Element Order in *The Blickling Homilies*: Part I

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Abstract

This paper is the first of a series of studies on the element order patterns that appear in *The Blickling Homilies.* Drawing on more than nine hundred clauses in the first three homilies of this collection, the current study particularly examines relationships between element order, clause category, and weight.

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

0　Introduction

　This study investigates the element order patterns in Blickling Homily I, II, and III (references are to Morris (1874-1880), by homily and line; I have also adopted some of the modifications and changes in the Dictionary of Old English corpus). I plan to present a comprehensive syntactical investigation of the Blickling Homiliary after analysing all the homilies therein.

　The following sentential elements are distinguished: V (the finite verb in simple and complex verb phrases; impersonal verbs and expressions are excluded from analysis), S (the subject), O (the direct object), I (the indirect object), C (the complement), and A (the adverbial). Further distinctions - such as n (the negative adverb *ne*) and D (the split element) - are applied where appropriate.

　The sentential elements above are also distinguished by their weight. The system of classification is as follows:

> **light**: pronouns (like *hit* and *min*)/ one-word adverbials (like *þa* and *soþlice*)/ finite verbs of one syllable (like *wæs* and *mæg*)
>
> **medium**: nouns unqualified by an adjective (like *fæder*)/ nouns qualified only by a demonstrative or a possessive pronoun (like *se fæder* and *min fæder*)/ one-word adjectival complements (like *gastlic*)/ adverbials of two words (like *on worulde*)/ finite verbs of two syllables (like *wæron* and *magon*)
>
> **heavy**: nouns/pronouns qualified by a reflexive pronoun, or by one or more adjectives (like *he sylfa* and *se arfæsta fæder*)/ clauses (like *þæt þis is selre*)/ 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*) / finite verbs of three or more syllables (like *tacnode* and *geþrowade*)

The numbers 1, 2, and 3 denote light, medium, and heavy weight respectively; and the sentential elements may be accompanied by these numbers, as in 'S1' (= a light (pronominal) subject) and 'S3' (= a heavy subject).

Clauses are divided into the following four types (cf. Mitchell (1985: § 3889) and Hiyama (2005: 32-33)):

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 such conjunctions as *ond*, *ac*, or *ne*

Type D: dependent clauses

Thus, imperative, interrogative, and optative clauses are excluded from analysis.

In what follows, the figures combine those in Homilies I, II, and III. Differences between the homilies will be dealt with only when they are considered essential. Old English citations are accompanied by Morris's translations with some modifications where appropriate. The appendix offers detailed data in tabular format.

1 Type A

Of the 132 Type A clauses which contain both the subject and the finite verb, the former precedes the latter (S-V) in 124 clauses (or 94% of the total instances), as in 1.27 *He cwæþ se engel to hire* 'The angel said to her' (S1-V), 2.21 *Hælend þa gestod* 'Then the Saviour stood still' (S2-V), and 3.40 *ealle þas god cumaþ of þæm æsprenge Godes mildheortnesse* 'all these good things come from the fountain of God's mercy' (S3-V). In the remaining eight clauses with the order V-S, all of the verbs are simple (i.e. there are no instances of complex verb phrases) and the subject is either medium (four instances) or heavy (four) in weight, e.g. 1.101 *Eala men þa leofestan, mycel wæs þes ærendwreca* 'Oh, dearest men, great was this messenger' (V-S2) and 2.120 *oþon leohte is fulfremednesse weg* 'in that light is the way of perfection' (V-S3; Morris (1874-1880: 355) has '*oþon = on þon*, "in that"'). It seems significant that there are no clauses where a light subject follows a verb (V-S1; see the corresponding reference in Type B below).

In 42 of the 64 examples (66%), direct objects follow finite verbs (V-O) and the weight of the former (O) is distributed as follows: light (two examples), medium (nine), and heavy (thirty-one). Some examples are: 2.154 *þu scealt fylgean me* 'you shall follow me' (V-O1), 1.3 *Maria cende þonne Drihten on blisse* 'then Mary brought forth the Lord with rejoicing' (V-O2; Morris (1874-1880: 2) reads *þonne* as 'when'), and 3.137 *We magon ongytan on þæm ure tydran gecynd* 'We may perceive in him our frail nature' (V-O3). In the 22 clauses with O-V (34%), the direct object is not always light; in fact, it is either medium or heavy in more than half of the instances (14), as in 2.49 *Drihten þa þurh his tocyme þysne middangeard onlyhte* 'Our Lord, then, by his coming, illuminated this world' (O2-V) and 3.129 *Eala hwæt Drihten deofles costunga geþyldelice abær* 'Lo! our Lord endured the temptation of the devil patiently' (O3-V).

Indirect objects almost always precede the finite verb (I-V; 16 of 18 instances, or 89%) except when they are heavy (V-I3; two instances), as in 1.6 *Maria brohte þurh heo þone ecean gefean eallum middangearde* 'Mary brought forth through herself the everlasting joy for all the world' and 1.43 *Heo hæfde hire sylfre geworht þæt mæste wite & eallum hire cynne* 'She brought upon herself and all her kin the greatest misery' (the heavy indirect object is split in two: *hire sylfre ... & eallum hire cynne*). In clauses with direct (O) and indirect (I) objects, the order O-I occurs four times and I-O six times. All the direct objects are either medium or heavy in weight, and the indirect object is light twice in the former (O-I1) and six times in the latter (I1-O); e.g. 3.66 *þas ealle ic þe sylle* 'All these will I give thee' (O2-I1; Morris (1874-1880: 29) notes that the tops of all the words in the phrase *ic þe sylle* are clipped off in the manuscript) and 2.35 *he him gehet his æriste* 'he promised his resurrection to them' (I1-O2).

The complement usually follows the verb (V-C; 26 of 30 instances, or 87%), as in 2.140 *se bið hal geworden* 'he shall be saved' (V-C2) and 1.13 *Gabriel wæs þissa brydþingaærendwreca* 'Gabriel was the messenger of these nuptials' (V-C3). Three of the four instances with the C-V order are in Homily II, which are: 2.120 (C3-V; quoted above in the first paragraph of this section), 2.189 *he him æt his ende grim geweorþeþ* 'he shall become terrible at his death' (C2-V; the clause-final position of the finite verb may have been influenced by the preceding dependent clause - *& se þe him þonne ne wile wiþstondan* 'And he who, then, will not withstand him' - which starts the sentence), and 2.196 *Eadige beoþ þa þe nu wepað* 'Blessed are they who weep now' (C2-V; the heavy subject - *þa þe nu wepað* - is postponed).

Clauses may contain more than one adverbial element. Thus, the adverbial is treated according to its number in a given clause: (1) single adverbials, (2) two adverbials, and (3) three (or more) adverbials. Single adverbials often follow finite verbs (V-A; 35 of 53 examples, or 66%), and they are mostly either medium or heavy in weight (thirty examples), as in 1.7 *Eua cende hire bearn on sare* 'Eve brought forth her child in pain' (V-A2) and 2.53 *Halige gewreotu us tacniaþ þas world þurh þone monan* 'Holy Scriptures liken this world unto the moon' (V-A3). The pattern A-V (eighteen examples) is illustrated in the following examples: 2.67 *Se þonne ne ongyteþ þa þeostra his agenra synna* 'He then does not perceive the darkness of his own sins' (A1-V), 3.114 *se to þon com* 'he came for that' (A2-V), and 2.119 *Þæt leoht on nanre tide ne ablinneþ* 'That (spiritual) light shall never fail' (A3-V).

When there are two adverbials in a clause, more than half (9 of 16 instances, or 56%) have the order V-A-A, followed by A-V-A (four) and A-A-V (three); e.g. 1.61 *Drihten com on middangeard mid Israhela cynne* 'The Lord came into the world among the people of Israel' (V-A-A), 2.17 *He þa cleopode hluddre stefne* 'Then he cried with a loud voice' (A-V-A), and 3.64 *eode swa þeah on þa frecenesse* 'nevertheless (he) went on in his audacity' (A-A-V).

There are only five clauses with three (or more) adverbials: A-A-A-V occurs twice, V-A-A-A-A once, and A-A-V-A once, as in 2.25 *He þa sona instæpes geseh* 'Then immediately he saw' (A-A-A-V), 2.75 *Þa cumaþ oft þurh deofles sceonessa ær to manna heortan* 'They often come through the suggestions of the devil into men's hearts' (V-A-A-A-A; I interpret *ær* as an adverb 'marking readiness ... [used] with correlative conjunction' (Toller (1921: 18)), since this clause is immediately followed by 2.76 *ær Drihtnes weorc þær wunian mote* 'before the Lord's works may abide there'), and 1.114 *He þa Drihten on þære fæmnan brydbure, & on þæm gerisnlican hehsetle onfeng lichoman gegyrelan to his godcundnesse* 'Then he, the Lord, in the chamber of the virgin, in that seemly throne, took a bodily garment for his divinity' (A-A-V-A).

2　Type B

There are 107 clauses which contain both the subject and the finite verb, of which 45 (42%) have S-V and 62 (58%) have V-S. We have seen in the previous section that only six per cent of the Type A clauses have V-S, and the striking difference between Type A and B is confirmed here. If we look at the figures more closely, the V-S order is used more often in clauses with complex verb phrases (66%) than those with simple verb phrases (54%). Some examples are: (S-V) 2.169 *Nu we gehyrađ þæt ...* 'Now we hear that ...' (S1-V), 3.48 *For þrim þingum Hælend eode on westen* 'For three reasons the Saviour went into the wilderness' (Morris (1874-1880: 29) notes that the tops of the word *Hælend* are clipped off), and 3.101 *Þurh Cristes sige ealle halige wæron gefreolsode* 'Through Christ's victory all holy men were set free' (S3-V); (V-S) 1.73 *þa cwæþ heo þus* 'then she spoke thus' (V-S1), 3.82 *Wel geheowede Dauid þæt* 'Well did David devise it' (V-S2), and 2.14 *Þa sæt þær sum blind þearfa be đon wege* 'Then there sat a blind beggar by the way' (V-S3).

The direct object follows the finite verb in 79% of the instances (V-O; 41 of 52), as in 3.8 *Þa genam hine se awyrgda gast* 'Then the accursed spirit took him' (V-O1), 2.39 *hwæþre he getrymede heora geleafan mid þon heofonlicon weorce* 'nevertheless, he confirmed their belief by means of his heavenly works' (V-O2), and 1.151 *swa þonne þa heofonlican englas sceldađ & healdađ ealle halige sawla* 'so then the heavenly angels shield and guard all holy souls' (V-O3). The order O-V (11 of 52, or 11%) is illustrated by the following examples: 2.32 *Forđon he þis dyde* 'For that cause, he did this' (O1-V), 3.123 *Mid his geþylde he us bysene onstealde* 'By his patience he has set us an example' (O2-V), and 3.36 *swa he us ælces godes bysene onstealde* 'so has he given us example of every thing' (O3-V; *swa* could be a conjunction).

There are only four clauses which contain the indirect object, where it always precedes the finite verb (I-V), as in 3.123 quoted in the previous paragraph and 2.103 *Gelimplice he us lærde & monade, hu ...* 'Fortunately he has taught and instructed us how ...' (both with I1-V; it is interesting to note that while Morris (1874-1880: 312) glosses *gelimplice* as '*adv.* fittingly', he chose to write 'fortunately' in the translation). In the six clauses which have both the direct object and the indirect object, the latter always precedes the former (I-O), as exemplified in the above-mentioned 2.103 (I1-O3) and 3.123 (I1-O2).

The complement almost always follows the finite verb (V-C; 10 of 11 instances, or 91%), as in 3.128 *þonne beo we sona yrre* 'then are we soon angry' (V-C2) and 1.103 *forþon his nama wæs gereht Godes strengo* 'therefore his name signifies "the strength of God"' (V-C3). The solitary example with C-V has a complement of medium weight: 1.57 *Of þon me eadige cwædon ealle cneorisna* 'from thenceforth all generations have called me blessed' (C2-V).

Since Type B clauses must begin with either the negative adverb *ne* or an adverbial, it is necessary to make more detailed distinctions here than in the other clause types. Thus, Type B clauses with adverbials are divided into the following four categories: (1) those with single initial adverbials only, (2) those with single non-initial adverbials, (3) those with two non-initial adverbials, (4) those with three or more non-initial adverbials. (See below for examples. I stress that initial adverbials and *ne* are disregarded in (2)-(4) - hence they all contain the phrase 'non-initial adverbials'.)

When the clause contains only one adverbial element (including *ne*) in initial position, the initial element is distributed as follows: *ne* (five examples), A1 (twenty-seven), A2 (five), and A3 (four). It is worth mentioning that 66% of these initial adverbials (27 of 41) are light. Some examples are: 3.138 *ne costode he hine* 'he would not have tempted him' (n-V; included here is the

following instance which begins with *na*: 3.140 *na him englas ne þegnodon* 'angels would not have ministered unto him'), 1.77 *Eft he cwæþ* 'He spoke again' (A1-V), 2.155 *On þon he us bysene onstealde* 'In this he set an example for us' (A2-V), and 1.188 *On þære gesihðe wesað ealle geleaffulle* 'In that sight (there) shall be all believers' (A3-V). The above-mentioned dominance of light adverbials (A1) does not change if all the Type B clauses - irrespective of the number of adverbials in a given clause - are taken into account: indeed, 74% of the initial adverbials are light (A1), followed by *ne* (12%), A2 (8%), and A3 (6%).

There are forty-one clauses which have single non-initial adverbials, of which thirty-seven have V-A, and four have A-V; e.g. (V-A) 1.96 *Þurh þe sceal beon se ingang eft geopenod* 'through you, the entrance shall be opened again' (V-A1), 2.5 *Nu we faraþ to Gerusalem* 'Now we shall go to Jerusalem' (V-A2), and 3.85 *swa Crist oferswiþde þæt deofol mid þisse cyþnesse* 'so Christ over-came the devil with this testimony' (V-A3); (A-V) 2.30 *Nu ær we gehyrdon þæt ...* 'Now we have previously heard that ...' (A1-V), 3.93 *Swa se witga be þam cwæþ* 'So the prophet spoke concern-ing him' (A2-V), and 3.115 *forþon he mid his costunge ure costunge oferswiþde* 'therefore he with his temptation has overcome our temptation' (A3-V).

Two non-initial adverbials are found in eighteen clauses, and the pattern V-A-A occurs fifteen times and A-V-A three times (there are no clauses with A-A-V), as in 2.59 *Þa cyrde sona þæt heofonlice leoht to þyssum menniscan cynne* 'then the heavenly light immediately returned to mankind' (V-A-A) and 3.151 *Swa we eac agyltaþ þurh feower þing* 'So we also sin through four things' (A-V-A).

There are only two clauses with three or more non-initial adverbials, both of which have adverbials postverbally (V-A-A-A...): 2.108 *þy we sceolan þonne eac, in þa tid þæs gebedes, ure heortan geclænsian from oþrum geþohtum* 'therefore, then, we must also cleanse our hearts from other thoughts in the time of prayer' (V-A-A-A-A) and 3.179 *Þonne sceolon we nu for þon dæghwamlicum synnum on þas tid georne clænsian, mid fæstenne, & mid halgum wæccum, & mid ælmessum* 'Then must we now, at this time because of our daily sins diligently cleanse ourselves with fasts and with holy vigils and with alms' (V-A-A-A-A-A).

3 Type C

Subjects usually precede finite verbs in Type C clauses (S-V; 72 of 81, or 89%), as in 1.54 *& bliþe mode heo sang on þæm cantice* 'and with a joyful mind she sang in her psalm' (S1-V), 2.61 *& forðon God to us niþer astag* 'and therefore God came down to us' (S2-V), and 3.169 *& þa Easterlican dagas tacniaþ þa ecean eadignesse* 'and the Easter days denote the eternal blessedness' (S3-V). The V-S order, which is frequent in Type B clauses (45 of 107, or 58%), is not common in Type C clauses (9 of 81, or 11%); Type C, therefore, is closer to Type A which has even fewer in-stances of V-S (8 of 132, or 6%). Some examples are: 1.102 *& mycel ærende brohte he* 'and a great message brought he" (V-S1), 1.1 *Ond wæs se dom oncyrred Euan ungesælignesse* 'And the doom of Eve's infelicity was reversed' (V-S2; it may also be possible to interpret this clause as having the V-S3 order, since the whole of the heavy subject - though split in two - is placed after the fi-nite verb *wæs*), and 2.6 *& þonne beoð gefylde ealle þa halgan gewreotu* 'and then all the holy writ-ings shall be fulfilled' (V-S3).

Of the 71 clauses with the direct object, 38 (54%) have O-V and 33 (46%) have V-O. However, they are far from evenly balanced if we consider the weight of the direct object: light objects (O1) account for 58% (22 of 38) of those with O-V, while medium and heavy objects (O2/O3) account

for 79% (26 of 33) of those with V-O. Some examples are: 1.64 (*hie ...*) *and hine on rode ahengon* 'and (they) hung him on the cross' (O1-V), 2.173 *(hie ...) & þa wundan beag of þornum* 'and then (they) wove a crown of thorns' (V-O2), and 3.70 *Ac se forhwyrfda gast spræc forhwyrfedlice word* 'But the perverted spirit spoke perverse words' (V-O3).

There are eight clauses which contain the indirect object, of which five have I-V and three have V-I, as in 1.61 *(Drihten ...) and him eces lifes bysene onstealde* 'and (the Lord) set forth to them example of eternal life' (I1-O3-V), 2.50 *(Drihten ...) & eallum geleaffulum monnum heora gong gestaþelade to lifes wege* 'and (our Lord) restored, to all believers, the path to the way of life' (I3-O2-V), and 1.46 *ond nu þeos halige fæmne Sancta Maria brohte eallum geleaffullum þæs bletsunga & ece hælo* 'and now this holy virgin Mary brought to all believers these blessings and eternal salvation' (V-I3-O3). The three examples above also serve to show that the indirect object always precedes the direct object (I-O) when these two kinds of objects occur together in a clause.

The complement is almost always placed after the finite verb (V-C; 10 out of 11, or 91%), the only exception being 2.143 *(we ...) & swa wæron* 'and (we) were so' (C1-V; Morris's (1874-1880: 22) translation reads '(we are exiles in this world,) and so have been').

Single adverbials often precede finite verbs (A-V; 48 of 72, or 67%), of which thirty-one are light, as in 1.55 *(heo ...) & þus cwæþ* 'and (she) thus said' (A1-V).

In Type C clauses with two adverbials, the order A-V-A is the most frequent (14 of 28, or 50%), followed by A-A-V (nine) and V-A-A (five); e.g. 1.62 *(Drihten ...) & hie to heofona rice laþode, þurh his wundorgeweorc & þurh þa godspellican lare* 'and (the Lord) invited them to heaven's kingdom, through his miracles and evangelical teaching' (A-V-A; the conjoined adverbials - *þurh his wundorgeweorc & ... lare* - are considered as one element), 2.10 *& þy þriddan dæge he of deaþe ariseþ* 'and on the third day he shall rise from death' (A-A-V), and 1.67 *& þær wæs Euan wop ute betyned þurh þære a clænan fæmnan* 'and there, the lamentation of Eve was ended through the ever-pure virgin' (V-A-A).

There are five clauses which contain three or more adverbials, as in 1.33 *ac se geleafa sceal beon fram eorþan up to heofonum areaht* 'but the faith must be proclaimed from earth up to heaven' (V-A-A-A; one example), 3.144 *(he ...) & þa eode sona on þæt westen* 'and (he) at once went into the desert' (A-V-A-A; two), 1.113 *& he þa se heofonlica ærendwreca eft ham cerde on ða uplican ricu* 'And then he, the heavenly messenger, returned home unto the kingdom above' (A-A-A-V-A; one), and 2.170 *& he eft æfter fæce æt þæm unlædum Iudeum manig bysmor geþrowade* 'and again, after a time, he suffered many contumelies from the wicked Jews' (A-A-A-V; one).

4   Type D

In this section, a distinction is made between non-conjoined clauses and conjoined clauses.

Preverbal position is the regular position for the subject (S-V) in most of the non-conjoined dependent clauses (292 of 302, or 97%), as in 1.8 *forþon þe heo on synnum geeacnod wæs* 'because she had conceived in sin' (S1-V), 2.57 *mid þy þe se Hælend genealæhte Gericho* 'when the Saviour came nigh to Jericho' (S2-V), and 3.59 *þæt se awergda gast ongan Godes bec trahtian* '(it is certain) that the accursed spirit began to expound God's books' (S3-V). The remaining ten clauses have V-S, whose subject is either medium (three examples) or heavy (seven) in weight; e.g. 3.197 *þæt Gode bið þæt fæsten swyþe gecweme* '(we heard) that fasting is very pleasing to God' (V-S2) and 1.150 *þæt on hire eardode se heofonlica cyning* '(they knew) that in her abode the heavenly king' (V-S3). The V-S pattern is also uncommon in conjoined dependent clauses (2 of 12

instances, or 14%), as in 1.175 *(þæt ...) & hire cydde se engel þæt ...* 'and (when) the angel had announced to her that ...' (V-S2) and 3.22 *& þa gesetton halige fæderas & godes folces lareowas þa tid þæs fæstenes foran to Cristes þrowunga* 'and (it is certain that) then, the holy fathers and teachers of God's people have instituted the time of this fast before the passion of Christ' (V-S3). (It must be noted that these two instances are preceded by the conjunction *þæt(te)* whose functions are uncertain.) Some examples of the S-V pattern in conjoined clauses are: 1.12 *(þæt ...) & on þæm cnihtgebeorþre heo a clæne þurhwunode* '(that ...) and in child-bearing she remained clean' (S1-V), 1.23 *(forðon þe ...) & seo synn wæs adilegod* 'and (because) the sin was eradicated' (S2-V), and 2.88 *(þæt ...) & seo godcunde meht a staþolfæstlice stondeþ* 'and (let us hear that) the divine might stands ever firm' (S3-V).

The order O-V is found in 65% of the non-conjoined dependent clauses (95 of 146), as in 1.159 *þæt he us gesohte on þas ælþeodignesse* 'that he sought us in this exile' (O1-V), 2.27 *þe þis wundor geseah* 'who saw this miracle' (O2-V), and 3.97 *þonne he þone awyrgdan gast oferswiþe, & þone wælhreowan feond þisse menniscan gecynd* 'when he overcame the accursed spirit and the cruel enemy of mankind' (O3-V; I differ from Morris (1874-1880: 390) who reads *þonne* as 'than that'). Although the corresponding percentage is lower in conjoined dependent clauses (14 of 25, or 56%), both types of dependent clauses share the characteristic that more than half of the preverbal direct objects are light (O1-V).

Indirect objects almost always precede finite verbs (I-V) in both non-conjoined and conjoined dependent clauses: the percentage is 83% (10 of 12) in the former and 100% (4 of 4) in the latter. All the indirect objects are either light or medium in weight. Some examples are: (non-conjoined clauses) 1.2 *þæt hire wæs togecweden* '(the doom) which was forbidden to her' (I1-V) and 3.95 *þe he middangearde forgeaf þurh his tocyme* '(of all the gifts) that he has given to this world through his advent' (I2-V); (conjoined clauses) 1.160 *(þæt he ...) & us sealde halwendne geþoht & heofonlice bebodu* 'and (that he) gave us a healthful mind and heavenly behests' and 2.101 *(se ...) & him leoht forgeaf* 'and (he who) gave light to the blind man' (both with I1-V). (The following clause is excluded from analysis since it does not contain a finite verb: 3.51 *(forþon þe he wolde ...) & mannum gecyþan þæt ...* 'and (because he would) show to mankind that ...'.) There are only two clauses (both non-conjoined) with the order V-I: 3.72 *þæm þe þa heofonlican ricu gearwaþ eallum geleaffullum* '(to him) who shall prepare heavenly kingdoms for all believers' and 3.199 *þe ænig man gedeþ his þæm nehstan, of arfæstre heortan & mildre* 'which any man does to his neighbour from a pious and merciful heart' (both with heavy indirect objects). When there are two kinds of objects in a clause, an indirect object precedes a direct object (I-O) in twelve of the thirteen instances; the only exception is 3.72 (O3-I3; see above). Some examples of the I-O pattern are: 1.58 *forþon he me mycel dyde* 'because he has done to me great things' (I1-O2), 2.30 *þæt Hælend his þegnum sæde his þrowunga & þa sar & ða bysmra* '(we heard) that the Saviour spoke to his disciples concerning his passion, and pain, and the mockery' (I2-O3), and 3.71 *þa he wolde þæm hean cininge & þæm heofonlican eorþlicu ricu syllan* 'when he would give earthly kingdoms to the exalted and heavenly king' (I3-O3).

In non-conjoined dependent clauses, the complement usually follows the verb (V-C; 26 of 34, or 76%), as in 1.111 *þæt heo sceolde modor beon hire Scyppendes* '(the angel said) that she should be the mother of her creator' (V-C2) and 1.76 *þæt bið halig Godes Sunu genemned* 'that shall be called the Son of God' (V-C3). There are only two non-conjoined clauses with complements, both of which have the order C-V: 1.12 (C2-V; quoted above in the second paragraph of this section)

and 3.170 *(swa we ...) & on andrysnum þingum beoþ on þysse worlde* 'and (the more we) are in adverse circumstances in this world' (C3-V).

Single adverbials are placed preverbally (A-V) in half of the non-conjoined dependent clauses (63 of 126, or 50%), and in 67% (12 of 18) of those conjoined. Some examples are: (non-conjoined clauses) 1.114 *þonon þe he ær sended wæs* 'from where he was sent previously' (A1-V), 2.29 *þæt we þe geornor witon þæt ...* 'so that we may the better understand that ...' (A2-V), and 3.21 *þæs þe he of þam fulwihtes bæþe eode* 'as soon as the Lord went out of the bath of baptism' (A3-V); (conjoined clauses; there are no instances with A3-V) 2.194 *(þæt mon ...) & georne bete* 'and (that a man) earnestly makes amendment' (A1-V) and 1.94 *(Forþon þe ...) & Adames gylt þurh þe sceal beon geþingod* 'and (because) Adam's guilt will be interceded by you' (A2-V; Morris's (1874-1880: 8) translation reads: 'through thee shall intercession be made for Adam's guilt').

There are forty-two non-conjoined clauses with two adverbials, of which nineteen have V-A-A, twelve have A-V-A, and eleven have A-A-V, as in 1.88 *þæt se Halga Gast cumeþ ufan on þe* '(it may come to pass) that the Holy Ghost shall come upon you' (V-A-A), 2.43 *þa he þurh his þa mycclan miht worhte beforan manna eagum* 'which he, through his great power, performed before men's eyes' (A-V-A), and 3.160 *gif we þonne on þæm syx wucan forlætaþ þa syx Sunnandagas þæs fæstennes* 'if we then in the six weeks omit the six Sundays of the fast' (A-A-V). There are five conjoined clauses with two adverbials; their distribution and examples are: 1.108 *(þæt ...) & bifigendre stefne eaðmodlice ondswarode* 'and (the evangelist informs us that) with trembling voice (Mary) meekly replied' (A-A-V; three examples) and 2.140 *(se þe ...) & on þon þurhwunaþ oþ ende his lifes* 'and (he who) continues with it until the end of his life' (A-V-A; two examples).

Three or more adverbials are found in seven non-conjoined clauses, as in 1.132 *forþon þe þurh þa eaðmodnesse feowerfealdlice mid geleaffullum he gefylde þysne middangeard* 'because, through meekness, he has filled fourfoldly this earth with believers' (A-A-A-V; one example), 1.147 *þe þær stondende wæron ymb þa reste for nihtlicum ege* 'who were standing about the bed for fear of nightly alarm' (A-V-A-A; two), and 3.28 *forþon þe we beoð oft costode from deofle æfter urum fulwihte* 'because we are often tempted by the devil after our baptism' (V-A-A-A; four). There is only one conjoined clause with three adverbials: 1.123 *(þæt ...) & þa swa se hyhtenda gigant, swa Drihten on middangearde bliðe wunode* 'and (it came to pass that) then, the exulting giant, or the Lord, dwelt joyfully on the earth' (A-A-A-V; Morris's (1874-1880: 8) translates this as 'and then as the exulting giant so the Lord dwelt joyfully on the earth').

5 Summary

The subject usually precedes the finite verb (S-V) in Types A, C, and D; approximate percentages of this order are 94% in Type A, 89% in Type C, and 97% in Type D. Type B, however, has more instances of the V-S pattern (56%), and it is also characteristic of this type that as many as half of these postverbal subjects are pronouns (V-S1); when this order occurs in Types A, C, and D, the subject is almost always medium or heavy in weight - there are only two instances (both Type C) in which the subject is light: one is 1.102 quoted in section 3, and the other is 2.164 *& þa nolde he him geceosan welige yldran* 'and he would not, then, choose wealthy parents for himself' where the adverbial *þa* is responsible for the inversion.

The ratio between O-V and V-O is 55:45. This seems to suggest that direct objects are distributed almost evenly. But we get a completely different picture if we look at the same clauses in terms of the weight of direct objects. Although light objects (O1) are used in 51% of the instances

with O-V, they are used in only 11% of those with V-O. In other words, the V-O pattern mostly occurs in clauses with medium or heavy objects (O2/O3). Although Type B differs from the other clause types in having more instances of V-O1 (34%), this relatively high percentage seems better to be discounted in view of its strong tendency to have the finite verb in second position after the initial adverbial.

We have seen that weight is one of the deciding factors in the relative positions of grammatical elements, and the influence of weight seems to be the strongest in the positioning of indirect objects. Preverbal position is occupied by 83% of indirect objects, of which 79% are light; and there are no instances of V-I1, namely light indirect objects following finite verbs, in the present corpus. When there are two kinds of objects (O and I) in a clause, the order I-O is the norm.

Complements usually follow finite verbs (V-C; 80% of instances), and this percentage would be even higher if we take into consideration the presence of thirteen Type D clauses with C-V since it seems reasonable to assume that many (or some at least) of these C-V clauses are influenced by another factor, i.e. a strong verb-late/final tendency in subordinate clauses.

Compared with the other sentential elements dealt with above, adverbials show much greater flexibility in their position. (It is to be noted that, in dealing with Type B, only non-initial adverbials are taken into account; see section 2 for the analysis of initial adverbials in this clause type.)

When there is one adverbial in a clause, percentages of A-V in each clause type are: Type A (34%), Type B (10%; non-initial adverbials), Type C (66%), and Type D (53%). The influence of weight is somewhat puzzling, as indicated by the following percentages of light single adverbials preceding finite verbs (A1-V) in the four types: Type A (78% of those with A-V), Type B (50%), Type C (64%), and Type D (45%). These percentages are in sharp contrast to those of light single adverbials following finite verbs (V-A1): Type A (14% of those with V-A), Type B (32%), Type C (17%), and Type D (7%). Thus, it may be seen that most of the postverbal adverbials are either medium or heavy in weight (with the possible exception, of course, of Type B, since only 'second' non-initial adverbials in this type are considered).

When there are two adverbials in a clause, V-A-A is the most frequent pattern (48% on average), followed by A-V-A (31%) and A-A-V (20%; 81% of the finite verbs are in final position). Similar tendencies are observed in clauses with three or more adverbials: V-A-A-A is the most frequent (46% on average), followed by A-A-A-V (29%; 57% of the finite verbs are in final position), A-V-A-A (17%), and A-A-V-A (8%).

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Appendix Syntactic Information of Each Element in Blickling Homily I, II, and III

Subjects

	A	B	C	D	Total
S-V	124	45	73	352	594
S1	67	30	50	239	386
S2	41	5	12	70	128
S3	16	10	11	43	80
V-S	8	58	9	12	87
S1	0	29	2	0	31
S2	4	7	1	4	16
S3	4	22	6	8	40
Total	132	103	82	364	681

Indirect objects

	A	B	C	D	Total
I-V	16	4	5	15	40
I1	14	4	4	9	31
I2	1	0	0	4	5
I3	0	0	1	0	1
V-I	2	0	3	3	8
I1	0	0	0	0	0
I2	0	0	0	0	0
I3	1	0	1	2	4
Total	18	4	8	18	48

Direct objects

	A	B	C	D	Total
O-V	22	11	37	137	207
O1	8	7	21	69	105
O2	10	3	8	38	59
O3	4	1	8	30	43
V-O	41	41	26	63	171
O1	1	14	0	3	18
O2	0	9	8	9	26
O3	31	18	18	51	118
Total	63	52	12	200	378

Direct objects and indirect objects

	A	B	C	D	Total
I-O	6	4	6	12	28
I1-O1	0	0	0	0	0
I1-O2	3	2	1	3	9
I1-O3	3	2	3	5	13
I2-O1	0	0	0	0	0
I2-O2	0	0	0	0	0
I2-O3	0	0	0	3	3
I3-O1	0	0	0	0	0
I3-O2	0	0	1	0	1
I3-O3	0	0	1	1	2
O-I	4	0	0	3	7
O1-I1	0	0	0	0	0
O1-I2	0	0	0	1	1
O1-I3	0	0	0	1	1
O2-I1	2	0	0	0	2
O2-I2	1	0	0	0	1
O2-I3	0	0	0	0	0
O3-I1	0	0	0	0	0
O3-I2	0	0	0	0	0
O3-I3	1	0	0	1	2
Total	10	4	6	15	35

	A	B	C	D	Average
I-O	60%	100%	100%	80%	85%
O-I	40%	0%	0%	20%	15%

Complements

	A	B	C	D	Total
C-V	4	1	1	13	19
C1	0	0	1	0	1
C2	3	1	0	12	16
C3	1	0	0	1	2
V-C	26	11	10	26	73
C1	0	0	0	0	0
C2	10	4	6	7	27
C3	16	7	4	19	46
Total	30	12	11	39	92

Single adverbials

	A	B	C	D	Total
A-V	18	4	45	65	132
A1	14	2	29	26	71
A2	2	1	9	20	32
A3	2	1	7	19	29
V-A	35	37	23	63	158
A1	5	12	4	4	25
A2	15	8	7	14	44
A3	15	17	12	45	89
Total	53	41	68	128	290

Two adverbials

	A	B	C	D	Total
A-A-V	3	0	9	11	23
A-V-A	4	3	14	12	33
V-A-A	9	15	4	19	47
	16	18	27	42	103

	A	B	C	D	Average
A-A-V	19%	0%	33%	26%	20%
A-V-A	25%	17%	52%	29%	31%
V-A-A	56%	83%	15%	45%	50%

Three or more adverbials

	A	B	C	D	Total
A-A-A-V	2	0	2	1	5
A-A-V-A	1	0	1	0	2
A-V-A-A	0	0	2	2	4
V-A-A-A	1	2	1	4	8
	4	2	6	7	19

	A	B	C	D	Average
A-A-A-V	50%	0%	33%	14%	24%
A-A-V-A	25%	0%	17%	0%	10%
A-V-A-A	0%	0%	33%	29%	15%
V-A-A-A	25%	100%	17%	57%	50%

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.