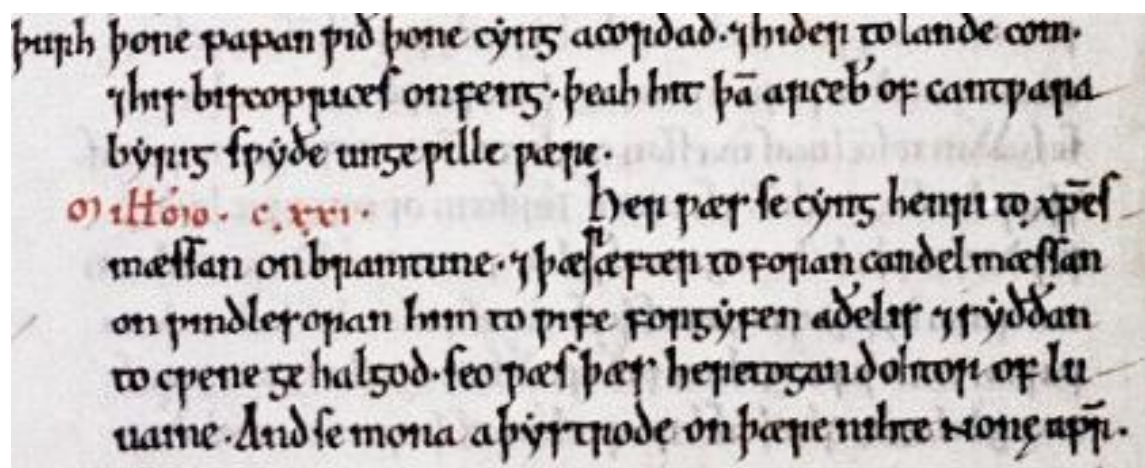


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# DATING THE OUTDATED DATIVE

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The Disappearance of the Dative Inflection in *The Peterborough Chronicle*



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MA Thesis Philology

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Fig. 1. *Chronicle of England. Additions in French ('The Peterborough Chronicle', E text).*  
c.1121-1140. Available from: Bodleian Library, University of Oxford,  
<https://digital.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/inquire/p/4762bcd7-a1ee-41a8-afa2-ebb76026b782>

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## INTRODUCTION

Over the years, annals regarding the deeds of kings, battles between peoples, matters of the clergy and other events of notice have been studied in *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*. The manuscripts, which together form this historiographical body, provide the modern reader with a glimpse into the life and language of the Anglo-Saxons. *The Chronicle* demonstrates the highly synthetic language the Anglo-Saxons exercised daily. However, in one of the texts, the Old English vernacular ostensibly evolves into another form of English. Following a large set of inherently Old English annals, *The Peterborough Chronicle* (MS E: Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Laud Misc. 636) may puzzle its readers as it features an increasing number of Middle English linguistic features. Due to the perceivable transition from Old to Middle English, manuscript E is said to be one of the most prominent documents of the Early Middle English period. Compared to the initial host of annals, the concluding lines feature inflections less frequently and instead exhibit analytical tendencies:

633AD: *þa genam Æðelburge Eadwines lafe 7 gewat on **scipe** to Cent.*<sup>1</sup>  
then [he] took Æðelburg Eadwin's widow and went on a **ship** to Kent.

1135AD: *7 ðæt oþer dei þa he lai an slep in **scip**.*  
And that other day that he lay asleep on a **ship**.

In the copied annal of 633, the noun *scip* is inflected in the dative declension. However, in a similar construction, written after the year 1121, the annal of 1135, shows that this inflection became disused. By contrast, in other instances from the same period, the dative inflection remains in use:

1086AD: *Swilce eac Scotland he him underþædde. for his mycele **strengþe**.*

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<sup>1</sup> Unless stated otherwise, all Old English excerpts from the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* were obtained from: Tony Jebson, "The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle," An Electronic Edition of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, <http://asc.jebbo.co.uk/>; bold phrases mark emphasized expected dative iterations.

So he also subjected Scotland to him. By his great **strength**.

1137AD: *7 he begæt in landes þat ricemen hefden mid **strengthe**.*

And he received in lands that which rich men held with **strength**.

Here, both annals demonstrate the use of the dative singular ‘-e’ on *strengþe/strengthe* in order to demonstrate by which means an event or action took place. This raises the question of why some instances of the dative remained inflected whereas others did not.

Susan Irvine claims that by the final part of *The Peterborough Chronicle*, the dative inflection had disappeared in specific contexts, including where it used to mark the indirect object.<sup>2</sup> However, a full analysis of the factors that influenced the gradual disappearance of the dative inflection in this manuscript is lacking. This thesis aims to fill this lacuna in the scholarship. Based on the distinctions made by Adam Pasicki,<sup>3</sup> this paper analyzes the distribution of the dative inflection in a variety of semantic contexts. For instance, the locative and instrumental aspects of the dative (once expressed via distinct inflections in Proto-Indo-European) may demonstrate distinct distribution of the dative inflection in the sections of *The Peterborough Chronicle*.

This thesis features several theoretical chapters and a quantitative analysis. The first chapter is based on the works by Simon Keynes, Michael Swanton, Alice Jorgensen and provides a general background to the origins and nature of *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* as well as to the manuscript central to this thesis: *The Peterborough Chronicle*.<sup>4</sup> Second, on basis of the studies by Alistair Campbell, Helmut Gneuss and Susan Irvine, the shift from Old to Early Middle English is discussed; in addition, this thesis demonstrates that *The Peterborough Chronicle* acts as a key witness for these linguistic changes.<sup>5</sup> The third chapter defines various characteristics of

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<sup>2</sup> Susan Irvine, *MS. E: a semi-diplomatic Edition, with Introduction and Indices*, vol.7, *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle: A Collaborative Edition* (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2004).

<sup>3</sup> Adam Pasicki, “Meanings of the dative case in Old English” in *The Dative*, eds. Willy van Langendonck and William van Belle, vol.2, *Theoretical and Contrastive Studies* (Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Co., 1998), 113-142.

<sup>4</sup> Simon Keynes, “Manuscripts of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*,” in *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain*, ed. Richard Gameson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 537-552; Michael Swanton ed. and trans., *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicles* (London: Phoenix Press, 2000); Alice Jorgensen et al., *Reading The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle: Language, Literature, History*, ed. Alice Jorgensen (Turnhout: Brepols, 2010).

<sup>5</sup> Alistair Campbell, *Old English Grammar*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1959); Helmut Gneuss, “The Old English Language,” in *The Cambridge Companion to Old English Literature*, eds. Malcolm Godden and Michael Lapidge, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 19-49; Irvine, *MS. E*.

the Old English dative, based on the readings by Fredericus Visser, Roger Lass and Adam Pasicki.<sup>6</sup> Finally, a quantitative portion on dative instances in *The Peterborough Chronicle* reveals the underlying patterns concerning the distribution of the dative inflection.

In completing the previously stated steps, this thesis adds to the studies of *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* and in particular that of *The Peterborough Chronicle* and the visible transition from Old to Middle English. The disappearance of inflections portrays numerous gaps which can be filled by examining factors from a semantic point of view. By examining the rate of inflections per dative semantic category, this paper aims to reveal patterns of deflection previously undiscussed.

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<sup>6</sup> Fredericus Visser, *Syntactical Units with One Verb*, vol. 2, *An Historical Syntax of the English Language* (Leiden: Brill, 1963); Roger Lass, *Old English: A Historical Linguistic Companion* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998); Pasicki, "Meanings of the dative case in Old English," 113-142.



## CHAPTER 1: DATES & ANNALS

From genealogies to meteorological sightings, from epic battles to ecclesiastical matters, *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle (The Chronicle)* forms the brunt of Anglo-Saxon historiography. The seven manuscripts (MSS A-G) and the single leaf version (MS H) together demonstrate a rich tradition of annals written in the vernacular. This bulwark can be scrutinized and analyzed with a multitude of approaches; be they literary, historical, or linguistic in nature.<sup>7</sup> Indeed, the underlying political purposes, interwoven relationships between manuscripts and inherent formulaic traditions may all have influenced the compilation of the manuscripts. This chapter discusses the intricate framework known as *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*.

### Easter, West-Saxon politics & Anglo-Saxon poetry

The genesis of *The Chronicle* is commonly traced to the 9th-century reign of King Alfred the Great (fl. 871-899). During this period, *The Common Stock* was formed: a set of Old English annals displaying a multitude of events up to c. 892 which forms the basis of all *The Chronicle*'s manuscripts.<sup>8</sup> The compiler(s) assembled annals from a variety of sources. Consequently, *The Common Stock* features annals which may differ in nature, ranging from simplistic brief annotations, to hegemonic imbued propaganda, to recollections hailing common Anglo-Saxon events.

*The Common Stock* shows a strong resemblance to a Carolingian precursor from the late 8<sup>th</sup> century: the *Royal Frankish Annals (RFA)*. For instance, the *RFA* and *The Chronicle* share the feature of presenting short paratactic entries in an annalistic framework resembling an Easter table.<sup>9</sup> Therefore, annalistic writing is said to be connected to paschal annotations which various monks have written within the margins of Easter tables.<sup>10</sup> For instance, short notations, such as

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<sup>7</sup> Alice Jorgensen, "Introduction: Reading *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*," in *Reading The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle: Language, Literature, History*, ed. Alice Jorgensen (Turnhout: Brepols, 2010), 20.

<sup>8</sup> Nicholas Brooks, "Why is *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* About Kings?," *Anglo-Saxon England* 39 (2010): 43.

<sup>9</sup> Anton Scharer, "*The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* and Continental Annal-Writing," in *Reading The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, ed. Jorgensen, 162-63.

<sup>10</sup> Jacqueline Stodnick, "Sentence to Story: Reading *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* as Formulary," in *Reading The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, ed. Jorgensen, 92.

“[h]er feng Tiberius to rice”<sup>11</sup> [here, Tiberius received the kingdom],<sup>12</sup> may have served as a helpful reminder to determine the date of Easter.<sup>13</sup>

Another shared feature between the *RFA* and *The Common Stock*, a trend continued in the rest of *The Chronicle*, can be found in the political motivation behind a number of annals or even the ellipsis of specific details and whole events. As such, similar to the *RFA*, *The Common Stock* demonstrates an authoritative historiography in which hegemonic tendencies are apparent. In case of *The Common Stock*, West-Saxon propaganda in favor of the offspring of Cerdic is prominently featured. Indeed, a pre-existing genealogy of West-Saxon kings was added to legitimize the claim of Alfred the Great and his kin; a list not added to all of the manuscripts.

Prominently, *The Chronicle* features an annal (755/757) illustrating the fatal struggle between King Cynewulf and Ætheling Cyneheard. The actions of the comitatus of both the contenders for the West-Saxon throne feature prominently in this relatively sizeable annal and seem to correspond to Germanic heroic ethos. Traditional readings emphasize the enduring loyalty both escorts demonstrate for their lord even in the prospect of imminent death. This sentiment is clearly demonstrated by the refusal of Cynewulf’s retainers to Cyneheard’s offer of “feoh 7 feorh” [money and life] if they acknowledged his ascent to the throne. Thomas Bredehoft states that the focus of the annal may lie on the blood ties between the members of the opposing escorts: loyalty towards kin is subordinate to loyalty towards royalty. This aspect is demonstrated by the phrase uttered by the avenging party of Cynewulf’s followers “þæt him nænig mæg leofra nære þonne hiera hlaford” [that no kinsman was dearer to them than their lord] when answering Cyneheard’s offer of “feos 7 landes” [money and land] and argue “þet heora maga him mid wæron ða þe him fram noldon” [that relatives of theirs were with him that did not desire to leave him].<sup>14</sup> Afterwards, mortal combat ensued and Cyneheard and his escort perished. In the end, many noblemen and both Cynewulf and Cyneheard were slain and the crown was bestowed to Cynewulf’s brother Beorhtric.

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<sup>12</sup> Michael Swanton ed. and trans., *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicles* (London: Phoenix Press, 2000); *ASC*, s.a. 16 (MSS A and E).

<sup>13</sup> Janet Thormann, “The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* Poems and the Making of the English Nation,” in *Anglo-Saxonism and the Construction of Social Identity*, eds. A. J. Frantzen and J. D. Niles (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1997), 60-85.

<sup>14</sup> Thomas Bredehoft, *Textual Histories: Readings in The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2001), 40-60.

The epic of Cynewulf and Cyneheard was most likely placed in *The Common Stock* in light of late 9th-century West-Saxon politics. During this period, any West-Saxon ætheling could lay claim to the throne. During Alfred's reign, this overall claim shifted towards a patrilineal succession as close blood ties to the preceding king became the main criterion to determine who would be next in line for the throne. Indeed, the following century, all West-Saxon kings could trace their lineage directly to King Alfred. The struggle between the two claimants for the throne as depicted in the annal of 755 may have served as warning to show that a clearer, more narrowly defined set of requirements in order to claim the throne would offer less internal conflict as seen in the struggle between Cynewulf and Cyneheard.<sup>15</sup>

Indeed, patrilineal succession was not yet accepted after the death of King Alfred as the succession of King Edward was in dispute. Ætheling Æthelwald rebelled against King Edward: “7 þa feng Eadweard his sunu to rice. Ða gerad Æðelwald his fædran sunu þone ham æt Winburnan 7 æt Tweoxneam butan ðæs cyninges leafe 7 his witena” [and then Edward his son received the kingdom. Then Æthelwald his father's brother's son rode and raided the house at Wimborne and Tinham without the king's and his advisors' leave].<sup>16</sup> In a scene reminiscent of that of Cynewulf and Cyneheard, the ætheling held and fortified the stronghold against the oncoming army headed by Edward. However, after stating that he would “oðer oððe þær libban oððe þær licgan” [either live there or lie there], the ætheling stole away in the night. In the end, the threat which Æthelwald posed was quelled by his death at the battle of the Holme. All in all, the inclusion of the tale of Cynewulf and Cyneheard into *The Common Stock* seemed to have been part of Alfred's political endeavors to establish a clear line of succession in anticipation of potential internal struggle; that in this case did come to pass.<sup>17</sup>

To sum up thus far, *The Common Stock* forms the basis of all *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* manuscripts. Its short simplistic annals were broadened by the genealogies of West-Saxon kings and prosaic entries; thus promoting and perpetuating West-Saxon hegemony. In short, *The Common Stock* was an Alfredian product and accomplishment.

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<sup>15</sup> Bredehoft, *Textual Histories*, 40-60.

<sup>16</sup> ASC, s.a. 901 (MSS A and D).

<sup>17</sup> Sean Miller, “Edward [called Edward the Elder] (870s?–924), king of the Anglo-Saxons,” in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2011), [www.oxforddnb.com](http://www.oxforddnb.com).

Following *The Common Stock*

The continuation of *The Chronicle* in the 10<sup>th</sup> century features two major themes: the representation of the actions of Alfred’s offspring and the revision of West-Saxon focus.<sup>18</sup> The additions that followed *The Common Stock* formed distinct sets of annals which were in turn employed for the compilation of other manuscripts (see figure 1.1 for a general overview).

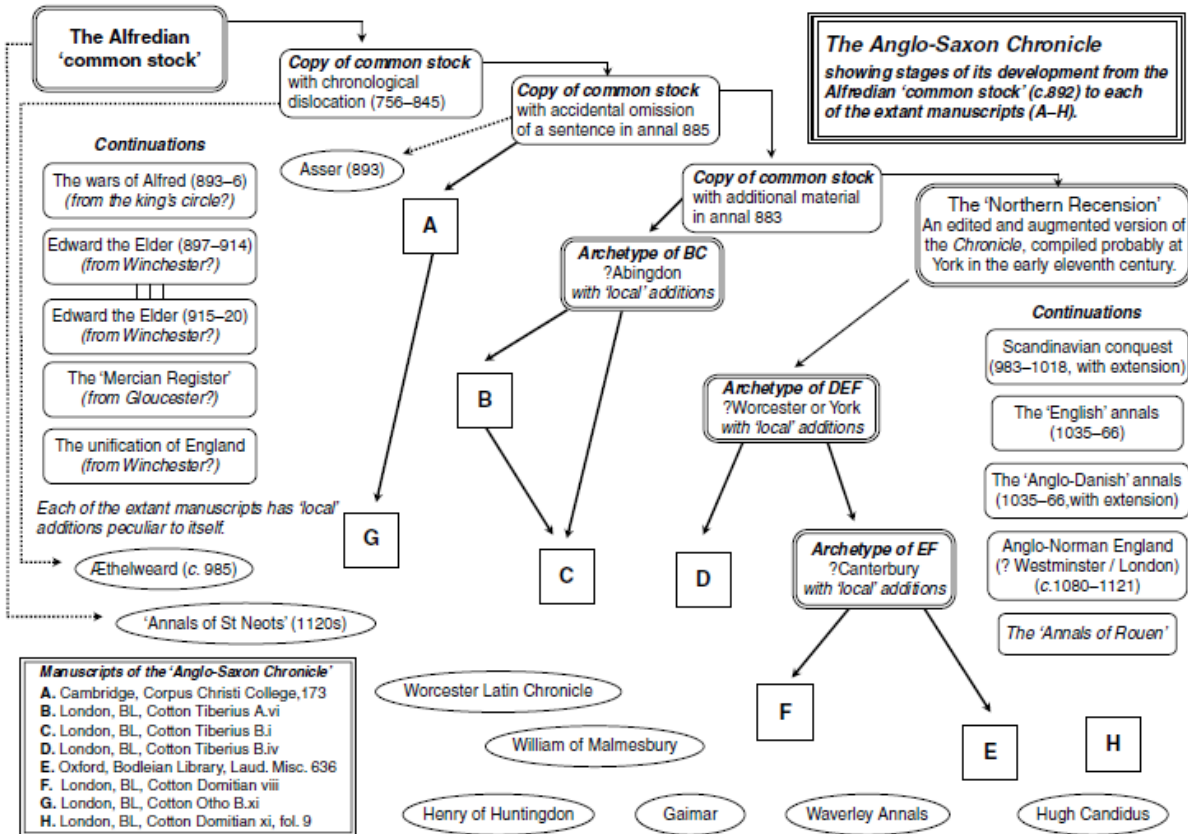


Fig. 1.1: The Continuations, and Manuscripts which together form *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*.<sup>19</sup>

After the annal of 892, three discernable groups can be distinguished in MS A of which the first two were copied into MSS B and C. First, the annals of 893-896 mention construction of *burhs* [fortifications] and the erection of an Anglo-Saxon navy; both strategies made to thwart a roaming Viking army. Second, the death of Alfred the Great and a military campaign of Edward

<sup>18</sup> Bredehoft, *Textual Histories*, 61-71.

<sup>19</sup> Simon Keynes, “Manuscripts of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*,” in *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain*, ed. Richard Gameson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 541.

the Elder are illustrated in the annals of 897-914. The third set illustrates the subjugation of the Scots, Northumbrians and Strathclyde Welsh by King Edward from 915 to 920.<sup>20</sup>

In addition to the campaign of Edward the Elder, MSS B and C regale the accomplishments of Æthelflæd, lady of the Mercians, through a block of annals known as *The Mercian Register*. Herein, the actions and achievements of Æthelflæd are paralleled to those of her brother King Edward in a fashion which counteracts the ostensible West-Saxon bias in *The Chronicle* to some degree; e.g., *The Mercian Register* denotes how the Lady of the Mercians erected “burhs“ [boroughs] and fought against the Danes in a similar manner to that of King Edward.<sup>21</sup>

Some of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* manuscripts deviate from the West-Saxon focus in *The Common Stock* and the deeds of Alfred and his offspring. In particular, a set of annals named *The Northern Recension* exhibits an augmentation of *The Common Stock* in which the focus on West-Saxon interests was removed or adapted by adding material concerning northern interests.<sup>22</sup> This version was formed when, sometime in the 10<sup>th</sup> or early 11<sup>th</sup> century, a version of *The Common Stock* made its way up north where it was augmented by the supplementation of 8th-, later-9th and 10th-century northern annals from at least two sources. In this manuscript, the West-Saxon genealogies have largely made way for the genealogies of Hengist and Horsa and Æthelferth, king of Northumbria. The latter is a list of kings formulated by Bede which was set to verse in *The Chronicle*.<sup>23</sup> Additionally, a preface was produced based on the Bedan description of the arrival of the Angles, Saxons and Jutes in England. In doing so, the focus on West-Saxon political interests was diminished. Furthermore, the annals concerning the reigns of 959 and 975 reflect on the reigns of King Edgar in a style commonly attributed to Archbishop Wulfstan. Consequently, Wulfstan is said to be one of the contributors of *The Northern Recension*.<sup>24</sup> Bredehoft argues that the *Recension* may have been an adaptation of *The Common Stock* rather than a revision; since much of West-Saxon material remained in this set of annals, e.g. The annal portraying the West-Saxon tale of Cynewulf and Cyneheard. Ultimately, *The*

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<sup>20</sup> Keynes, “Manuscripts of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*,” 541.

<sup>21</sup> Keynes, “Manuscripts of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*,” 543.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, 63.

<sup>23</sup> ASC, s.a. 593 (MS E).

<sup>24</sup> Keynes, “Manuscripts of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*,” 545.

*Northern Recension* offers material focusing less on Alfred's offspring realizing a more neutral and national perspective.<sup>25</sup>

The half-century between the ascension of King Æthelstan and the assassination of King Edgar, 924 and 975 respectively, is scarcely covered by *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*. According to Simon Keynes, the events that took place were ill suited to be written down in annalistic form. Perhaps this is why this period was supplemented by poetic entries confirming the unification of England.<sup>26</sup> For instance, in manuscripts A, B, C, and D, the beginning lines of the annal of 937 are portrayed as follows:

Her Æþelstan cyning, eorla dryhten,  
beorna beahgifa, 7 his broþor eac,  
Eadmund æþeling, ealdorlangne tir  
geslogon æt sæcce sweorda ecgum  
ymbe Brunnanburh.<sup>27</sup>

[Here King Æthelstan, lord of warriors,  
Ring-giver of men, and his brother also,  
Prince Edmund, struck life-long glory  
In strife with the edges of swords  
Round Brunanburh.]

Here, the alliterative lines present the battle of Brunanburh in accordance to Anglo-Saxon epic poetry. The same event is reported in a less embellished manner in manuscript E, exemplifying the great variety between the manuscripts of ASC after *The Common Stock*. In manuscript E, the battle is only mentioned in a single line: “Her Æðelstan cyning lædde fyrde to Brunanbyrig” [Here, King Æthelstan led an army to Brunanburh]. Despite their relative meagerness, the entries between 924 and 975 demonstrate the unification of England.<sup>28</sup>

As with the beginning of the mid-10th-century set of annals, the end of this block is supplemented by a poem in the annal of 975 in MSS A, B and C. However, in contrast to the

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<sup>25</sup> Bredehoft, *Textual Histories*, 67.

<sup>26</sup> Keynes, “Manuscripts of *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*,” 543.

<sup>27</sup> ASC, s.a. 937 ll. 1-5a (MSS A, B, C, and D); Here, the annal from MS A is cited.

<sup>28</sup> Keynes, “Manuscripts of *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*,” 544.

overall positive note of the preceding material, the concluding lines of the poem forebode a difficult time:

7 þa wearð ætywed uppe on roderum  
steorra on staðole, þone stiðferhþe,  
hæleð higegleawe, hatað wide  
cometa be naman, cræftgleawe men,  
wise soðboran. Wæs geond werðeode  
Waldendes wracu wide gefrege,  
hungor ofer hrusan<sup>29</sup>

[And then appeared up in the heavens  
A star in the firmament, which those of firm mind,  
Wise-minded heroes, widely call  
By name of comet, knowledge-minded men,  
Wise truth-bearers. The Ruler's revenge,  
Hunger over the earth, was known widely,  
Throughout the nation of men.]

Here, the closing lines of the poem culminate in foreshadowing the unrest of the subsequent reign of Edward the Martyr. Indeed, the annal of 978/979, in Manuscripts D, E and F goes on to share “nan wærsa dæd gedon þonne þeos wæs syððon hi ærest Brytonland gesohton.” [no worse deed was done than this since they first sought Britain]: the murder of King Edward I.

Named after Æthelred II, the Æthelredian annals follow the mid-10th-century lull of entries. The annals present a renewed onslaught by Viking raiding armies which extended into the early 11<sup>th</sup> century and ultimately led to a Danish Conquest. Commonly, the reign of Æthelred the Unready is regarded with criticism in post-Anglo-Saxon historiography. This perspective stems from the writings of William of Malmesbury which were based on his readings of *The Chronicle*. *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* lists multiple acts of betrayal and grave leadership errors during the Viking invasions in the late 10<sup>th</sup> and early 11<sup>th</sup> century. However, it does not indicate any sign of blame directly pointed at King Æthelred. According to Courtney Konshuh, the focus

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<sup>29</sup> ASC, s.a. 975 (MS A).

of *The Chronicle* may lie on Æthelred's advisors rather than the king himself.<sup>30</sup> *The Chronicle* was utilized to highlight the treacherous deeds and erroneous decisions of his advisors which resulted in Æthelred's pejorative moniker: the Unready.<sup>31</sup>

Since the Æthelredian annals were written during the reign of Cnut, the focus on treacherous behavior of noblemen in the Æthelredian annals may have been intended to support a politically driven motivation of the newly established Danish regime. Namely, by authenticating a chain of dire leadership in *The Chronicle*, the Danish conquest may have seemed inevitable. In other words, *The Chronicle* may have been used to instill the idea that the Viking invasion and consequential regime change was brought upon the English people due to corruption and incompetence. In addition, the annals may have served to quell disloyalty among Cnut's own followers since treachery was met by severe punishment in the annals. Lastly, since Cnut himself followed in the footsteps of English kings and observed their way of rule, it was unwise for him to openly criticize the previous king since this could have undermined his own position as ruler of England.<sup>32</sup>

After the death of Cnut and up to the reign of Edward the Confessor, the more ardent entries are of a more local nature. Cnut appointed several noblemen to rule over large parts of England. Named after "jarls", these earls vied against each other in the political arena of that period, as displayed in manuscripts C and E. The political struggle for power can be seen in the actions and events surrounding Earl Godwine that, differing per manuscript, were either depicted in an approving or critical bias. One such striking example of political bias can be found in the annals recording the murder of Æthelred II's son: Ælfred Ætheling. According to MS C, the ætheling came to England with his companions in 1036 where he was met by Earl Godwine. In verse, the annal portrays how Ælfred was captured and his companions were cruelly marred or killed. Particularly, the line "Ne wearð dreorlicre dæd gedon on þison eared"<sup>33</sup> [no crueller deed was performed on this earth] displays the disdain with which the conduct of Godwine was regarded. Moreover, this phrase is reminiscent to the description of the regicide of King Edward I. Manuscript D also presents the murder of Ælfred; however, it does not name Godwine

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<sup>30</sup> Courtney Konshuh, "Anraed in their Unraed: The Æthelredian Annals (983-1016) and their Presentation of King and Advisors," in *English Studies* 97:2 (2016): 158.

<sup>31</sup> The pejorative moniker of Æthelred II is formed by the negative element "un-" and the element "ræd" [counsel] thus indicating that he was ill-advised.

<sup>32</sup> Konshuh, "Anraed in their Unraed," 159.

<sup>33</sup> ASC, s.a. 1036 (MS C).



explicitly in the lines preceding the poem. In contrast, Manuscript E remains silent on the murder of the ætheling thus illustrating a pro-Godwine attitude.

The Norman Conquest did not end the practice of annalistic writing. *The Chronicle* provides a major insight into the reigns of William the Conqueror, William Rufus and Henry I. The local quality of the period preceding the Norman Conquest gave way to a more royally centered focus as the schedule of the king and engagements are listed thoroughly. Most likely, the annals were formed close to the royal center; strikingly, one of the annals mentions that the chronicler himself attended the court of William I. The final entries of *The Chronicle* can be found in MS E where the actions and deeds of Stephen I were added retrospectively in a single stint.<sup>34</sup>

### Circulation and tradition

Currently, two theorems are prominent regarding the distribution of the additions to *The Common Stock* in *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*: either as a product of central dissemination or as several individual compilations. Charles Plummer suggests that the manuscripts find their basis in a 9<sup>th</sup> proto-manuscript but go their separate ways afterwards. In this regard, the manuscripts are distinct to each other and shared material was conflated from other copies of *The Chronicle*; which came together at some point in time. In contrast to the idea of separately kept up manuscripts, Nicholas Brooks proposes that the compilation of *The Chronicle* may have originated from a royal center and additions may have concurrently made their way into the various manuscripts from this single central source. If so, the disseminated contents may have been compiled at the royal abbey of New Minster in Winchester. In turn, the royally approved and produced contents of *The Chronicle* would then have been subsequently adapted into the various manuscripts at several monastic locations across Anglo-Saxon England.<sup>35</sup>

Whether or not the contents of *The Chronicle* stem from a single central source or several distinct sources, *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* invokes a sense of continuity and cohesion. Part of this steadiness stems from the use of formulaic phrases. Prime examples are “on þissum gear” [In this year] or “Her” [here/at this point]<sup>36</sup> which are frequently found at the beginning of an

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<sup>34</sup> Keynes, “Manuscripts of *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*,” 548.

<sup>35</sup> Brooks, “Why is *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* About Kings?,” 49.

<sup>36</sup> Swanton, *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicles*, xiv.

annal. By using formulaic phrases, an author could impose a sense of familiarity and connection on the chronicle's audience. For example: "feng to rice" [received the kingdom] was the standard formula to state that a ruler had become king of England; which indicated that the throne was rightfully succeeded. The opposite was also the case; if a scribe refrained from utilizing the standard formulaic phrase, it could induce a degree of distance.<sup>37</sup> For example, after mentioning the death of King Cnut, MSS C and D state that Harold Harefoot became king after being "geceas" or "gecuron" [chosen] in the annal of 1037.<sup>38</sup> This particular phrase could be interpreted as the scribe's wish to impart the reader with the notion that Harold came to be king in an unsubstantiated manner. Contrastively, the author of manuscript D chose to adhere to the standard formulation "feng to rice"<sup>39</sup> when first mentioning Harold's succession in the annal of 1035. Manuscript E remains silent on the matter regarding the process in which Harold became king but states: "he wæs þæh full cyng ofer eall Englalund" [he was nevertheless full king over all England]<sup>40</sup>. Similarly, as shown earlier, the use of "ne wearð dreorlicre dæd", the murder of Ælfred Ætheling, may have been imparted to a reader in order to remind him of another "nan wærsa dæd", the murder of King Edgar I. In short, the traditions and formulaic phrases discernable in the ASC can impart a sense of approval or disapproval if used or even avoided in specific contexts.

### The extant manuscripts

The longest surviving version of *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* is named The Winchester Manuscript ([A] Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 173, ff. I<sup>v</sup>-32<sup>r</sup>) and was written at Old Minster, Winchester. The first lines portray the genealogy of King Alfred after which the scribe copied the annals up to 891 from an unknown proto-version of *The Chronicle*. In the 10<sup>th</sup> century, the annals were written in several stints by several hands. Following four poems in Old English verse,<sup>41</sup> MS A diverges from the other manuscripts after 975 with the exception of the description of a Danish raid in 1001. In the early 11<sup>th</sup> century, the Winchester Manuscript was moved to Canterbury, possibly after the Viking occupation of Canterbury in 1011. There, the

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<sup>37</sup> Stodnick, "Sentence to Story," 93-95, 97-98, 111.

<sup>38</sup> ASC, s.a. 1037 (MS C and MS D).

<sup>39</sup> ASC, s.a. 1035 (MS D).

<sup>40</sup> ASC, s.a. 1035 (MS E).

<sup>41</sup> ASC, s.a. 937, 942, 973, 975 (MS A).

contents were updated by scarcely sizeable entries. The annal of 1070 marks the final vernacular entry. Latin annals form the final contents which convey matters of the church up to 1093 and a list of popes and archbishops from Canterbury who received the pallium.<sup>42</sup>

Before the Winchester Manuscript was moved to Canterbury, a copy named MS A<sup>2</sup> ([A<sup>2</sup>] British Library MS Cotton Otho B.xi, 2) was compiled; this copy is also known as Manuscript G. Unfortunately, during the devastating fire which roamed through the Cotton Library in 1731, the manuscript was destroyed. Luckily, the contents of this manuscript have survived in the form of a 16th-century transcription.<sup>43</sup>

The Abingdon Manuscripts ([B] British Library MSS Cotton Tiberius A.iii, f. 178 + A.vi, ff. I-34; [C] British Library MS Cotton Tiberius B.i, ff. 115<sup>v</sup>-64) are said to be closely related to the Abingdon monastery. Most likely, MS B originates from the late 10<sup>th</sup> century. As with MS A, this variant of *The Chronicle* begins with a genealogical account of West-Saxon kings. Unlike MS A, the record was extended to include Edward the Martyr. After recording the death of King Edward I, the annals come to a conclusion in 977. Afterwards, manuscript B was sent to Christ Church in Canterbury where it received several interpolations and corrections.<sup>44</sup>

The compilation of Manuscript C is closely related to that of Manuscript B. Therefore, it is often said that manuscript C was formed at Abingdon during the mid-11th-century. However, Stephen Baxter has proposed that MS C may have been compiled at Evesham or perhaps even in the household of Earl Leofric; which would explain some of the content discrediting the standing of the earl's rival: Earl Godwin.<sup>45</sup> Unlike the other manuscripts, MS C begins with an Old English translation of Orosius' *Historium Adversum Paganos*, a calendar and several maxims in verse. Afterwards, an author wrote the annals of 60 BC up to 490 AD. Subsequently, another scribe took over and transcribed the entries up to 1048. Most notably of these are the annals of 491 to 652 as they are identical to those in MS B. After 652, a scribe compiled material based on another source. Based on the events and actions surrounding Queen Æthelflæd, Lady of the Mercians, this scribe included the entries known as *The Mercian Register*. Subsequently, MS C portrays the reigns from King Athelstan to King Edgar. Ultimately, the final author of MS C

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<sup>42</sup> Swanton, *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicles*, xxi-xxii.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, xxiii.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, xxiii-xxiv.

<sup>45</sup> Stephen Baxter, "MS C of *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* and the Politics of Mid-Eleventh Century England," in *The English Historical Review* 122 (2007), 1220.

continued to write annals up to 1066.<sup>46</sup> Unfortunately, the last leaf of the manuscript is absent and the annal of 1066 ends mid-sentence.<sup>47</sup>

The Worcester Manuscript ([D] British Library MS Cotton Tiberius Biv, ff. 3-86) was most likely compiled circa the mid-11<sup>th</sup> century. Based on ostensible local interest of various annals, this manuscript was probably formed in Worcester. Paleographical evidence exhibits that five scribes worked on the annals up to 1054. Subsequently, a singular hand continued to write entries over several intervals.<sup>48</sup> It is Manuscript D which presents the fullest account of the events that took place in 1066.<sup>49</sup> Unlike the Winchester and Abingdon variants, this Northern manuscript did not follow the West-Saxon format (i.e. it did not begin with a West-Saxon regal genealogy). Instead, the text was based on *The Northern Recension*. It features an adaptation of Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum* and material from 8th-century Northumbrian entries. Similarly to MS C, the Worcester Manuscript features material from *The Mercian Register*. However, rather than copying the annals completely, the scribes adapted the annals to which end some of the annals of *The Register* were omitted and content was entered doubly.<sup>50</sup>

The E version of *The Chronicle* is commonly known as *The Peterborough Chronicle* ([E] Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Laud 636). After an unfortunate fire in the Peterborough Abbey in 1116 AD, the East-midland clergy took it upon themselves to compile a replacement for the version of *The Chronicle* which was lost in the fire. The basis of MS E was a version of *The Common Stock* which was not extended as far as those found in MSS A, B and C. In addition, *The Northern Recension* was incorporated. The annals in this manuscript range the furthest of all *The Chronicle* manuscripts; up to 1154 AD. Two different handwritings can be discerned. The first scribe copied annals up to the end of 1121 AD. In addition to merely copying the preceding annals from another source, this scribe added several interpolations concerning matters of importance to the Peterborough Abbey. Afterwards, the contents between 1121 and 1131 were most likely written near contemporaneously in six stints by the same scribe. This portion of the manuscript is known as *The First Continuation* and closely follows the Anglo-Saxon traditional writing as seen throughout *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*. Finally, the second scribe wrote the final contents up to 1154 in one session. This *Final Continuation* shows a deteriorating inclination to

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<sup>46</sup> Swanton, *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, xxiii-xxiv.

<sup>47</sup> Keynes, "Manuscripts of *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*," 547.

<sup>48</sup> Swanton, *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, xxv.

<sup>49</sup> Keynes, "Manuscripts of *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*," 547.

<sup>50</sup> Swanton, *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, xxv.

observe traditional chronicle writing. The language of *The Peterborough Chronicle* differs slightly from that of its extant counterparts since they mark the beginnings of a language shift from a synthetic to an analytical form. Indeed, the change in manner of compilation leads Plummer to describe this version of *The Chronicle* as “living”.<sup>51</sup>

The Canterbury Bi-Lingual Epitome ([F] British Library MS Cotton Domitian Aviii, ff. 30-70) is a bilingual version of *The Chronicle*. After the Conquest of 1066 AD, Canterbury produced bi-lingual documents written in Anglo-Saxon English and Latin. Around 1100 AD, MS F was written in this fashion at Christ Church, Canterbury; perhaps by one of the scribes who added notes to MS A. Similarly to the Worcester Manuscript, this version of *The Chronicle* is prefaced by Bede’s *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum*. The annals were first written in Old English before a corresponding Latin equivalent was added.<sup>52</sup>

Lastly, the single leaf fragment containing ecclesiastical assignments and the itinerary of the king is named Manuscript H (British Library MS Cotton Domitian ix, f.9). The folio illustrates the final part of the annal for 1113 and the majority from an annal of 1114. It remains unclear if this page was formerly part of a larger manuscript or if it was meant as a communique meant to transfer general information.<sup>53</sup>

### The language of *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*

The periods during which the contents were added to a manuscript demonstrate the manner in which the language changed over time. A prime example can be found in MS A. Herein, Early West-Saxon dialect is prominently featured in the early annals up to 920 after which Late West-Saxon dialect becomes more ostensible. In contrast to the Late West-Saxon dialect inclination for <a> and <ie> spellings, the early annals of MS A demonstrate a preference for <o> and <y> spellings:

MS A 519: Her Cerdic & Cynric Westsexena rice onfengun & þy ilcan geare **hie** fuhton wiþ Brettas þær **mon** nu nemneþ Cerdicesford.

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<sup>51</sup> Malasree Home, “The Peterborough Chronicle in Context,” in *The Language of the Peterborough Chronicle*, eds. Alexander Bergs and Janne Skaffari (Bern: Peter Lang, 2007), 13-28.

<sup>52</sup> Swanton, *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, xxvii-xxviii.

<sup>53</sup> Keynes, “Manuscripts of *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*,” 549.

MS A 1001: & hiom **man** raþe þas wið þingode, & **hy** namon frið.

519 [Here, Cerdic and Cynric received the West-Saxon kingdom and that same year **they** fought with the Britons in the place that **men** now call Cerdic's Ford.]

1001 [and **men** quickly settled that with them, and **they** made peace.]

For instance, as seen in the annal of 519, “mon” was the preferred Early West-Saxon spelling whereas in the Late West-Saxon dialect, as seen in the annal of 1001, “man” became the standard spelling. Furthermore, as a result of the monophthongization of diphthongs, spelling conventions altered due to diachronic language change in the manuscripts. For instance, the annal of 519 depicts the third person plural accusative pronoun “hie” with the diphthong “ie”. In contrast, the annal of 1001 exhibits “hy” with the monophthong “y”. Strikingly, variation is visible in the Early West-Saxon annals. For instance the annal of 449 in MS A reads: “Se cing het **hi** feohtan agien Pihtas” [The king commanded they fight against the Picts.] In which the third person plural accusative pronoun “hi” is spelt with the monophthong “i”. The application of “hie” and “hi” demonstrates that both spellings were employed interchangeably in the early annals thus suggesting that monophthongization was occurring or had recently occurred in the respective dialect of the author of these annals. Ultimately, after 920, the diphthong “ie” was replaced by “y” thus representing rounding and monophthongization of words such as “wyrþ”, “Myrcna”, “syx” and “yrfe”.<sup>54</sup>

Differences in dialect can be seen across the separate variants of *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*. Most of the manuscripts adhere to Late West-Saxon spelling conventions. However, at times a regional dialect is ostensible. For instance, Anglian smoothing (i.e. Monophthongization) before back vowels can be found in MS D and E. As can be seen in the comparison of the following iterations of the annal of 710 in MSS A, B, D and E:

MS A: Her Beorhtfriþ ealdormon feaht wiþ **Peohtas**

MS B: Her Byrhtferð ealdormann feaht wið **Peohtas**

MS D: 7 þam ylcan geara feaht Beorhtfrið ealdorman wið **Pehtas**

MS E: 7 þam ilcan geara feoht Beorhtfrið ealdorman wið **Pyhtas**

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<sup>54</sup> Janet Bately, *MS. A: A Semi-Diplomatic Edition, with Introduction and Indices*, vol. 3, *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle: A Collaborative Edition* (Cambridge: Brewer, 1986), cxxxiii, cxxxv, cxxxvi.

MSS A, B: [Here, Nobleman Berthfrith fought against **the Picts**]

MSS D, E: [and in the same year Nobleman Berthfrith fought against **the Picts**]

In these annals, the late West-Saxon dialect is ostensible in MSS A and B since the diphthong “eo” is used before a back consonant in “Peohtas”. In contrast, Anglian smoothing is ostensible in MSS D and E since the monophthongs “e” or “y” were used before the back consonant in “Pehtas/Pyhtas”.<sup>55</sup>

Ultimately, *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* is an intricate, rich, interwoven nucleus of manuscripts which together form the brunt of Anglo-Saxon historiography. A modern reader would be wise to keep in mind the many facets which have affected the compilation of *The Chronicle*. Unquestionably, its contents are a prime example of Anglo-Saxon identity and the Old English language.

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<sup>55</sup> Interestingly, the annal of 449 in MS A, shown earlier, features a monophthongized version of “Peohtas” even though the majority of MS A features no such monophthongization. This is most likely due to the fact that this annal hails from a northern source: *The Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum* by Bede. See footnote 11 in Swanton, *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicles*, 13.

## CHAPTER 2: FROM SYNTHETIC TO AN(N)ALYTIC

Old English is a synthetic language, and as such relies on inflections. Over the course of its history, the Anglo-Saxon language developed into a language which relied predominantly on analytic measures rather than case-endings. This chapter aims to explain the manifold changes Old English went through which have led to the dereliction of the majority of inflections. In doing so, this chapter establishes the linguistic context through which the gradual loss of the dative inflection in *The Peterborough Chronicle* can be discerned.

### Old English: from synthetic to analytic

Old English belongs to the Germanic language branch which in turn belongs to the Indo-European language family. Similarities between languages, detected as early as the 12<sup>th</sup> century, have proven that many of the languages spoken throughout Europe hail from a single ancestral language.<sup>56</sup> Through the Comparative Method, comparing material least prone to change (e.g., terms conveying kinship) among the similar languages, the notion of an archetypal language family became apparent: Indo-European.<sup>57</sup> Unfortunately, no records of this common language are extant. However, the phonology and morphology of Indo-European have been carefully reconstructed. Shared features between Indo-European languages indicate that, in addition to lexical and phonological similarities, the languages were marked by an inflectional system with comparable morphology and grammatical categories. Generally, Proto (i.e. reconstructed since no written records are available) Indo-European words consisted of a root, a suffix,<sup>58</sup> and typically an inflection.<sup>59</sup> Words in the English language continue to feature this construction.<sup>60</sup> For instance, the word “builders” consists of the root “build”, the suffix “-er-” and the inflection “-s”.

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<sup>56</sup> Helmut Gneuss, “The Old English Language,” in *The Cambridge Companion to Old English Literature*, eds. Malcolm Godden and Michael Lapidge, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 20.

<sup>57</sup> Elly van Gelderen, *A History of the English Language* (Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 2006), 38.

<sup>58</sup> In case of Indo-European languages, the suffix also carries a thematic element indicating the class of a word.

<sup>59</sup> Gneuss, “The Old English Language,” 26.

<sup>60</sup> Robert Beekes, *Comparative Indo-European Linguistics: An Introduction*, 2nd ed. (Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 2011), 171.



The Proto Indo-European language branched out into various languages, amongst which the Germanic languages. These languages, in turn, formed their own innovations thus making them distinct from one to another.<sup>61</sup> One such innovation was the propensity shared by all the Germanic languages to stress the initial syllable of a word. As such, the emphasis on the final syllable was diminished. Therefore, since inflections were uttered in final position, the once rigid expression of case-endings gradually became less defined.<sup>62</sup> For instance, the Proto Germanic dative plural “\*dagumiz” [to the days] consists of three components: the root “dag”, the suffix “-u-” and the inflection “-miz”. By the Anglo-Saxon period, the latter two components converged and formed the mono-syllabic dative plural inflectional ending “-um”.<sup>63</sup> The initial stress on words initiated the shift towards analytical methods to relate the function of words in a sentence. Consequently, in the transition from Proto Germanic to Old English, the Anglo-Saxons’ language was no longer able to definitively and solely mark the grammatical function of a word through inflections. For instance, the “-e” or “-an” ending is featured in multiple declensions and marked a variety of functions.<sup>64</sup>

As a result of the lack of emphasis on the final syllable, inflections became less distinctive from one to another. Consequently, the vocalic vowels in inflections became increasingly less pronounced and moved towards the weakened indeterminate vowel <ə>. This process of ‘leveling’ can be generalized as the following: <e, o, a> came to be written as “-e-” (e.g. EME “stane” < OE “stana”), <u> as “-u-, -e-” (e.g. EME “sune” < OE “sunu”), <a> as “-a-, -o-, -e-” (e.g. EME “tungon/tungan/tungen” < OE tungan) (see table 2.1).<sup>65</sup>

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<sup>61</sup> Gneuss, “The Old English Language,” 20.

<sup>62</sup> Terry Hoad, “Preliminaries: Before English,” in *The Oxford History of English*, ed. Lynda Mugglestone (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 20.

<sup>63</sup> Herbert Schendl, *Historical Linguistics*, ed. Henry Widdowson (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), 36.

<sup>64</sup> Gneuss, “The Old English Language,” 25.

<sup>65</sup> In contrast, /i(:)/ remained distinct from the other endings (e.g. EME “hali” < OE “halig”).

Case	Before Leveling			After Leveling		
	Strong (masc.)	Weak (fem.)	U-stem	Strong (masc.)	Weak (fem.)	U-stem
Nominative sg.	stān	tunge	sunu	stān	tunge	sune
Accusative sg.	stān	tungan	sunu	stān	tunge	sune
Genitive sg.	stānes	tungan	sunu	stānes	tungen	sune
Dative sg.	stāne	tungan	sunu	stāne	tungen	sune
Nominative/Accusative pl.	stānas	tungan	sunu	stānes	tungen	sune
Genitive pl.	stāna	tungena	sunu	stāne	tungene	sune
Dative pl.	stānum	tungum	sunum	stānen	tungen	sunen

Table 2.1: inflection before and after leveling took place on “-stan-”, “-tung-” and “-sun-”.

Furthermore, this process meant that the dative “-um” ending shifted to “-an” and eventually to “-e”. For instance, Wulfstan’s *Sermo Lupi ad Anglos* (written in near contemporaneous manner around 1014) illustrates a multitude of dative plurals alternating between “-um” and “-an”.<sup>66</sup> By the time *The Peterborough Chronicle* was written, the “-n” was dropped and dative plurals were signaled via the “-e” ending and consequently became indistinct to the majority of OE declensions. Overall, the “-e” inflection, originally featured in the nominal singular dative and singular feminine genitive, was extended to the nominative and accusative. Hence, the once manifold distinct inflections dwindled to the single indistinct inflection “-e” as the number of cases inflected by this inflection increased from two to four.<sup>67</sup>

The loss of inflection is also evident in the various manuscripts of *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*. MS A demonstrates this loss of inflection in the plural dative iterations of the word “scip” [ship]: “Her on ðissum geare com Unlaf mid þrim & hund nigontigon **scipum** to Stane” [Here, in this year, came Unlaf with three hundred ninety **ships** to Stone].<sup>68</sup> Here, the plural dative “scipum” features the standard dative plural inflection “-um”. In the subsequent annal of

<sup>66</sup> Roger Lass, *Old English: A Historical Linguistic Companion* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 245,250-251.

<sup>67</sup> Albert Baugh and Thomas Cable, *A History of the English Language*, 5th ed. (London: Routledge, 2002), 147-48.

<sup>68</sup> ASC, s.a 993 (MS A).

1001, the following iteration of “scip” can be found: “& him þær togeanes com Pallig mid þan **scipan** ðe he gegaderian mihte” [and there Pallig came to meet them with those **ships** that he could gather].<sup>69</sup> Here the “-an” ending on “scip” is featured, thus verifying the leveling of “-u” towards the intermediate vowel “-e” and the alteration of “-m” to “-n”. Ultimately, the interpolated annal in MS E of 1070 displays dative plural “scipe” in the following sentence: “Þa sona on morgen comen ealle þa utlaga mid fela **scipe**” [Then soon in the morning, all the outlaws came with many **ships**].<sup>70</sup> Herein, “scipe” features the originally dative singular inflection “-e” where the context clearly demonstrates a plural situation which in the Late West-Saxon dialect would have elicited the “-um” inflection. Ultimately, as seen in the previous examples, the use of case-endings to convey grammatical functions became unreliable by themselves since the uniform “-e” was no longer distinctive to a specific case.<sup>71</sup> Eventually, since applying case endings became increasingly obsolete, Middle English came to rely on word-order, prepositions, auxiliaries and articles to determine the grammatical function of a word.<sup>72</sup>

Due to the loss of various inflections, word-order became a helpful device to signal the grammatical function of a noun. Specific word-order patterns appear to have been in place in Old English.<sup>73</sup> Common word-orders found in Old English are: Subject-Verb, Verb-Subject and Subject [...] Verb. The Subject-Verb variant can be seen as the ancestor of the Modern English Subject-Verb-Object construction and is indeed the most common construction even during the Anglo-Saxon period.<sup>74</sup> Since Old English sentences predominantly demonstrate SVO word-order, the grammatical function of an object could be inferred from the position it held in a sentence. Ultimately, the second position object in independent clauses with multiple noun phrases unmarked by inflection (as was potentially the case in the transition from Old English to Middle English) became a helpful tool in establishing grammatical functionality.<sup>75</sup>

Geopolitical events, over the course of the Anglo-Saxon period, may also have played a role in the eventual transition to an analytical preference. The Anglo-Saxon contact with Old Norse during the Viking Age ranks as one of the most influential linguistic contacts in the history of Old English. Scandinavian toponyms in Cumbria, Yorkshire and Lincolnshire demonstrate

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<sup>69</sup> ASC, s.a. 1001 (MS A).

<sup>70</sup> ASC, s.a. 1070 (MS E).

<sup>71</sup> Baugh and Cable, “Middle English,” 146, 55.

<sup>72</sup> Elly van Gelderen, *A History of the English Language* (Oxford: Oxford University Press), 60.

<sup>73</sup> *Ibid.*, 31.

<sup>74</sup> Peter Baker, *Introduction to Old English* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2007), 112.

<sup>75</sup> Gneuss, “The Old English Language,” 31.

that a large number of Vikings settled in England. These settlers employed Old Norse possibly up to the twelfth century in parts of North-England. Simple contact was possible between the two groups as the Anglo-Saxon and Norse languages are similar. Old Norse shares a variety of phonological and morphological linguistic traits with Old English. This is understandable as both languages hail from the Germanic languages. Particularly the West-Germanic Anglian dialect is said to be closely related to that of North-Germanic Old Norse. As a result of their similarities, the linguistic convergence that took place may have been facilitated without many issues. In fact, it can be said that the linguistic convergence was not a product of language contact but rather “dialect contact”.<sup>76</sup>

From a morphological perspective, Norse speakers have probably introduced their ways of constructing language to Anglo-Saxons as they came to speak Old English. This process led to the transmission of a number of Norse originating morphological practices. For example, Middle English demonstrates the use of “-laic/lec” in abstract nouns; based on ON “-leikr” (e.g. ME “*godlec*”).

Inflectional influences due to language contact with Old Norse are difficult to pinpoint or even to acknowledge as the Anglo-Saxons’ language was already shifting towards analytical tendencies. For instance, the adoption of 3<sup>rd</sup> person singular “-s” in indicative verbs could have been adopted from Old Norse in order to accommodate language interaction. However, this potential adaptation could also have been an extension of the 2<sup>nd</sup> person singular OE “-s”. Regardless, the usage of 3<sup>rd</sup> person singular “-s” was first attested in the North of England and subsequently made its way South. In similar fashion, the reduction in case agreement and the decline of grammatical gender could be, though not reliably nor fully, ascribed to language contact with Old Norse.<sup>77</sup> All in all, as Norman Blake states, language contact between the Anglo-Saxons and Scandinavians “may well have encouraged speakers to replace inflections with a different system”.<sup>78</sup>

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<sup>76</sup> Richard Dance, “English Contact: Norse,” in *Old English*, vol. 2, *The History of English*, eds. Laurel Brinton and Alexander Bergs (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2017), 203-207.

<sup>77</sup> *Ibid.*, “English Contact: Norse,” 215-216.

<sup>78</sup> Norman Blake, *A history of the English Language* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 1996), 80.

*The Peterborough Chronicle: towards the analytic in annals*

The transition from the use of inflections to analytical methods can only be seen in a few sources since most of the texts written in the aftermath of the Norman Conquest were not written in Old English. Fortunately, a vernacular version of *The Chronicle* was compiled in 1121: *The Peterborough Chronicle*. The contents of MS E exhibit both the characteristics of Late West-Saxon Old English and those of (Early) Middle English. Hence, *The Peterborough Chronicle* is a prime example for the transition from Old English to Middle English.<sup>79</sup>

Commonly, the manuscript is divided into four parts: (1) copied annals until 1121, (2) inserted entries; i.e. *The Interpolations*, (3) the annals from 1122 to 1131; i.e. *The First Continuation* and (4) the annals from 1132 to 1154; i.e. *The Final Continuation*. The copied annals were duplicated by a single scribe and mostly exhibit language use as practiced in the Late West-Saxon dialect. The same scribe added *The Interpolations* and *The First Continuation*. These additions are more prone to show contemporary practices and are therefore generally considered Early Middle English. *The Final Continuation* was written by another scribe and predominantly exhibits characteristics indicative to the inception of Middle English.<sup>80</sup>

Based on an earlier version of *The Chronicle*, the first scribe copied annals from an exemplar: Proto-E. The archetypical text provided annals up to 1121 AD which were copied into MS E. These annals illustrate a close resemblance to the Late West-Saxon dialect. In addition, the scribe inserted *The Interpolations* featuring material that was dedicated to the Peterborough Abbey. *The Interpolations* feature material from charters in annalistic form and, therefore, demonstrate the willingness to conform to the traditional format of *The Chronicle*. Despite the scribe's display of careful deliberation and consideration in regards to emulating Late West-Saxon, *The Interpolations* display signs indicative to the transition from Old English to Middle English.<sup>81</sup> For instance, see the interpolated entry of 963:

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<sup>79</sup> Alexander Bergs and Janne Skaffari, "Invitation to the *Peterborough Chronicle* and its Language," in *The Language of the Peterborough Chronicle*, vol. 20, Studies in English Medieval Language and Literature (Bern: Peter Lang, 2007), 5.

<sup>80</sup> *Ibid.*, 9-10; Malasree Home, "The *Peterborough Chronicle* in Context" in *The Language of The Peterborough Chronicle*, eds. Bergs and Skaffari (Bern: Peter Lang, 2007), 15-23.

<sup>81</sup> *Ibid.*, 15-17,19.

7 hu se papa Agatho hit feostnode mid his **write**

And ic gife þa twa dæl of Witlesmere mid **watres** 7 mid **wæres** 7 **feonnes** 7 swa þurh Merelade on an to þet wæter þet man cleopeð Nen 7 swa eastweard to Cynges Dælf.<sup>82</sup>

[And how the pope Agatho confirmed it with his **writ**]

[And I give two parts of Whittlesey Mere with **waters** and with **weirs** and **fens** and so through Merelad on to the water that they name Nen and so Eastward to King's Delph.]

In this annal, “mid his write” [with his writ] is inflected with the dative singular ending “-e”. However, in the same annal, the “-es” ending is used in “mid watres 7 mid wæres 7 feonnes” [with waters and with weirs and fens] instead of the Late West-Saxon dative plural “-um” inflection. Both instances would have warranted a dative inflection in Late West-Saxon dialect in order to mark the dative declension; yet case distinction was no longer made apparent via inflection in the latter example.

After 1121 AD, the same scribe continued to update the manuscripts and formed *The First Continuation* in six stints in near contemporaneous fashion. In this block, the language resembles that of Old English less than before since unstressed vowels in final syllables demonstrate ongoing analogical leveling.<sup>83</sup> For instance, “7 se wolcne undide on fower **healfe** and faht þær togeanes” [and the sky cleared on four **sides** and fought against it] shows *the* noun “healfe” [sides] inflected with the “-e” ending.<sup>84</sup> In Late West-Saxon, the plural feminine dative “healf-” would have received the plural dative “-um” ending yet the annal shows “healfe” rather than “healfum”, thus demonstrating inflectional leveling indicative of the contemporary dialect of the scribe.

Twenty years after the first scribe wrote his final entry, c. 1154/55, a different scribe resumed the practice of chronicling and compiled *The Final Continuation* in a single stretch. Rather than following the traditional ordering of annals seen in *The Chronicle*, this block demonstrates a topical preference rather than a chronological one; consequently, illuminating the second scribe's unfamiliarity or lack of concern regarding the traditions of *the Chronicle*.

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<sup>82</sup> ASC, s.a. 963 (MS E).

<sup>83</sup> Home, “*The Peterborough Chronicle in Context*,” eds. Bergs and Skaffari, 20, 21.

<sup>84</sup> ASC, s.a. 1122 (MS E).

Similarly, *The Final Continuation* stands apart from the other sections due to its increasing lack of synthetic markers.<sup>85</sup> For instance, see the following sentence from the annal of 1138: “On þis **gær** com Daid king of Scotlande mid **ormete færð** to þis **land**.” [In this **year**, came David king of Scotland with a great **army** to this **land**]. In this entry, the initial verb placement demonstrates a stage in the English language where independent clauses lacked a clear standardized word-order; as it deviates from standard SVO word-order. Furthermore, the lack of inflections demonstrates the transitional aspect which is indicative to this period. In Late West-Saxon, “on þis gær” [in this year], “mid ormete færð” [with a great army], and “to þis land” [to this land] would have featured the dative singular “-e” ending; yet no inflections were utilized here. Indeed, as Cecily Clark remarks: “before our eyes English is beginning to change from a synthetic language to an analytic one”.<sup>86</sup>

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<sup>85</sup> *Ibid.*, 20, 22.

<sup>86</sup> Bergs and Skaffari, “Invitation to The Peterborough Chronicle,” 9.

## CHAPTER 3: WHAT IS YOUR DATIVE AND WHAT DOES IT DO?

In the Germanic languages, the dative is an amalgam of several archaic cases: the dative, the locative, the ablative and the instrumental. As a result, the dative fulfilled a variety of functions. Specifically, the dative came to govern the grammatical functions of experiencer and receiver and other functions such as marking location in/on/at (i.e. point of reference), movement to/from (i.e. goal and source, respectively), instrument and cause.<sup>87</sup> This chapter reviews the various functions of the dative declension in order to form a framework upon which the analyses of *The Peterborough Chronicle* in the next chapter can be based. Since morphological marking was gradually being replaced by other means, the semantic contexts which invoke the dative are of importance to determine where inflections deviate from that of Late-West-Saxon in *The Peterborough Chronicle*. Consequently, after mapping the various semantic contexts congruent to the dative, analyses can be performed with regard to the distribution of dative inflections. For instance, it may be that the instrumental function of the dative may have been more readily inflected than that of the locative.

### Locative origins & the instrumental

According to Jerzy Kuryłowicz, each Indo-European case performed a primary and secondary function. The primary functions relate the grammatical function from which, as a logical development, the secondary functions were derived. For instance, marking the direct object is the primary function of the accusative case from which the secondary function ‘completion of a goal’ was derived; as a result, movement towards a goal became central to the accusative case and, as such, movements into or across an area came to be expressed via the accusative. Similarly to the secondary development found in the accusative regarding ‘completion of a goal’, the dative case may have been a result of a secondary development from the Indo-European

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<sup>87</sup> Roger Lass, *Old English: A Historical Linguistic Companion* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 237.



locative case. Originally, the locative case was used to denote location. Over the course of the Germanic Period, wherever the locative object indicated a person, the dative declension came to be applied.<sup>88</sup> Consequently, the dative ‘proper’ refers to a person who is influenced by the outcome of an occurrence or act. Visser stated that dative objects denote “persons or things towards whom or which the action expressed by the verb is directed in such a way that they may be regarded as a kind of recipient”. In other words, the core function of the dative concerns the prototypical construction of the indirect object. In this light, the object denotes a thing or person who is the target of an action that is: “advantageous, serviceable, profitable, harmful or injurious”.<sup>89</sup> This semantic description is directly paralleled by the Modern English definition of the indirect object by Langacker: “an active experiencer in the target domain”.<sup>90</sup> In a similar vein, van Kemenade notes that the dative case is linked to *thematic* roles of experiencer and goal.<sup>91</sup> In short, the original function of the dative may have started as a secondary locative development which came to focus on persons and eventually formed its own inflectional paradigm.

For the most part, the locative case was lost and assimilated into the dative during the Proto-Germanic period.<sup>92</sup> This assimilation is particularly clear from the following example. A phrase of the runic inscription on the Ruthwell Cross reads: “Krist wæs on rodi” [Christ was on the cross] wherein “rodi” [cross] features the locative ‘-i’ inflection. The corresponding passage in *The Dream of the Rood*: “Crist wæs on rode” demonstrates the close relation between the locative and dative cases as the dative ‘-e’ replaced the locative inflection from “rodi” to “rode”. Whereas the Ruthwell Cross and its corresponding passage in *The Dream of the Rood* clearly demonstrates the replacement of the locative by the dative, one persistent locative case inflection can be found throughout the Anglo-Saxon Corpus: the endless locative declension in various

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<sup>88</sup> Lass, *Old English*, 232-233, 237.

<sup>89</sup> Fredericus Visser, *Syntactical Units with One Verb*, vol. 2, *An Historical Syntax of the English Language* (Leiden: Brill, 1963), 280.

<sup>90</sup> Ronald Langacker, *Foundation of Cognitive Grammar: Descriptive Application*, vol.2 (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1991), 327.

<sup>91</sup> Ans van Kemenade, *Syntactic Case and Morphological Case in the History of English*, (Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 1987), 79-82.

<sup>92</sup> Adam Pasićki, “Meanings of the dative case in Old English” in *The Dative*, eds. Willy van Langendonck and William van Belle vol.2, *Theoretical and Contrastive Studies* (Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Co., 1998), 121.

toponymical elements. For instance, “-ham”, and “-burh” rarely feature inflection. By contrast, other toponymical elements such as “-ceaster” or “-tun” are regularly inflected via the dative.<sup>93</sup>

In addition to the locative aspect of the dative, the dative encompasses an independent and not fully established facet: the instrumental aspect which denotes instrument, manner or means. In Proto-Germanic, the instrumental was an independent case. However, during the Anglo-Saxon period the instrumental had largely fallen together with the dative in regards to its morphology; to such a degree where nominal inflections no longer provided a clear distinction between the two. Consequently, the semantic contexts in which the instrumental was originally used may have become blurred to an Anglo-Saxon speaker which resulted in the assimilation of instrumental functionality into the dative.<sup>94</sup> Indeed, many constructions featuring the prepositions “mid” [with] and “fram” express manner, means or instrument via the dative declension. A prepositionless example can be found in the annal covering the battle at Brunanburh; the phrase “sweorda ecggum” [with edges of swords] exemplifies the instrument by which Æthelstan and his brother Prince Edmund “ealdorlangne tir geslogon” [struck eternal glory]. Here, “ecggum” features the plural dative ‘-um’ inflection. Ultimately, since no locative reading is ostensible, it can be said that the instrumental is an independent sub-system of the dative.<sup>95</sup>

To sum up thus far, the secondary locative functionality formed its own declension: the dative; which originally marked *thematic* roles of experiencer and recipient. Subsequently, the dative functionality was extended as the locative and instrumental cases were subsumed into the dative. Ultimately, the semantic contexts which previously invoked instrumental and locative inflections came to be expressed via the dative (see fig 3.1).<sup>96</sup> As such, a variety of dative semantic contexts are discussed below; namely, frameworks related to goal, source, reference point, deprivation, means, manner, instrument and accompaniment.

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<sup>93</sup> Alistair Campbell, *Old English Grammar* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1959), §572.

<sup>94</sup> Pasicki, “Meanings of the dative case in Old English,” 114-15, 136-37, 139.

<sup>95</sup> *Ibid.*, 136-137.

<sup>96</sup> See table 3.1 below for a comprehensive overview of the semantic contexts.

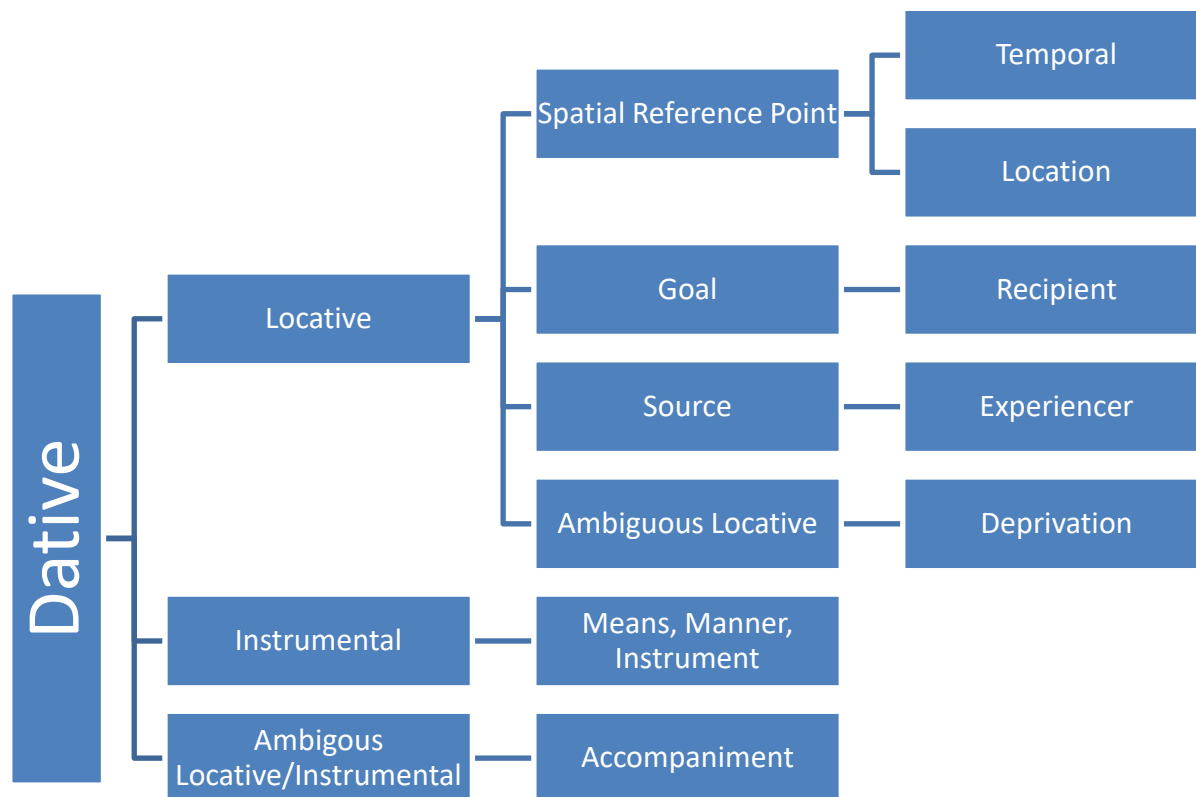


Figure 3.1: The dative features two subsystems: the instrumental and locative aspects and its various derivations; in addition, semantic contexts that cannot be confined specifically to a single context are named “ambiguous” – based on the descriptions by Pasicki.

### Prepositions and the dative

Before moving to the inner workings of the dative, it is important to note how prepositions interact with the dative. Commonly, the dative case is recognized as a “prepositional” case since its objects are frequently accompanied by a preposition. Indeed, the compound nature of the dative is accompanied by a variety of prepositions. However, in some instances, the same preposition may invoke an object with a different case ending. As such, it seems that it is not the preposition which invokes a specific declension, but rather the semantic context in which it appears.<sup>97</sup> For instance, the aspect of location is clearly visible in prepositional phrases carrying

<sup>97</sup> Lass, *Old English*, 230, 232.

prepositions of place.<sup>98</sup> However, many prepositions which have locative connotations do not necessarily coincide with the dative declension but also with the accusative or genitive.<sup>99</sup> For example, expressions accompanied by prepositions such as “in”, “on”, or “ofer” may feature either the dative or accusative declension. Generally, prepositional phrases which denote a location tend to be expressed via the dative. Contrastively, prepositional phrases featuring movement into or across a specific goal show a general propensity to be realized via the accusative declension.<sup>100</sup> Even though goal came to be associated with the accusative, the dative was applied as well to denote goal. For example, in the sentence “On þæs ylcan tyme feorde se cyng toward **þone sæ** & ofer wolde, ac wæder him lætte” [In that same time, the king travelled towards **the sea** and wanted to cross it, but the weather thwarted him],<sup>101</sup> the destination is not the central emphasis but rather the movement itself and, therefore, this semantic context elicits the accusative demonstrative pronoun “þone”. A similar characteristic of another Indo-European language may offer some insight. Modern German features a similar dichotomy in which the accusative goal reading emphasizes direction or the movement by which the goal is reached in its target area whereas the dative goal does not emphasize penetration of the target area but rather the location itself. All in all, the point of reference interpretation for the dative goal reading with regard to location-bound prepositions can be maintained since accusative goal readings focus on the movement itself instead of the location.<sup>102</sup>

### The locative under the dative

The semantic contexts which commonly result in dative expressions are mainly centered on a locative core. Indeed, the most physically attestable dative objects are featured in expressions pertaining to location or movement towards or from a location. For instance, the annal of 917 in MS A of *The Chronicle* shows three aspects of the dative in agreement with location.

<sup>98</sup> E.g.: “be” DAT [by]/[near]/[along]/[in relation to], “fram” DAT [from]/[by], “of” DAT [from]/[of]. For more examples, Peter Baker provided multiple listings in: Peter Baker “Prepositions,” in *Introduction to Old English* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2007), 101-102.

<sup>99</sup> For instance, the following prepositions are, based on semantic context, either dative or accusative or genitive: “æt” DAT [at]/[from] or ACC [until]/[up]/[to], “butan” DAT/ACC [outside]/[except]/[without], DAT/ACC “ongean” [opposite], [towards], [in opposition to], “under” DAT/ACC [under], “wið” DAT/ACC/GEN [towards]/[against]/[opposite]/[in exchange for], “ymb(e)” DAT/ACC [near]/[by]/[about]/[after].

<sup>100</sup> Lass, *Old English*, 233.

<sup>101</sup> ASC, s.a. 1114 (MS E).

<sup>102</sup> Pasicki, “Meanings of the dative case in Old English,” 119-121.

Pa æfter þam þæs ilcan sumeres gegadorode micel folc hit **on Eadweardes cynges anwalde of þam niehstum burgum** þe hit ða gefaran mehte, 7 foron **to Tæmeseforda**.

[then after that, that same summer, many people gathered **in King Edward's domain from the neighboring strongholds**, those (who) could travel, and travelled **to Tempsford**.]

The annal shows that “folc” [people] were gathered in “Eadweardes cynges anwalde” [King Edward’s domain] where the dative ‘-e’ inflection can be seen on the location “anwalde”. Furthermore, the verb “gegadorode” [gathered] signals a movement “of þam niehstum burgum” [from the neighboring strongholds] thus indicating the source from which the movement originated via the plural ‘-um’ dative inflection. Moreover, that same “folc” [people] “foron” [travelled] to “Tæmeseforda” [Tempsford] displaying the goal of the movement via the dative u-stem ‘-a’ inflection.<sup>103</sup> All in all, the dative inflections in the annal of 917 are congruent with the following aspects: location “on Eadweardes cynges anwalde” [in King Edward’s domain], source “of þam niehstum burgum” [from the neighboring strongholds] and goal “to Tæmeseforda” [to Tempsford]. Ultimately, these three functions, which were previously subsumed under the locative, form the bases of several derivations and as such will be the focus of the following sections.

### Derivations of location

A derivation of location can be found in constructions featuring a possessor of an inalienable possession. Generally, possession is marked via the genitive case.<sup>104</sup> However, whenever a possession was considered to be inseparable from its possessor, the dative was invoked.<sup>105</sup> For instance, “Her Offa Myrcna cing het **Æpelbrihte** þæt heafod ofaslean” [Here, Offa, king of the

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<sup>103</sup> “Ford” is a member of the nominal u-stem class; “\*furd-” is listed as the ancestor of “ford-”. Therefore, “ford-” warranted the “-a” ending corresponding to the dative u-stem inflection; Guus Kroonen, *Etymological Dictionary of Proto-Germanic*, ed. Alexander Lubotsky, vol. 11, Leiden Indo-European Etymological Dictionary Series (Brill, 2013) 160.

<sup>104</sup> Baker, “Case” in *Introduction to Old English*, 37.

<sup>105</sup> It should be noted that the experiencer element which frequently coincides in this particular construction is merely a happenstance.

Mercians, commanded that **Ethelbert's** head be cut off] demonstrates that “Æþelbrihte” [Ethelbert's] is inflected via the dative “-e” rather than the genitive “-es”. Instead of the construction being based on the concept of ‘having’, the spatial contiguity is marked between the possessor and possession and therefore warrants a dative inflection based on the possessor’s location.<sup>106</sup>

In addition to dative iterations of physically ostensible locations, the locative aspect extended into the realm of abstract reference points.<sup>107</sup> For instance, the annal of 937 in MSS A, B, C and D depicts one of the major victories attained by the Anglo-Saxons in which the word for strife features the dative declension:

Her Æþelstan cyning, eorla dryhten,  
 beorna beahgifa, 7 his broþor eac,  
 Eadmund æþeling, ealdorlangne tir  
 geslogon **æt sæcce** sweorda ecggum<sup>108</sup>

[Here, King Æthelstan, lord of warriors, treasure giver, and his brother also, Prince Edmund, struck eternal glory from strife with sword-edges]

In line 4a, the word “sæcce” [strife] features the dative “-e” inflection. The event “sæcce” [strife] can be viewed as an abstract point in space. Accordingly, the locative aspect was extended in order to mark a point in space.

Another example of an abstract point of reference is that of time. Indeed, the dative declension is commonly seen in temporal constructions. For instance, the arrival of Hengist and Horsa in England is prefaced by the dative temporal phrase: “On hiera dagum Hengest 7 Horsa [...] gesohton Bretene” [In their days, Hengist and Horsa [...] went to Britain]. Here, the dative plural inflection “-um” is applied to the noun “dag” [day] in accordance with depicting a temporal adverbial.<sup>109</sup>

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<sup>106</sup> Lass, *Old English*, 238.

<sup>107</sup> Pasicki, “Meanings of the dative case in Old English,” 122.

<sup>108</sup> ASC, s.a. 937 ll.1-4 (MSS A, B, C and D). The Old English poetic lines here are from MS A. MSS B, C and D feature similar entries but with differing spellings.

<sup>109</sup> Pasicki, “Meanings of the dative case in Old English,” 122-123.

## Derivations of goal

The recipient is a goal-derived construction in which a transferred item is received by a person. The relation between recipient and goal can be found in the fact that the transferred item arrives, i.e. via movement, at its goal (here, the recipient). Primarily, the function of the recipient is often regarded as the prototypical function of the dative as it is the most common dative construction seen throughout the Old English corpus. Moreover, the Modern English feature of the indirect object can be seen as a direct descendant of the recipient dative function. For instance, “Her Paladius se biscep wæs onsended to **Scottum**” [In this year, the bishop Paladius was sent to **the Scots**] the indirect object (i.e. recipient) is marked via the dative on “Scottum”.<sup>110</sup> It should be noted that this type of dative is not only limited to ditransitive constructions as in Modern English but is also used in phrases featuring verbs which inherently denote a transferred object. For example, verbs such as “fedan” [to feed], inherently relate the transferal of an item (here food) which is received by the indirect object without the need for a direct object.<sup>111</sup>

## Derivations of source

The experiencer is a derivation of the source interpretation. This construction mainly concerns human objects from which an item or person moves away. As such, the person becomes the source of the centrifugal movement. A clear example can be found in phrases in which something is concealed from a person. For instance, “Ic miðan sceal monna **gehwylcum** siðfæt mine” [But I must hide my course **from each** of the men]. Here, the item “siðfæt” [my course] is hidden away from the experiencer “monna gehwylcum” which features the plural dative “-um” ending.<sup>112</sup>

According to Visser, objects of which someone is deprived are known as ablative objects: e.g. He ongyrde hine his **swurde** [he divested himself of his **sword**].<sup>113</sup> It remains unclear if this type of construction emphasizes deprivation and separation (i.e. source) or the spatial contiguity

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<sup>110</sup> ASC, s.a. 430 (MS A).

<sup>111</sup> Pasicki, “Meanings of the dative case in Old English,” 128.

<sup>112</sup> *Ibid.*, 127.

<sup>113</sup> Visser, *An Historical Syntax of the English Language*, 618-620.

between the possessor and the object (i.e. location).<sup>114</sup> Following the argumentation of Visser, the source reading is central since the deprived object is separated from the possessor. Indeed, the fact that ablative objects commonly featured the preposition “fram” suggests that source is central.<sup>115</sup> However, Pasicki argues that the possessor is generally more prominently emphasized than the object which is possessed and therefore opts for a point of reference interpretation wherein the object marks the distance between the possessor and deprived object.<sup>116</sup> The former focuses on the issue of deprivation and separation of the object whereas the latter emphasizes the spatial contiguity between possessor and object. For the purposes of this thesis, phrases featuring ablative objects are marked as ambiguous under “locatives” since no further dissemination can be convincingly argued for.

### Impersonal constructions

Some dative constructions may have a goal or source interpretation based on emphasis. In impersonal constructions featuring verbs such as [to happen] or [to turn out], the goal reading is clearly visible: e.g. “**ðæm godum** becymð anfeald yfel on ðisse worulde” translates “**to the good** happens mere evil in this world”. Here, “ðæm godum” can be seen as a goal object as it is [the good] that receive that which is evil. Contrastively, according to Pasicki, it seems that with the gradual de-emphasis of a clear subject in a sentence, a source interpretation becomes more likely: e.g. “hu **him** þa speow ægðer ge mid wige ge mid wisdom” [how **to them** then fared well in both war and in wisdom]. Here, “him” is regarded as the experiencer and therefore falls under the domain of source. In short, impersonal constructions are either goal or source related.<sup>117</sup>

### The dative of accompaniment

Phrases containing notions of accompaniment feature the dative case. According to Pasicki, phrases such as “He þa swa dyde & **mid fierde** for ofer Mierce on Norþwalas” [Then he did thusly and travelled **with an army** through Mercia into North-Wales] harness the dative

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<sup>114</sup> Pasicki, “Meanings of the dative case in Old English,” 138-139.

<sup>115</sup> Visser, *An Historical Syntax of the English Language*, 618-620.

<sup>116</sup> Pasicki, “Meanings of the dative case in Old English,” 138-139.

<sup>117</sup> *Ibid.*, “Meanings of the dative case in Old English,” 133-134.



declension as a means to indicate the spatial contiguity between the subject and his or her companions. However, this type of construction can be viewed as an instrumental as it can be construed as illustrating the manner in which the subject traverses instead of indicating spatial contiguity.<sup>118</sup> As such, it is uncertain if the dative of accompaniment is either an instrumental or locative dative.<sup>119</sup> Therefore, for the purposes of this paper, this type of dative will be listed as ambiguous under “Instrumental or Locative Datives”.

This chapter illustrates the various functions which elicit the dative in order to illuminate the semantic contexts in which the dative appears. In doing so, the following chapter can analyze where *The Peterborough Chronicle* deviates from Late West-Saxon dialect in regards to the distribution of the dative. In summary, the dative features two sub-systems: a rich and further sub-divided locative aspect from which a multitude of derivations originated and a lesser developed and independent instrumental aspect. In regards to the locative aspect, location provides a reference point which is central to understanding the distribution of the dative. Most of the semantic contexts discussed in this chapter revolve around location as the other aspects were derived from it. Indeed, goal and source require a reference point (i.e. location) towards or from which a motion takes place. Likewise, the concepts of goal and source were extended into derivational aspects such as those of the recipient and experiencer. The locative aspect can also be found in abstract forms such as expressions regarding time. In regards to the instrumental aspect, manner, means and instrument through or by which an action took place also came to be expressed via the dative. The heritage of the dative of accompaniment is somewhat unclear and is therefore assumed to be an ambiguous dative.<sup>120</sup>

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<sup>118</sup> Baker, *Introduction to Old English*, 40.

<sup>119</sup> *Ibid.*, 136-137.

<sup>120</sup> See table 3.1. for a succinct overview of dative semantic contexts.

<b>DATIVE SEMANTIC CONTEXTS</b>	Function	Primary Coinciding Prepositions	Example
<b>Locative</b>			
<i>Reference Point: Location</i>	To mark location	“at”, “in/on”	“þe he her on <b>lande</b> wæs”
<i>Reference Point: Temporal</i>	To mark space in time	“in/on”	“on his <b>dagum</b> comon ærest III scipu Norðmanna”
<i>Goal</i>	To mark the destination of a movement	“to”, “into”	“þa sende se cyning to <b>þam flotan</b> Leofsige ealdorman”
<i>Goal: Recipient</i>	To mark the destination of a transferal	“to”, “into”	“he geaf into Cristes <b>cyrican</b> ”
<i>Source</i>	To mark the origins of a movement	“ut of”, “of”, “fram”	“se cyning wende þa fram <b>þam flotan</b> ”
<i>Source: Experiencer</i>	To mark the object of a centrifugal movement	“of”, “fram”	“Eadric ealdorman aspeon ða feowertig scipa fram <b>þam cyninge</b> ”
<i>Ambiguous: Objects of Deprivation</i>	To mark the object which is deprived or influenced by a centrifugal movement	“fram”	“bereafedan hi æt eallon <b>þan gærsaman</b> ”
<b>Instrumental</b>			
<i>Means, Manner and Instrument</i>	To mark through which circumstances an action took place or was able to have taken place	“mid”, “fram”	“Her wæs se mona swelce he wære mid <b>blode</b> begoten”
<b>Ambiguous Locative or Instrumental</b>			
<i>Dative of Accompaniment</i>	To mark accompanying members	“mid”	“oppæt Ełfred com utan mid <b>fierde</b> ”

Table: 3.1: Summary of all dative semantic contexts; their function, accompanying prepositions and examples.

## CHAPTER 4: DATING THE DATIVE ITERATIONS

The focus of this research is on the semantic parameters that prompted the dative inflection in *The Peterborough Chronicle*. Taken from approximately 1500-word sections of, respectively, *The Interpolations*, *The First Continuation* and *The Final Continuation*, phrases that were expected to contain locative and instrumental dative iterations were identified. In order to establish if and where the dative declension became deflected in *The Peterborough Chronicle*, each type of potential dative was listed and contrasted to Anglo-Saxon examples from other ASC manuscripts in order to address potential deviation.<sup>121</sup> In doing so, it was possible to determine if specific dative contexts proved to be more resistant to deflection or if deflection occurred ubiquitously across the dative domain.

Dative expressions were classified assigned to dative contexts. Beforehand, expected dative instances were dismissed if they pertain to: a) proper names,<sup>122</sup> b) forms not-inflected throughout *The Chronicle*, or c) indistinguishable case forms.<sup>123</sup> These phrases were eliminated in order to exclude confounding dative iterations which might not have been or were irregularly inflected in general. Consequently, a list of 247 expected dative phrases remains. Subsequently, for each of these 247 instances, it was determined if they featured the dative inflection or not. According to the descriptions given in the previous chapter, it was determined to which specific dative semantic context the phrases belonged. Dative phrases were first placed under the locative, instrumental or ambiguous dative category; further subdivision was implemented if possible. As a result, it was possible to ascertain the rate of inflection per (sub) category. Afterwards, the number of inflected dative iterations was contrasted to the number of expected dative appearances and, subsequently, normalized and presented per phase (*The Interpolations*, *First Continuation* or *Final Continuation*) of *The Peterborough Chronicle* (see table 4.1 below). Ultimately, the normalized outcomes illustrate the rates of dative inflections per category and phase.

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<sup>121</sup> See appendix I for the list of dative phrases taken from the added material in *The Peterborough Chronicle*.

<sup>122</sup> Proper names underwent an alternate linguistic development and are therefore often disregarded in linguistic treatises. Irvine, *MS E*, civ.

<sup>123</sup> For instance, the root of *time* [time] ends in the indeterminate vowel written as “e”. Originally, in OE the dative iteration of “time” was formed by adding the weak “-an” ending (forming “tīman”). However, as explained in the previous chapter, the “-an” ending morphed into “-a” which was, in turn, altered to “-e”. As a result; the nominative form “tyme” is indistinguishable from the identical dative form “tyme” and can, therefore, not be convincingly classified as a dative iteration.

<b>SEMANTIC CONTEXT AND PHASE</b>	<b>Expected Dative Iterations</b>	<b>Inflected</b>	<b>Non-inflected</b>	<b>Dative Inflection Rate</b>
<b>(Total) LOC., INSTR. &amp; AMB.</b>	247	116	131	56%
(L&I) <i>Interpolations</i>	75	45	30	60%
(L&I) <i>First Continuation</i>	90	43	47	48%
(L&I) <i>Final Continuation</i>	82	28	54	34%
<b>(I) LOCATIVE</b>	156	67	89	43%
(L) <i>Interpolations</i>	49	28	21	57%
(L) <i>First Continuation</i>	61	26	35	43%
(L) <i>Final Continuation</i>	46	13	33	28%
<b>(Ia) REFERENCE POINT</b>	70	26	44	37%
(RP) <i>Interpolations</i>	23	14	9	61%
(RP) <i>First Continuation</i>	27	7	20	26%
(RP) <i>Final Continuation</i>	20	5	15	25%
<b>(Ib) GOAL</b>	65	32	33	49%
(G) <i>Interpolations</i>	19	12	7	63%
(G) <i>First Continuation</i>	28	16	12	57%
(G) <i>Final Continuation</i>	18	4	14	22%
<b>(Ic) SOURCE</b>	8	7	1	88%
(S) <i>Interpolations</i>	3	2	1	66%
(S) <i>First Continuation</i>	1	1	0	100%
(S) <i>Final Continuation</i>	4	4	0	100%
<b>(Id) AMBIGUOUS LOCATIVE</b>	13	2	11	15%
(AL) <i>Interpolations</i>	4	0	4	0%
(AL) <i>First Continuation</i>	5	2	3	40%

(AL) <i>Final Continuation</i>	4	0	4	0%
<b>(II) INSTRUMENTAL</b>	72	49	23	71%
(I) <i>Interpolations</i>	21	17	4	81%
(I) <i>First Continuation</i>	21	17	4	81%
(I) <i>Final Continuation</i>	30	15	15	50%
<b>(III) AMBIGUOUS DATIVE</b>	19	0	19	0%
(AD) <i>Interpolations</i>	5	0	5	0%
(AD) <i>First Continuation</i>	8	0	8	0%
(AD) <i>Final Continuation</i>	6	0	6	0%
<b>(IIIa) LOC. / INSTR.</b>	11	0	11	0%
(AD) <i>Interpolations</i>	2	0	2	0%
(AD) <i>First Continuation</i>	6	0	6	0%
(AD) <i>Final Continuation</i>	3	0	3	0%
<b>(IIIb) ACC. / GEN. / DAT.</b>	8	0	8	0%
(AD) <i>Interpolations</i>	3	0	3	0%
(AD) <i>First Continuation</i>	2	0	2	0%
(AD) <i>Final Continuation</i>	3	0	3	0%

Table 4.1: Dative phrases; this table illustrates the number of expected dative phrases, inflected forms, possibly inflected forms, non- inflected iterations and the rate of inflection. Together, (I) Locative, (II) Instrumental and (III) Ambiguous form the total number of dative expressions which were further divided.

Based on the gathered data, this chapter analyses the various semantic contexts and potential areas where deflection occurred more severely than in others. As such, constructions featured in two or more dative categories were contrasted to each other. For instance, the distribution of the dative inflection in the use of “land” remains inflected in one category whereas in the other it does not. In addition, a similar construction featuring the preposition “mid” in instrumental dative and those marking accompaniment illustrates a distinct rate of inflection per semantic category. As a final step, prepositional phrases are analyzed as well in order to ascertain if the cause for deflection may lie in the usurpation of prepositional

constructions over inflections. Additionally, any overlap between the dative and other cases is discussed. In doing so, underlying semantic patterns are illuminated and may offer a significant insight on how the dative inflection became derelict.

### Dative iterations overall

The overall rate of inflection is highest in the earliest phase: reaching 60% in *The Interpolations*. This observation was to be expected since the first scribe most closely emulated the Late West-Saxon dialect in this section of *The Peterborough Chronicle*. *The First Continuation* demonstrates reduction of the dative inflection as dative expressions are now inflected at a rate of 48%; a decrease of 12%. The last stage of writing, *The Final Continuation*, demonstrates a further decline in dative inflections as merely 34% features dative declensions; a decrease of 26% compared to *The Interpolations*. Ultimately, as expected and explained in prior chapters, these observations corroborate that inflections decreased overall (see table 4.2).

<b>SEMANTIC CONTEXT AND PHASE</b>	<b>Expected Dative Iterations</b>	<b>Inflected</b>	<b>Non-inflected</b>	<b>Overall Dative Inflection Rate</b>
<b>LOC., INSTR. &amp; AMB.</b>	247	116	131	56%
(L&I) Interpolations	75	45	30	60%
(L&I) First Continuation	90	43	47	48%
(L&I) Final Continuation	82	28	54	34%

Table 4.2: Dative phrases in general (Locative, Instrumental and Ambiguous dative iterations); illustrating: inflected, non-inflected and the rate of inflection of expected dative phrases.

### Locative

As with dative phrases in general, locative dative iterations display a general decline in inflection. In total, 67 potential locative dative occurrences display inflection whereas 89 do not; culminating in a 43% inflection rate across the added material in MS E. In *The Interpolations*, 57% of dative expressions featured the dative declension. In *The First Continuation*, 43% remained inflected via the dative declension; a 12% difference in comparison to *The*

*Interpolations* and a 5% difference in comparison to dative phrases overall. *The Final Continuation* illustrates a steep decline of 25% as merely 28% remains inflected by this stage of *The Peterborough Chronicle*; a 6% decrease compared to overall dative inflection rates (see table 4.3). Altogether, expected locative dative expressions illustrate a decline of 3 to 6% per phase of realized dative iterations in comparison to the total overview of dative expressions.

<b>SEMANTIC CONTEXT AND PHASE</b>	<b>Expected Dative Iterations</b>	<b>Inflected</b>	<b>Non- inflected</b>	<b>Locative: Inflection Rate</b>	<b>Overall Dative Inflection Rate</b>
<b>LOCATIVE</b>	156	67	89	43%	56%
(L) <i>Interpolations</i>	49	28	21	57%	60%
(L) <i>First Continuation</i>	61	26	35	43%	48%
(L) <i>Final Continuation</i>	46	13	33	28%	34%

Table 4.3: Locative dative phrases; demonstrating: inflected, non-inflected and the rate of inflection compared to overall dative inflection rates.

#### Location in time and space

Again, the first scribe displayed the propensity to adhere to Late West-Saxon dialect in *The Interpolations* with a 61% dative inflection rate. However, *The First Continuation* exhibits a steep decline with a 26% rate of inflection (a 22% decrease). Similar to *The First Continuation*, *The Final Continuation* illustrates a realization of 25% (see table 4.4). Overall, the inflection rate of dative phrases referring to a point in time and space show divergence after *The Interpolations* to a major extent compared to general dative inflection propensities. This section discusses the converging rates of inflection of locations and temporal expressions, the assimilation of former dative constructions by the genitive declension and the deflection of recurring phrases.

<b>SEMANTIC CONTEXT AND PHASE</b>	<b>Expected Dative Iterations</b>	<b>Inflected</b>	<b>Non- inflected</b>	<b>Reference Point: Inflection Rate</b>	<b>Overall Dative Inflection Rate</b>
<b>REFERENCE POINT</b>	70	26	44	37%	56%
(RP) Interpolations	23	14	9	61%	60%
(RP) First Continuation	27	7	20	26%	48%
(RP) Final Continuation	20	5	15	25%	34%

Table 4.4: Reference point related dative expressions; illustrating: inflected, non-inflected and the rate of inflection compared to overall dative inflection rates.

### *Location in *The Interpolations**

*The Interpolations* show great deliberation towards maintaining the dative inflection. As such, all of the 11 locations are inflected via the dative declension. By contrast, temporal expressions are inflected in 3 out of 12 instances (25%). Altogether, the interpolations maintain a 61% rate of dative inflection.

Especially sentences featuring the preposition “on/in” [in] can be seen in dative iterations when indicating a reference point. Of the 16 dative instances featuring “on/in”, 13 (81%) are inflected. Exclusively, temporal phrases do not feature the dative inflection: “on morgen”, “on an niht” and “on an Fridæg”.<sup>124</sup> By contrast, phrases containing “in/on” concerning location remain fully inflected; thus, suggesting that, despite their similar construction, expressions regarding location and time are differentiated between by the first scribe. Altogether, the discrepancy between inflection rates between locations and temporal expressions demonstrate a stark contrast of administering the dative inflection from one context to the other.

### *Location in *The First Continuation**

*The First Continuation* displays a stark decline in dative inflections when denoting a reference point as 26% remains inflected. From the 19 temporal expressions, 6 are inflected (31%). Especially locations were inflected less frequently; a mere 4 times out of 8 (50%). The loss of

<sup>124</sup> ASC, s.a. 1070 and 1116 (MS E).



inflection in phrases concerning locations suggests that the distinct distribution of the dative inflection that the scribe maintained in *The Interpolations* was lost to him by the time he recorded the annals of *The First Continuation*. Perhaps, when left to his own devices,<sup>125</sup> the first scribe was unaccustomed to applying the dative inflection to locations.

*The First Continuation* deviates increasingly from Early Old English grammar compared to *The Interpolations*. For instance, of the 16 constructions featuring “on/in”, merely 5 remain inflected (31%) via the dative declension. This decrease is indicative of the transition of Old English to Middle English since prepositions gradually replaced inflections. In fact, merely 2 out of the total 27 occurrences in phase do not contain any prepositions; thus, indicating an increasing reliance on prepositions.<sup>126</sup>

Strikingly, in this phase of *The Peterborough Chronicle*, the weak dative “-an” can be seen in one dative iteration: “mæssan” [mass]. This dative was written in the annal of 1122 and is contrasted by latter counterparts featuring final position “-e”. For example, the annal of 1122 shows “On Cristes **mæssan**” [on Christ’s mass] whereas the annal of 1125 reads “toforen Cristes **messe**” [before Christ’s mass]. After this point, the distinctly dative “-an” ending remained unused when denoting reference points.

“on (þis/þissum) lande” is a common phrase in *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* and may, therefore, be more resistant to deflection. Indeed, the phrase remains inflected in *The First Continuation*. By contrast, toponyms containing “-land” demonstrate that, in this phase of *The Peterborough Chronicle*, deflection occurred as only 3 out of 5 toponyms are inflected via the dative declension. After the annal of 1126, the dative inflection became largely disused on locations containing “land”; barring one occurrence in *The Final Continuation* (see below).

Continuing the trend originating in *The Interpolations*, the alternation between uninflected “gear” and inflected “geare” becomes more prevalent in *The First Continuation*. Merely 2 of the 6 expected dative uses of “gear” are inflected via the dative declension (33%). Of these 6 instances, 2 feature the genitive “-es” inflection: “On þes ilces **gæres**” (x2) [in **that same year**]. Temporal phrases are not uncommonly inflected via the genitive declension.<sup>127</sup> However, temporal expressions preceded by the preposition “on” elicit the dative declension

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<sup>125</sup> i.e. without the reminder of proximal early Old English exemplary dative expressions; as was the case when the scribe formulated *The Interpolations*.

<sup>126</sup> ASC, s.a. 1125, 1126 (MS E): “eall þis geare” and “eall þet gear” respectively.

<sup>127</sup> Peter Baker, *Introduction to Old English* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing: 2010), 38.

elsewhere in *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*. Furthermore, “on” modifies dative or accusative objects and therefore not those of the genitive.<sup>128</sup> Ultimately, this deviation demonstrates the loss of distinction between temporal dative expressions and those belonging to the genitive case. Furthermore, dereliction of inflection can be seen in the alternation between “gear” and “geare” in the near identical phrases “On **þis geare**” and “On **ðis gear**” [in **this year**]. In *The Interpolations*, this formulaic phrase featured the dative inflection and, even, the corresponding dative demonstratives “þam” and “þisum”. However, over the course of *The First Continuation* and beyond, even these temporal formulaic phrases gave way to deflection.

#### *Location in The Final Continuation*

*The Final Continuation* demonstrates further dereliction of inflection. In this phase of *The Peterborough Chronicle*, out of a total of 11, locations are inflected 4 times (36%). Temporal phrases are inflected in 1 of 9 instances (11%). Altogether, 5 out of 20 dative occurrences remain inflected; culminating in a 25% rate of inflection in *The Final Continuation*.

The prepositions “on/in” are featured 13 times in this phase. In combination with the prepositions, 5 expected dative expressions are inflected (38%). As a result, for this type of construction, *The Final Continuation* shows a similar rate of inflection to that of *The First Continuation*.

In contrast to the previous phases, the use of “land” (2x) remains uninflected when referring to a location. When broadening the scope of gathered dative phrases to the entirety of *The Final Continuation*, there is only one occurrence of “lande” when referring to a location: “al uyel wæs in **lande**” [all evil was in the **land**].<sup>129</sup> Regardless, formulaic phrases such as “on þis land” demonstrate deflection.<sup>130</sup> As such, the progressive loss of the dative inflection is ostensible in formerly dative locations as even formulaic phrases gave way to deflection.

The phrases containing “gear” demonstrate that the dative inflection was used tenuously in temporal expressions. Of the 5 uses of “gear” only 1 is inflected (20%). Furthermore, as in *The*

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<sup>128</sup>Baker, *Introduction to Old English*, 101.

<sup>129</sup>ASC, s.a 1140 (MS E).

<sup>130</sup>ASC, s.a.1137 (MS E).

*First Continuation*, the nearly identical formulaic phrases reveal the loss of inflection in “on þis gære” and “On þis gær”.<sup>131</sup>

Concluding, a decline in dative inflections can be seen as the annals progress. In *The Interpolations*, the distinction between locations and temporal expressions can clearly be seen in the distribution of the dative inflection as locations were in all instances provided with a dative inflection whereas temporal expressions were not. By contrast, *The First Continuation* and *The Final Continuation* demonstrate a precipitous dereliction of inflections as locations became largely deflected. In addition, former dative temporal constructions were coupled to genitive inflections and even formulaic phrases such as “on þis geare” and “on þis lande” became deflected. Ultimately, the marking of locations in time and space via the dative declension initially diminished in one semantic context and was subsequently followed by the other.

### Goal

Goal-related dative phrases displayed the highest degree of inflections (63%) in *The Interpolations*. Subsequent phases of *The Peterborough Chronicle* feature a progressed state of deflection. *The First Continuation* shows a meagre decrease of 6% since 57% of expected dative iterations carry the dative ending. However, *The Final Continuation* illustrates a remarkable decline in dative inflections as merely 22% remains inflected. This section examines the deflection progressing from animated recipients to inanimate destinations and the loss of inflection in formulaic phrases.

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<sup>131</sup> ASC, s.a. 1135, 1154 (MS E).

SEMANTIC CONTEXT AND PHASE	Expected Dative Iterations	Inflected	Non- inflected	Goal: Inflection Rate	Overall Dative Inflection Rate
GOAL	65	32	33	49%	56%
(G) Interpolations	19	12	7	63%	60%
(G) First Continuation	28	16	12	57%	48%
(G) Final Continuation	18	4	14	22%	34%

Table 4.5: Goal related dative expressions; demonstrating: inflected, non-inflected and the rate of inflection compared to overall dative inflection rates.

### Goal in *The Interpolations*

In this phase of *The Peterborough Chronicle*, physical locations which are the goal of a movement, are inflected 7 out of 9 times (77%). Those regarding the recipient role are inflected only 4 times out of 10 expected dative occurrences (40%). Strikingly, 9 out of 11 (81%) phrases containing the prepositions “into” or “to” feature the dative inflection. Overall, this phase demonstrates an inflection rate of 63%.

As mentioned in the previous chapter, the loss of marking the indirect object is a common denominator when mentioning the loss of overall inflection as can be seen from the following examples. Of the 7 deflected expected dative phrases, three instances of deflection involve the human recipients of a speech-act in single object sentences:

“He geornde at **se kyning** þæt he scolde for his luuen freon his ane mynstre Wocingas het.”<sup>132</sup>

“se cyng þa bebed **þone arcebiscop** þæt he sceolde him læden to Cantwarabyrig.”<sup>133</sup>

“þa amansumede he **ealle þa men** þa þæt yfel dæde hæfden don.”<sup>134</sup>

[He wished **to the king** that he should, for his love, free one of his monasteries named Woking.]

[The king then bade **to the bishop** that he should lead him to Canterbury.]

[Then he excommunicated **all the men** there that committed evil deeds.]

<sup>132</sup> ASC, s.a. 777 (MS E).

<sup>133</sup> ASC, s.a. 1114 (MS E).

<sup>134</sup> ASC, s.a. 1070 (MS E); although in the latter example, “men” fits the a-thematic dative singular declension, here one would expect the levelled dative plural form of “mannum”.

The annal of 1070 in MS A demonstrates that these types of sentences invoke the dative declension: “Þa gewraðede hine se arcebiscop Landfranc & bebead **þam biscopan**” [then they angered the Archbishop Landfranc and bade **the bishops**]. Here, the phrase “þam biscopan” features both the dative inflection and demonstrative pronoun in an identical semantic context to that of *The Interpolations*; demonstrating that here the recipient of the speech-act “bebead” [bade] became deflected in this phase of *The Peterborough Chronicle*. Strikingly, when the recipient role is applied to a non-human object, the dative declension is maintained: e.g., “he scolde gife ilca gear **into þe minstre** sixtiga foðra wuda” [he should give sixty cartloads of trees **to that monastery** each year].

Three of the uninflected phrases, in this phase, are related to naming the object and therefore may not have warranted a dative inflection to begin with, as they invoked the nominative rather than the dative declension. For instance, “heafde gifen þæt abbotrice (to) **an Frencisce abbot** Turoalde wæs gehaten” [had given that abbacy to **a French abbot** who was named Turoalde] displays that “an Frencisce abbot” remains uninflected since the nominative endingless declension was applied. The same applies to the phrase “an munec” (x2) in “þa geaf se cyng þone abbodrice **an munec** of Sæis Iohan wæs gehaten” [then gave the king that abbacy **to a monk** of Séez who was named John] and in “betahten hit þa **an munec** Saxulf wæs gehaten” [assigned it then **to a monk** who was named Saxulf]. Furthermore, these instances involve Latin Loan-words which may not have received an Old English declension but rather an inflection of its originating language.<sup>135</sup>

Similarly, the sole non-recipient uninflected iteration in this phase “æfter þes ærcebiscopes **pallium**” [for the archbishop’s **pallium**] features no dative inflection on the Latin loan-word “pallium”. In contrast, the annal of 1049 in MS C demonstrates that the use of “æfter” when denoting the goal of an action requires the dative declension: “þa sende se cing æfter **þam scypon**” [then the king sent **for those ships**] as “scypon” features the (levelled) dative “-on” inflection. Conversely, it must be noted that the “-um” ending in Latin does not belong to the dative case.<sup>136</sup> Therefore the scribe, in a sense, deviates from employing the corresponding case to the applicable semantic context.

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<sup>135</sup> Susan Irvine, *MS E*, cviii.

<sup>136</sup> Rachel Jacobs, *Latin Grammar: A QuickStudy Language Reference Guide* (QuickStudy Reference Guides, 2009), 1.

A loss of distinction between the accusative and the dative can be observed in the use of demonstrative pronouns when denoting recipients: e.g., “swa þet seo Cuðbriht geaf **þone abbote** .l. punde þærfore” [so that the same Cuðbriht gave one pound **to that abbot** for that reason]. Here, the dative inflection can be seen in “abbote”. However, the dative demonstrative pronoun “þam” was replaced by that of the accusative: “þone”.<sup>137</sup>

### Goal in *The First Continuation*

In *The First Continuation*, the recipient role remains inflected 8 out of 15 times via the dative declension (53%). The use of goal as destination of movement shows a decrease of inflection as 6 of 10 expected dative phrases display the dative declension (60%). Furthermore, 9 out of 12 (75%) phrases containing the preposition “to” and “into” feature the dative inflection.<sup>138</sup> Altogether, this phase maintains a 57% rate of inflection.

The distribution of the dative inflection regresses as more semantic contexts become deflected. For instance, physical destinations and phrases starting with the preposition “to” show deflection: e.g., “ferde ... to **his agen land**” [travelled ... to his own land]. Normally, “land” requires the dative “-e” ending; as can be seen in “to **þis lande**” in the annal of 1125. Two of these non-dative inflected instances feature the nominative/accusative plural “-es” ending which was regularly extended to cover plural case-endings of other cases: e.g., “to ealle þa **biscoprices**”.<sup>139</sup> As a result, the dative “-e” ending which came to be used instead of “-um” was replaced by “-es”.

Trends started in *The Interpolations* remain largely unchanged. For instance, objects of speech-acts are commonly not inflected via the dative declension: e.g., “bead ... biscopces”. By contrast, “eall” [all] features the dative “-e” when used as object for a speech-act: “bebead hi **ealle**” [he bade **all of them**].<sup>140</sup> Furthermore, non-human recipients remain inflected: e.g., “halgede ... Sancti Andreas **mynstre**” [hallowed ... St. Andreas’ **Monastery**].

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<sup>137</sup> For the purposes of this paper, this instance and others similar to it (i.e. expected dative iterations inflected via the dative but preceded by a discordant demonstrative pronoun) are regarded as carrying the dative inflection.

<sup>138</sup> The preposition “into” was not amongst the material reviewed in this phase and is therefore disregarded unlike in *The Interpolations*.

<sup>139</sup> Irvine, *MS E*, cxl.

<sup>140</sup> *ASC*, s.a. 1125 (MS E).

### Goal in *The Final Continuation*

In this phase of *The Peterborough Chronicle*, the second scribe demonstrates the propensity to largely deflect any objects regarding goal. Phrases containing the prepositions “to” or “into” display the dative declension 2 from a total of 9 potential dative iterations (22%).

Physical destinations such as “to **þe king**” [to **the king**] and “to **an tun**” [to **a town**] are uninflected. In contrast, the phrase “into **the minstre**/into **þe neuuæ mynstre**” [unto the (new) monastery] remains inflected as the dative inflection “-e” is ostensible here. Overall, 2 out of 11 expected dative destinations remain inflected in this phase of *The Peterborough Chronicle* (18%).

Continuing the trend established in earlier phases, the recipient role remains deflected as can be seen in “iaf ... **an prior**” [gave ... **to a prior**]. However, the phrase “to **þe circewican**” [to the sacrist] demonstrates an ending reminiscent to the dative “-an” ending on “circewican”. However, Clark notes that this ending may be a result of the assimilation of weak plural “-n” into the stem; if so, the intended case is unclear.<sup>141</sup> If the latter example is regarded as a dative inflection, 33% of recipients are inflected via the dative declension in this phase.

The Formulaic phrase “to **þis land**” indicates that recurring phrases are deflected in *The Final Continuation*. However, when including toponyms, the recurring phrase “to **Englelande**” [to **England**] demonstrates alternation as 3 out of 4 instances remain inflected (75%); suggesting that the element “land” remained inflected via the dative more regularly in dative phrases which underwent alternative linguistic development.

To sum up thus far, in *The Interpolations*, goal-related dative expressions illustrate deflection in phrases centered on human objects of speech acts and some human recipients. *The First Continuation* displays increased deflection in phrases containing the preposition “into” and “to”, in locations denoting the goal of a movement. *The Final Continuation* features few dative inflections; the tendency for deflection is especially ostensible in formulaic phrases. Ultimately, the progression of deflection seen in dative iterations denoting goal spread from human objects in *The Interpolations* to locations in the subsequent phases.

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<sup>141</sup> Cecily Clark, *The Peterborough Chronicle 1070–1154* (Oxford University Press, 1970) xlix.

## Source

Unfortunately, the paucity of source-related expected dative phrases in the added material of *The Peterborough Chronicle* complicates the observation of any underlying patterns. *The Interpolations* illustrate the singular deflected dative occurrence; resulting in an inflection rate of 66%. *The First Continuation* and *The Final Continuation* show a comparable rate of inflection; 100% (see table 4.6). Despite the low number of expected dative phrases in this category, a parallel can be established for the use of “land” in this category compared to the other locative semantic contexts.

Category and Phase	Expected Dative Iterations	Inflected	Non-inflected	Inflection Rate	Overall Dative Inflection Rate
<b>SOURCE (incl.)</b>	8	7	2	75%	56%
(S) Interpolations	3	1	2	33%	60%
(S) First Continuation	1	1	0	100%	48%
(S) Final Continuation	4	4	0	100%	34%

Table 4.6: source-related dative iterations; illustrating: inflected, non-inflected and the rate of inflection of expected dative phrases compared to overall dative inflection rates.

Overall, all of the dative examples found in this section show the preposition “of”. The majority of these remain inflected via the dative declension except for two (75%). In *The Interpolations*, out of the 3 dative phrases, the two uninflected instances can be found. For instance, in the phrase “of ure Drihtnes heafod”, deflection is ostensible. When contrasted to the annal of 1066 in MS D “he wolde þa corona him on **heafode** settan” [he would set the crown on his head], it is clear that “heafod” can be inflected via the dative. Therefore, in this instance, the scribe deviates from Old English practice.

Interestingly, in contrast to expected dative iterations denoting location and goal, the use of “land” when applied to indicate the source of movement remains inflected in *The Final Continuation*: “faren ut of **lande**”, “sume flugen ut of **lande**”. Unfortunately, instances containing “(ut) of lande” are few and far between and therefore no convincing conclusion can



be given regarding the distribution of the dative inflection for this particular construction. Nonetheless, it remains interesting to see that the practice of deflecting “in/to/ut (of) lande” was not uniformly carried out across the differing semantic contexts discussed in this paper.

The sparsity of source related dative phrases could be amended by adding toponyms; however, since these have gone through an alternate linguistic evolution, their addition to the overall pool of expected dative phrases cannot offer any definitive conclusions. Nonetheless, if regularly inflected toponyms were to be included and accepted,<sup>142</sup> it becomes clear that source related dative phrases remain strongly inflected throughout the added material in *The Peterborough Chronicle*:

<b>Source Related Dative Phrases</b>	<b>Inflected</b>
<b>The Interpolations</b>	
of Sliowaforda	YES
of Denmarcan	YES
of Hrofeceastre	YES
<b>The First Continuation</b>	
of Normandi	NO
of Scotlande	YES
of þa ricceste men	YES
of Rome	YES
of Rome	YES
[flemd] ut of Rome	YES
of Roueceastre	YES
of Lundene	YES
of Winceastre	YES
of Lincolne	YES
of Wigorceastre	YES
of Couentre	YES
of Bathe	YES
of Cicaestre	YES

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<sup>142</sup> I.e. by adding toponyms which are known to be inflectable; e.g., toponyms containing elements such as “-ceaster”, “-tun” and “-land”.

of Normandige	YES
<b>The Final Continuation</b>	
of Lincol	NO
[faren] ut of lande	YES
of Lincol	NO
[flugen] ut of lande	YES
of þabbotrice	YES
of þe horderwycan	YES
of Walteuile	YES
of Aldewingle	YES

Table: 4.10: Potential source related dative expressions based on regularly inflected toponyms.

Merely 3 instances of 26 regularly inflected toponyms are deflected (88%); therewith demonstrating a high resistance regarding deflection among this group of potential dative phrases in line with non-toponym source related dative phrases.<sup>143</sup>

#### Ambiguous locative

Ambiguous locative dative constructions, mentioned earlier in the previous chapter, pertain to objects of deprivation and separation. Objects of deprivation are featured 10 times in the added material of *The Peterborough Chronicle* (see table 4.10).

<b>Expected Dative Phrases: Objects of deprivation</b>	<b>Inflected</b>
<b>The Interpolations</b>	
[namen] þe kynehelm	NO
<b>First Continuation</b>	
scolde beniman ... heora liman	YES

<sup>143</sup> For sake of consistency and averting bias, toponym source related dative instances will not be taken into account for the analysis in this paper.

þæt wæs here elces riht hand	NO
þæt wæs ... heora stanen beneðan	YES
Benam ... ðone riht hand	NO
Benam ... þa stanes beneðan	NO
<b>Final Continuation</b>	
[nam] þe biscop	NO
[iafen up] here castles	NO
[namen] þa men	NO
[namen] al þe god	NO

Table 4.11: illustrating the ambiguous dative instances regarding objects of deprivation

The dative inflection is ostensible in 2 of the 10 locative dative phrases (20%). Since it cannot be argued convincingly that these dative iterations either pertain to phrases denoting spatial contiguity or those regarding source, they are listed under locative dative iterations but are not specifically attributed to a particular semantic context.

### Instrumental

Overall, instrumental dative phrases illustrate a considerably higher rate of inflection in comparison to those of the locative since 43% of locative dative phrases were inflected whereas the instrumental dative iterations maintain a 74% inflection rate. *The Interpolations* and *The First Continuation* feature a relatively high rate of inflection as instrumental dative inflections; 76 and 86% respectively. The second scribe used the dative declension considerably less to mark instrumental dative phrases as *The Final Continuation* features a 57% dative inflection rate (See Table 4.9). This section discusses the semantic contexts in which the instrumental became gradually or fully deflected. Namely, constructions featuring “butan”, “to” and “mid” are prominent in this section and demonstrate a distinct distribution of the dative inflection.

SEMANTIC CONTEXT AND PHASE	Expected Dative Iterations	Inflected	Non-inflected	Inflection Rate	Overall Dative Inflection Rate
<b>INSTRUMENTAL</b>	72	53	19	74%	56%
(I) Interpolations	21	16	5	76%	60%
(I) First Continuation	21	18	3	86%	48%
(I) Final Continuation	30	16	14	53%	34%

Table 4.11: instrumental dative iterations; demonstrating: inflected, non-inflected and the rate of inflection compared to overall dative inflection rates.

### *Instrumental in The Interpolations*

*The Interpolations* display 21 expected dative expressions denoting the means, manner or instrument through which an action took place. Hereof, 5 phrases were deflected (22%). In particular, constructions that indicate exception are beholden to deflection, given that “butan **an munec**” [except **one monk**], “forutan ælces cynnes **riht**” [without any kind of rite], “butan **þa cyrece**” [except **the church**] and “butan **se Captelhus**” [except **the chapter-house**] feature no dative inflection. The annal of 755 in MS A shows that “butan” requires the dative inflection “Ac hie simle feohtende wæran oþ hie alle lægon butan **anum bryttiscum gisle**” [but they were fighting continuously until they died, except for **one British hostage**] as “anum bryttiscum” features the plural dative “-um” ending and “gisle” the singular dative “-e” inflection. Similarly, in the annal of 1067 in MS D, “forutan his **foresceawunge**” [without his **foresight**] demonstrates that the dative inflection also applies to objects of the preposition “forutan” as “foresceawunge” features the dative “-e” inflection.

The remaining instance of deflection in this phase reads “blætson him to biscop” [bless him as bishop]. When compared to the phrase “Her was Æðelbyrht gehalgod **to biscope**” [here, Æthelbyrht was hallowed **as bishop**], it becomes clear that *The Interpolations* deviate from Old English practice as the latter features dative “-e” on “to biscope”.

### Instrumental in *The First Continuation*

*The First Continuation* displays deflection in 3 of the 21 expected dative occurrences (14%). A continued practice of deflection is ostensible in phrases of exception: “for uton **feawe bec**” [except a few books] and “buton his **castel**” [except his **castle**]. Although the usage of “bec” [book] can be viewed as a dative since it is inflected via the athematic declension, here, the dative plural would have required the inflection “-um” or its levelled counterpart. As such, this instance is considered to have been deflected.

The other non-dative inflected instance in this phase features the preposition “mid” [with]: “mid **micel processionem**” [with **great procession**].<sup>144</sup> As with the instance of “pallium” (see above), “processionem” is a Latin-loanword and is possibly not inflected in Old English fashion but that of Latin. Nonetheless, the “-em” ending is not congruent with that of the Latin dative declension and, therefore, it can be said that this particular instance is deflected. By contrast, the majority of instances containing this preposition remain inflected (9/10): e.g., “mid **micel rihte**” [with **great rightfulness**].

### Instrumental in *The Final Continuation*

*The Final Continuation* displays a drop in dative usage when denoting instrumentality, means and manner. 13 of the 30 (43%) expected dative iterations do not show the dative declension. Expected plural dative phrases are deflected due to the adaptation of the syncretic nominative/accusative plural “-es” inflection: e.g., “þolenden for **ure sinnes**”. The pluralization makes up for 7 out of 13 (54%) non-dative inflections and has completely taken over previous dative means of pluralization in this phase.

As in *The First Continuation*, constructions featuring “mid” display signs of deflection (5/11); for instance, “feorde mid **suicdom**” [travelled with **deception**] and “mid **micel suinc**” [with much deceit]. The constructions feorde [travelled] in combination with the preposition “mid” harkens to the dative of accompaniment and therefore the phrase “feorde mid **suicdom**” may not have been identified as an instrumental dative. Other expected dative iterations featuring “mid” (2/11) demonstrate deflection since they display the plural “-es” inflection; e.g., “was al

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<sup>144</sup> ASC, s.a. 1125 (MS E).

fordon. mid **suilce dædes**” [was fully destroyed. by **such deeds**]. Another instance features the loan-word “procession”. By contrast, the majority of singular phrases such as “hefden mid **strengthe**” [held with **strength**] remain inflected (6/11).

Similar to *The Interpolations*, phrases such as “to **king** bletcæd” [blessed as king] were deflected. However, the deflection was not carried out ubiquitously in this phase as “halechede him to **kinge**” [hallowed him as **king**] remains inflected via dative “-e”. Therefore, this particular construction demonstrates resistance to deflection.

Marking the means and manner of an action or event via the preposition “mid” remain largely inflected (19/25; 76%) via the dative declension. Hereof, 2 deflected iterations may not have warranted a dative inflection due to their originating languages and 2 instances do not feature the dative declension as the plural came to be expressed via nominative/accusative “-es”. However, 2 instances featuring “mid” in *The Final Continuation* demonstrate that even this particular construction gave way to deflection; e.g., “feorde mid **suicdom**” and “mid **micel suinc**”. The sole semantic context which demonstrates full deflection is that of marking exception via “butan” or “forutan/for uton”. Moreover, marking the means or manner in phrases containing the preposition “to” shows an alternating use of the dative inflection (3/6). Strikingly, the prepositions “butan”, “forutan”, and “to” can be viewed as locative prepositions as they originally denoted the position (“butan”, “forutan” [outside]) and goal (“to” [towards]). If so, the locative connotations of these prepositions may have facilitated the deflection of instrumental dative phrases. Ultimately, *The Final Continuation* demonstrates alternation when marking instrumentality, means and manner across the board. Yet, constructions featuring “mid” predominantly preserve the dative inflection; especially those that are singular.

### Ambiguous dative iterations

In the course of analyzing expected dative occurrences in *The Interpolations*, *The First Continuation* and *The Final Continuation*, some instances proved to be difficult to categorize since morphological markers were lost and semantic contexts were ambiguous. As a result, a number of possible expected dative phrases are discussed separately in this section.

Constructions featuring the preposition “þurh” [through, during] generally feature accusative objects but occasionally genitive or dative objects may coincide. For instance, “þurh heora gemelest ... forbærnde þa cyrce” [through their carelessness] could be interpreted as a dative since the manner in which an action took place could be the focus or it could be read as an accusative to mark that the event took place during “the carelessness” in question.<sup>145</sup> When contrasting this type of construction to previous annals, the annal of 1011 in MS D displays an accusative object of “þurh”: “Ealle þa ungesælþa us gelumpon þurh **unrædas**” [all the misfortune happened to us through **ill-advice**]. Here, the accusative “-as” ending indicates that “þurh” warrants an accusative object. If accusative, it would explain why the following examples are uninflected throughout the added material in *The Peterborough Chronicle*: “þurh heora **gemelest**”, “þurh heora **druncenhed**”, “ðurh his dohtres **ræd**”, “þurh þe **biscop 7 te biscop**”, “þur ure **Drihtin**” and “þurh ... te oþre **ricemen**”.

The dative of accompaniment is featured throughout the added phases in *The Peterborough Chronicle*. Strikingly, of the 11 iterations, none feature the dative inflection (see table 4.11).

<b>Expected Dative Phrases: Dative of Accompaniment</b>	<b>Dative inflection</b>
<b>The Interpolations</b>	
cumen ... mid ealle hise Frencisce men	NO
forð mid se cyng	NO
<b>First Continuation</b>	
he heold his concilie ... mid ærcebiscope	NO
he heold his concilie ... mid leodbiscopas	NO
he heold his concilie ... mid ... abbots	NO
he heold his concilie ... mid ... læred	NO
he heold his concilie ... mid ... lawed	NO
belaf mid þone kyng	NO
<b>Final Continuation</b>	
fylden ful of castles	NO
fylden ... mid deoules	NO
Fylden ... mid ... yuele men	NO

Table 4.12: illustrating the ambiguous dative instances regarding the dative of accompaniment.

<sup>145</sup> Joseph Wright & Elizabeth Wright, *Old English Grammar* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1908), 295.

The use of the preposition “mid” is generally linked to the instrumental dative and to the dative of accompaniment. However, throughout the added material in *The Peterborough Chronicle*, the dative of accompaniment is deflected whereas instrumental objects modified by the same preposition remain (for the most part) inflected via the dative declension. Indeed, even when extending the search parameters beyond the 1500 words taken for the purposes of this paper, neither *The Interpolations*, *The First Continuation* nor *The Final Continuation* show sign of inflecting phrases denoting accompaniment via the dative declension. In contrast, the copied annal of 1121 does feature the dative inflection when denoting accompaniment “se cyng ... syððan þæs sumeres mid **ferde** into Wealan for” [the king ... travelled after that summer with **an army** into Wales].<sup>146</sup> Summarizing, the preposition “mid” is present in dative constructions denoting accompaniment as well as in those regarding instrument, means and manner; yet when denoting accompaniment, the dative declension was not employed whereas instrumental dative phrases containing “mid” demonstrate the dative inflection frequently.

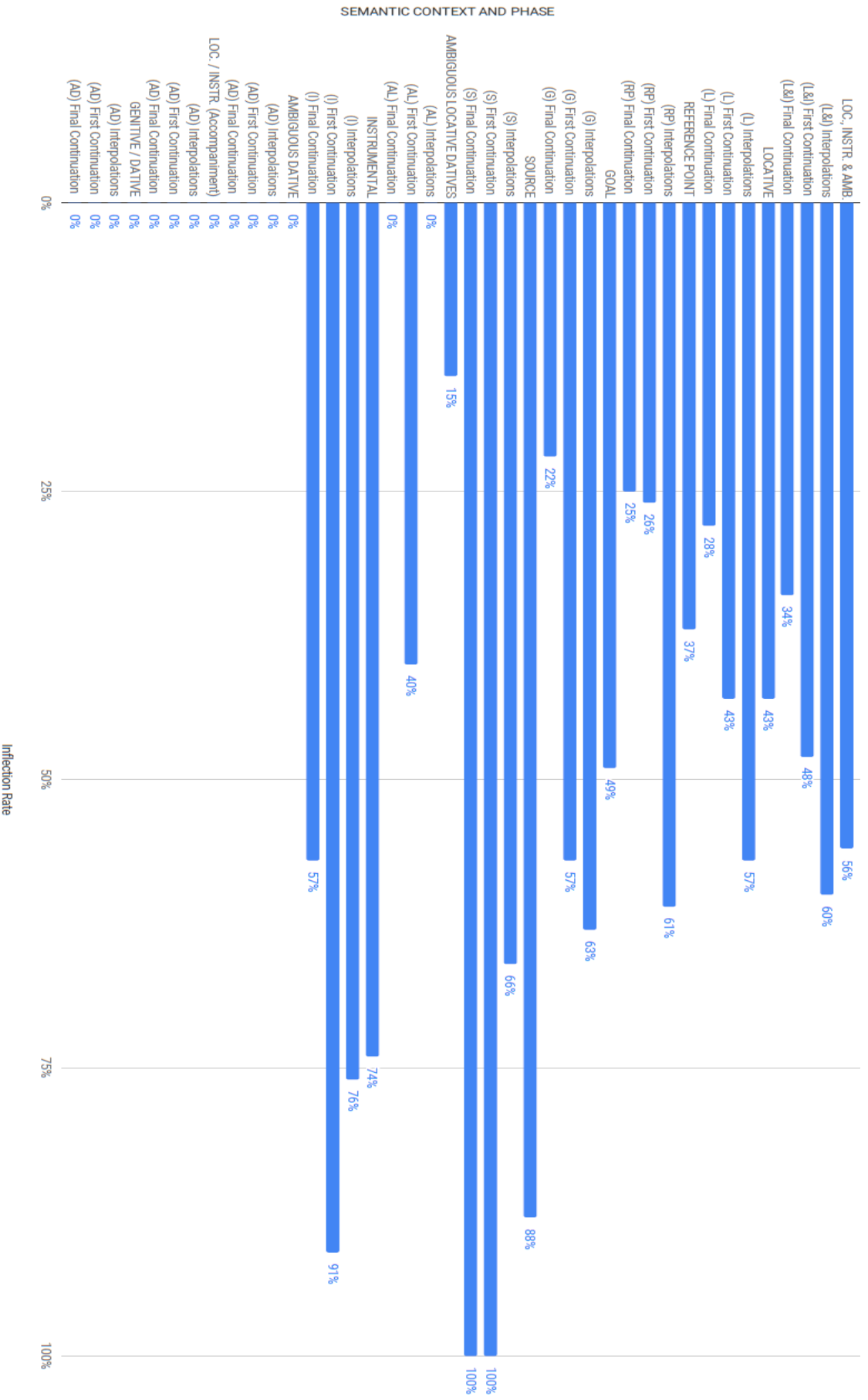
In short, locative dative iterations illustrate a significant drop of dative inflections in *The First Continuation*. Phrases regarding temporal expressions display significant deflection in *The Interpolation*. Locations follow suit in *The First Continuation*. Simultaneously, goal related phrases show a decrease in *The First Continuation* before becoming mostly deflected in *The Final Continuation*. Instrumental dative expressions illustrate high rates of inflection in *The Interpolations* and *The First Continuation* before demonstrating a significant rate of deflection in *The Final Continuation*. Ambiguous dative constructions demonstrate little to no inflection across all phases in *The Peterborough Chronicle* (see Fig. 4.1). Collectively, instrumental dative phrases present a resistance to deflection compared to locative dative expressions.

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<sup>146</sup> ASC, s.a. 1121 (MS E).



**Figure 4. 1 Inflection rate vs. semantic context and distribution per phase**



## CONCLUSION

In this thesis, first, *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* was reviewed and established as a prime example of the Anglo-Saxon language. Second the principles of the transitional nature of Old English to (Early) Middle English were discussed and examples thereof in *The Peterborough Chronicle* were highlighted. Third, the origins of the dative declension were examined and various dative semantic contexts were illustrated. Finally, an analysis exploring dative inflection rates was formed based on the study of 247 expected dative phrases. Hereon, this thesis exemplified the hypothesis set out in the beginning of this paper: rather than declining ubiquitously, the practice of inflection remained largely intact in various dative semantic contexts whereas it had disappeared in others.

Altogether, the semantic contexts display dissimilar rates of inflection regarding the distribution of the dative inflection in *The Interpolations*, *The First Continuation* and *The Final Continuation*. *The Interpolations* display similar dative inflection rates regarding location and temporal expressions, goal, source and instrument, means and manner; 61%, 63%, 33% and 76%, respectively. *The First Continuation* illustrates deviation as some of the semantic categories remain similarly inflected while others demonstrate a stark decrease. Deflection in this phase can clearly be seen in dative phrases regarding locations and temporal expressions and goal with an inflection rate of 26% and 57% respectively. By contrast, the semantic contexts related to source and instrument, means and manner demonstrate an inflection rate higher to that of *The Interpolations*; 100% and 91% respectively. As a result, the variation in inflection between the semantic contexts suggests that the scribe applied the dative inflection based on its grammatical function rather than dropping the dative inflection at a similar rate overall. *The Final Continuation* is marked by a ubiquitous decline in inflections.<sup>147</sup> Dative phrases regarding locations and temporal expressions demonstrate a similar distribution of the dative inflection as in the prior phase; 25%. The semantic category of goal illustrates further deflection as merely 22% remains inflected. Dative phrases of instrument, means and manner demonstrate a steep decline of 34% as now merely 57% of the phrases remain inflected. Contrastively, although attested by few iterations, the dative inflection remains strongly represented in phrases expressing source: 100%.

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<sup>147</sup> Especially, the usurpation of plural “-es” influenced the deflection of dative plural forms in this phase.

Aspects that highlight the influence of grammatical function on the distribution of the dative inflection can be seen in the interplay between deflection and specific semantic contexts. For instance, phrases regarding location and temporal expression demonstrate that in *The Interpolations* the latter were largely uninflected whereas the former were fully inflected. This distinction was lost by the following phase as locations were sparsely inflected. Furthermore, the increase of genitive case-endings on otherwise dative temporal phrases, in *The First Continuation*, suggests that the scribe lost the ability to distinctly employ the congruent genitive or dative declension where needed. Altogether, reference point related dative phrases demonstrate a precipitous decline in inflection in *The First Continuation*; markedly, this regression occurs earlier than in other semantic contexts where waning is ostensible in the subsequent phase: *The Final Continuation*. Furthermore, goal related dative phrases show a broadening of deflection starting from human objects in *The Interpolations* to non-human objects including destinations in *The Final Continuation*. As such, the original function of the dative, to mark human destinations of a movement, was first deflected and later expanded to include formerly locative functions. Concluding, the distribution of the dative inflection regarding location, temporal expressions and goal is closely tied to grammatical contexts.

Constructions containing identical prepositions or nouns further demonstrate the uneven dereliction of inflection from one semantic context to the other. For instance, the usage of “land” illustrates that after 1126 “land” became mostly uninflected when denoting location (barring one iteration) while dative phrases featuring “land” from the source and goal semantic domains remained more readily inflected (e.g., “ut of lande” and “to Englelande”), even throughout *The Final Continuation*.

Most strikingly, the uneven distribution of the dative inflection is ostensible in the similar constructions regarding the dative of accompaniment and the dative of instrument, manner and means. Both constructions make use of the preposition “mid”. Yet, the dative of accompaniment demonstrates total deflection throughout the added material in *The Peterborough Chronicle* whereas the instrumental dative remains largely inflected. As Pasicki suggests, the dative of accompaniment may be a quasi-instrumental construction which indicates spatial contiguity rather than manner. Pasicki’s suggestion is supported by the fact that all of the datives denoting accompaniment are deflected in the added material of *The Peterborough Chronicle*; whereas, those regarding instrumentality, means and manner remain largely inflected. At a minimum, in

*The Peterborough Chronicle*, a distinction can be seen between the two semantic contexts and as such the dative inflection was applied wholly unevenly. Therefore, the early medieval scribes of *The Peterborough Chronicle* definitely applied the dative inflection based on semantic context.

This thesis demonstrated that the dative inflection all but disappeared in various semantic contexts in *The Peterborough Chronicle*. Further research on the distribution of the dative inflection in the various dative semantic contexts in other Early Middle English sources would establish a basis which may offer more thorough proclamations regarding the dereliction of inflection beyond the scope of *The Peterborough Chronicle*. Perhaps, other Early Middle English sources display a similar distribution of the dative inflection. If so, these similarities offer insight as to how the transition from Old English to Middle English progressed.

Ultimately, the unevenly distributed rate of the dative inflection across the semantic contexts and phases of *The Peterborough Chronicle* demonstrates that the allocation of the dative inflection was influenced by the semantic context in which the dative iterations occurred. Consequently, the dereliction of the dative inflection did not occur ubiquitously but was confined to specific semantic contexts.

In other words, dating the date at which the dative became outdated demonstrates that in certain semantic contexts the dative inflection was not yet dated.

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## Appendix I: Expected Dative Phrases

The following table demonstrates a list of expected dative phrases that were derived from 1500 word-long sections of *The Interpolations*, *The First Continuation* and the *Final Continuation*. Afterwards, the datives expressions were screened for containing the dative inflection and categorized per phase and the semantic contexts, as described in chapter 3: What is Your Dative and What Does it Do?.

Expected Locative Dative Phrases	Dative Inflection	Expected Instrumental Dative Phrases	Dative Inflection	Expected Ambiguous Dative Phrases	Dative Inflection
Reference Point Related Dative Phrases		Instrument, Means and Manner		Dative of Accompaniment	
Interpolations		Interpolations		Interpolations	
<i>on weorulde</i>	YES	<i>luuede (be) al þeode</i>	YES	<i>mid ealle hise Frencisce menn</i>	NO
<i>on þære minstre</i>	YES	<i>mid læswe</i>	YES	<i>[forð] mid se cyng</i>	NO
<i>ilca gear</i>	NO	<i>mid mædwæ</i>	YES	<b>First Continuation</b>	
<i>eafter his dæi</i>	NO	<i>for his luuen</i>	YES	<i>[he heold his concilie] mid ærcebiscopas</i>	NO
<i>At þis gewitnesse</i>	YES	<i>[nam] be nihte</i>	YES	<i>[he heold his concilie] mid leodbiscopas</i>	NO
<i>on þe cininges tune</i>	YES	<i>be þære munece ræde</i>	YES	<i>[he heold his concilie] abbotes</i>	NO
<i>on þis tima</i>	YES	<i>mid fela scipe</i>	YES	<i>[he heold his concilie] læred</i>	NO
<i>æfter his dæi</i>	NO	<i>buton ane huse</i>	YES	<i>[he heold his concilie] lawed</i>	NO
<i>ilca gear</i>	NO	<i>þurh fyre</i>	YES	<i>[belaf] mid þone kyng</i>	NO
<i>ilca gear</i>	NO	<i>[dyden] for ðes mynstres holdscipe</i>	YES	<b>Final Continuation</b>	
<i>on þam ilcan geare</i>	YES	<i>butan an munec</i>	NO	<i>[fyliden] ful of castles</i>	NO
<i>ær dæg</i>	NO	<i>[com] fullwepnode</i>	YES	<i>[fyliden] mid deoules</i>	NO
<i>on morgen</i>	NO	<i>butan þa cyrece ane</i>	NO	<i>[fyliden] [mid] yuele men</i>	NO
<i>in æt Bolhiðe geate</i>	YES	<i>mid ealle þa forenspræcena gærsume</i>	YES	<b>Accusative, Genitive or Dative Phrases</b>	
<i>on flote</i>	YES	<i>þurh his mycele mildhertnesse</i>	YES	<b>Interpolations</b>	
<i>[dyden] in þone cyrce</i>	YES	<i>forutan ælces cynnes riht</i>	NO	<i>þurh ealle þa muneke red</i>	YES

<i>in þære cyrce</i>	YES	<i>[blætson] to biscop</i>	NO	<i>þurh heora gemelest</i>	NO
<i>on an niht</i>	NO	<i>[dyde] to gode</i>	YES	<i>þurh heora druncenhed</i>	NO
<i>on þære tuna</i>	YES	<i>þurh þæs arcebiscopes gearnunge</i>	YES	<b>First Continuation</b>	
<i>on þone tuna</i>	YES	<i>[bærnde] butan se Captelhus</i>	NO	<i>[don] ðurh his dohtres ræd</i>	NO
<i>on scipa</i>	YES	<i>[bærnde] ... [butan] se Slæpperne</i>	YES	<i>[don] þurh se Scotte kyng (DAUID)</i>	YES
<i>On þisum ylcan geare</i>	YES	<b>First Continuation</b>		<b>Final Continuation</b>	
<i>on an Fridæg</i>	NO	<i>for uton feawe bec</i>	NO	<i>þurh þe biscop</i>	NO
<b>First Continuation</b>		<i>[weax] on lengþe up</i>	YES	<i>[þurh] te biscop</i>	NO
<i>On þis geare</i>	YES	<i>[undide] on fower healfe</i>	YES	<i>[þurh] te oþre ricemen</i>	NO
<i>on þæt dæi</i>	NO	<i>[læste] swa lange</i>	YES		
<i>fram þa undern dæies</i>	NO	<i>[wæs] mid micel rihte</i>	YES		
<i>on ufenweard þone stepel</i>	NO	<i>[fordon] mid here micle fals</i>	YES		
<i>to þa swarte nihte</i>	YES	<i>[underfangen] mid micel wurðscipe</i>	YES		
<i>on norðeast</i>	NO	<i>mid micel processionem</i>	NO		
<i>wið innon þa twelfniht</i>	NO	<i>underfangen mid wurðscipe</i>	YES		
<i>on Eastren dæi</i>	NO	<i>[underfangen] mid micel wurðscipe</i>	YES		
<i>on þis lande</i>	YES	<i>[spilt] mid ealle</i>	YES		
<i>On ðes ilces gearas</i>	NO	<i>to wife</i>	YES		
<i>on sancte Laurenties messedæg</i>	NO	<i>[sende] on heftnunge</i>	YES		
<i>feola gear ær</i>	NO	<i>[don] on harde bande</i>	YES		
<i>Eall þis geare</i>	YES	<i>[underfeng] mid micel wurðscipe</i>	YES		
<i>On Cristes mæssan</i>	YES	<i>[geaf] buton his castel</i>	NO		
<i>to æfter heruest</i>	NO	<i>be his leue</i>	YES		
<i>on þis lande</i>	YES	<i>be þes kynges leue</i>	YES		
<i>eall þet gear</i>	NO	<i>mid ealle</i>	YES		
<i>On þes ilces gearas</i>	NO	<i>bi þes kynges leue</i>	YES		
<i>innon heruest</i>	NO	<i>mid mycel wurðscipe</i>	YES		
<i>on ealle þa cellas</i>	NO	<b>Final Continuation</b>			
<i>on Monendæg</i>	NO	<i>þurh Godes milce</i>	YES		

<i>to ðe Fridæig</i>	NO	<i>[feorde] mid suicdom</i>	NO		
<i>be þis half</i>	NO	<i>[com] mid micel wurtscipe</i>	YES		
<i>on Cristendom</i>	NO	<i>micel æie [wes]</i>	YES		
<i>on Sancti Nicholaes messeniht</i>	NO	<i>[sei] naht bute god</i>	NO		
<i>on heruest</i>	NO	<i>[halechede] to kinge</i>	YES		
<i>to biworde</i>	YES	<i>togædere [comen]</i>	YES		
<b>Final Continuation</b>		<i>for his saule</i>	YES		
<i>On þis gære</i>	YES	<i>(to) nan treuthe [ne heolden]</i>	YES		
<i>ðæt oþer dei</i>	NO	<i>[suencten] mid castelweorces</i>	NO		
<i>in scip</i>	NO	<i>[smoked] mid ful smoke</i>	YES		
<i>at middæi</i>	NO	<i>[ieden] on ælmes</i>	NO		
<i>ilc gær</i>	NO	<i>[fordon] mid suilce dædes</i>	NO		
<i>ðæt oþer dæi</i>	NO	<i>[þolenden] for ure sinnes</i>	NO		
<i>efter Sancti Andreas massedæi</i>	NO	<i>[heold] mid micel suinc</i>	NO		
<i>in prisun</i>	NO	<i>(for) þe munekes</i>	NO		
<i>in prisun</i>	NO	<i>(for) te gestes</i>	NO		
<i>in quarterne</i>	YES	<i>mid micel wurtscipe</i>	YES		
<i>in crucethus</i>	NO	<i>[begeat] in landes</i>	NO		
<i>In mani of þe castles</i>	NO	<i>[hefden] mid strengthe</i>	YES		
<i>on þis land</i>	NO	<i>for ure Drihtines luue</i>	YES		
<i>in tune</i>	YES	<i>þur ure Drihtin</i>	NO		
<i>on land</i>	NO	<i>for þe micel eie</i>	YES		
<i>in the hus</i>	NO	<i>mid micel wurtscipe</i>	YES		
<i>on þe circe</i>	YES	<i>to king [bletcæd]</i>	NO		
<i>beforen midwinter dæi</i>	NO	<i>[luuved] of alle gode men</i>	YES		
<i>innen dæis</i>	NO	<i>[luuved] of þe kinge</i>	YES		
<i>on cyricen</i>	YES	<i>[bletcæd] to abbot</i>	NO		
<b>Goal Related Dative Phrases</b>		<i>mid micel wurtscipe</i>	YES		
<b>Interpolations</b>		<i>mid micel processium</i>	NO		

<i>[betahten] (to) þa an munec (Saxulf wæs gehaten)</i>	YES			
<i>into Sancte Petres minstre</i>	YES			
<i>(to) þone abbote</i>	YES			
<i>in to þa mynstre</i>	YES			
<i>at se kyning</i>	NO			
<i>into þe minstre</i>	YES			
<i>into þe minstre</i>	YES			
<i>(to) an Frencisce abbot</i>	NO			
<i>into þam mynstre</i>	YES			
<i>into þe mynstre</i>	YES			
<i>to þe halge rode</i>	YES			
<i>to þe stepel</i>	NO			
<i>to scipe</i>	YES			
<i>to an cynges tun</i>	NO			
<i>[amansumede] ealle þa men</i>	YES			
<i>[neodde] to þam biscoprice</i>	YES			
<i>[bebead] þone arcebiscop</i>	NO			
<i>(to) an munec (Iohan wæs gehaten)</i>	NO			
<i>æfter þes ærcebiscopes pallium</i>	NO			
<b>First Continuation</b>				
<i>into his lande</i>	YES			
<i>to lande</i>	YES			
<i>to þam wolcne</i>	YES			
<i>up to þe heouene</i>	YES			
<i>[bebead] hi ealle</i>	YES			
<i>(to) eall þæt land</i>	NO			
<i>to ðise lande</i>	YES			
<i>to ealle þa biscoprices</i>	NO			
<i>[to ealle þa] abbotrices</i>	NO			
<i>[wearð] on men</i>	YES			

<i>[wearð] on erue</i>	YES				
<i>on ealle westme [... wearð]</i>	YES				
<i>to þis lande</i>	YES				
<i>to lande</i>	YES				
<i>[sende] æfter Hugo Gerueises sunu</i>	NO				
<i>to his agen land</i>	NO				
<i>[bead] biscepes</i>	NO				
<i>[bead] abbotes</i>	NO				
<i>[bead] ærceðæcnes</i>	NO				
<i>[bead] ealle þa priores muneces</i>	NO				
<i>[bead] canonias</i>	NO				
<i>[bead] æfter ealle</i>	YES				
<i>(to) ealle</i>	YES				
<i>[sette red] for his wrecce folc</i>	NO				
<i>se mynstre [halgod]</i>	YES				
<i>[halgede] Sancti Andreas mynstre</i>	YES				
<i>ouer sæ</i>	NO				
<i>to his ærde</i>	YES				
<b>Final Continuation</b>					
<i>to þis land</i>	NO				
<i>[uureide] þe muneces</i>	NO				
<i>to þe king</i>	NO				
<i>[sende] efter þe muneces</i>	NO				
<i>[iaf] (to) an prior</i>	NO				
<i>into the minstre</i>	YES				
<i>ouer sæ</i>	NO				
<i>ouer al landes</i>	NO				
<i>[senden] æfter þe ærcebiscop</i>	NO				
<i>ofer sæ</i>	NO				
<i>to þe hærnas</i>	NO				

<i>to an beom</i>	NO				
<i>(to) wreccemen</i>	YES				
<i>to an tun</i>	NO				
<i>into þe neuuæ mynstre</i>	YES				
<i>to þe circewican</i>	YES				
<i>beionde sæ</i>	NO				
<i>to þe king</i>	NO				
<b>Source Related Dative Phrases</b>					
<b>Interpolations</b>					
<i>of þere minstre</i>	YES				
<i>of eall þa feonlandes</i>	NO				
<i>of ure Drihtnes heafod</i>	NO				
<b>First Continuation</b>					
<i>of þa ricceste men</i>	YES				
<b>Final Continuation</b>					
<i>[faren] ut of lande</i>	YES				
<i>[flugen] ut of lande</i>	YES				
<i>of þabbotrice</i>	YES				
<i>of þe horderwycan</i>	YES				
<b>Ambiguous Locative Dative Phrases</b>					
<b>The Interpolations</b>					
<i>[namen] on sceat</i>	NO				
<i>on scrud</i>	NO				
<i>on bokes</i>	NO				
<i>[namen] þe kynehelm</i>	NO				
<b>First Continuation</b>					
<i>heora liman</i>	YES				
<i>[here elces] riht hand</i>	NO				
<i>heora stanen beneðan</i>	YES				
<i>[benam] ælc ðone riht hand</i>	NO				
<i>[benam] þa stanes beneðan</i>	NO				

<b>Final Continuation</b>					
<i>[nam] þe biscop</i>	NO				
<i>[iafen up] here castles</i>	NO				
<i>[namen] þa men</i>	NO				
<i>[namen] al þe god</i>	NO				