Clause-Initial Elements in *The Vercelli Homilies*

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Abstract

This article aims to analyse 'where clauses begin' (cf. Blockley 2001) in Old English. The term 'clause-initial element' is used here to refer not only to the element beginning the clause, but also to the one immediately following interrogatives, subordinators, or coordinators when such elements are present within the clause. Examination of more than six thousand clauses reveals that the choice of clause-initial elements is influenced by various factors, such as the rules of grammar, the clause category, and stylistic considerations.

Keywords: clause category, clause-initial position, element order, Old English, The Vercelli Homilies

0　Introduction

I will investigate the clause-initial elements as they appear in *The Vercelli Homilies* (hereafter abbreviated to *VH*; references are to Scragg 1992, by homily and line number). In exemplification, Old English examples are accompanied by literal Modern English translation and, where available, by the Latin source (quoted from Scragg 1992) and a siglum (or sigla) as proposed by *Fontes Anglo-Saxonici: A Register of Written Sources Used by Authors in Anglo-Saxon England* (http://fontes.english.ox.ac.uk/guidelines.html).

I adopt the definition of clause as stated in Smith (1999: 38): 'All clauses contain one predicator (i.e. verb phrase), and it is the presence of a predicator which indicates the presence of a clause.' The clause types used in the present paper modify those proposed by Mitchell (1985: §3889); I separate Types D/E/F (imperative, interrogative, and optative clauses) from Mitchell's Type A, since clauses in these groups display different syntactical tendencies (cf. Hiyama 2005: 102-116). The following clause types are distinguished:

Type A: independent clauses which do not begin with *ond, ac, ne* or a similar conjunction or with the adverb *ne*, with an adverb other than *ne*, or with an adverb phrase

Type B: independent clauses which begin with the adverb *ne*, with an adverb other than *ne*, or with an adverb phrase

Type C: independent clauses which begin with *ond, ac, ne,* or a similar conjunction

Type D: imperative clauses

Type E: interrogative clauses

Type F: optative clauses

Type G: dependent clauses

The elements distinguished in this study are: the finite verb (represented by 'V' in simple verb phrases; further distinction is made in complex verb phrases where 'v' symbolizes the finite verb and 'V' the non-finite), the subject ('S'), the direct object ('O'), the indirect object ('I'), the direct object of causative verbs ('Z'; like 'me' in 'He let

me drive his car' where 'me' functions both as the direct object of 'let' and the subject of 'drive'), the complement ('C'), and the adverbial ('A'). Note that complex verb phrases include all the verbal phrases with infinitives, past participles and present participles, except for those with inflected infinitives preceded by *to*.

I use special symbols for describing the elements in impersonal expressions ('Impersonal'), since the validity of their separate treatment is endorsed by my earlier study (Hiyama 2005): the formal subject ('Formal S'; dummy or empty subject in impersonal constructions), the experiencer ('EXP'; this element plays the semantic role of subject in impersonals), the recipient ('REC'; this element refers to the semantic role played by the dative object in impersonal passive constructions), and 'X' (all the other elements except EXP and REC in impersonals, like noun clauses, bare infinitives, infinitives with *to*, direct speech, prepositional phrases, and adverbials). The impersonal expressions treated here both embrace those listed in Ogura (1986) and Denison (1993: 66-67). The elements in impersonal clauses are illustrated in the following examples: 3.55 *To witanne is soðlice þæt ðæt* ... 'It is truly to be known that ...' (Latin *Sciendum est igitur (quia ...)* (S1)) (where *To witanne is* (Impersonal) is placed in initial position and *þæt* clause (X) in final position), 6.41 *Þæt is gesyne þæt* ... 'It is evident that ...' (where *Þæt* (Formal S) occurs initially), 4.63 *Hwæt, us is la selre on þysse worulde þæt* ... 'Lo, (it) is better for us in this world that ...' (where *us* (EXP) is in initial position), and 19.88 *Us syndon syndorlice on ðyssum dagum forbodene* '(These) are especially forbidden to us on these days' (where *Us* (REC) is placed initially).

The symbol '&' is used in two ways: (1) in the description of syntactic patterns, it is used as a blanket term for coordinating conjunctions (such as *ond, ac, oþþe, ge,* and *ne*) and (2) in exemplification, *&* stands for *ond*, and other conjunctions appear as they are in the text.

Interjections such as *la hwæt* are ignored throughout; thus in 21.48 *Men þa leofestan, uton efestan* 'Dearly beloved, let us hasten', the clause-initial element is *uton* (v). Percentages are approximate due to rounding.

It must also be noted that, in the sections where I deal with conjoined clauses (Types C/D/E/F/G), the terms like 'clause-initial(ly)' and 'initial(ly)' - always put in quotation marks - refer to the position after coordinating or subordinating conjunctions since such conjunctions invariably occur at the head of the clause.

1 Independent Clauses
1.1 Type A

Type A clauses contain neither initial adverbials (including *ne*) nor initial coordinating conjunctions. Table A below describes the number of occurrence of each element in clause-initial position:

Table A

C	57	O	42
EXP	10	S	505
Formal S	19	V	92
I	11	v	27
Impersonal	51	X	2

The most frequent clause-initial element is the subject (505 out of 816, or 62%), followed by the finite verb (V/v, 15%) and the complement (7%); examples are 1.74 *Hwæt, we nu gehyraþ hu* ... 'Lo, we now hear how ...' (Latin *Ecce nunc audistis* (S1)), 4.164 *Cwið eft þæs ealwealdan* [MS *ealdan*] *stefn* 'Again says the voice of the ruler of all', and 10.185 *To dol ðu wære* 'You were too foolish'. In these examples, the choice of initial elements may be explained in terms of the normal rules of Old English element order (1.74), and discourse and stylistic factors (4.164 and 10.185).

Two additional points deserve discussion. First, initial finite verbs (V/v) are unevenly

represented in *VH*. While they occur infrequently in most of the homilies, two-thirds of such verbs (79 out of 119, or 66%) occur in four of the twenty-three homilies: I (33 times), XVIII (24), XIV and XXII (11). Examples are 1.136 *Wiste he, Pilatus, genog geare þætte* ... 'Pilate knew certainly enough that ...' (Latin *Sciebat enim quod* ... (M1)), 18.10 *Wæs his fæder ærest cyninges þegn* 'His father was first a follower of the king' (Latin *Pater eius miles primum* (S1)), 14.86 *Habbað we þonne, men þa leofestan, micle nydþearfe* 'We have then, dearly beloved, great necessity', and 22.23 *Cwæð sanctus Ysodorus* 'Saint Isidore said'. If we limit the discussion to the initial finite verb (v) of complex verb phrases (27 examples in total), it occurs most frequently in Homily I (10 times), followed by XVIII (6); e.g. 1.192 *Wæs þis eall geworden on hira Eastertide* 'This all had happened in their Paschal season' (Latin *Erat autem parasceue paschae hora quasi sexta* (S1)) and 18.84 *Wæs he ær beforan þa þreo gear gecristnod* 'He was christened three years earlier'.

Second, 23 of the 51 instances of initial impersonals have *wa* in initial position; the syntactic stability of this construction may be confirmed by the fact that *wa* occupies the initial position in almost all the clauses (23 out of 24), the only exception being 10.6 *& þam bið wa æfre geworht* 'and woe will be made forever for him', where *wa* is placed in the middle of the clause (on this, Scragg (1992: 214, note to lines 3-8) offers useful comments). Homily XV gives the largest number of examples (10), and this is also where most of the corresponding Latin *Uae* ... is found (5 out of 7) as in 15.60 *Wa ðam mannum þe* ... 'Woe to those men who ...' (Latin *Uae illis* (S1)).

1.2 Type B

Type B clauses lack variety of initial elements, since they must begin with adverbial elements. However, a different kind of variety manifests itself when one looks at the weight of the initial adverbials, whose distribution is as follows: light (one-word) adverbials (514 examples; the clauses beginning with *ne* are excluded), adverbials of medium weight (i.e. those of two words) (121), and heavy adverbials (i.e. those of three or more words) (83); cf. Hiyama (2005: 36-37) for the description of weight.

Light adverbials occur most frequently in Homily I (102), followed by XVIII (70), and IV (56); e.g. 1.12 *Þa cwæð Caifas* 'Then said Caiaphas' (Latin *dixit eis* (S1)) and 18.52 *Þa ferdon hie ealle forð be him* 'Then they all went past him' (Latin *omnesque miserum praeterirent* (S1)). Adverbials of medium weight are most often used in Homily III (17 times), followed by XX (12) and XXII (11); e.g. 3.86 *For þam hie witon þæt* ... 'Therefore they know that ...' (Latin *Sciunt enim quod* ... (S1)) and 20.174 *þurh þone ... we wæron gesceapene* 'through Him ... we were created' (Latin *per quem ... creati sumus* (S1)). As for the heavy adverbials, Homily III again gives the largest number of instances (16), followed by XXII (10) and IV (8); e.g. 3.40 *Be þæra synna andettnesse Salomon cwæð* 'Concerning the confession of sins, Solomon said' (Latin *Unde et Salomon de confessione peccatorum dixit* (S1/SA1)).

1.3 Type C

The initial position of Type C clauses is occupied by coordinating conjunctions such as *ond, ac, ne* 'nor', and *oþþe*. I will focus on the elements which immediately follow such conjunctions (i.e. those which are in 'initial' position; see the Introduction), since they may be considered practically as the first element of the clause; and differences among the individual conjunctions are not dealt with. A count of these 'initial' elements in Type C clauses yields the following table:

Table C

A	364	O	129
C	41	REC	2
EXP	9	S	534
Formal S	7	V	95
I	36	v	24
Impersonal	3	X	14

As is shown in Table C, the 'clause-initial' position is filled most frequently by the subject (534 instances), followed by the adverbial (364) and the direct object (129); e.g. 3.13 *& God wunað on him* 'and God dwells in him' (Latin *et Deus in illo* (S1/SA1)), 2.114 *ne næfre dæg ne cymeð æfter dæge* 'nor does day ever come after day', and 10.90 *ac minre neaweste a wilnodon* 'but (they) always desired my companionship'. Here, I note in passing that there are only five examples in which the coordinating conjunction *ne* 'nor' is followed by adverbials. They are 2.114 (see above), 4.174 *ne nu næfre þin ende geweorðeð* 'nor will your end come about now ever', 4.229 *Ne ieðlice næs ic ane nihtes fyrst ne dæges on him* 'Nor was I comfortably within him either during night or day', 9.181 *Ne þær ne bið hunger ne ðurst ne cyle ne bryne ne nænig unwynsumnes gemeted* 'Neither is there any hunger nor thirst nor cold nor fire nor any unhappiness found', and 10.98 *ne næfre helpes geuðe* 'nor did (I) ever grant (them) help'.

I earlier reported in section 1.1 that only a limited number of homilies in *VH* (i.e. Homilies I, XVIII, XIV, and XXII) exhibit strong verb-initial tendencies in Type A clauses. The same is true in Type C clauses. Homily I gives the largest number of examples (26) with simple finite verbs (V), followed by XVIII (15) and IV (12); examples are 1.5 *& læddon ærest to Annan* 'and (they) led (him) first to Annas' (Latin *et adduxerunt eum ad Annam primum* (S1)), 18.58 *& genam his sciccels* 'and (he) took his cloak', and 4.167 *& beoð on þæra fægerestena engla heape* 'and (they) are in the troop of the most beautiful angels'. As for the initial v (the finite verb of complex verb phrases), it occurs most frequently in Homily I (five times),

followed by IV and XVIII (four times in both); e.g. 1.217 *ac wæs eall on anum awefen* 'but (it) was woven all in one' (Latin *desuper contexta per totum* (M1a)), 4.320 *& wile us scotian mid þam stræ[]um* 'and (he) will shoot us with these arrows', and 18.132 *& heht þa oþre men ealle utgangan* 'and (he) commanded all other men to go out' (Latin *exclusisque omnibus turbis* (S1)).

1.4 Type D

Table D shows the distribution of initial elements in imperative clauses:

Table D

	Non-Conjoined	Conjoined
A	2	4
O	0	11
S	1	1
V	89	38
v	4	3
Total	96	57

The finite verb (V/v) occurs initially in most of the non-conjoined imperative clauses (93 out of 96 instances, or 97%); e.g. 1.125 *Gesaga me* 'Tell me' and 10.172 *dæl regnas ofer þine eorðan* 'dispense rain over your earth' (Latin *Plue super terram tuam* (S1)). The same may be observed as to the conjoined imperative clauses, though the finite verb (V/v) is not as dominant (41 out of 57 instances, or 72%) partly due to the verb-late tendency in the clauses headed by coordinating conjunctions; compare the two clauses in 1.43 *find þe gewitnesse & hit gecyð* 'find the testimony for you and reveal it' (Latin *testimonium perhibe de malo* (S1)) where the former (non-conjoined) has the construction VO and the latter (conjoined) OV. It should also be observed that these element orders are influenced by the weight of the direct objects; namely, *gewitnesse* (nominal O) is placed after V in the former, whereas in the latter, *hit* (pronominial O) is placed before V.

1.5 Type E

The distribution of clause-initial elements in interrogative clauses is shown below:

Table E

	Non-Conjoined	Conjoined
hw-+V	68	10
hw-+v	13	0
hw-+A	0	1
hw-+O	0	1
S	1	0
V	13	0
Total	95	12

Notes on Table E:

1. '*hw-*' includes interrogatives such as *hu, hwæt, hwæt, hwy*, and their combinations like *for hwy*.

2. The figure for non-conjoined '*hw-*+V' includes two instances with '*hw-*+Impersonal'.

3. The figure for conjoined '*hw-*+V' includes one instance with '*&+hw-*+V' (where *hw-* is expressed after *&*).

Most of the clauses (93 out of 107, or 87%) are headed by interrogatives as in 7.56 *For hwon wene ge þæt ...* 'Why do you suppose that ...?' and 10.233 *Hwær syndon þa rican caseras & cynningas* 'Where are the powerful emperors and kings?' (Latin *(Dic) ubi sunt reges? (ubi principes?) ubi imperatores?* (S1)). These 93 examples with initial *hw-* include five examples of conjoined clauses which lack interrogatives but are governed by those in the preceding clauses. It seems of some relevance to point out that such conjoined clauses without interrogatives contain only two clauses in which the position after the coordinating conjunction is filled by elements other than the finite verb, which are: 4.206 *(For hwan swenctest ðu me, ...) & þas langan woruld ne gemundest?* 'and (why did you) not remember the perpetual world?' ('initial' O) and 20.198 *(Hwig nelle we, ...) & to his þam uplican rice onetan?* 'and (why should we be unwilling) to hasten to His celestial kingdom?' ('initial' A). In

other words, the finite verb almost always occupies the position after interrogatives (91 out of 93, or 98%).

1.6 Type F

The distribution of initial elements in optative clauses is presented below in tabular form:

Table F

	Non-Conjoined	Conjoined
A	5	11
C	1	1
I	0	2
O	0	12
S	8	7
V	38	28
v	60	24
Z	0	1
Total	112	86

Table F tells us that, whether conjoined or non-conjoined, the initial position of optative clauses is usually filled by the finite verb (V/v; 150 out of 198, or 76%); examples are 4.337 *geþencen we eac hu ...* 'let us also consider how ...' and 10.56 *& geþencen þæne dom* 'and let us consider the judgement' (Latin *Exspectatur enim dies iudicii* (M1)). However, the influence of coordinating conjunctions is readily noticeable in that there are more examples in the conjonined optative clauses (34) than in the non-conjoined ones (14) where the clause-initial position is occupied by elements other than the finite verb (V/v); examples are 17.141 *& him þanc secgan eallra his goda & his gifena & eallra his læna & eallra his mildheortnessa* 'and let us say thanks to Him for all His goods and His gifts and all His rewards and all His mercies' ('initial' I) and 19.68 *& us ongean his yfelan lara Godes mildheortnesse biddan dæges & nihtes* 'and let us pray by day and by night for God's mercy against his (=the devil's) wicked teachings' ('initial' Z).

2 Dependent Clauses

I distinguish below three types of dependent clauses: nominal, adjectival, and adverbial. The last type is further divided into the following seven categories: clauses of place, clauses of time, clauses of consequence, clauses of cause, clauses of comparison, clauses of concession, and clauses of condition.

Three points must be mentioned. (1) I have found only one dependent clause in which subordination is indicated by the context and element order, with no presence of a subordinator in the clause or in the preceding clause; see the section on clauses of condition. (2) The 'initial' position does not always correspond to the position immediately following the subordinating conjunction. For example, *heo* is considered to be in 'initial' position in 4.153 *hu glædlice & hu wynsumlice & hu fægre & hu mildlice heo sprycð, sio sawl, to hire lichaman* 'how happily and how joyfully and how kindly and how mildly she speaks, the soul, to the body', since it seems reasonable to parse *hu glædlice & hu wynsumlice & hu fægre & hu mildlice* as one phrase introduced by *hu*. (3) The term 'conjoined' is used differently in the sections on dependent clauses; a conjoined clause may have a coordinating conjunction and no subordinating conjunction (which can be supplied from the preceding clause) as in 9.111 *(þeah ...) & hyra hæbbe æghwylc siofon heafdu* 'and (though) each of them has seven heads'. Thus, if a clause has both a coordinating conjunction and a subordinating one (e.g. 18.232 *& þeah þe heora hwylc þone fisc forswulge* 'and though each of them swallowed up the fish'), it is treated as a non-conjoined dependent clause.

2.1 Type G-1

Nominal clauses are introduced by: (1) *þæt* or some other conjunction (like *þætte, swilce, gif*, and *þeah*), or (2) an interrogative or exclamatory word (like *hwa, hwilc*, and *hu*) (cf. Mitchell 1985: §1937). Table G-1 shows the distribution of 'clause-initial' elements in *VH*:

Table G-1

	Non-Conjoined	Conjoined
A	27	41
C	5	7
EXP	11	0
Formal S	9	0
I	9	4
Impersonal	3	0
O	19	28
REC	1	1
S	574	49
V	6	23
v	0	3
X	3	1
Total	667	157

In non-conjoined nominal clauses, the 'initial' position is most frequently filled by the subject (574 out of 691, or 83%); examples are 20.126 *þæt he beo hered on his godum* 'that he would be praised for his good points' (Latin *in bonis suis laudari* (S1)) and 21.14 *(þæt ...) & he sylð þam eaðmodum gyfe* 'and (that) he would give grace to the humble-minded' (Latin *humilibus autem dat gratiam*). We also notice in the table that elements other than the subject occur 'initially' in more than two-thirds of the conjoined instances (108 out of 157, or 69%); examples are 1.9 *& þus cwædon* 'and (they) thus said' (Latin *et dicebant* (S1)) ('initial' A) and 11.19 *(þæt ...) & fæste we hit on urum heortum gestaðolian* 'and (that) we establish it firmly in our hearts'. In both of these examples, the finite verb is placed in final position; and in the second example, 11.19, *fæste* (A) is placed interestingly in the 'clause-initial' position, preceding a light pronominal subject *we*.

2.2 Type G-2

Adjectival clauses are introduced by the following elements (cf. Mitchell & Robinson 2007: §§ 162.5 and 163.5): (1) the indeclinable participle *þe* (in combination with other words); (2) the demonstrative pronoun *se, seo, þæt* in the case required by the adjectival clause (either alone or followed by the indeclinable particle *þe*); (3) *þæt*

(which combines antecedent and relative pronoun) and combinations like *swa hwa swa*. The distribution of 'clause-initial' elements is shown below:

Table G-2a

	Non-Conjoined	Conjoined
A	177	20
C	46	2
EXP	1	0
Formal S	1	0
I	31	5
Impersonal	3	0
O	114	29
S	282	13
V	82	10
v	38	2
X	1	0
Total	776	81

In non-conjoined clauses, the subject is placed 'initially' in 36% (or 282 out of 776) of the instances, followed by the adverbial (23%) and the finite verb (V/v; 15%); examples are 6.11 *(se dæg) þane dryhten geworhte* '(the day) which the Lord made' (Latin *(dies) quam fecit Dominus* (SA1)), 14.131 *(ðam mannum) þe wið us agyltað* '(those men) who sin against us' (Latin *quod in nos delinquitur* (S1)), and 17.121 *se ðe inlihteð ælcne mannan* 'he who enlightens each man'. On the other hand, the most frequent 'initial' element in conjoined adjectival clauses is the direct object (29 out of 81, or 36%), followed by the adverbial (25%) and the subject (16%); e.g. 3.41 *(Se ðe ...) & hie þonne forlæt* 'and (he who) then forsakes them' (Latin *et reliquerit ea* (S1/SA1)), 10.108 *(þær ge ...) & in þam witum wunigan a butan ende* 'and (where you must) remain in the torments forever without end' (Latin *et ibunt hii in supplicium aeternum* (M1)), and 14.60 *(swa hwæt godes swa ...) & þin mægen to þan gelustfullian wille* 'and (whatever of good) your virtue would desire to such an extent'.

It must be mentioned that the figures above do not distinguish the function of relatives. Table G-2b below describes the most frequent 'initial' element according to the function played by relatives:

Table G-2b

Function of relative	Non-Conjoined	Conjoined
A	S (77%)	A (38%)
C	S (78%)	-
I	S (100%)	-
O	S (92%)	S (61%)
S	A (37%)	O (49%)

It is clear in the table that the subject is usually put 'initially' in both conjoined and non-conjoined adjectival clauses when the subject function is not realized by the relatives.

2.3 Adverbial Clauses

Seven categories of adverbial clauses are distinguished below.

2.3.1 Type G-3

In *VH*, clauses of place are introduced by *þær* (seven examples), *hwær* (one), and *swa hwyder swa* (two). In all of the ten clauses (nine non-conjoined and one conjoined), the subject is put in 'initial' position; examples are 11.32 *þær þær he is* 'where it is', 18.235 *hwær he mæge unware men beswican* 'where he can deceive unwary men' (Latin *capiunt nescientes* (S1)), 22.7 *swa hwyder swa ic fare* 'wherever I travel' (Latin *Ubicunque fugio* (S1)), and 14.143 *(þær ...) & se eca gefea eallum soðfæstum genihtsumað* 'and (where) the eternal joy satisfies all the faithful'.

2.3.2 Type G-4

The conjunctions used in clauses of time include *æfter, ær, swa, syþþan, þa, þonne* or the like; cf. Hiyama (2005: 164-165) for difficulties of classification. The distribution of 'initial' elements is given below:

Table G-4

	Non-Conjoined	Conjoined
A	5	10
Formal S	1	0
I	0	5
O	11	14
S	241	10
V	2	4
v	1	0
X	1	0
Total	262	43

As Table G-4 shows, the subject is put in 'initial' position most frequently in non-conjoined clauses of time (241 out of 262, or 92%); examples are 1.55 *ær þam se hana creowe* 'before the cock crew' (Latin *Priusquam gallus cantet* (S1)) and 3.72 *þonne se hlaford cymð* 'when the Lord comes' (Latin *cum uenerit dominus* (S1/SA1)). The subject is often unexpressed in conjoined clauses, and this is one of the reasons why the direct object occurs most frequently in 'initial' position; examples are 1.46 *(Þa he ...) & hine wyrmde* 'and (when he) warmed himself' (Latin *et calefaciens se* (M1)) and 10.34 *(syðþan he ...) & his miltse him onwreah* 'and (when He) uncovered His mercy to them'.

2.3.3 Type G-5

This section combines the analysis of two types of adverbial clauses: clauses of purpose and clauses of result (cf. Mitchell 1985: §§ 2802-2804). The conjunctions used in this category are *þæt, to þon þæt, þætte, swa (...) þæt, þy læs (þe)*, and so on. The distribution of 'initial' elements is shown in Table G-5:

Table G-5

	Non-Conjoined	Conjoined
A	9	13
C	1	1
EXP	1	0
Formal S	2	0
I	4	1
O	6	9
S	196	3
V	2	4
X	1	0
Total	222	31

The 'initial' position is most often occupied by the subject in non-conjoined clauses (196 out of 222, or 88%) and by the adverbial in conjoined ones (13 out of 31, or 42%); examples are 16.11 *þæt he ðær wolde beon gefulwad fram him* 'so that He would be baptized by him there' (Latin *ut baptizaretur ab eo* (S1)) and 19.54 *(þæt we ...) & us beforan halige lara gehyrdon rædan* 'and (that we) heard holy teachings read before us'.

2.3.4 Type G-6

Causal conjunctions used in *VH* are the *for* formulae, *nu, þæs (þe), þy (þe), swa (þæt), (nales) þæt(te)*, and *to þon þæt*. The distribution of 'initial' elements is as follows:

Table G-6

	Non-Conjoined	Conjoined
A	11	10
C	5	7
EXP	4	0
Formal S	3	0
I	3	2
Impersonal	1	0
O	6	5
S	139	30
V	2	5
v	2	0
Total	176	59

The subject prevails as the 'initial' element both in non-conjoined clauses (139 out of 176, or 79%) and (to a lesser degree) in conjoined clauses (30 out of 59, or 51%); examples are 15.46 *for þy bið heora gold asprungen* 'because their gold will be faded' and 15.66 *(for þan ...) & he sylf mid forwyrðeð* 'and (because) he himself will perish as well'.

2.3.5 Type G-7

Clauses of comparison are introduced by *þonne* 'than', *swylce, swa* and its combinations such as *efne swa* and *swa (...) swa*, and the like. Table G-7 shows the distribution of 'clause-initial' elements:

Table G-7

	Non-Conjoined	Conjoined
A	8	5
C	1	0
EXP	4	0
Formal S	4	0
I	4	0
O	12	1
REC	2	0
S	120	1
v	1	0
Total	156	7

In the majority of non-conjoined clauses, the subject is put in 'initial' position (120 out of 156, or 77%); examples are 21.110 *þonne we ær þyssum dydon* 'than we did before' and 22.6 *swa ic me nu ætforan geseo* 'as I now see before me'. The sample of conjoined examples (seven) is not large enough to make any generalization; examples are 17.109 *(swa ...) & he ðus cwæð* 'and (just as) he said thus' ('initial' S) and 23.72 *(Swa ... God ...) & on þam seofoðan hine reste* 'and (just as God) on the seventh (day) rested Himself' (Latin *et septimo die requieuit* (S1)) ('initial' A).

2.3.6 Type G-8

In *VH*, all clauses of concession are introduced by *þeah (þe)*. The distribution of 'initial' elements

is shown in Table G-8:

Table G-8

	Non-Conjoined	Conjoined
A	4	12
EXP	0	1
Formal S	1	0
O	5	1
S	42	14
V	0	2
Total	52	30

The 'initial' position of non-conjoined clauses of concession is filled mostly by the subject (42 out of 52, or 81%); examples are 3.59 *Witodlice, þeah þe hwa sie synfull & arleas* 'Indeed, although one would be sinful and impious' (Latin *Quamuis igitur quisque sit peccator et impius* (S1)) and 9.139 *þeah we heo ealle ær geworhton* 'though we performed them all before'. In conjoined clauses, the adverbial rivals the subject as the 'clause-initial' element; compare 9.153 *(ðeah man ...) & þonne 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' and 18.143 *(ðeah he ...) & eac for worlde ricra beon sceolde* 'and (though he) had to be more powerful before the world'. It seems of interest to note that Homily IX has nearly half of the total Type G-8 clauses (39 out of 82, or 48%; cf. Hiyama 2005: 228), and that the percentage of examples from this homily soars to 83% (25 out of 30) in conjoined clauses (as opposed to 27% in non-conjoined clauses).

2.3.7 Type G-9

In clauses of condition, the following introductory conjunctions are used: *gif, butan, nymþe,* and *þær*. The analysis below excludes one example in which the condition is expressed by the element order VS without the use of subordinating conjunction: 1.108 *Wære hit* 'If it were (from this place)' (Latin *si ex hoc mundo esset regnum meum* (S1)). In clauses of condition, 'initial'

elements are distributed as follows:

Table G-9

	Non-Conjoined	Conjoined
A	2	3
C	1	0
Formal S	2	0
I	1	1
O	2	10
S	100	3
V	1	1
Total	109	18

Table G-9 clearly shows the predominance of the subject in non-conjoined clauses (100 out of 109, or 92%); examples include 4.90 *gif we hit earnian willað* 'if we wish to merit it' and 8.32 *butan we ær eaðmodlice beten* 'unless we earlier humbly atoned' (Latin *quomodo tunc sine ullo remedio paenitebimus* (S1)). In conjoined clauses, the direct object is the most frequent 'initial' element in the small sample; e.g. 1.44 *(Gif ic ...) & soð sægde* 'and (if I) told the truth' and 21.134 *(gif we a willað ...) & urum sawlum gebeorgan* 'and (if we wish to) save our souls'.

3 Summary and Conclusions

This primarily descriptive study has examined the syntactical relationship between the clause-initial element and the clause category. The term 'clause-initial element' is defined as follows: (1) it refers to the element in second position, i.e. after the initial subordinating conjunction or interrogative in dependent clauses (Type G) and some types of independent clauses (Types D/E/F); (2) it refers to the element after the initial coordinating conjunction in conjoined independent clauses (Type C), and in dependent clauses without subordinators (Type G); and (3) it refers to the first element of the clause in non-conjoined independent declarative clauses (Types A/B). The coalescence of these three types of clause-initial elements has enabled me to compare the 'real' clause-initial elements in each clause type.

The following points may be observed in Table H below. (1) In the vast majority of the non-conjoined clauses (Types A-G), the subject occurs most frequently as the initial/'initial' element with the exception of Types D-F (where the finite verb is almost always in initial/'initial' position); and these may be said to conform to the rules of grammar. (2) The distribution of 'initial' elements in conjoined independent clauses (Type C) is more similar to those in most of the non-conjoined dependent clauses than to those in non-conjoined independent declarative clauses (Types A/B); cf. Blockley (2001: 116, note 6, where she refers to Donoghue 1991: 405-408) and Hiyama (2004: 125, note 10). (3) Regarding the distribution of 'initial' elements, dependent clauses may be divided into two groups: (a) in Types G-1/G-6, (almost) no difference exists between non-conjoined and conjoined clauses; and (b) in Types G-2/G-4/G-5/G-7/G-9, conjoined clauses exhibit different tendencies from their non-conjoined counterparts within the same clause category. The latter is certainly due to the non-expression of the subject in conjoined clauses, but this is not the only cause of the difference; I hope to pursue this elsewhere.

Table H

Type		1	2	3
A		S(62%)	V(11%)	C(7%)
B		A1(72%)	A2(17%)	A3(12%)
C		S(42%)	A(29%)	O(10%)
D	n-c	V/v(97%)	-	-
	c	V/v(72%)	O(20%)	-
E	n-c	hw-+V/v(85%)	V(14%)	-
	c	hw-+V(83%)	-	-
F	n-c	V/v(88%)	S(7%)	A(4%)
	c	V/v(60%)	O(14%)	A(13%)
G-1	n-c	S(86%)	A(4%)	O(3%)
	c	S(31%)	A(26%)	O(18%)
G-2	n-c	S(36%)	A(23%)	O(15%)
	c	O(36%)	A(25%)	S(16%)
G-3	n-c	S(100%)	-	-
	c	-	-	-
G-4	n-c	S(92%)	O(5%)	A(2%)
	c	O(33%)	A/S(23%)	I(12%)
G-5	n-c	S(88%)	A(4%)	O(3%)
	c	A(42%)	O(29%)	-
G-6	n-c	S(79%)	A(6%)	C(3%)
	c	S(51%)	A(17%)	C(12%)
G-7	n-c	S(77%)	O(8%)	A(5%)
	c	A(71%)	-	-
G-8	n-c	S(81%)	O(10%)	-
	c	S(47%)	A(40%)	-
G-9	n-c	S(92%)	-	-
	c	O(56%)	-	-

Notes on Table H:

1. Rows: n-c = non-conjoined; c = conjoined.

2. Columns: 1 = the most frequent initial/'initial' element; 2 = the second most frequent initial/'initial' element; 3 = the third most frequent initial/'initial' element.

3. Symbols: A1 = light adverbial (one word); A2 = adverbial of medium weight (two words); A3 = heavy adverbial (three words or more).

4. Percentages are rounded off, and this may make the total percentage 99% or 101%.

5. Columns are left blank when there are less than five examples.

Finally, closely related to the topics dealt with above is the problem of clause boundaries in Old English. I hope to investigate the clause-initial elements in the Vercelli manuscript (Sisam 1976) and compare them with the findings in this study.

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