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Citation
Zephyr (2017), 29: 1-18

Issue Date
2017-06-30

URL
https://doi.org/10.14989/227412

Type
Departmental Bulletin Paper

Publisher
Kyoto University
Old English Word Order Patterns in Subordinate Clauses in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle MS. F: A Pragmatic Perspective

Yuki Takahashi

1. Introduction
This study investigates word order patterns in subordinate clauses in the Old English (OE) part of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle MS. F. The prime focus of this research is on word order in subordinate clauses. In total, 371 subordinate and main clauses in the F-text are analysed in terms of clause word order patterns, types of clauses, information value of subjects, and types of verbs. Considering these syntactic and pragmatic factors, the present study aims to answer the following questions:

1. What are the word order patterns in subordinate clauses in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle MS. F?
2. What pragmatic differences are observed between subordinate and main clauses in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle MS. F?

A number of studies have examined word order throughout the history of English. There is consensus on the typological status of OE, as was neatly summarised by Denison (1993: 29-30):

Ignoring a large body of exceptions and some evidence on non-homogeneity within OE, we might claim that OE was a mixed V-2/V-F language like Dutch or German, with V-2 predominant in main clause declaratives and V-F predominant in subordinate clauses.

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1 This article is a revised and expanded version of the paper read at the Kyoto Postgraduate Conference on English Historical Linguistics (KPCEHL) 2016, held on 6-7 August 2016 at Kyoto University in Kyoto, Japan. I am grateful to Professor Laurel J. Brinton, University of British Columbia, and Dustin Grue, University of British Columbia, for their helpful comments. I take responsibility for all remaining errors and inadequacies in this article. This research is supported by the Japan Society for the Promotion of Science Grants-in-Aid for Scientific Research (No. 27-1083).
2 The clauses are taken from DOEC.
However, the idea that verb-final word order is predominant in subordinate clauses has been questioned. Heggelund (2007: 354) argued, ‘although a considerable number of subclauses have SXV word order, it is doubtful whether that order can be said to be “typical” of this clause type’. He also pointed out that ‘there is a lack of quantitative studies on OE subordinate clauses’ (Heggelund 2007: 351).

2. Material
This study examines the text of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* MS. F. This text is written in OE, as well as Latin. The manuscript is dated ‘somewhere between the late ten eighties and the early eleven-tens’ and was written at Christ Church, Canterbury, according to Baker (2000: ix). Regarding its linguistic features, Baker (2000: xxviii) observed:

> The phonology of the F-text is predominantly late West Saxon, with scattered non-West Saxon features and a few features that are identifiably Kentish. In addition, this text illustrates many of the developments that we know to be typical of the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries, especially in the vowels and consonants of unstressed syllables and in the morphology of nouns and adjectives.

He also argued that ‘this text testifies to the continued dominance of the late West Saxon literary language in the early years of the twelfth century’ (Baker 2000: lxxxii).

One reason for examining this text is that less attention has been paid to the F-text in the domains of philology and linguistics, presumably due to the underestimation of its historical value. Baker (2000: xxviii) stated that ‘manuscript F is generally thought of as a “secondary” *Chronicle* text, while A, C, D and E are thought to be “primary”’:

> As to the historical value of F it must always be remembered that it is not a living *Chronicle*, growing with the growth of event like A, C, D, and E; but a dead compilation made in the eleventh or twelfth century, out of older materials. (Plummer 1892: xliv-xlv, quoted by Baker 2000)

Unlike the A-text, *Parker Chronicle*, or the E-text, *Peterborough*
Chronicle, both of which have been studied extensively, it is fair to say that previous literature on the F-text is scarce. This article, therefore, aims to conduct linguistic investigations into the language of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle MS. F.

3. Classification of word order patterns
In this section, classification of word order patterns used in this study will be defined and explained with examples. I operate with eight pattern categories based on the work of Bean (1983), Bech (2001), and Heggelund (2010). Abbreviations are used as follows: S stands for subject, V for verb, finite verb, or main verb in complex verb phrases, v for finite verb in complex verb phrases, and X for clause element other than the subject and finite verb. Before giving detailed explanations in the following subsections, a summary of the eight categories is given here (X in parentheses is optional):

1. SXV: (X+) subject + X + verb
2. SXVX: (X+) subject + X + verb + X
3. SVX: (X+) subject + verb + X
4. SV-: (X+) subject + verb
5. SvXV: (X+) subject + finite verb + X + non-finite verb (+X)
6. XVS: X + verb + subject (+X)
7. Verb initial: verb + subject + X or verb + X + subject (+X)
8. Miscellaneous

3.1 SXV
SXV word order refers to a verb-final word order, in which the subject of a clause is separated from the verb by one or more clause elements. One or more clause elements may also precede the subject. In this category, it is compulsory that the verb is placed in the absolute final position in the clause.

(1) **Sona swa he ham com**, [he gesæt his arcebiscopstol & sīþan to ðan cinge ferde,] (995.82)

As soon as he home came, [he occupied his archbishopric and afterwards to the king went]
‘As soon as he came home, he occupied his archbishop’s seat, and afterwards travelled to the king’.  

(2) [Ne wearō Angelcynne nan wyrse dæd ðonne þeos was] siōðan hi ærast Brytene gesohtan. (979.3)
[Not happened for the English race no worse deed than this was] since they first Britain sought out.
‘No worse deed for the English race was done than this was, since they first sought out the land of Britain’.

3.2 SXVX
SXVX patterns are distinguished from the previous pattern in that the verb is followed by one or more clause elements. This means that the verb is not placed in the absolute final position. Some earlier studies on word order did not distinguish SXV and SXVX (Kohonen 1978, mentioned by Heggelund 2007); however, the two patterns should be treated differently, since prior work demonstrated that they do not behave in the same way (Bech 2001; Heggelund 2007, 2010). In the case of complex verb phrases, finite $X_1$ and non-finite $X_2$ verbs must be contiguous, as in (3) and (4).

(3) [And Spearhauoc com to him mid ðas cinges gewrite to ði] ðæt he hine scolde bletsian to ðan biscoprice on Lundene. (1050.8)
[And Sparrowhawk came to him with the king’s writ in order] that he him should consecrate to the bishopric in London
‘And Abbot Sparrowhawk came to him on the way with the king’s writ and seal to the effect that he would ordain him as bishop for London’.

(4) [& Scottas him apa sworon] þæt hi eal woldon [ðæt he wolde.] (948.1)
[And the Scots him oath granted] that they all would do that he wanted
‘And the Scots granted him oaths that they would do all that he wanted’.

3.3 SVX
The SVX pattern refers to a verb-medial word order. In these patterns, the

3 The word-for-word translations are mine. Unless specified, the present-day English translation is taken from the work by Swanton (1998).
subject is immediately followed by the verb, which is then followed by one or more clause elements. If the verb phrase is complex, finite $X_1$ and non-finite $X_2$ verbs must be contiguous (see (5) and (6)).

(5) [& Ælle feng to Norphumra rice] siððan Ida was forðfaren, (560.1) 
[And Ælle succeeded to Norhumbrians’ kingdom] after Ida was dead 
‘And Ælle succeeded to the kingdom of Norhumbrians, after Ida passed away’.

(6) [& he forðferde] ða he was LXXVII wintra; (565.3) 
[And he died] when he was 77 years 
‘And he passed away when he was 77 years old’.

3.4 SV-
SV- patterns consist of subject-verb orders such as those in (7) and (8).

(7) [Arnulf his broðer sunu hine berædde at þan rice VI wucan] ær he forðferde, (887.3) 
[Arnulf his brother’s son him deprived of the kingdom six weeks] before he died 
‘Arnulf, his brother’s son, dispossessed him of the kingdom six weeks before his death’.

(8) [Ac se cing Ægelred ær forðferde] ær þa scipan coman; (1016.5) 
[But the king Æthelred earlier died] before the ships came 
‘But the king Æthelred passed away earlier, before the ships came’.

3.5 SvXV
SvXV patterns are the so-called ‘brace construction, in which the finite and the non-finite verb are separated by one or more elements’ (Bech 2001: 61). In (9), the finite preterite-present verb scoldon ‘should’ is separated from the non-finite verb geceosan ‘to choose’ by a clause element æure ‘ever’.

(9) [And ða Pihtas heom abædon wif æt Scottum on þæt forewyrd] ðæt hi
scoldon æure geceosan heora cyne cynynn of þa wifhealfe; (0.13)
[And the Picts to them required wives from the Scots on the condition] that
they should always choose their pedigree from the female side
‘And the Picts obtained wives from the Scots, on condition that they always
chose their royal family from the female side’.

3.6 XVS
XVS patterns refer to a verb-second word order. One or more initial clause
elements precede the verb, which is then followed by the subject. The
relative position between the verb and subject is crucial here.

(10) [þær ær was blisse, [þan on us com ærost
Cristendom;] (1011.17)
[There man might see misery] where earlier was bliss, [from there to us
came first Christendom]
‘There wretchedness might be seen where earlier was seen bliss, from where
first came to us Christendom’.

3.7 Verb initial
The verb-initial pattern (abbreviated to V-init) has the verb at the
beginning of the clause. However, no instances of this pattern are found in
subordinate clauses; (11) is an example of its occurrence in main clauses.

(11) Wæron hi eac swiðe druncene [forðan ðar was gebroht win suðan.]
(1012.7)
Were they also very drunk [because there was brought wine from the south.]
‘Also, they were very drunk, because there was wine brought from the
south’.

3.8 Miscellaneous category
Any pattern that fits none of the previous seven pattern categories falls
into the miscellaneous category. At first glance, the subordinate clause in
(12) may seem to match the SVX pattern, but the finite verb in the
complex verb phrase must precede the non-finite verb in SVX. Therefore,
(12) cannot be counted as SVX.
(12) [\& man nam of \pan ylcan munecan biscalopas to gehwyllcre stowe] swa \(\textbf{\textit{þu}}\) ræddan miht on Ystoria Anglorum. (995.35)
[And man took from the same monks bishops for every place] as you read can in Historia ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum
‘And from those same monks, bishops were taken for every place, as you can read in the History of the English’.

4. Word order patterns
4.1. Word order patterns in main and subordinate clauses
As described in the previous section, a total of 371 subordinate clauses and main clauses from the F-text were categorised into eight patterns.\(^4\) Table 1 displays the word order patterns of both types of clauses found in MS. F. In order to examine whether the differences shown in Table 1 are statistically significant, the chi-square goodness-of-fit test for the comparison of categorical dependent variables was applied.\(^5\)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word order patterns</th>
<th>Subordinate clauses</th>
<th>Main clauses</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SXV</td>
<td>119</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SXVX</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SVX</td>
<td>155</td>
<td>162</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SV-</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SvXV</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XVS</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V-init</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Misc.</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>371</td>
<td>371</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^4\) In this analysis, no distinction is made between conjunct and non-conjunct clauses, but special remarks on this difference are in Section 6.

\(^5\) The level of significance is set at \(p\)-value < 0.05, as is customary in linguistic investigations. Unless specifically stated, degrees of freedom, \(df = 1\). Statistical computations were performed using R (https://www.r-project.org/).
As shown in Table 1, the highest proportion of clause types in both subordinate and main clauses are SVX patterns, 41.8% and 43.7%, respectively. This difference is not significant.\(^6\) The SXV proportion is the second highest (32.1%) in subordinate clauses, whereas the XVS proportion is its counterpart in main clauses (25.6%). SXV shows an asymmetrical distribution and its difference is highly significant.\(^7\) The verb-final order is more favoured in subordinate clauses than in main clauses, although it is not the most favoured in either clause.

Another contrast between subordinate and main clauses is found in XVS, the verb-second order. In subordinate clauses, XVS occurs merely 11 times; however, in main clauses, it occurs 96 times. In Section 5, I will analyse XVS in relation to the information structure of the F-text.

4.2. Different types of subordinate clauses

In order to examine subordinate clauses in detail, 371 subordinate clauses were divided into three subcategories: nominal, adverbial, and adjectival clauses (Heggelund 2010: 100-14; Mitchell 1985 I: 772). Examples of the nominal, adverbial, and adjectival clauses are given in (14), (15), and (16), respectively. In (14), a nominal clause is introduced by ðæt ‘that’. In (15), a temporal adverbial clause begins with ða ‘when’, which is correlative to the main clause ða ‘(when…) then’. In (16), an adjectival clause is introduced by ðe ‘which, that’, which modifies the preceding noun phrase se steorra ‘the star’.

(14) & ðar bædon Scottas ðæt hi þar mostan wunian, ac hi noldon heom lyuan.

(0.5)
And there asked the Scots if they there might live but they would not them let
‘And there asked the Scots if they might live there, but they would not let them’.

(15) ða ðæt afundon ða Romani, ða noldan faran ouer ðane ford. (60BC)

\(^6\) \(\chi^2 = 0.15457, p = 0.6942.\)

\(^7\) \(\chi^2 = 85.121, p < 0.001.\)
When that found the Romans then would not cross over that ford
‘When Romans discovered that, then they would not cross over that ford’.

(16) Her ætywde se steorra ðe man clypað cometan & scan þry monðas on ærnemorgen; (677.1)
Here appeared the star which man calls comet and shone three months in every morning.
‘In this year the star appeared that is called the comet and shone every morning during three months’.

Table 2 shows the result of this subcategorical classification. The overall tendency is for SVX and SXV to dominate each type of clause. Nominal clauses also have many more complex word order patterns, such as SXVX and SvXV, than do adverbial and adjectival clauses.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word order patterns</th>
<th>Nominal clauses</th>
<th>Adverbal clauses</th>
<th>Adjectival clauses</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>N</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SXV</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>24.2</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SXVX</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>13.1</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SVX</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>43.4</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SV-</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3.0</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SvXV</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>12.1</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XVS</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3.0</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V-init</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Misc.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>99</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>140</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In nominal clauses, SVX has the highest proportion (43.4%). The second highest in terms of proportion is the verb-final SXV order (24.2%). SVX and SXV combined amount to nearly 70% of nominal clause types. Similarly, SVX is the most frequently used pattern among adjectival clauses (48.5%). Verb-final word order comes second with 32.6%. On the
other hand, in adverbial clauses, SXV (37.1%) is approximately as frequent as SVX (34.3%).

5. Subjects and verbs in subordinate clauses

5.1. Information structure of subjects and verbs

So far, I have looked into the syntactic features of subordinate clauses. In this section, subjects and verbs of the categorised clauses are examined in terms of pragmatics. The methods in pragmatics used in this study have been adapted from Bech (2001) and Heggelund (2010). Pragmatic analysis on subjects operates as follows. A subject of the clause is considered to have either high information value (high IV) or low information value (low IV). If the subject is regarded ‘contextually dependent’, it is given low IV, whereas ‘contextually independent’ subjects are considered as having high IV.

An example of low IV is shown in (17). The personal pronoun he (bolded) has an anaphoric reference to the nominal phrase Ælfric arcebiscop. The pronoun is therefore contextually dependent, and it is designated low IV.

(17) Ða was Ælfric arcebiscop swyðe bliþe þæt he swa fela gewitnesse hæfde þara þe mihtan betst to ðan timan wið ðone cing. (995.41)

Then was Ælfric Archbishop very happy that he so many witnesses had amongst those-who were people-in-position (influential) at that time with the king.

‘Then Archbishop Ælfric was very happy that he had so many witnesses amongst those who at that time were most influential with the king’.

On the other hand, (18) is an example of high IV, since the subject Ceolnoð is not mentioned in a preceding context.

(18) Ac þes geares dã Ceolnoð com to ðan arcebiscoprice wearþ swyþc mancwealm þæt na belaf binnan Cristes Cyrcan butan fif munecan. (995.48)

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9 This corresponds to the traditional notion of old and new information.
But in that year when Ceolnoth came to the archbishopric, there was such pestilence that no-one remained in Christ Church except five monks.

‘But in the year when Ceolnoth came to the archbishopric, there was such a pestilence among men that no more than five monks were left there in Christ Church’.

All the subjects in the subordinate and main clauses herein were designated either high or low IV. Table 3 shows the result of this classification.\(^{10}\) Subordinate clauses have more low IV subjects (88.4\%) than main clauses (63.3\%).\(^{11}\) In contrast, subordinate clauses have fewer high IV subjects (11.6\%) than main clauses (36.7\%).\(^{12}\) This result demonstrates that high IV subjects are strongly preferred in main clauses but not preferred in subordinate clauses. The opposite preference is observed in low IV subjects. According to a chi-square test for independence, this inverse correlation between clause type and information structure is highly significant ($\chi^2 = 63.63, p < 0.001$) and the effect is moderately strong ($\phi = 0.2934$, odds ratio = 4.411).

**Table 3. Information value of subjects**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>IV of subject</th>
<th>Subordinate clauses</th>
<th>Main clauses</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>N</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High IV</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>11.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low IV</td>
<td>328</td>
<td>88.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>371</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A closer look at the information value of subjects within different word order patterns, across both types of clauses, is presented in Table 4. Of the eight word order patterns, XVS is of interest. More than half of the XVS main clauses have high IV subjects; this is not surprising, since the verb-second order serves to present new information in main clauses.

\(^{10}\) Clauses without an overt subject are omitted.

\(^{11}\) The difference of low IV subjects between subordinate and main clauses is highly significant ($\chi^2 = 16.087, p < 0.001$).

\(^{12}\) The difference of high IV subjects between subordinate and main clauses is highly significant ($\chi^2 = 47.551, p < 0.001$).
However, a similar tendency holds for subordinate clauses. Nearly half of the XVS patterns in subordinate clauses also have high IV subjects. In terms of the high rate of high IV subjects, XVS, the verb-second order, is contrasted with others such as SXV, SXVX, and SVX word orders, respectively.

Table 4. Information value of subjects in different word order pattern categories across subordinate and main clauses

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>w. o. patterns</th>
<th>Subordinate clauses</th>
<th>Main clauses</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Low IV</td>
<td>High IV</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SXV</td>
<td>111</td>
<td>93.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SXVX</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>78.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SVX</td>
<td>137</td>
<td>88.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SV-</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>88.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SvXV</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>96.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XVS</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>54.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V-init</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Misc.</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>83.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Overall</td>
<td>328</td>
<td>88.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5.2. Verb types
In this section, verbs in subordinate and main clauses are analysed in terms of four verbal categories (using the definition by Bech 2001: 100-18): verbs with complement, verbs without complement, copulas, and ‘verbs of appearance or existence on the scene’ (Firbas 1992: 59-65). Verbs with complement have been defined as verbs that take overt ‘accusative, genitive, dative objects, or an object clause’ (Bech 2001: 100). Verbs without complement have been described as those that ‘occur in structures with only a subject and a verb, or in structures with subject, verb, and one

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13 Each percentage in Table 4 is calculated horizontally, not vertically. For example, there are 371 subordinate clauses in total. Of them, 328 contain low IV subjects (88.4%). High IV subjects number only 43 in subordinate clauses (11.6%).
or more adverbial elements’ (Bech 2001: 101). Copular verbs have been defined as verbs that take a subject complement, most typically coded by *beon/wesan* ‘be’. In this sense, they can be considered a subcategory of verbs with complement.\(^{14}\) Finally, ‘verbs of appearance or existence on the scene’ (henceforth, ‘existential verbs’) are verbs that ‘imply or even explicitly express “appearance – a kind of coming into existence – on the scene” (i.e. the scene created by the narrow, ad hoc context at the moment of utterance) or simply “existence” on this scene’ (Firbas 1966: 243, quoted by Bech 2001: 101-2). Existential verbs are, by nature, one of the features shared by verbs without complement. In other words, verbs without complement may or may not be existential. In my study, the verbs treated as existential are as follows: *beon/wesan* ‘be’; *æteowian/oðiewan* ‘appear’; *cuman* ‘come’; *gelimpan/geweorðan* ‘happen’; *wunian* ‘dwell’; *eardian* ‘dwell, live’; *belifan* ‘remain’; *belimpan* ‘happen, befall’; *leode* ‘live’; and so on.

Tables 5 and 6 show the frequencies of four verbal categories for each word order pattern in subordinate and main clauses, respectively.\(^{15}\) The overall trend is that verbs with complement are the most frequent in both the clauses, followed by verbs without complement. The least frequent verbal category is copular verbs. Existential verbs comprise 18.9% of the 371 subordinate clauses and 11.6% of main clauses. This difference is significant.\(^{16}\) Given the premise that existential verbs have less semantic content and account for semantic weaknesses in the clauses (Firbas 1966: 243), this result seems to support the conclusion that subordinate clauses assume a pragmatically motivated backgrounding function.

\(^{14}\) In Visser’s treatment of verbs, copulas are one of the subcategories of verbs with complement (1963: 189).

\(^{15}\) In addition to these four verbal categories, another category in my data (*passive*) is omitted in Tables 5 and 6 to conserve space.

\(^{16}\) $\chi^2 = 6.4513, p = 0.01109$. 
Table 5. Verb types in subordinate clauses

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb type</th>
<th>with comp.</th>
<th>without</th>
<th>existential</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>with comp.</td>
<td>without</td>
<td>copula</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SXV</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>43.7</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SXVX</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>51.4</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SVX</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>34.2</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SV-</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>27.8</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SvXV</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>56.0</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XVS</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>36.4</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V-init</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Misc.</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>33.3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Overall</td>
<td>149</td>
<td>40.2</td>
<td>130</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6. Verb types in main clauses

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb type</th>
<th>with comp.</th>
<th>without</th>
<th>existential</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>with comp.</td>
<td>without</td>
<td>copula</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SXV</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>53.8</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SXVX</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>67.8</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SVX</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>61.7</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SV-</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>42.9</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SvXV</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>57.1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XVS</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>40.0</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V-init</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>55.6</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Misc.</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>58.3</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Overall</td>
<td>208</td>
<td>56.1</td>
<td>110</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
6. Remarks on conjunct and non-conjunct clauses

A conjunct clause is defined as a (main) clause with an overt subject, beginning with *ond, ac, oðde*, or sometimes *fór dam*. This study has not made the distinction between conjunct and non-conjunct clauses. However, this distinction warrants some remarks, as a number of scholars have stated that conjunct clauses behave differently from non-conjunct clauses in terms of word order (e.g. Bech 2001; Heggelund 2010; Mitchell 1964). Table 7 shows the frequency of both clauses in the material under study. Table 8 presents the numbers of conjunct and non-conjunct clauses across different word order patterns. Only 4.3% (4 out of 140) of the conjunct clauses are verb-final. Even if we include SXVX, this percentage only rises to 24.3%, which is far less than that of SVX (51.4%). This result is in line with Bech’s (2001: 88-9) observation about the OE conjunct clauses.  

Table 7. Conjunct and non-conjunct clauses

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>N</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Conjunct clauses</td>
<td>140</td>
<td>37.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-conjunct clauses</td>
<td>231</td>
<td>62.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>371</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The difference between SXV and SVX is highly significant ($\chi^2 = 55.846, p < 0.001$). The difference between SXV plus SXVX and SVX is also highly significant ($\chi^2 = 13.623, p < 0.001$).

In her data, ‘15.3% (122 out of 795) of the OE conjunct clauses are verb-final’, also stating that ‘the word order of OE conjunct clauses varies greatly, and that the claim that they tend to be verb-final does not hold’ (Bech 2001: 88).
Table 8. Conjunct and non-conjunct clauses in eight word order pattern categories

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word order patterns</th>
<th>Conjunct clauses</th>
<th>Non-conjunct clauses</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>N</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SXV</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SXVX</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>20.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SVX</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>51.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SV-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SvXV</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XVS</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>14.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V-init</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Misc.</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Overall</td>
<td>140</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

7. Summary
This article has examined 371 subordinate and main clauses found in the F-text of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle. In Section 1, two research questions were raised. Section 2 gave a brief description of the linguistic status of MS. F and suggested that not much scholarly attention has been paid to the F-text. Then, Section 3 defined the word order patterns based on which the analysis herein was built. In Section 4, SVX was shown to be the most common pattern in both subordinate and main clauses in the F-text, despite the common belief that the verb-final order is predominant in OE subordinate clauses. The subordinate clauses are subdivided into three types, on which further study is needed. Section 5 considered the information structure of the clauses by accounting for the information value of their subjects and the semantic content of their verbs; it concluded that subordinate clauses in the analysed material are less informationally important than main clauses. Finally, Section 6 remarks on conjunct and non-conjunct clauses.

In conclusion, this study proved that the information structure of subjects and verbs in clauses influences word ordering strategy in OE subordinate clauses on the grounds of statistical evidence. Although the current study has limited its attention to the F-text of the Anglo-Saxon
Chronicle, it has implications for the wider study of twelfth-century OE prose.

References

Primary Sources


Secondary Sources


Heggelund, Øystein. 2007. Old English subordinate causes and the shift to


