

THE USE OF MODAL EXPRESSION PREFERENCE AS A MARKER OF STYLE AND
ATTRIBUTION: THE CASE OF WILLIAM TYNDALE AND THE 1533 *ENCHIRIDION*

MILITIS CHRISTIANI

by

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(Under the Direction of Jared S. Klein)

ABSTRACT

Can an author's preference for expressing modality be quantified and then used as a marker of attribution? This paper explores the possibility of using the subjunctive mood as an indicator of style and a marker of authorship in Early Modern English texts. Using three works by the 16th century biblical translator and polemicist, William Tyndale, I have established a predictable preference for certain types of modal expression. The theory of subjunctive use as a marker of attribution was then tested on the anonymous 1533 English translation of Erasmus' *Enchiridion Militis Christiani*.

This paper introduces one of the most enigmatic figures in the history of Early Modern English usage. It also traces the origins of the subjunctive mood from its roots in the Proto-Indo-European optative to the early years of the English Reformation. The inflected subjunctive was dying out during the Early Modern period, being replaced by the periphrastic modal auxiliary construction. Tyndale, however, was known to have used inflected subjunctive forms, as was shown in a 1968 study by Wayne Harsh.

In this paper, *The Obedience of a Christian Man*, *The Parable of the Wicked Mammon*, and *The Practice of Prelates*, all indisputably written by Tyndale, are reviewed to establish an

author-specific “subjunctive fingerprint.” By use of WordSmith Tools concordancer software, tokens from each of the three texts are analyzed and categorized as either tense-related marked modal, modal auxiliary, inflected subjunctive, or unmarked form. These tokens are ultimately contrasted with those from a comparison corpus composed of a variety of text samples from the same period. The analysis of the resulting data indicates a clear and distinct pattern of modal expression in the Tyndale texts that is not present in the comparison corpus.

Once the “subjunctive fingerprint” has been established, the method of comparison of modal expression preference is applied to a text of disputed authorship: the *Enchiridion*. This text was originally published anonymously, but over the years, some scholars have believed it to be the work of Tyndale. The test indicates that the pattern of subjunctive preference is utterly unlike the usage in any of the Tyndale texts but matches the pattern in the comparison corpus exactly.

This dissertation explains the process of text and corpus analysis and shows how and why the use of the subjunctive mood makes such a good marker of style and authorship in Early Modern English texts.

INDEX WORDS: William Tyndale, Subjunctive Mood, Corpus Linguistics, Erasmus of Rotterdam, *Enchiridion Militis Christiani*

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DEDICATION

I would like to dedicate this dissertation to Bates, Will, and Clara Canon, and my father, John Bell. Thank you for your support.

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CHAPTER 1

Introduction

In this dissertation, I look not only at one grammatical aspect of the original works of William Tyndale, but at the man himself. The first chapter offers a brief biographical sketch. Perhaps best known as a 16th century translator of the English Bible, he wrote many books of his own. Tyndale was sharp-tongued when writing in response to his enemies and often wrote at length about his own beliefs. I believe that an in-depth study of his use of the subjunctive mood will reveal stylistic patterns that were distinctly his. With the use of computer-based corpus analysis tools and techniques, this study answers some questions about Tyndale, and about inflected subjunctive usage as a marker of style and authorship.

The second chapter of this study looks at the history of the subjunctive mood in the Germanic language family, focusing most specifically on its use in Early Modern English. It contains a review of verb forms (both inflected and otherwise) and function words common in the use of the subjunctive. Elizabeth Closs Traugott's *The History of English Syntax* (1972), Manfred Görlach's *Introduction to Early Modern English* (1994), Wayne Harsh's *The Subjunctive in English* (1968), and Dieter Stein's "The Expression of Deontic and Epistemic Modality and the Subjunctive" are key references for the focus on the state of the subjunctive during Tyndale's day. The use of the subjunctive by other authors of that time is briefly examined as background for the study on Tyndale.

The third chapter of the paper examines the life of William Tyndale. Beginning with his birth in Gloucestershire, the paper discusses the contributions made to his psyche by his family and the community in which he lived. Following him to Oxford and on to the priesthood, the paper explores the enlightenment he experienced that started him on the path to martyrdom. Lastly, it places in time the polemical works being studied as well as his monumental contribution to the history of the English Bible. Daniell's *William Tyndale: A Biography* was my primary source, but I also consulted other biographies including J.F. Mozley's *William Tyndale*, and Foxe's *Acts and Monuments*.

Also in the third chapter, biographical works are reviewed and articles on his methods and practices are put into perspective. In particular, David Daniell's *Biography*, which will be followed closely in later portions of the paper, is examined as it is considered both the most current and most complete biography available. Of historical significance with regard to the English Reformation and the history of the English Bible are Benson Bobrick's *Wide as the Waters: The Story of the English Bible and the Revolution it Inspired*, Brian Moynahan's *God's Bestseller: William Tyndale, Thomas More, and the Writing of the English Bible, A Story of Martyrdom and Betrayal*, and Elizabeth Nugent's *The Thought and Culture of the English Renaissance*. Although the focus of some of these works is on Tyndale's career as a biblical translator, there is much information on what was going on 'on the ground' in sixteenth-century England that may illuminate some motivations. Articles that speak to his methods can be found, among other places, in the bound volume *Word, Church, and State: Tyndale Quincentenary Essays* published by the Catholic University of America Press.

The fourth chapter of this dissertation discusses the polemical works themselves, focusing on their message and content. The works under consideration are *The Obedience of a Christian Man*, *The Practice of Prelates*, and *The Parable of the Wicked Mammon*. In this chapter, existing literature on each of the books is examined, and each of the three books is compared with the others.

The fifth chapter is the explanation of my research methods. WordSmith Tools 4.0, the concordancer software I employed in my research, is introduced. The corpus analysis was approached in two phases. In Phase I, a search was run on all subjunctive tokens of the verb forms *be* and *were* and each resulting token was categorized according to usage. From the data produced by searching both the Tyndale corpus and the comparison texts, I was able to verify the assertion of many other scholars that the conditional clause is consistently governed by a subjunctive verb. The purpose of Phase II was to analyze the method of subjunctive expression within conditional clauses. A search was run for the conditional marker, *if*, and its Early Modern English spelling variant, *yf*, on both corpora. The resulting verbs were tabulated and categorized by method of expression: unmarked form, modal preterite, modal auxiliary, inflected subjunctive.

The data presented in the sixth chapter clearly indicate that Tyndale employed an exceptionally high number of modal preterite inflections in all three texts, and a marked scarcity of modal auxiliary constructions in contrast with the comparison corpus. The comparison corpus behaved in a manner typical of the period as described by Harsh, Traugott, and Görlach in separate studies. Tyndale's 'subjunctive fingerprint' was this modal pattern which was unique to his writing.

The final chapter presents the results of an experiment applying the use of this fingerprint to a text of disputed authorship. The 1533 English edition of Erasmus's *Enchiridion Militis Christiani*, an anonymous text whose translator has been presumed by some scholars to be Tyndale, was searched for conditional clauses beginning with *if/yf* in the exact same way that the previous searches were run. The results indicate that Tyndale is not likely to be the author.

The marriage of corpus linguistics, stylometrics, and the establishment of a subjunctive fingerprint is unique to this study. Although other researchers have employed tests of style including word length, sentence length, and type/token ratios, none have employed a test of style in which an Early Modern English author's preference for modal expression is analyzed. What makes this study work is the fact that it was run on texts written during the Early Modern period; a time in which the difference between indicative verbs and subjunctive verbs was clear (in the second and third persons singular), and the inflected subjunctive was dying out, but not quite gone. It might not have been as successful had it been run on a modern text, or on an earlier text when subjunctive inflections were more common-place.

CHAPTER 2

Computational Analysis of Texts

My study of three polemical texts attributed to the 16th-century author, William Tyndale, is a corpus-based inquiry. Many researchers have used corpora to gain an understanding of various linguistic aspects of any given body of work. These studies may produce a better understanding of:

- grammatical features based on naturally-occurring examples
- semantics, or meaning of a given word, phrase, etc.
- stylometrics
- attribution

Some of the most trusted names in linguistics have employed corpora in their work. Jespersen, and Quirk, for example, assembled a corpus and reviewed it looking for examples of particular grammatical types (See Meyer 11). Harsh used a corpus of samples taken from texts which he intended to analyze. What makes my study different from theirs is the use of the computer to make the counts more reliable and to produce related statistical data which can further illuminate the result of the initial search.

2.1 The Nuts and Bolts of a Computer-assisted Corpus Analysis

There are certain ingredients present in all computer-assisted analyses of corpora. The first is the text itself. At the risk of stating the obvious, the text and its format are of crucial importance to the integrity of the study. It must not be an image document, but an

electronic one. Hockey writes, “the term ‘electronic text’ is used specifically to mean a transcription of a text, rather than an electronic or digital image of it” (1). It must be searchable, and that requires a text format and not an image or the computer will not be able to pull very specific information out of it. It must be stripped of all formatting, so any electronic text must be converted to plain text form.

In addition to the text itself, software must be employed that will address the task at hand. For the purpose of my study, I chose WordSmith Tools 4.0, a concordancer software program that searches for specific words and terms in texts and corpora of varying lengths. There are others available (See Hockey, Meyer, and Stubbs).

2.2 The Pertinence of a Corpus Study to an Historical Research Project

In his book *English Corpus Linguistics: An Introduction*, Meyer says the following with regard to the intersection of historical linguistics and corpus linguistics:

Much current work in historical linguistics is now based on corpora containing texts taken from earlier periods of English, corpora that permit a more systematic study of the evolution of English and that enable historical linguists to investigate issues that have currency in modern linguistics. (11)

Harsh’s 1968 study of the subjunctive in the history of English was done on small samples to keep the project from becoming unwieldy. This would not have been an issue had concordancer software been available to him. In the same way, pre-computer grammar books and dictionaries could have been produced faster and with greater accuracy had their compilers had access to modern computers. A grammarian can look at

large bodies of naturally-occurring language samples and determine exactly what any given population deems “grammatically correct.” Likewise, the advantages for lexicographers are obvious. With enormous corpora available, and the ability to rapidly pinpoint a specific word within the corpora, determinations can be made as to the semantic content of any word. These are studies that can be done not only on Present-Day English, but also on any period of English with a representative text in electronic form. Tests could be done on the history of a specific English word or construction by employing a large enough corpus.

In addition to the above-mentioned applications, corpus analysis can be used by historical linguists in what Meyer calls, “contrastive analysis and translation theory” (23). In other words, a corpus study of the works of one author could shed light on the constructions used by another author translating the former’s work. For the purpose of my own study, a later application of corpus analysis might be to study the use of the subjunctive mood in Martin Luther’s *On the Liberty of a Christian Man* from 1520. Much has been written about the possibility that Tyndale borrowed from this and other documents by Luther, but I am not aware of any analysis addressing what Meyer calls “translationese.”

Related to “contrastive analysis” is what Susan Hockey calls “stylometrics and attribution” (104). In the study of historical texts, it is possible to identify features which seem to recur in the works of any given author. These features, once identified, can be used comparatively with other texts of unknown or disputed authorship. She writes that “various projects have shown that it is possible to characterize an author or a set of texts

by linguistic fingerprints” (Hockey 104). This is where computer-based corpus linguistics has the most to offer my study of the polemical works of William Tyndale.

2.3 How the Subjunctive Mood and Stylometrics are Complementary

The question is a simple one: If a subjunctive “fingerprint” can be established for an author, might it be used, in conjunction with other accepted tests of style, to determine authorship of other texts? The answer to that question will depend on the following factors:

- What is the scope of the study? In other words, is the researcher looking for one or two specific forms, or all instances of subjunctive verbs?
- Is the researcher taking into account methods of expressing mood exclusive of inflected forms? Modal auxiliaries indicate mood, but do not fall into the category of inflectional form – are they to be included? What about modal adverbs?
- How is semantic content determined? Is there a litmus test for categorizing meaning?
- How can a difference of interpretation be accounted for when differences in degrees of meaning are very small?

Based on research that will be presented in subsequent chapters, I am looking at all forms of modal expression within a specific category of modal usage: the conditional clause. Assuming that all authors of the 16th century used modal forms in conditional clauses, I am looking at what choices the authors made as to type of modal expression: unmarked, modal preterite, modal auxiliary, and inflected subjunctive. The use of the

inflected forms of the subjunctive was and is declining, while the use of modal auxiliaries is clearly still a very viable method for indicating mood in an utterance. The persistent use of a form that is dying out in the general corpus could easily indicate the work of a specific author.

Semantic content and modal function are tricky to define and even trickier to identify. In order to eliminate as much confusion as possible, I searched the corpora first for subjunctive *be* and *were* to determine where the greatest consistent use of modal forms might be present. Following Wayne Harsh's 1968 study, I placed tokens in twelve categories of usage, as will be discussed in a later chapter. The subjunctive mood is rarely defined in the same way by two authors. Degrees of meaning within an abstract topic only make identifying tokens more difficult. Whereas two researchers will analyze a statistical ratio the same way, two interpreters of a subjunctive token may not categorize that token in the same way. For this reason, it is important to remember that the focus of the first stage of the research is the *trend* in usage. While researchers may disagree on a handful of tokens, the bigger picture is the primary focus of the study and that is what must and can be determined. As will be demonstrated later, it was in the conditional clause category that the greatest degree of consistency lay.

With the research from the initial phase of the project complete, it was possible to run a separate search using WordSmith Tools for the second phase. Since the conjunction *if* is a reliable marker of conditional clauses, I was able to search all three Tyndale texts for subjunctive forms within those clauses. I was then able to compare the results with a similar search on the comparison corpus. I included the results of the Harsh study to clearly indicate a stylistic feature of the Tyndale corpus that was absent from any of the

texts compared with it. Lastly, I used the results of the entire project to test the authorship of the 1533 *Enchiridion*.

CHAPTER 3

The History of the Subjunctive Mood

“There has always been more uncertainty among scholars regarding the nature and definition of mood than about any other of the so-called properties.”

-- A.G. Kennedy, *Current English*

A discussion of the subjunctive mood cannot begin without a clear understanding of the nature of modality. In his book, *Introduction to Early Modern English*, Manfred Görlach writes, “Modality expresses the speaker’s attitude to the propositional content of a statement.” In English, there are three types of grammatical modality, or mood: indicative mood used in statements of fact, imperative mood used in commands; and subjunctive mood. The subjunctive is arguably the least understood of the three, as the path of its history is not as straight. Elizabeth Closs Traugott defines the subjunctive mood as the following: “Subjunctive’ is a verbal inflection associated with such properties as potentiality, contingency, hypothesis, conjecture, unreality, exhortation, prohibition, wishing, desiring. Strictly speaking, [the subjunctive] signals the attitude of the speaker” (Traugott 98). In a more syntax-based definition, Wayne Harsh writes that “The subjunctive mood [...] is formal opposition shown by verbal inflection or syntactic contrast indicating (1) the relationship(s) between one verb in the sentence and another verb structure expressing wish, command, desire, etc., and (2) that the speaker or writer is thinking in terms of non-fact or modification of fact, as distinct from fact (indicative mood) or command (imperative mood)” (Harsh 13).

The historical path of the subjunctive mood in English took a turn long before the earliest English speakers were born. Tyndale himself recognized that what we now call the subjunctive mood was formerly something else. In the Preface to the 1534 New Testament, he invites comments and corrections to his translation in this way:

Here thou hast (most dear reader) the new testament or covenant made with us of God in Christ's blood. Which I have looked over again (now at the last) with all diligence, and compared it unto the Greek, and have weeded out of it many faults [...] If ought seem changed, or not altogether agreeing with the Greek, let the finder of the fault consider the Hebrew phrase or manner of speech left in the Greek words. Whose preterperfect tense and present tense is oft both one, and the future tense is the optative mode also, and the future tense is oft the imperative mode in the active voice, and in the passive ever. Likewise person for person, number for number, and an interrogation for a conditional, and such like is with the Hebrews a common usage (3).

Tyndale would likely agree with Kennedy that defining mood is a difficult business.

What Tyndale could not have known in 1534, modern historical linguists have shed light on. The English subjunctive is the linguistic descendant of the old Indo-European optative mood. In his book, *A Comparative Germanic Grammar*, Prokosch writes,

The functions of the [Indo-European] subjunctive and optative are closely related. Generally speaking, the subjunctive expresses expectation, hope, admonition, probability, and the optative wish, unreal condition, statement

contrary to fact. They were apt to be used interchangeably, and so it happened that most Indo-European languages merged the two modes, combining the functions of both into one form (208).

Simply speaking, what we now term the “subjunctive mood” in Germanic languages is in fact a continuation of the old Proto-Indo-European optative mood. A reconstruction of the Indo-European optative paradigm of the verb *be* is offered by Fortson in *Indo-European Language and Culture*. I offer it here for the purpose of comparison with the historical English paradigms:

Indo-European Athematic Optative Paradigm:

sg. 1/2/3	*h ₁ s-iéh ₁ -m	*h ₁ s-iéh ₁ -s	*h ₁ s-iéh ₁ -t
pl. 1/2/3	*h ₁ s-ih ₁ -mé-	*h ₁ s-ih ₁ -té-	*h ₁ s-ih ₁ -ént

--From Benjamin Fortson, *Indo-European Language and Culture* (96).

What were at one point two different moods, optative and subjunctive, became already on the level of Proto-Germanic one mood – in English called “subjunctive.” Originally, the merged optative-subjunctive had clearly distinctive endings in comparison with the indicative, but these endings were over time the victims of a shift in accent that affected all inflectional endings in Proto-Germanic. Proto-Indo-European words had a movable accent that could be found on any part of a word, even the inflectional ending. The Germanic languages shifted the accent of all words to the initial syllable, causing a loss of emphasis on the inflection which was just too far away from the stress point to retain its distinction. This loss of endings continued through Proto-Germanic and into the Old English period. It caused a blurred line between the formal indicative and subjunctive moods. Ultimately, “during Old English the inflectional distinctions between indicative

and subjunctive came, like other inflectional distinctions, to be obscured by the tendency of unstressed vowels to be pronounced [ə]” (Traugott 148).

Although sharply reduced, distinct subjunctive forms did still exist in the various Old English dialects, and the West Saxon paradigm, which is representative of most of the others, looked like this:

Old English Subjunctive Paradigm:

Present:

Sing. 1/2/3	bīde	bēode	bere
Plu. 1/2/3	bīden	bēoden	beren

Preterite:

Sing. 1/2/3	bide	bude	bāre
Plu. 1/2/3	biden	buden	bāren

-- From Samuel Moore, et al. *The Elements of Old English*, (180).

Even by the time of the largest body of West Saxon text, the final *-n* in the Northumbrian subjunctive was gone. In both strong and weak verb paradigms, the endings for the other dialects were all similar to those outlined above.

There would have been distinctions between the endings of both the singular and plural at an earlier point in history. Ringe compares the indicative and subjunctive of the Proto-Germanic strong verb in this way:

Proto-Germanic Strong Verb Indicative/Subjunctive Mood Paradigm:

Present:

	Indicative			Subjunctive		
Singular: 1/2/3	-ō	-i-zi	-i-di	-a-ų	-ai-z	-ai-
Dual: 1/2	-ōz (?)	-a-diz (?)		-ai-w	-ai-diz (?)	
Plural: 1/2/3	-a-maz	-i-d	-a-ndi	-ai-m	-ai-d	-ai-n

Past:

Singular: 1/2/3	θ	-t	θ	-ij-ų (?)	or -i??)	
Dual: 1/2	-ū	-u-diz		-ī-w	-ī-diz (?)	
Plural: 1/2/3	-u-m	-u-d	-u-n	-ī-m	-ī-d	-ī-n

(Ringe 237, 239)

By the middle of the Anglo-Saxon period, we can see the reduction of all subjunctive endings to *-e* in the singular, and *-en* in the plural.^a

In the anomalous verb *to be*, which will be the subject of study in later chapters, the Old English subjunctive forms varied by dialect and form, with *sīe* and *bēo* competing for supremacy. The subjunctive form *sīe* was prevalent in dialects other than Mercian, but

^a Although not pertinent to the development of the English subjunctive per se, a look at the Gothic paradigm might help illuminate the true Proto-Germanic history of these forms. The preterit-stem optative of the verb *to be*, taken from Bennett (59) is offered here for that purpose:

sg. 1/2/3	wēsǰáu	wēseis	wēsi
dual		[wēseits]	
pl. 1/2/3	wēseima	wēseiþ	wēseina

according to Campbell, *sīe* was already losing ground even in early West Saxon. “In late West Saxon, [*bēo*] is the prevailing form” (351). Additionally, it should be noted at this point that the past form of the English verb *to be* is historically unrelated to both present stems previously mentioned. The *be* paradigm is suppletive. Suppletion is a phenomenon whereby forms of historically unrelated stems are combined to create a new paradigm. The subjunctive forms of both verbs, along with the suppletive past tense paradigm are as follows:

West Saxon Subjunctive Paradigms:

Present:

sg:	<i>sīe</i>	<i>bēo</i>
pl:	<i>sīen</i>	<i>bēon</i>

Past:

sg.	<i>wāre</i>
pl:	<i>wāren</i>

(the various dialects of Old English spelled this form differently, but I am including only the West Saxon form)

-from A. Campbell, *Old English Grammar*

By the Middle English period, the remaining inflected subjunctive endings had reduced even further. On the decline of the plural ending in the present system, Mossé writes that, “in the Midland dialects, and especially the language of London in the 14th century *n* endings were beginning to disappear” (79). The *-n* had already largely

vanished from the dialects to the north. The subjunctive paradigm for both strong and weak verbs in the present system looked like this:

Middle English Present Subjunctive:

	North	Midlands	South
sg:	-(<i>e</i>)	- <i>e</i>	- <i>e</i>
pl:	-(<i>en</i>)	- <i>e(n)</i>	- <i>e(n)</i>

--from Fernand Mossé, *A Handbook of Middle English*

The Middle English preterite subjunctive looked different in strong and weak verbs, with weak verbs breaking into two categories. As was the case in the present subjunctive paradigm, the plural -n was either vanishing or already gone. The preterite subjunctive paradigms looked like this:

Middle English Preterite Subjunctive:

Strong Verbs:

	North	South and Midlands
sg:	---	- <i>e</i>
pl:	---	- <i>e(n)</i>

Weak Verbs:

	Category I	Category II	
sg:	- <i>ed(e)</i>	- <i>d(e)</i>	- <i>t(e)</i>
pl:	- <i>ed(e)(n)</i>	- <i>d(e)(n)</i>	- <i>t(e)(n)</i>

--from Fernand Mossé, *A Handbook of Middle English*

Verb forms in the subjunctive are, to use generative terminology, the surface markers of modality. However, as the distinction between indicative and subjunctive forms blurred, speakers looked for alternative surface markers indicating mood. The modal auxiliary verbs filled the void. “With the loss of contrast, the segmentalized auxiliary phrases with *scul-* and *will-* that had already been used sporadically as alternates for the subjunctive came to be used more and more and to be generalized to more and more contexts” (Traugott 148). As the inflected subjunctive moved toward obsolescence, the preterite present, or modal verbs, began to grammaticalize into an acceptable method of expressing utterances that were neither statements of fact (indicative) or direct commands (imperative). Curme wrote:

The endings of the old simple subjunctive^b were doubtless more concrete than they were even in the oldest English. They had become mere abstract symbols, so that even in the Old English period the English mind was already seeking a more concrete and a more accurate expression for its subjunctive ideas, and began to employ the auxiliaries which are now so much used. The fact that some of those auxiliaries were employed at the time when the subjunctive had distinctive endings shows clearly that they did not come into use on account of the lack of distinctive subjunctive forms. The use of auxiliaries evidently indicates a desire for a more concrete and a more accurate expression of thought and feeling (1-5).

^b By “old simple subjunctive,” I believe Curme means “Proto-Germanic.”

The inflected subjunctive did persist, however. The subjunctive form of the verb *to be* persisted in Middle English, with the *bēo* form winning out in all dialects. The forms were obviously greatly reduced, showing little distinction between singular and plural:

Present Subjunctive:

	Northern	Midland	South	Kentish
sg:	bē	bē (sī)	bēō, bō (sie)	by:
pl:	bē	bēn	bēōn, bōn (sien)	

Preterite Subjunctive:

	Northern	Midland	South	Kentish
sg:	wār(e)	wōre, wēre	wēre	
pl:	wār(e)	wōren, wēre(n)	wēre	

By the Early Modern English period, the need for distinction between indicative and subjunctive overcame the loss of forms. The trend toward the grammaticalization of preterite present verbs into modal auxiliaries continued from its beginnings in Old English to the dawning of the Early Modern Period. There were, however, other methods of expressing mood beyond the employment of modal auxiliaries. In Early Modern English, generally defined as the period between 1500 and 1700, Görlach lists the following methods of modal expression:

- 1) inflection (indicative vs. subjunctive)
- 2) conjunctions with modal content (as, though, if)
- 3) introductory formulae (I wish/ I hope that...) or other contextual markers
- 4) modal adverbs (possibly, probably)
- 5) modal verbs (may, might, should...)

6) deviation from the sequence of tenses (in direct speech)

--taken from Görlach, *Introduction to Early Modern English*

By the period of Early Modern English, the inflectional distinction between indicative and subjunctive had blurred in all but the third person singular. The alternative methods of expression listed above were largely employed by English speakers to indicate the author's attitude toward what was being said. It is important to note, however, that there were a few places where a subjunctive form was unmistakable. Inflectional contrast did, as mentioned above, still exist in the third person singular, present tense (*he run, he runs*). This distinctive usage can be found in the works of many authors of the period. The other place where distinctions of form remained was in the verb *to be*. As Harsh notes, "in addition to the usual contrast *be/is*, contrasts also occur in the present tense first and second person singular and in all persons plural (e.g., *be/am; be/are*), and in the preterite first and third person singular (e.g., *were/was*) (13). This means that *be* used in the non-past, both singular and plural but exclusive of the infinitive form *to be*, and *were* used in the 1st and 3rd singular were (and are for that matter) subjunctive forms.

As previously mentioned, the subjunctive mood indicates the attitude of the speaker. Encompassing the duties of the old Proto-Indo-European optative, the subjunctive mood in English expresses the notions of "potentiality, contingency, hypothesis, conjecture, unreality, exhortation, prohibition, wishing, desiring" (Traugott 98). When studying the use of the subjunctive mood by any particular author, an analysis of the modal verbs would seem crucial to the study. However, limiting a subjunctive study to the subjunctive forms of the anomalous verb *to be* eliminates the possibility that

the results might be skewed toward one of the aforementioned notions at the expense of another. For example, the modal auxiliary verb *might* generally indicates possibility and a study of that particular verb when looking at the larger issue of the subjunctive mood will indicate an authorial preference toward *possibility*. It will necessarily neglect the use of *would* for volition, or *may* for hypothesis. Therefore, for the purpose of Phase I of this study I am looking only at the subjunctive forms of non-plural *were*, and the *be* verb exclusive of the infinitive.

CHAPTER 4

William Tyndale, The Man

We do not know the cast of Tyndale's eyes, the set of his mouth; his profession made him a man of the shadows, and we know only, from his writing, that he was cantankerous, driven, and morally very self-assured, and that he was also lively, a wit and punster, and that he knew what it was to be happy.

-Brian Moynahan, *God's Bestseller*

William Tyndale was an Englishman who lived and died during the early days of the English Reformation. He was a writer of polemical Protestant texts, and a translator of the Bible into English. Beyond that, very little is known about the man. Modern scholars are familiar with his biblical work and his polemical tracts and texts, but his authorship of the first English New Testament to be translated from the Greek was suppressed during his life and in the days following his execution. Having lived most of his life as an outlaw, William Tyndale was a shadow walker; difficult to catch, difficult to define, difficult to study. Although virtually the whole collection of his works were unlawful, it may be his polemical works that attracted the greatest of the Catholic ire. Those works, along with his Bible translations, were banned in England during his lifetime because of their anti-Catholic sentiment.

The name *Tyndale* indicates a familial location in proximity to the river Tyne, in the Northumbrian region. Like all the facts surrounding the man, the facts of his ancestry

are likewise scanty. William Tyndale was probably born in Gloucestershire, many hundred miles from the river Tyne. During the fifteenth century, his family was rumored to have moved to the south and taken the alias Hitchens or Hutchens, masking their northern identity to avoid persecution. Although the scholarly consensus is that William was born in Gloucestershire in 1494, there is no way of proving it. His family seemed to encourage ambiguity because it protected them. Tyndale himself would later become a master at muddying the details of his life to stay one step ahead of persecution. His calling as a translator left him as a conveyer of information that was created by someone else. In effect, his greatest gift was something of a cloak. The heart of his work is a translation of the New Testament from the original Greek, and the first five books of the Old Testament from the original Hebrew. His commentaries have been widely noted as English translations of Luther's German, although much of his own thought expounds upon the translated material. The only known portrait of him, housed in Hertford College, Oxford, is thought to actually be a portrait of John Knox, the infamous Scottish reformer.

What is known about the Tyndale family of Gloucestershire is that they must have been connected with the wool industry. The Vale of Berkeley, where Tyndale grew up, was heavily invested in the cloth trade in the early part of the 16th century. At that time, those involved in that business were independently minded and in many ways revolutionary. Clearly the cloth industry factors largely in the making of the man.

The strong development in the county of the many local centres of the rural cloth-making industry, of which the Vale of Berkeley was especially significant, depended partly on the fast-flowing streams coming down from the Cotswolds. Many of the small communities were beside the main

road down England from the North and Midlands on the way to Bristol and Exeter, and could use the Severn as a waterway as well. That development paralleled the beginning of the centuries-long change of power from the great Church and lay houses to people of the middle rank, in local and in national affairs [...] The networks of communication across the county and outside were strong. The population was intensely aware of itself and of its routes of connection. Within the Vale of Berkeley were something like 150 households, involving about thirty families. Working in cloth supported half that population (Daniell 1994: 14-15).

In addition to a healthy income, the cloth trade provided Tyndale with something of far greater value: the exposure to other tongues. Since the wool trade was an international one, members of that community would be exposed to several different continental languages in addition to a great bit of exposure to the neighboring Welsh. Many of Tyndale's supporters later in his life were connected with the cloth industry, both locally and on the continent. These were the people who would hide him when he became an outlaw, give him shelter and provisions, and enable him to do his great work. The industry that undoubtedly supported Tyndale through his childhood and his work as a writer/translator would later serve him again: by smuggling his contraband literature into England from the continent.

Following childhood, Tyndale pursued an education at Oxford University. "The registers of the University of Oxford record him taking his BA on 4 July 1512; being licensed MA on 26 June 1515; and created MA on 2 July 1515, all from Magdalen Hall" (Daniell 1994:22). At that point, he was probably ordained a priest. He would have

studied in Latin, as was the custom then. Latin was the language of scholarship, and learning Latin also meant formally learning grammar. By that point, Tyndale was well on his way. Erasmus was also connected with Magdalen Hall. Before John Stokesley would succeed Cuthbert Tunstall as Bishop of London, he was Vice-President of Magdalen College while Tyndale was a student. Stokesley's time there was marked by scandalous accusations and investigation. Tyndale's attitude toward traditional scholarship and the clergy soured during this time. The paths of Tyndale and Stokesley would cross again: Stokesley was Bishop of London when Tyndale was burned at the stake (Daniell 1994:26).

Although there are no surviving records to prove it, "it is now generally accepted that Tyndale went to Cambridge some time after taking his MA at Oxford" (Williams 5). It is thought that at Cambridge Tyndale gained his knowledge of Greek. Erasmus, who, according to a popular saying, "laid the egg that Luther hatched," taught Greek at Cambridge, but as before at Magdalen Hall there is no evidence that the men ever met. At the time Tyndale was supposed to have been in Cambridge, there was a growing interest in the study of Greek and a growing interest in Luther. It makes sense that Tyndale would have been drawn to like-minded people, and it fits his pattern that there would be no recoverable trace of him there. "In view of what is so often said about Lutherans in Cambridge in the early 1520s, the idea of Tyndale spending a period there seems so natural that it can surely only be an accident that his name does not appear in the records" (Daniell 1994:49).

He must have gone to Cambridge in search of something, and what that was will probably never be fully revealed. Given his distrust of and distaste for the clergy

and the machine of the Catholic church in general, it couldn't have been a traditional, priestly career.

In the early sixteenth century the university career of a promising young man normally ended in one of three ways. First, within the university there was the chance of a college fellowship with opportunities for teaching and later, some kind of academic office such as the headship of a college. Secondly, there was always the chance of a career within the Church. Thirdly, a bright young man might be invited to enter the king's service, where ways were open to the highest offices within the State. Judged by his attainments later in life Tyndale must have been a serious student, not lacking in ability, and with a long experience of university life. Yet, so far as is known, he does not seem to have been considered for any of the above-mentioned avenues of promotion. He left the university with, apparently, no prospects of a career in sight. His next move, therefore, was decidedly unexpected (Williams 5-6).

After his studies, William Tyndale returned to Gloucestershire. He went to work, probably as a tutor, in the household of Sir John Walsh of Little Sodbury Manor in 1521.

The Walsh family was both wealthy and well-connected. They were hosts of Henry VIII and Queen Anne at their home in Little Sodbury. They also were familiar with the Tyndale family. It is unclear exactly what Tyndale's duties to the household were, although it is commonly assumed that he acted as tutor to the Walsh children and perhaps in some clerical capacity to the rest of the household. One thing is certain. He had plenty of time to begin his career as a writer of forbidden books. His first translation

of the New Testament would be published just four years later and the first polemical tract, *The Parable of the Wicked Mammon*, would come in 1528. His situation could not have better suited him because,

Tyndale knew that he had a lot of work to do alone with the Greek New Testament. At Little Sodbury Manor, living comfortably with possibly already supportive employers and light duties, receiving a salary and full maintenance, with freedom to come and go, and booksellers selling Erasmus and others not far away in Bristol or Oxford, his position could be considered to have been ideal, to the point of having been specifically arranged by him, as he and his locally influential brothers might have made agreement with the Walshes (Daniell 1994:59).

The New Testament was not the only translation Tyndale worked on at Little Sodbury. Erasmus had written the *Enchiridion Militis Christiani* years earlier (1501).

The *Enchiridion*, being a short, handy, Scripture-based call to Christian morality in lay people, moderately critical of practices of the Church, by someone so well-known for sharp writing, someone moreover whose scholarly credentials were wonderfully impressive in the fields that were beginning to matter at the time -- classical literature, the earlier fathers, the Italian humanists, the essential New Testament text -- by a man who was himself a teacher and model of the very art of writing, would almost present itself to Tyndale's hand to be worked on (Daniell, 1994: 73).

In many ways, the wisdom contained in that book is similar to Tyndale's own *Obedience of a Christian Man*, published in 1528. He must have translated Erasmus' manual while

with the Walshes, because he is reported to have given them an *Enchiridion* in English before leaving them in 1524. The earliest printed English version of Erasmus' *Enchiridion* appeared in 1533. Its translator remains a mystery.

Following his stay with the Walsh family at Little Sodbury Manor, Tyndale arrived in London between 1523 and 1524 to persuade then Bishop Tunstall to permit an English translation of the Bible. By way of displaying his credentials as a competent translator of Greek, Tyndale presented his English version of one of Isocrates orations, possibly *Panegyricus*. It was work most likely done at Little Sodbury, although, since he acquired the ability to read Greek at Cambridge, it is possible that Tyndale had done the work earlier there. It would have been an impressive display, because "even if it was not the *Panegyricus* that Tyndale took, the translation of any oration of Isocrates represents a formidable amount of work" (Daniell 1994:90). As with the English *Enchiridion*, the fate of Tyndale's translation of the Isocrates oration is unknown. In spite of the worthy effort put forth by Tyndale, his appeal to the Bishop was denied. Tyndale would shortly have to flee England to avoid the stake. Even without the Bishop's permission, and with growing disapproval of his methods and philosophy, Tyndale's English New Testament was less than a year from publication.

(H)e departed into Germany where the good man, inflamed with a tender care of his country, refused no travail nor diligence how by all means possible to reduce his brethren of England to the same understanding of God's holy word and verity which the Lord had endued him withal (Foxe 122).

4.1 Growing Disapproval

Tyndale's troubles with the clergy started long before he first approached the Bishop of London. Foxe reports that while at Little Sodbury Manor, [John Walsh], as he kept a good ordinary commonly at his table, there resorted unto him abbots, deans, archdeacons, with other doctors and great beneficed men; who there, together with Tindall sitting at the same table, did use to talk of learned men, as of Luther and Erasmus; also of controversies and questions upon the Scriptures. Tindall spared not to show them plainly his judgment in matters; and when they at any time did vary from Tindall in opinions, he would lay before them the manifest places of the Scriptures to confirm his sayings. Thus continued they for a season, contending together sundry times, till they waxed weary and bare a secret grudge against him" (Foxe 119).

He was hounded by the clergy who were always looking for ways to levy charges of heresy against him. Charges were at one point brought, but dismissed. The more he continued in his disregard for the laws against discussion of the Scriptures in English, the more the clergy sought to persecute him. The lengths they were willing to go to were great indeed: "After this the grudge of the priests increasing more and more, they never ceased barking at him and laid many things to his charge, saying that he was an heretic in sophistry, in logic, in divinity; and that he bare himself bold of the gentlemen in that country [...] To be short, Tindall being so molested by the priests was constrained to leave that country and seek another place" (Foxe 121).

4.2 The Publication of Polemical Works:

William Tyndale was a lightning rod of controversy during the early English Reformation. Shortly following the publication of the first printed English Bible in 1525, Tyndale began publishing tracts and books dealing with what might be called a blueprint of the early English Reformation. A timeline of those publications is as follows:

1525: The first New Testament

1528: *The Parable of the Wicked Mammon*

The Obedience of a Christian Man

1530: *The Practice of Prelates*

1531: *An Answer unto Sir Thomas More's Dialogue*

1534: New Testament revision

Although these works will be discussed in greater depth in later chapters, a brief look at the circumstances surrounding their publication is helpful in understanding the author and his motivations. His attention to “Language” is evident in every one of his books. Daniell writes that, “One of the constants throughout all his writing is his special interest in how language works [...] He records how the Church used Latin as a form of magic, how some Greek words are best translated, what a mysterious Egyptian word might mean, [and] how Hebrew grammar functions” (44). This unbending attention to the smallest detail of his work makes him a fascinating object of study. If he paid so much attention to the possible contributions of Greek and Hebrew grammars and lexicons to English, he must have also paid as much attention to his own use of the English language. After all, he was a skilled, Oxford-taught rhetorician who knew how to make every word count. His 1534 translation of John 1:1-5 beautifully illustrates the power of the

connection between language and the divine:

In the beginning was the word, and the word was with God: and the word was God. The same was in the beginning with God. All things were made by it, and without it, was made nothing, that was made. In it was life, and the life was the light of men, and the light shineth in the darkness, but the darkness comprehended it not.

The first published polemical book, *Mammon*, was a small-scale work dealing with faith and works – the crux of the Protestant argument: Faith first, then works. It was received hostilely because of the tremendous emphasis the Church placed on works.

The next book, which was published in the same year, was *The Obedience of a Christian Man*. It is, as was *Mammon*, an exhortation to all Christians to live as the Bible commands and not by Church ritual and tradition. In this book can be found all the Tudor preoccupation with order and hierarchy. Because of this, it seems unreasonable that Thomas More would attack it as anarchical. Daniell writes that, “there is, says Tyndale [...] one social structure, created by God, to which everyone has to be obedient simply by being God’s creature” (Daniell 2000, ix). Henry VIII famously proclaimed that it was a book for him, and all kings to read. Just like *Mammon*, *Obedience* was banned as a heretical book.

In 16th c. English, the word *practice* had more of a meaning of trickery than it does today. To publish a book entitled, *The Practice of Prelates* would seem to be provocative. For the Church, it was a punch in the eye delivered by an assailant they could not see. Tyndale was still abroad when he published *Prelates*, and was fuming over the reluctance of the English Church to agree to an English Bible. But in *Prelates*, the

focus of Tyndale's contempt is as much papal as Anglican. In *Prelates*, "Tyndale took a gallop through history to show how the papal lust for power had corrupted the Church and the clergy, and led to the humiliation of princes and the misery and ruin of the laity" (Moynahan 218). Tyndale was angry, and it showed.

As a response to the sucker punches thrown by Tyndale from across the sea, the Church empowered Sir Thomas More to read his heretical works and respond on their behalf. Thus, More's *A Dialogue Concerning Heresies* was born. With the publication of More's *Dialogue*, "a great feud, that would consume five years and three quarters of a million words, was underway" (Moynahan 166). Tyndale responded quickly by publishing *An Answer unto Sir Thomas More's Dialogue*. In addition to a rebuttal of More's more exaggerated claims, the primary focus of this book was that which Tyndale held as the central argument of the Reformation: scripture trumps tradition. In a fury, More counter-punched once again with a ranting 500,000 word colossus known as the *Confutation*. By this time, it was personal – the two men who perhaps best embodied the conflict of the English Reformation now deeply hated each other.

4.3 On the importance of the English New Testament:

For such considerations this good man was moved to translate the Scripture into his mother tongue, for the utility and profit of the simple people of his country, first setting in hand the New Testament... (Foxe 123).

Tyndale's 1525 translation of the New Testament was the first version of the scriptures ever to be printed in English. Tyndale was well-read in many languages and translated directly from the original Greek text. He was, in fact, the first to translate the

New Testament into English from the original Greek. Many authorities believe that his translations were not only the most accurate of his time but that many of the other translations from that period were actually Tyndale's (See Daniell, 1994, and Moynahan, 2003). The Church in England did not permit vernacular devotional texts at that time, and those who were caught with such materials were tortured or executed by fire. In order to continue his work, Tyndale was forced to flee to the continent. After completing his New Testament and the five books of Moses, he was arrested by the authorities in Vilvoorde, Flanders.

These books of Tindall, especially the New Testament of his translation, after they began to come into men's hands and to spread abroad, as they wrought great profit to the godly, so to the ungodly, fearing lest their works of darkness should be discerned, began to stir with no small ado; like as at the birth of Christ, Herod and all Jerusalem was troubled with him...The prelates of the realm, thus incensed against the Old and New Testament translated by Tindall, and conspiring together how to repeal the same, never rested before they had brought the king to their consent; by reason where of a proclamation was set forth under public authority, but no just reason showed, that Tindall's translation with other works both of his and other writers were inhibited; which was about 1527. Not contented herewith they proceeded further how to entangle him in their nets and bereave him of life (Foxe 124-125).

Ultimately, he was burned at the stake as a heretic in February 1536. His last words reportedly were, "Lord open the King of England's eyes!" Later, Henry VIII of England

would commission an English Bible which was largely based on Tyndale's work. Credit for the translation was not given to him because of the very political nature of his execution.

Although the earlier biblical translators did not leave an indelible mark on the lexis and syntax of the English language, Tyndale did. "There was no prose work in English prior to Tyndale's biblical translations of comparable range and power and none which subsequently enjoyed as wide a readership in early modern times. In fashioning an English capable of expressing the religious, historical, legal, political, and moral ideas and images of the ancient texts, Tyndale helped to create the language used by the greatest writers of the English Renaissance" (Patterson 3). The staying power of his turns of phrase is a testament to the fact that he was a brilliant translator. Tyndale's greatest asset was his determination that the translation he produced was simple enough for a plowboy to understand. Hence, his choice of words was often monosyllabic and native to the vernacular. His awareness of his audience made his work popular, and thus by definition, read by a wider group of people. "[The] more popular versions conforming with vernacular structures (and thereby stabilizing them) helped in a more lasting way to create the flexible multifunctional standard language" (Görlach 38).

In spite of the imposed ban on his translations by the Catholic Church, Tyndale remained widely read. Because of the beauty and simplicity of this writing, his translations had staying power which effected the development of the English language. "But it was Tyndale's use of English that made his translation such an enduring achievement. Over and over again he found words and phrases that caught the meaning of the Hebrew and Greek in idiomatic, succinct English that had the rhythm and structure

of the spoken language” (Patterson 2). Consider the familiarity of Tyndale’s translation of Exodus 20:1-17, taken from the 1530 Pentateuch:

And God spake all these words and said: I am the Lord thy God, which have brought thee out of the land of Egypt, and out of the house of bondage. Thou shalt have none other Gods in my sight. Thou shalt make thee no graven image, neither any similitude that is in heaven above, either in the earth beneath, or in the water that is beneath the earth. See that thou neither bow thyself unto them neither serve them: for I the Lord thy God, am a jealous God, and visit the sin of the fathers upon the children unto the third and fourth generation of them that hate me: and yet show mercy unto thousands among them that love me and keep my commandments.

Thou shalt not take the name of the Lord thy God in vain, for the Lord will not hold him guiltless that taketh his name in vain.

Remember the Sabbath day that thou sanctify it. Six days mayst thou labor and do all that thou hast to do: but the seventh day is the Sabbath of the Lord thy God; in it thou shalt do no manner work: neither thou nor thy son, nor thy daughter, neither thy manservant, nor thy maidservant, neither thy cattle neither yet the stranger that is within thy gates. For in six days the Lord made both heaven and earth and the sea, and all that in them is, and rested the seventh day: wherefore the Lord blessed the Sabbath day and hallowed it.

Honor thy father and thy mother, that thy days may be long in the land which the Lord thy God giveth thee.

Thou shalt not kill.

Thou shalt not break wedlock.

Thou shalt not steal.

Thou shalt bear no false witness against thy neighbor.

Thou shalt not covet thy neighbor's house: neither shalt covet thy neighbor's wife, his manservant, his maid, his ox, his ass or aught that is his.

Tyndale also coined many phrases that survive in modern English, including: *birds of the air, fishers of men, the powers that be, let there be light, the spirit is willing* (Daniell 1).

William Tyndale believed that Greek was more beautifully translated into English rather than into Latin because of the size and fluidity of the English vocabulary. In addition to the more suitable vocabulary, Greek syntax more closely mirrored that of English than that of Latin.

For the Greek tongue agreeth more with the English than with the Latin. And the properties of the Hebrew tongue agreeth a thousand times more with the English than with the Latin. The manner of speaking is both one, so that in a word for word when thou must seek a compass in the Latin, and yet shalt have much work to translate it well favouredly, so that it have the same grace and sweetness, sense and pure understanding with it in the translated into the English than into the Latin (Tyndale 19).

“The fact that the conspicuous transfers of Latin syntax in 16th c. translations not

only largely disappeared after 1660, but that the development of vernacular syntax started diverging from Latin categories (e.g. in the important features relating to word order, uses of *do*, tense and aspect) provides indirect evidence of the relative impact of classical translations” (Görlach 38). It seems that many of the works (both biblical and secular) translated from the Latin were not available to the common man, and thus, the Latin syntax of those translations did not greatly influence the syntax of the vernacular. Tyndale translated from the Greek, which he felt to be similar in structure to English, and he used native words in phrases with brilliant understatement. That is why his work survived and continues to influence the English biblical register.

CHAPTER 5

The Tyndale Texts

5.1 The Parable of the Wicked Mammon, 1528

“That faith the mother of all good works justifieth us, before we can bring forth any good work.”

-William Tyndale, *The Parable of the Wicked Mammon*

The Parable of the Wicked Mammon was the first of Tyndale’s published polemical texts, and the first book to which he signed his name. It was written and published in Antwerp. This big, busy, bustling city gave Tyndale the cover he needed to work in secret on his ‘heretical’ texts. It was also a city with a vibrant printing industry that, while exercising reasonable caution, wasn’t afraid to publish Protestant texts. Moynahan writes the following, “Antwerp printers published work in Dutch, English, French, Spanish, Italian, and Latin, and in the biblical languages, Greek and Hebrew. They were the leading printers of English language books, outstripping the small London printing trade” (132). In the introduction, Tyndale explained why he never signed his name to any works he previously published by saying, “I followed the counsell of Christe whiche exhorteth men to do their good deeds secretly and to be content with the conscience of welldoing” (1). He tells of being forced by circumstance to use the services of an indiscrete man named William Roye. As an exile and a hunted heretic, discretion was paramount to survival for Tyndale. Roye published a book that was full of “scurrilous doggerel attacking [Bishop] Tunstall and [Cardinal] Wolsey, which people assumed [Tyndale] had

written” (Moynahan 134). Roye had also published a translation of a Lutheran instruction book and signed it with Tyndale’s alias Hitchens. Because he was so upset with Roye’s books and the unwanted attention it brought him, he felt he had to clear the matter up and thus began to sign his name from that point forth. Published during what Elizabeth Nugent characterized as “the most active period in Tyndale’s life,” *Mammon* went to press in 1528 - just ahead of *The Obedience of a Christian Man* (189). Just as was the fate of all his other works, *Mammon* was deemed heretical. There were no less than twenty-four heresies identified in the tiny book alone. Based on the parable of the unrighteous steward from Luke 16, *Mammon* deals with the importance of faith to salvation.

He that is faithful in that which is least, the same is faithful in much. And he that is unfaithful in the least: is unfaithful also in much. So then if ye have not been faithful in the wicked mammon, who will believe you in that which is true? And if ye have not been faithful in another man’s business who shall give you your own? No servant can serve two masters, for either he shall hate the one and love the other, or else he shall lean to the one and despise the other. Ye cannot serve God and mammon.

--Luke 16 (Tyndale 1534)

It is “a thoughtful working-out of the teaching of Christ, and to a lesser extent Paul, about such deeds as should follow faith. It is a systematic analysis of what ordinary Christian living should be, entirely according to what the New Testament (and not the church) says – and says in English” (Daniell 2000, viii). Tyndale himself described it as a ‘little treatise.’ The message in *Mammon* is very similar to that of the *Obedience*, but as

an earlier work, it lacks the polish of the latter. In his biography of Tyndale, Daniell writes that, “Tyndale asks, what are good works, what is their intent, and how do they serve? He lists the principle ones as commended by Scripture – fasting, watching, prayer and almsgiving – concluding with thirty-eight pages of Scripture doctrine and illustration” (159).

When he wrote of faith and love, and of Scripture, and of God he wrote beautifully. Moynahan wrote that, “he saw the gospels as a part of that love; he adored them, in the religious sense. When we hear the gospels, he wrote in Mammon, we believe in the mercy of God, and through that we receive the spirit of God, and then, why – we are in the eternal life already, and feel already in our hearts the sweetness thereof, and are overcome with the kindness of God and Christ and therefore love the will of God, and of love are ready to work freely” (136). When he turned his attention to the Pope and the Church, he soured. In fact, he wrote of them with “crabbiness and tantrums,” according to Moynahan (136).

It has been suggested that Tyndale followed Luther often to the point of plagiarism. And *The Parable of the Wicked Mammon* is based in large part on a 1522 sermon by Luther entitled, *Ein sermon von dem unrechten Mammon Lu. XVI* (see Daniell 160).

Luther maintains, first, that faith alone justifies, second, that true faith will always reveal itself in good works done freely and without thought of reward, and third, that it is not the saints, but God, who receives men into heaven. We see at once that this is only the first of Tyndale’s three main sections. Tyndale has greatly expanded Luther, as he had done before, [...]

but here the enlargement is much greater. Luther's printed sermon occupies only six leaves in quarto; Tyndale has six times as much (Daniell 161).

Tyndale wrote *Mammon* (and his other polemical works for that matter) in order to support the Lutheran idea that faith justifies salvation independently of works, and that a bible in English was God's will. In his article, "Translation, Interpretation, and Heresy: The Wycliffite Bible, Tyndale's Bible, and the Contested Origin," Ng wrote, "the polemical tracts are written for a different rhetorical purpose: not primarily to guide the lay reader's interpretation of scripture, but to defend Tyndale's translation and his theological position" (330). Tyndale held the belief that Scripture ought to be available to every person to read in a language that he or she understood. The reader was responsible for the material contained in the verses, and had to play an active role in interpretation. In order to accomplish this, it had to be well-written and well-disseminated. This made the ecclesiastical establishment justifiably nervous. As Ng put it, "The opening up of interpretation to laymen that vernacular translation allows means that the power of meaning-making, and the authority that it maintains, can be contested [...] Translation is power or sedition, depending on your point of view" (323).

5.2 The Obedience of a Christian Man, 1528.

"The powers that be are ordained by God."

-William Tyndale, *The Obedience of a Christian Man*

Shortly after the publication of *The Parable of the Wicked Mammon*, William Tyndale wrote *The Obedience of a Christian Man*. As with his other works, this one would also be deemed heretical and banned in England. Even still, eight editions were printed before 1561 (Nugent 189). In the introduction to his 2000 edition of William Tyndale's *Obedience*, David Daniell writes the following:

In these pages is high theology and pastoral wisdom, from Paul and the Gospels. Here is much of the New Testament, and also the Old. Here are the Fathers, from Origen to Aquinas; the late medieval schoolmen, and the squabbling metaphysicians. Literature in England, and English history, are part of his picture. Above all, here in a broad unrolling tapestry is the contemporary church in so many of its practices, from pope to deacon, through bishop, priest, monk and friar, limiter and pardoner, and not all of them condemned (xiv).

The Church authorities condemned Tyndale's book; insisting that it would encourage anarchy and lawlessness. Moynahan wrote that, "in short, society would suffer extreme breakdown; the Church, the fountainhead of law and authority, would be destroyed, and with it the continuity of the centuries would be shattered. Tyndale was guilty of a dual crime. Spiritually, he challenged Christ's true Church, and, in temporal terms, he was ruining the peace of the realm. Tyndale was thus a heretic and a traitor" (172). The English feared a rebellion similar to the one that occurred in Germany attributed to the writings of Martin Luther. But Tyndale, as a citizen of Tudor England, valued order. In *The Elizabethan World Picture*, Tillyard writes that "if the Elizabethans believed in an ideal order animating earthly order, they were terrified lest it should be

upset, and appalled by the visible tokens of disorder that suggested its upsetting. They were obsessed by the fear of chaos and the fact of mutability; and the obsession was powerful in proportion as their faith in the cosmic order was strong” (16). Ironically, this explains both the objection to Tyndale’s writing and Tyndale’s insistence that he is not interested in disturbing the temporal order of things.

In fact, Tyndale wrote of insurrection as though it were an act against God himself. The prologue is devoted to the notion that rebellion and insurrection are wicked and of the Pope: “This seest thou, that it is the bloody doctrine of the Pope which causeth disobedience, rebellion and insurrection” (29). In his book, *William Tyndale: A Biography*, David Daniell notes that “it is said of Tyndale’s *Obedience* that in setting out who should obey whom it shows Tyndale’s solid maintenance of divine order expressed in the Tudor understanding of degree – that is, that everything in creation had its place in what later writers called “the great chain of being,” from God down through the orders of angels, and then to kings and all levels of subjects, and on down further through the animal kingdom to the lowest forms of organic life ...”(243). Tyndale addressed the question of the obedience of subjects to their rulers by doing what he does best, quoting the bible:

The thirteenth Chapter of Paul (Romans): Let every soul submit himself unto the authority of the higher powers. There is no power but of God. The powers that be are ordained by God. Whosoever therefore resisteth that power resisteth the ordinance of God. They that resist, shall receive to them self damnation. For rulers are not to be feared for good works but of evil. Wilt thou be without fear of the power? Do well then and so shalt

thou be praised of the same. For he is the minister of God, for thy wealth.

But and if thou do evil, then fear. For he beareth not a sword for nought.

For he is the minister of God, to take vengeance on them that do evil (36).

Tyndale walked a fine line between Godly order and righteous insurrection. He truly believed, as did his contemporaries, that order in society and obedience to authority are ordained by God. He reaffirmed the king's authority over all England when he wrote, "Moreover, one king, one law is God's ordinance in every realm" (96). He goes to great lengths to stress the belief that even a bad king must be obeyed. Throughout the book he alludes to the notion that obedience and loyalty are not the same thing. Loyalty requires acts done according to the *spirit* of the agreement – even after careful consideration by the subject of his leader. Obedience, on the other hand, requires spiritless acts in service to his leader. You don't have to like it, you just have to do it.

The book itself is not only concerned with obedience to rulers, but in the spirit of the 'chain of being,' begins by addressing the obligations of lower beings to their superiors: children to parents, wives to husbands, etc. It is as if Tyndale sees the social structure of 16th century England as a grand pyramid balanced on the notion that order is ordained by God, that the King is the guardian of that order, not the Church, and that the language of the English people is the proper vehicle to convey the only authority over the congregation: Scripture. His New Testament had been banned and burned by the time he published *Obedience*. Tyndale saw that act as the greatest affront to God's authority because it suggested that only the language of the Catholic Church was a worthy enough vessel through which to convey the holy word of God. Tyndale railed,

The sermons which thou readest in the Acts of the Apostles and all that the apostles preached were no doubt preached in the mother tongue. Why then might they not be written in the mother tongue? As if one of us preach a good sermon why may it not be written? Saint Jerome also translated the Bible into his mother tongue. Why may we not also? They will say it cannot be translated into our tongue it is so rude. It is not so rude as they are false liars (19).

The Protestant idea of separation of Church and State is easily visible in *Obedience*. Daniell writes that, “it has a historical significance still not properly understood. For the first time it stated the two great principles of the English Reformation: the supreme authority of scripture in the church, and the supreme authority of the king in the state” (xxix). It was Tyndale’s intention that King Henry read this book and understand that his power to rule over England was God-given, that the church should operate separately, and that the vernacular tongue of Henry’s subjects was properly suited to the task of scriptural conveyance. Henry did read the book, and professed that he approved of it.

But the book and its author were still precariously positioned. As would be the case in *The Practice of Prelates*, Tyndale had to deal with conflicting arguments in his own mind. *Obedience* had the benefit of following *Mammon*, giving Tyndale time to work his rhetorical magic over contradictions of opinion. His language is more eloquent, less sarcastic, and more focused than in the earlier work, giving rise to what would later be labeled the “English Plain Style” of simply remaining true to the native idiom, i.e., less subordination, more use of Anglo-Saxon vocabulary, etc. The writing is smoother,

and the reader can see that, “the stylistic and rhetorical variety which is characteristic of Tyndale writing at any length is in the *Obedience* permeated by another device. For example, in the early pages he shows that Scripture itself demonstrates both the inevitability of persecution and the power of God over the hypocrites who attack God’s Word. In his orderly argument, he builds his sentences, paragraphs and pages out of the bricks of Scripture” (Daniell 225). Consider the symmetry of the argument in the following passage from the *Obedience* chapter entitled *Anoiling*:

The promise of God is the anchor that saveth us in all temptations. If all the world be against us. God’s word is stronger than the world. If the world kill us, that shall make us alive again. If it be possible for the world to cast us into hell from thence yet shall God’s word bring us again.

Hereby seest thou that it is not the work but the promise that justifieth us through faith. Now where no promise is there can no faith be and therefore no justifying though there be never so glorious works. The sacrament of Christ’s body after this wise preach they: Thou must believe that it is no more bread, but the very body of Christ, flesh, blood and bone, even as he went here on earth, save his coat. For that is here yet, I wot not in how many places. I pray thee what helpeth all this? Here is no promise. The devils know that Christ died on a Friday and the Jews also. What are they help thereby? We have a promise that Christ and his body and his blood and all that he did and suffered, is a sacrifice, a ransom and a full satisfaction for our sins: that God for his sake will think no more on them, if we have power to repent and believe (131).

In spite of the beauty of his words and the logic in his arguments, he is still unable to see that in many ways, he and the Catholics were not entirely dissimilar. They both craved order, but defined the term differently. They both wanted to spread the principles of Christianity, and both were comforted by the belief that they were doing God's will. Tyndale could not accept the possibility that the Catholics were earnest in their defense of tradition and ecclesiastical hierarchy. Even those Catholics whom he believed to be sincere must be misled:

For it is impossible that a man should be a righteous, an equal, or an indifferent judge in his own cause: lust and appetites so blind us.

Moreover, when thou avengest theyself, thou makest not peace, but stirrest up more debate (37).

He could not even see how his words could just as easily be applied to his own Protestant cause.

The Obedience of a Christian Man has been called one of the most important books of the English Reformation (see Daniell, *i*), and a basic text for later royal pamphleteers (see Nugent 190). It is a master work largely because in it, Tyndale is at his best.

5.3 The Practice of Prelates, 1530

"Say not but that ye be warned!"

-William Tyndale, *The Practice of Prelates*

Tyndale published *The Practice of Prelates* in 1530. The word *practice* in Early Modern English carried the negative connotation of scheming through trickery. In this way, the very title was a verbal poke in the eye. Moynahan wrote that, “its main thrust was wholly favourable to the king and disturbing to the chancellor. Tyndale took a gallop through history to show how the papal lust for power had corrupted the Church and the clergy, and led to the humiliation of princes and the misery and ruin of the laity” (218). It is dripping with anger and resentment toward those whom Tyndale considered to be the real puppet masters – the “spirituality,” or clergy. In his text, Tyndale addressed the clergy as follows:

O generation of serpents, how well declare ye that ye be the right sons of the father of all lies! For they, which ye call heretics, preach nothing save that which our Saviour Jesus Christ preached, and his apostles; adding nought thereto, nor plucking aught therefrom, as the scripture commandeth; and teach all men repentance to God and his holy law, and faith unto our Saviour Jesus Christ, and the promises of mercy made in him, and obedience unto all that God commandeth to obey. Neither teach we so much as to resist your most cruel tyranny with bodily violence, save with God’s word only; intending nothing but to drive you out of the temple of Christ, the hearts, consciences, and souls of men (wherein with your falsehood ye sit) and to restore again Jesus our Saviour unto his possession and inheritance bought with his blood, whence ye have driven him out with your manifold wiles and subtilty. Take heed, therefore,

wicked prelates, blind leaders of the blind; indurate and obstinate hypocrites, take heed” (242).

Tyndale begins with the eighth-century king, Pepin, and traces the corruption of continental kings at the hands of the pope. Citing Platina as his source for historical data, Tyndale chronicles the hypocrisy in Charlemagne, the great ‘Christian’ king, who was obsessed by the corpse of his mistress and enchanted by a magic ring. He takes the reader through the arguments laid out in previous works: primarily the use of the word *church* to secure the domination of the church of Rome. Tyndale discusses the church’s argument that Peter is told by Christ that he is the “rock upon which I build my church.” As the first pope of the Roman Catholic Church, that makes none but the Catholic faith the one true faith. Tyndale argues that it is Peter’s faith and not Peter himself about which Christ is speaking. Although the Church began well, with the intention of giving alms to the poor, greed intervened and ultimately ambition clouded the judgment of the clergy. The introduction of the office of Pope created a struggle for power within the upper echelon of priests and bishops that spiraled out of control, resulting in the ability of the Holy Father to basically control the known world. In his biography of Tyndale, Daniell writes that “the symbol of the one against the many runs through his arguments from that base: what began with Christ alone, and should continue with Christ with the Christian soul alone, or among the Christian equals of the congregation, has become a gigantic international hierarchy with absolute worldly power” (204).

Addressing the prelates, Tyndale himself states the purpose of the book in the preface:

Neither teach we so much as to resist your most cruel tyranny with bodily violence, save with God's word only; intending nothing but to drive you out of the temple of Christ, the hearts, consciences, and souls of men (wherein with your falsehood ye sit), and to restore again Jesus our Saviour unto his possession and inheritance bought with his blood, whence ye have driven him out with your manifold wiles and subtlety (242).

In addition to the purpose of the book, Tyndale has fairly well outlined the purpose of the Reformation itself.

Ultimately, the work was important politically because of how it addressed “the king's great matter” – his divorce from Catherine of Aragon. Tyndale, a brilliant linguist and theologian, was not a brilliant politician. The reformers in England favored the divorce, but Tyndale stood firm: there was no biblical justification for an annulment or divorce, so it must not happen. He had effectively bitten the hand that fed him. Moynahan reflected that in spite of the fact that his own supporters favored the divorce and that that divorce might make a true English Reformation possible, Tyndale “judged the matter solely by the Bible [...] There was no scriptural necessity for the annulment and common morality was against it” (221). It was a colossal blunder politically, leaving Tyndale defenseless on all sides.

Tyndale was cutting off his nose to spite his face. His blank hatred of the pope and all things associated with the Catholic Church left him unable to view the matter from any position of compromise or mutual understanding. His argument becomes

bogged down in logic and he seems to lose his aim. Although David Daniell is perhaps his most vocal defender, he criticizes Tyndale's analysis in this way:

His entangling himself in the jungle of arguments of Leviticus 18, forbidding marriage with a brother's wife, versus Deuteronomy 25, ordering 'Levirate' marriage (in which a widow continues the male line by marrying her dead husband's brother) is one of his least successful pieces of writing [...] The matter of the King's divorce, his whole book implies, can only be understood as a further example of the internationally widespread 'practice' of the Church, seen at its most blatant in Wolsey (203).

His hatred of Thomas Wolsey was marked by rampant name calling: "Wolfsee," or "this wily wolf, I say, and raging sea, and shipwreck of all England." There was a direct line between the pope, whom Tyndale describes as "ivy strangling a tree," "the devil's vicar," and "the vicar of Satan," and Wolsey. Together, they were the cause of all England's woes.

He handles the Leviticus/Deuteronomy debate in such tight rhetorical style that he virtually twists his argument into a knot. He acknowledges the viewpoint of his opponents sarcastically, backs up his contempt of the Catholic argument against divorce by citing historical examples of similar situations in which marriage was not holy but political, and ultimately destructs in the following paragraph:

If Moses gave his people two contrary commandments, then he was an indiscreet lawgiver, yea, and devilish thereto; for then I cannot but be damned whatsoever I do. If a man say that the first pertaineth unto us

heathen, and the last unto the people of Israel, that soundeth not; for when all the other laws contained in the same chapter, and in all his books, pertained unto the same people, how should he, among so many belonging unto them, mingle one for us heathen only, to whom he was no lawgiver; and namely when he wist that one as wise as he should come and teach us, which is our Saviour Jesus Christ (327)?

He lumbers through his argument for several more pages, looping through logical patterns that just don't produce valid thinking; including an argument for brother/sister marriage under certain circumstances.

He must have been aware that his rhetoric on this point was weak. He believed what he believed and argued for it passionately, albeit clumsily. The clergy were to blame. He explains himself in this very lengthy way:

I did my diligence a long season, to know what reasons our holy prelates should make for their divorcement; but I could not come by them. I searched what might be said for their part, but I could find no lawful cause of myself, by any scripture that I ever read: I communed with divers learned men of the matter, which also could tell me no other way than I have shewed. Then I considered the falsehood of our spirituality, how that it is but their old practice, and a common custom; yea, a sport to separate matrimony, for to make division where such marriage made unity and peace [...] Neither can the king's grace, or any other christian man, of right be discontent with me. For it is not possible that any person baptized in the heart of repentance of evil, and with faith of forgiveness in the blood of

Christ, and stedfast purpose and profession of heart to walk henceforth after the steps of Christ, in the law of God, should once desire or will to do aught openly, with long deliberation, that he would not have compared with the law of God, to see whether it were right or not (332).

It is overgrown with uncertain constructions. For example: *but I could find no lawful cause of myself* doesn't mean that a lawful cause does not exist for the reasons of the prelates – and Tyndale knew that. In the final analysis, Tyndale's argument as presented in *The Practice of Prelates* fails to persuade largely because his reasons have more to do with his personal hatred and resentment toward all things Catholic and less to do with facts that he can *prove*.

CHAPTER 6

Methodology and Data

Anyone can observe that two samples of speech or writing are different. Sociolinguistic analysis can show us that these differences are objectively measurable, and that there are patterns in the choices which a speaker/writer does make, on the one hand, and can make, on the other. Since the choices are not entirely free, we need to observe the conditions of factors that may influence them; and it is here that sociolinguistic methodology is applicable.

-- Suzanne Romaine

Can the subjunctive mood be objectively employed as a marker of style? This case study examines the variation in the stylistic use of the subjunctive mood in the works of William Tyndale. It was expected that the variation would be distinctive and therefore predictable. In order to test this hypothesis, a syntactic environment in which the subjunctive mood was conventionally found had to be established for the period of Early Modern English. This was accomplished by analyzing subjunctive *be* and *were* tokens in various subordinate clauses in all three Tyndale texts and a comparison corpus. The conditional clause was determined to consistently favor the use of the subjunctive mood. Once this was done, a scan of all texts for conditional clauses introduced by *if* allowed analysis of modal expression preference. The analysis of the data and the implications for future research are presented in chapters to come.

A study by Wayne Harsh (1968) on the use of the subjunctive mood in biblical translations brought to light some interesting trends in Tyndale's biblical translations. Harsh compared Gospel translations from the Rushworth Latin, Rushworth Gloss, Wycliffe, Tyndale, King James, and Goodspeed Bibles, analyzing the occurrences of subjunctive modal structures in each. Harsh categorized the forms as follows: 1) inflected subjunctive, 2) modal auxiliary construction, 3) modal preterite inflection, and 4) non-distinctive subjunctive structure. Since all the translations prior to Tyndale's were based on Jerome's Latin Vulgate and not the Greek, I am not using them for comparison in this study. The Goodspeed translation is from the 20th century and will also be excluded. The King James Version, however, is an excellent candidate for comparison with Tyndale's translation, since the former was extensively based on the latter, and was its Early Modern contemporary.

Harsh's study includes the analysis of several modal forms but only utilizes text fragments. Since the primary purpose of the first phase of this study is to determine a dominant category in which the subjunctive is reliably used, a search of only two forms will suffice: the subjunctive *be*, and the non-past, non-plural form *were*. It is my expectation that the first phase of this study will provide a departure for the investigation of other features which could also indicate modality – e.g., modal auxiliaries. Analysis will provide directions to the fingerprint that I ultimately expect to help determine authorship of anonymous texts.

Using the polemical texts by Tyndale for such a study is important for three primary reasons. Tyndale is an ideal candidate for sociohistorical linguistic analysis because of his impact not only on later writers of the Early Modern period (Shakespeare

included; see Daniell, and Greenblatt), but on the religious register of Present Day English as well. Second, Tyndale's works have been brilliantly reviewed from a literary perspective, but not from a purely linguistic perspective. Lastly, the subjunctive mood, either in and of itself, or within the framework of the Early Modern English corpus, has not yet been employed in a study of stylometrics and authorship. This study could help to illuminate the synchronic situation in Early Reformation English with respect to variation in the use of modal forms.

For the purpose of the actual text analysis, I employed the concordancer software WordSmith Tools 4. Following Romaine (1982), I took into account that "[...] the increasing tendency towards emphasis on quantitative models and methods, and the development of computer-assisted analysis to the exclusion of all else is misguided" (x). Placing the results in context is of the utmost importance, and is indeed the primary purpose of this study. For that reason, the computer program was used only in its most basic functions for the purpose of collecting and sorting constructions. The exact methodology with regard to WordSmith Tools will be outlined later.

I have arranged the categories of modal constructions largely as Wayne Harsh did in his 1968 study. There are a few deviations. He did not include subjunctive constructions involving hypothetical comparison. Since they may be a factor in my study, I have added them. He included a category called 'polite usage,' which I have not included because it did not pertain to the biblical translations he reviewed and would be very unexpected in the polemical works. The various categories of subjunctive construction used in my study are as follows (all definitions taken from Harsh, examples are from Tyndale texts unless otherwise noted):

- 1) Wish, Hope, or Curse – Forms used in non-dependent clauses that express a wish, hope, or curse [Indo-European optative].

Woe be to thee Chorazin. -- Matthew 11 (KJV: Matthew 11:21)³

Grace and peace wyth all maner spiritual felynge and lyvinge worthy of the kindnes of Christe, be with the reader and with all that thirst the will of God.

-- The Parable of the Wicked Mammon

- 2) Command, Appeal, Advice – Forms used in dependent clauses that express an exhortation, an appeal, a command, or advice, most of which are third person constructions in which the syntactic structure and the function of the expression are similar to imperative mood constructions. The category is frequently designated as *jussive* or *hortative*.⁴

He that hath ears to hear, let him hear. -- Luke 14 (KJV Luke 14:35)

- 3) Indirect Narrative or Question – Forms used (primarily in Old English) in dependent clauses that report indirect discourse or indirect questions.

...in Romans xiii, where it is sayde, that princis be punyshers of euery thyng that is euyll. --Alexander Alesius, *A Treatise Concernynge Generall Councilles*

When they sent to Iohn axinge hym whether he were Christ ...

-- The Parable of the Wicked Mammon

- 4) Noun Clause, I - Forms used in dependent noun clauses that express desires, fears, commands, and proposals, and which are generally used after verbs of saying, thinking, wishing, commanding, desiring, etc.

³ Since the Tyndale Bible does not include verse numbers, I am including the verse numbers from the King James Version.

⁴ This category is problematic because of its close resemblance to imperative mood constructions. I have included it in reporting the Harsh data, but have excluded it from my study to avoid confusion with the imperative mood.

I will therefore that where a congregation is gathered together in Christ one be chosen after the rule of Paul ... -- The Obedience of a Christian Man

I wold that every man in London were mayer of London.

-- The Obedience of a Christian Man

- 5) Noun Clause, II – Forms used in dependent noun clauses after impersonal verb constructions such as *it is necessary*, *it is desirable*, etc.

It is enough for the disciple that he be as his master... -- KJV from Harsh (116)

- 6) Purpose – Forms used in adverbial clauses of purpose, usually introduced by *that*, *so that*, *lest*; in grammatical studies the category is often designated as *final clause*.

Then were brought to him young children, that he should put his hands on them and pray. -- Matthew 19 (KJV Matthew 19:13)

Be diligente therefore, that thou be not deceyved with curiousness.

-- The Parable of the Wicked Mammon

- 7) Anticipated Result (Consecutive Clause) – Forms used in some adverbial clauses of result in which the result is anticipated; the usage is more common in Old English. The category is often designated as ‘consecutive clause.’

By concentyng vnto the wyll of God and knowledging our faulte mekely we be assured of the sprite of God. -- The Parable of the Wicked Mammon

- 8) Hypothetical Comparison – Forms used in adverbial clauses to express hypothetical comparison and generally introduced by *as if*, *as though*, or *as*.

As if I woulde provoke another to pray ... -- The Parable of the Wicked Mammon

Lykewyse mayste thou soyle all texes which sounde as though it were between vs and God ... -- The Parable of the Wicked Mammon

- 9) Concession – Forms used in adverbial clauses to express concession or to state an alternate hypothesis, generally introduced by *though, although, whether*, etc., and also indicated by inverted word order.

Now though this were spoken vnto Peter only, ... -- The Practice of Prelates

How be it I am not yet certified... -- The Obedience of a Christian Man

- 10) Time – Forms used in adverbial clauses of time, describing an action or state of the future or a conjectural event, and often introduced by such words as *before, until*, etc.

... and all that is in a man before the sprite of God come ...

-- The Obedience of a Christian Man

- 11) Conditional (Protasis and Apodosis) – Forms used in adverbial clauses of condition (protasis) and in non-dependent related clauses (apodosis) to express doubt, conjecture, condition contrary to fact, or quite impossible condition.

Usually, if the condition is assumed to be impossible rather than merely hypothetical, the verbs of both clauses are in the subjunctive mood. The protasis, or clause stating the condition, is introduced by such words as *if, as though, except, but, an(d), and suppose*, or indicated by inverted word order.

But if it be not worthy, your peace shall return to you again. -- Matthew 10

(KJV Matthew 10:13)

Yf the scripture were in the mother tongue they will saye ...

-- The Obedience of a Christian Man

If ought of relefe were lefte amonge the layemen ... -- The Practice of Prelates

12) Relative Clause – Forms used in dependent relative clauses (or adjective clauses)

describing a person or persons who fulfill(s) hypothetical conditions. The clause is usually introduced by an indefinite pronoun, such as *all*, or *each*, or by a personal pronoun used to express an indefinite reference, for example *he who*.

For it is impossible that he that knoweth Christ truly should hate his brother.

-- The Prologue to the Romans, Tyndale's New Testament

6.1 The Harsh Numbers

Category 1: Harsh reports that Tyndale was the only user of subjunctive forms in this category, with 2 inflected subjunctive forms employed.

Category 2: Harsh reports that Tyndale used 2 inflected subjunctive forms, where the KJV used 4.

Category 3: Harsh reports that Tyndale used a total of 7 forms: one inflected subjunctive, 4 modal auxiliaries, one modal preterite, and one nondistinctive structure. The KJV is identical to Tyndale in this category.

Category 4: Harsh reports that Tyndale used only one form: a modal preterite. The KJV used a total of 2 forms: one modal auxiliary and one modal preterite.

Category 5: Harsh reports no usage in this category for Tyndale, and only one inflected subjunctive form for the KJV.

Category 6: Harsh reports that Tyndale used a total of 10 forms in this category. One was an inflected subjunctive form, 4 were modal auxiliaries, and 5 were modal preterite inflections. The KJV used a total of 13 forms. Seven were modal auxiliaries, but the

inflected subjunctive and the modal preterite inflection numbers were identical to Tyndale's.

Category 7: Harsh reports that Tyndale and the KJV were identical in this category, with one modal preterite inflection occurring in each.

Category 8: None reported.

Category 9: None reported.

Category 10: Harsh reports that Tyndale used only one inflected subjunctive form in this category, and that the KJV used 2.

Category 11: With a total of 24 forms reported, Tyndale used 7 inflected subjunctive forms, 3 modal auxiliaries, 12 modal preterite inflections, and 2 nondistinctive forms.

The KJV used a total of 20 forms with 8 being inflected subjunctives, 8 modal auxiliaries, 2 modal preterite inflections, and 2 nondistinctive forms.

Category 12: Harsh reports that Tyndale used a total of 8 forms. None were inflected subjunctive forms, 6 were modal auxiliaries, and 2 were modal preterite inflections. The KJV used a total of 9 forms, with one being an inflected subjunctive form, 6 being modal auxiliaries, and 2 being modal preterite inflections. (See Table 51).

Harsh's totals reveal that Tyndale used 56 subjunctive modal structures. Of that total, 43% of the total usage was in the category of conditional clause. The King James Bible used a total of 59 subjunctive modal structures, with 34% of the total usage in conditional clauses. Clearly, there is no other category that rivals the conditional clause for consistent subjunctive form usage in this study.

6.2 WordSmith Tools

All texts were electronically retrieved from Early English Books Online and loaded in computer-readable form into WordSmith Tools 4.0 concordancer software. None of the texts used in this study were encoded for grammatical type or category. The retrieval information for each of the Tyndale texts is as follows:

Author: Tyndale, William, d. 1536. 5817
Title: The obedie[n]ce of a Christen man and how Christe[n] rulers ought to governe, where in also (if thou marke diligently) thou shalt fynde eyes to perceave the crafty conveyance of all iugglers.
Date: 1528
Bibliographic Name / Number: STC (2nd ed.) / 24446
No. of Pages: clx, [8] leaves
Copy From: Bodleian Library
Reel Position: STC / 156:06

Author: Tyndale, William, d. 1536. 5817
Title: The parable of the wycked mammon Compiled in the yere of our lorde .M.d.xxxvi. W.T.
Date: 1547
Bibliographic Name / Number: STC (2nd ed.) / 24457
No. of Pages: [140] p.
Copy From: Bodleian Library
Reel Position: STC / 156:12

Author: Tyndale, William, d. 1536. 5817
Title: The practyse of prelates. Compyled by the faythfull and godly learned man, Wyllyam Tyndale
Date: 1548
Bibliographic Name / Number: STC (2nd ed.) / 24466
No. of Pages: [136] p.
Copy From: British Library
Reel Position: STC / 157:05

In order to create a proper concordance, a comparison corpus of samples from several unrelated texts from the same period, also retrieved in electronic form from Early English Books Online (EEBO), was loaded. The texts were chosen by limiting the EEBO search to the time period of 1500 – 1615. The texts within the comparison corpus

are meant to be a diverse collection of writers, topics, and genres. The samples used were taken at random from varying points within each text, and the lengths of each sample vary. The retrieval information for each of the texts from the comparison corpus is as follows:

Author: Achelley, Thomas. 3
Title: The key of knowvledge Contayning sundry godly prayers and meditations, very necessary to occupy the mindes of well disposed persons.
Date: 1572
Bibliographic name / number: STC (2nd ed.) / 85a
No. of pages: [39], 1-265, 265-301, [27] p.
Copy from: Lambeth Palace Library
Reel position: STC / 947:05

Author: Agrippa von Nettesheim, Heinrich Cornelius, 1486?-1535.
Title: The commendation of matrimony, made by Cornelius Agrippa, [et] translated into englysshe by Daudid Clapam
Date: 1540
Bibliographic name / number: STC (2nd ed.) / 201
No. of pages: [48] p.
Copy from: Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery
Reel position: STC / 301:05

Author: Albin de Valsergues, Jean d', d. 1566.
Title: [A notable discourse, plainelye and truely discussing, who are the right ministers of the Catholike Church written against Calvin and his disciples, ... with an offer made by a Catholike to be a learned Protestant]
Date: 1575
Bibliographic name / number: STC (2nd ed.) / 274
Bibliographic name / number: Allison & Rodgers. Catholic books, 3. /
No. of pages: [15+], 98, 24 leaves
Copy from: British Library
Reel position: STC / 164:03

Author: Alesius, Alexander, 1500-1565,
Title: A treatise concernynge generall councilles, the byshoppes of Rome, and the clergy
Date: 1538
Bibliographic name / number: STC (2nd ed.) / 24237
No. of pages: [68] p.
Copy from: Durham University (Durham, England) Library
Reel position: STC / 1467:10

Author: Anon.
Title: A boke of prayers called ye ordynary faschyon of good lyuyng
Date: 1546
Bibliographic name / number: STC (2nd ed.) / 3326.5
No. of pages: [36] p.
Copy from: Folger Shakespeare Library
Reel position: STC / 738:08

Author: Bale, John, 1495-1563. 197
Title: [A comedy concernynge thre lawes, of nature Moses, & Christ, corrupted by the sodomytes. Pharysees and Papystes Compyled by Iohan Bale. Anno M. D.XXXVIII.]
Date: 1548
Bibliographic name / number: STC (2nd ed.) / 1287
Bibliographic name / number: Greg, I, 24. /
No. of pages: [104] p.
Copy from: British Library
Reel position: STC / 23:05

Author: Betson, Thomas.
Title: Here begynneth a ryght profytable treatyse co[m]pendiously drawn out of many [and] dyuers wrytynges of holy men, to dyspose men to be vertuously occupied in theyr myndes [and] prayers
Date: 1500
Bibliographic name / number: STC (2nd ed.) / 1978
Bibliographic name / number: Duff 43. /
Bibliographic name / number: GW 4190. /
No. of pages: [36] p. :
Copy from: Cambridge University Library
Reel position: STC / 28:01

Author: Forset, Edward, 1553?-1630.
Title: A defence of the right of kings Wherein the power of the papacie ouer princes, is refuted; and the Oath of Allegeance iustified. Written for the vse of all English romanists; more especially, for the information of those priests, or Iesuits, which are by proclamation commanded to conforme themselues, or depart the kingdome. By Edvvard Forset, Esquire.
Date: 1624
Bibliographic name / number: STC (2nd ed.) / 11189
No. of pages: [12], 93, [1] p.
Copy from: British Library
Reel position: STC / 956:08

Author: Foxe, John, 1516-1587. 5518
Title: The Pope confuted The holy and apostolique Church confuting the Pope. The first action. Translated out of Latine into English, by Iames Bell.
Date: 1580

Bibliographic name / number: STC (2nd ed.) / 11241
No. of pages: [4], 121, [1] leaves
Copy from: Harvard University Library
Reel position: STC / 509:05

Author: Innocent III, Pope, 1160 or 61-1216.
Title: The mirror of mans lyfe Plainely describing, what weake mouldes we are made of: what miseries we are subiect vnto: howe vncertaine this life is: and what shal be our ende. Englished by H. Kirton.

Date: 1576
Bibliographic name / number: STC (2nd ed.) / 14093
No. of pages: [168] p.
Copy from: Folger Shakespeare Library
Reel position: STC / 639:19

Author: James I, King of England, 1566-1625. 1155
Title: A counterblaste to tobacco
Date: 1604
Bibliographic name / number: STC (2nd ed.) / 14363
No. of pages: [28] p.
Copy from: Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery
Reel position: STC / 1277:05

Author: Markham, Gervase, 1568?-1637. 1394
Title: The second booke of the English husbandman Contayning the ordering of the kitchin-garden, and the planting of strange flowers: the breeding of all manner of cattell. Together with the cures, the feeding of cattell, the ordering both of pastures and meddow-ground: with the vse both of high-wood and vnder-wood. Whereunto is added a treatise, called Good mens recreation: contayning a discourse of the generall art of fishing, with the angle, and otherwise; and of all the hidden secrets belonging thereunto. Together vvith the choyce, ordering, breeding, and dyeting of the fighting cocke. A worke neuer written before by any author. By G.M.

Date: 1614
Bibliographic name / number: STC (2nd ed.) / 17356
No. of pages: [16], 56, 59-205 [i.e. 105], [1]; [2], 51, [3] p.
Copy from: British Library
Reel position: STC / 813:12

Author: Nash, Thomas, 1567-1601. 1543
Title: The anatomie of absurditie contayning a breefe confutation of the slender imputed prayes to feminine perfection, with a short description of the seuerall practises of youth, and sundry follies of our licentious times. No lesse pleasant to be read, then profitable to be remembred, especially of those, who liue more licentiously, or addicted to a more nyce stoycall austeritie. Compiled by T. Nashe.

Date: 1589
Bibliographic name / number: STC (2nd ed.) / 18364

No. of pages: [46] p.
Copy from: Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery
Reel position: STC / 387:01

Author: Bede, the Venerable, Saint, 673-735.
Title: The history of the Church of Englande. Compiled by Venerable Bede, Englishman.
Translated out of Latin in to English by Thomas Stapleton student in diuinite
Date: 1565
Bibliographic name / number: STC (2nd ed.) / 1778
No. of pages: [14], 192, [4] leaves :
Copy from: Harvard University Library
Reel position: STC / 308:02

All texts involved were converted to plain text form, with any formatting removed so as not to confuse the concordance with words and characters unrelated to the texts themselves. A sample of the resulting concordance can be seen in Figure 5.1.

Beginning with the Tyndale corpus, I ran each search by single word, i.e. *be* and *were* for the initial category test. The comparison corpus was searched in the exact same manner. Then, for the Phase II of the study, I ran a search for *if* and *yf* in the Tyndale corpus, then the comparison corpus. The exact methodology followed for each search is detailed below.

6.3 Resulting Data, Phase I of Study

6.3.1 *be* tokens in the Tyndale texts

Since the software enables the user to isolate the token out of the list and see it in the context of the actual text itself, I was able to thoroughly review each token. The results yielded tokens that included infinitive forms; some marked with *to*, and some bare infinitives with auxiliary verbs. These were all marked A or B respectively and removed from the list. Any form whose use was ambiguous or clearly not subjunctive was removed from the list. Included among these were what Jespersen described as a

fossilized form of ‘be,’ used in the indicative to invoke archaic-sounding language (29). If any doubt as to the status of the form remained, the software listed the paragraph number, sentence number and word number of each token so that it could be visually examined in the book. The 432 remaining tokens were analyzed as to usage, and marked accordingly. User-defined sets were assigned numbers or letters corresponding to the subjunctive usage category sets outlined by Harsh. In other words, a token of the category *Wish, Hope, or Curse* was marked with a ‘1,’ a token of the category *Indirect Narrative or Question* was marked with a ‘3’ and so forth. As previously stated, I have excluded Harsh’s Category 2, *Command, Appeal, or Advice* from my data to avoid confusion with the very similar imperative mood construction. In order to establish some symmetry between the two studies, the remaining categories are numbered alike. WordSmith Tools then reorganized the tokens according to category and the numbers of tokens in each category were counted. The raw number of *be* tokens (from a total of 432) for all three Tyndale texts as a single corpus are as follows, with Table 6.4 illustrating the percentage totals:

Category 1, *Wish, Hope, or Curse*: 27 tokens

Category 3, *Indirect Narrative or Question*: 21 tokens

Category 4, *Noun Clause, I*: 2 tokens

Category 5, *Noun Clause, II*: 0 tokens

Category 6, *Purpose*: 21 tokens

Category 7, *Anticipated Result*: 2 tokens

Category 8, *Hypothetical Comparison*: 10 tokens

Category 9, *Concession*: 100 tokens

Category 10, Time: 35 tokens

Category 11, Conditional: 199 tokens

Category 12, Relative: 14 tokens

'be' tokens in Tyndale texts		
Category:	Number of Tokens:	Percentage of Total:
1	27	6%
3	21	5%
4	2	0%
5	1	0%
6	21	5%
7	2	0%
8	10	2%
9	100	23%
10	35	8%
11	199	46%
12	14	3%
Total:	432	

Table 6.1, *be* Tokens in Tyndale Texts, Canon Study

6.3.2 *were* tokens in the Tyndale texts

The methods employed in gathering data on Tyndale's use of modal preterite⁵ *were* in the three texts were the same as previously outlined for the *be* tokens above with a few exceptions. WordSmith Tools 4.0 retrieved all *were* tokens from the texts and listed them as a concordance. From there, all tokens with a plural subject were removed, even if they seemed to be in a subjunctive construction. This was done to avoid any confusion over the mood of the verb. Next, all ambiguous constructions were removed, that most likely resulted from scribal or printing error or unregulated spelling convention, such as *were* when *where* or *wear* was intended. There were then 98 tokens remaining, which were analyzed and assigned to categories 1-12 just as the *be* tokens had been. Here are

⁵ My use of the term "modal preterite" is defended later in the dissertation.

the raw numbers from all three Tyndale texts as a single corpus according to category, followed by Table 6.5 illustrating the percentage totals:

Category 1, Wish, Hope, or Curse: 0 tokens

Category 3, Indirect Narrative or Question: 9 tokens

Category 4, Noun Clause, I: 4 tokens

Category 5, Noun Clause, II: 0 tokens

Category 6, Purpose: 3 tokens

Category 7, Anticipated Result: 0 tokens

Category 8, Hypothetical Comparison: 13 tokens

Category 9, Concession: 11 tokens

Category 10, Time: 0 tokens

Category 11, Conditional: 55 tokens

Category 12, Relative: 3 tokens

'were' tokens in Tyndale texts			
Category:	Number of Tokens:	Percentage of Total:	
1	0	0%	
3	9	9%	
4	4	4%	
5	0	0%	
6	3	3%	
7	0	0%	
8	13	13%	
9	11	11%	
10	0	0%	
11	55	56%	
12	3	3%	
Total:	98		

Table 6.2, were Tokens in Tyndale Texts, Canon Study

6.3.3 *be* tokens in the Comparison Corpus

As with the Tyndale study, the comparison corpus was loaded as a single unit into WordSmith Tools 4.0 and searches were run for *be* and *were*. The method of analysis was identical to that of the Tyndale study. The results are as follows, followed by Table 6.3 illustrating the percentage totals:

Category 1, Wish, Hope, or Curse: 33 tokens

Category 3, Indirect Narrative or Question: 18 tokens

Category 4, Noun Clause, I: 3 tokens

Category 5, Noun Clause, II: 0 tokens

Category 6, Purpose: 21 tokens

Category 7, Anticipated Result: 2 tokens

Category 8, Hypothetical Comparison: 9 tokens

Category 9, Concession: 57 tokens

Category 10, Time: 14 tokens

Category 11, Conditional: 112 tokens

Category 12, Relative: 27 tokens

'be' tokens in comparison text corpus		
Category:	Number of Tokens	Percentage of Total
1	33	11%
3	18	6%
4	3	1%
5	0	0%
6	21	7%
7	2	1%
8	9	3%
9	57	19%
10	14	5%
11	112	38%
12	27	9%
total:	296	

Table 6.3, be Tokens in Comparison Corpus

6.3.4 were tokens in the comparison corpus

The analysis of the *were* tokens in the comparison corpus was identical to that of the Tyndale texts. The 67 viable tokens were each read in context to determine category.

The results are as follows, followed by a chart illustrating percentage totals:

Category 1, Wish, Hope, or Curse: 2 tokens

Category 3, Indirect Narrative or Question: 3 tokens

Category 4, Noun Clause, I: 1 token

Category 5, Noun Clause, II: 0 tokens

Category 6, Purpose: 2 tokens

Category 7, Anticipated Result: 3 tokens

Category 8, Hypothetical Comparison: 16 tokens

Category 9, Concession: 4 tokens

Category 10, Time: 2 tokens

Category 11, Conditional: 32 tokens

Category 12, Relative: 2 tokens

'were' Tokens in Comparison Corpus			
Category:	Number of Tokens:	Percentage of Total:	
1	2	3%	
3	3	4%	
4	1	1%	
5	0	0%	
6	2	3%	
7	3	4%	
8	16	24%	
9	4	6%	
10	2	3%	
11	32	48%	
12	2	3%	
total:	67		

Table 6.4, were Tokens in Comparison Corpus

The results of Phase I of this study confirm that the conditional clause category is the strongest and most consistent in overall subjunctive usage. All the data gathered and adapted from the Harsh study comparing the Tyndale translation and the King James Version, and the data from my own study of subjunctive *be* and *were* tokens in the Tyndale and comparison corpora support the conclusion that a reliable review of subjunctive usage by type could continue -- especially if confined to conditional clauses.

6.4 Resulting Data, Phase II of Study

6.4.1 Introduction

Once it had been determined that the results of the initial phase of this study matched the results of Harsh's 1968 study with regard to the internal regularity of conditional clauses in the use of subjunctive forms, the second phase of the study could proceed. It was important to determine that Early Modern English did in fact still use subjunctive forms as a rule within conditional clauses to ensure that an unnaturally high number of

unmarked tokens would occur in the second phase of the study. If all writers use subjunctive forms in conditional clauses, the numbers of usage preferences will be more naturally distributed. The purpose of this phase is to determine whether or not a pattern of usage can be predicted within the four possible methods of modal expression. For the sake of clarity, I define the four methods of expression as follows, with examples from Tyndale texts as marked:

- Unmarked forms: Verbs within the conditional clause are clearly indicative forms.

Moreover, if to feade Chrystes shepe is to be greatest ...

-- The Practice of Prelates

And what can I do more for the if thou fealest luste ther unto ...

-- The Parable of the Wicked Mammon

- Modal preterite forms: The term “preterite” here can be misleading, as the form resembles the preterite, but is a subjunctive form that is derived separately from the preterite indicative. In order to defend the term, I offer Jespersen’s definition of what he called, “imaginative preterite”:

Verbal forms which are primarily used to indicate past time are often used without that temporal import to denote unreality, impossibility, improbability or non-fulfillment. [...] Originally this use was found in the preterit *subjunctive* only, and the unreality was denoted by the mood rather than by the tense. But in course of time the distinction between the forms of the subjunctive and those of the indicative came to be blotted out, and now in 99 pct. of cases it is impossible from the form to tell which of the two moods is used, thus with all strong verbs: *came, drank, held*, etc., and

with all weak verbs: *ended, sent*, etc. The only form in which the distinction survives is *was* (ind.) and *were* (subj.), and even here it should be noted that the plural form *were* belongs to both moods (112-113).

For if it were all ways fayre wether ...

-- The Obedience of a Christian Man

So y^t if thou haddest but of every auctor one boke ...

-- The Obedience of a Christian Man

- Modal auxiliary forms: All main verbs within the conditional clause which are accompanied by a modal auxiliary to express mood. The forms *will* and *shall* are not considered to be modal auxiliaries in the same sense as the modal preterite forms like *would, could, and should*. However, as Palmer points out, there is a strong connection between “forms used to refer to future and forms used for various kinds of modality” (12). I have therefore included all forms of *will* and *shall* in this category.

Yf a man would worke any thyng to purchase that, ...

-- The Parable of the Wicked Mammon

For if they shuld do all that they have promised ...

-- The Practice of Prelates

- Inflected subjunctive forms: All forms of the subjunctive *be*, regardless of the number of the subject, and all 2nd and 3rd person singular verbs which are unmarked for person and number.

For if God be on our side ...

-- The Obedience of a Christian Man

6.4.2 The Harsh Numbers, Part II

The methods of data collection in Wayne Harsh's 1968 study of the English subjunctive were different from those of my own, but the resulting percentage totals can be used for comparison. The pertinent information from the 1968 Harsh study was adapted for this portion of the study in the following way: The totals for each of the four methods of modal expression for both the Tyndale Bible and the King James Version were converted to percentages. This was done in order that they be comparable with the percentages from my study.

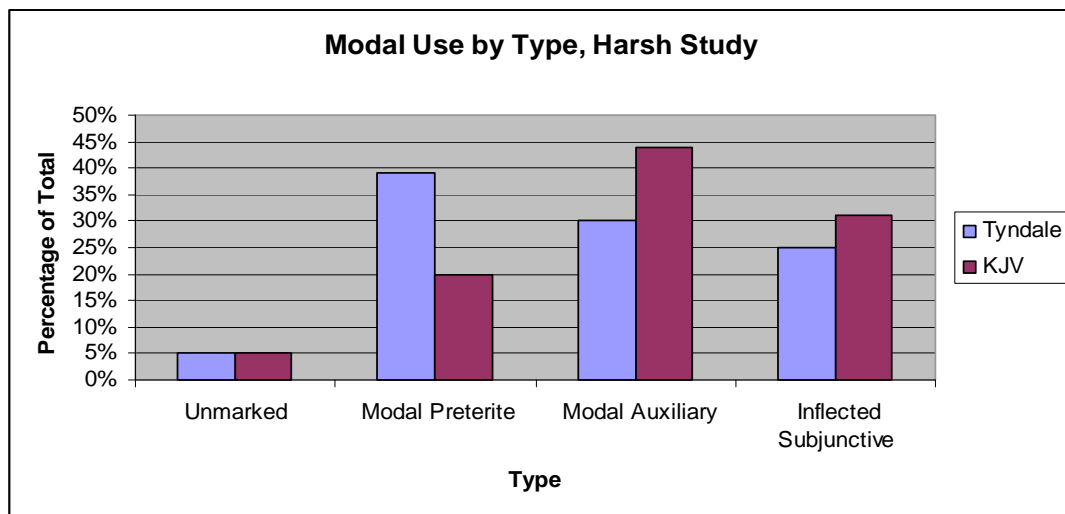


Figure 6.1, Modal Use by Type, Harsh Study

There is a profound difference between the two texts in the categories of modal preterite and modal auxiliary, with Tyndale showing a heavier usage of the former and the KJV the latter. Percentages of unmarked tokens were the same in both, and inflected subjunctive forms were slightly more prevalent in the KJV than in Tyndale. Since the

KJV closely follows the Tyndale Bible chronologically, and is largely built upon it, the shift from modal preterite usage to modal auxiliary usage is significant.

6.4.3 The Data from Phase II

Methodological differences between phases was minimal. After conducting a search for both *if* and *yf* on the corpus of Tyndale's polemical works and then the comparison corpus, resulting tokens from conditional clauses were assigned the following categories (definition of categories appears above):

- X: Unmarked
- P: Modal Preterite
- M: Modal Auxiliary Verb
- I: Inflected Subjunctive
- Q: Questionable form (where the verb could have been either indicative or subjunctive)

All questionable forms were removed from consideration. The resulting list was tabulated and converted to percentages of the total. This was done first on the Tyndale corpus as a whole, and then on the comparison corpus. The Tyndale results are shown in Figure 6.2.

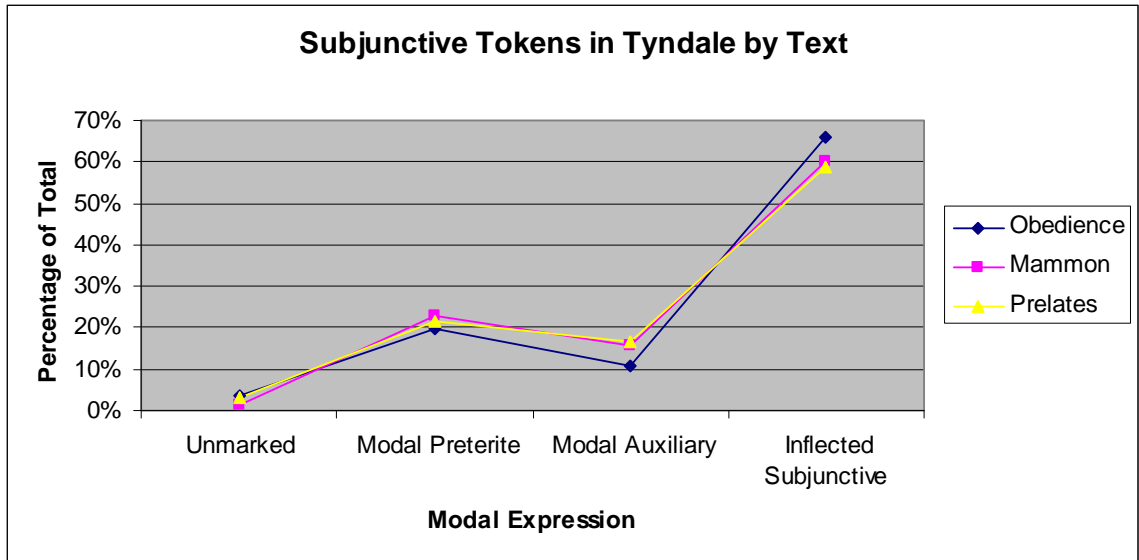


Figure 6.2, Subjunctive Tokens by Type, Tyndale Texts

The chart shows that, although not identical, the three texts do follow a very similar pattern with regard to modal preference. In all three texts there is a greater percentage of usage in the modal preterite category as opposed to the modal auxiliary category. The strong preference for the modal preterite form that was shown in the Harsh study is consistent with the findings of this study, especially when compared to the relatively sparse number of similar tokens in the same category for the KJV.

6.4.4 The Inclusion of the Comparison Corpus

The strong preference that Tyndale has shown for the modal preterite form of the subjunctive mood has been well demonstrated in both the 1968 Harsh study, and in Phase II of this study. It also has been demonstrated that the KJV does not exhibit the same preference for the modal preterite, opting instead for modal auxiliaries in similar situations. The true test of any corpus study is the inclusion of the data gathered on the comparison corpus, which acts as a control group. The question is simple: Would

the comparison corpus exhibit the same strong preference for modal preterites that Tyndale has in both his biblical translation and his polemical works, or would it follow the KJV's preference for modal auxiliaries over the use of the less fashionable modal preterite forms?

The methodology for collecting data on the comparison corpus was exactly the same as that of the Tyndale texts. Following the removal of all questionable forms, the resulting list was sorted, tokens in each category were counted, and the results were converted to percentages of the total number of tokens. Figure 6.3 illustrating the results of the study of subjunctive tokens in the comparison corpus can be seen below.

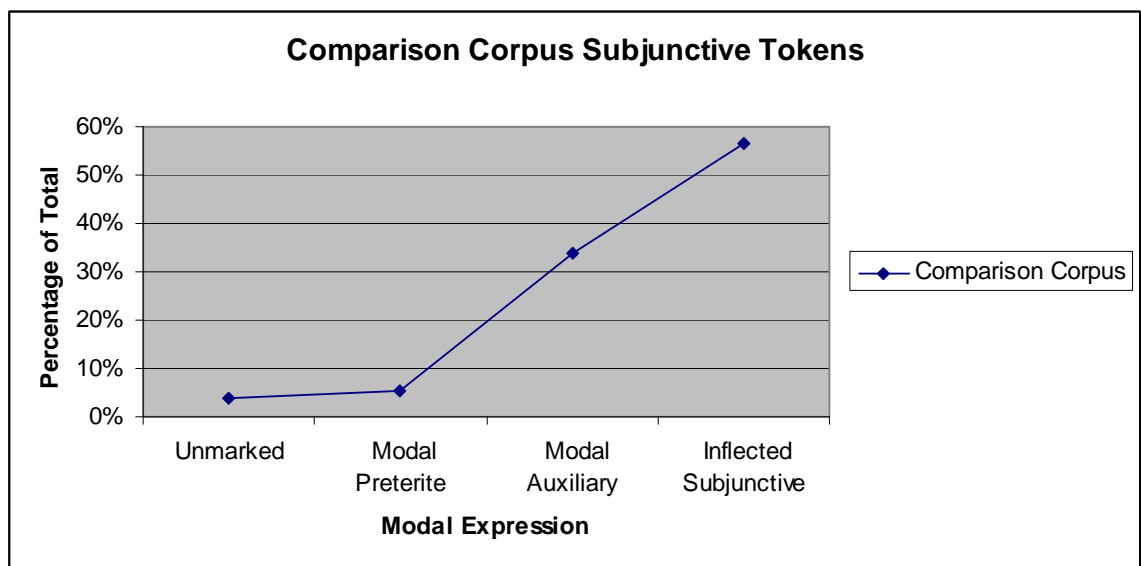


Figure 6.3, Subjunctive Tokens in Comparison Corpus

There is a clear dearth of tokens within the modal preterite category in the comparison corpus, and a marked increase of modal auxiliary and inflected subjunctive usage. This fits Traugott's assertion that the modal auxiliaries were becoming the modal expression of choice during the Early Modern period (149). When viewed together with the Tyndale corpus study, the results are even more striking.

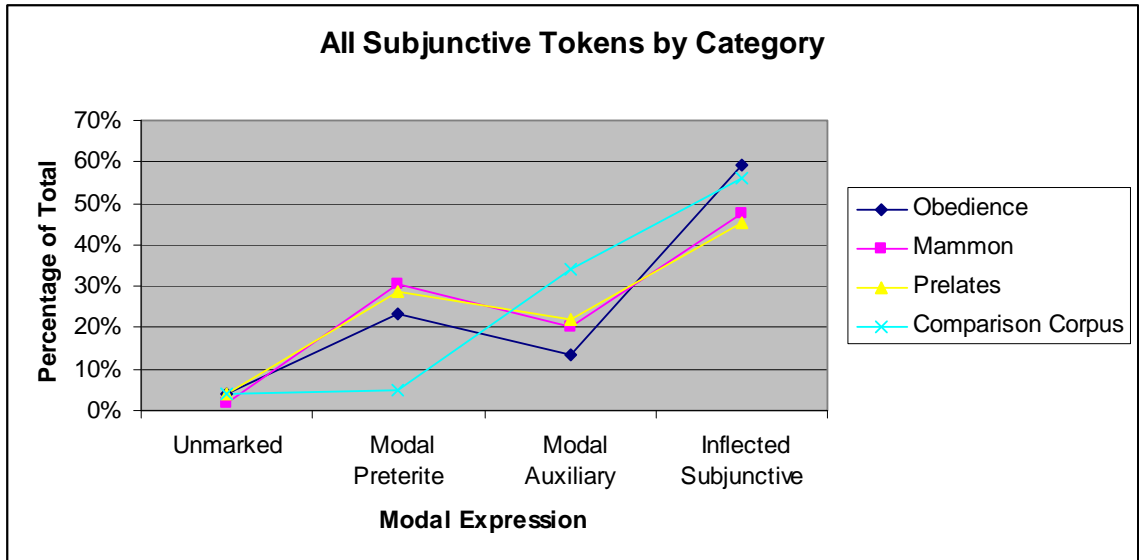


Figure 6.4, Subjunctive Tokens, Tyndale and Comparison Corpus

Once again, there is a clear difference in preference of modal category usage between Tyndale and the other writers of his time. The writers who contributed to the comparison corpus showed a preference for modal auxiliaries over modal preterite forms, just as the compilers of the KJV had done in Harsh’s study. There is a clear and consistent pattern of modal usage within the greater Tyndale corpus favoring the use of the otherwise moribund modal preterite form over the use of modal auxiliaries that does not exist in the writings of his contemporaries.⁶

⁶ Traugott writes that original inflectional subjunctives in Early Modern English “had been largely overtaken by phrases with auxiliaries like *should*, *would*, *might*, *may* – especially *should*” (149). She speaks of these subjunctive forms in terms of their “survival,” and I use the term “moribund” following her lead.

Type and Category of Subjunctive Modal Structures in Harsh's Study

Category:	Tyndale Bible				KJV								
	Infl. Subj.	Mod. Aux.	Mod. Pret.	Nondist.	Infl. Subj.	Mod. Aux	Mod Pret	Nondist.					
1	2								4%			0%	
2	2				4				4%			7%	
3	1	4	1	1	1	4	1	1	13%	1	4	1	12%
4			1			1	1		2%		1		3%
5					1				0%				2%
6	1	4	5		1	7	5		18%	1	7	5	22%
7			1				1		2%			1	2%
8									0%				0%
9									0%				0%
10	1				2				2%	2			3%
11	7	3	12	2	8	8	2	2	43%	8	8	2	34%
12		6	2		1	6	2		14%	1	6	2	15%
Total:	14	17	22	3	18	26	12	3					

Table 6.1, Type and Category of Subjunctive Modal Structures, from Harsh, 1968.

N	Concordance	Set Tag	Word #	ent. #	ent. #	Pos. a. #	Pos. d. #	os. ect. #	Pos.	File	%
1	presume to thi-ke that Gods sprite were in the? [Note: A norther confession	3	50,972	1,870	97%	0	58%	0	58%	bo the obedience of a christian man pt.txt	58%
2	to mynister vnto his lustes / and that it were lawfull for hym to take awaye from	4	2,157	80	89%	0	2%	0	2%	bo the obedience of a christian man pt.txt	2%
3	and goodes: Yet might he thinke that it were lawfull to resist the ypocrites and to	4	11,724	450	40%	0	13%	0	13%	bo the obedience of a christian man pt.txt	13%
4	then I wold that every ma- of Lo-don were mayre of London / or every man of	4	59,384	2,241	67%	0	67%	0	67%	bo the obedience of a christian man pt.txt	67%
5	(if we were vnder the turke) that it were sinne to rise agenste him / and to	4	16,333	612	62%	0	19%	0	19%	bo the obedience of a christian man pt.txt	18%
6	mothers brestes for the agaynst thou were borne: moved also thy father and	6	12,304	458	65%	0	14%	0	14%	bo the obedience of a christian man pt.txt	14%
7	pope of their sect or to doo what feate it were for theyr profyft, wold not stycke to	6	13,415	338	38%	0	47%	0	47%	texts\eebo the practice of prelates pt.txt	48%
8	of wedlock by the ordinau-ce of God It were moch better that oure wives folowid	6	13,710	504	26%	0	16%	0	16%	bo the obedience of a christian man pt.txt	16%
9	of all men in the world be they or were they ne uer so holy. Goddes worde	8	3,184	122	95%	0	9%	0	9%	the parable of the wicked mammon pt.txt	9%
10	and bravleth with the other / as it were two scoldes. And for as moch as	8	7,566	306	91%	0	9%	0	9%	bo the obedience of a christian man pt.txt	9%
11	other texes whiche sounde as though it were betwene vs and God as it is in the	8	11,568	400	55%	0	34%	0	34%	the parable of the wicked mammon pt.txt	34%
12	& the- he shal se such holynes, as were here to long to be rehersed. And	8	18,942	491	82%	0	67%	0	67%	texts\eebo the practice of prelates pt.txt	67%
13	of ye feare & dau-ger of ye emperour, were he neuer so mighty, & that ye	8	21,077	556	19%	0	74%	0	74%	texts\eebo the practice of prelates pt.txt	74%
14	and also of his realme. And thogh there were neuer so great stryfe betwene the	6	12,304	458	65%	0	14%	0	93%	texts\eebo the practice of prelates pt.txt	93%
15	mayntenaunce and lyke babels / as it were popetry for childern to bedger their	6	13,415	338	38%	0	47%	0	31%	bo the obedience of a christian man pt.txt	31%
16	the scripture whose knowleage (as it were a keye) letteth in to God / with	6	13,710	504	26%	0	16%	0	32%	bo the obedience of a christian man pt.txt	32%
17	/ bekinge and mowinge / as it were lacke a napes / when nether he him	8	3,184	122	95%	0	9%	0	41%	bo the obedience of a christian man pt.txt	41%
18	and receave what so ever cometh / as it were the gaping mouth of hell. And .ij.	8	7,566	306	91%	0	9%	0	56%	bo the obedience of a christian man pt.txt	56%
19	as a tyraunte: but pitieth vs and as it were morneth with vs and is all waye	8	11,568	400	55%	0	34%	0	66%	bo the obedience of a christian man pt.txt	66%
20	and leaveth behynde hym as it were a styngge to pricke him forwarde and	8	18,942	491	82%	0	67%	0	80%	bo the obedience of a christian man pt.txt	79%
21	open conclusion of the scripture & as it were to paynte it before thyne eyes / that	8	85,225	3,196	61%	0	97%	0	97%	bo the obedience of a christian man pt.txt	96%
22	where the ring was, cast though it were a foule ma[...]resse, yet he bylt a	9	8,852	223	75%	0	31%	0	31%	texts\eebo the practice of prelates pt.txt	32%
23	there, & though what soeuer they did were but GODS worde. So mighty was	9	9,524	240	96%	0	34%	0	34%	texts\eebo the practice of prelates pt.txt	34%
24	axeth forgeuennesse. Now though this were spoken vnto Peter only, because	9	15,446	392	18%	0	55%	0	55%	texts\eebo the practice of prelates pt.txt	55%
25	as they axed him Math. xxij. Whether it were lawfull to geve tribute vnto Cesar.	9	16,280	611	40%	0	18%	0	18%	bo the obedience of a christian man pt.txt	18%
26	coudest not knowe whether thy love were Godly. For a turke is not angre / tyll	9	22,531	831	95%	0	26%	0	26%	bo the obedience of a christian man pt.txt	26%
27	not knowe whether thyne obedience were pure or no but and if thou canst	9	22,580	832	48%	0	26%	0	26%	bo the obedience of a christian man pt.txt	26%
28	and leaveth behynde hym as it were a styngge to pricke him forwarde and	8	70,298	2,637	52%	0	80%	0	80%	bo the obedience of a christian man pt.txt	79%
29	open conclusion of the scripture & as it were to paynte it before thyne eyes / that	8	85,225	3,196	61%	0	97%	0	97%	bo the obedience of a christian man pt.txt	96%
30	where the ring was, cast though it were a foule ma[...]resse, yet he bylt a	9	8,852	223	75%	0	31%	0	31%	texts\eebo the practice of prelates pt.txt	32%
31	there, & though what soeuer they did were but GODS worde. So mighty was	9	9,524	240	96%	0	34%	0	34%	texts\eebo the practice of prelates pt.txt	34%
32	axeth forgeuennesse. Now though this were spoken vnto Peter only, because	9	15,446	392	18%	0	55%	0	55%	texts\eebo the practice of prelates pt.txt	55%
33	as they axed him Math. xxij. Whether it were lawfull to geve tribute vnto Cesar.	9	16,280	611	40%	0	18%	0	18%	bo the obedience of a christian man pt.txt	18%
34	coudest not knowe whether thy love were Godly. For a turke is not angre / tyll	9	22,531	831	95%	0	26%	0	26%	bo the obedience of a christian man pt.txt	26%
35	not knowe whether thyne obedience were pure or no but and if thou canst	9	22,580	832	48%	0	26%	0	26%	bo the obedience of a christian man pt.txt	26%

Figure 6.1, were Search Concordance Page, sample

CHAPTER 7

Computer Analysis

The computer is merely a tool.

--Susan Hockey, *Electronic Texts in the Humanities*

7.1 Introductory Discussion

The primary finding of Phase II of this study is this: Tyndale exhibits a distinction in the use of the subjunctive mood, particularly in the preference for the modal preterite over the modal auxiliary. The inquiry into the use of subjunctive forms in this study grew from the following statement by Görlach:

Before 1650 the frequency of the subjunctive varied from one author to the next; no regular distribution according to type of text or style can be determined (113).

If we accept that the frequency of the subjunctive varied from one author to the next in Early Modern English, the question that needs to be answered is this: Is the variable frequency predictable from one author to the next? The next question is: How can a grammatical feature that is so intrinsically connected to style be regularly distributed? Is it possible that there is a pattern that is just difficult to decipher?

7.2 The Modal Preterite Pattern in the Works of William Tyndale

Wayne Harsh included William Tyndale's biblical translation in his 1968 study of the subjunctive mood in the history of English. He writes that, "the most obvious and

significant pattern discernible in the biblical statistics is an almost uninterrupted decline in the incidence of the inflected subjunctive” (40). He also calls the modal preterite inflection “relatively unimportant in Early Modern English” (93). This assessment certainly seems to support Traugott’s assertion that, “ by ENE the original inflectional subjunctives had been largely taken over by phrases with auxiliaries like *should, would, might, may*” (149). It does not, however, account for Tyndale’s unique hyper-application of the modal preterite inflection. As he reviews the results of his study which begins with the Rushworth Latin and runs through the modern Goodspeed translation, Harsh notes that, “the modal preterite inflections build more gradually to a peak (twenty-two occurrences, constituting 41.5 per cent of all subjunctive structures) in the Tyndale translation” (40). He offers no explanation for the marked increase in the use of the modal preterite in the Tyndale text over that found in the work of any other translator.

If the general linguistic trend is overwhelmingly toward the dissolution of the inflected subjunctive (including the modal preterite), a writer who consistently employs that inflection in his work would be unique and should be easy enough to spot. More tests on *that* author, focusing on *that* feature would need to be done to determine whether or not his modal preterite usage was confined to the biblical translation or was typical of his entire corpus.

7.2.1 The Modal Preterite Pattern in the Polemical Texts

As has been previously noted but bears repeating, Harsh’s study revealed a markedly larger number of modal preterite inflections in the biblical translations of William Tyndale as opposed to the work of all the other translators. His use of this particular

modal preterite form is not only higher than that of other translators, it bucks the trend of a rapid decline in the use of such forms.

Although the methods of token collection were not identical in Harsh's study and my own, the trends indicated by overall percentage can be compared. Like Harsh's study, my analysis of the subjunctive tokens in the polemical works revealed a much higher percentage of use of modal preterite inflections in the Tyndale texts than in the comparison corpus.

- 23% in *The Obedience of a Christian Man*
- 31% in *The Parable of the Wicked Mammon*
- 29% in *The Practice of Prelates*
- 5% in the comparison corpus

There is a clear and distinct preference for modal preterite inflections in Tyndale that does not exist in either the KJV (from Harsh's study) or the comparison corpus.

Conversely, there is a markedly lower number of modal auxiliary tokens in Tyndale's polemical works when contrasted with the comparison corpus.

- 13% in *The Obedience of a Christian Man*
- 20% in *The Parable of the Wicked Mammon*
- 22% in *The Practice of Prelates*
- 34% in the comparison corpus

Explanations for such a resurgence of subjunctive inflections might include a desire for language with an archaic style. Harsh accounts for the increased number of tokens in the KJV by suggesting that it is an attempt at "deliberately archaic" language (55). This does not explain what was going on in the Tyndale version, or in the polemical

texts. Prior to the publication of the Tyndale Bible, the only English translation of a biblical text in England was the Wycliffe version. Harsh points out that Wycliffe did not have as high a count of modal preterite inflections as did Tyndale. In fact, Tyndale had a higher count of modal preterite inflections than any of the other biblical texts of any period. It seems unlikely that he would use a feature to sound archaic if that feature wasn't archaic.

Tyndale's English has been praised for centuries by literary critics and biographers from the Reformation writer, John Foxe to modern-day David Daniell. It is pretty language -- full of plain and simple constructions, and unpretentious diction. How does his steady usage of modal preterite forms in subjunctive constructions contribute to his style? Consider how the following passage from *The Obedience of a Christian Man* would sound had its author not chosen to use modal preterite inflections:

Inasmuch (I say) as we have sucked in such bloody imaginations into the bottom of our hearts even with our mothers' milk, and have been so long hardened therein, what wonder were it if while we be yet young in Christ, we thought that it were lawful to fight for the true word of God? Yea and though a man were thoroughly persuaded that it were not lawful to resist his king, though he would wrongfully take away life and goods: yet might he think that it were lawful to resist the hypocrites and to rise, not against his king: but with his king to deliver his king out of bondage and captivity, wherein the hypocrites hold him with wiles and falsehood, so that no man may be suffered to come at him, to tell him the truth (29).

And how the following passage likening the Pope to ‘the whore of Babylon’ from *The Practice of Prelates* would sound:

Now if the great bawd, the whore of Babylon, were destroyed, then would the brothel and stews of our prelates shortly perish. If Abaddon, that destroyer, king of the grasshoppers which devour all that is green, were destroyed, then were the kingdom of our caterpillars at an end (298).

And how the following passage on the true nature of Christian works from *The Parable of the Wicked Mammon* would sound:

As partayning to good workes, vnderstand that all workes are good which are done with in the lawe of God in faith and with thankes geving to God, and vnderstande that thou in doinge them pleasest God, what so ever thou doiste wyth in that lawe of God, as when thou makest water. And trust me if other wind or water were stopped yu shouldeste feale what a precieuse thinge it were to do ether of both, and what thankes oughte to be geven to God therefore. More over put no difference betwene workes, but what so ever cometh in to thy handes that do as tyme, place and occasion geveth, and as God hath put the in degre hye or lowe.

In each of the quotations above, the use of the modal preterite was essential to convey the contrary-to-fact sense that is often found in conditional clauses. As a master of logic and language, it is certainly possible that Tyndale was simply following convention – a conditional clause calls for a subjunctive verb and so he uses one. But that doesn’t necessarily mean that the verb must be a modal preterite when there were certainly modal auxiliaries which could have conveyed similar meaning. Jespersen, who

calls the modal preterite an “imaginative use of tense,” offers this possibility for the preference of modal preterite subjunctives:

The use of the preterite to indicate unreality may perhaps be explained psychologically in this way: the tense which is ordinarily used to express past time here simply removes the idea from the actual present and keeps the action or state denoted by the verb at some distance: the sphere of the preterite is thus extended to comprise everything not actually present: but of course this can only take place if the sentence indicates at the same time clearly that it must not be understood as referring to a real past time; this is achieved through such words as *wish* and *if* (114).

Time is suspended in this “imaginative use” of the modal preterite construction, and modality takes over. The author of such a construction is expressing his own attitude toward his statement: either he is hesitant about the truthfulness of it, or he thinks it is improbable.

A brief study of dialect preferences in England during the Early Modern period reveals the most likely explanation for Tyndale’s inexplicable preference for the modal preterite. Traugott does not say *where* they exist, but does concede that, “despite the recessiveness of subjunctive inflections, they are nevertheless found throughout the ME and ENE periods” (149). Further examination by other scholars has revealed that those subjunctive trends occurred in Scotland and Northern England.

Tyndale was a self-professed user of everyday English, known to prefer the language of the ploughboy to that of the aristocracy. The London Standard dialect may not have shown a preference for subjunctive inflections, but studies have shown that the dialects of

northern England and Scots English did. In his 1994 study of Early Modern English subjunctive usage, Dieter Stein reveals, “a renewed increase of inflectional marking in [subjunctive] function, especially in the North of England, after a steady decrease of inflectional marking down to Late ME” (405). Also proving a northern preference for inflectional subjunctives is the Mustanoja study of 1960, and the study of Older Scots by Fillbrandt in 2006. Although William Tyndale was born there, the Tyndale family was not native to Gloucestershire. They moved there from the northeastern border country near the Tyne river. It is certainly possible that Tyndale’s preference for subjunctive inflections was a linguistic inheritance from his family’s homeland.

Regardless of his motives, Tyndale has a pattern of usage that is not shared by other writers of his time. His pattern is distinctive because the inflected subjunctive (including the modal preterite) was not only infrequent in the work of other Early Modern authors, it was verifiably dying out. The trend in Tyndale is made easier to determine not only by its prevalence, but also by the fact that the indicative mood in Early Modern English retained inflectional endings in both the 2nd and 3rd person singular. This makes otherwise unmarked subjunctive tokens easier to spot in the English of Tyndale’s day because there was no ambiguity in these forms. Where the preference for various modal forms in an author who was typical of his day would be of no value in a comparative study of stylometrics, a clear-cut and consistent preference for a form largely unused by other contemporary authors would be of tremendous value. This is the “subjunctive fingerprint” that this study set out to find.

CHAPTER 8

A Test of Authorship

If there is a clear, predictable pattern of subjunctive use preference in the works of a particular author as has been demonstrated in the previous chapter, that pattern should be employable in determining authorship. As Susan Hockey writes, “whether or not linguistic habits are measurable [...] is itself debatable, but various projects have shown that it is possible to characterize an author or a set of texts by linguistic fingerprints” (104). Hockey reviews several studies which attempt to employ linguistic fingerprints in the determination of authorship. The most prominent include reviews of the Pauline texts and Shakespearean authorship (Hockey 119-123). Most of the studies reviewed by Hockey involve statistical analysis based on data produced by concordancer software such as word length, words per sentence, etc. Would it be possible to add a test of subjunctive preference to the list of reliable tests of style and authorship? To answer this question, a text of unknown or disputed authorship must be identified to compare with the results of the Tyndale study.

8.1 *Enchiridion Militis Christiani*

Erasmus of Rotterdam wrote the text commonly called the *Enchiridion* in 1501. First written in Latin, it was meant to be a ‘handbook’ for the Christian in his daily walk, hence the name. Daniell writes, “In his *Enchiridion*, Erasmus gives defenses by which the Christian could prepare himself for the inevitable encounters with the world and the

Devil” (1994:64). It is also a carefully worded criticism of the “widespread degeneration of the ecclesiastical establishment” (Gee 460). This point would have certainly attracted the attention of Tyndale, the future martyr of the English Reformation. Foxe, in his *Book of Martyrs*, claims that Tyndale did in fact translate Erasmus’ *Enchiridion* while still in England (see below).

There have been many studies in the past which propose educated guesses as to the translator of the 1533 *Enchiridion*. In 1871, Robert Demaus published a biography of Tyndale and, just as Daniell would more than a century later, he addressed the issue of the 1533 *Enchiridion*. Demaus believed that the manuscripts spoken of by Foxe “were, beyond question, consigned to the flames along with Tindale’s sermons and letters, when he had been publicly denounced as a heretic, and it was dangerous to be in possession of any of his writings” (76). Demaus doubted Tyndale’s authorship based on the consideration that a surviving Tyndale manuscript of any kind was unlikely to have survived the flames of the heretic hunters.

The first modern scholar to write on the subject was John Archer Gee of Yale University. In his 1934 article, “Tindale and the 1533 English Enchiridion of Erasmus,” Gee asserts that Tyndale must have authored the work. He believes that “there is sufficient evidence that the greatest of Tudor translators, William Tyndale, translated the *Enchiridion*” (461). He presents as evidence Foxe’s account of Tyndale and the *Enchiridion* from his *Book of Martyrs*:

At that time [Tyndale] was about the translation of a book called *Enchiridion Militis Christiani*, which he delivered to his master and lady; after they had well perused the same, the doctorly prelates were no more

so often called to the house, neither had they the cheer and countenance when they came, as before they had: which thing they well perceiving, and supposing no less but it came by the means of Master Tyndale, refrained themselves, and at last utterly withdrew, and came no more there (Foxe 137).

Gee argues that the evidence exists that Tyndale made a translation of the work before his exile on the Continent, and that the nature of the *Enchiridion* is so close in nature to his own philosophy that he must have connected with it. Gee's belief that the 1533 *Enchiridion* was Tyndale's work is likely encouraged by what is at stake for Tyndale scholars:

[A] conclusive answer in the affirmative would be of primary importance, for if this version can be assigned to Tindale it can be approximately dated as belonging to the early 1520's, and this means that many English words and expressions were used for literary purposes somewhat earlier than has hitherto been known. It means that at this early date we have an English expository prose markedly superior to any before it. And it means an opportunity to study Tindale's apprenticeship in the art of translation" (461).

He goes on to cite a petition to the King's Council by Humphrey Monmouth in which Monmouth states that he had two manuscript copies of Tyndale's translation of the *Enchiridion*, but he loaned them both out and any others were burned (462). From there, Gee points out that there was no ill will toward the Latin version of the *Enchiridion*, nor toward Erasmus. This, he reasons, makes it unlikely that Monmouth (or anyone else)

would have burned the English version of the text. It must have survived, or at the very least, there is no evidence that it did not. “Conjecture as to the exact channel through which the publisher obtained the translation is, however, both idle and unnecessary. All that can or need be said is that it may easily have got into print” (468).

Once he sufficiently established his case for the manuscript’s survival, he makes a case for authorship. “There remains as a method of establishing a satisfactory case for Tindale’s authorship an examination of the mode of expression of the extant translation. Necessarily we are pretty much restricted here to the minor elements of style; to the structure of the sentences and the rhythm of the periods little attention can be paid. For we are dealing with a translation” (469). He lists words and phrases that are first used by Tyndale, such as *filthy lucre*. He truly feels that the uniqueness of the vocabulary in both the 1533 *Enchiridion* and other known Tyndale texts is proof of authorship.

J.F. Mozley was another Tyndale biographer who published an opinion on the 1533 English *Enchiridion*. Mozley was familiar with Gee’s 1933 article on the subject, and agrees with the conclusion. He criticizes Gee, however, saying, “Gee’s main conclusion is sound, but he gives little detailed evidence, and so he can hardly be said to have settled the matter, though he has opened the door” (98). Mozley supports his conclusion with far more textual evidence, identifying the anonymous translator as ‘X’. He cites many passages which are indicative of a familiarity with Greek, and with biblical and classical literature (98). More important to this study, however, are Mozley’s references to matters of style. He points out, “a striking feature of Tyndale’s Bible translations is his delight in variations of rendering. Even when a word occurs twice in the same sentence he will change the englishing of it. This too we find in X [...] But X

carries his variations further even than this. Throughout the book he gives double or even treble renderings of a single word” (98). Another of what Mozley calls a “Tyndalian trick is to repeat the antecedent noun in the relative clause” (98). As for the large number of textual errors in the English rendering, Mozley explains them away as being the result of a life on the run. He does not account for the fact that Tyndale was presumed to have translated the work while living in the home of the Walshes of Little Sodbury.

In summation, Mozley draws his conclusion as to the authorship of the 1533 English edition of Erasmus’ *Enchiridion Militis Christiani* in the following way:

The chief features of the book fit Tyndale; many fit him above other men; some fit him alone. The reader familiar with Tyndale’s works is again and again reminded of Tyndale. We are in touch with a lively and independent mind, exuberant and sometimes wayward, with a man of learning, a great translator, a master of English, whose mind works like Tyndale’s, whose utterance is Tyndale’s, whose sympathies are with Tyndale. We know that Tyndale translated this work, and we cannot think of any follower of his who would be equal to this achievement. Surely therefore X is Tyndale” (107).

Professor Anne O’Donnell of Catholic University of America is the editor of the 1981 edition of the 1534 English *Enchiridion*. In her analysis of the earlier edition, she writes, “the internal evidence for Tyndale’s authorship of the 1533 *Enchiridion* is no more conclusive than the external evidence. There is a disappointing lack of correspondence between the scriptural references in the *Enchiridion* and in Tyndale’s known biblical translations” (liii). In spite of the lack of conclusive evidence, she is able

to draw a conclusion based on her research. In a personal communication, Professor O'Donnell writes, " The 1534 edition changed many verbs from indicative to subjunctive. My conclusion was that Tyndale left [a] manuscript of [the] *Enchiridion* behind in England when he went into self-imposed exile c1524. This was published in 1533. Because it sold well, there was another edition in 1534, in which someone other than Tyndale made the translation 'more correct'" (email communication of 29 October, 2007).

Modern scholarship on Erasmus' 1501 book includes a great deal of speculation about an anonymously translated English edition that was published in 1533. David Daniell addressed the topic of authorship, devoting ten pages to a discussion of the English *Enchiridion* in his 1994 biography of William Tyndale. He discussed the many editions that would have been floating around England during the years before Tyndale's exile to the Continent, and how difficult it would have been for Tyndale to not have been familiar with at least one of them. He carefully lays out the facts:

The position is thus: on the one hand, there is Foxe making some capital out of his statement that Tyndale translated the work at Little Sodbury, which must mean around 1522; on the other, an unattributed translation appears in London in 1533, with a revision in 1534. There is no means of joining up the two statements. Analysis of stylistic habits, in the English *Enchiridion* and in Tyndale, produces no clear result. Both writers use quite vivid illustrations from daily life: but that was standard in the tradition of classical exhortation as well as preaching. Stylistically, even though both write on a scriptural base, the sage and the translator show no

common ground that is definitive [...] It could be that in trying to solve the problem the right questions are not yet being asked (71).

After suggesting that a ‘computer-generated concordance’ might help in drawing a proper comparison between the anonymous 1533 edition and Tyndale’s biblical translations, he woefully draws the conclusion that, “for the present, the best that can be said is that Tyndale probably translated the *Enchiridion* at Little Sodbury and presented his employers with a manuscript copy. His translation has disappeared: it may have influenced the one printed ten years later” (Daniell 72-73). He is hopeful that a more detailed computer analysis of the text will reveal the author, but concedes that that remains to be seen (personal communication).

8.2 The Use of the Subjunctive Mood in the Anonymous Edition of the 1533 English *Enchiridion Militis Christiani*

8.2.1 Methods

The methodology behind the work in this final phase of the study of the use of the subjunctive mood in the polemical works of William Tyndale does not differ from that of the earlier phase. The text was downloaded from Early English Books Online in plain text form. The retrieval information for the text used is as follows:

Author: Erasmus, Desiderius, d. 1536. 3495

Title: A booke called in latyn Enchiridion militis christiani, and in englysshe the manuell of the christen knyght replenysshed with moste holsome preceptes, made by the famous clerke Erasmus of Roterdame, to the whiche is added a newe and meruaylous profytable preface.

Date: 1533

Bibliographic name / number: STC (2nd ed.) / 10479

No. of pages: [340] p.

Copy from: British Library

Reel position: STC / 37:07

A search was then run utilizing WordSmith Tools 4.0 for *if* and *yf*. Just as was done in Phase II of this study, this was done here to isolate tokens in conditional clauses which are known to consistently employ subjunctive constructions.

8.2.2 Data and Analysis

If the text of the *Enchiridion* follows the three known Tyndale texts, and Wayne Harsh's assessment of his biblical translations, it will heavily favor the use of modal preterite constructions. As we know from Elizabeth Traugott, "by ENE the original inflectional subjunctives had been largely taken over by phrases with auxiliaries like *should, would, might, may* – especially *should*" (149).⁷ In light of this, it is not surprising that both the comparison corpus and the KJV favored the use of modal auxiliaries over the use of the modal preterite in conditional clauses. If the text of the *Enchiridion* follows the comparison materials, it will favor the use of modal auxiliaries and show a much reduced use of the modal preterite formation.

There were a total of 414 conditional clauses marked by either *if* or *yf* in the 1533 English *Enchiridion*. Of that total, there were:

- unmarked tokens: 23
- modal preterite tokens: 19
- modal auxiliary tokens: 146
- inflected subjunctive tokens: 226

⁷ It is interesting to note that the subjunctive has made a resurgence in Present Day English, while *should* constructions have lost ground. Traugott writes, "Recently there has been a trend in American English to favor the subjunctive once more as opposed to the indicative or the segmentalized *should*, especially in complements of verbs like *suggest, insist, recommend*" (181).

There are clearly and distinctly a greater number of tokens in the modal auxiliary category than in the modal preterite category. What is first striking about the results when seen in chart form is that the data on the *Enchiridion* seem utterly contrary to those of all three of the Tyndale texts (see Figure 8.1). What is more striking is that the usage curve for the 1533 *Enchiridion* all but mirrors that of the comparison corpus – so much so that the lines indicating comparison corpus and *Enchiridion* are almost completely indistinguishable.

If we believe that Tyndale’s usage of the modal preterite as opposed to modal auxiliary constructions in conditional clauses is a signature feature, then it can hardly follow that he could be the translator of the anonymous 1533 English edition of Erasmus’ *Enchiridion Militis Christiani*. The evidence strongly suggests that Demaus was correct, and Daniell was right to be cautious: Tyndale was not the author.

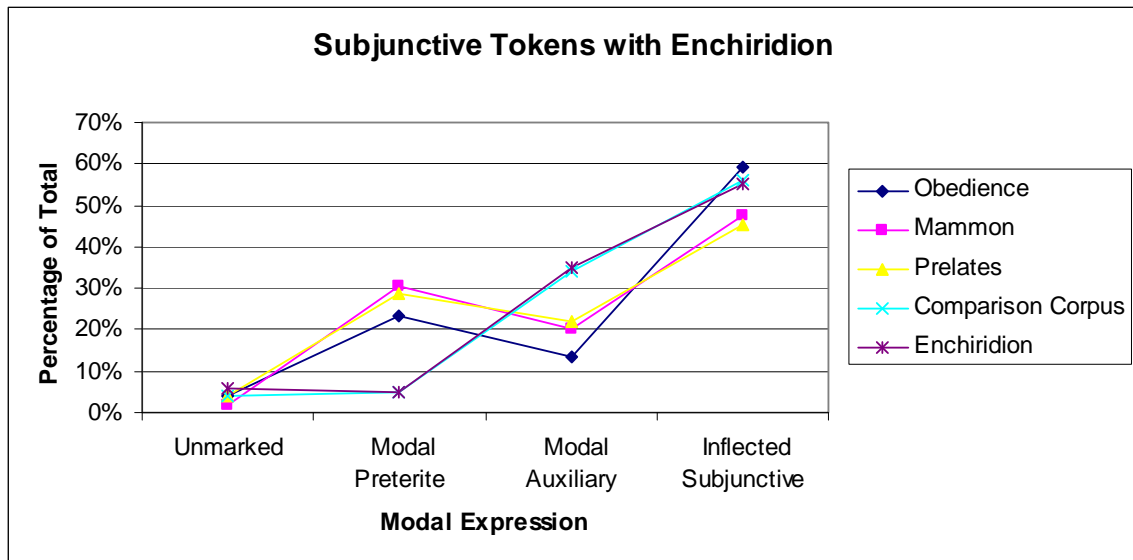


Figure 8.2, Subjunctive Tokens in All Texts

CHAPTER 9

Conclusion

Computer assistance does not bring pure objectivity to text analysis. It is evident that intuition is involved at several stages: which features to study, how delicately to code, how to interpret the findings. It has long been widely recognized that stylistic statistics merely provide quantitative evidence whose significance can be assessed only by experience and common sense.

- Michael Stubbs, *Text and Corpus Analysis*

The data presented in the previous chapter are the result of what must be considered a very primitive computer-based analysis. More tests will produce more results. Certainly, the nature and usage of the subjunctive mood has been studied and reported on in other research projects, including those presented in previous chapters.

The use of the subjunctive mood as a marker of authorship, style, etc. is tricky business. The complication of interpreting degrees of meaning between one category and the next within the umbrella of subjunctive usage makes recreating such a study very difficult. As Kennedy said, (and I paraphrase. See quote at Chapter 2 opening) the subjunctive mood is a source of great controversy and disagreement. However, at a period in the history of the English language when its usage was waning, it can be a useful tool in indicating stylistic tendencies of any given author. For researchers of Tyndale, Early Modern English, or the present-day legacy of Tyndale's English on the

biblical register, an objective, quantified study of subjunctive forms in his original works can be of great significance.

Many researchers have reviewed the evidence with regard to Tyndale's authorship of the 1533 English *Enchiridion*, and a consensus has not been reached. The steady and predictable use of the modal preterite subjunctive over the use of modal auxiliaries in like constructions is a reliable indication of individual style and therefore authorship, as has been established in Phase II of this study. The assertion that Tyndale could not have written the *Enchiridion* based on modal patterns will not please all researchers. Be that as it may, the concordance method of data gathering in such a study has produced quantifiable evidence. As Stubbs writes, "We select what to look for, but should then accept as evidence what the computer finds" (154).

9.1 Criticism: Addressing the Naysayers

As Susan Hockey notes in her book, *Electronic Texts in the Humanities*,

the use of computers in literary studies is an area which has attracted a good deal of criticism [...] Scholars are unhappy about the apparent quantification of literature, and have taken issue both with what is being quantified and with the interpretation of the results. Some critics are deeply suspicious of numbers, which they feel are alien to their normal way of working, yet even simple counts can help to reinforce a feeling about a text or show that what intuitively seems rare or very frequent is not in fact so (66).

Without a very careful review of each token, mistakes in interpretation are likely. With that in mind, a concordancer software program that allows the researcher to observe the token within the text will exponentially increase the value of a quantified study of forms in a text or corpus. Certainly, for the purpose of linguistic analysis, a quantifiable, computer-aided study could quickly produce evidence of trends or anomalies that might have otherwise taken twice as long to uncover.

The inclusion of the Harsh data as a tool for comparison might be justifiably criticized since it is a comparison of apples and oranges. If that were the only data used for comparison those critics would be justified. The inclusion of a self-made corpus of a variety of texts from the same period, however, allowed for an apples-to-apples comparison. The Harsh numbers only strengthened the findings.

9.2 Further Research

The beauty of a small scale project is that it allows, and in some cases begs, for further study. This project is no exception. There is much further work that can be done. As text and corpus analysis technology improves, this will create the possibility of cross-referencing the results of previous manual studies. For instance, Wayne Harsh's study of biblical sample texts could easily be expanded to include entire texts, possibly enhancing the credibility of his initial results. Perhaps most obvious would be a compilation of studies similar to this one that could be done on the work of other authors from the same period to further flesh out the behavior of the subjunctive mood in conditional clauses.

Any study involving modality will bring disagreement. In analyzing tokens, judgments must be made as to degrees of meaning. One reader may deem a token a

Purpose Clause, while another may deem that same token a Relative Clause. There is controversy among linguists revolving around the subjunctive at all levels of discussion. That must not prevent a study from proceeding. In this study, each category was well-defined in the hopes that confusion and controversy would be minimal.

Regarding further study, Stubbs lightheartedly concludes his book with the following:

If you can feel which way the wind is blowing and swim with the tide, then it is possible to grasp the nettle, by taking the bull by the horns, instead of clutching at straws or planting primroses in a gale. We are not necessarily on the horns of a dilemma, between theory and data: one linguist's Scylla is another's Charybdis. Opening a can of worms does not mean throwing caution to the winds. If we can get our foot in the door, then the little acorn may grow into a mighty oak as it snowballs downhill with the theoretical wind in its sails (229).

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APPENDIX A

Susan Hockey writes, “In simple terms statistics are used for two purposes. One is to create a description of the data and the other is to make predictions” (115). The original purpose of this study was to establish a subjunctive fingerprint for the polemical works of William Tyndale that could be used in subsequent studies as a test of authorship. The software employed in this study produced statistical data for the corpus, and for each text separately. Because of this, I was able to look at statistical data that corpus linguists typically use in studies of stylometrics and attribution. When separated, one of the texts, *The Practice of Prelates*, did not seem to present the same statistical numbers as the other two. The differences were not formally addressed in the body of this paper for two reasons: Scholars have never questioned the authorship of this text, and the statistical differences between the texts are not consistent. I include them in this appendix, and in chart form in Appendix B, in the interest of full disclosure and to suggest the opportunity for further research.

Hockey lists three tests typically used for assigning authorship: word length, type/token ratio⁸, and sentence length (117). The test of mean word length revealed that all three Tyndale texts were the same – 4 letters per word. Since the text lengths varied, I looked only at the standardized type/token ratios for each text to determine similarities and differences. The results were as follows:

⁸ The type/token ratio measures and compares the number of occurrences of a single word versus the number of all words in the text. For example, “the” and “to” are 2 differing types. If there are 45 occurrences of “the,” that is the number of tokens of that one specific type. If there are 23 occurrences of “to,” that is the number of tokens of that one specific type.

- *The Obedience of a Christian Man*: STTR of 38.76 with a standard deviation of 59.38
- *The Parable of the Wicked Mammon*: STTR of 39.65 with a standard deviation of 56.89
- *The Practice of Prelates*: STTR of 43.44 with a standard deviation of 53.59

Sentence length is an important measure of style because it indicates verbosity, and could indicate an inclination toward subordination or parataxis. Tyndale was a famous user of the native Anglo-Saxon idiom which tended to avoid the heavy subordination of Latin. The mean results generated were as follows:

- *The Obedience of a Christian Man*: 26 word mean per sentence with a standard deviation of 46.1
- *The Parable of the Wicked Mammon*: 29 word mean per sentence with a standard deviation of 24.22
- *The Practice of Prelates*: 36 word mean per sentence and a standard deviation of 29.53

In addition to the statistical data, the typical clusters involving the target words *be* and *were* were calculated for each text. Since my study concentrates on the use of the subjunctive mood, I include only clusters which met the criteria for subjunctive tokens:

The Obedience of a Christian Man:

- *whether it be* with a frequency of 15 (1st cluster overall)
- *yf they be* with a frequency of 10 (6th cluster overall)
- *be to you* with a frequency of 9 (7th cluster overall)

- *how be it* with a frequency of 8 (8th cluster overall)
- *yf it be* with a frequency of 6 (13th cluster overall)
- *though it be* with a frequency of 6 (15th cluster overall)
- *wo be to* with a frequency of 6 (16th cluster overall)
- *though he be* with a frequency of 5 (25th cluster overall)
- *as it were* with a frequency of 8 (1st cluster overall)
- *that it were* with a frequency of 5 (3rd cluster overall)

The Parable of Wicked Mammon:

- *if he be* with a frequency of 3 (6th cluster overall)
- *he were not* with a frequency of 2 (12th cluster overall)
- *it were* with a frequency of 2 (22nd cluster overall)

The Practice of Prelates:

- *how be it* with a frequency of 4 (4th cluster overall)
- *that ye be* with a frequency of 3 (6th cluster overall)
- *they that be* with a frequency of 3 (10th cluster overall)

There were no significant clusters involving modal preterite *were* tokens in *Prelates*, which distinguishes it from the other Tyndale texts. In fact, there were very few modal preterite *were* tokens in this text at all.

The inclusion of this data is not meant to call into question the authorship of *The Practice of Prelates* at this time. The text does, however, have some puzzling patterns when compared with the others. Further research into the authorship of the *Prelates* text can be easily conducted by using this compilation of statistics as a starting point.

APPENDIX B

Statistical Data on Comparison Corpus	
N	text file
text file	Overall
file size	628829
tokens (running words) in text	109278
tokens used for word list	108777
types (distinct words)	15034
type/token ratio (TTR)	13.8209362
standardised TTR	43.5929985
standardised TTR std.dev.	55.62288284
standardised TTR basis	1000
mean word length (in characters)	4.492071152
word length std.dev.	2.440083981
sentences	3820
mean (in words)	28.47567749
std.dev.	35.28749084
paragraphs	15
mean (in words)	7251.799805
std.dev.	6993.0625
headings	
mean (in words)	0
std.dev.	
sections	15
mean (in words)	7251.799805
std.dev.	6993.0625
numbers removed	501
stoplist tokens removed	0
stoplist types removed	0
1-letter words	2999
2-letter words	21720
3-letter words	22061
4-letter words	18493
5-letter words	12757
6-letter words	9196
7-letter words	7376
8-letter words	5393
9-letter words	3704
10-letter words	2721
11-letter words	1293
12-letter words	595
13-letter words	265
14-letter words	123
15-letter words	72

Figure A.3, Statistical Data from Comparison Corpus

Statistical Data on 1533 English Enchiridion	
N	file size
text file	enchiridion 1533.txt
file size	462386
tokens (running words) in text	82678
tokens used for word list	82667
types (distinct words)	8601
type/token ratio (TTR)	10.4043932
standardised TTR	42.52072906
standardised TTR std.dev.	56.23545456
standardised TTR basis	1000
mean word length (in characters)	4.289111614
word length std.dev.	2.197520971
sentences	2391
mean (in words)	34.57426453
std.dev.	30.70451736
paragraphs	1
mean (in words)	82667
std.dev.	
headings	
mean (in words)	0
std.dev.	
sections	1
mean (in words)	82667
std.dev.	
numbers removed	11
stoplist tokens removed	0
stoplist types removed	0
1-letter words	2212
2-letter words	18262
3-letter words	15241
4-letter words	14895
5-letter words	10616
6-letter words	7935
7-letter words	5707
8-letter words	3795
9-letter words	2001
10-letter words	1135
11-letter words	480
12-letter words	231
13-letter words	110
14-letter words	23
15-letter words	21
16-letter words	1
17-letter words	0

Figure A.4, Statistical Data from 1533 English Enchiridion

Statistical Data on The Obedience of a Christian Man	
N	file size
text file	eebo the obedience of a christian man pt.txt
file size	463658
tokens (running words) in text	84932
tokens used for word list	84928
types (distinct words)	7090
type/token ratio (TTR)	8.348247528
standardised TTR	38.76428223
standardised TTR std.dev.	59.38880539
standardised TTR basis	1000
mean word length (in characters)	4.206634045
word length std.dev.	2.194164038
sentences	3216
mean (in words)	26.40798569
std.dev.	46.10357285
paragraphs	1
mean (in words)	84928
std.dev.	
headings	
mean (in words)	0
std.dev.	
sections	1
mean (in words)	84928
std.dev.	
numbers removed	4
stoplist tokens removed	0
stoplist types removed	0
1-letter words	2646
2-letter words	17384
3-letter words	18696
4-letter words	16262
5-letter words	10231
6-letter words	7137
7-letter words	4587
8-letter words	3418
9-letter words	2169
10-letter words	1294
11-letter words	656
12-letter words	297
13-letter words	91
14-letter words	48
15-letter words	7
16-letter words	5

Statistical Data on The Parable of the Wicked Mammon	
N	
text file	eebo the parable of the wicked mammon pt.txt
file size	183626
tokens (running words) in text	34472
tokens used for word list	34467
types (distinct words)	4498
type/token ratio (TTR)	13.05016422
standardised TTR	39.6499939
standardised TTR std.dev.	56.89212799
standardised TTR basis	1000
mean word length (in characters)	4.127048969
word length std.dev.	2.132980108
sentences	1169
mean (in words)	29.48415565
std.dev.	24.22083855
paragraphs	1
mean (in words)	34467
std.dev.	
headings	
mean (in words)	0
std.dev.	
sections	1
mean (in words)	34467
std.dev.	
numbers removed	5
stoplist tokens removed	0
stoplist types removed	0
1-letter words	801
2-letter words	7488
3-letter words	8362
4-letter words	6379
5-letter words	3517
6-letter words	2938
7-letter words	2152
8-letter words	1362
9-letter words	677
10-letter words	404
11-letter words	204
12-letter words	115
13-letter words	37
14-letter words	11
15-letter words	17
16-letter words	3