *Se haliga Andreas þa* V clauses, seven contain the verb *cwæð* or *gebæd* and in four further clauses *cwæð* is coordinated with the *þa*-clause. In contrast to verbs of motion, however, *cwæþ* also occurs in *when-then* constructions introduced by *mid þi þe*, as the examples (4)-(6) above show. Since clauses introducing direct speech can hardly be considered episodic, the distinction seems to depend on another factor. In the passage narrating the events before Andreas' imprisonment all actions, whether they involve movement or speaking, are marked by *þa*, which indicates the foregroundedness of the events. In the dialogue between Andreas and the devil (or devils) in the second night of his imprisonment the turn-taking is partly marked by *þa*, making the contention more dramatic. The negotiations between Andreas and Christ, before and after boarding the ship (*SA-C* 56-78), on the other hand, are completely void of *þa*. Though the dialogue involves rapid turn-taking, the speech is almost invariably introduced by either *Drihten Hælend/Se haliga Andreas him to cwæþ* or *Drihten Hælend/Se haliga Andreas him andswarode*; sometimes both verbs are coordinated: *Se haliga Andreas him andswarode and he cwæþ*, which is obviously coined on the Latin participle construction, which can also be found in the *Casanatensis* in the corresponding passage (*Cas* §§ 5-6):

Cas 41:14 Et respondens dominus dixit ad andream
Cas 41: 16 Et respondens andreas dixit ad eum

²⁰² The same is true for the use of *cum* in the *Casanatensis*: though it frequently introduces new episodes (see f. ex. 63: 3 and 63: 11), it is also found episode-internal (f. ex. 67: 4 and 67:6).

Cas 43: 4 Et respondens andreas dixit as iesum
Cas 43:14 Et respondens dominus dixit ad eum

The author of *Saint Andrew* thus chose the same way of translating these constructions as the translators of the OE Gospels, namely either skipping one verb or coordinating them (see p. 162).

The boarding, though involving movement, is not marked by *þa* either:

SA-C 72 Se halga Andreas astah on þæt scip and he gesæt beforan þam steorreþran.
The holy Andreas boarded the ship and sæt down by the steersman.

Evidently, the author of *Saint Andrew* did not think this part of the narrative to be as essential or as dramatic as the events occurring after Andreas has released the prisoners. In this, the prose version is quite distinct from the poem: here, when Andreas is finally captured, he has already assumed his role as passive missionary and climax, i.e. the approach to the prison, has already passed. The lessons Andreas has to learn to become a legitimate wielder of God's word are much more important to the poet than the subsequent events. Therefore, the negotiations between Christ and Andreas are more essential, which is evident in the way the *Andreas*-poet presents this passage, where almost every turn in the conversation is marked by *þa*:

And 254 Hie **ða** gegrette, se ðe on greote stod
Then he who stood on the shore greeted them.

And 260 Him **ða** ondsvarode ælmihti god
Then the almighty Lord answered him

And 270 Him **þa** Andreas eaðmod oncwæð
Then Andreas humbly said

And 299 Him **þa** ofstlice Andreas wið,
 wine þearfende, wordum mælde
Then hurriedly Andreas, in need of a friend, replied with words

And 305 Him **þa** beorna breogo, þær he on bolcan sæt
 ofer waroða geweorp wiðþingode:
Then the Lord of men, from where he sat on the boat, answered over the waters whirl.

And 315 **Ða** him Andreas ðurh ondwware,
 wis on gewitte, wordhord onleac

Then Andreas wisely unclosed his thoughts to him with his answer.
(Etc.)

It has already been noted that the act of speaking, involving the exchange of ideas and the spread of God's word, is by far more prominent in *Andreas* than in *Beowulf*. It is not surprising that *þa* frequently correlates with verbs introducing direct speech in *Andreas*. The prose version, too, marks some dialogues by *þa* but sets a different focus as to the importance of different parts.

3.4 CONCLUSION CHAPTER 3

This chapter focused on the use of *þa* in two different Old English text types, which, though treating the same narrative and drawing on similar sources, present quite different versions of the Andreas-legend. The differences found between the versions were discussed in regard to the general stylistic differences between prose and verse, the presumed function of the texts and the literary tradition from which they emerged. All these factors influence the language and style employed in the OE texts: the poem shows various features of Anglo-Saxon poetic style, ranging from the use of heroic vocabulary to the exploitation of stylistic devices such as compounding, variation and alliteration. Furthermore, general characteristics of poetry, such as the use of ambiguous and allusive language, are an intrinsic feature of *Andreas*. Since OE poetry has long established itself as a literary art which is independent of the literalness of translations, the poet treats his source very freely so that changes do not only affect the linguistic and stylistic level, but also the content of the original legend. By positioning the poem between the two traditions of vernacular poetry and Latin (biblical) prose, the poet created a text which combines and contrasts different literary and cultural conceptions to the effect that a completely new and independent version emerges.

The prose translation, on the other hand, shows various features of close and sometimes even literal translations which try to preserve the meaning and wording of the source text as faithfully as possible. In this context, the analysis of use of *þa* has demonstrated that even in spite of this, *Saint Andrew* shows features of Old English rhetoric: first, episodic clauses indicating relocation are not subordinated to the following events but introduce a string of coordinated events; second, foregrounded passages are composed by units of *þa...and...and...and* strings. On the other hand, it is evident that *when-then* sentences of the Latin source are indeed adopted, but only when the sub-clause provides additional information. The occurrence of hypotactic constructions at the beginning of episodes is thus not solely due to Latin influence; their supplementary character makes them per se liable to

subordination. Furthermore, the author modifies the language in order to distinguish between foregrounded or episodic clauses and backgrounded or episode-internal material by using either *þa* or *mid þi* (*þe*), respectively. In doing so, the translator exhibits more feeling for OE rhetoric than the glossators and translators of the Gospels, who indiscriminately render Latin *cum* as either *þa* or *miððy*.

As the verse version treats its sources quite freely and adopts the legend to the style of Old English (heroic) poetry, it seems to be almost completely void of linguistic influences of the source text(s), except for some constructions that might be coined on the Latin source such as *And* 40 and 990. Thus, *þa* is basically used as adverb connecting events above sentence-level. Grammatical correlation, as frequently found in the Gospels, is absent from *Andreas* (as it is from *Beowulf*). However, the backgroundedness of certain clause-types, i.e. transitory and episodic clauses, makes them susceptible to subordination. Furthermore, *Andreas* shows a shift in focus which is supported by the strategic use of *þa* to highlight essential developments in the narrative. Verbs introducing direct speech are frequently marked by *þa*, while other actions are not; furthermore, the *Andreas*-poet marks a change of feeling with *þa* as this is often the reason for subsequent actions and developments, which sets the poem apart from the use of *þa* in *Beowulf* which focuses primarily on action. In that way, the process of learning becomes the focus of attention both in connection with the mental development of Andreas and the turning of the Marmedonians towards Christianity. Consequently, both OE versions show a systematic use of *þa* which, on the one hand, supports the reading of the narrative, and which, on the other, demonstrates the exploitation of the rhetoric means of Old English independent of the sources.

Summary and Conclusion

The differences between prose and verse syntax in Old English in regards to the indication of subordinate clauses and main clauses were used as a starting point for the present investigation. Descriptive as well as corpus-linguistic studies on OE syntax have shown that basic word order patterns, i.e. SV (common order), Adv. VS (demonstrative order) and Conj. S(...)V (conjunctive order), generally occur only in either main clauses or subordinate clauses in OE prose. Since many Old English adverbs, e.g. *þa*, *nu*, *þonne*, *þær* and *swa*, can also function as conjunctions, this systematic use of word order makes it possible to interpret clauses introduced by an ambiguous headword: if the finite verb follows the headword, the clause is principal, while it is subordinate when the verb is delayed. This regularity in the use of word order is absent in poetry, where demonstrative and conjunctive orders occur with both principle and subordinate clauses. Andrew (1940, 1948) tried to prove that poetic syntax nonetheless follows similar patterns as prose, although some allowances have to be made for the metrical peculiarities of verse. Via the example of ambiguous *þa*-clauses, however, it was shown that there are many examples in *Beowulf* and *Andreas* where the interpretation of a clause according to the prose patterns is contradicted by the context. Though Andrew acknowledges that the ambiguity of *þa wæs*-clauses is due to metrical constraints, he did not extend this conclusion to other clauses. Cosmos (1961) and Campbell (1970) have pointed out that word order in OE poetry seems to depend on whether the finite verb is stressed or unstressed. This observation induced Campbell to warn against any attempt to interpret ambiguous clauses by word order. Still, Andrew's syntactic approach was taken up and emended by Blockley (2001) who insisted that common principles govern prose and verse syntax and who even rejected the exception Andrew made for *þa-wæs* clauses.

The reservations against Blockley's argumentation are basically the same as in Andrew's case: there are clauses where context contradicts the interpretation generated by her rule, even if concessions are made for anticipatory sub-clauses or continuous conjunctions. Yet, the rejection of Blockley's interpretation for single clauses can hardly be a proof that the syntactic approach should be dismissed completely: exceptions can also be found in prose, where the regularities described above never reached the status of a grammatical rule; furthermore, the occurrence of scribal errors and changes in the course of the transmission process should not be disregarded. However, the systematic analysis of *þa*-clauses in *Beowulf* and *Andreas* has demonstrated that word order is indeed largely dependent on metrical constraints: while unstressed verbs such as *wæs* and *com* frequently occur after clause-initial *þa*, all other verbs

either precede it (a-verse) or are delayed to the end of the line (b-verse). The statistical analysis of the position of the finite verb in *Beowulf* conducted by Getty (2000, 2002) confirms that the position of the finite verb is dependent on its prosodic features: fully lexical verbs generally occur in peripheral positions of the half-line; only verbs that have lost their prosodic profile due to grammaticalisation may occur in line-medial position. Therefore, *þa*-clauses with a stressed verb generally show conjunctive order in the b-verse, while monosyllabic unstressed verbs are shifted to the weak line-medial position as long as this is not occupied by other unstressed elements such as articles or pronouns. Taking word order in OE poetry as guide to the grammar of clauses is therefore completely misleading.

Since word order patterns can hardly serve to disambiguate clauses, Campbell concluded that these clauses were open to the interpretation of the recipient. This was echoed by Mitchell who even suggested that the clauses formed a kind of intermediate stage between parataxis and hypotaxis which cannot be reproduced by applying Modern English punctuation to OE verse. I have two reservations against such an argumentation: firstly, the ambiguity of the clauses is restricted to their written form: there is certainly a noticeable difference in intonation between a clause that introduces a new event and a clause that modifies another event. Secondly, the unsuitability of modern punctuation is not restricted to historical language stages but applies to any oral text transferred into written language. Furthermore, the punctuation rules established for formal writings cannot easily be imposed on other text types. Even in academic writing the decision whether to use full stops, semicolons, hyphens, brackets, or commas in order to connect or separate ideas is not always easy – in emails it is worse. Therefore, I see less difficulty in the presentation of OE texts in regards to punctuation. The equation of formal ambiguity with an uncertain grammatical status, however, is at least questionable. The incapability of fathoming an ambiguity should not lead us to the conclusion that it cannot be resolved or that a distinction does not even exist. I am inclined to agree with Stockwell and Minkova (see p. 30) that the choice between a principle and subordinate clause is a dichotomous option, even though the formal ambiguity may be used deliberately by the poet. Yet, the ambiguity of many *þa*-clauses can be resolved drawing on other resources than the analysis of word order.

The text-linguistic approach presented in Chapter two analyses the pragmatic functions of *þa*-clauses in OE prose and verse. Enkvist's observation (1972) of the presence of adverbial *þa* in passages of dense action in *Beowulf* first drew the scholarly attention to the use of *þa* in narrative discourse. Formerly, its presence was often interpreted as a syntactic means of

triggering subject-verb inversion. Though subsequent articles and studies focused on the text-linguistic functions of *þa* alone, the interdependence of both pragmatic and syntactic forces are obvious here: the clauses marked by *þa* generally relate events which advance the narrative, i.e. those narrating the actions of the main participant(s); this involves active verbs and given and continuous subjects. It is thus the verb which introduces the new information and which is shifted to a prominent position by the use of *þa*. The text-linguistic approach contributes another line of investigation which reveals forces on word order not captured by a mechanical analysis of clause elements. Furthermore, the complex interdependence of pragmatic and syntactic factors demonstrates that the total neglect of one aspect may lead to a complete misconception, as Blockley's interpretation of ambiguous clauses on the basis of prose-grammar has shown. On the other hand, Hopper's assumptions regarding foregrounding by verb-peripheral word order patterns are not conclusive either since a delayed verb was certainly associated with subordination in OE prose. Therefore, a closer look at the development of OV and VO patterns in OE original prose on the basis of a larger corpus should include grounding in order to analyse the competing pragmatic and syntactic forces.

In its function as action marker, *þa* introduces new moves and turns in the narrative. The sequences of 'and then' echo the fast and unreflected pace of the narrative, which is not reconcilable with the subordination of every second event as Andrew's correlation rule would require. In highly foregrounded passages, *þa* correlates with morphosyntactic features that are associated with the advancement of the narrative, i.e. active verbs and main-participant subjects. This connection is important for the analysis of ambiguous clauses in verse: in the a-verse, the verb is fronted and no ambiguity arises, but the word order in the b-verse is restricted by metrical constraints which require a stressed finite verb to occur in line-final position. Although the clause elements occur in 'conjunctive order', the morphosyntactic features still indicate a new move or turn advancing the narrative which precludes subordination. At least in *Beowulf* and *Andreas*, the metrical constraints are effective enough to override syntactic principles. Whether the wish for grammatical precision, influenced by Latin prose, was extended to poetry in late OE has yet to be examined. A starting point for answering this question is the analysis of the development of metrical lines in later poems: the a-line pattern V *þa* X occurs twice in the second half-line of *The Battle of Maldon*, however, in both cases the verb is *ongan* which has already lost its status as lexical verb but is, other than *wæs* and *com*, disyllabic. The patterns established for *Beowulf* and *Andreas* do not unconditionally hold for other works: in *Judith* the V *þa* X pattern is regularly used in the b-verse, especially in the fast-paced first part of the narrative. The resulting difference in rhythm

might contribute to the feeling of urgency ascribed to this poem (see Phillips 1997: 122). It would therefore be interesting to analyse the occurrence and spread of this pattern in b-verses throughout the OE poetry corpus in connection with the finite verb used.

Besides foregrounding, a structuring function has been attributed to *þa*. As Foster (1975) has pointed out, the pragmatic function of *þa* as marker of new turns developed from a simple means of connecting events by ‘and then’ in oral story-telling. This device soon acquired additional and more elaborate functions, allowing for the structuring of more complex narratives by marking the sequenced events of the main storyline or the return to it after a moderate amount of additional or backgrounded material. In this function as structuring element, *þa* is also used to indicate new episodes, which are generally connected with a break in the continuity of the narrative. Since the beginning of new episodes often requires a kind of scene setting, the morphosyntactic features correlating with *þa* are not necessarily the same as in highly foregrounded passages. Breaks in the continuity usually require the specification of time, place or participants. Therefore, the focus is not necessarily on the verb and the action; the argument which excludes subordinate clauses from foregrounded action does not hold here. Nonetheless, Hopper (1992) observed that episodic clauses introduced by *þa* frequently show inversion and are principal in OE original prose. His analysis, however, was restricted to the plain style of the early entries of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*. An investigation of a larger corpus of episodic clauses in OE prose would certainly show more diversified results: especially clauses with temporal specifications are liable to subordination since they indicate a point in time or the passing of time *in relation* to the narrative events.

The tendency of episodic or transitory clauses to provide additional or given information is also evident in poetry, where these clauses frequently employ the unstressed verb *wæs*, either describing an unspecific point in time (e.g. *þa wæs on burgum*), or summing up previous events with a periphrastic past construction (*þa wæs* + past participle) to indicate anteriority. Although these clauses are not necessarily grammatically subordinated, they show a clear tendency to be backgrounded and to provide supplementary information offsite the sequenced events of the main storyline. In consequence, *þa* does not have the same pragmatic force of topicalising the verb and advancing the narrative as in foregrounded clauses; instead, it refers to the whole clause in which it functions as empty topic and in which the temporal aspect is subordinated. The difference between highly foregrounded clauses and episodic or transitory clauses thus lies in the morphosyntactic features of the clause elements rather than in grammatical function, at least in poetry. Again, I would not argue that these clauses represent

an intermediate state between parataxis and hypotaxis. Yet, their difference in pragmatic function should be minded by translators: *þa* neither expresses temporal sequentiality ('then') nor does it alert the recipients to a new turn in the action. Furthermore, the backgroundedness of these clauses can often be expressed in translations by subordinating them to the main events, especially when *þa* implies a causal relationship as well. They are, however, different from subordinate clauses where context requires *þa* to be a grammatical subordinator (e.g. *þa was Heregar dead*).

It is essential to differentiate these clauses from episodic or transitory clauses. There are only few clauses of the former category in *Beowulf* and even less in *Andreas*. In contrast to transitory or episodic *þa-wæs* clauses, they do not have a structuring function. The scarcity of formally ambiguous sub-clauses is due to their correlation with pronominalisation: the weak position after *þa* is usually filled by a pronoun which prevents the verb from shifting into this position. In contrast to transitory or episodic *þa-wæs* clauses, these subordinate clauses share all the features of other subordinate b-clauses in *Beowulf* and *Andreas*: they are structurally rather simple, hardly ever extend over one half-line, usually end with the finite verb and accommodate all necessary clause elements between the conjunction and the finite verb. Most notably, they *follow* the clause or clause element they modify. Therefore, these clauses are either inserted into their main clause or they are trailing clauses which frequently contain pro-forms referring back to the elements of the main clause. In this way subordination, pronominalisation and shortness go together with the original tendency of sub-clauses in OE poetry to be trailing. If these clauses introduced by *þa* are an archaic feature, as Fulk (2007) suggested, this might explain why so few examples can be found in *Andreas* while sub-clauses introduced by other conjunctions are as frequent as in *Beowulf*. It would be worth analysing the occurrence of such *þa*-clauses throughout the OE poetry corpus. As these clauses seem to drop out of use, on the one hand, and as they have the tendency to be causal, trailing and not correlative, on the other, they are neither the model for nor the prototype of the correlative *þa*-clauses found in prose.

Despite the differences in word order, the functions of *þa* as foregrounding and structuring device largely coincide in OE prose and verse. The third chapter of this thesis analysed the OE versions of the *Andreas*-legend in the context of AS translation practices in order to determine how these native means of OE are employed to convert classical content into the vernacular. Both OE poetry and original prose show a clear tendency to present narrative passages as strings of independent events in a paratactic structure. In Latin, on the other hand,

narrative events are frequently connected by *cum* ('when') or by participle constructions. Both constructions can be translated as *when-then* sentences with the previous event being put into the anticipatory sub-clause introduced by conjunctive *þa*. In Old English, the demonstrative adverb *þa* frequently introduces the main clause so that correlative pairs of *þa*-clauses with the form Conj. SV, Adv. VS emerge. These are a typical feature of OE translated prose but there can be no doubt that this construction was adopted into OE original prose as well. It would be a mistake, however, to assume that its influence was so strong as to override the rhetoric of OE narrative style in general. Andrew's eager hunt for correlative pairs seems to be a result of this assumption. His reinterpretation of many clauses in favour of hypotaxis in OE poetry was meant to reevaluate the poetic style in terms of its linguistic complexity. However, this argumentation ignores that there is a fundamental difference between OE narrative style and, for example, a Latin philosophical treatise. At least in the case of foregrounding *þa*-clauses, the re-interpretation of clauses according to Andrew's correlation rule does not lead to an elaboration of style – quite the contrary: the subordination of narrative events to others diminishes the effect of immediacy and fast-flowing action. Thus, it is the function of a clause in the narrative that should guide our translation of it, and not the (presumed) grammatical construction. Blockley's approach even turns verse syntax into a grammaticalised system that surpasses the syntactic functionality of word order ascribed to prose, although the conservative style of Old English poetry is certainly least influenced by Latin prose.

Indeed, the verse version of the Andreas-legend hardly shows any linguistic influence of the classical sources: though the poet retains the structure and the basic elements of the legend, he largely draws on the resources of OE poetic style for his adaptation of the content. On the stylistic level this entails the placing of well-established motifs of heroic poetry into the context of the classical content. On the linguistic level, this entails that correlative *when-then* constructions are as absent from the text as they are from *Beowulf*: episode-initial *þa*-clauses are generally principal, even though they are backgrounded. Furthermore, adverbial *þa* marks the essential events and developments of the narrative. These seldom involve action, as is the case in *Beowulf*, but concern the mental development of the participants. In the first place, Andreas himself embarks on a spiritual journey, which coincides with the physical sea-voyage towards Mermedonia, when he boards the ship steered by Christ and his angels. In the course of the long dialogue and the final encounter with Christ in front of the gates of the cannibals' city, Andreas' initial doubts about God's power are eventually dispelled and he becomes the true bearer of God's word. Only this enables him to accomplish his twofold task of releasing

Matheus and of converting to Mermedonians to the Christian faith. This reading of the poem, guided by the use of *þa*, removes the incongruity between the use of battle-language promising action and the absence of physical combat once it is understood that Andreas' battle is a mental one, i.e. a battle against his doubts and fears in the face impeding sufferings and torture. The poet's placing of the poem between two literary traditions is certainly more than a moderately successful attempt to make Christian content accessible to an Anglo-Saxon audience; it is as much a subtle discussion of conflicting values in a society in which Christianity and heroic tradition lived side by side.

Even the OE prose version of the Andreas-legend, which is a faithful translation, retains features of OE narrative style: the occurrence of structuring and foregrounding *þa*, which has no one-to-one Latin equivalent, indicates that this device outlasted Latin influence on prose. Furthermore, the OE version demonstrates some resistance against hypotactic constructions when they run against the paratactic style of narrative passages: anticipatory sub-clauses only occur when the information in the clause is supplementary, i.e. in contexts where clauses are liable to subordination anyway. Main storyline-events are presented in independent or coordinated clauses in spite of the source's constructions. Besides preserving the OE rhetoric in foregrounded passages, the translator differentiated between episodic clauses and episode-internal clauses when choosing a hypotactic construction: only subordinate clauses introducing a new episode or a new turn in the narrative are introduced by conjunctive *þa*, while he chose the conjunction *mid þi (þe)* for episode-internal clauses. This shows that even conjunctive *þa* in correlative clauses retained its pragmatic force to alert the recipients to a new turn. Again, the difference to subordinate clauses in poetry, where the conjunction has no pragmatic function, is obvious.

APPENDIX I – OVERVIEW OF WORD ORDER PATTERNS AND THEIR FUNCTION

	MITCHELL	ANDREW	BLOCKLEY	SCHULZ	Form & Features	Function <i>þa</i>	Example	
Demonstrative Order	<i>þa</i> VS Usually principal in prose	<i>þa</i> wæs S (unstressed V) Ambiguous in prose and verse	<i>þa</i> V Principal in prose and verse	<i>þa</i> V (unstressed V)	<i>þa</i> com	Structuring: new participant	<i>þa</i> com dryhten god	
		<i>þa</i> com S (stressed V) Principal in prose, subordinate in verse				Structuring: time	<i>þa</i> com non dæg	
						Structuring: time	<i>þa</i> wæs (full verb)	<i>þa</i> wæs hwil dæg
							Episode (Empty topic)	<i>þa</i> wæs on burgum
						<i>þa</i> wæs (+ past participle)	Transition	<i>þa</i> wæs sund liden
		<i>þa</i> wæs (copula)				Subordinator	<i>þa</i> wæs Heregar dead	
Conjunctive Order	<i>þa</i> S(...) <i>V</i> Subordinate in prose	<i>þa</i> SV Subordinate in prose and verse	<i>þa</i> XV Subordinate in prose and verse	<i>þa</i> XV (stressed V)	<i>þa</i> V (active V)	Foregrounding/ Action marking	<i>þa</i> se wyrme beah	
					<i>þa</i> S V (stative V)	Subordinator	<i>þa</i> his broðor læg	
					<i>þa</i> S _P ... V (also with unstressed verbs)	Subordinator	<i>þa</i> ic on holm gestah <i>þa</i> he gebolgen wæs	

APPENDIX II – CORRESPONDING PASSAGES IN THE LEGEND OF ST. ANDREW

Content	Old English			Latin		Greek
	<i>Andreas</i>	<i>SA – C</i>	<i>SA – B</i>	<i>Cas</i> ²⁰³	<i>Val</i>	<i>Praxeis</i>
THE APOSTLES	1-11a	1-3		1-3 (§1)		§1 (517)
MATHEUS' TASK	11b-18	3-4		3-4 (§1)		§1 (517)
MARMEDONIA	19-39	4-9		5-19 (§1)		§1 (517)
MATHEUS' FATE	40-58	10-14	1-3	20-28 (§2)		§2 (517)
MATHEUS' PRAYER	59-87	14-20	3-9	28-35 (§2)		§2 (517)
GOD'S ANSWER	88-121	21-30	10-20	36-37 (§3)		§3 (517)
3 DAYS LEFT	122-160	31-36	21-14	38-64 (§3)		§5 (517)
GOD SEEKS ANDREAS	161-188	37-41	24-28	65-73 (§4)		§5 (517)
ANDREAS' DOUBTS	189-201	42-46	28-32	73-80 (§4)		§5 (517)
GOD'S ANSWER	202-229	47-50	33-38	80-86 (§4)		§5 (517f)
GOING TO SEA-SHORE	230-253	51-54	40-42	87-93 (§5)		§6 (518)
NEGOTIATIONS AND BOARDING	254-363	55-74	42-60	93-135 (§§5-7)		§§6-7 (518)
THE STORM	364-395	-	-	-		-
DISCIPLES ASHORE?	396-414	75-83	60-68	136-167 (§7)		§8 (518)
CHRIST'S MIRACLE	415-468	84-95	68-80	168-192 (§8)		§9 (518f)
LONG DIALOGUE	469-817	-	-	193-306 (§§9-15)		§§10-19 (518-20)
ANGELS' JOURNEY	818-830	96-101	80-84	307-314 (§16)		§20 (520f)
THE GATES OF MARMEDONIA	831-857	102-107	85-90	315-325 (§17)	1-9	§21 (521)
<i>DISCIPLES' STORY</i>	858-891	-	-	325-334 (§17)	11-41	§21 (521)
CHRIST'S REVELATION	892-980	108-132	90-110	335-382 (§18)	42-80	§§22-23 (521)
ENTERING CITY	981-1003	133-139		383-390 (§19)		§24 (521)
MATHEUS AND ANDREAS	1004-1040	140-160		390-432 (§§19-21)		§§24-26 (521f)
MATHEUS' DEPARTURE	1041-1057	161-167		432-450 (§21)		§26 (522)
ANDREAS WAITING	1058-1066	168-171		451-454 (§22)		§27 (522)
PRISON EMPTY	1067-1092	172-176		454-481		§27-28

²⁰³ Lines are numbered consecutively though not so in Blatt's edition.

				(§22)		(522)
LOT EPISODE	1093-1154	-		481-508 (§23)		§§29-30 (522f)
MARMEDONIANS' DESPAIR	1155-1167	177-180		509-510 (§24)		§31 (523)
DEVIL APPEARING	1168-1183	181-185		510-513 (§24)		§31 (523)
REVEALING ANDREAS	1184-1200	186-194		-		§32 (523)
ANDREAS CAPTURED	1201-1228	195-202		513-524 (§§24-26)		§33 (523)
TORTURE DAY 1	1229-1244	203-210		-		§33 (523)
FIRST NIGHT	1245-1269	211-212		-		§33 (523)
TORTURE DAY 2	1269-1278	213		-		§34 (523)
ENTREATING GOD FOR MERCY	1278-1295	213-219		-		§34 (523)
SEVEN DEVILS	1311-1387	220-238		525-553 (§27)		§§35-36 (523f)
TORTURE DAY 3	1388-1397	239		554-558 (§28)		§37 (524)
WHY HAST THOU FORSAKEN ME?	1398-1428	239-254		558-575 (§28)		§37 (524)
WONDROUS TREES	1429-1454	255-256		575-585 (§28)		§37 (524)
EVENING (HEALING)	1455-1491	257-262		586-589 (§29)		§§38-39 (524)
STONE COLUMN	1492-1521	262-276		588-603 (§29)		§39 (524)
WATERS RISING	1522-1553	277-279		604-611 (§30)		§39 (524)
TURNING TO ANDREAS	1554-1568	280-284		612-629 (§30)		§40 (524)
WATER STOPPED	1569-1577	285-287		617-624 (§30)		§41 (524)
WATERS SUBSIDING	1577-1595	288-293		625-640 (§31)		§42 (525)
MARMEDONIANS FEARFUL	1595-1606	293-296		641-647 (§31)		§42 (525)
ANDREAS' COMFORT	1607-1612	297-299		647-651 (§31)		§42 (525)
RESURRECTION	1613-1629	300-303		652-659 (§32)		§§43-44 (525)
CHURCH, BISHOP, BAPTISM	1630-1654a	304-308		660-666 (§32)		§44 (525)
EAGER TO DEPART	1654-1661	309-314		666-672 (§32)		§44 (525)
AWAY AND BACK AGAIN	1661-1677	315-326		673-687 (§33)		§44-45 (525)
ANDREAS' TEACHING	1677-1694	327-329		688-701 (§33)		§46 (525)
FINAL DEPARTURE	1695-1722	329-333		701-707 (§33)		§46 (525)

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