

Clause-Final Elements in *The Vercelli Homilies*

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Abstract

As a sequel to Hiyama (2008), this article provides a descriptive treatment of 'how clauses end' in Old English; it deals not only with some problems peculiar to the elements placed in clause-final position but also with syntactic relationships between such elements and clause categories. It will be seen that the choice of clause-final elements is mostly influenced by their weight and the clause category.

Keywords: *clause category, clause-final position, element order, Old English, The Vercelli Homilies, weight ordering*

0 Introduction

In my previous paper (Hiyama 2008), I investigated the clause-initial elements in *The Vercelli Homilies* (hereafter abbreviated to *VH*; the references throughout are to Scragg (1992), by homily and line). The present study focuses on the clause-final elements in the same collection.

Sentential elements are described as follows: *v* (the finite verb in simple and complex verb phrases), *V* (the non-finite verb in complex verb phrases), *P* ('participle'; this is a cover term for the third verb in periphrastic verb-forms with three elements, like 'must be DOING/DONE'; cf. this usage is very

different from the definition in Denison (1993: 478)), *S* (the subject), *O* (the direct object), *I* (the indirect object), *Z* (the direct object of two-place or three-place verbs like causative and perception verbs; cf. Denison (1993: 165-217) calls this element 'Object/Subject' or 'OS'), *C* (the complement), and *A* (the adverbial). Impersonal verbs and expressions are referred to as 'Impersonal', and the following symbols are used: Formal *S* (the formal subject), *EXP* (the experiencer), *X* (all the elements except for Formal *S* and *EXP*). Latin sources are cited from Scragg (1992) with, where available, a siglum (or sigla) as defined by *Fontes Anglo-Saxonici*. For more details, see Hiyama (2008: 57-58).

Consideration of weight (length of elements) plays an important part in this study, and a few words of explanation are in order. I adopt the criteria in Davis (1997: 17) with some modifications (cf. Hiyama 2005: 36-37):

light

- pronouns (like *hit* and *min*)
- one-word adverbials (like *þa* and *soplice*)
- finite verbs of one syllable (like *wæs* and *com*)

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 *wære*)

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 *þeahodon*, as well as coordinated verbs like *mæge oððe cunne*)

The numbers 1, 2, and 3 stand for light, medium, and heavy weight respectively, and they are used in combination with the sentential elements explained above; for example, 'S1' denotes a light (pronominal) subject while 'S3' denotes a heavy subject.

1 Independent Clauses

Independent clauses are divided into three types. Type A clauses do not begin with the elements used in Types B and C; Type B clauses begin with the adverb *ne*, with an adverb other than *ne*, or with an adverb phrase; and Type C clauses begin with *ond*, *ac*, *ne*, or a similar conjunction.

1.1 Type A

Type A clauses contain neither initial adverbials (including *ne*) nor initial coordinating conjunctions. Table A below describes the distribution of clause-final elements:

Table A

A	188	Split Element	12
C	155	v	128
EXP	13	V	58
O	121	X	67
P	6	Residue	6
S	64		

Note: Elements are treated as residue when there are less than five examples, and this applies to all the tables below except in some special circumstances.

The adverb is placed in the clause-final position most frequently (188 of 818 examples, or 23%). Weight ordering is observed in the distribution of these final adverbials: light (one word) 17 examples (9%), medium (two words) 44 (23%), and heavy (three words or more) 127 (68%). (Note: Percentages are approximate due to rounding, and this sometimes makes the total percentage 99% or 101%.) Some examples are: (light) 5.159 *Ða hyrdas him þa ondredon swiðe* 'Those shepherds were very afraid of him then', (medium weight) 1.22 *eode þa eac in þone cafertun sona æfter him* 'then (he) also went into the hall immediately after Him' (Latin *et introiuit cum Iesu in atrium pontificis* (M2)), and (heavy) 1.160 *Hæfde he þa þyrnenne coronan on his heafde* 'He had the thorny crown on his head' (Latin *portans spineam coronam* (M1/S3)).

The complement is the second most frequent clause-final element (155 of 818 examples, or 19%), of which 2 are light (1%), 39 are of medium weight (25%), and 114 are heavy (74%). Some examples include: (light) 10.151 *Eall hit is min* 'It is all mine' (Latin *Ecce in ea quae tibi dedi* (S1)), (medium weight) 3.2 *oðer is hiht* 'the second is hope' (Latin *spes* (S1)), and (heavy) 4.175 *Ðu eart lifes wyrhta* 'You are the creator of life'.

The third most frequent clause-final element is the finite verb (128 of 818 examples, or 16%). (I defer the question of verbal weight to section 3.) It seems noteworthy that there are eight instances in which two finite verbs (all joined by *ond*) occur at the end of the clause, as in 4.273 *ðin wif & þine bearn þe feodon & laðetton* 'your wife and your child hated you' and 23.127 *Hie þa sona, þa werigan gastas, betwuh ða grimlican ligeas inhruron & feollon* 'Then they, those evil spirits, immediately rushed in and fell among the fierce flames' (Latin *maligni ergo spiritus inter fauillantium uoraginum atras cauernas discurrentes* (S1)).

Also relevant here is the presence of 58 instances where the non-finite verb is placed in clause-final position. Most of them (48 instances) have some other element between the finite and non-finite verbs (v...V#), as in 3.56 *Sio soðe hreowsung ne bið na on þara geara rime gescriften* 'The true repentance shall not be judged by the number of years' (Latin *Poenitentia enim uera non annorum numero censetur* (S1)) and 1.213 *þæt sceal swa awriten bion* (v...PV#) 'that will be written so' (Latin *(Quod scripsi) scripsi* (M1/M3)). I note in passing that, among the examples with complex verb phrases in this clause category, the following is the only example in which a finite verb (immediately preceded by a non-finite verb) ends the clause (_Vv#): 14.45 *Nænig man oðerne æfter deaðe getreowlice onlysan mæg* 'No one may truly release another after death' (Latin *ut eos etiam post mortem bona adiuuent* (S1)).

1.2 Type B

Type B clauses begin with the following elements: the adverb *ne*, adverbs other than *ne*, or adverb phrases. The distribution of clause-final elements in this clause category is shown in Table B:

Table B

A	211	Split Element	11
C	108	v	90
Impersonal	7	V	105
O	158	X	61
S	113	Residue	6

Like Type A, the adverb is the most frequent clause-final element in Type B (211 of 870 examples, or 24%), and its distribution, again, is closely related to the weight of this element as may be seen in the following: (light: 4%) 18.134 *þa færinga wearð se deada man cwic eft* 'then suddenly that dead man became alive again' (Latin *Mox uiuescente uultu, marcentibus oculis in ora illius defunctus erigitur* (S1)), (medium weight: 32%) 19.123 *þa for þam þa ondredon þa scipmen him swi de þearle* 'Then, therefore, the sailors feared for themselves very greatly' (Latin *Qua propter nautae, timentes timore magno* (S1)), and (heavy: 64%) 20.129 *þonne se mann ne mæg nan þing godes habban butan Godes gife* 'then the man can have nothing good without the gift of God' (Latin *dum homo nichil absque Dei gratia habere poterit boni* (S1)).

The second most frequent element is the direct object (158 of 870, or 18%), whose distribution and examples are: (light: 6%) 4.296 *Fram hiora geogode oð hira ylðo hie hyrdon me* 'From their youth until their (old) age, they obeyed me', (medium weight: 18%) 5.166 *For þam gefean* [MS *gefea*] *englas heredon dryhten* 'For that joy, angels praised the Lord' (Latin *uoci angelorum chori concinunt et congaudentes (clamant)* (S2/SA2)), and (heavy: 76%) 6.81 *Æfter þan ða dryhtnes engel æteowde Iosepe & Marian* 'Then afterwards, an angel of the Lord appeared to Joseph and Mary' (Latin *Non post multum tempus (dixit) angelus ad Ioseph* (S3/SA1)).

The third most frequent element is the

subject (113 of 870, or 13%), and it differs from the above-mentioned adverb and direct object in having more examples of light subjects in clause-final position. Its distribution and examples are as follows: (light: 17%) 1.181 *þa cleopodon hie (& cwædon)* 'then they exclaimed (and said)' (Latin *Iudaei autem clamabant (dicentes)* (S1)), (medium weight: 12%) 3.89 *Æfter þissum gehyðlice* [MS *gehyhtlice*] *fylgað þa fæstenu* 'After this, suitably follow the fasts' (Latin *Post haec congrue sequuntur ieiunia* (S1)), and (heavy: 71%) 5.27 *þa com him to dryhtnes engel* 'Then an angel of the Lord came to them' (Latin *et ecce angelus domini* (S1)). In addition, it seems worth pointing out that many of the light subjects (12 of 19 examples, or 63%) are immediately followed by their appositives, as in 1.93 *þa cwædon hie, ða Iudeas* 'Then they, the Jews, said' (Latin *Dixerunt ergo ei Iudaei* (S1)); and that, more interestingly, all such examples are found only in Homily I where the author seems to have followed the Latin original slavishly, although that this is not always the case may be exemplified in 1.214 *þa genamon hie, þa milite* 'Then they, the soldiers, took (Him)' (Latin *Milites ergo (cum crucifixissent eum) acceperunt* (M1a)), 1.236 *þa gepystrode hit* 'then it became dark' (Latin *et tenebrae factae sunt* (S1)), and 1.249 *þa cwæð he, Crist* 'then said He, Christ' (Latin *(Cum ergo accepisset Iesus acetum) dixit* (S1)). It is also possible that this is one of the syntactic and stylistic characteristics of this homily which is known for its 'reluctance ... to begin a sentence with a subject except where translating Latin (D. Scragg, private communication)' (Mitchell 1985: § 3889), as well as for its preference for the verb-subject order (cf. Ogawa 2000: 244-248 and *passim*).

1.3 Type C

Type C clauses are independent clauses

which begin with *ond*, *ac*, *ne*, or a similar conjunction. Table C below illustrates the elements which occupy the clause-final position in this clause type:

Table C

A	325	v	369
C	105	V	148
O	166	X	31
S	72	Residue	11
Split Element	31		

The finite verb occurs most frequently as the clause-final element in this clause category (369 of 1258, or 29%). In 24 instances, two finite verbs occur consecutively in clause-final position, as in 14.120 *& he mildheortlice ure synna forlæted & forgifeð* 'and He will mercifully pardon and forgive our sins' (Latin *quia munus pro culpa sumit* (S1)) and 18.216 *ne ænigne unrihtlice demde ne ne witnode* 'nor did (he) judge or punish any (man) unjustly' (Latin *neminem iudicans, neminem damnans* (M1)); in the latter example, the first *ne* is a conjunction and the second *ne* - immediately followed by the verb - is an adverb (cf. Mitchell 1985: § 907).

The second most frequent clause-final element is the adverb (325 of 1258, or 26%). Its distribution and examples are as follows: (light: 4%) 20.51 *& heo awecð englas ongean* 'and it awakens the angels in this direction' (Latin *excitat angelum in obuiam* (M1)) (cf. I follow Scragg (1992: 453) in taking *ongean* as an adverb translating *in obuiam*; see also 3.153 *& hio awecð þone engel ongeancumende* 'and it awakens the angel in this direction' where the Latin source has the same phrase, viz. *excitat angelum in obuiam* (S1)), (medium weight: 26%) 20.51 (immediately following 20.51 mentioned above) *& heo tosomne gecigeð dryhten ælmihtigne on fultum* 'and it calls together the Lord

Almighty for help' (Latin *Deum conuocat in adiutorium* (M1)), and (heavy: 70%) 22.31 & *se arleasa gæd nu beforan þam soðfæstan* 'and the impious go now before the faithful' (Latin *Impius praeualet aduersus iustum* (S1)).

The third most frequent clause-final element is the direct object (166 of 1258, or 13%), of which 4 (2%) are light, 30 are of medium weight (18%), and 132 heavy (80%). Examples are: (light) 1.29 & *wyrmdon hie* 'and (they) warmed themselves' (Latin *et calefiabant* (M2)), (medium weight) 3.96 & *gemidlað þa uncysta* 'and (the fast) curbs sins' (Latin *refrenat uitia* (S1)), and (heavy) 9.176 & *ne þearf man næfre ne sunnan ne monan ne næniges eorðlices liohtes* 'and never will one need the sun or the moon or any of earthly light'.

1.4 Type D

Table D shows the distribution of clause-final elements in imperative clauses:

Table D

	Non-Conjoined	Conjoined
A	38	14
I	6	0
O	36	26
S	7	2
v	0	9
Residue	8	6
Total	95	57

The two most frequent clause-final elements are the adverb and the direct object in both non-conjoined and conjoined imperative clauses; indeed, these two elements account for 78% (74 of 95 examples) in the former, and 70% (40 of 57 examples) in the latter (cf. see section 3 below for more details). Some examples are: (light A) 1.92 *Nimaþ ge hine þonne* 'You take him then' (Latin *Accipite eum uos* (S1)) and 14.108 & *gang ærest* 'and

go first' (Latin *et uade prius* (S1)), (A of medium weight) 4.125 *Lættaþ hine to me* 'Leave him to me' and 6.63 & *fer þurh þæt westen to Egyptum* 'and travel through the desert to Egyptians' (Latin *et per uiam eremi perge in Egyptum* (S1)), and (heavy A) 4.306 *Gewitaþ ge, awyrgede, on þæt ece fyr* 'Depart, you cursed one, into the eternal fire' (Latin *discedite a me maledicti in ignem aeternum* (S1)) and 14.108 & *cum eft to ðam wiofode* 'and come again to the altar' (Latin *et tunc ueniens* (S1)); (light O) 13.27 *Behald me* 'Behold me' (Latin *Adtende ad me* (S1)) and 23.32 *Ac gehyr ðu me* 'And you hear me', (O of medium weight) 3.44 *Doð hreowsunge* 'Do penance' (Latin *Poenitentiam agite* (S1/SA1)) and 7.94 & *forlættað þa oferfyllle* 'and forsake gluttony', and (heavy O) 6.62 *Genim Marian & hælend þæt cild* 'Take Mary and the child, the Saviour' (Latin *Tolle Mariam et infantem* (S1)) and 21.37 & *on þin hus gelæd þa wædligendan & þa widscriðolan* 'and lead into your house the poor and the vagrant' (Latin *et egenos uagosque induc in domum tuam*).

1.5 Type E

Clause-final elements in interrogative clauses are distributed as follows:

Table E

	Non-Conjoined	Conjoined
A	21	6
C	10	3
O	29	5
S	16	0
V	5	4
Residue	8	2
Total	89	20

In what follows, attention is paid to non-conjoined clauses, since the sample of conjoined counterparts is small and they do not seem to display any peculiar tendencies. In

non-conjoined interrogative clauses, the direct object most frequently occurs in clause-final position (29 of 89 examples, or 33%). Some examples include: (light: 28%) 1.37 *Hwæt frinest ðu me þæs?* 'Why do you ask me this?' (Latin *Quid me interrogas?* (S1)), (medium weight: 7%) 10.142 *To hwan areceleasodest ðu ðære gife ...?* 'Why were you careless with the gift ...?' (Latin *Quod si neglexeris dare* (S1)), and (heavy: 66%) 10.144 *For hwan noldest ðu gepencean þæt ...?* 'Why would you not consider that ...?'

The adverb is the second most frequent clause-final element in non-conjoined Type E clauses (21 of 89 examples, or 24%). There are only two instances in which light adverbs are placed clause-finally: 10.258 *Hwæt hylpæð þam men aht* 'What help will it be for that man at all?' (cf. Treharne 2000: 107) (Latin *Quid enim prodest homini* (S1)) and 16.62 *Hwæt is þe, sæ ...?* 'What is (it) to you, sea, ...?' (Latin *Quid est tibi mare ...?* (SA1)). It seems likely that both are influenced by the Latin source: *aht* 'at all' in the former may be an attempt to convey the nuance of *enim* 'truly, in fact', and the latter is a direct imitation of the Latin (cf. Scragg 1992: 266). Examples of adverbs of medium weight (24%) and heavy adverbs (67%) are: 8.60 *Hwæt gedydest ðu for me?* 'What did you do for me?' and 10.187 *Þu, welega, to hwan getruwedest ðu in þine wlenceo & in þine oferflownessa þinra goda, & na on me ...?* 'You, rich man, why did you trust in your pride and in the superfluity of your goods, and not in me ...?' (Latin *Sic considerauit ille diues qui in habundantia torquebatur, et quasi de inopia quaerebatur* (M1/M3)).

Among the sixteen examples of the clause-final subject, the third most frequent element in this clause type, five are light, three are of medium weight, and eight are heavy. Some examples include: 16.63 *for hwan fluge ðu?* 'why do you flee?' (Latin *quod fugisti?*

(SA1)), 10.234 *Hwær syndon þa ealdormen ...?* 'Where are the elders ...?' (Latin *ubi principes?* (S1)), and 10.239 *Hwær com worulde wela?* 'Where has the world's wealth gone?' (Latin *ubi diuites mundi?* (S1)).

1.6 Type F

Table F shows the distribution of clause-final elements in optative clauses:

Table F

	Non-Conjoined	Conjoined
A	39	33
C	4	8
O	47	26
S	2	5
v	4	8
V	14	14
Residue	2	8
Total	112	102

In both non-conjoined and conjoined Type F clauses, the two most frequent clause-final elements are the adverb (72 examples in total) and the direct object (73). Their distributions and examples are: (light A: 17%) 2.80 *forbere he him þæt liðelice* 'let him mercifully tolerate (= restrain himself from) that', (A of medium weight: 18%) 6.90 *Utan we healdan sybbe & lufan betwiohs us* 'Let us hold peace and love between us', and (heavy A: 65%) 11.39 *Swa þonne, men þa leofestan, winnen we on þyssum andweardan life* 'So then, dearly beloved, let us strive in this present life' (Latin *Ac sic in hac uita cum labore et dolore quod bonum est auxiliante domino faciamus* (S1)); (light O: 3%) 13.14 *& clænsige hine* 'and (may he) cleanse himself', (O of medium weight: 26%) 19.74 *uton we fylgean gepylde* 'let us practice patience' (Latin *tu sectare patientiam* (S1)), and (heavy O: 71%) 21.100 *Uton bringan & offrian dryhtne, urum alysende, halige lac* 'Let us bring and offer sacrifice to our Lord,

our Redeemer' (Latin *Offeramus ergo sancta munera Christo redemptori nostro*).

2 Dependent Clauses

Three types of dependent clauses are distinguished: nominal clauses, adjectival clauses, and adverbial clauses, the last of which are further divided into the following seven subtypes: clauses of place, clauses of time, clauses of consequence, clauses of cause, clauses of comparison, clauses of concession, and clauses of condition. It should be noted that references are often made to the well-known verb-final tendency in this clause type.

2.1 Type G-1

The distribution of clause-final elements in nominal clauses is presented in Table G-1:

Table G-1

	Non-Conjoined	Conjoined
A	145	44
C	73	3
Impersonal	7	1
O	71	21
S	10	4
Split Element	11	5
v	258	60
V	80	24
X	18	2
Residue	9	0
Total	682	164

The finite verb is the most frequent clause-final element in both non-conjoined (258 of 682 examples, or 38%) and conjoined clauses (60 of 164 examples, or 37%), confirming the strong verb-final tendency in dependent clauses. One example is 3.46 *Ʒæt is se medema wæstm hreowsunge Ʒæt man Ʒa forƷgewitenan synna bewepe & Ʒa ilcan eft ne fremme* 'It is the worthy fruit of repentance that one would weep over completed sins and

(that one) would not perform the same (sins) again' (Latin *Fructus dignus est poenitentiae transacta flere peccata et eadem iterum non agere* (S1)), where the last two clauses - one non-conjoined and the other conjoined - have the finite verb in final position.

The adverb is the second most frequent clause-final element in both non-conjoined (21%) and conjoined clauses (27%). The combined figures for non-conjoined and conjoined clauses and examples are: (light: 3%) 4.322 *Ʒæt we hæbben Ʒa scyldas Ʒærongean* 'that we have the shields against them', (medium weight: 15%) 3.129 *Ʒætte singalice gebed myclum fremap mid Gode* 'that prayers always benefit greatly with God', and (heavy: 82%) 19.1 *Ʒæt we gemunen & gereccen be Gode ælmihtigum* 'that we remember and say (something) about God Almighty' (Latin *memorari ... et recitare de deo ueraciter* (S1)).

2.2 Type G-2

Table G-2a shows the distribution of clause-final elements in adjectival clauses:

Table G-2a

	Non-Conjoined	Conjoined
A	128	13
C	68	1
I	5	0
O	25	3
S	8	1
Split Element	19	2
v	462	57
V	48	4
X	5	0
Residue	8	0
Total	776	81

The finite verb occurs most frequently as the clause-final element in both non-conjoined (462 of 776 examples, or 60%) and conjoined

clauses (57 of 81 examples, or 70%); for example, these two types of clauses are found in 1.1 (*þa þrowunge ...*) *þe fæder wolde & geteohod hæfde* '(the suffering) which the Father wished and had decreed' (Latin *(calicem) quem dedit mihi Pater* (M1/M2)).

The adverb is the second most frequent clause-final element in both non-conjoined (17%) and conjoined clauses (16%). The combined figures for non-conjoined and conjoined clauses and examples are: (light) 4.18 *se næfre ateorað nænigum (þara þe ...)* 'which will never fail for any (of those who ...)' (cf. this is the sole such example in *VH*), (medium weight: 22%) 7.40 *þe ðam yðan life lyfedon on Sodome* 'who lived an easy life in Sodom', and (heavy: 77%) 8.67 *ðe ðu acwealdest mid sarlycum wundum þinra synna* 'which you destroyed with grievous wounds of your sins' (Latin *quam uulneribus peccatorum indesinenter occidis* (S1)).

Table G-2b below describes the most frequent clause-final element according to the function played by relative pronouns:

Table G-2b

Function of relative	Non-Conjoined	Conjoined
A	v (47%)	v (50%)
C	v (78%)	—
I	v (100%)	—
O	v (68%)	v (94%)
S	v (53%)	v (66%)

It is clear in the table that, irrespective of the function played by the relative pronoun, the finite verb is the most frequent clause-final element. Although the subject and the direct object show a stronger verb-final tendency in conjoined clauses, the verb-final percentages for the adverb is almost the same in non-conjoined and conjoined clauses; this may be due to the fact that the adverb occurs 'in positions which are unidiomatic in MnE'

(Mitchell 1985: § 3942; cf. Mitchell also notes in the same section that 'as far as I have observed, OE does not have fixed rules of precedence'; see also Hiyama 2005: 266).

2.3 Adverbial Clauses

Discussed below are the clause-final elements in each of the seven subtypes of adverbial clauses.

2.3.1 Type G-3

There are only ten clauses of place in *VH*, all of which are non-conjoined clauses. Although one should not generalize from this small corpus of examples, the prevailing verb-final tendency here is difficult to pass unnoticed; indeed, the finite verb occurs clause-finally in as many as eight clauses, as in 22.7 *swa hwyder swa ic fare* 'wherever I travel' (Latin *Ubicunque fugio* (S1)). The remaining two examples are: (final A) 12.48 *þær twegen oððe þry bioð gesamnode in minum naman* 'Where two or three are gathered in my name' (Latin *ubi enim sunt duo uel tres congregati in nomine meo* (S1)) and (final V) 18.235 *hwær he mæge unware men beswican* 'where he can deceive unwary men' (Latin *capiunt nescientes* (S1)).

2.3.2 Type G-4

The distribution of clause-final elements in clauses of time is given below:

Table G-4

	Non-Conjoined	Conjoined
A	35	6
C	12	1
O	20	3
Split Element	8	2
v	162	27
V	19	5
Residue	4	1
Total	260	45

The finite verb is the most frequent clause-

final element in both non-conjoined (162 of 260 examples, or 62%) and conjoined clauses (27 of 45 examples, or 60%), as in 2.107 *ær þan us se deað gegripe* 'before death seizes us' and 10.33 (*syðþan he ...*) & *hie to geleafan onbryrde* [MS *onbyrgde*] 'and (when He) incited them to faith'.

The second most frequent element is the adverb in both non-conjoined (14%) and conjoined (13%) clauses. The combined figures for non-conjoined and conjoined clauses and examples are: (light: 2%) 4.255 *þa he swiðost his lichoman drencte unrihttidum* 'When he plied his body with drink most greatly at proscribed hours' (cf. this is the sole such example in *VH*), (medium weight: 22%) 10.134 *þonne he cliopade earne stemne* 'when he called out in a wretched voice', and (heavy: 76%) 22.184 *ðonne we bioð aworpene of þysses rices welan & of þysse worlde gefean* 'when we are cast out of this kingdom's prosperity and out of this world's joy'.

Conjoined clauses of time have the non-finite verb (11%) as the third most frequent clause-final element, whereas in non-conjoined counterparts, two such elements are found - the direct object (8%) and the non-finite verb (7%). The combined figures for non-conjoined and conjoined clauses and examples are: (V) 8.51 & *þa ðu wære of neorxnawange ascofen & ic þe wolde eft miltsian* 'and when you were expelled from Paradise and (when) I afterwards wished to show mercy to you' (Latin (*Motus postea misericordia,*) *cum expulsus de paradiso ...* (S1)), (light O: 5%) 18.278 & *þonne he reste hine* 'And when he rested himself' (Latin *recubans* (S1)) (cf. this is the sole such instance in *VH*), (O of medium weight: 10%) 22.91 *þonne þu gefele þæt sar* 'When you feel that sorrow', and (heavy O: 85%) 14.78 *þonne we for ura synna onlysnese onhyrigað þa þrowunga & þane deað þæs ecan & þæs undealdlican cyninges on heofenum* 'when we

for redemption of our sins imitate the sufferings and the death of the eternal and immortal king in heaven' (Latin *quod pro absolutione nostra passionem unigeniti filii semper imitatur* (S1)).

2.3.3 Type G-5

Clause-final elements in clauses of consequence are distributed as follows:

Table G-5

	Non-Conjoined	Conjoined
A	45	4
C	10	0
O	31	3
Split Element	5	1
v	93	13
V	31	10
Residue	7	0
Total	222	31

The verb-final tendency prevails in both non-conjoined (93 of 222 examples, or 42%) and conjoined clauses (13 of 31 examples, or 42%), as in 2.30 *þæt hie synne fremmen & þæs willan ne wyrceap* '(to the extent) that they perform sin and would not work the will of that one'. Most noteworthy is the following example in which as many as three finite verbs occur clause-finally: 16.96 *þæt we ure lif mid soðe & mid rihte lifigan moton & magon & cunnan* 'so that we may live our lives truly and properly'.

In non-conjoined clauses, the adverb (20%) is the second most frequent element, followed by the direct object (14%) and the non-finite verb (14%). Some examples include: (light A: 4%) 19.121 *swa þæt þæt scip ne mihte naþer ne forð swymman ne underbæc* 'so that the ship could neither sail forwards nor backwards' (Latin *ita ut ipsa nauis nec ante nec retro* (S1)), (A of medium weight: 20%) 2.82 *þæt us man to earfeðnessum gedoo her on worulde* 'so that for the hardships here in the world

one will grant us (the Lord's love)', and (heavy A: 76%) 9.169 *þæt we ne weorðan aslidene innon þa fyrenfullan þystro* 'so that we may not be slid down within the sinful darkness'; (light O - no examples), (O of medium weight: 10%) 5.14 *þætte hie onfengon þam bebode* [MS *bode*] 'so that they received that command' (Latin *ut profiterentur singuli in suam ciuitatem* (M1a/M3a)), and (heavy O: 90%) 5.99 *þæt he hæbbe ece hælo* 'so that he may have eternal salvation' (Latin *fit in salutem* (S1)). As for the non-finite verb in non-conjoined clauses (31 instances in total), only 5 clauses have the finite verb immediately preceding the non-finite ($_vV\#$), as in 19.54 (*þæt we ...*) & *us beforan halige lara gehyrdon rædan* 'and (that we) heard holy teachings read before us'.

In conjoined G-5 clauses, the non-finite verb is the second most frequent element (32%), followed by the adverb (13%). Some examples include: (final V) 4.12 (*þæt he ne scyle ...*) & *on unmyrhæde his lif geendian* 'and (so that he would not) end his life in misery' and (final A) 4.161 (*þæt he ...*) & *beorhtap swa sunna* 'and (so that he) shines like the sun'.

2.3.4 Type G-6

Table G-6 shows the distribution of clause-final elements in clauses of cause:

Table G-6

	Non-Conjoined	Conjoined
A	37	11
C	22	5
O	32	6
S	8	9
Split Element	7	0
v	38	22
V	18	5
X	8	0
Residue	6	1
Total	176	59

The finite verb is the most frequent clause-final element in both non-conjoined (38 of 176 examples, or 22%) and conjoined clauses (22 of 59 examples, or 37%), as in 3.34 *for þam þe sio andetnes þe gehæled, & sio andetnes þe gerihtwisad* 'because the confession heals you and justifies you' (Latin *Confessio enim sanat; confessio iustificat* (S1)). However, when we focus on the non-conjoined clauses, it is difficult to dismiss the fact that there are as many as 37 instances (21%) of clause-final adverbs, as well as 32 instances (18%) of clause-final direct objects. Some examples are: (light A - no examples), (A of medium weight: 32%) 3.67 *for þan þe leoht sint þin bebodu ofer eorðan* 'because your commands are the light across the earth' (Latin *quia lux precepta tua sunt super terram* (S1/SA2)), and (heavy A: 68%) 5.181 *for þan þe we ne biot æfre idele godra weorca for Godes eagum* 'because we will never be empty of good deeds before the eyes of God' (Latin *Ante Dei namque oculos numquam est uacua manus a munere* (S2)); (light O - no examples), (O of medium weight: 22%) 19.22 *for ðam þe hie forhogedon hira scyppend, ælmihtigne God* 'because they despised their Creator, Almighty God', and (heavy O: 78%) 3.64 *for þam þe hio to heofonum upahefd þæs hreowsiendan wæstmas* 'because it (= such worship) lifts up the fruits of the penitent to heaven' (Latin *quia ipse fructus eius eleuant ad caelum* (S1)).

As for the conjoined clauses of cause, the second most frequent element is the adverb (19%), followed by the subject (15%). Some examples are: (final A) 16.164 (*for þan ...*) *ac he wæs soð God & eallum gesceaftum* 'but (because) He was the true God before all created things' and (final S) 9.134 (*for ðan ...*) & *þær bið hungor & þurst* 'and (because) there is hunger and thirst'.

2.3.5 Type G-7

Table G-7 shows the frequency of occurrence of clause-final elements in clauses of comparison:

Table G-7

	Non-Conjoined	Conjoined
A	13	0
C	6	0
Impersonal	8	0
O	11	1
v	102	9
Residue	11	1
Total	151	11

The finite verb occurs most frequently as the final element in both non-conjoined (102 of 151 examples, or 68%) and conjoined clauses (9 of 11 examples, or 82%), as in 13.44 *swa we nu dydon* 'as we have done now' and 22.57 (*ponne he ...*) & *on Godes unwillan sy* 'and (than he) would be in God's displeasure' (Latin (*melius est non esse*) *quam infeliciter esse* (S1)). Since there are only two remaining examples in conjoined clauses, we now turn our attention to non-conjoined clauses. In these clauses, the adverb (9%) and the direct object (7%) are the second and the third most frequent elements. Some examples are: (final A) 9.183 *swa he him ær sæde be heofena rices wuldre* 'just as he told him earlier about the glory of the heavenly kingdom' and (final O) 20.33 & *swa swa wæter adwæscit fyr* 'and just as water quenches fire' (Latin *et sicut aqua extinguit ignem* (S1)).

2.3.6 Type G-8

The frequency of clause-final elements in clauses of concession is given in Table G-8:

Table G-8

	Non-Conjoined	Conjoined
A	13	9
O	1	8
v	27	5
V	7	4
Residue	4	4
Total	52	30

As may be seen in the table, there is a clear difference between non-conjoined and conjoined clauses of concession. In non-conjoined clauses, the most frequent final element is the finite verb (27 of 52 examples, or 52%), followed by the adverb (25%) and the non-finite verb (13%). Some examples include: (final v) 10.3 *þeah man anum men godspel secge* 'Though a man would tell the gospel to another man', (final A) 9.43 *þeah se man gewite in ða neowelestan scrafa & on þa deoppestan dene* 'though the man may go into the most abysmal caves and into the deepest valley', and (final V) 18.276 & *þeah þe se lichoma wære mid þære untrumnesse swa swiðe geswenced* 'and though the body was greatly afflicted with the sickness' (Latin *fatiscentes* (S1)).

In conjoined clauses, the adverb occurs most frequently as the clause-final element (9 of 30 examples, or 30%), followed by the direct object (27%) and the finite verb (17%). Most of these conjoined clauses (25 of 30 examples, or 83%) are found in one particular homily, Homily IX, and all of them have no known Latin sources. I suspect this idiosyncrasy has something to do with the disparity. Some examples are: (final A) 9.153 (*ðeah man ...*) & *ponne ealne gefylde mid fyres lige up oþ ðone heofonas hrof* 'and (though one) then might fill all with the flame of fire up to the heaven's roof', (final O) 9.111 (*þeah ...*) & *hyra hæbbe æghwylc siofon heafdu* 'and (though) each of them has seven heads', and (final v) 10.223 (*þeah we ...*) & *mid þam*

diorwyrðan gimstanum utan ymbhon 'and (though we) deck (ourselves) out with precious stones'.

2.3.7 Type G-9

Table G-9 presents the number of occurrences of clause-final elements in clauses of condition.

Table G-9

	Non-Conjoined	Conjoined
A	12	3
C	5	0
O	9	3
v	68	7
V	8	4
Residue	7	1
Total	109	18

The most frequent clause-final element is the finite verb in both non-conjoined (68 of 109 examples, or 62%) and conjoined clauses (7 of 18 examples, or 39%), as in 1.11 *Gif we hine forlætað* 'If we release him' (Latin *Si dimittimus eum sic* (S1)) and 21.123 (*gif we ...*) & *him drinc gesyllað* 'and (if we) give drink to them' (Latin *si sitientes potamus*). In non-conjoined clauses, the second most frequent element is the adverb (11%), followed by the direct object (8%); e.g. (final A) 13.33 *gif hie sprecaþ meahton of þære byrgenne* 'if they could speak from the grave' (Latin (*clamat ...*) *de sepulchro* (S1)) and (final O) 22.78 *gif we fullice wiðstandaþ deofles larum* 'if we fully withstand the devil's teachings'. As for the conjoined clauses, the samples are small, and it does not seem practical to treat other clause-final elements separately.

3 Summary and Conclusions

This study has elucidated the syntactical interrelationships between clause categories and clause-final elements, paying especial

attention to the weight of such elements. Table H1 below summarizes the three most frequent clause-final elements in each of the clause types.

Table H1

Type		1	2	3
A		A (23%)	C (19%)	v (16%)
B		A (24%)	O (18%)	S (13%)
C		v (29%)	A (26%)	O (13%)
D	n-c	A (40%)	O (38%)	S (7%)
	c	O (46%)	A (25%)	v (16%)
E	n-c	O (33%)	A (24%)	S (18%)
	c	A (30%)	O (25%)	V (20%)
F	n-c	O (42%)	A (35%)	V (13%)
	c	A (32%)	O (25%)	V (14%)
G-1	n-c	v (38%)	A (21%)	V (12%)
	c	v (37%)	A (27%)	V (15%)
G-2	n-c	v (60%)	A (17%)	C (9%)
	c	v (70%)	A (16%)	V (5%)
G-3	n-c	v (80%)	—	—
	c	—	—	—
G-4	n-c	v (62%)	A (14%)	O (8%)
	c	v (60%)	A (13%)	V (11%)
G-5	n-c	v (42%)	A (20%)	O/v (14%)
	c	v (42%)	V (32%)	A (13%)
G-6	n-c	v (22%)	A (21%)	O (18%)
	c	v (37%)	A (19%)	S (15%)
G-7	n-c	v (68%)	A (9%)	O (7%)
	c	v (82%)	—	—
G-8	n-c	v (52%)	A (25%)	V (13%)
	c	A (30%)	O (27%)	v (17%)
G-9	n-c	v (62%)	A (11%)	O (8%)
	c	v (39%)	—	—

Notes on Table H1:

1. Rows: 1 = the most frequent clause-final element; 2 = the second most frequent clause-final element; 3 = the third most frequent clause-final element.
2. Columns: n-c = non-conjoined; c = conjoined.
3. Slots are left blank when there are less than five examples.

Three points emerge from the table.

(1) There is a clear divide between independent (Types A-F) and dependent (Type G) clauses: in clause-final position, the adverb and the direct object are preferred in the former (except for Type C), while the latter (except for Type G-8) clearly prefers the finite verb.

(2) I earlier noted in Hiyama (2005: 102) as follows:

Given the similarities and differences between Type C and Types A/B, it is to be confirmed that the separate treatment of Type C is vital to the study of Old English element order. The evidence strongly suggests that Type C certainly forms part of independent clauses and that Campbell's (1970: 93) claim ('even co-ordinating conjunctions are syntactically subordinating') should not be accepted at face value.

This view, however, may have to be re-examined in light of the (surprising) proximity of Type C clauses to dependent clauses (see especially Types G-5/6) in terms of clause-final elements.

(3) Among the nine types of dependent clauses, non-conjoined clauses of place (Type G-3) show the highest verb-final percentage, while non-conjoined clauses of cause (Type G-6) show the lowest such percentage.

Table H2 below illustrates the weight of the most frequent clause-final element in each clause type.

Table H2

Type		0	1	2	3
A		A	A3 (68%)	A2 (23%)	A1 (9%)
B		A	A3 (64%)	A2 (32%)	A1 (4%)
C		v	v2 (41%)	v3 (39%)	v1 (20%)
D	n-c	A	A3 (58%)	A2 (26%)	A1 (16%)
	c	O	O3 (69%)	O2 (19%)	O1 (12%)
E	n-c	O	O3 (66%)	O1 (28%)	O2 (7%)
	c	—			
F	n-c	O	O3 (74%)	O2 (26%)	
	c	A	A3 (88%)	A1 (9%)	A2 (3%)
G-1	n-c	v	v2 (57%)	v3 (31%)	v1 (12%)
	c	v	v2 (48%)	v3 (38%)	v1 (13%)
G-2	n-c	v	v2 (55%)	v3 (29%)	v1 (16%)
	c	v	v2 (55%)	v3 (40%)	v1 (5%)
G-3	n-c	—			
	c	—			
G-4	n-c	v	v2 (46%)	v3 (29%)	v1 (25%)
	c	v	v2 (59%)	v3 (37%)	v1 (4%)
G-5	n-c	v	v3 (51%)	v2 (40%)	v1 (10%)
	c	v	v3 (69%)	v2 (23%)	v1 (8%)
G-6	n-c	v	v2 (50%)	v3 (37%)	v1 (13%)
	c	v	v2 (68%)	v3 (27%)	v1 (5%)
G-7	n-c	v	v2 (54%)	v3 (24%)	v1 (22%)
	c	v	v1 (56%)	v2/3 (22%)	
G-8	n-c	v	v3 (42%)	v2 (39%)	v1 (19%)
	c	—			
G-9	n-c	v	v2 (71%)	v3 (19%)	v1 (10%)
	c	—			

Notes on Table H2:

1. Rows: 0=the most frequent clause-final element; 1 = the most frequent weight of '0'; 2=the second most frequent weight of '0'; 3=the third most frequent weight of '0'.
2. Columns: n-c = non-conjoined; c = conjoined.
3. Slots are left blank when there are less than five examples.

As the table shows, most adverbs and direct objects are distributed according to their weight (Types A/B/D/F): the heavier such

elements are, the more likely they are to occur clause-finally. Finite verbs at first sight do not seem to follow this weight ordering; as the clause-final element, those of medium weight (v2: one-word verbs of two syllables like *fremap* and *hyrdon*) far outnumber those of heavy weight (v3: mostly coordinated verbs of three or more syllables like *forlæted* & *forgifed*) by a considerable margin. However, this should present no difficulty if we look at the distribution of weight of clause-final finite verbs in *VH* (irrespective of clause category): v1 (17%), v2 (49%), and v3 (34%). Thus, it is no surprise to find more instances of finite verbs of medium weight (v2) rather than those of heavy weight (v3) in clause-final position.

The conjoined Type G-7 clauses are unique in having the finite verb of light weight as the most frequent clause-final element, and they certainly stand out. Still, as I mentioned in section 2.3.5, the sample is too small to allow for firm conclusions. It is also interesting to note in dependent clauses (Type G) that non-conjoined and conjoined clauses of the same clause type share the same weight ordering tendency; for example, in four of the nine types of dependent clauses (Types G-1/2/4/6), the order 'v2 > v3 > v1' is observed, although there are variations in the percentages of the weight of the finite verb.

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