

# 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 1992 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 1 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 2 and 3 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 4 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) in 1992. 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 (Scragg 1970, 1992). 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

<i>CH</i>	<i>Ælfric's Catholic Homilies: The Second Series</i>
EETS	Early English Text Society
<i>Fontes</i>	<i>Fontes Anglo-Saxonici: A Register of Written Sources Used by Authors in Anglo-Saxon England</i>
<i>Guide</i>	<i>A Guide to Old English</i> (6th ed., by Bruce Mitchell and Fred C. Robinson)
ns	new series
<i>OES</i>	<i>Old English Syntax</i> (by Bruce Mitchell)
os	original series
<i>SH</i>	<i>Homilies of Ælfric: A Supplementary Collection</i>
ss	supplementary series
<i>VH</i>	<i>The Vercelli Homilies</i>

## NOTES ON PRESENTATION

Old English examples are cited with homily number and line number, as in 1.234 (Homily I, line 234). All line references are to the line in which the particular clause begins. The Tironian sign (7) is represented by the ampersand (&) throughout this study.

Latin sources are, in accordance with Scragg's (1992: lxxxi) practice, 'quoted from edited texts where these are available, but silently emended to achieve consistency of presentation, e.g. *j* and *v* are printed *i* and *u* respectively, punctuation or capitalization are regularized and *Deus* is capitalized.'

## CHAPTER 1

### INTRODUCTION

This opening chapter sets out the aims of the present study and deals with previous scholarship, corpus, and method. I follow Bruce Mitchell's *Old English Syntax* (§ 3887 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.<sup>1</sup>

#### 1.1 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 (1999) as follows:

**VERCELLI BOOK** (Vercelli, Biblioteca capitolare 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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<sup>1</sup> The present study is a slightly revised version of my 2002 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.*1100.... Some of the prose remained unpublished until 1981.

Scragg (1970: 16) 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 (1970) consists of the manuscript's inaccessibility (p. 16), the interest the Book has aroused in a wide variety of fields (p. 17), 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 (pp. 17-8). I may add here the inconven-

ience of using Förster (1932) for Homilies I-VIII and Szarmach (1981) for the rest of the homilies before the publication of Scragg (1992); 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 1992 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*, Ælfric, 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 (1966)) and information value (the given - new contrast; cf. Kohonen (1978)).

The clause is defined as the smallest linguistic unit containing a finite verb and at least another element.<sup>1</sup> 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.<sup>2</sup>

## 1.2 Previous Scholarship

The word 'syntax' derives from the Greek word meaning 'to put in order'. According to Mitchell & Robinson (2001: §139; hereafter *Guide*), '[s]yntax has been described as the study of "the traffic rules of language"'; cf. Bernhardt & Davis (1997: 5). 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 (1993: 55) 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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<sup>1</sup> Cf. Foster (1975: 405).

<sup>2</sup> Hence the use of the expression 'element order' rather than 'word order'. Cf. Goldman (1970: 6) and Davis (1997: 22). 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, i.e. in the structure of embedded infinitive clauses, .... 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, .... And increasing use of auxiliary verbs ties in with increasing fixity of S(...)VX word order (where V is now the *main* verb) for declaratives - positive and negative - and interrogatives, so that V is followed directly by its object(s) or complement(s). This brings us back round to the development of idiomatic expressions consisting syntactically of verb plus object or (part of) complement, for example phrasal and prepositional verbs.

Given the centrality of element order in syntax, it is not surprising that this field has been awash with articles and monographs. Even if we limit ourselves to those concerned with Old English, it is hardly possible to claim exhaustiveness, which I dare not attempt here. Thus, 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. My review is also confined to the so-called 'traditional' approaches as a reflection of my own position. Most of the 'theoretical' studies, it seems to me, are usually too concerned with establishing 'rules' and 'basic' orders to handle the data with due care and respect.<sup>1</sup>

For a detailed survey of the scholarship, useful annotated bibliographies and reviews are now available in the following: Tajima (1988), Mitchell (1990), Denison (1993), Mitchell & Irvine (1992, 1996), and Davis (1997). References to more

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<sup>1</sup> There are of course exceptions; see Pintzuk (1999: 19-20) and Fischer et al. (2000: vii). See also Robinson (1973: 471 and *passim*) for the limitations of both theoretical and descriptive studies. Cf. Mitchell (1988: 316): 'I have long passed the stage of believing that even a study of everything that survives will reveal "rigid rules" for Old English.'

theoretical approaches may be found in: Bean (1983), Battye & Roberts (1995), Pintzuk (1999), Fischer et al. (2000), and Pintzuk et al. (2000).

### 1.2.1 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 (1970), 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 (1940, 1948), Quirk & Wrenn (1957), Mitchell (*OES*), Mitchell & Robinson (*Guide*), Blockley (2001).

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 1997: 1-13 and *passim*). However, we should not - and must not - be deterred from using their findings wherever appropriate (cf. Mitchell 1988: 317).

The writings of S. O. 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' (1940: 18).<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> For criticisms, see Campbell (1970: 95, n. 9), *Guide* §182, and *OES* §§2112, n. 40, 2446, 3937, and *passim*.

However, it seems unwise to slight his observations, since, as Mitchell notes (*OES* §2447 and *passim*), we may still gain from his scholarship. Personally, I find Andrew's scepticism of printed editions on the whole healthy.<sup>1</sup>

Quirk & Wrenn (1957) is one of the first Old English grammars to incorporate a section on element order (pp. 87-95); the description, though limited to 'the most important and recurrent configurations' (p. 87), 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 (1940) and *OES*, Blockley (2001) 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. 215-21.)

### Structuralist approaches

References: Fourquet (1938), Fries (1940), Magers (1944), Saitz (1955),  
Bacquet (1962), Reszkiewicz (1966), Strang (1970).

These approaches more or less follow the traditional approaches with additional theorization of the function of certain linguistic - usually binary - features. Fries (1940) and Magers (1944) focus on the relationship between element order and inflection, while Saitz (1955) concentrates on the order of subject and object. Of particular importance are Reszkiewicz (1966) and Bacquet (1962): the former meticulously studies the positional syntax of elements according to their weight

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<sup>1</sup> It is not a mere coincidence that the current scholarship tends to emphasize the importance of the original manuscripts. See, for example, Sato (1990) and Blockley (2001).

(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<sup>1</sup> and the unreliable dichotomy of ‘l’ordre de base’ and ‘l’ordre marqué’ without due consideration of the context.<sup>2</sup> Strang (1970) offers a useful discussion on positional syntax expanding Fourquet (1938) and Reszkiewicz (1966).

#### Text-linguistic approaches

References: Firbas (1957, 1992), Kohonen (1978), Davis (1997).

In the 1960s, linguists began to analyse the role of communicative factors affecting syntax (cf. Givón 1979: xiii). Firbas (1957) pioneers in applying the theme - rheme contrast in comparing element order between Old English and Present English. Kohonen (1978) cleverly combines this method with the weight analysis of Reszkiewicz (1966). This combined methodology is later adopted in Davis (1997).

#### Typological/universal approaches

References: Greenberg (1966), Vennemann (1974), Canale (1976), Stockwell (1977), Bean (1983).

The 1960s also saw the emergence of typological studies in linguistics as represented

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<sup>1</sup> See Campbell (1964) and Mitchell (1966).

<sup>2</sup> For example, Ogawa (2000: 13-4) 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 (1966).<sup>1</sup> Vennemann (1974) 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 (1983) 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 (1987: 139-40, 1993: 47-8).

### 1.2.2 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 (1985) (*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 1980s, which is further supplemented by Mitchell (1990) and Mitchell & Irvine (1992, 1996). Mitchell's contribution is second to none in offering copious examples and remarks which are both sensible and

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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 (2000: 15).

<sup>1</sup> The word 're-emergence' may be more proper; see Kohonen (1978: 26). Kohonen (1978: 194) also writes: 'in the light of actual corpus studies, such categorical predictions [i.e. Vennemann's idea of the TVX stage and his notion of ambiguity avoidance] seem too simplistic, presupposing a consistency that is not realistic in human language.'

stimulating. 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 §3889).

However, it is not always easy to derive information on element order from *OES*. The chapter on element order (Chapter IX; pp. 957-86) is concise and useful, but it is more concerned with summarizing the basic facts and suggesting possibilities for future workers,<sup>1</sup> 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 (1978)

This monograph is characterized by: (1) careful examination of syntactic (and linguistic) theories up to the mid-1970s, (2) reliable statistics, and (3) 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 4 where Kohonen first considers the order of clauses (pp. 85-9) and then goes on to examine the order of each sentence element (pp. 89-123).

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 1 (pp. 219-22) where Kohonen elaborates on the coding scheme used

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. Mitchell (1990: 223): '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, 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 (1997)

This work is in short an amalgamation of *OES* and Kohonen (1978): 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,<sup>1</sup> followed by a discussion on clause patterns. Davis (p. 19) stresses the advantage of the first stage - clearly an adoption of Carlton (1970) - 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 (1997) where they apply a

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. Watkins (1964: 1036): '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* [my italics]. It is on this basis that one can, I think, make a meaningful statement about IE phrase structure.' The four elements distinguished by Watkins (1964: 1035) 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 3; pp. 97-103) where standard element order patterns are listed in a tidy tabular format.<sup>1</sup>

### 1.3 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.

#### 1.3.1 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,<sup>2</sup> and this study is no exception, since ‘there is some adaptation of the Latin material’ (Scragg 1992: xxxviii) in most of the homilies in *VH*.<sup>3</sup> 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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<sup>1</sup> I have, however, abandoned the idea of adopting this tabular format in the present study because Bernhardt & Davis (1997) fail to demonstrate the basic principles at work.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *OES* (p. lxi): ‘Much of extant OE literature is translated from or based on Latin originals.’

<sup>3</sup> With the exception of Homily II which ‘is unlikely to be based on any identifiable source, but was probably freely composed in English’ (Scragg 1992: 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,<sup>1</sup> 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 *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 *Fontes*) offers the most reliable standard for textual comparison: '[it] is intended to identify all written sources which were incorporated,

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<sup>1</sup> This is, of course, a supposition. Bacquet (1962: 12) quotes the following from Marouzeau (1953: 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, translated or adapted anywhere in English or Latin texts which were written in Anglo-Saxon England (i.e. England to 1066), or by Anglo-Saxons in other countries.<sup>1</sup> Based on this broad scope, '[t]he material is compiled in the form of a database which analyses each Anglo-Saxon text passage by passage, sentence by sentence or, if necessary, phrase by phrase, identifying the probable source-passages used for each particular segment.'<sup>2</sup> Each segment is accompanied by a siglum (or sigla) indicating the status of the source. The sigla used in the database are:<sup>3</sup>

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)
1	certain
2	probable
3	possible
a	'and' (= in addition to another source that is cited)
o	'or' (= alternative to another source that is cited)

For example, 'S1' (certainly a single immediate source) shows the closest textual correspondence between the source and target texts, whereas 'MX3o' (or possibly 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 (1994), where he applies the analytical method of Sonderegger

<sup>1</sup> <http://fontes.english.ox.ac.uk/whatisfontes.html>

<sup>2</sup> <http://fontes.english.ox.ac.uk/whatisfontes.html>

<sup>3</sup> <http://fontes.english.ox.ac.uk/guidelines.html#sigla>

(1965) 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' (p. 86). 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 (1964) 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' (p. 95). 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' (p. 25). 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.<sup>1</sup>

A more widespread approach is to compare Latin and Old English with particular attention to certain constructions; cf. Owen (1882), Bacquet (1962), Liggins (1970), and Yerkes (1982). This traditional, 'tried and tested' approach seems suitable for

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<sup>1</sup> 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 (cf. Young 1964: 70).

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.<sup>1</sup>

So far, we have seen that: (1) almost all of the homilies in *VH* contain some adaptation of the Latin material; (2) *Fontes* offers a reliable standard for assessing textual correspondence between Latin and Old English; (3) the linguistic comparison between Latin and Old English may be best tackled by concentrating on certain constructions. We may also note that: (4) many of *VH* derive from the lost intermediate sources, and ‘only the ultimate sources are known’ as far as they are concerned (Scragg 1992: xxxviii); (5) each homily in *VH* differs from each other both in the degree of adapting the Latin sources (i.e. process of translation) and in the manner of writing. With due consideration of these points, I propose the following treatment of the Latin sources:

- (a) the Latin source, if considered contextually related, is supplied with the Old English passage;<sup>2</sup>
- (b) the Latin source is accompanied, where available, by a *Fontes* siglum;<sup>3</sup>
- (c) the analysis of linguistic correspondence between Latin and Old English is limited to certain constructions.

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<sup>1</sup> See further Jin (1991).

<sup>2</sup> This also means that the Latin and the Old English may not share any syntactic or stylistic similarities except for (part of) vocabulary.

<sup>3</sup> At the time of writing (November 2004), *Fontes* does not have information on *Vercelli Homily* II, VII, and XXI.

### 1.3.2 The Vercelli Poems

Although it must be made clear that the linguistic analysis of the Vercelli poems (i.e. the other texts in the Vercelli Book other than *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 (2001: 2) conveniently summarizes different positions ('possibilities' in her word) in approaching the topic:

These differences<sup>1</sup> 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, one developed by Alistair Campbell in an important article [i.e. Campbell (1970)], 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, the one presented by S. O. Andrew [i.e. Andrew (1940, 1948)], 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' (2001: 2). 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

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<sup>1</sup> In the preceding paragraph, Blockley (2001: 1) explains 'the differences': 'This book picks up where Mitchell [i.e. *OES*] leaves off, with further investigation of the differences between prose and verse in how their clauses begin and where the sentences consisting in those clauses and their modifiers might begin and end.'

may be considered as a step in that direction.<sup>1</sup>

Finally, I should like to quote Scragg (1992: xx, n. 1) 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 1976 offers a full examination of script and writing habits, and a history of the manuscript.

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<sup>1</sup> The ultimate goal of this position would be to relate linguistic facts to literary ones, exploring such possibilities as illustrated by Bradley (1982: 109-10):

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.

### 1.3.3 Two Studies

As regards the linguistic study of *VH*, Scragg (1970) remains the most comprehensive to date; its chief emphasis is laid on phonological and morphological analysis, most of which is incorporated in Scragg (1992). Of great pertinence to the present study is Chapter 11 where Scragg presents a summary of stylistic (and syntactical) characteristics of each homily; this section of Scragg (1970) is still valuable as a complement to Scragg (1992) and will be referred to as it becomes necessary.

Goldman (1970) 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' (Goldman 1970: 216), and uses *VH* 'to supply the data for a transformational description that seeks to generalize some of the assumptions underlying his [i.e. Bacquet's] work' (Goldman 1970: 216). Goldman instructively emphasizes the importance of rhetorical patterns (i.e. 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. 222-3.) Incidentally, it was fortunate for Goldman that he could investigate all the homilies in 1970, using the final drafts of the edition prepared by Jon L. Erickson (mentioned by Goldman at p. 12, n. 13); it is indeed unfortunate that the edition remains unpublished to this day.



## 1.4 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 (1989: 17) in using the term ‘modal verbs’ (or ‘modals’ for short) for the following nine verbs: *agan*, *cunnan*, *\*durran*, *magan*, *\*motan*, *\*sculan*, *þurfan*, *willan*, and *wuton*.<sup>1</sup> For impersonal verbs and phrases, see below.

As we shall see in the subsequent chapters, verbal position often reflects important characteristics of clause categories. Thus, this study distinguishes the following positions:

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<sup>1</sup> Scholars are not unanimous in defining modal verbs in Old English. The same also applies to ‘auxiliary’ verbs; cf. Warner (1993: 92-109 and *passim*). For example, Mitchell (1988: 246) 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*, *onginnan*, 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 1.3 *Sagaþ* *oder godspellere þæt ...* ‘Another gospeller says that ...’, 1.162 *ac hataþ hine nu ateon* ‘but now command (someone) to remove him’, and 4.72 *Men þa leofestan, utan gefencan 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 3.58 *ac he þencð hu ...* ‘but He considers how ...’, 4.216 *þonne fagnode ic þæs* ‘then I rejoiced at that’, and 5.165 *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 5.165), as well as interrogatives as in 1.44 *hwæt witeþ ðu me?* ‘why do you reproach me?’.

**verb-final:** The finite verb is in final position as in 18.290 *þyder he feran sceal* ‘it must travel to that place’ and 5.100 *þa 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’,<sup>1</sup> is particularly useful to explain the near ‘verb-final’ placement as in 18.98 & *þa he ða þær wæs wel manige dagas* ‘And when he was there for so many days’ and 21.121 *gif we ælmyssan don willað on urum life* ‘if we wish to perform alms in our life’ where it is possible to interpret the adverbial(s) in final position as an ‘afterthought’ (hence proximity to ‘verb-final’

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. Vennemann (1984: 627).

placement is postulated).

### Subject (S/s)

This category is associated with the nominative case. Nominals (S) and pronominals (s) 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*, and *þær*).<sup>1</sup>

### Direct object (O/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

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<sup>1</sup> Mitchell (*OES* §§1491-7) 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 (or 'existential') *there* is firmly established. On this, Biber et al. (1999: 944) 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 /ðə(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 (1977). 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* §§3893 and 3933), the others depend on individual readings and are, therefore, difficult to ascertain. My treatment of introductory *þær* follows *OES* (§§1491-7) and I have been guided by the context in judging the function of *þær*. I have also taken care *inter alia* not to be too eager to detect such examples (cf. *OES* §1496 and *passim*).

accusative and dative). See *OES* §1092 for an alphabetical list of such verbs. Nominals (O) and pronominals (o) 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’.<sup>1</sup> This separate treatment of two kinds of ‘objects’ also makes it possible to parse the above-mentioned passage as ‘svzVO’.

### Indirect object (I/i)

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

### Complement (C)

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’ (*OES* §1581). Mitchell’s definitions (*OES* §§1581-6) are followed.

### Adverbial (A)

This category comprises one-word adverbs (except for *ne*), adverbial phrases, and prepositional phrases. As noted in Davis (1997: 18), it is sometimes difficult to

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<sup>1</sup> 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* §§3722ff (especially §3738) and *Guide* §161.

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 6.8 *hie þæt on bocum & on halegum leoðum sungon* ‘they sang it in books and in holy songs’, the phrase *on bocum & on halegum leoðum* is parsed as one adverbial rather than two adverbials.

### Negative adverb (n)

The negative adverb *ne* is given separate treatment from the other adverbials (A). Combined forms are treated as follows: *nis* (*ne + is*) is treated as nV (or nv, if the verb is followed by a non-finite verb), and *na* (*ne + 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’ (OES §§1464-72 and *Guide* §149). Examples include: a divided subject in 3.154 *Witodlice, þreo cyn synt ælmesseña* ‘Indeed, (there) are three kinds of almsgiving’; a divided direct object in 2.16 & *his onsyne ætyweð & his lichoman* ‘and (he will) show His face and body’; a divided complement in 7.20 *Lytle syndon mine dagas & awyrgede* ‘Few are my days and (they are) cursed’; and a divided adverbial (prepositional) phrase in 4.289 & *him 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 200 clauses that contain discontinuous elements.<sup>1</sup> It should be

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<sup>1</sup> Comparison with Davis (1997) is not possible since he simply writes: ‘Discontinuous nominal elements are infrequent throughout the Ælfric corpus’ (p. 58).

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<sup>1</sup> (like 19.170 *þæt Gode licap* ‘that (it) is pleasing to God’) are analysed independently in each clause category, separately from ‘personal’ verbs and phrases (like 7.10 & *he for his rihtwisnesse Gode licode* ‘and 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 *me hingrede* ‘I was hungry’, it is difficult to decide whether *me* should be parsed as a direct object or as an indirect object. Furthermore, it seems disputable to interpret *me*, the semantic subject (‘experiencer’; see below) of the verb, as an object here.<sup>2</sup> Thus, I propose to use the following symbols in describing the element order patterns of impersonals.

+: 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, *wæs ðus awriten* is described as ‘+ X -’ (see below for the symbol ‘X’).

**Formal subject:** This element, also known as ‘dummy’ or ‘empty’ subject,

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<sup>1</sup> 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 (1986) and Denison (1993: 66-7).

<sup>2</sup> But Campbell (1964: 191) 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, e.g. *Philippuse hungrede*.’ [emphasis added]

lacks anaphoric reference. In *VH*, the following formal subjects are found: *hit*, *þæt*, and *his*.

**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 1.94 *Nis us alyfed þæt* ... '(It) is not allowed to us that ...'.<sup>1</sup>

**X**: This symbol denotes all the other elements, which include noun clauses (as objects and sentential complements), bare infinitives, *to*-infinitives, direct speech, prepositional phrases, predicates, adverbials, and the like. However, X excludes the negative adverb *ne*, adjectives qualifying impersonals (like *mycel þearf*), 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, 4.113 *ne ne hingreð* 'nor will (he) ever go hungry' is described as '+ null'.

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<sup>1</sup> This is an example of 'indirect passives' as defined in Allen (1995: 349). See Allen (1995: 22-3) for her classification of passives.

## 1.5 Clauses

This study adopts two categories of clause types: the one in *OES* and the other in Davis (1997). 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 4). The latter, however, classifies clauses into as many as fourteen types, and is suitable for such detailed examinations as will be offered in Chapters 2 and 3. 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* §2417) between them.<sup>1</sup> In most cases, I am guided by the context in making decisions. Illustrated below are the two clause categories.

Mitchell (*OES* §3889) 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 1964*b* [i.e. ‘Syntax and Word-Order in the *Peterborough Chronicle* 1122-1154’] - simple sentences and principal clauses (1) 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; (2) which begin with *ond*, *ac*, *ne*, or a similar conjunction, the effects of which

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. *OES* §1633: ‘*A défaut de mieux*, I retain the traditional concepts of simple and complex sentences (§1876),.... 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 §§1879-82 and 3956-7. ... But no practical alternative has yet emerged.’



have too often been overlooked ...; (3) which begin with adv. *ne*, with an adverb other than *ne*, or with an adverb phrase; and (4) subordinate clauses ....

It is readily noticeable that Mitchell's clause type (2) corresponds to the so-called 'ond/ac clauses', and (3) to 'pa clauses'. It seems still clumsy, however, to call the clause type (1) '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:<sup>1</sup>

- 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 (1997: 18-9) distinguishes the following fourteen clause types:

Independent clauses:

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

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<sup>1</sup> Kubouchi (1999: 3) 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 (his Type D), 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 1997: 191 and *OES* §§2802-4).

## 1.6 Method

Chapters 2 and 3 follow Davis (1997: Chapters 2 and 3) in dealing with element order in each of the clause categories. First, only two elements, usually finite verb and another element, are considered at a time. Then, the relative ordering of three elements is described and analysed.<sup>1</sup> This procedure is adopted from Carlton (1970) and Davis (1997) for its clarity. Although Carlton was roundly criticized by Mitchell (1988: 310-1) for not differentiating pronominal objects from nominal objects, I believe that this problem has been solved by the nominal/pronominal distinction in

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<sup>1</sup> I follow Davis in limiting this second stage to Chapter 2; see below.

Davis. This organization of Chapters 2 and 3 also enables me to attempt a comparison between Ælfric (Davis) and *VH*.<sup>1</sup> Chapter 4 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. *OES*: vii). I have modelled the method of presentation on Kohonen (1978) and Davis (1997); the latter, in particular, has been a major source of inspiration since its publication as a doctoral dissertation in 1991. I have also benefited, *inter alia*, from Mitchell's criticism of Bacquet (1962).<sup>2</sup> In terms of exemplification, all Old English examples from *VH* are accompanied by translations in Present English.<sup>3</sup>

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: (1) more than 80 per cent of the cells have an expected frequency of more than 5, and (2) no cell has an expected frequency of less than 1.<sup>4</sup> The table below shows the percentage points of the chi-square

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<sup>1</sup> It should be noted that Davis does not deal with all the works of Ælfric (cf. Davis 1997: 13-6). However, his corpus of 11,543 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.

<sup>2</sup> Mitchell (1988: 244): 'M. Bacquet 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.'

<sup>3</sup> Except for occasional changes and corrections, the translations are based on Nicholson (1991). McCabe (1968) and Szarmach (1968) are also consulted where appropriate.

<sup>4</sup> For details, see Kohonen (1978: 80-1) and Kenny (1982: 110-9). It is noteworthy that Davis

distribution (extracted from Kenny 1982: 169):

d.f.	P = 0.050	0.025	0.010	0.001
1	3.841	5.024	6.635	10.828
2	5.991	7.378	9.210	13.816
3	7.815	9.348	11.345	16.266
4	9.488	11.143	13.277	18.467

d.f. = degree of freedom, P = probability

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 (1997: 17) with some modifications. They are summarized below:

<b>light</b>	pronouns (like <i>hit</i> and <i>min</i> )
	one-word adverbials (like <i>þa</i> and <i>soplice</i> )
<b>medium</b>	nouns unqualified by an adjective (like <i>fæder</i> )
	nouns qualified only by a demonstrative
	or a possessive pronoun <sup>1</sup> (like <i>se fæder</i> and <i>min fæder</i> )
	one-word adjectival complements (like <i>gastlic</i> )
	adverbials of two words (like <i>on worulde</i> )
<b>heavy</b>	nouns/pronouns qualified by a reflexive pronoun, or by one
	or more adjectives (like <i>he sylfa</i> and <i>se arfæsta fæder</i> )
	clauses (like <i>þæt þis is selre</i> )

(1997: 39-40 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.

<sup>1</sup> The forms are listed in fifth position in the table in OES §143.

adjectival complements qualified by one or more  
words (like *swiþe god* and *to þan swiðe synful*)  
adverbials of three or more words  
(like *on þam dæge* and *of Cristes sylfes muðe*)

The abbreviations 1, 2, and 3 are used for light, medium and heavy weight, in combination with clausal elements explained above; for example, ‘S1’ denotes a light (pronominal) subject while ‘S3’ denotes a heavy subject.

Finally, some words on the database. I have used R:BASE 6.5 ++ to store and retrieve information, as well as Excel 2002 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.

### 1.7 Samples

The first paragraph of Homily V (ll. 1-9) 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, ‘S3’ expresses a subject which is nominal (i.e. non-pronominal) and heavy, while ‘A1’ expresses an adverbial which is light (one-word).

#### Clause boundaries and verb phrases<sup>1</sup>

[ (1) Her **segð** þis halige godspel be þære hean medomnesse þisse halgan tide]  
[ (2) þe nu onweard **is**, ] [ (3) & us **læred** [ (4) þætte we þas halgan tiid gedefelice

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<sup>1</sup> I adopt the method of presentation in Biber et al. (1999: 120): ‘The verb phrases are given in bold ..., and the elements of the same clause are enclosed with brackets.’

& clænlice **weorðien**, Godes naman to lofe & to wuldre, & ussum sawlum to ecre hælo & to frofre, ] [(5) for þan þe wuldres cyning hine selfne **geeadmedde**] [(6) þætte he of heofonum on eorðan **astag**, ] [(7) þæt he on menniscum lichoman **acenned wære**.] [(8) For þam se arfæsta fæder ne **wolde lætan** his gesceaft **forweorðan**] [(9) þa þe he to his agenre anlicnesse **gesceop**, ] [(10) ac he hie **wolde alysan** of þære heardan hæfte & of deofles þeowdome. ]

#### Clause-level analysis

- (1) ‘This holy gospel tells here about the chief dignity of this holy time’  
(non-conjoined declarative clause, A1-V-S3-A3)
- (2) ‘which is now present’ (adjectival clause, S1-A1-C2-V)
- (3) ‘and (it) teaches us that ...’ (conjoined declarative clause, I1-V-O3)
- (4) ‘that we should honour this holy time properly and purely as a praise and as a glory to the name of God, and for our souls’ eternal salvation and for consolation’  
(nominal clause, S1-O3-A3-V-A3-A3)
- (5) ‘because the King of glory humbled himself’ (clause of cause, S3-O3-V)
- (6) ‘so that He descended from heaven onto earth’ (clause of consequence, S1-A2-A2-V)
- (7) ‘so that He would be brought forth in human body’ (clause of consequence, S1-A3-V-v)
- (8) ‘Therefore, the merciful Father would not let his creation perish’  
(non-conjoined declarative clause, S3-n-v-V-O2-P)
- (9) ‘those whom He created in His own image’ (adjectival clause, O1-S1-A3-V)
- (10) ‘but He would release them from the hard bondage and from the subjection to the devil’ (conjoined declarative clause, S1-O1-v-V-A3)

## 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’ (Smith 1999: 38). As was done in Davis (1997), 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.<sup>1</sup>

Independent clauses are divided into the following five types: non-conjoined declarative and exclamative clauses (section 2.1; e.g. 1.167 *We habbaþ æ* ‘We have law’), conjoined declarative and exclamative clauses (section 2.2; e.g. 17.45 *ac ic cwom* ‘but I came’), imperative clauses (section 2.3; e.g. 1.102 *Gesaga me* ‘Tell me’), interrogative clauses (section 2.4; e.g. 1.103 *eart ðu Iudea cining?* ‘are you the king of the Jews?’), and optative clauses (section 2.5; e.g. 1.153 *Hal wes ðu, Iudea cyning!* ‘Hail to you, King of Jews!’).

## 2.1 Non-Conjoined Declarative and Exclamative Clauses

*VH* have 1681 clauses that belong to this category. Exclamative clauses are treated together with declarative clauses, since exclamation is not marked in the Vercelli Codex.<sup>2</sup> The clauses analysed here are further subdivided into those without an initial

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<sup>1</sup> Davis uses selected portions of the following texts: *Homilies of Ælfric: A Supplementary Collection* (Pope (ed.) (1967-8), hereafter *SH*); *Ælfric’s Catholic Homilies: The Second Series* (Godden (ed.) (1979), hereafter *CH*). For details, see Davis (1997: 13-6). See also Mitchell (1990: 223-4) where he shows wariness about sampling.

<sup>2</sup> In his edition, Scragg (1992) uses the exclamation mark ‘!’ twenty-two times where the

adverbial (hereafter ‘Type A’, e.g. 1.167 *We habbaþ æ* ‘We have law’) and those with an initial adverbial (‘Type B’, e.g. 1.176 *Ne hafast ðu ænige mihte wið me* ‘You have no power against me’), since it has been firmly established by previous studies (e.g. *OES* §3889) 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 571 clauses with subject and simple verb, of which 458 clauses (80%) have the order S-V and 113 (20%) have V-S. The table below shows the distribution of subjects according to their weight:

	S1	S2	S3	Total
S-V	292	110	56	458
V-S	36	22	55	113
Total	328	132	111	571

$\chi^2=78.80$  with 2 degrees of freedom.

Examples are:

S1-V    *Hwæt la, ge syndon unwise men* ‘Lo, you are foolish men’ (1.13) /  
*Ge wepað (& hiofað)* ‘you shall weep (and lament)’ (7.30)

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manuscript has either a low point or no mark of punctuation. For punctuation in Old English manuscripts, see, for example, *OES* §§1671-4, Mitchell (1988: 338 and *passim*), and Strang (1970: 343-5).



S2-V Paulus gefæste ‘ Paul fasted ’(3.115) / hiora earmas agaledon ‘ their arms became slack ’(6.20)

S3-V ure þa neahstan sweltan ‘ those nearest to us will die ’(2.57) / Sume men synt (de ...) ‘ (There) are certain men (who ...) ’(7.84)

V-S1 Eadigu eart ðu, sawl ‘ Blessed are you, soul ’(4.121) / Wæs þæt in middanwintra ‘ That was at Christmas ’(18.48)

V-S2 Cumað Romane ‘ Romans will come ’(1.12) / Micel is gefea ‘ Great is the joy ’(5.162)

V-S3 bid fæger weder & beorht sunne ‘ (there) is fair weather and bright sunshine ’(10.243) / Cwæð se ædela lareow sanctus Paulus ‘ The noble teacher Saint Paul said ’(14.36)

Although the V-S order is infrequent in *VH* (20% of the instances with the two elements), it seems significant that this pattern is much less frequent in *CH* and *SH* (6% in each; cf. Davis 1997: 24 and 26). Among the V-S clauses in *VH*, more noteworthy is the existence of thirty-six examples of the V-S1 pattern where light subjects (S1) follow the verb, since, according to Davis (1997: 24-8), this pattern is limited to subjects of medium and heavy weight (S2/3) in both *CH* and *SH*. In *VH*, these V-S1 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: (1) *beon/wesan*, particularly *wæs*, is used most frequently as the finite verb - four times in Homily I and seven times in XVIII; (2) Homily I has six instances where the Latin source is closely translated as in 1.7 *Wæs þæt se ilca Caifas* ‘ That was the same Caiaphas ’ (Latin *erat autem Caiaphas* (S1)), while XVIII has only one<sup>1</sup> such instance, which

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<sup>1</sup> Homily XVIII has two other examples (18.26 and 18.86) where the available Latin source does not contain a verb.

is 18.107 *Eode he ða hwæðre in þæt hus* ‘Then, furthermore, he went into that house’<sup>1</sup> (Latin *egredi cellulam* (S1)).

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 15 instances), followed by Homily XXII (11 instances). It should be noted that more than half of the finite verbs used in this position ‘carry a very light semantic load’ (Allen 1995: 34), as in *beon/wesan* (24 instances) and *cweþan* (19 instances).<sup>2</sup> In the remaining forty-five clauses with V-S, the initial position is occupied by a complement (42 instances), a direct object (2), or an indirect object (1), confirming Davis’s observation (1997: 26): ‘An initial element in a clause which is not the subject appears to promote inversion [i.e. V-S].’<sup>3</sup> It is also worth mentioning that the great majority of the V-S clauses (88 out of 113) 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 (1964: 192) that ‘[i]nversion of subject and verb is normal in the main clause of such sentences [i.e. independent clauses preceded by dependent clauses]’.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Ogawa (2000), translating the phrase *ða hwæðre* as ‘therefore’, comments that this usage is ‘illogical but serves to establish parallelism with the preceding *Getreowde hine ða hwæðre ...*’ (p.241). My translation above follows Scragg’s glossary (1992: 440).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Allen (1995: 34): ‘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* (Godden’s edition).

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Campbell (1964: 193) comments on ‘the curious inconsistency of word order in principal clauses beginning with an element other than the subject’.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Campbell (1964: 192): ‘Inversion of subject and verb is normal in the main clause of such sentences, e.g. *Æfter þam þe Romeburg getimbred wæs iiiii hunde wintrum on xxvi, feng Alexander to Mæcedonia rice* (Orosius, ed. Sweet, p. 122). 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 558 clauses with subject and simple verb, of which 212 clauses (38%) have the order S-V and 346 (62%) have V-S. The distribution is shown below:

	S1	S2	S3	Total
S-V	117	51	44	212
V-S	158	73	115	346
Total	275	124	159	558

$\chi^2=10.13$  with 2 degrees of freedom.

Examples are:

S1-V Oft ic gedyde ‘ Often I acted ’(4.301) / Efne swa he cwæde ‘ he said thus ’(17.112)

S2-V In þam dæge þa synfullan heofiaþ ‘ On that day the sinful ones will lament ’(2.10) / Weotodlice Moyses hine gebæd ‘ Indeed, Moses himself prayed ’(3.131)

S3-V Be ðam se ælmihtega God sæde ‘ Concerning this, the Almighty God spoke ’(8.18) / Þonne hungor & sweorda gefeoht bið ‘ Then (there) will be hunger and the battle of swords ’(15.4)

V-S1 þa cleopodon hie ‘ then they exclaimed ’(1.181) / þa weop he ‘ then he wept ’(18.104)

V-S2 Þa fregn se bisceop ‘ Then the bishop asked ’(1.32) / þær wunad God

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process gives no special emphasis. ’ Among the Type A clauses preceded by dependent clauses in *VH*, 107 have S-V and 25 have V-S.

‘there abides God’ (22.164)

V-S3 Ða eode Petrus & Iohannes ‘Then went Peter and John’ (1.19) / Ða greowon unc Ða ecan witu ‘then grew for the two of us those eternal tortures’ (4.263)

We have already seen that the V-S order is used in one in every five clauses in Type A, and that, in *VH*, this pattern occurs three times as frequently as in *CH* and *SH*. It seems that this tendency - already visible in Type A - is further reinforced by initial adverbials in Type B. Although the frequency of V-S in *VH* (62%) is only comparable to *CH* (71%) and *SH* (59%), this result may be considered to vouchsafe the separate treatment of Type A and Type B.

Within *VH*, Homily I has yet again the largest number of V-S clauses (99), followed by XVIII (59) and IV (50). 87% (302 out of 346) of the initial adverbials are of light weight (like *þa* and *þonne*) in the V-S clauses. This changes greatly in the S-V examples: although such light adverbials still appear initially in about half of the total examples, adverbials of medium and heavy weight are used more frequently with this S-V order. It seems pertinent here to quote Campbell (1964: 193): ‘Inversion after *þa* and *þonne* is so common that it can be regarded as due only to grammatical rection.’ This important remark is attested in *VH*: the V-S order appears in 166 of the total 174 *þa* clauses and in 74 of the total 85 *þonne* clauses.<sup>1</sup> The predominance of V-S is particularly perceptible in correlative Type B clauses where 74 of the total 95 examples have V-S.

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. Allen (1995: 36): ‘initial position of the adverb *þa* “then” nearly always causes subject-verb inversion.’

## The order of subject and complex verb (Type A)

Examples and figures are:

S1-v-V (72) he bið ahafen in ece wuldor ‘ he will be exalted in eternal glory ’  
(4.80) / þa bið genidræde in helle tintrego ‘ they will be pushed down into the  
torment of hell ’(5.76)<sup>1</sup>

S2-v-V (16) Min sawl on nearunesse is geseted ‘ My soul is set in con-  
finement ’(22.2) / Eawla, se geleafa is geworden ‘ Alas, the faith has come ’  
(22.18)

S3-v-V (13) Sio ærste onlicnes is nemned wræc ‘ The first likeness is named  
pain ’(9.85) / þeos mennisce drohtung is gedrefed ofer ealle eorðan ‘ this corpo-  
real condition of life is troubled over all the earth ’(14.140)

S1-V-v (1) He us gelifæste hæfd on þyssum middangearde ‘ He has given life  
to us in this world ’(4.89)

S2-V-v (1) hwylcne dom him dryhten deman wille be ðam dome ‘ the Lord  
will judge each judgement for them according to the law ’(4.195)

S3-V-v (1) Nænig man oðerne æfter deaðe getreowlice onlisan mæg ‘ No one  
may truly release another after death ’(14.45)

v-S1-V (12) Wæs hit awriten on þreo geþeode ‘ It was written in three  
languages ’(1.208) / Wæs he ær beforan þa þreo gear gecristnod ‘ He had been  
christened three years before ’(18.84)

v-S2-V (10) Sceolde þæt word bion gefylled ‘ That word must be fulfilled ’

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<sup>1</sup> I consider the initial *þa* as a pronominal subject referring to the preceding passage & *swa þa þe ne willað rihtum geleafan onfon* ‘ And whosoever did not wish to receive the true faith ’(5.75). A similar example is found in the same homily: & *swa hwylce swa ne woldon hlafordas habban, ða wæron þurh rode deaðe gewitnode* ‘and whosoever did not wish to have lords, they were punished through quick death’ (5.72).

(1.95) / Wæs se Barrabas haten sum sceaþa & forwyrht man ‘ This Barabbas was called a thief and a wicked man ’(1.139)

v-S3-V (4) Wæron þa milite þæs gerefan men þy þæt dydon ‘ The soldiers, the men of the high official, did that in this way ’(1.223) / Syndon þas þry dagas, toeacan oðrum þingum, for þan us gesette ‘ Therefore, these three days are established for us besides other things ’(13.10)

v-V-S1/2 (0)

v-V-S3 (3) Me is seald nu miht on heofonum & on eorðan ‘ To me, now, is given might in heavens and on earth ’(5.43) / bid seald þæt gastlice gereord Cristes lichoman ‘ the spiritual food of the body of Christ will be given ’(5.142)

V-S-v (0)

V-v-S (0)

The order S-v-V accounts for 76% of the examples in *VH*. According to Davis (1997: 31-2), Ælfric uses this order more consistently: the S-v-V order enjoys a (near) monopoly - 99% in *SH* and 100% 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: (1) the three examples with S-V-v order (4.89, 4.195, and 14.45; see above) are the sole examples with V-v order in all Type A clauses irrespective of the presence of any other element in the clause; (2) the v-S-V order is concentrated in Homily I (nine examples) and Homily XVIII (six); (3) all the v-V-S examples<sup>1</sup> contain heavy subjects.

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<sup>1</sup> I have excluded one dubious example with a subject of medium weight: 16.64 *Iordan is haten seo ea* ‘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 (1968: 62): ‘“ Jordan ” is the name of the river (in which ...)’.

The order of subject and complex verb (Type B)

Examples and figures are:

S1-v-V (57) *Sodlice se bið aþwegen* ‘ Truly, he shall be washed ’(3.50) / *Purh þa byrdran we wæron gehælede* ‘ Through the mother we were healed ’ (10.22)

S2-v-V (12) *On þyses lichoman hiwe man mæg gesion þæt ...* ‘ In the form of this body one may see that ... ’(4.162) / *Of ðære onbyrdnesse eadmodnes bið acenned* ‘ From this zeal humility is born ’(12.56)

S3-v-V (9) *witodlice ealle hie wæron þurh geswinc gebyrhte* ‘ indeed they were all distinguished through toil ’(7.23) / *Of ðære eadmodnesse licumlice lustas & ealle uncysta wiord utawyrtrumade* ‘ From this humility carnal desires and all sins are eradicated ’(12.56)

S1-V-v (2) *swa we him mærlýcor þancian sculon* ‘ so we must thank Him more splendidly ’(10.203) / *þyder he feran sceal* ‘ it must travel to that place ’ (18.290)

S2-V-v (3) *nu þine yrfeweardas leng lyfian ne moton* ‘ now your heirs cannot live longer ’(10.194) / *þyder his modgeþanc a geseted wæs* ‘ his mind was always fixed to that place ’(18.285)

S3-V-v (1) *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 ’(16.114)

v-S1-V (48) *swa wæs he utadrifen* ‘ so was he driven out ’(3.118) / *þa wæs he swiþe gefeonde* ‘ then he was greatly rejoicing ’(18.114)

v-S2-V (24) *Purh þæt fæsten bið þa leahtras astreahte* ‘ Through the fast, those sins shall be overthrown ’(3.93) / *Ðonne bið sio gleng agoten* ‘ Then will adornment be destroyed ’(10.229)

v-S3-V (43) Her ne mæg nan yfel ece beon ‘ Here, no wickedness may be eternal ’(4.23) / Nu syndon þa Godes cyrican bereafode ‘ Now are those churches of God robbed ’(11.90)

v-V-S1 (0)

v-V-S2 (3) Ne mot þær bion nawðer gemetegod for þære læddo ‘ Nor may any of them be moderated there because of the hatred ’(4.55) / Swylce us hafad geæld ure dryhten manege gastlice blacernas ‘ Similarly, our Lord has kindled many spiritual candles for us ’(11.10)

v-V-S3 (23) Nu syndon gefylled halige gewrito ‘ Now Holy Scripture is fulfilled ’(1.249) / Ðurh þa wundor wæs getacnod Cristes cyme on middangeard ‘Through those wonders was signified the coming of Christ to this world’ (5.57)

V-S-v (0)

V-v-S (0)

The S-v (subject - finite verb) order is used 84 times (37%), and the v-S 141 times (63%), showing a striking correspondence with the Type B clauses with simple verbs where the parallel percentages are almost identical (38% for S-V and 62% for V-S). Findings are: (1) light subjects dominate the S-v-V order; (2) there are no other instances with V-v in Type B except for the six examples with S-V-v; (3) regarding the v-S-V order, *beon/wesan* is used as a finite verb in nearly half of the total instances (57 out of 115), followed by *magan* (23) and *\*sculan* (13); (4) the dominance of *beon/wesan* is further established in the v-V-S examples where *beon/wesan* is used in 22 clauses and different finite verbs - *habban*, *weorþan*, *\*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 443 clauses inclusive of both Type A and Type B, 138 (31%) have



O-V, and 305 (69%) have V-O. The distribution is as follows:

	O1	O2	O3	Total
O-V	72	30	36	138
V-O	31	62	212	305
Total	103	92	248	443

$\chi^2=104.21$  with 2 degrees of freedom.

Examples are:

O1-V ofer eall his god he hie geset ‘ he set them above all their goods ’(3.73)

/ Mine þearfan me lufiað ‘ My needy ones love me ’(10.178)

O2-V Nu sio idelnes swa swide þam lichoman dered ‘ Now the idleness greatly injures the body ’(7.66) / Min feorh ic sealde for de ‘ My life I gave for the sake of you ’(8.67)

O3-V Ladlice eardunge hæfde ic on þe ‘ I had a loathsome dwelling in you ’ (4.284) / þa ic fæmnelicne innod gesohte ‘ then I sought the maidenly womb ’ (8.52)

V-O1 þa gebundon hie hine ‘ then they bound him ’(1.5) / Cwæd þæt se halga Ysodorus ‘ The holy Isidore said that ’(22.106)

V-O2 a he onfehð miltse mid me ‘ always will he receive mercy with me ’ (4.82) / he hæfde his handa upweardes ‘ he held his hands upwards ’(18.284)

V-O3 Bædon swide unlædlicre bene ‘ (They) asked a very wretched request ’ (1.190) / Nu gyt ær inc geearnodan ece reste ‘ Formerly, you two earned eternal rest ’(4.165)

Compared with Davis (1997: 35-9), the percentage of the O-V order is slightly higher in *VH* (31%) than in *CH* (21%) and *SH* (27%). Concluding his equivalent

section, Davis (1997: 39) 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:

Type A

	O1	O2	O3	Total
O-V	42	25	27	94
V-O	7	29	92	128
Total	49	54	119	222

$\chi^2=56.93$  with 2 degrees of freedom.

Type B

	O1	O2	O3	Total
O-V	30	5	9	44
V-O	24	33	120	177
Total	54	38	129	221

$\chi^2=57.65$  with 2 degrees of freedom.

The tables clearly show different - and mixed - tendencies in the two types of clauses. Most of the pronominal direct objects (O1) 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 (O2/3): 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 O1 (Type A) and O2/3 (Type B). Thus, the ‘freedom’ claimed by Davis (1997; 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 121 clauses, of which 50 are Type A examples and 71 are Type B examples. Examples and figures are:

O1-v-V (Type A=7; Type B=2) *ðu me hæfdest forneah forgitenne* ‘you had almost forgotten me’(4.234) / *Þy hine ne scele nan man swa sylfne beswican* ‘Therefore, no man must deceive himself thus’ (22.127)

O2-v-V (Type A=3; Type B=0) *þone ænne we sculon ecne gelyfan, butan ælcra frymde odde onginnesse* ‘we must believe that eternal one without any origin or beginning’(16.162) / *Men ða leofestan, þas mægenu we magon begytan* ‘Dearly beloved, we can obtain these virtues’ (21.84)

O3-v-V (Type A=0; Type B=0)

O1-v-v (Type A=1; Type B=0) *He us gelifæste hæfd on þyssum middangearde* ‘He has given life to us in this world’(4.89)

O2-v-v (Type A=1; Type B=0) *Nænig man oderne æfter deade getreowlice onlysan mæg* ‘No one may truly release another after death’(14.45)

O3-V-v (Type A=1; Type B=0) *hwylcne dom him dryhten deman wille be ðam dome* ‘the Lord will judge each judgement for them according to the law’(4.195)

v-O1-V (Type A=3; Type B=5) *He sceall hine eac swa læran* ‘He must also guide him’(3.29) / *Ne meahte hit þæt dioful þam ancran eall aseccan* ‘The devil could not explain it all to the anchorite’(9.215)

v-O2-V (Type A=7; Type B=17) *Næs hio næfre weorca agæled* ‘She has never neglected deeds’(4.119) / *We ðonne sculon his mildheortnesse gearnigan* ‘We then must earn His mercy’(10.113)

v-O3-V (Type A=8; Type B=21) *Ne mæg ic ænige synne to þyssum men ongitan* ‘I cannot perceive any sin in this man’(1.132) / *Hwæt, we siððan ne*

magon nane lade gedon ‘ Lo, afterwards, we may not perform any purgation ’  
(8.29)

v-V-O1 (Type A=0; Type B=0)

v-V-O2 (Type A=3; Type B=8 ) Dryhten hælend, he oft wæs dælende  
ælmessan on þinum naman ‘ Lord Saviour, he often was distributing alms in  
your name ’(4.145) / for ðan þe we nu magon behydan & behelian ura dæda  
‘therefore we are now able to conceal and cover up our deeds’ (9.7)

v-V-O3 (Type A=16; Type B=18) 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 ’(6.86) / Nu we magon sceawian ealle ure  
synna beforan ealre þysse mænigo ‘ Now we may consider all of our sins before  
all of this multitude ’(9.138)

V-O-v (Type A=0; Type B=0)

V-v-O (Type A=0; Type B=0)

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 (97%) of the v-(V)-O order than Type A (74%). Both of the two exceptions in Type B have O1-v-V as in 1.157 *Nu gyt ic hine hate lædan hider ut beforan eow ealle* ‘ Now I command that (they) lead Him out here before you all’<sup>1</sup> and 22.127 *Py hine ne scele nan man swa sylfne beswican* ‘Therefore, no man must deceive himself thus’. Comparison with the data in Davis (1997: 39-42) 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

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<sup>1</sup> 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* §§3755ff.

instances - one in *CH* (O3-v-V) and two in *SH* (O1-v-V and O3-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 '(1.255) /

*For þam se arfæsta fæder ne wolde lætan his gesceaft forweorðan* ' Therefore, the merciful Father would not let his creation perish '(5.6)

v-Z-V    *Ne let ðu hine no ðy swa lange lybban* ' Therefore, you did not let him

live so long '(4.238) / *þa leton hie hine bidan ana & gestandan* ' then they let him wait and stand alone '(23.108) / *þa geseah he semninga þær ða ondrysenlican fideru ongen cuman þara werigra gasta* ' Then, suddenly, he saw there the dreadful wings of those evil spirits come in this direction '(23.118)

v-Z-O-V    *þa het he hine æghwylcne scilling agifan* ' then he ordered him to pay each of the shillings '(14.129)

v-O-Z-V    *Sio forhæfdnesse geded Gode þone mannan nealæcan* ' That abstinence causes the man to draw near to God '(22.163)

It seems worth mentioning that the last example, 22.163, uses a different element order from the Latin source: *continentia hominem Deo proximum facit* (S1) ' moderation makes a man very close to God '.

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

The sample is 86 clauses, of which 39 are Type A and 47 are Type B. The tables below illustrate the distribution in each category:

Type A

	I1	I2	I3	Total
I-V	21	2	0	23
V-I	11	3	2	16
Total	32	5	2	39

Type B

	I1	I2	I3	Total
I-V	15	2	1	18
V-I	23	3	3	29
Total	38	5	4	47

Examples are:

I1-V Ða him eac Crist sylf foresæde ‘ Then Christ Himself also prophesied to them ’(7.28) / hie us myclum fromiað ‘ they will accomplish much for us ’ (21.106)

I2-V Ða wæccan he eft gecyðde ‘ To the watches, he said again ’(3.79) / For þan hie mannum budon sybbe ‘ Therefore, they offered peace to men ’(5.176)

I3-V efne ge þæt me sylfum doð ‘ you do that likewise for myself ’(18.77)

V-I1 Ða lyfde he, Pilatus, him þæt ‘ Then Pilate granted him that ’(1.276) / nane are ne dyde he him ‘ he performed no mercy for them ’(4.225)

V-I2 He sealde þam þyrstendan drincan ‘ He gave drink to the thirsty ’(4.147) / Be ðam he sylf þæt bigspel sæde his þegnum ‘ About this He Himself told this parable to His disciples ’(14.121)

V-I3 He sealde þam geswenctum mannum reste & are ‘ He gave to the troubled man rest and pity ’(4.149) / Ðonne forgifed ure dryhten þryddan dæl þæs synfullan heapes þære halgan sancta Marian ‘ Then our Lord will grant to holy Saint Mary a third part of that sinful troop ’(15.147)

The percentages of the two patterns are I-V (59%) and V-I (41%) in Type A, and I-V (38%) and V-I (62%) 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.

Types A/B

	I1	I2	I3	Total
I-V	36	4	1	41
V-I	34	6	5	45
Total	70	10	6	86

In *VH*, the frequencies of I-V (48%) and V-I (52%) are level pegging. Davis (1997: 42-5) tells us of some variety in *Ælfric*: while *CH* present a picture similar to that in *VH* (I-V comprises 45% of instances), *SH* clearly show a preference for V-I (70%). 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 ða him togeanes cwæð (*CH*:X-103)’ (Davis 1997: 43). There are five such examples (i.e. I2/3-V) in *VH*: two in Type A (both with I2) and three in Type B (two with I2 and one with I3).

#### The order of indirect object and complex verb (Types A/B)

Examples and figures are:

I1-v-V (Type A=4; Type B=6) Me is seald nu miht on heofonum & on eorðan  
 ‘To me, now, is given might in heavens and on earth’ (5.43) / Swylce us  
 hafað geæld ure dryhten manege gastlice blacernas ‘Similarly, our Lord has  
 kindled many spiritual candles for us’ (11.10)

I2-v-V (Type A=1; Type B=0) Ælcum, (ge geongum ge ealdum,) þis fæsten is  
 beboden ‘To everyone (both young and old) this fast is commanded’ (19.95)

I3-v-V (Type A=3; Type B=0) Manegum haligum mannum þas gangdagas  
 syndon wiðmetene ‘These Rogation Days have been compared with many holy

men '(19.66) / Eallum yflum ic eom seald ' I am given up to all evils '(22.4)  
 I1-V-v (Type A=1; Type B=1) hwylcne dom him dryhten deman wille be ðam  
 dome ' the Lord will judge each judgement for them according to the law '  
 (4.195) / swa we him mærylcōr þancian sculon ' so we must thank Him more  
 splendidly '(10.203)

I2/3-V-v (Type A=0; Type B=0)

v-I1-V (Type A=3; Type B=2) þonne magon we ægðer ge us heofonrice  
 geearnian ' then we may both merit the kingdom of heaven for ourselves '(9.19)  
 / Syndon us nu for þan bec gesette ' Therefore, gospels are ordained for us '(11.9)

v-I2-V (Type A=0; Type B=2) Ne meahte hit þæt dioful þam ancran eall  
 asecgan ' The devil could not explain it all to the anchorite '(9.215) / þy we  
 magon mycel god ussum sawlum on him gestrynan ' by that we may amass in  
 them much good for our souls '(11.102)

v-I3-V (Type A=2; Type B=1) Pær bið eallum halgum alif sceapen betweox  
 englum & heahenglum & 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' (9.203) / Se  
 feorða is dryhtne sylfum for his mæran upstige of eorðan to heofonum gehalgod  
 'The fourth (day) is dedicated to the Lord Himself for His famous Ascension  
 from earth to heaven' (19.60)

v-V-I1/2 (Type A=0; Type B=0)

v-V-I3 (Type A=2; Type B=0) Ealle we sculon agyldan þam ecan deman on  
 þam myclan dome ' We must offer all to the Eternal Judge at the great  
 judgement '(4.188) / Ðæt mitte wæs sæd Afradisio þam heretogan ' Then, that  
 was told to Affrodisius, the general '(6.74)

The indirect object is placed before the finite verb (I-v) in nine (56%) of Type A  
 and in seven (58%) of Type B clauses. Apart from this similarity between the two



clause categories, the sample is not large enough to make any general comments. As in the previous sections, Davis (1997: 45-8) - who does not distinguish between Type A and Type B - does not seem to help here, though two points may deserve mentioning: (1) the I-v order is much less frequent in Ælfric - 23% in *CH* and 32% in *SH*; (2) 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 80 clauses, of which 38 are Type A and 42 are Type B. The percentages of the two patterns are almost identical in the two types; the I-O order accounts for 84% of instances in Type A and 86% in Type B. Examples are:

O-I hit him mon sceal framadon 'one must put it away from him' (7.92) /  
efne ge þæt me sylfum doð 'you do that likewise for myself' (18.77)

I-O Ða ne andswarode he him, Crist, ænige worde 'Then he, Christ, did  
not answer him any word' (1.65) / Ðu him symle tide forwyrndest 'You always  
refused to them a gift' (10.156)

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: 4.195 *hwylcne dom him dryhten deman wille be ðam dome* 'the Lord will judge each judgement for them according to the law', 4.225 *nane are ne dyde he him* 'he performed no mercy for them', 10.151 *æghwæt þæs ðe ðu hafast, ic þe sealde*<sup>1</sup> 'everything you have, I gave to you',

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<sup>1</sup> It may be noted that the adjectival clause *æghwæt ... hafast* serves as a direct object here.

11.102 *þy we magon mycel god ussum sawlum on him gestrynan* ‘by that we may amass in them much good for our souls’, and 15.147 *Ðonne forgifeð ure dryhten þryddan dæl 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 364 clauses: 239 from Type A and 125 from Type B. The distribution may be presented in tabular form:

Type A					Type B				
	C1	C2	C3	Total		C1	C2	C3	Total
C-V	7	40	14	61	C-V	0	2	4	6
V-C	2	46	130	178	V-C	1	40	78	119
Total	9	86	144	239	Total	1	42	82	125

<sup>2</sup>=51.77 with 2 degrees of freedom.

Examples are:

C1-V *se min bid* ‘he is mine’ (1.129) / *swa ða rican syndon her in worulde* ‘so are the powerful here in the world’. (10.232)

C2-V *Eadige beoð þa þeowas* ‘Happy shall be the servants’ (3.72) / *For ðan ungegededu is min gnornung* ‘Therefore unending is my lamentation’ (22.61)

C3-V *Neara & wiðerdene is se halega weg* ‘Narrow and steep is the holy way’ (7.31) / *nu we þus þurh Godes mihte ealle ætgædere syndon* ‘now we are thus all assembled through the might of God’ (19.49)

V-C1 næs nænig seam on ‘ (there) was no seam in (it) ’(1.217) / Þæt wæron mine ‘ they were mine ’(10.77)

V-C2 Þis wæs min agen ‘ This was my property ’(4.295) / þæs mannes nama wæs Cyrinus ‘ the name of that man was Cyrenius ’(5.13)

V-C3 He wæs strang & stadolfæst & fæstræd on þinum bebodum ‘ He was strong and steadfast and unwavering in your commands ’(4.137) / Soðlice he is se cwica hlaf ‘ Truly, he is the living bread ’(5.122)

The V-C order has a majority in both clause categories, and Type B displays its higher frequency (95%) than does Type A (74%). In addition to 19.49 and 22.61 (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, (there) is sorrow and unhappiness of the Lord Saviour and of the saints’ (1.118) / Broðor mine, æfter þære andetnesse to underfonne is sio hreowsung ‘ My brethren, after the confession (it) is (necessary) to undertake repentance ’(3.43) / to ðam werig he wære for þære anre nihthwile ‘ for that reason, he would be evil during the night ’(9.162) / Nalles þæt he his willan on þam woruldfolgode wære ‘ Not only was he voluntarily in the secular occupation ’(Latin *non tamen sponte* (S1)) (18.14)

Concerning these six Type B clauses with C-V, several possible causes for this order may be listed: Latin influence (3.43 and 22.61); influence of a heavy subject which is placed in final position (1.118); stylistic factors (9.162); and verb-final positioning which is perhaps attributable to the influence of clause-initial elements which double as adverb/conjunctions (18.14 has *nalles þæt* and 19.49 has *nu*). In terms of the C1-V clauses in Type A, four of the total seven examples appear consecutively in Homily XIII: 13.28 *Þæt ðu eart nu, þæt ic wæs io; þæt ic eom nu,*

*þæt ðu wiorðest eft* (Latin *Quod tu es, ego fui; quod ego sum, tu eris* (S1)). These passages are translated by Szarmach (1968: 19) 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 *þæt* is a relative pronoun, and that the following *þæt* is a demonstrative pronoun (functioning as a complement) referring to the preceding adjectival clause. The different functions played by *þæt* may be at least partially supported by the absence of corresponding *quod* in the Latin source.<sup>1</sup>

#### The order of complement and complex verb (Types A/B)

Examples and figures are:

C2-v-V (Type A=2; Type B=0) Nicodemus wæs haten ‘(he) was called Nicodemus’ (1.277) / Cypemen hie sculon bion ‘Merchants they must be’ (11.66)

v-C2-V (Type A=2; Type B=5) Her ne mæg nan yfel ece beon ‘Here, no wickedness may be eternal’ (4.23) / se bið hal geworden ‘he will become whole’ (11.24)

v-C3-V (Type A=1; Type B=2) Forneah ealra manna mod sint oferflowende willan onwended ‘the hearts of very nearly all men are perverted into excessive desires’ (7.93) / Ic wæs þin fæder & þin dryhten & emne eallinga þin freond geworden ‘I had become your father and your Lord and your friend completely’ (8.69)

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Guide* §163.5: ‘*Þæt* often combines antecedent and relative pronoun. It must then be translated “what”; e.g. *he hæfde ðeah geforþoð þæt he his frean gehet* “he had, however, done what he promised his lord”. This survived into eMnE, e.g. in the King James Version *John* 13: 27 “That thou doest, do quickly”.’

v-V-C2 (Type A=2; Type B=12) Sona se lichoma sceal bion unfæger  
 ‘Immediately the body shall be ugly’ (7.80) / Sio æreste onlicnes is nemned  
 wræc ‘The first likeness is named pain’ (9.85)

v-V-C3 (Type A=1; Type B=7) For ðan we a sculon bion ymbhydige ure  
 sawle rædes ‘Therefore, we must always be solicitous of our soul’s benefit’  
 (10.55) / Swa we sculon eac beon in urum life clæne & unsceddende ‘In like  
 manner, we must also be in our life clean and innocent’ (17.79)

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 (1.277 and  
 11.66 above), both of which are Type A with complements of medium weight. It  
 should be added that in one of the exceptions, 1.277, 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 (i.e. Type A and Type B). The table below summarizes the  
 weight of initial adverbials in *VH* along with the figures from *CH* and *SH* (Davis  
 1997: 52):

	<i>VH</i>	<i>CH</i>	<i>SH</i>
A1	514	568	255
A2	122	66	34
A3	81	82	95
Total	717	716	384

Naturally, the figures are limited to Type B (independent clauses with initial adverbials), and the figure for A1 will be 592 if 78 instances with initial *ne* are included.<sup>1</sup> 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 1997: 53):

	<i>VH</i>	<i>CH</i>	<i>SH</i>
A1	792	1175	714
A2	366	506	236
A3	428	1141	530
Total	1586	2822	1480

In *VH*, initial adverbials comprise almost 50% of all the adverbials in Type A and Type B. This is in marked contrast to the findings in Davis (1997: 53) where the corresponding percentage is 25% in *CH* and 26% in *SH*. In *VH*, the percentages of initial adverbials (i.e. in Type B) according to their weight are: light (72%), medium (17%), and heavy (11%), which are comparable to *CH* and *SH* where the percentage of light adverbials is 80% in the former and 71% in the latter. Concerning the initial adverbials, Davis (1997: 53) 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: (1) it dismisses the syntactic and stylistic freedom granted to the Old English writer; and (2) it fails to account for the substantial number of light adverbials in non-initial position - 278 in *VH*, 607 in *CH*, and 459 in *SH*. It seems more likely that the high frequency of light adverbials in initial position points to the writer's attempt to

<sup>1</sup> 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.<sup>1</sup>

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

There are 513 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:<sup>2</sup>

	A1	A2	A3	Total
A-V	85	29	22	136
V-A	99	105	173	377
Total	184	134	195	513

<sup>2</sup>=61.60 with 2 degrees of freedom.

Examples are:

A1-V a hie þe wel licodon ‘they always pleased you well’ (4.218) / Se engel hie þa frefrede ‘The angel then consoled them’ (5.29)

A2-V hie begen þa gita lifgende wæron ‘they were both still living’ (1.257) / Swa Dauid hit on sealmum sang ‘So David sang it in psalms’ (12.39)

A3-V hie þæt on bocum & on halegum leodum sungon ‘they sang it in books and in holy songs’ (6.8) / ða se ælmihtega dryhten in þas woruld becwom ‘then

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *OES* §1593: ‘... we can agree with QW [i.e. Quirk & Wrenn (1957)] (p. 91) that “the free variation available to Ælfric in the position of adverbs is available today likewise”. So much depends on the writer’s purpose.’

<sup>2</sup> 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 '(10.20)

V-A1 Þis is se man her ' This is the man here '(1.162) / þa wæs he swiþe gefeonde ' then he was greatly rejoicing '(18.114)

V-A2 he wunaþ on Gode ' he dwells in God '(3.12) / þonne magon we þurh þæt geearnian ' then we may earn through that '(8.97)

V-A3 Dryhten þa gehæled & hafað on heofona rice ' The Lord will save and keep those in the kingdom of heavens '(2.87) / Swa se hælend cwæd to þam wlanca ' Thus the Saviour said to the proud one '(10.141)

The V-A order predominates in both clauses: its percentage is 70% in Type A and 77% in Type B. While light adverbials simply seem to 'crop up' in any non-initial position (i.e. both pre- and postverbally), adverbials of medium and heavy weight tend towards postverbal position (V-A), 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=18; Type B=13) Hwæt, we nu æt his sylfes mude gehyrdon his yfelsunga ' Lo, we now heard from his own mouth his blasphemy '(1.75) / Swa swa he to ðam on middangeard cwom ' Thus He came to this world for that '(16.38)

A-V-A (Type A=23; Type B=17) Þæs rihtwisan gebed miclum fremað beforan Gode ' The prayers of the righteous do much before God '(3.130) / Ðonne æfter þon betyned he ða scyldegan on helle ' Then, after that, he will shut up those sinners in hell '(9.82)

V-A-A (Type A=62; Type B=85) þa beoð þær cwyldred in ecum fyre ' they



will be tortured there in eternal fire '(4.32) / Se halga gast cymed ufon on þe  
'The Holy Ghost will come to you from above' (5.127)

As in both *CH* and *SH* (Davis 1997: 56-7), *VH* show the predominance of the V-A-A order in both Type A (60% of instances) and Type B (74%). *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 (AA) in the patterns with A-A (namely A-A-V and V-A-A) as the following figures show: Type A (59 of 80, or 74%), Type B (80 of 98, or 83%), and Types A/B (139 of 178, or 78%).

The order of three or more non-initial adverbials and finite verb (Types A/B)

Examples and figures are:

(A-)V-A-A-A(-A) (Type A=24; Type B=22) eode þa eac in þone cafertun  
sona æfter him ' then (he) also went into the hall immediately after Him '(1.22)  
/ þa wæs his mod, þæs eadigan weres, swide gedrefed on him, be þam  
onginne ' then the mind of the blessed man was very troubled within him,  
concerning the beginning '(23.21)

(A-)A-V-A-A(-A) (Type A=5; Type B=4) he ða beseah on þa lyft ongean þa  
sunnan ' he looked at the sky towards the sun '(6.37) / Swa þonne bið symble  
þam soðfæstum & þam godfyrhtum mannum in sybbe ' Moreover, it will always  
be peaceful in that way for pious and godfearing men '(17.49)

(A-)A-A-V-A(-A) (Type A=3; Type B=5) swa du þonne eft bist in ecnessum  
getrymed fæstlicor ' so you will then be again strengthened in more secure  
eternity '(23.64) / Hie ða sona þone halgan wer gelæddon to ðam sweartum  
tintreges gomum helle dures ' Then, immediately, they took the holy man in

the black jaws of torture of hell's door '(23.121)

(A-)A-A-A-V(-A) (Type A=7; Type B=4) Hwæt, we nu on idlum gilpe us  
mid golde & mid gimum gearwīaþ ' Lo, we now in vain arrogance adorn our-  
selves with gold and with gems '(2.98) / swa ða fugelas sona ealle ætsomne on  
weg gewiton ' so all those birds departed away together immediately '(18.239)

Of the total 74, 46 clauses (62%) have the (A-)V-A-A-A-(A) order where three or more adverbials follow the finite verb, which is in line with the findings in Davis (1997: 58), as well as in my preceding section where V-A-A was the most frequent pattern. Three (or more) adverbials form a cluster in 33 clauses, accounting for 45 % 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: 16.168 *ealle þa moton æfter þysse worulde ecelice on his ðam fægeran rice mid hine a to wīdan feore gefeon & blissian* ' all of them can rejoice and be glad forever after this world, eternally, in His fairer kingdom with Him '.

### Clause patterns

Following Davis (1997: 59ff), 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 (125) Þes man wyrceð maran wundor & mænigfealdran ' This man

works greater and manifold wonders '(1.10) / He sceall hine eac swa læran ' He must also guide him '(3.29)

S-O-V (66) eallum ic hie beode ' to all I command them '(3.80) / we þæt sculon onhyrigan on us sylfum ' we should imitate that in ourselves '(14.90)

V-O-S (1) Cwæð þæt se halga Ysodorus ' The holy Isidore said that '(22.106)

V-S-O (27) Witgode he þæt ungewealdene mude be Cristes þrowunge ' He prophesied Christ's passion with his involuntary mouth '(1.15) / Sceolon we nu eac, brodor mine, þone halgan godspell secgan & reccan ' We are also obliged now, my brethren, to speak about and interpret that holy gospel '(16.99)

O-S-V (39) Sod þu segest ' You tell the truth '(1.126) / Ðam we þanne magon ... ðurh halige dæda & þurh fæsten & þurh ælmeccan wiðstandan ' We may then withstand that ... through holy deeds and through fasting and through alms ' (14.14)

O-V-S (2) nane are ne dyde he him ' he performed no mercy for them '(4.225) / Ladlice eardunge hæfde ic on þe ' I had a loathsome dwelling in you '(4.284)

Davis (1997: 60) 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, it is likely that the heavy object is placed initially for contrast (4.225 above) or for emphasis (4.284 above).<sup>1</sup> The same explanation may be applicable to 22.106, the only example with the V-O-S pattern, which would be paraphrased as ' That (is what) the holy Isidore said '. It should be added that this curious example is

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<sup>1</sup> In her discussion of OVS order (where both O and S are pronominal) in Old English, Allen (1995: 46, n. 25) notes that she is ' only aware of one such example [i.e. O-V-S1] in an OE prose text ' and instances 4.284. She also writes: ' The infrequency of examples of this sort [i.e. O1-V-S1 or O1-S1-V], which are found given a big enough corpus, contrasts with the nearly absolute lack of OVS<sub>PRO</sub>, which I have not found in any of Ælfric's texts. '

surrounded by passages in direct speech, and is possibly a parenthesis (cf. *OES* §§ 3848-57). 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 *cwæð* 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 *þæt* before the heavy subject, thus avoiding the awkward sequence \**Cwæð se halga Ysodorus þæt hu ...*. Generally speaking, the subject precedes the direct object in 85% of the clauses, and pronominal direct objects occur most frequently in the S-O-V pattern, which is the second most frequently used pattern (25 % of instances), following the most frequently used S-V-O (48%; cf. 72% in *CH* and 76% in *SH*).<sup>1</sup>

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

S-V-I (14) Hie todældon him mine hrægl ‘They divided my garment to them’ (1.222) / We magon heonon us geearnian þone ecan eðel & þone soðan gefean ‘We may from this place earn for ourselves that eternal homeland and that true joy’ (11.51)

S-I-V (19) Ic eow secge be ðam apostolum ‘I tell you about the apostles’ (7.27) / Ðu him symle tide forwyrndest ‘You always refused to them a gift’ (10.156)

V-I-S (4) Syndon us nu for þan bec gesette ‘Therefore, gospels are ordained

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<sup>1</sup> Referring to Kohonen (1978) and *OES* §3889, Davis (1997: 39) writes: ‘[t]here may be a correlation between the order S-O1-V when no other elements are found in the clause ... and S-V-O1 ... when other material follows’. Since such instances are infrequent in *VH*, I simply supply the following for reference: S-O1-V with no other elements in the clause - seven examples; and S-V-O1 followed by some other element - one example, which is 4.130 *He swencte hine mid fæstenne* ‘He afflicted himself with fasting’.

for us '(11.9) / Men þa leofestan, sæged us (& myngað) þis halige godspel be þysse arwyrdan tide ' Dearly beloved, this holy gospel tells (and reminds) us about the honourable time '(17.1)

V-S-I (3) nane are ne dyde he him ' he performed no mercy for them '(4.225) / Syndon þas þry dagas, toecan oðrum þingum, for þan us gesette ' Therefore, these three days are established for us besides other things '(13.10)

I-S-V (8) eallum ic hie beode ' to all I command them '(3.80) / Eallum yflum ic eom seald ' I am given up to all evils '(22.4)

I-V-S (4) þam syld God hyra synna forgifnesse ' to them God will give forgiveness of their sins '(4.108) / Us is miht seald þe to scufanne on ðas witu þysse neowolnesse ' To us is given power to thrust you into the torments of this abyss ' (23.132)

The most frequent pattern in *VH* is S-I-V which comprises 37% of instances (30% in *CH* and 19% in *SH*), followed by S-V-I (27%) which in turn is the pattern most frequently used in both *CH* (58%) and *SH* (60%); cf. Davis (1997: 61). *VH* also differ from these texts in having four examples of the V-I-S pattern, which may be divided into two groups: 11.9 above forms its own group where the verb is placed initially to open a new sentence; 17.1 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 (8.1 and 9.1) 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, those of light weight (O1) comprise only 22% of instances, whereas in the latter (I1), the corresponding frequency amounts to 73%. 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, and complement:

S-V-C (155) He is deaþe scyldig ‘ He is deserving of death ’(1.77) / he bið hal geworden ‘ he will be made whole ’(13.8)

S-C-V (7) þæs lichoman hiw fægere bið ‘ the colour of body will be more beautiful ’(7.75) / Se lichoma læmen is ‘ The body is of clay ’(22.216)

V-C-S (0)

V-S-C (24) Wæs se Barrabas haten sum sceaþa & forwyrht man ‘ This Barabbas was called a thief and a wicked man ’(1.139) / bið se dema þearl ‘ the judge will be severe ’(10.109)

C-S-V (12) cining ic eom ‘ I am king ’(1.126) / Cypemen hie sculon bion ‘ Merchants they must be ’ (11.66)

C-V-S (42) Swa læne is sio oferlufu eorðan gestreona ‘ So transitory is the excessive love of earthly treasures ’(10.241) / Eala, bordor mine, hu mycel & hu hlud bið se cnyll ‘ Alas, my brethren, how great and how loud will be the sound ’(15.198)

In *VH*, S-V-C is the standard pattern, constituting 65% of instances. However, Davis (1997: 62) shows that this pattern is more frequently used in both *CH* (91%) and *SH* (84%). *VH* are further distinguished by having seven instances of the S-C-V pattern, no instances of which are reported by Davis in these Ælfrician works.

### Type B

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

S-V-O (95) For þam þe God wilnaþ ure andetnesse ‘ Therefore God desires our

confession '(3.33) / For ðan we sculon ure sawle georne tilian ' Therefore, we must eagerly cultivate our soul '(9.59)

S-O-V (37) Nu gyt ic hine hate lædan hider ut beforan eow ealle ' Now I command that (they) lead Him out here before you all '(1.157) / Þonne þa scyldegean him hearde ondrædað ' Then will the guilty fear Him greatly '(8.44)

V-O-S (6) Þa arode him se hlaforð ' Then the lord comforted him '(14.124) / þa tihton hine his ylðran to woruldfolgode ' then his parents persuaded him for a secular occupation '(18.17)

V-S-O (142) þa ondred he him ' then he feared them '(1.170) / ne mæg se lichoma an word geclypian ' the body may not cry out one word '(4.169)

O-S-V (6) æfter his deaþe oðrum þissa he onfehð ' after his death he receives one or the other of these '(4.93) / þonne hine mon on feltungrepe wiorpe ' then one throws oneself into a dunghill '(7.88)

O-V-S (3) þær ure biðaþ ure ceasterliode ' there our citizens will await us ' (11.59) / Þy hine ne scele nan man swa sylfne beswican ' Therefore, no man must deceive himself thus '(22.127)

The pattern V-S-O is used in nearly half (49%) of the clauses, followed by S-V-O (33%) and S-O-V (13%). Common to these patterns is that the subject always precedes the direct object (S-O) in vast majority of examples (95%), 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 85%. The O-S sequence is infrequent in Type B, and there are only fifteen examples. Davis (1997: 63) 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 (i.e. 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 (5) Þonne swa dæt dioful sæde þam ancran be helle geryne ‘ Then, thus, the devil spoke to the anchorite about the mysteries of hell ’(9.183) / þy we magon mycel god ussum sawlum on him gestrynan ‘ by that we may amass in them much good for our souls ’(11.102)

S-I-V (12) To soðan ic eow secge ‘ In truth I say to you ’(3.73) / swa we him mærycor þancian sculon ‘ so we must thank Him more splendidly ’(10.203)

V-I-S (9) ne þincð him þeos woruld eft naht ‘ this world seems nothing to him afterwards ’(4.20) / Pær bið eallum halgum alif sceapen betweox englum & heahenglum & 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 ’(9.203)

V-S-I (20) þonne sceal he eow geornlice ahsian ‘ then he must earnestly ask you ’(3.26) / Þeahhwædere ne forgið he hie us ‘ Yet He will not forgive us them ’(19.87)

I-S-V (3) Ða him eac Crist sylf foresæde ‘ Then Christ Himself also prophesied to them ’(7.28) / For þan us mycel nyðþearf myndgað þæt ... ‘Therefore, great need reminds us that ...’ (14.165)

I-V-S (9) Þy us sealde dryhten þæt andgyt ‘ Therefore, the Lord gave us that understanding ’(4.77) / Of ðam dryhtnes egesan us wiorded acenned hiortan onbyrdnes ‘ From this fear of the Lord is brought forth for us the zeal of the heart ’(12.55)

*VH* have all of the six possible patterns, including those absent in *CH* (S-V-I, V-I-S, and I-S-V) and *SH* (I-S-V and I-V-S) (cf. Davis 1997: 64). The most frequently used pattern is V-S-I (34%), followed by S-I-V (21%). The sequence S-I is attested in 63% of instances, which does not show a remarkable divergence from Type A where the corresponding frequency is 70%. 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 (49) Witodlice þa fæstenu sint strange gescotu angean þæs diofles costungum ‘ Indeed, fasts are strong missiles against the temptations of the devil ’(3.98) / Ær þan we wæron steopcild gewordene ‘ Earlier, we were made orphans ’(10.35)

S-C-V (2) Nalles þæt he his willan on þam woruldfolgode wære ‘ Not only was he voluntarily in the secular occupation ’(18.14) / nu we þus þurh Godes mihte ealle ætgædere syndon ‘ now we are thus all assembled through the might of God ’(19.49)

V-C-S (9) For þan nis naht þysse middangeardes wlite & þysse worulde wela ‘ Therefore, this earth’s beauty and this world’s riches are nothing at all’ (10.231) / Ne þynce us for þan æfre to lang þæt geswinc & þæt gewin her on worulde ‘ The toil and struggle here in the world therefore do not seem to us ever too long ’(11.70)

V-S-C (86) þonne ne bist þu Caseres freond ‘ then you are not a friend of Caesar ’(1.182) / Þonne is seo snoternys gecweden ingehyd ‘ Then discretion is called knowledge ’(20.159)

C-S-V (1) to ðam werig he wære for þære anre nihthwile ‘ for that reason, he would be evil during the night ’(9.162)

C-V-S (3) Broðor mine, æfter þære andetnesse to underfonne is sio hreowsung ‘ My brethren, after the confession (it) is (necessary) to undertake repentance’ (3.43) / For ðan ungeendedu is min gnornung ‘ Therefore unending is my lamentation ’(22.61)

All the six possible patterns are represented in *VH*, unlike *CH* (which have only S-V-C and V-S-C) and *SH* (which have S-V-C, V-C-S, and V-S-C); cf. Davis

(1997: 65). *VH* also differ from these *Ælfrician* texts in having clauses with the C-V sequence (six examples), which are S-C-V (18.14 and 19.49), C-S-V (9.162), and C-V-S (3.43, 22.61 above and 1.118 *Swa her on worulde is seo sorh & sio unblis dryhtnes hælendes & para haligra* ‘Thus, here in the world, (there) is sorrow and unhappiness of the Lord Saviour and of the saints’).

### Impersonals

In Type A, there are 83 clauses that contain impersonal expressions, which are often placed after the clause-initial element (i.e. in second or ‘medial’ position) as in 5.66 *þæt gelomp swa ilce þæt ...* ‘Similarly, it happened that ...’ and 8.15 *Men þa leofestan, us gedafenad þæt ...* ‘Dearly beloved, (it) befits us that ...’ (Latin *oportet ... ut ...* (S1)). Some of the exceptions are 1.85 *Wæs þæt hira þeaw þæt ...* ‘It was their custom that ...’ (clause-initial) and 4.282 *eall þis þe losode* ‘all this was lost to you’ (clause-final). The clause-final position is taken most frequently by clauses (56 instances), followed by EXP (13) and X (9).

In Type B, there are 70 clauses that belong to this category. Impersonals are usually found in medial position as in 7.38 *Be ðam wæs cweden þæt ...* ‘About this (it) was said that ...’ and 9.56 *Þy byð wel wyrð þæt ...* ‘Therefore, (it) is very worthy that ...’; and exceptions naturally exist as in 1.94 *Nis us alyfed þæt ...* ‘(It) is not allowed to us that ...’ (Latin *Nobis non licet ...* (S1)) (clause-initial if we disregard the negative adverb *ne*) and 4.93 *Ne þearf nanne man tweogian* ‘No one needs to doubt’ (clause-final). Clauses (48 instances) are placed in final position most frequently, followed by X (13).

## Summary

The foregoing paragraphs have confirmed the effectiveness of treating Type A (those without an initial adverbial) and Type B (those with an initial adverbial) separately. Most striking is the stronger tendency of Type B to concentrate on a limited number of patterns, as most apparent in the sections dealing with clauses with three elements. As for the well-known verb-second tendency in Type B, *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. This seems to serve as a caveat against too much reliance on this useful but perhaps overly sweeping 'rule'.

In Type A, subjects usually precede finite verbs (80%), while in Type B this S-V order comprises much less percentage (38%). Within each clause type, no meaningful positional differences are observed between simple verbs and finite verbs in complex verb phrases.

Direct objects present somewhat confusing results: in each clause type, different tendencies are observed between those with simple verbs and those with complex verb phrases. This may be illustrated by the frequency of the V-O order in each of these four kinds of clauses: 58% (simple) and 74% (complex) in Type A, and 80% (simple) and 97% (complex) in Type B. Thus, the order finite verb - direct object is certainly a standard usage (61% in Type A and 84% in Type B), though further generalizations should better be deemed unsafe.

Indirect objects present less difficulty. In Type A, the frequency of V-I is about the same in those with simple verbs (41%) and those with complex verb phrases (44%). Some difference is detected in Type B where the parallel frequencies are 62% (simple) and 42% (complex). Indirect objects usually precede direct objects (I-O) in both Type A (84% of instances) and Type B (86%).

Complements most often follow finite verbs, as represented by the following percentages: 74% in Type A and 96% in Type B. This may be explained in terms of

weight: complements are usually of either medium or heavy weight, and light (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 C1-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 (72%), it seems likely that they are not placed there merely because of their light weight (cf. Davis 1997: 53); 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.

## 2.2 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 (*OES* §1731) 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 (Campbell 1970, p.

93 fn. 4):

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-quotation is frequent in Bosworth-Toller's *Anglo-Saxon Dictionary*, and renders much of the material in Paul Bacquet, *La structure de la phrase verbale à l'époque Alfrédienne*, Paris, 1962, irrelevant. See also my review of the latter work, *Review of English Studies*, New Series, XV (1964), 190-193.

In the above-mentioned review, Campbell (1964: 191) writes strongly against Bacquet's treatment of *ond/ac* (i.e. conjoined) clauses:

He is not aware that all conjunctions including *ond* and *ac* require subordinate word order, i.e. 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, i.e. 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 (408)    ne ic owiht dearnunga spræc ' nor did I speak anything secretly '(1.36) / & he þanon alysed wæs ' and he was released from there '(3.136)

Non-verb-final (769) & þa dydon hie swa ‘ And then they did so ’ (1.219) /  
 & he eac sende his ceman wide geond manega mægða ‘ and he also sent his  
 soldiers far and wide through many tribes ’ (5.80)

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 (19% of instances), Type B (13%), and Type C (35%). The last percentage may further be compared with those from Ælfric (Davis 1997: 97-8): 32% in *CH* and 24% 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 ’ (see above). It is of interest here to quote Kiparsky (1995: 148-9) 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 10% of all Type C clauses, which are less frequent than in Type A (16%) (cf. 10% in Type B). His two other points, however, deserve special attention; they provide, in my

opinion, a perspective (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 658 clauses with the two elements. The distribution is as follows:

	S1	S2	S3	Total
S-V	364	96	54	514
V-S	27	31	86	144
Total	391	127	140	658

$\chi^2=179.85$  with 2 degrees of freedom.

Examples are:

S1-V & eft he cwæð ' and again he said '(7.30) / ac ic cwom 'but I came' (17.45)

S2-V ne laþe gesamniap ' nor will the hated ones join '(2.114) / & þes middangeard gefyhð ' and this world shall rejoice '(7.30)

S3-V & eall helwarena mægen cymþ to þam dome ' and all the troop of hell-dwellers will come to the judgement '(4.100) / & þa hæðenan men tolocodon ' And the heathen men looked on '(18.182)

V-S1 & ða sægde he ' and then he spoke '(16.59) / & gestod he ongen þam lige ' and he stood opposite the fire '(18.161)

V-S2 & swide geomre stefne clypað sio sawl ' and with a very sad voice the soul cries out '(4.221) / & swa stille gestod þæt flod ' and the river stood so still '(16.67)

V-S3 ac genam þara cempa an ' but one of the warriors seized (his spear) ' (1.259) / & of ðære oferfylle cumap manige mettrymnessa ' and from gluttony

comes much weakness '(7.98)

We have seen that the S-V pattern is used in 80% of Type A instances, to which the situation in Type C is comparable: a majority (514 of 658, or 78%) 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 93% in *CH* and 91% in *SH* (Davis 1997: 69 and 71). As for the V-S pattern in *VH*, of the total 144 clauses, there are only fifteen instances where the finite verb directly follows the conjunction;<sup>1</sup> in such positions, namely between the conjunction and the finite verb, adverbials are used most frequently (89 examples), followed by complements (33). It seems relevant here to quote Mitchell (*OES* § 1723) where he writes on the construction 'conjunction - adverbial':

When one of the adverbs *þa* and *þonne* immediately follows *and*, the order is VS, e.g. *ÆCHom* i. 14.13 *And þa wæs Adam swa wis ...*, i. 176.15 *and þa weard he oferswided*, ii. 542.24 *and ðonne genihtsumað seo unrihtwisnys*, and ii. 14.12 *and þonne bið seo ealde forgægednys geendod*. Here, as in examples like *ÆCHom* i. 24.29 *and eft þaða he man gewearð, þa wæs he acenned of þam clænan mædene Marian*, where the correlative pattern discussed in §2576 is preserved, the influence of the adverb prevails by drawing the verb into pre-subject position. The same is true of *þær*, e.g. *ÆHom* 11.568 *and ðær soðlice bið on ece dæg ðe næfre ne geendað*, 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 6 :

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<sup>1</sup> This includes seven clauses where the negative adverb *ne* is used between the conjunction and the finite verb.



25 after *ond þa*, 6:33 after *ond þonne*, and 0:5 after *ond þær*. I have also found in *VH* one instance with the construction *ond þanon* V-S which is missing from Mitchell's collection: 15.86 & *þanon cymed swide mycel blodig regn of ðam wolcne ofer ealle eorðan* 'and from there will come a very great bloody rain over the entire earth' (Latin *Et erit pluuiæ sanguinis super totam terram* (S1)).

### The order of subject and complex verb

The sample from *VH* consists of 206 clauses. Examples and figures are:

S1-v-V (93) Ac se bið þwegen 'But he shall be washed' (3.52) / & he is numen 'and it is taken away' (22.19)

S2-v-V (31) & þæt flæsc bið geeadmed 'and the flesh shall be humbled' (3.94) / & Godes æwe beoð gefylde 'and God's laws will be fulfilled' (15.18)

S3-v-V (25) & þa godcundan hadas syndon gewanode for hyra sylfra gewyrhtum & gearnungum 'and those divine orders are diminished because of their own deeds and merits' (11.92) / & Godes hus beoð aweste 'and the houses of God will be laid waste' (15.19)

S1-V-v (11) & he on him gefulwad wæs 'And in Himself He was baptized' (16.19) / & he eft to duste geweordan sceal 'and it must again turn to dust' (22.217)

S2-V-v (4) ne him ænige are gedon woldon 'nor did any (of them) wish to show mercy to him' (18.53) / & us God þone fyrst her on worulde forlæten hæfd 'and God has given us time here in this world' (20.197)

S3-V-v (6) & mycel þreatnes geworden bið 'and great affliction will come about' (15.4) / & his towearda dom gelyfd byð 'and His impending judgement will be believed' (20.172)

v-S1-V (3) & nu hæfd he for þære olecunga ecne deað for his myclan gytsunga

unc bām geearnod ‘ and now he has for that flattery, for that great avarice, earned for the both of us eternal death ’(4.253) / & þonne mæg seo beon selest oferswīdeð þurh fæsteno & þurh forhæfednesse ‘ And then it can be best overcome through fasting and abstinence ’(20.80)

v-S2-V (12) & syn þa fet gebundene to ðam hehstan telgan ‘ and the feet would be bound to the highest branch ’(9.125) / & þam bið synna forgifene ‘and to him sins will be forgiven’ (10.4)

v-S3-V (14) & 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 ’(5.76) / & þurh þæt beoð deofles costnunga oferswīdeð ‘ and through that, the temptations of the devil will be overpowered ’(20.40)

v-V-S1/2 (0)

v-V-S3 (5) & þonne bið sona gecyðed & ætiewed þinra yrmða dæl ‘ and then your portion of miseries will immediately be shown and manifested ’(10.169) / & him bið seald ealle cynelice geofa ‘and to him will be given all royal gifts’ (15.40)

V-S1-v (1) & wepan he sceal (& hreowsian) ‘ and he must weep (and repent) ’(22.74)

V-S2/3-v (0)

V-v-S1/3 (0)

V-v-S2 (1) & swīde gestrangod is hira ealdordom ‘ and very strengthened is their authority ’(12.42)

The most frequently found order is S-v-V, accounting for 72% of instances. This is comparable to Type A where the corresponding percentage is 76%. 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-

tum “ even co-ordinating conjunctions are syntactically subordinating ” (Campbell 1970: 93, as quoted in *OES* §1729). Moreover, the V-v order occurs more often in *VH* than in *Ælfric* where Davis (1997: 72) finds only four such examples, all sharing the construction S(...)V(n)v, which is common to all the V-v clauses in *VH* except for two, namely V-S1-v (22.74) and V-v-S2 (12.42) above: the former, presumably a translation of *uita ista a fletibus inchoat* (S1) in the available Latin source,<sup>1</sup> is the only example with the order V-S-v in the whole of *VH* (irrespective of clause types), while the latter is a close translation of the Latin *nimis confortatus est principatus eorum* which immediately precedes the clause within the same homily.

#### The order of direct object and simple verb

The sample from *VH* consists of 458 clauses. The distribution is as follows:

	O1	O2	O3	Total
O-V	110	86	63	259
V-O	10	55	134	199
Total	120	141	197	458

<sup>2</sup>=109.76 with 2 degrees of freedom.

<sup>1</sup> Although *Fontes* assigns S1 to this Latin source, Scragg (1992: 367) - 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:

O1-V & hine wyrmdē ‘ and (he) warmed himself ’(1.30) / & hine gebædon  
‘and (angels) worshipped Him’ (6.56)

O2-V & God forleton ‘ and (they) forsook God ’(3.132) / & hyra byman  
blawað ‘ and (they) will blow their trumpets ’(8.37)

O3-V & þa godcundan mægenū ongebringð ‘ and (the fast) stimulates divine  
virtues ’(3.96) / & heofonlicne weg tæce ‘ and (I) will show the heavenly  
way ’(10.253)

V-O1 & wyrmdon hie ‘ and (they) warmed themselves ’(1.29) / ne fæder ne  
moder ne broðor ne swystor ne nan mæg ne lufode þe ‘ nor father nor mother nor  
brother nor sister nor a single kinsman loved you ’(4.271)

V-O2 & gemidlað þa uncysta ‘ and (the fast) curbs sins ’ (3.96) / & todrifaþ  
þine heorde ‘ and (wolves) will attack your flock ’(18.249)

V-O3 & genimaþ ure land & ure þeode ‘ and (they) will seize our land and  
our people ’(1.12) / & geseah hwæt ðu dydest minum þearfan ‘ and (I) saw  
what you did to my poor ones ’(10.135)

The O-V order accounts for 57% of instances and is used more frequently than in Ælfric where the corresponding percentages are 35% (*CH*) and 45% (*SH*) according to Davis (1997: 76 and 78). Regarding the V-O order, *VH* have fewer examples (10) of the V-O1 pattern, where pronominal objects follow finite verbs, than in Ælfric (47 examples in *CH* and 53 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 76 clauses in this category. Examples and figures are:

O1-v-V (10) & hine se geatwerd ne wolde in forlætan ‘and the gatekeeper would not let him in’ (1.23) / 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’ (5.8)

O2-v-V (2) & we ða dryhtenlycan wære gehealden, & þa syblycan lufan Godes & manna ‘and then we have possessed the Lordly covenant and the peacemaking love of God and men’ (10.44) / Ac ma ðu scealt cweda ‘But more you must say’ (22.85)

O3-v-V (4) & þa menniscean sar ic wæs þrowiende for þe ‘and the corporeal pains I was suffering for you’ (8.54) / & urne ceap & urne eard & urne wudu & eal ure god we sculon Gode bebeodan ‘and our food, our dwelling place, our forest and all our goods we must offer to God’ (12.32)

O1-V-v (4) & hit gehyran noldon ‘and (they) did not wish to hear it’ (10.83) / & þæt ealle þurh heora gecynd ondettan sceoldon ‘and all had to acknowledge that by their nature’ (16.71)

O2-V-v (3) & nænige gebetan ne wolde ‘and (he) did not wish to atone for anything’ (4.223) / & us God þone fyrst her on worulde forlæten hæfd ‘and God has given us time here in this world’ (20.197)

O3-V-v (4) Ac he a in eallum sod & riht don wolde ‘But he always wished to perform truth and justice in all’ (18.215) / & him mycla æhta hæbbende wæron ‘and (they) had for themselves great possessions’ (22.126)

v-O1-V (6) & wile us scotian mid þam strælum ‘and (he) will shoot us with these arrows’ (4.320) / & mynte hine slea ‘and (he) intended to strike him’ (18.193)

v-O2-V (10) & æfter ure æ he sceal dead þrowian ‘ and according to our law, he must suffer death ’(1.168) / & ne mæg nan oðres gehelpan ‘ and no one may help another ’(9.137)

v-O3-V (11) & 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 ’(4.231) / Ac ne mæg ænig man þine clānnesse ne þine halignesse geiecan ‘ But no man may add to your purity nor your holiness ’(16.31)

v-V-O1 (1) & þonne Iudeas magon geseon þone (þe ...) ‘ and then the Jews may see him (who ...) ’(2.18)<sup>1</sup>

v-V-O2 (4) & het him beran wæter ‘ and (he) commanded water to be brought to him ’(1.186) / & we sculon beran usse reliquias ymb ure land ‘ and we must bear our relics around our land ’(12.16)

v-V-O3 (15) & he sceal hine manian þæt ... ‘and he must remind him that ...’ (3.30) / & he wæs cwedende þæt ... ‘ and he was saying that ... ’(9.145)

V-O-v (0)

V-v-O1/2 (0)

V-v-O3 (2) & abeodan het ðætte ... ‘ and (he) ordered (them) to proclaim that ... ’ (6.50) / & oncnawan meahton hwa ... ‘ and (they) could perceive who ... ’ (10.32)

The finite verb precedes the direct object in 64% of instances, of which the most frequent pattern is v-O-V (36%), followed by v-V-O (26%). It is noteworthy that *VH* have sixteen examples of the O-v-V order which occurs only once in the selected corpus of Davis (1997: 80).

There are ten clauses that have the accusative and infinitive construction in *VH*.

<sup>1</sup> It is also possible to parse this passage as v-V-O3 if the whole of *þone þe* clause is interpreted as the direct object.

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

& heton hine witgan þurh bysmornessa ‘ and (they) commanded him to prophesy through blasphemy ’ (1.80) / & he geseah eal þa diofulgild on eorðan licgan ‘ and he saw all the idols lie on earth ’ (6.75) / ac forlæt hie me in wite gelædan (& in susle cwelma) ‘ but (it) allowed me to lead them into punishment (and kill (them) in torment) ’ (10.99) / & þa gehyrde hine, dryhten, eac mid switolre stefne to englum cweda ‘ and then (he) heard Him, the Lord, also say with a clear voice to the angels ’ (18.71) / & het þa oðre men ealle ut gangan ‘ and (he) commanded all the other men to go out ’ (18.108) / & heht þa oðre men ealle utgangan ‘and (he) commanded all the other men to go out’ (18.132) / & lætað us colian þa lufe þæs heofonlican rices geleafan ‘ and (we) allow us to cool the love of the faith of the heavenly kingdom ’ (22.104)

Included in the list above are two clauses which further have direct objects: 10.99 has the pattern v-O1-Z1-V where a pronominal O precedes a pronominal Z, and 22.104 has the v-Z1-V-O3 pattern where a heavy O is placed at the end of the clause. Although I do not subscribe to her view, it is of interest to note here that McCabe (1968: 91) translates the former (10.99) as an optative clause: ‘ But let me lead them into torment and destroy [them] in misery. ’

In addition, there are three examples with other patterns: one with v-V-Z, another with Z-v-V, and the other with Z-V-v:

& ic geseah gearwian þin hus on ðam halgan heofona rices wuldre ‘ and I saw your house to be prepared in the glory of the heavenly kingdom ’ (4.122) / & nalas þæt an þæt he þær þa leglican hyðe ðæs fyres upþyððan geseah ‘ And not only did he see there the fiery harbour of that fire surge up ’ (Latin *Non solum*

*enim fluctuantium flammaram igniuomos gurgites illic turgescere cerneret*)  
(23.125) / 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*) (23.126)

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 ... wuldre* 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 74 clauses. The distribution is illustrated in the table  
below:

	I1	I2	I3	Total
I-V	47	6	7	60
V-I	6	1	7	14
Total	53	7	14	74

$\chi^2=10.91$  with 2 degrees of freedom.

Examples are:

I1-V ne ðe ne sealdon ‘ nor did (we) give (him) to you ’(1.92) / & him  
wundorlico lof sungon ‘ and (angels) sang wonderful praise to Him ’(6.57)  
I2-V & feala wundra mannum cyððe ‘ and (He) revealed many wonders to  
men ’(10.26) / & mancynne ecne sige forgeaf ‘ and (the Lord) gave to  
mankind eternal victory ’(12.23)



I3-V & eallum his mihtum hine bereafode ‘ and (He) stripped him of all his powers ’(1.292) / & ælmihtigum Gode þære gife þanc sægde ‘ and (he) said thanks to Almighty God for that gift ’(18.115)

V-I1 & stihte him hiora unriht ‘and (I) instigated their wickedness to him’ (4.299) / & rehton hit him eall ‘and (they) related it all to him’ (19.127)

V-I2 & se bebeoded þam manncynne þæt ... ‘ and he will command mankind that ... ’(15.32)

V-I3 & ahsode urne dryhten Crist be his discipulos & be his lare ‘ and (he) asked our Lord Christ about his disciples and his teaching ’(1.32) / & bæd God ælmihtigne þæt ... ‘ and (he) prayed to God Almighty that ... ’(18.175)

The majority (81%) of the clauses have the I-V pattern, most of which contain the pronominal indirect object (I1). In his discussion of this pattern in *CH*, Davis (1997: 83) writes that ‘ [t]he 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 15 with I-V order ’. In *VH*, I have found no negative clauses with V-I and only two with I-V (1.92 above and 14.114 & *us nænig god ne genihtsumað* ‘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 (1997: 83) 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:

I1-v-V (8) & þam bioð synna forgifene ‘and to him sins will be forgiven’ (10.4) / & synna þam bioð forgifene ‘ and sins will be forgiven to him ’(10.5)

I2-v-V (1) & þonne þam lichoman bið laðlic leger gegyrwed ‘ and then a loathsome bed will be prepared for the bodies ’(2.58)

I3-v-V (0)

I1-V-v (3) & him dryhten gecyðed hæfde ‘ and the Lord had revealed (it) to him ’ (18.224) / & us God þone fyrst her on worulde forlæten hæfd ‘ and God has given us time here in this world ’(20.197)

I2/3-V-v (0)

v-I1-V (4) & het him beran wæter ‘ and (he) commanded water to be brought to him ’(1.186) / & æfter þam gemete þære dæde, he sceal him þa hreowsunge gedeman ‘ and according to the manner of the deed, he must judge him the penance ’(3.28)

v-I2-V (3) ac we sculon gehwylcra þinga Gode riht ongyldan on urum sylfra sawlum ‘ but we must offer God the truth of each of the things in our own souls’ (8.30) / Ac for þan we þæs sceolon, men þa leofestan, urum dryhtne a singalice mid eallre heortan þancian ‘ but we, therefore, dearly beloved, must always thank our Lord for this with all our hearts ’(16.93)

v-I3-V (3) & þonne bið us æghwylc þyllic egesa æteowed ‘ and then such fear will be manifested to each of us ’(2.51) / ne he ne bið Iudeum anum seald ‘ nor will He be given to the Jews alone ’(5.162)

v-V-I1/2 (0)

v-V-I3 (1) & ne mæg andwyrde syllan þam his gaste ‘ and (it) may give no answer to his soul ’(4.288)

Although the sole example with v-V-I stands out, comparison with Davis (1997: 85) tells us that there is nothing significant about it; this pattern occurs fifteen times in *SH* (there are no examples in *CH*). Further, Davis (1997: 85) finds no clauses with V-v (I-V-v/V-I-v/V-v-I), non-finite verb preceding finite verb, in either *CH* or *SH*. The presence of three such instances in *VH* (18.53, 18.224, and 20.197; see

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 18.53, may have been influenced by the preceding *ond* clause with V-v: 18.52 & *heora nænig to him gecyrran nolde* ‘and none of them would turn toward him’.

#### The order of direct and indirect objects

There are 82 clauses which contain both direct and indirect objects, of which 17 (21 %) have O-I and 65 (79%) have I-O. Examples are:

O-I & ic hit for þam eow secge ‘and I therefore say it to you’ (1.264) / 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’  
 (8.70)

I-O & us þa gife forgeaf ‘and (He) then gave us grace’ (1.294) / & him sylð  
 hira synna forgifnesse ‘and (the Lord) gives them forgiveness of their sins’  
 (4.4)

In the I-O pattern, all but two of the examples contain direct objects of medium or heavy weight, the two exceptions being: 1.292 & *eallum his mihtum hine bereafode* ‘and (He) stripped him of all his powers’ and 9.30 & *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 1.106 & *for þam hider þe me to cwalme brohton* ‘and for that, (they) brought you here to me for death’ (Latin *tradiderunt te mihi* (S1)), but changed in 19.127 & *rehton hit him eall* ‘and (they) related it all to him’ (Latin *narrauerunt ei haec omnia* (S1)) and 22.165 & *sio fyrwetgyrnesse syled þone mannan þam sweartan fynd* ‘and the insatiable sexual desire gives the man to the black enemy’ (Latin *libido ad tartara hominem mittit* (S1)); Homily I has two curious examples of the O-I pattern followed by *habban*, i.e. 1.231 & *þu hine þe for sunu hafa* ‘and you have him to yourself as a son’ and 1.232 & *þu hie þe for modor hafa* ‘and you have her to yourself as a mother’.

#### The order of complement and simple verb

In *VH*, there are 177 clauses with the two elements. The distribution is:

	C1	C2	C3	Total
C-V	0	43	9	52
V-C	1	42	82	125
Total	1	85	91	177

Examples are:

C1-V (0)

C2-V & *glædmode beoð* ‘and (we) are happy’ (2.99) / & *þær well manige dagas wæs* ‘and (he) was there for so many days’ (18.243)

C3-V & *ælce dæge þæs diofles willa bið*, *þæt ...* ‘and on each day (it) is the devil’s will that ...’ (4.316) / & *ealle swiðe yrre wæron* ‘and (they) were all very angry’ (18.191)

V-C1 ac sie þæs þin willa ‘ but Your will would be of this ’ (18.259)<sup>1</sup>

V-C2 & wunaþ clæne ‘ and (he) shall remain clean ’ (3.50) / & bioð sona wordsprecende ‘ and (they) are immediately able to speak ’ (4.168)

V-C3 & beoð on þæra fægerestena engla heape ‘ and (they) are in the troop of the most beautiful angels ’ (4.167) / & bið gyt wyrsan hiwes ‘ and (it) is still of worse form ’ (4.293)

The prevailing pattern is V-C which accounts for 71% of instances, and this figure is comparable to Type A (74%) and Type B (95%). Davis (1997: 86-7) 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 (79% of instances) and C-V (21%), showing ‘ a degree of freedom not found in *CH* ’ (Davis 1997: 87). It may be said that *VH*, with their higher percentage of C-V (52 of 177, or 29%), 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-C2-V (2) & wæs forht geworden ‘ and (he) was frightened ’ (1.170) / & þam soðfæstan he bið hal gesewen ‘ and he will be seen whole by the trustworthy ones ’ (2.17)

v-V-C2 (1) & he sceall beon ælmesgeorn for Godes naman & for his sawle ‘and he must be charitable for God’s name and for his soul’ ( 16.193)

v-V-C3 (2) ac ælc man sceal þurh þe bion clæne & unwemme ‘ but each man shall through Thee be clean and unspotted ’ (16.32) / & heo ys gecweden angin

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<sup>1</sup> This passage is supplied from MSS B and C; see Scragg (1992: 306).

ælcere synne ‘ And it is called the beginning of each sin’ (20.63)

In treating the same pattern, Davis (1997: 87) comments that ‘[t]he 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-C2-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 499 clauses with the two elements. The distribution is shown in the table below:

	A1	A2	A3	Total
A-V	171	87	42	300
V-A	40	65	94	199
Total	211	152	136	499

<sup>2</sup>=87.54 with 2 degrees of freedom.

Examples are:

A1-V & þus cwæð ‘ and (he) said thus ’(12.40) / & hwæðre se bið lufigende

Godes æ ‘ and still, he will be loving the law of God ’(15.40)

A2-V & him to cwæð ‘ and (he) said to Him ’(16.13) / & heora nænig to

him gecyrran nolde ‘ and none of them would turn toward him ’(18.52)

A3-V & mid hwylcum þingum we hie healdan sceolon ‘ And with whatever things we must observe them ’(19.61) / ond hie hine on þæt swearte fenn læddon ‘ and they led him into the black marsh ’(23.104)

V-A1 & eodon manige lease gewitan ford ‘ and many false witnesses went forth ’(1.62) / & bið gastlice gefremed ‘ and (he) shall be spiritually perfected ’(3.93)

V-A2 & ic gefeah on him ‘ and I rejoiced within him ’(4.127) / & hie woldon restan on him ‘ and they wished to rest in it ’(6.65)

V-A3 ge þæt mod gladað to ælcere hælo ‘ and (it) rejoices the soul for the salvation of each ’(7.96) / & we wæron adilgode of þam þryðfullan frumgewrite ‘and we were blotted out of the powerful first charter’ ( 10.36)

The ratio of V-A order falls to 40% in comparison with Type A (70%) and Type B (77%). This may be due in part to the well-known verb-final tendency in Type C. It must be added, however, that only 66% 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 72% (cf. 55% in Type B).

#### The order of two adverbials and finite verb

Examples and figures are:

A-A-V (69) & mid hira handum hine on his wange slogon ‘ and (they) struck Him on his cheek with their hands ’(1.78) / & ic glædlice in wynsumnesse wæs ferende ‘ and I was going happily in joy ’(4.132)

A-V-A (104) & mægene & snytero he wæs gefylled mid Gode & mid mannum ‘and with power and wisdom He was filled with God and men’ ( 6.84) / & hie þonne se ælmytiga God onginneð þreagean mid his heardlican stemne ‘ and then,

the Almighty God will begin to punish them with His terrible voice '(8.44)

V-A-A (51) & se dead is þænne for þan to ondræðanne 'And then, the death is, therefore, to be feared '(9.41) / & manige men bioð þonne þurh þa þincg genidrade 'and many men will be pushed down through these things '(15.16)

Davis (1997: 92) notes that *CH* show 'a strong tendency to group two adverbials either before or after the verb' and that this applies to *SH* as well. *VH* do not share this characteristic, having about the same ratio of A-A-V/V-A-A and A-V-A, though it should be added that two adverbials do tend to form a cluster (AA) within the former two patterns with A-A (93 of 120, or 78%). Also noteworthy is the high percentage of verb-final clauses with the A-A-V pattern (59 of 69, or 86%).

#### The order of three or more adverbials and finite verb

Examples and figures are:

(A-)V-A-A-A(-A) (8) & þone scyld nimen us to wige wið þam awyrgedan deofle 'and (we will) take the shield with us to battle against the cursed devil' (4.328) / & þa mæssepreostas beoð þonne on unriht awende fram Gode 'and the priests will then have turned from God to wickedness' (15.21)

(A-)A-V-A-A(-A) (43) & hine þa læddon in þæt gemot beforan hie ealle 'and then (they) led Him into the assembly before them all' (1.61) / & 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' (2.7)

(A-)A-A-V-A(-A) (30) & syððan he, dryhten Crist, her on worlde wunode mid mannum 'and afterwards He, Lord Christ, dwelt here in the world among men' (10.25) / & we nu for þam þingum sculon þas dagas mærsian & weordigan mid þam gesettum godum 'and we now on account of these causes



must honour and praise these days with the ordained benefits' (11.7)

(A-)A-A-A-V(-A) (24) & for þam hider þe me to cwalme brohton 'and for that, (they) brought you here to me for death' (1.106) / ac hraðe þæs hie mid wæpnum feohtan woldon 'but quickly afterwards, they wished to fight with weapons' (6.19)

It seems significant that *VH* have far fewer examples (eight) of the (A)-V-A-A-A (-A) pattern, which is found 81 times in *CH* and 98 times in *SH* (Davis 1997: 93-4). Also of note is the high verb-final percentage (88%) among the clauses with (A-)A-A-A-V(-A). As for the clustering of three or more adverbials (AAA), such examples are not significantly many (31 of 105, or 30%).

#### Clause patterns

Exemplified below are the clauses with subject, direct object, and finite verb together with their figures:

S-V-O (152) ne ic wat hwæt ... 'nor do I know what ... '(1.49) / & he seal hine manian þæt ... 'and he must remind him that ... '(3.30)

S-O-V (129) & hio eal þing geclænsað 'and it cleanses all things '(3.148) / & we hira bið forgitende 'and we are forgetful of these '(22.197)

V-O-S (0)

V-S-O (28) & ne mæg nan oðres gehelpan 'and no one may help another' (9.137) / & nahte he his lichoman geweald 'and he had no control over his body' (18.197)

O-S-V (44) & þone awyrgedan dioful þu lufudest 'and you loved the accursed devil' (8.51) / & efne heofonlice blisse & gefean man meahte a in his mode geseon 'and likewise one could ever see heavenly bliss and joy in his mind'

(18.218)

O-V-S (7) ne oferfyllo ne lufude he ‘nor did he love gluttony’ (4.139) / Ac þas mæg seo soðe eadmodnes ealle oferswiðan ‘But true humility can entirely overpower these’ (20.68)

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 28 times (8% of instances) in *VH*. It may be generally seen that S-V-O (42%) and S-O-V (36%) are the most common patterns.

Given below are examples and figures of clauses containing subject, finite verb, and indirect object:

S-V-I (11) ne he ne bið Iudeum anum seald ‘nor will He be given to the Jews alone’ (5.162) / & sio fyrwetgyrnesse syled þone mannan þam sweartan fynd ‘and the insatiable sexual desire gives the man to the black enemy’ (22.165)

S-I-V (34) & ælce dæge ic hie lærde hiora unriht ‘and each day I taught them their wickedness’ (4.296) / & synna þam bioð forgifene ‘and sins will be forgiven to him’ (10.5)

V-I-S (2) & þonne bið us æghwylc þyllic egesa æteowed ‘and then such fear will be manifested to each of us’ (2.51) / & ða andswarode him sanctus Iohannes ‘and then Saint John answered Him’ (16.28)

V-S-I (4) & nu hæfd he for þære olecunga ecne deað 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’ (4.253) / & þonne forgifeð ure dryhten þam halgan sancte Michael þone þriðdan dæl dæs synfullan heapes ‘and then our Lord will grant to the holy Saint Michael a third portion of the sinful troop’ (15.158)

I-S-V (8) & him God forgeaf þæt ... ‘And God allowed them that ...’ (19.31)

/ & him ða God his mildheortnesse forgeaf ‘ and then God gave them His mercifulness ’(19.141)

I-V-S (5) & him geigte God .xv. gear to life ‘ and God added fifteen years to his life ’(3.138) / & him bið seald ealle cynelice geofa ‘ and to him will be given all royal gifts ’(15.40)

*VH* 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 (cf. Davis 1997: 96). Among such examples in *VH*, it might be significant that there are two sets of examples that appear in close proximity: one set is 4.231 & *noðde he me nanas rymetes on þam geearnian æt ðam ecan deman* ‘ and he did not wish to win any comfort for me in that at the eternal judgement ’ and 4.253 above, and the other is 15.158 above and 15.169 & *þonne forgið ure dryhten ðam halgan sancte Petre ðone ðriddan ðæl þæs synfullan heapes* ‘ and then our Lord will grant to the holy Saint Peter the third part of the sinful troop ’.

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

S-V-C (95) & he wæs eac for Gode soðfæst & god ‘ and he was also true and virtuous to God ’(1.273) / & heo ys gecweden angin ælcere synne ‘ And it is called the beginning of each sin ’(20.63)

S-C-V (9) & siðþan ic ana wæs of ðe ‘and afterwards I was alone from you’ (4.281) / ac he eft, þa he hine sylfne his scyppende gelicne don wolde ‘ but he then, afterwards, wished to make himself like his Creator ’(19.17)

V-C-S (7) & þonne standað forhte & afærede þa þe ær wirigdon & unriht wohrton ‘ and then (they) will stand afraid and frightened, those who before blasphemed and performed wickedness ’(4.194) / ac on seofon nihta fyrstes fæsten bið to clænsigeanne se man ‘ but the man is to be cleansed in a fast of

seven nights '(23.70)

V-S-C (18) *Ac nu nis min rice heonon* ' But now my kingdom is not from this place '(1.109) / *ac þær bið se eca dom unawended* ' but there, the eternal judgement will be unchangeable '(4.7)

C-S-V (3) & *naht ðu wære butan me* 'and you were nothing without me' (4.282) / & *hine geborene enlgas onfengon* ' and angels received Him (who was) born '(6.56)

C-V-S (34) & *nahte þon læsse bið þæs cyles* 'and no less will be the cold' (4.52) / & *mycle synt þa meda & þæt ece wuldor* 'and great are those rewards and that eternal glory' (22.77)

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 (57% of instances), followed by C-V-S (20%) and V-S-C (11%). It should be noted that there are only four examples with the complex verb phrase (all with S-v-C).

### Impersonals

There are 35 clauses with impersonals, which are often placed immediately after the clause-initial element as in 10.125 & *him wæs unyde þæt ...* 'and (it) was hard for him that ...' and 19.85 & *hit is eac awriten þæt ...* 'and it is also written that ...'. Some of the exceptions are 4.215 *ac a me þuhte þæt ...* 'but always (it) seemed to me that ...' (penultimate) and 16.16 *odþe him ðæs ænig þearf wære* 'or for him (there) was any need of this' (clause-final). The final position is taken most frequently by clauses (24 instances) as in 4.215, 10.125, and 19.85 above.

## Summary

The subject usually precedes the finite verb (S-V) in Type C. Davis (1997: 98), 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: 12% (light), 43% (medium), and 70% (heavy). The last percentage, namely that of the heavy direct object following the finite verb (V-O 3), is lower than those in Type A (81%) and Type B (95%); 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 90% of instances have V-C, irrespective of simple/complex verb forms) than with those of medium weight (51%).

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 (1970: 93) claim ('even co-ordinating conjunctions are syntactically subordinating') should not be accepted at face value.

### 2.3 Imperative Clauses

This section deals with the expression of commands where (a) the form of the finite verb corresponds to the formal position set out in *OES* §883, and (b) the context requires such interpretation; cf. 'imperative constructions' in Mitchell (1988: 316). 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 151, of which 140 have simple verbs and 11 complex verbs. Differences between non-conjoined and conjoined clauses will be mentioned as appropriate.

Most of the examples (131 of 151,<sup>1</sup> or 87%) have the finite verb in the clause-initial position, as in 1.165 *Nimaþ ge hine þonne & ahoþ hine* 'You take him then, and hang him' (Latin *Accipite eum uos et crucifigite* (S3)) 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 1.44 & *hit gecyð* 'and reveal it' (Latin *perhibe de malo* (S1)) and 10.105 *ac ge fram me gewitað* 'but you go away from me' (Latin *Discedite a me, maledicti* (M1)), 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

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<sup>1</sup> I have excluded the following clause where the verb *gefeon* is repeated: 4.134 *Gefeoh, in dryhten God gefeoh* '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.<sup>1</sup>

When the subject is expressed, it almost always follows the finite verb (V-S) in non-conjoined clauses (27 of 28), as in 4.190 *Cumað ge gebletsode* 'Come you blessed' and 5.193 *ne us æfest gewundian mæge, ne oferhygd, ne gitsung eorðlicra lusta* 'nor may envy, nor pride, nor avarice of earthly pleasure wound us' (Latin *non inuidiae rubigo consummat, non elatio inflat, non ambitio per terrena oblectamenta dilaniet* (S1)); the S-V order is found only in 10.152 *Ðu lifoþ butan me* 'You live without me' (Latin *et sine me uiue* (S1)) where the subject is presumably expressed before the verb to parallel the following *gif ðu 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 10.105 (see above) and 22.141 *Ne nænig þing þristlice be Criste ðu sprec* 'You speak nothing rashly concerning Christ' (Latin *Nihil temere de Christo loquaris* (S1)). There are three conjoined clauses with clause-initial verbs, which are: 18.252 *Ac miltsa ðu þonne hwæðre us* 'But, nevertheless, have mercy upon us' (Latin *nostri potius miserere* (S1)), 22.148 *ac gecleansa ðu þine mod fram yfelum gepohtum* 'but you cleanse your mind from wicked thoughts' (Latin *A cogitatione noxia custodi animam tuam* (S1a)), and 23.32 *Ac gehyr ðu me* 'But/and you hear me'. Of particular interest is Davis (1997: 100) where he comments on the corresponding element order in Ælfric: 'the order is subject - verb for non-conjoined imperatives, and usually verb - subject for conjoined imperatives, and 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 (V-O) in non-conjoined clauses,

<sup>1</sup> They are: 5.30, 15.124, 15.125, 22.113, 22.141, 22.143, and 22.144.

as in 3.44 *Dod hreowsunge* ‘ Do penance ’ (Latin *Poenitentiam agite* (S1)) and 7.43 *Gemunad hu ...* ‘ Remember how ... ’. Conjoined clauses (47 examples) differ from the non-conjoined ones in having eleven examples of the O-V pattern, as in 1.44, 22.141 (see above), and 5.192 *ne us to Gode wrege scandlic gepoht* ‘nor may shameful thought reproach us before God’ (Latin *nulla nos turpis cogitatio accuset* (S1)).

There are four clauses that contain the accusative and infinitive construction, where the accusative is always placed between the finite and non-finite verbs (v-Z-V). We have already seen one of the examples above (22.68), and the remaining three are:

Ne forlæt du næfre þa deofla geweald agan ðus myclan heapes þines handgeworces ‘ Do not allow the power of the devils to have so great a troop of your handiwork ’ (15.146) / 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* (SA1)) (17.23) / forlætað me heofon swiþor geseon þonne eorðan ‘allow me to see heaven more than earth’ (Latin *caelum potius respicere quam terram* (S1)) (18.289)

All the eleven instances with indirect objects have the pattern V-I, as in 1.37 *Frin þæs þa men* ‘ Ask this to those men ’ (Latin *Interroga eos* (S1)) and 10.76 & *forlæt me mines rihtes wyrðe* ‘ 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 (i.e. O2-I2 and O3-I3): 5.52 *secgaþ lifes bebodu eallum þeodum* ‘say the commandments of life to all peoples’ (Latin *praedicate euangelium usque creaturae* (M3)), 10.173 *syle wæstm þinne eorðan* ‘ give fruit to your land ’ (Latin *si producat germen suum* (S1)), and 21.37



*Brec þinne hlaf þam þearfgendum* ‘Break your loaf for the needy’ (Latin *Frangere esurienti panem tuum*).

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

& þurhwuniþ clæne ‘and remain clean’ (Latin *et mundi estote* (S1)) (3.50)

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

(4.143) / Bioð ge ... gestædige on eowrum life ‘Be you ... temperate in your

life’ (Latin *Sobrii estote uigilate* (S1)) (14.10) / Beoð mildheorte ‘Be merci-

ful’ (Latin *Estote misericordes*) (21.112)

Adverbials tend to occur postverbally (74 of 86, or 86%) irrespective of weight, as in 1.162 *ac hataþ hine nu ateon* ‘but now command (someone) to remove him’, 7.11 *Ongitað nu hwæt ...* ‘Understand now what ...’, and 17.23 (see above).

There is only one clause with an impersonal expression, which is 7.67 *ne tweoge þe na þæt ...* ‘do not doubt at all that ...’ where the verb *tweoge* precedes an experiencer *þe* and a *þæt* clause.

## 2.4 Interrogative Clauses

The clauses dealt with in this section are divided into two main types: nexus questions and *x*-questions. The former type usually requires as an answer either ‘yes’ or ‘no’ (i.e. yes-no questions), whereas the latter type requires new information concerning the unknown *x* (cf. *OES* §1640). They are well illustrated in *Guide* §157:

Questions fall into two main divisions - those in which the questioner seeks new information, e.g. *Hwær eart þu?* ‘Where are you?’ and *Hwy 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, e.g. ‘*Wilt þu we gað and gadriað hie?*’ *Ða cwæð he: ‘Nese’* ‘ “ 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 (1997: 103), 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 *hwæðer*, ... 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 (1997: 102-8) 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 *hwæþer*

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* §3895 and Davis (1997: 103). Examples are:

Ac ne wast þu þæt ...? ‘ But do you not know that ...? ’(Latin *Nescis quia ...* (S1)) (1.174) / Hwæt, wene ge þæt ...? ‘ Lo, do you consider that ...? ’(7.25) / Wenst ðu ðæt ...? ‘ Do you think that ...? ’(Latin *aut si tuos esse putas ...* (S1)) (10.164)

*VH* have only one example with the S-V (or S-v-V, to be precise) pattern, which is: 1.196 *Hwæt, ic þonne hate eowerne cyning ahon?* ‘ 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: 1.197 *Ne habbaþ we ænigne cyning butan Casere* ‘ We have no king except Caesar ’ (which must be interpreted as ‘ yes ’ contextually). In addition, the passage (1.196) should have been read with a rising intonation (cf. Davis 1997: 103-4).

There are ten clauses that contain direct objects, which are always preceded by finite verbs (V-O) as in 1.135 *Willað ge þæt ...?* ‘ Do you wish that ...? ’ and 4.235 *Nystes ðu na hu ...?* ‘ Did you not know how ...? ’ In the sole instance with a complex verb phrase (1.196, see above), 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 ðu þysse mannes þegn ...?* ‘ But are you not this man’s disciple ...?’ (Latin *Numquid et tu ex discipulis es hominis istius* (M2)) (1.26) / *Ac neart ðu þyses mannes discipul?* ‘ But are you not this man’s disciple? ’ (Latin *Numquid et tu ex discipulis eius es* (M1)) (1.47) / *eart ðu Iudea cining?* ‘ are you the king of the Jews? ’ (Latin *Tu es rex Iudaeorum* (S1)) (1.103) / *eart ðu cyning?* ‘ are you the king? ’ (Latin *Ergo rex es tu* (S1)) (1.126)

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

Adverbials are used in five clauses, which are 1.196, 4.235 (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? ’ (Latin *Nonne ego te uidi in horto cum illo* (M1)) (1.51) / *Cwist ðu þæt þines þances ...?* ‘ Do you speak that of your own will

...? '(Latin *A temet ipso hoc dicis* (S1)) (1.103)<sup>1</sup> / Ne gemundest ðu na Salomones cwide ...? 'Do you not remember at all Solomon's saying ...?' (10.127)

Adverbials follow the finite verb in these instances, except for 1.196 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 *hwæper*

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 (SV), as in 14.80 *Hwylc geleafullra manna is þæt ...?* 'Which of faithful men is (there) who ...?' (Latin *Quis enim fidelium* (S1))<sup>2</sup> and 16.62 *Hwæt is þe, sæ ...?* 'What is (there) to you, sea ...?' (Latin *quid est tibi mare* (SA1)).<sup>3</sup>

Direct objects occur in five clauses, and they all share the V-O pattern, as in 10.193 *Ac hwa fehð þonne to þam þe ...?* 'But who will then receive that which ...?'<sup>4</sup>, 10.258 *Hwæt hylpeð þam men aht?* 'What helps the man at all?' (Latin *Quid enim prodest homini* (S1)),<sup>5</sup> and 21.29 *Men ða leofestan, hwæt fromaþ ænigum menn ...?* 'Dearly beloved, what profits any man ...?' (Latin *Quid enim proficit*).<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> I follow Scragg (1992: 465) where he glosses *þances* as 'of one's own will'.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Szarmach (1968: 36): 'What kind of a faithful man is it who ...?'

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Szarmach (1968: 62): 'What afflicts thee, O sea, ...?'

<sup>4</sup> The prepositional phrase *to þam þe ...* is considered as the direct object of the verb *fon*. On this usage, see Toller (1972), s.v. *fon*.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Mc Cabe (1968: 104): 'What does anything help a man?'

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Szarmach (1968: 267): 'Dearly beloved, what does it profit a man ...?'

There is only one example with the indirect object: 23.137 *Hwa geaf eow, yrmungum, 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): 7.42 *hwæt is to cwedanne be ðam mænigfealdum smeamettum?* ‘what is (there) to be said about the manifold delicacies?’ and 9.29 *Hwylc man is on deaðe (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 4.61 *Eala ge, men þa leofestan, hwa is æfre swa heardre heortan ...?* ‘Alas, you, dearly beloved, who is ever so hard of heart ...?’, 20.173 *Hwæt is us rihtwislicre ...?* ‘What is more righteous for us ...?’ (Latin *Uel quid iustius est ... (S1)*), and 20.176 *Hwæt is us bætere toforan ælcere middangeardlicre strengðe ...?* ‘What is better for us before all worldly strength ...?’ (Latin *Et quid hac fortitudine melius est (S1)*). One might wonder if it is possible to consider *æfre* in 4.61 as part of the complement, as well as *us* in both 20.173 and 20.176. 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 10.258 (see above) and 13.19 *Hwæt wunap þysses mid ðam men oferhydum in ðære byrgenne, nempe ðara seonuwa & þara bana dust in þære eorðan?* ‘What remains of this with the 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 (S1)*). In the other five, the adverbial is followed by: (1) a split element (i.e. the other half of a heavy element; one example) in 1.75 *Hwylc þearf is us oðerra gewitnessa?* ‘What need is (there) of other witnesses for us?’, (2) a complement (two examples)

in 4.61 and 20.173 (see above); and (3) a direct object (two examples) in 10.193 (see above) and 18.250 *Hwa forstandeð þonne hie?* ‘Who will then defend them?’ (Latin *quis nos a morsibus eorum, percusso pastore, prohibebit?* (S1)).

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

There are 80 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 1.45 *oððe to hwan swingest ðu me?* ‘or wherefore do you scourge me?’ (Latin *quid me caedis* (S1)), 4.233 *hwi ne com eower nan to minum lichoman?* ‘why did none of you come to my body?’, and 8.64 *For hwan, la man, forlur ðu þis eal ...?* ‘Why, oh man, did you destroy all this?’ (Latin *Quur (quod pro te pertuli) perdidisti?* (S1)). Also included here are five examples of conjoined clauses where both the *hw*-form and the subject - which are present in the preceding clause - are understood and omitted. Three such examples appear consecutively in 4.205 *For hwan swenctest ðu me, & wlenctest þe in þære sceortan tide & forgeate me, & þas langan woruld ne gemundest?* ‘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, ðu deað, hwi noldest ðu 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?**’ (4.248)

Hwig nelle we ... Godes willan georne wyrcan **& 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?**’ (20.197)

The subject always follows the finite verb (V-S); and these two elements almost always form a cluster (VS, 72 of 73) except for 22.65 *Hwig þincad þe þas witu þy maran?* ‘Why do these punishments seem the greater to you?’ This exception may be explained in terms of the strong tendency of the verb *þyncan* to have the experiencer (like *þe* above) in close proximity.

When they are not represented by the *hw*-form (in which case they are placed before the finite verb, usually at the clause-initial position), the object (either direct or indirect) and complement usually follow the V-S pattern as in 8.65 *For hwan wær ðu swa unþancul þinre onlǣsnesse?* ‘Why were you so ungrateful of your redemption?’ (Latin *Quur, ingrate, redemptionis tuae munera rennuisti?* (S1)) and 10.162 *To hwan heold ðu hit þe sylfum & þinum bearnum?* ‘Why did you keep it for yourself and your children?’ (Latin *Quid te filiis tuis fingis seruare?* (S1)). The only exception in *VH* is 22.65 where the experiencer, or possibly the ‘indirect object’ according to Campbell (1964: 191),<sup>1</sup> precedes the nominative subject in the personal use of *þyncan*; 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: 1.76 *Hwæt þincad eow nu hu ...?* ‘What does (it) seem to you now how ...?’ and 22.199 *La, hwi ne sceamad us?* ‘Lo, why are we not ashamed?’

*VH* have two clauses containing the accusative and infinitive construction as in 4.221 *La, ðu dead, hwi let þu minne lichoman swa lange lybban on þam unrihte?* ‘Lo, you death, why did you let my body live so long in that sin?’ and 7.72 *Eawla, wif, to hwan wenest ðu þines lichoman hæle geican mid smyringe & ofþweale & oðrum liðnessum?* ‘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.

Non-finite verbs occur in 19 clauses, most of which are placed either in the

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<sup>1</sup> See Chapter 1 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 1.41 *To hwan sceald þu, la, þus answerigan ussum þam hean bisceope?* ‘Why must you answer thus to the high priest?’ (Latin *Sic respondes pontifici* (S1)).

There are 25 clauses that contain adverbials, of which 19 are placed at the clause-final position as in 1.89 *Hwylce synne secap ge to þyssum men?* ‘Which sin do seek you for this man?’, 8.60 *Hwæt gedydest ðu for me?* ‘What did you do for me?’, and 13.24 *oððe to hwan upahebbast ðu ungesæliga þe in geweald oferhiede oððe 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?* (S1)).

### Summary

In concluding his section on interrogative clauses, Davis (1997: 108) 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 *hwæþer* usually have the pattern *V-S*, which may be followed by other elements such as objects, complements, and adverbials if available.

Nexus questions with *hwæþer* 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.

## 2.5 Optative Clauses

This section deals with clauses that express wishes or prayers.<sup>1</sup> Davis (1997: 109) finds 59 examples in his corpus (40 in *CH* and 19 in *SH*) and writes that such 'clauses are rare in the Old English corpus, most examples deriving from homiletic material'. *VH* have 217 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 99 examples of the former and 15 of the latter alone, the rest being made up of exhortations (e.g. *lufigen we* ... 'let us love ...') as will be described below.

There are 99 examples with simple verb phrases. The subject tends to follow the finite verb (V-S, 65 clauses) but the opposite pattern (S-V) is also observed (16), as in 1.189 *Sie his blod ofer us & ofer ure bearn* 'Let his blood be over us and over our children' (Latin *Sanguis eius super nos et super filios nostros* (S1)) and 22.74 *Nænig ne sie se ðe* ... 'Let (there) be no one who ...' (Latin *nemo est qui* ... (M1)). Similarly, the direct object often follows the finite verb (V-O; 53 examples),

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. Woodcock (1959: §§113-7), Gildersleeve & Lodge (1895: §§260-2), and *Guide* (p. vi): 'And if you don't learn Old English, **Then Devil take your hide.**' [emphasis added]

while the opposite pattern (O-V) is found 19 times, as in 3.46 *Wyrceap medeme wæstmas hreowsunge* ‘ Let us perform the worthy fruit of repentance ’ (Latin *Facite ... fructus dignos poenitentiae* (S1)) and 10.55 & *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 10.40 *Ne gelette us þæs sides se frecna feond* ‘ May the harmful enemy not hinder us from the journey ’ and 10.42 *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 2.77 & *sin we mildheorte earmum mannum & elþeodegum & untrumum* ‘ and let us be merciful to poor men and foreigners and the weak ’ and 10.51 *ne to yðbylge 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 1997: 109). Examples are:

Geprowigen we for ures dryhtnes lufan eall ‘ May we all suffer for the love of our Lord ’ (2.81) / (Gloria in excelsis Deo.) Wuldor sie Gode on heannesse ‘ Glory be to God in the highest part ’ (cf. Latin *Gloria in altissimis* (S1)) (5.36) / Ac hergen we & wuldrien urne dryhten on clænum gedohtum & ... ‘ and may we praise and glorify our Lord in clean thoughts, and ... ’ (5.194) / Gastlice herigen we ures dryhtnes naman, hælendes Cristes ‘ Let us praise spiritually the name of our Lord, of the Saviour Christ ’ (5.203) / Dryhten us to þam gefultumige ‘ May the Lord help us for that ’ (18.310) / Nænig þe mid unsnotre lare beswice ‘ Let no one deceive you with unwise teaching ’ (Latin *nulla te insipiens doctrina decipiat* (S1)) (22.139)

These examples suggest some factors influencing the position of adverbials ( as well as other elements in some cases): Latin influence (5.36 and 22.139), weight ordering (2.81 and 5.194), and stylistic prominence (5.203 and 18.310).

VH have 118 optative clauses with complex verb phrases, of which 99 contain the

verb *wuton*, forming the largest group in this entire clause category. This verb is always placed in the clause-initial position except in 19.76 & *æfre ongean his yfelan willan uton wyrcan Godes willan* ‘And ever against his wicked will, let us perform the will of God’ and 22.201 & *for ðan uton oflinnan þara unarimedra ofermetta* & ... ‘and, therefore, let us cease the countless pride and ...’. When the subject is expressed, it immediately follows the finite verb, as in 11.55 *Utan we nu forð tilian* ‘Let us now henceforth strive’ and 19.70 *uton we winnan ongean hine mid geleaffulnesse* ‘let us strive against him with faith’ (Latin *tu autem surge cum fide* (S1)). Direct objects follow the finite verb, of which 45 follow the entire verb phrase (v-V-O) and 17 are sandwiched between finite and non-finite verbs (v-O-V). The accusative and infinitive construction occurs in 20 clauses where the accusative is placed between the complex verb phrase (v-Z-V) except for the following four examples in which the accusative follows the entire verb phrase (v-V-Z): *Læt nu, dryhten, faran in sybbe þine þegnas æfter þinum wordum* ‘Now, Lord, let your disciples go in peace according to your words’ (17.111), & *uto ne georwenan us* ‘And let us not despair’ (21.231), & *uton habban us symle sode lufe betweenan* ‘And let us always have true love between us’ (21.237), and & *uton 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’ (22.206).

Where both the direct object and the accusative are present, weight ordering is observed, as in 21.237 where the pronominal accusative precedes the heavy direct object (*us ... sode lufe*) and 22.206 where the pronominal direct object precedes the accusative of medium weight (*hie diofol*). This last example also serves as the only optative clause in *VH* with three verbs *uton ... lætan ... animan*. All of the eight instances with complements share the pattern v-V-C except for 8.9 (see below), while adverbials in 74 clauses assume a variety of positions, which may be illustrated by (A-)v-(A-)V(-A). Lastly, it should be added that there is one example where *wuton* appears with an impersonal verb *sceamian*: 22.200 *Utan sceamian ure ... þæt*

... ‘ Let us be ashamed that ... ’.<sup>1</sup>

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: 8.9 *Men ða leofestan, ne læten we us næfre þa synne to þon swiðe micle ne to þan swiðe hefiglice byncan* ‘ 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 ’(4.126) / Magon we þonne gehycgan hu ... ‘ May we then think how ... ’(Latin *Hinc ergo pensemus quale ...* (S1)) (14.77) / Min dryhten God, syn mine fynd a onhinder gecyrrad ‘ My Lord God, let my enemies ever be turned back ’(Latin *Conuertantur inimici mei retrorsum, et reliquia*) (23.76)

## 2.6 Summary of Chapter 2

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 (1997), 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 1997: 11).

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<sup>1</sup> This construction, ‘ genitive of person + *þæt* clause ’, seems to be uncommon for *sceamian*; for example, it is not found in the extensive (and almost exhaustive) list in Ogura (1986: 262-3).

## 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’ (Smith 1999: 38). Following Davis (1997: 18-9 and 112ff), three types of dependent clauses are distinguished: nominal clauses (3.1), adjectival clauses (3.2), and adverbial clauses (3.3; they are further subdivided into seven categories as defined in Chapter 1). 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.

#### 3.1 Nominal Clauses

*VH* have 816 clauses that belong to this category. Clauses in this category fall into ‘two main divisions - those introduced by *þæt* or some other conjunction (see §§1956-61) and those beginning with an interrogative or exclamatory word’ (*OES* §1937). The former may be further exemplified by *þætte*, *swilce*, *gif*, and *þeah*, and the latter by *hwa*, *hwilc*, and *hu*.

Nominal clauses function as the subject, object or complement of another (larger) clause,<sup>1</sup> as in 10.170 *Gif ðu wene þæt hit þin bocland sie* ‘If you think that it

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. Smith (1999: 64). Smith treats the accusative and infinitive construction as a kind of nominal clause (which is in accordance with *Guide* §161). His example is: *He het þone wer hine bindan* ‘He commanded the man to bind him’. As I made clear in Chapter 1, I treat this construction as part of the larger clause with the use of the symbol Z to denote the accusative. Thus, I consider the example above as an independent declarative clause (Type A) with the

would be your bookland ' (Latin *Si terra tua est* (S1)) where the *þæt* clause functions as the direct object of *wenan*. Parenthetical clauses are typically introduced by *þæt*, as in 9.105 *Hafað him þonne syððan þry gebeddan, þæt is þonne greot & molde & wyrmas* 'Then, afterwards, (he) has for himself three bedfellows, (namely) 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 (*þæt is* ...).<sup>1</sup> 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 458 instances in *VH*. The following table illustrates the distribution:

	S1	S2	S3	Total
S-V	260	114	61	435
V-S	1	4	18	23
Total	261	118	79	458

Examples are:

S1-V hu þa forwurdon (þe ...) ' how they perished (who ...) '(7.46) / & for

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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 (§§3722-88) from nominal clauses (§§1935-2102), but still within his Chapter VII where he deals with subordinate clauses.

<sup>1</sup> However, there are exceptions. See Stanley (1977: 6, n. 22).

hwan du sie ‘ and why you exist ’(22.132)

S2-V hwylce dæge oþðe on hwylce tid se deaþ cymed ‘ on what day or at what time death will come ’(14.62) / hwær þæt seax cwom ‘ where the short sword went ’ (18.203)

S3-V þæt sum man wære ‘ that (there) was a certain man ’(14.121) / (hu ...) hwilce witu & hwilce ymða & hwilce ormæte brogan & þa egeslican brynas & þa unasegendlican cylas beod ‘ (how there) will be what tortures, and what miseries, and what boundless terrors and the terrible fires and the indescribable coldness ’(20.192)

V-S1 (þæt ...) ne geþristlæce he þis fæsten to abreccenne ‘ (that ...) he would not presume to break this fast ’(19.101)

V-S2 hu bealdlice spreced þæt dioful to þam hælende ‘ how boldly the devil speaks to the Saviour ’ (10.101) / þæt us gehæle God ‘ that God would heal us ’(22.194)

V-S3 þæt on þysse worulde syn fif onlicnessa be helle gryre ‘ that in this world (there) are five images concerned with the horror of hell ’(9.84) / þæt þær bið, æt ðære þriðdan tide dæges on Monandæge, swide mycel geomrung ‘ that there will be a very great lamentation in the third hour of that day on Monday ’ (Latin *Hora tertia diei erit murmur magnum* (S1)) (15.80)

The majority of instances has the S-V pattern (435 of 458, or 95%). As for the V-S pattern, *VH* have 23 examples (5%), which seems remarkable since Davis (1997: 113-5) 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-S1 (19.101 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 (*þæt ...*). But the full context reveals that it is not so:

þy we beodad Godes bebode & eallra his haligra, **þæt** nan þara cristenra manna þe þis gehyre him beforan rædan oððe elleshwara hit him gereccan, **ne geþristlæce he þis fæsten to abrecenne**, be þam þe he wille him for Gode geborgen habban.<sup>1</sup>

‘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.’ (19.99)

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-S1 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.<sup>2</sup> Another possibility would be to ignore the pronominal subject *he* and take the preceding *nan þara cristenra 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 (*he*) after the verb to clarify the context.<sup>3</sup>

Next, we look at the four examples with V-S2. In one example, the conjunction

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<sup>1</sup> I follow Mitchell (*OES* §922) who comments on the *be þam þe* clause as follows: ‘I take *him* to be governed by *habban* in the case appropriate to *(ge)beorgan* “by which he is willing/wishes to have himself protected”.’ Cf. Szarmach (1968: 189) translates the same passage as ‘[i]n that matter he will have protected himself before God’.

<sup>2</sup> Davis (1997: 116-7) reports a similar case which may be parsed as either v-S-V or S-v-V.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *Guide* §148: ‘In their attempts to explain complicated ideas, Anglo-Saxon writers often had recourse to a device similar to that used by some modern politician who has the desire but not the ability to be an orator, viz. the device of pausing in mid-sentence and starting afresh with a pronoun or some group of words which sums up what has gone before.’



*þæt* is omitted: 9.147 (*þæt ...*) & *nis þes middangeard swilce se seofoda dæl ofer þone micclan garsecg* ‘and (that) 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 *þæt* (cf. 19.101 above). In 10.101 above, the close semantic connection appears to bring together the adverbial *hu bealdlice* and the verb *spreceð*, postponing the subject *þæt dioful*. The remaining two examples are 22.194 above and 16.108 *þæt us beod symble þurh þa þegnunga þære 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 *þæt us*, I am unable to account for them.

The weight of subject plays a vital role in the eighteen examples with V-S3. Latin is not always a certain guide: some follow the Latin as in 15.80 above and 20.153 *hwæt si þæs modes mægen* ‘what may be the power of the mind’ (Latin *quid sit uirtus animi* (S1)), but others do not as in 5.152 (*þæt ...*) & *bi him stod dryhtnes engel* ‘and (that) by them stood an angel of the Lord’ (Latin *angelus apparet* (S3)) and 18.96 *þæt þær cwom sum gecristnod man to him* ‘that there came a certain catechumen to him’ (Latin *se ei quidam catechumenus iunxit* (S1)).

#### The order of subject and complex verb

There are 228 examples in *VH*. Examples and figures are:

S1-v-V (89) *þæt he sie gefylled mid þære godcundan lufan & his nehstan* ‘that one would be filled with love of the divine and (love) of one’s neighbour’ (Latin *ut sit plenus in dilectione Dei et proximi* (S1)) (3.6) / *þæt ðu næfre forlæte ðus myclan heapes gewæld dioflu agan þines handgeweorces* ‘that you never let the devils have power in this way over a great troop of your handiwork’ (15.156)

S2-v-V (28) þæt his flæsc moste a lifian ‘that his flesh might live forever’ (4.250) / þæt middangeard wære gewriten ‘ that this world was written ’ (Latin *mundus describitur* (S1)) (5.100)

S3-v-V (22) ðæt þis woruldlice lif sceolde forðgewitan ‘ that this worldly life must needs depart ’ (8.4) / þæt we ealle eadmodlice sculon dryhtne þeowian ‘that we all must humbly serve the Lord’ (13.2)

S1-V-v (56) þæt ic for mancynnes hælo geþrowian sceolde ‘ that I should suffer for mankind’s salvation ’(1.2) / þæt he forlætan sceal ‘ that he must abandon ’ (14.35)

S2-V-v (12) ðæt ure dryhten gefulwad wolde bion ‘ that our Lord wished to be baptized ’ (16.3) / þæt him God swa mycel forgifen hæfde ‘ that God had allowed them so much ’ (19.38)

S3-V-v (10) (þæt ...) & he sylf beswicen wæs ‘ and (that) he himself was deceived ’(19.38) / for hwi þas gangdagas ærest bebodene wæron to gehealdenne ‘ why these Rogation Days were first laid down to be observed ’(19.165)  
v-S1-V (0)

v-S2-V (4) þæt þam eallum wære hira feorh gifen ‘ that to them all their life would be given ’ (6.53) / þæt þe þonne wære þin woruldgestreon a gelytloð ‘that then your transitory riches would be diminished for you ever’ (10.183)

v-S3-V (2) þæt þær wære sum man earmlice deape aswolten ‘ that there a certain man had died miserably from death ’ (18.128) / (þæt ...) & þonne þam lichoman byþ ladlic leger gegyred ‘ and (that) then a loathsome couch is prepared for the body ’ (21.208)

v-V-S1 (0)

v-V-S2 (1) þæt on his rice acenned wolde bion se ædeling ‘ that the prince would be born in his kingdom ’ (Latin *quia in eius tempore nasceretur is cuius potestas* (M2)) (5.62)

v-V-S3 (3) þæt on his rice wolde cuman on middangeard se ðe ... ‘ that into

his kingdom in this world would come he who ... ' (Latin *quia in eius tempore saluator nasceretur qui ...* (S1)) (5.67) / þæt fram þam feower sceatum middangeardes bið gefyllt heofones roðor mid helle gastum & mid heofonlice campweroðe þære engelican gesceafta ' 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 multitudo angelorum* (S3)) (15.129)

V-S-v (0)

V-v-S1/3 (0)

V-v-S2 (1) (þæt ...) & ure gefion moton usse ylðran ' and (that) our ancestors may rejoice (in) us ' (11.57)

*VH* are similar to Ælfric (cf. Davis 1997: 115-7) 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 6.53 & þæt eallum scyldgum wæron hira scylda forðifene ' and that to all sinners their sins would be forgiven ' and 12.44 þæt us hafað God gehaten þæt ... 'that God has promised us that ...'. Of particular interest is the fact that five of the six examples (namely, except for 18.128) have the indirect object before the finite verb (I-v) presumably for stylistic prominence, which - it is further presumed - plays some role in this v-S-V order.

We can be a little more certain about the four examples with v-V-S. The Latin, though of varied source status, is available for all of them, and is followed in three, namely 5.62, 5.67, and 15.129 above. The only exception is 1.58 þæt þær wæron gesomnode þara sacerda ealdermen ealle ' that there were gathered together all the priests and elders ' (Latin *ubi scribae et seniores conuenerant* (S1)) where a

heavy subject is placed in final position.

As for the sole example with V-v-S (11.57), it may be helpful to look at the clause immediately following it: 11.58 *þa syndon heahfæderas & witegan & apostolas* ‘ who are patriarchs and prophets and apostles ’ (Latin *(ubi) nos parentes nostri, patriarchae prophetae et apostoli* (S1)). 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 *þa* clause which expands on it.

#### The order of direct object and simple verb

The sample is 278 clauses, of which 190 (68%) have O-V and 88 (32%) V-O. The table below indicates the distribution:

	O1	O2	O3	Total
O-V	59	78	53	190
V-O	3	20	65	88
Total	62	98	118	278

$\chi^2=56.28$  with 2 degrees of freedom.

Examples are:

O1-V *þæt he us lufode* ‘ that He loved us ’ (1.300) / (*þæt he ...*) & *hie gesceop* ‘ and (that He) created it ’ (5.65)

O2-V *þætte he Petrus in forlete* ‘ that he let Peter in ’ (Latin *et introduxit Petrum* (M2)) (1.24) / (*þæt we ...*) & *ure ingeþohtas geondsmeagen* ‘ and (that we) scrutinize our thoughts ’ (14.87)

O3-V *hu ðu mæst unrihtes geworhtest* ‘ how you performed the greatest of sin ’ (4.219) / (*þæt ...*) & *ondrysenlice we þæt halige godspel gehyren* ‘ and

(that) we hear that holy gospel fearfully ' (11.18)

V-O1 (þæt we ...) & healden þæt in us ' and (that we) hold that in us '(17.61)  
/ (þæt ...) & ge scyldað eow wið þa bealewan synne ' and (that) you shield  
yourselves against the wicked sin ' (21.138)

V-O2 þæt us man agife Barraban ' that one would give us Barabbas '(1.139) /  
þæt an wordum he lærde þa wæccan 'that only in words he taught the watches'  
(Latin *quod non solum uerbis docuit uigilias* (S1)) (3.81)

V-O3 þæt we ongeaton his willan & ure sawle hælo ' that we understand His  
will and our soul's salvation ' (4.78) / þæt se casere on his rice forgeaf ealle  
scylda Romwara folce ' that the emperor forgave sins of all the Roman people in  
his kingdom ' (Latin *omnia debita regis dimittebantur ab eo* (M2)) (5.66)

Most noteworthy is the stability of light direct objects (O1), all of which are preverbal except for three instances: 17.61, 21.138 above, and 21.139 (*þæt ge ...*) & *wendað eow to beteran cræfte* 'and (that you) turn yourselves to better skill'. There are not any notable similarities except that both of the last two examples (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 98 clauses. Examples and figures are:

O1-v-V (10) þæt he him sceolde þriwa wiðsacan ' that he would deny him  
three times ' (Latin *ter me negabis* (S1)) (1.55) / þæt he us wille on þas  
world gesecan ' that He will seek us in this world ' (6.43)

O2-v-V (2) hu God þysne middangeard hæfð gestapelod us on to eardianne ‘how God has established this world for us to dwell in’ (4.72) / & þæt he ða sylf eac þurh hine þa bysene wolde onstellan ‘and that He then wished also to establish that example through Himself’ (16.42)

O3-v-V (1) þæt ðu hit eal ne meahtest gefæstnigan ‘that you could not secure it all’ (Latin *quod habes adsignas* (S1)) (10.163)

O1-V-v (14) þæt we næfre hit forlætan scylen ‘that we shall never leave it’ (2.100) / hwylce gemete we þæt begiten & gearnian sculon ‘by what measure we may acquire and earn it’ (14.167)

O2-V-v (17) þæt hio bearn cennan sceolde ‘that she was destined to bring forth a son’ (5.22) / (þæt ...) & hit ða byrþenne ahebban ne meahte ‘and (that) it could not hold up that burden’ (16.86)

O3-V-v (9) þæt hie ealles geweald agan moston ‘that they might possess all power’ (19.32) / þæt he nawðer þara ne wyllenes hrægles ne linenes brucan wolde ‘that he would enjoy neither woollen garment nor linen’ (Latin *non laneo, nec lineo uestimine, nec alterius cuiuscumque delicatae uestis tegminibus usus est*) (23.6)

v-O1-V (3) (þæt he ...) & heht hine to rode lædan ‘and (that he) commanded Him to be led to the cross’ (1.200) / (þæt ...) & ealle men sceoldon hit gildan ge rice ge heane ‘and (that) all men had to pay it, both the powerful and the humble’ (5.88)

v-O2-V (17) þæt we scoldon his willan wyrcan ‘that we must work His will’ (10.115) / þæt he ne moste deaðes byrgan ‘that he would not be able to taste death’ (Latin *non uisurum se mortem* (SA1)) (17.16)

v-O3-V (13) þæt he scolde urne dryhten Crist forlætan ‘that he should let our Lord Christ go’ (Latin *quaerebat Pilatus dimittere eum* (S1)) (1.180) / (þætte ...) ac we sculon us sylfe ær clænsian ‘but (that) we must cleanse ourselves before’ (5.148)

v-V-O1 (0)

v-V-O2 (1) þæt we willað wyrcean his willan ‘ that we wish to perform His will ’ (9.19)

v-V-O3 (10) þæt he mæge asecgan þara goda & þara yðnessa ‘ that he may tell of the benefits and the comfort ’ (9.16) / þæt ic wille forgildan æghwylce gode dæde ‘ that I will reward each good deed ’ (10.145)

V-O-v (0)

V-v-O1/2 (0)

V-v-O3 (1) hwæðer he ðonne begitan mæge þæs ... ‘ whether he may then receive what ... ’ (14.52)

The direct object presents a mixed picture: the frequencies of O-v (direct object - finite verb) and v-O are almost identical, and *VH* do not seem to present a strong tendency. Certainly, weight ordering is strongly observed with light direct objects (24 of 27 are preverbal), but there are as many as 29 clauses where direct objects of medium or heavy weight come before the finite verb (O-v-V and O-V-v). In his corresponding section, Davis (1997: 122) writes: ‘ 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, and might reasonably be expected within early Old English. ’ Although I do not agree with him in labelling Ælfric as representing ‘early Old English’, his comment seems relevant here. As for the v-O order, all but three of the instances contain direct objects of medium or heavy weight. *VH* have one example of V-v-O (14.52 above) which does not occur in Ælfric; in this example, the direct object (*þæs he ær benohte* ‘ what he earlier enjoyed ’) is placed in final position because of its weight.

*VH* have eight clauses with the accusative and infinitive construction, of which six have v-Z-V and two Z-v-V. Examples are:

v-Z-V þæt we dæg hwamlice geseod beforan urum eagan ure neahstan sweltan  
'that we daily see our neighbours die before our eyes ' (21.207) / þæt we lætan  
ðas lare on ure heortan fæste wunian ' that we allow these teachings to abide  
securely in our hearts' (22.206)

Z-v-V þæt he us þæs wyrde læte beon ' that He would let us be worthy of  
that ' (17.150) / þæt God þurh haligne gast hine het faran to sumere mære  
ceastre ' 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* (M1)) (19.109)

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

v-Z-V-O (þæt man ...) & ne læte hine aslacian haligra dæda ' and (that one)  
would not let himself relax in holy deeds ' (13.5)

v-Z-O-V þæt we ne læten þissa hwilendlicra þinga ure mod gebindan &  
gebysegian ' that we would not allow these temporal things to bind and occupy  
our hearts ' (Latin *tota mente contemnere* (S1a)) (14.55)

v-O-Z-V þæt du næfre forlæte ðus myclan heapes gewæld dioflu agan þines  
handgeweorces ' that you never let the devils have power in this way over a great  
troop of your handiwork ' (15.156)

It may be observed that the accusative immediately follows the finite verb *lætan*  
(v-Z) in the first two, which is different from the last example with *forlætan* that has  
v-O-Z.

The order of indirect object and simple verb

There are 38 examples in *VH*. The distribution is summarized below:



	I1	I2	I3	Total
I-V	20	7	4	31
V-I	1	4	2	7
Total	21	11	6	38

Examples are:

I1-V þæt du us gesecege hwæder ... ‘ that you tell us whether ... ’ (Latin *ut dicas nobis si ...* (S1)) (1.67) / (þæt he ...) oððe þam sealde ‘ or (that he should) give (his property) to Him ’ (10.125)

I2-V þæt man þam wædliendan sylle to gode þæt he mæge ‘ that one give what one is able to the poor for good ’ (Latin *aegenti dare quicquid poteris* (S1)) (3.155) / þæt man oðrum þæs unne ‘ that one should grant it to others ’ (5.179)

I3-V (þæt ...) & we dæghwamllice ure gebeda Gode ælmihtigum onsendan & ure onsægdnesse 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* (S1)) (14.66) / þæt wit mancynne eallre hælo & ealre eadmodnesse bysene onstellan ‘ that we two establish for mankind an example of the salvation of all and the humility of all ’ (16.37)<sup>1</sup>

V-I1 þæt du earnodest me ecre unrotnesse ‘ that you earned for me an eternal unhappiness ’ (4.217)

V-I2 hwæt du dydest minum þearfan ‘ what you did to my poor ones ’ (10.136) / (þæt hie ...) & bædon hira dryhten þæt ... ‘ and (that they) prayed to their

<sup>1</sup> MS is illegible before this clause. Scragg (1992: 275) suggests the following reconstruction: *þæt unc gedafenad* ‘ It befits us (that ...) ’.

Lord that ... ' (19.158)

V-I3 þæt sum deofles gast sæde anum ancran 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 '(9.144) / þæt man forgife þam þe ... ' that one would forgive the one who ... '(Latin *dimittere ei a quo* ... (M1)) (20.54)

The pattern I-V occurs 31 times, accounting for 82% 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 4.217 (V-I1) 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 20.54 above and 21.14 (*þæt* ...) & *he sylð þam eadmodum gyfe* ' and (that) he gives grace to the humble-minded ' (Latin *humilibus autem dat gratiam*); heavy indirect objects are found in 10.136 above (this is followed by an adjectival clause *þam þe* ...) and 20.54; indirect objects of medium weight are placed before heavy direct objects (I2-O3) in 9.144, 19.158 (both above), and 15.1 *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* (S2)).

#### The order of indirect object and complex verb

There are 22 examples in this category. Examples and figures are:

I1-v-V (6) þæt 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* (M1))

(1.133) / þæt ealle men him sceoldon gafol gyldan ‘ that all men should pay tribute to him ’ (5.107)

I2-v-V (2) þæt þam eallum wære hira feorh gifen ‘ that to them all their life would be given ’ (6.53) / (þæt ...) & þonne þam lichoman byþ ladlic leger gegyred ‘ and (that) then a loathsome couch is prepared for the body ’ (21.208)

I3-v-V (2) & þæt eallum scyldgum wæron hira scylda forgifene ‘ and that to all sinners their sins would be forgiven ’ (6.53) / þæt he wolde eall manna cynn ðurh hine to ecere hælo bysene onstellan ‘ that he wished to set an example through Himself for the eternal salvation of all mankind ’ (16.6)

I1-V-v (3) hwæt he him don sceolde ‘ what he should do to him ’ (Latin *Quid tamen ageret?* (S1)) (18.55) / þæt him God swa mycel forgifen hæfde ‘ that God had allowed them so much ’ (19.38)

I2-V-v (0)

I3-V-v (1) þæt he nane lide þam his efenheafdan gedon wolde ‘ that the man would show no mercy to his comrade ’ (14.128)

v-I1-V (1) þæt man mid wæterdrinces sylene mihte him mycele ælnessan gedon ‘ that, with the gift of a drink of water, one could perform great almsgiving to them ’ (21.41)

v-I2-V (2) þætte æghwylc mann sceolde þam casere gafol gildan ‘ that each man must yield tribute to the emperor ’ (Latin *ut profiterentur singuli in suam ciuitatem* (M1a)) (5.15) / þæt we sculon in þrim wisum Gode rihtes geleafan gafol agildan ‘that we must in three manners yield tribute of true faith to God’ (5.91)

v-I3-V (1) þæt hie hine sceoldon hæðenum mannum to deade gesyllan ‘ that they should hand Him over to heathen men for death ’ (Latin *Et tradent eum gentibus ad deludendum* (M2)) (1.97)

v-V-I1 (2) hu God þysne middangeard hæfd gestaþelod us on to eardianne ‘how God has established this world for us to dwell in’ (4.72) / þæt æghwylc

wæpnedcild bearn ... sceolde beon ærest Gode gehalgod ‘ that each male child ... should be consecrated to God ’ (Latin *quia omne masculinum adaperiens uulvam sanctum domino ... et ut darent hostiam* (SA1)) (17.6)

v-V-I2 (1) (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 ’ (16.46)

v-V-I3 (1) þæt hie sceoldon þær bringan to þam temple twegen turturas odde twegen culfran briddas, Gode ælmihtigum to lofe & to wyrdunge to ðam 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* (SA1)) (17.9)

V-I-v (0)

V-v-I (0)

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* in 1.97 and *domino* in 17.6. It is, however, of interest to note that four examples have the word *God* (or its expanded expression) as the indirect object (5.91, 16.46, 17.6, and 17.9).

#### The order of direct and indirect objects

This category is represented by 48 clauses, of which 32 (67%) have I-O and 16 (33%) O-I. Examples are:

O-I þæt he, Pilatus, urne dryhten Crist Iudeum agef ‘ that Pilate gave over

our Christ to Jews ' (Latin *tradidit eis illum* (M1)) (1.199) / (þæt ...) & hiera ceapes wæstmā & ealle hira æhta hie hira gode bebudon ' and (that) they offered the benefit of their goods and all their possessions to their god ' (12.4)

I-O þæt ic eow agife þysne eowerne cyning ' that I give you this (one), your king ' (Latin *dimittam uobis regem Iudaeorum* (M1)) (1.135) / þæt ic þe sod secge ' that I tell you the truth ' (7.60)

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: 1.39 *hwæt ic hie lærde* ' what I taught them ' (Latin *quae dixerim ego* (S1)), 7.11 *hwæt ic eow secge* ' what I say to you ', 10.134 *hwa hit þe sealde* ' who gave it to you ', 10.136 *hwæt ðu dydest minum þearfan* ' what you did to my poor ones ', 18.55 *hwæt he him don sceolde* ' what he should do to him ' (Latin *Quid tamen ageret?* (S1)), 21.34 *hwæt he oðerum sylle* ' what he may give to others ', and 22.136 *hwylcne þe God gesceop* ' what God created for you (to be) ' (Latin *qualem te Deus fecit* (S1)). In addition, three O-I clauses have the same element order in the corresponding Latin: 1.97 *þæt hie hine sceoldon hæðenum mannum to deaðe gesyllan* ' that they should hand Him over to heathen men for death ' (Latin *Et tradent eum gentibus ad deludendum* (M2)), 1.199 above, and 18.94 *þæt þes eadiga wer sanctus Martinus sum mynster him getimbrade* ' that this blessed man, Saint Martin, built for himself a certain monastery ' (Latin *sibi ab oppido monasterium conlocavit* (S1)). In the remaining six instances of O-I, the indirect object follows the direct object irrespective of its weight.

#### The order of complement and simple verb

This category is represented by 113 clauses. The distribution is as follows:

	C1	C2	C3	Total
C-V	3	24	18	45
V-C	0	18	50	68
Total	3	42	68	113

Examples are:

C1-V þæt he his ne wære ‘ that he was not his (disciple) ’ (Latin *Non sum* (M2)) (1.28) / ðæt hit þin sie þæt ... ‘ that it would be yours that ... ’ (Latin *aut si tuos esse ...* (S1)) (10.165)

C2-V þæt hie her oferdruncene wyrden ‘that they become drunk here’ (4.41) / & hwylce Abrahames forlætu wæron ‘and what were the losses of Abraham’ (7.14)

C3-V hu mycel þære fiftan helle sar is ‘how great the fifth pain of hell is’ (9.107) / (þæt se man ...) & ful werig on þam wege sie ‘ and (that the man) should be very weary on the way ’ (14.32)

V-C1 (0)

V-C2 (þæt ...) & eorðan grundas bið grimetiende ‘ and (that) the bottom of the earth will be roaring ’ (Latin *Abyssi mugabunt* (S1)) (15.114) / þæt he is hat ‘ that it is hot ’ (16.155)

V-C3 þæt þæt wæs þearfendra manna asægdnesse in þære ealdan æ ‘ that it was the offering of needy men under the Old Law ’ (17.64) / ðæt ure dryhten is swiðe gemyndig þæs cwides ‘that our Lord is very mindful of the saying’ (18.74)

The pattern V-C accounts for 60% of instances (68 of 113), and C-V 40% (45). 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: 1.28, 10.165 (both above), and 1.53 *þæt he his ne wære* 'that he was not his (man)'. As for the complements of medium weight, it is interesting to see that they occur preverbally (24 instances) more often than they do postverbally (18). Heavy complements show a clear preference for the postverbal position (V-C; 50 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 (C2/3) 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:

C1/2-v-V (0)

C3-v-V (2) *þæt he us þæs wyrðe læte beon* 'that He would let us be worthy of that' (17.150) / *(Wa la) þæt ic æfre swa ungesæligo geboren sceolde weorðan* ' (Woe,) that I ever had to be born so unfortunate ' (Latin *Cur infelix natus sum?* (S1)) (22.48)

C1/2-V-v (0)

C3-V-v (2) *to hwan se eorðlica dæl & sio mennisce gecynd wiordan sceal* 'what the earthly portion and the human race shall become' (14.22) / *þæt he swa ungefullad forðferan sceolde* 'that he had to die thus unbaptized' (18.105)

v-C1-V (0)

v-C2-V (4) *(þæt ...) & he wæs sona æfter þam hal geworden* 'and (that) he was made whole immediately after that' (Latin *sanauit eum* (S1)) (1.4) / *(þæt ...) ac he is frumbearn nemned* 'but (that) He is named the first born' (5.133) / *þæt we moton þæs wyrðe bion* 'that we may be worthy of this' (8.89) / *þæt he þonne þurh þæt weard hal geworden* 'that the sick man was

made whole from it ' (Latin *persaepe ab aegrotantibus morbos fugauerunt* (M1)) (18.211)

v-C3-V (2) þæt he wile in þære gesamnunge bion (þe ...) ' that He will be in the assembly of those (who ...) ' (12.45) / þæt we us ne læten þis medmicele gewin þisse worlde a lang þyncan & to unyde ' that we would not allow the mean strife of this world to seem overlong and too grievous to us ' (14.164)

v-V-C1 (0)

v-V-C2 (1) þæt oðra manna forðfor sceolde bion ure gelicnesse ' that death of other men should be our parable ' (Latin *morientis uocatio tua sit emendatio* (S1a)) (22.119)

v-V-C3 (3) þæt ic wille beon þyses mannes blodes unscyldig & his deaðes 'that I will be guiltless of this man's blood and death' (Latin *ego sum a sanguine iusti huius* (M1)) (1.188) / þætte Agustus se casere, se wæs nemned oðre naman Octavianus ' that the emperor Augustus, he was called by a second name Octavianus ' (5.38) / þæt we sceoldon beon swylces modes & swylces gewittes & on swylcre willan ' that we should be of such a mind and of such an understanding and in such a desire ' (17.96)

V-C-v (0)

V-v-C (0)

The complement precedes the finite verb in four instances (C-v-V and C-V-v), and follows it in ten instances (v-C-V and v-V-C). The small sample, though not as small as that of Ælfric (only one instance with v-C2-V; cf. Davis 1997: 131), seems to defy generalizations.

#### The order of single adverbial and finite verb

There are 282 clauses in *VH*. The table below shows the distribution:



	A1	A2	A3	Total
A-V	65	42	53	160
V-A	18	21	83	122
Total	83	63	136	282

<sup>2</sup>=35.76 with 2 degrees of freedom.

Examples are:

A1-V þæt he ær gefremede ‘ that he earlier performed ’ (Latin *quod peregis*se (S1)) (3.27) / (hu ...) & he hire bereafod wæs ‘ and (how) he was deprived of her ’ (7.15)

A2-V hu hie mæst reaflaca gereafien ‘ how they ravage with greatest of robbery ’ (4.36) / hu se dema ymb þæt gedon wylle ‘ how the judge will act concerning that ’ (10.245)

A3-V (þæt ...) odde ælc hiora to dumbum nytenum gewurde ‘ or (that) each of them would turn to dumb animals ’ (2.53) / þæt we to þam ecan gefean becumā moton ‘ that we may come to that eternal joy ’ (14.43)

V-A1 þæt ic blissode unawendedlice ‘ that I rejoiced without end ’ (4.128) / þæt se wære ut forlæten ‘ that he would be released outside ’ (6.51)

V-A2 þæt monige arison of deade ‘ that many arose from death ’ (5.136) / þæt þa sawla sculon eardigan on helle ‘ that those souls must dwell in hell ’ (9.35)

V-A3 þæt wif swa sioces syn of hyra gecynde ‘ that women are so sick at childbirth ’ (7.56) / þæt du wære rixiende in heofona rices wuldre ‘ that you would be ruling in the glory of the kingdom of heavens ’ (Latin *ut tibi gloriam meam darem* (S1)) (8.63)

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 (160 of 282, or 57%) where 132 (83%) have the finite verb 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 (44) (þætte ...) & þurh unwemme fæmnan on þas world acenned wæs ‘and (that) through an unspotted virgin (He) was born into this world’ (6.2) / þæt we þæt eft mid tearum & mid heafe wepen & beten ‘ that we afterwards weep and atone for that with tears and with lamentation ’ (Latin *cum lacrimis et luctu recipere* (S1)) (11.74)

A-V-A (48) þæt soþe in heofonum gehealden mid urum dryhtne hælendum Christi ‘that truthful ones would live in heavens with our Lord Saviour Christ’ (1.120) / þæt hie næfre ne wæren acennede fram hiora fædrum & modrum ‘that they were never brought forth by their fathers and mothers ’ (2.52)

V-A-A (39) þætte se hælend wære nihterne an gebedum waciende ‘that the Saviour was watching at night in prayers’ (Latin *quia erat Iesus pernoctans in oratione Dei* (S1)) (3.83) / þæt ge wepen & forhtien on þysse medmiclan tide for eowrum synnum ‘that you weep and fear in this short time for your sins’ (4.1)

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 91% of instances (40 of 44) have the finite verb in final position. The consecutive ordering of

adverbials (AA) is common, accounting for 78% (65 of 83) 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 (7) þæt se wolde of ðam rice cuman & of ðam cynestole & of ðam þrymrice hyder on þas eorðan ' that He would come from the kingdom and from the royal seat and from the realm of glory here into this earth '(10.12) / þæt us beoð symble þurh þa þegnunga þære 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 '(16.108)

A-V-A-A (12) þæt hie næfre woldon in þa tid in ænig þæra inna in gangan 'that they would never in that time go into any of the dwelling' (1.86) / þætte we þas halgan tiid gedefelice & clænlice weordien, Godes naman to lofe & to wuldre, & ussum sawlum to ecre hælo & to frofre ' that we should honour properly and purely these holy times as a praise and as a glory to the name of God, and for our souls ' eternal salvation and for consolation '(5.2)

A-A-V-A (14) þæt we þonne eft mægen bion gefionde in hiofenlican ham þæs uplican rices ' that we then afterwards may be rejoicing in the heavenly home of that celestial kingdom ' (Latin *uerum gaudium postea habituri in re* (S1)) (11.69) / þæt he arfæstlice mid dryhtne ricsige on heofena rices gefean ' that he may rule piously with the Lord in the joy of heaven's kingdom '(14.39)

A-A-A-V (8) þæt we nu ær on þyssum dagum lærde wæron ' that we now have been taught already in these days '(13.3) / (þæt ...) & hwæðre se an leg preo þing fulllice on him hafað ' and (that) moreover, the one flame holds three things fully in itself '(16.154)

As we saw in the previous section, *VH* again do not show a strong tendency, having similar frequencies of the possible four patterns within the small sample. All but one of the A-A-A-V examples have the finite verb in final position, and the consecutive ordering of three adverbials is infrequent (eight instances, accounting for 53% of clauses with V-A-A-A/A-A-A-V). Included in the figures above are eleven clauses with four or more adverbials, which are A-A-A-A-V (20.196), A-A-A-V-A (20.190), A-A-A-V-A-A-A (21.88), A-A-V-A-A (8.27 and 19.160), A-V-A-A-A (16.108 above, 18.308, and 19.59), A-V-A-A-A-A (1.86 above), A-V-A-A-A-A-A (16.44), and V-A-A-A-A (17.9).

#### Clause patterns

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

Verb-final (337) *hu he God eow yfolsaþ* ‘how he blasphemes God to you’ (Latin *blasphemiam* (S1)) (1.74) / & *hu he þam forwyrhtum deman wille* ‘and how He will judge the evil-doers’ (4.101)

Non-verb-final (426) *þæt beo be him gehered* ‘that (he) would be praised concerning himself’ (Latin *laudari* (S1)) (20.133) / *þæt þa earman fyrenfullan sceolon sarie aswæman fram anyne 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’ (21.178)

Verb-final tendency accounts for 44% (337 of 763) in *VH* (cf. 42% in *CH* and 34% in *SH*). As Davis (1997: 139) writes, this ‘is certainly not the verb final picture which might be expected (though 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 (42%), direct objects (20%), and complements (14%), almost all of which are of medium or heavy weight.

### Impersonals

There are 28 clauses with impersonal expressions. Impersonals are usually placed in medial position (i.e. after the conjunction and another element) as in 1.69 *ðæt nu hwænne gelimped þæt ...* 'that (it) will happen henceforth that ...' and 4.146 *þæt me ne hingrede on ecnesse* 'that I hungered not in eternity'. Some exceptions are 14.31 *hu dysiglic þæt sie þæt ...* 'how foolish it is that ...' where *dysiglic*, a part of the impersonal expression *dysiglic is*, is placed after the conjunction *hu* for emphasis, and 8.29 & *hu us þonne lysted* 'and how (it) 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 ...' (12.72) / *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* (S1)) (14.134) / *þæt me ne cole on þysse worulde* 'that (it) would not be cold for me in this world' (4.149)

### 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 (1997: 140) that ‘adverbial position is less subject to rules or tendencies than is the positioning of other elements’.

### 3.2 Adjectival Clauses

The sample from *VH* consists of 853 clauses. This clause category is well illustrated in *Guide* (§162.5) as follows:

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

Added to this list are *þæt* which ‘combines antecedent and relative pronoun’ (*Guide* §163.5), as well as combinations such as *swa hwa swa* and *swa hwylc swa*, which are used for ‘indefinite adjective clauses’ (cf. *OES* §§1927 and 2103).

In his corresponding section, Davis (1997: 141) 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 (e.g. 2.9 *þe he wæs* 'which he was') and adverbials (e.g. 1.210 *þe he on ahangen wæs* '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 2.14 (*swa hwæt swa ...*) & *fyr forbærnde* 'and (whatsoever) the fire burned' where the relative pronoun is omitted in a conjoined adjectival clause.<sup>1</sup>

#### The order of subject and simple verb

VH have 245 clauses with the two elements. The distribution is shown in the table below:

	S1	S2	S3	Total
S-V	143	70	21	234
V-S	0	3	8	11
Total	143	73	29	245

<sup>1</sup> 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*: 2.14 & *sæ sence & wildeor fræton & fuglas tobæron* 'and (whatsoever) the sea drowned, and (whatsoever) wild animals devoured, and (whatsoever) birds carried off'.

Examples are:

S1-V þæt ic wite ‘ which I know ’ (1.167) / þe he wæs ‘ which he was ’ (2.9)

S2-V þane dryhten geworhte ‘ which the Lord made ’ (Latin *quam fecit Dominus* (SA1)) (6.11) / þe se maga dyged ‘ which the stomach tastes ’ (7.98)

S3-V þe he sylfa lærde ‘ which He Himself taught ’ (14.6) / þæt dryhten sylf cwæð be þam gesybsumum mannum ‘ what the Lord Himself said about the peaceable men ’ (17.61)

V-S1 (0)

V-S2 þæt gegearwode min fæder diofle & his englum ‘ which my father prepared for the devil and his angels ’ (Latin *qui paratus est diabolo et angelis eius* (S1)) (4.307) / þam wæs nama Elias ‘ whose name was Elijah ’ (20.17)

V-S3 þam is wuldor & wyrðmynd þurh ealra worulda woruld aa butan ende, amen ‘ to whom (there) is glory and honour through the world of all worlds ever without end, amen ’ (2.118) / in þære standeð usses geleafan hyht ‘ in which the hope of our faith abides ’ (12.36)

The pattern S-V is predominant, accounting for 96% 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 4.307 above, 20.122 *on þære ne byð nan gelustfullung þyses andweardan lifes* ‘ in which (there) is no delight of this present life ’ (Latin *in qua etiam presentis uitae nulla est dilectatio* (S1)), and 21.253 *þone 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 11.60 *(sio wundorlice ceaster Hierusalem,)* þær ure bideð mid aþenedum earmum ure dryhten hælend Crist ‘ (the wonderful city Jerusalem) where our Lord Christ the Saviour awaits us with extended arms ’ (Latin *(ubi etiam ciues ...) et rex ciuitatis ipsius Christus, expansis nos*



*brachiis caritatis expectant* (S1)) and in 20.91 *þam wyxt togeiht þurst þæs ðe swiðor* ‘for whom (increased) thirst grows the more strongly’<sup>1</sup> (Latin *(qui ...) tanto plus illi sitis addita crescit* (S1)).

### The order of subject and complex verb

Examples and figures are:

S1-v-V (15) þe we sculon on faran ‘ (on) which we must travel ’ (14.27) / ða þe he wile habban ‘ those whom He wishes to have ’ (22.81)

S2-v-V (5) þe dryhten us hæfð gesett mid to scyldanne ‘ which the Lord has set us to shield with ’ (4.323) / þe God hafað gearwod eallum þam þe ... ‘which God has made ready for all those who ...’ (9.17)

S3-v-V (1) þæt nænig man ne mæg mid his wordum asecgan ða wynsumnesse þæs heofoncundan lifes ‘ which no one may say with his words, the joy of the heavenly life ’ (9.172)

S1-V-v (37) þe he on ahangen wæs ‘ in which He was hanged ’ (Latin *ubi crucifixus est Iesus* (M1)) (1.210) / þe we ðurhteon mægen ‘ which we can commit ’ (2.70)

S2-V-v (6) þe dryhten on geboren wæs ‘ in which the Lord was born ’ (6.35) / swa hwæt godes swa þin hand wyrcean mæge ‘ whatever of good your hand may accomplish ’ (Latin *quodcumque facere potest manus tua* (S1)) (14.59)

S3-V-v (4) þe hie nænig man asecgan ne mæg ‘which no man may explain’ (6.31) / þe þara oðera manna nan him arian ne wolde ‘ whom none of the other men would comfort ’ (Latin *aliis misericordiam non praestantibus* (S1)) (18.55)

v-S1-V (0)

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<sup>1</sup> Scragg (1992: 345).

v-S2-V (2) þe us hafað ure dryhten forgifen to anlyhtanne ða ðimnesse mancynnes ungetreownesse ‘ which our Lord has given to us in order to enlighten the darkness of mankind’s faithlessness ’ (Latin *quas ad discutiendam atque inlustrandam infidelitatis caliginem dominus noster indulsit* (S1)) (11.14) / þæt him sceolde fulwihtes bæð ofaðwean ‘ which the bath of baptism had to wash off from Him ’(16.5)

v-S3-V (3) on þam byð ælc mann þurh synne acenned ‘ in which each man is born through sin ’(Latin *ubi omnis homo per peccatum nascitur* (S1)) (20.73) / (on heofenum,) þær ne bið nænig unrotnes ne nænig sar ne nænig widerweardnes gemeted ‘ where no unhappiness, nor any sorrow, nor any adversity will be found ’(14.144)

V-S-v (0)

v-V-S1/2 (0)

v-V-S3 (3) on þam syndon awritene þa halgan & þa godcundan geryno ‘ in which are written those holy and divine mysteries ’ (12.19) / on þære byð gehealden se biggeng þære godcundnysse & þa gerihtu þære mennisclicnysse & efne ealles þæs lifes ‘ in which will be embraced the reverence of the divinity and the justice of human nature and indeed of all life ’ (20.164)

V-v-S (0)

The S-V-v pattern is the most frequent (62% of instances), followed by S-v-V (28%). Davis (1997: 143) also reports the dominance of S-V-v; or rather, this is the only pattern employed by Ælfric as far as Davis’s selected corpus goes. It is then striking that *VH* instance the other three patterns absent in Ælfric, namely S-v-V, v-S-V, and v-V-S. Since the S-v-V pattern may be regarded as a variation of S-V-v, particular attention is now given to the remaining two patterns.

First, there are five examples with v-S-V, all of which are exemplified above except 14.43 (*to þam ecan gefean ...,*) *þær bið ælc man to his yldrum hlytmed and*

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): 11.14 paraphrases the Latin *indulsit* (which is in final position) into *hafað ... forgifen*, none of which overlaps with the Latin verbal position; and 20.73 follows the Latin S-V but places the Old English equivalent of *nascitur* separately - *byð* 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 17.151 (*on his þam halgan rice,*) *þær us bið 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 192 clauses. The table below shows the distribution:

	O1	O2	O3	Total
O-V	61	66	38	165
V-O	0	7	20	27
Total	61	73	58	192

Examples are:

O1-V *þe hine ahangon* ' who hanged Him ' (1.98) / *þe hie on eorþan gesceop* 'who created them on earth' (2.30)

O2-V *Se ðe his scylda gehyded* ' He who hides his sins ' (Latin *Qui abscondit scelera sua* (S1)) (3.40) / *þam þe her þam nacodan menn wrigelses forwyrned*

‘for those who here deny coverings to naked men’ (4.28)

O3-V þam þe Godes willan wyrceaþ ‘ who work the will of God ’ (5.48) / þe swa manigra haligra manna mæghenu to bysene habbað ‘ who hold as an example the good deeds of many holy men ’ (7.11)

V-O1 (0)

V-O2 Se ðe eteð minne lichoman ‘ He who eats my body ’ (Latin *Qui manducat meam carnem* (S1)) (5.145) / þa wundiað eowre sawle ‘ which will wound your soul ’ (8.79)

V-O3 se ðe wepþ þa ðurhtogenan synna ‘he who weeps the committed sins’ (Latin *qui plangit quod gessit* (S1)) (3.52) / Ða þe her lufiað hira gebedu & wæcan ‘Those who here love their prayers and vigils’ (4.111)

The prevailing pattern is O-V (86% of instances). It is noteworthy that there are no examples with V-O1, namely finite verbs followed by light direct objects. As for those with V-O2, it may be observed that: the direct object of medium weight is made ‘ heavier ’ by some other element(s) with close semantic connection following it, as in 6.82 *þa þe sohton þæne cniht to acwellanne* ‘ those who sought to kill the boy ’ (Latin *qui quaerebant animam pueri* (S3)) and 15.64 *þe gepeodeð hus to huse* ‘ who will join house to house ’ (Latin *qui iungunt domum ad domum* (S1)); and the Latin also has V-O in 5.145, 6.82, and 15.64 (all above), but has O-V in 22.74 *se ðe ne sarige his synna* ‘ who grieves not for his sins ’ (Latin *qui in hoc saeculo non doleat* (S1)). Among those with V-O3, there are only two examples that follow the Latin element order, which are 3.52 above and 14.126 *þætte him sceolde an hund peninga* ‘ who owed him one hundred pennies ’ (Latin *quia conseruo suo centum sibi denarios* (S1)). It is likely that the weight is the deciding factor for the position of direct objects in the V-O3 examples.

## The order of direct object and complex verb

Examples and figures are:

O1-v-V (2) þa us sculon lihtan mid heofonlicre æfestnesse & mid haligre lare  
 ‘which shall illuminate us with heavenly piety and with holy teaching’ (Latin *ut  
 scilicet inlucescante per sanctos uiros caelesti religione atque doctrina* (S1))  
 (11.11) / þe þis gehyre him beforan rædan ‘who may hear this read before  
 him’ (19.100)

O2-v-V (1) þe dis eal sceal gebidan ‘who shall endure all this’ (15.111)

O3-v-V (2) se dæt gewin & þa frofre soðfæstra manna on his godspelle wæs  
 dus foresecgende ‘who was thus foretelling that struggle and the consolations of  
 righteous men in His gospel’ (11.33) / þe dæt eall sceal gebidan ‘who must  
 endure all that’ (15.128)

O1-V-v (5) þæt he þanon aweg hine astyrian mæge ‘who may then remove  
 himself from there’ (9.119) / þe him hyran willað ‘who will obey him’ (14.150)

O2-V-v (9) þa þe for Godes lufan swylce habban nellad ‘those who for the  
 love of God do not wish to have such (lives)’ (7.53) / þam þe Gode  
 þeowgean willað ‘who wishes to serve God’ (Latin *quae Deo famulantibus*  
 (S1)) (20.105)

O3-V-v (5) se de soðfæstnesse liht gesion wile ‘he who wishes to see the  
 light of truth’ (Latin *qui ueritatis lumen uidere uoluisset* (S1)) (11.13) / se  
 de æghwylcne man gesecan sceal, ge heanne ge ricne ‘which must seek each  
 man, both the humble and the powerful’ (14.63)

v-O1-V (1) be þam þe he wille him for Gode geborgen habban ‘by that which  
 he would wish to have defended him before God’<sup>1</sup> (19.102)

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. *OES* §922: ‘by which he is willing/wishes to have himself protected’.

v-O2-V (9) (þa þe ...) & nellap hira dryhten on þam ongitan ‘ and (those who) do not wish to recognize their Lord in it ’ (4.42) / & swa hwylce swa ne woldon hlafordas habban ‘ and whosoever did not wish to have lords ’ (Latin *et qui dominos non recipiebant* (S1)) (5.72)

v-O3-V (5) þæt meahte manegum mannum genihtsumian ‘ what might satisfy many men ’ (Latin *quod potest omnibus sufficere* (S1)) (10.162) / þe nele nu his synna hreowe don ‘ who does not wish now to do penance for his sins ’ (22.214)

v-V-O1 (0)

v-V-O2 (1) þe sculon mid dioflum habban geardungstowa ‘ who must have dwelling-places with devils ’ (9.25)

v-V-O3 (4) ða ðe ær meahton gehyran fægere sangas ‘ those which earlier could hear beautiful songs ’ (9.91) / þæt sceolde forniman ealle þa burhware ‘ which was destined to consume all the citizens ’ (19.143)

V-v-O1 (0)

V-v-O2 (1) eallum þam þe nu þurh soðe hreowe & þurh dædbote & þurh andetnesse þe biddende sendon forgifnesse ‘ who are now praying to you for forgiveness through true sorrow and penitence and confession ’ (16.125)

V-v-O3 (2) se ðe mancynne forgifan wolde ealle hira synna & uncysta þurh rihtne geleafan & þurh soðe hreowe ‘ he who would forgive mankind of all their sins and errors through true faith and through true sorrow ’ (Latin *qui peccato omnibus per baptismum et penitentiam indulgeret ...* (S1)) (5.68) / se ðe her for Godes lufan ælætan & forgifan wille swylce æbylgde ‘ he who here for God’s love will pardon and forgive such anger ’ (14.101)

V-O-v (0)

Out of the six theoretical patterns, five are represented in *VH* except for V-O-v, which is in accord with Davis (1997: 149-51) who finds no examples of this pattern. Davis (1997: 151) also observes that ‘ [t]he 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 (v-O) according to their weight: light (13%), medium (52%), and heavy (61%). There are no instances of the accusative and infinitive construction.

#### The order of indirect object and simple verb

The sample from *VH* consists of 47 clauses. The distribution is shown below:

	I1	I2	I3	Total
I-V	29	8	5	42
V-I	0	3	2	5
Total	29	11	7	47

Examples are:

I1-V þe him his dryhten forgifð ' which his Lord grants to him '(4.114) /  
ðe he us to wedde forlet ' which He left to us as a pledge '(5.143)

I2-V þam þe oderum ænig yfel dedð ' who does any evil to others ' (Latin *quo laesus fueris* (M1)) (20.55) / & be ðam þe þearfum ænige teonan gedodð ' and  
about those who do any harm to the poor ' (Latin *et iniuriam pauperibus facientes*) (21.24)

I3-V þe se heofonlica cyning ælmihtig drihten in þas halgan tid eallum  
mancynne gecyððe ' which the heavenly King, Almighty God, in that holy  
time made known to all mankind ' (1.298) / þam þe her þam nacodan menn  
wrigelses forwyrneð ' for those who here deny coverings to naked men '(4.28)

V-I1 (0)

V-I2 þe he 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 ’ (10.2) / þæt hie onguldon hira godum ‘ that they gave up to their gods ’ (12.3)

V-I3 þæt gegearwode min fæder diofle & his englum ‘ which my father prepared for the devil and his angels ’ (Latin *qui paratus est diabolo et angelis eius* (S1)) (4.307) / ða God gegearwad þam þe ... ‘ which God prepares for those who ... ’ (Latin *quae preparauit Deus ...*) (21.55)

The predominant pattern is I-V (89% of instances), and weight does not seem to play a leading role in the positioning of indirect objects (cf. Davis 1997: 152). As for the five instances with V-I, the following comments may be given: both of the examples with V-I3 follow the Latin element order (4.307 and 21.55 above); and in 10.2 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:

I1-v-V (12) þe him biop to edleane hira firena golden ‘ which will be given to them as a reward of their sins ’ (2.36) / þe us sceall gode bysene onstellan ‘who shall establish a good example for us’ (4.338)

I2-v-V (2) ðe ðam diofle wæs gearwod & eow ‘ which was prepared for the devil and for you ’ (15.182) / þe deoflum wæs gearwod ‘ which were prepared for the devils ’ (21.217)

I3-v-V (0)



I1-V-v (12) þæt us æt frymþe geteohod wæs ‘ which was intended for us in the beginning ’ (2.112) / þæs ðe ic me sylf begiten hæbbe ‘ which I have obtained for myself ’ (10.77)

I2-V-v (1) se ðe mancynne forgifan wolde ealle hira synna & uncysta þurh rihtne geleafan & þurh sode hreowe ‘ he who would forgive mankind of all their sins and errors through true faith and through true sorrow ’ (Latin *qui peccato omnibus per baptismum et penitentiam indulget* ... (S1)) (5.68)

I3-V-v (1) þe ðu þinum þam gecorenum & þam halgum gegearuwað hafast ‘which you have prepared for your chosen and for the saints’ (17.115)

v-I1-V (0)

v-I2-V (1) on ðam 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 ’ (9.5)

v-I3-V (2) þe gefyrn ærest wæs ðam diofle Satane & his geferum gearwod ‘which was first made ready long ago for that devil Satan and his associates’ (8.76) / se ðe wolde ænigum men gesyllan þone rumgyfulan drinc ‘ he who wished to give the generous drink to any man ’ (21.42)

v-V-I1/2 (0)

v-V-I3 (1) þe God hafað gearwod eallum þam þe ... ‘ which God has made ready for all those who ... ’ (9.17)

V-I-v (0)

V-v-I (0)

*VH* have examples of four patterns, two of which (I-v-V and v-I-V) are not attested in Ælfric (Davis 1997: 153-4). The sample is small and far from balanced - as many as 24 of the total 32 clauses have light indirect objects. Yet, it may be generally observed that: the light indirect object always precedes the whole of the complex verb phrase; the indirect object precedes the direct object in both of the v-I-V examples with the two kinds of objects; and in 9.17 above, the indirect object is placed in

final position because of its heavy weight.

### The order of direct and indirect objects

Examples and figures are:

O-I (5) þa þe me þe sealdon ‘those who gave me to you’ (Latin *qui tradidit me tibi* (S1)) (1.179) / þe hit him ær eal forgeaf ‘who earlier gave it all to him’ (10.126)

I-O (19) þam þe her þam nacodan menn wrigelses forwyrned ‘for those who here deny coverings to naked men’ (4.28) / on ðam 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’ (9.5)

In all of the five clauses with O-I, both direct and indirect objects are light (i.e. O1 -I1) with the exception of 10.172 *þanon ic mine gife dæle eordwærum* ‘from where I give my gifts to earth-dwellers’. Interestingly, the indirect object is *þe* ‘to you’ in three examples: 1.179 above, 4.283 *þe me þe sealde* ‘who gave me to you’, and 10.188 *þe hit þe eal forgeaf* ‘who forgave it all to you’. It is rather possible that the writer avoided writing *þe þe*, 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 133 clauses in this category. The distribution is shown below:

	C1	C2	C3	Total
C-V	0	40	29	69
V-C	0	22	42	64
Total	0	62	71	133

Examples are:

C1-V (0)

C2-V þe her forwyrht bið & agimeleasedu Godes bedoda ‘ who will be here condemned and neglectful of God’s commands ’ (2.62) / þe nu onweard is ‘which now is present’ (5.2)

C3-V þe ær æt þære geþeagtunge mid Iudeum wæs ‘ who was with the Jews before at the council ’ (Latin *qui consilium dederat Iudaeis* (S1)) (1.7) / (Þa þe ...) & þæs on geornessum beoð ‘and (those who) are very active about it’ (4.36)

V-C1 (0)

V-C2 se þe is clæne ‘ he who is clean ’ (16.33) / þe nu bið wælhreow ‘ who now is cruel ’ (22.213)

V-C3 se wæs Godes witiga ‘ who was a prophet of God ’ (20.17) / þæt syndon ealle cristene menn ‘ who are all Christian men ’ (21.227)

The two patterns are level pegging: C-V accounts for 52% of instances and V-C 48%. 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 35% (medium weight) to 59% (heavy weight).

The order of complement and complex verb

Examples and figures are:

C1/3-v-V (0)

C2-v-V (5) þe Martinus wæs haten ‘ who was called Martin ’ (18.4) / þe Lucifer wæs haten ‘ who was called Lucifer ’ (19.16)

C1-V-v (0)

C2-V-v (2) þe ðær bion sculon ‘ that must be there ’ (9.221) / (se þe ...) & halig beon sceal ‘ and (he who) shall be holy ’ (16.34)

C3-V-v (1) þe on helle beon sceolon ‘ which must be in hell ’ (9.164)

v-C1-V (0)

v-C2-V (5) þe is Satan nemned ‘ which is named Satan ’ (4.47) / seo wæs Niniue haten ‘ which was called Nineveh ’ (19.110)

v-C3-V (1) 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* (S1)) (3.139)

v-V-C1 (0)

v-V-C2 (6) sio is nemned Bethlem ‘ which is named Bethlehem ’ (Latin *quae uocatur Bethleem* (S1)) (5.17) / se wæs haten Simeon ‘ who was called Simeon ’ (Latin *cui nomen Symeon* (SA1)) (17.13)

v-V-C3 (7) þe is genemned lifes treow ‘which was called “Tree of Life”’ (19.33) / seo ys gecweden cwen eallra yfela ‘ which is called the queen of all wickedness ’ (Latin *quae regina est omnium malorum* (S1)) (20.61)

V-C-v (0)

V-v-C (0)

VH instance four of the six theoretically possible patterns, and the two remaining

patterns (V-C-v and V-v-C) are also unattested in Ælfric (Davis 1997: 157-8). The sample is far from balanced: two-thirds of the instances have complements of medium weight, 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 3.139 above (v-C3-V) where the Latin is closely followed.

#### The order of single adverbial and finite verb

VH have 336 clauses with the two elements. The table below indicates the distribution:

	A1	A2	A3	Total
A-V	129	63	47	239
V-A	4	23	70	97
Total	133	86	117	336

<sup>2</sup>=98.12 with 2 degrees of freedom.

Examples are:

A1-V þe her oferfangen is ‘ who is here seized ’ (1.27) / þone þe hie ær cwealdon & hengon ‘ (him) whom they earlier killed and hanged ’ (2.18)

A2-V sio þurh stīpnese bið gedon ‘ which is done through strictness ’ (Latin *quae districte agitur* (S1)) (3.55) / þe sio sawl him on stæld ‘ that which the soul lays charge against him ’ (4.163)

A3-V þara þe to his rice belumpe ‘ which belonged to his kingdom ’ (6.49) / þa þe mid hnescum hræglum gegyrede wæron ‘ those who were clothed with soft garments ’ (7.51)

V-A1 se is rihtlice nemned soðfæstnesse sunna ‘ who is properly named the

Son of Truth ' (5.63) / þe nele nu his synna hreowe don ' who does not wish now to do penance for his sins ' (22.214)

V-A2 Ða ðe sawað on tearum ' Those who sow in tears ' (Latin *Qui seminant in lacrimis* (S1)) (11.44) / þe geþeodeð hus to huse ' who will join house to house ' (Latin *qui iungunt domum ad domum* (S1)) (15.64)

V-A3 þe him biop to edleane hira firena golden ' which will be given to them as a reward of their sins ' (2.36) / & se þe wunaþ on ðære soðan lufan ' and he who dwells in the true love ' (Latin *et qui manet in caritate* (S1)) (3.12)

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: 83% (A1-V), 94% (A2-V), and 91% (A3-V) (87% on average).

#### The order of two adverbials and finite verb

Examples and figures are:

A-A-V (74) se þe ær in þam sealme awriten wæs & awitgod ' that which had been written and prophesied in the psalm ' (1.220) / þa þe her on worulde bið oferhydige & æfestige ' who here in this world are proud and envious ' (2.92)

A-V-A (35) Þa þe her bið mid uncystum gefylled þæra ælmesena Godes beboda ' Those who here are filled with parsimony of God's command of almsgiving ' (4.31) / þe he þonne cwid to his soðfæstum & to his gecorenum 'which he then says to his righteous (ones) and to his chosen' (8.89)

V-A-A (17) þe God hafað soðfæstum sawlum gearwod togeanes for hyra gastlicum worcum ' which God has made ready for true souls in return for their

spiritual deeds ' (9.61) / se de þurhwunad in godum dædum od lifes ende ' he who perseveres in good deeds until the end of life ' (13.8)

As we saw in the previous section, the verb-final tendency is strong among those with A-A-V (67 of 74, or 91%). It may also be added that adverbials often appear consecutively (AA) in those with A-A-V/V-A-A (80 of 91, or 88%).

The order of three or more adverbials and finite verb

Examples and figures are:

V-A-A-A (11) se leofað & rixað mid fæder & mid suna & mid ðam haligan gaste on wuldre & on wyrðmynde 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 ' (21.255) / se de leofað & ricsað aa butan ende in ecnesse 'He who lives and rules forever without end in eternity' (22.220)

A-V-A-A (9) þe mid fæder & mid suna & mid þam halgan gaste leofað & rixað 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* (S1)) (3.159) / þa þe her swincap swidost for Godes naman ' those who here toil hardest for God's name ' (4.102)

A-A-V-A (7) þe ær in þam sealme awriten & awitgod wæs be þyssum ylcan dinge ' which had been written and foretold in the psalm concerning this same thing ' (1.246) / (swa 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* (S1)) (19.82)

A-A-A-V (11) þe he us her on eorðan to gode forgiðeð ' which He gives to us here on earth for our benefit ' (10.202) / þe us ær on life mid þære synne bryne onælp ' who kindled us earlier in life with the burning sin ' (Latin *qui uiuentes inflammat* (S1a)) (22.117)

Unlike *CH* or *SH* where three adverbials tend to ' fall as a group either before or after the verb ' (Davis 1997: 163), none of the four patterns may be considered to stand out in the small sample from *VH*. Three adverbials are placed consecutively in all the clauses with V-A-A-A or A-A-A-V, which does stand out in comparison with the corresponding figures in *Ælfric* - 65% in *CH* and 63% in *SH*. I would, however, prefer to be more cautious in handling these figures than Davis (1997: 163), who comments that ' [i]t would seem that the tendency in both types of prose [i.e. *CH* and *SH*] is to avoid splitting the group of adverbials'. The positioning of adverbials here may be generally described as ' flexible ' at most, though it might be added that all of the examples with A-A-A-V are verb-final. Included in the figures above are twelve clauses with four or more adverbials, which are: V-A-A-A-A-A-A-A (16.204), V-A-A-A-A (9.12, 15.205, 18.310, and 21.255 above), A-V-A-A-A-A-A (3.159 above), A-V-A-A-A (4.341 and 8.101), A-A-V-A-A (4.109 and 11.88), A-A-A-V-A-A (14.72), and A-A-A-A-V (4.106; see below).

### Clause patterns

Examples and figures are:

Verb-final (534) Ða de her rumheortlice hyra ælnessan for hyra scyldum on Godes naman dælað ' Those who here generously distribute their alms for their



sins in God's name ' (4.106) / *ða dryhten hie ærest æt frymde in gesette* ' in which the Lord first placed them in the beginning ' (16.178)

Non-verb-final (308) *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 ' (2.101) / *þe wæs ær swete on stence* ' which had been sweet in scent ' (9.96)

*VH* have a greater frequency of verb-final clauses (534 of 842, or 64%) than *CH* (58%) and *SH* (45%) (Davis 1997: 163). 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 (144 of 308, or 47%); and further, most of the clause-final adverbials are immediately preceded by finite verbs (104 of 144, or 72%) - 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 16.128 in *þam me wel licade* ' who is very pleasing to me ' (Latin *in quo mihi conplacui* (S1)) 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 7.84 *de him þyncð þæt ...* ' to whom (it) seems that ... ' and 20.161 *on þam is to ongitenne hwæt ...* ' in which (it) is (important) to understand what ... ' (Latin *scientia, in qua intelligendum quid ...* (S1)).

## Summary

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(s) are 71% for the former (A-V) and 59% for the latter (A-A-V). The corresponding figure drops to 29% 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.

### 3.3 Adverbial Clauses

#### 3.3.1 Clauses of Place

As Mitchell (*OES* §2437) writes, '[c]lauses of place, or local clauses, are conventionally divided into those referring to place where, place whither, and place whence'. In *VH*, these clauses are introduced by the conjunctions *þær* and *hwær*, 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 *þær* 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 (cf. *OES* §§2439 and 2474) and nominal clauses (cf. *OES* §2442) - the former category is usually identified by the presence of an antecedent as in 5.140 *sio stow þær man nytenum hira andlifan sealde* '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 *VH*. It may be surprising that this sample is much smaller than the one in Davis (1997: 165) which comprises 23 from *CH* and 35 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 11 of the 31 clauses exemplified in his section on 'clauses of place', which I would consider as adjectival clauses. They are: *CH*: II-164, VII-105, and XI-523; *SH*: V-276, VI-044, VI-070, VI-336, V-276, IX-029, XVIII-433, and XXI-580.)

The subject always precedes the finite verb in all of the ten instances, as in 11.32 *þær þær he is* 'where it is' and 22.7 *swa hwyder swa ic fare* 'wherever I travel' (Latin *Ubicunque fugio* (S1)). There are three instances with direct objects: in the preverbal position, we find a light object as in 22.8 *Swa hwyder swa ic me hwyrfē* 'Wherever I turn myself' (Latin *ubicunque me conuertero* (S1)) and a heavy object as in 14.143 (*þær ...*) & *se eca gefea eallum soðfæstum genihtsumað* 'and (where) the eternal joy satisfies all the faithful', and in the remaining example, a heavy object is sandwiched by the finite and non-finite verbs: 18.235 *hwær he mæge unware men beswican* 'where he can deceive an unwary man' (Latin *capiant nescientes* (S1)). There are no instances that contain indirect objects (I), complements (C), the accusative and infinitive construction (Z), or impersonals.

There is only one instance with an adverbial, which is: 12.48 *þær twegen oððe*

*þry bioð gesamnode in minum naman* ‘Where two or three are gathered in my name’ (Latin *ubi enim sunt duo uel tres congregati in nomine meo* (S1)). 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 12.48 and 18.235 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.

### 3.3.2 Clauses of Time

The sample from *VH* consists of 299 clauses. Clauses of this category ‘can be introduced by conjunctions meaning “when”, “as soon as”, “while”, “after”, “before”, and “until”’ (*OES* §2530). Among the many Old English conjunctions used in such clauses, the most frequent in *VH* is *þa*, followed by *þonne* and *ær*.

Here again, ambiguities arise in classification. I have classified the clauses introduced by *þe* as adjectival when they have antecedents (cf. *OES* §§2594-6), as in 16.66 *þe se hælend in þæt wæter astag* ‘when the Saviour descended into the water’ which explains the antecedent (*in*) *þa tid* ‘at that time’.<sup>1</sup> In addition, I have found three clauses of uncertain status. One instance involves *hwonne* in 4.197 *hwanne ær hie þæs reðan cyninges word gehyren* ‘until the time when(?) they hear the terrible king’s word’. Scragg’s glossary (1992: 414) reads ‘**hwanne** **ær** interr. adv. when’,<sup>2</sup> and Clark Hall (1960) has ‘**hwonne** ... adv. “when”’. However, Mitchell casts doubt on its use as something other than ‘an interrogative ... and an indefinite adverb “at some time”’ (*OES* §2775), and writes:

<sup>1</sup> It should be noted that this is in keeping with my treatment of *þær* clauses with antecedents in the previous section.

<sup>2</sup> Scragg continues: ‘[unique in this spelling, but cf. “hwonne ær” Riddle 31,13 and Paris Psalter 40,5 and “hwænne ær” Martyrology 5,88]’

§2782. 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 §§2050-5. 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<sup>1</sup> already quoted in §2775.

I adopt this view and exclude 4.197 above from analysis. Also excluded are 1.190 *swa him sybpan eall unlædlic on becwom* 'when(?) the completely miserable (ones) came to him afterwards' and 9.130 *wið ðan 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 1.190 *Bædon swiðe 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 (they) 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, 9.130, authorities seem to split on its interpretation, and I am unable to advance my own suggestion: Scragg's glossary (1992: 475) reads 'wid ðan ðe as long as', while Mitchell (*OES* §2606) suggests literal interpretations, 'against that, namely'.

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<sup>1</sup> *ÆGram* 231.9: INTERROGATIVA synd âxigendlice. ..., *quando hwænne*.

## The order of subject and simple verb

There are 202 clauses with the two elements in *VH*. The distribution is shown below:

	S1	S2	S3	Total
S-V	156	26	18	200
V-S	1	0	1	2
Total	157	26	19	202

Examples are:

S1-V þa hwile þe hit hafap ‘ while it holds ’(1.117) / þonne he cume ‘ when he comes ’ (Latin *cum uenerit* (S1)) (3.77)

S2-V ær morgensteorra upeode ‘ before the morning star went up ’(6.34) / siddan heofenas tohlidon ‘ when the heavens burst open ’(10.15)

S3-V ær se bitra deað cyme ‘ before the bitter death comes ’(5.189) / ða þes eadiga wer slepte ‘ when this holy man slept ’(Latin *cum se sopori dedisset* (S1)) (18.67)

V-S1 Þa cwomon hie to sumre ea ‘When they came to a certain river’ (18.230)

V-S2 (0)

V-S3 Mid þy de ðæt geascode se de ... þæt ... ‘ When he who ... learned that ... ’(14.127)

As Davis (1997: 172) writes, the order subject - verb ‘ may be regarded virtually as a rule ’ here. One of the two exceptions, 14.127 above, may be explained in terms of the heavy clausal subject *se ðe* .... However, it is not easy to account for

the other instance (18.230 above). Szarmach (1968: 147) 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 (2000: 157), pondering on this dependent clause with *þa* 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:

S1-v-V (19) *þa* he wæs acenned ‘when he was born’ (Latin *natus* (M3)) (5.139) / *þa* he wæs gefullad ‘when He was baptized’ (Latin *Baptizatus* (S1)) (16.100)

S2-v-V (7) *þa* Crist wæs acenned ‘when Christ was born’ (Latin *quod nascituro domino* (S1)) (5.100) / *þonne* se man sceal sweltan ‘when that man must die’ (9.98)

S3-v-V (2) *þa* ure hælend Crist wæs acenned ‘when our Saviour Christ was born’ (5.40) / *þonne* þæs synnfullan mannes mod byð geunrotsud for his synnum ‘when the mind of that sinful man is made sad for his sins’ (Latin *quando de peccatis suis animus peccatoris contristatur* (S1)) (20.116)

S1-V-v (24) ær he geended wære ‘before it was finished’ (8.6) / syddan we geborene wæron ‘when we were born’ (15.127)

S2-V-v (6) ær Crist geboren wære ‘before Christ was born’ (6.22) / (syddan ...) & deos woruld gesceapen wæs & geworden ‘and (when) this world was created and made’ (Latin *ex quo saeculum istud creatum est* (S1)) (15.127)

S3-V-v (3) *þa* his haliga lichama in *þa* halgan byrgenne geseted wæs ‘when His holy body was placed in that holy sepulchre’ (1.287) / *þær* eal manna cyn

to gelaþod is ‘ when all the race of men will be summoned to (Him) ’ (4.7)

v-S1/2-V (0)

v-S3-V (1) þa þrage þe us wile se ælmihtiga dryhten lætan her for worulde  
‘while the Almighty Lord wished to allow us (to remain) here before the world’  
(8.96)

v-V-S (0)

V-S-v (0)

V-v-S (0)

All but one of the clauses have the subject preceding the whole of the complex verb phrase, the exception being 8.96 (v-S3-V) above.

#### The order of direct object and simple verb

VH have 113 clauses containing the two elements. The distribution is presented below:

	O1	O2	O3	Total
O-V	39	31	18	88
V-O	2	3	20	25
Total	41	34	38	113

Examples are:

O1-V (þa he ...) & hine wyrmdes ‘ and (when he) warmed himself ’ (Latin *et calefaciens se* (M1)) (1.46) / þa hine Iudeas swungon & ahengon ‘ when the Jews scourged and hanged him ’ (2.9)



O2-V Sona swa he þæs ofætēs onþah ‘ As soon as he tasted the fruit ’ (Latin *ut autem comedit* (S1)) (3.118) / þonne hie þære celnesse gýrnaf ‘ when they yearn for the coolness ’ (4.52)

O3-V (Þa þa ðu ...) & oðre men mid wo reafodest ‘ and (when you) robbed other men with wickedness ’ (4.263) / þær he sum hæðengild gebræc ‘ when he destroyed a certain heathen temple ’ (Latin *(Ubi) dum templum itidem euerteret* (S1)) (18.190)

V-O1 (þa se ælmihtega dryhten ...) & onbyrhte hie mid leohte andgyte ‘ and (when the Almighty Lord) illuminated them with bright understanding ’ (10.31) / & þonne he reste hine ‘ And when he rested himself ’ (Latin *recubans* (S1)) (18.278)

V-O2 (Þa ðu ...) & leahtrodest mid þy þa rihtwisan ‘ and (when you) corrupted the righteous by that ’ (4.265) / Þonne þu gefele þæt sar ‘ When you feel that sorrow ’ (22.91)

V-O3 þa he cwæð þæt ... ‘ when He said that ... ’ (1.111) / Þa ðu in idelnesse ahofe manige hleahtras ‘ When you raised up great laughter in frivolity ’ (4.264)

88 clauses show the O-V order (78%), and 25 (22%) show V-O. The increasing numbers of postverbal instances in the table (V-O: 2 > 3 > 20) suggest the influence of weight ordering. In addition, there is a sharp contrast between direct objects of light or medium weight and those of heavy weight: the former mostly occurs preverbally, and the latter is almost ‘ indifferent ’ as to its position (preverbal or postverbal), as indicated by the figures 18 (O3-V) versus 20 (V-O3).

The order of direct object and complex verb

Examples and figures are:

O1-v-V (3) þenden hie nu God wile in þas woruld lætan ‘ while God wishes to allow them (to remain) in this world ’ (8.26) / (þa ...) & ic þe wolde eft miltsian ‘ and (when) I afterwards wished to show mercy to you ’ (8.52)

O2-v-V (1) & ær he mæssan hæbbe gehyred ‘and before he has heard mass’ (19.93)

O3-v-V (0)

O1-V-v (8) þonne we þæt secgan gehyran ‘when we hear that declared’ (17.132) / (Ða he ða ...) & hine sclean sceolde ‘ and (when he) was about to strike him ’ (Latin *cum dexteram altius extulisset* (S1)) (18.196)

O2-V-v (6) Ða hie þa Crist oferfangenne hæfdon ‘ When they had seized Christ ’ (Latin *comprehenderunt Iesum* (S1)) (1.5) / þa hwile þe we ura wega wealdan moton ‘ while we may control our direction in life ’ (2.113)

O3-V-v (4) þonne we þylleca bysene usses dryhtnes beforan us reccan & rædan gehyrað ‘ when we hear such examples of our Lord told and read before us ’ (6.88) / (ær he ...) & barefotum Cristes bec & his rodetacna & oðre halige reliquias eadmodlice gegret hæbbe ‘ and (before he) has humbly saluted the book of Christ and the crucifix of His cross and other holy relics with bare feet ’ (19.93)

v-O1-V (0)

v-O2-V (7) æfter þam þe he hæfd soðfæstum gedemed ‘ after he has judged the righteous ones ’ (4.199) / ær þan þe Herodes se cyning hete þa cild cwellan ‘before Herod, the king, ordered to kill the child’ (Latin *quam hoc fieret* (S1)) (6.61)

v-O3-V (1) (þonne þin larew ...) & him wolde hira sawle hælo tæcean ‘ and

(when your teacher) wished to teach them the salvation of their soul ' (4.298)

v-V-O1/3 (0)

v-V-O2 (1) þonne hie wæron þe biddende minra goda ' when they were begging you for my goods ' (10.156)

V-O-v (0)

V-v-O1/2 (0)

V-v-O3 (1) þa he ongiten hæfde þæt ... 'when he had perceived that ...' (19.128)

*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 (1997: 179-80). The direct object precedes the whole of the complex verb phrase in 22 clauses (69% 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 ' [w]eight appears to have little influence on the positioning of the direct object ' (Davis 1997: 180), though hasty generalizations are to be avoided in this small sample of 32 clauses.

There is one instance with the accusative and infinitive construction, which is 1.228 *þa 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* (S1)), where the heavy accusative is split into two *þa 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 (60%) and four

V-I (40%). Examples and figures are:

I1-V (5) syðþan he him mildheortnesse earan ontynde ‘ when He revealed to them mercy of ears ’ (10.33) / (Ðonne ... hie ...) & þam lac onsendan ‘ and (when they) offered them sacrifice ’ (12.7)

I2-V (0)

I3-V (1) þonne he him sylfum næfd butan lytel to donne ‘ when he has nothing but little to give to himself ’ (21.34)

V-I1 (1) 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’<sup>1</sup> (10.30)

V-I2 (1) (þonne se man ...) & ne sylð Gode nanne wyrdment ‘ and (when the man) does not give God any honour ’ (Latin (*dum ...*) *et non Deo dat honorem* (S1)) (20.127)

V-I3 (2) þonne he andetted 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’ (5.114) / & swa oft swa ge hit syllað anum minum læstum ‘ and as often as you give it to one of my least great ones ’ (Latin *Qui dederit uni ex minimis istis* (S1)) (10.147)

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 (V-I2/3), the exception being 21.34 (I3-V) above.

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. Mc Cabe (1968: 85): ‘ But when the Almighty God took away the false veil from their hearts’.

The order of indirect object and complex verb

Examples and figures are:

I1-v-V (1) (þonne þin larew ...) & him wolde hira sawle hælo tæcean ‘ and (when your teacher) wished to teach them the salvation of their soul ’(4.298)

I2/3-v-V (0)

I1-V-v (2) (þa he ...) & him þrymsetle on norðdæle heofona rices getimbrian wolde ‘ and (when he) wished to build for himself a throne in the northern region of the heavenly kingdom ’(19.18) / þa he me reste geearnigan ne wolde ‘when he did not wish to earn rest for me’ (22.51)

I2/3-V-v (0)

v-I1-V (1) þonne hie wæron þe biddende minra goda ‘ when they were begging you for my goods ’ (10.156)

v-I2/3-V (0)

v-V-I (0)

V-I-v (0)

V-v-I (0)

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 10.156 above where a light indirect object is sandwiched between finite and non-finite verbs (v-I1-V).

The order of direct and indirect objects

There are thirteen clauses which have two kinds of objects. Examples and figures are:

O-I (3) (syðþan he ...) & his miltse him onwreah ‘ and (when He) uncovered

His mercy to them ' (10.34) / (swa oft swa ...) ge hit symle me syllad ' (as often as) you always give it to me ' (Latin *mihi dedit* (S1)) (10.148)

I-O (10) (æfter þan þe he ...) & us edhwyrft forgeaf to þam ecean life ' and (after He) gave us a return to that eternal life ' (2.86) / (þonne se man ...) & ne sylð Gode nanne wyrdment ' and (when the man) does not give God any honour ' (Latin (*dum ...*) *et non Deo dat honorem* (S1)) (20.127)

The order I-O is predominant, accounting for 77% of instances (10 of 13). All of the direct objects in this pattern are either of medium or heavy weight (O2/3). As for the O-I pattern (three examples), two are listed above and the remaining example is 10.147 & *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* (S1)). It is difficult to assess the role played by weight: 10.147 certainly shows weight ordering (O1-I3), but a heavier direct object precedes a lighter indirect object in 10.34 (O2-I1). 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 (1992: 192) 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 33 clauses which have the two elements. Examples and figures are:

C1-V (0)

C2-V (11) ær he oð ða hracan ful sie 'before he is full up to the throat' (7.85) / þa hwile þe we her lifigende sien 'while we are living here' (11.82)

C3-V (8) þa hwile þe hie her on þysse worolde beoð ' while they are here in

this world ' (1.119) / & þa hwile þe hie on twam biod ' and while they are in two (parts) ' (4.168)

V-C1 (0)

V-C2 (4) & þa ic wæs unþrowendlic ' and when I was incapable of suffering ' (Latin *cum essem impassibilis* (S1)) (8.72) / And þonne sunne wæs on setle ' And when the sun was on the throne ' (Latin *Nam cum sol occiduis finibus uergeretur*) (23.10)

V-C3 (10) Mitte þe hit þa wæs sio þridde tid þæs dæges ' When it then was the third time of the day ' (6.36) / þa hwile þe he wære mid mannum ' while he was among men ' (9.75)

The order C-V is found in 19 clauses (58%) and V-C in 14 (42%). 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 27% (medium weight) to 56% (heavy weight).

#### 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 ' (19.17) / þa hwile þe we her beon moton ' while we may be here ' (21.239) / ac ðonne he yrre geworden bið ' but when He is made angry ' (22.96)

## The order of single adverbial and finite verb

The sample from *VH* consists of 103 clauses. The distribution is shown below:

	1	2	3	Total
A-V	39	16	24	79
V-A	1	4	19	24
Total	40	20	43	103

Examples are:

A1-V þonne hio biorhtust bið scinende ‘when it is shining brightest’ (4.161)

/ þa he swiðust ofermodgode ‘When he behaved very haughtily’ (4.260)

A2-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* (S1)) (1.8) / þæs ðe dryhten on niht geboren wæs ‘after the Lord was born at night’ (6.33)

A3-V þa hie hie to ðam diofolgyldre gebædon ‘when they prayed to that idol’ (3.132) / ær þan þe he on þyne middangeard acenned wære ‘before He was brought forth in this world’ (6.46)

V-A1 (þa ...) & ic þe wolde eft miltsian ‘and (when) I afterwards wished to show mercy to you’ (8.52)

V-A2 & þonne þin larew com to him ‘and when your teacher came to them’ (4.297) / & þa ðu wære of neorxnawange ascofen ‘and when you were expelled from Paradise’ (8.51)

V-A3 þonne seo cæge fealleð in ða helle ‘when the key falls into hell’ (15.198) / oð he com to þam ilcan eðle ‘until it came to that same homeland’ (19.131)



The order A-V is predominant, accounting for 77% of instances. In addition, of these 79 clauses with A-V, 67 (85%) are verb-final. It may be generally observed that adverbials of light or medium weight usually precede the finite verb (A1/2-V), though this does not necessarily apply to heavy adverbials where the preverbal percentage (A3-V) falls to 56% (24 of 43).

#### The order of two adverbials and finite verb

Examples and figures are:

A-A-V (22) *þa hine God sylfa swa innan manode* ‘when God Himself so instructed him within’ (18.90) / & *þa sona swa þa menn (þe ...)* *ut on þære sæs dypan geseġled hæfdon* ‘and as soon as the men (who ...) had sailed out upon the deep of the sea’ (19.119)

A-V-A (12) *(æfter þan þe he ...)* & *us þurh þæt generede of deofles þeowdome* ‘and (after he) through that saved us out of the devil’s subjection’ (2.85) / *þenden hie nu God wile in þas woruld lætan* ‘while God wishes to allow them (to remain) in this world’ (8.26)

V-A-A (8) *Þa he fedde his lichoman orenlicost mid smeamettum* ‘When he fed his body with delicacies with great excess’ (4.254) / *þonne ðu sie cwylymed on þyssum middangearde on þinum untrymnesse* ‘when you are tormented in this world in your weakness’ (22.89)

Of the possible three combinations, *VH* seem to prefer to place two adverbials before the finite verb (A-A-V; 22 of 42, or 52%), all of which, further, are verb-final except for 23.20 *Þa he ða, se eadiga wer, mid þære geætredan stræle gewundod wæs þæs werigan gastes* ‘When he, the blessed man, was wounded with the poisoned arrow of the evil spirit’ (Latin *Interea cum telum toxicum atri ueneni sucum*

*infunderet*) where the finite verb *wæs* is followed by the second part of the split adverbial *mid þære geatredan stræle ... þæs werigan gastes*. As for the consecutive ordering of two adverbials, such instances account for 70% of A-A-V and V-A-A (21 of 30).

#### The order of three or more adverbials and finite verb

Examples and figures are:

V-A-A-A (1) & þanne 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*) (23.66)

A-V-A-A (5) þa he swiðost swanc for me on þinum naman ‘when he toiled hardest for me in your name’ (4.142) / þænne we hyne mid his mægenþrymme cumendne gesiod, in ðam dome mid his englum ‘when we observe Him coming with His retinue at the judgement with His angels’ (8.33)

A-A-V-A (2) Þa he swiðust oðre men mid tesowordum tælde in his renceo ‘When he most strongly charged other men with calumny in his pride’ (4.261) / & þa he ða 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* (S1)) (18.244)

A-A-A-V (5) þonne hio æfre on midne dæg fægerost scined & biorhtost ‘when it shines ever most beautifully and brightest at midday’ (8.92) / þæs þe he, Guðlac, 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*) (23.87)

The most frequent patterns are A-V-A-A and A-A-A-V, each accounting for 38% of instances. Four of the five A-A-A-V clauses are verb-final, the exception being 8.92 above where the final position is taken by the second part of the split adverbial *fægerost ... & 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-A-V. Included in the figures above are three clauses with four adverbials, which are: A-A-V-A-A (1.228 and 18.244 above) and A-A-A-A-V (23.107).

#### Clause patterns

Examples and figures are:

Verb-final (191) Ða he þa, Pilatus, þas word gehyrde ‘ When Pilate heard these words ’ (Latin *Cum ergo audisset Pilatus hunc sermonem* (S1))(1.170) / (þonne ...) & eft hræde eal toglyded ‘ and (when) it afterwards quickly glides away ’ (10.243)

Non-verb-final (102) þonne hire weorc beod ealle þus asmeade ‘ when her deeds are all thus examined ’ (4.185) / þa se casere com to Rome mid sigefæste gefean & mid blisse ‘ when the emperor came to Rome with triumphant joy and with bliss ’ (5.58)

Of the total 293 clauses, 191 (65%) are verb-final and 102 (35%) non-verb-final. In the latter, the final position is taken most frequently by adverbials (39% of instances), followed by direct objects (23%) and complements (13%), almost all of which are either of medium or heavy weight.

### 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 ... ’ (6.16) / þa ymb his gebyrd acweden wæron ‘ when (they) were told of His birth ’ (6.44) / & þa wæs geworden in þa tid ‘ and when (it) happened at that time ’ (16.65)

### 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 1997: 191), which does not apply to clauses with two or more adverbials where more ‘ freedom ’ seems to be granted to them.

#### 3.3.3 Clauses of Consequence

The sample from *VH* consists of 252 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* §§2802-4, which I adopt here. I also follow Davis (1997: 191) 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 *þy læs (þe)*.

## The order of subject and simple verb

The sample from *VH* consists of 132 clauses. The distribution is illustrated below:

	S1	S2	S3	Total
S-V	97	17	16	130
V-S	0	1	1	2
Total	97	18	17	132

Examples are:

S1-V þæt hie þe rīcenur swulten ‘so that they would die the sooner’ (1.254)  
/ to þam þæt 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* (S1)) (3.8)

S2-V þæt men wæpn ne wægon ‘that men did not carry weapons’ (5.77) /  
þy læs us deoflo æfter urum forðside ongean wurpon ‘lest the devils throw  
(something) against us after our death’ (19.52)

S3-V þy læs his yrrē & deaðes frecnes ofer us cume ‘lest his anger and the  
danger of death would come over to us’ (Latin *nisi cautius fecerimus omnes*  
(S1)) (6.79) / þæt Godes mægen on us geardige ‘so that the strength of God  
may abide in us’ (Latin *ut in nobis habitet Dei uirtus*) (21.11)

V-S1 (0)

V-S2 þæt no betere nis, ða oferfyllē ‘so that (it) is no better, the gluttony’  
(7.100)

V-S3 þætte ne wæs ænig man to þæs untrum ‘that (there) was no man so  
sick’ (Latin *ut nullus fere ad eum aegrotus (accesserit)* (M1)) (18.209)

The order S-V is shared by an overwhelming majority ( 130 of 132, or 98%). If we turn to the two exceptions (all listed above), the subject *ða oferfylle* is added as if it were an afterthought in 7.100. It is harder to explain the subject in the other example (18.209). Presumably, the Old English writer followed the element order in the Latin phrase while expanding it into a clause.

### The order of subject and complex verb

Examples and figures are:

S1-v-V (48) þæt we ne sien eft genyðrode on helle wite ‘ so that we may not be afterwards pushed down into the torment of hell ’ (4.60) / þæt he mæge to soðfæstnesse becuman ‘ so that he may come to the truth ’ (5.98)

S2-v-V (4) þæt se witedom sceolde bion gefyllid ‘ so that the prophecy should be fulfilled ’ (Latin *ut scriptura impleatur* (S1)) (1.267) / þæt ða attorcoppa habbað innan awefene ‘ that the spiders will have woven inside ’ (Latin *ut araneae intexant in eis* (S1)) (15.20)

S3-v-V (5) þæt eorðcundlice men magon gewiordan hiofonwlitige ‘ so that earthly men may become divinely beautiful ’ (9.211) / þæt eal se lichoma wæs gewundod ‘ that his whole body was wounded ’ (Latin *dilaceratis membrorum conpaginibus trahebant*) (23.107)

S1-V-v (20) þæt we mid eadmodre heortan & mid godum willan gecweman willen ‘ in order that with humble heart and with God’s will we will gratify Him ’ (Latin *(Debemus ...) humilitate illum ac beneuolentia placare* (S1)) (14.116) / þæt we þy eð oncnawan & ongytan magon ‘ so that we may know and understand more easily by that ’ (16.152)

S2-V-v (1) þæt hie man þy ær of þære rode adoon moste ‘ so that one might take them down the sooner from the cross ’ (Latin *et tollerentur* (S1)) (1.254)

S3-V-v (2) þæt nænige men mid wæpnum gefeohtan ne meahton ‘ so that no men might fight with weapons ’ (6.19) / þæt heora nænig him wiðstandan meahte ne ne dorste ‘that none of them were able, or dared, to oppose him’ (Latin *ne episcopo repugnarent* (S1)) (18.184)

v-S1/3-V (0)

v-S2-V (2) þætte þær wære Crist acenned ‘ so that Christ would be born there ’ (Latin (*Qui bene etiam*) *in Bethlehem nascitur* (S1)) (5.117) / þæt be us sie rihtlice þæt word gecweden ‘ so that the statement would be properly made about us ’ (17.79)

V-S-v (0)

v-V-S (0)

V-v-S1/2 (0)

V-v-S3 (1) þætte gewriten wære eall ymbhwyrft middangeardes ‘ so that all the extent of this world was written ’ (Latin *ut describeretur uniuersus orbis* (S1)) (5.11)

The subject precedes the whole of the complex verb phrase in 80 clauses (97% of instances). In the three exceptions (all listed above), two have the subject of medium weight sandwiched by finite and non-finite verbs (v-S2-V; 5.117 and 17.79), and the other (5.11) has the heavy subject after the whole of the complex verb phrase (V-v-S3) probably in imitation of the Latin.

## The order of direct object and simple verb

*VH* have 85 clauses with the two elements. The distribution is shown below:

	O1	O2	O3	Total
O-V	21	20	18	59
V-O	0	6	20	26
Total	21	26	38	85

Examples are:

O1-V þe læs him gefea aspringe ‘lest joy fail him’ (5.165) / to þan þæt ic hie gefylde & getrymede ‘in order that I would fill and strengthen it’ (Latin *sed adimplere* (SA1)) (17.46)

O2-V þæt hie synne fremmen ‘that they perform sin’ (2.30) / þæt he þæs æples ne abyrgde ‘so that he did not taste the apple’ (Latin *non comedit* (S1)) (3.117)

O3-V to þan þæt he eall manna cyn fram hellwara wite alysde ‘in order that He would release all mankind from the punishment of the inhabitants of hell’ (6.3) / þæt we eft mildne deman hæbben ‘in order that we again have a merciful judge’ (10.113)

V-O1 (0)

V-O2 ðæt ge ne doð eowru weorc ‘so that you do not do your deed’ (4.200) / þæt man cwelmed þa mæran ‘so that one will torture the famous’ (15.35)

V-O3 þæt we ne forlæten urne þone ecan eðel ‘in order that we do not forsake our eternal homeland’ (14.56) / þe læs we þrowien eft þa ecan tintrego ‘lest we suffer afterwards those eternal tortures’ (22.209)



In 69% of the total instances (59 of 85), 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 23% (6 of 26) in those of medium weight to 53% (20 of 38) in those of heavy weight.

#### The order of direct object and complex verb

Examples and figures are:

O1-v-V (3) þæt hine þonne mæge fram dryhtnes lufan adon ‘ so that (it) may then remove him from the love of the Lord ’ (2.22) / þæt hie hyt sceolon healice healdan ‘ that they must observe it in high esteem ’ (19.95)

O2-v-V (1) þæt hio þæt cild meahte onasettan ‘ so that she might sit the child ’ (5.25)

O3-v-V (1) (þæt we ...) & us beforan halige lara gehyrdon rædan ‘ and (that we) heard read before us holy teachings ’ (19.54)

O1-V-v (11) (þæt hie sculon ...) & him þiniende bion ‘ and (so that they shall) be serving them ’ (4.100) / þæt he us gesion wille ‘ so that he will see us ’ (9.207)

O2-V-v (4) þæt hie þæt morder geseon ne woldon ‘ so that they would not see the mother ’ (1.238) / þæt he Gode aht syllan wolde of his gestreonum ‘ so that he would give God anything from his treasures ’ (4.240)

O3-V-v (1) þæt he næfre nænigum woruldricum men ne cyninge sylfum þurh lease olihtunge swiðor onbugan wolde ‘that he would never bow down to any powerful man or to the king himself through false flattery more excessively’ (18.213)

v-O1-V (0)

v-O2-V (11) to þan þæt hie woldon þine domas gehyran ‘ in order that they wished to hear your judgements ’ (10.72) / þæt manna gehwylc mæg diofol oferswiðan, ge hean ge rice ‘ so that every man may conquer the devil, both the humble and the powerful ’ (12.24)

v-O3-V (6) þæt ic wolde soðe gewitnesse secgan ‘ so that I would give true testimony ’ (Latin *ut testimonium perhibeam ueritati* (S1)) (1.128) / þæt hie sculon þam soðfæstum sauulum onfon ‘ so that they shall receive the faithful souls ’ (4.99)

v-V-O1/2 (0)

v-V-O3 (13) þætte hie þær sceoldon onfon þam bebode þæs gafoles ‘ so that they should accept the command of that tribute there ’ (5.18) / þæt hie efne meahtan on ðan gære ongytan þæt ... ‘ that they could even perceive well in it that ... ’ (18.295)

V-v-O1 (1) þæt hie æfre lætan sculon þæt deapberende 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 ’ (2.28)

V-v-O2 (0)

V-v-O3 (1) & þæt we gebidan moston þysse halgan tide ‘ and so that we may pass this holy time ’ (11.104)

V-O-v (0)

The direct object comes after the finite verb in 32 clauses, accounting for 60% of instances. This O-v order is almost exclusive to those of medium or heavy weight, the only exception being 2.28 above where a pronominal direct object *hie* is placed after the whole of the complex verb phrase. Förster (1932: 46) 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 (i.e. Napier 1883), the absence of the pronominal direct object causes no problems grammatically since the intransitive use of the verb *gedwellan* is well attested.<sup>1</sup> As for the instances with preverbal direct objects, two-thirds of them (14) have pronominal direct objects, and the rest of the clauses (7) contain direct objects of either medium or heavy weight. All of these seven examples are listed above, except for 16.96 *þæt we ure lif mid sode & mid rihte lifigan moton & magon & cunnan* ‘so that we may live our lives truly and properly’ and 18.64 *þæt hie ægder ge ðam þearfan hrægl syllan meahton* ‘so that they might (both) give garment to the beggar (and ...)’ (Latin *uestire pauperem ... potuissent* (S1)). 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 (ZO) 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 2.28 above, while it is sandwiched between finite and non-finite verbs in 14.7 & *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:

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<sup>1</sup> Clark Hall (1960) has ‘to be led astray, wander, err’ for *dwellan*.

I1-V þe læs him þæt yrre God witnie ‘ lest the angry God punish him for that ’ (21.231) / þæt he him langes lifes wene ‘ that he would anticipate a long life for himself ’ (22.128)

I2-V þæt ðu ðin lac & þine onsægdnesse Gode agife ‘ in order that you may give your offering and your sacrifice to God ’ (Latin *offers munus tuum* (S1)) (14.109) / þæt hie hine Gode agefon ‘ in order that they would give Him to God ’ (Latin *ut sisterent eum domino* (SA1)) (17.5)

#### 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 ’ (4.240) / þæt hie ægder ge ðam þearfan hrægl syllan meahton ‘ so that they might (both) give garment to the beggar (and ...) ’ (Latin *uestire pauperem ... potuissent* (S1)) (18.64)

v-I-V þæt ic nære Iudeum seald ‘so that I would not be given to the Jews’ (Latin *ut non traderer Iudaeis* (S1)) (1.109) / þæt hi moston him feorg forgifan ‘ so that they might give him life ’ (1.141) / þæt we magon him gewrixl agyldan on swa myclum ‘ so that we may pay Him requital by so much ’ (Latin *beneficiis suis uicem rependere (festinamus)*) (21.96)

Davis (1997: 203) 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 (80%) show the I-O order. Examples are:

þæt he us forgif e wundoreardunge on heofona rice ‘so that He would give us a marvellous habitation in the kingdom of heaven’ (5.188) / & þæt he us ura synna forgyfenesa do ‘and that He would grant us forgiveness of our sins’ (21.45)

There are three clauses with the O-I order. All examples are:

þæt ðu hit sceoldest þearfum dælan ‘in order that you were obliged to share it with the needy’ (Latin *ut haberes, pauperi non dedi* (S1)) (10.153) / þæt ðu ðin lac & þine onsægdnesse Gode agife ‘in order that you may give your offering and your sacrifice to God’ (Latin *offers munus tuum* (S1)) (14.109) / þæt hie hine Gode agefon ‘in order that they would give Him to God’ (Latin *ut sisterent eum domino* (SA1)) (17.5)

Pronominal direct objects precede indirect objects of medium (i.e. heavier) weight in 10.153 and 17.5. In 14.109, however, the opposite is the case: a direct object of heavy weight precedes an indirect object of medium weight (O3-I2). This may be partly explained by the preceding context where the collocation *þu (...) þin lac* is used repeatedly as in 14.105 *gif ðu þin lac to ðam wiofode bringe* ‘if you bring

your offering to the altar ' (Latin *Si offers munus tuum ad altare* (S1)) and 14.107  
*forlæt ðu þær þin lac beforan þam wiofode* 'leave you there your offering before the  
altar ' (Latin *relinque ibi munus tuum ante altare* (S1)).

### The order of complement and simple verb

Examples and figures are:

C1-V (0)

C2-V (6) *þy læs ... he eow slæpende gemete* 'lest he find you sleeping'  
(Latin *ne (cum uenerit) inueniat uos dormientes* (S1)) (3.77) / *þæt we næfre*  
*eft cwice sien* 'so that we may never again be alive ' (15.124)

C3-V (9) *þæt we þe selran syn* 'so that we would be the better ' (6.88) /  
*þæt we þurh ðæt þæs wyrde syn* 'so that we may be worthy of that through it'  
(17.106)

V-C1 (0)

V-C2 (2) *þæt he wæs tribunus* 'that he became a tribune ' (Latin *post*  
*tribunus militum fuit* (S1)) (18.10) / *þæt sume hie feollon deade ofer þæs*  
*deadan byrgenne* 'that some of them fell dead over the grave of the dead'  
(Latin *aut super sepulchrum ... cadebant* (S1)) (19.154)

V-C3 (9) *þæt he wære sancta Marian frumbearn* 'so that He would be the  
first born of Saint Mary ' (Latin *et peperit filium suum primogenitum* (S2))  
(5.131) / *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* (S1)) (18.289)

Of the total 26 clauses with the two elements in *VH*, 15 (58%) show the C-V order  
and 11 (42%) 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 3-V and V-C3) 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 ðurfon mid dioflum & mid þam synfullum mannum bion ‘ so that we then need not be among devils and the sinful men ’ (14.174) / þæt hie a siedðan meahton þurh gastlice halgunge mancynn Gode sylfum to bearnum gewyrca ‘ so that they, ever afterwards, through that spiritual consecration could make mankind children of God Himself ’ (16.19)

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 eorðcundlice men magon gewiordan hiofonwlitige ‘ so that earthly men may become divinely beautiful ’ (9.211) / 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’ (13.14) / þæt ic moste bion þin gewitenra sawla andfeng ‘ so that I might be the receiver of your departed soul ’ (15.155)

## The order of single adverbial and finite verb

There are 91 clauses containing the two elements. Their distribution is presented in the table below:

	1	2	3	Total
A-V	21	19	14	54
V-A	6	10	21	37
Total	27	29	35	91

<sup>2</sup>=9.69 with 2 degrees of freedom.

Examples are:

A1-V þæt we æfre forscamien ‘so that we would be ever ashamed’ (8.10) / þæt we æfre þis sceoldon gebidan ‘that we ever must endure this’ (15.99)

A2-V þy læs hie þurh þæt besmitene wæron ‘lest they through that be defiled’ (Latin *ut non contaminarentur* (S1)) (1.87) / þæt nænige men mid wæpnum gefeohtan ne meahton ‘so that no men might fight with weapons’ (6.19)

A3-V þæt us ure dryhten þurh þæt milde weorþe ‘so that our Lord will honour us through the merciful’ (2.78) / þæt he on menniscum lichoman acenned wære ‘so that He would be brought forth in human body’ (5.5)

V-A1 þæt we ne þurfon eft wepan þone ungeendodan wop ‘so that we need not afterwards weep the unending weeping’ (4.59) / swa ... þæt he wat lyt hwæt ... ‘so ... that he knows little what ...’ (21.34)

V-A2 (þæt he ...) & beorhtaþ swa sunna ‘and (so that he) shines like the sun’ (4.161) / þæt he mæge to soðfæstnesse becuman ‘so that he may come to the truth’ (5.98)



V-A3 (þe læs ... sio idle blis þysse worlde ...) & acyrre fram þam godcundan rihte ‘ and (lest the empty merriment of this world) should turn (our minds) away from divine truth ’ (Latin *ne uana menti laetitia subrepat* (M1)) (14.96) / 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 poculamento post solis occasum, nullius alicuius alimenti usibus uesceretur*) (23.10)

Of the total instances, 54 (59%) have the order A-V, and 37 (41%) 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 (20) þæt he symle on us þurhwunige ‘ so that He always remains in us ’ (Latin *ut ipse semper in nobis perseueret* (S1)) (3.10) / þy læs hit eft in forwyrd forlæde ‘ lest it afterwards seduce (us) into destruction ’ (22.216)

A-V-A (11) þæt we in ecnesse lyfiad & blissiad, in ðam rice ‘ so that we live in eternity and rejoice in that kingdom ’ (8.97) / þæt he ðær wolde beon gefulwad fram him ‘ so that He would be baptized by him there ’ (Latin *ut baptizaretur ab eo* (S1)) (16.11)

V-A-A (12) þæt we astigan fram eorðan to heofonum ‘ so that we will ascend from earth to heaven ’ (5.185) / swa þæt þæt 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* (S1)) (19.121)

The A-A-V pattern has 20 examples, accounting for 47% of the total instances (20 of 43). It is striking that all of these A-A-V examples are verb-final. Two adverbials are placed side by side (AA) in 21 instances, which accounts for 66% of the instances with either A-A-V or V-A-A (21 of 32).

#### The order of three or more adverbials and finite verb

Examples and figures are:

V-A-A-A (2) 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 ’ (13.14) / þæt we syn þe beteran & þe selran for bæm lifum, in ealra worulda world to widan feore, 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’ (13.45)

A-V-A-A (6) þæt us man to earfednessum gedoo her on worulde ‘ so that for the hardships here in the world one will grant us (the Lord’s love) ’ (2.82) / þæt we nu lifiad to lange on swylcum ege ‘ that we now live too long in such fear ’ (15.104)

A-A-V-A (5) þæt he hine for þan to þan gegearwode butan ænigre ablinednesse ‘ in order that he would therefore prepare himself for it without any cease ’ (13.39) / swa þæt se cyng þære ceasterware mid hire on God gelyfde on eallre heortan ‘ so that the king of the citizens believed with them in God in all heart ’ (Latin *ut ipse rex, una cum exercitu suo, in Deum caeli toto crederet corde* (S1)) (19.134)

A-A-A-V (3) þæt we næfre eft cwice arisan ‘ so that we may never again arise

alive ' (15.125) / *þe læs us ahwæne God for urum yfelum geearnigum ure eorðan wæstmas fram afyrre* ' lest God take away from us the fruits of our earth, at any time, on account of our wicked deserts ' (20.26)

*VH* display ' a range of adverbial positions ' (Davis 1997: 211). 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 (60% 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 (13.45 above) and A-V-A-A-A (11.85 above).

#### Clause patterns

Examples and figures are:

Verb-final (111) *þæt eall helle mægen on his wylme for þæs fyres hæto forweordeð* ' so that all the troop of hell, for the heat of the fire, will perish in his flame ' (4.47) / *þæt we hie þurh þæt geearnian magon* ' so that we may earn it through them ' (17.98)

Non-verb-final (125) *þæt he ne scyle his unwillan alætan his æhta* ' so that he must not relinquish his possessions against his will ' (4.11) / (*þæt we ...*) & *ma þencen symle be ðam toweardan life þonne be byssum* ' and (that we) may always think more about the approaching life than about this (life) ' (Latin *amplius de futuro quam de praesenti saeculo cogitemus* (S1)) (11.85)

There are 111 verb-final clauses, accounting for 47% of instances. In non-verb-final clauses, the final position is taken most often by adverbials (38% of instances),

followed by direct objects (25%) and complements (8%). 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:

*þæt heora nan ætstod furdun<sup>1</sup> behindan* ‘so that none of them remained behind’ (18.240) / *swa þæt þæt 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* (S1)) (19.121)

In 18.240, the position of *behindan* may have something to do with its close association with *ætstod* (‘remained behind’). In 19.121, 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 18.41 *ðy læs þæt wære þæt ...* ‘lest it be that ...’ and 23.99 *þæt hit þuhte þæt ...* ‘that it seemed that ...’. The experiencer precedes the impersonal in 7.105 *þæt þone lichoman lyste þære sawle worcum fulgan* ‘so that (it) pleases the body to fulfil the deeds of the soul’ but the reverse order is found in 1.294 *þæt nu nis nænegum men þearf þæt ...* ‘that (there) is no need now for any men that ...’. In all but one instance (7.105 above), the final position is taken by *þæt* clause.

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<sup>1</sup> This is part of the phrase *heora nan ... furdun* ‘not even one of them’, and as such, is not counted as part of the final element here.

## 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 (i.e. A-V, A-A-V, and A-A-A-V).

## 3.3.4 Clauses of Cause

The sample from *VH* consists of 234 clauses. As Mitchell & Robinson observe (*Guide* §176): ‘[t]he main causal conjunctions are the *for* formulae, *nu*, and *þæs* (*þe*). *Þe*, *þy*, and *þy þe*, are sometimes found.’ *VH* have examples of all of these conjunctions except for *þe*; in addition, I have found causal clauses introduced by *swa* (cf. *OES* §§3108-9), *swa þæt* (cf. *OES* §3110), *þæt* (*te*) (cf. *OES* §§3118-27), and *to þon þæt* (cf. *OES* §§3094-6). It should be noted that I have excluded from analysis 16.88 *for ðan þe heo ær deade gehæfte* [MS &] *on hire hæfde* ‘because it earlier had bound the dead in it’ (Latin *quia hos quos tenebat mortuos* (S3)) because of the uncertain status of the Tironian sign in the Vercelli Codex (cf. Scragg 1992: 266). Editors are not in agreement concerning its treatment. Szarmach (1981: 44, l. 67) retains the MS & and translates the passage as ‘because she previously bound dead ones and held them in her’ (Szarmach 1981:

48). 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 1.278 (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.<sup>1</sup>

#### The order of subject and simple verb

There are 160 clauses in this category. The distribution is presented below in tabular form:

	S1	S2	S3	Total
S-V	89	36	14	139
V-S	0	4	17	21
Total	89	40	31	160

Examples are:

S1-V for þan þe hie on sorge & on earfednessum þrowigaþ ‘because they suffer in sorrow and in distress’ (1.119) / (for þan þe ...) & hie oft badiad ‘and (because) they often bath’ (7.58)

S2-V for þan þe cild sweltad & unmagan ‘because children and orphans die’ (9.52) / for þan his eagan ofer eall gesiod ‘for His eyes watch over all’ (10.120)

<sup>1</sup> See Hiyama (2004: 121-2).

S3-V Swa manige stræla syndon ‘ Since (there) are many arrows ’ (4.315) / for ðan þe his rices & his mihta næfre ænig ende cymed ‘ because never will any end come to His kingdom and His powers ’ (16.166)

V-S1 (0)

V-S2 For ðan nis nænig to þam rice her on middangearde ‘ For no one is so powerful here in this world ’ (1.115) / for þan þe leoht sint þin bebodu ofer eorðan ‘ because your commands are the light across the earth ’ (Latin *quia lux precepta tua sunt super terram* (S1)) (3.67)

V-S3 for ðam þær is sar butan frofre ‘ because there is pain without consolation ’ (9.26) / for ðan þe ne bið næniges wiorces fyrst ne nænig riht ne nænig wisdom mid helwarum ‘ for (there) 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* (S1)) (14.61)

The order S-V is predominant, representing 87% 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 55% of the clauses with S3 (17 of 31). It may also be added that *VH* alone have more instances of V-S (21) than *CH* and *SH* combined (10) - according to Davis (1997: 214-5), the former has four and the latter six. This may be in part due to my treatment of examples with *þær* as in 9.134 (*for ðan ...*) & *þær bið 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 (11 in total).

The order of subject and complex verb

Examples and figures are:

S1-v-V (27) (for þan þe ...) & mid wisdomes cræfte sio sibb wæs geseted  
geond ealne middangeard ‘ and (because) with the skill of wisdom, that peace  
was established throughout the whole world ’ (5.79) / for ðan he bið cwylmed  
on ecnesse ‘ because he will be tormented in eternity ’ (22.213)

S2-v-V (7) for ðan de eowre naman synt awritene on heofonum ‘ because your  
names are written in heaven ’ (Latin *quod nomina uestra scripta sunt in caelis*  
(S1)) (5.104) / for ðam men sculon þurh ða godcundan lare becuman to life  
‘because men must enter into life through the divine teaching’ (10.7)

S3-v-V (6) for þan þæs huses hrof bið gehnæged ‘ because the roof of the  
house is bent down ’ (9.102) / (for þan ...) & ealle gesceafta wæron þurh  
hine gesceapene & geworhte ‘ and (because) all created things were created and  
made through Him ’ (16.164)

S1-V-v (6) þæs þe he heora saulum to hæle & to ræde gewinnan mihte  
‘because he was able to win their souls for salvation and benefit’ (18.272) / for  
ðam þe he of ðam geworht wæs ‘ because it was made from it ’ (22.217)

S2-V-v (0)

S3-V-v (1) (for þan þe ...) & ealle gesceafta þurh hine gesceapene &  
geworhte wæron ‘ and (because) all created things were made and created  
through Him ’ (16.138)

v-S1-V (0)

v-S2-V (3) for þy bið heora gold asprungen ‘ because their gold will be  
faded ’ (15.46) / For þan ne mæg se lichama nanwiht don ‘ Because the body  
can do nothing ’ (Latin *Nihil potest caro facere* (S1)) (22.155)

v-S3-V (2) for þan ne bioð 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 ’ (4.2) / for ðan hine ne mæg nænig man forflion ‘ because no man may escape from it ’ (9.41)

v-V-S1/2 (0)

v-V-S3 (2) for þan þe on hire wæs acenned lifes hlaf ‘ because in it was brought forth the bread of life ’ (Latin *in quo dominus nasceretur* (S2)) (5.119) / (for ðan ...) ne him ne bið læten gold ne seolfor ‘ nor (because) will gold or silver be allowed to him ’ (9.87)

V-S-v (0)

V-v-S (0)

Most of the subjects are placed before the whole of the complex verb phrase (47 of 54, or 87%) (cf. Davis 1997: 217). 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 5.31). The clause-initial *for* formulae are followed by finite verbs (v or *ne* + v) in four clauses, and by some element(s) other than the verb or the subject in three. Davis (1997: 215) 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: 5.31 *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* (S1)) and 22.155 above.

The order of direct object and simple verb

VH have 79 clauses that contain the two elements. The distribution is shown below:

	O1	O2	O3	Total
O-V	9	10	13	32
V-O	0	10	37	47
Total	9	20	50	79

Examples are:

O1-V for þam þe sio andetnes þe gehæled ‘because the confession heals you’ (Latin *Confessio enim sanat* (S1)) (3.34) / (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 ’ (4.115)

O2-V nu we þam oðrum ne gelyfaþ ‘because we do not believe others’ (2.57) / For ðan þe ic þære andsware onfenc ‘Because I received the answer’ (17.116)

O3-V (for þan þe hie ...) & noht hefies ne wyrceaþ ‘ and (because they) do nothing heavy ’ (7.58) / for þan ealle þa gedwæledan sawla he todæled ‘because He will divide all those strayed souls’ (9.62)

V-O1 (0)

V-O2 for ðam þe hie geseoð God ‘ because they will see God ’ (Latin *quoniam ipsi Deum uidebunt*) (21.115) / þy eow eft biter geded þa swetnessa ‘because (he) makes the sweetness bitter again for you’ (22.110)

V-O3 for þan þe he sægde þæt ... ‘ because he said that ... ’ (1.168) / for þan þe hie gesawon þæt ... ‘ because they saw that ... ’ (5.175)

The order V-O represents 59% of instances (47 of 79). It is noteworthy that there are no instances of light direct objects (V-O1) with this pattern. The influence of

weight ordering is most evident in heavy direct objects whose preference for the postverbal position (V-O3) is indicated by the 37 examples that account for 74% of the clauses with O3 (37 of 50). Yet, the presence of 32 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:

O1-v-V (2) for ðan hine ne mæg nænig man forflion ‘because no man may escape from it’ (9.41) / for ðan he hie sceal þrowian swa þeah ‘because he must endure them nevertheless’ (Latin *quia et hic habent initium tormentorum* (S1)) (22.94)

O2-v-V (1) for þon þe hie hira godu hæfdon geworhte of treowum & of stanum & of oðrum untimbrum missenlicum ‘because they had made their gods of wood and of stone and of other various materials’ (12.5)

O3-v-V (0)

O1-V-v (0)

O2-V-v (3) þæs þe he heora saulum to hæle & to ræde gewinnan mihte ‘because he was able to win their souls for salvation and benefit’ (18.272) / (For ðan þe ...) & min yfel ic nahwær befleon ne mæg ‘and (because) I can flee my wickedness in no way’ (Latin *sic mala mea fugere non possum* (S1)) (22.8)

O3-V-v (1) for ðan hie ær nan god weorc wyrcean noldon ‘because they did not wish to perform any good deed before’ (4.201)

v-O1-V (1) for þan hio wæs me symle lufiende ‘because she was always loving me’ (4.118)

v-O2-V (3) for þan hie ær noldon hira synna betan ‘because they earlier

would not atone for their sins ' (2.11) / for *ðan þe hie ær noldan hyra synna betan* ' because they had been unwilling to atone for their sins ' (21.169)

v-O3-V (3) for *þan þu me noldest nanne þanc don minra goda* ' because you did not wish to give me any thanks for my goods ' (10.195) / & *þæt he wolde mancynne þurh hine sylfne eallre soðfæstnesse bysene onstellan* ' and because he wished to establish all truth for mankind as an example through Him ' (16.39)

v-V-O1 (0)

v-V-O2 (1) for *ðan he ne bið gelustfullod metes* ' because he will have desired no food ' (9.100)

v-V-O3 (1) 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 ' (7.67)

V-v-O1/3 (0)

V-v-O2 (1) for *þan hie forlætan sceolon hira blissa* ' because they must give up their pleasures ' (22.55)

V-O-v (0)

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 33% with O1, 56% with O2, and 80% with O3 (59% on average). It may also be mentioned that the direct object either immediately precedes or follows the non-finite verb (OV or VO) in 9 of the total 17 instances as in 2.11 *hira synna betan*, 4.201 *nan god weorc wyrcean*, and 10.195 *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 (v-Z-V), as in 16.117 *þæt he wolde mancynne bilhwit & eaþmod geweorþan* ' because He wished mankind to become pure and humble ' and 22.97 *for ðan þe he wolde us to his*

*willan gebigean* ‘ because He wished us to bend to His will’ .

#### 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:

I1-V (7) for *don þe ic eow secge micelne gefean* ‘ because I say to you great joy ’ (5.161) / for *ðan him sægde se halga gast þæt ...* ‘ because the Holy Ghost said to him that ... ’ (17.86)

I2-V (1) (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 ’ (5.111)

I3-V (0)

V-I1/3 (0)

V-I2 (2) (for *þam þe ...*) & *sio andetnes syld forgifnesse þam synnum* ‘and (because) the confession gives forgiveness for the sins’ (Latin *confessio ueniam peccatis donat* (S1)) (3.35) / 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* (S1)) (3.87)

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 (3) 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 David* (S1)) (5.31) /  
 (for ðan ...) ne him ne bið læten gold ne seolfor ‘nor (because) will gold or  
 silver be allowed to him’ (9.87) / for þan þu me noldest nanne þanc don minra  
 goda ‘because you did not wish to give me any thanks for my goods’ (10.195)  
 I-V-v (0)

v-I-V (2) & þæt he wolde mancynne þurh hine sylfne eallre soðfæstnesse  
 bysene onstellan ‘and because he wished to establish all truth for mankind as an  
 example through Him’ (16.39) / ac þæt he wolde mid arfæstlice & mid  
 mildheortlice mancynne heora synna forgifnesse syllan ‘but because He was  
 willing to give mankind forgiveness for their sins with grace and mercy’  
 (16.119)

v-V-I (2) 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* (S1)) (3.85) /  
 for þan he bið seald þonne ðam reðestan feondum ‘because he will be given  
 then to those cruellest enemies’ (22.214)

V-I-v (0)

V-v-I (0)

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: I1-v-V  
 (three examples), v-I2-V (two), and v-V-I3 (two).

## 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 deð his gestreona þone wirsestan dæl ‘and (because) one then gives him the worst portion of his treasures’ (9.103) / for þan þe he us ontynde heofona rices duru þurh his þa halgan acennesse ‘because He opened to us the door of the kingdom of heavens through His holy birth’ (17.144)

All examples of O-I are:

(for þam þe ...) & sio andetnes sylð forgifnesse þam synnum ‘and (because) the confession gives forgiveness for the sins’ (Latin *confessio ueniam peccatis donat* (S1)) (3.35) / 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* (S1)) (3.87) / (for þan þe ...) & hio swide mænige & mislice sceape him onfehð ‘and (because) it takes into itself very many and various injuries’ (7.68)

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 (3.35 and 3.87 above) are explainable in terms of Latin influence, and this leaves us with only 7.68, which might be dismissed by the dubious status of *him* - Förster (1932: 144, n. 34) writes that it is a later addition possibly by the scribe (‘ein Zusatz des Schreibers’).

## The order of complement and simple verb

*VH* have 54 clauses that contain the two elements. The distribution is presented below in tabular form:

	C1	C2	C3	Total
C-V	1	17	1	19
V-C	0	3	32	35
Total	1	20	33	54

Examples are:

C1-V (for *ðan þe ...*) & we on *syndon* ‘and (because) we exist in (Him)’  
(16.106)

C2-V for *ðy þe him æfre ænig synn odðe leahor on him wære* ‘because (there) was not any sin or any fault in Him ’ (16.4) / (for *ðam þe hie ...*) & him *sylfum þær rice mynton* ‘and (because they) considered themselves powerful there ’ (21.144)

C3-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*) (23.80)

V-C1 (0)

V-C2 for *þan þeos woruld nis ece* ‘because this world is not eternal ’ (4.23)  
/ for *ðan hiera miht is mid Gode mycelo* ‘because their strength is great with God ’ (12.39)

V-C3 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* (M1)) (1.209) / for *þam þe he wæs Dauides cynnes* ‘because he was of the



kin of David ' (Latin *eo quod esset de domo et familia David* (S1)) (5.18)

There appears to be an almost clear divide in the distribution of complements: those of light and medium weight are almost always placed preverbally (18 of 21, or 86%), while heavy complements are almost always placed postverbally (32 of 33, or 97%). If we look at the atypical examples closely, the following may be observed. In two of the three V-C2 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 12.39 above and 20.38 (*for ðam ...*) & *he byð geelfremed fram middangerde* 'and (because) he will be alienated from the world' (Latin *mundo alienatur* (M1)). In the sole example where the heavy complement precedes the verb (C3-V; 23.80 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 bið Godes bearn genemnde 'because they shall be called the children of God' (Latin *quoniam filii Dei uocabuntur* (S1)) (5.86; cf. 17.63)  
 / þæt he wolde mancynne bilhwit & eaþmod geweorþan 'because He wished mankind to become pure and humble' (16.117) / (*for ðam ...*) & *he byð gastlic geworden* 'and (because) he will be made spiritual' (Latin *spiritalis efficitur* (M1)) (20.39)

The sole instance of v-V-C is:

for ðon þe Betlem is genemned *Domus panis* ‘ Hlafes hus ’ ‘ because Bethlehem is named ”Domus panis“, the house of the bread ’ (Latin *Bethlehem quippe ‘domus panis’ interpretatur* (S1)) (5.117)

It should be pointed out that the Latin element order is usually followed ( 5.86/17.63 and 20.39 above) with the exception of 5.117 above where the complement is placed in final position presumably because of its (extremely) heavy weight (we might note here that the Old English expands on the Latin phrase, making it ‘heavier’).

#### The order of single adverbial and finite verb

In *VH*, there are 82 clauses that contain the two elements. The distribution is illustrated in the following table:

	A1	A2	A3	Total
A-V	22	10	7	39
V-A	5	15	23	43
Total	27	25	30	82

$\chi^2=20.09$  with 2 degrees of freedom.

Examples are:

A1-V for þan þe ge eft heofað & wepað ‘ because you will lament and weep afterwards ’ (Latin *quia lugebitis et flebitis* (S1)) (11.77) / swa þæt se deofol a sætaþ ‘ because the devil always lies in wait ’ (Latin *insidiantur incautis*

(S1)) (18.234)

A2-V for þam þe hio to heofonum upahefd þæs hreowsiendan wæstmas  
 ‘because such worship lifts up the fruits of the penitent to the heavens’ (Latin  
*quia ipse fructus eius eleuant ad caelum* (S1)) (3.64) / (for þan þe hie ...) &  
 mid wrytgemangum smyriad ‘and (because they) anoint with perfume’ (7.58)

A3-V for þan we on odre wisan ne magon bion gehælede ‘because we may not  
 be healed in other ways’ (Latin *quia nos aliter salui fieri non possumus* (S1))  
 (3.38) / (for ðan þe ...) & on his mihte ealle we standað ‘and (because) we  
 all stand in His might’ (16.106)

V-A1 for þan hio wæs me symle lufiende ‘because she was always loving  
 me’ (4.118) / for ðan he sceal bion hwilum swungen ‘because it must  
 sometimes be scourged’ (Latin *flagellaris in carne* (S1)) (22.99)

V-A2 for þan þe þæt cymed to ende ‘because that will come to an end’  
 (11.71) / & for þam he feala adreah for us ‘and because He suffered many  
 things for us’ (17.146)

V-A3 for ðam þe he ne mæg locian on ðæt mycle sar & on ðam myclan  
 wanunge & on ðam myclan wope ‘because he may not look upon the great  
 sorrow and upon the great lamentation and upon the great weeping’ (15.195) /  
 for ðam þæt mod geondscrid geond eallo þing ‘because the mind roams around  
 all things’ (Latin *quia mens otiosa per omnia discurrit* (S1)) (20.105)

The order V-A is found in 43 clauses (52% of instances) and A-V in 39 (48%).  
 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 19% (light) to 77% (heavy). Also noteworthy is a  
 strong verb-final tendency in the A3-V examples; in fact, all these clauses are  
 verb-final, forming a contrast with the other A-V examples where the verb-final  
 percentages are 59% (A1-V) and 60% (A2-V) respectively.

The order of two adverbials and finite verb

Examples and figures are:

A-A-V (11) for þan he us swiðe to nealæced ‘ because he fiercely approaches us ’ (2.107) / for þan þæt of þe bið acenned ‘ therefore it will be brought forth from you ’ (Latin *ideoque et quod nascetur* (S1)) (5.129)

A-V-A (11) (for þan ...) þonne swyrceð him fram þæs huses hrof ‘ (because ...) then the roof of the building is obscured from him ’ (9.98) / for þan in ða tid ealle men beoð gehergode þurh ealle þeode ‘ because at that time all men will be taken captive throughout all nations ’ (Latin *Tunc capti uabuntur omnes homines per uniuersas gentes* (S1)) (15.76)

V-A-A (8) 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* (S2)) (5.181) / for þan þe he wæs of Godfæder acenned ær eallum gesceaftum, soð God of soðum 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 ’ (16.136)

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 5.78 for þam 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.

## The order of three or more adverbials and finite verb

Examples and figures are:

V-A-A-A (2) for þan þe Godes englas bið mid þam scyldum gewæpnod to feohtanne wið þam awirgðum gastum ‘ because God’s angels are armed with the shields in order to fight against the accursed spirits ’ (4.330) / for þan he mot þær alybban on wite & on wuldre & on wiordunge butan ælcra onwendnesse mid þara nigon endebyrdnessa engla & heahengla ‘ because he may always live there, and in beauty and in glory and in honour without any change with the nine orders of those angels and archangels ’ (9.200)

A-V-A-A (2) (for þan þe ...) & eft þurh mildheortnesse & eadmodnesse hie wæron þanon alyscde of diofles deowdome ‘ and (because) afterwards, through mercy and humility, they were released from there, from the devil’s subjection ’ (2.95) / (for ðan þe ...) & þurh godra þeawas & bysna man wyrd oft Gode gestryned ‘ and (because) through good customs and examples one often becomes augmented by God ’ (22.146)

A-A-V-A (3) for þan þe mancynn ærest þurh þa æfeste wæron on helle besencte ‘because mankind first through that envy was plunged into hell’ (2.94) / for þan swiððor swa ðu 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*) (23.63)

A-A-A-V (1) for þan he næfre eft to eordwelum ne gehwyrfed ‘ for he never again will turn to earthly possessions ’ (9.73)

The examples ‘ indicate the great flexibility of adverbial positioning ’ (Davis 1997: 231). Included in the figures above are two clauses with four adverbials, which are

V-A-A-A-A (9.200 above) and A-A-V-A-A (2.95 above).

### Clause patterns

Examples and figures are:

Verb-final (62) for þan þe Cristes þrowung & his lichamlic dead þam untrywan folce 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* (S1)) (1.16) / (for ðan þe ...) & heo in clænnesse mægdhade a ðurhwunode ‘ and (because) she always remained in pure virginity ’ (17.41)

Non-verb-final (163) for ðan þe þæt helle hus is mid swide ladlicum gastum afylled ‘ because the hell-house is filled with very loathsome spirits ’ (9.164) / (for ðan he ...) ac hafað þa ecan genidrunge ‘ but (because he) has the eternal condemnation ’ (22.95)

Verb-final clauses represent 28% of instances in *VH*, which is higher than *CH* (19%) and *SH* (23%) (cf. Davis 1997: 231). In non-verb-final clauses, the final position is taken most frequently by adverbials (29% of instances), followed by direct objects (23%) and complements (17%).

### Impersonals

This clause category has eight instances with impersonals, all of which are placed in medial position except 8.11 *for ðan 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 4.217 *þy me*

*lyste þæt* ... ‘because I desired that ...’ and 20.6 *for ðam þe þam deofle bið swa leofre swa* ... ‘because the more agreeable (it) will be for the devil (the more ...)’.

### 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 (1997: 232) applies to *VH* as well: ‘[t]he position of the adverbial is relatively free, though showing the influence of a tendency to place light adverbials preverbally, and heavy adverbials post-verbally’.

#### 3.3.5 Clauses of Comparison

*VH* have 162 clauses that belong to this category. I have followed Mitchell (*OES* §§ 3202-3385 and *Guide* §177) 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 107 clauses in this category. The distribution is presented below in tabular form:

	S1	S2	S3	Total
S-V	61	29	15	105
V-S	0	1	1	2
Total	61	30	16	107

Examples are:

S1-V þonne we æfre ær gesawon ‘ than we ever saw before ’ (1.10) / swylce hie lyfedon ‘ as they lived ’ (7.50)

S2-V swa swa Iohannes cwæð ‘ just as John said ’ (Latin *sicut Iohannes ait* (S1)) (3.11) / & efne swa swa se wind swidor sloh on þone lig ‘ and just as the wind struck the stronger against the flame ’ (18.162)

S3-V swa swa mannes synna bið ‘ just as the sins of man are ’ (4.309) / swa he sylfa be ðam cwæð ‘ as He Himself spoke about it ’ (5.144)

V-S1 (0)

V-S2 swa him wisode se witega ‘ just as the prophet advised him ’ (19.108)

V-S3 swa us oft sægdon ða ðe ure lareowas & ure boceras wæron, þæt ... ‘just as those who were our teachers and scholars often said to us that ...’ (15.101)

The subject always precedes the verb in all instances except for the two with V-S listed above. 19.108 might be rightly dismissed since the subject *se witega* is reconstructed by Scragg (1992: 321 and 328) (cf. Szarmach (1981: 71, ll. 85-6) supplied a pronominal subject before the verb: *swa <he> him wisode se ...*). As for 15.101, 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 *\*ða ðe ure lareowas & ure boceras wæron sægdon* (where two finite verbs are placed next to



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 28 clauses. Examples and figures are:

S1-v-V (6) Swa mycle swidor swa we nu beoð nætte on þyssum life ‘ By so much more as we now are afflicted in this life ’ (Latin *Quantum enim in hoc saeculo ... affligimur* (S1)) (22.79) / swylce he wære þam sweartestum wolcnum afylled swiðra genipa ‘ as if it were filled with the blackest clouds of immense darkness ’ (Latin *fuscis atrarum nubium caliginibus nigrescere (uidebatur)*) (23.118)

S2-v-V (0)

S3-v-V (2) & swa swa ða dæghwamlīcan synna ne bioð wanigende ‘ and just as those daily evils will not be diminishing ’ (Latin *Et quia non desunt cottidiana peccata* (S1)) (11.24) / swa he sylfa þurh his gewyrhtum sie gedemed ‘ as he himself is judged through his deeds ’ (14.28)

S1-V-v (11) swa hie nu her geearnod hæfdon ‘ as they have now here earned ’ (8.25) / swa heo ær geearnod hæfde ‘ just as it earlier had earned ’ (9.65)

S2-V-v (3) þonne se maga gemyltan mæge ‘ than the stomach can digest ’ (7.95) / swylce hine man þærin scufan wolde ‘ as if one would thrust him in there ’ (23.142)

S3-V-v (6) þonne ænig man atellan mæge ‘ than any man may count ’ (4.334) / eall swa he sylf beswīcen wæs ‘ just as he himself had been deceived ’ (19.40)

v-S-V (0)

v-V-S (0)

V-S-v (0)

## V-v-S (0)

*VH* instance two of the six possible patterns, confirming Davis (1997: 236) who writes that ‘[t]he 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 38 clauses that contain the two elements. The distribution is shown below:

	O1	O2	O3	Total
O-V	12	5	10	27
V-O	0	3	8	11
Total	12	8	18	38

Examples are:

O1-V swylce hyre se lichoma ær geworhte ‘just as the body made it before’ (9.70) / (Swa ... God ...) & on þam seofodan hine reste ‘and (just as God) on the seventh (day) rested Himself’ (Latin *et septimo die requieuit*) (23.72)

O2-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’ (Latin *eo nimirum circa aues illas usus imperio quo daemones fugare consueuerat* (S1)) (18.238) / þonne we God lufion ‘than we love God’ (Latin *quam Deum diligere* (S1)) (20.173)

O3-V þe man ænne prican aprycce on anum brede ‘than one pricks a prick on a tablet’ (9.147) / gelice swa man mid wætere þone weallendan wylm agiote

‘just as one may put out the surging flame with water’ (10.130)

V-O1 (0)

V-O2 swa ic hæbbe mihte ‘as I have power’ (Latin *et potestatem habeo* (S1)) (1.175) / & swa swa wæter adwæscit fyr ‘and just as water quenches fire’ (Latin *et sicut aqua extinguit ignem* (S1)) (20.33)

V-O3 swa swa þæt godspell cyð þætte ... ‘just as the gospel shows that ...’ (Latin *namque testatur aeuangelium quia* ... (S1)) (3.82) / þonne we dydon Godes beboda ‘than we performed God’s commands’ (15.110)

The order O-V is predominant, representing 71% of instances. The influence of weight is apparent in that light direct objects always precede the verb (O1-V) while the percentage of postverbal placement slightly increases as the direct object becomes heavier, from 38% (V-O2; 3 of 8) to 44% (V-O3; 8 of 18).

#### The order of direct object and complex verb

The sample from *VH* consists of ten clauses. Examples and figures are:

O-v-V (0)

O-V-v (6) þonne hit æniges mannes mud asecgan mæge oððe cunne ‘than any man’s mouth could say it, or knew (it)’ (14.146) / þonne hit ænig man asecgan mæge ‘than any man can say it’ (18.46)

v-O-V (2) þænne he scyle æfter þam bendum þæs freodomes ceapian ‘than he must buy this freedom afterwards with bonds’ (Latin *quam post uincula libertatem quaerere* (S1)) (14.51) / swa he geonor sceal Gode þeowgean ‘just as he must serve God more eagerly’ (19.97)

v-V-O (2) swa we magon us geearnian her ... swa ecces lifes swa eces deaðes ‘as we can earn for ourselves here, either eternal life or eternal death’ (4.91) /

swa we ær gehyrdon secgan þæt ... ‘just as we before heard (it) said that ...’

(17.83)

V-v-O (0)

V-O-v (0)

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-O2-V) in two instances while those of heavy weight are placed after the whole of the complex verb (v-V-O3) 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:

I1-V (10) swa him se engel bodude ‘as the angel announced to him’ (Latin *angelo ei annuntiante* (S1)) (3.114) / swa he him gehet ‘just as He promised them’ (5.103)

I2-V (2) swa swa he sylf his leorningcnihtum sæde ‘just as he himself said to his disciples’ (Latin *sicut ipsa ueritas discipulis ait* (S1)) (20.130) / swa he of gebendum bogan his costunge ða earhwinnendan stræle on þam mode gefæstnode þæs Cristes cempa ‘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 iaculauit*) (23.19)

I3-V (1) swa we odrum mannum unnen ‘ as we wish well to other men’<sup>1</sup>  
(17.97)

If we concentrate on the three examples with indirect objects of medium or heavy weight, the following may be observed: the two instances with I2-V closely follow the Latin; and the sole instance with I3-V could possibly be dismissed since, as Scragg (1992: 288) notes, ‘ [t]he 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 hafad ‘as the Lord has commanded to us’ (9.227)  
/ swa swa hit mannum geseald is ægðer ge godcundra þinga ge menniscra ‘ just  
as that was given to men, both of divine and of corporeal things ’ (Latin *prout  
homini datum est ...* (S1)) (20.160)

v-I-V swa we magon us geearnian her ... swa ecces lifes swa eces deapes ‘ as  
we can earn for ourselves here, either eternal life or eternal death ’ (4.91)

#### 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:

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. Szarmach (1981: 55): ‘*unnen*: apparently in the sense “wish well”’.

O-I swa ic hy ðe sealde ‘ as I gave them to you ’ (8.66)

I-O swa him Crist behead þæt hie mancynn lærden ‘ just as Christ commanded to them that they should teach mankind ’ (5.50) / swa he of gebendum bogan his costunge ða earhwinnendan stræle on þam mode gefæstnode þæs Cristes cempa ‘ 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 iaculauit*) (23.19)

All of the three clauses with I-O contain direct objects of heavy weight that are placed after indirect objects of lighter weight (I1-O3 or I2-O3). It seems difficult to explain the reason, if any, why the direct object precedes the indirect object (both of light weight) in 8.66 above. The passage appears in the following context: *Agif me þine sawle swa clæne swa ic hy ðe sealde. Min feorh ic sealde for ðe. 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 ðe 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 (55%) have the order V-C and five (45%) C-V. All examples are:

C-V þonne hit riht wære ‘ than it was right ’ (18.214) / þæs þe ure gemet sie ‘as is proper to us’ (18.307) / þonne hyt ænig gemet sie ‘ than it would be only apt ’ (20.77) / (þonne he ...) & on Godes unwillan sy ‘ and (than he)

would be in God's displeasure ' (Latin *quam infeliciter esse* (S1)) (22.57) / swa ic wyrðe eom ' as I am worthy ' (Latin *eram dignus* (S1)) (22.86)

V-C efne swa hit wære hundteontig punda gewæge ' just as it would be one hundred pounds in weight ' (Latin *quasi libras centum* (M1)) (1.279) / swa he wære eorðan lames odðe heardes stancynnes ' as if he were of earth-clay or of hard stone ' (4.170) / Emne swa ða þry deaðas syndon fyrenfulra ' Just as those three deaths are of the sinful ' (9.37) / Emne swa ða woruldgepingu biod maran ' Just as the secular powers are greater ' (Latin *Quanto maior honor* (S1)) (10.207) / swa swa ealle gesceafta þone hælend ongeatan, on middangeard cumende ' just as all beings perceived the Saviour coming to this world ' (16.70) / swa swa eower fæder ys mildheort ' just as your Father is merciful ' (Latin *sicut et pater uester misericors est*) (21.112)

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 59 clauses that contain the two elements. Taking weight into consideration, the distribution is as follows:

	A1	A2	A3	Total
A-V	32	8	11	51
V-A	1	0	7	8
Total	33	8	18	59

Examples are:

A1-V swa ic ær sægde ‘ as I said before ’ (1.46) / swa se engel hire ær sægde ‘ just as the angel told her before ’ (5.127)

A2-V þy he aht feala to gode gedyde ‘ by that he might do anything much for good ’ (4.238) / þonne we ær þyssum dydon ‘ than we did before this ’ (21.110)

A3-V emne þon gelicost þe he to anum men sprece ‘ just as if He spoke to one man ’ (8.46) / (swa he ...) & þurh his agene dæde geearnad ‘ and (as he) earns through his own deeds ’ (14.29)

V-A1 swa we magon us geearnian her ... swa ecces lifes swa eces deapes ‘ as we can earn for ourselves here, either eternal life or eternal death ’ (4.91)

V-A2 (0)

V-A3 swa men sculon to hiera hlaforde ‘ as men should (hold) to their Lord ’ (10.180) / swa swiðe swa ða bion dod to hira hife ‘ as much as bees do to their hive ’ (Latin *quod uos uelut apes prudentissimas ad aluearium suum uoluntariae* (S1)) (19.78)

Of the total instances, 51 (86%) show the A-V order, and 8 (14%) V-A. The predominance of A-V is relevant to a strong verb-final tendency among these examples, of which 96% are verb-final. All of the clauses with V-A contain adverbials of heavy weight with the exception of 4.91 above where a light adverbial *her* follows both finite and non-finite verbs. It may be of interest to mention here that



Förster (1932: 82, l. 102) prints this passage as *swa we magon us ge-earnian her þa hwile ... swa swa ecces lifes swa eces deapæs* where he reads another adverbial after *her*, which is in sharp contrast to Scragg (1992: 94) who reads *þa hwile* as introducing another clause of time together with *þe* immediately following it (4.92 *þa hwile þe we on þysse worulde bið* ‘while we are in this world’). Förster’s reading would create the pattern V-A-A, avoiding the V-A1 order which is otherwise unattested in *VH* (and rare in *Ælfric* as well since Davis (1997: 186) found only one such example). Here, I prefer to consider Scragg’s reading as standard (the collocation *þa hwile þe* sounds only natural) and list this passage as the sole example with the pattern V-A1 in clauses of comparison.

#### The order of two adverbials and finite verb

Examples and figures are:

A-A-V (13) *þonne hio æfre ær scine* ‘than it ever shone before’ (6.39) / *swylce him hwa on worlde wid gewyrceð* ‘as anyone in the world works against him’ (14.102)

A-V-A (7) *swa he him ær sæde be heofena rices wuldre* ‘just as he told him earlier about the glory of the heavenly kingdom’ (9.183) / *þonne he yfele lybbe mid synnum* ‘than (that) he would live wickedly with sins’ (Latin *quam male uiuere* (S1)) (22.56)

V-A-A (1) *þænne he scyle æfter þam bendum þæs freodomes ceapian* ‘than he must buy this freedom afterwards with bonds’ (Latin *quam post uincula libertatem quaerere* (S1)) (14.51)

Of the total 21 clauses, thirteen (62%) have the order A-A-V, seven (33%) A-V-A, and one (5%) V-A-A. The verb-final tendency is strong among those with A-A-V,

representing 85% of instances (11 of 13). Two adverbials are grouped together as a cluster in ten of the fourteen examples with A-A-V/V-A-A (71% of instances with the two patterns).

#### The order of three or more adverbials and finite verb

This category is represented by four clauses. The complete set of examples and figures is:

V-A-A-A (1) þonne he scamige eft on domes dæge beforan Gode sylfum & beforan his englum & beforan eallum þam heofencundan weorode ‘ than he would afterwards feel shame on Judgement Day in the presence of God Himself, His angels, and all the heavenly host ’ (8.12)

A-V-A-A (0)

A-A-V-A (0)

A-A-A-V (3) swa he nu her on worulde geearnigan wile ‘ just as he now here in the world will earn ’ (13.43) / swa he ær her on worlde geearnad ‘ as he previously here in the world has earned ’ (14.169) / swa mycle mare swa man mare for his lufum to gode geded ‘ as much more as one acts more for good for His love ’ (19.170)

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. Yet, 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 (8.12 above), the verb *scamige*, which is absent - presumably omitted - in the Vercelli Codex, is supplied by Scragg in this position based on the evidence from other manuscripts.

## Clause patterns

Examples and figures are:

Verb-final (113) swa we her nænig eðel ne habbað ‘just as if we have here no homeland’ (Latin *ac sic in hoc saeculo patriam non habemus* (S1)) (11.48) / efne in þam gelicnesse swa ða gesceafta twa him betweenan feohtan sceoldon ‘just as if the two creatures were to fight with each other’ (Latin *ut compugnantium inter se elementorum quidam conflictus uideretur* (S1)) (18.164)

Non-verb-final (38) þonne we lufigen urne dryhten mid ealle mode, & mid ealle mægene, & of eallum urum ingehiedum ‘than we love our Lord with all (our) mind and with all (our) virtue and above all with all our understanding’ (10.246) / swylce he wære þam sweartestum wolcnum afylled swiðra genipa ‘as if it were filled with the blackest clouds of immense darkness’ (Latin *fuscis atrarum nubium caliginibus nigrescere* (*uidebatur*)) (23.118)

The verb-final order accounts for 75% of instances in *VH*. In non-verb-final examples, the final position is taken most frequently by adverbials (37%), followed by direct objects (29%) and complements (16%), 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 4.345 swa us oft beboden is ‘as is often commanded to us’ and 19.168 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 17.5 swa swa hit awriten is in dryhtnes naman þæt ... ‘just as it is written in the Lord’s name that ...’ (Latin *sicut scriptum est in lege domini quia ...*

(SA1)) and 17.9 *swa hit be þan awriten is in dryhtnes naman þæt ...* ‘ just as it is written about it in the Lord’s name that ... ’ (Latin *secundum quod dictum est in lege domini* (SA1)).

## Summary

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.

### 3.3.6 Clauses of Concession

*VH* have 82 clauses that belong to this clause category. All the examples have *þeah* (*þe*) as the introductory conjunction, where ‘ [t]he prevailing mood is the subjunctive, whether the concession is one of fact or hypothesis ’ (*Guide* §178). 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 39 clauses of concession, representing nearly a half of the total instances.

#### The order of subject and simple verb

There are 54 clauses in this category. The distribution is presented below in tabular form:

	S1	S2	S3	Total
S-V	23	16	12	51
V-S	0	0	3	3
Total	23	16	15	54

Examples are:

S1-V (Peah ...) & we in wuldre scinan swide ‘ and (though) we shine exceedingly in glory ’ (Latin *Quamuis quis in saeculi gloria fulgeat* (M1)) (10.221) / þeah þe hie swigien ‘ although they are silent ’ (13.34)

S2-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’ (4.19) / þeah se man astige ofer þone yfemystan dæl þæs hyhstan holtes ‘ though the man may ascend above the highest part of the highest forest ’ (9.45)

S3-V Ond þeah ure hwylc wid oderne gegylte on worde odde on worce ‘ and though any of us would sin against another in word or in deed ’ (2.79) / & þeah .vii. men sien ‘ and though (there) would be seven men ’ (9.108)

V-S1/2 (0)

V-S3 (Peah ...) & him þonne ne sie ofer eorðan nænig widerbreca ‘ and (though) then (there) would be no opponent of him over the earth ’ (9.192) / Þeah þe in me þurhwunode idelnes & fyrenlust ‘ Although idleness and wicked desire remained continuously within me ’ (Latin *Si in me permansit uanitas* (S1)) (13.29)

The pattern S-V prevails in *VH*, accounting for 94% of instances. It seems significant that *VH* have three examples with V-S, of which Davis (1997: 251) has

found no examples in *CH* or *SH*. Two of the V-S instances are listed above, and the remaining one is 9.195 (*peah ...*) & *him þonne sy singal sumor butan ælcra onwendenednesse* ‘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 13.29, and the two instances from Homily IX (9.192 and 9.195) are both existential sentences without expletive *þær*.

### The order of subject and complex verb

Examples and figures are:

S1-v-V (4) (*peah ...*) & *he mote alybban butan sare* ‘and (though) he may live eternally without sorrow’ (9.196) / *peah hio sie utalædedu* ‘though she would be led out’ (22.116)

S2-v-V (2) (*Peah ...*) & *se man mote sittan swa dyre swa cynebearn ofer ðam gylden an more* ‘and (though) the man may sit as magnificently as a son of a king above the golden mountain’ (9.186) / & *peah þe se lichoma wære mid þære untrumnesse swa swide geswenced* ‘and though the body was greatly afflicted with the sickness’ (Latin *fatiscentes* (S1)) (18.276)

S3-v-V (1) & *þeah þa strengestan & þa ricestan hatan him reste gewyrcean of marmanstane ...* ‘and though the strongest and the richest order to be built for themselves beds of marble ...’ (10.224)

S1-V-v (4) *þeah hie on ælcere tide forbodene syn* ‘though they are forbidden at every time’ (19.89) / *þeah we þearle wið God ælmihtigne agylt hæbben* ‘though we have sinned greatly against God Almighty’ (21.232)

S2/3-V-v (0)

v-S1-V (0)

v-S2-V (1) (& deah ...) & to æghwylcum þæra byligea wære man geset  
‘and (though) one was set to each of the bellows’ (9.155)

v-S3-V (6) þeah him syndon ealle wuldordreamas to gelædde ‘though all the  
joys of heaven have been brought to him’ (9.88) / (Þeah ...) & him sie eal  
middangeard on geweald geseald ‘and (though) all the world would be given  
into his power’ (9.188)

V-S-v (0)

V-v-S (0)

v-V-S (0)

Of the total 18 instances, the subject precedes the whole of the complex verb in 11 (61%). *VH* again differ from *CH* and *SH* in having clauses with any other pattern (cf. Davis 1997: 251), viz. seven examples of v-S-V. All the subjects here are of heavy weight (except for 9.155 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 1992: 151).

#### The order of direct object and simple verb

*VH* have 30 clauses that contain the two elements. The distribution is shown below:

	O1	O2	O3	Total
O-V	8	5	5	18
V-O	1	1	10	12
Total	9	6	15	30

Examples are:

O1-V & þeah hine ælc tor gesece ‘ and though each towering wave will seek him ’ (9.129) / Þeah ðe me fyrenlust gewemde ‘ Although wicked desire defiled me ’ (Latin *si me luxuria corrupit* (S1)) (13.30)

O2-V þeah þe he his freondspedum treowige ‘ although he trusts in his wealth of friends ’ (14.50) / & þeah þe heora hwylc þone fisc forswulge ‘ and though each of them swallowed up the fish ’ (Latin *et rapacem* (S1)) (18.232)

O3-V þeah we heo ealle ær geworhton ‘ though we performed them all earlier ’ (9.139) / Þeah we þysse worulde glenga tiligen swide ‘ Although we strive mightily for the adornment of this world ’ (10.220)

V-O1 (& ðeah man ...) & utan embsette hine þonne ealne mid byligeon ‘ and (though one) might then surround it all with bellows on the outside ’ (9.154)

V-O2 (Þeah ...) & sio hæbbe Iunone wlite, Saturnes dohtor ‘ and (though) she might have the beauty of Juno, daughter of Saturn ’ (9.190)

V-O3 (þeah ...) & þara heafdu ælc hæbbe siofon tungan ‘ and (though) each of those heads has seven tongues ’ (9.111) / þeah ðe he wiste þæt ... ‘ though he knew that ... ’ (Latin *licet ... non ignorasset* (S1)) (18.228)

Of the total 30 instances, the O-V has 18 instances (60%) and V-O 12 (40%). 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 18.228 above) are found in Homily IX, and that the O-V order is used more widely in other homilies. (11 of the total 12 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 -



13 instances of O-V versus one instance of V-O (18.228). 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 (& ðeah man ...) & heora æghwylc oðres æthrinan mihte ‘and (though one) could touch each of their others’ (9.155) / þeah he þusend synna ongean his willan geworht hæbbe ‘though he has performed a thousand sins against His will’ (19.86)

v-O-V & þeah þa strengestan & þa ricestan hatan him reste gewyrcean of marmanstane ... ‘and though the strongest and the richest order to be built for themselves beds of marble ...’ (10.224)

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 (Z1-O2).

#### The order of indirect object and simple verb

The sole example of this category is 10.3 *Þeah 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.

### 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 10.3 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:

C1-V (0)

C2-V (2) þeah þe hit unyde sie ‘ although it would be hard ’ (11.40) / þeah

symle þær we ænlype beon ‘ though we will always be alone there ’ (21.152)

C3-V (1) Ac þeah ðe hwa eallra manna wisost sie ‘ But, even though someone would be the wisest of all men ’ (7.108)

V-C1 (0)

V-C2 (2) (þeah ...) & ælc stan sy gylden ‘ and (though) each stone would be golden ’ (9.191) / þeah ðe seo gesceaft ne sie gelic to metenne wid þam scippende ‘ Though the creation may not be so similar as to be measured with the Creator ’ (16.149)

V-C3 (4) Witodlice, þeah þe hwa sie synfull & arleas ‘ Indeed, although one would be sinful and impious ’ (Latin *Quamuis igitur quisque sit peccator et impius* (S1)) (3.59) / þeah þe se man sie on oðrum lande feor fram us ‘ Although the man would be in another land far from us ’ (Latin *quamuis longe*

*positum longeque disiunctum* (S1)) (14.115)

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 (9.185, 9.191, and 9.192).

#### 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* (S1)) (18.28)

(deah he ...) & eac for worlde ricra beon sceolde ‘ and (though he) had to be more powerful before the world ’ (18.143)

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 (18.28 ... *beon sceolde*) with a complement of medium weight *ricra* preceding it.

#### The order of single adverbial and finite verb

In *VH*, there are 21 clauses that contain the two elements. The distribution is illustrated in the following table:

	A1	A2	A3	Total
A-V	4	4	3	11
V-A	1	2	7	10
Total	5	6	10	21

Examples are:

A1-V (Þeah ...) & ealle þa streamas hunige flowen ‘ and (though) all the streams would flow with honey ’ (9.191) / & þeah þe him syn ealle sundercræftas & wuldorsangas in gesamnode ‘ and though in him all special skills and beautiful melodies are gathered ’ (9.192)

A2-V þeah þe he fram deaþe arise ‘ although He arose from death ’ (Latin *reparat* (S1)) (14.71) / deah he for ðæm deaþe ne forhtode ‘ though he therefore did not fear death ’ (Latin *nec mori timuerit* (S1)) (18.269)

A3-V (& deah ...) & to æghwylcum þæra byligea wære man geset ‘ and (though) one was set to each of the bellows ’ (9.155) / þeah he þusend synna ongean his willan geworht hæbbe ‘ though he has performed a thousand sins against His will ’ (19.86)

V-A1 Þeah we þysse worulde glenga tiligen swide ‘ Although we strive mightily for the adornment of this world ’ (10.220)

V-A2 (þeah ...) & ðæra æghwylc hæfde ænne hamor on handa ‘ and (though) each of them had a hammer in hand ’ (9.159) / (þeah ...) & he mote alybban butan sare ‘and (though) he may live eternally without sorrow’ (9.196)

V-A3 þeah se man eardige in middum burgum & on midre his mægðe & betweox hundteontegum þusenda manna ‘ though the man may dwell in the middle of towns and in the midst of his family and among a hundred thousand

men ' (9.48) / & þeah we us scyrpen mid þam readdestan godewebbe ' and though we dress ourselves with the finest purple silk ' (Latin *quamuis purpura auroque resplendeat* (M1)) (10.221)

Of the total 21 instances, 11 (52%) have A-V and 10 (48%) 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 70% (7 of 10) of them are placed postverbally (V-A3).

#### The order of two adverbials and finite verb

Examples and figures are:

A-A-V (10) (þeah we ...) & mid þam diorwyrðan gimstanum utan ymbhon 'and (though we) deck (ourselves) out with precious stones' (10.223) / deah þe he ða him to cwome ' though He then came to him ' (16.25)

A-V-A (8) (þeah ...) and þonne sy þara seofon manna æghwylc to alife gesceapen ' and (though) then each of these seven men would be created for eternal life ' (9.110) / & þeah ure hwylc wið oðerne agylte, oððe on worde oððe o worce ' And though each of us sins against another, either in word or in deed ' (21.229)

V-A-A (5) & þeah hit wære eall mid mannum afylled ' and though it was all filled with men ' (9.158) / & þeah man bleowe mid eallum þam byligeon ' and though one might blow with all the bellows ' (9.160)

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 (80%), and two adverbials are placed together as a group in 93% of

the A-A-V/V-A-A examples (14 of 15).

#### 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 (1) 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 ’ (4.19)

A-V-A-A (4) (þeah ...) & him sy ælce niht niwe bryd to bedde gelæd ‘ and (though) on each night a new bride would be brought to his bed ’ (9.189) / & þeah ðe he þa gyt ne wære fulllice 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* (S1)) (18.32)

A-A-V-A (1) þeah he her on life lifige þusend wintra ‘ though he should live here in life a thousand winters ’ (10.260)

A-A-A-V (0)

It seems noteworthy that there are no verb-final (or A-A-A-V) examples in *VH*. 4.19 above is the only example where three adverbials are placed as a group.

#### Clause patterns

Examples and figures are:

Verb-final (32) & ðeah man þone garsecg mid isene utan ymbtynde ‘ and though one might surround the ocean with iron on the outside ’ (9.152) / þeah þe he ealne middangeard on his anes æht eal gestrýne ‘ though he would entirely

amass the whole world into his own possession ' (Latin *si mundum uniuersum lucretur* (S1)) (10.258)

Non-verb-final (48) (þeah we ...) & gefrætewigen mid ðam biorhtestan golde 'and (though we) adorn (ourselves) with the brightest gold' (10.222) / þeah us wel byses earman gewitendlican lifes welan licien ' though the wealth of this poor, transitory life may please us exceedingly well ' (20.181)

Verb-final clauses represent 40% of instances. In non-verb-final clauses, the final position is taken most frequently by adverbials (46%), followed by direct objects (19%), almost all of which are of medium or heavy weight.

### Impersonals

There are two clauses with impersonals, which are: 2.104 *þeah þæt gelimpe þæt ...* 'though it befits (us) that ...' and 18.270 (*ðeah he ...*) *ah hine ðæs heardost langode* ' but (though he) yearned for it the hardest ' (Latin *nec uiuere recusarit* (S1)).

### Summary

The subject most often precedes the verb, and it is striking that nine of the ten V-S examples are found in Homily IX. This homily also stands out in the ordering of direct objects by supplying 11 of the 13 instances with V-O, with due consideration of which it may be observed that the direct objects prefer the preverbal position. There is only one clause with an indirect object, in which it precedes the finite verb. The complement is often placed postverbally, especially when it is of heavy weight. The position of adverbials is relatively free, though those of light weight tend to precede the finite verb.

### 3.3.7 Clauses of Condition

*VH* have 127 clauses that belong to this category. The following introductory conjunctions are used: *gif*, *butan*, *nymþe*, and *þær*. There is also one clause in which the condition is expressed by the element order V-S (see below; cf. *Guide* §179.7).

#### The order of subject and simple verb

There are 69 clauses in this category. The S-V order is used 67 times, accounting for 97% of instances. Examples and figures are:

S1-V (57) *Gif ic unteala dyde* ‘If I did wrong’ (Latin *Si male locutus sum* (S1)) (1.43) / & *gif hie arfæstlice healdad* ‘and if they guard piously’ (Latin *Dumque ipsi pie super gregem uigilant* (S1)) (5.155)

S2-V (5) *gif eft þæt dioful genimed þa sawle* ‘if the devil snatches the soul afterwards’ (Latin *animæ uero suae detrimentum patiatur* (S1)) (10.259) / *butan hit þæt mod wille* ‘unless that mind desires it’ (Latin *nisi quod uoluerit animus* (S1)) (22.155)

S3-V (5) *For þan gif hwylc man bið on helle ane niht* ‘Therefore, if any man is in hell one night’ (9.122) / *gif he sylf ær her on worlde his sawle hælo agymeleasad* ‘if he himself earlier here in the world neglects the salvation of his soul’ (Latin *qui hic uiuendo obtinuerunt* (S1)) (14.45)

There are only two clauses with the V-S order, which are:

*Wære hit* ‘If it were (from this place)’ (Latin *si ex hoc mundo esset regnum meum* (S1)) (1.108) / *Gif ðær þænne bið þara misdædena ma & þæs godes to lyt* ‘If more of those misdeeds and too few of good (deeds) will be there



then ' (Latin *siue bonum siue malum ...* (M1)) (10.63)

In the former, the element order V-S is used to denote its conditional clause status, and this is apparent in the Latin *si*. In the latter, the postverbal position of the subject may in part be explicable in terms of its heavy weight. Here, one may point out the possibility of reading *ðær* as an expletive subject - the clause would then be parsed as S1-A1-V-C3 ('If there will then be ...'). However, as I noted in Chapter 1, I have been careful to avoid being 'over-anxious to detect examples' (Mitchell 1990: 182) of introductory *ðær*; I read *ðær* in this passage as a local adverbial (not a mere 'dummy' subject) functioning as a complement, thus parsing the whole clause as C1-A1-V-S3.

#### The order of subject and complex verb

The sample in *VH* consists of 38 clauses, of which 24 (63%) show S-V-v and 14 (37%) S-v-V. Thus, the subject invariably precedes the whole of the complex verb. Examples and figures are:

S1-v-V (12) gif ge nu bioð geswencte 'if you are now afflicted' (7.11) /

Gif we wilnigan rixian mid Criste 'If we wish to reign with Christ' (12.62)

S2-v-V (1) gif usse heortan bioð gefyllede mid godum willan 'if our heart will be filled with the will of God' (Latin *si fuerit arca cordis repleta bona uoluntate* (S2)) (5.182)

S3-v-V (1) butan hwæs heorte sie mid diofles stræle þurhwrecen 'unless the heart of someone be pierced with an arrow of the devil' (9.118)

S1-V-v (24) gif he to hreowsunga gecyrran wille 'if one wished to turn to repentance' (Latin *si ad poenitentiam conuertatur* (S1)) (3.60) / butan we swican willan 'unless we wish to give up' (21.31)

S2/3-V-v (0)

v-S-V (0)

v-V-S (0)

V-S-v (0)

V-v-S (0)

### The order of direct object and simple verb

*VH* have 53 clauses that contain the two elements, of which 41 (77%) have O-V and 12 (23%) V-O. The distribution is shown below:

	O1	O2	O3	Total
O-V	10	21	10	41
V-O	0	3	9	12
Total	10	24	19	53

Examples are:

O1-V    *gyf he hys bedorfte* ‘if he needed it’ (21.42) / *odde gif he þæt nolde* ‘or if he refused it’ (23.109)

O2-V    (*Gif ic ...*) & *soð sægde* ‘and (if I) told the truth’ (1.44) / *nimde we ura synna andetten* ‘unless we confess our sins’ (Latin *nisi confiteamur peccata nostra* (S1)) (3.39)

O3-V    *gif ðu ænige treowa hæfdest* ‘if you had any faith’ (4.279) / (*gif hio ...*) & *ælce gitsunge afyrreð* ‘and (if it) removes each avarice’ (7.2)

V-O1 (0)

V-O2    *gif we symle habbaþ þone geþanc* ‘if we always have the thought’

(4.335) / gif ðu me sealde þines awiht ‘if you gave to me anything of yours’  
(10.183)

V-O3 (& gif hie ...) & wel læraþ þæt geleaffulle Godes folc ‘and (if they)  
teach the faithful people of God properly’ (5.155) / Gif du wene þæt ... ‘If  
you think that ...’ (10.170)

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:

O1-v-V (1) (Gif ðu ...) & hine ne hætst cwellan ‘and (if you) do not  
command (someone) to kill Him’ (1.182)

O2-v-V (0)

O3-v-V (1) gif ðu sylf þe nelt alysan ‘if you do not wish to redeem  
yourself’ (22.23)

O1-V-v (5) butan he hine cwellan hete ‘unless he commanded (someone) to  
kill Him’ (1.186) / gif we hit geearnian willaþ ‘if we wish to earn it’ (2.87)

O2-V-v (4) buton he ær his gast mid godum weorcum gefrætewod hæfde  
‘unless he earlier had adorned his spirit with good deeds’ (9.75) / & gif we  
dædbote don willaþ urra misfenga ‘and if we wish to do penance for our  
misdeeds’ (Latin *si poenitentiam agimus*) (21.122)

O3-V-v (5) gif we þonne þæt gastlice gerene mid rihte geleafan & mid godum  
dædum healdan & lufian willað ‘if we are then willing to hold and love the  
mystery spiritually, with true faith and with good deeds’ (16.110) / gif he

þylcum bysenum & þylcum larum fylgean nelle ‘ if he does not wish to follow all these examples and such teachings ’ (19.169)

v-O1-V (0)

v-O2-V (2) gif hie willað eadmodlice Gode þeowigan & hyran ‘ if they wish to serve and obey God humbly ’ (9.212) / gif we nellað of ure heortan ða inccan alætan ðam mannum ‘ 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* (S1)) (14.130)

v-O3-V (1) gif we a willað þone uplican edel secan ‘ if we always wish to seek that celestial homeland ’ (21.133)

v-V-O1/2 (0)

v-V-O3 (1) Gif we woldon gesceawian us sylfe on ure heortan ‘ If we would examine ourselves in our hearts ’ (Latin *examina te, (loquatur tibi cor tuum)* (S1)) (22.100)

V-v-O1/2 (0)

V-v-O3 (1) gif he findan mæg hwær ... ‘ if he may find where ... ’ (4.318)

V-O-v (0)

Of the total 21 clauses, the direct object precedes the whole of the complex verb in 16 instances (77%). 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

order. Examples are:

gif ðu me sealde þines awiht ‘ if you gave to me anything of yours ’ (10.183) /  
(gif we ...) & him drinc gesyllað ‘ and (if we) give drink to them ’ (Latin *si sitientes potamus*) (21.123)

Indirect objects are of light weight in all but one example, which is 7.75 *Gif ðu þa 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 (it) would be given to you from above ’ (Latin *nisi tibi esset datum desuper* (S1)) (1.177)

I-V-v *gif we us selfe ærest Gode ælmyhtigum onseccan willað* ‘ if we first wish to sacrifice ourselves to Almighty God ’ (Latin *cum nos ipsos hostiam fecerit* (M1)) (14.92)

v-I-V & *witodlice gif hie beoð him brohte fram us* ‘ and indeed if they are brought to Him by us ’ (Latin *quae illi quidem offeruntur*) (21.106)

v-V-I *gif we nellað of ure heortan ða 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* (S1)) (14.130)

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 (1.177 and 14.92); in 21.106, the Latin verb *offeruntur* ‘(they) are brought (before)’ is paraphrased into *beoð ... brohte* and the light indirect object *him* is placed between them; and in 14.130, the indirect object *ðam mannum* is placed in final position presumably to allow its explanatory (adjectival) clause to follow immediately after it (14.131 *þe wið us agyltað* ‘who sin against us’).

#### 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 ðu þa ilcan olectunge þam lichoman dest ‘If you do the same flatteries to the body’ (7.75) / (gif ...) oðþe hie de cnyssende fyrwetgyrnesse lære ‘or (if) pulsating lust would suggest itself to you’ (Latin *si adhuc libidinis suggestione pulsaris* (S1)) (22.168)

I-O & ealles swidost gif hio hyre gymeleste framadrifed ‘and most of all if it drives out neglect from it’ (7.1) / Gif ic eow opres ðinges bysene onstelle ‘If I establish for you an example of another thing’ (Latin *ego si aliud uobis exemplum relinquo* (S1)) (18.283)

As Davis (1997: 268) 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 7.75 above where a direct object of heavy weight *þa ilcan olectunge* precedes an indirect object of medium weight *þam lichoman*.

The order of complement and simple verb

*VH* have 11 clauses that contain the two elements. Of those, seven have the order V-C and four C-V. Examples are:

C1-V (0)

C2-V    Þær de þis God ne wære ‘ If this were not God ’ (Latin *Nisi hic Deus esset deorum nostrorum* (S1)) (6.78) / Gif ðu strang sy ‘If you are strong’ (Latin *si uales* (S1)) (10.173)

C3-V    gif hit þin willa swiþor bið ‘ if it is more your will ’ (18.265)

V-C1 (0)

V-C2    elcor nymðe hit is se weg ‘ except it is the way ’ (14.27) / nymþe sio heorte sie clæne fram ælcum nide & 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* (S1)) (14.103)

V-C3    Gif he nære synnig & forworht ‘If he were not sinful and wicked’ (Latin *Si non esset hic malefactor* (S1)) (1.91) / Gyf ænig mann wære ane niht on helle ‘ If anyone is in hell for one night ’ (9.151)

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.

## The order of single adverbial and finite verb

In *VH*, there are 48 clauses that contain the two elements. The distribution is illustrated in the following table:

	A1	A2	A3	Total
A-V	21	6	4	31
V-A	3	4	10	17
Total	24	10	14	48

Examples are:

A1-V    Gif ic teala cwæð ‘ If I spoke well ’(Latin *si autem bene* (S1)) (1.44) /

Gif we ðus don willað ‘ If we wish to do thus ’ (12.79)

A2-V    butan hie mid rihte reccen ‘ unless they decide properly ’ (10.237) /

butan hie to Gode gecyrran woldon ‘ unless they wished to turn to God ’ (Latin *si non relinqueret prauitatem suam* (S1)) (19.144)

A3-V    (gif hio ...) & þæt mod to Godes lufan gehwyrfeð ‘ and (if it) turns the heart to the love of God ’ (7.3) / nymþe we sybbe & lufe be us tweonum healden ‘ unless we hold peace and love among us ’ (14.114)

V-A1    nymþe þe sie ufan geseald ‘ unless (it) would be given to you from above ’ (Latin *nisi tibi esset datum desuper* (S1)) (1.177) / gif we willað swa don ‘ if we wish to do so ’ (16.97)

V-A2    Gyf ænig mann wære ane niht on helle ‘ If anyone is in hell for one night ’ (9.151) / Gif we wilnigan rixian mid Criste ‘ If we wish to reign with Christ ’ (12.62)

V-A3    gif ðu genimst on hwylcum orcearde & on windigre stowe hwylc treow



‘if you take a certain tree in some garden and in a windy place’ (7.60) / gif we hit gearnian willað mid urum godum dædum ‘ if we wish to merit it with our good deeds ’ (9.14)

The order A-V consists 65% of instances (31 of 48), and V-A 35% (17 of 48). It may be generally observed that light adverbials prefer the prevocal position (21 of 24, or 88%) while those of heavy weight prefer the postverbal position (10 of 14, or 71%).

#### The order of two adverbials and finite verb

Examples and figures are:

A-A-V (13) butan he her hwæthwuga to gode gedo ‘ unless he does something for good here ’ (4.9) / Gif we þænne swa don wyllað ‘ If we then wish to do so ’ (9.226)

A-V-A (2) (Gyf ...) & he eft wære æfter þam ofalædd ‘ and (if) he is led away again after that ’ (9.152) / gif he æfter his deaþe bið læded on helle ‘ if he is led into hell after his death ’ (10.260)

V-A-A (1) & þonne gif he wære ær ane niht on heofona rices wuldre ‘ and then if he was formerly in the glory of heaven’s kingdom for one night ’ (9.196)

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 (AA).

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 (0)

A-V-A-A (2) Men þa liofestan, gif we nu willað on þysse worulde teala don  
'Dearly beloved, if we now wish to do well in this world' (8.95) / & gif we  
mid ures 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 ' (13.12)

A-A-V-A (0)

A-A-A-V (5) 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'  
(20.187) / Gif we hine soðfæstlice mid eadmettum ealling lufiað ' If we truly  
love Him completely with humility ' (21.135)

All of the A-A-A-V examples are verb-final, and they include one clause with four  
adverbials (A-A-A-A-V): 1.296 *gif he nu her on worulde soð & 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 dæda wana, on domes dæge  
beforan Gode ' if she stands alone, wanting in all good deeds, on the  
judgement day before God ' (4.68)

A-A-V-A-A (gif he ...) & þær on witum wunaþ a butan ende ' and (if he)  
abides there in torments forever without end ' (10.261)

## Clause patterns

Examples and figures are:

Verb-final (78) gif he þonne ða fulwihhte mid godum dædum healdan wille ‘ if he then wishes to keep that baptism with good deeds ’ (16.22) / gif we his willan her on worulde oð urne endedæg gewyrcaþ ‘ if we work His will here in the world until our last day ’ (19.172)

Non-verb-final (44) 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 ’ (4.68) / gyf we toforan asettaþ ða heofonlican þing eallum eordlicum þingum ‘ if we set the heavenly things before all earthly things ’ (Latin *si terrenis rebus caelestia preponamus*) (21.85)

Verb-final clauses represent 64% of instances. In non-verb-final clauses, the final position is taken most frequently by adverbials (32%), followed by direct objects (27%) and complements (11%), 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* clause’:

Gif þæt þonne bið þæt we willað wyrcean his willan & on his lufe þurhwunian ‘If it is, then, that we wish to do His will ...’ (9.18) / Þær þæt, la, gewiordān meahte þæt ... ‘ Lo, if it might come to pass that ... ’ (13.21)

## 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.

### 3.4 Summary of Chapter 3

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:

	Verb-final		Non-verb-final	
Nominal	337	44%	426	56%
Adjectival	534	63%	308	37%
Place	8	80%	2	20%
Time	191	65%	102	35%
Consequence	111	47%	125	53%
Cause	62	28%	163	72%
Comparison	113	75%	38	25%
Concession	32	40%	48	60%
Condition	78	64%	44	36%
Total	1466	54%	1256	46%

It is indeed difficult to analyse these varied figures (cf. Davis 1997: 277), 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 (1997: 276) show that clauses of cause similarly exhibit the lowest verb-final frequency (28% in *VH*) in both *CH* (19%) and *SH* (23%).

The table below indicates the occurrence of selected patterns in three major clause types:

	S-V	V-S	O-V	V-O	I-V	V-I	C-V	V-C
Nominal	652	34	243	134	45	15	47	78
Adjectival	302	19	189	50	70	9	74	83
Adverbial	967	50	341	196	58	17	65	89
Total	1921	103	773	380	173	41	186	250

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 ‘ [d]ifferences between the three main divisions of dependent clauses, nominal, adjectival and adverbial, are pronounced ’ (Davis 1997: 275). Unfortunately, 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:

	S-V	V-S	O-V	V-O	I-V	V-I	C-V	V-C
Place	10	0	2	1	0	0	0	0
Time	261	3	110	35	9	5	19	14
Consequence	210	5	80	58	13	3	15	16
Cause	186	28	39	57	11	6	19	40
Comparison	133	2	33	15	15	1	5	6
Concession	62	10	20	13	1	0	3	6
Condition	105	2	57	17	9	2	4	7
Total	967	50	341	196	58	17	65	89

Noteworthy in the table are: (1) clauses of cause have more instances of postverbal direct objects (V-O) than those with preverbal ones; (2) 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 (cf. Chapter 1) 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.

## 4.1 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 1.

### The finite verb

The position of the finite verb (in both simple and complex verb phrases) is summarized in the table below:

	A	B	C	D
Initial	16%	10%	10%	2%
Second	51%	47%	36%	25%
Medial	14%	30%	20%	19%
Final	19%	13%	35%	54%

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 (51% and 47%) 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:<sup>1</sup>

	A	B	C	D	Total
v-V	133	220	209	433	995
vV	46	69	88	174	377
v...V	87	151	121	259	618
V-v	3	6	34	316	359
Vv	3	6	33	316	358
V...v	0	0	1	0	1
Total	136	226	243	749	1354
% of V-v	2%	3%	14%	42%	27%

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 90% 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 22.74 & *wepan he sceal & hreowsian* ‘and he must weep and repent’ (Latin *uita ista a fletibus inchoat* (S1)) where the Old English might be presumed to follow the Latin somewhat loosely.<sup>2</sup> Also noteworthy is the

<sup>1</sup> It should be noted that both vV and Vv include instances where the negative particle *ne* (n) intervenes the two elements, namely vnV and Vnv.

<sup>2</sup> I have excluded two dubious examples with V...v (1.278 and 16.88). See Hiyama (2004) for more details.

presence of nine clauses with Vv in Types A and B, which are:

him næfre þær þurst aceled bið þære helle þrosmes ‘ for them never will thirst be  
cooled off there in the smoke of hell ’ (4.41) / He us gelifæste hæfd on þyssum  
middangearde ‘ He has given life to us in this world ’ (4.89) / hwylcne dom  
him dryhten deman wille be ðam dome ‘ the Lord will judge each judgement for  
them according to the law ’ (4.195) / nu þine yrfewearðas leng lyfian ne moton  
‘now your heirs cannot live longer’ (10.194) / swa we him mærlýcor þancian  
sculon ‘ so we must thank Him more splendidly ’ (10.203) / Nænig man oderne  
æfter deade getreowlice onlýsan mæg ‘ No one may truly release another after  
death ’ (14.45) / 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 ’ (16.114) / þyder his modgeþanc a geseted  
wæs ‘ his mind was always fixed to that place ’ (18.285) / þyder he feran sceal  
‘it must travel to that place’ (18.290)

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 10.194, *swa* in 10.203, *for þan* in 16.114, and *þyder* in 18.285 and 18.290. However, I stand by my interpretations above since I consider that they are more in keeping with the context; cf. *OES* §§1885 and 3915.

Also included in the figures above are 39 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:

	A	B	C	D	Total
v-V-P	6	3	3	17	29
v-P-V	1	1	0	3	5
V-v-P	0	0	0	1	1
V-P-v	0	0	0	0	0
P-v-V	0	0	0	3	3
P-V-v	0	0	1	0	1
Total	7	4	4	24	39

Examples are:

v-V-P Sceolde se witedom beon gefylled ‘The prophecy should be fulfilled’ (Latin *Ut scriptura impleatur* (M1a)) (1.219) / þæt þurh Cristes lare mancynn sceolde bion underþeoded anes Godes hyrnesse ‘that through (the teaching of) Christ, mankind was destined to be subjected to the obedience of one God’ (Latin *Sic et nunc in Christi doctrina humanum genus ad unius Dei cultum redigitur* (S1)) (5.73)

v-P-V þæt sceal swa awriten bion ‘that will be written so’ (Latin *scripsi* (M1)) (1.213) / butan þara sumon ne mæg ænig man uneadlice gemet bion ‘(there) may be scarcely found anyone without them’ (Latin *sine quibus uix ullus inueniri potest* (S1)) (3.19)

V-v-P þæt hie æfre lætan sculon þæt deapberende 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’ (2.28)

V-P-v (0)

P-v-V þæt on his rice acenned wolde bion se ædeling ‘that the prince would be born in his kingdom’ (Latin *quia in eius tempore nasceretur is cuius potestas*

(M2)) (5.62) / *dæt ure dryhten gefulwad wolde bion* ‘ that our Lord wished to be baptized ’ (16.3)

P-V-v & *we him underþyðde bion sculon* ‘and we must be subjected to him’ (4.89)

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 90% of instances (35 of 39). As for those with P-v, three of the four clauses are listed above, and the remaining example is 22.48 (*Wa la þæt ic æfre swa ungesæligo geboren sceolde weorðan* ‘ (Woe,) that I ever had to be born so unfortunate ’ (Latin *Cur infelix natus sum?* (S1)) where the Latin *sum* is rendered as the Old English *sceolde weorðan*.

#### Position of the impersonal expression

The table below indicates the position of impersonals in the four clause types:

	A	B	C	D
Initial	50%	11%	6%	5%
Second	41%	47%	54%	44%
Medial	8%	37%	31%	27%
Final	2%	4%	9%	25%

Comparison with the positioning of ‘ ordinary ’ verbs is not easy since impersonals involve both simple (like *me þuhte*) and complex (like *hit is awriten*) verb phrases.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For more details on the description of impersonals, see Chapter 1.

However, the high frequency of initial impersonals (50%) in Type A is remarkable in view of the unremarkable frequency (16%) 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 (S) with respect to the finite verb (V) in the four clause types:<sup>1</sup>

	A	B	C	D	Total
S-V	562	298	687	1942	3489
S1	365	178	470	1310	2323
S2	127	66	132	399	724
S3	70	54	85	233	442
V-S	142	489	180	103	914
S1	48	207	31	3	289
S2	32	101	44	27	204
S3	62	181	105	73	421
Total	704	787	867	2045	4403

<sup>1</sup> 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 (178) as those of V-S (207), 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 (O) with respect to the finite verb (V) in the four clause types:

	A	B	C	D	Total
O-V	107	46	286	774	1213
O1	50	32	124	290	496
O2	29	5	91	286	411
O3	28	9	71	198	306
V-O	165	246	249	379	1039
O1	10	29	17	12	68
O2	10	58	70	111	249
O3	116	159	162	256	693
Total	272	292	535	1153	2252

Of particular importance is the strong tendency of pronominal direct objects (O1) 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 (O2) seem to prefer the preverbal position, whereas those of heavy weight (O3) clearly prefer the postverbal position.

The position of the accusative (Z) is indicated in the table below:

	A	B	C	D	Total
v-Z-V	1	4	7	11	23
v-V-Z	1	1	1	0	3
V-v-Z	0	0	0	1	1
V-Z-v	0	0	0	0	0
Z-v-V	0	0	1	2	3
Z-V-v	0	0	1	0	1
Total	2	5	10	14	31

Although the sample is too small to allow for firm conclusions, it is clear that the accusative is usually placed after the finite verb (v-Z). 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 (I) with respect to the finite verb (V) in the four clause types:

	A	B	C	D	Total
I-V	32	25	72	173	302
I1	26	22	58	127	233
I2	3	2	7	29	41
I3	3	1	7	17	28
V-I	23	34	25	41	123
I1	14	25	10	10	59
I2	3	5	4	18	30
I3	6	4	11	13	34
Total	55	59	97	214	425

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:

	A	B	C	D	Average
I-O	84%	86%	79%	72%	80%
O-I	16%	14%	21%	28%	20%

#### Position of the complement

The following table illustrates the distribution of the complement (C) and the finite



verb (V) in the four clause types:

	A	B	C	D	Total
C-V	63	6	52	196	317
C1	7	0	0	4	11
C2	42	2	43	115	202
C3	14	4	9	77	104
V-C	184	145	130	250	709
C1	2	1	1	0	4
C2	50	57	45	75	227
C3	132	87	84	175	478
Total	247	151	182	446	1026

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 (196) and V-C (250) 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<sup>1</sup>

The following table shows the distribution of the single adverbial (A) and the finite verb (V) in the four clause types:

<sup>1</sup> It must be noted first that the figures in this section do not include initial adverbials in Type B; for example, in 1.27 *Pa 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-A1.

	A	B	C	D	Total
A-V	74	62	300	664	1100
A1	51	34	171	333	589
A2	11	18	87	168	284
A3	12	10	42	163	227
V-A	174	203	199	359	935
A1	55	44	40	39	178
A2	38	67	65	79	249
A3	81	92	94	241	508
Total	248	265	499	1023	2035

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 (A1) account for 54% of the total instances with A-V (589 of 1100), 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 (A3) 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:

	A	B	C	D	Average
A-A-V	17%	11%	31%	48%	27%
A-V-A	22%	15%	46%	31%	29%
V-A-A	60%	74%	23%	21%	44%

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 (i.e. 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:<sup>1</sup>

	A	B	C	D	Average
A-A-A-V	18%	11%	23%	27%	20%
A-A-V-A	8%	14%	18%	19%	15%
A-V-A-A	13%	11%	51%	36%	28%
V-A-A-A	62%	63%	8%	19%	38%

It is readily noticeable that the clauses with three (or more) adverbials show similarities to those with two adverbials: the V-A-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.

#### 4.2 Concluding Remarks

This study has analysed element order patterns in *VH* with particular emphasis on

<sup>1</sup> 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* §3889, Bernhardt & Davis 1997: 100).

Secondly, this study has tested the methodology established by Davis (1997), which considers ‘the clause category as the determining environment for element order’ (Bernhardt & Davis 1997: 9). 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.<sup>1</sup> 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, i.e. such authors as King Alfred, Ælfric, and Wulfstan.<sup>2</sup> The importance of this collection, alongside that of its contemporary *The Blickling*

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<sup>1</sup> 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.

<sup>2</sup> There are of course some exceptions, the most notable of which is Ogawa (2000). 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 (1962) - as a reference tool,<sup>1</sup> 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'):

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. *OES* §3937: '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* 15 (1964), 190.' [emphasis added]

Nales se man se de onginneð gode dæde & eft forlæted, ac se þe þurhwunap on godum dædum, se bið hal geworden.<sup>1</sup> (11.23)

Appendix: Position of the Major Elements in Each Homily<sup>2</sup>

Table 1 Verb-final Placement in the Four Clause Types

Homily	A	B	C	D
1	13%	3%	44%	63%
2	20%	31%	24%	51%
3	19%	19%	39%	63%
4	11%	6%	19%	43%
5	6%	15%	39%	39%
6	28%	14%	48%	65%
7	50%	16%	47%	76%
8	25%	30%	26%	44%
9	0%	5%	13%	31%
10	23%	18%	48%	64%
11	32%	20%	41%	45%
12	6%	29%	27%	42%
13	0%	0%	0%	43%
14	13%	13%	38%	55%
15	22%	23%	18%	43%
16	26%	41%	41%	65%
17	8%	14%	29%	44%
18	13%	10%	42%	73%
19	25%	5%	43%	56%
20	8%	8%	17%	54%
21	11%	10%	19%	40%
22	38%	27%	52%	61%
23	33%	23%	56%	64%
Average	19%	13%	35%	54%

<sup>1</sup> ‘ 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. ’

<sup>2</sup> Impersonals are excluded.

Table 2 S-V in the Four Clause Types<sup>1</sup>

Homily	A	B	C	D
1	55%	5%	75%	98%
2	93%	69%	59%	98%
3	95%	67%	97%	98%
4	89%	27%	82%	99%
5	86%	52%	72%	93%
6	100%	57%	100%	95%
7	88%	58%	83%	98%
8	75%	40%	68%	98%
9	73%	30%	70%	80%
10	81%	55%	82%	97%
11	89%	60%	94%	93%
12	75%	65%	90%	88%
13	80%	33%	50%	92%
14	59%	57%	86%	95%
15	89%	25%	66%	89%
16	88%	71%	79%	97%
17	77%	69%	88%	97%
18	50%	16%	79%	97%
19	96%	48%	90%	94%
20	92%	21%	80%	91%
21	64%	57%	85%	98%
22	75%	52%	89%	97%
23	84%	43%	87%	98%
Average	81%	47%	80%	95%

<sup>1</sup> V stands for finite verb in the subsequent tables.

Table 3 O-V in the Four Clause Types

Homily	A	B	C	D
1	15%	2%	62%	73%
2	20%	0%	20%	83%
3	18%	17%	43%	65%
4	46%	6%	39%	53%
5	30%	0%	43%	45%
6	50%	50%	50%	64%
7	67%	25%	88%	86%
8	57%	67%	73%	78%
9	0%	8%	15%	52%
10	59%	28%	78%	75%
11	14%	14%	20%	66%
12	25%	20%	56%	67%
13	0%	0%	0%	67%
14	45%	21%	44%	67%
15	33%	25%	19%	48%
16	39%	50%	50%	74%
17	0%	33%	65%	65%
18	35%	9%	68%	85%
19	47%	0%	53%	71%
20	33%	0%	23%	74%
21	22%	11%	30%	46%
22	58%	40%	67%	73%
23	78%	50%	70%	87%
Average	34%	21%	47%	68%



Table 4 I-V in the Four Clause Types

Homily	A	B	C	D
1	50%	0%	71%	81%
2	100%	100%	67%	100%
3	100%	50%	50%	50%
4	38%	10%	33%	71%
5	100%	100%	75%	83%
6	0%	0%	100%	100%
7	100%	100%	0%	100%
8	0%	0%	60%	50%
9	50%	0%	100%	57%
10	100%	100%	100%	80%
11	0%	50%	0%	100%
12	0%	50%	75%	75%
13	0%	50%	0%	0%
14	0%	75%	100%	93%
15	50%	0%	50%	80%
16	50%	0%	0%	70%
17	0%	0%	100%	85%
18	0%	20%	82%	100%
19	71%	0%	89%	86%
20	100%	50%	50%	80%
21	100%	80%	100%	65%
22	75%	100%	83%	92%
23	50%	67%	100%	100%
Average	49%	44%	65%	78%

Table 5 C-V in the Four Clause Types

Homily	A	B	C	D
1	18%	10%	33%	39%
2	0%	0%	50%	10%
3	11%	11%	0%	33%
4	19%	0%	15%	25%
5	20%	0%	0%	21%
6	0%	0%	100%	60%
7	100%	0%	0%	67%
8	50%	0%	92%	25%
9	29%	9%	5%	42%
10	41%	0%	57%	77%
11	14%	0%	40%	44%
12	13%	0%	0%	29%
13	50%	0%	0%	20%
14	0%	0%	0%	47%
15	11%	0%	23%	42%
16	11%	0%	9%	35%
17	29%	0%	0%	29%
18	8%	7%	55%	65%
19	29%	100%	50%	55%
20	17%	0%	46%	20%
21	50%	0%	17%	53%
22	60%	25%	27%	67%
23	11%	0%	20%	60%
Average	26%	7%	28%	42%

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