ELEMENT ORDER IN *THE VERCELLI HOMILIES*: POSTSCRIPT

Susumu Hiyama

Appendix II  Element Order of Impersonals

Examined below are the syntactic patterns of impersonals in *VH*. Adopting Ogura’s (1986) system of classification, I first offer an analysis of each group; this is followed by a summary which presents a general picture of the positions of Experiencers (EXPs) and formal subjects in relation to impersonals. Both stages employ Mitchell’s category of clause types (Types A-D; cf. Hiyama (2005: 32-33)). Thus, imperative, interrogative, and optative clauses are excluded from the quantitative database (but are referred to when appropriate); and the figures for dependent clauses combine those for all subcategories, viz. nominal, adjectival, and seven types of adverbial clauses.1

**Group-a1: verbs expressing natural phenomena**

This group has no instances with EXPs, and *hit* is used in all the three clauses with

---

1 This appendix also supersedes my earlier papers on impersonals in *VH*, which are:


For the description of impersonals, see Hiyama (2005: 30-31). See also Hiyama (2005: 260-261) for a summary of positions of impersonal expressions.
formal subjects. The following two examples share the structure ‘hit + X’:  

3.133 hit + X (Type D)  
þæt hit ne rinde ofer eorðan ‘that it would not rain over the earth’ (Latin *ut non plueret super terram* (S1/SA1))  

20.19 hit + X (Type D)  
þæt hit ne rinde [MS ne nirnde] þrim gearum ne þærtoeacan syx monðum ‘that it would not rain for three years and six months’ (Latin *ut non plueret super terram, et non pluit annos tres et menses sex* (S3/SA1))

In the example below, the verb *geþystrode* is apparently attracted to the clause-initial *þa*, leaving the light, empty *hit* in clause-final position:  

1.236 X + hit (Type B)  
þa geþystrode hit ‘then it became dark’ (Latin *et tenebrae factae sunt* (S1))

Moreover, this somewhat awkward placement of the light *hit* may have been influenced by the clause that comes immediately after it:  

1.236 X + X (Type C)  
& efne fæstlice genihtode ofer ealln e middangeard fram middum dæge oð non ‘and, likewise, (it) suddenly became dark over all the middle-earth from midday until the ninth hour’ (Latin *(et tenebrae factae sunt) in uniuersa terra usque in nonam horam* (S1))

where, *genihtode*, another impersonal verb in Group-a₁, occurs without a formal subject. Unfortunately, we do not have enough information on *genihtian*: it is used only once in *VH* and - according to Förster¹ - in the whole corpus of Old English. It is therefore difficult to determine if *hit* in the preceding clause is understood and unexpressed here. In addition, the clause-initial nota & can be either an abbreviation

for *ond* or a mark for punctuation.¹

**Group-b1: verbs meaning ‘to happen’**

As formal subjects, *þæt* (twenty-three instances) overwhelmingly outnumbers *hit* (three) in frequency. This preference for *þæt* is surprising, even if we consider the popularity of the cliché ‘*þæt is (bonne) þæt* ...’ which occurs fourteen times. *Gelimpan* is the only verb which uses both *hit* (one example) and *þæt* (four) as formal subjects, and *nealæcan* is only found with *hit* (two). All of the three clauses with *hit* are:

6.16  *hit X + X*  (Type D)

Mitte þe hit þa þære eadegan tide nealæhte þætte ... ‘When it then drew near the blessed time that ...’

15.59  *hit + X*  (Type D)

þe hit nealæceð to Antecristes cyme ‘when it approaches the coming of the Antichrist’ (Latin *Antechristo haec sunt signa* (S1))

23.13  *X + hit X*  (Type B)

þa gelamp hit sume dæge ‘then it happened on a certain day’

There are only three examples with EXPs, all of which are Type D. In two clauses, pronominal EXPs are placed preverbally:

5.179  *EXP +*  (Type D)

þæt him gelimpe ‘that (it) would happen to him’

19.124  *EXP X +*  (Type D)

for hwylces hiera gyltum him swa getimod wære ‘for which of their sins (this) had thus happened to them’² (Latin *de cuius reatu haec acciderant* (S1))

The remaining example is:

1  See, for example, Scragg (1992: 266) and Blockley (2001: 9).

2  Cf. Szarmach (1968: 190): ‘for whose fault among them ... such as had befallen them.’
Although we have seen that nominal EXPs tend to take postverbal position, the above is in fact the only Type D example - in the whole of VH - with a nominal EXP in clause-final position. It is not clear whether it is the weight of *ure endedæge* alone that put it in final position, ‘overriding’, as it were, the well-known verb-final tendency in dependent clauses. Two possibilities suggest themselves: that this is simply a personal, subjectless, usage of *nealæcan* with a dative object; or that *nealæceð* was drawn into the position immediately after the adverb *nu* (as in Type B), which left the EXP in final position in this short clause.

**Group-b2: verbs of various meanings**

There are only three examples that have formal subjects - one with *hit* and two with *þæt* - all of which precede impersonal verbs (either *gedafenian* or *gelimpan*).

There are seventeen clauses with EXPs, and three verbs are used: *gedafenian* (fifteen examples), *gelimpan* (one), and *gerisan* (one). Irrespective of the clause types, the majority (fourteen) has pronominal EXPs preceding impersonals. This is not surprising, since EXPs (both pronominal and nominal) semantically correspond to subjects which usually fill preverbal position in personal constructions. The following is the only example where a pronominal EXP is placed in postverbal position:

14.163  + EXP X  (Type A)

*Gedafenað us eac ... þæt ...* ¹ ‘(It) is also fitting for us to ...’

It is probable that the verb-initial syntax is intended as a discourse marker - in this case the introduction of a new topic; this is supported by Scragg’s edition which prints the

¹ Denison (1993: 102, note 28) instances this and comments as follows: ‘Venezky and Healey (1980) has just one example with clause-initial *gedafenað* (but no *hit*).’
above as the opening clause of a new paragraph.¹

There are two examples where nominal EXPs are placed after impersonals. They are:

18.281 + EXP X (Type B)
Ne gedafenað cristenan men þæt ... ‘(It) is not fitting for a man of Christ to ...’
(Latin Non decet ... filii Christianum (S1))

23.72 X + EXP X (Type B)
swa þonne gedafenað þane man gelice þurh syx daga fæsten þone gast
frætewigean ‘so then (it) is fitting for one, likewise, through six days’ fast, to
adorn the spirit’ (Latin ita etiam hominem decet sex diebus perieiunii plasma
spiritu reformari (S1))

We can confirm that the weight of EXPs - cristenan men and þane man - is responsible
for their postverbal position. It may be also noted that 23.72 above contains the
accusative-and-infinitive construction (þane man ... frætewigean) where the
postverbal position of the EXP is almost obligatory.²

Group-b3: verbs of seeming

There are only two examples with formal subjects: one has hit and the other þæt, both
of which are placed before þyncan. This group has seven instances with EXPs, of
which six are pronominal and one nominal. I have already demonstrated elsewhere
that preverbal position is the norm for pronominal EXPs, and this applies to all the six
instances. The following is the only example with a nominal EXP:

2.20 X + EXP X (Type B)

¹ Cf. OES §3933: ‘I am also attracted by Fred C. Robinson’s suggestion (private
communication) that initial V often seems to mark a turning-point, a transition, or a
change of pace, in the prose - just as a new paragraph does in MnE prose’. Cf. also
Foster (1975: 409): ‘The first discourse unit is never headed by þa. Since þa is a
sequential marker, it can only be used when one narrative segment follows another.’
Hwæt, þonne þinceð þam synfullan þæt ... ‘Lo, then, (it) will seem to the sinful that ...’

Two factors may be relevant to the postverbal placement of þam synfullan: its heaviness, and the presence of the adverb þonne to which the verb þinceð is attracted.¹

Besides Types A-D, this group has another example with a postverbal, pronominal EXP:

1.76 X + EXP X

Hwæt þinceð eow nu hu ... ‘What does (it) seem to you now that ...’

Here, it is likely that the verb þinceð was - again - attracted to the interrogative pronoun hwæt, leaving the pronominal EXP eow in the middle.

**Group-b4: verbs of mental affections**

While there are no clauses with formal subjects, there are twelve clauses with EXPs - ten are preverbal and two postverbal. It is not difficult to account for the two postverbal examples; as illustrated below, they are both Type B clauses where the finite verb immediately follows the initial adverb:

3.60 + EXP X (Type B)

ne tweoge him forgifenesse begitan þurh Godes mildheortnesse ‘(it) does not seem doubtful to him to obtain forgiveness through God’s mercy’ (Latin consequi posse ueniam Dei misericordia non dubitet (S1))

9.71 X + EXP X (Type B)

Þonne hreoweð hyre swiðe þa yfelan dæda ‘Then it will grieve greatly its evil deeds’

There are three similar examples besides Types A-D; they are either imperative or interrogative clauses in which the verb is normally placed in (or near) clause-initial position:

¹ Interjections are ignored throughout; cf. Hiyama (2005: 26).
7.67 \( + \) EXP X
ne tweoge þe na þæt ... ‘do not doubt at all that ...’

22.199 \( + \) EXP
La, hwi ne sceamað us? ‘Lo, why are we not ashamed?’

In the example below, it is difficult to explain why the pronominal EXP ure is placed after the verb sceamian:

22.200 \( + \) EXP X
Utan sceamian ure ... þæt ... ‘Let us be ashamed that ...’

This also happens to be the only example in \( VH \) where an impersonal verb is used with wuton.\(^1\) One might argue that the non-finite sceamian is attracted to the clause-initial finite wuton, leaving ure in postverbal position. It should be remembered, however, that the position immediately after wuton is more likely to be occupied by some element other than the non-finite in \( VH \).\(^2\)

\( \) 

**Group-b5: verbs expressing physical affections**

There are five instances that belong to this group: three with pyrstan and two with hingrian. None of them has formal subjects, and all of the three pronominal EXPs are placed preverbally. A striking example is 4.113 ne ðyrst þa næfre ne ne hingreð ‘then never will (he) thirst nor will (he) go hungry’, where two impersonal expressions are used contiguously.

\( \)

\(^1\) Cf. Warner (1993: 126): ‘I have not found examples [of sceamian, SH] with CAN, DARE (in the sense ‘dare’), or UTON in either Old or Middle English. But this is unsurprising.’

\(^2\) Of the ninety-four examples which have wuton and infinitive in this collection, the position immediately after wuton is occupied by the infinitive in thirty-six examples (including four with ne before the infinitive); in the rest (fifty-eight), this position is occupied by some other element.
Susumu Hiyama

Group-b6: verbs of saying

The only example with a formal subject is:

9.144  + hit X  (Type A)
Sægeð hit eac on bocum þæt ... ‘It also says in books that ...’ (cf. ‘We read also
that ...’ in Scragg (1986: 108)\(^1\))

As I mentioned earlier, the verb-initial syntax is quite possibly used as a boundary
marker; and the clause above starts a new paragraph in Scragg’s edition.

With reference to EXPs, there is again only one example, which is:

15.1  + EXP X  (Type A)
Men þa leofestan, sægð us on þyssum bocum hu ... ‘Dearly beloved, (it) says
in holy books how ...’

The above clause, together with the following three clauses, starts a homily:

6.1  X + X  (Type B)
Her sagað ymb ðas mæran gewyrd ... þætte ... ‘Here, (it) will speak about the
famous event that ...’

10.1  X + X  (Type B)
Her sagað on þyssum halegum bocum be ælmihtiges dryhtnes godspelle ‘Here,
(it) says in these holy books about the almighty Lord’s gospel’

22.1  X + X  (Type B)
Her sægð hu ... ‘Here, (it) says how ...’

It is indeed tempting to parse the initial *her* as something other than an adverb,
possibly an introductory *her*, or even a formal subject. However, I have already made
it clear in Hiyama (2005: 27) that I consider the so-called introductory *peer* - and *her* -
as local adverbs, to which I adhere. Moreover, it is more than likely that the phrase
‘Her sægð/sagað ...’ is used as an idiomatic (or formulaic) expression, thus making
the aforementioned distinction meaningless.

\(^1\) D. G. Scragg, ‘“The Devil’s Account of the Next World” Revisited’, *American Notes
and Queries* 24 (1986), 107-110.
The verb *secgan* appears yet again without a subject in 19.41 *Sæde him þæt ... ‘(He) said to them that ...’*. This is certainly a borderline case. I consider this as an example of personal construction where the subject is not expressed; presumably, the reader is expected to interpret the subject *he*, referring to the devil in this case, through the context. It is of relevance to note here that the sentence preceding 19.41 above has a similar construction, again in reference to the devil: 19.40 *Gehweorrfde hine sylfne þa on anre nædran hiwe ‘Then (he) changed himself into the form of a snake’*.  

**Group-b7: other verbs**

This group has only two instances: one with *calan*, and another with *losian*. The verb *calan* is preceded by a pronominal EXP in:

4.149  EXP + X  (Type D)  

þæt me ne cole on þysse worulde ‘that (it) would not be cold for me in this world’  

The medial (or ‘semi-clause-final’) position of *cole* seems explicable in terms of the (heavy) weight of the adverbial phrase *on þysse worulde* which occupies the final position.

The only example with *losian* is:

4.282  X EXP +  (Type A)  

eall þis þe losode ‘all this was lost to you’  

This clause is immediately preceded, and obviously influenced, by three emphatic clauses: 4.281 *Eall þæt ðu wære, & ic wæs þis eall on þe. & siðhan ic ana wæs of ðe* ‘All that you were, and I was all of this in you. And afterwards I was alone from you’.  

It may be noted that, in 4.282, *eall þis* is placed in initial position for emphasis, leaving the order ‘EXP +’ intact, thus creating this somewhat awkward example of verb-final Type A clause.

---

1 Cf. Nicholson (1991: 44): ‘All that you were, I was all of this in you; and after I was alone from you ....’
Formal subjects are used in twelve clauses, of which eight are preverbal and four postverbal. Three of the clauses - all with þæt - have formal subjects placed between split impersonals. In the following example, þæt is inserted between the impersonal expression dysiglic is, clearly because the adjective was attracted to the clause-initial hu:

14.31 + þæt - X (Type D)

hu dysiglic þæt sie þæt ... ‘how foolish it is that ...’

The remaining two examples of þæt placed between split impersonals are:

13.3 + þæt - X (Type A)

Bið þæt swiðe herigendlic þæt ... ‘It is very commendable that ...’

14.49 + þæt EXP X - X (Type A)

Bið þæt æghwylcum men micele selre & wislicre þæt ... ‘It is much better and safer for each man that ...’ (Latin Beatius quippe est liberum exire quam ...
(S1))

It is likely that the first halves of the impersonals are placed in initial position for stylistic prominence. There is only one example where the whole of an impersonal expression is placed initially, ahead of the formal hit:

9.220 + hit X (Type A)

Eala, min dryhten, laðlic is hit for ðy on helle to bionne ‘Alas, my Lord, it is therefore horrible to be in hell’

Presumably, this element order is aimed at adding further emphasis to the two interjections starting the clause. It is interesting to note that Szarmach (1981: 7, line 140) - but not Scragg - starts a new paragraph with this clause.

EXPs occur in seventeen clauses, of which five are preverbal, seven are postverbal, and five are placed between split impersonals. There is only one example of a nominal EXP placed preverbally:

20.6 EXP + X (Type D)
for ðam þe þam deofle bið swa leofre swa ... ‘because the more agreeable (it) will be for the devil (the more ...)’

The preverbal placement of þam deofle may be due to the comparative construction swa ... swa ..., as well as the strong verb-final/late tendency of Type D clauses.

**Group-c12: ‘(hit)/(him) is N/Adj’**

There are eight clauses with formal subjects: six are preverbal, and two are found between split impersonals. The latter two instances are:

1.85  + þæt EXP - X  (Type A)

Wæs þæt hira þeaw þæt ... ‘It was their custom that ...’

18.105  + EXP þæt - X  (Type A)

Wæs him þæt swiðe mycle weorce þæt ... ‘It was very painful to him that ...’

Contrasting placement of the formal þæt in these clauses seems noteworthy: þæt immediately follows the finite verb in the former, probably because of a close connection between hira (genitive) and þeaw, while in the latter, the dative EXP him takes the position immediately after the finite verb, possibly because of its weaker connection with weorce.

There are twenty-three instances that have EXPs, of which ten are preverbal and thirteen postverbal. Among the former ten, there is only one clause with a nominal EXP, which is:

1.145  EXP + X  (Type D)

for þam cyninga þeaw wæs & casera ‘because (it) was the custom of kings and emperors’

The same explanation for 1.85 above may apply to this clause.

**Group-c13: ‘(hit)/(him) is Adv (or an adverbial element)’**

The only example with a formal subject is:

16.40  + þæt - X  (Type C)
& rihtlice þæt wæs, þæt ... ‘and it was precisely that ...’

Although the expression *rihtlice is* is not listed in Ogura (1986), I classify this example in Group-c13 since her list has similar impersonals like *rihtlic is* (p. 275), *swutelice is* (p. 276), and *egeslic is* (p. 277).

This group has twenty-three clauses that have EXPs, of which two are preverbal and twenty-one postverbal. It is remarkable that all but one clause (10.259, which has *bet is*) contain *wa (is)*. Some examples are:

4.67 + EXP (Type A)
Wa is hyre ‘Woe is to her’

9.131 + EXP (Type A)
Wa bið þam mannum ‘Woe is to those men’

Still more remarkable is the structural stability of this expression: *wa (is)* always occurs in clause-initial position except in:

10.6 EXP + X - (Type C)
& þam bið wa æfre geworht ‘and woe will be made forever for him’

This clause parallels the two clauses that immediately precede it:

10.4 & þam bioð synna forgifene ‘and to him sins will be forgiven’
10.5 & synna þam bioð forgifene ‘and sins will be forgiven to him’

It is apparent that the peculiar element order in 10.6 is modelled on these clauses. However, it remains a mystery why the author decided to place the monosyllabic *wa* in medial position, while it would not have been impossible to place it (i.e. *wa* in 10.6) in the same clause-initial position like the subject *synna* in 10.5.1

---

1 Cf. Of particular relevance is Scragg (1992: 214) where the following three parallels are printed:

& þam bið wa æfre geborenun (Napier XLIV; Ker 68 and 69, s. xi1)
Þem bið wa æfre geborenun
(Oxford, Bodleian Library, Hatton 115; Ker 332, item 34, s. xi2)
& þam bið wa geborenun (Tristram III)

Scragg comments as follows: ‘The second sentence has by this stage [i.e. by the time the third clause was composed, SH] perhaps become a commonplace.’
**Group-c23: verbs of saying in past participle**

In this group, there are three clauses with formal subjects, all with *hit* in preverbal position:

7.40 \( X \text{hit} + X \) (Type B)

Witodlice be ðam (þe ...) hit wæs gecweden ðætte ... ‘Truly, concerning them (who ...), it was said that ...’

10.146 \( \text{hit} + X \) - d.s. (Type D)

swa hit is on minon godspelle gecweden: ... ‘as it is said in My gospel: ...’

\( \text{Latin} \ quia dicet in eeuangelio: ... \) (S1)

12.53 \( X \text{hit} + X \) - d.s. (Type B)

Be ðam dryhtnes egesan hit is ðus cweden: ... ‘About this fear of the Lord it is thus said: ...’

There is only one example which contains a Recipient (REC); it has a pronominal REC before the impersonal:

14.130 \( X \text{REC} + X \) - (Type B)

On þam wordum us is cuðlice gesæd ‘In these words (it) is openly said to us’

\( \text{Latin} \ Ex quibus uidelicet dictis constat \) (S1)

**Group-c24: verbs meaning ‘to be allowed’ in past participle**

While there are no examples with formal subjects, all the three clauses contain RECs - one is placed between a split impersonal, and two in preverbal position:

1.94 + REC - X (Type B)

Nis us alyfed þæt ... ‘It is not allowed to us that ...’ (Latin Nobis non licet ... (S1))

6.28 REC + X (Type D)

and manna gehwylcum wæs forgifen þæt ... ‘and to each man (it) was allowed

---

1 Scragg (1992: 229): ðama (obviously a printer’s error).
that ...’

14.134 REC X + (Type D)

þæt us ær her on worlde þurh hreowe & þurh ure geearnunga forgifene wæró
‘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 (gaudebamus)* (S1))

**Group-c25: impersonal passive - ‘is geholpen’ type**

There are no examples of formal subjects. RECs occur in all of the five examples:
three times preverbally and twice between split impersonals. There is only one
example with a nominal REC:

5.87 X + REC - X (Type B)

Drīm wisum ungelice wæró mannum beboden on þæs caseres dagum, þæt ...
‘In three unlikely manners (it) was commanded to men in the days of that
emperor that ...’

**Group-d: ‘(hit) is awritten’ type (never used with Dat)**

Formal subjects are used ten times in this group. All the examples have preverbal *hit*
except in:

20.162 þæt + X d.s. (Type C)
& þæt is awritten on þam sealme: ... ‘and it is written in the Psalm: ...’ (Latin
*quod in psalmo legitur* (S1))

**Group-e2: verbs of thinking in inflected infinitive**

There is only one example which has a formal subject:

21.178 þæt + X - X (Type A)
Hwæt, la, þæt ys ofer eallu þing to smeagenne þæt ... ‘Lo, behold, it is beyond
all things to contemplate that ...’
It seems that \( \text{þæt} \) is required by the presence of two clause-initial interjections; the clause would be obscured, both syntactically and semantically, without a formal subject (*Hwæt, la, ys ofer ... seems awkward and perhaps unlikely*).\(^1\) As for EXPs, all of the seven clauses contain pronominal EXPs in preverbal position.

### Group-e3: other verbs in inflected infinitive

As formal subjects, \( \text{þæt} \) is used once and \( \text{hit} \) once (two examples in total):

2.24 \( \text{þæt} + X - X \) (Type A)

\( \text{Hwæt la, þæt is ofer eal gemet to sceawigenne & to smægenne, þæt ... ‘Lo, indeed, it is beyond all capacity to see and reflect on, that ...’} \)

9.222 \( \text{hit} + X - \) (Type D)

\( \text{hwylc hit is on helle to bionne ‘what it is to be in hell’} \)

There are seven instances that have EXPs, of which three are preverbal and four postverbal. Given below are the two clauses with pronominal EXPs placed postverbally:

9.65 \( \text{+ EXP X - X} \) (Type A)

\( \text{Is us eac þonne to behealdanne þæt ... ‘Then, (it) is also important for us to take care that ...’} \)

20.180 \( \text{+ EXP X - X} \) (Type A)

\( \text{Is us, men ða leofestan, micclum to forewarnigenne & to gymenne ... þæt ... ‘(It) is very important for us, dearly beloved, to forewarn and to take heed that ...’} \)

It may be noted that Scragg (1992) differs from the former editors in the interpretation of this verb-initial construction: Scragg puts 9.65 above at the end of a paragraph, while Förster (1913: 89, line 4) and Szarmach (1981: 4, line 53) start a new

---

\(^1\) Cf. Scragg (1992) supplies a subject in 1.13 *Hwæt la, [ge] syndon unwise men* ‘Lo, you are foolish men’. This may be relevant here. Cf. also 2.24 listed in the section on Group-e3.
paragraph with it.

**Position of EXPs**

The following table shows the positional relationship between impersonals (+) and EXPs - nominal (N) and pronominal (P) - in Types A-D:

<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>+ N</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+ P</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N +</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P +</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>122</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Nominal EXPs clearly favour ‘+ N’, the position after the impersonal. There are only five preverbal (‘N +’) instances: 1.145 *for þam cyninga þeaw wæs & casera* ‘because (it) was the custom of kings and emperors’, 4.93 *Ne þearf nanne man tweogian* ‘No one needs to doubt’, 7.105 *þæt þone lichoman lyste þære sawle worcum fulgan* ‘so that (it) pleases the body to fulfill the deeds of the soul’, 19.170 *þæt Gode licap* ‘that (it) is pleasing to God’, and 20.6 *for ðam þe þam deofle bið swa leofre swa* ... ‘because the more agreeable (it) will be for the devil (the more ...)’. It is not difficult to account for the preverbal placement of EXPs in all but one (7.105) clauses, since, being (relatively) short and syntactically simple, there is little room for variation; in three clauses (1.145, 19.170, and 20.6), this is further reinforced by the fact that they are Type D clauses whose strong verb-final/late tendency must have played a role. The remaining Type D example, 7.105, smacks of Latin influence, but no source has been
found.\footnote{Cf. Scragg (1992: 133): Homily VII ‘has many of the hallmarks of a literal translation from Latin’.

As for the pronominal EXPs (‘P’), it seems natural enough to associate them with preverbal position (‘P +’). Contrary to this expectation, however, the table above presents a mixed picture: while preverbal position is in the majority (fifty-nine instances), there are still as many as twenty-five instances of postverbal EXPs (‘+ P’). Yet closer examination of these postverbal clauses reveals that more than half (fourteen) have pronominal EXPs between split impersonals (‘+ P -’), which may be subsumed under the preverbal EXPs (‘P +’) if one decides to emphasize the fact that the EXPs do not go beyond the latter part of the split impersonal (‘-’). The rest of the clauses are either Type A (nine examples) or Type B (two), where finite impersonals are placed before EXPs; this is presumably due to stylistic reasons (Type A) or the presence of clause-initial adverbs to which they are attracted (Type B).

**Position of formal subjects**

In *VH*, three types of formal subjects are used: *hit*, *þæt*, and *þis*. As is expected from their light weight, most of the formal subjects are preverbal, as shown 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><em>hit</em>+</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>þæt</em>+</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>þis</em>+</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+ <em>hit</em></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+ <em>þæt</em></td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>25</strong></td>
<td><strong>11</strong></td>
<td><strong>10</strong></td>
<td><strong>26</strong></td>
<td><strong>72</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Among the ten clauses with postverbal formal subjects, *þæt* is always placed between split impersonals (six clauses), and the other four (all with *hit*) are either Type A or Type B clauses where *hit* is placed after impersonals for discourse factors (Type A) or verb-second tendency (Type B).

**Clause-final elements**

The clause category (Types A-D) more or less reflects the status of clause-initial elements, particularly in Types B, C, and D where clause-initial position is filled by either adverbs or coordinating/subordinating conjunctions. Clause-final position is normally associated with heavy elements, and this holds true for *VH*: many of the examples have such heavy elements as noun clauses (which are always clause-final), phrases, direct speeches, and nominal EXPs. The following table shows the frequency of clause-final elements:

<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>+</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cl</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>159</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d.s.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EXP</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>inf</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>to</em>-inf</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>251</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As for the clauses ending with light elements, the following factors may have contributed to the element order: verb-second tendency in short Type B clauses (which splits impersonal phrases in two); verb-late/final tendency in Types C/D clauses; and
stylastic variation.

Summary

Let us now summarize the major conclusions of this appendix.

EXPs, both nominal and pronominal, are normally placed before impersonals. Most of the exceptions can be explained in terms of - one or more - of the following factors: weight of EXPs; influence of initial adverbials (Type B); strong verb-late/final tendency (Types C/D); and discourse and/or stylistic considerations. It should be noted that, in the case of split impersonals, EXPs never go beyond the latter halves (like uncuð in the following example), as in 9.63 & þonne bið eallum uncuð þæt ... ‘And then (it) will be unknown to all (what ...)’, where eallum is placed between bið ... uncuð.

Formal subjects are almost always placed either before single impersonals or between split impersonals, and exceptions may be explained in terms of the factors listed in the preceding paragraph. In addition, it is necessary to take account of the length of the clause in question; cf. the section on Group-a1 where I discussed 1.236.
This is a revised version of the list in Hiyama (2002: 123-132). I use Ogura’s system of description (1986: 234) with some modifications as below.

1. The list includes all the occurrences of ‘impersonal’ expressions in VH; examples of ‘personal’/personal usage, as well as dubious examples, are excluded. For exceptions, see (2) below.

2. The list also records all the occurrences of the expressions (either impersonal or personal) with adjective and to-Inf in VH.¹ I use square brackets to indicate examples of ‘personal’/personal usage. Furthermore, the list includes a selected number of ‘personal’/personal ‘rival’ expressions.

3. The description of element order is simplified. For example, ‘+ hit’ includes both ‘+ hit’ and ‘hit+’.

4. When the noun phrases (Nom, Dat, Acc, Dat/Acc, Gen) are pronominal (i.e. not formal) or þe, they are spelled out in round brackets.

5. The expressions which are not recorded in Ogura’s list appear with *. 

6. Where available, relevant page numbers in Ogura (1986) are given; for example, ‘rignan (42-43/234)’ means that the verb is discussed at pages 42 and 43, and that its syntactic patterns are listed at page 234.

7. I adopt the system of classification in Ogura (1986: 38). Thus, impersonals are divided into five groups as below.

   Group-a impersonal verbs which do not take a dative or an accusative of person but occasionally occur with the formal subject hit, as in (hit) rineþ

   Group-b verbs which may take a dative or an accusative of person and/or the formal hit, as in (hit) þinceþ/him þinceþ and (hit) langaþ/hine langaþ

   Group-c phrases with beon/wesan/(ge)weorþan + an adnominal element, which

¹ I have found no examples of the combination of adjective plus bare infinitive in VH.
may take a dative of person and/or the formal *hit*

(1) adjective, noun, adverb or prepositional-phrase as an adnominal element, as in *(hit) is betere/him is betere*

(2) past participle as an adnominal element, as in *(hit) is gesegen/him is gesegen*

Group-d passive constructions with *beon/wesan/ (ge)weorpan* + past participle, which do not take a dative of person but occasionally occur with the formal *hit*, as in *(hit) is awritten*

Group-e inflected infinitive constructions, which may take a dative of person and/or the formal *hit*, as in *(hit) is to witenne/him is to witenne*

8. I also adopt the subgroups in Ogura (1986: passim). Ogura uses capital letters for the subgroups, such as Group-aA. I shall modify this point and use numerals instead for the sake of clarity, like Group-a1 (or simply a1) which corresponds to Ogura’s aA.

9. I follow Ogura (1986: 12 and 234) in using the abbreviations below. (Some exceptions are noted.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nom</td>
<td>nominative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gen</td>
<td>genitive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dat</td>
<td>dative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acc</td>
<td>accusative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inf</td>
<td>infinitive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to-Inf</td>
<td>inflected infinitive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dat/Acc</td>
<td>an ambiguous form (like <em>me</em>)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nom (thing)</td>
<td>nominative of <em>thing</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pred</td>
<td>predicate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adj</td>
<td>adjective</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adv</td>
<td>adverb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prep</td>
<td>preposition</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Susumu Hiyama

cl  clause
ph  phrase
d.s.  direct speech

‘impersonal’ constructions which may occur with Dat or Acc

and/or formal hit

‘personal’ constructions with Nom (thing)

personal constructions with Nom (person)

+ the environment in which the verb or phrase in question occurs

‘hit + Dat’ an ‘impersonal’ construction with the formal hit and Dat

‘Acc + Inf’ an ‘impersonal’ construction with Acc and an explanatory Inf

‘Dat + Inf’ an ‘impersonal’ construction with Dat and an explanatory Inf

null without hit or Dat or any prepositional phrases which are
governed by a verb (Ogura’s ‘Ø’)
ELEMENT ORDER IN *THE VERCELLI HOMILIES: POSTSCRIPT*

**Group-a: ‘(hit) rineþ’ type**

Group-a1: Verbs expressing natural phenomena

*genihtian* 
+ null: 1.236

*rignan* (42-43/234) 
+ hit: 3.133, 20.19

*geþystrian* 
+ hit: 1.236

**Group-b: ‘(hit)/(him) þinceþ’ or ‘(hit)/(hine) langþ’ type**

Group-b1: Verbs meaning ‘to happen’

*gegan* (71-72/239) 
+ þæt: 6.25

þæt + þæt-cl: 6.22, 6.33

*is/wæs geworden* 
+ null: 16.65

(54-59/238-239) 
+ þæt-cl: 16.83

*gelimpan* 
+ null: 18.190, 23.47, 23.87

(62-68/245-248) 
+ Dat: 5.179 (him)

þæt-cl: 1.69, 18.94, 18.96, 18.99, 23.89

+ hit: 23.13

þæt + þæt-cl: 5.66, 18.46, 18.155, 18.210

*nealæcan* (73-74/240) 
+ Dat (thing): 15.101

hit + to-ph: 15.59

hit + þæt-cl: 6.16

*getimian* (69-70/251) 
+ Dat: 19.124 (him)

*geweorþan* (51-62/237-238) 
þæt + þæt-cl: 13.21

*beon* (51-62/236) 
þæt + þæt-cl: 15.15, 15.113

þæt + þonne + þæt-cl: 9.18, 20.75

*wesan* (51-62/236-237) 
+ þæt: 5.58

þæt-cl: 1.199, 3.78, 23.29

þæt + þæt-cl: 1.105, 3.81, 3.155, 3.156, 5.168, 9.104, 15.80, 16.2, 18.41
Group-b2: Verbs of various meanings (‘to happen’, ‘to befit’ &c.)

**gedafenian**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case/Clausal Form</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Acc + Inf</td>
<td>23.72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dat + þæt-cl</td>
<td>18.281</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dat/Acc + Inf</td>
<td>3.65 (us), 3.159 (us)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dat/Acc + to-Inf</td>
<td>22.75 (us)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dat/Acc + þæt-cl</td>
<td>5.188 (us), 6.47 (us), 8.15 (us), 14.55 (us), 14.163 (us), 17.59 (us), 17.130 (us), 19.1 (us), 20.2 (us)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**hit + þæt-cl:** 15.3

**þæt + þæt-cl:** 2.104

Group-b3: Verbs of seeming

**þyncan**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case/Clausal Form</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Acc + Dat/Acc + hu-cl</td>
<td>1.76 (hwæt, eow)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dat + Pred</td>
<td>19.168 (him sylfum)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dat + þæt-cl</td>
<td>2.20, 7.84 (him), 18.159 (him)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dat/Acc + þæt-cl</td>
<td>4.215 (me), 4.234 (me)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**hit + þæt-cl:** 23.99

**þæt + Dat + þæt-cl:** 16.53 (him)

Group-b4: Verbs expressing mental affections

**hreowan**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case/Clausal Form</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>+ Dat/Gen (thing)</td>
<td>9.71 (hyre)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**langian**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case/Clausal Form</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>+ Acc (thing)</td>
<td>18.270 (hine)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**lician**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case/Clausal Form</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>+ Dat</td>
<td>19.170</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
(105-112/258-260)  Dat/Acc + in-ph: 16 128 (me)

lystan  + Dat/Acc: 8.29 (us)

(112-115/257-258)  Acc + Gen (thing): 9.86 (hine)

Acc (thing) + Inf: 7.105

Dat/Acc + þæt-cl: 4.217 (me)

sceamian  + Dat/Acc: 9.206 (us; þurfan), 22.199 (us)

(115-117/262-263)  Gen + þæt-cl: 22.200 (ure; þuron)

tweogan  + Acc: 4.93 (+ þurfan)

(120-121/266)  + Dat: 23.41 (him)

Dat + Inf: 3.60 (him)

Dat/Acc + þæt-cl: 7.67 (pe)

Group-b5: Verbs expressing physical affections

hingrian  + null: 4.113

(125-127/264)  + Dat/Acc: 4.146 (me)

pyrstan  + null: 4.113

(125-127/264-265)  + Acc: 1.242 (hine)

+ Dat/Acc: 4.147 (me)

Group-b6: Verbs of saying

secgan (127-128/240)  + hu-cl: 22.1

+ on-ph: 10.1

+ þæt-cl: 6.1

Dat/Acc + on-ph + hu-cl: 15.1 (us)

hit + þæt-cl: 9.144

mon sægd/men secgad-type (129-130/301)

man + Dat/Acc: 2.97 (us), 2.98 (us), 15.105 (us)

man + Dat + þæt-cl: 18.128 (him)
Group-b7: Other verbs

*calan + Dat/Acc: 4.149 (me)
*losian Dat/Acc + Acc (thing): 4.282 (pe, eall pis)

Group-c1: ‘(hit)/(him) is betere’ type

Group-c11: ‘(hit)/(him) is Adj’

*aetrihte is hit + þæt-cl: 18.225

gedafenic is (148/273) + þæt-cl: 5.164
 þæt + þæt-cl: 16.14, 16.24

dysiglic is þæt + þæt-cl: 14.31

earmlic is (279) + þæt-cl: 14.33

eape is (146-147/272) Dat/Acc + to-Inf: 4.228 (me)
 [Nom (thing) + to-Inf: 4.135 (pe)]
 [Nom (thing) + Dat (thing) + to-Inf: 4.119 (hire)]

god is (137-140/268-269) + þæt-cl: 12.72

*herigendlic is þæt + þæt-cl: 13.3

*hraede is (cf. hrapost is: 149/277) [Nom (thing) + to-Inf: 9.93 (pe; + swifte)]

idel is (279, with the comment ‘(EME)’) þæt + to-Inf: 20.125

*idellic is þæt + to-Inf: 3.86

lang is (149/272) Dat/Acc + to-Inf: 19.67 (us)

*læplic is hit + to-Inf: 9.220

leof is (141-143/269-270) Dat + swa-cl: 20.6

leofre is (141-143/269-270) Dat + gif-cl: 9.123 (him)

*gelic is (cf. ungelic is: 279) [Nom (thing) + to-Inf: 16.149]

gelimplyc is (148/273) + þæt-cl: 13.9

*mihhtig is [Nom + to-Inf: 18.207 (he)]

nydbehof is (nydbehefe is) (283) [Nom (thing) + to-Inf: 3.14]
 [Nom (thing) + Dat + to-Inf: 3.1]
cf. *habban oferpearfe: 11.100

*habban pearfe: 16.27, 17.37

nydþearflic is (283) [Nom + to-Inf: 18.257 (ic)]

*ræpe is (cf. hraþpost is: 149/277) + þæt-cl: 15.96

*rummod is [Nom + to-Inf: 4.241 (he)]

*sarlic is hit + to-Inf: 9.168

*sel is + Dat: 10.237

selest is (140-141) Dat/Acc + þæt-cl: 14.65 (us)

selre is (140-141/269) + þæt-cl: 8.11

Dat + þæt-cl: 20.10, 22.56, 22.160

Dat/Acc + þæt-cl: 4.63 (us)

Dat (thing) + þæt-cl: 22.161

þæt + Dat + þæt-cl: 14.49 (+ wislicre)

þæt + þæt-cl: 1.14

pis + þæt-cl: 18.74

gesyne is (149/276) þæt + þæt-cl: 6.41

uncup is (143-146/271) Dat + hwæþer-cl: 14.52 (him)

Dat + þæt-cl: 9.63

Dat/Acc + hu-cl: 10.244 (us)

Dat + þæt-cl: 10.125 (him)

unype is Dat/Acc + þæt-cl: 10.163 (pe)

(146-147/272-273)

wyrse is (273) + þæt-cl: 7.88

wyrþe is (277) + þæt-cl: 9.56

Gen (thing) + þæt-cl: 1.114
Group-c12: ‘(hit)/ (him) is N/Adj’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Dat + Inf:</th>
<th>Gen + þæt-cl:</th>
<th>Dat + þæt-cl:</th>
<th>Dat/Acc + þæt-cl:</th>
<th>Dat + þæt-cl:</th>
<th>þæt-cl:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>lap is</td>
<td>10.124 (him)</td>
<td>4.316, 9.16, 16.54 (his)</td>
<td>15.75</td>
<td>11.74 (us), 14.93 (us), 16.139 (us), 19.49 (us)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gemet is</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mydppearf is</td>
<td>(150-155/283)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>riht is (158/275)</td>
<td></td>
<td>16.140 (us)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sar is (273)</td>
<td></td>
<td>2.60</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sceamu is (278)</td>
<td></td>
<td>9.208</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sop is (276)</td>
<td></td>
<td>1.69</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>þæt-cl: 15.73</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>unlust is</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wen is (155-156/279)</td>
<td></td>
<td>23.53</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*weorce is</td>
<td>þæt + Dat + þæt-cl: 18.105 (him)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>þearf is</td>
<td>þæt-cl: 4.322</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>þæt-cl: 14.158 (him), 16.16 (him)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>þæt-cl: 1.294</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>þæt-cl: 4.343 (us), 6.79 (us), 21.1 (us)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>þeaw is (277)</td>
<td>Gen + þæt-cl: 1.145</td>
<td>þæt + þæt-cl: 22.26</td>
<td>þæt + Gen + þæt-cl: 1.85 (hira), 1.148</td>
<td>þis + Gen + þæt-cl: 1.133 (eower)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

1 Cf. Szarmach (1981: 64, note to lines 83-84 in his edition): *Wæs ... weorce*: Bosworth-Toller 1898 notes the idiom *weorce wesan*, ‘to be painful to a person’.
GROUP-C13: ‘(hit)/(him) is Adv’

*bet is* (161/271) + Dat: 10.259 (him)

*rihtlice is* (cf. *rihtlic is: 275*) *þæt þæt* -cl: 16.40

*wa is* (159-160/283-284)

  *wa eow*: 11.76, 23.136
  *wa þæt-cl*: 22.48, 22.50
  *wa me þæt-cl*: 4.206
  *wa us þæt-cl*: 15.98, 15.104
  *wa us þæs þæt-cl*: 15.100
  *wa þam þe*: 15.111, 15.128, 22.212, 22.214
  *wa þam mannum*: 9.25, 15.60, 15.61, 15.62, 15.64, 15.66
  *wa þam sawlum*: 9.221
  *wa is Dat*: 9.131, 9.164, 10.6 (*þam; wa is geworht*), 10.236
  *wa is hyre*: 4.67

GROUP-C2: ‘(hit)/(him) is gesegen’ type

GROUP-C23: Verbs of saying in past participle

*is acweden* + null: 6.44

*is (ge)cweden* *be-ph + þæt-cl*: 7.38

  (169-177/286-288) *hit + be-ph + d.s.: 12.53*

  *hit + d.s.: 10.146*

  *hit + þæt-cl*: 7.40

*is (ge)sæd* + Dat/Acc: 14.130 (us)

  (169-177/288-289) + þæt-cl: 6.43

*is getacnod* (176/290) + þæt-cl: 5.41, 5.61, 5.67, 5.73, 5.90, 5.101, 17.68

GROUP-C24: Verbs meaning ‘to be allowed’ in past participle

*is alyfed* (178-184/292-294) Dat/Acc + þæt-cl: 1.94 (us)
Susumu Hiyama

*is forgifen* (185-186/294)  
+ Dat/Acc: 14.134 (us)  
Dat + þæt-cl: 6.28

Group-c25: ‘is geholpen’ type

*is beboden* (291-292)  
+ Dat: 6.64 (him)  
+ Dat/Acc: 4.345 (us)  
Dat + þæt-cl: 5.87, 18.69 (him)  
[Nom (thing) + to-Inf: 19.65]

*is forboden*  
+ Dat/Acc: 19.88 (us)

**Group-d: ‘(hit) is awritten’ type**

*is awritten*  
+ d.s.: 1.206

(189-191/295-296)  
*be-*ph + þæt-cl: 19.109, 19.151, 20.17  
*hit* + d.s.: 10.247  
*hit* + hu-cl: 21.35  
*hit* + on-ph: 9.27 (+ be-ph; standep), 11.43 (+ d.s.)  
þæt + d.s.: 20.162

**Group-e: ‘(hit)/(him) is to witenne’ type**

Group-e2: Verbs of thinking in inflected infinitive

*is to smeaganne*  
Dat + hwæt-cl: 20.152 (+ to secenne)

(196/299-300)  
þæt + þæt-cl: 2.24 (+ to sceawigenne), 21.178

*is to witenne*  
+ Dat/Acc: 17.47 (us), 19.58 (us; + to gehlystennë), 19.62 (us)

(197-198/299)  
+ þæt-cl: 3.55 (þæt ðæt-cl), 3.80, 3.101 (þæt þæt-cl), 3.122 (þæt þæt-cl), 3.128  
Dat/Acc + þæt-cl: 5.116 (us), 17.28 (us), 17.64 (us)

*is to gepencanne* (195-196/298)  
Dat/Acc + þæt-cl: 14.99 (us; + to witenne)
Group-e3: Other verbs in inflected infinitive

*is to behealdanne  Dat/Acc + þæt-cl: 9.65 (us)
*is to bionne  + hit: 9.222
is to done (is to yrnanne. is to done: 200/301)  + Dat: 19.145 (him)
*is to forewarnigenne (cf. is to warnianne: 300)  Dat/Acc + to-Inf: 20.180 (us)
is to ondrædenne (300)  Dat/Acc + þæt-cl: 4.96 (us)
is to ongiætenne (196-197/299)  + hwæt-cl: 20.161
*is to sceawigenne  þæt + þæt-cl: 2.24 (+ to smægenne)
is to secenne (300)  Dat + hwæt-cl: 20.152 (+ to smeaganne)
*is to wacienne  + Dat: 3.84
*is to wyrcanne  + Dat/Acc: 22.171 (þe)
Addenda and Corrigenda to Element Order in The Vercelli Homilies

page 3, lines 2 and 3: for clauses read Clauses.


page 14, line 6: for 139-40 read 139-41.

page 24, lines 11 and 14: for (Goldman 1970: 216) read (p. 216).

page 27, footnote 1: for OES §§3893 and 3933 read OES §§2536, 3893, and 3933.

page 35, footnote 2: for and read and.

page 38, line 3: for eorðan read eorþan.

page 50, line 3: for in positioning read in the positioning.


page 87, line 7: for punish read punish-.

page 88, line 1, add at end: (S1).

page 88, line 5, add before (23.126): (S1).

page 93, line 12: for CH read CH.

page 93, footnote 1: for B and C read B and C.

page 98, line 7, add before further: (Davis 1997: 95).

page 100, line 13, add after V-S-C: ; cf. Davis (1997: 97).

page 104, line 15: for domine secundum read domine, secundum.

page 105, line 9: for (S1) read (S1)).

page 106, line 10: for and without read and those without.

page 111, lines 1-2: delete almost and read two elements always form a cluster.


page 117, first paragraph, line 1: for typically read prototypically.


page 150, penultimate line: for 149-51 read 149-52.

page 164, third line up: for adv. when read adv. when.

page 176, top row of table: for 1, 2, 3 read A1, A2, A3.

page 176, ninth line up: for þyne read þysne.

page 176, ninth line up: for þyne read þysne.

page 176, top row of table: for 1, 2, 3 read A1, A2, A3.

page 178, ninth line up: for þyne read þysne.

page 178, line 1: for infunderet) read infunderet (S1)

page 178, last line: for perstare) read perstare (S1)

page 192, top row of table: for 1, 2, 3 read A1, A2, A3.

page 214, last line: for six clauses read six examples.

page 218, eighth line up: for requieuit) read requieuit (S1)

page 220, last line: for iaculauit) read iaculauit (S1)

page 280, line 2: for Adruck read Abdruck.

page 280, line 5: for I-VIII. read I.-VIII. Homilie.

page 284, fourth line up: for (1957) read (1958).