ELEMENT ORDER IN THE VERCELLI HOMILIES

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ABSTRACT

This study provides a descriptive analysis of the language of The Vercelli Homilies using Donald Scragg’s EETS edition. The total of over six thousand clauses is analysed for the first time with particular reference to element order. The syntactic characteristics of this collection of twenty-three anonymous homilies written in the late tenth century will be addressed and some general issues to do with Old English syntax will be discussed.

Chapter furnishes a background for this study. Here are provided a general description of the Vercelli Book and a brief overview of the previous studies on Old English element order. This chapter also clarifies the need for a close study of element order in The Vercelli Homilies addressing relevant questions and providing details on the methodology adopted in the present study.

Chapters and illustrate element order patterns in each of the fourteen clause categories with copious examples and full statistics. In addition, the examples are accompanied - where available - by the Latin sources and sigla as defined by Fontes Anglo-Saxonici: A Register of Written Sources Used by Authors in Anglo-Saxon England. Attention is paid to deviations from the ‘normal’ element order in each category. These chapters show that many of the exceptions may be explained in terms of grammar, context, discourse, style and Latin influence.

Chapter summarizes the findings in the present study with special emphasis on the position of each element. These findings are further supplemented by the Appendix where various statistical information on syntactic characteristics in each homily is offered.
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PREFACE

The Vercelli Homilies consist of twenty-three anonymous homilies in the Vercelli Codex. This collection of late tenth-century homilies was edited - for the first time - by a single editor, Donald Scragg. Before the publication of this edition, scholars had to combine two editions - one by Max Förster and another by Paul E. Szarmach - to study the whole collection; although both editions are the results of masterly scholarship of the editors, it is far from ideal to consult the two editions which naturally lack consistency. It is then fitting that we now study the homilies using Scragg’s new edition.

This study analyses the language of The Vercelli Homilies with particular reference to element order, supplementing the detailed phonological and morphological analysis of the same collection by Donald Scragg. My great indebtedness to previous scholarship - in particular to such syntacticians as Bruce Mitchell and Viljo Kohonen - is evident throughout the study. The analysis uses the categories of the traditional Latin-based grammar as in Mitchell’s Old English Syntax and offers a descriptive account of the types of element order that appear in the corpus with copious examples and full statistics based on which syntactical characteristics of the homilies as well as problems of Old English syntax will be addressed and discussed.
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

CH  Ælfric’s Catholic Homilies: The Second Series
EETS  Early English Text Society
Fontes  Fontes Anglo-Saxonici: A Register of Written Sources Used by Authors in Anglo-Saxon England
Guide  A Guide to Old English ed by Bruce Mitchell and Fred C Robinson
ns  new series
OES  Old English Syntax by Bruce Mitchell
os  original series
SH  Homilies of Ælfric: A Supplementary Collection
ss  supplementary series
VH  The Vercelli Homilies

NOTES ON PRESENTATION

Old English examples are cited with homily number and line number as in Homily I line All line references are to the line in which the particular clause begins The Tironian sign is represented by the ampersand throughout this study

Latin sources are in accordance with Scragg’s practice ‘quoted from edited texts where these are available but silently emended to achieve consistency of presentation e j and v are printed i and u respectively punctuation or capitalization are regularized and Deus is capitalized
This opening chapter sets out the aims of the present study and deals with previous scholarship and method. I follow Bruce Mitchell’s *Old English Syntax* and *passim*; hereafter *OES* in using the term ‘element order’ rather than ‘word order’ since the former is a more accurate description; nevertheless the latter is to be found below in quotations being the more prevalent term in the scholarly literature.

**Aims**

*The Vercelli Homilies* hereafter *VH* consist of twenty-three anonymous homilies contained in the manuscript known as the Vercelli Book which is described by Scragg as follows:

**VERCELLI BOOK** Vercelli Biblioteca capitorare CXVII one of the oldest of the four so-called Poetic Codices is an anthology of religious prose and verse in Old English dated palaeographically in the middle of the second half of the tenth century. It is written throughout by a single scribe who copied entirely mechanically and who shows no understanding of such brief quotations in Latin as appear. No satisfactory principle of arrangement has been adduced for the items twenty-three of which are in prose usually called homilies although some have little homiletic content and six of which are verse. Codicological evidence suggests that the scribe assembled the material piecemeal perhaps over

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*The present study is a slightly revised version of my doctoral dissertation.*
an extended period of time and drew upon a number of different copy-texts. The appearance in some later manuscripts of independent copies of more than one item from different sections of the codex suggests, however, that the same range of copy-texts was available to other scribes and it seems probable that the Vercelli scribe drew principally on the resources of a single library. Linguistic evidence points to the scribe having been trained in the south-east and the closest textual links of items in the book are with manuscripts associated with Canterbury and Rochester.

We have no knowledge of the book’s earliest provenance but eleventh-century pen-trials suggest that it remained in England long enough to be used as a copy-text while a Latin psalter quotation in a north Italian form of the early twelfth century shows that it had reached Italy by c. 1120. Some of the prose remained unpublished until 1975.

Scragg further comments on the linguistic importance of the codex as well as on its relative neglect:

... the Vercelli Book is ... the earliest extant collection of homilies in the vernacular. Only two dozen vernacular manuscripts of any importance survive from an earlier date. The linguistic importance of the manuscript is therefore very great and some explanation is necessary of the relative neglect by scholars of this valuable source of information on tenth-century English.

‘Some explanation’ offered by Scragg consists of the manuscript’s inaccessibility the interest the Book has aroused in a wide variety of fields and the fact that most studies have been devoted to the poetry since homiliaries were so common in late Old English that this collection containing nothing by either Ælfric or Wulfstan has lacked attraction. I may add here the inconven-
ience of using Förster’s EETS edition for Homilies I-VIII and Szarmach’s EETS edition for the rest of the homilies before the publication of Scragg’s EETS edition. Although both editions are the results of masterly scholarship of the editors it is far from ideal for the reader to consult the two editions which naturally lack consistency.

The primary aim of this study is to provide a comprehensive analysis of the syntactic data in VH using Scragg’s EETS edition. The total of over six thousand clauses is analysed for the first time with particular emphasis on element order through which syntactic characteristics of this important collection - composed between such famous writers as King Alfred, late ninth century and Ælfric, early eleventh century - are described and explored. Also provided in this study are: a brief overview of the previous studies of Old English element order; relevant research questions; details on the methodology adopted; and copious examples and full statistics accompanied - where available - by the Latin sources and sigla as defined by Fontes Anglo-Saxonici: A Register of Written Sources Used by Authors in Anglo-Saxon England. Special attention is paid to deviations from the ‘normal’ element order in each category. It will be clear in the following pages that many of the exceptions may be explained in terms of grammar, context, discourse, style, and Latin influence.

I follow OES in using an approach based on the traditional Latin-based grammar. I agree with Mitchell when he writes OES: lxi.

I have adopted the old-fashioned formal Latin-based grammar of the Joint Committee because I am persuaded that with all its faults it remains the most serviceable for the study of OE syntax. OE is an Indo-European language and shares many of the structures of Latin. The conventional categories work for OE and do not have to be scrapped merely because they do not work for some non-Indo-European languages. Much of extant OE literature is translated from or based on Latin originals. We have therefore to study Latin loan syntax. And in
his *Grammar* a native speaker of OE related his language to the structures of Latin

In addition though the study does not rely on a particular linguistic theory it does make use of some recent advances in linguistic studies most notably the notions of weight length of elements; cf Reszkiewicz and information value the given - new contrast; cf Kohonen

The clause is defined as the smallest linguistic unit containing a finite verb and at least another element. It should be noted here that this study is addressed to the ordering of elements within the clause and not to the ordering of words within the element.

Previous Scholarship

The word ‘syntax’ derives from the Greek word meaning ‘to put in order’ According to Mitchell & Robinson the study of the traffic rules of language; cf Bernhardt & Davis. It is thus natural that element order is given the greatest prominence in the study of syntax. Its importance as well as its complexity seems well summed up in Denison where the numerous implications of element order change are outlined:

Apart from its intrinsic importance word order change is implicated in a number of syntactic changes Changes in the relation between subject and finite verb are

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Cf Foster

Hence the use of the expression ‘element order’ rather than ‘word order’. Cf Goldman and Davis See below for explanation of elements and examples of clauses
connected with the increasing association of pre-verbal position with subjecthood … So too are changes in the relation between NP and infinitival verb \( \text{V} \) in the structure of embedded infinitive clauses \( \ldots \). The loss of final position for non-finites increases the frequency with which finite and non-finite verbs are contiguous and hence is relevant to the formation of auxiliary verbs such as modals and HAVE \( \ldots \). And increasing use of auxiliary verbs ties in with increasing fixity of S \( \ldots \) VX word order \( \text{V} \) where \( \text{V} \) is now the main verb \( \ldots \) for declaratives - positive and negative - and interrogatives \( \ldots \) so that \( \text{V} \) is followed directly by its object \( \text{O} \) or complement \( \text{C} \). This brings us back round to the development of idiomatic expressions consisting syntactically of verb plus object or part of complement \( \text{O} \) for example phrasal and prepositional verbs \( \text{O} \)

Given the centrality of element order in syntax \( \text{O} \) it is not surprising that this field has been awash with articles and monographs \( \text{O} \). Even if we limit ourselves to those concerned with Old English \( \text{O} \) it is hardly possible to claim exhaustiveness \( \text{O} \) which I dare not attempt here \( \text{O} \). Thus \( \text{O} \) previous scholarship on Old English element order is dealt with here in a very selective manner; I only touch upon the works of the scholars whose approaches address the core concern of my study \( \text{O} \). My review is also confined to the so-called ‘traditional’ approaches as a reflection of my own position \( \text{O} \). Most of the ‘theoretical’ studies \( \text{O} \) it seems to me \( \text{O} \) are usually too concerned with establishing ‘rules’ and ‘basic’ orders to handle the data with due care and respect \( \text{O} \)

For a detailed survey of the scholarship \( \text{O} \) useful annotated bibliographies and reviews are now available in the following: Tajima, Mitchell, Denison, Mitchell & Irvine and Davis References to more
theoretical approaches may be found in: Bean Battye & Roberts Pintzuk Fischer et al and Pintzuk et al

A Sketch

Before elaborating on the models of this study it may be helpful to give a summary account of traditional element order studies in Old English mainly prose. It may be noted that some of the references below may belong in more than one category. Strang for example is classified under the structuralist approach, though her overall approach to linguistics may be traditional/philological and at times eclectic.

Traditional/philological approaches

References: Andrew Quirk & Wrenn Mitchell OES Mitchell & Robinson Guide Blockley

The strength of these approaches lies in descriptivism: facts are presented as facts before any generalizations are made. Unfortunately this descriptivism is a double-edged sword: in many of the previous studies valuable collections of examples are often marred by such problems as inadequate clause categories and unreliable statistics. cf. Davis and passim. However we should not - and must not - be deterred from using their findings wherever appropriate. cf. Mitchell and

The writings of S O D. Andrew are often characterized as dogmatic; for example he states that ‘sentences of the form þa he com are both in prose and verse always subordinate clauses and are therefore unambiguous’ The original text

\[\text{For criticisms see Campbell Guide § passim and OES §§ passim.}\]
However, it seems unwise to slight his observations as Mitchell notes. OES § and passim we may still gain from his scholarship. Personally, I find Andrew’s scepticism of printed editions on the whole healthy.

Quirk & Wrenn is one of the first Old English grammars to incorporate a section on element order, the description though limited to ‘the most important and recurrent configurations’. Succeeds in giving the reader a convenient overall picture. The culmination of this approach is Bruce Mitchell’s OES, of which Guide provides a convenient and in new editions regularly updated summary; on OES see below.

Building on Andrew and OES, Blockley formulates useful rules concerning clause-initial elements ‘how clauses begin’ with particular attention to the difference between verse and prose. The rules are conveniently summarized in her Appendix at pp.

Structuralist approaches

References: Fourquet Fries Magers Saitz Bacquet Reszkiewicz Strang

These approaches more or less follow the traditional approaches with additional theorization of the function of certain linguistic - usually binary - features. Fries and Magers focus on the relationship between element order and inflection while Saitz concentrates on the order of subject and object. Of particular importance are Reszkiewicz and Bacquet the former meticulously studies the positional syntax of elements according to their weight.

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It is not a mere coincidence that the current scholarship tends to emphasize the importance of the original manuscripts. See for example Sato and Blockley.
Length of elements while the latter remains the standard work on ‘Alfredian’ syntax with its rich collection of examples despite some deficiencies most notably the poor method of presentation and the unreliable dichotomy of ‘l’ordre de base’ and ‘l’ordre marqué’ without due consideration of the context. Strang offers a useful discussion on positional syntax expanding Fourquet and Reszkiewicz.

Text-linguistic approaches

References: Firbas, Kohonen, Davis

In the 1970s linguists began to analyse the role of communicative factors affecting syntax. Firbas and Givón pioneered in applying the theme-rheme contrast in comparing element order between Old English and Present English. Kohonen cleverly combines this method with the weight analysis of Reszkiewicz. This combined methodology is later adopted in Davis.

Typological/universal approaches

References: Greenberg, Vennemann, Canale, Stockwell, Bean

The 1970s also saw the emergence of typological studies in linguistics as represented

See Campbell and Mitchell

For example, Ogawa discusses the first two paragraphs of Vercelli Homily XVII.

Scragg’s edition where the verb-subject order which Bacquet classifies as la déclarative marqué is used six times in independent clauses and simple sentences. It is apparent that understanding of the context would have prevented Bacquet from this innocent and automatic
by Greenberg uses Greenberg's universals with an addition of the intermediate TVX stage in the change of element order from SXV to SVX. This is further refined by Bean where she analyses selected element order types in different clause categories. Bean's work should be praised for its clear and informative theoretical organization; though the reader must be aware of its fundamental flaws as pointed out in Denison

Models for the Present Study

What follows is a brief review of the three studies which have proven to be most influential in formulating my own approach to Old English element order. The review focuses on their importance as represented by their approaches to element order and methods of presentation; their detailed findings such as percentages of certain patterns are mentioned later together with findings from other studies.

Mitchell OES

OES offers the best panorama yet published of the problems related to Old English syntax. It may also be consulted for an extensive review of the previous scholarship of mostly traditional orientation up to the mid which is further supplemented by Mitchell and Mitchell & Irvine. Mitchell's contribution is second to none in offering copious examples and remarks which are both sensible and classification in such circumstances; even one clause with a basic subject-verb order would have been conspicuous surrounded by such marked emphatic clauses; cf Ogawa also writes: in the light of actual corpus studies such categorical predictions seem too simplistic presupposing a consistency that is not realistic in human language.

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Summary of this monumental work is not attempted here; its influence is apparent in many aspects of this study from the classification of clause types to the differentiation between the adverb *ne* and the conjunction *ne*  see § 3.2.2.2.

However it is not always easy to derive information on element order from *OES*. The chapter on element order  Chapter IX; pp. - is concise and useful but it is more concerned with summarizing the basic facts and suggesting possibilities for future workers and the reader is expected to comb through the very thorough index which is in itself an invaluable work of tremendous industry. Thus it is necessary to look elsewhere for a methodological model which may help with the present study.

**Kohonen**

This monograph is characterized by: careful examination of syntactic and linguistic theories up to the mid- reliable statistics and balanced and well-organized presentation of material. Theoretically it succeeds particularly in combining the analysis of weight, length of elements and information value; the given - new distinction. The method of presentation is clear and commendable; the best example would be Chapter where Kohonen first considers the order of clauses pp. - and then goes on to examine the order of each sentence element pp. -.

The work is also full of suggestions and implications for the application of computer-assisted research on early English element order. Of particular importance is Appendix where Kohonen elaborates on the coding scheme used.

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Cf. Mitchell. I am prepared to claim that anyone who really masters the thirty pages of *OES* chapter IX will have a knowledge of the vital facts which will exceed that of many scholars who have pronounced on the subject. The fundamentals are the foundations for future work - a description which as I have frequently said is appropriate to *OES* as a whole - are there to be neglected or disdained at the worker's own risk.
in the study; what appears to be merely a list turns out to be the result of his detailed theoretical discussions attested by their practical application to the data. This has been the source of inspiration in formulating my own computerized database.

Davis

This work is in short an amalgamation of OES and Kohonen; the traditional approach of OES is welded together with the considerations of weight and information value which Davis cleverly and successfully combines into one new category; maximizing the interrelationship between the two categories; i.e., light elements like pronominals usually correspond to old information while heavy elements often correspond to new information. Presentation of the material consists of two stages: the relative position of combinations of two elements; i.e., finite verb and another element within a clause is extensively discussed first; followed by a discussion on clause patterns. Davis stresses the advantage of the first stage - clearly an adoption of Carlton; since it may reveal ‘the order of nominal elements relative to the verb phrase’ especially when taking into account the weight of the nominal element’. Supported by the clear presentation and reliable statistics based on a large corpus, this study offers a solid ground for the study of Old English element order. Also of interest is Bernhardt & Davis where they apply a

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Cf. Watkins. To the earlier atomistic approach to linguistic history we have for some time opposed the notion of language as a system of interrelated units on whatever level, and this view must be applied to word order just as to phonology. In our concern here for the four elements of the verb phrase mentioned above, what is of significance is not the position of each element, but the position of each relative to others, and the ensuing sentence patterns which we can formulate. It is on this basis that one can make a meaningful statement about IE phrase structure. The four elements distinguished by Watkins are: the sentence connective N; the enclitic pronominal element E; the preverb P; and the finite verb form V.
similar methodology to the Tatian Gospel translations in Old High German I refer to this book where appropriate since I have often found their method of description simpler clearer and more informative as best exemplified by their Conclusion Chapter pp where standard element order patterns are listed in a tidy tabular format

Problems

We have already confirmed the literary and linguistic importance of the Vercelli Book in the preceding sections. It is now necessary to direct our attention to the kind of problems involved with analysing the element order of VH. The problems are divided into two groups. The first group concerns the Latin sources and the second concerns the Vercelli poems.

The Latin Sources

There have been quite a few studies investigating Latin influence on Old English syntax as well as its influence on Old English vocabulary and style. Indeed it is hardly possible for the student of Old English to ignore the possibility of such influence and this study is no exception since ‘there is some adaptation of the Latin material’ Scragg xxxviii in most of the homilies in VH. Given this position the problem now is how to address the issue.

Let us suppose that we have two texts before us an Old English text and its Latin

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I have however abandoned the idea of adopting this tabular format in the present study because Bernhardt & Davis fail to demonstrate the basic principles at work

Cf OES p xii Much of extant OE literature is translated from or based on Latin originals

With the exception of Homily II which is unlikely to be based on any identifiable source but was probably freely composed in English Scragg xxxviii
original Syntactical comparison might reveal that in dependent clauses the subject-verb-object pattern in the Latin text is always translated into the subject-object-verb pattern which is generally considered ‘common’ in Old English dependent clauses. For a moment this may seem like a paragon of linguistic comparison between the two languages presenting a rosy outlook ahead of us; one might use this evidence to claim the syntactic independence of the Old English translation from the Latin source and possibly the established status of the vernacular in that period.

Unfortunately this supposed possibility is beyond our reach since the preceding paragraph covertly embraces - at the very least - the following assumptions all boldfaced:

that the available Latin text is the single direct source

and

that the Old English text is a faithful translation of the Latin source

produced by a competent translator

One may argue for the existence of some texts which may meet the requirements above. However the reality is that we can never be certain. Nonetheless these requirements are revealing in that the problem concerning the relationship between \( \text{VH} \) and the Latin sources may be divided into two aspects: textual and linguistic. I shall illustrate each of them below.

Fontes Anglo-Saxonici: A Register of Written Sources Used by Authors in Anglo-Saxon England hereafter \( \text{Fontes} \) offers the most reliable standard for textual comparison: ‘\( \text{It} \) is intended to identify all written sources which were incorporated’. 

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This is of course a supposition. Bacquet quotes the following from Marouzeau ix ix ix Le latin est une langue à construction libre .... Toutefois si en latin l’ordre des mots est libre il n’est pas indifférent.
quoted or translated anywhere in English or Latin texts which were written in Anglo-Saxon England or by Anglo-Saxons in other countries. Based on this broad scope, the material is compiled in the form of a database which analyses each Anglo-Saxon text passage by sentence or phrase identifying the probable source-passages used for each particular segment. Each segment is accompanied by a siglum indicating the status of the source.

| S   | single immediate source |
| SA  | single antecedent source |
| SX  | single analogue         |
| M   | multiple source one of two or more immediate sources cited for the passage |
| MA  | multiple antecedent source one of two or more antecedent sources |
| MX  | multiple analogue one of two or more analogues |
| ç   | certain                 |
| çå   | probable                |
| çé   | possible                |
| 'and' | in addition to another source that is cited |
| 'or' | alternative to another source that is cited |

For example, a single immediate source shows the closest textual correspondence between the source and target texts whereas one of two or more analogues is one of the sigla used to show the lowest such correspondence. These sigla which are determined by the expert contributors are expected to be reliable. Thus it seems reasonable to assume that Fontes with its reliable information based on its large corpus forms a most useful guide in assessing the textual correspondence.

If we turn to the linguistic syntactic aspect of the problem, a good example is offered by Ludwig where he applies the analytical method of Sonderegger.

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http://fontes.english.ox.ac.uk/whatisfontes.html
http://fontes.english.ox.ac.uk/guidelines.html#sigla
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Susumu Hiyama to comparing two Old Norse texts and their Latin source. His intention here is to disqualify Sonderegger’s method which is premised on a one-to-one correspondence between the source and target texts. Ludwig concludes: ‘it can be seen that pure word-count analysis is wholly insufficient to the task of determining the degree of correspondence between two related yet syntactically different texts’.

Ludwig also lucidly demonstrates that his own analysis is hindered by such factors as transposition, transformation, deletion, and substitution in the target text which is equally pertinent to the case of VH.

Young compares Orosius and its Latin original in terms of ‘the sentence structure, variants of sentence elements, arrangements of sentence elements, and the type and placement of modifiers’. Yet Young faces the same kind of difficulties as Ludwig above: ‘the Old English sentences do not always match exactly whole sentences or clauses in the Latin original. They may sometimes be expansions of a phrase or word in the original or they may be additions by Alfred or his amanuenses’.

Yet the existence of a reliable Latin edition enables him to conclude that the Latin original influenced the Old English translation in terms of the sentence pattern, subordination in particular, and the element order. Although Young’s methodology is appealing in its simplicity, its application to the present study should be avoided because VH are totally different from Orosius in their relationships with the Latin sources: the Latin sources are not available for roughly half of the total number of clauses in VH and any results based on such statistics would only falsify.

A more widespread approach is to compare Latin and Old English with particular attention to certain constructions; cf Owen, Bacquet, Liggins, and Yerkes. This traditional ‘tried and tested’ approach seems suitable for

It may be added here that Young’s method is not free from problems. Most importantly, he dismisses the need to distinguish between independent and dependent clauses. If Young's method...

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the present study since it has great strength in elucidating minute and subtle differences between the texts compared especially within a limited scope of analysis such as this study which focuses on one particular aspect of syntax i.e. element order. Of course, it should be borne in mind that even within such a limited scope there is always a danger that one would simply end up with an extremely long list of items to be analysed which is probably the biggest drawback of this method.

So far, we have seen that: almost all of the homilies in VH contain some adaptation of the Latin material; Fontes offers a reliable standard for assessing textual correspondence between Latin and Old English; the linguistic comparison between Latin and Old English may be best tackled by concentrating on certain constructions. We may also note that: many of VH derive from the lost intermediate sources and ‘only the ultimate sources are known’ as far as they are concerned. Scragg xxxviii. Each homily in VH differs from each other both in the degree of adapting the Latin sources and in the manner of writing. With due consideration of these points I propose the following treatment of the Latin sources:

- the Latin source if considered contextually related is supplied with the Old English passage;
- the Latin source is accompanied where available by a Fontes siglum;
- the analysis of linguistic correspondence between Latin and Old English is limited to certain constructions.

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- See further Jin.
- This also means that the Latin and the Old English may not share any syntactic or stylistic similarities except for part of vocabulary.
- At the time of writing, November Fontes does not have information on Vercelli Homily II, VII, and XXI.
Although it must be made clear that the linguistic analysis of the Vercelli poems \( \text{VH} \) and the other texts in the Vercelli Book other than \( \text{VH} \) is not the concern of this study, it seems appropriate to outline some of the issues involved in comparing the language of prose and verse. Blockley conveniently summarizes different positions ‘possibilities’ in her words in approaching the topic:

These differences between prose and verse indicate three broadly defined possibilities: One is that Old English texts and particularly verse texts have come down to us in a state of syntactic near-chaos. A second possibility is that there was one system developed by prose writers to impose some order on distinctions previously made by intonation and context alone within purely metrical constraints that inhibited such disambiguating orders and that prose was free to discard. A third is that there were two systems, one in prose and one in verse, by which something in the words and their order at the beginning of a clause indicates whether the clause is principal or subordinate.

Blockley, opting for Andrew’s view, continues: ‘This third possibility is the one reinvestigated here’ My own position concurs with hers: prose and verse should be treated separately first and then - only then - any comparison is to be made. This view also enforces the descriptive nature of the present study which
may be considered as a step in that direction.

Finally I should like to quote Scragg partly as a support - as well as a caveat - for the separate treatment of the Vercelli prose:

It might be argued that to abstract the prose from the book is to falsify and that all of the contents should be edited together. But although the verse pieces were not distinguished from the prose by whoever assembled the collection they have been fully edited elsewhere and the place of some of them in the history of Old English writings is so far removed from that of the prose that they deserve separate attention. It would however be wrong to attempt to review the achievements of the Vercelli scribe without taking cognizance of his copying of poetry and this introduction therefore makes little reference to the practices of the scribe beyond that which is directly relevant to his influence on the text of the items edited. Sisam offers a full examination of script and writing habits and a history of the manuscript.

The ultimate goal of this position would be to relate linguistic facts to literary ones exploring such possibilities as illustrated by Bradley.

The homilies of the Vercelli Book and of such independent AS homiliaries as Ælfric’s or the Blickling Homilies can be of great critical value in the interpretation of the poetry for it seems very likely that the homily preached in English as part of an otherwise Latin liturgy served as a major channel through which the great conventional topoi of the Christian intellectual tradition - on which the English poets often based their work - were disseminated in a familiar form and a standard vernacular idiom to the preliterate and literate alike who also formed the audience of the religious poet. Stylistically too the often highly mannered and sometimes deliberately metrical and even alliterative rhetoric of the homilies merges with the mode of verse to a degree which the labels of prose and poetry inadequately express. Thus the phenomenon of an AS book which anthologizes both prose and poetry mixed by choice is an important prompt to critical inquiry.

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Two Studies

As regards the linguistic study of *VH* Scragg remains the most comprehensive to date; its chief emphasis is laid on phonological and morphological analysis, most of which is incorporated in Scragg. Of great pertinence to the present study is Chapter III where Scragg presents a summary of stylistic and syntactical characteristics of each homily; this section of Scragg is still valuable as a complement to Scragg and will be referred to as it becomes necessary.

Goldman concentrates on the syntactic analysis of the whole collection and has immediate relevance to the present study. He follows ‘Paul Bacquet’s description of basic and marked syntactic patterns for ninth-century prose’ and uses *VH* ‘to supply the data for a transformational description that seeks to generalize some of the assumptions underlying his Bacquet’s work’. Goldman instructively emphasizes the importance of rhetorical patterns, relationships between syntactic units, and attempts to explain why certain patterns are employed in a given context. Although it is outside the scope of the present study I have found this approach as a potential supplement to my clause-level analysis. However, Goldman does not follow Bacquet in exemplification of element order and much of the work is devoted to describing transformational rules based on the limited analysis of declarative clauses without any statistics.

Goldman candidly admits the limitations of his study in the Conclusion especially at pp. 10–12. Incidentally it was fortunate for Goldman that he could investigate all the homilies in using the final drafts of the edition prepared by Jon L. Erickson mentioned by Goldman at p. 12. It is indeed unfortunate that the edition remains unpublished to this day.
ELEMENT ORDER IN THE VERCELLI HOMILIES

Elements

This section outlines the elements distinguished throughout the present study which are: verb □ subject □ direct object □ indirect object □ complement □ adverbial □ negative adverb □ discontinuous element □ and impersonal □. Provided below is an explanation of each element □

Verb □ V/v/P □

This is the pivotal element of the clause: every clause must contain a finite verb □ which may be simple □ one word □ or complex □ two or more words □. The verb is represented by V in simple verb phrases □ while further distinctions are made between finite verbs □ v □ and non-finite verbs □ V □ in complex verb phrases □. Non-finite verbs include infinitives □ past participles □ and present participles □. Constructions with three verbs are described with the additional symbol P □ for participle □ thus □ ‘shall be going’ is described as vVP □. It is to be noted that I follow Ogawa □ in using the term ‘modal verbs’ □ ‘modals’ for short □ for the following nine verbs: agan □ cunnan □ *durran □ magan □ *motan □ *sculan □ purfan □ willan □ and wuton □.

For impersonal verbs and phrases □ see below □.

Scholars are not unanimous in defining modal verbs in Old English □. The same also applies to ‘auxiliary’ verbs; cf Warner □ and passim □. For example, Mitchell □ writes: ‘It seems strange to me to equate infinitives after hatan and letan □ where the subject accusative of the infinitive is usually unexpressed □ with those after willan, onganinnan □ and the like □ where the question of a subject accusative cannot arise □. In the present study □ the term ‘auxiliary’ is used in a purely descriptive sense: I count all the verbal phrases with infinitives □ past participles and present participles □ except for those with inflected infinitives preceded by to □.
verb-initial: The finite verb starts the clause as in Sagað oder godspellere þæt … ‘Another gospeller says that …’ ac hatap hine nu ateon ‘but now command someone to remove him’ and Men þa leofestan, utan gehpencan hu … ‘Dearly beloved let us think how …’ It should be noted that I ignore interjections and conjunctions which precede the finite verb.

verb-second: The finite verb is preceded by another element other than interjections and conjunctions as in ac he þencd hu … ‘but He considers how …’ þennac fagnode ic þaes ‘then I rejoiced at that’ and se is ece gefea ‘who is eternal joy’ It should be noted that relative pronouns are counted as the first element in adjectival clauses as in interrogatives as in hwæt witest du me? ‘why do you reproach me?’

verb-final: The finite verb is in final position as in pyder he feran sceal ‘it must travel to that place’ and pa Crist wæs acenned ‘when Christ was born’ It should be noted that the finite verb is placed - strictly speaking - in penultimate position in the second example which I consider as ‘verb-final’ since the whole of the complex verb phrase is in final position.

Also used in this study are the terms ‘verb-medial’ and ‘medial’ position and ‘verb-late’ They denote the positions of the finite verb which are neither ‘initial’ ‘second’ nor ‘final’ The latter ‘verb-late’ is particularly useful to explain the near ‘verb-final’ placement as in & pa he da þær wæs wel manige dagas ‘And when he was there for so many days’ and gif we ælmyssan don willad on urum life ‘if we wish to perform alms in our life’ where it is possible to interpret the adverbial in final position as an ‘afterthought’ hence proximity to ‘verb-final’

Cf Vennemann
placement is postulated

Subject B/s

This category is associated with the nominative case Nominals S and pronominals are distinguished Nominals include any kinds of noun phrases and clausal subjects; any notable difference between them is to be raised and discussed where appropriate Pronominals include anaphoric pronouns cataphoric pronouns and dummy subjects like hit, þæt þær and þær

Direct object D/o/Z/z

This category is usually indicated by the accusative case Some verbs require the dative or genitive case; for example hieran ‘to obey’ takes a direct object in the dative while brucan ‘to enjoy’ takes a direct object in the genitive as well as

Mitchell shows that the use of introductory þær was far from being established in Old English which of course is in sharp contrast to Present English where the grammatical status of introductory þær ‘existential’ there is firmly established On this Biber et al state as follows: Existential there is a function word which has developed from the locative position adverb there It differs from locative there in the following respects:
- phonologically it is normally reduced to /ð r /
- the original locative meaning is lost;
- syntactically it functions as a grammatical subject rather than as an adverbial

Application of these criteria to Old English introductory þær is never straightforward; cf Breivik Although the first criterion phonological reduction might as well be supported by the frequent clause-initial position of þær immediately followed by a verb both of which may be unstressed; cf OES §§ and the others depend on individual readings and are therefore difficult to ascertain My treatment of introductory þær follows OES §§ and I have also taken care inter alia not to be too eager to detect such examples cf OES § and passim
accusative and dative See OES § for an alphabetical list of such verbs Nominals and pronominals are distinguished; for details see ‘subject’ above

In addition the symbols ‘Z/z’ are used to describe such constructions as ‘He let me drive his car’ where ‘me’ functions both as the direct object of the verb ‘let’ and the subject of the verb ‘drive’ This separate treatment of two kinds of ‘objects’ also makes it possible to parse the above-mentioned passage as ‘svzVO’

Indirect object

This category refers to those elements which are in the dative case and fulfil the syntactic function of indirect objects Nominals and pronominals are distinguished; for details see ‘subject’ above Prepositional phrases like to me are treated as adverbials

Complement

This category includes such diverse elements as nominals adjectivals adverbials and prepositional phrases all of which ‘complete the sense of a sentence containing copula verbs such as beon/wesan, weorþan, þyncan and others’ Mitchell’s definitions are followed

Adverbial

This category comprises one-word adverbs except for ne adverbial phrases and prepositional phrases As noted in Davis it is sometimes difficult to

It should be noted that this is only one part of the various functions served by the so-called ‘accusative and infinitive’ construction For details see OES §§ especially § and Guide §
divide successive adverbials like *her on worulde* ‘here in the world’ I consider this instance as two adverbials and this decision applies to most of the adverbials. I also consider conjoined adverbials as a group. Thus in *hie ðæt on bocum & on halegum leodum sungon* ‘they sang it in books and in holy songs’ the phrase *on bocum & on halegum leodum* is parsed as one adverbial rather than two adverbials.

Negative adverb *n*

The negative adverb *ne* is given separate treatment from the other adverbials. Combined forms are treated as follows: *nis* *þæt* + *is* is treated as *nV* or *nv* if the verb is followed by a non-finite verb and *na* *þæt* + *a* emphatic form of *ne* is treated as *nA*.

Discontinuous element *D*

This category is of relevance to what Mitchell calls the ‘splitting of heavy groups’ and Guide § Examples include: a divided subject in *Witodlice, preo cyn synt ælmesse*na* ‘Indeed are three kinds of almsgiving’; a divided direct object in *ætywe* & *his onsyne ætywed & his lichoman* ‘and he will show His face and body’; a divided complement in *Lytle syndon mine dagas & awyrge*de* ‘Few are my days and they are cursed’; and a divided adverbial prepositional phrase in *feallad of unfægere dropan* ‘and from him fall ugly drops of sweat’. In parsing such instances I describe the preceding element as S/O/C and the like and the following element as D; thus the above examples are described as ASVD OVD CVSD and AVDS respectively. In VH I have found some clauses that contain discontinuous elements. It should be

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* Comparison with Davis is not possible since he simply writes: Discontinuous nominal elements are infrequent throughout the Ælfric corpus.
Susumu Hiyama

noted that no systematic treatment is offered concerning these examples; they are referred to only when they are pertinent to the discussion.

Impersonal

Impersonal verbs and phrases like 

\[\text{that it is pleasing to God}\]

are analysed independently in each clause category separately from ‘personal’ verbs and phrases like 

\[\text{he for his righteousness pleased God}\]

Since impersonals differ from other personal expressions in their usage it does not seem apt to use the description of elements as defined above. For example in 

\[\text{me hingrede} \text{ ‘I was hungry’}\]

it is difficult to decide whether \text{me} should be parsed as a direct object or as an indirect object. Furthermore it seems disputable to interpret \text{me} the semantic subject \text{experiencer}; see below of the verb as an object here. Thus I propose to use the following symbols in describing the element order patterns of impersonals.

\[\text{+}: \text{This symbol indicates the environment in which the impersonal expression in question occurs. When the impersonal phrase is split in two the first part is indicated with ‘+’ and the second with ‘-‘; thus }\]

\[\text{was dus awritten} \text{ is described as ‘+ X -‘. See below for the symbol ‘X’}.\]

\[\text{Formal subject}: \text{This element also known as ‘dummy’ or ‘empty’ subject}.\]

\[\text{I use the term impersonal expressions or impersonals for short to denote impersonal verbs and phrases. The expressions treated here embrace those listed in Ogura and Denison.}\]

\[\text{But Campbell seems to parse this way: It emerges however that in clauses with an impersonal verb the indirect object even if it be a noun precedes the verb that is to say it occupies the place of the subject which it semantically is }\]

\[\text{Philippuse hungrede.}\]

\[\text{emphasis added}.\]
lacks anaphoric reference. In VH the following formal subjects are found: hit, þæt and þis.

**Experiencer (EXP):** This element which plays the role of subject semantically particularly refers to the element - usually animate - in the oblique case i.e. dative, dative/accusative or genitive.

**Recipient (REC):** This element refers to the semantic role played by the dative object in those with passive constructions, such as us in…Nis us alyfed þæt… ‘It is not allowed to us that…’

**X:** This symbol denotes all the other elements which include noun clauses as objects and sentential complements, bare infinitives, direct speech, prepositional phrases, predicates, adverbials and the like. However X excludes the negative adverb ne, adjectives qualifying impersonals like mycel, bpearf and conjunctives which are always placed in the clause-initial position; furthermore X is used only once even when two or more of them appear consecutively. It should be added that noun clauses are often treated separately from the other elements of this category in what follows since they exhibit a strong tendency to appear in clause-final position.

Where the impersonal has neither of the above, the expression ‘null’ is used; for example ne ne hingred ‘nor will he ever go hungry’ is described as ‘+ null’.

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This is an example of indirect passives as defined in Allen. See Allen for her classification of passives.
This study adopts two categories of clause types: the one in *OES* and the other in Davis’ study. The former classifies clauses into four main types and has the advantage in simplification and generalization especially when there are a limited number of examples cf Chapter 6. The latter however classifies clauses into as many as fourteen types and is suitable for such detailed examinations as will be offered in Chapters 7 and 8. Thus choice of the clause category used for analysis depends on pragmatic factors: the most important of which are the number of examples available and effective presentation. As for the assignment of clause types this may not be always straightforward because of the fact that there is ‘considerable overlap’ *OES* § between them ¹ In most cases I am guided by the context in making decisions. Illustrated below are the two clause categories.

Mitchell *OES* § proposes classifying clauses into four main types as follows:

Future workers will also need to distinguish the four types of clauses distinguished with their subdivisions in Mitchell’s ‘Syntax and Word-Order in the *Peterborough Chronicle*’—simple sentences and principal clauses which do not begin with *ond, ac, ne* or a similar conjunction or with *adv* *ne* with an adverb other than *ne* or with an adverb phrase; those which begin with *ond, ac, ne* or a similar conjunction the effects of which

¹ Cf *OES* § *A défaut de mieux* I retain the traditional concepts of simple and complex sentences § I am aware that there are problems of terminology … and of definition are ‘No!’ and ‘Mad?’ sentences? and that the ‘sentence’ is not always the unit of spoken English as a study of most tape-recorded conversations will show Indeed I am not convinced that the sentence as traditionally defined and understood was always the unit of written OE prose and poetry; see §§ … But no practical alternative has yet emerged.
have too often been overlooked …; which begin with adv \( ne \) with an adverb other than \( ne \) or with an adverb phrase; and subordinate clauses ....

It is readily noticeable that Mitchell’s clause type \( ne \) corresponds to the so-called ‘\( ond/ac \) clauses’ and \( pa \) to ‘\( pa \) clauses’. It seems still clumsy to call the clause type ‘non-conjoined independent clauses without initial adverbials’. For the sake of clarity I shall hereafter call these four clauses Type A, B, C, and D respectively as below:

Type A: independent clauses which do not begin with \( ond, ac, ne \) or a similar conjunction or with the adverb \( ne \) with an adverb other than \( ne \) or with an adverb phrase

Type B: independent clauses which begin with the adverb \( ne \) with an adverb other than \( ne \) or with an adverb phrase

Type C: independent clauses which begin with \( ond, ac, ne \) or a similar conjunction

Type D: dependent clauses

Davis distinguishes the following fourteen clause types:

Independent clauses:

- non-conjoined declarative and exclamative clauses
- conjoined declarative and exclamative clauses
- imperative clauses

\[\text{\footnotesize Kubouchi classifies independent clauses into four types. This study adopts his Types A/B/C; however I exclude optative clauses from Type A and treat them separately. For imperative and interrogative clauses see the relevant sections below.}\]
interrogative clauses
optative clauses
Dependent clauses:
nominal clauses
adjectival clauses
adverbial clauses:
clauses of place
clauses of time
clauses of consequence
clauses of cause
clauses of comparison
clauses of concession
clauses of condition

It should be noted that ‘clauses of consequence’ is a cover term for clauses of purpose and result cf Davis and OES §§ 100-104.

Method

Chapters follow Davis in dealing with element order in each of the clause categories. First only two elements are considered at a time. Then the relative ordering of three elements is described and analysed. This procedure is adopted from Carlton and Davis for its clarity. Although Carlton was roundly criticized by Mitchell for not differentiating pronominal objects from nominal objects I believe that this problem has been solved by the nominal/pronominal distinction in

I follow Davis in limiting this second stage to Chapter see below.
Davis This organization of Chapters and also enables me to attempt a comparison between Ælfric Davis and VH Chapter summarizes the findings in the present study with special emphasis on the position of each element. One might argue here that the findings in these chapters are no more than general characteristics of the Old English language in the late tenth century. This is a truism for we have seen that most of the homilies in VH were written by different writers over an extended period of time: in short there are various kinds of gaps between the homilies. The Appendix is intended to fill these gaps by offering various statistical information on syntactic characteristics in each homily.

Clarity and ease of reading have been my main concern cf: vii I have modelled the method of presentation on Kohonen and Davis the latter in particular has been a major source of inspiration since its publication as a doctoral dissertation in I have also benefited from Mitchell's criticism of Bacquet In terms of exemplification all Old English examples from VH are accompanied by translations in Present English

In a quantitative study such as this one it is vital to pay special attention to statistics. Chi-square tests are computed to assess the statistical significance when the following conditions are met: more than per cent of the cells have an expected frequency of more than and no cell has an expected frequency of less than . The table below shows the percentage points of the chi-square

\[ \chi^2 \]

\[ \text{It should be noted that Davis does not deal with all the works of Ælfric cf: Davis However his corpus of clauses - which is nearly twice the size of the present corpus - is still too large to ignore and it seems reasonable to assume that his data reflect important characteristics of Ælfrician syntax.} \]

\[ \text{Mitchell would be well-advised to ponder the methods adopted by S O Andrew in Syntax and Style in Old English and Postscript on Beowulf for he is ill-served by his own } \]

\[ \text{Except for occasional changes and corrections the translations are based on Nicholson Mc Cabe and Szarmach are also consulted where appropriate } \]

\[ \text{For details see Kohonen and Kenny It is noteworthy that Davis} \]
distribution extracted from Kenny

\[ \begin{array}{|c|c|c|c|c|}
\hline
\text{d} & \text{f} & \text{P} & \text{degree of freedom} & \text{P} \\
\hline
1 & & & & \\
2 & & & & \\
3 & & & & \\
4 & & & & \\
\hline
\end{array} \]

Before giving some examples of analysis, it seems fitting here to elaborate on the important notion of weight length of elements which is at the very hub of my clause-level analysis.

In the description of weight, I adopt the criteria established by Davis with some modifications. They are summarized below:

- **Light**: pronouns like *hit* and *min*.
  - one-word adverbials like *pa* and *soplice*.

- **Medium**: nouns unqualified by an adjective like *fæder*.
  - nouns qualified only by a demonstrative
    - or a possessive pronoun like *se fæder* and *min fæder*.
  - one-word adjectival complements like *gastlic*.
  - adverbials of two words like *on worulde*.

- **Heavy**: nouns/pronouns qualified by a reflexive pronoun or by one
  - or more adjectives like *he sylfa* and *se arfæsta fæder*.
  - clauses like *paet pis is selre*.

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Ælfric and *passim* coalesces certain cells to obtain satisfactory results when calculation of chi-square is impossible. I do not follow this practice: I simply present the figures without chi-square tests when the above-mentioned conditions are not met.

The forms are listed in fifth position in the table in *OES* § OES.
ELEMENT ORDER IN THE VERCELLI HOMILIES

adjectival complements qualified by one or more
words like swiþe god and to þan swide synful
adverbials of three or more words
like on þam daþe and of Cristes sylfes mude

The abbreviations ðò ðò and ð are used for light medium and heavy weight in combination with clausal elements explained above; for example ‘S’ denotes a light pronominal subject while ‘S’ denotes a heavy subject.

Finally some words on the database I have used R:BASE ++ to store and retrieve information as well as Excel ++ to check statistical significance. The former is selected for its powerful and sophisticated data analysing capabilities and the latter for its accessibility and widespread availability.

Samples

The first paragraph of Homily V ãl ãl ãl is used below to illustrate the parsing of clauses and elements. Each element except for the verb is accompanied by the description of weight. For example ‘S’ expresses a subject which is nominal ãl ãl ãl non-pronominal ãl and heavy ãl while ‘A’ expresses an adverbial which is light ãl one-word ãl

Clause boundaries and verb phrases

Her segd þis halige godspel be þære hean medomnesse þisse halgan tide þe nu onweard is þes  þætte we þas halgan tiid gedefelice

I adopt the method of presentation in Biber et al. The verb phrases are given in bold ... and the elements of the same clause are enclosed with brackets...
& clænlice weordien ð Godes naman to lofe & to wuldro ð & ussum sawlum to ecre hælo & to frofre for þan þe wuldres cyning hine selfne geadmedde ð ðætte he of heofonum on eordan astag ð ðætte þæt he on menniscum lichoman acenned wære ð ðætte For þam se arfæsta fæder ne wælde lætan his gesceaf forweordan ð ðætte þe þæt he to his agenre anlicnesse gesceop ð ðætte ac he hie wælde alysan of þære heardan hæfte & of deofles þeowdome ð ð

Clause-level analysis

‘This holy gospel tells here about the chief dignity of this holy time’
non-conjoined declarative clause S ð V-S ð A ð
‘which is now present’ adjectival clause S ð A ð C ð V ð
‘and ðt ð teaches us that …’ conjoined declarative clause I ð V-O ð
‘that we should honour this holy time properly and purely as a praise and as a glory to the name of God ð and for our souls’ eternal salvation and for consolation’
nominal clause S ð O ð A ð V-A ð A ð
‘because the King of glory humbled himself’ clause of cause S ð O ð V ð
‘so that He descended from heaven onto earth’ clause of consequence S ð -A ð A ð V ð
‘so that He would be brought forth in human body’ clause of consequence S ð S ð A ð V-v ð
‘Therefore ð the merciful Father would not let his creation perish’ non-conjoined declarative clause S ð n-v-V-O ð P ð
‘those whom He created in His own image’ adjectival clause ð O ð S ð A ð -V ð
‘but He would release them from the hard bondage and from the subjection to the devil’ conjoined declarative clause S ð O ð v-V-A ð
CHAPTER 2

INDEPENDENT CLAUSES

This chapter deals with element order patterns in independent clauses which are defined as capable of standing alone as sentences in their own right. As was done in Davis each section first illustrates the relative positions of two elements finite verb and another element followed by examination of clause patterns finite verb and two other elements. Comparisons between VH and Ælfric are made wherever appropriate.

Independent clauses are divided into the following five types: non-conjoined declarative and exclamative clauses section e.g. We habbath a We have law conjoined declarative and exclamative clauses section e.g. ac ic cwom but I came imperative clauses section e.g. ac ic Gesaga me Tell me interrogative clauses section e.g. eart du Iudea cining? are you the king of the Jews? and optative clauses section e.g. Hal wes du, Iudea cining! Hail to you King of Jews!

Non-Conjoined Declarative and Exclamative Clauses

VH have clauses that belong to this category. Exclamative clauses are treated together with declarative clauses since exclamation is not marked in the Vercelli Codex. The clauses analysed here are further subdivided into those without an initial

Davis uses selected portions of the following texts: Homilies of Ælfric: A Supplementary Collection Pope ed hereafter SH Ælfric’s Catholic Homilies: The Second Series Godden ed hereafter CH For details see Davis Mitchell where he shows wariness about sampling.

In his edition Scragg uses the exclamation mark twenty-two times where the
adverbial  hereafter Type A  We have law and those with an initial adverbial Type B  Ne hafast du ænige mihte wid me  You have no power against me since it has been firmly established by previous studies OES § 7 that initial adverbials affect the element order patterns in this particular clause category It should be noted that the analysis offered in this section tends to be fuller than those offered elsewhere in the present study in the hope of introducing and expounding many important issues that may influence element order in Old English

The order of subject and simple verb Type A

In Type A those without an initial adverbial there are clauses with subject and simple verb of which clauses have the order S-V and clauses have V-S. The table below shows the distribution of subjects according to their weight:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>S-V</th>
<th>S-V</th>
<th>S-V</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>S-V</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V-S</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

 Examples are:

S-V  Hwæt la ge syndon unwise men Lo you are foolish men /
Ge wepa hiofa you shall weep and lament

manuscript has either a low point or no mark of punctuation For punctuation in Old English manuscripts see for example OES §§ and passim and Strang
S □V Paulus gefæste □ Paul fasted □ hiora earmas agaledon □ their arms became slack □

S □V ure þa neahstan sweltan □ those nearest to us will die □ Sume men synt ðe … □ There are certain men □ who … □

V-S □ Eadigu eart du □ sawl □ Blessed are you □ soul □ Wæs þæt in middenwintra □ That was at Christmas □

V-S □ Cumad Romane □ Romans will come □ Micel is gefea □ Great is the joy □

V-S □ bid fæger weder & beorht sunne □ there is fair weather and bright sunshine □ Cwæd se ædela lareow sanctus Paulus □ The noble teacher Saint Paul said □

Although the V-S order is infrequent in VH □ of the instances with the two elements □ it seems significant that this pattern is much less frequent in CH and SH □ in each; cf □ Davis □ and □ Among the V-S clauses in VH □ more noteworthy is the existence of thirty-six examples of the V-S □ pattern where light subjects □ follow the verb □ since □ according to Davis □ this pattern □ is limited to subjects of medium and heavy weight □ in both □ In VH □ these V-S □ examples appear in eleven of the total twenty-three homilies □ and the largest concentration is found in Homily I and XVIII □ each having ten examples □ A close inspection of these twenty examples reveals that: □ beon/wesan □ particularly was □ is used most frequently as the finite verb - four times in Homily I and seven times in XVIII; □ Homily I has six instances where the Latin source is closely translated as in □ Wæs þæt se ilca Caifas □ That was the same Caiaphas □ Latin erat autem Caiaphas □ while XVIII has only one □ such instance □ which

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Homily XVIII has two other examples □ and □ where the available Latin source does not contain a verb □
is Eode he da hwædre in þæt hus. Then furthermore he went into that house.

Latin egredi cellulam is ṭakte

If we return to the V-S examples in general sixty-eight instances have the verb in the initial position and they appear most frequently - again - in both Homily I and XVIII each has instances followed by Homily XXII instances It should be noted that more than half of the finite verbs used in this position carry a very light semantic load Allen as in instances and instances In the remaining forty-five clauses with V-S the initial position is occupied by a complement instances a direct object or an indirect object confirming Davis's observation An initial element in a clause which is not the subject appears to promote inversion It is also worth mentioning that the great majority of the V-S clauses out of are either simple sentences or initial clauses in complex sentences One wonders if this V-S order is used as a stylistic device The importance of the V-S order however should not be overemphasized: the evidence in VH does not follow Campbell's claim Inversion of subject and verb is normal in the main clause of such sentences independent clauses preceded by dependent clauses

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¹ Ogawa translating the phrase da hwædre as 'therefore' comments that this usage is 'illogical but serves to establish parallelism with the preceding Getrewode hine da hwædre …'
² Cf Allen the verbs which occur sentence-initially usually carry a very light semantic load; verbs meaning to be figure largely in these examples Her corpus is CH
³ Cf Campbell comments on the curious inconsistency of word order in principal clauses beginning with an element other than the subject
⁴ Cf Campbell Inversion of subject and verb is normal in the main clause of such sentences e.g. After þæm þe Romeburg getimbred wæs iiii hunde wintrum on xxvi, feng Alexander to Macedonia rice Orosius ed Sweet p M Bacquet is so totally unaware of the cause of this inversion that he quotes the above example beginning with feng Such inversion is part of the general tendency to invert subject and verb in principal clauses if the subject has not the first place so that the verb remains in the second place This mechanical
The order of subject and simple verb □Type B □

In Type B □ those with an initial adverbial □ there are □ clauses with subject and simple verb □ of which □ clauses □ have the order S-V and □ have V-S □ The distribution is shown below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>S-V</th>
<th>S-V</th>
<th>S-V</th>
<th>Total</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>S-V</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V-S</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

□ = with □ degrees of freedom □

Examples are:

S □V  Oft ic gedyde □ Often I acted □ Efne swa he cwæde □ he said thus □

S □V  In þam dæge þa synfullan heofianþ □ On that day the sinful ones will lament □ Weotodlice Moyses hine gebædu □ Indeed □ Moses himself prayed □

S □V  Be dam se ælmihtega God sæd □ Concerning this □ the Almighty God spoke □ Donne hungor & sweorda gefeoht bid □ Then □ there □ will be hunger and the battle of swords □

V-S □  þa cleopodon hie □ then they exclaimed □ þa weop he □ then he wept □

V-S □  Pa fregn se bisceop □ Then the bishop asked □ þær wunad □ God

process gives no special emphasis □ Among the Type A clauses preceded by dependent clauses in VH □ □ have S-V and □ have V-S □
‘there abides God’

V-S ː Pa eode Petrus & Iohannes ː Then went Peter and John / da
greowon unc ː pa ecan witu ‘then grew for the two of us those eternal tortures’

We have already seen that the V-S order is used in one in every five clauses in Type A ː and that ː in VH ː this pattern occurs three times as frequently as in CH and SH ː It seems that this tendency - already visible in Type A - is further reinforced by initial adverbials in Type B ː Although the frequency of V-S in VH ː is only comparable to CH ː and SH ː this result may be considered to vouchsafe the separate treatment of Type A and Type B ː

Within VH ː Homily I has yet again the largest number of V-S clauses ː followed by XVIII ː and IV ː and XIV ː and XIV ː out of ː of the initial adverbials are of light weight ː like ː pa and ponne ː in the V-S clauses ː This changes greatly in the S-V examples: although such light adverbials still appear initially in about half of the total examples ː adverbials of medium and heavy weight are used more frequently with this S-V order ː It seems pertinent here to quote Campbell ː Inversion after ː pa and ponne is so common that it can be regarded as due only to grammatical rection ː This important remark is attested in VH ː the V-S order appears in ː of the total ː pa clauses and in ː of the total ː ponne clauses ː The predominance of V-S is particularly perceptible in correlative Type B clauses where ː of the total ː examples have V-S

:\Cf Allen ː initial position of the adverb ː pa ː then nearly always causes subject-verb inversion ː
The order of subject and complex verb  □ Type A □

Examples and figures are:

S □v-V  he bid ahafen in ece wuldor □ he will be exalted in eternal glory □  /  pa biod genidrade in helle tintrego □ they will be pushed down into the torment of hell □

S □v-V  Min sawl on nearunesse is geseted □ My soul is set in confinement □ /  Eawla □ se geleafa is geworden □ Alas □ the faith has come □

S □v-V  Sio æreste onlicnes is nemned wræc □ The first likeness is named pain □ /  þeos mennisce drohtung is gedrefed over ealle eor □ this corporeal condition of life is troubled over all the earth □

S □V-v  He us gelifæste hæf on þyssum middangearde □ He has given life to us in this world □

S □V-v  hwylcne dom him dryhten deman wille be ðam dome □ the Lord will judge each judgement for them according to the law □

S □V-v  Nænig man o erne æfter dea e getreowlice onlysan mæg □ No one may truly release another after death □

v-S □V  Wæs hit awritten on þreo geþeode □ It was written in three languages □ /  Wæs he ær beforan þa þreo gear gecristnod □ He had been christened three years before □

v-S □V  Sceolde þæt word bion gefylled □ That word must be fulfilled □

□ I consider the initial pa as a pronominal subject referring to the preceding passage & swa þa þe ne willad rihtum geleafan onfon □ And whosoever did not wish to receive the true faith □

A similar example is found in the same homily: & swa hwylce swa ne woldon hlafordas habban, da weren þurh rode deade gewitnode ‘and whosoever did not wish to have lords □ they were punished through quick death’ □
Susumu Hiyama

Wæs se Barrabas haten sum sceap & forwyrht man. This Barabbas was called a thief and a wicked man.

Wæron þa milite þæs gerefan men þæt dydon. The soldiers did that in this way. Syndon þæs þry dagas toecan odrum þingum for ðan us gesette. Therefore these three days are established for us besides other things.

Me is seald nu miht on heofonum & on eor. To me now is given might in heavens and on earth. Þæt gastlice gereord is the spiritual food of the body of Christ will be given. Cristes lichoman the spiritual food of the body of Christ will be given.

The order S-v-V accounts for of the examples in VH. According to Davis, AElfric uses this order more consistently: the S-v-V order enjoys a monopoly in SH and in CH. One of the two exceptions in SH has v-V-S and the other v-S-V. Regarding the other minor patterns the following may be observed: the three examples with S-V-v order are the sole examples with V-v order in all Type A clauses irrespective of the presence of any other element in the clause; the v-S-V order is concentrated in Homily I nine examples and Homily XVIII six. All the v-V-S examples contain heavy subjects.

I have excluded one dubious example with a subject of medium weight: 'the river is called Jordan.' It is possible to interpret the subject as heavy or at least heavier than 'medium' if we consider the relative þe clause following the clause. Cf. Szarmach these are the sole examples with V-v order in all Type A clauses irrespective of the presence of any other element in the clause; the v-S-V order is concentrated in Homily I nine examples and Homily XVIII six. All the v-V-S examples contain heavy subjects.

- - -
The order of subject and complex verb Type B

Examples and figures are:

S ð-v-V ᵅʷ Value Sodlice se bid apwegen Truly he shall be washed / Þurh þa byrðran we væron gehælede Through the mother we were healed

S ðv-V ᵅʷ On þyses lichoman hiwe man mæg gesion þæt In the form of this body one may see that / Of ðære onbyrðnesse eadmodnes bid

S ðv-V ᵅʷ witodlice ealle hie væron þurh geswinc gebyrhte indeed they were all distinguished through toil / Of ðære eadmodnesse licumlice

S ðV-v ᵅʷ swa we him mærlycor þancian sculon so we must thank Him more splendidly / þyder he feran sceal it must travel to that place

S ðV-v ᵅʷ nu þine yrfeweardas leng lyfian ne moton now your heirs cannot live longer / þyder his modgeþanc a geseted wæs his mind was always fixed to that place

S ðV-v ᵅʷ for þan se halga gast on culfran onsyne ofer Crist cumende wæs æt therefore the Holy Ghost in the form of a dove was coming above Christ at the baptism

v-S ðV ᵅʷ swa væs he utadrifen so was he driven out / þa væs he swiþe gefeonde then he was greatly rejoicing

v-S ðV ᵅʷ Purh þæt fæsten biod þa leahtras astreahte Through the fast those sins shall be overthrown / Þonne bi sio gleng agoten Then will adornment be destroyed

- ᵅʷ-
The S-v subject - finite verb order is used times and the v-S times showing a striking correspondence with the Type B clauses with simple verbs where the parallel percentages are almost identical for S-V and for V-S.

Findings are: light subjects dominate the S-v-V order; there are no other instances with V-v in Type B except for the six examples with S-V-v; regarding the v-S-V order, beon/wesan is used as a finite verb in nearly half of the total instances out of followed by magan and *sculan. The dominance of beon/wesan is further established in the v-V-S examples where beon/wesan is used in clauses and different finite verbs - habban, weorpan, *sculan, and *motan - are used in each of the remaining four.

The order of direct object and simple verb - Types A/B -

Of the total clauses inclusive of both Type A and Type B have
O-V and V-O have V-O. The distribution is as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>O-V</th>
<th>O-V</th>
<th>O-V</th>
<th>Total</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>O-V</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V-O</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>9</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[ \chi^2 = \text{degrees of freedom} \]

Examples are:

O-V: ofer eall his god he hie geset he set them above all their goods / Mine þearfan me lufia My needy ones love me

O-V: Nu sio idelnes swa swi e þam lichoman dere Now the idleness greatly injures the body / Min feorh ic sealde for de My life I gave for the sake of you

O-V: La lice eardunge hæfde ic on þe I had a loathsome dwelling in you / þa ic fæmnelicne inno gesohte then I sought the maidenly womb

V-O: þa gebundon hie hine then they bound him / Cwæ þæt se halga Ysodorus The holy Isidore said that

V-O: a he onfeh miltse mid me always will he receive mercy with me / he hæfde his handa upweardes he held his hands upwards

V-O: Bædon swiðe unhælicre bene They asked a very wretched request / Nu gyt ær inc geearnadan ece rest Formerly you two earned eternal rest

Compared with Davis, the percentage of the O-V order is slightly higher in VH than in CH and SH. Concluding his equivalent
section Davis writes: ‘Though very broad trends may be stated - the tendency for light direct object to precede the verb and those of medium or heavy weight to follow - the general picture is one of considerable freedom in positioning of these elements. This observation prima facie seems to hold true for VH. However that Davis’s claim for considerable freedom needs some qualification becomes clear if we look at Type A and Type B separately:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Type A</th>
<th></th>
<th>Type B</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>O-V</td>
<td>V-O</td>
<td>O-V</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O-V</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>V-O</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The tables clearly show different - and mixed - tendencies in the two types of clauses. Most of the pronominal direct objects O are placed preverbally in Type A while this weight ordering is weakened in Type B by their preference to have the verb in second position after the initial adverbial AV... The situation is somewhat reversed with direct objects of medium and heavy weight O / : most of them are placed postverbally in Type B whereas Type A has more instances of such direct objects preceding the verb. In other words weight ordering is at work only partially: in VH its influences are observed only in O / Type A and O / Type B. Thus the freedom claimed by Davis see above should be seen as much more restricted and it seems likely that the extent of restriction or influence varies from text to text.
The order of direct object and complex verb Types A/B

The sample consists of clauses of which are Type A examples and are Type B examples. Examples and figures are:

O Ḡv-V Type A= ⃰ Type B= ⃪ du me hæfdest forneah forgittenne you had almost forgotten me / Py hine ne scale nan man swa sylfne beswican ‘Therefore no man must deceive himself thus’

O Ḡv-V Type A= ⃰ Type B= ⃪ ðone ænne we sculon ecne gelyfan butan ælcre frynde odde onginnesse we must believe that eternal one without any origin or beginning ‘Men da leofestan þas mægenu we magon begyten Dearly beloved we can obtain these virtues’

O Ḡv-V Type A= ⃰ Type B= ⃪ He us gelifæste hæf on þyssum middangearde ‘He has given life to us in this world’

O Ḡv-V Type A= ⃰ Type B= ⃪ Nænig man oerne æfter deade getreowlice onlysan mæg No one may truly release another after death onlysan mæg

O Ḡv-V Type A= ⃰ Type B= ⃪ hwylcne dom him dryhten deman wille be dam dome the Lord will judge each judgement for them according to the law

v-O ḠV Type A= ⃰ Type B= ⃪ He sceall hine eac swa læran He must also guide him / Ne meahte hit þæt dioful þam ancran eall asecgan The devil could not explain it all to the anchorite

v-O ḠV Type A= ⃰ Type B= ⃪ Næs hio næfre weorca ageled She has never neglected deeds / We donne sculon his mildheortnesse geearnigan ‘We then must earn His mercy’

v-O ḠV Type A= ⃰ Type B= ⃪ Ne mæg ic ænige synne to þyssum men ongitan I cannot perceive any sin in this man / Hwæt we siddan ne
magon nane lade gedon Lo afterwards we may not perform any purgation

v-V-O Type A= Type B= 

v-V-O Type A= Type B= Dryhten hælend he oft wæs dælende ælmesan on þinun naman Lord Saviour he often was distributing alms in your name / for dan þe we nu magon behydan & behelian ura dæda ‘therefore we are now able to conceal and cover up our deeds’

v-V-O Type A= Type B= Hwæt we nu gehyrdon secgan hwyl-cnehwegu dæl ymb usses dryhtnes gebyrd Lo we now heard tell a little portion about the birth of our Lord / Nu we magon sceawian ealle ure synna beforan ealre þysse mænigo Now we may consider all of our sins before all of this multitude

V-O-v Type A= Type B= 

V-v-O Type A= Type B= 

Again Type A and Type B show different tendencies though the difference may not be as prominent as it was in the preceding section dealing with the order of direct object and simple verb Most importantly Type B tends toward more fixed element order having a much higher percentage of the v-V-O order than Type A

Both of the two exceptions in Type B have O-v-V as in Nu gyt ic hine hate lædan hider ut beforan eow ealle Now I command that they lead Him out here before you all’ and Py hine ne scele nan man swa sylfne beswican ‘Therefore no man must deceive himself thus’ Comparison with the data in Davis is not easy since his tables lump together the two types of clauses; yet all his examples have the direct object after the finite verb v-O except for three

One might wonder if this example involves the accusative and infinitive construction As is clear in my translation I interpret hine as a direct object O’ not ‘Z’ governed by lædan For similar examples see OES §§
instances - one in CH O v-V and two in SH O v-V and O v-V

VH have seven examples which contain the accusative and infinitive construction where the accusative Z is functioning both as a direct object of the finite verb and as a subject of the non-finite verb. They include two clauses which further have a direct object O governed by the non-finite verb. The finite verb precedes Z and O in all the examples:

v-V-Z het gan his men to he also commanded his men to go
For þam se arfæsta fæder ne wolde lætan his gesceaff forweordan. Therefore the merciful Father would not let his creation perish
v-Z-V Ne let ðu hine no dy swa lange lybban. Therefore you did not let him live so long
v-Z-O-V þa het he hine æghwylcne scilling agifan then he ordered him to pay each of the shillings
v-O-Z-V Sio forhæfdnesse gede Gode þone mannan nealæcan That abstinence causes the man to draw near to God

It seems worth mentioning that the last example uses a different element order from the Latin source: *continentia hominem Deo proximum facit* S moderation makes a man very close to God

The order of indirect object and simple verb Types A/B

The sample is clauses of which are Type A and are Type B. The tables below illustrate the distribution in each category:
Susumu Hiyama

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type A</th>
<th>I-V</th>
<th>I-I</th>
<th>I-O</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I-V</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V-I</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
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<td></td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type B</th>
<th>I-V</th>
<th>I-I</th>
<th>I-O</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I-V</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V-I</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examples are:

I-V  Da him eac Crist sylf foresæde Then Christ Himself also prophesied to them / hie us myyclum fromiad they will accomplish much for us /

I-V  Pa wæccan he eft gecydde To the watches he said again / hie us myclym fromiad they will accomplish much for us /

I-V  efne ge þæt me sylfum dod you do that likewise for myself /

V-I  Pa lyfde he Þat Pilatus him þæt Then Pilate granted him that /

V-I  þan hie mannum budon sybbe Therefore they offered peace to men /

V-I  efne ge þæt me sylfum dod you do that likewise for myself /

V-I  He sealde þam þyrstendan drincan He gave drink to the thirsty /

V-I  Þat Pilatus him þæt Then Pilate granted him that /

V-I  efne ge þæt me sylfum dod you do that likewise for myself /

V-I  He sealde þam geswenctum mannum reste & are He gave to the troubled man rest and pity /

The percentages of the two patterns are I-V and V-I in Type A and I-V and V-I in Type B. The higher frequency of the V-I order in Type B may in part be explained by its strong verb-second tendency. However, the sample seems too small and too varied for its size to draw any conclusion. For reference.
I present below the table showing the distribution in both Type A and Type B:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>I</th>
<th>Ý</th>
<th>ß</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I-V</td>
<td>ø</td>
<td>ø</td>
<td>ø</td>
<td>ø</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V-I</td>
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<td>ø</td>
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<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>ø</td>
<td>ø</td>
<td>ø</td>
<td>ø</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In VH, the frequencies of I-V and V-I are level pegging. Davis tells us of some variety in Ælfric: while CH present a picture similar to that in VH. I-V comprises of instances SH clearly show a preference for V-I. It should also be noted that all but one of the I-V examples in Davis have the pronominal indirect object, the exception being Cudberhtus da him togeanes cwæd. There are five such examples in VH: two in Type A, both with I-V, and three in Type B, two with I-V and one with I-V.

The order of indirect object and complex verb Types A/B:

Examples and figures are:

I øv-V Type A= ø Type B= ø Me is seald nu miht on heofonum & on eordan
‘To me now is given might in heavens and on earth’ / Swylce us hafad geæld ure dryhten manege gastlice blacernas. Similarly our Lord has kindled many spiritual candles for us.

I øv-V Type A= ø Type B= ø Ælcum ge geongum ge ealdum þis fæsten is beboden To everyone both young and old this fast is commanded.

I øv-V Type A= ø Type B= ø Manegum haligum mannum þas gangdagas syndon widmetene. These Rogation Days have been compared with many holy
I am given up to all evils / Eallum yflum ic eom seald / I am given up to all evils

I will judge each judgement for them according to the law / swa we him mærlycor þancian sculon / Am given up to all evils

The Lord will judge each judgement for them according to the law / swa we him mærlycor þancian sculon / Am given up to all evils

Syndon us nu for þan bec gesette / Therefore gospels are ordained for us

The devil could not explain it all to the anchorite / þy we

Then we must thank Him more splendidly / þæt dioful þam ancran eall

They may both merit the kingdom of heaven for ourselves / þæt dioful þam ancran eall

Therefore gospels are ordained for us / swa we him mærlycor þancian sculon / Am given up to all evils

The devil could not explain it all to the anchorite / þy we

We must offer all to the Eternal Judge at the great judgement / Þæt mitte wæs sæd Afradisio þam heretogan / Am given up to all evils

The devil could not explain it all to the anchorite / þy we

The devil could not explain it all to the anchorite / þy we

The devil could not explain it all to the anchorite / þy we

The devil could not explain it all to the anchorite / þy we

Then that was told to Affrodius the general
clause categories the sample is not large enough to make any general comments. As in the previous sections Davis who does not distinguish between Type A and Type B does not seem to help here though two points may deserve mentioning: the I-v order is much less frequent in Ælfric in CH and in SH; Davis has found no instance with the I-V-v pattern in his corpus which occurs twice in VH see above.

The order of direct and indirect objects Types A/B

This category is represented by clauses of which are Type A and are Type B. The percentages of the two patterns are almost identical in the two types; the I-O order accounts for of instances in Type A and in Type B. Examples are:

O-I  hit him mon sceal framadon / efne ge þæt me sylfum dod / you do that likewise for myself
I-O  Da ne andswarode he him / Crist / ænige worde / Then he did not answer him any word

Two general tendencies may be mentioned: preference for the I-O order and weight ordering. Of particular interest are the five examples with the O-I order even when the direct object is heavy. They are: hwylcne dom him dryhten deman wille be dam dome / the Lord will judge each judgement for them according to the law / nane are ne dyde he him / he performed no mercy for them / æghwæt þæs e u hafast, ic þe sealde / everything you have / I gave to you

It may be noted that the adjectival clause æghwæt ... hafast serves as a direct object here
by we magon mycel god ussum sawlum on him gestrynan ‘by that we may amass in them much good for our souls’, and

Donne forgified ure dryhten pryddan deel þæs synfullan heapes þære halgan sancta Marian ‘Then our Lord will grant to holy Saint Mary a third part of that sinful troop’ Although the first three may be explained on stylistic grounds presumably emphatic I am unable to account for the remaining two examples

The order of complement and simple verb Types A/B

VH provide a sample of clauses: from Type A and from Type B The distribution may be presented in tabular form:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type A</th>
<th>Type B</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>C-V</td>
<td>C-V</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C-V</td>
<td>C-V</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V-C</td>
<td>V-C</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[=\] with degrees of freedom

Examples are:

C-V se min bi he is mine / swa da rican syndon her in worulde
‘so are the powerful here in the world’

C-V Eadige beo þa þeowas Happy shall be the servants / For dan uneendedu is min gnornung Therefore unending is my lamentation

C-V Neara & widerdene is se halega weg Narrow and steep is the holy way / nu we þus þurh Godes mihte ealle ætgædere syndon now we are thus all assembled through the might of God
V-C ː næs næpig seam on / there was no seam in / ðæt wæron mine / they were mine

V-C ː Dies wæs min agen / This was my property / ðæs mannes nama wæs Cyrianus / the name of that man was Cyrenius

V-C ː He wæs strang & stadoľfæst & faestræd on þinum bebodum / He was strong and steadfast and unwavering in your commands / Sodlice he is se cwica hlaf / Truly he is the living bread

The V-C order has a majority in both clause categories and Type B displays its higher frequency than does Type A. In addition to and both listed above the remaining four examples of C-V in Type B are:

Swa her on worulde is seo sorh & sio unblis dryhtnes hælendes & þara haligra ‘Thus here in the world / here is sorrow and unhappiness of the Lord Saviour and of the saints’ / Brodor mine / æfter þære andetnesse to underfonne is sio hreowsung / My brethren / after the confession / it is necessary to undertake repentance / to dam weig he ware for þære anre nihthwile / for that reason / he would be evil during the night / Nalles ðæt he his willan on þam woruldfolgo e wære / Not only was he voluntarily in the secular occupation / Latin non tamen sponte

Concerning these six Type B clauses with C-V several possible causes for this order may be listed: Latin influence and influence of a heavy subject which is placed in final position stylistic factors and verb-final positioning which is perhaps attributable to the influence of clause-initial elements which double as adverb/conjunctions has nalles ðæt and has nu. In terms of the C-V clauses in Type A four of the total seven examples appear consecutively in Homily XIII: Þæt nu, ðæt ic wæs io; ðæt ic eom nu,
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\textit{pæt du wiordest eft} Latin \textit{Quod tu es, ego fui; quod ego sum, tu eris} These passages are translated by Szarmach as follows: What you are now I was before; what I am now you will become later I concur with this translation since it seems to show that in each pair of clauses the first \textit{pæt} is a relative pronoun and that the following \textit{pæt} is a demonstrative pronoun functioning as a complement referring to the preceding adjectival clause. The different functions played by \textit{pæt} may be at least partially supported by the absence of corresponding \textit{quod} in the Latin source.

The order of complement and complex verb Types A/B

Examples and figures are:

\begin{itemize}

\item \textit{C v-V} Type A= Type B= Nicodemus wæs haten ‘he was called Nicodemus’ / Cypemen hie sculon bion ‘Merchants they must be’

\item \textit{v-C v-V} Type A= Type B= Her ne mæg nan yfel ece beon Here no wickedness may be eternal / se bid hal geworden he will become whole

\item \textit{v-C v-V} Type A= Type B= Forneah ealra manna mod sint oferflowende willan owneden the hearts of very nearly all men are perverted into excessive desires / Ic wæs þin fæder & þin dryhten & emne eallinga þin freond geworden ‘I had become your father and your Lord and your friend completely’

\end{itemize}

\footnote{Cf. \textit{Guide} § 773. \textit{Pæt} often combines antecedent and relative pronoun. It must then be translated what e.g. \textit{he hæfde deah geforþod pæt he his frean gehet} he had however done what he promised his lord. This survived into \textit{eMnE eæ þ} in the King James Version \textit{John} That thou doest do quickly}
v-V-C Type A= Type B=

Sona se lichoma sceal bion unfeæg
‘Immediately the body shall be ugly’/ Sio æreste onlicnes is nemned
wræc The first likeness is named pain

v-V-C Type A= Type B= For dan we a sculon bion ymbhydige ure
sawle rædes Therefore we must always be solicitous of our soul’s benefit
Swa we sculon eac beon in urum life clæne & unsceḍdende In like
manner we must also be in our life clean and innocent

Even with due consideration of the small sample the overwhelming majority of the v-
V-C order is still striking: this order is used in all but two clauses and
above both of which are Type A with complements of medium weight It
should be added that in one of the exceptions the subject is not expressed:
‘he was called Nicodemus’

Initial adverbials Type B

It has proved useful to treat separately the two kinds of non-conjoined declarative and
exclamative clauses Type A and Type B The table below summarizes the
weight of initial adverbials in VH along with the figures from CH and SH

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<th>VH</th>
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Naturally the figures are limited to Type B independent clauses with initial adverbs and the figure for A will be if instances with initial *ne* are included. The table above may be compared with the next table which shows the occurrence of adverbials in any position within Type A and Type B cf. Davis.

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<th>VH</th>
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In *VH* initial adverbials comprise almost of all the adverbials in Type A and Type B. This is in marked contrast to the findings in Davis where the corresponding percentage is in *CH* and in *SH*. In *VH* the percentages of initial adverbials in Type B according to their weight are: light, medium, and heavy which are comparable to *CH* and *SH* where the percentage of light adverbials is in the former and in the latter. Concerning the initial adverbials Davis remarks: In general it seems that an adverbial is placed initial purely because it is of light weight and that the resultant inversion of subject and verb may be looked upon as no more than a consequence of the clause containing a light adverbial. This is an overstatement because: it dismisses the syntactic and stylistic freedom granted to the Old English writer; and it fails to account for the substantial number of light adverbials in non-initial position. - in *VH* in *CH* and in *SH*. It seems more likely that the high frequency of light adverbials in initial position points to the writer's attempt to

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*The negative particle *ne* is excluded from discussion of adverbials.*
conform to the rules of grammar which may in turn allow the writer some freedom to place adverbials in non-initial position.

The order of single non-initial adverbial and finite verb Types A/B

There are clauses with single non-initial adverbials excluding of course Type B clauses which have only single initial adverbials. The distribution in Type A and Type B is as follows:

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<th>A-V</th>
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|= = = with = degrees of freedom |

Examples are:

A V a hie þe wel licodon they always pleased you well Se engel hie þa frefrede The angel then consoled them
A V hie begen þa gita lifgende waeran they were both still living Swa Dauid hit on sealmum sang So David sang it in psalms
A V hie þæt on bocum & on halegum leodum sungon ‘they sang it in books and in holy songs’ da se ælmihtega dryhten in þas woruld becwom ‘then

Cf OES § … we can agree with QW Quirk & Wrenn that “the free variation available to Ælfric in the position of adverbs is available today likewise” So much depends on the writer’s purpose

The finite verb is represented by V in the subsequent sections dealing with Type A and Type B.
the Almighty Lord came into this world

V-A  This is the man here  then he was greatly rejoicing

V-A  he wunaþ on Gode  he dwells in God  then we may earn through that

V-A  Dryhten  The Lord will save and keep those in the kingdom of heavens

The V-A order predominates in both clauses: its percentage is in Type A and in Type B. While light adverbials simply seem to crop up in any non-initial position, both pre- and postverbally adverbials of medium and heavy weight tend towards postverbal position presumably in conformity with a much more rigorous weight ordering.

The order of two non-initial adverbials and finite verb Types A/B

Examples and figures are:

A-A-V  Type A= Hwæt we nu æt his sylfes mude gehyrdon his yfelsunga  Lo we now heard from his own mouth his blasphemy  Thus He came to this world for that

A-V-A  Type A= Þæs rihtwisan gebed miclum fremap beforan Gode  The prayers of the righteous do much before God  Then he will shut up those sinners in hell

V-A-A  þa beod þær cwylmed in ecum fyre  they
will be tortured there in eternal fire / Se halga gast cymed ufon on þe
‘The Holy Ghost will come to you from above’

As in both CH and SH Davis show the predominance of the V-A-A order in both Type A and Type B VH are also comparable to CH in having examples of A-A-V which are absent in SH In addition it is generally observed that the two adverbials tend to form a cluster in the patterns with A-A namely A-A-V and V-A-A as the following figures show: Type A of or or Types A/B of

The order of three or more non-initial adverbials and finite verb

Examples and figures are:

A- V-A-A-A A= Type A= Type B= eode þa eac in þone cafertun sona æfter him then he also went into the hall immediately after Him / þa wæs his mod þæs eadigan weres swi wæs gedrefed on him be þam onginne then the mind of the blessed man was very troubled within him concerning the beginning

A- A-V-A-A A= Type A= Type B= he a beseah on þa lyft ongean þa sunnan he looked at the sky towards the sun / Swa þonne bid symble þam sodfæstum & þam godfyrhtum mannum in sybbe Moreover it will always be peaceful in that way for pious and godfearing men

A- A-A-V-A A= Type A= Type B= swa du þonne eft bist in ecnessum getrymed fæstlicor so you will then be again strengthened in more secure eternity / Hie da sona þone halgan wer gelæddon to dam sweartum tintreges gomum helle dures Then immediately they took the holy man in
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the black jaws of torture of hell's door 

/of the total clauses have the A-V-A-A-A order where three or 

more adverbials follow the finite verb which is in line with the findings in Davis 

as well as in my preceding section where V-A-A was the most frequent 

pattern. Three or more adverbials form a cluster in clauses accounting for 

of instances. In the following Type A example we may see as many as six 

adverbials forming a cluster without the intervention of any other element: 

all of them can rejoice and be glad forever after this 

world eternally in His fairer kingdom with Him.

Clause patterns

Following Davis I present examples and figures for the occurrence of 

patterns of three elements: subject, finite verb, and another element in Type A and 

Type B respectively.

Type A

Given below are examples and figures of clause patterns containing subject, finite 
verb and direct object:

S-V-O   Pes man wyrcd maran wundor & mænigfealdran This man
works greater and manifold wonders / He sceall hine eac swa læran / He must also guide him / we þæt
scolon onhyrigan on us sylfum / we should imitate that in ourselves / we þæt
V-O-S Cwæd þæt se halga Ysodorus / The holy Isidore said that / we þæt
V-S-O Witgode he þæt ungewealdene mude be Cristes þrowunge / He
prophesied Christ’s passion with his involuntary mouth / we þæt
S-O-V eallum ic hie beode to all I command them / we þæt
must also guide him / we þæt
L-S-V eac bro or mine þone halgan godspell secgan & reccan / We are also obliged
now ß my brethren ß to speak about and interpret that holy gospel / we þæt
O-S-V ß Sod þu segest ß You tell the truth ß we þanne magon
… durh halige dæda & þurh fæsten & þurh ælmesan widstandan / We may then
withstand that … through holy deeds and through fasting and through alms
O-V-S nane are ne dyde he him he performed no mercy for them / we þæt
Ladlice eardunge hæfde ic on þe ß I had a loathsome dwelling in you / we þæt

Davis reports that two of the six possible patterns are not found in his
selected corpus of Ælfric / It is perhaps significant that VH have three examples
belonging to these two patterns / In the two examples with the O-V-S pattern ß it is
likely that the heavy object is placed initially for contrast above or for
emphasis above The same explanation may be applicable to the
only example with the V-O-S pattern which would be paraphrased as ß That ß is
what ß the holy Isidore said / It should be added that this curious example is

In her discussion of OVS order in Old English Allen notes that she is only aware of one such example ß ß O-V-S ß in an OE
prose text and instances She also writes: ß The infrequency of examples of this sort ß ß ß O-V-S ß or O-S-V ß which are found given a big enough corpus ß contrasts with the
nearly absolute lack of OVSwo ß which I have not found in any of Ælfric’s texts ß
surrounded by passages in direct speech and is possibly a parenthesis cf OES §§ 578-579. I can imagine the Old English writer while translating and paraphrasing Isidorean sentences inserting this short clause: since the preceding clause ends with a non-finite verb geleafan he might have thought it necessary to start the new clause with the verb cwæd to make clear the demarcation; since the following clause begins with an interrogative adverb hu he might have thought it preferable to place the cataphoric object āet before the heavy subject thus avoiding the awkward sequence *Cwæd se halga Ysodorus āet hu .... Generally speaking the subject precedes the direct object in of the clauses and pronominal direct objects occur most frequently in the S-O-V pattern which is the second most frequently used pattern of instances following the most frequently used S-V-O cf in CH and in SH.

Given below are examples and figures of clause patterns containing subject finite verb and indirect object:

S-V-I Hie todældon him mine hrægl ‘They divided my garment to them’
/ We magon heonon us geearnian þone ecan e edel & þone sodan gefean
‘We may from this place earn for ourselves that eternal homeland and that true joy’

S-I-V Ic eow secge be am apostolum ‘I tell you about the apostles’
/ Þu him symle tide forwyrndest ‘You always refused to them a gift’

V-I-S Syndon us nu for þan bec gesette Therefore gospels are ordained

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Referring to Kohonen and OES § 563 and Davis writes: there may be a correlation between the order S-O-V when no other elements are found in the clause … and S-V-O when other material follows’ Since such instances are infrequent in VH I simply supply the following for reference: S-O-V with no other elements in the clause - seven examples; and S-V-O followed by some other element - one example which is He swencte hine mid fæstenne He afflicted himself with fasting’
for us ñæged us / Men þa leofestan sæge us & myngþ þis halige godspel be þysse arwyrdan tide Dearly beloved this holy gospel tells and reminds us about the honourable time

V-S-I þere nane are ne dyde he him he performed no mercy for them / Syndon þas þry dagas þytoacan odrum þingum for þan us gesette Therefore these three days are established for us besides other things

I-S-V eall ic hie beode to all I command them / Eallum yflum ic eom seald I am given up to all evils

I-V-S þam syld God hyra synna forgifnesse to them God will give forgiveness of their sins / Us is miht seald þe to scufanne on das witu þysse neowolnesse To us is given power to thrust you into the torments of this abyss

The most frequent pattern in VH is S-I-V which comprises instances in CH and followed by S-V-I which in turn is the pattern most frequently used in both CH and SH cf Davis also VH also differ from these texts in having four examples of the V-I-S pattern which may be divided into two groups: above forms its own group where the verb is placed initially to open a new sentence; above belongs to another group where the element order is most likely to be formulaic to open a new homily as attested by the two other similar examples and which open Homily VIII and IX respectively Comparison with the patterns with subject and direct object is not offered here since there is a significant difference between direct objects and indirect objects in terms of weight: in the former D comprise only of instances whereas in the latter the corresponding frequency amounts to Finally it may be added that indirect objects of medium and heavy weight centre on two patterns S-V-I and I-S-V

Given below are examples and figures of clause patterns containing subject finite
verb ḳ and complement:

S-V-C emacs He is deserving of death / he bid hal geworden ḳ he will be made whole ḳ
S-C-V emacs þæs lichoman hiw fægere bid ḳ the colour of body will be more beautiful ḳ Se lichoma læmen is ḳ The body is of clay ḳ
V-C-S ḳ
V-S-C emacs Wæs se Barrabas haten sum sceapæ & forwyrht man ḳ This Barabbas was called a thief and a wicked man / bid se dema þpearl ḳ the judge will be severe ḳ
C-S-V emacs cining ic eom ḳ I am king ḳ Cypemen hie sculon bion ‘Merchants they must be’ ḳ
C-V-S emacs Swa læne is sio oferlufu eoræ gestreona ḳ So transitory is the excessive love of earthly treasures ḳ Eala ð bordor mine ḳ hu mycel & hu hlud bid se cnyll ḳ Alas ḳ my brethren ḳ how great and how loud will be the sound ḳ

In VH ḳ S-V-C is the standard pattern ḳ constituting ḳ of instances ḳ However ḳ Davis ḳ shows that this pattern is more frequently used in both CH ḳ and SH ḳ VH are further distinguished by having seven instances of the S-C-V pattern ḳ no instances of which are reported by Davis in these Ælfrician works ḳ

Type B

Given below are examples and figures of clause patterns containing subject ḳ finite verb ḳ and direct object:

S-V-O emacs For þam þe God wilnap ure andetnesse ḳ Therefore God desires our
confession &c. / For dann we sculon ure sawle georne tilian & Therefore we must eagerly cultivate our soul &c.
S-O-V ḏū & Nu gyt ic hine hate lædan hider ut beforan eow ealle & Now I command that they lead Him out here before you & Pon ne þa scyldegan him hearde ondredæd & Then will the guilty fear Him greatly & V-O-S ḏū & þa arode him se hla ford & Then the lord comforted him & þa tihton hine his yldran to woruldfol gode & then his parents persuaded him for a secular occupation &c.
V-S-O ḏū & þa ondred he him & then he feared them & ne mæg se lichoma an word ge clypian & the body may not cry out one word &c.
O-S-V ḏū & after his death odrum þissa he onfehd & after his death he receives one or the other of these & þonne hine mon on feltungrepe wiorpe & then one throws oneself into a dunghill &c.
O-V-S ḏū & þær ure bidaþ ure ceasterliode & there our citizens will await us & py hine ne scele nan man swa sylfne beswican & Therefore no man must deceive himself thus &c.

The pattern V-S-O is used in nearly half of the clauses & followed by S-V-O & S-O-V & Common to these patterns is that the subject always precedes the direct object & S-O & in vast majority of examples & confirming my earlier observation that Type B tends towards more fixed - or less diversified - element order than Type A where the frequency of S-O is & The O-S sequence is infrequent in Type B & and there are only fifteen examples & Davis finds no such instances in either CH or SH & It seems significant then that VH have such O-S clauses at all & The light direct object precedes the heavier subject & & those of medium or heavy weight & in most of these examples &

Given below are examples and figures of clause patterns containing subject finite verb & and indirect object:
S-V-I Doctrine Then thus the devil spoke to the anchorite about the mysteries of hell / by we magon mycel god ussum sawlum on him gestrynan by that we may amass in them much good for our souls

S-I-V To sodan ic eow sece In truth I say to you / swa we him mærlycor þancian sculon so we must thank Him more splendidly / V-I-S ne þinc him þeos woruld eft naht this world seems nothing to him afterwards / þær bid eallum halgum alif sceapen betweox englum & heahfæderum & witegum & apostolum & mid martyrum There will be created for all saints eternal life among angels and archangels the patriarchs the prophets apostles and with the martyrs

V-S-I þonne sceal he eow geornlice ahsian / Þeahhwædere ne forgif he hie us Yet He will not forgive us them

I-S-V Ða him eac Crist sylf foresæde Then Christ Himself also prophesied to them / For þan us mycel nydþearf myndga þæt … ‘Therefore great need reminds us that …’

I-V-S By us sealde dryhten þæt andgyt Therefore the Lord gave us that understanding / Of dam dryhtnes egesan us wiorded acenned hiortan onbyrdnes From this fear of the Lord is brought forth for us the zeal of the heart

VH have all of the six possible patterns including those absent in CH ÐS-V-I Ð V-I-S and I-S-V and SH Ð-S-V and I-V-S cf Davis The most frequently used pattern is V-S-I followed by S-I-V The sequence S-I is attested in of instances which does not show a remarkable divergence from Type A where the corresponding frequency is Presumably the position of indirect objects is less likely to be affected by initial adverbials
Given below are examples and figures of clause patterns containing subject – finite verb – and complement:

S-V-C 伟伟 Witodlice þa fæstenu sint strange gescotu angean þæs diofles costungum 伟大 Indeed fasts are strong missiles against the temptations of the devil / Ær þan we wæron steopcild gewordene 伟大 Earlier we were made orphans

S-C-V 伟伟 Nalles þæt he his willan on þam woruldfolgode wære 伟大 Not only was he voluntarily in the secular occupation / nu we ðus þurh Godes mihte ealle ætgædere syndon 现在 we are thus all assembled through the might of God

V-C-S 伟伟 For þan nis naht þysses middangeardes white & þyssse worulde wela ‘Therefore this earth’s beauty and this world’s riches are nothing at all’ / Ne þynce us for þan æfre to lang þæt geswinc & þæt gewin her on worulde 现在 The toil and struggle here in the world therefore do not seem to us ever too long

V-S-C 伟伟 þonne ne bist þu Caseres freond then you are not a friend of Caesar / Þonne is seo snoternys gecweden ingehyd Then discretion is called knowledge

C-S-V 伟伟 to dam wergi he wære for þære anre nihthwile 现在 for that reason he would be evil during the night

C-V-S 伟伟 Broðor mine ðæfter þære andetnessæ to underfonne is sio hreowsung ‘My brethren after the confession it is necessary to undertake repentance’

All the six possible patterns are represented in VH 伟伟 unlike CH 伟伟 which have only S-V-C 伟伟 and V-S-C 伟伟 and SH 伟伟 which have S-V-C 伟伟 V-C-S 伟伟 and V-S-C 伟伟 cf Davis

- 伟伟 -
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Also differ from these Ælfrician texts in having clauses with the C-V sequence. Six examples which are S-C-V and C-S-V above and C-V-S.

Thus here in the world is sorrow and unhappiness of the Lord Saviour and of the saints.

Impersonals

In Type A there are clauses that contain impersonal expressions which are often placed after the clause-initial element as in

Similarly it happened that … and Men pa leofestan, us gedafenad paet … Dearly beloved it befits us that … Latin oportet … ut … Some of the exceptions are … Wæs paet hira þæt … ‘It was their custom that …’ clause-initial and eall þis þe losode all this was lost to you clause-final. The clause-final position is taken most frequently by clauses instances followed by EXP and X.

In Type B there are clauses that belong to this category. Impersonals are usually found in medial position as in Be dam was cweden paet … About this it was said that … and Py byd wel wyrd paet … Therefore it is very worthy that … and exceptions naturally exist as in Nis us alyfed paet … ‘It is not allowed to us that …’ Latin Nobis non licet … clause-initial if we disregard the negative adverb ne and Ne þearf nanne man tweogian. No one needs to doubt clause-final. Clauses instances are placed in final position most frequently followed by X.
Summary

The foregoing paragraphs have confirmed the effectiveness of treating Type A \( \diamond \) those without an initial adverbial \( \diamond \) and Type B \( \diamond \) those with an initial adverbial \( \diamond \) separately \( \diamond \). Most striking is the stronger tendency of Type B to concentrate on a limited number of patterns \( \diamond \) as most apparent in the sections dealing with clauses with three elements \( \diamond \). As for the well-known verb-second tendency in Type B \( \diamond \) \( VH \) present a mixed picture: such instances comprise more or less half of the instances not only in Type B but also in Type A \( \diamond \). This seems to serve as a caveat against too much reliance on this useful but perhaps overly sweeping \( \diamond \) rule \( \diamond \).

In Type A \( \diamond \) subjects usually precede finite verbs \( \diamond \) while in Type B this S-V order comprises much less percentage \( \diamond \). Within each clause type \( \diamond \) no meaningful positional differences are observed between simple verbs and finite verbs in complex verb phrases \( \diamond \).

Direct objects present somewhat confusing results: in each clause type \( \diamond \) different tendencies are observed between those with simple verbs and those with complex verb phrases \( \diamond \). This may be illustrated by the frequency of the V-O order in each of these four kinds of clauses: \( \diamond \) simple \( \diamond \) and \( \diamond \) complex \( \diamond \) in Type A \( \diamond \) and \( \diamond \) simple \( \diamond \) and \( \diamond \) complex \( \diamond \) in Type B \( \diamond \). Thus \( \diamond \) the order finite verb - direct object is certainly a standard usage \( \diamond \) in Type A and \( \diamond \) in Type B \( \diamond \) though further generalizations should better be deemed unsafe \( \diamond \).

Indirect objects present less difficulty \( \diamond \). In Type A \( \diamond \) the frequency of V-I is about the same in those with simple verbs \( \diamond \) and those with complex verb phrases \( \diamond \). Some difference is detected in Type B where the parallel frequencies are \( \diamond \) simple \( \diamond \) and \( \diamond \) complex \( \diamond \). Indirect objects usually precede direct objects \( \diamond \) in both Type A \( \diamond \) of instances \( \diamond \) and Type B \( \diamond \).

Complements most often follow finite verbs \( \diamond \) as represented by the following percentages: \( \diamond \) in Type A and \( \diamond \) in Type B \( \diamond \). This may be explained in terms of
weight: complements are usually of either medium or heavy weight. Pronominal complements are rare. It is clear that in comparison with subjects and objects, either direct or indirect, weight ordering is best observed in complements. Most of the seven instances with C-V light complements preceding finite verbs may be explained in terms of the influence of the Latin source or stylistic considerations: emphasis and/or unity.

Although initial adverbials are usually light, it seems likely that they are not placed there merely because of their light weight. Davis rather adverbials are presumably placed initially to fulfil discourse and stylistic functions, and they simply happen to be usually light. It may be reasonable to assume that the Old English writer made as much use of this strategically important initial position of a sentence or clause as the modern writer does; and that he was able to choose what element to place after the initial adverbial which often happened to be a finite verb.

As for the non-initial adverbials they usually follow finite verbs irrespective of the number of adverbials within the clause.

Conjoined Declarative and Exclamative Clauses Type C

It has been well established by previous studies that this clause category exhibits a strong verb-final tendency which is similar to dependent clauses. One of the early protagonists is Bruce Mitchell who emphasizes the importance of treating this clause category separately. It has been well established by previous studies that this clause category exhibits a strong verb-final tendency which is similar to dependent clauses. One of the early protagonists is Bruce Mitchell who emphasizes the importance of treating this clause category separately. As follows:

... previous writers have failed to recognize the influence of ond and ac in postponing the verb. Among them are .... No doubt the catalogue is incomplete. But it is complete enough to suggest that it is more than time for those who intend to write on the order of elements in OE to take to head Alistair Campbell’s last formulation of what should long ago have been a truism. Alistair Campbell p.
Failure to recognise that even co-ordinating conjunctions are syntactically subordinating has often led scholars to quote clauses which are opened by such conjunctions without the conjunctions which alone make their word-order possible. Such mal-quotations are frequent in Bosworth-Toller’s *Anglo-Saxon Dictionary* and renders much of the material in Paul Bacquet’s *La structure de la phrase verbale à l’époque Alfrédienne* irrelevant. See also my review of the latter work in *Review of English Studies* New Series XV.

In the above-mentioned review, Campbell writes strongly against Bacquet’s treatment of *ond/ac* conjoined clauses:

He is not aware that all conjunctions including *ond* and *ac* require subordinate word order in which the subject follows the conjunction and the verb may be in the third or any later place. M. Bacquet’s failure to realize the nature of the *ond* clause has an adverse effect on his next chapter also. It deals with word order in co-ordinated clauses in the second of which the subject is not re-expressed. Such clauses are subordinate and hence the verb is free since there is no expressed subject the verb may follow *ond* or be in any later place and is very often in the final position.

By way of illustrating the situation in *VH* I present below examples and figures for verb-final and non-verb-final clauses:

Verb-final: *ne ic owiht dearnunga spræc* nor did I speak anything secretly & he þanon alysed wæs and he was released from there
Non-verb-final & þa dydon hie swa & And then they did so & þa dydon hie swa / & he eac sende his cempan wide geond manega mægda & and he also sent his soldiers far and wide through many tribes & þa dydon hie swa

It is considered that the data from VH mostly accord with the claims by Mitchell and Campbell as may be observed in the following frequencies of verb-final instances: Type A of instances & Type B & Type C & The last percentage may further be compared with those from Ælfric Davis & and in CH and in SH. However one wonders if these figures are persuasive enough to support Campbell’s claim that all conjunctions including ond and ac require subordinate word order’ ßsee above ß It is of interest here to quote Kiparsky who criticizes Campbell regarding this claim:

The occurrence of verb-final word order in non-initial conjuncts is sometimes taken to mean that those conjuncts are subordinate clauses in some sense - as if mysteriously even co-ordinating conjunctions are subordinating as Campbell apud Mitchell puts it. This cannot be right for several reasons. First it is only their word order that is peculiar; in every other syntactic and semantic respect they are like main clauses and unlike subordinate clauses &… Secondly not all conjoined clauses have subordinate-clause order: under certain well-defined conditions they must have main-clause word order and in all other cases they may have it while true subordinate clauses never do. And thirdly this view of things leaves out of the picture the fact that non-initial conjuncts have another special word order possibility namely verb-initial word order ….

His last point does not seem to apply to VH: verb-initial clauses represent only of all Type C clauses which are less frequent than in Type A &f & in Type B & His two other points however deserve special attention; they provide in my
opinion which is wanting in Campbell's strong but perhaps partial remark as I analyse the element order patterns in Type C below.

The order of subject and simple verb

There are clauses with the two elements. The distribution is as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>S-V</th>
<th>S-S</th>
<th>S-V</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>S-V</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V-S</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>105</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[ \chi^2 = 17.4 \text{ with } 2 \text{ degrees of freedom} \]

Examples are:

S-V & eft he cwæd and again he said ‘but I came’

S-V ne læpe gesamniæþ nor will the hated ones join and this world shall rejoice

S-V eall helwarena mægen cymþ to þam dome and all the troop of hell-dwellers will come to the judgement

V-S & da sægde he and then he spoke and he stood opposite the fire

V-S & swide geomre stefne clypad sio sawl and with a very sad voice the soul cries out and the river stood so still

V-S ac genam þara cempena an but one of the warriors seized his spear and from gluttony
comes much weakness

We have seen that the S-V pattern is used in a majority of Type A instances to which the situation in Type C is comparable: a majority of Type B or Type C shows this pattern. The difference between Types A and C will be clear when I comment on the verbal position later. In Ælfric the use of S-V order is more predominant: the percentages are in CH and in SH. As for the V-S pattern in VH of the total clauses there are only fifteen instances where the finite verb directly follows the conjunction: in such positions namely between the conjunction and the finite verb adverbials are used most frequently followed by complements. It seems relevant here to quote Mitchell where he writes on the construction -

When one of the adverbs pa and ponne immediately follows ond, the order is VS e ÆCHom i ÆCHom And pa was Adam swa wis … i ÆCHom and pa weard he oferswided ÆCHom i ÆCHom and donne genihtsumad seo unrihtwisnys and ii ÆCHom and ponne bid seo ealde forgægednys geendod Here as in examples like ÆCHom i ÆCHom and eft þada he man geweard, pa was he acenned of þam clænan mædene Marian where the correlative pattern discussed in § is preserved the influence of the adverb prevails by drawing the verb into pre-subject position. The same is true of þær e ÆCHom and dær sodlice bid on ece dæg de næfre ne geendad and probably of þider and þanon though there are no examples in my collections.

The evidence in VH lends support to this observation: the ratio of S-V and V-S is:

\[ \frac{S-V}{V-S} \]

\[ 7/15 \]

This includes seven clauses where the negative adverb ne is used between the conjunction and the finite verb.
ELEMENT ORDER IN THE VERCELLI HOMILIES

I have also found in VH one instance with the construction *ond panon* V-S which is missing from Mitchell's collection: *panon cymed swide mycel bloldig regn of dam wolcne ofer ealle eordan* ‘and from there will come a very great bloody rain over the entire earth’

*Latin* Et erit pluuia sanguinis super totam terram

The order of subject and complex verb

The sample from VH consists of S-v-V clauses Examples and figures are:

S IVED Ac se bid þwegen But he shall be washed / & he is numen / and it is taken away

S IVED & þæt flæsc bid geæadmed ‘and the flesh shall be humbled’

S IVED & Godes æwe beod gefylde / and God’s laws will be fulfilled

S IVED & þa godcundan hadas syndon gewanode for hyra sylfra gewyrhtum & geearnungum & and those divine orders are diminished because of their own deeds and merits

S IVED & Godes hus beo aweste and the houses of God will be laid waste

S IVED & he on him gefulwad wæs ‘And in Himself He was baptized’

S IVED & he eft to duste geweor an sceal ‘and it must again turn to dust’

S IVED ne him ænige are gedon woldon nor did any of them wish to show mercy to him

S IVED & us God þone fyrst her on worulde forlæten hæf and God has given us time here in this world

S IVED & mycel þreatnes geworden bid and great affliction will come about / & his towearda dom gelyfed byd & and His impending judgement will be believed

v-S IVED & nu hæfd he for þære olecunga ecne dead for his myclan gytsunga
unc bæm geearnod & now he has for that flattery & for that great avarice earned for the both of us eternal death & þonne mæg seo beon selest oferswided þurh fæsteno & þurh forhæfednesse & And then it can be best overcome through fasting and abstinence overi

v-S V òò & syn þa fet gebundene to dam hehstan telgan & and the feet would be bound to the highest branch òò & òam biod synna forgifene ‘and to him sins will be forgiven’ overi

v-S V òò & in Agustes dagum weard swa mycel sybb geworden on middangearde & and in the days of Augustus so much peace came to pass in this world & and òam bio synna forgifene oferswi ede & through that the temptations of the devil will be overpowered overi

v-V-S òò & òam bi seald ealle cynelice geofa ‘and to him will be given all royal gifts’ overi

V-S v òò & wepan he sceal & hreowsian & and he must weep & and repent overi

V-S òò & òam overi

V-v-S òò & òam overi

V-v-S òò & òam overi

The most frequently found order is S-v-V accounting for of instances This is comparable to Type A where the corresponding percentage is The similarity between Types A and C however ends here Type C has more examples with the V-v order twenty-three examples as opposed to three examples in Type A; this order is usually associated with dependent clauses and its occurrence supports the dic-
The order of direct object and simple verb

The sample from VH consists of clauses. The distribution is as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>O-V</th>
<th>V-O</th>
<th>Total</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>O-V</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>V-O</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Although Fontes assigns S to this Latin source - whose opinion I follow here - is more cautious:

The verbal proximity between the Old English and parts of Isidore suggests that the translation of the intermediate source was probably a very literal one. There is occasionally some conflation of successive Isidorean phrases which probably occurred in the intermediate Latin and since it is therefore impossible to decide what has been translated I have sometimes printed more of the ultimate source than is to be seen directly in the Old English to give the reader a fuller picture of the use made of Isidore.
Examples are:

O – V & hine wyrmde & and & hine warmed himself / & hine gebædon ‘and ïængels ï worshipped Him’ 

O – V & God forleton & and & hyra byman blawad & and & they will blow their trumpets

O – V & þa godcundan mægenu ongebring & and & the fast stimulates divine virtues ðæm & and heofonlicne weg tæce & and & I will show the heavenly way

V-O & & wyrmdon hie & and & they warmed themselves ðæm & ne fæder ne moder ne brodor ne swystor ne nan mæg ne lufode þe & nor father nor mother nor brother nor sister nor a single kinsman loved you

V-O & & gemidla þa uncysta & and & the fast curbs sins ðæm & todrifæ þine heorde & and & wolves will attack your flock

V-O & & genimaþ ure land & ure þeode & and & they will seize our land and our people ðæm & and geseah hwæt du dydest minum þearfan & and & I saw what you did to my poor ones

The O-V order accounts for of instances and is used more frequently than in Ælfric where the corresponding percentages are according to Davis Regarding the V-O order VH have fewer examples of the V-O ð pattern where pronominal objects follow finite verbs than in Ælfric ðð examples in CH and ðð in SH Generally speaking the table supports the view that weight ordering is observed in the ordering of simple verb and direct object
The order of direct object and complex verb

There are clauses in this category. Examples and figures are:

O ð-v-V & hine se geatwerd ne wolde in forlætan & and the gatekeeper would not let him in / ac he hie wolde alysan of þære heardan hæfte & of deofles þeowdome & but He would release it from the hard bondage and from the subjection to the devil

O ð-v-V & we da dryhtenlycanære gehealden & & þa syblycan lufan Godes & manna & and then we have possessed the Lordly covenant and the peacemaking love of God and men

O ð-v-V & we a dryhtenlycan wære gehealden & & þa syblycan lufan Godes & manna & and then we have possessed the Lordly covenant and the peacemaking love of God and men / Ac ma du scealt cwedan & But more you must say

O ð-v-V & þa menniscean sar ic wæs þrowiende for þe & and the corporeal pains I was suffering for you

O ð-v-V & hit gehyran noldon ‘and ðey did not wish to hear it’ / & ðæt ealle þurh heora gecynd ondettan sceoldon and all had to acknowledge that by their nature

O ð-v-V & nænige gebetan ne wolde & and ðe did not wish to atone for anything / & us God þone fyrst her on worulde forlæten hæfd & and God has given us time here in this world

O ð-v-V Ac he a in eallum sod & riht don wolde & But he always wished to perform truth and justice in all / & him mycla æhta hæbbende væren ‘and ðey had for themselves great possessions’

v-O ð-v & wile us scotian mid þam strælum ‘and he will shoot us with these arrows’ / & mynte hine slean ‘and he intended to strike him’
The finite verb precedes the direct object in \( \text{v-O} \) of instances of which the most frequent pattern is \( \text{v-O-V} \) followed by \( \text{v-V-O} \) It is noteworthy that \( VH \) have sixteen examples of the O-v-V order which occurs only once in the selected corpus of Davis

There are ten clauses that have the accusative and infinitive construction in \( VH \)

\[ \text{v-O} \quad \text{V} \quad \text{v-O} \quad \& \quad \text{æfter ure æ he sceal dead þrowian} \quad \text{and according to our law} \quad \text{he must suffer death} \quad \text{and} \quad \text{ne mæg nan odres gehelpan} \quad \text{and} \quad \text{no one may help another} \]

\[ \text{v-O} \quad \text{V} \quad \text{v-O} \quad \& \quad \text{æfter ure æ he sceal dead þrowian} \quad \text{and} \quad \text{ne mæg nan odres gehelpan} \quad \text{and} \quad \text{no one may help another} \]

\[ \text{v-O} \quad \text{V} \quad \text{v-O} \quad \& \quad \text{nolde he me nanes rymetes on þam geearnian æt dam ecandeman} \quad \text{and} \quad \text{he did not wish to win any comfort for me in that at the eternal judgement} \quad \text{ÆC ne mæg ænig man þine clænnesse ne þine halignesse geiecan} \quad \text{But no man may add to your purity nor your holiness} \quad \text{v-} \quad \text{V} \quad \text{O} \quad \text{&} \quad \text{þonne Iudeas magon geseon þone þe} \quad \text{and then the Jews may see him who} \]

\[ \text{v-O} \quad \text{V} \quad \text{v-O} \quad \& \quad \text{het him beran wæter} \quad \text{and} \quad \text{he commanded water to be brought to him} \quad \text{and} \quad \text{we sculon beran usse reliquias ymb ure land} \quad \text{and} \quad \text{we must bear our relics around our land} \]

\[ \text{v-O} \quad \text{V} \quad \text{v-O} \quad \& \quad \text{he sceal hine manian þæt} \quad \text{‘and} \quad \text{he must remind him that} \quad \text{\( \& \) he wæs cwe ende þæt} \quad \text{and he was saying that} \quad \text{V-O-v} \quad \text{V} \quad \text{V} \quad \text{&} \quad \text{abeodan het ætte} \quad \text{and} \quad \text{he ordered} \quad \text{them} \quad \text{to proclaim that} \quad \text{& oncnawan meahton hwa} \quad \text{and} \quad \text{they could perceive who} \]

\[ \text{The finite verb precedes the direct object in} \quad \text{\( \text{v-O} \quad \text{V} \quad \text{V} \quad \text{O} \quad \text{v-O} \)} \quad \text{of instances of which the most frequent pattern is} \quad \text{v-O-V} \quad \text{followed by} \quad \text{v-V-O} \quad \text{It is noteworthy that} \quad \text{\( VH \)} \quad \text{have sixteen examples of the O-v-V order which occurs only once in the selected corpus of Davis} \quad \text{\( \& \) it is also possible to parse this passage as} \quad \text{\( \text{v-V-O} \)} \quad \text{if the whole of} \quad \text{\( \text{pone pe} \)} \quad \text{clause is interpreted as the direct object} \quad \text{-} \]
 ELEMENT ORDER IN THE VERCCELLI HOMILIES

The accusative is placed between the finite and non-finite verbs \( \text{v-Z-V} \) in the following seven instances:

\& heton hine witgan þurh bysmornessa \& they commanded him to prophesy through blasphemy \( \text{Z-V-Z} \) / & he geseah eal þa diofulgild on eordan licgan \& and he saw all the idols lie on earth \( \text{V-Z-V} \) / ac forlæt hie me in wite gelædan \& in susle cwelman but \& t allowed me to lead them into punish-ment \& and kill them in torment \( \text{Z-V-Z} \) / \& þa gehyrde hine dryhten \& he heard Him the Lord also say with a clear voice to the angels \( \text{Z-V-Z} \) / \& het þa o re men ealle ut ganan \& and he commanded all the other men to go out \( \text{Z-V-Z} \) / \& heht þa oþre men ealle utgangan \& he commanded all the other men to go out' \( \text{Z-V-Z} \) / \& læta us colian þa lufe þæs heofonlican rices geleafan and we allow us to cool the love of the faith of the heavenly kingdom \( \text{Z-V-Z} \)

Included in the list above are two clauses which further have direct objects: \( \text{Z-V-Z} \) has the pattern \( \text{v-O \text{-Z-V}} \) where a pronominal O precedes a pronominal Z \( \text{Z-V-Z} \) has the \( \text{v-Z-V-O} \) pattern where a heavy O is placed at the end of the clause \( \text{Z-V-Z} \) Although I do not subscribe to her view \( \text{Z-V-Z} \) it is of interest to note here that Mc Cabe translates the former \( \text{Z-V-Z} \) as an optative clause: \( \text{Z-V-Z} \) But let me lead them into torment and destroy \( \text{Z-V-Z} \) In addition \( \text{Z-V-Z} \) there are three examples with other patterns: one with \( \text{v-V-Z} \) another with \( \text{Z-v-V} \) and the other with \( \text{Z-V-v} \):

\& ic geseah gearwian þin hus on dam halgan heofona rices wuldre \& and I saw your house to be prepared in the glory of the heavenly kingdom \( \text{Z-V-Z} \) / \& nalas þæt an þæt he þær þa leglican hyde ðaes fyres uppyddan geseah \& And not only did he see there the fiery harbour of that fire surge up \( \text{Z-V-Z} \) / Latin \( \text{Non solum} \)
enim fluctuantium flammarum igniuomos gurgites illic turgescere cerneres / ac eac þa fulan hrecetunge swefles þær geseah upgeotan / but also he saw well up there the foul belching of sulphur Latin immo etiam sulphurei glaciali grandine mixti uortices, globosis sparginibus sidera paene tangentes uidebantur As for the v-V-Z pattern VH have four other examples in different clause categories It may be that the writer wrote þin hus … wuldra as a unit rather than what may otherwise be parsed as a Z of medium weight and a very heavy A The order of indirect object and simple verb The sample from VH consists of clauses The distribution is illustrated in the table below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>I-V</th>
<th>I-I</th>
<th>I-I</th>
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<tr>
<td>V-I</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(≤ 2 degrees of freedom)

Examples are:

I V ne de ne sealdon nor did Þwe Þwe give Þhim Þhim to you þær geseah upgeotan / & him wundorlico lof sungon and þængels þængels sang wonderful praise to Him V-I & feala wundra mannum cydde and Þæ he Þæ revealed many wonders to men þær geseah upgeotan / & mancynne ecne sige forgeaf and Þæ the Lord Þæ gave to mankind eternal victory
ELEMENT ORDER IN *THE VERCELLI HOMILIES*

I Ð V & eallum his mihtum hine bereafode & ðe ð stripped him of all his powers & ælmihtigum Gode þære gife þanc sægde & ðe ð said thanks to Almighty God for that gift

V-I & stihte him hiora unriht ‘and ði ð instigated their wickedness to him’ / & rehton hit him eall ‘and ðey ð related it all to him’

V-I & se bebeoded þam manncynne þæt … & ðe ð will command mankind that …

V-I & ahsode urne dryhten Crist be his discipulos & be his lare & ðe ð asked our Lord Christ about his disciples and his teaching / & bæd God ælmihtigne þæt … & ðe ð prayed to God Almighty that …

The majority of the clauses have the I-V pattern most of which contain the pronominal indirect object ð. In his discussion of this pattern in *CH* Davis writes that the presence of a negative appears to have a direct bearing on the order adopted for while there are no examples of negative clauses with V-I order there are ð with I-V order ð. In *VH* I have found no negative clauses with V-I and only two with I-V above and us nænig god ne genihtsumad ‘and no good satisfies us’ Although the absence of such instances with V-I accords with Davis’s finding it seems unsafe to endorse it with these two examples; Davis is perhaps right in saying that ‘the possibility of a freak result as a consequence of a relatively small sample of clauses must be considered’

The order of indirect object and complex verb

Examples and figures are:

I Ð v-V & þam biod synna forgifene ‘and to him sins will be forgiven’ / & synna þam biod forgifene & and sins will be forgiven to him
loathsome bed will be prepared for the bodies

and then a

loathsome bed will be prepared for the bodies

and then a

loathsome bed will be prepared for the bodies

and then a
above then seems significant. No Latin sources are available for them nor can I offer any convincing explanation except for pointing out that one of the V-v examples namely .hpælæn may have been influenced by the preceding ond clause with V-v:  hpælæn & heora nænig to him gecyrnan nolde ‘and none of them would turn toward him’

The order of direct and indirect objects

There are clauses which contain both direct and indirect objects of which have O-I and have I-O. Examples are:

O-I & ic hit for þam eow secge and I therefore say it to you / and du hit þa sealdest þinum ehtere þam awyrgedan & þam beswicendan diofle ‘and then you gave it to your persecutor to that cursed and deceiving devil’

I-O & us þa gife forgeaf & He then gave us grace / & him syld hira synna forgifnesse and the Lord gives them forgiveness of their sins

In the I-O pattern all but two of the examples contain direct objects of medium or heavy weight the two exceptions being: & eallum his mihtum hine bereafode ‘and He stripped him of all his powers’ and & se sealmscop us sang þis be deades onlicnesse & be helle gryre and the psalmist sang this to us about images of death and about the terror of hell. The heavy indirect object is placed after ond presumably for emphasis in the former & and the close semantic connection seems to have caused the light direct object þis to precede immediately the heavy adverbial phrase at the end in the latter & As for the minor O-I pattern I cannot detect any striking features except for the following facts: the weight of both direct and indirect objects appears to be less important than it was for the I-O pattern; the syntax of the
Latin source is followed in & and for that ðey brought you here to me for death ð Latin tradiderunt te mihi ð but changed in ðey related it all to him’ ð Latin narrauerunt ei haec omnia ð and & sio fyrwetgynesse syled þone mann þam sweartan fynd ð and the insatiable sexual desire gives the man to the black enemy ð Latin libido ad tartara hominem mittit ð Homily I has two curious examples of the O-I pattern followed by habban ð ð and & þu hine ð for sunu hafa ð and you have him to yourself as a son ð and þu hie ð for modor hafa ð and you have her to yourself as a mother ð

The order of complement and simple verb

In VH ð there are ð clauses with the two elements ð The distribution is:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>C- ð</th>
<th>C- ð</th>
<th>C- ð</th>
<th>Total</th>
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Examples are:

C- ð &

C- ð & glædmode beod ð and ð we ð are happy ð ð & þ er well manige dagas wæs ð and ð he ð was there for so many days ð ð

C- ð & ælce dæg ðæs diofles willa bid ð þ æt … ð and on each day ðt ð is the devil’s will that … ð ð ð & ealle swide yrre wæron ð and ð he ð were all very angry ð ð
The prevailing pattern is V-C which accounts for 2/3 of instances and this figure is comparable to Type A and Type B Davis reports that there is a sharp difference between CH and SH; the former has only V-C clauses whereas the latter has both V-C and C-V showing a degree of freedom not found in CH. It may be said that VH, with their higher percentage of C-V display an even greater freedom in the position of complements.

The order of complement and complex verb

The complete set of examples and figures is:

v-C V & was forht geworden and he was frightened / & þam sodfæstan he bid hal gesewen and he will be seen whole by the trustworthy ones

v-V-C & he scall beon ælmesgeorn for Godes naman & for his sawle ‘and he must be charitable for God’s name and for his soul’

v-V-C & ac ælc man scéal þurh þe bion clæne & unwemme but each man shall through Thee be clean and unspotted / & heo ys gecweden angin

---

This passage is supplied from MSS B and C; see Scragg
ælcere synne And it is called the beginning of each sin’

In treating the same pattern Davis comments that ‘the paucity of examples of complements in clauses which contain a complex verb is noteworthy’. This applies to VH though it has to be acknowledged that the presence of five examples seems striking since Davis found only two such examples in his corpus both in SH; on the basis of which Davis made the remark above Weight ordering is evident in these five instances; and two examples with v-C-V may be explicable in terms of the shortness of complements forht and hal both of which are monosyllabic and phonetically light

The order of single adverbial and finite verb

VH have clauses with the two elements The distribution is shown in the table below:

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<th>A-V</th>
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<td>Total</td>
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\[ \chi^2 = \text{degrees of freedom} \]

Examples are:

A &bus cwæd & he said thus / & hwædre se bid lufigende Godes æ and still he will be loving the law of God

A &him to cwæd & he said to Him / & heora nænig to him gecyrran nolde and none of them would turn toward him
A ○V & mid hwylcum þingum we hie healdan sceolon. And with whatever things we must observe them ðæt swearte fenn læddon & and they led him into the black marsh.

V-A □ & eodon manige lease gewitan ford and many false witnesses went forth ðæt ældon / & bid gastlice gefremed & and he shall be spiritually perfected.

V-A □ & ic gefeah on him & and I rejoiced within him ðæt ældon / & hie woldon restan on him & and they wished to rest in it.

V-A □ ge ðæt mod gladad to ælcere hælo & and it rejoices the soul for the salvation of each ðæt ældon / & we wæron adilgode of þam þry fullan frumgewrite ‘and we were blotted out of the powerful first charter’

The ratio of V-A order falls to in comparison with Type A ○V○ and Type B ○V□. This may be due in part to the well-known verb-final tendency in Type C ○. It must be added however that only a small percentage of the A-V clauses are verb-final and that as we have seen earlier this tendency is slightly more pronounced in Type A where the corresponding percentage is in Type B □.

The order of two adverbials and finite verb

Examples and figures are:

A-A-V ○○○ & mid hira handum hine on his wange slogon & and they struck Him on his cheek with their hands ðæt ældon / & ic glædlice in wynsumnesse wæs ferende & and I was going happily in joy ðæt ældon.

A-V-A ○○○ & mægene & snytero he ðæt ældon mid Gode & mid mannum ‘and with power and wisdom He was filled with God and men’ ðæt ældon / & hie þonne se ælmigtiga God onginne þreagean mid his heardlican stemne & and then ð.
the Almighty God will begin to punish them with His terrible voice
V-A-A & se dead is þænne for þan to ondrædanne. And then the death
is therefore to be feared & manige men biod þonne þurh þa þincg
genidrade & and many men will be pushed down through these things

Davis notes that CH show a strong tendency to group two adverbials
either before or after the verb & that this applies to SH as well & VH do not share
it should be added that two adverbials do tend to form a cluster & within the
former two patterns with A-A of or or & Also noteworthy is the high
percentage of verb-final clauses with the A-A-V pattern of or or &

The order of three or more adverbials and finite verb

Examples and figures are:

deofle ‘and we will take the shield with us to battle against the cursed devil’
& þa mæspreostas beo þonne on unriht awende fram Gode ‘and the
priests will then have turned from God to wickedness’

A- ÆV-A-A Æ & hine þa læddon in þæt gemot beforan hie ealle
‘and then ðey led Him into the assembly before them all’
& on þam dæge bið dryhtnes rod blode flowende betweox wolcnum ‘and on that day the
cross of the Lord will be flowing with blood among the clouds’

A- ÆV-A-A Æ & syddan he ðryhten Crist ðer on worlde wunode
mid mannum ‘and afterwards He ð Lord Christ ð dwelt here in the world among
men’ & we nu for þam þingum sculon þas dagas mærhsian &
weordigan mid þam gesettum godum ‘and we now on account of these causes
must honour and praise these days with the ordained benefits’


& for \( \text{hider} \) \( \text{me to cwalme} \) \( \text{brohton} \) ‘and for

\( \text{that} \) \( \text{they brought you here to me for death} \) / \( \text{ac hrae} \) \( \text{hie mid wæpnum feohtan} \) \( \text{woldon} \) ‘but quickly afterwards they wished to fight with weapons’

It seems significant that \( VH \) have far fewer examples of the \( A- V-A-A-A \) pattern which is found times in \( CH \) and times in \( SH \) \( Davis \) \( Æthælæþe \) \( Æthælæþe \) Also of note is the high verb-final percentage among the clauses with \( A- A-A-A-V \quad A- V \quad A- \) As for the clustering of three or more adverbials \( A-V-A-A \) such examples are not significantly many of \( Æthælæþe \) or \( Æthælæþe \)

Clause patterns

Exemplified below are the clauses with subject \( Æthælæþe \) direct object \( Æthælæþe \) and finite verb together with their figures:

\( S-V-O \) \( ne ic wat hwæt \) … \( & he sceal hine manian \) \( ðæt \) … \( & and he must remind him that \) …

\( S-O-V \) \( Æthælæþe \) \( & hio eal þing geclænsaþ \) \( and it cleanses all things \) / \( & we hira bio forgitende \) \( and we are forgetful of these \)

\( V-O-S \)

\( V-S-O \) \( Æthælæþe \) \( & ne mæg nan oðres gehelpan \) ‘and no one may help another’ / \( & nhæte he his lichoman geweald \) ‘and he had no control over his body’

\( O-S-V \) \( Æthælæþe \) \( & þone awyrgedan dioful þu lufudest \) ‘and you loved the accursed devil’ / \( & efne heofonlice blisse \) \( & gefean man meahte a \) in his mode geseon ‘and likewise one could ever see heavenly bliss and joy in his mind’
O-V-S /modal ne offerfyllo ne lufude he ‘nor did he love gluttony’ / Ac þas mæg seo sode eadmodnes ealle oferswidan ‘But true humility can entirely overpower these’

All of the six possible patterns are attested in VH except for V-O-S which is also absent in CH and SH. These Ælfrician texts further lack examples of V-S-O which is found 46 times of instances in VH. It may be generally seen that S-V-O and S-O-V are the most common patterns. Given below are examples and figures of clauses containing subject finite verb and indirect object:

S-V-I /modal ne he ne bid Iudeum anum seald ‘nor will He be given to the Jews alone’ / & sio fyrwetgyrnesse syled þone mannan þam sweartan fynd ‘and the insatiable sexual desire gives the man to the black enemy’

S-I-V & ælce dæge ic hie lærde hiora unriht ‘and each day I taught them their wickedness’ / & synna þam biod forgifene ‘and sins will be forgiven to him’

V-I-S & þonne bi us æghwylc þyllic egesa æteowed ‘and then such fear will be manifested to each of us’ / & da andswarode him sanctus Iohannes ‘and then Saint John answered Him’

V-S-I & nu hæfd he for þære olecunga ecne dead for his myclan gytsunga unc bæm geearnod ‘and now he has for that flattery for that great avarice earned for the both of us eternal death’ / & þonne forgisef ure dryhten þam halgan sancte Michael þone þriddan dæl ðæs synfullan heapes ‘and then our Lord will grant to the holy Saint Michael a third portion of the sinful troop’

I-S-V & him God forgeaf þæt … ‘And God allowed them that …’
THE VERCELLI HOMILIES

/ & him da God his mildheortnesse forgeaf & and then God gave them His mercifulness I-V-S & him geicte God ìkv ì gear to life & and God added fifteen years to his life & & him bid seald ealle cynelice geofa & and to him will be given all royal gifts V-H exhibit all the six possible patterns forming a sharp contrast with CH and SH which lack instances of V-S-I V-I-S and I-V-S &f & Davis Among such examples in VH it might be significant that there are two sets of examples that appear in close proximity: one set is & nolde he me nanes rymetes on þam geearnian æt dam ecan deman & and he did not wish to win any comfort for me in that at the eternal judgement & and þæt above & and the other is & þonne forgifed ure dryhten am halgan sancte Petre done driddan dæl þæs synfullan heapes & and then our Lord will grant to the holy Saint Peter the third part of the sinful troop V-C-S & þonne standa forhte & afærede þa þe ær wirigdon & unriht wohrton & and then þey ð will stand afraid and frightened & those who before blasphemed and performed wickedness & & on seofon nihta fyrstes faesten bid to clænsigeanne se man ð but the man is to be cleansed in a fast of

Given below are examples and figures of clauses containing subject finite verb and complement:

S-V-C & he wæs eac for Gode sodfæst & god & and he was also true and virtuous to God / & heo ys gecweden angin ælcere synne & And it is called the beginning of each sin S-C-V & sidþan ic ana wæs of de ‘and afterwards I was alone from you’ ac he eft þa he hine sylfne his scyppende gelicne don wolde ð but he then ð afterwards ð wished to make himself like his Creator V-C-S & þonne standad forhte & afærede þa þe ær wirigdon & unriht wohrton ð and then þey ð will stand afraid and frightened ð those who before blasphemed and performed wickedness / ac on seofon nihta fyrstes faesten bid to clænsigeanne se man ð but the man is to be cleansed in a fast of
seven nights

V-S-C  Ac nu nis min rice heonon But now my kingdom is not from this place / ac þær bid se eca dom unawended but there the eternal judgement will be unchangeable

C-S-V  & naht du være butan me ‘and you were nothing without me’ / & hine geborene enlgas onfengon and angels received Him who was born

C-V-S  & nahte þon læsse bid þæs cyles ‘and no less will be the cold’ / & mycle synt þa meda & þæt ece wuldor ‘and great are those rewards and that eternal glory’

All the six possible patterns are available in VH unlike CH which have only S-V-C and SH which have S-V-C S-C-V and V-S-C. The most frequent pattern is S-V-C of instances followed by C-V-S and V-S-C. It should be noted that there are only four examples with the complex verb phrase all with S-v-C

Impersonals

There are clauses with impersonals which are often placed immediately after the clause-initial element as in & him was unyże þæt … and ðt ð was hard for him that … ð and þæt & hit is eac awritten þæt … ‘and it is also written that …’. Some of the exceptions are & me þuhte þæt … but always ðt ð seemed to me that … penultimate and & odpe him des ænig þearf ware or for him there was any need of this clause-final. The final position is taken most frequently by clauses as in and above.
Summary

The subject usually precedes the finite verb S-V in Type C. Davis pointing out the importance of the weight of subject in this pattern writes that ‘the similarity between conjoined and non-conjoined declaratives is marked’. This requires qualification at least as far as VH are concerned: Type C shares a marked similarity not with the whole of non-conjoined declaratives but only with Type A - as we have seen earlier the inverted V-S order is more frequent in Type B.

The clauses with direct objects do not attract attention at first sight: the ratios of V-O and O-V are almost identical and this seems to present nothing remarkable to comment on. Hidden beneath this deceptive surface is the significant role played by the weight of direct objects which is evidenced by the increasing percentages of V-O order according to the weight: light medium and heavy. The last percentage, namely that of the heavy direct object following the finite verb V-O is lower than those in Type A and Type B; this may be explained in part by the verb-final or verb-late tendency in Type C.

As a whole indirect objects are likely to precede finite verbs. This tendency is stronger in Type C than in Types A/B; among the Type C examples those with complex verb phrases differ from those with simple verbs in displaying greater degree of freedom in the positioning of indirect objects though one has to be careful to avoid further generalizations based on the small sample.

Complements often follow finite verbs as in Types A/B and this preference is much more established with heavy complements where of instances have V-C irrespective of simple/complex verb forms than with those of medium weight.

Weight seems to be the most important factor influencing the placement of adverbials; and the common pattern for light adverbials is A-V whose proportion gradually decreases as we move through adverbials of medium weight to those of heavy weight where V-A becomes the majority.
Given the similarities and differences between Type C and Types A/B it is to be confirmed that the separate treatment of Type C is vital to the study of Old English element order. The evidence strongly suggests that Type C certainly forms part of independent clauses and that Campbell’s claim ‘even co-ordinating conjunctions are syntactically subordinating’ should not be accepted at face value.

Imperative Clauses

This section deals with the expression of commands where the form of the finite verb corresponds to the formal position set out in OES § and the context requires such interpretation; cf imperative constructions in Mitchell. Thus the finite verb in this clause type may be imperative, subjunctive, or morphologically ambiguous in form. The total number of imperative clauses in VH is of which have simple verbs and complex verbs. Differences between non-conjoined and conjoined clauses will be mentioned as appropriate.

Most of the examples of or have the finite verb in the clause-initial position as in Nimaþ ge hine þonne & ahoþ hine You take him then and hang him. Latin Accipite eum uos et crucifigite where both of the clauses - one non-conjoined and the other conjoined - have the verb in initial position. Noteworthy is the existence of nine examples which have the verb in final position; all are conjoined clauses as in hit gecyd and reveal it Latin perhibe de malo and ac ge fram me gewitad but you go away from me Latin Discedite a me, maledicti where it is likely that the presence of a conjunction seems to have affected the verbal position. Also apparent in these two examples is the fact that the Old English element order does not always reflect that of the Latin but

\[\text{I have excluded the following clause where the verb gefeon is repeated: Gefeoh, in dryhten God gefeoh}

\[\text{Rejoice in the Lord God rejoice}

- - -
that the Latin may often be considered to lend support to the verb-late tendency in Old English conjoined clauses alongside the seven other examples

When the subject is expressed it almost always follows the finite verb in non-conjoined clauses as in Cumad ge gebletsode Come you blessed and ne us æfest gewudian mæge, ne oferhygd, ne gitsung eordicra lusta nor may envy nor pride nor avarice of earthly pleasure wound us Latin non inuidiae rubigo consummat, non elatio inflent, non ambitio per terrena oblectamenta dilaniet the S-V order is found only in Du liofa butan me You live without me Latin et sine me uiue where the subject is presumably expressed before the verb to parallel the following gif du mæge ‘if you can’ The samples of conjoined clauses are small nine instances there are five instances of S-V and four of V-S; it is also to be noted that this clause category has nine verb-final instances as in Ne nænig þing þristlice be Criste du sprec You speak nothing rashly concerning Christ Latin Nihil temere de Christo loquaris There are three conjoined clauses with clause-initial verbs which are: Ac miltsa u þonne hwæ re us But nevertheless have mercy upon us Latin nostri potius miserere There are three conjoined clauses with an initial adverbial including a negative particle as we have already seen above Davis’s subject must be read as verb and vice versa to accommodate the situation in VH which presents a completely different picture from Ælfric

The direct object always follows the finite verb in non-conjoined clauses

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They are: Cumad ge gebletsode, Cumad ge gebletsode, Cumad ge gebletsode and Cumad ge gebletsode
as in *Do penance* Latin *Poenitentiam agite* and *Gemunad hu*...  
Remember how ...  
Conjoined clauses differ from the non-conjoined ones in having eleven examples of the O-V pattern as in *see above* and *ne to Gode wrege scandlic gehoht*  
‘nor may shameful thought reproach us before God’ Latin *nulla nos turpis cognitatio accuset*  

There are four clauses that contain the accusative and infinitive construction where the accusative is always placed between the finite and non-finite verbs  
*We have already seen one of the examples above and the remaining three are:*

> Ne forlæt du næfre þa deofla geweald agan dus myclan heapes þines  
> handgeworces  
> *Do not allow the power of the devils to have so great a troop of your handiwork* / *Min dryhten forlæt þinne þegen in sybbe faran þa æfter þinum wordum*  
> *My Lord allow thy servant to go in peace according to your words* Latin *Nunc dimittis seruum tuum domine secundum uerbum tuum, in pace*  
> *allow me to see heaven more than earth* Latin *caelum potius respicere quam terram*  

All the eleven instances with indirect objects have the pattern V-I as in *Frin þæs þa men*  
> *Ask this to those men* Latin *Interroga eos*  
> *and grant to me what is worthy of my right*  
> *Eight of the examples also contain direct objects which are placed after indirect objects I-O except for the following three clauses which have indirect objects of medium/heavy weight following direct objects of the same weight*  
> *secgap lifes bebodu eallum þeodum*  
> *‘say the commandments of life to all peoples’ Latin prae dicate euangelium usque creaturae*  
> *give fruit to your land* Latin *si producat germen suum*  

-  …-

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Brec þinne hlaf þam þearfgendum Break your loaf for the needy

Latin Frange esurienti panem tuum

There are four clauses with complements All of the examples have V-C as may be seen below:

& þurhwuniaþ clæne and remain clean Latin et mundi estote Be and remain clean

Ne læt hine dryhten swa gedrehtne ‘Leave him not Lord so afflicted’

Biod ge … gestædige on eowrum life Be you … temperate in your life Latin Sobrii estote uigilate Be temperate

& þurhwuniaþ clæne and remain clean Latin et mundi estote Be and remain clean

Ne læt hine dryhten swa gedrehtne ‘Leave him not Lord so afflicted’

Biod ge … gestædige on eowrum life Be you … temperate in your life Latin Sobrii estote uigilate Be temperate

Adverbials tend to occur postverbally of the or irrespective of weight as in ac hatap hine nu ateon ‘but now command someone to remove him’

Ongitaþ nu hwæt … Understand now what … and see above

There is only one clause with an impersonal expression which is ne tweoge be na þæt tweoge … do not doubt at all that … where the verb tweoge precedes an experiencer be and a þæt clause

Interrogative Clauses

The clauses dealt with in this section are divided into two main types: nexus questions and -questions The former type usually requires as an answer either ‘yes’ or ‘no’ yes-no questions whereas the latter type requires new information concerning the unknown x They are well illustrated in Guide §

Questions fall into two main divisions - those in which the questioner seeks new information e.g. Hwær eart þu? Where are you? and Hwæt stande ge ealne dæg idele? Why do you stand all day idle? and those in which he asks his
hearer to choose between alternatives expressed or implied in the question.

‘Wilt þu we gad and godriad hie?’ Da cwæd he: ‘Nese’ No. Do you wish us to go and gather them? And he answered No. But he could have answered ‘Yes’ Rhetorical questions may of course be of either type.

Davis who further subdivides the above two types writes:

Appropriate categories for discussion of interrogative clauses are those which display different types of element-order. These are nexus questions sub-divided into those with and without introductory *hwæder* … and *x*-questions sub-divided into those in which the *hw*-form is the subject and those in which the *hw*-form is not the subject.

I adopt this classification since Davis convincingly shows that there are indeed differences of element order between the four types in his corpus. This treatment will also enable us to make comparisons between Ælfric and *VH*.

Nexus questions without *hwæper*

There are fourteen examples of this type in *VH*. The subject occurs in all examples and almost always follows the finite verb *V*-S or *v*-S-V confirming the findings in *OES § 92* and Davis. Examples are:

Ac ne wast þu þæt …? But do you not know that …? *Latin Nescis quia … Sedicendam/Hwæt wene ge þæt …? Lo do you consider that …? *Latin aut si tus esse putas … Sedicendam/Wenst du dæt …? Do you think that …? *Latin aut si tus esse putas …*
VH have only one example with the S-V or S-v-V to be precise pattern which is: Lo I then command your king to be hung? That this is a question is clear in the answer of the Jews to this statement by Pilate: We have no king except Caesar which must be interpreted as yes contextually In addition the passage should have been read with a rising intonation cf Davis

There are ten clauses that contain direct objects which are always preceded by finite verbs V-O as in Do you wish that …? and Did you not know how …? In the sole instance with a complex verb phrase the direct object is placed between the finite and non-finite verb V-O-V

There are no clauses with indirect objects in VH As for clauses with complements there are four instances all in Homily I which are:

Ac ne eart du þysses mannes þegn …? But are you not this man’s disciple …?’

The pattern V-S-C is common to all the examples

Adverbials are used in five clauses which are see above and:

Ac ne geseah ic þe in þam leactune mid þinum hlaforde? Did I not see you in the garden with your Lord? Did you speak that of your own will
Adverbials follow the finite verb in these instances except for above which would look no different from ordinary independent declarative clauses without due consideration of the context and the intonation pattern that might have been employed therein.

Nexus questions with *hwæther*

There are no examples of this type in *VH*.

*X*-questions with *hw*-form subject

The sample is fifteen clauses all of which have simple verbs immediately following subjects, as in *Hwæc geleaffullra manna is þæt*…? Which of faithful men is there who…? Latin *Quis enim fidelium*…? and *Hwæt is þæt,* sae…? What is there to you, sea…? Latin *Quid est tibi mare*…?

Direct objects occur in five clauses and they all share the V-O pattern as in *Hwæt hylpe þam men aht?* What helps the man at all? Latin *Quid enim prodest homini*…? and *Men da leofesan, hwæt fromap ænigum menn …? ‘Dearly beloved what profits any man …?’ Latin *Quid enim proficit*…?

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1. I follow Scragg where he glosses *pances* as ‘of one's own will’.
2. Cf Szarmach: What kind of a faithful man is it who…?
3. Cf Szarmach: What afflicts thee O sea…?
4. The prepositional phrase *to þam þe*… is considered as the direct object of the verb *fon*.
5. Cf Mc Cabe: What does anything help a man?
6. Cf Szarmach: Dearly beloved what does it profit a man…?
There is only one example with the indirect object:  Hwa geaf eow, yrmingum, þæt ...? Who granted you wretches that ...? Here the pronominal indirect object immediately follows the finite verb followed by its apposition and a heavy direct object  þæt clause.

The complement follows the finite verb in all of the five clauses which may be divided into two groups. In the first group two examples the complement immediately follows the finite verb VC: hwæt is to cwedan he dam mœnigfealdum smeamettum? what is here to be said about the manifold delicacies? and Hwylc man is on deade þætte ...? What man is he in death who ...? The second group three examples differs from the first in that the VC cluster is intervened by another element as in Eala ge, men þa leofestan, hwa is æfre swa heardre heortan ...? Alas you dearly beloved who is ever so hard of heart ...? Hwæt is us rihtwislicre ...? What is more righteous for us ...? Latin Uel quid iustius est ... is and Hwæt is us bætere toforan ælcere middangeardlicre strengde ...? What is better for us before all worldly strength ...? Latin Et quid hac fortitudine melius est ... is One might wonder if it is possible to consider æfre in as part of the complement as well as us in both and I have however preferred to treat these elements separately as adverbials.

Adverbials occur in ten clauses where the pattern V-A is shared without exception. Five clauses have the adverbial at the clause-final position as in Hwæt wunaþ þysses mid am men oferhydum in ære byrgenne, nemþe proud man in the grave except dust of the sinews and of the bones in the earth? Latin nihil in eis aliud nisi soli cineres et foetidae uermium reliquiae remanserunt. In the other five the adverbial is followed by: a split element and the other half of a heavy element; one example in Hwæt þearf is us oderra gewitnessa? ‘What need is here of other witnesses for us?’; a complement two examples.
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in see above and a direct object two examples in see above and Hwa forstanned bonne hie? Who will then defend them? Latin quis nos a morsibus eorum, percusso pastore, prohibebit?

X-questions in which hw-form is not the subject

There are clauses that belong to this category. The hw-form is always immediately followed by the finite verb which may be preceded by either ne or interjections as in odde to hwan swingest du me? or wherefore do you scourge me? Latin quid me caedis why did none of you come to my body? and For hwan, la man, forlur du pis eal why did you destroy all this?’ Latin Quur Quod pro te pertuli why did you afflict me and (why did you) exalt yourself in that short time and forget me and not remember the perpetual world? The other two contain only the non-finite verb:

Eala du dead hwi noldest du niman þara wyrma mete & forlætan me fram þam fulan geolstre & þam treowleasan flæsce? Lo you death why did you not wish to take that food of worms and (why did you not wish to) release me from that diseased matter and that faithless flesh? Hwig nelle we … Godes willan georne wyrkan & to his þam uplican rice onetan? Why should we be unwilling … to work God’s will eagerly and (why should we be unwilling) to hasten to His celestial kingdom?
The subject always follows the finite verb \( V-S \) and these two elements almost always form a cluster \( VS \) of \( \{\text{except for } Hwig\} \). Why do these punishments seem the greater to you? This exception may be explained in terms of the strong tendency of the verb \( pyncan \) to have the experiencer \( \text{like } pe \) above \( in \) close proximity.

When they are not represented by the \( hw \)-form \( in \) which case they are placed before the finite verb \( \text{usually at the clause-initial position } \text{the object } \text{either direct or indirect } \text{and complement usually follow the V-S pattern as in } \text{For hwan wær du swa unpæncul pinre onylsnesse?} \text{Why were you so ungrateful of your redemption? Latin } Quur, \text{ingrate, redemptionis tuae munera rennuisti?} \text{The only exception in } VH \text{is where the experiencer } \text{or possibly the indirect object } \text{according to Campbell } \text{precedes the nominative subject in the personal use of } pyncan; \text{see above for the example and a possible explanation which also applies to the two examples with impersonal expressions where the experiencer immediately follows the finite verb: Hwæt þince eow nu hu ...? What does it seem to you now how ...? and La, hwi ne sceamad us? Lo why are we not ashamed?}

\( VH \) have two clauses containing the accusative and infinitive construction as in

\begin{align*}
&La, \ du \ dead, \ hwi \ let \ þu \ minne \ lichoman \ swa \ lange \ lybban \ on \ þam \ unrihte? \text{‘Lo you death why did you let my body live so long in that sin?’ and } Eawla, \ wif, \ to \ hwan \ wenest \ du \ þines \ lichoman \ heele \ geican \ mid \ smyringe \ &\text{& ofþweale} \text{& oðrum lidnessum? ‘Alas woman why do you expect the salvation of your body to increase with anointing and frequent washing and other luxury?’ Both share the pattern } v-S-Z-V
\end{align*}

Non-finite verbs occur in \( \text{clauses most of which are placed either in the } \)

\[ \text{See Chapter for the quotation} \]
clause-final position six examples or in the penultimate position eleven In the latter position five are followed by direct objects five by adverbials and one by an indirect object the last instance being To hwan sceald þu, la, þus answerigan ussum þam hean biscope? Why must you answer thus to the high priest? Latin Sic respondes pontifici There are clauses that contain adverbials of which are placed at the clause-final position as in Hwylce synne secaþ ge to hyssum men? Which sin do seek you for this man? Hwat gedydest du for me? What did you do for me? and odde to hwan upahebbaþ du ungesæliga þe in geweald oferhiede odde fyrenlustum or why do you unhappy man exalt yourself in the power of pride or with wicked desires? Latin Ut quid superbiae uel luxuriae infelicia colla submittis?

Summary

In concluding his section on interrogative clauses Davis sounds confident when he writes: The existence of rigid rules for the positioning of some elements within these four types of interrogatives may be contrasted with the comparative freedom of element-order in all other clause types. After analysing VH I cannot share his confidence: the findings in this section do present some strong tendencies but never rules which must be deemed denied to us especially in view of the small sample.

Nexus questions without hweþer usually have the pattern V-S which may be followed by other elements such as objects complements and adverbials if available.

Nexus questions with hweþer do not appear in VH.

X-questions with hw-form subject share the cluster SV subject - finite verb which may be followed by direct/indirect objects complements and adverbials if available. It might be noteworthy that there are no instances of adverbials preceding...
the finite verb

In $x$-questions in which $hw$-form is not the subject the basic element order is $hw$- + $V$ + $S$ which may be followed by other elements.

In all of the types no notable differences as regards the element order are observed between conjoined and non-conjoined examples as well as between simple verbs and finite verbs of complex verb phrases.

### Optative Clauses

This section deals with clauses that express wishes or prayers. Davis finds examples in his corpus in $CH$ and in $SH$ and writes that such ‘clauses are rare in the Old English corpus most examples deriving from homiletic material’ in $VH$ have examples of this rare clause category perhaps being a collection of homilies. Another possible source of this outstanding difference between Ælfric and $VH$ might lie in the interpretation and classification; most of the examples in Davis comprise those with $wuton$ and those with $si$ though he does give some examples with other forms in passing. It is then surprising that my collection contains as many as examples of the former and of the latter alone the rest being made up of exhortations $lufigen$ we … $let$ us love … as will be described below.

There are examples with simple verb phrases. The subject tends to follow the finite verb $V-S$ in clauses but the opposite pattern $S-V$ is also observed as in  $Sie$ $his$ $blod$ $ofor$ $us$ & $ofor$ $ure$ $bearn$ Let his blood be over us and over our children $Latin$  $Sanguis$ $eius$ $super$ $nos$ et $super$ $filios$ $nostros$ $D$ $and$ $E$ $Nænig$ $ne$ $se$ $de$ … $Let$ $there$ be no one who … $Latin$ $nemo$ $est$ $qui$ … $M$ Similarly the direct object often follows the finite verb $V-O$; examples

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Cf Woodcock §§ vii vii vii Gildersleeve & Lodge §§ vii vii and Guide § vii vii vii vii vii vii. And if you don’t learn Old English Then Devil take your hide emphasis added.
while the opposite pattern O-V is found three times as in Wyrceap medeme wæstmas hreowsunge. Let us perform the worthy fruit of repentance Latin Facite … fructus dignos poenitentiae S and & ure hiortan reccen and let us control our heart. The position of indirect objects shows more freedom having seven instances of V-I and five of I-V as in Ne gelette us þæs sides se frecren feond ‘May the harmful enemy not hinder us from the journey’ and ne us dæs rices ne forwyrne nor may he refuse the kingdom to us As for the complement there are six instances of V-C and two of C-V as in earmum mannum & elpeodegum & untrunum and let us be merciful to poor men and foreigners and the weak and ne to ydbylge ne syn we nor let us be too easily angered. Although adverbials are often placed after the finite verb V-A their position exhibits a marked degree of freedom Davis Examples are:

Gæfrigwigen we for ures dryhtnes lufan eall May we all suffer for the love of our Lord / Gloria in excelsis Deo Wuldor sie Gode on heannesse ‘Glory be to God in the highest part’ Latin Gloria in altissimis / Ac hergen we & wuldrien ume dryhten on clænum gedohtum & … ‘and may we praise and glorify our Lord in clean thoughts and …’ Gastlice herigen we ures dryhtnes naman hælendes Cristes Let us praise spiritually the name of our Lord of the Saviour Christ / Dryhten us to þam gefultumige May the Lord help us for that / Nænig þe mid unsnotre lare beswice Let no one deceive you with unwise teaching Latin nulla te insipiens doctrina decipiat

These examples suggest some factors influencing the position of adverbials as well as other elements in some cases Latin influence weight ordering and stylistic prominence

VH have optative clauses with complex verb phrases of which contain the
verb \textit{wuton} forming the largest group in this entire clause category. This verb is always placed in the clause-initial position except in \textit{wutan willan wyrcaen} \textit{Godes willan}. And ever against his wicked will let us perform the will of God and \textit{for dan uton oflinnan para unarimedra ofermetta} & \ldots & therefore let us cease the countless pride and \ldots When the subject is expressed it immediately follows the finite verb as in \textit{Utan we nu ford tilian} ‘Let us now henceforth strive’ and \textit{uutan we winnan ongean hine mid geleaffulnesse} let us strive against him with faith Latin \textit{tu autem surge cum fide} Direct objects follow the finite verb of which follow the entire verb phrase \textit{v-V-O} and \textit{O} are sandwiched between finite and non-finite verbs \textit{v-O-V}. The accusative and infinitive construction occurs in \textit{v} clauses where the accusative is placed between the complex verb phrase \textit{v-Z-V} except for the following four examples in which the accusative follows the entire verb phrase \textit{v-V-Z} \textit{Læt nu, dryhten, faran in sybbe þine þegnas æfter þinum wordum} Now Lord let your disciples go in peace according to your words & \textit{uto ne georwenan us} ‘And let us not despair’ \textit{uto habban us symle sode lufe betweenan} ‘And let us always have true love between us’ and \textit{uto ne lætan hie diofol þurh his searwa us fram animan} & and let us not allow the devil to take them away from us through his tricks. While adverbials in clauses assume a variety of positions which may be illustrated by \textit{A- v- A- V-A} Lastly it should be added that there is one example where \textit{wuton} appears with an impersonal verb \textit{sceamian: Utan sceamian ure \ldots}. 

- A--
… Let us be ashamed that …

Except for *wuton* dealt with above, only four verbs are used as finite verbs in complex verb phrases: *lætan* six examples *magan* one *motan* one and *wesan* one. The verb *lætan* seems to follow the above-mentioned usage of *wuton*. As a representative, the following very elaborate example may be given where a variety of elements perhaps as many as eight are found: *Men da leofestan, ne læten we us næfre þa synne to þon swide micle ne to þan swide hefiglice þyncan*. Dearly beloved, let us never allow these sins to seem too excessively great or so very grievous to us. The examples with the other finite verbs are:

ne to grimmum geolstre mote wyrðan nor may he turn to grim diseased matter / Magon we þonne gehycgan hu … May we then think how … Latin *Hinc ergo pensemus quale* … *S* min dryhten God syn mine fynd a onhinder gecyrred My Lord God let my enemies ever be turned back Latin *Conuertantur inimici mei retrorsum, et reliquia*…

Summary of Chapter

In dealing with six types of independent clauses this chapter has most importantly confirmed the different tendencies of element order between Types A, B, and C. In particular by extending the application of this distinction further than in Davis, namely to the analysis of all patterns it is hoped that I have shown important similarities as well as differences between Type A and Type B. As for the imperative, optative, and interrogative clauses, some strong tendencies have been observed though it would be simplistic to call them rules. Cf. Davis …

\[\text{Susumu Hiyama}\]

\[\text{This construction genitive of person + past clause seems to be uncommon for sceamian; for example it is not found in the extensive and almost exhaustive list in Ogura.}\]
CHAPTER 3

DEPENDENT CLAUSES

This chapter deals with element order patterns in dependent clauses which typically function in positions where a phrase or even a word might be expected. Following Davis, three types of dependent clauses are distinguished: nominal clauses, adjectival clauses, and adverbial clauses. They are further subdivided into seven categories as defined in Chapter 2. It should be noted that I also follow Davis in concentrating on the verbal position — verb-final/non-verb-final — in the sections dealing with ‘clause patterns’ unlike the corresponding sections in the previous chapter where I dealt with independent clauses.

Nominal Clauses

*VH* have clauses that belong to this category. Clauses in this category fall into ‘two main divisions - those introduced by *pæt* or some other conjunction — see §§ 35-37 — and those beginning with an interrogative or exclamatory word’ *DOES* § 109. The former may be further exemplified by *pætte, swilce, gif* and *peah* and the latter by *hwæ, hwilc* and *hu*.

Nominal clauses function as the subject, object or complement of another larger clause as in: *Gif du wene pæt hit pin bocland sie* If you think that it

\[\text{———}\]

\[\text{Cf Smith} \quad \text{Smith treats the accusative and infinitive construction as a kind of nominal clause which is in accordance with Guide § 109. His example is: He het hone wer hine bindan} \quad \text{He commanded the man to bind him} \quad \text{As I made clear in Chapter} \quad \text{I treat this construction as part of the larger clause with the use of the symbol Z to denote the accusative} \quad \text{Thus I consider the example above as an independent declarative clause Type A} \quad \text{with the} \]

\[\text{———}\]
would be your bookland Latin Si terra tua est where the paet clause functions as the direct object of wenan Parenthetical clauses are typically introduced by paet as in Hafad him ponne syddan pry gebeddan, paet is ponne greot & molde & wyrmes ‘Then afterwards he has for himself three bedfellows they are dust earth and worms They are excluded from analysis since they are unremarkable as regards the element order which is invariably S-V paet is … In addition these clauses are often ambiguous in their function; they may be interpreted as nominal clauses functioning as appositions adjectival clauses or simple statements embedded between other clauses

The order of subject and simple verb

There are instances in VH The following table illustrates the distribution:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>S</th>
<th>S</th>
<th>S</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>S-V</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V-S</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examples are:

S-V hu þa forwurdon þe … þow they perished þwho … / & for

element order svZoV not as a Type A clause with a nominal clause þone wer hine bindan functioning presumably as a direct object In OES Mitchell treats this construction separately §§ from nominal clauses §§ but still within his Chapter VII where he deals with subordinate clauses

However there are exceptions See Stanley
hwan du sie and why you exist 
S □V hwylce dege ôðe on hwylce tid se deap cymed on what day or at what time death will come hwær þæt seax cwom where the short sword went 
S □V þæt sum man wære that there was a certain man hwær þæt seax cwom where the short sword went 

S □V hwær þæt seax cwom where the short sword went 

V-S □ þæt … ne geþristlæce he þis fæsten to abrecenne that … he would not presume to break this fast 
V-S □ hu bealdlice sprec þæt dioful to þam hælende how boldly the devil speaks to the Saviour þæt us gehæle God that God would heal us 
V-S □ þæt on þysse worulde syn fif onlicnessa be helle gryre that in this world there are five images concerned with the horror of hell 

The majority of instances has the S-V pattern □□□ of □□□ or □□□ As for the V-S pattern □ VH have □□□ examples □□□□ which seems remarkable since Davis □□□□□□□□□ finds only four instances in CH and five in SH □ Below □ I examine these V-S clauses in detail □

At first sight □ the sole example with V-S □□□□□□□□□ above □ starts with ne and has the appearance - as well as a typical structure - of a Type B clause □ namely an independent declarative clause with an initial adverbial if we disregard □□□□□□□□□ But the full context reveals that it is not so:
By we beodan Godes bebode & eallra his haligra þæt nan þara cristensna manna þe þis gehyre him beforan rædan odde elleshwara hit him gereccan ne geþristlæce he þis fæstten to abreccenne þæt þis þe he wille him for Gode geborgen habban

‘Therefore we proclaim the command of God and of all His saints namely that no Christian man who may hear this read before him or who may hear it elsewhere explained to him (that) he would not presume to break this fast by which he wishes to have himself protected before God

It is clear that everything after the word þæt in the second clause constitutes the command. One might wonder if the distance between þæt and the clause in question contributed to the V-S order; it is possible that the government of þæt was somehow weakened by the distance and that the writer used the V-S pattern which is typical of Type B. Another possibility would be to ignore the pronominal subject he and take the preceding nan þara cristensna manna as the full subject in which case the element order would be S-V. However, this seems problematic since it ignores the manuscript evidence as well as the presumably likely intention of the writer who must have thought it necessary to repeat the subject in pronominal form after the verb to clarify the context.

Next we look at the four examples with V-S. In one example the conjunction
\( \text{element order in} \) The Vercelli Homilies

\( \hat{\text{p}} \hat{\text{a}} \hat{\text{e}} \) omitted: "\( \hat{\text{p}} \hat{\text{a}} \hat{\text{e}} \) ... \( \hat{\text{p}} \hat{\text{a}} \hat{\text{e}} \) & nis \( \hat{\text{p}} \hat{\text{e}} \) middangeard swilce se seofoda dæl ofer pone micclan garsecg" and "\( \hat{\text{p}} \hat{\text{a}} \hat{\text{e}} \) similarly this world is not the seventh part over the great ocean". The V-S pattern may be due to the distance of this passage from \( \hat{\text{p}} \hat{\text{a}} \hat{\text{e}} \). In "\( \hat{\text{p}} \hat{\text{a}} \hat{\text{e}} \) above" the close semantic connection appears to bring together the adverbial "\( \hat{\text{h}} \hat{\text{u}} \) bealdlice" and the verb "\( \hat{\text{s}} \hat{\text{p}} \hat{\text{r}} \hat{\text{e}} \hat{\text{d}} \)" postponing the subject "\( \hat{\text{p}} \hat{\text{a}} \hat{\text{e}} \) dioful". The remaining two examples are "\( \hat{\text{p}} \hat{\text{a}} \hat{\text{e}} \) above" and "\( \hat{\text{p}} \hat{\text{a}} \hat{\text{e}} \) us beod symbole "\( \hat{\text{u}} \hat{\text{r}} \) hegnunga \( \hat{\text{p}} \hat{\text{e}} \)re halgan fulwihte mid gastlice geryne heofonas opene ‘that heavens will always be open for us through the service of that holy baptism with a spiritual mystery’". Except for the obvious formal similarity "\( \hat{\text{p}} \hat{\text{a}} \hat{\text{e}} \) us" I am unable to account for them.

The weight of subject plays a vital role in the eighteen examples with V-S. Latin is not always a certain guide: some follow the Latin as in "\( \hat{\text{u}} \hat{\text{r}} \) above" and "\( \hat{\text{h}} \hat{\text{w}} \hat{\text{a}} \hat{\text{e}} \) si \( \hat{\text{p}} \hat{\text{e}} \) modes mægen" what may be the power of the mind but others do not as in "\( \hat{\text{p}} \hat{\text{a}} \hat{\text{e}} \) ... \( \hat{\text{b}} \hat{\text{i}} \) him stod dryhtnes engel" and "\( \hat{\text{h}} \hat{\text{a}} \hat{\text{t}} \) by them stood an angel of the Lord" Latin "\( \hat{\text{a}} \hat{\text{n}} \) gelus \( \hat{\text{a}} \hat{\text{p}} \hat{\text{r}} \hat{\text{e}} \) and \( \hat{\text{p}} \hat{\text{a}} \hat{\text{e}} \) \( \hat{\text{p}} \hat{\text{e}} \)r cwom sum gecristnod man to him that there came a certain catechumen to him Latin "\( \hat{\text{c}} \hat{\text{a}} \hat{\text{t}} \) quidam catechumenus iunxit".

The order of subject and complex verb

There are examples in VH. Examples and figures are:

S \( \hat{\text{v}}-\)V Examples: "\( \hat{\text{p}} \hat{\text{a}} \hat{\text{e}} \) he sie gefylled mid \( \hat{\text{p}} \hat{\text{e}} \) godcundan lufan & his nehtsan ‘that one would be filled with love of the divine and love of one’s neighbour’ Latin "\( \hat{\text{u}} \hat{\text{t}} \) sit plenus in dilectione Dei et proximi"/ "\( \hat{\text{p}} \hat{\text{a}} \hat{\text{e}} \) du næfre forlæte dus myclan heapes geweald dioflu agan \( \hat{\text{p}} \hat{\text{e}} \)s handgeweорces that you never let the devils have power in this way over a great troop of your handiwork".
that his flesh might live forever"

that this world was written

that this world was written

that we all must humbly serve the Lord"

that I should suffer for mankind’s salvation

that he must abandon

that our Lord wished to be baptized

that God had allowed them so much

that for which these Rogation Days were first laid down to be observed

that to them all their life would be given

that then your transitory riches would be diminished for you ever’

that there a certain man had died miserably from death.

that then a loathsome couch is prepared for the body

that the prince would be born in his kingdom

that into
his kingdom in this world would come he who … Latin quia in eius tempore saluator nasceretur qui … S æt fram feower sceatum middangeardes bid gefyllæ heofones roder mid helle gastum & mid heofonlice campwerode þære engelican gesceafte þæt from the four corners of the world the sky of heaven will be filled with hellish spirits and with the heavenly company of angelic creation Latin erunt uoces in quattuor angulos … implebitur multitudine angelorum S æt þære engelican gesceafte that from the four corners of the world the sky of heaven will be filled with hellish spirits and with the heavenly company of angelic creation Latin erunt uoces in quattuor angulos … implebitur multitudine angelorum

V-S-v

V-v-S

V-v-S þæt … & ure gefion moton usse yldran & that our ancestors may rejoice Ælfric cf Davis in having S-v-V and S-V-v as the two most frequent patterns. However it is striking that VH also have eleven clauses that belong to three other patterns that are not attested in Ælfric. These exceptions are considered below.

There are six clauses with the pattern v-S-V. Four are exemplified above and the remaining two are & þæt eallum scyldgum wæron hira scylda forgifene and that to all sinners their sins would be forgiven and & þæt us hafad God gehaten þæt ðæt þær namely and above. The only exception is that there were gathered together all the priests and elders Latin ubi scribae et seniores conuenerant Ælfric where a
heavy subject is placed in final position

As for the sole example with V-v-S it may be helpful to look at the clause immediately following it: *pa syndon heahfæderas & witegan & apostolas* who are patriarchs and prophets and apostles. Latin *nobis nos parentes nostri, patriarchae prophetae et apostoli* It is likely that the subject *usse yldran* was placed at final position for its semantic - as well as grammatical antecedent + relative pronoun - connection with the following *pa* clause which expands on it

The order of direct object and simple verb

The sample is clauses of which have O-V and V-O

The table below indicates the distribution:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>O-V</th>
<th>O-O</th>
<th>O-Ø</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
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<td>12</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>22</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examples are:

O V  þæt he us lufode that He loved us / þæt he … & hie gesceop and þat He created it

O V  þætte he Petrus in forlete that he let Peter in Latin *et introduxit Petrum* / þæt we … & ure ingþohtas geondsmeagen and þat we scrutinize our thoughts

O V  hu u mæst unrihtes geworhtest how you performed the greatest of sin / þæt … & ondrysenlice we þæt halige godspel gehyren and
Most noteworthy is the stability of light direct objects \( O \) \( -v-V \) all of which are preverbal except for three instances: \( \text{that you turn yourselves to better skill} \) \( \text{that you shield yourselves against the wicked sin} \) \( \text{that one would give us Barabbas} \). There are not any notable similarities except that both of the last two examples \( \text{that appear consecutively in Homily XXI} \) have \( eow \) which may also be considered as reflexive - and intensive - pronouns rather than pronominal direct objects. However, this observation is probably irrelevant since the status of \( eow \) affects only the translation and interpretation not the element order.

The order of direct object and complex verb

The sample from \( VH \) consists of \( O -v-V \) clauses. Examples and figures are:

\[
\text{that he would deny him three times} \quad \text{that He will seek us in this world}
\]
O Ṣ-v-V Ṣ-v-V Ṣ-v-V hu God Ṣ-v-V Ṣ-v-V ysysne middangeard hæfd gestapelod us on to eardianne
‘how God has established this world for us to dwell in’ & þæt he da
dylf eac þurh hine þa bysene wolde onstellan & that He then wished also to
establish that example through Himself Ṣ-v-V
O Ṣ-v-V Ṣ-v-V þæt du hit eal ne meahtest gefæstnigan þ that you could not secure
it all Latin quod habes adsignas Ṣ-v-V
O Ṣ-v-V Ṣ-v-V þæt we næfre hit forlætan scylen ‘that we shall never leave it’
hwylce gemete we þæt begiten & gearnian sculon ð by what measure
we may acquire and earn it Ṣ-v-V
O Ṣ-v-V Ṣ-v-V þæt hi bearn cennan sceolde ð that she was destined to bring
forth a son ð that it could not hold up that burden Ṣ-v-V
O Ṣ-v-V Ṣ-v-V þæt hie ealles geweald agan moston ð that they might possess all
power she scoldon hit gildan ge rice ge heane & that all men had to pay it ð both the
powerful and the humble Ṣ-v-V
v-O Ṣ-v-V Ṣ-v-V þæt he … ð & heht hine to rode lædan ð and ð that he ð
commanded Him to be led to the cross ð & ealle men
csceoldon hit gildan ge rice ge heane ð and ð that ð all men had to pay it ð both the
powerful and the humble Ṣ-v-V
v-O Ṣ-v-V Ṣ-v-V þæt we scoldon his willan wyrcan ð that we must work His
will ð & he ne moste dea es byrigan ð that he would not be able to
taste death Latin non uisurum se mortem Ṣ-v-V
v-O Ṣ-v-V Ṣ-v-V þæt he scolde urne dryhten Crist forlætan ð that he should let our
Lord Christ go Latin quaerebat Pilatus dimittere eum Ṣ-v-V
... ac we sculon us sylfe ær clænsian ð but ð that ð we must cleanse ourselves
before Ṣ-v-V
v-V-O ṭæt we willad wyrcean his willan ṭæt we wish to perform His will
v-V-O ṭæt he mæge aseçgan ṭara goda & ṭara ydnessa ṭæt he may
tell of the benefits and the comfort / ṭæt ic wille forgildan æghwylce
gode dæde ṭæt ic wille forgildan æghwylce
ev-V-O ṭæt he mæge æseçgan ṭara goda & ṭara ydnessa ṭæt he may
tell of the benefits and the comfort / ṭæt ic wille forgildan æghwylce
gode dæde ṭæt ic wille forgildan æghwylce
V-O-v ṭæt
V-v-O hwæder he donne begitan mæge ṭæs … ṭæt he may then
receive what …

The direct object presents a mixed picture: the frequencies of O-v direct object -
finite verb and v-O are almost identical ṭæt we wish to perform His will
and VH do not seem to present a strong
tendency ṭæt we willad wyrcean his willan ṭæt we wish to perform His will
Certainly weight ordering is strongly observed with light direct objects
that are preverbal ṭæt we willad wyrcean his willan ṭæt we wish to perform His will
but there are as many as ṭæt we wish to perform His will
clauses where direct objects
of medium or heavy weight come before the finite verb O-v-v and O-V-v ṭæt we willad wyrcean his willan ṭæt we wish to perform His will
In his corresponding section Davis writes: ṭæt we wish to perform His will
The placing of a direct object
before the whole of the complex verb was a frequent position in early Germanic
languages as in modern German ṭæt we wish to perform His will
and might reasonably be expected within early Old English ṭæt we wish to perform His will
Although I do not agree with him in labelling Ælfric as representing
‘early Old English’ ṭæt we wish to perform His will
his comment seems relevant here ṭæt we wish to perform His will
As for the v-O order ṭæt we willad wyrcean his willan ṭæt we wish to perform His will
all but three of the instances contain direct objects of medium or heavy weight ṭæt we wish to perform His will
VH have one example of V-v-O ho aseçgan above which does not occur in Ælfric; in this
example the direct object ṭæs he ær benohte ṭæt he earlier enjoyed ṭæt we wish to perform His will
is placed in final position because of its weight ṭæt we wish to perform His will

VH have eight clauses with the accusative and infinitive construction ṭæt we wish to perform His will
of which six have v-Z-V and two Z-v-V ṭæt we wish to perform His will
Examples are:
that we daily see our neighbours die before our eyes / that we allow these teachings to abide securely in our hearts’.

that God through the Holy Ghost commanded him to go to a certain famous city Latin *quod rogauit dominus Ionam ... ut iret in Niniuen ciuitatem magnam* M *in urbe Ninniuen*

Three of the clauses also have the direct object which are:

*that one* would not let himself relax in holy deeds

that we would not allow these temporal things to bind and occupy our hearts Latin *tota mente contemnere*

that you never let the devils have power in this way over a great troop of your handiwork

It may be observed that the accusative immediately follows the finite verb *laetan* in the first two which is different from the last example with *forlaetan* that has

The order of indirect object and simple verb

There are examples in *VH* The distribution is summarized below:
Elements Order in The Vercelli Homilies

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>I-V</th>
<th>I</th>
<th>I</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V-I</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examples are:

I-V  ṭæt du us gesece hwæder … that you tell us whether … Latin ut dicas nobis si … S that he … odde þam sealde of that he should give his property to Him

I-V  ṭæt man þam wældiendan sylle to gode þæt he mæge that one give what one is able to the poor for good Latin aegenti dare quicquid poteris S that one should grant it to others

I-V  ṭæt … & we dæghwamlice ure gebeda Gode ælmihtigum onsendan & ure onsægndesse his lichaman & his þæs halgan blodes ‘and that we daily send forth our prayers our sacrifice and His holy blood to Almighty God’ Latin Cotidiana Deo lacrimarum sacrificia, cotidianas carnis eius et sanguinis hostias immolare S that we two establish for mankind an example of the salvation of all and the humility of all

V-I  ṭæt du earnodest me ecre unrotnesse that you earned for me an eternal unhappiness

V-I  hwæt du dydest minum þearfan what you did to my poor ones / ṭæt hie … & bædon hira dryhten þæt … & that they prayed to their

- MS is illegible before this clause - Scragg suggests the following reconstruction: ṭæt unc gedafenad It befits us that …
Lord that …

V-I ächt sum deofles gast sæde anum ancraan ealle helle geryne & þara sawla tintrega that the spirit of a certain devil told an anchorite all the mysteries of hell and all of the torments of the souls / ächt man forgife þam þe …  that one would forgive the one who … Latin dimittere ei a quo … M ächt 

The pattern I-V occurs times accounting for of instances with the two elements. As may be expected from the preverbal tendency of direct objects in this clause category all of the light indirect objects are similarly placed preverbally except for ächt above where the pronominal indirect object me is placed between the finite verb earnodest and a heavy direct object ecre unrotnesse. In the remaining six examples with V-I the following may be observed: the Latin is closely followed in above and that ächt … & he syld þam eadmodum gyfe and that he gives grace to the humble-minded Latin humilibus autem dat gratiam. Heavy indirect objects are found in above this is followed by an adjectival clause þam pe … and that indirect objects of medium weight are placed before heavy direct objects I-O in above both above and hu se halga Thomas, Godes apostol, acsode urne dryhten hwænne … ‘how the holy Thomas God’s apostle asked our Lord when …’ Latin Iesus dixit Thomas dii iudicii.

The order of indirect object and complex verb

There are examples in this category. Examples and figures are:

I v-V ächt ic eow sceal in þas eowre Eastertide anum forworhtum men feorh forgifan that I in this Paschal season of yours must give life to you one of the condemned men Latin ut unum dimittam uobis in pascha M ächt
that all men should pay tribute to him

that to them all their life would be given / and then a loathsome couch is prepared for the body

that to all sinners their sins would be forgiven / that he wished to set an example through Himself for the eternal salvation of all mankind

what he should do to him / how much God had allowed them

that the man would show no mercy to his comrade

that with the gift of a drink of water one could perform great almsgiving to them

that each man must yield tribute to the emperor / that we must in three manners yield tribute of true faith to God’

that they should hand Him over to heathen men for death / ‘how God has established this world for us to dwell in’ / æghwylc
wæpnedcild bearn ... sceolde beon ærest Gode gehalgod that each male child ... should be consecrated to God Latin quia omne masculinum adaperiens uuluam sanctum domino ... et ut darent hostiam SA quod sancta

v-V-I ðæt ... & he þurh þæt sceal eft beon Gode sylfum acynned to ecum life and that through that He shall again be born to God Himself for eternal life SA quod

v-V-I ðæt hie sceoldon þær bringan to þam temple twegen turturas odde twegen culfran briddas Gode ælmihtigum to lofe & to wyrdunge to dam Godes temple that they should bring there to the temple two turtle doves or two pigeons to God Almighty for praise and for glory to the temple of God Latin par turturum aut duos pullos columbarum SA quod

V-I-v ðæt
V-v-I ðæt

When the indirect object precedes the finite verb it also precedes the non-finite verb in all of the fourteen instances I-v-V/I-V-v As for the eight clauses with the other patterns V-I-V and v-V-I; all exemplified above it is not possible to point out meaningful similarities; and the Latin if available offers little help since the indirect object is absent in all but two passages - gentibus domino in gentibus and domino in gentibus It is however of interest to note that four examples have the word God or its expanded expression as the indirect object

The order of direct and indirect objects

This category is represented by clauses of which ðæt he Pilatus ðurne dryhten Crist Iudeum agef that Pilate gave over
our Christ to Jews

**Latin** *tradidit eis illum* / *æt...* & hiera ceapes wæstma & ealle hira æhta hie hira gode bebudon & that they offered the benefit of their goods and all their possessions to their god

**I-O** *æt ic eow agife þysne eowerne cyning* that I give you this ðone ðone your king

**Latin** *dimittam uobis regem Iudaeorum* / *æt ic be sod sece* that I tell you the truth

Among the sixteen clauses with O-I seven have interrogatives *hwa, hwæt* or *hwylc* functioning as the direct object at the same time hence O-I is compulsory. They are:

- *æt ic hwæt ic hie lærde/* what I taught them
- *æt ic eow secge* what I say to you
- *æt ic eow sece* what I say to you
- *æt ic hie lærde quae dixerim ego* what I taught them
- *æt ic eow sece* what I say to you
- *æt ic eow sece* what I say to you
- *æt ic eow sece* what I say to you

They are: what I taught them

**Latin** *quae dixerim ego* what I taught them

The order of complement and simple verb

This category is represented by clauses. The distribution is as follows:
Examples are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>C-V</th>
<th>C</th>
<th>C</th>
<th>C</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V-C</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The pattern V-C accounts for of instances of and C-V accounts for of instances. All the complements in the V-C pattern are either of medium or heavy weight which
is in accord with weight ordering. The light pronominal complement occurs only in C-V: that he was not his. As for the complements of medium weight, it is interesting to see that they occur preverbally more often than they do postverbally. Heavy complements show a clear preference for the postverbal position V-C; instances Overall, it is likely that there exists a competition between two tendencies, namely the verb-late/final tendency in dependent clauses and the preference of complements C / for postverbal position.

The order of complement and complex verb

There are fourteen clauses in this category. The complete set of examples and figures is:

C / v-V
V-C / v-V þæt he us þæs wyrðe læte beon that He would let us be worthy of that / Woe that I ever had to be born so unfortunate. Latin Cur infelix natus sum?

C / v-V-v to hwan se eordlica dæl & sio mennisce gecyd wiordan sceal ‘what the earthly portion and the human race shall become’ / þæt he swa ungefullad fordferan sceolde that he had to die thus unbaptized / v-C / V

v-C / V þæt … & he wæs sona æfter þam hal geworden & that he was made whole immediately after that / Latin sanavit eum / þæt … ac he is frumbearn nemned ‘but He is named the first born’ / þæt we moton þæs wyrðe bion ‘that we may be worthy of this’ / þæt he þonne þurh þæt weard hal geworden & that the sick man was
made whole from it Latin *persaepe ab aegrotantibus morbos fugauerunt*.

The order of single adverbial and finite verb: 

There are clauses in *VH* The table below shows the distribution:
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>A-V</th>
<th>A-V</th>
<th>A-V</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A-V</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>V-A</td>
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<tr>
<td>Total</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

We might consider that weight ordering is at work as we go through the figures for the
V-A pattern in the table above. However, this applies to less than half of the total instances, since there are more instances of A-V where the finite verb is in final position. It seems reasonable to say that this mixed picture well represents the relatively free positioning of adverbials.

The order of two adverbials and finite verb

Examples and figures are:

A-A-V classpath... and through an unspotted virgin He was born into this world / that we afterwards weep and atone for that with tears and with lamentation. Latin *cum lacrimis et luctu recipere*

A-V-A classpath that truthful ones would live in heavens with our Lord Saviour Christ / that they were never brought forth by their fathers and mothers.

V-A-A classpath that the Saviour was watching at night in prayers. Latin *quia erat Iesus pernoctans in oratione Dei*

*VH* do not seem to show a strong tendency in the position of two adverbials; all of the three possible patterns are represented by more or less similar frequencies. Noteworthy is the strong verb-final tendency in the A-A-V examples where have the finite verb in final position. The consecutive ordering of
adverbials \( AA \) is common accounting for \( AA \) of \( AA \) of instances with \( A-A-V/V-A-A \)

The order of three or more adverbials and finite verb

Examples and figures are:

V-A-A-A \( \ldots \) þæt se wolde of dam rice cuman & of dam cynestole & of dam þrymrice hyder on þas eordan \( \ldots \) that He would come from the kingdom and from the royal seat and from the realm of glory here into this earth \( \ldots \) / þæt us beod symble þurh þa þegnunga þære halgan fulwihte mid gastlice geryne heofonas opene \( \ldots \) that heavens will always be open for us through the service of that holy baptism with a spiritual mystery

A-V-A-A \( \ldots \) þæt hie næfre woldon in þa tid in ænig þæra inna in gangan \( \ldots \) ‘that they would never in that time go into any of the dwelling’ \( \ldots \) / þætte we þas halgan tiid gedefelice & clænlice weordiæn \( \ldots \) Godes naman to lofe & to wuldre \( \ldots \) & ussum sawlum to ecre hælo & to frofre \( \ldots \) that we should honour properly and purely these holy times as a praise and as a glory to the name of God \( \ldots \) and for our souls \( \ldots \) eternal salvation and for consolation

A-A-V-A \( \ldots \) þæt we þonne eft mægen bion gefionde in hiofenlican ham þæs uplician rices \( \ldots \) that we then afterwards may be rejoicing in the heavenly home of that celestial kingdom \( \ldots \) Latin \( \ldots \) uerum gaudium postea habituri in re \( \ldots \) / þæt he arfæstlice mid dryhtne ricsige on heofena rices gefean \( \ldots \) that he may rule piously with the Lord in the joy of heaven’s kingdom

A-A-A-V \( \ldots \) þæt we nu ær on þyssum dagum læerde væron \( \ldots \) that we now have been taught already in these days \( \ldots \) / þæt \( \ldots \) & hwædre se an leg þreo þing fullice on him hafad \( \ldots \) and \( \ldots \) moreover \( \ldots \) the one flame holds three things fully in itself

Clause patterns

Presented below are figures and examples for the occurrence of verb-final and non-verb-final placement:

Verb-final: hu he God eow yfolsaþ ‘how he blasphemes God to you’ Latin blasphemia & hu he þam forwyrtum deman wille ‘and how He will judge the evil-doers’

Non-verb-final: þæt beo be him gehered that he would be praised concerning himself Latin laudari & þæt þa earman fyrenfullan sceolon sarie aswæman fram ansyne ures dryhtnes & fram his haligra & fram þam wuldre heofona rices namely that the wretched sinful ones must sorrowfully feel ashamed from the face of our Lord and from his saints and from the glory of the heavenly kingdom.

Verb-final tendency accounts for, in VH, in CH and in SH As Davis writes, this is certainly not the verb final picture which might be expected although as will be seen, not found for dependent clauses.
In the non-verb-final examples the final position is frequently taken by among other elements adverbials direct objects and complements almost all of which are of medium or heavy weight.

Impersonals

There are clauses with impersonal expressions. Impersonals are usually placed in medial position after the conjunction and another element as in  *dat nu hwænne gelimped þæt* ... that it will happen henceforth that ... and *me ne hingrede on ecnesse* that I hungered not in eternity. Some exceptions are  *hu dysiglic þæt* ... how foolish it is that ... where *dysiglic* is a part of the impersonal expression *dysiglic is* is placed after the conjunction *hu* for emphasis and *hu us bonne lysted* and how *lysted* pleases us then where the impersonal verb *lysted* is placed in final position. The final position is taken most frequently by clauses twelve times followed by impersonals and X seven times respectively. Examples are:

| *hu god is þæt* ... how good it is that ... / *þæt us ær her on worlde þurh hreowe* & *þurh ure geearnunga forgifene wæron* that it had been forgiven to us previously here in the world through sorrow and through our merits  *Latin quod nobis iam per paenitentiam dimissum fuisse* / *þæt me ne cole on þysse worulde* that it would not be cold for me in this world

Summary

In this clause category the subject almost always precedes the finite verb irrespective of its weight. This preverbal tendency is weakened when we look at direct objects.
where weight ordering seems to be at work: those of light weight are mostly placed
preverbally while the postverbal position is preferred by those of heavy weight. The
same may be observed as to the indirect object though it is difficult to generalize
further most of the instances being of light weight. Also inconclusive is the relative
order of direct and indirect objects; there are more instances of I-O than O-I but this
may be simply due to the small sample size. Complements often follow the finite
verb but there are also a number of instances with C-V probably ensuing from the
verb-late tendency in dependent clauses. Adverbials are hard to characterize: it is true
that many instances may be explained in terms of weight ordering and verb-late
tendency but there are also many exceptions perhaps confirming the observation by
Davis: that adverbial position is less subject to rules or tendencies than is the positioning of other elements.

Adjectival Clauses

The sample from VH consists of clauses. This clause category is well illustrated
in Guide § as follows:

... we can say that the OE relatives are the indeclinable particle *be* to which the
personal pronoun can be added to remove ambiguities of case and the demon-
strative pronoun *se, seo* *paet* in the case required by the *adjective* clause either
alone or followed by the indeclinable particle *be* to make clear that we have a
relative and not a demonstrative pronoun.

Added to this list are *paet* which combines antecedent and relative pronoun in
Guide § as well as combinations such as *swa hwa swa* and *swa hwylc swa* which
are used for indefinite adjective clauses. If *OES* §§ and

In his corresponding section Davis: writes:
In all of the statistics below those subjects and objects which are relative pronouns have been excluded for as the syntax of the relative clause is such that the relative pronoun must always occur at the head of the clause to include these would seem at best unhelpful and in all probability misleading.

I agree with him and this treatment is adopted in what follows with the addition of relative pronouns functioning as complements & which he was & adverbials & in which He was hanged which are missing from his list above.

Also treated in this section are the clauses in which the relative pronoun is not expressed but understood either from the context or from the preceding clause with a relative pronoun as in & & and whatsoever the fire burned where the relative pronoun is omitted in a conjoined adjectival clause.

The order of subject and simple verb

*VH* have clauses with the two elements. The distribution is shown in the table below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>S-V</th>
<th>S-V</th>
<th>S-V</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>S-V</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>V-S</td>
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<tr>
<td>Total</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It is interesting to note that this passage is further followed by three clauses which are also governed by the same relative *swa hwæt swa* & *sæ sencē* & *wildeor fræton* & *fuglas toberon* and whatsoever the sea drowned and whatsoever wild animals devoured and whatsoever birds carried off.
Examples are:

S □ V  þæt ic wite which I know / þe he wæs which he was  
S □ V  þane dryhten geworhte which the Lord made  
Latin *quam fecit Dominus*  

dominus  
S □ V  þe he sylfa lærde which He Himself taught / þæt dryhten sylf  
cwæd be þam gesybsnumum mannum what the Lord Himself said about the  
peaceable men  
V-S □  
V-S □  þæt gegearrowde min fæder diofle & his englum which my father  
prepared for the devil and his angels  
Latin *qui paratus est diabolo et angelis eius*  

diabolo et angelis  
V-S □  þam is wuldor & wyrðmynd þurh ealra worulda woruld aa butan ende  
amen to whom  
here is glory and honour through the world of all worlds  
ever without end  
amen  
in þære stanted usses geleafan hyht in  
in which the hope of our faith abides  
V-S □  

The pattern S-V is predominant accounting for 24% of instances All of the eleven  
examples with V-S have subjects which are of either medium or heavy weight  
In four of these V-S examples the Latin also has V-S in  
which there is no  
delight of this present life  
Latin *in qua etiam presentis utiae nulla est dilectatio*  

dilectatio  
Pone arwurdiad witigan & Petrus & Paulus & ealle haligan  
‘whom prophets Peter Paul and all the saints venerate’  
Latin *quem uenerantur prophetae et apostoli*  
but the Latin has S-V in  
Hierusalem,  

*ubi etiam ciues … et rex ciuitatis ipsius Christus, expansis nos*
The order of subject and complex verb

Examples and figures are:

S dom-V þe we sculon on faran ðe we must travel / da þe he wile habban those whom He wishes to have
S dom-V þe dryhten us hæfd gesett mid to scyldanne which the Lord has set us to shield with / þe God hafa geearwod eallum þam þæs hæf hæf þe God has made ready for all those who
S dom-V þæt nænig man ne mæg mid his wordum asecgan / þæs heofoncundan lifes which no one may say with his words the joy of the heavenly life
S dom-V þe he on ahangen wæs in which He was hanged / Latin ubi crucifixus est Jesus / þe we urhteon mægen which we can commit
S dom-V þe dryhten on geboren wæs in which the Lord was born / swa hwæt godes swa þin hand wyrcean mæge whatever of good your hand may accomplish / Latin quodcumque facere potest manus tua
S dom-V þe hie nænig man asecgan ne mæg ‘which no man may explain’ / þe þara o era manna nan him arian ne wolde whom none of the other men would comfort / Latin aliis misericordiam non praestantibus


\[\text{Scragg} \quad \text{1952} \quad \text{113}\]
Susumu Hiyama

v-S ∨V ∨V ∨V þe us hafad ure dryhten forgifen to anlyhtanne da dimnesse
mancynnes ungetroutines which our Lord has given to us in order to
enlighten the darkness of mankind’s faithlessnes Latin quas ad discutiendam
atque inlustrandam infidelitatis caliginem dominus noster indulsit S V-S V-S V-S
\ñæt him sceolde fulwihtes bäd ofadwean which the bath of baptism had to
wash off from Him ñæt him sceolde fulwihtes bäd ofadwean
v-S ∨V ∨V on þam byd ælc mann þurh synne acenne acenne in which each man is
born through sin Latin ubi omnis homo per peccatum nascitur S V-S V-S V-S
\nheofenum ñær ne bid nænig unrotnes ne nænig sar ne nænig
widerweardnes gemeted where no unhappiness nor any sorrow nor any
adversity will be found ñæt him sceolde fulwihtes bäd ofadwean
V-S-v ∨V ∨V
v-V-S ∨V ∨V
v-V-S ∨V ∨V on þam byd ælc mann þurh synne acenne acenne in which each man is
born through sin Latin ubi omnis homo per peccatum nascitur S V-S V-S V-S
\nheofenum ñær ne bid nænig unrotnes ne nænig sar ne nænig
widerweardnes gemeted where no unhappiness nor any sorrow nor any
adversity will be found ñæt him sceolde fulwihtes bäd ofadwean
V-S-v ∨V ∨V

The S-V-v pattern is the most frequent ñæt him sceolde fulwihtes bäd ofadwean all of which are exemplified above
followed by S-v-V Davis also reports the dominance of S-V-v; or rather ñæt him sceolde fulwihtes bäd ofadwean this is the only
pattern employed by Ælfric as far as Davis’s selected corpus goes ñæt him sceolde fulwihtes bäd ofadwean It is then striking
that VH instance the other three patterns absent in Ælfric namely S-v-V ∨V ∨V ∨V and v-V-S ∨V ∨V since the S-v-V pattern may be regarded as a variation of S-V-v ñæt him sceolde fulwihtes bäd ofadwean particular attention is now given to the remaining two patterns ñæt him sceolde fulwihtes bäd ofadwean

First ñæt him sceolde fulwihtes bäd ofadwean there are five examples with v-S-V ∨V ∨V all of which are exemplified above
except ñæt him sceolde fulwihtes bäd ofadwean Go þam ecan gefean …, ñæt him sceolde fulwihtes bäd ofadwean

- ñøû-
to his neahfealdum freondum where each man is allotted to his ancestors and to his close friends. The Latin is available for two examples both listed above which paraphrases the Latin *indulsit* which is in final position into *hafad … forgifen* none of which overlaps with the Latin verbal position; and follows the Latin S-V but places the Old English equivalent of *nascitur* separately - *byd* immediately after the relative pronoun and *acenned* in final position corresponding to the Latin verbal position. I cannot detect any similarities between these five examples. Second there are three examples of the v-V-S pattern two of which are given above and the remaining example is *on his þam halgan rice, þær us bi afyrred æghwylc yfel fram & æghwylce yrmþo* where each wickedness and each misery will be removed from us All of the subjects are heavy which must have played a part in this ordering of elements.

The order of direct object and simple verb

The sample is clauses The table below shows the distribution:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>O-V</th>
<th>O-O</th>
<th>O-D</th>
<th>Total</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>O-V</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V-O</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examples are:

O-V  pe hine ahengon who hanged Him *tḥwine ealhonde / þe hie on eorþan gesceop* ‘who created them on earth’

O-V  Se de his scylda gehyded He who hides his sins *qui abscondit scelera sua / þam þe her þam nacodan menn w rigelses forwynned*

- -
‘for those who here deny coverings to naked men’

O - V  þam þe Godes willan wyrcæþ  who work the will of God /  þe swa manigra haligra manna mægenu to bysene habbad  who hold as an example the good deeds of many holy men

V-O  Þæt

V-O  Se de eted minne lichoman  He who eats my body / Latin Qui manducat meam carnem  ßs who eats /  þa wundiad eowre sawle  which will wound your soul

V-O  se de wepp  þa durhtogenan synna he who weeps the committed sins’

Latin qui plangit quod gessit  ßs who weeps /  þa þe her lufiæ hira gebedu & wæcan  ‘Those who here love their prayers and vigils’

The prevailing pattern is O-V  ßs of instances It is noteworthy that there are no examples with V-O  ßs namely finite verbs followed by light direct objects As for those with V-O  ßs it may be observed that: the direct object of medium weight is made heavier by some other element ß with close semantic connection following it ß as in  þa þe sohton þæne cniht to acwellanne  those who sought to kill the boy ß Latin qui quaerabat animam pueri  ßs who sought /  þa þe sohton þæne cniht to acwellanne  who will join house to house ß Latin qui iungunt domum ad domum  ßs who will join house / and the Latin also has V-O in  qui quaerabat animam pueri  ßs who sought and  qui quaerabat animam pueri  ßs who sought / but has O-V in  qui in hoc saeculo non doleat  ßs who grieves not / among those with V-O  ßs there are only two examples that follow the Latin element order ß which are  þa þe sohton þæne cniht to acwellanne  ßs who sought /  qui iungunt domum ad domum  ßs who will join house and  qui quaerabat animam pueri  ßs who sought / but has O-V in  qui in hoc saeculo non doleat  ßs who grieves not / it is likely that the weight is the deciding factor for the position of direct objects in the V-O  ßs examples
ELEMENT ORDER IN THE VERCelli HOMILIES

The order of direct object and complex verb

Examples and figures are:

O Ṽ-v-V ǣþa us sculon lihtan mid heofonlicre æfestnesse & mid haligre lare
‘which shall illuminate us with heavenly piety and with holy teaching’

Latin \textit{ut scilicet inlucescente per sanctos uiros caelesti religione atque doctrina} .Usuario ãeo

\textit{æfestnesse / þe þis gehyre him beforan rædan} who may hear this read before

him ñæstæafar

O Ṽ-v-V ǣþa þe dis eal sceal gebidan who shall endure all this ñæstæafar

O Ṽ-v-V ǣþa se ðæt gewin & þa frofre sodfæstra manna on his godspelle \ñæs
dus foresecgende \ñæ who was thus foretelling that struggle and the consolations of

righteous men in His gospel ñæstæafar / þe ðæt eall sceal gebidan who must

endure all that ñæstæafar

O Ṽ-v-V ǣþa þæt he þanon aweg hine astyrian mæge who may then remove

himself from there ñæstæafar / þe him hyran willad who will obey him ñæstæafar

O Ṽ-v-V ǣþa þa þe for Godes lufan swylce habban nellad those who for the

love of God do not wish to have such ñæstæafar / þam þe Gode

þeowgean willad who wishes to serve God ñæstæafar

Latin \textit{quia Deo famulantibus} ñæstæafar

O Ṽ-v-V ǣþa se de sodfæstnesse liohg gesiun wile ñæ he who wishes to see the

light of truth ñæstæafar \textit{Latin qui ueritatis lumen uidere uoluisset} ñæstæafar / se
de æghhwylcne man gesecan sceal ñæ heanne ge ricne ñæ which must seek each

man ñæstæafar both the humble and the powerful ñæstæafar

v-O Ṽ-V ǣþa þam þe he wille him for Gode geborgen habban ‘by that which

he would wish to have defended him before God’ ñæstæafar

\hline
\textit{Cf} OES § ñæstæafar ñæ by which he is willing/wishes to have himself protected ñæstæafar
Susumu Hiyama

v-O ðV  vôh Date þe þæt meaht meaht manegum mannum genihtsumian what might satisfy many men Latin quod potest omnibus sufficere ðS ðe nele nu
his synna hreowe don who does not wish now to do penance for his sins Latin qui dominos non recipiebant ðS ðe nele nu

v-V-O ðV þæt sculon mid dioflum habban geardungstowa who must have dwelling-places with devils Latin qui dominos non recipiebant ðS ðe nele nu

v-V-O ðV þæt sculon mid dioflum habban geardungstowa who must have dwelling-places with devils Latin qui dominos non recipiebant ðS ðe nele nu

d-a ð meaht meaht manegum mannum genihtsumian what might satisfy many men Latin quod potest omnibus sufficere ðS ðe nele nu

Out of the six theoretical patterns five are represented in VH except for V-O-v ð which is in accord with Davis ðS ðe nele nu who finds no examples of this pattern ðDavis ðS ðe nele nu also observes that ðS ðe nele nu the picture is one of great flexibility in the
positioning of the direct object and this seems to apply here though it must be noted that weight ordering seems to be at work as may be seen in the increasing percentages of postverbal direct objects according to their weight: light, medium, and heavy. There are no instances of the accusative and infinitive construction.

The order of indirect object and simple verb

The sample from \textit{VH} consists of clauses. The distribution is shown below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>I-V</th>
<th>I-I</th>
<th>I-O</th>
<th>Total</th>
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<tr>
<td>I-V</td>
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<tr>
<td>V-I</td>
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<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Examples are:

I \textit{I-V} þe him his dryhten forgifed which his Lord grants to him / de he us to wedde forlet which He left to us as a pledge of kindness.

I \textit{I-V} þam þe oderum ænig yfel ded who does any evil to others / Latin \textit{quo laesus fueris} about those who do any harm to the poor / Latin \textit{et iniuriam pauperibus facientes} about those who do any harm to the poor.

I \textit{I-V} þe se heofonlica cyning ælmihtig drihten in þas halgan tid eallum mancynne gecyde which the heavenly King Almighty God in that holy time made known to all mankind / þam þe her þam nacodan menn wrigelses forwyrned for those who here deny coverings to naked men / V-I  for
The predominant pattern is I-V of instances and weight does not seem to play a leading role in the positioning of indirect objects. As for the five instances with V-I the following comments may be given: both of the examples with V-I follow the Latin element order and in above it is also possible to interpret mannum to bysene & to lare as a unit - a possessive dative plus a conjoined adverbial phrase - meaning as a rule and teaching of men.

The order of indirect object and complex verb

Examples and figures are:

I v-V (Func.) þe him sylfum þurh his da halegan mihte geworhte mannum to bysene & to lare which He Himself through His holy power made as a rule and teaching for men / þæt hie onguldon hira godum that they gave up to their gods

V-I þæt gegeawode min fæder diofle & his englum which my father prepared for the devil and his angels. Latin qui paratus est diabolo et angelis eius qui paratus est diabolo et angelis / da God gegeawad þam þe … which God prepares for those who … Latin quae preparauit Deus …

The order of indirect object and complex verb

Examples and figures are:

I v-V þe him edleane hira firena golden which will be given to them as a reward of their sins / þe us sceall gode bysene onstellan ‘who shall establish a good example for us’

I v-V þæt diofle wæs geearwod & eow which was prepared for the devil and for you / þe deoflum wæs geearwod which were prepared for the devils

I v-V
\[ V-v \quad \text{æt us æt frymþe geteohod wæs which was intended for us in the beginning} \quad \text{æt frymþe geteohod wæs which was intended for us in the beginning} \quad \text{æt frymþe geteohod wæs which was intended for us in the beginning} \quad \text{æt frymþe geteohod wæs which was intended for us in the beginning} \quad \text{æt frymþe geteohod wæs which was intended for us in the beginning} \quad \text{æt frymþe geteohod wæs which was intended for us in the beginning} \quad \text{æt frymþe geteohod wæs which was intended for us in the beginning} \quad \text{æt frymþe geteohod wæs which was intended for us in the beginning} \quad \text{æt frymþe geteohod wæs which was intended for us in the beginning} \quad \text{æt frymþe geteohod wæs which was intended for us in the beginning} \quad \text{æt frymþe geteohod wæs which was intended for us in the beginning} \quad \text{æt frymþe geteohod wæs which was intended for us in the beginning} \quad \text{æt frymþe geteohod wæs 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frymþe geteohod wæs which was intended for us in the beginning} \quad \text{æt frymþe geteohod wæs which was intended for us in the beginni}
final position because of its heavy weight

The order of direct and indirect objects

Examples and figures are:

O-I ᵇa ᵇe me ᵇe sealdon those who gave me to you Latin qui tradidit me tibi ᵇe hit him ær eal forgeaf who earlier gave it all to him

I-O ᴇam ᴇam ᴇam nacodan menn wrigelses forwyrmde for those who here deny coverings to naked men / on dam we sculon Gode riht agifan for ealles ures lifes dædum on which we must give an account to God for deeds of all of our life

In all of the five clauses with O-I both direct and indirect objects are light ᵇ ᵇ ᵇ ᵇ ᵇ with the exception of ᵇanone panon ic mine gife daele eordwærum ‘from where I give my gifts to earth-dwellers’ Interestingly the indirect object is ᵇe ‘to you’ in three examples: ᵇe above ᵇe me ᵇe sealde ‘who gave me to you’ and ᵇe hit ᵇe eal forgeaf ‘who forgave it all to you’ It is rather possible that the writer avoided writing ᵇe ᵇe ᵇ the succession of a relative pronoun and a personal pronoun which he may have considered confusing and even clumsy As for those with I-O the direct object is always of either medium or heavy weight and the indirect object is of varied weight

The order of complement and simple verb

VH have ᵇ clauses in this category The distribution is shown below:
### Element Order in The Vercelli Homilies

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>C-V</th>
<th>C-C</th>
<th>C-C</th>
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<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Examples are:

**C-V**  

*C-V* ðæ her forwyrt bid & agimeleasedu Godes bedoda who will be here condemned and neglectful of God’s commands / ðæ nu onweard is ‘which now is present’  

*C-V* ðæ ær æt þære geþeahtunge mid Iudeum wæs who was with the Jews before at the council  

**V-C**  

*V-C* se ðæ is clæne he who is clean / ðæ nu bid wælhwæw  

*V-C* se wæs Godes witiga who was a prophet of God  

The two patterns are level pegging: C-V accounts for 50% of instances and V-C 50%. This near fifty-fifty situation makes it very hard to make a general comment which is not attempted here. However, we may be witnessing some influence of weight ordering in the increasing percentage of postverbal complements viz the percentage rises from medium weight to heavy weight.
Susumu Hiyama

The order of complement and complex verb

Examples and figures are:

C v-V øü
C v-V øü þe Martinus wæs haten who was called Martin / þe Lucifer wæs haten who was called Lucifer
C V-v øü
C V-v øü þe dær bion sculon that must be there / þe þe … ð & halig beon sceal / and þe who shall be holy
C V-v øü þe on helle beon sceolon which must be in hell
V-C øü
V-C øü þe is Satan nemned which is named Satan / seo wæs Ninuie haten which was called Nineveh
V-C øü Wiotodlice swa hwa swa wile symle mid Gode bion Indeed whosoever wished to be always with God / Latin Quicumque ergo uult cum Deo semper esse
V-C øü
V-C øü sio is nemned Bethleem which is named Bethlehem / se wæs haten Simeon who was called Simeon / Latin cui nomen Symeon
V-C øü þe is genemned lifes treow which was called “Tree of Life” / seo ys gecweden cwen eallra yfela which is called the queen of all wickedness / Latin quae regina est omnium malorum
V-C-v øü
V-v-C øü

VH instance four of the six theoretically possible patterns and the two remaining
ELEMENT ORDER IN *THE VERCELLI HOMILIES*

patterns \[V-C-v\] and \[V-v-C\] are also unattested in Ælfric Davis. The sample is far from balanced: two-thirds of the instances have complements of medium weight but the remaining third having heavy ones. However, it seems relevant to point out that all of the heavy complements are placed after the finite verb with the exception of \[v-C\] above \[V-C-V\] where the Latin is closely followed.

The order of single adverbial and finite verb

*VH* have clauses with the two elements. The table below indicates the distribution:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>A</th>
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<th>A</th>
<th>Total</th>
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<td>V-A</td>
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</table>

\[\text{\textasciitilde} \text{\textasciitilde} \text{\textasciitilde}\] \textasciitilde \textasciitilde \textasciitilde with \textasciitilde \textasciitilde \textasciitilde degrees of freedom

Examples are:

A \[V\] \(\text{\textasciitilde}\) oferfangen is \(\text{\textasciitilde}\) who is here seized / \(\text{\textasciitilde}\) one \(\text{\textasciitilde}\) hie \(\text{\textasciitilde}\) cwealdon & hengon \(\text{\textasciitilde}\) which they earlier killed and hanged / \(\text{\textasciitilde}\) \(\text{\textasciitilde}\) \(\text{\textasciitilde}\)

A \[V\] \(\text{\textasciitilde}\) sio \(\text{\textasciitilde}\) sti\(\text{\textasciitilde}\)nesse bid gedon \(\text{\textasciitilde}\) which is done through strictness / Latin *quae districte agitur* / \(\text{\textasciitilde}\) \(\text{\textasciitilde}\) \(\text{\textasciitilde}\) which the soul lays charge against him / \(\text{\textasciitilde}\) \(\text{\textasciitilde}\) \(\text{\textasciitilde}\)

A \[V\] \(\text{\textasciitilde}\) para \(\text{\textasciitilde}\) to his rice belumpe \(\text{\textasciitilde}\) which belonged to his kingdom / \(\text{\textasciitilde}\) \(\text{\textasciitilde}\) \(\text{\textasciitilde}\) those who were clothed with soft garments / \(\text{\textasciitilde}\) \(\text{\textasciitilde}\) \(\text{\textasciitilde}\)

V-A \[\text{\textasciitilde}\] \(\text{\textasciitilde}\) sunna \(\text{\textasciitilde}\) who is properly named the
Son of Truth / þe nele nu his synna hreowe don / who does not wish now to do penance for his sins / מקום חטא

V-A ða de saead on tearum / Those who sow in tears / Latin Qui seminant in lacrimis / הם נושאים בזרע

V-A ðe him bioþ to edleane hira firena golden / which will be given to them as a reward of their sins / —who here in this world are proud and envious

The prevailing influence of weight seems apparent enough: light adverbials are almost always placed before finite verbs / and the heavier the adverbial is / the more likely it is to be placed postverbally / Of particular note is the high percentage of verb-final instances among those with A-V as evident in the following figures:  showModal A-V and A-V on average /

The order of two adverbials and finite verb

Examples and figures are:

A-A-V se þe ær in þam sealme awritten wæs & awitgod / that which had been written and prophesied in the psalm / והם כתבו ועל פסוק / þa þe her on worulde biod oferhydige & æfestige / who here in this world are proud and envious

A-V-A ða þe her bioþ mid uncystum gefylled þæra ælmesena Godes beboda / Those who here are filled with parsimony of God’s command of almsgiving / ־which he then says to his righteous ones / and to his chosen’

V-A-A þe God hafa so fæstum sawlum geearwod togeanes for hyra gastlicum worcum / which God has made ready for true souls in return for their
spiritual deeds / se de þurhwunad in godum dædum od lifes ende he who perseveres in good deeds until the end of life

As we saw in the previous section, the verb-final tendency is strong among those with A-A-V / of or / of. It may also be added that adverbials often appear consecutively in those with A-A-V/V-A-A / of or / of.

The order of three or more adverbials and finite verb

Examples and figures are:

V-A-A-A / se leofa & rixaþ mid fæder & mid suna & mid dam haligan gaste on wuldre & on wyrdmynde aa butan ende on ecnesse who lives and reigns with the Father with the Son and with the Holy Ghost in glory and in honour always without end in eternity / se de leofa & ricsad aa butan ende in ecnesse. ‘He who lives and rules forever without end in eternity’

A-V-A-A / þe mid fæder & mid suna & mid þam halgan gaste leofa & rixaþ a in ecnesse þurh ealra worulda woruld aa butan ende who lives and rules with Father and Son and the Holy Ghost always in eternity through all the world of worlds without end / Latin qui cum patre et spiritu sancto uiuit et regnat in saecula saeculorum / þa þe her swincaþ swidost for Godes naman those who here toil hardest for God’s name / of

A-A-V-A / þær þe ær in þam sealme awritten & awitgod wæs be þyssum ylcan dinge which had been written and foretold in the psalm concerning this same thing / ðwa hwa swa … & him þær his synna forgifenessa æt Gode bitt mid eallre heortan hyldo & mid eallre eadmodnesse and whosoever prays to God there for forgiveness of his sins with all loyalty of heart and with all
humility Latin *et contrito corde et humiliato corpore Dei misericordiam assidue deprecemur* 

A-A-A-V *pe he us her on eordan to gode forgifed which He gives to us here on earth for our benefit / pe us ær on life mid þære synne bryne* 

unælp who kindled us earlier in life with the burning sin Latin *qui uiuentes inflammat* 


**Clause patterns**

Examples and figures are:

Verb-final *Da de her rumheortlice hyra ælmessan for hyra scyldum on Godes naman dælad* Those who here generously distribute their alms for their
sins in God’s name / da dryhten hie ærest æt frymde in gesette in which the Lord first placed them in the beginning

Non-verb-final þa þe sculon bion on ecnesse æfter þyssum life / mid sawle & mid lichoman / those who shall be in eternity after this life / with soul and with body / þe wæs ær swete on stence / which had been sweet in scent

VH have a greater frequency of verb-final clauses / of or than CH and SH. Davis The following may be observed regarding those with non-verbal elements in final position: almost all of these final elements are of medium or heavy weight; adverbials are used most frequently in final position of or and further most of the clause-final adverbials are immediately preceded by finite verbs of or - in other words the finite verb takes the penultimate position only followed by an adverbial which may have been added as an afterthought

Impersonals

There are seven clauses that belong to this category and impersonals are placed in medial position with the exception of who is very pleasing to me Latin in quo mihi conplacui where licade is placed in final position presumably influenced by the Latin. The final position is taken most frequently by clauses five instances as in to whom it seems that and on pam is to ongittenne hwæt in which it is important to understand what Latin scientia, in qua intelligendum quid...
Attested in the preceding sections is a strong verb-late/final tendency in adjectival clauses: the subject almost always precedes the finite verb and the same - though to a lesser degree - may be said about both direct and indirect objects which in addition are very often placed in the order I-O when both are present in the same clause. The complement seems to enjoy some freedom in its positioning but it is important to note that the freedom if any is more restrained in clauses with complex verb phrases where the complement often follows the finite verb.

The verb-late/final tendency also appears to affect those with single adverbials and those with two adverbials where the percentages of postverbal adverbial are for the former A-V and for the latter A-A-V. The corresponding figure drops to in those with three or more adverbials A-A-A-V where one might observe the above-mentioned tendency being made less visible by adverbials which may be placed anywhere in the clause.

Adverbial Clauses

Clauses of Place

As Mitchell writes clauses of place or local clauses are conventionally divided into those referring to place where place whither and place whence. In these clauses are introduced by the conjunctions paer and hwaer and the combination swa hwyder swa. As was the case in the previous sections the conjunctions may be omitted and understood in conjoined clauses following those with paer and the like.

However the classification is not always straightforward since other types of clauses may also be introduced by the conjunctions mentioned above which are -
most notably adjectival clauses and nominal clauses — the former category is usually identified by the presence of an antecedent as in the place where they gave food to their animals and the latter is often but not always clarified by the context.

I have found ten clauses of place in It may be surprising that this sample is much smaller than the one in Davis which comprises from CH and from SH The difference may be understandable in view of the fact that we are dealing with the texts written by different authors at different times However I suspect that Davis has detected more clauses of place in his corpus than he should have; except for the apparently appropriate examples with swa hwær swa, hwyder and the like. at least several of his examples seem to be better re-classified as adjectival or nominal clauses For example I have found antecedents for of the clauses exemplified in his section on ‘clauses of place’ which I would consider as adjectival clauses They are: CH: II- VII- and XI- and SH VI- VI- VI- VI- V- V- IX- XVIII- and XXI- The subject always precedes the finite verb in all of the ten instances as in wherever I travel’ Latin Ubicunque fugio There are three instances with direct objects: in the preverbal position we find a light object as in Swa hwyder swa ic me hwyrfe ‘Wherever I turn myself’ Latin ubicunque me convertero and a heavy object as in the eternal joy satisfies all the faithful and in the remaining example a heavy object is sandwiched by the finite and non-finite verbs: unaware men beswican where he can deceive an unwary man Latin capiunt nescientes There are no instances that contain indirect objects or impersonals

There is only one instance with an adverbial which is: Pær twegen odde
Susumu Hiyama

_hy biod gesamnode in minum naman_ Where two or three are gathered in my name _Latin ubi enim sunt duo uel tres congregati in nomine meo_ The Latin is closely followed here including the clause-final position of the adverbial.

Eight instances have the finite verb in final position two exceptions being _and_ and _above_ The former is clearly influenced by the Latin element order and the latter seems less so though the position of _he mæge_ does correspond to that of _capiunt_ in the Latin.

Clauses of Time

The sample from _VH_ consists of clauses Clauses of this category ‘can be introduced by conjunctions meaning “when” “as soon as” “while” “after” “before” and “until” _OES_ § Among the many Old English conjunctions used in such clauses the most frequent in _VH_ is _pa_ followed by _ponne_ and _ær_.

Here again ambiguitit arises in classification I have classified the clauses introduced by _he_ as adjectival when they have antecedents _cf _OES_ §§ as in _ælgn _he se hælend in _æt_ wæter astag_ when the Saviour descended into the water which explains the antecedent _In _pa_ tid_ at that time In addition I have found three clauses of uncertain status One instance involves _hwonne_ in _ær_ _hwænne ær _hie _æs_ redan _cyninges word gehyren_ until the time when they hear the terrible king’s word Scragg’s glossary reads _hwonne ær_ _on_ _he_ _æs_ _redan _cyninges word gehyren_ However Mitchell casts doubt on its use as something other than an interrogative … and an indefinite adverb at some time _OES_ § and writes:

____________________

1 It should be noted that this is in keeping with my treatment of _ær_ clauses with antecedents in the previous section

2 Scragg continues: _unique in this spelling_ but cf _hwonne ær_ Riddle and Paris Psalter and _hwænne ær_ Martyrology.
In my opinion it is impossible to sustain the claim that *hwonne* was already in OE a relative adverb or a purely temporal conjunction. But it is equally impossible to deny that *hwonne* had already made a considerable advance along the road which was to lead to its use in these two capacities while remaining as an interrogative; … The reasons for this development which is shared by other interrogatives are discussed in §§ □□□□□□□□. In the absence of the clues which a knowledge of the intonation patterns would supply we cannot really advance beyond the only statement we have from a native informant - that of Ælfric already quoted in § □□□□□□□□.

I adopt this view and exclude □□□□□ above from analysis. Also excluded are □□□□□□□□ *swa him syßpan eall unlædlic on becwom* when □□□□□□□□ the completely miserable □□□□□□□□ came to him afterwards □□□□□□□□ and □□□□□□□□ *wid dan þe he næfre eft helle ne gesece* ‘as long as he never again will seek hell’. The former is the second part of a complex sentence the first part being □□□□□□□□ *Bædon swide unlædlicre bene* □□□□□□□□ They asked a very wretched request. Although the verb-initial syntax *Bædon …* might indicate its status as an independent declarative clause perhaps □□□□□□□□ Then □□□□□□□□ asked … □□□□□□□□ this sentence itself is singularly inserted between biblical paraphrases and in many ways detached from the context which makes its interpretation difficult. In terms of the latter □□□□□□□□ authorities seem to split on its interpretation □□□□□□□□ and I am unable to advance my own suggestion: Scragg’s glossary □□□□□□□□ reads □□□□□□□□ *wid dan de as long as* □□□□□□□□ while Mitchell □□□□□□□□ *OES* □□□□□□□□ suggests literal interpretations □□□□□□□□ against that □□□□□□□□ namely □□□□□□□□.

\[\text{ÆGram: INTERROGATIVA synd âxigendlice … quanto hwænne} \]
The order of subject and simple verb

There are clauses with the two elements in VH. The distribution is shown below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>S-V</th>
<th>S</th>
<th>S</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>S-V</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V-S</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examples are:

S-V  þa hwile þe hit hafaþ while it holds þonne he cume when he comes Latin *cum uenerit*  
S-V  ær morgensteorra upode before the morning star went up siddan heofenas tohlidon when the heavens burst open  
S-V  ær se bitra dead cyme before the bitter death comes / da þes eadiga wer slepte when this holy man slept Latin *cum se sopori dedisset*  
V-S  Pa cwomon hie to sumre ea ‘When they came to a certain river’  
V-S  ́  
V-S  Mid þy de þæt geascode se de … þæt …  When he who … learned that …  

As Davis writes the order subject - verb may be regarded virtually as a rule here. One of the two exceptions above may be explained in terms of the heavy clausal subject *se de* … However it is not easy to account for.
the other instance $\text{Szarmach}$ translates the passage as a dependent clause. As they came to a certain river and the context seems to defy the possibility of taking it as an independent clause. Then they came … Ogawa pondering on this dependent clause with $\text{V-S}$ writes that ‘other factors such as emphasis, change of pace, influence of the Latin sources or even mere variation may possibly play a part’. His comment may be relevant here.

The order of subject and complex verb

Examples and figures are:

$\text{S v-V} \quad \text{þa} \quad \text{he} \quad \text{was acenned} \quad \text{when} \quad \text{he} \quad \text{was} \quad \text{born} \quad \text{Latin} \ natus \quad \text{M} \quad \text{when} \quad \text{he} \quad \text{was} \quad \text{gefullad} \quad \text{when} \quad \text{He} \quad \text{was} \quad \text{baptized} \quad \text{Latin} \ Baptizatus$

$\text{S v-V} \quad \text{þa} \quad \text{Christ} \quad \text{was} \quad \text{acenned} \quad \text{when} \quad \text{Christ} \quad \text{was} \quad \text{born} \quad \text{Latin quod nascituro domino} \quad \text{S} \quad \text{when} \quad \text{se} \quad \text{man} \quad \text{must} \quad \text{sweltan} \quad \text{when} \quad \text{that} \quad \text{man}$

$\text{S v-V} \quad \text{þa} \quad \text{our} \quad \text{Saviour} \quad \text{Christ} \quad \text{was} \quad \text{born} \quad \text{Latin quando de peccatis suis animus peccatoris contristatur} \quad \text{S} \quad \text{when} \quad \text{the} \quad \text{mind} \quad \text{of} \quad \text{that} \quad \text{sinful} \quad \text{man} \quad \text{is} \quad \text{made} \quad \text{sad} \quad \text{for} \quad \text{his} \quad \text{sins}$

$\text{S V-v} \quad \text{ær} \quad \text{he} \quad \text{geended} \quad \text{before} \quad \text{it} \quad \text{was} \quad \text{finished} \quad \text{syddan} \quad \text{we} \quad \text{geborene} \quad \text{wæron} \quad \text{when} \quad \text{we} \quad \text{were} \quad \text{born}$

$\text{S V-v} \quad \text{ær} \quad \text{Christ} \quad \text{geboren} \quad \text{before} \quad \text{Christ} \quad \text{was} \quad \text{born} \quad \text{when} \quad \text{this} \quad \text{world} \quad \text{was} \quad \text{created} \quad \text{and} \quad \text{made}$

$\text{S V-v} \quad \text{þa} \quad \text{his} \quad \text{haliga} \quad \text{lichama} \quad \text{in} \quad \text{þa} \quad \text{halgan} \quad \text{byrgenne} \quad \text{geseted} \quad \text{wæs} \quad \text{when} \quad \text{His} \quad \text{body} \quad \text{was} \quad \text{placed} \quad \text{in} \quad \text{that} \quad \text{holy} \quad \text{sepulchre} \quad \text{þær} \quad \text{eal} \quad \text{manna} \quad \text{cyn}$
to gelæpod is when all the race of men will be summoned to ðHim ððððð
v-S ðððV ððð
v-S ððð ðð þa þrage þe us wile se ælmihtiga dryhten lætan her for worulde
‘while the Almighty Lord wished to allow us ðo remain ð here before the world’
ððð
v-V-S ððð
V-S-v ððð
V-v-S ððð

All but one of the clauses have the subject preceding the whole of the complex verb
phrase ð the exception being ððððð ð-S ðV ð above ð

The order of direct object and simple verb

VH have ððð clauses containing the two elements ð The distribution is presented
below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>O-V</th>
<th>O-O</th>
<th>O-Ø</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>O-V</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>123</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V-O</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>173</td>
<td>165</td>
<td>105</td>
<td>443</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examples are:

O ð-V ða he … ð & hine wyrmdc ð and ð when he ð warmed himself ð ð Latin

et calefaciens se ðM ððð ððððð / ða hine Iudeas sw ung ð & ahengon ð when
the Jews scourged and hanged him ð ððð
ELEMENT ORDER IN THE VERCELLI HOMILIES

O-OV Sona swa he þæs ofætes onþah þæs As soon as he tasted the fruit Latin
ut autem comedit Β when they yearn for the coolness Β
V-O òpa þa du … & òdræ men mid wo reafodest ò and òwhen you ò robbed
other men with wickedness Β þæt when he sum hædengild gebræc ò when
he destroyed a certain heathen temple Latin Ubi dum templum itidem
euertet Β
V-O òpa se ælmihtega dryhten … & onbyrhte hie mid leohnte andgyte Β and
when the Almighty Lord ò illuminated them with bright understanding Β
V-O ò & þonne he reste hine Β And when he rested himself Latin recubans Β
V-O òpa du … & leahtrodest mid þy þa rihtwisan Β and òwhen you ò corrupted the righteous by that Β
V-O òpa he cwæd þæt … when He said that … Β

- 2020 -
The order of direct object and complex verb

Examples and figures are:

O ð-v-V øøþ ùøøþøøøúùð ðøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøøø ø
when your teacher wished to teach them the salvation of their soul
v-V-O ᐆ v-V-O
when they were begging you for my goods
V-O-v ᐆ v-V-O
V-v-O ᐆ v-V-O
V-v-O ᐆ ᐆ ᐆ pa he ongiten hæfde þæt … ‘when he had perceived that …’

VH have instances of five of the six theoretical combinations with the exception of V-O-v which is also absent in Davis’s corpus. The direct object precedes the whole of the complex verb phrase in clauses of instances and this is where all of the eleven light direct objects are found. Direct objects of medium or heavy weight are found in both preverbal and postverbal positions perhaps confirming that weight appears to have little influence on the positioning of the direct object. Davis though hasty generalizations are to be avoided in this small sample of clauses.

There is one instance with the accusative and infinitive construction which is Pa he þa, Crist, of þære rode geseah þa his modor þæræt standan & his þone leofan þegn. When He Christ saw from the cross His mother and His beloved disciple stand alongside Latin Cum uidisset ergo Iesus matrem et discipulum stantem quem diligebat where the heavy accusative is split into two Pa his modor … & his þone leofan þegn the first of which is placed between finite and non-finite verbs geseah … standan

The order of indirect object and simple verb

There are ten clauses with the two elements of which six have I-V and four
V-I Examples and figures are:

I V syðpan he him mildheortnesse earan ontynde when He revealed to them mercy of ears / Þonne … hie … & þam lac onsendan and when they offered them sacrifice / Þonne

I V þonne he him sylfum næf butan lytel to donne when he has nothing but little to give to himself / Þonne

V-I ac þa se ælmihtega dryhten afyrde him þæt unrihte wrigels of hyra heortan ‘but when the Almighty God took away from them the false covering from their hearts’ / Þonne

V-I þonne se man … & ne sylf Gode nanne wyrdment and when the man does not give God any honour / Latin dum et non Deo dat honorem / Latin

V-I þonne he andette fæder & suna & þam halgan gaste mid geleafan & mid hyhte & mid Godes lufan ‘when he confesses to the Father and the Son and to the Holy Ghost with faith and with hope and with the love of God’ / & swa oft swa ge hit syllad anum minum læstum and as often as you give it to one of my least great ones / Latin Qui dederit uni ex minimis istis

Five of the six pronominal indirect objects are placed preverbally I-V which does suggest the influence of weight ordering on these light elements / As regards indirect objects of medium or heavy weight three of the four are placed postverbally I-V the exception being I-V above

Cf Mc Cabe But when the Almighty God took away the false veil from their hearts’
ELEMENT ORDER IN *THE VERCELLI HOMILIES*

The order of indirect object and complex verb

Examples and figures are:

I -v-V þonne þin larew … & him wolde hira sawle hælo tæcean & and

when your teacher wished to teach them the salvation of their soul

I -v-V þonne þa he … & him þrymsetle on norðæle heofona rices getimbran

and when he wished to build for himself a throne in the northern region of the heavenly kingdom / þa he me reste geearnigan ne wolde

‘when he did not wish to earn rest for me’

I -v-v þa he … & him þrymsetle on norðæle heofona rices getimbran

and when he wished to build for himself a throne in the northern region of the heavenly kingdom / þa he me reste geearnigan ne wolde

‘when he did not wish to earn rest for me’

I -v-v þonne hie wæron þe biddende minra goda when they were

begging you for my goods

v-I -V þonne his miltse him onwreah and when He uncovered

v-I -V þonne

v-V-I

V-I-v

V-v-I

Of the total four examples three have the indirect object before the whole of the complex verb phrase I-v-V/I-V-v and the exception is above where a light indirect object is sandwiched between finite and non-finite verbs v-I -V

The order of direct and indirect objects

There are thirteen clauses which have two kinds of objects Examples and figures are:

O-I þydan he … & his miltse him onwreah & and when He uncovered
His mercy to them / swa oft swa … ge hit symle me syllad / as often as you always give it to me Latin mihi dedit /& us edhwyrft forgeaf to þam ecean life / and after He gave us a return to that eternal life / þonne se man … & ne sylld Gode nanne wyrdment / and when the man does not give God any honour / Latin dum et non Deo dat honorum /& European Homilies

The order I-O is predominant accounting for of instances All of the direct objects in this pattern are either of medium or heavy weight O-I As for the O-I pattern three examples two are listed above and the remaining example is & swa oft swa ge hit syllad anum minum læstum / and as often as you give it to one of my least great ones Latin Qui dederit uni ex minimis istis /& European Homilies

It is difficult to assess the role played by weight: certainly shows weight ordering O-I but a heavier direct object precedes a lighter indirect object in -I Rather more noticeable is the fact that all of the O-I examples are found in Homily X It might be relevant here to quote Scragg / and where he considers the provenance of this homily: The similarity of method in the use of three known sources argues for the whole homily as it survives having been composed by a single author probably in English rather than in Latin

The order of complement and simple verb

There are clauses which have the two elements Examples and figures are:

C C-V ær he od da hracan ful sie ‘before he is full up to the throat’ / þa hwile þe we her lifigende sien ‘while we are living here’ / þa hwile þe hie her on þysse worolde beod / while they are here in
ELEMENT ORDER IN THE VERCELLI HOMILIES

this world / & þa hwile þe hie on twam boid / and while they are in
two parts of the world

V-C & 4-C

V-C & 4-C & þa ic wæs unþrowendlic / and when I was incapable of
suffering / Latin cum essem inpassibili / And þonne sunne
wæs on setle / And when the sun was on the throne / Latin Nam cum sol
occiduis finibus uergeretur / while

V-C & 4-C Mitte þe hit þa wæs sio þridde tid þæs dæges / When it then was
the third time of the day / þa hwile þe he wære mid mannum / while
he was among men / then

The order C-V is found in two clauses and V-C in one clause. A clear
difference is observed between complements of medium and heavy weight: the former
tends towards the preverbal position / while the latter has a greater frequency of
postverbal positioning / In percentage terms / the postverbal ratio / V-C / increases
from medium to heavy weight / from

The order of complement and complex verb

VH have three clauses with complements and complex verb phrases / all of which
display the order C-V-v:

þa he hine sylfne his scyppende gelicne don wolde / when he wished to make
himself like his Creator / þa hwile þe we her beon moton / while we
may be here / ac donne he yrre geworden bid / but when He is
made angry /
Susumu Hiyama

The order of single adverbial and finite verb

The sample from *VH* consists of clauses. The distribution is shown below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>A-V</th>
<th>V-A</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A-V</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V-A</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examples are:

A ♛V  þonne hio biorhtust bid scinende  when it is shining brightest  when he behaved very haughtily
/  Pa he swidust ofermodgod  When he behaved very haughtily

A ♛V  þa hie ymb hine  Crist  spræcon  þeahtodon  when they spoke about and considered Him  Christ
/  Latin *Collegerunt ergo pontifices et Pharisaei concilium et dicebant*  when they spoke about

‘after the Lord was born at night’

A ♛V  þa hie hie to dam diofolgylde gebædon  ‘when they prayed to that idol’
/  ær þan þe he on þyne middangeard acenned wære  before He was brought forth in this world

V-A  ða … & ic þe wolde eft miltsian  and  when I afterwards wished to show mercy to you

V-A  & þonne þin larew com to him  ‘and when your teacher came to them’
/  & þa du ware of neorxawange ascofen  and when you were expelled from Paradise

V-A  þonne seo cæge fealled in da helle  when the key falls into hell  od he com to þam ilcan edle  until it came to that same homeland
The order A-V is predominant accounting for of instances. In addition of these clauses with A-V are verb-final. It may be generally observed that adverbials of light or medium weight usually precede the finite verb though this does not necessarily apply to heavy adverbials where the preverbal percentage falls to of.

The order of two adverbials and finite verb

Examples and figures are:

A-A-V (pa) hine God sylfa swa innan manode when God Himself so instructed him within / & pa sona swa pa menn pe … & ut on þære sæs dypan gesegled hæfdon and as soon as the men who … had sailed out upon the deep of the sea

A-V-A æfter þan þe he … & us þurh þæt generede of deofles þeowdome ‘and Æfter he through that saved us out of the devil’s subjection’ / þenden hie nu God wile in þas woruld lætan while God wishes to allow them to remain in this world

V-A-A Þa he fedde his lichoman orenlicost mid smeamettum When he fed his body with delicacies with great excess / þonne u sie cwylmed on þyssum middangearde on þinum untrymnesse when you are tormented in this world in your weakness

Of the possible three combinations VH seem to prefer to place two adverbials before the finite verb A-A-V; of or all of which are verb-final except for Pa he da, se eadiga wer, mid þære geætredan stræle gewundod was þas werigan gastes When he the blessed man was wounded with the poisoned arrow of the evil spirit Latin Interea cum telum toxicum atri ueneni suc
infunderet where the finite verb wæs is followed by the second part of the split adverbial mid þære geætredan stræle … þæs werigan gastes As for the consecutive ordering of two adverbials such instances account for of A-A-V and V-A-A of ðæs

The order of three or more adverbials and finite verb

Examples and figures are:

V-A-A-A ðenne þu bist on fæsten her on worulde astreaht and when you are prostrated in fasting here in the world Latin Nam cum in ieiunio prostratus iacueris

A-V-A-A þa he swiost swanc for me on þinum naman when he toiled hardest for me in your name / þænne we hyne mid his mægenþrymme cumendne gesiod in dam dome mid his englum when we observe Him coming with His retinue at the judgement with His angels

A-A-V-A þa he swidust odre men mid tesowordum tælde in his renceo ‘When he most strongly charged other men with calumny in his pride’ / & þa he da eft mynte mid his þegnum to his mynstre feran and when he intended to return to his monastery with his disciples Latin cum iam regredi ad monasterium cogitaret

A-A-A-V þonne hio æfre on midne dæg fægerost scined & biorhtost ‘when it shines ever most beautifully and brightest at midday’ / þæs þe he þæs þe he Guthlac þy gewunelican þeowdome wæccende þa niht in halegum gebedum wunode after he Guthlac remained watchful during the night in holy prayers according to the customary service Latin cum uir beatae memoriae Guthlac adsueto more uigil inintermissis orationibus cuiusdam noctis intempesto tempore perstaret
The most frequent patterns are A-V-A-A and A-A-A-V each accounting for \( \frac{3}{5} \) of instances. Four of the five A-A-A-V clauses are verb-final, the exception being above where the final position is taken by the second part of the split adverbial 

\( \text{fægerost} \ldots \text{& biorhtost} \). It should also be mentioned that adverbials form a cluster AAA in five of the six clauses with V-A-A/A-A-A-V. Included in the figures above are three clauses with four adverbials which are: A-A-V-A-A and \( \text{ælftone} \) above and A-A-A-V.

Clause patterns

Examples and figures are:

Verb-final

\( \text{Þa he þa Pilatus þas word gehyrde} \) When Pilate heard these words, \( \text{latin Cum ergo audisset Pilatus hunc sermonem} \), \( \text{\& eft hra e eal toglide and} \) when it afterwards quickly glides away.

Non-verb-final

\( \text{þonne hire weorc beo ealle þus asmeade} \) when her deeds are all thus examined, \( \text{\& se casere com to Rome mid sigefæste gefean} \) when the emperor came to Rome with triumphant joy and with bliss.

Of the total \( \frac{2}{5} \) clauses are verb-final and \( \frac{3}{5} \) non-verb-final. In the latter the final position is taken most frequently by adverbials of \( \frac{2}{5} \) of instances followed by direct objects and complements almost all of which are either of medium or heavy weight.
Susumu Hiyama

Impersonals

There are three clauses that contain impersonals which are:

Mitte þe hit þa þære eadegan tide nealæhte þætte … When it then drew near to the blessed time that … Þa ymb his gebyrd acweden wæron … when they were told of His birth … & þa wæs geworden in þa tid … and when it happened at that time

Summary

The subject almost always precedes the finite verb in both simple and complex verb phrases. The direct object tends to precede the finite verb though this tendency declines as it becomes heavier in weight. The same may be said as to the indirect object. When there are two kinds of objects in one clause the indirect object usually precedes the direct object regardless of weight. Complements are placed preverbally more often than postverbally. Single adverbials tend to be placed relative to the verb in accordance with their weight. Davis grouped ones such as … and to þon þætte, swa þæt, swa … þæt, and by læs þe which does not apply to clauses with two or more adverbials where more freedom seems to be granted to them.

Clauses of Consequence

The sample from VH consists of clauses. This section combines the analysis of two types of adverbial clauses: clauses of purpose and clauses of result. The reasons for this treatment are clearly laid out by Mitchell in OES §§ which I adopt here. I also follow Davis in using the term ‘clauses of consequence’ for this category. As for the conjunctions VH use the following: þæt Including grouped ones such as to þon þæt þætte, swa þæt, swa … þæt, and by læs þe
ELEMENT ORDER IN THE VERCELLI HOMILIES

The order of subject and simple verb

The sample from VH consists of clauses. The distribution is illustrated below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>S-V</th>
<th>S-S</th>
<th>S-S</th>
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<td>6</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>V-S</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examples are:

S-V ṭæt hie ṭ hace ricenur swulten so that they would die the sooner / to ṭan hie ṭæt we sien gastlice gebroðor an fulfremedre sodelufan æfter Gode ‘that we would be spiritual brothers in perfect love according to God’ Latin ut fratres simus spiritualiter in caritate perfecta secundum Deum S-V ṭæt men wæpn ne wægon ñ that men did not carry weapons / ṭby læs us deoflo æfter urum fordside ongean wurpon lest the devils throw something against us after our death S-V ṭby læs his yrre & deædes frecnes ofer us cume lest his anger and the danger of death would come over to us Latin nisi cautius fecerimus omnes V-S ñ that Godes mægen on us geardige so that the strength of God may abide in us Latin ut in nobis habitet Dei uirtus V-S ñ that no betere nis ñ da oferfylle ‘so that it is no better the gluttony’ V-S ñ pætte ne wæs ænig man to ṭæs untrum ñ that ñhere ñwas no man so sick Latin ut nullus fere ad eum aegrotus Accesserit
The order S-V is shared by an overwhelming majority -'.$øîûù agree or -'.$øîûù. If we turn to the two exceptions -'.$øîûù all listed above -'.$øîûù the subject *da oferfylle* is added as if it were an afterthought in -'.$øîûù. It is harder to explain the subject in the other example -'.$øîûù. Presumably -'.$øîûù the Old English writer followed the element order in the Latin phrase while expanding it into a clause -'.$øîûù.

The order of subject and complex verb

Examples and figures are:

S V-V -'.$øîûù -'.$øîûù  that we may not be afterwards pushed down into the torment of hell -'.$øîûù -'.$øîûù  that he may come to the truth -'.$øîûù. Presumably -'.$øîûù the Old English writer followed the element order in the Latin phrase while expanding it into a clause -'.$øîûù.

S V-V -'.$øîûù -'.$øîûù  that the prophecy should be fulfilled -'.$øîûù Latin *ut scriptura impleatur* -'.$øîûù Latin *ut araneae intexant in eis* -'.$øîûù

S V-V -'.$øîûù -'.$øîûù  that earthly men may become divinely beautiful -'.$øîûù Latin *dilaceratis membrorum conpaginibus trahebant* -'.$øîûù

S V-V -'.$øîûù -'.$øîûù  that we may know and understand more easily by that -'.$øîûù Latin *et tollentur* -'.$øîûù

- - -
S  V-v  þæt nænige men mid wæpnum gefeohran ne meahton so that no men might fight with weapons  / þæt heora nænig him widstandan meahte ne ne dorste ‘that none of them were able or dared to oppose him’

Latin ne episcopo repugnarent  S  V-v  þæt

v-S  V  þæt

v-S  V  þæt þær wære Crist acenned so that Christ would be born there  Latin Qui bene etiam in Bethlehem nascitur  S  V-v  þæt  ðæ be us sie rihtlice þæt word gecweden so that the statement would be properly made about us  S  V-v  þæt

V-S-v  þæt

v-V-S  þæt

V-v-S  V-v-S  þæt

V-v-S  V-v-S  þætte gewritten wære eall ymbhwyrft middangeardes so that all the extent of this world was written  Latin ut describeretur uniuersus orbis  S  V-v-S  þæt

The subject precedes the whole of the complex verb phrase in clauses of instances In the three exceptions all listed above two have the subject of medium weight sandwiched by finite and non-finite verbs  V-v-S  V-;  and the other has the heavy subject after the whole of the complex verb phrase  V-v-S  þæt probably in imitation of the Latin  }
The order of direct object and simple verb

*VH* have clauses with the two elements. The distribution is shown below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>O-V</th>
<th>O-O</th>
<th>O-D</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>O-V</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V-O</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examples are:

O-V þe læs him gefea aspringe lest joy fail him / to þan þæt ic hie gefylde & getrymede in order that I would fill and strengthen it / Latin *sed adimplere*

V-O æt ge ne do eowru weorc so that you do not do your deed / þæt man cwelmed þa maeran so that one will torture the famous

- licos -
In the total instances the direct object precedes the verb. Preference for this preverbal position is most pronounced with the light direct object, none of which is placed postverbally. As the direct object becomes heavier, the postverbal percentage increases: from none to in those of medium weight to in those of heavy weight.

The order of direct object and complex verb

Examples and figures are:

O v-V þæt hine þonne mæge fram dryhtnes lufan adon so that it may then remove him from the love of the Lord / þæt hie hyt sceolon healice healdan that they must observe it in high esteem

O v-V þæt hio þæt cild meahte onasettan so that she might sit the child

O v-V þæt we … & us beforan halige lara gehyrdon rædan and that we heard read before us holy teachings

O V-v þæt hie sculon … & him þiniende bion and so that they shall be serving them / þæt he us gesion wille so that he will see us

O V-v þæt hie þæt modor geseon ne woldon so that they would not see the mother / þæt he Gode aht syllan wolde of his gestreonum so that he would give God anything from his treasures

O V-v þæt he næfre nænigum woruldricum men ne cyninge sylfum þurh lease olihtunge swidor onbugan wolde ‘that he would never bow down to any powerful man or to the king himself through false flattery more excessively’
v-O -V þæt hie woldon þine domas gehyran so that they wished to hear your judgements / þæt manna gehwylc mæg diofol oferswidan so that every man may conquer the devil / both the humble and the powerful

v-O -V þæt ic wolde sode gewinnesse secgan so that I would give true testimony / Latin *ut testimonium perhibeam ueritati* / þæte hie sculon þam sodfæstum sauulum onfon so that they shall receive the faithful souls

v-V-O ðætte hælisse heælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hælode hae

The direct object comes after the finite verb in clauses accounting for instances. This O-v order is almost exclusive to those of medium or heavy weight; the only exception being above where a pronominal direct object *hie* is placed after the whole of the complex verb phrase. Förster comments on this passage as: ‘Das eine der beiden *hie* ist zu streichen; in W fehlt das erste’ The passage would be perfectly understandable and even clearer if we delete ‘*streichen*’ the second *hie*. Although this decision would be counter to the evi-
dence in MS W. As for the instances with preverbal direct objects, two-thirds of them have pronominal direct objects and the rest of the clauses contain direct objects of either medium or heavy weight. All of these seven examples are listed above except for the following:

\[
\text{þæt we ure lif mid so e & mid rihte lifigan moton & magon & cunnan}
\]

so that we may live our lives truly and properly and so that they might both give garment to the beggar and ... Latin \text{uestire pauperem ... potuissent ... It may be presumed that they exhibit the triumph of verb-final tendency over weight ordering of direct objects.}

There are two clauses that contain the accusative and infinitive construction. The accusative and the direct object form a cluster in both clauses. They differ, however, in the relative position of this cluster to the verb phrase: the cluster follows the whole of the complex verb phrase in the above clause while it is sandwiched between finite and non-finite verbs in the following:

\[
\text{þæt we ne læten þas hwilendlican þing & þas feallendlican þysse worulde ure mod beswican þurh deofles facen & his leasunga 'and in order that we would not allow these transitory and perishable things of this world to deceive our mind through the devil’s treachery and his deceits.}
\]

The order of indirect object and simple verb

The two elements occur in eleven examples all of which have the order I-V. Nine of the indirect objects are of light weight, two are of medium weight, and there are no instances of those of heavy weight. Examples are:

\[
\text{Clark Hall has to be led astray wander err for dwellan.}
\]
I-V þæt læs him þæt yrre God witnie lest the angry God punish him for that þæt he him langes lifes wene þæt he would anticipate a long life for himself

I-V þæt du din lac & þine onsægdnesse God agife in order that you may give your offering and your sacrifice to God Latin *offers munus tuum* / þæt hie hine Gode agefon in order that they would give Him to God Latin *ut sisterent eum domino* SA *uiberen dominum*

The order of indirect object and complex verb

There are five clauses in *VH* The indirect object precedes the whole of the complex verb phrase in two both I-V-v and is placed between finite and non-finite verbs in three All v-I-V All examples are:

I-V-v þæt he Gode aht syllan wolde of his gestreonum so that he would give God anything from his treasures Latin *uestire pauperem* … *potuissent* SA *vestire paupertatem*…

v-I-V þæt ic nære Iudeum seald ‘so that I would not be given to the Jews’ Latin *ut non traderer Iudaeis* / þæt hi moston him feorg forgifan so that they might give him life Latin *festinemus*…

Davis observes that the indirect object shows considerable flexibility in its position after finding instances of four of the six possible combinations Although *VH* are less varied than the texts of Ælfric where two additional patterns I-v-V and v-V-I are attested this comment seems to apply here since it is
otherwise difficult to explain why those of medium weight are placed ahead of the verb phrase in the two instances of I-V-v and those of light weight are placed between finite and non-finite verbs in two of the three instances of v-I-V.

The order of direct and indirect objects

*VH* have fifteen clauses with the two kinds of objects of which twelve show the I-O order. Examples are:

\[ \text{\textasciitildeæt} \text{ he us forgife wundoreardunge on heofona rice so that He would give us a marvellous habitation in the kingdom of heaven / \text{\textasciitildeæt} \text{ he us ura synna forgyfenessa do \textasciitildeæt} \text{ he us forgife wundoreardunge on heofona rice so that He would give us a marvellous habitation in the kingdom of heaven}} \]

There are three clauses with the O-I order. All examples are:

\[ \text{\textasciitildeæt} \text{ du hit sceoldest þearfum dælan in order that you were obliged to share it with the needy /} \text{Latin ut haber
e, pauperi non dedi / \text{\textasciitildeæt} \text{ du hit sceoldest þearfum dælan in order that you were obliged to share it with the needy}} \]

Pronominal direct objects precede indirect objects of medium weight in and however the opposite is the case: a direct object of heavy weight precedes an indirect object of medium weight. This may be partly explained by the preceding context where the collocation *hun...pin lac* is used repeatedly as in *gif du pin lac to dam wiofode bringe* if you bring
your offering to the altar  Latin *Si offers munus tuum ad altare*  and *forlæt þær pin lac beforan þam wiofode* leave you there your offering before the altar  Latin *relinquie ibi munus tuum ante altare*

The order of complement and simple verb

Examples and figures are:

* C-V ðæc
  C-V þæc þy læs … he eow slepende gemete ‘lest he find you sleeping’  Latin *ne quum uenerit quinveniat uos dormientes* / þæt we næfre eft cwice sien  so that we may never again be alive
  C-V þæc þæt we þe selran syn  so that we would be the better / þæt we þurh æt þæs wyrde syn ‘so that we may be worthy of that through it’
  V-C  ðæc
  V-C ðæc þæt he wæs tribunus that he became a tribune  Latin *post tribunus militum fuit* / þæt sume he feollon deade ofer þæs deadan byrgenne ‘that some of them fell dead over the grave of the dead’
  V-C  ðæc þæt he were sancta Marian frumbearn  so that He would be the first born of Saint Mary  Latin *et peperit filium suum primogenitum* / þæt minum gaste sie to drihtne weg  so that my spirit would be on the way to the Lord  Latin *ut suo iam itinere iturus ad dominum spiritus dirigatur*  

Of the total  clauses with the two elements in *VH*  show the C-V order and  V-C  Weight of complements does not seem to play an active role in
their positioning which is most evident in the instances with heavy complements \( C \) \( V \) and \( V-C \) where there is a fifty-fifty chance of preverbal and postverbal placement.

The order of complement and complex verb

There are five clauses in \( VH \) and the complement follows the finite verb \( v-C \) in all of them. In two instances the complement both of heavy weight are placed between finite and non-finite verbs \( v-C-V \).

\( þæt \) we þænne ne durfon mid dioflum & mid þam synfullum mannum bion so that we then need not be among devils and the sinful men \( þæt hie a sieddan meahton þurh gastlice halgunge mancynn Gode sylfum to bearnum gewyrcan so that they ever afterwards through that spiritual consecration could make mankind children of God Himself.

In the remaining three instances the complement two of medium weight and one of heavy weight follows the whole of the complex verb phrase \( v-V-C \).

\( þæt \) eordunci̊dle men magon gewiordan hiofonwlitige so that earthly men may become divinely beautiful \( þæt \) he mæge beon þys mergenlican dæge æt þære halgan dryhtnes upastignestide clæne æt dryhtnes wiofode ‘so that he may be tomorrow on the holy Lord’s Ascension Day clean at the Lord’s altar’ \( þæt ic moste bion þin gewitenra sawla andfeng so that I might be the receiver of your departed soul.’
The order of single adverbial and finite verb

There are clauses containing the two elements. Their distribution is presented in the table below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>A-V</th>
<th>V-A</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A-V</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V-A</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

$\chi^2$ with $\nu$ degrees of freedom

Examples are:

A -V  þæt we æfre forscamien so that we would be ever ashamed /  þæt we æfre þis sceoldon gebidan so that we ever must endure this /

V-A  þæt we ne þurfon eft wepan þone ungeendodan wop so that we need not afterwards weep the unending weeping / swa … þæt he wat lyt hwæt … ðo so … that he knows little what …

V-A  þæt he … & beorhtap swa sunna and þo that he ðæs shines like the sun / þæt he mæge to sodfæstnesse becumæ so that he may come to the truth
ELEMENT ORDER IN THE VERCELLI HOMILIES

V-A □ þe læs ... sio idle blis þysse worlde ... □ & acyrre fram þam godcundan rihte □ and □est the empty merriment of this world □ should turn □ur minds □ away from divine truth □ Latin ne uana menti laetitia subrepat □M ðe sæt raet / þæt he nawiht ne onbyrigde buton berene hlaf and wæter □ that he would taste nothing except for bread made of barley and water □ Latin excepta ordeacei panis particula et lutulentae aquae pocolamento post solis occasum, nullius alicuius alimenti usibus uesceretur □ ðætinæ

Of the total instances □ □ □ have the order A-V □ and □ □ □ □ V-A □ It may be generally observed that light adverbials tend toward the preverbal position and the heavier ones toward the postverbal position □

The order of two adverbials and finite verb

Examples and figures are:

A-A-V □□□ □æt he symle on us þurhwunige □ so that He always remains in us □ Latin ut ipse semper in nobis perseveret □S □□□ □py læs hit eft in forwyrd forlæde □ lest it afterwards seduce □us □ into destruction □ ðætinæ
A-V-A □□□ □æt we in ecnesse lyfiad & blissiad □ in dam rice □ so that we live in eternity and rejoice in that kingdom □ ðætinæ / □æt he ðær wolde beon gefulwad fram him □ so that He would be baptized by him there □ Latin ut baptizaretur ab eo □S □□□
V-A-A □□□ □æt we astigan fram eordan to heofonum □ so that we will ascend from earth to heaven □ ðætinæ / swa □æt □æt scip ne mihte naþer ne ford swymman ne underbæc □ so that the ship could neither sail forwards nor backwards □ Latin ita ut ipsa nauis nec ante nec retro □S □□□
The A-A-V pattern has examples accounting for \( \frac{3}{4} \) of the total instances of the pattern. It is striking that all of these A-A-V examples are verb-final. Two adverbials are placed side by side AA in \( \frac{1}{4} \) instances which accounts for \( \frac{1}{2} \) of the instances with either A-A-V or V-A-A.

The order of three or more adverbials and finite verb:

Examples and figures are:

V-A-A-A ⁹⁷æt he mæge beon þys morgenlican dæge æt þære halgan dryhtnes upastignestide clæne æt dryhtnes wiofode ⁷ so that he may be tomorrow on the holy Lord’s Ascension Day clean at the Lord’s altar / þæt we syn þe beteran & þe selran for bæm lifum ⁷ in ealra worulda world to widan feore ⁷ mid fæder & mid suna & mid þam halgan gaste in ecnesse ‘that we may be the better and the sounder during both lives in the world of all worlds forever with the Father and with the Son and with the Holy Ghost in eternity’.

A-V-A-A ⁹⁷æt us man to earfednessum gedoo her on worulde ⁷ so that for the hardships here in the world one will grant us ⁷ the Lord’s love ⁷ in ealra worulda world / þæt we nu lifia to lange on swylcum ege ⁷ that we now live too long in such fear ⁷

A-A-V-A ⁹⁷æt he hine for þan to þan gegearwode butan ænigre ablinnednesse ⁷ in order that he would therefore prepare himself for it without any cease ⁷ in ealra worulda / swa þæt se cyng þære ceasterware mid hire on God gelyfde on eallre heortan ⁷ so that the king of the citizens believed with them in God in all heart ⁷ Latin ut ipse rex, una cum exercitu suo, in Deum caeli toto crederet corde ⁷

A-A-A-V ⁹⁷æt we næfre eft cwice arisan ⁷ so that we may never again arise
alive / the læs us ahwæne God for urum yfelum geearnigum ure eordan wæstmas fram afyrre lest God take away from us the fruits of our earth at any time on account of our wicked deserts

_VH_ display a range of adverbial positions. Davis' _Generalizations_ seem to be best avoided concerning this small sample except to point out that: all of the three A-A-A-V instances are verb-final; and sequential ordering of three or more adverbials is found in three clauses of the instances with V-A-A-A or A-A-A-V. Included in the figures above are two clauses with four or more adverbials which are: V-A-A-A-A-A above and A-V-A-A-A above.

Clause patterns

Examples and figures are:

Verb-final þæt eall helle mægen on his wylme for þæs fyres hæto forweorđed so that all the troop of hell for the heat of the fire will perish in his flame / þæt we hie þurh þæs geearnian magon so that we may earn it through them

Non-verb-final þæt he ne scyle his unwillan alætan his æhta so that he must not relinquish his possessions against his will / þæt we … & ma þencen symle be þam toweardan life þonne be þyssum þat we may always think more about the approaching life than about this Latin _amplius de futuro quam de praesenti saeculo cogitemus_.

There are verb-final clauses accounting for of instances. In non-verb-final clauses the final position is taken most often by adverbials of instances.
followed by direct objects and complements. All of these clause-final non-verbal elements are of medium or heavy weight except for the following two instances with light adverbials in final position:

\[ \text{æt} \ \text{heora nan ætstod furðan} \text{behindan} \text{so that none of them remained behind} \ / \text{swa} \ \text{æt} \ \text{æt} \ \text{scip ne mihte naþer ne ford swymman ne underbæc} \text{so that the ship could neither sail forwards nor backwards} \]

\[ \text{Latin} \ \text{ita ut ipsa nauis nec ante nec retro} \]

In the position of *behindan* may have something to do with its close association with *ætstod* ‘remained behind’ In the heavy adverbial is split into two *ne forþ* … *ne underbæc* of which the second part is placed in final position.

**Impersonals**

There are four clauses that contain impersonal expressions all of which are placed in medial position as in

\[ \text{dy læs æt} \ \text{wære æt} \text{…} \text{lest it be that …} \text{and æt} \ \text{Æt hit þuhte æt} \text{…} \text{that it seemed that …} \text{The experiencer precedes the impersonal in æt} \ \text{æt} \text{pone lichoman lyste þære sawle worcum fulgan} \text{so that} \]

\[ \text{It pleases the body to fulfil the deeds of the soul} \text{but the reverse order is found in æt} \ \text{æt} \text{nu nis nænegum men þearf þæt} \text{…} \text{that there is no need now for any men that …} \text{In all but one instance} \text{above the final position is taken by æt} \text{clause} \]

\[ \text{This is part of the phrase} \text{heora nan … furðan} \text{‘not even one of them’ and as such is not counted as part of the final element here} \]
ELEMENT ORDER IN THE VERCELLI HOMILIES

Summary

The subject almost always precedes the finite verb and also the non-finite verb in complex verb phrases. The direct object appears either before or after the finite verb though those of heavy weight clearly prefer the postverbal position. The indirect object always precedes the finite verb in simple verb phrases but this is not the case with complex verb phrases where there are also instances of postverbal indirect objects. In clauses with two kinds of objects the order I-O is standard. The complement always precedes the finite verb in complex verb phrases but it may come either before or after the finite verb in simple verb phrases. Adverbials are placed in a variety of positions within the clause perhaps defying the well-known verb-final tendency. However, it should be mentioned that the verb-final ratio is extremely high in clauses with preverbal adverbials A-V A-A-V and A-A-A-V.

Clauses of Cause

The sample from VH consists of clauses. As Mitchell & Robinson observe, the main causal conjunctions are the for formulae and hæs. py and hy pe are sometimes found in VH have examples of all of these conjunctions except for pe; in addition I have found causal clauses introduced by swa and to hæfde because it earlier had bound the dead in it. Editors are not in agreement concerning its treatment Szarmach retains the MS & and translates the passage as because she previously bound dead ones and held them in her.
Susumu Hiyama

On the other hand Scragg's decision to ignore this MS & see above creates a rare construction V-A-v which is unattested in VH except for VAsv where a pronominal subject follows an adverbial. Thus the linguistic evidence in VH runs counter to Scragg's decision. Yet I am unable to offer a convincing explanation to retain the Tironian sign here. Hence my decision to exclude this passage from analysis.

The order of subject and simple verb

There are clauses in this category. The distribution is presented below in tabular form:

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<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>S</th>
<th>S</th>
<th>S</th>
<th>Total</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>S-V</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>V-S</td>
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<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Examples are:

S VV for þan þe hie on sorge & on earfednessum þrowigap ‘because they suffer in sorrow and in distress’ / for þan þe … & hie oft badiad ‘and because they often bath’

S VV for þan þe cild sweltad & unmagan ‘because children and orphans die’ / for þan his eagan offer eall gesioð ‘for His eyes watch over all’

---

See Hiyama -

- -
S → V Swa manige stræla syndon Since there are many arrows / for dan þe his rices & his mihta næfre ænig ende cymed because never will any end come to His kingdom and His powers V → S

V → S For dan nis næneg to þam rice her on middangearde For no one is so powerful here in this world / for þan þe leoht sint þin bebodu ofer eordan because your commands are the light across the earth Latin quia lux precepta tua sunt super terram S → V → S

V → S for dam þær is sar butan frofre because there is pain without consolation / for dan þe ne bid næneges wiorces fyrst ne næneg riht ne næneg wisdom mid helwarum for þhere þe will be a time of no deed no truth and no wisdom among the inhabitants of Hell Latin quia nec opus, nec ratio, nec sapientia, nec scientia erunt apud inferos S → V → S

The order S-V is predominant representing of instances It is noteworthy that there are no instances of light subjects among the examples with the V-S pattern which overtakes the S-V pattern when the subject is of heavy weight accounting for of the clauses with S → V of S of It may also be added that VH alone have more instances of V-S than CH and SH combined - according to Davis VH alone have more instances of V-S than CH and SH combined - according to Davis the former has four and the latter six This may be in part due to my treatment of examples with þær as in þær for dan … & þær bid granung & geomrung & micel wroht and because there is groaning and lamentation and much dispute where I interpret þær as a complement I e C-V-S rather than an expletive subject There are ten other instances which are similarly interpreted and included among the V-S examples in total
The order of subject and complex verb

Examples and figures are:

S ːv-V ːfor þam þe … & mid wisdomes cræfte sio sibb wæs geseted geond ealne middangeard & and ːbecause ᵃ with the skill of wisdom ᵃ that peace was established throughout the whole world ᵃ ːbecause ᵃ because he will be tormented in eternity ːbecause ːfor dan de eowre naman synt awritene on heofonum ːbecause your names are written in heaven ːLatin quod nomina uestra scripta sunt in caelis ːfor dam men sculon þurh a godcundan lare becuman to life ³because men must enter into life through the divine teaching’ ːbecause ːfor þan þæs huses hrof bi gehnæged ³because the roof of the house is bent down ³because ³because all created things were created and made through Him ³because ːfor þan … & ealle gesceafta wæron þurh hine gesceapene & geworhte ³and ³because ³all created things were created and made through Him ³because ːfor þan þæs þe he heora saulum to hæle & to rede gewinnan mihte ³because he was able to win their souls for salvation and benefit’ ³because ³because it was made from it ³because ːfor þan ne mæg se lichama nanwiht don ³Because the body and on other Latin S ːNihil potest caro facere ːfor þan ne bio eowre tearas & eowre hreowsunga for noht
getealde on þære toweardan worulde because your weeping and your repentance are considered as nothing in the approaching world / for dan hine ne mæg næning man forflion because no man may escape from it /

v-V-S ฉะ เฉพาะ

v-V-S ฉะ เฉพาะ for þan þe on hire wæs acenned lifes hlaf because in it was brought forth the bread of life Latin in quo dominus nascetur / for dan … ne him ne bid læten gold ne seolfor nor because will gold or silver be allowed to him /

V-S-v เฉพาะ

V-v-S เฉพาะ

Most of the subjects are placed before the whole of the complex verb phrase of or cf Davis The remaining seven clauses contain the subject preceded by the finite and non-finite verb and they are all introduced by the for formulae There are some points worth mentioning concerning these v-V-S examples Six are listed above and see below for The clause-initial for formulae are followed by finite verbs v or ne + v in four clauses and by some element other than the verb or the subject in three Davis notes that ‘the placing of an element other than the subject before the verb has promoted inversion’ which seems to apply to the latter three clauses It should be added that the Latin element order is followed in two v-S-V examples: for þan þe eow todæg is hælend acenned … on Dauides ceastre because for you the Saviour was brought forth today in the city of David Latin quia natus est uobis Hodie salvator … in ciuitate Dauid

The order of direct object and simple verb

VH have clauses that contain the two elements The distribution is shown below:
Examples are:

O →V for þam þe sio andetnes þe gehæled ‘because the confession heals you’
Latin Confessio enim sanat / For þy he … & hine mid getrywre & mildre & earmfulre & eadmodre heortan ingeþancum lufode … and because he … loved Him wholeheartedly with a true and lowly and humble and obedient heart …
O →V nu we þam oðrum ne gelyfaþ ‘because we do not believe others’
V →O for þan þe hie … & noht hefies ne wyrceþ & and because they … do nothing heavy … / for þan ealle þa gedwæledan sawla he todæled ‘because He will divide all those strayed souls’
O →V nu we þam oðrum ne gelyfaþ ‘because we do not believe others’
V →O for þan þe hie … & noht hefies ne wyrceþ & and because they … do nothing heavy … / for þan ealle þa gedwæledan sawla he todæled ‘because He will divide all those strayed souls’

The order V-O represents of instances of It is noteworthy that there are no instances of light direct objects \[V-O\] with this pattern. The influence of

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weight ordering is most evident in heavy direct objects whose preference for the postverbal position is indicated by the examples that account for of the clauses with O-V of. Yet the presence of O-V examples also warns us that this influence should not be emphasized too much.

The order of direct object and complex verb

Examples and figures are:

The order of direct object and complex verb

(weight ordering is most evident in heavy direct objects whose preference for the postverbal position is indicated by the examples that account for of the clauses with O-V of. Yet the presence of O-V examples also warns us that this influence should not be emphasized too much.)
would not atone for their sins / for dan þe hie ær noldan hyra synna betan ∵ because they had been unwilling to atone for their sins
v-O Ṽ ƺ for þan þu me noldest nanne þanc don minra goda ∵ because you did not wish to give me any thanks for my goods / & þæt he wolde mancynne þurh nine sylfne eallre sodfæstnesse bysene onstellan ∵ and because he wished to establish all truth for mankind as an example through Him
v-V-O ∵ ∷ for dan he ne bid gelustfullod metes ∵ because he will have desired no food ∵ ∷ ∵ 
v-V-O ∵ ∷ for þan þe sio sawl sceal nyde habban smittan þæs lichoman unþeawa ∵ because the soul shall necessarily have the pollution of the sins of the body ∵ ∷ ∵
V-v-O ∷ ∷ ∷ ∷ ∷
V-v-O ∷ ∷ ∷ for þan hie forlætan sceolon hira blissa ∵ because they must give up their pleasures ∷ ∷ ∷ ∷ ∷
V-O-v ∷ ∷ ∷

Five of the six theoretical patterns are found in this small sample ∷ It may be generally observed that a stronger preference for postverbal placement is seen as the direct object becomes heavier in weight: the ratio of postverbal position is ∷ ∷ with O ∷ ∷ ∷ ∷ and ∷ ∷ with O ∷ ∷ on average ∷ ∷ ∷ ∷ It may also be mentioned that the direct object either immediately precedes or follows the non-finite verb ∷ ∷ ∷ ∷ in ∷ ∷ ∷ of the total ∷ ∷ instances as in ∷ ∷ ∷ hira synna betan ∷ ∷ ∷ nan god weorc wyrcean ∷ and ∷ ∷ nanne þanc don ∷ ∷ all listed above in full ∷ ∷ ∷

There are two clauses with the accusative and infinitive construction ∷ both of which have the accusative between the finite and non-finite verbs ∷ ∷ ∷ ∷ as in ∷ ∷ ∷ þæt he wolde mancynne bilhwit & eapmod geweorpan ∷ because He wished mankind to become pure and humble ∷ ∷ and ∷ ∷ ∷ for dan þe he wolde us to his
The order of indirect object and simple verb

This category is represented by ten clauses of which eight have I-V and two V-I.

Examples and figures are:

I-V: for don þe ic eow sece micelne gefean because I say to you great joy
for dan him sægde se halga gast þæt … because the Holy Ghost said to him that …

I-V: for þam þe … & he Gode ageaf þæs rihtan geleafan gafol in þam worde and because he gave God tribute of the true faith in the word

I-V: for þam þe … & he Gode ageaf þæs rihtan geleafan gafol in þam worde and because he gave God tribute of the true faith in the word

V-I: for þam þe … & sio andetnes syl forgifnesse þam synnum confessio for the confession gives forgiveness for the sins

V-I: for þam þe … & sio andetnes syl forgifnesse þam synnum confessio for the confession gives forgiveness for the sins

Light indirect objects always precede the simple verb while those of medium weight appear to tend toward the postverbal position though further generalization should better be avoided in the small sample - this treatment seems all the more appropriate particularly in view of the absence of the examples with heavy indirect objects.

The order of indirect object and complex verb

There are seven clauses which contain the indirect object and the complex verb phrase.
The complete set of examples and figures is:

I-v-V .Fragment for þan þe eow todæg is hælend acenned … on Dauides ceastre ‘because for you the Saviour was brought forth today in the city of David’ Latin *quia natus est uobis hodie saluator … in ciuitate Dauid* / Æfor dan … þe him ne bið læten gold ne seolfor nor  because ð will gold or silver be allowed to him / for þan þu me noldest nanne þanc don minra goda  because you did not wish to give me any thanks for my goods / Æ-ÆÆÆÆÆ

v-I-V .Fragment & þæt he wolde mancynne þurh hine sylfne eallre sodfaestnesse bysene onstellan and because he wished to establish all truth for mankind as an example through Him / ac þæt he wolde mid arfaestlice & mid mildheortlice mancynne heora synna forgifnesse syllan ‘but because He was willing to give mankind forgiveness for their sins with grace and mercy’ ÆÆÆÆÆÆ

v-V-I .Fragment for þam þe sio estfulnes þære wæccan is gehiwcudlucud eallum halgum  because the devotion to the watch is made familiar to all saints / Latin *quia uigiliarum deuotio familiare bonum est omnibus sanctis* / for þan he bið seald þonne dam redestan feondum  because he will be given then to those cruelllest enemies / ÆÆÆÆÆÆ

V-I-v .Fragment

V-v-I .Fragment

Although the sample is too small to draw any meaningful conclusions  it is of interest to note here the shifting positions of indirect objects according to weight: I-v-V three examples v-I-V two ÆÆ and v-V-I  two ÆÆ
ELEMENT ORDER IN THE VERCELLI HOMILIES

The order of direct and indirect objects

In VH there are thirteen clauses that have two kinds of objects of which ten have I-O and three O-I. Examples of I-O are:

For þan … & him mon þonne de þis gestreona þone wirsestan dæl ‘and because one then gives him the worst portion of his treasures’ / for þan þe he us ontynde heofona rices durh þurh his þa halgan acennesse ‘because He opened to us the door of the kingdom of heavens through His holy birth’

All examples of O-I are:

For þam þe … & sio andetnes syld forgifnesse þam synnum & and because the confession gives forgiveness for the sins Latin confessio ueniam peccatis donat / for þam dryhten gehet þone heofonlice beah þam waciendan because the Lord promised the heavenly crown to the watch Latin quia promisit dominus coronam uigilantibus / for þan þe … & hio swide mænige & mislice scealþe him onfeh & and because it takes into itself very many and various injuries

It may be generally observed that the indirect object usually precedes the direct object. Clearly weight plays some part in determining their relative positions: all of the direct objects of medium or heavy weight are placed after indirect objects with the exception of three O-I examples above. The two examples from Homily III and above are explainable in terms of Latin influence and this leaves us with only which might be dismissed by the dubious status of him - Förster writes that it is a later addition possibly by the scribe ‘ein Zusatz des Schreibers’.
The order of complement and simple verb

VH have clauses that contain the two elements The distribution is presented below in tabular form:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>C-V</th>
<th>C-C</th>
<th>C-D</th>
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<tr>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examples are:

C-V for dan þe … & we on syndon ‘and because we exist in Him’

C-V for dy þe him æfre ænig synn odde leahtor on him wære because there was not any sin or any fault in Him / for dam þe hie … & him sylfum þær rice mynton & because they considered themselves powerful there

C-V for þan he hie þa ealle idle & unnytte ongeat because he perceived them all to be empty and useless Latin ne ullus locus consentiendi illis in eo uideretur

V-C for

V-C for þan þeos woruld nis ece because this world is not eternal / for dan hiera miht is mid Gode mycelo because their strength is great with God

V-C for þan sio stow wæs wel neah Hierusalem þære byrig because the place was very near the city Jerusalem Latin quia prope ciuitatem erat locus

M þær rehte þære / for þam þe he wæs Dauides cynnes because he was of the
kin of David Latin *eo quod esset de domo et familia Dauid*

There appears to be an almost clear divide in the distribution of complements: those of light and medium weight are almost always placed preverbally while heavy complements are almost always placed postverbally. If we look at the atypical examples closely the following may be observed. In two of the three V-C examples the complement is placed next to an adverbial phrase to which it is closely connected in meaning possibly making this CA cluster ‘heavy’ in terms of weight as in the examples above and *for dam ... & he byd geelfremed fram middangerde* and because he will be alienated from the world. In the sole example where the heavy complement precedes the verb *C-V;* above it seems likely that the Old English writer vaguely followed the Latin element order in the process of paraphrasing into Old English.

The order of complement and complex verb

This category is represented by five clauses of which four have the pattern v-C-V and one v-V-C. The examples of v-C-V are:

- *for þan þe hie bio Godes bearn genemnde* because they shall be called the children of God
- *quoniam filii Dei uocabuntur* because he will be made spiritual
- *for dam ... & he byd gastlic geworden* and because he will be made spiritual

- *spiritalis efficitur*
The sole instance of v-V-C is:

for don þe Betlem is genenmed Domus panis ɐ Hlafes hus ɐ because Bethlehem
is named "Domus panis“ ɐ the house of the bread ɐ Latin Bethlehem quippe
’domus panis’ interpretatur ɐ S ɐ S S

It should be pointed out that the Latin element order is usually followed ɐ S S S S and ɐ S S S above ɐ with the exception of ɐ S S S above where the complement is
placed in final position presumably because of its ɐ S extremely ɐ heavy weight ɐ we
might note here that the Old English expands on the Latin phrase ɐ making it
‘heavier’ ɐ

The order of single adverbial and finite verb

In VH ɐ there are ɐ S S S clauses that contain the two elements ɐ The distribution is
illustrated in the following table:

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<th>A V</th>
<th>A A</th>
<th>A V</th>
<th>Total</th>
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<tr>
<td>A-V</td>
<td></td>
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<td>V-A</td>
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<td>Total</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

*= with degrees of freedom *

Examples are:

A V for þan þe ge eft heofad & wepad ɐ because you will lament and weep
afterwards ɐ ɐ Latin quia lugebitis et flebitis ɐ S S S S S S / swa þæt se deofol
a sætaþ ɐ because the devil always lies in wait ɐ ɐ Latin insidiantur incautis
The order V-A is found in clauses of instances and A-V in clauses of weight. However, this near fifty-fifty distribution belies the fact that weight ordering is indeed at work especially as the adverbial becomes heavier; for example, the percentage of postverbal adverbials rises from light to heavy. Also noteworthy is a strong verb-final tendency in the A-DV examples; in fact, all these clauses are verb-final, forming a contrast with the other A-V examples where the verb-final percentages are lower. The near fifty-fifty distribution belies the fact that weight ordering is indeed at work especially as the adverbial becomes heavier; for example, the percentage of postverbal adverbials rises from light to heavy. Also noteworthy is a strong verb-final tendency in the A-DV examples; in fact, all these clauses are verb-final, forming a contrast with the other A-V examples where the verb-final percentages are lower.
The order of two adverbials and finite verb

Examples and figures are:

A-A-V for þan he us swide to nealæced because he fiercely approaches us / for þan þæt of þe bid acenned therefore it will be brought forth from you Latin *ideoque et quod nascetur* S ideoque et quod nascetur

A-V-A for þan … þonne swyrce him fram þæs huses hrof because … then the roof of the building is obscured from him / for þan in da tid ealle men beod gehergode þurh ealle þeode because at that time all men will be taken captive throughout all nations Latin *Tunc captiuabuntur omnes homines per uniuersas gentes* S Tunc captiuabuntur omnes homines per uniuersas gentes

V-A-A for þan þe we ne bioð æfre idele godra weorca for Godes eagum ‘because we will never be empty of good deeds before the eyes of God’ Latin *Ante Dei namque oculos numquam est uacua manus a munere* S Ante Dei namque oculos numquam est uacua manus a munere / for þan þe he wæs of Godfæder acenned ær eallum gesceaftum sod God of sodum Gode & se ælmihtiga of ðam ælmihtigan because He was born of God the Father before all created things true God of true God and Almighty of the Almighty

Examples are almost evenly distributed between the three patterns It may be mentioned that all of the A-A-V examples are verb-final except for *for þan þe he in sybbe wel gesette middangeardes rice* because he established well the kingdom of this world in peace where the direct object of heavy weight is placed in final position
ELEMENT ORDER IN *THE VERCELLI HOMILIES*

The order of three or more adverbials and finite verb

Examples and figures are:

V-A-A-A  for þam þe Godes englas biod mid þam scyldum gewæpned to feohtanne wid þam awirgdum gastum because God’s angels are armed with the shields in order to fight against the accursed spirits / for þan he mot þær alybban on white & on wulдр & on wiordunge butan ælcre onwendednesse mid þara nigon endebyrdnessa engla & heahengla because he may always live there & in beauty and in glory and in honour without any change with the nine orders of those angels and archangels / for þan he mot

A-V-A-A  for þan þe … & eft þurh mildheortnesse & eadmodnesse hie wæron þanon alysde of diofles deowdome and because afterwards through mercy and humility they were released from there from the devil’s subjection / for dan þe … & þurh godra þeawas & bysna man wyrd oft Gode gestryned & and because through good customs and examples one often becomes augmented by God / for þan þe mancynn ærest þurh þa æfeste wæron on helle besencte ‘because mankind first through that envy was plunged into hell’ / for þan swiddor swa du þe her on worulde swencst & wecest to forgifenesse þinra gylta because the more you afflict and torment yourself for forgiveness of your sins here in this world / Latin *Quanto enim in hoc saeculo frangeris* / for þan he næfre eft to eordwelum ne gehwyrfed for he never again will turn to earthly possessions

The examples indicate the great flexibility of adverbial positioning / Davis Included in the figures above are two clauses with four adverbials which are

Clause patterns

Examples and figures are:

Verb-final  for þan þe Cristes þrowung & his lichamlic dead þam untrywan folse his þæra haligra to ecum goode gelamp because the suffering of Christ and His bodily death at the hands of the faithful people happened for the eternal good of His holy ones Latin quia Iesus moriturus erat pro gente / For dan þe … & heo in clænesse mægdhade a dūhwunode and because she always remained in pure virginity

Non-verb-final for dan þe þæt helle hus is mid swi e la licum gastum afylled because the hell-house is filled with very loathsome spirits / For dan he … ac hafa þa ecan genidrunge but because he has the eternal condemnation

Verb-final clauses represent of instances in VH which is higher than CH and SH and cf Davis In non-verb-final clauses the final position is taken most frequently by adverbials of instances followed by direct objects and complements

Impersonals

This clause category has eight instances with impersonals all of which are placed in medial position except for dan þe selre is þæt … ‘because it is better that …’ where the impersonal expression selre is immediately follows the introductory conjunction The final position is taken by a clause in six clauses as in by me
**Summary**

The subject usually precedes the simple verb and the whole of the complex verb phrase. Direct objects often follow the finite verb, though those of light weight almost always occur preverbally. Indirect objects on the other hand often precede the finite verb, and those of medium and heavy weight almost always occur postverbally. When there are two kinds of objects in a clause, the standard pattern is I-O. The positioning of complements is similar to that of direct objects - they are often placed postverbally, though those of light and medium weight are more likely to be preverbal. Regarding adverbials, the following observation by Davis applies to VH as well: 'The position of the adverbial is relatively free, though showing the influence of a tendency to place light adverbials preverbally and heavy adverbials post-verbally.'

**Clauses of Comparison**

VH have clauses that belong to this category. I have followed Mitchell in classifying the clauses. In the present corpus, swa including its combined forms such as efne swa and swa /.../ swa is used most frequently as the introductory conjunction.

**The order of subject and simple verb**

There are clauses in this category. The distribution is presented below in tabular form:
Examples are:

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<th>S-V</th>
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The subject always precedes the verb in all instances except for the two with V-S listed above. This might be rightly dismissed since the subject *se witega* is reconstructed by Scragg and Szarmach; it is likely that the subject is placed after the verb because of its weight. It is also possible that the writer avoided the awkward element order *da de ure lareowas & ure boceras waeran sægdon* where two finite verbs are placed next to
ELEMENT ORDER IN THE VERCELLI HOMILIES

each other though of course the writer could also alleviate the problem by placing
other elements like *us* and/or *oft* between these finite verbs.

The order of subject and complex verb

The sample in *VH* consists of clauses. Examples and figures are:

S *v*-V & & Swa mycle swidor swa we nu beod nætte on þyssum life. By so
much more as we now are afflicted in this life Latin *Quantum enim in hoc
saeculo … affligimur* / swylce he wäre þam sweartestum
wolcnum afyllde swidra genipa as if it were filled with the blackest clouds of
immense darkness Latin *fuscis atrarum nubium caliginibus nigrescere
idebatur* / & several

S *v*-V & &
S *v*-V & & swa swa da dæghwamlican synna ne biod wanigende and just
as those daily evils will not be diminishing Latin *Et quia non desunt
cottidiana peccata* / swa he sylfa þurh his gewyrhtum sie
gedemed & as he himself is judged through his deeds & &

S *V-v* & & swa hie nu her geearnod hæfdon ‘as they have now here earned’
/swa heo ær geearnod hæfde just as it earlier had earned & &
S *V-v* & & þonne se maga gemyltan mæge ‘than the stomach can digest’
/swylce hine man þærin scufan wolde ‘as if one would thrust him in
there’ & &
S *V-v* & & þonne ænig man atellan mæge than any man may count / eall swa he sylf beswicen wæs just as he himself had been deceived & &

v-S-V & &
v-V-S & &
V-S-v & &

- & &
V-v-S

VH instance two of the six possible patterns confirming Davis who writes that ‘the position of the subject before the whole of the complex verb appears as a rule’

The order of direct object and simple verb

VH have clauses that contain the two elements The distribution is shown below:

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<th>O-V</th>
<th>O-O</th>
<th>O-V</th>
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<td>V-O</td>
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</table>

Examples are:

O \( \overset{\text{V}}{\text{O}} \) swylce hyre se lichoma ær geworhte ‘just as the body made it before’

\( \text{Swa … God …} \) & on þam seofodan hine reste & and & just as God on the seventh \( \overset{\text{V}}{\text{O}} \) rested Himself \( \text{Latin } et \text{ septimo die requieuit} \) O \( \overset{\text{O}}{\text{V}} \) & efne on þa gelicnesse swa he þone deoful of stowa gehwylcre geflymde & and just as if he were putting the devil to flight from each of the places \( \text{Latin } eo \text{ nimirum circa aues illas usus imperio quo daemones fugare consueuerat} \) & than we love God’

\( \text{S Latin quam Deum diligere} \) & than we love God

O \( \overset{\text{O}}{\text{V}} \) þe man ænne prican aprycce on anum brede & than one pricks a prick on a tablet & gelice swa man mid wætere þone weallendan wylm agiote
‘just as one may put out the surging flame with water’

V-O ː διὰ

V-O ː swa ic hæbbe mihte ː as I have power ː Latin ː *et potestatem habeō*

S ː διὰ ὑφήσεως / & swa swa wæter adwæscit fyr ː and just as water quenches fire ː Latin ː *et sicut aqua extinguit ignem*

V-O ː swa swa þæt godspell cyð þætte ː ‘just as the gospel shows that …’

Latin ː *namque testatur aevangelium quia …*

et sicut aqua extinguit ignem

S / & swa ic hæbbe mihte as I have power Latin

V-O swa ic hæbbe mihte ː as I have power Latin

et potestatem habeō

At potestatem habeō

et sicut aqua extinguit ignem

et sicut aqua extinguit ignem

V-O ː swa ic hæbbe mihte ː as I have power Latin

et potestatem habeō

et sicut aqua extinguit ignem

et sicut aqua extinguit ignem

et sicut aqua extinguit ignem

et sicut aqua extinguit ignem

et sicut aqua extinguit ignem

et sicut aqua extinguit ignem

et sicut aqua extinguit ignem

et sicut aqua extinguit ignem

et sicut aqua extinguit ignem

The order O-V is predominant ː representing ː of instances ː The influence of weight is apparent in that light direct objects always precede the verb ː O-V ː while the percentage of postverbal placement slightly increases as the direct object becomes heavier ː from ː O-V ː of ː to ː O-V ː of ː

The order of direct object and complex verb

The sample from *VH* consists of ten clauses ː Examples and figures are:

O-v-V ː διὰ

O-V-v ː διὰ ὃπονε ἁνίγες μαννές μυδ ασεγκαν μᾶγε οὐδὲ κυννέ ː than any man’s mouth could say it ː or knew ː διὰ ὑφήσεως / ὃπονε ἁνιγες μαννες μυδ ασεγκαν μαγε ː than any man can say it ː διὰ ὑφήσεως

V-O-V ː διὰ ὃπονε ὁ κύριος αὐτόν μετά τὰ αὐτά ἁνίγι κανονήν ἀρχὴν ː than he must buy this freedom afterwards with bonds ː Latin ː *quam post uinacula libertatem quaerere*

S / διὰ ὑφήσεως / swa he geonor sceal Gode þeowgean ‘just as he must serve God more eagerly’

v-V-O ː διὰ swa we magon us geearnian her ː swa eces lifes swa eces deaþes ‘as we can earn for ourselves here ː either eternal life or eternal death’

- διὰ -
swa we ær gehyrdon secgan þæt ... ‘just as we before heard it said that ...’

V-v-O 
V-O-v 

The direct object precedes the finite verb and the non-finite in six instances where all of the direct objects are of light weight. In the remaining four examples we see an interesting shift of direct objects as they become heavier; thus those of medium weight are placed between finite and non-finite verbs v-O-V in two instances while those of heavy weight are placed after the whole of the complex verb v-V-O in the other two instances.

There are no instances of the accusative and infinitive construction in this clause category.

The order of indirect object and simple verb

This category is represented by thirteen clauses all of which have the indirect object before the simple verb I-V Examples and figures are:

I V swa him se engel bodude as the angel announced to him Latin
angelo ei annuntiante S wæs ðæs læðingum / swa he him gehet just as He promised them ðæs læðingum
I V swa swa he sylf his leorningsnihtum sæde just as he himself said to his disciples Latin sicut ipsa ueritas discipulis ait S wæs ðæs læðingum / swa he of gebendum bogan his costunge da earhwinnendan stræle on þam mode gefæstnode þæs Cristes cempan as if he fastened the arrow of despair to his temptation from a bended bow in the mind of the warrior of Christ Latin tum ueluti ab extenso arcu uenenifluam desperationis sagittam totis uiribus iaculuit
I -V swa we odrum mannum unnen as we wish well to other men’

If we concentrate on the three examples with indirect objects of medium or heavy weight the following may be observed: the two instances with I -V closely follow the Latin; and the sole instance with I -V could possibly be dismissed since as Scragg notes the syntax of this sentence is difficult and probably corrupt.

The order of indirect object and complex verb

This category is represented by three clauses of which two have the order I-V-v and one v-I-V. The sample is not large enough to draw reliable conclusions. All examples are given below:

I-V-v swa us dryhten beden hafa ‘as the Lord has commanded to us’ / swa swa hit mannum geseald is ægder ge godcundra þinga ge menniscra just as that was given to men both of divine and of corporeal things Latin prout homini datum est …

v-I-V swa we magon us geearnian her … swa ecces lifes swa eces deaþes as we can earn for ourselves here either eternal life or eternal death

The order of direct and indirect objects

In VH there are four clauses that have two kinds of objects of which three have I-O and one O-I. Examples are:

\[\text{Cf Szarmach’s note ‘nnen: apparently in the sense “wish well”}\]
O-I swa ic hy de sealde  as I gave them to you

I-O swa him Crist bebead þæt hie mancynn lærden  just as Christ commanded to them that they should teach mankind

his costunge da earhinnendan stræle on þæm mode gefæstnode þæs Cristes cempan  as if he fastened the arrow of despair to his temptation from a bended bow in the mind of the warrior of Christ Latin tum ueluti ab extenso arcu uenenifluam desperationis sagittam totis uiribus iaculuit

All of the three clauses with I-O contain direct objects of heavy weight that are placed after indirect objects of lighter weight I-O or I-O It seems difficult to explain the reason if any why the direct object precedes the indirect object both of light weight in above The passage appears in the following context: Agif me þine sawle swa clæne swa ic hy e sealde. Min feorh ic sealde for e. Agif me þæt þin lif Give me your souls as pure as I gave them to you My life I gave for you Give me that your life  Most striking here is the variety of element order patterns particularly the position of direct objects relative to the verb used in succession - the element order changes in the following manner: V-I-O S-O-I-V O-S-V-A V-I-O Thus the syntax of swa ic hy de sealde above may in part be explained in terms of stylistic variation

The order of complement and simple verb

This category is represented by eleven clauses of which six have the order V-C and five C-V All examples are:

C-V þonne hit rihte nære  than it was right þæs þe ure gemet sie 'as is proper to us' þonne hyt ænig gemet sie  than it would be only apt þæs þe ure gemet sie  on Godes unwillan sy  and þan he
would be in God's displeasure / Latin *quam infeliciter esse* / swa ic wyrde eom as I am worthy / Latin *eram dignus* / V-C efne swa hit were hundteontig punish just as it would be one hundred pounds in weight / Latin *quasi libras centum* / swa he were eordan lames odde heardes standynnes as if he were of earth-clay or of hard stone / Emne swa da þry deada syndon fyrenfulra Just as those three deaths are of the sinful / Emne swa da woruldgeneþingu biod maran Just as the secular powers are greater / Latin *Quanto maior honor* / swa swa ealle gesceafa þone hælend ongeatan on middangeard cumende just as all beings perceived the Saviour coming to this world / Emne swa eower fæder ys mildheort just as your Father is merciful / Latin *sicut et pater uester misericors est* / The complement is of either medium or heavy weight in both patterns which indicates that weight is not one of the factors determining the position of complements. Perhaps noteworthy is the concentration of the C-V examples in three homilies - Homily XVIII, XX and XXII though this may be simply a coincidence due to the small sample. The order of complement and complex verb

There are no instances belonging to this category. The order of single adverbial and finite verb

In *VH* there are clauses that contain the two elements. Taking weight into consideration the distribution is as follows:
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>A-V</th>
<th>A-ø</th>
<th>A-ø</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A-V</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V-A</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examples are:

A-V  swa ic ær sægde as I said before / swa se engel hire ær sægde just as the angel told her before

A-V  þy he aht feala to gode gedyde by that he might do anything much for good / þonne we ær þyssum dydon than we did before this

A-V  emne þon gelicost þe he to anum men sprece just as if He spoke to one man / kwa he … & þurh his agene dæde geearnad and as he earns through his own deeds

V-A  swa we magon us geearnian her … swa ecces lifes swa eces deaþes as we can earn for ourselves here either eternal life or eternal death

V-A  swa men sculon to hiera hlaforde as men should hold to their Lord / swa swide swa da bion dod to hira hife as much as bees do to their hive Latin quod uos uelut apes prudentissimas ad aluearium suum voluntariae

Of the total instances show the A-V order and the V-A The predominance of A-V is relevant to a strong verb-final tendency among these examples of which are verb-final All of the clauses with V-A contain adverbials of heavy weight with the exception of above where a light adverbial her follows both finite and non-finite verbs It may be of interest to mention here that
Fürsterprints this passage as *swa we magon us ge-earnian her pa hwile ... swa swa ecces lifes swa eces deapes* where he reads another adverbial after *her* which is in sharp contrast to Scragg who reads *pa hwile* as introducing another clause of time together with *be* immediately following it. *pa hwile* *be we on þysse worulde biod* ‘while we are in this world’ Förster’s reading would create the pattern V-A-A避免ing the V-A order which is otherwise unattested in *VH* and rare in *Ælfric* as well since Davis found only one such example. Here I prefer to consider Scragg’s reading as standard the collocation *pa hwile* *be* sounds only natural and list this passage as the sole example with the pattern V-A in clauses of comparison.

The order of two adverbials and finite verb

Examples and figures are:

\[ A-A-V \quad þonne hio æfre ær scine / swylye him hwa on worlde wid gewyrced / as anyone in the world works against him \]

\[ A-V-A \quad swa he him ær sæde be heofena rices wuldre / þonne he yfele lybbe mid synnum / than that he would live wickedly with sins / Latin *quam male uiuere* \]

\[ V-A-A \quad þænne he scyle æfter þam bendum þæs freodomes ceapian / than he must buy this freedom afterwards with bonds / Latin *quam post uinacula libertatem quaeere* \]

Of the total clauses thirteen have the order A-A-V seven A-V-A and one V-A-A. The verb-final tendency is strong among those with A-A-V.
representing 例子 of instances 例子 of 例子 Two adverbials are grouped together as a cluster in ten of the fourteen examples with A-A-V/V-A-A 例子 of instances with the two patterns 例子

The order of three or more adverbials and finite verb

This category is represented by four clauses 例子 The complete set of examples and figures is:

V-A-A-A 例子 þonne he scamige eft on domes dæge beforan Gode sylfum & beforan his englum & beforan eallum þam heofencundan weorode 例子 than he would afterwards feel shame on Judgement Day in the presence of God Himself 例子 His angels 例子 and all the heavenly host 例子

A-V-A-A 例子
A-A-V-A 例子
A-A-A-V 例子 swa he nu her on worulde geearnigan wile 例子 just as he now here in the world will earn 例子 / swa he ær her on worlde geearnad 例子 as he previously here in the world has earned 例子 / swa mycle mare swa man mare for his lufum to gode gede 例子 as much more as one acts more for good for His love 例子

It seems better not to use this small sample to claim the strong verb-final tendency as we saw in the previous two sections on adverbials 例子 Yet 例子 it may be worth mentioning that: all of the A-A-A-V examples are verb-final; and in the sole instance with V-A-A-A 例子 above 例子 the verb scamige 例子 which is absent - presumably omitted - in the Vercelli Codex 例子 is supplied by Scragg in this position based on the evidence from other manuscripts 例子
ELEMENT ORDER IN THE VERCELLI HOMILIES

Clause patterns

Examples and figures are:

Verb-final  swa we her nænig edel ne habbad ū just as if we have here no homeland Latin ac sic in hoc saeculo patriam non habemus efne in þam gelicnesse swa ða gesceaftra twa him betweonan feohtan sceoldon 'just as if the two creatures were to fight with each other’ Latin ut compugnantium inter se elementorum quidam conflictus uideretur Non-verb-final þonne we lufigen urne dryhten mid ealle mode & mid ealle mægene & & of eallum urum ingehiedum than we love our Lord with all ður ū mind and with all ður ū virtue and above all with all our understanding’ swylce he wære þam sweartestum wolcnum afylded swi ra genipa 'as if it were filled with the blackest clouds of immense darkness’ Latin fuscis atrarum nubium caliginibus nigrescere ñidebatur

The verb-final order accounts for of instances in VH In non-verb-final examples the final position is taken most frequently by adverbials followed by direct objects and complements all of which are of medium or heavy weight

Impersonals

There are ten clauses in this category of which five have the impersonal in final position as in swa us oft beboden is as is often commanded to us and swa him sylfum for Gode gebeorhlicost þince ‘as it seems to him the most fitting before God’ In the remaining five clauses the impersonal is placed in medial position as in swa hit awritten is in dryhtnes naman þæt just as it is written in the Lord’s name that Latin sicut scriptum est in lege domini quia
Susumu Hiyama

The subject almost always precedes the simple verb and it always precedes the whole of the complex verb. Direct objects usually precede the verb though they tend toward the postverbal position as they become heavier in weight. Indirect objects almost always precede the verb and they usually precede direct objects in clauses with two kinds of objects. The position of complements seems to be relatively free. Adverbials usually precede the verb though those of heavy weight tend toward the postverbal position.

Clauses of Concession

VH have clauses that belong to this clause category. All the examples have *peah* as the introductory conjunction where the prevailing mood is the subjunctive whether the concession is one of fact or hypothesis. I should like to remind the reader that one particular homily namely Homily IX is often referred to in the sections below; the homily alone has clauses of concession representing nearly a half of the total instances.

The order of subject and simple verb

There are clauses in this category. The distribution is presented below in tabular form:
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>S-V</th>
<th>S-V</th>
<th>S-V</th>
<th>Total</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>S-V</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V-S</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examples are:

S-V Peah … & we in wuldre scinan swide & and though we shine exceedingly in glory Latin Quamuis quis in saeculi gloria fulgeat M Quamuis quis in saeculi gloria fulgeat / þeah þe hie swigien & although they are silent & sigege 

S-V þeah þe hie swigien although they are silent

S-V Þeah hwa lifie her þusend geara & þusend þusend geara on þysse worulde ‘Though someone would live here a thousand of years & and a thousand thousand of years in this world’ / þeah se man astige ofer þone yfemystan dæl þæs hyhstan holtes & though the man may ascend above the highest part of the highest forest / ðæs

S-V Ond þeah ure hwylc wið oderne gegylte on worde odde on worce & and though any of us would sin against another in word or in deed & & / & þeah ðrii ðmen sien & and though there would be seven men & sigege 

V-S Þeah … & him þonne ne sie ofer eordan næning widerbreca & and though then there would be no opponent of him over the earth & & / Þeah þe in me þurhwunode idelnes & fyrenlust & Although idleness and wicked desire remained continuously within me Latin Si in me permansit uanitas & & sigege 

The pattern S-V prevails in VH accounting for of instances It seems significant that VH have three examples with V-S of which Davis has
found no examples in CH or SH. Two of the V-S instances are listed above and the remaining one is

\[ ðeah \ldots \& \text{him þonne sy singal sumor butan ælcre onwendednesse} \]
and though for him there would be continuous summer without any change where the postverbal position of the subject may be in part explicable in terms of its heavy weight. In addition the Latin is closely followed in and the two instances from Homily IX and are both existential sentences without expletive \( þæer \).

The order of subject and complex verb

Examples and figures are:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{S} & \ \text{v-V} & ðeah \ldots \& \text{he mote alybban butan sare} \& \text{he may live eternally without sorrow} / ðeah hio si utalædedu \& \text{though she would be led out} & \text{ Latin fatiscentes} & \text{Latin} \ \text{fatiscentes} \\
\text{S} & \ \text{v-V} & ðeah \ldots \& \text{se man mote sittan swa dyre swa cynebearn ofer dam gyldenan more} \& \text{the man may sit as magnificently as a son of a king above the golden mountain} / \ & \text{peah þe se lichoma wære mid þære untrumnesse swa swi e geswenced} \& \text{though the body was greatly afflicted with the sickness} & \text{ Latin} \ \text{fatiscentes} & \text{Latin} \ \text{fatiscentes} \\
\text{S} & \ \text{v-V} & ðeah \ & \text{þa strengestan} \ & \text{and the strongest and the richest order to be built for themselves beds of marble} & \text{ Latin} \ \text{fatiscentes} & \text{Latin} \ \text{fatiscentes} \\
\text{S} & \ \text{V-v} & ðeah hie on ælcere tide forbodene syn \ & \text{though they are forbidden at every time} / ðeah we þearle wi God ælmihtigne agylt hæbben ‘though we have sinned greatly against God Almighty’ & \text{ Latin} \ \text{fatiscentes} & \text{Latin} \ \text{fatiscentes} \\
\text{v-S} & \ \text{v-V} &
\end{align*}
\]
ELEMENT ORDER IN THE VERCELLI HOMILIES

Of the total 32 instances the subject precedes the whole of the complex verb in 17 of them. VH again differ from CH and SH in having clauses with any other pattern cf Davis. viz seven examples of v-S-V. All the subjects here are of heavy weight except for above which has man a subject of medium weight which may in part explain their postverbal position. More striking is the fact that all these v-S-V examples are found in Homily IX which might point to the quirk of the writer. If not ‘authorship’ of this homily whose textual history is complicated and the text itself survives in a much corrupted state. Scragg.

The order of direct object and simple verb

VH have clauses that contain the two elements. The distribution is shown below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>O-Value</th>
<th>O-Value</th>
<th>O-Value</th>
<th>Total</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>O-V</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>V-O</td>
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<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Examples are:

O - V

& þeah hine ðæc tor gesece / Þeah de me fyrenlust gewemde / Although wicked desire defiled me / Latin si me luxuria corruptit

O - V

þeah þe he his freondspedum treowige / although he trusts in his wealth of friends / & þeah þe heora hwylc þone fisc forswulge / and though each of them swallowed up the fish / Latin et rapacem

O - V

þeah we heo ealle ær geworhton / though we performed them all earlier / Latin et rapacem / Although we strive mightily for the adornment of this world

V - O

& þeah man … & utan embsette hine þonne ealne mid byligeon / and though one might then surround it all with bellows on the outside / Latin licet … non ignorasset

V - O

þeah … & sio hæbbe Iunone wíte Saturnes dohtor & and though she might have the beauty of Juno daughter of Saturn / Latin licet … non ignorasset

V - O

þeah … & þara heafdu ælc hæbbe siofon tungan / and each of those heads has seven tongues / Latin licet … non ignorasset

Of the total instances the O-V has instances and V-O The influence of weight ordering is most evident in those with heavy direct objects where V-O overtakes O-V in the number of instances. However, this observation is only preliminary since even a cursory examination reveals that all of the V-O examples except above are found in Homily IX and that the O-V order is used more widely in other homilies. Of the total instances of V-O come from Homily IX which also has five instances of O-V. It seems that we are now faced with a dilemma dealing with a small sample. Indeed, if we should ever decide to ignore all the examples from Homily IX the whole picture would be much clearer.
instances of O-V versus one instance of V-O. However, this seems to me to be neither possible nor desirable. I simply wish to present the facts without further speculation.

The order of direct object and complex verb

This category is represented by three clauses of which two have O-V-v and one v-O-V. All examples are:

O-V-v & deah man … & heora æghwylc odres æthrinan mihte & and though one could touch each of their others & ðæs æghwylc / þeah he þusend synna ongean his willan geworht hæbbe & though he has performed a thousand sins against His will & ðæs æghwylc

v-O-V & þeah þa strengestan & þa ricestan hatan him reste gewyrcan of marmanstane … & and though the strongest and the richest order to be built for themselves beds of marble …

The last instance also contains the accusative and infinitive construction where him & the accusative of light weight & precedes reste & the direct object of medium weight

The order of indirect object and simple verb

The sole example of this category is Peah man anum men godspel secge ‘Though a man would tell the gospel to another man’ where a heavy indirect object anum men precedes the verb &
Susumu Hiyama

The order of indirect object and complex verb

There are no examples in this category.

The order of direct and indirect objects

In VH there is only one clause that has two kinds of objects which is above where a heavy indirect object precedes a direct object of medium weight.

The order of complement and simple verb

VH have nine clauses that contain the two elements of which six show the V-C order and three C-V. Examples and figures are:

C-V

C-V þeah þe hit unydé sie although it would be hard / þeah symle þer we ænlype beon though we will always be alone there / þeah Ac þeah de hwa eallra manna wisost sie But even though someone would be the wisest of all men / þeah

V-C

V-C þeah … & ælc stan sy gylden and ðough each stone would be golden / þeah de seo gesceaft ne sie gelic to metenne wíð þam scippende Though the creation may not be so similar as to be measured with the Creator / þeah

V-C Witodlice þeah þe hwa sie synfull & arleas Indeed although one would be sinful and impious / Latin Quamuis igitur quisque sit peccator et impius / þeah þe se man sie on odrum lande feor fram us ‘Although the man would be in another land far from us’ Latin quamuis longe
Although the small sample defies generalization it might be relevant that all the three instances with C-V are verb-final. In addition it might be significant that all the three examples from Homily IX have V-C and...

The order of complement and complex verb

There are two clauses in this category both of which have the pattern C-V-v as may be seen below:

& þeah þe he þa gyt on læwedum hade beon sceolde and though he still had to be in the rank of a layman Latin qua ita usus est

& þeah he … & eac for worlde ricra beon sceolde and though he had to be more powerful before the world...

The former expands on the short Latin clause and the position of the complement on læwedum hade which is of heavy weight corresponds to that of ita. The latter shares the same ending as the former … beon sceolde with a complement of medium weight ricra preceding it.

The order of single adverbial and finite verb

In VH there are clauses that contain the two elements. The distribution is illustrated in the following table:
Examples are:

A-V  þeah … & ealle þa streamas hunige flowen ð and ðough ð all the streams would flow with honey ð gesamnode ð and though in him all special skills and beautiful melodies are gathered ð ðough ð.

A-V  þeah þe he fram deaþe arise ð although He arose from death ð Latin *reparat* ð deah he for ðæm deaþe ne forhtode ð though he therefore did not fear death ð Latin *nec mori timuerit* ð ðough ð.

A-V  & deah … & to ðæghwylcum þæra byligea wære man geset ð and ðough ð one was set to each of the bellows ð ðough ð / þeah he þusend synna ongean his willan geworht hæbbe ð though he has performed a thousand sins against His will ð ðough ð.

V-A  þeah we þysse worulde glenga tiligen swi e Although we strive mightily for the adornment of this world ð ðough ð.

V-A  þeah … ð & ðæra ðæghwylc hæfde ænne hamor on handa ð and ðough ð each of them had a hammer in hand ð ðough ð / þeah … ð & he mote alybban butan sare ‘and ðough ð he may live eternally without sorrow’ ð ðough ð.

V-A  þeah se man eardige in middum burgum & on midre his mægde ð betweox hundteontegum þusenda manna ð though the man may dwell in the middle of towns and in the midst of his family and among a hundred thousand
Of the total instances 43% have A-V and 39% V-A. Although this distribution is uncharacteristic at first sight it seems certain that weight plays a part in the positioning of adverbials which is discernable in the clauses with heavy adverbials where of of them are placed postverbally V-A.

The order of two adverbials and finite verb

Examples and figures are:

A-A-V & peah we ... & mid þam díorwyrðan gimstanum utan ymbhon
‘and though we deck ourselves out with precious stones’ / deah þe he da him to cwome though He then came to him

A-V-A & peah ... and þonne sy þara seofon manna æghwylc to alife
gesceapen and though then each of these seven men would be created for eternal life / & peah ure hwylc wid oderne agylte odde on worde odde o worce And though each of us sins against another either in word or in deed

V-A-A & peah hit wære eall mid mannum afyllæd and though it was all filled with men / & þeoh man bleowe mid eallum þam byligeon and though one might blow with all the bellows

It may be generally observed here that preverbal adverbials tend to be of lighter weight than postverbal ones. In addition the verb-final percentage within the A-A-V examples is high and two adverbials are placed together as a group in
the A-A-V/V-A-A examples

The order of three or more adverbials and finite verb

This category is represented by six clauses. Examples and figures are:

V-A-A-A Peah hwa lifie her þusend geara & þusend þusend geara on þysse worulde. Though someone would live here a thousand of years and a thousand thousand of years in this world.

A-V-A-A Peah … & him sy ælce niht niwe bryd to bedde gelæd & and though on each night a new bride would be brought to his bed / & þeah de he þa gyt ne wäre fullice æfter cierican endebyrdnesse gefullad. And though he was not still fully baptized according to the rule of the church. Latin Necdum tamen regeneratus in Christo

A-A-V-A Peah he her on life lifige þusend wintra. though he should live here in life a thousand winters.

A-A-A-V It seems noteworthy that there are no verb-final or A-A-A-V examples in VH. Above is the only example where three adverbials are placed as a group.

Clause patterns

Examples and figures are:

Verb-final & deah man þone garsecg mid isene utan ymbtynde & and though one might surround the ocean with iron on the outside / þeah þe he ealne middangeard on his anes æht eal gestryne. though he would entirely
amass the whole world into his own possession \( \text{Latin } si mundum uniuersum } \)

\( lucretur \) \( \text{Latin } \)

Non-verb-final \( \text{In } \) we … \( \text{and } \) gefrætewigen mid dam biorhtestan golde
‘and though we adorn ourselves with the brightest gold’ \( \text{Latin } \)

us wel þyses earman gewitendlican lifes welan licien \( \text{though the wealth of this poor } \)

transitory life may please us exceedingly well \( \text{Latin } \)

Verb-final clauses represent \( \text{of } \) of instances \( \text{In } \) non-verb-final clauses \( \text{the } \)
position is taken most frequently by adverbials \( \text{followed by } \) direct objects \( \text{almost all of which are of medium or heavy weight } \)

Impersonals

There are two clauses with impersonals \( \text{which are: } \)
‘though it befits us that …’ and \( \text{Latin } \)

\( langode \) \( \text{but though he } \) yearned for it the hardest \( \text{Latin } \)

Summary

The subject most often precedes the verb \( \text{and it is striking that nine of the ten } \text{V-S } \)
examples are found in Homily IX \( \text{This homily also stands out in the ordering of } \)
direct objects by supplying \( \text{of the } \) instances with V-O \( \text{with due consideration } \)
of which it may be observed that the direct objects prefer the preverbal position \( \text{There is only one clause with an indirect object } \) \( \text{in which it precedes the finite verb } \)
The complement is often placed postverbally \( \text{especially when it is of heavy weight } \)
The position of adverbials is relatively free \( \text{though those of light weight tend to } \)
precede the finite verb \( - \)
Susumu Hiyama

Clauses of Condition

VH have clauses that belong to this category. The following introductory conjunctions are used: *gif*, *butan*, *nympe*, and *þær*. There is also one clause in which the condition is expressed by the element order V-S *see below; cf* Guide §.

The order of subject and simple verb

There are clauses in this category. The S-V order is used accounting for of instances. Examples and figures are:

S ØV Gif ic unitea dyde. If I did wrong. Latin *Si male locutus sum* ØV gif hie arfaestlice healdad ‘and if they guard piously’ Latin *Dumque ipsi pie super gregem uigilant* ØS Ø cơ 2 các

S ØV gif eft þæt dioful genimed þa sawle if the devil snatches the soul afterwards Latin *animae uero suae detrimentum patiatur* ØS Ø cơ 2 các / butan hit þæt mod wille unless that mind desires it Latin *nisi quod uolverit animus* ØS Ø cơ 2 các

S ØV For þan gif hwylc man bi on helle ane niht Therefore if any man is in hell one night Latin *si ex hoc mundo esset regnum meum* ØS Ø cơ 2 các / Gif þær þanne bid þara misdædena ma & þæs gode to lyt If more of those misdeeds and too few of good Ødeeds will be there
In the former the element order V-S is used to denote its conditional clause status and this is apparent in the Latin *si* ... Here one may point out the possibility of reading *daer* as an expletive subject - the clause would then be parsed as C-A-V-S. However, as I noted in Chapter ... I have been careful to avoid being ‘over-anxious to detect examples’ ... I read *daer* in this passage as a local adverbial, not a mere dummy subject functioning as a complement, thus parsing the whole clause as C-A-V-S.

The order of subject and complex verb

The sample in *VH* consists of clauses of which show S-V-v and ... Thus the subject invariably precedes the whole of the complex verb. Examples and figures are:

1. S-\(\overline{v-V}\) gif ge nu biod geswencte if you are now afflicted / Gif we wilnigan rixian mid Criste If we wish to reign with Christ
2. S-\(\overline{v-V}\) gif usse heortan biod gefyldede mid godum willan if our heart will be filled with the will of God / Latin *si fuerit arca cordis repleta bona uoluntate*
3. S-\(\overline{v-V}\) butan hwæs heorte sie mid diofles stræle þurhwrecen unless the heart of someone be pierced with an arrow of the devil
4. S-\(\overline{V-v}\) gif he to hreowsunga gecyrran wille if one wished to turn to repentance / Latin *si ad poenitentiam convuertatur*
5. S-\(\overline{V-v}\) butan we swican willan unless we wish to give up
The order of direct object and simple verb

VH have clauses that contain the two elements of which have O-V and V-O. The distribution is shown below:

<table>
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<tr>
<th></th>
<th>O-V</th>
<th>O-V</th>
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<th>Total</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>O-V</td>
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<tr>
<td>V-O</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examples are:

O-V gyf he hys bedorffe if he needed it / odde gif he þæt nolde ‘or if he refused it’

O-V gif ic … & sod sægde and if I told the truth / nimde we ura synna andetten unless we confess our sins Latin nisi confiteamur peccata nostra

O-V gif du ænige treowa hæfdest if you had any faith / gif hio … & ælce gitsunge afyrred and if it removes each avarice

V-O gif we symle habbaþ þone geþanc ‘if we always have the thought’
ELEMENT ORDER IN THE VERCELLI HOMILIES

Pronominal direct objects always precede the simple verb and weight appears to be a significant factor in promoting the postverbal positioning of direct objects of medium and heavy weight.

The order of direct object and complex verb

Examples and figures are:

O V-O & hine ne hætst cwellan & if you do not command someone to kill Him

O V-V & gif du sylf þe nelt alysan if you do not wish to redeem yourself

O V-v butan he hine cwellan hete unless he commanded someone to kill Him

O V-v buton he ær his gast mid godum weorcum gefrætewod hæfde ‘unless he earlier had adorned his spirit with good deeds’ Latin si poenitentiam agimus if we wish to do penance for our misdeeds

O V-v gif we þonne þæt gastlice gerene mid rihte geleafan & mid godum dædum healdan & lufian willad if we are then willing to hold and love the mystery spiritually with true faith and with good deeds
Susumu Hiyama

þylcum bysenum & þylcum larum fylgean nelle if he does not wish to follow all these examples and such teachings

v-O Ṗv Ṗv
gif hie willad eadmodlice Gode þeowigan & hyran if they wish to serve and obey God humbly / gif we nellad of ure heortan da inccon alætan ðam mannnum if we do not wish to pardon from our hearts the faults of those men Latin quia, si hoc quod in nos delinquitur ex corde non dimittimus

gif we a willad þone uplican edel secan if we always wish to seek that celestial homeland

v-V-O Ṗv Ṗv

Gif we woldon gesceawian us sylfe on ure heortan If we would examine ourselves in our hearts Latin examina te, loquatur tibi cor tuum

V-v-O Ṗv Ṗv
gif he findan mæg hwær … if he may find where

V-O-v Ṗv Ṗv

Of the total clauses the direct object precedes the whole of the complex verb in instances Although the sample is small it is clear that weight plays a part in the positioning of direct objects: those of light weight always precede the finite verb while those of medium and heavy weight demonstrate a growing tendency toward the postverbal position It may be added that there are no instances with the accusative and infinitive construction in this clause category

The order of indirect object and simple verb

In VH there are seven clauses that contain the two elements and all have the I-V
ELEMENT ORDER IN THE VERCELLI HOMILIES

order □ Examples are:

gif du me sealde þines awiht □ if you gave to me anything of yours □ Latin si sitientes potamus □

gif we … □ & him drinc gesyllad □ and □ if we □ give drink to them □ □ Latin si

Indirect objects are of light weight in all but one example □ which is □ Latin Gif du pa ilcan olectunge þam lichoman dest □ If you do the same flatteries to the body □ where þam lichoman □ an indirect object of medium weight □ is placed preverbally □

The order of indirect object and complex verb

This category is represented by four clauses □ each of which displays a different pattern as may be seen below:

I-v-V nymþe þe sie ufan geseald □ unless □ t □ would be given to you from above □ □ Latin nisi tibi esset datum desuper □

I-V-v gif we us selfe ærest Gode ælmyhtigum onsecgan willad □ if we first wish to sacrifice ourselves to Almighty God □ □ Latin cum nos ipsos hostiam fecerit

v-I-V □ & witodlice gif hie beod him brohte fram us □ and indeed if they are brought to Him by us □ □ Latin quae illi quidem offeruntur □

v-V-I gif we nellad of ure heortan da inccan alætan ðam mannum □ if we are unwilling to forgive from our hearts those men for their faults □ □ Latin quia, si hoc quod in nos delinquitur □ ex corde non dimittimus

The sample is too small to investigate the position of indirect objects in a systematic manner □ However □ it may be noted that the indirect object always precedes the finite
verb in the Latin and that this element order is followed in two instances and in the Latin verb *offeruntur* they are brought before is paraphrased into *beod … brohte* and the light indirect object *him* is placed between them; and in the indirect object *dam mannum* is placed in final position presumably to allow its explanatory adjectival clause to follow immediately after it.

The order of direct and indirect objects

In *VH* there are nine clauses that have two kinds of objects of which five have the I-O order and four O-I. Examples are:

**O-I** Gif du þa ilcan olectunge þam lichoman dest. If you do the same flatteries to the body / *Gif … oþe hie de cnyssende fyrwetgyrnesse lære* or *if pulsating lust would suggest itself to you* Latin *si adhuc libidinis suggestione pulsaris*.

**I-O** & ealles swidost gif hio hyre gymeleste framadrife and most of all if it drives out neglect from it / *Gif ic eow oþeres bysene onstelle* If I establish for you an example of another thing Latin *ego si aliud ubis exemplum relinquo*.

As Davis notes there is ‘a general tendency to place objects in order of increasing weight’ which is attested in all of the examples with the exception of above where a direct object of heavy weight *pa ilcan olectunge* precedes an indirect object of medium weight *þam lichoman*. 

- [Page-1]
The order of complement and simple verb

$VH$ have clauses that contain the two elements. Of those seven have the order $V-C$ and four $C-V$. Examples are:

$C \rightarrow V$

$C \rightarrow V$ Pær de þis God ne være If this were not God Latin *Nisi hic Deus esset deorum nostrorum* / Gif du strang sy ‘If you are strong’

$C \rightarrow V$ gif hit þin willa swiþor bid if it is more your will

$V-C \rightarrow C$

$V-C$ elcor nymde hit is se weg except it is the way

$V-C \rightarrow C$ heorte sie clæne fram ælcombe & fram ælcere wrohte & unsybbe unless the heart be clean from each enmity and from each fault and strife Latin *nisi ante discordia ab animo pellatur* / Gyf ænig mann være an niht on helle If anyone is in hell for one night

There may be discerned a general tendency to place complements in order of increasing weight which is most clear from the dominance of the postverbal position among the complements of heavy weight where five out of six are postverbal

The order of complement and complex verb

There are no examples in this category.
Susumu Hiyama

The order of single adverbial and finite verb

In $VH$ there are clauses that contain the two elements. The distribution is illustrated in the following table:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>A-V</th>
<th>A-A</th>
<th>A-T</th>
<th>Total</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A-V</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V-A</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examples are:

A $\textnormal{A-V}$: Gif ic teala cwæd If I spoke well. Latin *si autem bene* / Gif we dus don willad If we wish to do thus.

A $\textnormal{A-V}$: butan hie mid rihte reccen unless they decide properly. Latin *si non relinquaret praeitatem suam* / butan hie to Gode gecyrnan woldon unless they wished to turn to God.

V-A $\textnormal{A-V}$: Gif ænig mann ware ane niht on helle If anyone is in hell for one night. Latin *nisi tibi esset datum desuper* / Gif we willad swa don if we wish to do so.

V-A $\textnormal{A-V}$: Gyf ænig mann ware ane niht on helle If anyone is in hell for one night. Latin *nisi tibi esset datum desuper* / Gif we wilnigan rixian mid Criste If we wish to reign with Christ.

V-A $\textnormal{A-V}$: gif du genimst on hwylcum orcearde & on windigre stowe hwylc treow
‘if you take a certain tree in some garden and in a windy place’ / gif we hit gearnian willad mid urum godum dædum / if we wish to merit it with our good deeds

The order A-V consists of instances of and V-A of It may be generally observed that light adverbials prefer the preverbal position or while those of heavy weight prefer the postverbal position or 

The order of two adverbials and finite verb

Examples and figures are:

A-A-V  butan he her hwæthwuga to gode gedo unless he does something for good here / Gif we þænne swa don wylla If we then wish to do so 

A-V-A  Gyf … & he eft wære æfter þam ofalædd and if he is led away again after that / gif he æfter his deaþe bi læded on helle if he is led into hell after his death 

V-A-A  & þonne gif he wäre ær ane niht on heofona rices wuldre and then if he was formerly in the glory of heaven’s kingdom for one night

The pattern A-A-V is predominant and more noteworthy is the fact that all of these A-A-V examples are verb-final In nine of the fourteen clauses with A-A-V/V-A-A adverbials are grouped together as a cluster
The order of three or more adverbials and finite verb

This category is represented by nine clauses. Examples and figures are:

V-A-A-A

A-V-A-A  
Men þa liofestan gif we nu willað on þysse worulde teala don
‘Dearly beloved if we now wish to do well in this world’ / & gif we
mid urses lichaman lustum hwæt gimeleaslices dydon on þyssum feowertegum
nihtum wid Godes willan And if we with our bodily desires have done anything
without due care against God’s will in these forty nights

A-A-V-A

A-A-A-V  
buton we hwæt on urum life to gode for Godes lufon gedon
‘unless we do anything in our life as a good deed for the love of God’
Gif we hine sodfæstlice mid eadmettum ealling lufið If we truly
love Him completely with humility

All of the A-A-A-V examples are verb-final and they include one clause with four
gif he nu her on worulde sod & riht in his life don
wile ‘if he now here in this world wishes to perform truth and justice in his life’

Further there are two more instances with four adverbials:

A-V-A-A-A  
gif hio ana stent ealra godra ðæda wana on domes ðæg
beforan Gode if she stands alone wanting in all good deeds on the
judgement day before God

A-A-V-A-A  
 gif he … & þær on witum wunap a butan ende and If he 
abides there in torments forever without end
THE VERCELLI HOMILIES

ELEMENT ORDER IN THE VERCELLI HOMILIES

Clause patterns

Examples and figures are:

Verb-final /gif he þonne da fulwihte mid godum dædum healdan wille / if he then wishes to keep that baptism with good deeds / gif we his willan her on worulde od urne endedæg gewyrcaþ / if we work His will here in the world until our last day /

Non-verb-final /gif hio ana stent ealra godra dæda wana on domes dæge beforan Gode / if she stands alone wanting in all good deeds on the judgement day before God /

Verb-final clauses represent instances / In non-verb-final clauses the final position is taken most frequently by adverbials followed by direct objects and complements all of which are of medium or heavy weight /

Impersonals

This category is represented by two clauses both of which share the construction ‘formal subject $þæt þæt$ + $þæt$ clause’:

Gif $þæt$ þonne bid $þæt$ we willad wyrcean his willan & on his lufe þurhwunian ‘If it is then that we wish to do His will …’ / þær $þæt$ la $gewiordan meahte $þæt$ … Lo if it might come to pass that …

-  ```
Summary

The standard position for the subject is before the finite verb and before the whole of the complex verb though this may not apply when conditions are expressed by means of the element order V-S. The direct object may be characterized by its preference for the preverbal position which is partially influenced or weakened by its weight. Indirect objects always precede the simple verb whereas they appear in various positions relative to finite and non-finite verbs in complex verb phrases. When two kinds of objects are present in a clause they are usually placed according to their weight viz the lighter one precedes the heavier one. The positioning of complements is relatively free though those of heavy weight clearly prefer the postverbal position. Single adverbials are placed either before or after the finite verb and those of heavy weight prefer the postverbal position. As for the positioning of two or more adverbials an active influence of verb-final tendency is discerned thereby placing adverbials though not always as a group before the finite verb which assumes the clause-final position.

Summary of Chapter

The findings in this chapter may be briefly summarized in this section. The following table illustrates the position of finite verbs in each of the nine types of dependent clauses:

- - -
It is indeed difficult to analyse these varied figures cf Davis which I do not attempt here since I believe that the verb-final tendency if any is a volatile one; it is presumed that the writer is usually allowed to add say an adverbial element in final position perhaps as an afterthought which would turn one clause from verb-final to non-verb-final’ However it does seem noteworthy that the corresponding figures in Davis show that clauses of cause similarly exhibit the lowest verb-final frequency in both VH CH SH.

The table below indicates the occurrence of selected patterns in three major clause types:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>S-V</th>
<th>V-S</th>
<th>O-V</th>
<th>V-O</th>
<th>I-V</th>
<th>V-I</th>
<th>C-V</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nominal</td>
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<td>Adjectival</td>
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<td>Adverbial</td>
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It may be generally observed that the preverbal position V stands for finite verbs here is preferred by subjects direct and indirect objects and that complements
tend toward the postverbal position. This picture in $VH$ is in sharp contrast to the
texts of Ælfric where differences between the three main divisions of dependent
clauses—nominal, adjectival and adverbial—are pronounced. Davis does not specifically
explain these pronounced differences and seems to expect the reader to infer from his
detailed investigation. At any rate, if we take his remark here at face value it would mean that
$VH$ differ from $CH$ and $SH$ in having similar tendencies of element order irrespective
of the three main divisions of dependent clauses.

Since the adverbial clauses are further divided into seven subcategories, it seems
expedient to present the following table:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Place</th>
<th>S-V</th>
<th>V-S</th>
<th>O-V</th>
<th>V-O</th>
<th>I-V</th>
<th>V-I</th>
<th>C-V</th>
<th>V-C</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Time</td>
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<td>Consequence</td>
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<td>Cause</td>
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<td>Comparison</td>
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<td>Concession</td>
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</table>

Noteworthy in the table are: clauses of cause have more instances of postverbal
direct objects $V-O$ than those with preverbal ones; clauses of cause again have
more instances of postverbal complements $V-C$ though the similar but weaker
tendency is seen among clauses of consequence, comparison, concession, and
condition. Otherwise, the evidence follows the general tendencies mentioned in
the preceding paragraph.
CHAPTER 4

CONCLUSION

This chapter summarizes the findings in the preceding chapters followed by concluding remarks. It must be noted that I use Mitchell's clause categories in Chapter in this chapter to facilitate the process of discussion; they are repeated below for convenience:

Type A: independent clauses which do not begin with *ond, ac, ne* or a similar conjunction or with the adverb *ne* with an adverb other than *ne* or with an adverb phrase

Type B: independent clauses which begin with the adverb *ne* with an adverb other than *ne* or with an adverb phrase

Type C: independent clauses which begin with *ond, ac, ne* or a similar conjunction

Type D: dependent clauses

Thus I exclude from analysis imperative, interrogative, and optative clauses. In dealing with dependent clauses, I combine the figures of all subcategories viz nominal, adjectival, and seven types of adverbial clauses.

In addition, the reader is referred to the Appendix for more statistical information particularly on some of the syntactic characteristics of each of the twenty-three homilies in VH by which I hope to complement the preceding chapters of this study where - I must admit - VH are more or less treated as a whole if not always homogeneous collection of homilies since it was not always possible to pay sufficient attention to each homily.
Susumu Hiyama

Summary of Findings

The findings in the preceding chapters are summarized below. It should be noted that verbal position - which has not been treated in a systematic way so far - is dealt with in more detail than the position of the other elements.

Position of the verb

Below I use the terms initial, second, medial, and final to describe verbal position; for details see Chapter.

The finite verb

The position of the finite verb in both simple and complex verb phrases is summarized in the table below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>A</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>C</th>
<th>D</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Initial</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medial</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Final</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The verb-second placement is observed most frequently in Types A and B and it seems necessary here to remind us of the fact that it is Type A not Type B that has the highest frequency of this placement; the difference between the two types is indeed small but it seems at least clear that this verb-second tendency is not the unique property of Type B as far as VH are concerned. As for the verb-final
placement the table confirms that it is used most frequently in Type D

The finite and non-finite verbs

Illustrated below are the relative positions of finite \( v \) and non-finite \( V \) verbs in complex verb phrases:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>A</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>C</th>
<th>D</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>( v-V )</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( vV )</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( v…V )</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( V-v )</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( VV )</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( V…v )</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( \mathbf{\text{of } V-v} )</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The last row of the table seems to be the clearest indication of the difference between Type D and the other clause categories: it is perhaps no exaggeration to say that the \( V-v \) pattern is almost exclusive to Type D to which nearly of such instances belong. Most striking among these \( V-v \) clauses is the presence of only one clause with the \( V…v \) pattern which is wepan he sceal & hreowsian and he must weep and repent. Latin *uita ista a fletibus inchoat* might be presumed to follow the Latin somewhat loosely. Also noteworthy is the

\[ \text{If it should be noted that both } vV \text{ and } Vv \text{ include instances where the negative particle } ne \text{ intervenes the two elements } \text{namely } vnV \text{ and } Vnv. \]

\[ \text{I have excluded two dubious examples with } V…v \text{ and See Hiyama for more details.} \]
presence of nine clauses with Vv in Types A and B which are:

him næfre ðær þær þurst aceled bi þære helle þrosmes for them never will thirst be cooled off there in the smoke of hell / He us gelifæste hæfð on þyssum middangearde He has given life to us in this world / hwylcne dom him dryhten deman wille be dam dome the Lord will judge each judgement for them according to the law / nu þine yrfeweardas leng lyfian ne moton ‘now your heirs cannot live longer’ / swa we him mælycor þancian sculon so we must thank Him more splendidly / Nænig man oderne æfter deade getreowlace onlysan mæg / No one may truly release another after death / for þan se halga gast on culfran onsyne ofer Crist cumende wæs æt þære fulwihte therefore the Holy Ghost in the form of a dove was coming above Christ at the baptism / þyder his modgeþanc a geseted wæs ðær his mind was always fixed to that place / þyder he feran sceal ‘it must travel to that place’

Here one may point out the possibility of alternative reading; indeed some of the clauses above may also be read as dependent clauses because of the presence of possibly ambiguous clause-initial elements namely nu in nu swa in swa in and in and however I stand by my interpretations above since I consider that they are more in keeping with the context; cf OES §§ and

Also included in the figures above are clauses that contain the third verb or the second non-finite verb as in Present English shall be going which is designated by the symbol ‘P’ The distribution of patterns in the four clause types is as follows:
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Element Order</th>
<th>A</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>C</th>
<th>D</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>v-V-P</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>v-P-V</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V-v-P</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V-P-v</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P-v-V</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P-V-v</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examples are:

**v-V-P** Sceolde se witedom beon gefylled ‘The prophecy should be fulfilled’

Latin *Ut scriptura impleatur* / *æt þurh Cristes lære mancynn*

**v-P-V** þæt sceal swa awritten bion / *that will be written so*

Latin *scripsi*

**V-v-P** þæt hie æfre lætan sculon þæt deaþberende dioful hie on unnyttre geswipurnesse hie to þam gedwellan ‘that they must ever allow that deadly devil to deceive them by useless cunning for that reason’

Latin *quia in eius tempore nascetur est cuius potestas*

**V-P-v**

**P-v-V** þæt on his rice acenned wolde bion se ædeling / *that the prince would be born in his kingdom*
The picture becomes clear if we concentrate on the ordering of the finite verb \( v \) and
the third verb \( P \). The \( v-P \) pattern is predominant representing \( \frac{3}{4} \) of instances \( \frac{3}{4} \) of \( \frac{3}{4} \). As for those with \( P-v \) three of the four clauses are listed above and the
remaining example is \( \text{Wa la } pæt ic æfre swa ungesæligo geboren sceolde weordan } \) \( \text{Woe } \) that I ever had to be born so unfortunate \( \text{Latin } \text{Cur infelix natus sum?} \) \( \text{Latin } \) where the Latin \( \text{sum} \) is rendered as the Old English \( \text{sceolde weordan} \).

**Position of the impersonal expression**

The table below indicates the position of impersonals in the four clause types:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>A</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>C</th>
<th>D</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Initial</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Second</td>
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<tr>
<td>Final</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Comparison with the positioning of ordinary verbs is not easy since impersonals involve both simple \( \text{like } me puhte } \) and complex \( \text{like } \text{hit is awritten} \) verb phrases \( \text{ii} \)

\( \text{ii} \) For more details on the description of impersonals see Chapter \( \text{ii} \)
However, the high frequency of initial impersonals in Type A is remarkable in view of the unremarkable frequency of ordinary finite verbs in initial position in Type A. In addition, it should be noted that impersonals seem to prefer the second position in all clause types and that the final position is least preferred - the incidence does not stand out even in Type D, which is well-known for its strong verb-late/final tendency where only a quarter of the clauses have impersonals in final position. These observations may be said to bear witness to the validity of the separate treatment of impersonals and ordinary verbs.

Position of the subject

The table below illustrates the position and weight of the subject with respect to the finite verb in the four clause types:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>A</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>C</th>
<th>D</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>S-V</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>S</td>
<td></td>
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<td>S</td>
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<tr>
<td>V-S</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

In subsequent sections the symbol V stands for finite verbs in both simple and complex verb phrases unless otherwise noted.
The relatively low incidence of the S-V pattern in Type B may in part be explained in terms of the grammatical and stylistic use of the order V-S after the initial adverbial in this clause type. Yet that this usage has not been established even in Type B may also be observed particularly in light subjects where there are almost as many examples of S-V as those of V-S, the former of which probably point to the influence of weight ordering. Types A and C show similar frequencies and the high percentage of S-V in Type D may be largely due to the well-known verb-late/final tendency in this clause category.

Position of the direct object

Presented in the table below are the position and weight of the direct object with respect to the finite verb in the four clause types:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>A</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>C</th>
<th>D</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>O-V</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>O</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>O</td>
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<tr>
<td>V-O</td>
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<td>O</td>
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<td>O</td>
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<tr>
<td>Total</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Of particular importance is the strong tendency of pronominal direct objects to precede the finite verb in all clause types except Type B, where the tendency is

-
presumably overridden by the strong tendency in this clause type to place the finite verb immediately after the clause-initial adverbial. Generally speaking, direct objects of medium weight seem to prefer the preverbal position whereas those of heavy weight clearly prefer the postverbal position.

The position of the accusative is indicated in the table below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>A</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>C</th>
<th>D</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>v-Z-V</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>v-V-Z</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V-v-Z</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V-Z-v</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Z-v-V</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Z-V-v</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Although the sample is too small to allow for firm conclusions, it is clear that the accusative is usually placed after the finite verb. I have found ten clauses where the accusative is further accompanied by a direct object of which seven have Z-O and three O-Z.

**Position of the indirect object**

The table below indicates the position and weight of the indirect object with respect to the finite verb in the four clause types:
Pronominal indirect objects are similar to pronominal direct objects [see above] in displaying a strong tendency toward the preverbal positioning in all clause types with the exception of Type B [however] the similarity with direct objects seems to end here [since the two orders I-V and V-I show no dramatic difference in frequency of occurrence concerning indirect objects of medium and heavy weight]

When there are two kinds of objects within a clause the standard order is I-O as may be confirmed in the table below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>A</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>C</th>
<th>D</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I-O</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O-I</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Position of the complement

The following table illustrates the distribution of the complement [C] and the finite
verb $V$ in the four clause types:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>A</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>C</th>
<th>D</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>C-V</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V-C</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td></td>
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<td>C</td>
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<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It may be generally observed that complements prefer the postverbal position although the table clearly shows that this preference is in competition with the well-known verb-late/final tendency in Type D where the difference of incidence between C-V and V-C is the smallest. Of particular interest is the paucity of examples with C-V in Type B which accords with the characteristics of this clause type mentioned above.

**Position of the adverbial**

The following table shows the distribution of the single adverbial $A$ and the finite verb $V$ in the four clause types:

---

*It must be noted first that the figures in this section do not include initial adverbials in Type B; for example in *da onsoc he sona* ‘Then he immediately answered’ I only consider the position of the non-initial adverbial *sona* and parse this clause as an example of V-A.*
Although there are certainly more clauses with A-V than those with V-A, the difference is not remarkable. This probably confirms a great measure of freedom in the position of single adverbials. This freedom, however, should not be overemphasized because the table tells us that: one-word adverbials A account for of the total instances with A-V although it is likely that many of the Type D and perhaps Type C examples with this pattern are also influenced by a strong verb-late/final tendency; and heavy adverbials with three or more words A clearly prefer the postverbal position even in Types C and D presumably displaying some measure of triumph of weight ordering over the verb-late/final tendency.

The table below shows the distribution of two adverbials in the four clause types:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>A</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>C</th>
<th>D</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A-V</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-V</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-V</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V-A</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>A-V</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>A-V</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
It may be observed here that: Types A and B clearly prefer the V-A-A pattern; Type C has the highest percentage of A-V-A as well as a higher frequency of A-A-V than the other independent clauses. Types A and B and Type D has the highest percentage of A-A-V which may in part be relevant to its preference for verb-late/final placement.

Illustrated below is the distribution of three or more adverbials in the four clause types:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pattern</th>
<th>A</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>C</th>
<th>D</th>
<th>Average</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A-A-A-V</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-A-V-A</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-V-A-A</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V-A-A-A</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It is readily noticeable that the clauses with three or more adverbials show similarities to those with two adverbials: the V-A-A pattern is preferred by Types A and B and A-V-A-A by Type C. However, we can also see that the frequencies of A-A-A-V which are of particular relevance to verb-final placement are not significantly high in Types C and D which is likely to bear witness to the flexibility in the position of adverbials particularly when there are three or more of them in a given clause.

Concluding Remarks

This study has analysed element order patterns in VH with particular emphasis on

As in the previous sections dealing with three or more adverbials the descriptions of patterns are generalized. For example the A-A-V-A pattern includes instances with A-A-A-V-A.
clause categories together with copious examples. Its contributions are methodological, linguistic, and textual and may be summarized as follows:

Firstly, it has been shown that many of the unconventional element orders may be explained with due consideration of grammar, context, discourse, style, and Latin influence. Cf. OES § Bernhardt & Davis. It has been demonstrated that this method, characterized by both clarity and efficiency, is effective in bringing out differences between different element order patterns within a given clause category. Furthermore, an attempt has been made in this study to bring about a closer linking of so-called ‘traditionalist’ and ‘linguistic’ approaches to syntactic research.

Secondly, this study has tested the methodology established by Davis which considers the clause category as the determining environment for element order. Bernhardt & Davis. It has been demonstrated that this method, characterized by both clarity and efficiency, is effective in bringing out differences between different element order patterns within a given clause category. Furthermore, an attempt has been made in this study to bring about a closer linking of so-called ‘traditionalist’ and ‘linguistic’ approaches to syntactic research.

Thirdly, this study has important implications for a wide range of topics in the broad field of research into Old English element order. Such topics include: the categorization of independent clauses into Types A, B, and C; differences in element order within various classes of dependent clauses; the classification of elements within impersonals; and the relationship between Latin sources and Old English texts, notably in the use of Fontes materials in a syntactic study.

Finally, this study is the first ever descriptive account of element order in VH, a collection of twenty-three homilies whose linguistic analysis has been hitherto somewhat neglected mainly because of its obscure position outside the mainstream of Old English literature. Such authors as King Alfred, Ælfric, and Wulfstan. The importance of this collection alongside that of its contemporary The Blickling

However, I have found the application of chi-square tests to be of limited value in this study. Indeed, many of the tables do not meet the conditions for application of these tests, and even when they do, most of the results are not statistically significant.

There are of course some exceptions, the most notable of which is Ogawa. I am greatly indebted to this work which is a mine of information, particularly with its useful index.
Homilies cannot be emphasized too much. These collections are crucial witnesses of the Old English language during the gap years between the famous authors mentioned above viz between King Alfred late ninth century and Ælfric and Wulfstan late tenth and early eleventh centuries. It is held here that the investigation of these homilies provides important information not simply for the cultural historian but also for the historical linguist. Indeed, this study has it may be argued some important implications for the broader history of English and more generally Germanic syntax.

This study therefore must be seen as a preliminary survey. However, it is hoped that this study will serve not only - as does Bacquet - as a reference tool but also as a precursor for future work in the field. There are many points raised in the preceding chapters which could be much further developed such as the issue of Latin-English relationships or the varying forms of different dependent clauses. Moreover, the methodology which has been tested and refined here could easily be extended to other texts such as The Blickling Homilies or indeed early Middle English texts such as The Lambeth Homilies and The Trinity Homilies - or even more ambitiously into the prose traditions of cognate languages such as Middle High German or Old Icelandic.

Such work will obviously further refine and develop the work undertaken in this study and the present author intends to pursue a number of the issues raised here. The process will be one of continuous development; the spirit of this process is perhaps well expressed by the Old English translator and Caesarius of Arles who wrote the source text when they wrote the following passage on the presumption of course that this study may be regarded as a good work:

\[\text{Cf. OES § 2.01.}\] Here too there is room for more of the detailed descriptive work in both prose and poetry which is made possible by A Microfiche Concordance to Old English. … Bacquet, despite his faults, must be consulted; see Campbell RES in the following notes. Emphasis added.
Nales se man se de onginned gode dæde & eft forlæted ac se þe þurhwunap on godum dæum se bid hal geworden

Appendix: Position of the Major Elements in Each Homily

Table: Verb-final Placement in the Four Clause Types

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It is not the man who begins good works and later abandons them but he who perseveres in good works - it is he who will be made whole

Impersonals are excluded.
### Table 2 S-V in the Four Clause Types

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Susumu Hiyama

Table O-V in the Four Clause Types

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