

Element Order in *The Blickling Homilies*: Part III

Susumu Hiyama

Abstract

As the third part of a series of studies on the element order patterns that appear in *The Blickling Homilies*, this article investigates approximately six hundred clauses in Homily VII, VIII, and IX of this collection.

Keywords: *clause category, element order, Old English, The Blickling Homilies (Homilies VII-IX), weight ordering*

0 Introduction

This paper analyses the element order patterns that appear in *The Blickling Homilies* (Homilies VII, VIII, and IX); references are to Morris (1874-1880), by homily and line, and I have adopted some of the modifications and changes in the Dictionary of Old English Corpus. For details of classification, see Hiyama (2010).

1 Type A

The majority of subjects precede the finite verb (S-V; 50 out of 53, or 94%), as in 7.124 *Heo cleopode þa* 'She then cried out' (S1-V), 7.19 *Ure Drihten us gefreolsode* 'Our Lord delivered us' (S2-V), and 8.81 *Se getreowa man sceal syllan his god* 'The true man must give his goods' (S3-V). All of the fourteen examples with complex verb phrases display the order S-v-V, and the order V-S is only seen in the following three clauses with simple verbs: 7.105 *Sopfaest eart þu, Drihten* 'Lord, you are just' (V-S1), 7.201 *Eadige syndon þa men* 'Blessed are the men' (V-S2), and 8.38 *cwæp Agustinus* 'said (Saint) Augustine' (V-S2). The first two instances are followed by another clause (both with V-S), and the inversion is apparently for emphasis (both clauses - 7.105 and 7.201 - are exemplified below, in section 3).

The order O-V is used eight times (33%) and V-O sixteen times (67%). Although the influence of weight is clear in the placement of heavy direct objects (O3) which always occur postverbally (V-O3; e.g. 8.45 *Hie hæfdon manige glengas deorwyrþra hrægla* 'They had many adornments of precious garments'), its influence on lighter direct objects (O1 and O2) is not easily discernible. Light direct objects precede the finite verb in four clauses (e.g. 8.38 *Ic eow halsige* 'I entreat you' (O1-V)), while there are two clauses with postverbal direct objects (V-O1) as in 7.129 *We ondettap þe, Drihten* 'We confess you, O Lord' (cf. Toller (1921), s.v. *andettan* III, *to confess* a person ..., *acknowledge excellence* in something) and 7.62 *þu woldest symle þone besmitan* 'You would ever defile him'. In the latter, it seems important that the light direct object *þone* immediately precedes the non-finite verb *besmittan* which governs it; in other words, this element order (v-O-V) may also be considered as a variation of O-V (where V is the finite verb), since there is a close grammatical relationship between *þone* and *besmittan*, whereas no such thing exists between *woldest* and *þone*. As for the former example, 7.129, I can only mention that I have so far found another Type A clause with the V-O1

pattern in *The Blickling Homilies*: 2.154 *þu scealt fylgean me* 'you shall follow me'. When we turn to direct objects of medium weight (O2), four are preverbal and six are postverbal - this is presumably due to the intermediate status of these objects; e.g. 7.103 *mine geornnesse mid gode þu gefyldest* 'you satisfied my longing with good things' (O2-V) and 7.114 *'Drihten, þu wast mine geheowunga* 'Lord, you know my fashioning' (V-O2).

Indirect objects occur in only two clauses: 7.1 *Men þa leofestan, þis eastorlice geryno us æteowed þæs ecean lifes sweotole bysene* 'Dearest men, this paschal festival presents to us a manifest token of the eternal life' (I1-V) and 7.75 *þu sealdest on eorþan mannum synna forgifnessa* 'You gave on earth forgiveness of sins to men' (V-I2). In both clauses, the indirect object precedes the direct object which is heavier in weight (I-O; the former has I1-O3, and the latter I2-O3).

Complements are postverbal in seven clauses and preverbal in three. There are no instances of light complements (C1), and all of the heavy complements (C3) follow the finite verb as in 7.108 *ic wæs wiþermede & unwisum netenum gelic geworden* 'I became perverse and like to foolish brutes' (V-C3). Complements of medium weight (C2) again display their intermediate status: three are preverbal and one is postverbal, e.g. 7.105 *Sophæst eart þu* 'You are just' (C2-V) and 8.40 *Hie wæron welige on þyssum middangearde* 'They were wealthy in this world' (V-C2).

In Type A clauses with one adverbial element, the V-A pattern is used twelve times (71%) and the A-V pattern five times (29%). It is noteworthy that all of the preverbal adverbials are light (A1-V; as in 7.123 *Drihten Hælend þa wæs miltsiende Euan* 'The Lord Jesus then had mercy upon Eve) except for 7.103 (A2-V; mentioned above in the paragraph dealing with direct objects). Postverbal adverbials (V-A) are evenly distributed, each category (light, medium, and heavy) having four examples respectively. Some examples include: 7.124 *Heo cleopode þa* 'She then cried out' (V-A1), 7.72 *þu come to us* 'you came to us' (V-A2), and 7.107 *ic wæs mid weorþmende on neorxna wange* 'In Paradise I was in honour' (V-A3; I follow Morris and the DOE Corpus in reading *neorxna wange* as two words).

Two adverbials are used in eight clauses, of which five have V-A-A, two A-A-V, and one A-V-A; e.g. 8.62 *Ealle þa syndon nu from heora eagum gewitene* 'All those are now gone from their eyes' (V-A-A), 7.104 *Eua þagyt on bendum & owope þurhwunode* 'Eve as yet continued in bonds and in weeping' (A-A-V; both clauses are verb-final), and 8.99 *He þonne gecyrde to us* 'Then he turned to us' (A-V-A).

Three or more adverbials appear in six clauses: A-A-V-A and A-V-A-A occur twice, and A-A-A-V and V-A-A-A(-A) once. Each pattern is exemplified as follows: 7.83 *Þa halgan sawla þa mid unasecggendlicum gefean cleopodan to Drihtne* 'Then the holy souls with ineffable joy cried to the Lord' (A-A-V-A), 8.115 *Hwæt we nu gehyrdon of hwylcum hugu dæle secggan be þæm eadmodnessum & mildheortnessum* 'Lo, we now have heard related a little concerning the humility and mercy (of God)' (A-V-A-A), 7.127 *Abraham þa se heahfæder, mid eallum þam halgum saulum (þe ...) bliþre stefne cegdon, & cwædon* 'Then the patriarch Abraham, with all the holy souls (that ...) cried out with joyful voice and said' (A-A-A-V), and 9.32 *Crist wunaþ & rixaþ mid eallum halgum saulum aa buton ende on ealra worlda world* 'Christ lives and reigns with all holy souls, ever without end, for ever and ever' (V-A-A-A-A; this is the only example with four adverbials).

2 Type B

The S-V pattern occurs in thirty-one clauses (49%), while the V-S pattern occurs in thirty-two (51%). Something remarkable emerges from this unremarkable distribution if we look at the weight

of the subject. The ratios between S-V and V-S are as follows: 64:36 (S1), 50:50 (S2), and 24:76 (S3). Thus, it may be observed that the subject is more likely to be placed after the finite verb as it becomes heavier (the comparable ratios in Type A do not display a similar tendency: 97:3 (S1), 82:18 (S2), and 100:0 (S3)). It is also one of the characteristics of Type B clauses that there is a conflict between this weight ordering and the verb-second syntax (#AV...). Examples are: (S-V) 8.17 *þeah hwæþere he sceal winnan & sorgian* 'nevertheless he shall be troubled and anxious' (S1-V), 7.193 *þy fiftan dæge æt underne se heofon tobyrst from þam eastdæle oþ þone westdæl* 'On the fifth day at nine the heaven will burst asunder from the East unto the West quarter' (S2-V), and 9.10 *þa ealra fæmnena cwen cende þone soþan Scyppend & ealles folces Frefrend, & ...* 'Then the queen of all virgins gave birth to the true Creator and Comforter of all people, and ...' (S3-V); and (V-S) 7.180 *þa cleopodan hie* 'Then they cried' (V-S1), 8.27 *þonne forgifeþ us Drihten ure synna forgifnesse & ece lif æfter þisse worolde* 'then will the Lord give us forgiveness of our sins and eternal life after this world' (V-S2), and 7.155 *On þam dæge gewiteþ heofon & eorþe, & sæ, & ealle þa þing* 'On that day, heaven, earth, and sea, and all things shall pass away' (V-S3).

The majority of direct objects are placed after the finite verb (V-O; 26 out of 31, or 84%), as in 8.29 *þonne genyreþ he eow of eallum deofles costungum* 'then will he deliver you out of all the devil's temptations' (V-O1), 7.126 *nu þu generedest mine saule of þære neoperan helle* 'now you delivered my soul from the nether hell' (V-O2), and 8.24 *Nelle ic þæs symfullon mannes deað* 'I desire not the death of a sinner' (V-O3). There are five clauses with the order O-V, of which two have light direct objects and three have heavy ones; e.g. 7.106 *forþon þe mid gewyrhtum ic þas þrowige* 'therefore I suffer these (torments) deservedly' (O1-V) and 8.16 *Swa eac monegum men genihtsumað þisse worlde gestreon æt his ende* 'So also this world's wealth is sufficient for many a man at his death' (O3-V).

There are only four clauses which contain indirect objects, all of which are of light weight (I1). V-I is used three times and I-V once, as illustrated by 8.126 *þonne forgifeþ he us þæt ...* 'Then will he allow us that ...' (V-I1) and 9.27 *Seoþþan he him mildheortnesse earon ontynde* 'Afterwards he opened for them the ears of mercy' (I1-V). Direct objects (which are always heavier) follow indirect objects (I-O) in these four clauses (both 8.126 and 9.27 above have I1-O3).

All the complements are placed after the finite verb (V-C), of which three are of medium weight and three of heavy weight. Examples include: 7.5 *Him biþ beforan andweard eal engla cynn & manna cynn, & eac swylce werigra gasta* 'Before him shall be present all angel-kind and mankind, and also accursed spirits' (V-C2) and 8.121 *Forþon we sceolan nu beon ... Godes beboda swyþe gemyndige & ure saule þearfe* 'Therefore we must now be very mindful of God's biddings and of our soul's need' (V-C3).

When there are no other adverbial elements in the clause, the distribution of the initial adverbial is as follows: *ne* (two examples), A1 (sixteen), A2 (three), and A3 (two). Although the sample is small, the predominance of light adverbials in clause-initial position (70%) is striking. Examples are: 8.75 *Ne þearf þæs nan mon wenan þæt ...* 'No man need think that ...' (#*ne*), 7.184 *þonne biþ eall eorþan mægen onwended* 'Then all the powers of the earth shall be changed' (#A1), 8.46 *Eac swylce hie hæfdon wif & cyfesa ...* 'Also, they had wives and concubines ...' (#A2), and 9.15 *Ðurh þa burþran we wæron gehælde* 'Through that issue we were saved' (#A3).

When there is one non-initial adverbial in the clause, this element is more likely to occur after the finite verb (V-A; 14 out of 17, or 82%) than before the finite verb (A-V; 3, or 18%); e.g. (V-A) 7.230 *Forþon we sceolan nu gepencean ... ure saula þearfe* 'Therefore we must now consider ... our soul's need' (V-A1), 8.99 *þonne gecyrre ic to eow* 'then will I turn to you' (V-A2), and 7.25 *Næs he mid*

nænigum nede gebæded 'He was not by any necessity compelled' (V-A3); and (A-V) 7.240 *swa him þonne se uplica Dema mare toseþ* 'so much the more then shall the supreme Judge require from him' (A1-V), 7.106 (A2-V; see above), and 7.164 *Py ærestan dæge on midne dæg gelimpeþ mycel gnorning ealra gesceafta* 'On the first day, at midday, a great lamentation of all creatures shall take place' (A3-V).

Two non-initial adverbials are found in fourteen clauses, of which seven have A-V-A, four A-A-V, and three V-A-A. Some examples are: 8.87 *þonne mon mid godum & soþfæstum dædum geearnige him þa ecean ræste æfter þisse worlde* 'then with good and just deeds one may obtain eternal rest after this world' (A-V-A), 7.157 *swa eac for þære ilcan wyrde gewiteþ summe & mona* 'so also on account of the same event the sun and moon shall pass away' (A-A-V), and 7.55 *Nis her nu nænig wop ne nænig heaf gehyred* '(There) is now no weeping nor lamentation heard here' (V-A-A).

There are five clauses which contain three or more non-initial adverbials, of which three have A-A-V-A and two A-V-A-A, as in 7.80 *þa sona seo unarimede menigo haligra saula mid Drihtnes hæse wæron of þæm cwicsusle ahafena* 'and immediately the innumerable host of holy souls, at the Lord's bidding, were raised out of the torment' (A-A-V-A) and 7.206 *Py syxtan dæge ær underne þonne biþ from feower endum þære eorþan eall middangeard mid awergdum gastum gefylled* 'On the sixth day before the third hour from the four ends of the earth all the world shall then be filled with accursed spirits' (A-A-V-A-A; this is the sole example with four adverbials).

3 Type C

Subjects usually precede finite verbs (S-V; 79 out of 93, or 85%), and the weight of the subject is distributed as follows: light (forty-three), medium (twenty-one), and heavy (fifteen). Examples include: 7.26 *ac he mid his sylfes willan to eorþan astag* 'but of his own will he descended upon earth' (S1-V), 8.42 *& heora hordernu wæron mid monigfealdum wlencum gefylde* 'and their store-houses were filled with manifold riches' (S2-V), and 7.157 *& eal tungla leoht aspringeþ* 'and all the light of the stars shall fail' (S3-V). When the subject is placed after the finite verb (V-S; 14 out of 93, or 15%), the weight of the subject is distributed thus: light (two), medium (four), and heavy (eight). Examples are: 8.118 *& ne bideþ he æt us nænig oþor edlean (buton þæt ...)* 'and he asks of us no other recompence (but that ...)' (V-S1), 7.201 *& eadige syndon þa innoþas* 'and blessed are the wombs' (V-S2), and 7.186 *& þonne gefeallap ealle deofolgyld* 'and then shall all idols fall down' (V-S3).

Direct objects are placed before the finite verb (O-V) in thirty-five instances (60%), as in 7.130 (*We ...*) *& þe hergeap* 'and (we) praise you' (O1-V), 9.28 (*he ...*) *& his mægsibbe gecyðde* 'and (he) made known his kinship (to them)' (O2-V), and 8.48 *& heora underngereordu & æfengereordu hie mengdon togædere* 'and their morning and evening feasts they mingled together' (O3-V). It is of significance that all of the light direct objects are preverbal (O1-V; nine examples). The order V-O is seen in twenty-three examples (40%); e.g. 7.42 *ac he wile eac oþre of urum bendum alesan* 'but he will also release others from our bonds' (V-O2) and 8.129 *ah he hafap leoht eces lifes* 'but he shall have the light of everlasting life' (V-O3).

There are nine instances which have the indirect object, of which seven have I-V and two have V-I. Examples are: (I-V) 7.39 *& us deap mycel gafol geald* 'and death yielded to us much tribute' (I1-V) and 7.134 *& he hine his gingrum æteowde* 'And he showed himself to his followers' (I2-V); and (V-I) 9.23 *Ac þa se ælmihtiga God afyrde him þæt unriht wrigels of heora heortan* 'But then the Almighty God removed for them that hurtful covering from their hearts' (V-I1) and 7.136 *& he eac æteowde þa wunda & þara nægla dolh þæm ungeleaftfullum mannun* 'And he also showed the wounds and the

scars of the nails to unbelieving men' (V-I3). In clauses with two kinds of objects (direct and indirect), O-I occurs four times (see 7.134 and 7.136 above) and I-O five times (see 7.39 and 9.23 above).

I have found seven clauses which have the complement: the V-C pattern is seen five times and C-V twice. It must be noted that: (1) there are no examples of light complements (C1); (2) all the heavy complements are postverbal (V-C); and (3) all the instances contain simple verbs. Examples are: 7.172 & *heofon biþ open on sumum ende on þæm eastdæle* 'and heaven shall be open at one quarter - on the East' (V-C2), 8.43 & *heora bliss & heora plegan wæron swiðe genihtsume* 'and their bliss and their amusements were very abundant' (V-C3), and 7.105 & *rihte syndon þine domas* 'and your judgements are right' (C2-V).

Single adverbials are found in sixty-one clauses, of which thirty-six (59%) have A-V and twenty-five have V-A (41%). The majority of light adverbials (22 out of 23) are preverbal (A1-V), and this can be accounted for by weight ordering. Examples include: (A-V) 7.178 & *þonne cwep eall folc* 'And then all folk shall say' (A1-V), 7.46 & *þu us æt endestæfe mycel herereaf gehete* 'and you did promise us much spoil at last' (A2-V), and 8.105 & *ealre eadmodnesse bysene he us on þæm manigfealdum wundrum onstealde* 'and he gave us an example of all humility in the manifold miracles' (A3-V); and (V-A) 8.48 & *heora underngereordu & æfengereordu hie mengdon togædere* 'and their morning and evening feasts they mingled together' (V-A1; this is the sole example with a light adverbial in the selected corpus), 8.64 *ah heora lichoman licggað on eorðan* 'but their bodies shall lie in the earth' (V-A2), and 8.124 & *his noman we sceolan weorþian mid wordum & mid dædum* 'and we must honour his name with words and with deeds' (V-A3).

There are twenty-eight clauses which contain two adverbials, of which A-V-A is seen fifteen times (54%), V-A-A seven times (25%), and A-A-V six times (21%). Examples are: 9.10 & *on þam halgan breostum he eardode nigon monaþ* 'and in the holy bosom he abode nine months' (A-V-A), 7.189 & *beoþ þeostra forþ geworden efor ealle world* 'and darkness shall come upon all the world' (V-A-A), and 8.73 & *we þonne ætsomme forleos an þæt lif & þæt weorþ* 'and we then lose at once life and price' (A-A-V).

When the clause has three or more adverbials, the most frequent pattern is A-A-V-A (six examples), followed by A-V-A-A (four); e.g. 7.138 & *þa æfter þon on manigra manna gesyhþe he astag on heofenas* 'And afterwards in the sight of many men he ascended into heaven' (A-A-V-A; inclusive of two clauses with A-A-V-A-A and another two with A-A-A-V-A) and 7.28 & *þa æt nehstan he let his lichoman on rode mid næglum gefæstnian* 'and then at last he permitted his body to be fastened with nails to the cross' (A-V-A-A; inclusive of one clause with A-V-A-A-A). There are no instances of V-A-A-A, and the A-A-A-V pattern is seen only once: 7.69 & *þa sona instæpes seo unarimedlice menigo haligra saula (þe ...) to þæm Hælende onluton* 'And then, immediately, the innumerable host of sanctified souls (who ...) bowed down to the Saviour' (A-A-A-A-V).

4 Type D

All the conjoined dependent clauses display the S-V pattern (eight examples), as in 9.30 (*forþon þe ...*) & *we wæron adilegode of þam frymplican ...* 'and (because) we were put out of the primeval ...' (S1-V; Morris (p. 107) notes that 'a leaf or leaves [is/are] lost' after *frymplican*) and 9.7 (*seoþþan ...*) & *seo hea miht on þysne wang astag* 'and (after) the supreme power descended upon this earth' (S3-V). A similar preference for S-V is shared by non-conjoined clauses where almost all the subjects (138 out of 142, or 97%) are preverbal (S-V); e.g. 8.3 *þa he on rode galgan astag* 'when he ascended the

rood-tree' (S1-V), 8.18 *hwonne se dæg cume* 'when the day comes' (S2-V), and 7.68 *þætte ealle þa isenan scyttelas helle loca wurdan tobrocene* 'that all the iron bolts of hell's locks were broken' (S3-V). In the remaining four non-conjoined clauses (all with V-S), the subject is light in one and heavy in three. All the V-S clauses are exemplified: (V-S1) 7.150 *þonne sceolan we mid ure anre saule forgyldan & gebetan ealle þa þing (þe ...)* 'when we must with our souls alone make recompence and amends for all the things (that ...)'; and (V-S3) 7.44 *þæt þurh his deap us sceolde beon eall middangeard underþeoded* 'that through his death all the world should be subject to us', 7.87 *þæt on þinum upstige geblissian & gehyhton ealle þine gecorenan* 'so that all your chosen may rejoice and trust in your ascension', and 8.20 *þæt mæg begeotan ælc man* 'that each man will obtain'.

The direct object often precedes the finite verb (O-V) both in non-conjoined clauses (50 out of 77, or 65%) and in conjoined ones (12 out of 14, or 86%). Light direct objects are clearly influenced by weight ordering since most of them are preverbal (89% in the former and 75% in the latter). Examples include: (non-conjoined) 8.110 *þæt he hie of þæm nearwan þeostrum alesde* 'so that he would release them from the confined darkness' (O1-V), 7.115 *gif þu mine unrihtwisnesse behealdest* 'if you behold my unrighteousness' (O2-V), and 7.9 *þæt he Godes bebodu healde* '(he who neglects) to observe God's behests' (O3-V; literally, '(he who neglects) that he would observe ...'); and (conjoined) 7.145 *(þa he ...) & us of deofles anwalde alesde* 'and (when he) delivered us out of the devil's power' (O1-V), 7.17 *(forþon þe Drihten ...) & mancyn freolsode* 'and (because the Lord) delivered mankind' (O2-V), and 8.3 *(þa he ...) & his þæt deorwyrðe blod for ure hælo ageat* 'and (when he) shed his precious blood for our salvation' (O3-V). The order V-O is used twenty-seven times (35%) in non-conjoined clauses, of which eighteen have heavy subjects (V-O3); e.g. 8.128 *se þe fylgeþ me* 'he who follows me' (V-O1), 7.242 *(Se mon) se þe nu demep þæm earmum buton mildheortnesse* '(The man) who now judges the poor without mercy' (V-O2), and 8.22 *þæt we secan þone læcedom ure sawwle* 'that we seek the medicine for our souls' (V-O3). There are only two conjoined clauses with V-O: 8.101 *(þa he ...) & gegyrede hine þeowlice mid þære menniscan tydernesse* 'and (when he) invested himself humbly with human frailty' (V-O1) and 8.100 *(þa he ...) & hine ungyrede þæs godcundan mægenþrymmes* 'and (when he) divested himself of the divine majesty' (V-O3).

The order I-V is preferred in both kinds of dependent clauses: all of the conjoined clauses (two examples) have I-V, and so do eight of the ten non-conjoined clauses. Some examples are: (conjoined) 8.52 *(þa þe ...) & him olyhtword sprecaþ* 'and (those who) spoke to them flattering words' (I1-V); and (non-conjoined) 7.30 *forþon þe he wolde us þæt ece lif forgifan* 'because he would give us everlasting life' (I1-V), 8.83 *þæt man Gode deþ* 'which a man does for God' (I2-V), and 8.86 *þæt man mid mandædum & mid synnum him sylfum gearnige edwit* 'that a man would earn disgrace for himself by means of his sins and wickedness' (I3-V). There are only two examples with the V-I pattern (both are non-conjoined): 7.30 *forþon þe he wolde us þæt ece lif forgifan* 'because he would give us everlasting life' (V-I1) and 7.153 *hu mycel egsa gelimpeþ eallum gesceaftum on þas ondweardan tid* 'how much awe shall come upon all creatures at this present time' (V-I3). As for the order of direct and indirect objects, both of the two conjoined clauses have I-O (see 8.52 above), and the non-conjoined ones have both I-O (four examples; see 7.30 above) and O-I (two; as in 8.119 *þæt we urne lichoman & ure saule swa unwemme him ageofan on domes dæg* 'that we should return our bodies and our souls to him on Doomsday as undefiled').

There are two conjoined clauses with the complement, both of which have the V-C order, as in 7.239 *(swa mycclre swa ...) & he biþ weligra on þisse worlde* 'and (as much as) he was the richer in this world' (V-C2) and 7.154 *(þonne ...) & seo opening þæs dæges is swiþe egesfull eallum gesceaftum*

'and (when) the manifestation of the day shall be very terrible to all creatures' (V-C3). The non-conjoined counterparts seem to prefer the V-C pattern (15 out of 22, or 68%), but there are also seven examples (32%) with C-V; e.g. (V-C) 7.201 *þa þe wæron unberende* 'those who are barren' (V-C2) and 7.114 *þæt ic eom dust & axe* 'that I am dust and ashes' (V-C3); and (C-V) 8.67 *se þe gesælig bið* 'he who is happy' (C2-V) and 7.181 *þam þe godes willan syn* 'who are of goodwill' (C3-V).

In non-conjoined clauses, single adverbials are more likely to be preverbal (53 out of 77, or 69%) than postverbal (31%). It must be added that all except one of the light adverbials are preverbal (A1-V). Examples are: (A-V) 7.70 *þe ær gehæftede wæron* 'who previously were held captive' (A1-V), 7.179 *þa he on Betleem wæs acenned* 'when he was born in Bethlehem' (A2-V), and 7.18 *Swa se witga Dauid be þisse tide witgade* 'As the prophet David prophesied of this period' (A3-V); and (V-A) 8.21 *& se þe hit begytep þon* 'and he who obtains it then' (V-A1; in the absence of reference to this clause in Morris's glossary, s.v. *se*, I interpret *þon* as an adverb 'then, now'), 8.104 *þæt hi wæron to deaþe gearwe* 'that they were liable to death' (V-A2), and 7.230 *þa he sendeþ on ece leoht* 'whom he will send into everlasting light' (V-A3). Conjoined clauses, on the other hand, have seven A-V clauses and six V-A clauses; e.g. (A-V) 7.18 (*Swa se witga Dauid ...*) *& þus cwæp* 'and (as the prophet David) thus said' (A1-V), 7.92 (*forþon ...*) *& mycel yfel beforan þe ic gedyde* 'and (because) I have done great sin before you' (A2-V), and 7.145 (*þa he ...*) *& us of deofles anwalde alesde* 'and (when he) delivered us out of the devil's power' (A3-V); and (V-A; there are no instances of V-A1 or V-A2) 9.14 (*þa se goldbloma ...*) *& menniscne lichoman onfeng æt Sancta Marian þære unwemman fæmnan* 'and (when the "golden-blossom") received a human body from the immaculate virgin St Mary' (V-A3).

Two adverbials occur in thirty-four non-conjoined clauses, and the most frequent pattern is A-A-V (fourteen examples), followed by A-V-A (thirteen) and V-A-A (seven); e.g. 7.209 *swa Antecrist ær beforan dyde* 'as Antichrist previously did' (A-A-V), 7.147 *þa he us mid his blode abohte of helle hæftede* 'when he with his blood redeemed us from hell's bondage' (A-V-A), and 7.205 *þæt we ne þurfon þysne ege leng þrowian æt þyssum englum* 'so that we may no longer endure this horror from these angels' (V-A-A). There are only three conjoined clauses with two adverbials, of which two have A-A-V and one has V-A-A, as in 8.109 (*þa þe ...*) *& a on hine gehyhton* 'and (those who) ever trusted in him' (A-A-V) and 8.101 (*þa he ...*) *& gegyrede hine þeowlice mid þære menniscan tyderesse* 'and (when he) invested himself humbly with human frailty' (V-A-A).

Of the eight non-conjoined clauses with three or more adverbials, three have A-V-A-A, two have V-A-A-A or A-A-A-V, and one has A-A-A-V-A. Examples include: 8.108 *þa þe ær wæron Godes þa gecorenan geara on helle* 'those who were previously God's chosen ones, of yore in hell' (A-V-A-A), 9.4 *þæt se wolde cuman of þam cynestole & of þæm þrymrice hider on þas world* 'that he would come from the throne of his glorious realm hither into this world' (V-A-A-A), 8.111 *swylce he us eac æt his þrowunga of deofla onwalde alesde* 'as he delivered us from the devil's power at his passion' (A-A-A-V), and 7.21 *þe æfre ær from witgum gewitgode wæron, be his þrowunga & be his æriste, & be his hergunga on helle, & be his wundra manegum* 'that were ever before prophesied by the prophets concerning his passion, his resurrection, and his harrowing of hell, and concerning his many miracles' (A-A-A-V-A; this is the sole example with four adverbials). I have not found any conjoined clauses with three or more adverbials in the selected corpus.

5 Summary

The S-V pattern is the norm in Types A (94%), C (85%), and D (97%). Type B, however, displays

an almost fifty-fifty split between S-V (49%) and V-S (51%), and it seems that the influence of weight is the strongest in this clause type as the following ratios between S-V and V-S (i.e. between preverbal and postverbal subjects) show: S1 (23:13), S2 (3:3), and S3 (5:16). It is difficult to trace this tendency in other clause types because they do not have enough examples with the V-S order.

The percentages of preverbal direct objects (O-V) are as follows: Type A (33%), B (16%), C (60%), and D (67%). Although the corresponding figures for the subject are much higher (see above), it is to be observed that direct objects are more likely to be influenced by weight ordering when we turn our attention to the percentages of postverbal light direct objects (V-O1): Type A (13%), B (15%), C (0%), and D (13%). (The equivalent figures for subjects (V-S1) are higher in all types of clauses: Type A (33%), B (41%), C (14%), and D (25%).) There are no instances with the accusative (Z) and infinitive constructions in Homilies VII-IX.

There are only twenty-seven clauses which contain indirect objects. Although it is dangerous to generalize upon the small sample, one may see that: (1) the indirect object prefers to precede the finite verb (I-V) in Types C (78%) and D (83%), and (2) most of the preverbal indirect objects are light (100% in Types A and B, 71% in C, and 80% in D). The order I-O is preferred in examples with two kinds of objects in the four clause types: 100% in Types A and B, 56% in C, and 75% in D.

The weight of the complement is either medium or heavy in the present corpus, and the V-C pattern is preferred in all the four clause types: Type A (70%), B (100%), C (71%), and D (71%). But we should not be content with this observation since there are twelve clauses with the C-V pattern, of which eight have C2 and four C3. The former (C2-V) may have something to do with their intermediate status - after all they are of 'medium' weight having just one-word non-pronominal elements. The latter examples with C3-V (all are dependent clauses) must be compared with twenty-two V-C3 examples in the same clause type (Type D) in terms of two conflicting principles: the tendency for verb-late/final order (which yields C3-V) and weight ordering (which yields V-C3).

In summarizing the position of adverbials, it is necessary to remind ourselves that initial adverbials (i.e. 'first' adverbials) in Type B are excluded from analysis. Thus, in dealing with this clause type, 'single' adverbials refer to 'second' ones, 'two' adverbials to 'second' and 'third' ones, and so on. Single adverbials prefer the V-A pattern in Type A (71%) and B (82%), while the A-V pattern is more frequent in Type C (59%) and D (66%). We may observe the influence of weight ordering in the percentages of postverbal heavy adverbials (V-A3) especially in Type C (96%) and D (97%). When there are two or more adverbials in a clause, the distributions of possible patterns are as follows: (two adverbials) A-V-A (38%), V-A-A (33%), and A-A-V (30%); and (three or more adverbials) A-A-V-A (40%), A-V-A-A (37%), A-A-A-V (13%), and V-A-A-A (10%).

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Appendix Syntactic Information of Each Element in *Blickling Homily VI, VII, and VIII*

Subjects

| | A | B | C | D | Total |
|-------|----|----|----|-----|-------|
| S-V | 50 | 31 | 79 | 146 | 306 |
| S1 | 37 | 23 | 43 | 94 | 197 |
| S2 | 9 | 3 | 21 | 28 | 61 |
| S3 | 4 | 5 | 15 | 24 | 48 |
| V-S | 3 | 32 | 14 | 4 | 53 |
| S1 | 1 | 13 | 2 | 1 | 17 |
| S2 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 0 | 9 |
| S3 | 0 | 16 | 8 | 3 | 27 |
| Total | 53 | 63 | 93 | 150 | 359 |

Direct objects

| | A | B | C | D | Total |
|-------|----|----|----|----|-------|
| O-V | 8 | 5 | 35 | 62 | 110 |
| O1 | 4 | 2 | 9 | 27 | 42 |
| O2 | 4 | 0 | 11 | 15 | 30 |
| O3 | 0 | 3 | 15 | 20 | 38 |
| V-O | 16 | 26 | 23 | 29 | 94 |
| O1 | 2 | 4 | 0 | 4 | 10 |
| O2 | 6 | 3 | 2 | 6 | 17 |
| O3 | 8 | 19 | 21 | 19 | 67 |
| Total | 24 | 31 | 58 | 91 | 204 |

Indirect objects

| | A | B | C | D | Total |
|-------|---|---|---|----|-------|
| I-V | 1 | 1 | 7 | 10 | 19 |
| I1 | 1 | 1 | 5 | 8 | 15 |
| I2 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 1 | 3 |
| I3 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 |
| V-I | 1 | 3 | 2 | 2 | 8 |
| I1 | 0 | 3 | 0 | 1 | 4 |
| I2 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| I3 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 2 |
| Total | 2 | 4 | 9 | 12 | 27 |

Direct objects and indirect objects

| | A | B | C | D | Total |
|-------|---|---|---|---|-------|
| I-O | 2 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 17 |
| I1-O1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| I1-O2 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 3 | 3 |
| I1-O3 | 1 | 4 | 4 | 2 | 11 |
| I2-O1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| I2-O2 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| I2-O3 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 2 |
| I3-O1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| I3-O2 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 |
| I3-O3 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| O-I | 0 | 0 | 4 | 2 | 6 |
| O1-I1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 |
| O1-I2 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 1 |
| O1-I3 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| O2-I1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| O2-I2 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| O2-I3 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| O3-I1 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 1 | 3 |
| O3-I2 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| O3-I3 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 1 |
| Total | 2 | 4 | 9 | 8 | 23 |

| | A | B | C | D | Average |
|-----|------|------|-----|-----|---------|
| I-O | 100% | 100% | 56% | 75% | 83% |
| O-I | 0% | 0% | 44% | 25% | 17% |

Complements

| | A | B | C | D | Total |
|-------|----|---|---|----|-------|
| C-V | 3 | 0 | 2 | 7 | 12 |
| C1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| C2 | 3 | 0 | 2 | 3 | 8 |
| C3 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 4 | 4 |
| V-C | 7 | 6 | 5 | 17 | 35 |
| C1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| C2 | 1 | 3 | 1 | 8 | 13 |
| C3 | 6 | 3 | 4 | 9 | 22 |
| Total | 10 | 6 | 7 | 24 | 47 |

Single adverbials

| | A | B | C | D | Total |
|-------|----|----|----|----|-------|
| A-V | 5 | 3 | 36 | 60 | 104 |
| A1 | 4 | 1 | 22 | 28 | 55 |
| A2 | 1 | 1 | 4 | 13 | 19 |
| A3 | 0 | 1 | 10 | 19 | 30 |
| V-A | 12 | 14 | 25 | 30 | 81 |
| A1 | 4 | 6 | 1 | 1 | 12 |
| A2 | 4 | 5 | 9 | 5 | 23 |
| A3 | 4 | 3 | 15 | 24 | 46 |
| Total | 17 | 17 | 61 | 90 | 185 |

| | A | B | C | D | Average |
|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|---------|
| A-V | 29% | 18% | 59% | 67% | 43% |
| V-A | 71% | 82% | 41% | 33% | 57% |

Note: A-A-A-V, A-A-V-A, and V-A-A-A may contain clauses with four or more adverbials like A-A-A-A-V, A-A-A-V-A, and V-A-A-A-A.

Two adverbials

| | A | B | C | D | Total |
|-------|---|----|----|----|-------|
| A-A-V | 2 | 4 | 6 | 16 | 28 |
| A-V-A | 1 | 7 | 15 | 13 | 36 |
| V-A-A | 5 | 3 | 7 | 8 | 23 |
| Total | 8 | 14 | 28 | 37 | 87 |

| | A | B | C | D | Average |
|-------|-----|-----|-----|-----|---------|
| A-A-V | 25% | 29% | 21% | 43% | 30% |
| A-V-A | 13% | 50% | 54% | 35% | 38% |
| V-A-A | 63% | 21% | 25% | 22% | 33% |

Three or more adverbials

| | A | B | C | D | Total |
|---------|---|---|----|---|-------|
| A-A-A-V | 1 | 0 | 1 | 2 | 4 |
| A-A-V-A | 2 | 3 | 6 | 1 | 12 |
| A-V-A-A | 2 | 2 | 4 | 3 | 11 |
| V-A-A-A | 1 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 3 |
| Total | 6 | 5 | 11 | 8 | 30 |

| | A | B | C | D | Average |
|---------|-----|-----|-----|-----|---------|
| A-A-A-V | 17% | 0% | 9% | 25% | 13% |
| A-A-V-A | 33% | 60% | 55% | 13% | 40% |
| A-V-A-A | 33% | 40% | 36% | 38% | 37% |
| V-A-A-A | 17% | 0% | 0% | 25% | 10% |