

Element Order in *The Blickling Homilies*: Part II

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Abstract

As the second part of a series of studies on the element order patterns that appear in *The Blickling Homilies*, this article investigates more than eleven hundred clauses in Homily IV, V, and VI of this collection.

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

0 Introduction

Under investigation in this paper are element order patterns in Blickling Homily IV, V, and VI; 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 my previous article, Hiyama (2010).

1 Type A

There are 148 Type A clauses with the subject (S) and the finite verb (V; note that this symbol is often used as a blanket term for the finite verb in both simple and complex verb phrases), of which 125 (84%) have the order S-V; e.g. 5.57 *Hwæt we witon þæt ...* 'Lo, we know that ...' (S1-V), 6.42 *Maria genam an pund deorwyrþre smerenese* 'Mary took a pound of precious ointment' (S2-V), and 4.162 *maniges mannes heorte biþ onbryrðed* 'many a man's heart is touched' (S3-V). Most noteworthy is the high preponderance of examples with light subjects (S1-V) - all such examples belong to this group except for 4.267 below. The V-S order occurs twenty-three times (16%); some examples are 6.130 *Cwæþ se writere þæt ...* 'The writer said that ...' (V-S2) and 6.148 *Þæt cyþde Iohannes se godspellere* 'St John the evangelist revealed it' (V-S3). As illustrated by these two examples, all the postverbal subjects are either medium or heavy in weight, except for 4.267 *ne þearf se næfre wenan þæt ...* 'he never need think that ...' (V-S1). The problematic placement of *se* might be explained away by regarding it as a mere repetition of the 'real' subject (clause) which immediately precedes this clause, i.e. 4.266 *se þe Godes freondscipe begyter* 'he who gets God's friendship'.

The direct object follows the finite verb in 71% of instances (V-O; 47 of 66). There is only one clause with a postverbal light direct object (V-O1): 6.83 *læddon him to þone eosol* '(they) brought him the ass.' This curious clause is in the middle of the following sentence: 6.82 *His þegnas þa dydon ..., læddon him to þone eosol, & gedydon ...* 'His disciples then did ..., (and they) brought him the ass, and (they) caused ...'. This sentence is construed as having three independent clauses sharing the same

subject *His þegnas*, as in *His þegnas ... dydon ...* (Type A), *læddon ...* (Type A?), & *gedydon ...* (Type C). Although scribal omission of *ond* is not unlikely, one wonders whether this is a case of 'semi-subordination' - 'a blanket term for those constructions in which an OE finite verb can conveniently be rendered by a MnE participle' (Mitchell 1985: §1923). Indeed, the clause in question gives good sense if translated 'bringing him the ass'; it remains to be seen, however, why the next clause & *gedydon ...* has a coordinating conjunction. As for the rest of the V-O clauses, direct objects are either medium (twelve) or heavy (thirty-four) in weight, as in 6.19 *se nama tacnaþ þone sige* 'the name denotes the victory' (V-O2) and 4.92 *he onfeng for worlde mycelne noman* 'he had a great name before the world' (V-O3).

The O-V pattern (nineteen examples) shows a tendency to the contrary - more than half of the direct objects (eleven) are light. Some examples are: 6.65 *þis folc me weorþaþ mid wordum* 'This people honour me with their words' (O1-V), 5.153 *þam mannum sceolan þa deman grimlice styran* 'those men should the judges severely chastise' (O2-V), and 6.166 *Drihtnes fet we magon smerian* 'We may anoint the Lord's feet' (O3-V). I note here that the following is the only example of the accusative and infinitive construction: 6.174 *se (þe ...) forlet mid him beon þone godwracean þeof* 'he (who ...) permitted this godless thief to be with him' (V-Z; 'Z' denotes the accusative).

There are six clauses which contain indirect objects: the V-I order is used three times, and I-V three times. All of the I-V instances contain light indirect objects (I1-V), as in 6.40 *Maria hire geceas þone betstan dæl* 'Mary has chosen the best part for her'. As for the V-I instances, the indirect object is either light (one example) or medium (two) in weight; e.g. 6.136 *Þis wæs us gedon to lifes bysene* 'This was done for us as an example of life' (V-I1) and 6.30 *Martha his sweostor þa gearwode þam Hælende æfengereordu* 'Martha, his sister, then made preparation for the evening repast for the Saviour' (V-I2). There are four clauses with direct (O) and indirect (I) objects, and the order O-I occurs once and I-O three times. All the direct objects are either medium or heavy in weight, and the indirect object is light twice in the I-O pattern, as seen in two of the above-mentioned instances - 6.40 (I1-O3) and 6.30 (I2-O2).

Of the twenty-eight clauses which contain the complement, twenty-one (75%) have V-C and seven (25%) C-V. In the former (V-C), the complement is either medium (five examples) or heavy (sixteen) in weight, as in 4.91 *Hit is an biscop (se ...)* 'He is a bishop (who ...)' (V-C2) and 4.264 *Manna freondscipe biþ swiþe hwilwendlic, & swiþe scendende* 'Men's friendship is very transitory and very illusory' (V-C3). Examples of the C-V order are: 5.127 *þær beoþ eac yfele gerefan* 'evil reeves are also there' (C1-V), 4.181 *Mycel biþ þæs apostolican hades bebod* 'Great is the injunction of the apostolical order' (C2-V), and 4.51 *myccle bliþre bið seo sawl þæs mannes* 'much more joyful shall be the soul of that man' (C3-V).

Single adverbials often occur postverbally (V-A; 36 of 50 examples, or 72%), and their weight is distributed as follows: light (five examples), medium (fourteen), and heavy (seventeen). Some examples are: 6.202 *We gehyrdan ær þætte ...* 'We had heard that ...' (V-A1), 6.125 *Ic eardige on him* 'I will dwell in them' (V-A2), and 5.161 *þa deman beoþ on Godes fultome æghwær* 'Those judges are, by God's favour, everywhere' (V-A3). As for the A-V pattern, most of the single adverbials are light (ten examples), as in 6.36 *Hælend hire þa ondswarode* 'Then the Saviour answered her' (A1-V); examples of single adverbials whose weight is either medium or heavy are 4.91 *Se engel him to cwæþ* 'The angel said to him' (A2-V) and 5.44 *Se lichoma on* (Morris has of) *þisse worlde þingum gewiteþ* 'The body will depart from the things of this world' (A3-V).

When there are two adverbials in a clause, the most frequent order is A-V-A (seven instances),

followed by V-A-A (four) and A-A-V (three); e.g. 5.45 *seo eft onfehþ hire lichoman on þæm ytmestan dæge* 'she will again receive her body at the last day' (A-V-A), 6.101 *Hælend com syx dagum ær eastrum to Bethania* 'the Saviour came to Bethany six days before Easter' (V-A-A), and 6.285 *þa halgan ær Cristes cyme on hine gelyfdon* 'The holy men, before Christ's coming, believed in him' (A-A-V).

There are eight clauses which have three (or more) adverbials: A-V-A-A occurs three times, A-A-A-V and A-A-V-A twice, and V-A-A-A once, as in 6.26 *He hie eft alædde of helle grunde on þa hean þrymmas heofona rices* 'He led them away from hell's abyss unto the exalted majesty of heaven's kingdom' (A-V-A-A), 7.72 *he þonne raþe se wlite eft gewiteþ* 'then it, the beauty, quickly fades again' (A-A-A-V), 5.50 *þa þonne eft nænige lade gedon ne magon on þon bifigendan domes dæge* 'these, hereafter, on the terrible doomsday, shall be unable to make any excuse' (A-A-V-A), and 6.28 *Hælend cwom syx dagum ær Iudea eastrum, to Bethania* 'Jesus came six days before the Jewish Easter to Bethany' (V-A-A-A).

2 Type B

In this clause type, more than half of the subjects are placed after the finite verb (V-S; 64 of 114 instances, or 56%; compare Type A whose corresponding percentage is 16%), as in 6.197 *þa com he ær to Betfage* 'then he first came to Bethphage' (V-S1), 4.214 *þonne ontynep us Drihten heofenes þeotan* 'then will the Lord open for us the fountains of heaven' (V-S2), and 6.69 *þa com þyder on morgen mycel menigo for þon symbeldæge* 'Then in the morning came thither a great multitude for the feast-day' (V-S3). Some examples of the S-V pattern (44%) are: 4.150 *huru he hine Gode beþeode* 'at all events he should commend himself to God' (S1-V), 5.102 *on wope & on unrottesse & on sare his lichoma sceal her wunian* 'in weeping, and in sadness, and in pain his body must here abide' (S2-V), and 6.187 *hwæpere seo beholene ondweardnes ne gewat from us* 'nevertheless, the hidden presence did not depart from us' (S3-V).

The direct object follows the finite verb in 89% of the instances (51 of 57), as in 6.50 *Ne cwæþ he þæt na* 'He never said that' (V-O1), 6.57 *Symle ge habbaþ þearfan* 'You always have the poor (with you)' (V-O2), and 4.200 *þonne onfo we ægþer ge eorþlice mede ge eac heofenlice* 'then shall we receive both earthly and heavenly reward' (V-O3). There are six O-V clauses, and the direct object is either light (three examples) or heavy (three); e.g. 4.150 (O1-V; quoted in the preceding paragraph) and 5.38 *Swa we þonne þa gastlican lare unwærllice ne sceolan anforlætan* 'So, then, we must not unwarily relinquish the spiritual teaching' (O3-V). There is only one example of the accusative and infinitive construction, in which the light accusative *hine* is placed preverbally: 6.52 *forþon þa apostolas hine letan heora seodas beran* 'therefore the apostles allowed him to carry their wallets' (Z-V).

The indirect object is expressed in twelve clauses, of which ten have V-I (83%) and two I-V (17%). As for the V-I pattern, more than half of the indirect objects are light (six out of ten), three are of medium weight, and one is of heavy weight, as in 4.282 *ne sylþ he hit us* 'He does not give it to us' (V-I1), 6.164 *þonne bringe we Drihtne swetne stenc on urum dædum & larum* 'then we bring the Lord a sweet savour in our deeds and in our precepts' (V-I2), and 4.164 *þonne sceolan þa biscopas & þa mæssepreostas gehwylces hades men georne þreatigean* 'Then must the bishops and priests diligently urge men of all ranks' (V-I3). The I-V examples are: 5.62 *Forþon, men þa leofestan, ic eow bidde & halsige þæt ...* 'Therefore, dearest men, I pray and beseech you that ...' (I1-V) and 4.150 (I2-V; quoted above, in the paragraph dealing with subjects in Type A). There are nine clauses with two kinds of

objects (i.e., direct and indirect), of which seven have the I-O order and two O-I; see above for examples (4-214 (I-O) and 4.150 (O-I)).

The complement almost always occurs postverbally (11 out of 12 instances, or 92%), and it is either medium (five examples) or heavy (six) in weight; e.g. 5.29 *forþon seo gehyrnes & seo geormes ne bið nyt on þæm ungelýfdum mannum, & on þæm gymeleasum* 'therefore the hearing and the zeal will be of no use to the unbelieving and careless men' (V-C2; this could also be an example of V-C3 if the phrase *nyt ... gymeleasum* is parsed as a heavy complement) and 4.151 *þonne beoþ hi wiþ God swyþe scyldige* 'then shall they be very guilty before God' (V-C3). The following is the only example of the C-V order: 5.70 *Swa þonne gelice bið þære menniscan gecynde þæs lichoman* 'So, then, (it) is like to the nature of man's body' (C2-V). Although the expression *gelice is* is not listed in Ogura (1986), it might be safer to regard this as an 'impersonal' clause and exclude it from analysis.

When the clause does not contain any adverbials except for the adverbial in clause-initial position (including the negative adverb *ne*), the initial adverbial is distributed as follows: *ne* (three examples), A1 (thirty-five), A2 (four), and A3 (seven). The predominance of light adverbials (35 of 49, or 71%) is noteworthy. Examples are 5.100 *On synne he bið geeacnod* 'In sin he is conceived' (A2-V), 5.130 *Be þæm demum Crist sylf wæs sprecende* 'Concerning those judges Christ himself was saying' (A3-V), and see above for 4.282 (n-V) and 4.151 (A1-V).

There are forty-three clauses which have single non-initial adverbials (namely, the clause has only one adverbial element except for the clause-initial one), of which thirty-nine have V-A (91%) and four A-V (9%). The weight of postverbal adverbials (V-A) is distributed as follows: light (nine examples), medium (ten), and heavy (twenty). Examples are: 4.124 *þonne sceolan hi þegnian dæghwamlice Godes folce* 'then they must minister daily to God's people' (V-A1), 4.16 *Swa Drihten sylfa wæs sprecende þurh witgan* 'Thus the Lord himself spoke through the prophet' (V-A2), and 5.148 *forþon hi beoþ betuh him sylfum slitende wulfas* 'therefore they are, among themselves, ravenous wolves' (V-A3). As for the A-V order, all the adverbials are light, as in 4.242 *Forþon oft hit gesæleþ þæt ...* 'Therefore it often happens that ...' (A1-V).

There are fifteen clauses with two non-initial adverbials, of which eight have the V-A-A order, four A-V-A, and three A-A-V, as in 5.197 *þonne lufað he us on heofenum mid eallum his halgum* 'then will he love us in heaven with all his saints' (V-A-A), 6.114 *Nu on twam nihtum biþ mannes sunu geseald on synfulra hand* 'Now in two days shall the Son of Man be given into the hands of sinful men' (A-V-A), and 5.41 *swa þonne seo saul, ... hungre & þurste heo bið cwelmed* 'so then the soul will perish through hunger and thirst' (A-A-V).

Three non-initial adverbials occur in nine clauses, of which five have the order V-A-A-A, three A-A-A-V, and one A-V-A-A. Some examples are: 4.279 *þonne biþ hit eft him togeanes gehealden on þæm heofonlican goldhorde* 'then shall it be hereafter kept for him in the heavenly treasury' (V-A-A-A), 5.45 *swa þonne seo saul mid gastlicum þingum on ecnesse leofað* 'so, then, will the soul live with spiritual things in eternity' (A-A-A-V), and 5.42 *Forþon myccele swiðor we sceolan þencan be þæm gastlicum þingum þonne be þæm lichomlicum* 'Therefore much more ought we to take thought of spiritual than of carnal things' (A-V-A-A). I have found no examples which contain four or more non-initial adverbials.

3 Type C

In Type C clauses, 92% of the subjects (97 out of the total 105) occur preverbally (S-V), and their weight is distributed as follows: light (sixty-two instances), medium (nineteen), and heavy (sixteen).

Examples are: 4.18 & *he swa cwæþ* 'And he also said' (S1-V), 6.90 & *þa ceasterware cegdon & cwædon* 'and the citizens cried and said' (S2-V), and 6.190 *ac þa men (þa þe ...) nabbap hie na Crist on heora heortan* 'but those men (who ...) do not have Christ in their hearts' (if *hie* is considered as the (repeated) subject, this would be an example of V-S1). There are only eight examples with the order V-S, and the subject is either of medium weight (five examples) or of heavy weight (three), as in 6.66 & *is þeah heora heorte feor fram me* 'and yet their heart is far from me' (V-S2) and 4.222 & *on his onwealde is eal þes middangeard* 'and under his control is all the earth' (V-S3).

Direct objects are placed either preverbally (38 out of 75, or 51%) or postverbally (37 examples, or 49%). Among the O-V examples, more than half of the direct objects are light (twenty examples), twelve are of medium weight, and six of heavy weight; e.g. 4.228 & *he us þonne forgyldep* 'and he will then recompense us' (O1-V), 4.55 & *he næfre ræste nafap* 'and he will never have rest' (O2-V), and 6.243 & *ehtatyne syþum hund teontig þusenda hi tosendon* 'and eighteen hundred thousand they sent away' (O3-V). As for the V-O examples, there is only one instance of V-O1, and all the rest have direct objects of either medium weight (eleven instances) or heavy weight (twenty-five instances), as in 6.58 *ah ge nabbap me symle* 'but you do not always have me' (V-O1; the syntax of this clause may be influenced by the following clause which precedes it: 6.57 *Symle ge habbaþ þearfan* 'You always have the poor (with you)'), 5.157 & *hie gescyldaþ þa unscyldigan* 'and they shield the innocent' (V-O2), and 4.188 & *ge onfoþ eowerra synna forgifnessa* 'and you shall receive forgiveness of your sins' (V-O3). There are no instances with the accusative and infinitive in this clause type.

The indirect object is placed preverbally (I-V) nine times, and postverbally (V-I) three times. All but one of the preverbal indirect objects are light, as in 4.22 & *he us syleþ his wæstma genihtsumnesse* 'and he will give us the abundance of his fruits' (I1-V) and 4.244 & *mon þonne nohtes wyrþe his saule ne dep ne his goldes, ne his seolfres, ne his eorþwelena* 'and then one will not do anything profitable for his soul, of his gold, silver, or earthly riches' (I2-V; although I have parsed *his saule* as the indirect object, there may be other interpretations). In the three instances where the indirect object follows the finite verb (V-I), it is of medium weight in one instance, and of heavy weight in two; e.g. 6.191 *ac hie gearwiaþ deoflum eardunga* 'but they prepare a habitation for devils' (V-I2) and 4.133 & *God hafap alyfed eorþlicum mannum þæt ...* 'And God has permitted earthly men that ...' (V-I3). When there are direct and indirect objects in a clause, the order I-O is used nine times and O-I twice; see above for examples (I-O: 4.22, 4.133, 6.191; O-I 4.244).

Of the twenty-two instances with the complement, twenty have V-C (91%) and two C-V (9%). Some V-C examples are: 4.224 & *ealle gesceafta syndon his* 'and all creatures are his' (V-C1; a similar construction is found in the same homily - 4.221 & *we ealle syndon his* 'and we are all his'), 6.22 & *ic beo þin bite on helle* 'and I will be thy sting in hell' (V-C2), and 4.226 & *ure Drihten is swiþe gemyndig ealra þara gifena (þe ...)* 'And our Lord is very mindful of all the gifts (which ...)' (V-C3). The two instances with the C-V order are: 4.221 & *Godes is þæt yrfe (þe we big leofiaþ)* 'And the property(?) (by which we live) is God's' (C2-V; Morris (p. 50) has 'the substance (by which we live) is God's') and 4.222 (C3-V; see above).

There are sixty-one clauses that contain single adverbials; thirty-seven (61%) have A-V and twenty-four (39%) V-A. Weight plays a very important role, since the most frequent adverbial is light in the former (A1-V; 61% of those with A-V) and heavy in the latter (V-A3; 39% of those with V-A). Some examples are (I give only the homily and line number for those already quoted): 4.18 (A1-V), 4.180 & *manig deofol on him eardap* 'and many a devil shall abide in him' (A2-V), and 6.131 & *mid hire loccum dregde* 'and (Mary) dried (them) with her locks' (A3-V); 6.58 (V-A1), 6.22 (V-A2),

and 5.107 *ne hie ne gelyfaþ on þæt ece wuldor þæs heofenlican rices* 'nor will they trust in the eternal glory of the heavenly kingdom' (V-A3).

When there are two adverbials in a clause, the order A-A-V is the most frequent (11 of 25, or 44%), followed by A-V-A (32%) and V-A-A (24%); e.g. 6.43 & *eft mid hire loccum drygde* 'and afterwards dried (his feet) with her locks' (A-A-V), 5.69 & *forþ gewitaþ for þæs sumores hæton* 'and (the odours) dwindle away on account of the summer's heat' (A-V-A), and 6.66 (V-A-A).

Three or more adverbials are found in thirteen clauses. Examples and figures are as follows: 5.51 *ah sceolon þonne mid deoflum in ece wite gefeallan* 'but (they) shall then, along with devils, fall into eternal torment' (V-A-A-A; four examples), 6.244 & *wið feo sealdon wide into leodscipas* 'and (they) sold them for money into distant regions (A-V-A-A; four), 5.86 & *ofer þæt nahwær eft ne æteowaþ* 'and (all those) show (themselves) nowhere again after that' (A-A-A-V; three), and 5.73 & *he þonne siþþon mid sare geswenced bið, mid mislicum ecum & tyddernessum* 'and afterwards he is troubled by sorrow and by various ailments and infirmities' (A-A-V-A; two).

4 Type D

Majority of the dependent clauses have the order S-V both in non-conjoined clauses (373 of 381, or 98%) and in conjoined clauses (10 of 11, or 91%). Examples are: (non-conjoined) 4.149 *ær he ræste* 'before he would rest' (S1-V), 4.265 *forþon ure ylðran swultan* 'because our parents die' (S2-V), and 5.1 *hu se æþela lareow wæs sprecende* 'how the excellent teacher spoke' (S3-V); (conjoined) 4.43 (*gif...*) & *ge eow ondrædaþ þæt ...* 'and (if) you fear that ...' (S1-V; there are no instances with subjects of medium or heavy weight). The inverted order (V-S) is represented by only nine clauses, and there are no instances of V-S1; e.g. (non-conjoined; eight examples) 4.24 *hwæt yfela bebead Drihten æfre* 'what evil has the Lord ever enjoined' (V-S2) and 6.200 *on þære biþ sungeþ þæt halige geryne* 'in which holy mysteries are sung' (V-S3); (conjoined; one) 4.86 (*þæt...*) & *þone læddon feower awyrgde englas mid mycelre reþnesse* 'and (that) four accursed angels led him with great cruelty' (V-S3).

Generally speaking, direct objects prefer the preverbal position (O-V) in non-conjoined dependent clauses (60%) and in conjoined dependent clauses (77%). Moreover, examination of weight reveals the following. When the direct object is light, it almost always precedes the finite verb (O1-V) in both non-conjoined clauses (57 of 59, or 97%) and conjoined clauses (12 of 13, or 92%); e.g. (non-conjoined) 4.25 *þæt hi mon gehyrde* 'so that one would obey it' and (conjoined) 5.152 (*þe...*) & *þæs geswican nellap* 'and (who) will not forsake it'. Direct objects of medium weight (i.e., one-word, non-pronominal objects) are often placed preverbally (O2-V) in both types of clauses (78% in non-conjoined and 75% in conjoined), as in (non-conjoined) 4.29 *þæt we urne ceap teoþian* 'that we give tithes of our goods' and (conjoined) 5.146 (*þa þe...*) & *unrihtgestreon luþiaþ* 'and (those who) love unrighteous gains'. When it comes to heavy direct objects (O3), our corpus presents a mixed picture: non-conjoined clauses often have V-O3 (71%), whereas conjoined ones frequently have O3-V (67%). Some examples are: (non-conjoined) 4.100 *þe wile onfon Godes mildheortnesse & his synna forgifnesse* 'who will obtain God's mercy and forgiveness of his sins' and (conjoined) 5.128 (*þa þe...*) & *rihte domas soþfæstra manna onwendap* 'and (those who) pervert the right laws of just men.' Here, it may be observed that: (1) all of the clausal objects occur postverbally and (2) the well-known verb-late/final tendency is at work (this tendency seems to be further strengthened by the presence of conjunctions in conjoined clauses, since, as I mentioned earlier, this clause type shows a stronger preference for the O-V order). The accusative and infinitive construction is found three times, as in (non-conjoined; two examples) 4.56 *þætte God hete ealle þa aswæman æt heofona rices dura* 'that

God commanded all those to pine at the door of heaven's kingdom' (v-Z-V) and (conjoined; one) 4.206 (*gif Drihten ...*) & *þe læteþ þone teoþan dæl anne habban* 'and (if the Lord) lets you have only the tenth part' (Z-v-V).

There are only two conjoined clauses with indirect objects, both of which have the order V-I: 5.22 (*deofles wise bið þæt ...*) & *eft he wile hit him mid grimnesse & mid yfele eall forgyldan* '(it) is the devil's practice that ...' and he will afterwards recompense him for it all cruelly and ill' (V-I1) and 6.171 (*þæt ... man ...*) & *þa þonne gedælde þearfendum mannum* 'and (that one) then distributed them to the poor' (V-I3). In non-conjoined clauses, the indirect object tends to precede the finite verb (I-V; 30 of 50, or 60%), and this is where all of the light direct objects are found except for 4.12 quoted below. Some examples are: (I-V) 4.4 *þe us þa wæstmas sealde* 'who has given us these fruits' (I1-V; twenty-two examples), 6.142 *þæt we urum Drihtne bringað godra weorca swetne stenc* '(deserve) that we may bring to our Lord the sweet smell of good works' (I2-V; six), and 4.294 *þæt ge þa earmum mannum syllon* 'that you should give it to poor men' (I3-V; two); (V-I) 4.12 *ac forþon he wolde æghær ge ofer heofenum, ge ofer eorþan, us his miltse gecyþon* 'but because he would manifest to us his mercy both in heaven and on earth' (V-I1; one example), 4.29 *gif we willað syllan ure þæt wyrste Gode* 'if we desire to give the worst to God' (V-I2; ten), and 4.199 & *gif we þonne lustlice & rumlice þa welan dælaþ earmum monnum* 'And if we then joyfully and largely distribute to poor men the wealth' (V-I3; nine). When direct and indirect objects are present in non-conjoined clauses, sixteen have O-I (52%) and fifteen I-O (48%), the former may be found in the above-mentioned 4.29, 4.199, and 4.294, and the latter in 4.4, 4.12, and 6.142. There are only two conjoined clauses with two kinds of objects, both of which have the order O-I.

Complements often occur postverbally (V-C) in non-conjoined clauses (38 of 60, or 63%), as in 4.220 *þæt seo eorþe is Godes* 'that the earth is God's' (V-C2; eight examples) and 5.172 *þæt morþor sy seo mæste synne* 'that murder is the greatest sin' (V-C3; thirty). Examples of preverbal complements are as follows: 4.296 *þe Drihten on is mid his halgum, & mid eallum þam þe ...* 'in which the Lord is with his saints, and with all those who ...' (C1-V; one example; I have read *on* as (part of) the complement), 6.277 *þa þe on helle synt* 'those who are in hell' (C2-V; seventeen), and 6.236 *þe on þære byrig wæron* 'who were in the city' (C3-V; four). As for the conjoined clauses, there are only two instances with the complement; one has C-V and the other V-C, as in 5.72 (*þonne se geogophad ...*) & *fægerost bið* 'and (when youth) is fairest' (C2-V) and 6.51 (*forþon þe ...*) *ah he wæs gitsere, & se wyresta sceapa* 'but (because) he was a covetous man and the most wicked thief' (V-C3).

When there is only one adverbial element in a clause, it tends to precede the finite verb (A-V) in both non-conjoined (59%) and conjoined (72%) clauses. It is worth pointing out that most of the light single adverbials (55 of 62, or 89%; non-conjoined and conjoined clauses are lumped together) are preverbal. Examples are: (non-conjoined clauses) 4.38 *Gif ge þonne gelyfaþ ... þæt ...* 'If you then believe ... that ...' (A1-V), 6.76 (*on þas ceasterwic*) *þe inc ongean standeþ* '(in the village) that stands over against you' (A2-V), 5.40 *swa se lichoma buton mete & drence leofian ne mæg* 'as the body cannot live without meat and drink' (A3-V), 6.57 *gif ge willað teala don* 'if you desire to do well' (V-A1), 4.14 *þæt we gebugon to him* 'that we would be obedient to him' (V-A2), and 4.43 *þæt ge onfon to lythum leanum* 'that you will receive too little reward' (V-A3); (conjoined clauses; there are no examples of V-A1) 4.251 (*þe ...*) & *þa eorþlican gestreon swiþor lufode* 'and (who) loved earthly acquisitions more' (A1-V), 5.57 (*þe ...*) & *wiþ Gode gebetaþ* 'and (who) makes amends toward God' (A2-V), 6.161 (*þe ...*) & *mid hire loccum drygde* 'and (who) dried (them) with her locks' (A3-V), 6.30 (*þær ...*) & *he hine awehte of deape* 'and (where) he raised him from the dead' (V-A2), and 5.175 (*þæt*

man ...) & *tæle behindan him sylfum* 'and (that one) would backbite him' (V-A3).

When there are two adverbials in a clause, the following element order patterns are observed in non-conjoined clauses: A-A-V (46 of 80, or 58%), A-V-A (18, or 23%), and V-A-A (16, or 20%). Some examples are: 4.44 *þe ge nu for Gode syllap* 'which you now give for God's sake' (A-A-V), 5.61 *þe on ecnesse wunaþ on heofena rices gefean* 'that in eternity dwells in the joy of heaven's kingdom' (A-V-A), and 6.40 *se ne bið næfre fram hire afyrred* 'which shall never be taken away from her' (V-A-A). This preference for the A-A-V pattern, however, is not shared by conjoined clauses - it is possible that the sample is too small (eleven instances) to show any strong tendencies. Examples and figures are: 4.265 (*forþon ure yltran ...*) & *swiþe oft us from wendan* 'and (because our parents) very often go from us' (A-A-V; four examples), 6.14 (*þonne heora ciningas ...*) & *hie wæron eft ham hweorfende* 'and (when their kings) were returning home again' (V-A-A; four), and 4.175 (*þe ...*) & *þa wurdon on helle besencte* 'and (who) were then cast into hell' (A-V-A; three).

Three or more adverbials are found in twenty-five non-conjoined clauses, as in (in order of decreasing frequency) 4.211 *forþon symle æt þæm ytmestan dæge eal hit him wyrþ to teonan* 'because at the last day it all shall ever turn to grief to him' (A-A-V-A; ten examples), 5.56 *þe her on worlde mid rihte to Gode gecyrraþ* 'who here in this world shall rightly turn to God' (A-A-A-V; eight), 6.208 *forþon oft wic beoþ on manegum stowum medmycclre gesette* 'because villages in many places have often a mean situation' (A-V-A-A; six), and 6.294 *þær he leofað & rixað a buton ende, on ecnesse* 'where he lives and reigns without end, everlastingly' (V-A-A-A; one). There are only three conjoined clauses with three or more adverbials, and they are divided into two patterns: 4.81 (*þæt he ...*) & *þa sawle rapost mid ele & mid wætere æt þon wiþerweardan ahredde* 'and (that he) would speedily rescue the soul with oil and water from the adversary' (A-A-A-V; two examples) and 6.177 (*þæt ...*) & *hwæþere hie sceolan heora yfel gepylde arefnan on him selfum* 'and (that) nevertheless they must suffer patiently their wickedness against themselves' (A-V-A-A; one).

5 Summary

Preverbal position (S-V) is common for subjects in Type A (84%), C (92%), and D (98% in non-conjoined clauses (hereafter, D-nc) and 91% in conjoined clauses (hereafter D-c)). Type B has more instances of the order V-S (56%), more than half of which (56%) contain light subjects (V-S1).

The direct object shows a greater freedom in its position as can be seen in the following percentages of the O-V pattern: Type A (29%), B (11%), C (51%), and D (60% in D-nc and 77% in D-c). Light direct objects, however, clearly prefer the preverbal position (O1-V) in Type A (92% of those with O1 take this order), C (95%), and D (97% in D-nc and 92% in D-c); the corresponding percentage in Type B is much lower (30%), probably because the first two elements of this clause type are often A and V (#A-V-...). The sample is too small to say anything definite for the position of the accusative (Z).

Indirect objects prefer the preverbal position (I-V) in Type C (75%), and possibly in D-nc (60%; no such examples in D-c); it seems wise to exclude Type A from analysis because of its low numbers. Type B has more instances of V-I (83%), obviously influenced by the distinctive construction frequently employed in this clause type (see the preceding paragraph). When there are two kinds of objects in a clause, the order I-O is preferred in Type A (75%), B (78%), and C (82%); Type D has more instances of O-I (52% in D-nc and 100% in D-c).

The complement usually occurs postverbally in all clause types: the percentage of the V-C order is 75% in Type A, 92% in B, 91% in C, 62% in D-nc, and 50% in D-c. The relatively low frequency of the postverbal complement in Type D may be explained in view of a strong verb-late/final tendency of

this clause type.

When there is only one adverbial in a clause, the V-A pattern is preferred in Type A (72%), and A-V in Type C (61%) and Type D (59% in D-nc and 72% in D-c). If we look at non-initial single adverbials in Type B ('second' adverbials since it is mandatory for this clause type to have an adverbial element in clause-initial position), they are almost always placed after the finite verb (#A-V-A; 91%).

Two or more adverbials are placed in a variety of positions within a clause. The most frequent patterns in the four clause types are: (two adverbials) Type A (A-V-A; 50%), B (V-A-A; 53%), C (A-A-V; 44%), D-nc (A-A-V; 58%), and D-c (A-A-V/V-A-A; 36%); (three or more adverbials) Type A (A-V-A-A; 38%), B (V-A-A-A; 56%), C (A-V-A-A/V-A-A-A; 31%), D-nc (A-A-V-A; 40%), and D-c (A-A-A-V; 67%).

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Appendix Syntactic Information of Each Element in Blickling Homily IV, V, and VI

Subjects

	A	B	C	D	Total
S-V	125	50	97	383	655
S1	57	28	62	249	396
S2	39	8	19	81	147
S3	29	14	16	53	112
V-S	23	64	8	9	104
S1	1	29	0	0	30
S2	8	6	5	6	25
S3	14	29	3	3	49
Total	148	114	105	392	759

Direct objects

	A	B	C	D	Total
O-V	19	6	38	177	240
O1	11	3	20	66	100
O2	3	0	12	64	79
O3	5	3	6	47	61
V-O	47	51	37	111	246
O1	1	7	1	3	12
O2	12	11	11	18	52
O3	34	33	25	90	182
Total	66	57	75	288	486

Indirect objects

	A	B	C	D	Total
I-V	3	2	9	30	44
I1	3	1	8	22	34
I2	0	1	1	6	8
I3	0	0	0	2	2
V-I	3	10	3	22	40
I1	1	6	0	2	9
I2	2	3	1	10	16
I3	0	1	2	10	13
Total	6	12	12	52	82

Direct objects and indirect objects

	A	B	C	D	Total
I-O	3	7	9	15	34
I1-O1	0	0	1	2	3
I1-O2	0	0	3	4	7
I1-O3	2	3	3	3	11
I2-O1	0	0	0	0	0
I2-O2	1	0	1	1	3
I2-O3	0	3	0	3	6
I3-O1	0	0	0	0	0
I3-O2	0	0	0	0	0
I3-O3	0	1	1	2	4
O-I	1	2	2	18	23
O1-I1	0	1	0	3	4
O1-I2	0	1	0	2	3
O1-I3	0	0	0	4	4
O2-I1	0	0	1	0	1
O2-I2	0	0	0	1	1
O2-I3	0	0	0	2	2
O3-I1	0	0	0	0	0
O3-I2	1	0	1	5	7
O3-I3	0	0	0	1	1
Total	4	9	11	33	57

	A	B	C	D	Average
I-O	75%	78%	82%	45%	70%
O-I	25%	22%	18%	55%	30%

Complements

	A	B	C	D	Total
C-V	7	1	2	23	33
C1	1	0	0	1	2
C2	5	1	1	18	25
C3	1	0	1	4	6
V-C	21	11	20	39	91
C1	0	0	2	0	2
C2	5	5	8	8	26
C3	16	6	10	31	63
Total	28	12	22	62	124

Single adverbials

	A	B	C	D	Total
A-V	14	4	37	130	185
A1	10	4	23	55	92
A2	3	0	5	45	53
A3	1	0	9	30	40
V-A	36	39	24	86	185
A1	5	8	7	7	28
A2	14	10	4	22	50
A3	17	20	13	57	107
Total	50	43	61	216	360

	A	B	C	D	Average
A-V	28%	9%	61%	60%	40%
V-A	72%	91%	39%	40%	60%

Two adverbials

	A	B	C	D	Total
A-A-V	3	3	11	50	63
A-V-A	7	4	8	21	37
V-A-A	4	8	6	20	34
Total	14	15	25	91	145

	A	B	C	D	Average
A-A-V	21%	20%	44%	55%	35%
A-V-A	50%	27%	32%	23%	33%
V-A-A	29%	53%	24%	22%	32%

Three or more adverbials

	A	B	C	D	Total
A-A-A-V	2	3	3	10	18
A-A-V-A	2	0	2	10	14
A-V-A-A	3	1	4	7	15
V-A-A-A	1	5	4	1	11
Total	8	9	13	28	58

	A	B	C	D	Average
A-A-A-V	25%	33%	23%	36%	29%
A-A-V-A	25%	0%	15%	36%	19%
A-V-A-A	38%	11%	31%	25%	26%
V-A-A-A	13%	56%	31%	4%	26%

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