

APPENDIX 2.1: THE ANGLO-SAXON CHRONICLE (MANUSCRIPT A)

MANUSCRIPT A (YEARS 703-799)

Sources: <http://asc.jebbo.co.uk/a/a-L.html> (accessed on 20 Sept 2016) and Plummer and Earle (1892)

Word count: 1,615 words (based on <http://asc.jebbo.co.uk/a/a-L.html>, accessed on 22 Sept 2016)

Year of entry indicated in square brackets after the example

Translations from Whitelock et al. (1961)

HAVE-PERFECTS WITH TRANSITIVES

WITH AGREEMENT

1. 7 hie alle on þone Cyning wærun feohtende oþ þæt hie **hine** [ACC.M.SG object] **ofslægen-ne** [ACC.M.SG] **hæfdon** [755]
‘Then they all fought against the king until they had slain him’

NO AGREEMENT (where there ‘should’ have been overt agreement)

1. 7 **þa gat-u** [ACC.NT.PL object] him to **belocen** [ACC.NT.PL -u ending expected!] **hæfdon** [755]
‘and [they] had locked the gates against them’

ZERO MORPHOLOGY EXPECTED

HAVE-PERFECTS WITH INTRANSITIVES

BE-PERFECTS WITH MUTATIVE INTRANSITIVES

WITH AGREEMENT

NO AGREEMENT

ZERO MORPHOLOGY EXPECTED

1. Her Danihel forþferde, þa **was** .xliii. wintra **agan** sibþan he onfeng biscepdome [745]
‘In this year Daniel died. Forty-three years had then passed since he succeeded to the bishopric.’

CAUSATIVES

1. Her Offa Miercna cyning het Eþelbryhte rex þæt heafod ofaslean. [792]
‘In this year Offa, king of the Mercians, had Ethelbert beheaded’

PROGRESSIVES

1. 7 **hie** [NOM.PL subject] alle on þone Cyning **wærun feohtend-e** oþ þæt hie hine ofslægenne hæfdon [755]
‘Then they all fought against the king until they had slain him’

2. Ac **hie** simle **feohtende wæran** oþ hie alle lægon butan anum Bryttiscum gisle 7 se swiþe gewundad wæs. [755]
‘But they continued to fight until they all lay dead except for one British hostage, and he was severely wounded’
3. 7 **hie** þa ymb þa gatu **feohtende wæron** [755]
‘And they proceeded to fight around the gates’

BE-PASSIVES

WITH AGREEMENT

1. 7 **Cupbryht** [NOM.M.SG subject] **wæs** to ærcebiscepe **gehalgod(e)**, 7 Dun biscep to Hofesceastre. [741] [problematic example]
‘And Cuthbert was consecrated archbishop and Dunn bishop of Rochester.’
2. eowre geferan **þe** [NOM.PL subject] mid þam cyninge **ofslægen-e wærun** [755]
‘your comrades who were slain along with the king’
3. 7 wunderleca **neðran** [NOM.F.PL subject] **wæron gesewen-e** on Supseaxna londe. [773]
‘And marvellous adders were seen in Sussex.’

NO AGREEMENT

1. 7 **hio** [NOM.F.SG subject] **wæs forgifen** [NOM.F.SG -u expected] Norþanhymbra cyninge Aldferþe [718]
‘She had been married [BHristov: given] to Aldfrith, king of the Northumbrians’

ZERO MORPHOLOGY EXPECTED

1. 7 **wæs todeled** in foreweardum Danieleles dagum in tua biscepscirca **Westseaxna lond** [NOM.NT.SG subject] , 7 ær hit wæs an [709]
‘Early in Daniel’s time the land of the West Saxons had been divided into two dioceses, whereas it had previously been one.’
2. Her **wæs ofslægen Osric** [NOM.M.SG subject] Norþanhymbra cyning [731]
‘In this year Osric, king of the Northumbrians, was slain’
3. 7 þy ilcan geare **Tatwine** [NOM.M.SG subject] (7) [inserted wrongly in MS A, see Plummer and Earle 1892: 44] **wæs gehalgod** to ærcebiscepe. [731]
‘and the same year Tatwine was consecrated as archbishop.’
4. Her **wæs ofslægen Cynric** [NOM.M.SG subject] Wesseaxna æþeling [748]
‘In this year Cynric, an atheling of the West Saxons, was slain’
5. þæt **se cyning** [NOM.M.SG subject] **ofslægen wæs** [755]
‘that the king had been slain’

6. 7 hie cuðdon **þæt tæt** [NOM.NT.SG subject?] ilce hiera geferum **geboden wære** [755]
‘[they] said that the same offer had been made to their comrades’
7. 7 þeah **he** [NOM.M.SG subject] **wæs oft gewundad** [755]
‘though he was often wounded’
8. Her **Bregowine** [NOM.M.SG subject] **wæs** to ercebiscepe **gehadod** to Sancte Michaelles tide. [759]
‘In this year Bregowine was consecrated archbishop at Michaelmas.’
9. Her **Ianbryht** [NOM.M.SG subject] **wæs gehadod** to ærcebiscepe on þone feowertegan dæg ofer midne winter. [763]
‘In this year Jænberht was consecrated archbishop on the 40th day after Christmas Day.’
10. 7 from Offan kyninge **Hygebryht** [NOM.M.SG subject] **wæs gecoren**, 7 **Ecgferþ** [NOM.M.SG subject] to cyninge **gehalgod**. [785]
‘and Hygeberht was chosen by King Offa, and Ecgfrith was consecrated king.’
11. 7 þy ilcan geare **wæs gecoren Eþelheard abbud** [NOM.M.SG subject] to biscepe [790]
‘And Abbot Æthelheard was elected archbishop the same year’
12. 7 **Eþelred** [NOM.M.SG subject] Norþanhymbra cyning **wæs ofslægen** from his agenre þeode [794]
‘and Ethelred, king of the Northumbrians, was killed by his own people’

WEORDAN-PASSIVES

WITH AGREEMENT

NO AGREEMENT

ZERO MORPHOLOGY EXPECTED

1. Her **Osred** Norþanhymbra **cyning** [NOM.M.SG subject] **wearþ ofslægen** [716]
‘In this year, Osred, king of the Northumbrians, was slain.’
2. 7 **he** [NOM.M.SG subject] þær **wearþ ofslægen** [784]
‘and he was slain there’

AMBIGUITY BETWEEN PASSIVE AND STATIVE

BEON

WITH AGREEMENT

NO AGREEMENT

ZERO MORPHOLOGY EXPECTED

1. þæs **cyn** [NOM.NT.SG subject] **is** beforan **awriten** [716]
‘whose ancestry is given above’
2. Her wæs se mona swelce **he** [NOM.M.SG subject] **wære** mid blode **begoten** [734]
‘In this year the moon looked as if it were suffused with blood’
3. **se** [NOM.M.SG subject] **was** Cyneheard **haten** [755]
‘who was called Cyneheard’
4. Ac hie simle feohtende wæran oþ hie alle lægon butan anum Bryttiscum gisle 7 **se** [NOM.M.SG subject] swiþe **gewundad wæs**. [755]
‘But they continued to fight until they all lay dead except for one British hostage, and he was severely wounded’
5. 7 Eadbryht onfeng rice on Cent. þam **was** oþer **noma** [NOM.M.SG subject] **nemned** Præn [794]
‘And Eadberht, whose other name was Præn, succeeded to the kingdom in Kent.’

WEORDAN

WITH AGREEMENT

NO AGREEMENT

ZERO MORPHOLOGY EXPECTED

AMBIGUITY BETWEEN *BE*-PERFECT AND PASSIVE OR STATIVE

WITH AGREEMENT

NO AGREEMENT

ZERO MORPHOLOGY EXPECTED

1. Her **wæs** mycel **sinoð** [NOM.M.SG subject] **gegaderod** æt Cloueshou. [742]
‘In this year a great synod was collected at *Clofesho*.’

MISSING AUXILIARY

MANUSCRIPT A (YEARS 800-891)

891 is when the first hand finishes.

Sources: <http://asc.jebbo.co.uk/a/a-L.html> (accessed on 29 Sept 2016) and Plummer and Earle (1892)

Word count: approx. 3,850 words (based on <http://asc.jebbo.co.uk/a/a-L.html>, accessed on 29 Sept 2016)

Year of entry indicated in square brackets after the example

Translations from Whitelock et al. (1961)

HAVE-PERFECTS WITH TRANSITIVES

WITH AGREEMENT

1. 7 hie **hæfdun hiera cyning** [ACC.M.SG object] **aworpen-ne** [ACC.M.SG agreement] Osbryht, 7 ungecyndne cyning underfengon Eġlan [867]
'and they had deposed their king Osbert and taken a king with no hereditary right, Ælla'

NO AGREEMENT

1. 7 **hine** [ACC.M.SG object] **hæfde** ær Offa Miercna cyning 7 Beorhtric Wesseaxna cyning **aflïemed** [-ne expected but missing] .iii. gear of Angelcynnes lande on Fronclond, ær he cyning wære [836]
'Earlier, before he became king, Offa, king of the Mercians, and Brihtric, king of the West Saxons, had driven him from England to France for three years.'

ZERO MORPHOLOGY EXPECTED

HAVE-PERFECTS WITH INTRANSITIVES

BE-PERFECTS WITH MUTATIVE INTRANSITIVES

WITH AGREEMENT

NO AGREEMENT

ZERO MORPHOLOGY EXPECTED

CAUSATIVES

PROGRESSIVES

1. 7 **hie** to anum gecierdon, 7 wiþ Ecgbryht Westseaxna cyning **winnende wæron** [835]
'and they [the West Welsh] combined with them and proceeded to fight against Egbert, king of the West Saxons'
2. 7 þær **was** .xii. monaþ **wuniende** [855]
'and remained there a twelvemonth'

3. 7 hie late on geare to þam gecirdon þæt hie wiþ þone here **winnende wærun** [867]
‘And not until late in the year did they unite sufficiently to proceed to fight the raiding army’ [Other interpretations of the meaning provided in Whitelock et al. (1961: 45 fn. 10)]
4. 7 **onfeohtende wæron** oþ niht [871]
‘and they continued fighting until night’
5. 7 **ergende wæron** 7 hiera **tilgende** [876]
‘and they proceeded to plough and to support themselves’
6. 7 of þam geweorce **was winnende** wiþ þone here [878]
‘and proceeded to fight from that stronghold against the enemy’

BE-PASSIVES

WITH AGREEMENT

1. þy **hie** [NOM.PL subject] from his mægum ær mid unryhte **a-nid-d-e wær-un** [823]
‘because they had been wrongfully forced away from his kinsmen’
2. 7 þær **was** ungemetlic wêl geslægen Norþanhymbra, sume binnan, sume butan; 7 **þa cyning-as** [NOM.M.PL subject] begen **of-slæg-en-e** [867]
‘and an immense slaughter was made of the Northumbrians, some inside and some outside, and both kings were killed’
3. 7 þæs gearæs **wær-un of-slæg-en-e .viii. eorlas** [NOM.M.PL subject] 7 an cyning [871]
‘And that year nine (Danish) earls were killed and one king’
4. 7 **þa men** [NOM.M.PL subject] **ofslæg-en-e wær-on** þe ðeron wæron [882]
‘and the men were killed who were on them’

NO AGREEMENT

ZERO MORPHOLOGY EXPECTED

1. Her **wæs gehadod Beornmod** [NOM.M.SG subject] biscep to Hrofesceastre. [802]
‘In this year Beornmod was consecrated bishop of Rochester.’
2. 7 **Wulfred** [NOM.M.SG subject] **wæs** to ærcebiscope **gehadod** [803]
‘and Wulfred was consecrated archbishop’
3. 7 æfter him **was Paschalis** [NOM.M.SG subject] to papan **gehadod** [816]
‘and Paschal was consecrated pope after him’
4. Her **Ceolnoþ** [NOM.M.SG subject] **wæs gecoren** to biscepe 7 **gehadod** [830]
‘In this year Ceolnoth was elected bishop and consecrated’

5. Her **Herebryht aldormon** [NOM.M.SG subject] **wæs ofslægen** from heþnum monnum 7 monige mid him on Merswarum [838]
‘In this year Ealdorman Hereberht was killed by heathen men and many men with him in the Marsh’
6. **se** [NOM.M.SG subject] **wæs geboren** in þære earce [855]
‘he was born in Noah’s ark’
7. forþæm hira **nan** [NOM.M.SG subject] **næs** on fēdren healfe to **geboren** [887]
‘for not one of them was born to it in the male line’
8. Her **wæs Plegemund** [NOM.M.SG subject] **gecoron** of Gode 7 of eallen his halechen [890]
‘In this year Plegmund was elected by God and all the people’ [later addition!]

WEORDAN-PASSIVES

WITH AGREEMENT

1. þær **wearþ** micel gefeoht, 7 þær begen **ofslægen-e þa aldormen** [NOM.M.PL subject] [800]
‘a great battle took place, and both ealdormen were killed’
2. Her **tuegen aldormen** [NOM.M.PL subject] **wurd-on of-slæg-en-e**, Burghelm 7 Muca [822]
‘In this year two ealdormen, Burghelm and Muca, were killed’
3. 7 þy ilcan geare eft on Lindesse, 7 on Eastenglum, 7 on Cantwarum **wurd-on monig-e men** [NOM.M.PL subject] **of-slæg-en-e** from þam herige [838]
‘and later in the same year many men in Lindsey, East Anglia, and Kent, were killed by the enemy’
4. 7 þær **ge-hors-ud-e wurd-on** [866]
‘and there they were supplied with horses’ [the subject is the Viking army, OE *here*, used as a collective noun, already used with a plural verb in the previous clause]
5. 7 þær **wearþ** Sidroc eorl ofslægen se alda, 7 Sidroc eorl se gioncga, 7 Osbeorn eorl, 7 Fræna eorl, 7 Hareld eorl, 7 þa hergas begen **gefliemd-e**, 7 fela þusenda ofslægenra, 7 onfeohrende **wæron** oþ niht [871]
‘there were slain Earl Sidroc the Old, and Earl Sidroc the Yonger and Earl Osbeorn, Earl Fræna, and Earl Harold; and both enemy armies were put to flight and many thousands were killed, and they continued fighting until night’
6. 7 **hie** [NOM.PL subject] **wurd-on** þær **be-hors-ud-e** [885]
‘and they were deprived of their horses there’
7. 7 þa **wearþ** þæt rice todeled on .v. 7 .v. **kyningas** [NOM.M.PL subject] to **gehalgod-e** [887]
‘the kingdom was then divided into five, and five kings were consecrated to it’

NO AGREEMENT

1. 7 þæs geares **wurdon .viii. folc gefeoht** [NOM.NT.PL subject] **gefohten** wiþ þone here on þy cynerice be suþan Temese [871]
‘And during that year nine general engagements were fought against the Danish army in the kingdom south of the Thames’

ZERO MORPHOLOGY EXPECTED

1. Her **wearp Ceolwulf** [NOM.M.SG subject] his rices **besciered**. [821]
‘In this year Ceolwulf was deprived of his kingdom.’
2. 7 þær **wearp micel wēl** [NOM.NT.SG subject] **geslægen** [833]
‘and a great slaughter was made there’
3. 7 þær **wearp monig mon** [NOM.M.SG subject] **ofslægen** 7 **adruncen** on gehwēþere hond [853]
‘and many men [lit. many a man] on both sides were killed and drowned there’
4. 7 **Æþered Wiltunscire biscop** [NOM.M.SG subject] **wearp gecoren** to ærcebiscop to Cantuareberi. [870]
‘and Ethelred, bishop of Wiltshire, was elected archbishop of Canterbury’ [probably a later addition; see Plummer and Earle (1892: 70) and Whitelock et al. (1961: 46 fn. 7)]
5. 7 **Æþelwulf aldormon** [NOM.M.SG subject] **wearp ofslægen** [871]
‘and Ealdorman Æthelwulf was killed’
6. 7 þær **wearp se cyning Bagsecg** [NOM.M.SG subject] **ofslægen** [871]
‘and King Bagsecg was slain there’
7. þær **wearp Sidroc eorl** [NOM.M.SG subject] **ofslægen** se alda [871]
‘there was slain Earl Sidroc the Old...’
8. 7 þær **wearp Heahmund biscep** [NOM.M.SG subject] **ofslægen**, 7 fela godra monna [871]
‘and Bishop Heahmund was killed there and many important men’
9. 7 þær þa **wearp se here** [NOM.M.SG subject] **gehorsod** æfter þam gefeohte. [881]
‘and the Danish army provided itself with horses after that battle’
10. 7 þa **wearp þæt rice** [NOM.NT.SG subject] **todeled** on .v. 7 .v. kyningas to gehalgode [887]
‘the kingdom was then divided into five, and five kings were consecrated to it’

AMBIGUITY BETWEEN PASSIVE AND STATIVE

BEON

WITH AGREEMENT

1. 7 **þa** [NOM.PL subject?] **wæron** miclum **forslægene** 7 **forwundode** ær hie on hond eodon [882]
‘and they had great losses in killed or wounded before they surrendered’
2. Þus **hie** [NOM.PL subject] **wær-on ge-nemn-d-e** [891]
‘their names were as follows’

NO AGREEMENT

ZERO MORPHOLOGY EXPECTED

1. 7 þær **wæs micel wēl** [NOM.NT.SG subject] **geslægen** [823]
‘and a great slaughter was made there’
2. 7 þær **was** ungemetlic **wēl** [NOM.NT.SG subject] **geslægen** Norþanhymbra, sume binnan, sume butan; 7 þa cyningas begen ofslægene [867]
‘and an immense slaughter was made of the Northumbrians, some inside and some outside, and both kings were killed’
3. 7 þær **wæs micel wēl** [NOM.NT.SG subject] **geslægen** on gehwēpre hond [871]
‘and a great slaughter was made on both sides’
4. **Se bat** [NOM.M.SG subject] **wæs geworht** of þriddan healfre hyde þe hi on foron [891]
‘The boat in which they travelled was made of two and a half hides’

WEORDAN

WITH AGREEMENT

NO AGREEMENT

ZERO MORPHOLOGY EXPECTED

AMBIGUITY BETWEEN BE-PERFECT AND PASSIVE OR STATIVE

MISSING AUXILIARY

MANUSCRIPT A (YEARS 892-924)

Sources same as above

Years as they appear in Plummer and Earle (1892)

Translations from Whitelock et al. (1961).

Word count: approx. 4,524 words

HAVE-PERFECTS WITH TRANSITIVES

WITH AGREEMENT

1. Ac hie **hæfdon** þa heora **stemn** [ACC.M.SG object] **ge-set-en-ne** [ACC.M.SG agreement], 7 hiora **mete** [ACC.M.SG object] **ge-not-ud-ne** [ACC.M.SG agreement] [894]
'but they had completed their term of service and used up their provisions'

NO AGREEMENT

1. On þys geare, þæt wæs ymb twelf monað þæs þe hie on þæm eastrice geweorc geworht hæfdon, Norþhymbre 7 Eastengle **hæfdon** Ælf(f)rede cyninge **apas** [ACC.M.PL object] **geseald** [ACC.M.PL -e expected but missing] [894]
'In this year, that was twelve months after the Danes had built the fortress in the eastern kingdom, the Northumbrians and East Angles had given King Alfred oaths'
2. **Hæfde** se cyning his **fierd** [ACC.F.SG object] on tu **tonumen** [ACC.F.SG -e expected] [894]
'The king had divided his army into two'
3. **Hæfdon hi** [ACC.(M.)PL object? or NOM.PL subject?] hiora **on-fang-en** [PL -e expected but not found?] [894]
'They had stood sponsor to them' [unclear what the object is; could also be non-accusative *hiora*?]
4. 7 he him **hæfde geseald** [ACC.M.PL -e expected but not found!] **gisl-as** [ACC.M.PL object] 7 **að-as** [ACC.M.PL object] [894, NB! *hæfde* is an insertion!]
'and he had given the king oaths and hostages'
5. 7 se here **þa burg** [ACC.F.SG object] **beseten** [ACC.F.SG -e expected but not found] **hæfde** [894]
'and the Danish army had laid siege to the borough'
6. þa wæron hie mid metelieste gewægde, 7 **hæfdon micl-ne dæl** [ACC.M.SG object] þara horsa **fret-en** [ACC.M.SG -ne expected but not found on *freten*, only on *micl-ne*] [894]
'they were oppressed by famine, and had eaten the greater part of their horses'
7. Þa hie ða eft ut of Norðwealum wendon mid **þære herehyðe** [DAT.F.SG antecedent of *þe*] **þe** hie ðær **genumen** [ACC.F.SG -e expected but not found] **hæfdon** [895]
'When they turned back from Wales with the booty they had captured there ...'

8. 7 seofon **ærendrac-an** [ACC.M.PL object] he him **hæfde** to **a-send** [PL -e missing] [905]
‘and he had sent seven messengers to them’
9. 7 se cyng **hæfde ge-gadr-od sum hund scipa** [911]
‘and the king had collected about 100 ships’
10. **para wicinga** [GEN.PL antecedent] **þe** hie him to fultume **aspanen hæfdon** [921]
‘of the Vikings whom they had enticed to their assistance’

ZERO MORPHOLOGY EXPECTED

1. On þys geare, þæt wæs ymb twelf monað þæs þe hie on þæm eastrice **geweorc** [ACC.NT.SG object] **geworht hæfdon**, Norphymbre 7 Eastengle hæfdon Ælf(f)rede cyninge aþas geseald [894]
‘In this year, that was twelve months after the Danes had built the fortress in the eastern kingdom, the Northumbrians and East Angles had given King Alfred oaths’
2. **Hæfde** Hæsten ær **geworht þæt geweorc** [ACC.NT.SG object] æt Beamfleote, 7 wæs þa ut afaren on hergaþ [894]
‘Hæsten had previously built that fortress at Benfleet; and he was then out on a raid’
3. þæt wæs forðy þe hie wæron benumene ægðer ge **þæs ceapes** [GEN.M.SG antecedent of *ðe*], ge **þæs cornes** [GEN.NT.SG antecedent of *ðe*], **ðe** hie **gehergod hæfdon** [895]
‘That was because they were deprived both of the cattle and the corn which had been ravaged [lit. which they had ravaged]’
4. 7 þa se here eft hamweard wende þe **Exanceaster** [ACC.NT.SG object] **be-set-en hæfde** [895]
‘and when the Danish army which had besieged Exeter turned homewards...’
5. Þa hie ða **þæt geweorc** [ACC.NT.SG object] furpum **ongunnen hæfdon**, 7 þærto gewicod hæfdon [896]
‘When they had just begun that work and had encamped for that purpose...’
6. 7 þa Deniscan **hæfdon hira wif** [ACC.NT.PL object] **befæst** innan Eastengle [896]
‘And the Danes had placed their women in safety in East Anglia’ [ACC.NT.PL -u expected only with short/light stems/syllables, but *befæst* is long/heavy due to the consonant cluster, so zero is expected]
7. **Næfde** se here, Godes þonces, **Angelcyn** [ACC.NT.SG object] ealles forswiðe **ge-broc-od** [897]
‘By the grace of God, the army had not on the whole afflicted the English people very greatly’
8. 7 **hæfde eall-e þa geat-u** [ACC.NT.PL object] **for-worh-t** in to him [901]
‘and he had barricaded all the gates against him’
9. Þa berad mon **þæt wif** [ACC.NT.SG antecedent] **þæt** [ACC.NT.SG object] he **hæfde** ær **ge-num-en** [901]

‘Then the woman was seized whom he had taken...’

10. 7 ahreddon **eall þæt** [ACC.NT.SG object] hie **ge-num-en hæfdon** [917]
‘and rescued all that they had captured’

11. 7 se cyng **hæfde funden þæt him mon sæt wiþ on suphealfe Sæfernmūþan...**
[clausal ‘object’] [918]
‘and the king had arranged that men were stationed against them on the south side of the Severn estuary’

HAVE-PERFECTS WITH INTRANSITIVES

1. Þa hie ða þæt geweorc furþum ongunnen hæfdon, 7 þærto **gewicod hæfdon** [896]
‘When they had just begun that work and had encamped for that purpose...’

BE-PERFECTS WITH MUTATIVE (?) INTRANSITIVES

WITH AGREEMENT

1. **wær-on þa men** [NOM.M.PL subject] uppe on londe of **a-gan-e** [NOM.M.PL agreement] [897]
‘the men from them had gone up on land’

NO AGREEMENT

1. 7 **þa oþr-e** [NOM.M.PL subject] **wær-on** hungre **a-cwol-en** [NOM.M.PL -e expected, as on *oðre*] [894]
‘and the rest had died of starvation’
2. Þreo asæton on ða healfe þæs deopes ðe ða **Denisc-an scip-u** [NOM.NT.PL subject] **a-set-en** [NOM.NT.PL -u expected but not found] **wær-on** [897]
‘three were aground on that side of the channel on which the Danish ships were aground’

ZERO MORPHOLOGY EXPECTED

1. **Wæs Hæsten** [NOM.M.SG subject] þa þær **cumen** mid his herge [894]
‘Hæsten had then come there with his army’
2. 7 eac **se micla here** [NOM.M.SG subject] **wæs** þa þærto **cumen** [894]
‘and the large army [...] had then also come there’
3. Hæfde **Hæsten** [NOM.M.SG subject] ær geworht þæt geweorc æt Beamfleote, 7 **wæs** þa ut **afaren** on hergaþ [894]
‘Hæsten had previously built that fortress at Benfleet; and he was then out on a raid’
4. 7 eft oþre siþe **he** [NOM.M.SG subject] **wæs** on hergað **gelend** on þæt ilce rice [894]
‘and again, a second time, he had gone on a raid in that same kingdom’
5. Þa **he** [NOM.M.SG subject] þærto **gefaren wæs** [894]

‘when he arrived there’ [Manuscript D has *gefaren hæfde* – see Plummer and Earle 1892: 87 fn. 1]

6. Ac ða **þæt wæter** [NOM.NT.SG subject] **wæs ahebbad** fela furlanga from þæm scipum. þa eodan ða Deniscan from þæm þrim scipum to þæm oðrum þrim þe on hira healfe beebbade wæron [897]
‘But when the water had ebbed many furlongs from the ships, the Danes from the remaining three ships went to the other three which were stranded on their side’
7. 7 him cierde **eall þæt folc** [NOM.NT.SG antecedent] to **þe** on Mercna lande **geseten wæs** [922]
‘and all the people who had settled in Mercia submitted to him’

WEORDAN-PERFECTS WITH INTRANSITIVE VERBS

WITH AGREEMENT

NO AGREEMENT

1. Þa comon forðy onweg ðe ðara oþerra **scip-u** [NOM.NT.PL subject – antecedent] asæton, **þa** [NOM.(NT.)PL subject] **wurd-on** eac swiðe uneðelice **a-set-en** [NOM.NT.PL -u expected but not found] [897]
‘These got away because the ships of their opponents ran aground. Moreover, they had run aground very awkwardly’

ZERO MORPHOLOGY EXPECTED

CAUSATIVES

1. Þa **het** Ælfred cyng **timbran** langscipu ongen ða æscas [897]
‘Then King Alfred had “long ships” built to oppose the Danish warships’
2. Þa **het** se cyng **faran** mid nigonum to þara niwena scipa [897]
‘Then the king ordered (a force) to go thither with nine of the new ships’
3. 7 he hie ðær **ahon het** [897]
‘and he ordered them to be hanged’
4. 7 se cyng **het ridan** æfter [901]
‘And the king ordered them to pursue him’
5. þa **het** he **beodan** ofer ealle þa fird [905]
‘he had it announced over the whole army’
6. Her on þys geare ymb Martines mæssan **het** Eadweard cyning **atimbran** þa norðran burg æt Heorotforda [913]
‘In this year about Martinmas, King Edward ordered the northern borough at Hertford to be built’
7. 7 **het atimbran** þa burg [918]

‘and ordered the borough to be built’

8. Her on þysum gere foran to Eastron Eadweard cyning **het gefaran** þa burg æt Tofeceastre 7 hie **getimbran** [921]
‘In this year before Easter King Edward ordered the borough at Towcester to be occupied and built’
9. 7 þa eft æfter þam on þam ilcan geare to gangdagum he **het atimbran** þa burg æt Wigingamere [921]
‘and then after that in the same year at the Rogation days he ordered the borough at Wigingamere to be built’
10. 7 **het gewyrcan** ða burg on suðhealfe ðære eas [922]
‘and ordered the borough on the south side of the river to be built’
11. 7 **het hie gebetan 7 gesettan** [922]
‘and ordered it to be repaired and manned’
12. 7 **het gewyrcan** þa burg [923]
‘and ordered the borough to be built’
13. 7 **het** oþre fierd eac of Miercna þeode þa hwile þe he þær sæt **gefaran** Mameceaster on Norþhymbrum [923]
‘and while he stayed there he ordered another army, also from the people of Mercia, to occupy Manchester in Northumbria’
14. 7 **het gewyrcan** þa burg on suþhealfe þære eas [924]
‘and ordered to be built the borough on the south side of the river’
15. 7 **het gewyrcan** ane burg þær on neaweste, 7 **gemannian** [924]
‘and ordered a borough to be built in the neighbourhood and manned’

PROGRESSIVES

BE-PASSIVES

WITH AGREEMENT

1. þæt wæs forðy þe **hie** [NOM.(M.)PL subject] **wæron be-num-en-e** [NOM.M.PL agreement] ægðer ge þæs ceapes, ge þæs cornes, ðe hie gehergod hæfdon [895]
‘That was because they were deprived both of the cattle and the corn which had been ravaged’
2. On þæm **wær-on** eac **þa men** [NOM.M.PL subject] **of-slæg-en-e** [NOM.M.PL agreement] buton fifum [897]
‘On it also the men were killed except five’

NO AGREEMENT

1. forðon ðe **heo** [NOM.F.SG subject] **wæs** ær to nunnan **ge-halg-od** [NOM.F.SG -u expected but not found] [901]
‘for she had been consecrated a nun’

ZERO MORPHOLOGY EXPECTED

1. forþæm hiora **cyning** [NOM.M.SG subject] **wæs ge-wund-od** on þæm gefeohte [894]
‘because their king had been wounded in the battle’
2. 7 þær **wæs Ecwils cyng** [NOM.M.SG subject] **of-slæg-en** [911]
‘and there was killed King Eowils’

WEORDAN-PASSIVES

WITH AGREEMENT

1. 7 þær **wurd-on ge-scip-od-e** [893]
‘and they were provided with ships there’
2. 7 **se dæl** [NOM.M.SG COLLECTIVE subject] þe þær aweg com **wurd-on** [3PL] on fleame **ge-ner-ed-e** [NOM.M.PL agreement] [894]
‘and the part that escaped were saved by flight’
3. 7 þær **wurd-on ge-fliem-d-e**, 7 sume feower cyninges **þegn-as** [NOM.M.PL subject] **of-slæg-en-e** [NOM.M.PL agreement] [896]
‘and there they were put to flight and four king’s thegns were slain’

NO AGREEMENT

ZERO MORPHOLOGY EXPECTED

1. 7 þær **wearð Ordheh** cyninges **þegn** [NOM.M.SG subject] **of-slæg-en** [894]
‘and the king’s thegn Ordheah was killed’
2. Þær **wearð of-slæg-en Lucumon** cynges **ge-ref-a** [NOM.M.SG subject] [897]
‘And there was killed the king’s reeve Lucuman...’
3. 7 þær **wearð Sigulf ealdormon** [NOM.M.SG subject] **of-slæg-en** [905]
‘and there was killed Ealdorman Sigewulf’
4. 7 on ðara Deniscena healfe **wearð of-slæg-en Eohric** hira **cyng** [NOM.M.SG subject] [905]
‘and on the Danish side King Eohric was killed’
5. 7 para Deniscena þær **wearð** ma **of-slæg-en** [905]
‘but more of the Danes were killed’

AMBIGUITY BETWEEN PASSIVE AND STATIVE

BEON

WITH AGREEMENT

1. þa **wær-on hie** [NOM.(M.)PL subject] mid metelieste **ge-wæg-d-e** [NOM.M.PL agreement], 7 hæfdon miclne dæl þara horsa freten [894]
'they were oppressed by famine, and had eaten the greater part of their horses'
2. Ac ða þæt wæter wæs ahebbad fela furlanga from þæm scipum. þa eodan ða Deniscan from þæm þrim scipum to þæm oðrum þrim **þe** on hira healfe **be-ebb-ad-e wær-on** [897]
'But when the water had ebbed many furlongs from the ships, the Danes from the remaining three ships went to the other three which were stranded on their side'
3. Ac **hie** [NOM.(M.)PL subject] **wær-on** micle swiþor **ge-broc-ed-e** [NOM.M.PL agreement] on þæm þrim gearum mid ceapes cwilde 7 monna [897]
'but they were much more seriously afflicted in those three years by the mortality of cattle and men'
4. **Nær-on** nawðer ne on Fresisc **ge-scæp-en-e** ne on Denisc [897]
'they [the ships] were built neither on the Frisian nor the Danish pattern'
5. þa **wær-on hie** [NOM.(M.)PL subject] to þæm **ge-sarg-od-e** [NOM.M.PL agreement] [897]
'They were then so wounded...'

NO AGREEMENT

1. **Seo** [NOM.F.SG subject] **is** Legaceaster **gehaten** [NOM.F.SG -u missing] [894]
'which is called Chester'
2. 7 hie gebette 7 geedneowade þær **heo** [NOM.F.SG subject] ær **tobrocen** [NOM.F.SG -u missing] **wæs** [921]
'and repaired and restored it where it had been broken'
3. 7 gebette þa burg 7 geedneowade þær **heo** [NOM.F.SG subject] ær **tobrocen** [NOM.F.SG -u missing] **wæs** [921]
'and repaired and restored the borough where it had been broken'

ZERO MORPHOLOGY EXPECTED

1. Ac sona swa hie to B(l)eamfleote comon, 7 **þæt geweorc** [NOM.NT.SG subject] **(ge)gewor<h>t wæs** [894, NB! The -t in *geworht* might have been inserted by a different hand!]
'But immediately they came to Benfleet and had made that fortress...'
2. þa **he** [NOM.M.SG subject] þa wið þone here þær wæst **abisgod wæs**, 7 þa hergas wæron þa gegaderode begen to Sceobyrig on Eastseaxum [894]
'When he was occupied against the army there in the west, and the (other) two Danish armies were assembled at Shoebury in Essex'

3. on an **igland** [NT antecedent] þæt is ute on þære sæ, **þæt** [NOM.NT.SG subject] **is** Meresig **haten** [895]
‘on to an island called Mersea, which is out in the sea’
4. 7 þær **wæs** on gehwæðre hond **micel wæl** [NOM.NT.SG subject] **ge-slæg-en** [905]
‘and a great slaughter was made on both sides’
5. 7 him cierde to **eall se þeodscype** [NOM.M.SG antecedent] on Myrcna lande **þe** Æpelflæde ær **underþeoded wæs** [922]
‘and all the nation in the land of the Mercians which had been subject to Æthelflæd submitted to him’

WEORDAN

WITH AGREEMENT

NO AGREEMENT

ZERO MORPHOLOGY EXPECTED

AMBIGUITY BETWEEN BE-PERFECT AND PASSIVE OR STATIVE

WITH AGREEMENT

1. Þa he þa wið þone here þær wæst abisgod wæs, 7 **þa herg-as** [NOM.M.PL subject] **wær-on** þa **ge-gader-od-e** [NOM.M.PL agreement] begen to Sceobyrig on Eastseaxum [894]
‘When he was occupied against the army there in the west, and the (other) two Danish armies were assembled at Shoebury in Essex’
2. Þa **hie** [NOM.(M.)PL subject] þa **eall-e ge-gader-od-e** [NOM.M.PL agreement] **wær-on** [894]
‘When they were all assembled’

NO AGREEMENT

1. ær **sio fierd** [NOM.F.SG subject] **gesamnod** [NOM.F.SG -u expected] **wære** [894]
‘before the English force was assembled’

ZERO MORPHOLOGY EXPECTED

MISSING AUXILIARY

APPENDIX 2.2: THE PETERBOROUGH CHRONICLE (MANUSCRIPT E) (YEARS 991–1012)

Sources of originals and translations same as above

Word count: approx. 3,640 words (based on <http://asc.jebbo.co.uk/e/e-L.html>, accessed on 28 October 2016)

HAVE-PERFECTS WITH TRANSITIVES

WITH AGREEMENT

1. 7 þa hi **hæfdon þa burh** [ACC.F.SG object] **eall-e a-sme-ad-e** [ACC.F.SG agreement]. wendon him þa to scipon [1011]
‘and when they had then ransacked the whole borough, they went to their ships’

NO AGREEMENT

1. Her wæs Eaxeceaster abrocen þurh **þone Frenciscan ceorl Hugon** [M.SG antecedent] **þe** seo hlefdige **heafde** hire **ge-set-t** [ACC.M.SG -ne missing] to gerefan [1003]
‘In this year Exeter was stormed on account of the French ceorl Hugh, whom the queen had appointed as her reeve’
2. forþan þe hi **hæfdon ælc-e scir-e** [ACC.F.SG object] on West Sexum stiðe **ge-marc-od** [ACC.F.SG -e missing] mid bryne. 7 mid hergunge [1006]
‘for they had cruelly left their mark on every shire of Wessex with their burning and their harring’
3. Þa sum siðe **heafde** se cyng **hi** [ACC.PL object] **fore-be-gan** [ACC.PL -e missing] mid ealre fyrde [1009]
‘Then on one occasion the king had intercepted them with all his army’
4. Hi **heafdon þa ofer-gan** [ACC.PL -e missing?] **East Engla** [PL object?] .i. and East Seaxe .ii. 7 Middel Seaxe .iii. 7 Oxenafordscire .iiii. ... [1011]
‘They had then overrun: (i) East Anglia, (ii) Essex, (iii) Middlesex, (iv) Oxfordshire...’

ZERO MORPHOLOGY EXPECTED

1. ac þonne hi **mæst** [genderless object?] to yfele **ge-don hæfdon**. þonne nam man grið. 7 frið wið hi [1011]
‘but when they had done most to our injury, peace and truce were made with them’

HAVE-PERFECTS WITH INTRANSITIVES

WITH AGREEMENT

NO AGREEMENT

ZERO MORPHOLOGY EXPECTED

1. Þa hi swa feor **gegan hæfdon** swa hi þa woldon [1010]

‘When they had thus gone as far as they pleased’

BE-PERFECTS WITH MUTATIVE INTRANSITIVES

WITH AGREEMENT

NO AGREEMENT

ZERO MORPHOLOGY EXPECTED

CAUSATIVES

1. Ða sende se ealdorman Ælfric 7 **het warnian** þone here [992]
‘Then Ealdorman Ælfric sent someone to warn the enemy’
2. On þysum ilcan geare **het** se cyng **ablendan** Ælfgar Ælfrices sunu ealdormannes. [993]
‘In this year the king had Ælfgar, son of Ealdorman Ælfric, blinded’
3. 7 on ðam geare se cyng **het ofslean** ealle ða Deniscan men þe on Angelcynne wæron [1002]
‘And in that year the king ordered to be slain all the Danish men who were in England’
4. Ða **het** se cyng **abannan** ut ealne ðeodscipe of Westseaxum. 7 of Myrcean [1006]
‘Then the king ordered the whole nation from Wessex and Mercia to be called out’
5. 7 him **cyþan het** þæt... [1006]
‘to inform them that...’ [lit. ‘and ordered that they be informed that...’]
6. Ða **het** se cyng **abannan** ut ealne þeodscipe [1009]
‘Then the king ordered all the nation to be called out’

PROGRESSIVES

1. 7 hi ða on ða burh festlice **feohtende wæron** [994]
‘and they proceeded to attack the city stoutly’
2. 7 unasecgendlice yfel **wircende wæron** [994]
‘and continued to do indescribable damage’
3. 7 þær fæstlice **feohtende wæron** [1001]
‘and proceeded to fight resolutely there’

BE-PASSIVES

WITH AGREEMENT

1. 7 Wulfgeate wæs eall his are ofgenumen. 7 **Wulfeah 7 Ufegreat** [conjoined NOM.M.PL subject] **wær-on a-blend-e** [NOM.M.PL agreement] [1006]

‘Wulfgeat was deprived of all his property, and Wulfheah and Ufegeat were blinded’

2. Ða þet gafol gelest **wæs**. 7 þa frið **að-as** [NOM.M.PL subject] **ge-swor-en-e** [NOM.M.PL agreement] [1012]
‘When that tribute was paid and the oaths of peace were sworn’

NO AGREEMENT

1. Her on ðissum geare **wæs Bæbbanburh** [NOM.F.SG subject] **to-broc-on** [NOM.F.SG -u expected but not found] 7 **mycel herehuðe** [NOM.F.SG subject] þær **ge-num-en** [NOM.F.SG -u expected but not found] [993]
‘In this year Bamburgh was sacked and much booty was captured there’

ZERO MORPHOLOGY EXPECTED

1. Her **wæs G<ypes>wic** [NOM.NT.SG subject] **ge-herg-od** [991]
‘In this year Ipswich was ravaged’
2. 7 æfter þam swiðe raðe **wæs Brihtnoð ealdorman** [NOM.M.SG subject] **of-slæg-en** æt Mældune [991]
‘and very soon afterwards Ealdorman Brihtnoth was killed at Maldon’
3. Her on þissum geare **wæs Ælfric** [NOM.M.SG subject] **ge-halg-od** to arcebiscope to Cristes cyrcean [996]
‘In this year Ælfric was consecrated archbishop at Christ Church’
4. forþon þam cynge **wæs gecydd þæt hi woldon hine besyrewian æt his life. 7 syððan ealle his witan** [a clausal subject] [1002]
‘because the king had been informed that they would treacherously deprive him, and then all his councillors, of life’
5. Her **wæs Eaxeceaster** [NOM.NT.SG subject] **a-broc-en** þurh þone Frenciscan ceorl Hugon þe seo hlefdige heafde hire gesett to gerefan [1003]
‘In this year Exeter was stormed on account of the French *ceorl* Hugh, whom the queen had appointed as her reeve’
6. 7 Wulfgeate **wæs eall his are** [NOM.M.SG subject] **of-ge-num-en**. 7 Wulfeah 7 Ufegeat wæron ablende [1006]
‘Wulfgeat was deprived of all his property, and Wulfheah and Ufegeat were blinded’
7. Her on ðissum geare **wæs þet gafol** [NOM.NT.SG subject] **ge-læs-t** þam unfriðe here [1007]
‘In this year the tribute was paid to the army’
8. 7 On ðissum geare eac **wæs Ædric** [NOM.M.SG subject] **ge-set-t** to ealdorman on Myrcena rice [1007]
‘In this year also Eadric was appointed ealdorman over the kingdom of the Mercians’
9. ac **hit** [NOM.NT.SG subject] **wæs** ða þurh Eadric ealdorman **ge-let** [1009]
‘but it was hindered by Ealdorman Eadric’

10. þær **wæs of-slæg-en** **Æðelstan** þes cynges **aðum** [NOM.M.SG subject] [1010]
‘The king’s son-in-law Athelstan was killed there’
11. 7 hi þæra ða swa lange wæron oð **þæt gafol** [NOM.NT.SG subject] **wæs** eall **ge-læs-t**
ofer Eastran. [1012]
‘and they stayed there until the tribute was all paid after Easter’
12. Wæron hi eac swyðe druncene. forþam þær **wæs ge-broh-t win** [NOM.NT.SG subject] suðan [1012]
‘They were also very drunk, for wine from the south had been brought there’
13. Ða **þæt gafol** [NOM.NT.SG subject] **ge-les-t wæs**. 7 þa frið aðas gesworene [1012]
‘When that tribute was paid and the oaths of peace were sworn’

WEORDAN-PASSIVES

WITH AGREEMENT

1. 7 þær **wurd-on** [PL verb] **ge-hors-od-e** [NOM.M.PL agreement – the subject is *þa Dæniscan* from the preceding clause] [1010]
‘and there they [the Danes] were provided with horses’

NO AGREEMENT

1. Ðær **wærð** East Engla folces **seo yld** [NOM.F.SG subject] **of-slag-en** [NOM.F.SG -u missing] [1004]
‘There the flower of the East Anglian people was killed’

ZERO MORPHOLOGY EXPECTED

1. ac sona swa hi togædere gan sceoldan, þonne **wearð** þær æfre þurh sum þing **fleam**
[NOM.M.SG subject] **a-stih-t** [998]
‘but as soon as they were to have joined battle, a flight was always instigated by some means’
2. 7 **Ælfelm ealdorman** [NOM.M.SG subject] **wearð of-slag-en** [1006]
‘and Ealdorman Ælfhelm was killed’
3. þæt man **þisum earde** [M.SG antecedent] gebeorgan mihte ær **he** [NOM.M.SG subject] mid ealle **fordon wurðe** [1006]
‘that this country could be saved before it was completely destroyed’

AMBIGUITY BETWEEN PASSIVE AND STATIVE/COPULAR

BEON

WITH AGREEMENT

1. **Wæron hi** [NOM.PL subject] eac swyðe **drunc-en-e** [NOM.M.PL agreement].
forþam þær wæs gebroht win suðan [1012]
‘They were also very drunk, for wine from the south had been brought there’

NO AGREEMENT

ZERO MORPHOLOGY EXPECTED

1. 7 cweð þet **he** [NOM.M.SG subject] **ge-sicl-od wære** [1003]
‘and said that he was taken ill’
2. Swa **hit** [NOM.NT.SG subject] **ge-cweð-en is** [1003]
‘As the saying goes’
3. ðonne se heretoga wacað þonne **bið eall se here** [NOM.M.SG subject] swiðe **ge-hindr-ed** [1003]
‘when the leader gives way, the whole army will be much hindered’

WEORDAN

WITH AGREEMENT

NO AGREEMENT

ZERO MORPHOLOGY EXPECTED

1. Ða on þone Sæternesdæg **wearð** swiðe **ge-stir-ed se here** [NOM.M.SG subject]
ongean þone biscop [1012]
‘Then on the Saturday the army became greatly incensed against the bishop’

AMBIGUITY BETWEEN *BE*-PERFECT AND PASSIVE OR STATIVE

WITH AGREEMENT

NO AGREEMENT

1. Ða **wæs** þær **fyrð** [NOM.F.SG subject] **ge-somn-od** [NOM.F.SG -u missing] æt
Cynetan [1006]
‘The English army was then gathered at the Kennet’
2. Ða **ðeos scipfyrð** [NOM.F.SG subject] ðus **ge-end-od** [NOM.F.SG -u missing] **wæs**.
[1009]
‘When this ship-levy had ended thus’

ZERO MORPHOLOGY EXPECTED

1. 7 his scipu wendon ut abuton Legceastre and sceoldan cumon ongear hine, ac hi ne
mihton. [...] 7 **seo unfriðflota** [NOM.M.SG subject] **wæs** þæs sumeres **ge-wend** to
Ricardes rice. [1000]

‘and his ships went out round Chester and should have come to meet him, but they could not. [...] And the enemy fleet had gone to Richard’s kingdom that summer’

2. þa **wæs se cyng** [NOM.M.SG subject] **ge-wend** ofer Temese into Scrobbesbyrigscire [1006]
‘Then the king had gone across the Thames, into Shropshire’
3. þa toferde se here wide swa **he** [NOM.M.SG subject] ær **ge-gader-od wæs** [1012]
‘the Danish army then dispersed as widely as it had been collected’

MISSING AUXILIARY