

Element Order in *The Blickling Homilies*: Part VI

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Abstract

This article investigates more than five hundred clauses in Homily XIV and XVI of *The Blickling Homilies* with special emphasis on the position of sentential elements and their weight.

Keywords: *clause category, element order, Old English, The Blickling Homilies (Homily XIV and XVI), weight ordering*

0 Introduction

This paper offers an analysis of the element order patterns that appear in *The Blickling Homilies* (Homilies XIV and XVI - I plan to deal with Homily XV, one of the longest homilies in the collection, in my next paper); references are to Morris (1874-1880), by homily and line, and I have adopted some of the modifications and changes in the Dictionary of Old English (DOE) corpus. Please note in particular that the DOE Corpus and Morris do not agree in some of the homily numbers in this homiliary; I use the DOE's homily number - Homily XVI - here, which corresponds to Morris's Homily XVII (pp. 196-211). For details of classification, see Hiyama (2010).

1 Type A

The subject is likely to occupy the preverbal position (42 out of 49, or 86%), as in (S1-V; thirty-one examples) 14.51 *He wæs gelic Godes englum* 'He was like the angels of God', (S2-V; five) 16.27 *Se man ahte mycelne welan* 'The man possessed great wealth', and (S3-V; six) 16.158 *Dislic ærende se eadiga papa ða ðær eft onsende* 'The blessed pope then sent back this message'. There are seven clauses with the V-S pattern, where weight ordering clearly influences the position of heavy subjects (V-S3; five examples) like 14.159 *cwæð se ðe þas boc worhte* 'says he who made this book'. (This clause is a parenthetical insertion. The whole context is as follows: 14.158 *Hwæt sceal ic ðonne ma secgean fram Sancte Iohanne, cwæð se ðe þas boc worhte, buton þæt he ær eode beforan Criste, ærðæm þe he beforan him sylfan gangan mihte* 'What more then shall I say of St John', says he who made this book, 'except that he first went before God ere that he himself was able to go before him'.) It is not clear, however, why light subjects are placed postverbally (V-S1) in the remaining two examples (both are found in Homily XVI): 16.70 *Secgge ic þe nu eac þæt ...* 'I tell you now that ...' and 16.188 *Wæs hit eac bewrigen & oferbræded mid baswe godwebbe* 'It was covered and spread over with a crimson woven pall'. It is possible that the V-S1 order is the result of the clause-initial placement of the finite verbs (*Secgge* and *Wæs* in the above-mentioned examples); in other words, the verbs are placed in clause-initial position (presumably for stylistic variation) and, as a result, we have these two instances with postverbal light subjects.

Direct objects occur eleven times preverbally (O-V) and nine times postverbally (V-O). The latter pattern is characterized by the predominance of heavy direct objects (V-O3; 8 out of 9, or 88%), as in 16.185 *Þeos circe mid þys portice mihte hu hwego fif hund manna beforan & behabban* 'This church with the portico might contain and hold some five hundred men'. The other clause with the V-O order has a direct object of medium weight (V-O2): 14.131 *Ic sende minne engel beforan þinre onsyne*

‘I will send my messenger before your face’. The O-V clauses, on the other hand, are almost evenly distributed: (O1-V; three examples) 14.148 *he hie þonne mid ðissum wordum lærde & manode* ‘he taught and admonished them with these words’, (O2-V; four) 16.74 *hie þa (þa burgware swiþe bliþe & gefeonde) mid þon heora halgan bisceope þa stowe sohtan* ‘then they, (the citizens, very glad and rejoicing,) with their bishop visited the place’, and (O3-V; four) 16.35 *He þa se fear þæs hyrdes drafe forhogode* ‘Then, he, the bull, despised the drove of the herdsman’. There are no Type A clauses with accusative and infinitive constructions.

Of the five Type A clauses with indirect objects, four have the I-V pattern, as in (I1-V; two examples) 14.156 *Sod ic eow secge* ‘I will tell you the truth’, (I2-V; two) 16.26 *Se welega man þæm munte gesette þone ilcan naman* ‘The wealthy man gave the same name to the hill’. The sole example with V-I is: 16.70 *Secgge ic þe nu eac þæt ...* ‘I tell you now that ...’. This V-I order - cf. the section on the subject in Type A - is again the result of verb-initial placement. When there are two kinds of objects (O and I) in the same clause, the I-O order occurs four times and the O-I once; e.g. (I-O) 16.153 *Him þa se heora arwyrdā bisceop eadiglice & halwendlice gedeht forðbrohte* ‘Then their venerable bishop proposed a happy and successful plan to them’ and (O-I) 14.156 (see above).

Complements are preverbal in nine clauses and postverbal in twelve. I have not found any light complements (C1) in the selected corpus, and all the complements are of either medium or heavy weight (C2 or C3). Examples include: (C2-V; three) 14.119 *Mycel is se haligdom & seo weorþung Sancte Iohannes þæs mycelnesse* ‘Great is the holiness and worthiness of St John’ and (C3-V; six) 16.85 *Hie þa þa burgware Beneuentius & Sepontanus hatton* ‘They, the citizens, were then called Benevento and Sepontus’; (V-C2; two) 16.236 *Hie wæron þa halgan on onfenge manna saulum* ‘They were the holy ones ready to receive men’s souls’ and (V-C3; ten) 16.68 *ic eom heahengel Heofoncyniges* ‘I am the archangel of heaven’s King’.

Single adverbials are found nine times postverbally and seven times preverbally. All the preverbal adverbials are of light weight (A1-V), as in 14.39 *heo þonne þæs bearnes noht lata ne wæs* ‘then she was not at all late in childbearing’. (The following example is not considered here, since I interpret the prepositional phrase *mid þys portice* as part of the subject, namely, *Þeos circe mid þys portice*: 16.185 *Þeos circe mid þys portice mihte hu hwego fif hund manna befon & behabban* ‘This church with the portico might contain and hold some five hundred men’.) Almost half of the postverbal single adverbials are of heavy weight (V-A3; four examples), but there are also four light adverbials (V-A1) and one adverbial of medium weight (V-A2). I quote some examples: (V-A1) 14.132 *Þæt wæs þonne swiþe healic nama* ‘Then that was a very exalted name’, (V-A2) 14.27 *Hie butu wæron swiþe gedefe beforan Gode* ‘They were both very worthy before God’, and (V-A3) 14.9 *Manige halge & gedefe witgan wæran ær Sancte Iohanne* ‘(There) were many holy and worthy prophets before St John’.

Two adverbials are used in fifteen Type A clauses, and the most frequent pattern is A-A-V (eight examples), followed by V-A-A (four) and A-V-A (three). Examples include: (A-A-V) 16.203 *Se bisceop þa ðær gesette gode sangeras & mæssepreostas & manigfealdlice circean þegnas* ‘The bishop then appointed (them) good singers and mass-priests, and manifold church ministers’, (V-A-A) 14.75 *Pin ben is eallunga fram Gode gehyred* ‘Your prayer is altogether heard by God’, and (A-V-A) 14.124 *Sanctus Iohannes þonne gæþ beforan eallum oþrum witgan* ‘St John then will take precedence of all other prophets’.

There are six clauses with three or more adverbials: A-A-V-A is found three times, A-A-A-V twice, and V-A-A-A once. Some examples are: (A-A-V-A) 16.23 *Ðas circean heo þonne þus æteowde &*

gecƿðe æt fruman ‘It first showed and made known this church’, (A-A-A-V) 16.203 *hie ða mid mycclum gefean & blisse & mid þæs engles bletsunga eft hwyrfende wæron to heora husum* ‘they then with great joy and bliss, and with the angel’s blessing, returned to their houses’, and (V-A-A-A) 16.230 *Englas beoð to ðegnumge gæstum fram Gode hider on world sendeð* ‘Angels are sent hither into the world by God as ministering spirits’.

2 Type B

Postverbal position seems to be the norm for the subject in Type B clauses (V-S; 35 out of 50, or 70%), as in (V-S1; fourteen examples) 14.78 *ne drincþ he win ne ealu* ‘he shall not drink wine or ale’, (V-S2; five) 16.247 *þonne gewitan þa saula niðer* ‘then down went the souls’, and (V-S3; sixteen) 16.229 *Swa cwæð Sanctus Paulus* ‘St Paul said thus’. The subject is placed preverbally in fifteen clauses; e.g. (S1-V; five examples) 14.5 *Be þyssum we þonne witon magon (& ongyton)* ‘By these works we may know (and understand)’, (S2-V; six) 14.96 *sona þæt cild onsprang* ‘forthwith the child leaped’, and (S3-V; four) 14.92 *þa þæt wuldres bearn on þysne middangeard astag* ‘then the child of glory descended upon the earth’.

Direct objects often follow finite verbs (13 out of 17, or 76%), as in (V-O1; four examples) 16.58 *þa lærde he hie* ‘Then he instructed them’, (V-O2; two) 16.45 *þa genam he his bogan* ‘Then he took his bow’, and (V-O3; seven) 16.137 *þa ongeaton hie geornlice þæt ...* ‘Then they perceived plainly that ...’. The O-V pattern is used four times; e.g. (O1-V; one example) 16.116 *gelice þa Cristenan him mid heora wæpnum hyndon & onsetton* ‘similarly, the Christians harassed them with their weapons and overwhelmed them’, (O2-V; one) 16.140 *On ðæm stane hi þa sona ðær ciricean ofergetimbredon* ‘Upon the stone they at once built a church’, and (O3-V; two) 14.111 *hwæpre he on þæm gaste anum þæs godspelleres þegnumga gefylde* ‘nevertheless he, in the Spirit alone, performed the ministration of the Evangelist’. In the selected corpus, I have found neither Type B clauses with accusative and infinitive constructions, nor those with indirect objects (I).

Complements occur in six Type B clauses, all of which are of heavy weight and placed after finite verbs (V-C3). One such example is: 14.3 *þonne is þæt seo foremære gebyrd Sancte Iohannes þæs fulwihtweres* ‘then it is the birthday of the illustrious John the Baptist’.

When there are no other adverbial elements in Type B clauses, the distribution of the initial adverbials is as follows: *ne* (two examples), A1 (fifteen), and A3 (four). It is remarkable that 71% of these initial adverbials are of light weight (A1). Examples are: (#*ne*) 14.90 *Ne lybbe ic* ‘I live not’, (#A1) 14.50 *þa wæs acynned se mon Sancte Iohannes* ‘Then was born the man Saint John’, and (#A3) 14.24 *On Herodes dagum þæs cyninges wæs swiþe mycel æweweard* ‘In the days of King Herod (there) was a very great priest’.

Type B clauses with one non-initial adverbials are distributed as follows: A-V (seven examples) and V-A (seven). Examples are: (A1-V; five) 14.5 *Be þyssum we þonne witon magon (& ongyton)* ‘By these works we may know (and understand)’ and (A3-V; two) 16.116 *gelice þa Cristenan him mid heora wæpnum hyndon & onsetton* ‘similarly, the Christians harassed them with their weapons and overwhelmed them’; (V-A1; three) 16.206 *Næs hwedre nænig man (þe ...)* ‘Yet (there) was no man (who ...)’; (V-A2; one) 16.114 *Hwilum se ilca God sendeþ his engla gastas to ærendwrecum* ‘Sometimes the same God sends his angels’ spirits as messengers’, and (V-A3; three) 16.15 *þonne is seo halige cirice Michaelles geseted on þæm hean cnolle sumes mutes* ‘The holy Church of St Michael is situated upon the high summit of a mountain’.

Two non-initial adverbials occur in twelve clauses - there are ten instances with V-A-A and two

with A-A-V, as in (V-A-A) 16.62 *ða wæs þæm ilcan biscepe ætiewed on niht se hea & se halga heahengel Michahel* ‘then at night there appeared to that same bishop the high and the holy archangel Michael’ and (A-A-V) 16.225 *Ðonne of ðæm þeodlande ... ða folc þær cumende beoð* ‘Then from the provinces come the people’.

Three or more adverbials occur in seven clauses, of which three have V-A-A-A, two have A-A-A-V, one has A-A-V-A, and the other has A-V-A-A; e.g. (V-A-A-A) 16.208 *Ðonne wæs þær eac of þæm ilcan stane þære ciricean hrofes on þa nordhealfe þæs weofodes swiþe wynsum ond hluttur wæta ut flowende* ‘There was also from the same stone of the church-roof at the north-side of the altar a very pleasant and clear stream issuing’ (this clause has as many as five adverbials), (A-A-A-V) 16.93 *þa on þa ilcan tid þa hæðnan bysmerlice & synlice heora þa leasan godas mid mislicum deofolgeldum (hie) him laþodan on fultum* ‘Then, at the same time, the heathens shamefully and wickedly invited their false gods with various idols to aid them’, (A-V-A-A) 16.95 *þa on ða ilcan tid wæs se eadiga engel Michahel ætiewed þæm hera bisceope on gesihþe* ‘Then at the same time the blessed angel Michael appeared in a vision to their bishop’, and (A-A-V-A) 16.220 *Eac swylce oþrum gemetum unarimede manna untrumnessa ðær wæron oft ... & gelome gehælde* ‘Also in other ways innumerable ailments of men were often and frequently healed’.

3 Type C

Subjects in this clause type almost always precede finite verbs irrespective of weight (S-V; 73 out of 82, or 89%), as in (S1-V; forty examples) 14.18 & *hie þære soþfæstnesse spellodan* ‘And they proclaimed the truth’, (S2-V; fifteen) 14.77 & *manige on his gebyrd gefeop* ‘and many shall rejoice at his birth’, and (S3-V; eighteen) 14.25 & *his wifes nama wæs Elizabetþ* ‘And his wife’s name was Elizabeth’. Subjects follow finite verbs in nine instances, as in (V-S1; one) 16.53 *Ond þa ne dorstan hie þære stowe genealæcan* ‘And they did not dare then to approach the place’, (V-S2; three) 16.241 & *ðær wæron þystrogenipo* ‘And there were dark mists’, and (V-S3; five) 16.246 & *betuh þæm clife on ðæm wætre wæron swylce twelf mila* ‘And between the cliff and the water (there) were about twelve miles’.

Direct objects often occur preverbally (O-V; 38 out of 59, or 64%), as in (O1-V; eleven examples) 14.32 *ne hie nænig leahter ne drefde* ‘nor any vice troubled them’, (O2-V; fourteen) 16.124 & *fulwihte onfengon* ‘and (they) received baptism’, and (O3-V; thirteen) 14.14 & *hie cyningum & yfelum ricum ealdormannum wiþstandan mihtan* ‘and they were able to withstand kings and evil and great princes’. Postverbal direct objects are of either medium or heavy weight (V-O2 or V-O3); e.g. (V-O2; three examples) 14.75 *end þin wif Elizabet þe gebereþ sunu* ‘and your wife Elizabeth shall bear you a son’ and (V-O3; eighteen) 14.126 & *he on his mægenes weorþunga oferswiþ ealra oþerra Godes martira wuldor* ‘and he surpasses in the exaltedness of his power the glory of all God’s other martyrs’. There are no instances with accusative and infinitive constructions.

All the indirect objects in Type C are placed before finite verbs (I-V), as in (I1-V; thirteen examples) 16.154 & *hie lærede þæt ...* ‘and (he) advised them that ...’ and (I2-V; two) 14.98 & *hine ær monnum gecyþan & geseccan teolode* ‘and (he) first strove to make him known and to proclaim him to men’. When there are two kinds of objects (O and I) in the same clause, the order is almost always I-O (12 out of 13, or 92%). Examples are: (I-O) 16.154 (see above) and 16.57 & *hie hine lare beahsodan* ‘and they asked him for (his) instructions’; (O-I) 14.98 (see above).

Complements often follow finite verbs (V-C; 13 out of 18, or 72%), as in (V-C2; five examples) 14.76 & *þu cegst his noman Iohannes* ‘and you shall call his name John’ and (V-C3; eight) 16.136 &

þa fotlastas wæron swutole & gesyne on þæm stane ‘and the footsteps were plain and visible in the stone’. There are five instances with preverbal complements (C-V); e.g. (C1-V; one) 16.241 & *dær wæron þystrogenipo* ‘And there were dark mists’, (C2-V; three) 14.47 & *hie on eallum heora life orleahltre gestodan* ‘and they in their whole life stood blameless’, and (C3-V; one) 16.241 & *under þæm stane wæs niccra eardung & wearga* ‘and under the stone was the dwelling place of monsters and execrable creatures.’ (In the last example, 16.241, I interpret the adverbial phrase *under þæm stane* ‘under the stone’ as a complement.)

There are forty-seven Type C clauses with single adverbials, of which thirty-four have A-V and thirteen have V-A. The influence of weight ordering is most obvious in the latter where as many as eleven examples (85%) have heavy adverbials (V-A3), as in 16.140 & *gecyððe into þy swidan slæpe* ‘and made (it) known (to them) in the deep sleep’. The two remaining examples with the V-A pattern are: (V-A1) 16.124 & *hie ongeaton geornlice þæt ...* ‘and they truly perceived that ...’ and (V-A2) 14.89 & *he ongan lifgean ongean God* ‘And he began to live in the presence of God’. As for the A-V pattern, the single adverbials are distributed as follows: A1-V (fourteen examples), A2-V (five), and A3-V (fifteen). Examples include: (A1-V) 14.49 & *sona heora ylða geliffæsted wæs* ‘and immediately their age was quickened’, (A2-V) 16.58 & *him to ræde fand þæt ...* ‘and (he) advised them that ...’, and (A3-V) 14.96 & *ongean his Hlaford hyhte* ‘and (he) rejoiced in the presence of his Lord’.

Two adverbials are found in twenty-four clauses, of which fourteen have A-A-V, five have A-V-A, and another five have V-A-A; e.g. (A-A-V) 16.228 & *dæs engles mægen & his wundor þær þonne weorðod bið* ‘and the (arch-)angel’s power and miracles are there revered’, (A-V-A) 14.76 & *þe bið þonne hyht & gefea* ‘and to you shall be joy and gladness’, and (V-A-A) 16.199 & *he is styccemælum mid hsomige wuda oferwexen* ‘and here and there it is overgrown with rimy wood’. (Note: The reading of the MS *hsomige* is controversial. While Morris, at p. 207, has the note ‘? *hrimige*’, Toller (1921), s.v. *hrimig*, comments as follows: ‘Perhaps *bromige* should be read, rather than *hrimige*.’ In the quotation above, I have adopted Morris’s text and translation.)

When Type C clauses have three or more adverbials, the most frequent pattern is A-A-A-V (eleven examples), followed by A-A-V-A (six) and V-A-A-A (one). Examples are: (A-A-A-V) 14.69 & *he Drihten selfa swa on his godspelle be him cwæp* ‘And the Lord himself in his gospel spoke concerning him’, (A-A-V-A) 16.105 & *þa sona on dære frympe þæs gefeohtes, ða wæs Garganus se munt ... mid mycclum brogan & mid ongryslan eall oferlæded* ‘Then immediately at the beginning of the fight the mountain ... was overtaken with horror and dread’ (this clause has as many as six adverbials, viz. A-A-A-A-V-A-A), and (V-A-A-A) 14.80 & *he gæp beforan Gode mid Halgum Gaste gefylled & Elian mægene þæs witgan, Drihtne to geearnienne medome folc* ‘and he shall go before God, filled with the Holy Ghost, and with the power of Elias the prophet, to prepare a people meet for the Lord’.

4 Type D

Noteworthy is the predominance of the S-V order in both kinds (i.e. non-conjoined and conjoined) of Type D clauses: as many as 94% of the subjects (120 out of 127) are preverbal. Such examples include: (non-conjoined) (S1-V; seventy-three) 14.89 *ærþon þe he him sylfum lifgean mihte* ‘before he might live by himself’, (S2-V; twenty-one) 16.60 *þæt God gecyððe þæt ...* ‘that God would make known what ...’, and (S3-V; twenty-four) 14.83 *hu swiþe loflice Sanctus Iohannes wæs mid þæs Halgan Gastes mægenum gefylled* ‘how gloriously Saint John was filled with the power of the Holy Ghost’; (conjoined) (S1-V; two) 16.173 (*fordon þe ...*) & *ic hie gehalgode* ‘and (for) I have

consecrated it'. As for the remaining seven clauses with postverbal subjects (V-S), all of them are non-conjoined clauses and have subjects of either medium or heavy weight (S2 or S3); e.g. (V-S2; two examples) 14.121 *þæt betux wifa gebyrdum ne wearþ mara mon geworden þonne Iohannes se fulwihtere* 'that among those born of women there shall not be a greater man than John the Baptist' and (V-S3; five) 14.30 *þæm ne sceþede nænig scyld þisse sceþwracean worlde* 'whom no guilt of this noxious world had injured'.

Direct objects often precede finite verbs in both kinds of Type D clauses: the percentage of the O-V order is 76% in non-conjoined clauses and 78% in the conjoined equivalents. Examples include: (non-conjoined) (O1-V; sixteen examples) 16.51 *Ða þæt gesawon ða burgware* 'When the citizens saw that', (O2-V; twenty-four) 14.115 *forþon þe he his wordum ne gelyfde* 'because he did not believe his words', and (O3-V; fourteen) 16.52 *þe heo næfre swylc wundor ne gesawon* 'because they had never seen such a marvel before' (Morris, at p. 326, glosses *heo* as a plural form of *he*; cf. Campbell (1959: §703)); (conjoined) (O1-V; three) 16.173 (*fordon þe ...*) & *ic hie gehalgode* 'and (for) I have consecrated it', (O2-V; two) 16.84 (*þa þe ...*) & *deoflum hyrdon* 'and (who) served devils', and (O3-V; two) 16.216 (*þæt ...*) & *þære heofonlican wætan hie þær onfengon & onbyrigdon* 'and (that) they there take and taste the heavenly fluid'. Almost all of the postverbal direct objects are of medium or weight (V-O2 or V-O3), as in (non-conjoined) (V-O2; five examples) 14.132 *se grewep þinne weg beforan þe* 'who shall prepare your way before you' and (V-O3; twelve) 16.60 *þæt God gecyþde þæt ...* 'that God would make known what ...'; (conjoined) (V-O3; one) 16.119 (*oppæt hie ...*) & *oferfeollan þa ðe ...* 'and (until they) had destroyed those whom ...'. The sole example with postverbal light direct object (V-O1) is 16.178 (*þæt ic ...*) & *gecyþe hine* '(that I ...) and manifest it'. I quote the whole sentence: 16.178 *min is þonne þæt ic mid arwyrðnesse tacne æteowe & gecyþe hine, þurh hine sylfne hie gehalgode & gebletsode* 'I, on my part, will appear by a solemn token, and manifest it, that I myself have hallowed and consecrated it (= the church)'. Even in full context, it is not clear why *hine*, a pronominal (light) direct object, was placed in clause-final position, although one suspects the influence of the two finite verbs *æteowe* & *gecyþe*. Both verbs, *ætywan* and *gecyþan*, mean 'to show' and co-occur five times in Homily XVI (at lines 5, 23, 73, 178 (above), and 223).

I have found two clauses with accusative (Z) and infinitive constructions, both of which are non-conjoined clauses. They are: (V-Z) 16.47 *þæs þe he geseah þæt hryper stondan* 'where he saw the bull stand' and (Z-V) 16.54 *þe hie þæt hryper gesawon æt stondan* 'where they saw the bull stand'.

There are only four non-conjoined Type D clauses which contain indirect objects, as in (I2-V; one example) 16.167 *þæt hie þæt mannum to fylgenne on cydde* 'so that they made it known to men to follow (it) continuously', (I3-V; one) 14.158 *swa swa ge hit me sylfum dydon* 'as if you had done it to myself', and (V-I2; two) 14.156 *swa lange swa ge ðis dydon ðara anum* 'as long as you did this to one only'. The only conjoined clause with an indirect object is quoted in full: (I2-V) 14.12 (*þæt hie eal þæt toward wæs, beforan witgodan*) & *mannum cyþdon* '(so that they prophesied) and revealed to men (what was to come to pass)'. There are three clauses which have two kinds of objects (O and I), and the order O-I is found in all three (see 14.156, 14.158, and 16.167 above).

There are thirty-three non-conjoined clauses with complements, of which fourteen have C-V and nineteen have V-C. Light complements (C1) always occur preverbally, and the heavier ones (C2 and C3) occur postverbally. Examples are: (C1-V; three) 16.236 *þæt hie us syn on fultume wið helsceadum* 'that they will be our aid against hell-fiends' (*us*, the first element of the split complement *us ... on fultume*, is parsed as C here), (C2-V; seven) 14.12 *þæt toward wæs* 'what was to come', and (C3-V; four) 16.139 *ða hwile ðe hie æt þæm gefeohte wæron* 'whilst they were at the battle'; (V-C2;

nine) 14.25 *þæs noma wæs Zacharias* ‘whose name was Zacharias’ and (V-C3; ten) 16.72 *þæt ic eom ðære stowe on sundran scyppend & hyrde* ‘that I am especially the creator and guardian of that place’ (Morris, at p. 366, glosses *on sundran* as ‘adv, especially’). The following are the two conjoined clauses with complements: (C1-V) 16.101 (*þæt he wolde ...*) & *him þær on fultume beon* ‘and (that he) would be there for their succour’ and (V-C3) 16.11 (*þæt se halga heahengel ...*) & *wære gemyndig manna tyddernesne* ‘and (that the holy archangel) should be mindful of men’s infirmity’.

In non-conjoined clauses, there are more examples with A-V (forty-two) than those with V-A (thirteen). Examples are: (A1-V; thirteen) 16.51 *þæt he sona dead wæs* ‘so that he died forthwith’, (A2-V; ten) 14.143 *þe to him coman* ‘who came to him’, and (A3-V; nineteen) 16.66 *se þær mid his agenum stræle ofsceoten wæs* ‘who was shot with his own arrow’; (V-A1; two) 16.73 *Þa þæt wæs þus gesprečen & gecyðed* ‘When that was thus told and made known’, (V-A2; four) 16.252 *þæt he ure saula gelæde on gefean* ‘that he would bring our souls into bliss’, and (V-A3; seven) 16.33 *þæt he wæs geond þæt westen sundorgenga* ‘so that he would be solitary in the desert’. There are only four conjoined clauses with single adverbials. They are: (A1-V; one) 16.101 (*þæt he wolde ...*) & *him þær on fultume beon* ‘and (that he) would be there for their succour’, (A2-V; two) 16.45 (*forðon þe hit ...*) & *swa ofermოდlice ferde* ‘and (because it) had behaved so arrogantly’ and 16.179 *þurh hine sylfne hie gehalgode & gebletsode* ‘(that) (I) myself(?) hallowed and blessed it (= the church) through it’ (Morris, at p. 207, has the following note on *hine*: ‘read me ?’), and (V-A3; one) 16.250 (*þa ðe ...*) & *ðæs noldan geswican ær heora lifes ende* ‘and (those who) would not cease from it before their life’s end’.

Two adverbials occur in thirty-two non-conjoined clauses, of which eighteen have A-A-V, ten have A-V-A, and four have V-A-A. Some examples include: (A-A-V) 16.211 *þe on ðære stowe stille winodan* ‘who still dwelt in that place’, (A-V-A) 14.160 *buton þæt he ær eode beforan Criste* ‘except that he first went before God’, and (V-A-A) 16.183 *þæt þa swaðo wæron ærest utwearde ongunnen* ‘that the tracks had first commenced in an outward direction’. There are only two conjoined clauses with two adverbials: (A-V-A) 16.149 & *þa gehalgodan on Sancte Petres naman, þæs halgan Cristes ðegnes* ‘and (that they) then consecrate it to St Peter the holy disciple of Christ’ and (A-A-V) 16.216 (*þæt ...*) & *þære heofonlican wætan hie þær onfengon & onbyrigdon* ‘and (that) they there take and taste the heavenly fluid’.

There are no conjoined Type D clauses with three or more adverbials. There are, however, twenty such examples in the non-conjoined counterparts, as in (A-A-A-V; nine examples) 14.130 *þæt se Halga Gast swa þurh hine be Sancte Iohanne cwæþ* ‘(we heard) that the Holy Ghost thus spoke concerning him’, (A-A-V-A; seven) 16.206 *þe þær æfre nihtes tidum dorste on þære ciricean cuman* ‘who ever dared to come into the church at night time’, (A-V-A-A; two) 16.127 *þæt þær wæs eac syx hund manna mid þy lege anum & mid þæm fyrenum strælum acweald* ‘that there were also six hundred men killed by the lightning and the fiery arrows alone’, and (V-A-A-A; two) 14.163 *ðæm is simle wuldor & weorðung on ealra worlða world, a on ecnesse* ‘to whom is every glory and honour, world without end, ever in eternity’.

5 Summary

Preverbal position is the norm for subjects (namely, S-V) in Type A (86%), C (89%), and D (94%), while subjects in Type B are postverbal much more frequently (70%).

Direct objects occur preverbally (O-V) more often than postverbally (V-O) in Type C (64%) and D (76%). This tendency is less pronounced in Type A (55%), and much less so in Type B (24%).

I have not found many clauses with indirect objects in the present corpus, and consequently this

explains why there are only a few clauses which have two kinds of objects (O and I).

As for complements, the percentages of the V-C order in each type are: A (57%), B (100%), C (72%), and D (59%).

Single adverbials usually precede finite verbs (A-V) in Type C (72%) and D (76%). The corresponding percentage is 44% in Type A, and the examples with single non-initial adverbials in Type B - where initial adverbials are compulsory - fall into two equal halves in the present corpus. Two or more adverbials are placed in a variety of positions within a clause. The most frequent patterns in the four clause types are: (two adverbials) Type A (A-A-V), B (V-A-A), C (A-A-V), and D (A-A-V); (three or more adverbials) Type A (A-A-V-A), B (V-A-A-A), C (A-A-A-V), and D (A-A-A-V).

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Appendix Syntactic Information of Each Element in *Blickling Homily* XIV and XVI

Subjects

| | A | B | C | D | Total |
|-------|----|----|----|-----|-------|
| S-V | 42 | 15 | 73 | 120 | 250 |
| S1 | 31 | 5 | 40 | 75 | 151 |
| S2 | 5 | 6 | 15 | 21 | 47 |
| S3 | 6 | 4 | 18 | 24 | 52 |
| V-S | 7 | 35 | 9 | 7 | 58 |
| S1 | 2 | 14 | 1 | 0 | 17 |
| S2 | 0 | 5 | 3 | 2 | 10 |
| S3 | 5 | 16 | 5 | 5 | 31 |
| Total | 49 | 50 | 82 | 127 | 308 |

Direct objects

| | A | B | C | D | Total |
|-------|----|----|----|----|-------|
| O-V | 11 | 4 | 38 | 61 | 114 |
| O1 | 3 | 1 | 11 | 19 | 34 |
| O2 | 4 | 1 | 14 | 26 | 45 |
| O3 | 4 | 2 | 13 | 16 | 35 |
| V-O | 9 | 13 | 21 | 19 | 62 |
| O1 | 0 | 4 | 0 | 1 | 5 |
| O2 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 5 | 11 |
| O3 | 8 | 7 | 18 | 13 | 46 |
| Total | 20 | 17 | 59 | 80 | 176 |

Indirect objects

| | A | B | C | D | Total |
|-------|---|---|----|---|-------|
| I-V | 4 | 0 | 15 | 3 | 22 |
| I1 | 2 | 0 | 13 | 0 | 15 |
| I2 | 2 | 0 | 2 | 2 | 6 |
| I3 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 |
| V-I | 1 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 3 |
| I1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| I2 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 2 |
| I3 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Total | 5 | 0 | 15 | 5 | 25 |

Direct objects and indirect objects

| | A | B | C | D | Total |
|-------|---|---|----|---|-------|
| I-O | 4 | 0 | 12 | 0 | 16 |
| I1-O1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| I1-O2 | 0 | 0 | 3 | 0 | 3 |
| I1-O3 | 2 | 0 | 8 | 0 | 10 |
| I2-O1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| I2-O2 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 2 |
| I2-O3 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| I3-O1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| I3-O2 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| I3-O3 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| O-I | 1 | 0 | 1 | 3 | 5 |
| O1-I1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| O1-I2 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 |
| O1-I3 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 |
| O2-I1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| O2-I2 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| O2-I3 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| O3-I1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| O3-I2 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| O3-I3 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Total | 5 | 0 | 13 | 3 | 21 |

Complements

| | A | B | C | D | Total |
|-------|----|---|----|----|-------|
| C-V | 9 | 0 | 5 | 15 | 29 |
| C1 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 4 | 5 |
| C2 | 3 | 0 | 3 | 7 | 13 |
| C3 | 6 | 0 | 1 | 4 | 11 |
| V-C | 12 | 6 | 13 | 20 | 51 |
| C1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| C2 | 2 | 0 | 5 | 9 | 16 |
| C3 | 10 | 6 | 8 | 11 | 35 |
| Total | 21 | 6 | 18 | 35 | 80 |

Single adverbials

| | A | B | C | D | Total |
|-------|----|----|----|----|-------|
| A-V | 7 | 7 | 34 | 45 | 93 |
| A1 | 7 | 5 | 14 | 14 | 40 |
| A2 | 0 | 0 | 5 | 12 | 17 |
| A3 | 0 | 2 | 15 | 19 | 36 |
| V-A | 9 | 7 | 13 | 14 | 43 |
| A1 | 4 | 3 | 1 | 2 | 10 |
| A2 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 4 | 7 |
| A3 | 4 | 3 | 11 | 8 | 26 |
| Total | 16 | 14 | 47 | 59 | 136 |

| | A | B | C | D |
|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|
| A-V | 44% | 50% | 72% | 76% |
| V-A | 56% | 50% | 28% | 24% |

Note: The figures for Type B deal with non-initial single adverbials.

Two adverbials

| | A | B | C | D | Total |
|-------|----|----|----|----|-------|
| A-A-V | 8 | 2 | 14 | 19 | 43 |
| A-V-A | 3 | 0 | 5 | 11 | 19 |
| V-A-A | 4 | 10 | 5 | 4 | 23 |
| Total | 15 | 12 | 24 | 34 | 85 |

| | A | B | C | D |
|-------|-----|-----|-----|-----|
| A-A-V | 53% | 17% | 58% | 56% |
| A-V-A | 20% | 0% | 21% | 32% |
| V-A-A | 27% | 83% | 21% | 12% |

Three or more adverbials

| | A | B | C | D | Total |
|---------|---|---|----|----|-------|
| A-A-A-V | 2 | 2 | 11 | 9 | 24 |
| A-A-V-A | 3 | 1 | 6 | 7 | 17 |
| A-V-A-A | 0 | 1 | 0 | 2 | 3 |
| V-A-A-A | 1 | 3 | 1 | 2 | 7 |
| Total | 6 | 7 | 18 | 20 | 51 |

| | A | B | C | D |
|---------|-----|-----|-----|-----|
| A-A-A-V | 33% | 29% | 61% | 45% |
| A-A-V-A | 50% | 14% | 33% | 35% |
| A-V-A-A | 0% | 14% | 0% | 10% |
| V-A-A-A | 17% | 43% | 6% | 10% |

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.