

## Appendix

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This appendix provides a detailed explanation of the data collected and used in this paper. In A.1 I explain what corpus and documents were used to collect occurrences of *swa*. The query that was run is shown and explained in A.2, and an overview of the numbers collected in A.3. I present some further examples of the possible uses of *swa* in A.4, together with an explanation of how examples and translations are presented throughout the paper. All in all, the appendix provides the reader with an accurate and comprehensive picture of the empirical procedure and its outcome.

### A.1. Corpus and files

In order to get an overview of the possible types of use for *swa*, I used the YCOE corpus (Taylor et al. 2003). I systematically searched via the CorpusSearch program (see A.2.) for occurrences of *swa*. I restricted the search to the periods OE1 and OE2 in the corpus (that is, early OE), and I further limited it to the files *codocu1.o1.psd*, *codocu2.o12.psd*, *codocu2.o2.psd*, *colawaf.o2.psd*, *colawafint.o2.psd*, *colawine.ox2.psd* and *cocura.o2.psd*. The first three files contain early English documents like wills and letters. The next three files are King Alfred's laws and their introduction by Alfred, and the laws of King Ine. The last file is the Old English Cura Pastoralis.

All hits from the smaller OE1, OE2 files (*codocu1.o1.psd*, *codocu2.o12.psd*, *codocu2.o2.psd*, *colawaf.o2.psd*, *colawafint.o2.psd*, *colawine.ox2.psd*) were descriptively classified according to interpretation (e.g. pronoun, equative etc.). Of the 506 hits from the Cura Pastoralis, the first 150 hits were classified. This yielded a total of 244 occurrences of *swa* whose interpretation was identified. (For counting purposes, data like equatives (which contain *swa* two or three times, see (4)) and FCRs (which contain two *swas*, see (25)) were counted as one occurrence.)

The procedure allowed me to collect data from several different speakers or authors, from the set of smaller OE1 and OE2 YCOE files, which were also originally OE texts (and those six files are all the texts that the YCOE lists as being from OE1 or OE2 that were originally written in OE). In order to boost the numbers, I added the hits from the Cura Pastoralis, which is a translation from Latin. I limited the study to early OE files in order to investigate a reasonably constrained time period (from about the 8th century to about 950 CE). My goal was to put together a comprehensive sample of contexts of use for early OE *swa*; no statistical analysis was conducted.

### A.2. Query

The program *CorpusSearch* is used to search the YCOE corpus (Taylor et al. 2003). I used the query file in (A1) below, which simply searches for occurrences of *swa* and returns the root clause that contains them as hits. I included all spellings of *swa* that I was aware of. OE spelling was not standardized, and there is no indication that any relevance is to be attached to different spellings. The same document may use *swa* in different orthographical variants for the same construction (e.g. the Cura Pastoralis has both *swa* and *sua*). In the YCOE and the query below, the combination '+a' stands for the letter ash 'æ'; similarly '+t' stands for the thorn 'þ', and '+d' for eth 'ð'. I present the examples in this paper with the correct OE letters instead of the YCOE versions for the sake of readability.

(A1) CorpusSearch query:

begin\_remark:

    this query searches for occurrences of 'swa'

end\_remark

node: \$ROOT

query: (\$ROOT Dominates swa|Swa|sua|Sua|sw+a|Sw+a|su+a|Su+a|swe|Swe|sue|Sue)

### A.3. Overview of results

The categories for the descriptive semantic classification of an occurrence of *swa* in an OE example sentence are given in (A2). All examples found by the corpus search belong to one of those categories. The labels in (A2) are explained above in the main text.

- (A2)
1. Pronoun (degree, property)
  2. Relativizer
  3. Subordinating conjunction (manner, temporal)
  4. Conditional marker
  5. Equative (degree, property, other)
  6. Consecutive (degree, property)
  7. FCR
  8. Other: apparent coordinating conjunction, comparative conditional

The numbers that the classification of the 244 occurrences yielded are added in (A3).

(A3)	1.	Pronoun - degree: 27, property: 64	91
	2.	Relativizer (individual relative clause <e,t>)	
	2		
	3.	Subordinating conjunction - manner: 38, temporal: 4	42
	4.	Conditional marker	3
	5.	Equative - degree: 14, property: 49, other: 5 (4x <i>same</i> , 1x noun)	68
	6.	Consecutive - degree:10, property: 3	13
	7.	FCR	11
	8.	Other - apparent coordin. conj.: 6, comparative conditional: 8	14
			----
			244

The analysis in the main text of the paper covers all common uses from (A3), and section 5.2. suggests plausible extensions to the remaining occurrences.

### A.4. Presentation of examples and additional data

The examples presented in this paper are all from the corpus search explained in A.1. and A.2. I present the YCOE example (with orthography trivially fixed as explained above) and I include the YCOE token number together with the example. The token number tells the reader in which document the example occurs, with chapter, page and line number. In keeping with standard linguistic practice, I provide a word-by-word gloss of the example. Often, a translation was

available, which is provided below the glossed OE sentence, with the source given. Mostly the translation comes from the YCOE source edition of the OE text (see Taylor et al. 2003); otherwise the source of the translation is given with the example. Where no source is provided for the translation, it is my own. Occasionally I add my own translation to an existing one in order to clarify the use of *swa*. Generally this means that my translation is more literal in particular for the context of this occurrence of *swa*.

In what follows, I provide additional examples of the types of occurrence of *swa* discussed and analysed in the main part of the paper, in order to give the reader a more comprehensive empirical picture.

### Degree pronoun:

- (A4) Hwæt ðenceað      ða    ðe      on      suelcum      weorcum      scinað,  
 what think            those that    in      such            works        shine  
 & magon      hiera    niehstum      **sua**    nytte    beon,    hwy    hie      ðara  
 & may        their    neighbours    so      useful    be      why    they    the  
 geearnunga    diegelnesse    &      anette        bet      truwiggen    ðonne  
 merits        recess        &      solitude      better    trust        than  
 ðære    hu      hie      oðerra    monna      mæst    gehelpen?  
 that    how    they    other    men            most    help  
 (cocura,CP:5.45.24.258)

'What reason have those, who shine with such works and can be **so** useful to their neighbours, for trusting rather to the merits of retirement and solitude than aiding other men as much as possible?' (Sweet)

### Manner pronoun:

- (A5) & he ða      **swa**    dyde.  
 & he then    so      did  
 (codocu2,Ch\_1445\_[HarmD\_18]:33.52)  
 'and he did **so**. (= appoint a day)'

### Subordinating conjunction manner (first occurrence) and time (second occurrence):

- (A6) & he    me    ða    boc    ða    ageaf **swa**    he    me    on    ðon    wedde  
 & he    me    the    book    then    gave    as    he    me    in    the    pledge  
 ær    geseald      hæfde,    sona    **swa**    se    að    agifen    was.  
 earlier given      had,    soon    as    the    oath    given    was  
 (codocu2,Ch\_1445\_[HarmD\_18]:45.65)

'Then as soon **as** the oath had been produced, Helmstan gave me the title deed, **as** he had previously engaged to do.' (Harmer)

### Relativizer (second occurrence) and property pronoun (first occurrence):

- (A7) End **sue** eihwelc mon **swe** ðis lond hebbe minra ærbenumena ðis agefe & mittan  
 fulne huniges, X goes, XX henfugas.  
 (codocu2,Ch\_1197\_[HarmD\_4]:9.5)  
 'And in like manner, whosoever of my heirs shall hold this estate is to give these

things, together with a mitta fill of honey, ten geese and twenty hens.' (Harmer)

### Degree equative:

- (A8) & ðæt wiorð gedæle fore hiora gastas **suæ** ælmeslice & **suæ**  
 & that price distribute for their souls so charitably & so  
 rehtlice **suæ** he him seolfa on his wisdom geleornie.  
 justly as he him self in his wisdom considers  
 (codocu1,Ch\_1500\_[Rob\_3]:5.86)  
 'and distribute that price as charitably and as justly as he him self in his wisdom  
 considers.' (Roberts)

### Property equative:

- (A9) a. **Sua sua** ðæs gefarenan broðor wif on ðære ealdan æ  
 so as the departed brother wife in the old law  
 wæs geboden ðæm lifiendan breðer to onfonne, **sua** is  
 was offerd the living brother to receive so is  
 cynn ðæt sio giemen ðære halgan ciricean, ðæt is  
 proper that the care the holy church that is  
 Cristes folces gesomnung, sie ðam beboden ðe hie  
 Christ's peoples' assembly be that offered that it  
 wel ofer mæge, & hiera wel rædan cunne.  
 well above may & it well govern can  
 (cocura,CP:5.43.22.248)  
 'As in the old law the wife of the brother who had died was offered to the living  
 brother that he might take her, **so** it is proper that the care of the holy Church, that  
 is the assembly of Christ's people, be offered to him who can superintend and rule  
 it well.' (Sweet)
- b. Ne eft ða gelæredan ðe **swa** nyllað libban **swa**  
 not again the learned that so not.want live so  
 hie on bocum leornedon, ðæt hi scoldon ne  
 they in books learned that they should not  
 underfon ða are ðæs lareowdome.  
 undertake the honour the teaching  
 (cocura,CP:2.29.18.127)  
 'Nor, again, let the learned, who are not willing to live **as** they have learnt in  
 books, undertake the dignity of teaching.' (Sweet)

### Equative with *same*:

- (A10) Hu, ne iom ic monn **sua** ilce **sua** ðu?  
 how not am I man so same so you  
 (cocura,CP:17.115.11.773)  
 'what, am I not a man **as** thou art?'" (Sweet)

**Consecutive (degree):**

- (A11) Sua is eac ðearf ðæt se lareow, se bið saule læce,  
 so is also need that the teacher who is soul's doctor  
 ðara synna wunde stirende gemetlice gewriðe on his  
 the sins wounds ?correct? moderately bind in his  
 hieremonnumm, ond ðeah **sua** geornlice begaa ða ryhtwisnesse  
 subjects and though so carefully exercise the righteousness  
 ðæs lareowdomes wið ða gyltendan **ðæt** he ne forlæte  
 the instruction against the guilty that he not forsake  
 his mildheortnesse.  
 his compassion  
 (cocura,CP:17.123.20.837)

'So it is also necessary for the teacher, who is the soul's physician, while curing the wounds of the sins of his subjects, to bind them moderately, and yet to exercise the righteousness of instruction towards the guilty **so** carefully **as** not to neglect humanity.' (Sweet)

**Non-degree consecutive:**

- (A12) & **sua** ðurhfærð his andgit ðæt mod his hieremonna  
 & so penetrates his understandfing the mind his subjects  
**ðætte** him bið eall cuð ðæt hie unaliefedes ðenceað.  
 that him is all known that they illicit think  
 (cocura,CP:21.155.8.1057)

'and thus his understanding penetrates the heart of his subjects, **so that** all their unlawful thoughts are known to him.' (Sweet)

**Conditional, preceded by apparent coordinator uses of *swa*:**

- (A13) Gif hwa in cyninges healle gefeohte oððe his wæpn gebrede,  
 if one in king's hall fight or his weapon draw  
 & hine mon gefo, sie ðæt on cyninges dome, **swa** deað  
 & him one catch, be that in king's decision, so death  
**swa** lif, **swa** he him forgifan wille.  
 so life, so he him forgive want  
 (colawaf,LawAf\_1:7.39)

'If someone fights in the king's hall or draws his weapon, and he is caught, then it is the king's decision, death as well as life, **if** he wants to forgive him.'

**Free Choice relative clause (FCR):**

- (A14) **Sua** hwelc ðonne **sua** ðissa uncysta hwelcre underðieded  
 so which then so these vices which subjected  
 bið, him bið forboden ðæt he offrige Gode hlaf,  
 is him is forbidden that he offer God loaf  
 forðæm hit is wen ðæt se ne mæge oðerra monna  
 because it is thought that that not may other men

scylða of aþuean, se se ðe hine ðonne giet his  
 sins of cleanse that who that him then yet his  
 agena onherigeað.

own emulates (?)

(cocura,CP:11.73.15.485)

'Whoever, then, is subject to one of these vices is forbidden to offer bread to God, for it is to be expected that he will not be competent to wash away the sins of others while he is harassed by his own.' (Sweet)

### Apparent comparative conditional:

(A15) ac gif ge agiemeleasiað ðæt ge ameten eow selfe  
 but if you neglect that you measure your self  
 hwelce ge sien, **sua** eow on hierran folgoðe ahebbað,  
 which you are so you in higher office rise  
**swa** ge sweotolran & widmærran gedoð eowre tælweorðlicnesse.  
 so you plainer & more notorious put your blameworthiness

(cocura,CP:8.53.11.326)

'and if ye neglect to estimate yourselves at your real worth, **the** higher the authority ye attain to, **the** more manifest and notorious will ye make your unfitness.' (Sweet)