In *Amlaib*, *Imar*, *Tomrair*, *Tomrir*, the *m* merely indicates the nasality of the preceding vowel.

In the following list I have inserted, for sake of completeness and comparison, the Scandinavian names and other words which occur in the *Cogadh Gaedhel re Gallaibh*, ed. Todd, Dublin, 1867, and in the Book of Leinster, pp. 172ᵃ, 309ᵃ–310ᵇ of the facsimile. The former work is denoted by CGG. : the latter by LL. The runic forms I have got from Paul's *Grundriss der germanischen Philologie* and Noreen's *Altisländische und Altnordische Grammatik*.

Aecolbh, FM. 928. **Hákúlfr*. The last syllable is certainly *úlfr*. Dr. Kuno Meyer thinks that the first is perhaps *hákr* in *mathákr* 'glutton,' *ord-hákr* 'foul mouth.'

Albdan, TF. p. 159, Albdon, LL. 25ᵇ, Albdann, FM. 924, Alpthann, AU. 925, corruptly Albann, Alband, AU. 874, 876. Icel. *Halfdan*.

Amand, Fol mac Amaind, FM. 1103, p. 974, AU. 1103. Amond mac Duibginn, CGG. 206. Icel. *Ámundi*? *Hámundr*?

Amlaidhi, TF. 222, Icel. *Amlóði*. Saxo's *Amlethus*, Shakspere's *Hamlet*.

Amhlaeibh, FM. 851, 904, 943, 1027, etc. Amlaim, Tig. 997, 980, Amlaiph, AU. 856, 863, 865, 869, Amlaiph, AU. 870, Amhlaim, AU. 976, Amláib hua Inscoa rig Lochlann, LL. 172ᵃ, 2; = Álaib, ibid. 172ᵇ, 17. gen. Amlaim, AU. 866. Icel. *Óláfr*. *Mac Amhlaoibh* is now *MacAuliffe*.

Anlaff, FM. 938 = the *Anláf* of the Saxon Chronicle, immediately from **Anleifr*.

Anrath mac Elbric, CGG. p. 164.

Aralt, Tig. 989, FM. 938, 998. mac Aralt, AU. 986, mac Arailt, AU. 988. Norse *Haraldr*.

Asgall, FM. 1170, Norse *Ásgell*. Mac Asguill is now McCaskil.

Anfer, FM. 924. Norse *Afvirðr*, Icel. *Auvirðr*, A.S. *æfwyrd*.

Auisle, AU. 862, 865, Ausli, AU. 882, Oisli, LL. 310ᵃ, 46, Oisle, TF. 866. Uailsi, FM. 861 = Icel. *auvisli* 'devastation,' personified.

Badbarr, Baethbarr, CGG. 24, 32. Icel. *Böðvarr*, from **Baðuhari-r*.

Barith, TF. 873, AU. 880, FM. 878, 935, LL. 310ᵇ, 13, 15, Barid, AU. 913, Baraid, CGG. 24, Barait, FM. 878, Báirith, TF. 873. gen. Baritha, FM. 888. Icel. *Bárðr* = Bár-röðr, Vigf. s.v. Þórr.

Or from *Böorðr, Böðwörðr, O.H.G. Badward, Noreen, in Paul's Grundriss, i. 466.

Birndin, CGG. 40. The *Birn* may be *Bjarni* or *Biörn* : the *-din* is obscure.

Blacaire, FM. 938. Blacair, AU. 944. Blocair, AU. 947, *Blakari*, Orkn. Saga 105, nomen agentis from *blaka* 'to slap, to flutter'?

Brodor, CGG. p. 150, Brotor, ibid. pp. 164, 172, AU. 1014, Brodar, CGG. 206, FM. 1013. Brodor roth, Brodor fiuit, LL. 172ª, 6, 7. Iecl. *bróður*, gen. dat. acc. of *bróðir* 'brother.'

Buidnin, gen. sg. CGG. 40.

Buu, loinges Milid Buu, CGG. 40. O.N. *Búi*?

Caittil, AU. 856. O.N. *Ketill*?

Cano gall, LL. 172ª, 13.

Carran, CGG. 78.

Cnutt, Tig. 1031, 1034. Cnút mac Sain ri Saxan, AU. 1035. Norse *Knútr*.

Colphín, CGG. 24. Norse *Kolbeinn? Kolfinna?*

Elbric gen. sg., CGG. p. 164. Cognate with A.S. *Ælfric*.

Elge, CGG. 38. Ailche, TF. p. 164, note *o*. Norse *Helgi*.

Elóir mac Iargni, FM. 885. Eloir mac Baritha, FM. 888. *Heldórr* (= Hall-þórr).

Eoan, CGG. 40. Eon Barun, CGG. 206. Norse *Jóann*.

Eric gen. sg. FM. 1103, p. 974. Norse *Eirikr*.

Erulb, AU. 1014, CGG. 41, gen. Eruilb, CGG. 164, 206, Erolbh, FM. 1151. Norse *Herjólfr*.

Etalla, Etlla, given as Norse, CGG. 78. Prob. the A.S. *Ætla*, Beda H.E.

Fíuit, LL. 172ª, 7 = *Hvítr* 'white,' see *Infuit* infra.

Fulf, CS. 870. Ulbh, TF. 909. Hulb, FM. 904, 917. Ulf, AU. 869. Norse *Úlfr*. Goth. *wulfs*.

Goistilin, Gall. CGG. 206.

Gothfraidh, Gofraid, Tig. 989. Gothrin, Gofraigh, Tig. 1036. Gothbraith, AI. 907, 908. Gothbrith, AU. 917. Goithbrith, AU. 920. Gothfraid, LL. 25ᵇ. Gobraith, AI. 1078. Gofridh, TF. 871. Goffraig, AU. 1095. Iufraigh, FM. 1146. Iefraidh, CGG. 206. Norse *Jófreyr, Górðr* (*Goðrøðr*) 'Gottfried.' Hence McCaffrey.

Graggabai, AU. 917, a scribal error for *Cracabain* miswritten Cracabam, Simon Dunelm. in *Mon. Hist. Brit.* p. 686 B. **Krákubein* 'crow-leg,' a nickname, like *Kráku-nef*.

Griffin, CGG. 40, leg. Grissin?

Grisin, CGG. pp. 164, 206. Grisine, AU. 1014. May be Ir.

diminutives formed from Norse *grís* 'a young wild pig.' Or is it for *Grísinn*, the *-inn* being the def. article? Cf. Suinin infra.

Hacond, CGG. 26. Norse *Hákon*.

Haimar, TF. 172. Is this Aymar = *Ailmar* from *Agilmar*?

Herling, LL. 172ª, 18, *Erlingr*.

Hil, LL. 172ª, 13. Icel. *Illr*.

Hingamund, TF. p. 226. Norse *Ingimundr*. The *Igmund* of Brut y Tywysogion, 900.

Hona, TF. p. 144. *Onund*?

Horm, TF. p. 120. AU. 855. Norse *Ormr*.

Ierenc, AU. 851, Iargna, TF. 851 (Iarngna, p. 230, l. 12, may be a misprint), gen. Iargni, FM. 885, corruptly Ergni, AU. 885. *Járn-kne* 'Iron-knee,' of which the Irish name *Glún Iairn*, AU. 988, seems a version.

Illulb, Ilulb, Tig. 977. Culen [mac] Illuilb rí Alban, AU. 970. Amhlaim mac Ailuilbh .i. rí Alban, AU. 976. Perhaps *Íll-úlfr*.

Imar, Imhar, FM. 856, etc., AU. 856, gen. Imair, LL. 310ᵇ, 32, dat. Imur, Tig. 982, Norse *Ívarr*. Hence MacKeever.

Infuit, CGG. 78=*In-hvítr*, prehistoric form of **Ihvítr*, 'whitish, very white, ever-white'?

Inscoa, LL. 172ª, a nickname meaning perhaps 'Big shoes.'

Ladar, gen. Ladair, CGG. 206=Lotar, q.v.

Lagmand, AU. 1014, Laghmand, CGG. 40, Lagmaind, CGG. 165, gen. Lagmain, CGG. 206. From an oblique case of *lagamaðr* 'lawman,' as *ármand* infra from an obl. case of *ármaðr*. Now Lamont, MacLamond and perhaps MacCalmont.

Laraic, FM. 951, cf. perhaps O.N. *lær* 'thigh' (cf. Lær-Bjarni, Sturl. vii. 181). The *-aic* is obscure.

Leodús, LL. 172ª 20 = *Ljóðús*, now the Lewis.

Liagrislach, CGG. 40. Here we have perhaps a comp. of O.N. *ljár* 'scythe,' and the Norse cogn. of A.S. *grislic, grýslic*, N.H.G. *grauslich*.

Lotar, CGG. p. 164=Hlöðver, Njala, 184.

Luimin, CGG. p. 164. Luiminin, CGG. p. 206. Luimne, AU. 1014.

Maghnus, gen. Maghnusa FM. 972, 1101. Hence MacManus Mod mac Herling, LL. 172ª, 18.

Northmann, LL. 171ᵇ, pl. dat. Nordmannaib, AU. 836.

Odolbh Micle, TF. p. 176. O.-Norse *Auðólfr inn Mikli*.

Odund, gen. Oduind, CGG. p. 40. O.-Norse *Auðunn*.

Oiberd, CGG. p. 40, perhaps a nickname, **óbjarto* 'beardless.' Or it is a clerical error for *Roiberd*=Hróbjardr (Robert), FM. 1433?

Ossill, CGG. 22, Oisill, CGG. 206. Perhaps *Eysill*, a nickname meaning 'little ladle.'

Oistin, AU. 874 = *Eysteinn*. Now MacQuiston.

Ona, LL. 310[a], 45, CGG. 22=Hona.

Onphile, LL. 309[a], 36, CGG. 14, perhaps O.-Norse *áfelli* 'calamity,' cf. *Auisle* supra.

Otta, or perhaps Atta, wife of Turges, LL. 309[b], 16. *Auðig*, *Auðug*? Or is it = *Auda*, which occurs in Förstemann as the name of a daughter of Eckard v. Meissen?

Ottir, LL. 310[b], 42, AU. 917, Oittir, AU. 1014, TF. 909, pp. 230, 246, LL. 310[b], 57. Oitir dubh, CGG. p. 206. *Ottar*, An. Camb. 913,=Icel. *Óttarr* (A.S. *Ohthere*).

Plat, CGG. 152, Plait, CGG. 174. Icel. *Flatr* 'flat.' Cf. the nickname *Flat-nefr*. For *p* from *f* cf. *Piscarcarla*, LL. 172[a], 5.

putrall, see Roalt putrall, LL. 310[b], 31. A similar Irish word is glossed by *gruag* 'hair,' O'Cl. Perhaps it is for **futrall* = Low-Lat. *fötrale*, N.H.G. *futteral*.

Ragnall, Tig. 980, 995, 1031, AU. 913, 916, Raghnall, CGG. 206, gen. Ragnaill, LL. 310[b], 12, TF. 871. Norse *Rögnvaldr*. Hence MacRannal.

Roalt[1] Putrall, LL. 310[b], 31=Rot Pudarill, CGG. 28. Roilt, FM. 924, *Hróaldr*? runic Rhoaltʀ (Vatn), OHG. *Hrodowald*.

Rodlaib, TF. 863, Rodolbh, TF. 852. gen. Roduilbh, TF. 860. *Hróðúlfr*.

roth : Brodor roth, LL. 172[a] ; *rauðr* 'red.'

Ruadhmand, Ruamand, CGG. 78, *Hrómundr*, from **Hróð-mundr*.

Saxulb, CGG. p. 20, Saxalb, LL. 310[a], 22 (misprinted 'Raalb' by Todd, p. 229), gen. sg. Saxoilbh, AU. 836. **Saxi-úlfr*? An A.S. *Sexwulf* in Beda, H.E. iv. 6.

Sciggire, LL. 172[a], 4, the Faeroe Islanders (*skeggjar*).

Scolph, LL. 310[a], 45, CGG. 22. Perhaps a corruption of **Aska-úlfr*.

Sigmall, gen. Sigmaill, CGG. 78. Perhaps *Sigvaldi*, the Irish scribe constantly representing *v* by (infected) *m*.

Simond mac Tuirgeis, CGG. 206. Norse, *Simon*.

Sitriuc, Tig. 977, 1022, 1031. Sitriucc, AU. 895. A.S. *Sihtric*, Norse *Sigtryggr*.

Siucrad, CGG. 152. Siuc[r]aid, CGG. 164. Siuchraidh, AU. 1014,

[1] For this (which is clear in the facsimile) Dr. Todd prints *Aecalt*.

Sichraidh, FM. 1102. Sioghradh, CGG. 206. Siugraid soga ríg Súdiam, LL. 172ª, 9. Siugraid mac Imair, LL. 310ᵇ, 41. Norse *Sigurðr*.

Sichfrith, AU. 887, FM. 1013. O.N. *Sigfrid*.

Smurull, LL. 310ᵇ, 31 (=Muraill, CGG. 28). Probably a nickname compounded with *smör* or *smjör* 'butter.'

Snadgair, CGG. 164. The *-gair* is probably *geirr* 'spear,' cf. Suart-gair, infra. The *snad* is perhaps for *snuad*=*snauðr* 'smooth,' or cf. *snúðr* 'twist,' 'twirl' (K. Meyer).

Snuatgairc, CGG. 40, gen. sg. of *Snuad-gair*=**snauð-geirr*.

Somarlid, CGG. 78. Norse *Sumarliði*. Hence MacSorley.

Sortadbud sort, LL. 172ª, 10.

Stabball, CGG. 78. Prob. a nickname: cf. *stapal* 'torch,' O'B.

Stain, Sdain, Tig. 1031, 1034, Stain, AU. 851, 846, Zain, TF. 851. Norse *Steinn*.

Suainin, CGG. pp. 40, 206, Suanin, CGG. p. 164. Perhaps a dimin. of *Suan=*Svanr* 'swan,' or is it *Sveinn*?

Suartgair, AU. 1014. A compound of *svart-r* 'black,' and *geirr* 'spear.'

Suimin, CGG. p. 40, a scribal error for Suinin, q.v.

Suinin, CGG. p. 206, Sunin, CGG. p. 164. *Svín-inn* 'the swine.'

Tamar, CGG. p. 38=Tomar, q.v.

Tolbarb, CGG. 78.

Tomar, CGG. p. 22, F.M. 991. Hence Toner.

Tomralt, FM. 923=Icel. *Þórvaldr*.

Tomrar, AI. 852, TF. 869. Tomhrar, FM. 846. Tomrair, AI. 833, LL. 310ª, 46. Tomrair Erell, AU. 847. O.-N. *Þórer, Þóreirr, Þór-geirr*.

Tomrir Torra, TF. p. 144. Icel. *Þórir*.

Torbend dub, CGG. 164=Torfind, q.v.

Toirberdach, CGG. 40. Formed on *Þorbjartr*? bearded like Thor?

Torfind, AU. 1124. Norse *Þorfinnr*.

Torchar mac Treni, FM. 1171. Norse *Þorgeirr*?

Torolbh, FM. 928=Torulb iarla, AU. 931. Icel. *Þórálfr*.

Torstan mac Eric, FM. 1103. Tórstain mac Eric, AU. 1103. Norse *Þorsteinn*.

Turcall, gen. Turcaill, AU. 1124. *Þorkell*. Mac-Thorcaill is now MacCorkell.

Turges, AB. 794, AU. 844. Turges and Turgeis, LL. 309ª. Icel. *Þorgestr*, whence *Þórgestlingar*, Vigf. s.v. Þórr.

Torgelsi, FM. 1167. Norse *Þorgisli*.

Old-Norse Words Quoted.

conung, TF. 126, 228 = *konungr* 'king.'

erell, AU. 847, from **erl*, prehistoric form of *jarl*.

far-as, CGG. 174 = *hvar es* 'where is?' The context is: Is 'arsin tanic Plait a cath na lureach amach, 7 asbert fothri: "Far-as Domnall?" .i. cait ita Domnall? Ro[f]recair Domnall 7 asbert: "Sund, a sniding!" ar se. 'Thereafter came Plait forth from the battalion of the mailcoats and said thrice: "Where is Domnall?" Answered Domnall, "Here, thou villain!" saith he.'

litil, AI. 953. litill, CGG. p. 84. Norse *lítill*.

micle, TF. 176. Norse *mikill, inn mikli*.

núi, TF. p. 164. The context is: As annsaide dorala an chrech Lochlannach inaighidh Cinnódigh . . . Rothogbhaid gotha allmhardha barbardha annseidhe, 7 stuic iomdha badhphdha, 7 sochuidhe 'ga rádh "núi, núi!" Then the Lochlann raiders marched against Kennedy. . . . They raised foreign, barbarous shouts there, and (blew) many warlike trumpets, and a multitude (was) saying "*knùe! knùe!* press on, press on!"—as the late G. Vigfusson orally explained the words to me. See his Icelandic-English Dictionary, s.v. *Knýja*.

In CGG. 202, *cing* and *prist* are given as Norse words.

V. 2. Irish Loans from Old-Norse.

This subject has been handled by Prof. Zimmer, in Steinmeyer's *Zeitschrift*, xxxii. 267 et seq., and by Dr. Kuno Meyer, in the *Revue Celtique*, x. 367—369.

armand *officer*, Tig. 1170, FM. 1170, p. 1176. pl. n. armainn .i. oificeigh, O'Cl., dat. ármannaib Tig. 1174. From an oblique case of O.N. *ármaðr* (K. Meyer).

at-cluic *helmet*, ALC. 1261, FM. 1261: (gl. galea), Ir. Gl. 26, =clocc-att, acc. sg. trena chlocc-aitt, FM. 1583, p. 1802. Here the *att* is=Norse *hattr* (or perh. A.S. *hæt*), and the *cluic* is gen. sg. of *cloc*, cognate with Highland *claigeann*, *claigionn* 'cranium.' A dimin. of *at*, viz. *atan*, occurs in a poem cited by Dr. Reeves, *Columba*, p. 322, where it is rendered by 'hood.'

banna, *a bond in writing*, pl. dat. bannaidhib, ALC. 1584. Formed on O.-Norse *band*.

bróc in fuath-bróc, bern-bróc. LU. 79ª, 179ᵇ, 86ª. O.N. *brók*.

cantarchapa, *a cope worn by ecclesiastics in the choir*, ALC. 1248, where *cantarchaptha* is printed in the text, *cantarchapath* in the translation and notes. O.N. *kantara-kápa*. The context is : Fedhlim . . . do thabairt . . . do chanánchaib Chille moire . . . cantarchaptha do sróll, 'Felim gave the canons of Kilmore choir-copes of satin.'

cnapp, *stud, button*, pl. dat. cnappaib, LL. 98ᵇ. ON. *knappr*.

costas, *provisions, eatables*, sg. gen. cosduis, ALC. 1577. acc. costus, FM. 1409. O.N. *kostr*, NHG. *kosten*. Cognate with *costud*, LL. 64ª, 27; 263ª, 46.

cuiniu .i. ben, 'woman,' Corm. from O.N. *kona*, from **kvenō*. So partchuinc *harlot*, Corm. is=O.N. *portkona*. A.S. *cwēne*, now *queen*.

elta *hilt*, LL. 268ᵇ, 47, O.N. *hjalt*.

fuindeóg *window, aperture* = *vindauga*. pl. fuinneóga, O'B.

íarla *earl*, AB. 1324, O.N. *jarl*. W. *iarll*, Corn. *yurl*. Hence iarlacht *earldom*, gen. iarlachta, ALC. 1535, p. 286, FM. 1398, p. 760. W. *iarllaeth*.

lipting, LL. 219ª, lifting *taffrail*. O.N. *lypting* summa 'puppis.'

lonn, *a roller for launching ships*, from O.N. *hlunnr* (Bugge).

maróc *sausage*, founded on O.N. *mörr* (st. marva).

pundand, punnann *sheaf, bundle*, from O.N. *bundin* (Bugge).

rossál, rosualt, LU. 11ª, 47, pl. n. rossáil, LL. 172ᵇ, 10. O.N. *hrosshvalr*, Eng. *walrus*.

rúm LL. 236ª, O.N. *rúm*, the room or place for a pair of oars (K. Meyer).

sceld, scell *shield*, gen. pl. LL. 87ᵇ, 40, sceld-gur, LL. 83ª, 1. O.N. *skjöldr*.

scot, *sheet*, pl. scóti, LB. 219ᵇ, 68. O.N. *skaut*.

snúding (leg. suíding) *villain*, CGG. 174. From O.N. *níðingr* with prothetic *s*.

sopp, *wisp, bundle of straw*, pl. n. suipp, LL. 93ᵇ. From O.N. *sópr* 'besom.' Zimmer (wrongly, I think) refers *sopp* to O.N. *svöppr* 'sponge.'

sparr, pl. dat. sparrib, LL. 107ᵇ, 12. O.N. *sparri*. Hence *sparre* 'a military gate,' indorus spairri na Gaillmhe, FM. 1597, p. 2008.

staca *stack*, FM. 1579, p. 1722. O.N. *stakkr*.

staic *steak*, LB. 219^{b}. O.N. *steik*.

starga *shield*, LL. 265^{a}, 18. *stargha*, O'B. O.N. *targa*, with prothetic *s*. Or from A.S. *targe*, *targa*?

tile *plank*, *partition*, LL. O.N. *þili* (K. Meyer).[1]

VI. 1. Anglo-Saxon Names.

Here follow the A.S. names found in the Irish Annals. I have inserted three from the Lebar na hUidre, p. 93. There are many more in the Irish abridgment of the first two books of Beda's H.E., which is found in Laud 610, ff. 89^{b}—92^{a}.

Adulstan, AU. 936, 938, Atalstan, FM. 944 = *Æthelstán*.

Adulph ri Saxon, TF. 158. Adulf, AU. 857 = *Æthelwulf*, A.S. Chron. 855(6).

Ailfrid, FM. 900. *Ælfred*.

Albruit, Tig. 629, a scribal error for Albruic = *Ælfric*.

Aldfrith mac Ossu, AU. 703. Altfrith mac Ossa, Tig. 704 = Aldfrith, Tig. 716. *Aldferth*, *Aldfrith* (*Ealdferth*).

Alli rex Saxan aquilonalium, AU. 866, bellum filii, Ailli, AU. 630 = *Ælla*.

Almuine filius Osu, Tig. 680 = Ailmine filius Ossu, AU. 679, *Ælfwine*, son of Oswy, (infected) *m* being written for *w*, as in *Catmolodor* and *Simal* supra, and *Bristoma* infra.

Anfrith, AU. 631 = *Eanfrith*.

Anna : bellum Annae, AU. 655, TF. 657. See A.S. Chron. 654.

Beda, AU. 734, TF. 739; Béid, TF. p. 112. *Baeda*.

Bernith, Tig. 698. *Beornhæð*, *-hóð*, *-noð*, *-oð*?

Brechtraig, Tig. 698, scribe's error for Brechtraid = Brectrid, AU. 697, *Beretrad*, Beda, H.E. v. 24.

Bristoma, ALC. 1247, Bristuma, FM. 1256. From an oblique case of *Briegstow*, AS. Chron. 1088, now *Bristol*.

Ceode espoc Iac, Tig. 712. Coeddi, FM. 710. *Ceadda*? *Cedde*.

Coniulf [printed Comulf] rex Saxonum, AU. 820. *Cénwulf*, king of Mercia.

[1] To this I may add Prof. Bugge's remark (in a letter) that Ir. *fidchat* 'mousetrap' lit. 'wooden cat,' agrees with O.N. *tréköttr*.

Cuitin, Tig. 718, mac Cuitine, Tig. 731, filius Cuidine, AU. 717, clericatus Echdach filii Cuidini, rex Saxan, AU. 730. *Cuthwine.*

Cuthbertus, AU. 687 = *Cuthberht.*

Dolfinn mac Finntuir, slain in battle by the men of Alba, AU. 1054. A *Dolfin* is mentioned in the A.S. Chron. at 1093, as ruling Carlisle.

Dunstan, Tig. 988 = *Dúnstán.*

Eanfraith [MS. -ch] frater Etalfraith [MS. -ch], Tig. 600 = *Eanfrith*, son of *Æthelfrith.*

Ecberctus [MS. ȝberctus], Tig. 701, rectius 715, Ecbertus, TF. 729, Eicberict, AU. 728 = *Ecgbyrht.*

Ecfrith mac Ossa, Tig. 686 = Etfrith mac Ossu, rex Saxonum, AU. 685 = *Ecgferth.*

Edilfrido, TF. 687, a mistake for Ecfrido.

Edeldrida, TF. 687, 913 = *Æthelðryth, -thryth.*

Etalfraidh, Tig. 613 = Etilbrith, Tig. 671, Mors Ossu filii Eitilbrith, AU. 670. Edelfrid, TF. 909 = *Æthelferth* (*-frith*).

Eithilfleith famosissima regina Saxonum, AU. 917. Edelfrida, TF. 909 = *Æthelflæd.*

Etgair, Tig. 965. Etgair mac Etmonn, ri Saxan, AU. 974 = *Eadgar.*

Etmonn, AU. 974 = *Eadmund.*

Etuin mac Elle, Tig. 625 = E. mac Ailli, Tig. 631 = *Eadwine.*

Etulb, Tig. 717, AU. 716, Etulb ri Saxan tuaiscirt, AU. 912, Etalbh, TF. 913 = *Eadulf.* A gen. sg. Ecuilb, Ecuilp, AU. 716, 740, is prob. a scribal error for Etuilb.

Finn-tur, father of Dolfin, AU. 1054 = ON. *Þor-finnr*?

Garailt, Tig. 732, Garolt TF. 732, Garaalt AU. 731 = AS. *Gárwald* or *Gárweald.*

Giuais. Aralt ri Saxan Giuais, AU. 1040. Giuoỳs, Ann. Camb. 900. A.-S. Gewissas *West Saxons*, Beda, E.H. ii. 5, iii. 7.

Ild, in monasterio Ild, AU. 712 = *Hild*, abbess of Whitby.

Lindas, LU. 93.

Moll, Tig. 764 = *Moll Æthelwald*, A.-S. Chron. 759. Prof. Napier tells me that it occurs also in the Northumbrian Liber Vitae. Is it borrowed from the Highland Gaelic *moll* 'chaff'?

Offa rex bonus Anglorum, AU. 795 = *Offa*, King of Mercia, A.-S. Chron. 794.

Oisiric mac Albruit, Tig. 629 = *Osric* son of *Ælfric*, A.-S. Chron. 634. Oisirg father of Oissene (=Oswine) AU. 650.

Oissene mac Oisirgg, AU. 650 = *Oswine* son of *Osric.*

Osbrit lamfota, 'longhand,' LU. 93. *O'sbryht.*

Osrith mac Aldfrith, Tig. 717. AU. 715 = *Osred*, King of Northumbria, son of *Aldferth.*

Ossiu, Tig. 656. Osu, Tig. 680, 713. Ossu, Tig. 650, 671. AU. 641, 649, 655, 670, 679, 685, 712, 715, TF. 671. mac Gossa, AI. 694 for mac Ossa? A-S. *Oswiu.*

Osualt mac Etalfraith, Tig. 632. Osualt, Tig. 634. gen. Osuailt, Tig. 639. Ossualt, AG. 659. Ósalt, LU. 93. bellum Osubaldi AU. 638 = *O'sweald.*

Panta, Tig. 631. Pante, Tig. 650, 657. AU. 649, 655, 674. gen. Pauntea, Tig. 675. *Penda*, Beda, HE. v. 24.

Pilu . . . Saxo, *Vita Columbae*, p. 227.

Tíne : the river Tyne; for brú Tine la Saxanu Tuaiscirt, AU. 917. Latinised *Tinus* by Beda.

VI. 2. Irish Loans from Anglo-Saxon.

As to the early intercourse between the Irish and the Anglo-Saxons, see Beda, H E. iii. 27. The monastery founded for the English at Mayo by S. Colman, of Lindisfarne, about the year 670 (Beda, H.E. iv. 4) may also here be mentioned. Some few of the following have already appeared in the papers of Zimmer and Kuno Meyer above referred to.

assan (gl. caliga), pl. n. assain, O'B., W. *hosan*, both borrowed from an oblique case of *hosa*, gen. *hosan.*

bád *boat*, gen. báid, ALC. 1517. A.S. *bát.*

barda, bharda *warders*, ALC. 1246, 1512, 1516. A.S. *weard.* Hence bardacht *wardership*, ALC. 1369, 1478, 1589. FM. 1584, 1600.

beór *beer*, gen. beóri, beoiri, LB. 215[a], 215[b]. A.S. *beór.*

blede *goblet*, Tig. 1115. A.-S. *bledu.*

boga *bow*, pl. dat. bodhadhaibh (leg. boghadhaibh), ALC. 1405. A.-S. *boga.* Hence boghadóir *archer*, O'B.

bord *border*, *brink*, FM. 1247, p. 320, 1318, p. 516, imel-bhord na habhand, FM. 1595, p. 1978, pl. dat. borddaib, LL. 254[b], 11, 256[a]. A.S. *bord* in such phrases as *innan bordes*, *útan bordes.*

bord *table*, an bord cr[uind] *the Round Table*, AU. 467. A.S. *bord* tabula. Hence also W. *bwrdd.*

crocan (gl. olla) = W. *crochan*, from A.S. *crocca*. O'B.'s *corcán*.

cromb *crooked* = W. *crwm*, from A.S. *crumb*.

fiatail *weeds*, gen. sg. fiataile, FM. 1582, p. 1784. Founded on A.S. *weód*, *wíód*. O'B. has *fiatghail* 'vetches.'

Futerna = *Hwiterne* in Galloway.

geta *gate*, Geta nua = *Newgate*, FM. 1535, glas geta, FM. 1596, p. 2006. pl. dat. getadaibh, FM. 1601, p. 2258. A.S. *geat*.

gúala, A.S. *geóla* 'yule.' ierngúala, LU. 121^{b} = *se æftera geóla*.

maighden, *maiden*, pl. dat. maighdenaibh, FM. 1597, p. 2012. A.S. *magden*.

pinginn, pinging *penny*, occurs in the idiomatic phrases *ara phinginn fein* 'at his own expense,' ALC. 1245, FM. 1245, and *dul fa phinginn* 'to become tributary,' FM. 1577, p. 1698. From A.S. *pending*, *penning*. An Ir. *penning* = O.N. *penningr*, also occurs (LL. 54^{b}, 2).

ritere *knight*, Tig. 729, ALC. 1177, 1200, ritaire, TF. p. 170. A.S. *rídere*.

rót *road*, LU. 104^{b}, 106^{a}, gen. sg. róid, FM. 1598, p. 2060, pl. dat. ródaibh, FM. 1592, p. 1920, A.S. *rád*.

scilling, scillinn *shilling*, pl. nom. sgillingi, FM. 1585, p. 1840. gen. sgillinn, ALC. 1549, p. 354. A.S. *scylling*.

srámach, sremach, *blear-eyed*, FM. 1380, 1363, deriv. of *sram* "matter running from the eyes," O'R. A.S. *streám*.

staighre acc. sg. *stair*, FM. 1454. A.S. *stáger*.

stéd, sdéd, ALC. 1231, pl. dat. sdédaibh, ALC. 1277. A.S. *stéda*, 'horse.'

stiuraid, *steerer*, sdiuraidh, ALC. 1233. stiuraim *I steer*, *I guide*, ro sdiurastar, ALC. 1217. A.-S. *steóran*, *stiórren*, *stýran*.

stocc [misprinted síocc] in the alliterative phrase gach tegh, gach teghdais, gach stocc, gach staca, FM. 1579, A.S. *stocc*. Corn. *stoc* (gl. stirbs).

tráill *thrall*, Corm. Tr. p. 162, Old-Northumbr. *þræl* or O.N. *þræll*. Hence tráillidheacht *slavery*, O'B.

I take this opportunity of suggesting that *gimach*, which occurs as an epithet for a scorpion (*Lives of Saints from the Book of Lismore*, l. 3651), may be a loan from A.S. *gimach* (gl. improbus), Epinal Glossary, ed. Sweet, p. 12, l. 31, later *gemâh*, and that *réfedh* 'rope,' FM. 1590, 1592 (pl. dat. *refedaib*, LU. 63^{a}, 18), may be connected with O.H.G. *reif* (whence Ital. *refe*), as W. *rhaff*, *rheffyn*, with A.S. *rápe*.

VI. 3. Irish Loans from Middle-English.

Lastly, we may set forth the following list of words, most of which are borrowed from Middle-English, though a few (cited from the Four Masters) may have been taken over from Modern English. We know from the decree of the Synod of Armagh, described by Giraldus (Hib. Exp. l. i. c. 18), that for some time before 1170 the Irish held large numbers of English slaves. From that year down to the present time the intercourse of the two peoples has been incessant; and now the jargons called Modern Irish are as full of English loan-words as Breton is of French.

act pairlimint, *a session*, do dol . . . docum acta pairlimint, ALC. 1585.

airteccal, *article*, gen. pl. FM. 1597, p. 2044.

balla *wall*, gen. sg. acc. blodhadh [leg. bloghadh] an bhalla, FM. 1595, p. 1980, pl. n. balladha, FM. 1572.

baránta, *warrant*, ALC. 1538, p. 314. Hence barántas, *warranty*, FM. 1600, p. 2164.

beinnsi, gen. sg. *bench*, iustis Beinnsi an Righ, FM. 1597, p. 2044.

brugen, *strife, conflict*, ALC. 1531, p. 276. N. Eng. *bargane*.

campa *camp*, FM. 1561, p. 1586.

caraiste, *carriage*, do chaiplibh caraiste, FM. 1597, p. 2032, caraisde, FM. 1598, p. 2060.

cing, *king, queen*, ALC. 1485; 1543, p. 342: cing Maria, ALC. 1547.

cistineach, *kitchen*, gen. cistinighe, FM. 1449, p. 946.

commesscóir *commissioner*, FM. 1583, p. 1802. pl. dat. comessiccoraibh. Hence commessóirecht *commissionership*, FM. 1584, p. 1816.

composcision, *composition*, FM. 1596, p. 1996.

corinel *colonel*, FM. 1600, p. 2224.

cósta *coast*, pl. dat. cóstadhaibh, FM. 1580, p. 1732.

cros *cross*, gen. croise, FM. 1600, p. 2222.

cúpla, *couple*, pl. dat. cúpladhaibh, FM. 1599, p. 2108.

daoradh, *act of making dear* (costly), FM. 1598, p. 2076.

dignite, *dignity*, FM. 1600.

diúice, *duke*, ALC. 1307, 1581, p. 438, FM. 1449, p. 964.

druma, *drum*, ALC. 1589, p. 492, fuaim droma, FM. 1595.

fisicidh *physician*, FM. 1497, p. 1232; 1582, p. 1772.

fisicecht *medical science*, FM. 1504, p. 274.

flux *diarrhoea*, FM. 1536.

gairdian, *guardian*, ALC. 1540. gáirdián, O'B.

gairisiun, *garrison*, pl. n. garasuin, FM. 1599, p. 2110, pl. dat. gairisionaibh, FM. 1597, p. 2014, garasunaibh, FM. 1598, p. 2058.

gárda *guard*, FM. 1570, p. 1638, 1602, p. 2296.

general coccaidh, FM. 1595, p. 1960, gen. sg. generala, FM. 1596, p. 2000. Hence generaltacht, *generalship*, FM. 1597, p. 2020, generalacht, ibid. p. 2044.

giomanach, *yeoman*, pl. n. giomanaigh, ALC. 1561. gen. giomanach, ALC. 1542, p. 334, 1562, gímánchoibh, ALC. 1581, p. 438.

giosdáil, *joisting*, ALC. 1582. Eng. *joist*, Fr. *gîte*.

gobernóir, gubernóir, *governor*, ALC. 1585, FM. 1856, p. 1846, 1586, p. 470, sg. gen. gobernora, FM. 1586, p. 1844, goibernóra, ALC. 1586, p. 472. Hence gobernóracht *governorship*, FM. 1584, 1596.

gráinsech, F. *grange* : ar an Grainsigh mhoir, ALC. 1589, p. 502.

gunna, gonna, *a gun*, ALC. 1516, 1523, 1546.

haiste, *hatch* (of a ship), comla an haiste, FM. 1587, p. 1862.

imperess, *empress* (O.-Fr. *empresse*), gen. imperasi, ALC. 1189. An apocopated form, peress, gen. pereise, perisi occurs, Tig. 1172, ALC. 1171, 1183, 1210. Corn. *emperiz*.

iustis, *justiciary*, AB. 1230, 1234; iustisecht, *office of a justiciary*, FM. 1492.

liberti *liberties*, FM. 1585, pp. 1840, 1842.

loard, *lord*, gen. loaird, ALC. 1415, 1419, 1535, Mid.-Eng. *louerd*, *lauerd*, Ags. *hlâford*.

Mairghrécc, *Margaret*, FM. Marghrec, ALC. 1364, gen. Mairgréige, FM. 1597, p. 2042.

maisde, *match* (Fr. *mèche*), FM. 1598, p. 2072.

marg, *a mark* (money), Tig. 1156, ALC. 1546, 1578.

margad, *market*, gen. margaid, Tig. 1134, A.I. 1090, AB. 1231.

muinission, *munition*, FM. 1599, pp. 2110, 2116. gen. munissioin, FM. 1601, p. 2272.

muscaed, *musket*, pl. dat. muscaédibh, FM. 1597, p. 2028.

Norbus=*Norwich*, FM. 1208.

ordonass, *ordnance*, ALC. 1516, 1551, gen. ordonáis, ALC. 1538, p. 314, dat. ordonás, ALC. 1581, p. 444.

parliment, acc. ar an bparliment, FM. 1595, p. 1984, *parliament*, gen. pairlimint, ALC. 1585, p. 466.

paitent, letters *patent*, ALC. 1568, p. 404. gen. paiteint, FM. 1603, p. 2342.

pécach *gaudy, showy*, FM. 1569. Founded on *peacock*?

píce *pike*, FM. 1599, p. 2114.

píosa *piece*, FM. 3311. The Eng. *piece*, Fr. *pièce*, comes from a Low-Latin *pettium*, which represents a Gaulish **pettion*, cognate with W. *peth*, Pictish *pett*, M.Ir. *cuitt*, a primeval Celtic **qvetti-*.

pláta *plate*, cidedh pláta *plate-armour*, FM. 1570, 1597.

Plemendach, *Fleming*, Tig. 1176, with *pl* for *fl* as in Plendrus, Plóndrus, *Flanders*, ALC. 1585, pp. 468, 472 (but gen. sg. Flondrais, FM. 1586, p. 1856).

ploit *portion*, pl. acc. ploiti, TF. p. 28, Eng. *plotte* porciuncula, Prompt. Parv.

pócoit, *pocket, pouch*, pl. n. pócoide púdair, FM. 1597, p. 2034, gen. sg. pócóide, ibid. p. 2072.

port, *fort*, O'B. pl.n. puirt, FM. 1600.

Portigel, Poirtengél, *Portugal*, ALC. 1579, 1581, 1589.

post, *prop*, én-phost, *sole prop*, FM. 1383, p. 690, posta, O'B. pl. dat. posdadhaibh, FM. 1597, p. 2012. From Eng. *post*.

potaire, *potter*, FM. 1461, p. 1014, note p.

práca, *a large harrow*, FM. 1600, p. 2186. Eng. *brake*.

proaitsi, *provost*, FM. 1460.

protexion, protex, *protection*, FM. 1569, 1574, 1581, 1583, 1592.

próuision, FM. 1601, pp. 2270.

púdar, (gun)*powder*, FM. 1549, 1572, gen. púdair, FM. 1597, p. 2012.

punt, *pound*, tri mili punt '£3000,' ALC. 1584.

resiber = *receiver*, i.e. agent or treasurer, FM. 1581, p. 1760.

Salender, FM. 1600, p. 2160, *St. Leger*.

sép, sépet? the *chape* of a scabbard: ag sín šépca cloidem, ALC. 1244 = ag sinedh sepete a chloidimh, Ann. Conn.

sirriam, serriam, sirriem, siarrium, *sheriff* (Ags. *scirgeréfa*), ALC. 1225, 1247, 1258, 1586, 1588: suibširriam, FM. 1595, p. 2108, su-širriam = *sub-sheriff*, ALC. 1587.

spidél *spital*, ALC. 1242, teach spidél, ALC. 1244, 1245.

spor, *spur*, ALC. 1376, FM. 376, Early Eng. *spore* (A.-S. *spora*, *spura*).

státa, *state, pomp*, FM. 1599, p. 2138, 1602, p. 2296. Hence státamhail *stately*, O'B.

statuite, gen. sg. FM. 1600, p. 2148, statúiti *statutes*, FM. 1537, p. 1444.

stóras *stores*, gen. stóruis, FM. 1582 : *lán storús*, FM. 1594, is a misprint for *lánstóras*, see Ir. Gl.

tábúr, gen. pl. *tabors*, Life of Aed Ruad, cited FM. 1598, p. 2068, note : tápúr, FM. 1599, p. 2132. tabar, O'B.

tácla *tackle*, pl. gen. tácladh, FM. 1566, p. 1582.

taiplis, F. *tables*, *draughtboard*, gen. na taiplissi, ALC. 1554.

térma na samhna, *Michaelmas term*, FM. 1591, 1596, 1601.

treisircir, *treasurer*, ALC. 1579, tresinér, treisiucir, FM. 1541, 1547.

trétuir, gen. trétúra, *traitor*, FM. 1546, 1579. Hence trétúrdha *traitorous*, FM. 1601, p. 2258, tretúrecht *treason*, FM. 1581, 1583.

treinse, sg. *trench*, O'B. dat. treinnsi, FM. 1602, p. 2310, pl. trinsidhibh, FM. 1600, p. 2192.

trompadh, gen. pl. *trumpets*, FM. 1599, p. 2128, 2132.

tronc, *a trunk*, FM. 1598, p. 2074.

turnaé, *attorney*, FM. 1598, p. 2088. O'B.'s turnaidhe *minister*.

uardian, *warden*, ALC. 1585.

uesanfort. This *ἅπαξ λεγόμενον* occurs in the following passage from ALC. 1540, referring to a literary congress at the seat of the Macdermots : tángadar éixe 7 ollamain Eiriond co uesanfport einigh 7 engna cúicidh Connacht, ALC. 1540, where Mr. Hennessy renders *uesanfport* by 'seat.' I take *uesanfport* to be = *Oxnaford*, and translate : "The poets and ollaves of Ireland came to the Oxford of the hospitality and knowledge[1] of Connaught."

uers, *verse*, gen. pl. uersa, FM. 1224. Compound : uers-dénmhuidhecht *verse-making*, ALC. 1224.

[1] Mr. Hennessy here renders *engna* (= *engne*, Windisch's Wörterbuch) by "generosity."

TREASURER'S CASH ACCOUNT, 1890.

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Jan. 1 to Dec. 31. To sums received in 1890—						
For Arrears	3	3	0			
,, Entrance Fees	6	6	0			
,, Subscriptions, 1890	86	2	0			
,, ,, in Advance	3	3	0			
				98	14	0
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Excess on Cheques				0	1	0
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(Signed) DANBY P. FRY, HENRY B. WHEATLEY, } AUDITORS.

MAY 9, 1891.

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TO THE

PHILOLOGICAL TRANSACTIONS,

1888-89-90.

(By W. M. Wood.)

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STEPHEN AUSTIN AND SONS, PRINTERS, HERTFORD.

PHILOLOGICAL SOCIETY.

ABSTRACT OF PROCEEDINGS.

Friday, November 4, 1887.

R. F. Weymouth, D.Lit., M.A., in the Chair.

The paper read was: "Notes on some English Etymologies," by the Rev. Professor W. W. Skeat, V.P., M.A., LL.D. (A copy of this paper is sent herewith, and it will also appear in the *Transactions* for 1888–90.)

Friday, November 18, 1887.

H. Bradley, Esq., in the Chair.

The paper read was: "On the Keltic Neuter Stems in *S*," by the Honourable Whitley Stokes, V.P., D.C.L., LL.D., M.A. This paper will appear in the *Transactions* for 1888-90.

Friday, December 2, 1887.

R. F. Weymouth, D.Lit., M.A., in the Chair.

The paper read was: "On some English Etymologies," by H. Bradley, Esq. This paper will appear in the *Transactions* for 1888-90.

Friday, December 16, 1887.

A. J. ELLIS, B.A., F.R.S., *Vice-President*, in the Chair.

A paper was read by Herr K. DORNBUSCH on "Volapük." He explained that Volapük was a new language, proposed for international use, and first published in outline in 1879 by the inventor, Schleyer of Konstanz. The idea of a rational language was far from new, as it had been worked at by Bishop Wilkins, by Leibniz, and by Descartes. Among modern writers, Prof. Max Müller had recognized the possibility of an artificial language, and had pointed out that such a system might be made far more regular, complete, and easy of acquisition than any existing idiom. There were several significant facts in other departments of life showing the need for an international language. Thus we had the metrical system, now almost universal on the Continent, chemical notation, telegraphic and marine signals, musical symbols, etc. It might be objected that an artificial language was an absurdity, and that only the traditional ones were capable of supplying the requirements of society. The answer was that all languages were created by the human mind; but in developing a natural language the mind proceeded instinctively and without conscious control of its own powers, while in working out an artificial language each step was an intentional calculation. In constructing Volapük, Schleyer formed the vocabulary by borrowing words from several European languages, ancient and modern, but chiefly from English. The choice of English was justified by the enormous number of speakers of this language—over 200 millions. The mixture of roots from various languages was a process similar to that which has always gone on when different nations have come in contact, and produced a common dialect, such as the Lingua Franca or as Pidgin English. But the process is carried out in Volapük far more systematically. Words, moreover, are not always borrowed by Schleyer in their original forms, but are often simplified and shortened. Thus: *Tim* from 'time,' *lif* from 'life,' *smal* from 'smallness,' and so on. Derivatives are formed from roots by adding prefixes and suffixes, thus: *Plan* = 'plant'; *av* suffix = 'science,' hence *planav* = 'botany.' Similarly *natav* = 'nature-science' = physics. Volapük had proved to be a very easy language to learn, and its use was widely spread over the Continent. France had led the movement, and in Paris there were Volapük classes in almost every mairie, as well as at the high commercial school. In the provinces branch societies had been formed in most of the towns. After France, the country which next took up the new language was Spain; then, in order, Portugal, Italy, Austria, and South Germany. Russia has a fervent Volapükist in Mr. Harrison, an Englishman residing in St. Petersburg, who lectured on the subject to his fellow-countrymen in that city last March. Denmark and Holland had also joined the movement. There were already

eleven journals published in or on Volapük in various countries, and a comic paper in Munich. A congress to settle doubtful questions was held in Munich last August, and an Academy was established to maintain uniformity in the language. Another international congress on Volapük will be held in 1889, in connexion with the Paris Exhibition.

In the discussion Mr. Ellis remarked that Volapük presented a schoolboy's ideal grammar, there being only one declension, one conjugation, and no exceptions. He had been quite fascinated by the ingenuity and regularity of the system, and wished it every success. He thought it would be particularly useful to travellers and business men. Formerly he had believed that Italian might come into use as an international language—a purpose for which Italian was well fitted by its distinct, simple, and sonorous character. But at present the chances were against Italian and in favour of English, which was about the worst that could be chosen; and, indeed, had not been chosen at all, but had spread by the force of circumstances. The primary problem in inventing a new language was to get the roots. Bishop Wilkins founded his vocabulary on a classification of ideas. But that classification was now utterly out of date, and the words, therefore, would have lost their systematic meaning. Schleyer had escaped this result by taking existing roots, or what Linnaeus would have called 'trivial' roots. The greatest difficulty in the future employment of Volapük would be to preserve its unity; as it would become useless if it split up into dialects. He regretted to see that the Munich Congress had already made alterations in the system, and that the earlier grammars and dictionaries of Volapük were thus at variance with the later. If further changes were adopted, we should ultimately have a new confusion of Babel on the basis of Volapük. In particular, he regretted that the polite form of the pronoun second person singular had been abolished, as something of the kind appeared to be necessary, and was furnished at present in every existing language. Another great difficulty would be to teach the sounds of Volapük to others than Germans. The sounds of *ä*, *ö*, *ü*, and initial *ts*, were exceedingly troublesome to Englishmen. Schleyer had done well to avoid *r*—a very variable letter. In ancient Egyptian there was no distinction between *r* and *l*. On the other hand, Germans could not pronounce English *j* —a sound included in Volapük. When Prof. Max Müller lectured at the Royal Institution, he pronounced *relitshen* for 'religion.' Hence Volapük would be of use principally as a written and not as a spoken language.

Dr. Furnivall had expected to find a good deal of prejudice against Volapük, and hence was glad that it had been received with so much liberality. The merit of the language was that it was utterly empirical, and had come about naturally among business people. It would be a great relief from the necessity of learning that detestable German. Scientific theorists would of course object to it. Gaston Paris had condemned it, because each word was not

constructed so as to show whether it was a verb, noun, or adjective, etc. The great success of Volapük showed there was something in it.

Mr. LECKY regretted that so few members were present, as the subject of a rational language had already been discussed in the Society, and had excited much interest. Many students of the question agreed that the construction of such a systematic vocabulary and grammar was the most important practical application of philology—an object to which all historical, phonetic, and psychological researches in speech were preparatory. It was evident that Volapük fell far short of what a rational language should be. The vocabulary was entirely irrational. No word had any connexion with the meaning arbitrarily assigned to it by Schleyer. The root *Vol* would never suggest the idea of the "earth" to anybody. Even on Schleyer's method of borrowing existing words, *Vol* might mean 'theft,' 'flight,' 'volition,' 'volume,' a 'water-volo,' 'volcano,' or a 'shutter,' etc. Similarly *Pük* might be taken from a 'spook,' to 'pucker,' to 'puke,' etc. If words were not to be rational, they might at least be customary and familiar. But the English 'world,' was so deformed in making the new root *vol*, that no one could guess that any relation between them existed. Even when a natural descriptive word was already in general use, it was altered and spoiled in Volapük, as in *kuk*, from 'cuckoo.' A rational vocabulary could be founded partly on imitative sounds, as in 'cuckoo,' partly on natural exclamations, partly on signal-calls used in various branches of active labour, partly on symbolized definitions. In this last method, each letter of the word would express an element in the character of the object. As these ideas were widely held, they would, in all probability, soon take practical shape, and lead to the formation of a genuinely rational language. In the mean time, it was a waste of energy to learn such an imperfect essay as Volapük.

Mr. BRADLEY said that if Volapük was to be of any real use, its application should be restricted to commercial, mechanical, and purely utilitarian objects. Anything humorous or imaginative would break down the system. Poetry and higher literature generally implied metaphors, peculiar usages of words, unusual forms of phrases, and a general divergence from direct logical expression. This tendency would act differently in each country, and finally produce a variety of national idioms instead of one international system. As regards phonetics, some of the distinctions employed in Volapük were too minute for general adoption: *ä*, *e*, and *ei*, being identical to an English ear. Moreover, Herr Dornbusch had apparently made no distinction between *k* and *g*, *t* and *d*, *p* and *b* in his reading of Volapük aloud. Hence the use of the system for purposes of speech seemed to labour under great difficulties. Volapük was, however, a creditable invention, and its future career would be followed with interest.

Mr. George DAY said that he was, besides the lecturer, the only active Volapükist in London. In eight days he had learnt enough

of the language to write a letter to a French adherent of the system. The well-known journalist, Francisque Sarcey, considered that a good knowledge of the language could be acquired in a few days. He (Mr. Day) had received letters in Volapük from California. He had never found that any difference of pronunciation prevented him from understanding foreigners who spoke Volapük. German-Swiss and Spanish speakers were quite intelligible to each other. He gave proof of this by reading specimens aloud.

A visitor remarked that there was another attempt at a rational language called "International," invented by Dr. Esperanto, of Warsaw.

Friday, January 20, 1888.

The Rev. Prof. W. W. Skeat, M.A., LL.D., *Vice-President*, in the Chair.

Dr. J. A. H. Murray gave his yearly report on the progress of the Society's Dictionary. During the past year above 100,000 slips had been sent in by readers: 40,000 by Mr. Wm. Douglas, 25,000 by Mr. T. Austin, 10,000 from Emerson by Mr. A. Shackleton, 4372 by Mr. Henderson, 3000 by Dr. Mayow: less numbers, though often most valuable, by Mr. C. Grove, Prof. Chester, Mr. A. Beesley, Mr. Prosser (early uses from Patents), Mr. Colland, Miss Edith Thompson, Rev. J. T. Fowler, Cecil Deedes, E. Peacock, E. S. Wilson, B. R. Wilson, etc. Consulting helpers were Mr. Thistleton Dyer for botany, Mr. Corbridge for coal-mining, Mr. Martineau for rare books in the British Museum, Mr. J. T. Platts for Persian and Eastern terms, Prof. Pollock for legal terms, Prof. Rhys for Keltic words—about 1 per cent. of so-called Keltic derivatives are really so—Prof. Rieu for Persian and Turkish. The greatest helpers were the sub-editors: Mrs. Hunt, Mrs. Woods, Miss Browne, Messrs. Anderson, Beckett, Bousfield, Brandreth, Browne, Green, Henderson, Hailstone, Löwenberg, Mount, Nichols, Peto, Sugden, Schrumpf, Simpson, Smallpeice, Woods, etc. Part IV. of the Dictionary was all in proof to *Carbon*, finals to *Caudle*, copy in hand to *Carry*. Vol. I. would end with B, though Part IV. would also open Vol. II., which would contain C and D. Mr. Henry Bradley had been appointed joint editor of the Dictionary, and had begun E. He would be responsible for Vol. III. Henceforth each editor would have to produce a Part of 350 pages a year; that means four columns a day, four sent to press, four corrected and revised, and four returned in final. This speed must, to some extent, lessen research. No longer can twenty letters be written and much search taken to get six lines to find what *cadogan*, an eighteenth-century way of officers' dressing their hair, exactly meant. Some words had taken a long time to settle the development of their meaning; *carry* was three days' work. The sub-

editor gave it seventy-nine senses. These had to be grouped and reduced to sixty-three, with sub-headings. *Canon* was a hard word to work out, from the monk to the cathedral official. *Cantilevre, cant* (a corner), *cabal, cabinet, calvered salmon, campaign, can,* with all its meanings and inflexions, had also given much trouble. More good sub-editors were wanted, and more readers of early trade and art books in the Museum, and of modern novels and American authors, like Hawthorne and Lowell, whose promised readers in the United States had failed.

A special vote of thanks was passed to Dr. Murray for his report. Hope was expressed that Mr. Bradley's appointment and the regular publication of one part a year would be of great benefit to the Dictionary.

The Honorary Secretary wanted four editors of the work instead of two. Incompleteness was the necessary condition of such a book on its first issue; but, till it was out, no one had anything to work at in order to perfect it. Though the Dictionary was, and must be, defective, it was still the best in the world.

Friday, February 3, 1888.

A. J. ELLIS, Esq., *Vice-President*, in the Chair.

Dr. RICHARD MORRIS read a paper, entitled "Pâli Miscellanies." He first discussed the Buddhist origin of a passage in "Hitopadeça," i. 57:

> "Yo 'dhikâd yojanaçatât paçyatîhâmisham khagaḥ
> Sa eva prâptakâlas tu pâçabandham na paçyati."

This verse is found in "Pañca Tantra, ii. 18:

> "Ardhârdhâd yojanaçatâd âmisham vaikshati khagaḥ
> So 'pi pâçvasthitam daivâd bandhanam na ca paçyati."

The stanza as it occurs in the Jâtaka-book, ii. p. 51, is applied to a *vulture*, and not to a *pigeon*:

> "Yan nu gijjho yojanasatam kunapâni avekkhati
> Kasmâ jâlañ ca pâsañ ca âsajjâpi na bujjhasîti."

Childers registers *ussada* (=*utsada*) only in *ussada-niraya*. Passages were quoted showing the use of the word in the sense of "bump," "abundance," "perfume," "desire." *Hatthakucchapaka*, "a mode of obeisance," was compared with Sanskrit *kapotahastaka*, "a mode of joining the hands together." There was a mode of salutation called "the crocodile prostration" (*sumsumâra-patita*). *Kataggaha* was explained as "a winning throw," in contradistinction to *kaliggaha*, "a losing throw" (in a game of dice). *Dhûta*, in the sense of "ascetic," was compared with Sanskrit *avadhûta*; *dhona* (in "Sutta Nipâta") was connected with *dhona* in "ati-*dhona*-câri" (in "Dhammapada"), and referred to the root *dhâv* (Pâli *dhov*), "to wash," *cf. dhota*, "washed." This is the view taken of *dhona* in the "Mahâniddesa." Prof. Fausböll connects it with *dhû*, "to

shake." *Khâri-bhâra* is wrongly translated "provisions" in the "Vinçyya" texts; *khârî* = tâpasa-parikkhârâ. *Sâlitta-sippa*, "the art of slinging stones," was illustrated from the "Jâtakas," i. p. 418. *Odagya*, "elation," represents the older *audagrya* from *udagra* (Pâli *udagga*). *Jâpeti*, the causal of *jînâti* (from root *jyâ* or *jî*), was illustrated, together with the use of *rupati* = *lumpati*. *Unnaṅgalam karoti*, a frequent expression in the "Jâtakas," is equivalent to *khobheti* or *saṅkhobheti*. Childers's explanation of *dûteyya* was criticised. In the "Jâtakas" a *kuntanî* is said to have been employed as a messenger (*dûteyya*-hârikâ). *Nisabhanâdâna*, in "Anâgata-vamsa," was shown to be a mistake for *nisabhanthâna*, representing the older *âsabhanthâna* = "ntamatthâna," Sanskrit *âshabhamsthâna* (Mahâvyutpatti). *Oramati*, which has usually the meaning of "to cease," "to stop," is employed in the sense of *vikkamati*, "to strive," "to use exertion" (see "Jât.," i. p. 498, and iii. p. 185). The phrase, "vikkamâmî na pâremi," was compared with a passage in "Çakuntala"—"*vavasîddhi na* pâremi." In the explanation of *oramati*, the Com. employs *osâreti*. This may stand for *osâyeti* or *osâpeti* for *vosâpeti* from *vy-ava-sâ*, "to strive." *Osâpeti* occurs in the "Samyutta," in the sense of "to betake oneself to." In the "Jâtakas," book i. p. 25, it means "to place," "to put." The difficult form *osati*, sometimes written *opati*, may perhaps be a contraction of *ava-sâyayati* = "to put," "place." Dr. Trenckner would make two forms, and would refer them to *âvap* and *âvas*. In Sanskrit literature frequent mention is made of the faculty the *hamsa* has to separate the milk from a mixture of milk and water. In Pâli literature this power is ascribed to the *koñca*; and in "Sumangala," p. 305, Buddhaghosa compares an *ariyasâvaka* to a *koñca*, because if a mixture of spirit and water were put to his mouth, the water only would enter it.

Friday, February 17, 1888.

A. J. Ellis, Esq., *Vice-President*, in the Chair.

Dr. Joseph Wright read a paper on "The Dialect of Windhill, in the West Riding of Yorkshire." After discussing the qualifications necessary for an investigator of dialects, and the principles upon which a dialect grammar should be made, and stating that dialect work was almost worthless unless it was done by a man with a sound theoretical and practical training in phonetics and philology, Dr. Wright mentioned, from his own dialect and standard English, several sound laws which could only be grasped upon philological principles, such as the change of initial *kl-* to *tl-* and *gl-* to *dl-*; the change of final *t* to *r* in monosyllabic words, when *t* is preceded by a short vowel and the next word begins with a vowel, *e.g. a mît im* beside *a mer im* "I met him"; the Windhill forms *brig*, *flig*, *rig* (back), *lig*, *mig*, *seeg*, *neeg*, *eeg*, *flik*, *reik*, beside standard English bridge, fledge, ridge, lie, midge, saw (a tool), gnaw, haw- (in hawthorn), flitch, reach; the development of *b*

between *m*—*l*, *m*—*r*, and of *d* between *n*—*l*, *n*—*r* in standard English, where the Windhill dialect has not developed them, *umɔl* "humble," *tremɔl* "tremble," *slumɔr* "slumber," *lumɔr* "lumber," *anɔl* "handle," *kinɔl* "kindle," *thunɔr* "thunder," *ganɔr* "gander"; or why the *u* in words of French origin has influenced the *s*, *t*, in standard English words like *sugar*, *future*, &c., but has simply been diphthongised to *iu* in the Windhill dialect, *siugɔr*, *fiutɔr*, &c. He next proceeded to show the great use to which dialect work might be put, to clear up many unsettled points of Old and Modern English phonology; as that the *u* in O.E. *rust* "rust," *sluma* "slumber," must have been long, because in the Windhill dialect the vowel in these words now appears as *ā*, *rāst*, *slām*, "slumber," which presupposes an old long *ū*. The Windhill dialect still keeps quite apart, O.E. *ē* (=W. *ī*), *ǣ* (=W. *iə*), and old *e* in open syllables (=W. *ei*), all three of which have become *ī* in standard English; and several other vowel sounds which have regularly fallen together in the literary language, such as *jād* "yard" (=3 feet) and *jād* "yard" (=enclosed space), *wɔk* "work" verb, and *wāk* "work" noun, *li* "to lie" (mentiri), *lig* "to lie down," etc. Dr. Wright strongly condemned the prevalent tendency to assign undue importance to Scandinavian influence upon English. And, although he granted that there is a sprinkling of Norse forms in English, he quoted several forms generally supposed to be due to Norse influence, but which he maintained had been regularly developed on English ground from their corresponding O.E. forms; such as the development of O.E. *d* to voiced *th* in words like father, mother, weather, gather, hither, thither, whither, etc., where *d* has become *th* through the influence of the following *r*. He said that in very many English dialects, as in the Windhill dialect, intervocalic *d* followed by *r* invariably becomes voiced *th*, even in words of French origin, as *pāther* "powder," *consither* "consider," which shows the absurdity of assuming Norse influence upon such words. After this he gave a phonetic description of the vowel system of the Windhill dialect, tracing each sound back to its O.E. form. In the historical part, he was obliged to confine himself almost exclusively to the Windhill development of the O.E. vowels and diphthongs of accented syllables, mentioning here and there only what their development was in other than chief accented syllables. But Dr. Wright volunteered to treat the rest—the vowels of other than chief accented syllables, the consonant system (which he said contained many peculiarities) and the accidence—at some future meeting. He also promised a paper on "Some Mistaken Notions of the Principles of English Philology, as illustrated in Modern Etymological Dictionaries."

Friday, March 2, 1888.

A. J. Ellis, Esq., F.R.S., *Vice-President*, in the Chair.

Mr. Robert L. Cassie, shorthand-writer, was proposed for admission into the Society by the Hon. Sec., by leave of the Council.

The paper read was "On Omissions, Redundancies, and Developments in Western English Dialects," by F. T. Elworthy, Esq. He instanced the way in which prepositions and pronouns, and verbs and pronouns were amalgamated; how the past participle was used for the infinitive, *seed* for 'see'; how *it* was used for 'them,' referring to 'apples' collectively, *'un* to a single apple; 'hath her a loss 'un? 'has she lost it?' Larf *of*, is laugh *at*; 'titch o 'un,' touch it. Water burns, and fire scalds in West Somerset; you tear the window, and break your clothes. 'About a dree or more an' twenty' has the old *a* before the numeral. 'About' is always followed by 'of': 'get un reddy about of a Friday, about of a zix o'clock.' About also is 'for the purpose of': poor trade (soil) about o' growin o' corn? 'Putt un down tap o' the table,' upon the top of the table. To=at; to zeven o'clock; 'he was to skittles;' 'buried to cemetery.' The subject is often put after the predicate. 'Goes very catchin (lame), that horse.' *A* is dropt after 'such': 'he jitch grubber,' (the horse) is such a grubber. *The* is left out before 'same as'; before place-names, etc., 'send to lime' to the lime kiln. 'You'll be putt to doors,' put out of the doors. A 'pedigree' is a rigmarole; *nif* is 'if'; 'gather' collect money. 'We shall force to stop work,' be forced to stop work. 'Twadn my boy dude it,' it wasn't my boy who did it. 'There' and 'when' are often left out. 'Zweet's a nut,' as sweet as a nut. 'Shockin bad what yours be' compared to what yours are. Prepositions are often left out, 'mother-law' 'this quarter's hour,' (quarter of an hour), 'vor ax o' ee,' for to ask you. For redundancies, negatives are multiplied, five together in some short sentences. 'Like' may be tackt on to any sentence. 'Here': 'these here here be,' 'these here here taytotals,'—with whom West-Somersetors don't hold; 'thik there here there' that one. Day: 'Midsummer-day day, Lady-day day.' To: 'where they be tu,' where they are. 'Sarternoon' this afternoon, 'to-morrow tarternoon' to-morrow afternoon. For: 'why vor he com to go' why he came to go. In: 'tidn no indeterment,' that is, no detriment. 'To-morrow cum wik,' to-morrow week. 'Last Tuesday was mornin,' Tuesday morning. Bit: 'not a morsel-bit left.' Development: strong perfects were increasing: a mother said 'wear'd' clothes, her child 'wore,' and the mother then adopted 'wor'd.' The third person *eth* was disappearing and *us* taking its place as an intrans. form. New words like 'single' for a steel pen (without a holder) were coming in. The school board was not killing dialects; it was only developing them.

The Paper was part of, and was read from the Introduction to Mr. Elworthy's *Word-Book of West Somerset* for the English Dialect Society, a book since printed: and to that the reader is referred for fuller information.

The thanks of the Meeting were voted to Mr. ELWORTHY for his Paper.

Friday, March 16th, 1888.

A. J. ELLIS, Esq., F.R.S., *Vice-President*, in the Chair.

Mr. Robert L. Cassie was duly elected a Member of the Society.

The Paper promised for the evening not having been sent, Dr. FURNIVALL gave an account of THOMAS VICARY (the first Resident Surgical Governor of St. Bartholomew's Hospital), and his *Anatomie of the Body of Man*, 1548, which Dr. FURNIVALL and his son Percy, a Student of Barts, are editing for the Early English Text Society, Part I. to appear in its Extra Series, 1888.

The first tidings of Vicary [1] (who was probably born between 1490 and 1500) are, that he was 'a meane practiser (had a moderate practise) at Maidstone,' and was not a traind Surgeon. In 1525 he is Junior of the three Wardens of the Barbers' or Barber-Surgeons' Company in London. In 1528 he is Upper or first Warden of the Company, and one of the Surgeons to Henry VIII., at £20 a year. In 1530 he is Master of the Barber-Surgeons' Company, and is appointed—in reversion after the death of Marcellus de la More—Serjeant of the Surgeons, and Chief Surgeon to the King. This Headship of his Profession, Vicary takes in 1535 or 1536, together with pay of £26 13*s.* 4*d.*, and holds it (under Edw. VI., Q. Mary, and Q. Elizabeth) till his death in 1561 or 1562. He is the Paget of his great Tudor time.

In 1535, a fresh Grant is made to Vicary of either his old twenty pounds a year, or a fresh one. In 1539, Vicary gets from Henry VIII. a beneficial lease for 21 years of the Rectory-house, tithes, &c. of the dissolvd Boxley Abbey in Kent, close to Maidstone; and as he is a person of influence with the King, a rich Northamptonshire squire, Anthony Wodehull, who has an infant daughter, and is probably a patient of the chief Court Surgeon, appoints Vicary as one of the Trustees of his Will (proved Oct. 11, 1542), with a view (no doubt) to the protection of his girl's property and person during her nonage. In 1541, as the acknowledgd Head of his profession, Vicary is appointed the First Master of the newly amalgamated Companies of Barbers and Surgeons, and is painted—with other Surgeons, Barbers and Physicians—by Holbein. In this year 1541, he also gets a beneficial lease for 60 years, from Sir Thos. Wyat, the poet, of lands in Boxley, Kent. In 1542, he and his son William (also probably a Surgeon) are appointed by Henry, Bailiffs of Boxley Manor, &c. in Kent, with yearly salaries of £10 each. In Sept. 1546-7, Vicary is again Master of the united Company of Barbers and Surgeons. In Dec. 1547, he marries his second wife, Alice Bucke.

[1] This sketch is used in the Temporary Foretalk to Part I of *Vicary*, and also in *Notes and Queries*.

In 1546-7, Henry VIII. handed over Bartholomew's (with other Hospitals, &c.) to the City of London. He gave it a small endowment (nominally £333 odd) out of tumble-down houses, which he charged with pensions to parsons. The balance of the endowment was but enough to keep, as patients, 'thre or foure harlottes, then being in chyldbedde.' So the City set to work, raisd £1000 for repairs, fittings &c., practically re-opend the Hospital, for 100 patients, and, on 20 Sept. 1548, appointed Chief-Surgeon Vicary as one of the 6 new Governors of the Hospital to act with the 6 old ones. Vicary must soon after have become Resident Surgical Governor of the Hospital. He was re-appointed annually; he is given the old Convent Garden in June 1551; and in June 1552 is made 'one of the assistants of this house for the terme of his lyffe' (extract by Dr. N. Moore). He has 3 Surgeons under him, at £18 (1549), and then £20 (1552) a year each. The Hospital finds him a Livery gown, and repairs his house. He holds his appointment till his death, late in 1561, or early in 1562. That to him is due part of the Hospital organization, and some of the beautiful unselfish spirit shown in the City 'Ordre' for Barts in 1552, we do not doubt. This 'Ordre' no one can read without admiring.

In Sept. 1548, Vicary was, for the 4th time, elected Master of the Barber-Surgeons. In 1548 too, he publisht his *Anatomie*, the first in English on the subject. The book was reprinted by the Surgeons of Barts in 1577, with a few Forewords; and from the unique copy of that issue, the earliest now known, our reprint is made. Frequently supplemented, Vicary's little *Anatomie* held the field for 150 years. (Unluckily the biographical details of an Italian doctor in one of the added Treatises have been lately set down to Vicary.)

In 1553, Queen Mary made a special grant to Vicary of the Arrears of his Chief Court-Surgeons' Annuity of £26 13*s.* 4*d.*, which he came into in 1536, on De la More's death or resignation. In 1554 he was appointed Surgeon to Mary's husband, K. Philip; and in 1555, Philip and Mary re-granted to Vicary—his son William being doubtless then dead—the Bailiffship of the Manor of Boxley, &c. and the 2 Annuities of £10, which Henry VIII. had granted to Vicary and his son in 1542. Year by year Vicary quietly workt on, doing his duty to the sick poor at Barts, and in the Barber-Surgeons' Company. He had saved money enough by March 1557-8, to lend his brother-in-law, Thos Dunkyn, yeoman of St. Leonard's, Shoreditch, £100, which he secures in favour of his nephew Thomas Vicary, of Tenterden in Kent, clothier; and possibly about this time he buys of Jn. Joyce a house and some land next to Boxley Church, in Kent, which he devises to his nephew Stephen Vicary, son of his brother William, late of Boxley. In Sept. 1557-8, he is, for the 5th and last time, Master of the Barber-Surgeons' Company.

On Jan. 27, 1560-1, Vicary makes his Will; and he probably dies late in 1561, or early in 1562, as the last payment to him of his Annuity of £20 is in Sept. 1561, and his Will is proved by his widow on April 7, 1562. Where he is buried, we have not yet been

able to find. Shortly before his death he was (says Mr. S. Young) named in a Commission of Queen Elizabeth's to the Barber-Surgeons' Company to press Surgeons for her military service.

We shall, in our Forewords, give further details about Vicary and his life and times; and in our Appendix to Part I., 250 pages of Documents, extracts from Records, &c. about Vicary, the London and Surgeons of his time, &c.

Vicary's *Anatomie* was the first English Handbook printed on its subject. It is mainly from tradition, and not dissection. It begins at the top of man's head, and goes down to his toes, giving a short description of each part of the body. It has some curious words. How many of our members know what *Syfac* is, or *Myrac*?

"The wombe is the region or the citie of al the Intrils; the whiche reacheth from the Midriffe downe vnto the share inwardly, and outwardly from the Reynes or Kydnes, downe to the bone Pecten, about the priuie partes. And thys wombe is compounde and made of two thinges, that is to say, of *Syfac* and *Myrac*. *Syfac* is a Panniele, and a member spermatike, official, sensible, senowy, compound of subtil Wyl, and in complexion colde and drye, haning his beginning at the inner Panniele of the Midriffe. And it was ordeyned because it should conteyne and bind together al the Intrals, and that he defende the Musculus so that he oppresse not the natural members. And that he is strong and tough; it is because he should not be lightly broken, and that those thinges that are conteyned goo not foorth, as it happeneth to them that are broken, &c.

"*Myrac* is compound and made of foure things, that is, of skin outwardly, of fatness, of a carnous panniele, and of Musculus fleshe. And that it is to be vnderstanded that all the whole from *Sifac* outwards, is called *Myrac*, it appeareth wel by the wordes of Galen, where he commaundeth, that in al woundes of the wombe, to sewe the *Sifac* with the *Myrac*; and by that it proueth, that there is nothing without the *Sifac*, but *Myrac*."

By Dr. Neubauer's help we find that *Sifac* is the Peritoneum, and *Myrac* the soft parts of the belly. These words, like Zirbus, the omentum, were no doubt taken from the Middle-Age Latin translation of the Arab Doctor, Haly Abbas. 'Wyl' seems to mean fibres. *Isinon* and *Gwidege* are other awkward words.

"And that pannikle that is meane betweene the Wesand and the throte bol, is called *Isinon*. Also ye shal vnderstand, that the great Veines which rameſie by the sydes of the necke to the vpper part of the head, is of some men called *Gwidege*, & of others *Vena organices*, the incision of whom is perillous."

Isinon has beaten us. On *Gwidege* we find only in Florio, '*Guidégi*, certaine veines in the throate.' It is, says Dr. Neubauer, 'A corruption for Arab. '*irek*, vein: the '*i* = *ain*, is the strongest guttural, written by *gu*; the confusion of *r* and *d* is common in Arabic texts.' A few other words and passages were quoted.

The thanks of the Meeting were passed to the reader of the Paper for filling-up the vacant evening.

Friday, April 6, 1888.

A. J. Ellis, Esq., F.R.S., *Vice-President*, in the Chair.

Mr. P. De Lacy Johnstone, M.A., of Balliol Coll., Oxford, was proposed by Dr. F. J. Furnivall as a candidate for admission into the Society.

The Paper read was: "On the different MSS. and Versions of Hampole's *Pricke of Conscience* in the British Museum," by Dr. Percy Andreae. The Museum, the writer said, has in its possession eighteen MSS. of Hampole's poem, only four of which proved complete, and these four, unfortunately, all containing later and considerably modified texts. These eighteen MSS. form four distinct groups, traceable to four different versions of the poem. Three of these versions, A, B and C, comprising no less than sixteen MSS., are again derived—more or less indirectly—from a common source Q, rarely differing from the text of the fourth version Z, as represented by the two remaining MSS., Harl. 4196, and Cotton Galba E IX. Proof of this was afforded by a comparison of the three shorter and considerably altered versions, A, B, and C, with the text of version Z. The result of this comparison, which extended over 500 lines taken from various parts of the poem, was to show that the reading of version Z, on which Dr. Richard Morris based his excellent edition of the poem, is in all essential particulars invariably corroborated by the reading of at least one of the three other versions. Slighter points of difference from Z, common to *all* the three versions, A, B, and C, only serve as evidence of their common origin in a source Q. The reasons for the innumerable alterations of the original text, which characterize the sixteen MSS. belonging to versions A, B, and C, are, for the most part, of a metrical kind. Metre and rhythm were not Hampole's strongest points. His verse was often barely distinguishable from rhymed prose. The number of feet in each verse varied between four and seven; and as to rhythm, it was sometimes only attainable by dint of an accentuation which rendered the language almost unrecognizable. These faults—and various other peculiarities, such as constant reiteration of the same words and phrases, a favourite practice of Hampole's—versions A, B, and C, had been at pains to modify. Dialectal considerations, on the other hand, were rarely the cause of textual alterations. Indeed, the midland version B had, curiously enough, taken less liberties with the original text than the two northern versions A and C. Yet the usefulness of this midland text for clearing up certain textual and dialectal obscurities of the original poem is not to be denied. In allusion to the intention of the Early English Text Society to bring out a new edition of Hampole's poem, Dr. Andreae pointed out that a better text than that from which Dr. Morris had edited his work was not likely to be found. However, in a new edition, the Q text, which was the original source of versions A, B, and C, should be taken into account. Possibly the Q text itself might still be discovered among the

thirty or forty, if not more, MSS. of the poem still extant in the various public and private libraries of the country. If not, the editor's task would be to reconstruct it from the texts of versions A, B, and C. The paper concluded with a brief account of the interpolations peculiar to some of the MSS., and a reference to the inadvertent omission of fourteen lines in Dr. Morris's edition.

Friday, April 20, 1888.

E. L. BRANDRETH, Esq., in the Chair.

Mr. P. De Lacy Johnstone, M.A., Balliol College, Oxford, was duly elected a Member of the Society.

A Petition for the continuance to the late Dr. R. G. Latham's widow and daughter of his Civil List Pension of £100 a year was signed by all the Members present.

Mr. ALEX. J. ELLIS, *Vice-President*, read a paper on *Home and Colonial Cockneyisms* as respected pronunciation. For the home usages he dwelt especially on the transposition of *h*, the use of *-in'* for *-ing* in participles, the sounding of *paper* like *piper*, and of *nose* like *nows*, the use of *aow* for *ow* in *cow*, the lengthening of *o* to *aw* in *dog*, *coffee*, the euphonic *r* in *saw-r 'im*, the conversion of *cab* into *keb*, *light* nearly into *loyt*, *news* into *noose*, *loin* into *line*, the transposition of *w* and *v*, and other points. He showed that none of these habits arose in London, but had been imported, some recently, while older habits had gone out. He contended, therefore, that there was no cockney dialect at home. But it seemed possible that one would be established in the Australasian Colonies, as evidenced by the result of an examination of school-children by Mr. Samuel McBurney, late Principal of the Ladies' College at Geelong, in 1887, through many places in Victoria, New South Wales, Queensland, Tasmania, and New Zealand, reported especially for Mr. Ellis's *Existing Phonology of English Dialects*. These were given in a remarkable tabular form which will appear in that work at length, and fully showed the existing prevalence of so-called Cockneyisms independently of the parentage of the children.

Friday May 4, 1888.

The Rev. Dr. R. MORRIS, *Vice-President*, in the Chair.

Mr. G. Milner-Gibson-Cullum was proposed by Dr. F. J. FURNIVALL, from personal knowledge, as a candidate for admission into the Society.

Mr. ALEX. J. ELLIS gave the following account of the present state of Part V. of his *Early English Pronunciation*, containing "The Existing Phonology of English Dialects."

On the first meeting in May last year, Mr. Ellis read his "Second Report on Dialectal Work," in which he stated that the first draft for all England was complete, and gave an account of what the

Scottish portion was intended to contain, and at the same time exhibited his maps of the Dialect Districts of the whole of the English-speaking part of the country. In the year since elapsed the following progress had been made:

On 30th July, 1887, the whole of the first draft of the Lowland Scotch division, including the Orkneys and Shetlands, was completed, and on the following 15th August the first draft of the abridgment of the whole work for the English Dialect Society was also completed. On 14th October following, the MS. of the Southern, Western, and Eastern divisions was finally corrected for press and sent to the printer. On 8th November, 1887, the first proofs were received. Up to the present day 29 pages of Preliminary matter, and 304 pages of the book itself, giving a total of 333 pages, have been put in type, containing the whole of the Southern, Western, and Eastern division districts 1 to 19, together with the commencement of the Midland division. Of these, 16 pages of Preliminary matter and 208 pages of the work itself, in all 14 sheets, have been printed off. The remaining 96 pages are under correction and more or less advanced. Mr. T. Hallam, who has contributed so much information by his travels for the purpose of examining and recording dialectal pronunciation in the Midland Counties and those adjoining them on the South, has kindly undertaken the correction of all portions founded upon his notes; but on account of his business engagements and his conscientious reference in all cases to his original notes, which is sometimes very laborious, considerable delays have occurred in some sheets, which accounts for so much matter being still under correction.

The manuscript for the whole of the Midland division, districts 20 to 29, has, with the exception of a few pages depending on Mr. Hallam, been finally corrected for press, and will be sent to the printers next week. Of the Northern division, districts 30 to 32, only the first has been finally corrected for press, the second is under revision, and the third, together with the whole Lowland Scotch division, districts 32 to 42, still requires preparation for press. The chapter on Results cannot, of course, be written till the whole of this correction has been accomplished. The remainder of the Preliminary matter, containing the Alphabetical County List of the numerous contributions received, of which the first draft is ready, the Alphabetical Informants' List, and the Table of Dialectal Palaeotype, with explanations of the meaning of the signs and references to the pages where they are more particularly explained, cannot, of course, be completed till the rest is in type. All this would probably occupy 500 pages more.

If all be well, Mr. Ellis hopes that the work will be completed by this time next year. At present he is giving up more than half his time and strength to the work. Thus out of the 363 days which have elapsed since his second report he has worked on dialects for 233, and out of the 1918 hours for which he has been enabled to work on any subject whatever during that time, he has devoted 1043 hours to this book. It will probably take as many

hours more to complete it, and circumstances prevent him from feeling absolutely certain that he will be able to accomplish his work by the time anticipated; but if he does not it will be his misfortune, not his fault.

Mr. E. L. BRANDRETH gave an account of some work he had been doing as one of the Subeditors of the Society's Dictionary. It related to words beginning with H.

1. Of *Home-Rule*, he said the invention of the compound, or at all events the first memorable use of it, was to be attributed to the late Mr. A. M. Sullivan, the editor of the *Nation*. Mr. Sullivan placed the words THE VOTE FOR HOME RULE as one of the headings for the national petition to the Queen published in the *Nation*, July 28th, 1860. The phrase has not been met with again until several years afterwards. It was not even used with reference to the celebrated movement set going by some Irish Protestants out of disgust with Mr. Gladstone, at the Bilton Hotel, Dublin, on May 19th, 1870, and termed 'The Home Government Association of Ireland.' This movement was afterwards joined by the great body of the Irish Nationalists, and the name Home-rule soon after given to it. The phrase was used by Mr. G. Brodrick in a lecture given by him in the early part of 1871, and published in *Macmillan's Magazine* for May, 1871. The first utterance of it in Parliament is attributed to Mr. J. F. Maguire, the Member for Cork, who, on the 26th June, 1871, told the House that there was "a wonderful amount of misconception in respect to what is termed 'Home Rule'" (Hansard, ccvii. 634). That was a memorable sound of the terrible phrase, for from the date of that speech, as may be seen from the newspapers, it came rapidly into universal use.

2. The original meaning of *home* in O.E. was the village or community as distinguished from the *tun*, the separate holding or dwelling. It was the translation of the Lat. *vicus*, and the Lith. and Gr. cognates have the same meaning, but the Skr. cognate *kshema* signifies a place of rest. The Pali form is *khemam*, and is a term for *nirvāna*, the Buddhist state of eternal bliss. We also speak of heaven as 'home,' and of the grave as our 'long home.'

3. With reference to one of the meanings of *heat*, a mistake in Dr. Johnson's Dict. was referred to: "5. One violent action uninterrmitted. The continual agitations of the spirits, must needs be a weakening of any constitution, especially in age; and many causes are required for refreshment between the heats. *Dryden.*" Here 'cause' is a misprint for 'pause.' See Pref. to the *Fables*, ed. 1700, p. 5, and all subsequent editions. Further on we have also in Johnson, "7. Course at a race, between each of which courses there is an intermission.

> Feign'd zeal, you saw set out the speedier pace;
> But the last heat, plain dealing won the race.—*Dryden.*"

In both of the foregoing quotations, though different definitions are assigned to them, the meaning of the word *heat* is absolutely the same. In Dryden's century, constant notices are given in the

London Gazette of plates to be run for in heats for horses, and even women ran for smocks in half-mile heats. It is clear enough, therefore, that Dryden uses this word in its figurative sense in both the above-mentioned passages. The learned editors of the later dictionaries complacently repeat Johnson's first-mentioned quotation with its misprint—without any misgiving as to its obvious want of sense in consequence of that misprint—with the exception of Worcester, who wisely omits it, if he was not able to verify it. In Webster's and the Imperial dictionary the quotation is given with the omission of the context which shows that the word is used in a figurative sense, all that is retained being "Causes are required for refreshment between the heats;" as if with the object of making the quotation do duty for a literal race of horses.

4. In referring to the word *heart*, Mr. Brandreth gave an account of the logical basis on which he conceived the different meanings of the word should be placed. It was not quite correct to speak of the heart as the seat of the emotions without qualification. The heart was only connected with the emotions when they were deep, strong, or otherwise intensified. The existing dictionaries made no distinction in the examples given between the heart as the seat of such emotions, and as signifying the emotions themselves. This distinction should be clearly drawn. There would still, however, remain a very large class of expressions, which can only be satisfactorily explained by regarding the heart as personified in them. Such expressions as 'joy, sorrow of heart,' 'the heart rejoices, sorrows,' 'pleasure to a feeling heart,' are all instances of personification. The heart, too, had eyes, ears, tongue, and even a heart of its own. In Queen Elizabeth's time it used to go down on its knees. Again, the heart is sometimes put for the man himself, not as a personification. Thus we may say 'an innocent heart was condemned to death,' 'the poor little heart was much to be pitied.' A beloved person is 'a dear heart,' 'a sweet heart.' As with the emotions, so it is necessary to distinguish between the heart as the seat of courage, and as courage itself. We speak both of 'courage in the heart,' and also of 'lack of heart.' The same distinction is to be made in regard to the heart as denoting the intellect. With reference to this sense of the word, some remarks were made about the peculiar expression of 'getting or learning by heart.' No earlier quotation had been found for it than that from Chaucer, "I . . . kan by heart every language." It appeared to be a literal translation of the French *par cœur*. This mode of expression, as far as was known, had not been developed in any other language.

5. With reference to the word *health*, it was stated that the principal meaning in O.E. was cure or healing, and this sense lasted until the end of the sixteenth century; as in Coverdale, *Acts* iv. 22, "The man upon whom this token of health was done was above 10 yeare old." Next, health came to mean 'healthiness,' as in Trevisa, *Spec. of Early Eng.* pt. ii. 235, "Brytain passeþ Irlond yn fayr weder & nobleté, bote noȝt in helthe," where it is a translation of *salubritas*. Then when Romance words, like 'cure,

remedy,' took the place of the early sense of health, and the derivatives of health, as healthiness, etc., were used for salubrity, O.E. *heal* became obsolete, its sense being absorbed by 'health.' The only meaning of health in connection with the body, according to our modern dictionaries, is "freedom from bodily illness, a sound and healthy state of all the functions." There seems, however, another sense, quite as obvious, which is never given, namely "The state or condition generally of the functions of the body," in such instances as 'asking after a person's health,' 'a delicate state of health,' 'good or bad health.'

6. In regard to the word *head*, a new account was said to have been opened for the unspoken language of the head, which embraced a great number of movements and uses of the head, such as bearing up, holding high, hanging, lifting up, nodding, scratching, shaking, tossing, turning, turning aside, wagging, etc. Figurative expressions connected therewith were also given under the same heading. In the discussion which followed, Mr. MARTINEAU said with reference to *heart*, that he believed in most cases where heart was taken to mean mind or intellect, it would be found that it was derived from the Bible sense of that word, as indeed appeared in the quotation Mr. Brandreth had himself given in illustration of his remarks, viz. "Mary kept all these things and pondered them in her heart."

Friday, May 18, 1888.

ANNIVERSARY MEETING.

The Rev. Professor SAYCE, *President*, in the Chair.

Mr. G. Milner-Gibson-Cullum was duly elected a Member.

The *Treasurer* read the Society's Cash Account, for 1887. A vote of thanks to him and the Auditors, Messrs. D. P. FRY and H. B. WHEATLEY, was passed.

Thanks were also voted unanimously to the Council of University College for the use of the College rooms for the Society's Meetings.

The *President* read his Biennial Address "On the extinct Languages of Western Asia; the Decipherment of the Cuneiform Inscriptions, and the bearing of it on Comparative Philology." The Address is issued with this *Abstract*, and is also printed in Part I. of the Society's *Transactions for* 1888-90.

A vote of thanks to Prof. SAYCE for his Address and his services to the Society during the past two years was past by acclamation.

The following Members were elected its Officers for next Session:

President: THE REV. RICHARD MORRIS, LL.D., M.A.

Vice-Presidents: WHITLEY STOKES, D.C.L., LL.D., M.A.; ALEXANDER JOHN ELLIS, B.A., F.R.S.; HENRY SWEET, M.A., PH.D.; JAS. A. H. MURRAY, LL.D., M.A.; PRINCE LOUIS-LUCIEN BONAPARTE; THE REV. PROF. W. W. SKEAT, M.A., LL.D., LITT. DOC.

TREASURER'S CASH ACCOUNT, 1887.

Dr. BENJAMIN DAWSON, Esq., *Treasurer, in account with the Philological Society.* *Cr.*

1887. CASH RECEIVED.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Jan. 1.						
To Balance				35	18	4
Jan. 1 to Dec. 31. To Sums received in 1887—						
For Arrears	8	8	0			
„ Entrance Fees	4	4	0			
„ Subscriptions, 1887	84	0	0			
„ Life Composition	10	10	0			
				107	2	0
Excess on Cheques				0	1	6
For Sale of Transactions				82	1	8
				225	3	6
Received from Members for copies of the Society's Dictionary				19	19	0
				£245	2	6

1887. CASH PAID.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Jan. 1 to Dec. 31.						
By Printing—Austin & Sons, Irish Glosses, Abstracts, etc.				134	8	8
„ Maps—Philip & Son, for Mr. Ellis's Dialects				2	14	0
„ Index to Transactions, Mr. Wood				2	2	0
„ Meetings—Expenses of Rooms, and Refreshments				20	1	9
„ Bankers' Charges				0	4	2
„ Hon. Secretary's Clerk (1886)				2	2	0
„ Postage and other Expenses, Hon. Sec. (1886–87)				2	0	0
„ Treasurer's Postage, etc., including the Dictionary				1	6	6
„ Balance at Bankers (including Dictionary account)	58	0	1			
„ „ in Treasurer's hands	0	16	4	58	16	5
				223	15	6
Paid to Clarendon Press for Members' copies of the Society's Dictionary				21	7	0
				£245	2	6

We have examined this Account with the Books and Vouchers, and certify that it is correct.

APRIL 28, 1888.

(Signed) DANBY P. FRY, HENRY B. WHEATLEY, } AUDITORS.

Ordinary Members of Council: HENRY BRADLEY, Esq.; E. L. BRANDRETH, Esq.; PROF. TERRIEN DE LACOUPERIE, PH. D., LITT. DOC.; F. T. ELWORTHY, Esq.; C. A. M. FENNELL, A.M., LITT. DOC.; HY. HUCKS GIBBS, M.A.; T. HENDERSON, M.A.; JAMES LECKY, Esq.; PROF. R. MARTINEAU, M.A.; W. R. MORFILL, M.A.; PROF. NAPIER, M.A., PH.D.; J. PEILE, M.A., LITT. DOC.; THEO. G. PINCHES, Esq.; PROF. J. P. POSTGATE, M.A., LITT. DOC.; W. R. S. RALSTON, Esq.; PROF. C. RIEU, PH.D.; THE REV. A. H. SAYCE, M.A.; E. B. TYLOR, D.C.L.; H. WEDGWOOD, M.A.; R. F. WEYMOUTH, D.LIT., M.A.

Treasurer: BENJAMIN DAWSON, B.A., The Mount, Hampstead, London, N.W.

Hon. Secretary: F. J. FURNIVALL, M.A., PH.D., 3, St. George's Square, Primrose Hill, London, N.W.

The new *President*, Dr. R. MORRIS, then took the Chair, thanked the Society for his election, and promised a paper on Pali next year.

Friday, June 1, 1888.

The Rev. Dr. RICHARD MORRIS, *President*, in the Chair.

The Papers read were (1) "On the Vocalic Laws of the Latin Language," by E. R. WHARTON, M.A., Jesus College, Oxford. (Read by the writer's brother.)

(2) "A List of Words used by the Cayapas Tribe of Indians in the interior of Ecuador and their equivalents in the Quichua, the Northern Peruvian Dialect," by Mr. GUSTAVUS WILCZYNSKI, communicated by Mr. Charles Cheston, Solicitor.

The thanks of the Meeting were voted to the Writers and Readers of the Papers, which are issued with this *Abstract*, and will be printed in Part I. of the Society's *Transactions for* 1888-90.

Friday, June 15, 1888.

HENRY BRADLEY, Esq., in the Chair.

R. T. Elliott, B.A., late Scholar of Worcester College, Oxford, was proposed as a candidate for admission by the Rev. Prof. SAYCE.

The Paper read was by A. J. ELLIS, Esq., F.R.S., *Vice-President*, "On the Conditions of a Universal Language in reference to the Invitation of the American Philosophical Society, and its Report on Volapük," which has been issued, and will be printed in Part I. of the Society's *Transactions for* 1888-90.

The thanks of the Meeting were voted to Mr. ELLIS for his Paper, and five hundred extra copies of it were ordered to be printed for distribution in America, here, and on the Continent.

The *Hon. Sec.* explained that the delay in the issue of the *Quarterly Abstract* was due to the illness of its Editor, Mr. JAMES LECKY.

APPENDIX.

CAXTON'S SYNTAX AND STYLE

(WITH AN ACCOUNT OF THE MSS. AND PRINTS OF THE ROMANCE OF *BLANCHARDYN AND EGLANTINE*)

BY

DR. LEON KELLNER

OF VIENNA.

(From Dr. K.'s edition of Caxton's englisht *Blanchardyn and Eglantine* for the EARLY ENGLISH TEXT SOCIETY, 1890.)

PRINTED FOR THE PHILOLOGICAL SOCIETY, 1890.

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LIST OF BOOKS QUOTED IN THE INTRODUCTION.

Abbott, A Shakspearian Grammar.
Aelfric's Homilies. Ed. B. Thorpe.
Aelfric's Lives of Saints. Ed. Skeat, E. E. T. S.
Ancren Riwle. Ed. Morton.
Ayenbite of Inwyt, by Dan Michel. Ed. R. Morris, E. E. T. S.
Aymon, The four Sonnes of, by Caxton. Ed. Octavia Richardson, E. E. T. S.
Beowulf. Ed. M. Heyne, Paderborn, 1879.
Blades, William Caxton, 4°.
Blanchardyn and Eglantyne. The present edition.
Blickling Homilies. Ed. R. Morris, E. E. T. S.
Boorde, Andrew. Ed. J. F. Furnivall, E. E. T. S.
Charles the Grete, by Caxton. Ed. S. J. Herrtage, E. E. T. S.
Chaucer, Bocce. Boethius's De Consolatione philosophiæ. Ed. R. Morris, 1886. Chaucer Society.
Chaucer. Ed. R. Morris, 1866, 6 vols.
Chronicle, Anglo-Saxon. Ed. Earle.
Cura Pastoralis, Pope Gregory's. Old English Translation. Ed. Sweet, E. E. T. S.
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INTRODUCTION.

I. SYNTAX OF THE PARTS OF SPEECH.

§ 1. *Relations between the Noun and the other parts of speech.*

From the logician's point of view, every 'part of speech' has a province of its own, strictly limited and separated from the other 'parts'; but in practice, language constantly cuts the line drawn by Aristotle, and some English students are wont to say that nearly every short English noun and verb can be used as verb, noun, and adjective, while nearly every adjective can be used as a noun: 'a plant, plant-life or plant-culture, to plant; tea, tea-district, we'll tea you at our tent; love, love trifles, to love; his english, English ways, to english; the true, the beautiful; true that line,' &c.

In Old English there are several instances in which both noun and adjective are denoted by the same form of a word, as *earfoð* (difficulty and difficult), *leoht* (light *sb.*, bright *adj.*), *weorð* (worth, *sb.* and *adj.*), *yrre* (wrath, *sb.* and *adj.*); every adjective may be used substantively, in the singular as well as in the plural, in the positive as well as in the comparative and superlative degree; the infinitive and the verbal noun (in *-ung*, *-ing*) may be said to belong to the noun as well as to the verb. Theoretically, the tendency of every literary language of the present day is to observe the laws of logic in grammar and style, and to restrict as far as possible the use of every part of speech to its own dominion, though practically, as stated above, speakers and writers claim and exercise full freedom in this respect. Caxton and his contemporaries did not care to be fettered by niceties of logic, and thus we have to state the following relations, in his books, between the noun and the other parts of speech.

1. *Nouns used as adjectives.*

We have kept in Modern English a few such expressions as 'queen-mother, queen-dowager, lord-lieutenant,'[1] where 'queen,' 'lord'

[1] At the Philological Society's Meeting on Nov. 1., when parts of this Introduction were read as a Paper, the Members divided these 3 sample-words into two classes, I. two nouns, 'queen-mother'; II. noun and adjective, 'queen-dowager,' 'lord-lieutenant.'

are to be looked on more as appositions than as the first part of compounds; and there are others, like 'fellow-creature, deputy-marshal, champion-sculler,' where 'fellow,' 'deputy,' 'champion' are used quite adjectively. But while in Modern English this use is restricted in common speech to a few cases,—I exclude the conscious archaisms in poetry and historic romances,—Caxton is very free in forming such *appositive compositions*:—

the paynem kynge Alymodes, *Blanchardyn* 38/2, 90/25, 133/11; a man straunger,[1] *ibid.* 43/9 (original: homme estrange); a knyght straunger,[1] 51/19, 125/33; lady paramours, 78/31, 205/23; leches cyrurgiens,[1] 102/18; kynge sarasyne,[1] 129/8, 133/31 (sarasyn is a pure adjective as well, cf. 131/15); kyng prysoner, 148/5; felon conspiratours, 178/16; felon paynems, 189/1; felon enmyes, 205/25.

This is quite a common Middle English use.

Cursor Mundi—yon traitor juu, 4397; knau barns (male children), 5544. Cf. *Orm. Gloss.* s. v.

Chaucer—a coward ape, III. 198; felon look, V. 9.

Gesta Romanorum—the fole knygt, p. 20; lorell knaue, p. 80; a leper man, p. 190; the traitour servant, p. 316.

Early E. Wills (ed. Furnivall)—the freres prechoures, 17/2.

Morte Darthur—queens sorceresses, 187/27; cf. 212/19. the same traitour knyght, 289/34; cf. 290/17, 294/33.

This use becomes rare in the 16th century, and probably dies out for a time, though it is afterwards revived in literary, if not in common, speech. Berners, in his *Huon of Burdeux*, has still 'a felon traitour,' I. 5/4; 'thou false traitour knyght,' I. 41/26. But the edition of 1601 alters the latter passage into '*traytorous* knyght.' 'Traitor knight' and like expressions will, however, be found in plenty of later poems and romances, though more or less consciously as archaisms.

2. *Adjectives used substantively.*

Compared with its power in Old English, and even in the first two centuries of the Middle-English period, the adjective of the present day has lost a good deal of its vigour and independence. By inflexion, any adjective could formerly express alone what it can now say only by adding a noun: e. g. *se góda* (the good man), *þæt*

[1] This postposition of the adjective-noun, due to French influence, will be dealt with under Arrangement of Words.

gód (the good, in opposition to evil), *þá gódan* (the good ones, the righteous). We can still use: 'the good and evil of this life, of adversity,' &c.; 'the good (*pl.*) shall be happy, the evil (*pl.*) miserable, hereafter.' But in consequence of the inflexion having decayed, the independence of the adjective was to some extent given up, in order to avoid ambiguity. In Modern English prose we only retain—and in the plural only, as to persons—those which exclude all ambiguity, *e. g.* 'the poor and the rich,' always *plural* now, Psalms and Bible used *singular*, or whose ambiguity the context removes. Caxton's use of the adjectives is, in this respect, nearly modern.

The adjectives used substantively may be divided into the following groups:—

(*a*) Adjectives qualifying concrete nouns, mostly persons.

Specyall = friend, *Blanch.* 84/34; elsewhere, frende specyall, 72/10, 73/30, 75/9.

crysten = christians, 154/1, 183/31 (crysten men, 140/2).

famyllyer = intimate friend. 'That night noon of them alle, were he neuer so moche her famyllyer, cam to see her,' *Blanch.* 51/16.

the quycke = the quick (living) flesh. Cf. the French: toucher au *vif*, 'loue smote her ayen wyth a darte *to the quycke* tyll þe herte of her,' *Blanch.* 67/32.

his elder = his elders. 'He passed them that were his elder in age,' *Blanch.* 13/21. Original: les plus sagies de soy.

(*b*) Adjectives used as abstract nouns.

Such adjectives in the positive degree are rarely met with. 'Casuall fryuolles,' *Blanch.* 44/21, translates Old French 'frivoleances.' 'yet ought ye to maynten & holde *thapposite*,' *ibid.* 44/17; in certayne, 97/1.

To this group belong also the adjectives denoting *a.* languages, as: frensshe, *Blanch.* 1/24; englysshe, 1/24, 2/9; *b.* colours, as: in red, 64/10, 164/5; and *c.* adjectives in the genitive case used adverbially, as: of freshe, *Blanch.* 164/12, 165/21; of newe, *ibid.* 100/26, 147/18, 195/7. The latter correspond to the Middle English 'newes,' *Story of Gen. and Exodus* (ed. R. Morris), l. 240, and note; of lyght = lightly, 129/33.

There is one instance of an abstract adjective in the comparative degree: 'men must suffre, for *better* to haue,' *Blanch.* 68/25.

But it occurs pretty often in the superlative:—The thykkest of the folke = the thykkest press, 42/6, 59/5, 106/8, 167/16; it is for your best, 44/23, 185/19; he sholde do the best and the worst, 48/16; at the last, 188/20, and frequently.

3. *Prepositions used as Nouns.*

'Her best biloued (Blanchardyn) was alle redy com *to his aboue* ouere Rubyon,' *Blanch.* 85/3; *his aboue* (in this as well as in the following two passages) translates the French *au-dessus;* 'they were come *to their aboue* of their enmyes,' 142/32; 'ye are therof come *to your aboue*,' 149/27.

4. *The Adverb used as a Noun.*

There is one instance only in *Blanchardyn:* 'he had called alle his barons and lordes, & alle the gentylmen *of there aboute*,' 98/16. Cf. Modern English, *the whereabouts*; perhaps also *Aymon*, 59/5: 'ye shall now here and understande from *the* hensfourthon a terryble and a pyteous songe.'

§ 2. *Abstract and concrete Nouns interchanged.*

Logic classifies nouns, with reference to the mode in which things exist, into concrete and abstract. However, not only in poetry, but also in simple prose both classes are often (as now) interchanged.

(*a*) Abstracts used in a concrete sense:—

counseyll (as now) = French *conseil*. '(She) spake at that same owre wyth *certayne of her counseyll*,' *Blanch.* 76/32.

chivalrie = knights. 'I do yelde and delyuere into your handes the kynge of Polonye, your enemye, whiche I haue taken with the helpe of your sone, and of your noble and worthy cheualrye,'[1] 108/34. Cf. *Morte Darthur*, 47/22.

love = lover, sweetheart (as now), 25/2, 26/15, *et passim*. Cf. Gloss. *lover* occurs 30/14.

grace = gracious person. 'I presente this lytyl book unto the noble grace of my sayd lady,' 1/7, 8. ('Her Grace, your Grace,' now.)

Verbal nouns in *-ing*, originally abstracts, often become concrete.

clothing = clothes, *Blanch.* 148/18, 159/32. (*Bible:* 'her clothing was of wrought gold.')

kyssing = a kiss. 'That one onely kyssyng that I toke of yow,' *Blanch.* 134/8.

[1] So in Byron, Macaulay's *Ivry*, &c. &c.

It is doubtful whether 'helpes' in the following passage is correct, or a misprint for helpers:[1] 'Would Subyon or not, and all his helpes, the noble lady was taken out of his power,' 197/21. *Helpe* = helper looks suspicious, because it does not occur, so far as I am aware, elsewhere in Caxton; but it is used in the same sense in the *Story of Genesis and Exodus*, l. 3409:

> And (Ietro) at wiþ moysen festelike,
> And tagte him siþen witterlike
> Under him *helpes* oþere don.

Of course 'helpe' is not to be confounded with 'help'; the latter is abstract, the former concrete; cf. hunte = hunter. *Layamon*, 21337; *O. E. Hom.* II. 209; *Orm.* 13471; Chaucer, *Knight's Tale*, 1160; *Stratmann*, s. v.; Skeat, *Notes to Piers Plowman*, p. 402.

Abstracts used for concretes are not very common in Middle English:—

Cursor Mundi, barunage = barons, 4627, 8533.

Chaucer, message = messenger, *Man of Law's Tale*, 333. Cf. sonde = messenger, *O. E. Hom.* I. 249, *Story of Gen. and Ex.* Glossary.

Langland (*Piers Plowman*), retynaunce = a suit of retainers. Skeat, *Notes to P. Pl.*, p. 46. treuthe = a true man, a righteous man, Skeat, *l. c.* 297.

A few are retained in Modern English, as a justice = judge, a witness, &c.

(*b*) Concrete nouns used as abstracts.

I know of only one instance in *Blanchardyn*, *chief* = beginning: 'or euer he myght come to the chyeff of his enterpryse,' *Blanch.* 17/4. chief is = *cap* (caput), which exactly answers to *heafod*, head. Cf. *Morte Darthur* 144/8: 'ther by was *the hede of the streme*, a fayre fountayn.'

field = battle, occurs in *Morte Darthur* 172/17, and is often to be met with in Elizabethan authors: *Gorboduc*, l. 230; Gascoigne, *Steel-Glass*, pp. 58, 63, 64; Spenser, *F. Q.*, I. iii. 379; Shakspere, Schmidt, *s. v.*

§ 3. *Number.*

[1] Cf. our 'lady-help,' and 'help' (American), the regular word for servant.

Not all nouns can be used in the singular as well as the plural; some are restricted to the former, some to the latter. The so-called *pluralia tantum*, which are so numerous in Modern English (bellows, gallows, etc.), are not to be met with in *Blanchardyn*. *Tydinge* is used in the singular as well as in the plural. Cf. Gloss., 'well garnyshed of *vytaylle*,' *Aymon*, 182/31. *Gallows* occurs three times. 'he shold doo make and to be sette up *a* galhouse,' 187/24; 'to make him deye upon *the* galhouse,' 189/3; '(he) sawe a payre of galhouse,' 188/2. The French has *les fourches*. To conclude by the spelling, which also occurs in *Four Sons of Aymon*, 331/22, Caxton apparently connected the word with *house*; hence the singular, as proved by the indefinite article in the first instance.

There are several nouns in the singular and singular form, which, according to modern use (save as to 'foot'), should appear in the plural:

'Men see *atte eye* his beaulte,' 54/34, 118/1, 10; 'which of heyght was *XV fote* long,' 56/34, 163/26; '(they) fel both doune humbly at the *fote* of him,' 126/14; 'they followed after at the back of hym, as the yonge lambe do the sheep,' 106/27.[1]

On the other hand, we find a few plural forms where we should expect the singular:

'When the fayr beatryx, that at her wyndow was lening her hande ouer her *brestes*,' 189/11. In Old English, as well as in the other Teutonic languages, 'breast,' even with reference to male persons, was often used in the plural. Cf. Grein, *s. v.* breost.

heuens = sky, 43/18, 98/5. The same in Old English, Grein, *s. v.* heofon.

shores = shore. 'They were nygbe the lande, where as the sayd mast, and Blanchardyn upon it, was cast of the waves unto the shores,' 97/35; 'he sawe hem in grete nombre, for to fyght nyghe by the see shoris,' 162/4.

Abstracts are, in Modern English, restricted to the singular; in Old and Middle English the plural is very frequent. It then denotes either *singular actions*, as: godnesses, *Orm. Ded.*, 252, 276, etc.; *different kinds of the conception*, as: twa sarinesse beoð, *O. E. Hom.*,

[1] Or lambe = lambren? Stratman quotes 'lombe' as plural from *Robert of Gloucester*, 369.

I. 103, 105; gleadshipes, *Saules Wurde*, 263; or the unusual force of the conception:

'whiche boke specyfyeth . . . . of the grete adventures, labours, anguysshes, and many other grete diseases of theym bothe,' *Blanch.* 2/3, 4; 'the grete humylyte and courtoysyes that were in Blanchardyn,' 50/12; 'sore wepynge & sorowynge his byttirnesses,' 114/18; 'they begunne to make grete festes and grete Ioyes,' 201/1; 'other infinyte thynges that are wont to tarry the corages of some enterpryses,' 17/11; 'But their corages were neuer the lesse therfore,' *Aym.* 262/29 (original: couraiges); 'all rewthis layde aparte' (French, regretz), 17/8, 20/6; '(he) toke ayen his strenthes and corage wythin hymself,' 190/13; '(he) gaff louynge and thankes to our lord,' 98/6, 119/36, 132/13.

Plurals of verbal nouns (-ing) occur: 26/3 (wepynges); 30/11 (the same); 132/13 (praysynges); 133/29 (the same); 174/10 (sobbynges). Cf. *O. E. Hom.*, I. 103, 105, 253, 255; *Ayenbite of Inwyt*, 18, 19, 24, 83; *Gesta Rom.*, 174, 176, 235, 287; *Morte Darthur*, 173/14, 193/32; *Huon*, 16/8, 172/17, 325/7, 387/24.

CASES.

§ 4. *The Nominative Case.*

The Nominative in Middle English ranges over a wider area than in Old English. First, its dominion is enlarged in consequence of the other cases losing their characteristic inflexions, and being mistaken for the nominative; secondly, it is used in syntactic connections and expressions which were unknown to the older periods of the English language.

In the struggle between the nominative and the accusative (or dative?) case of the personal pronoun (*ye* and *you*), as late as the end of the 15th century, the nominative is far from being overcome.

1. The first function of the nominative is to express the subject of a sentence. So far as the *logical* subject is concerned, there has been no change from Old English down to Modern English times.

2. But in the course of the 14th and 15th centuries, the grammatical subject became much more frequent and important than ever it was before.

(*a*) While Old English is very rich in impersonal verbs, there is a tendency in the later periods of Middle English towards the personal expression, that is to say (as Koch puts it), what once appeared as a

dim sensation is made to appear as the conscious action of the free mind. Instead of '*hit hreówe*ð, *hit sceame*ð, *hit lica*ð, *hit langa*ð,' there appear 'I repent, I am ashamed, I like, I long.' This natural development was favoured by two external causes. In such instances as 'Wo was this kyng,' *Chaucer*, II. 193, what is an indirect object was mistaken for the nominative case; and secondly, the French model had great influence. See Chapter VI. on the Impersonal Verbs, p. xlvii, below.

(*b*) The second encroachment of the nominative on the dative case took place in the passive constructions of transitive verbs governing a direct and an indirect object, or of intransitive verbs followed by prepositions. This innovation was brought about first by the dative and accusative cases being confounded. Objects governed by verbs like 'command, answer,' etc., were consequently looked upon as accusative cases, and were treated as such, so that they became capable of the passive construction.

In Caxton's time, however, that process was not yet completed; hence such expressions as the following, which we still keep: 'as was tolde him by the knyght,' *Blanch.* 43/1; 'all that was told him,' 196/20. See the chapter on the Passive, p. lxi, below.

3. The Nominative absolute wholly supplanted the Old English dative, and became much more popular than the Old English construction (apparently from Latin) had ever been. This use, which is quite common in the 14th century (for Chaucer, cf. *Einenkel*, p. 74, ff.), occurs rather frequently in the time of Caxton, and offers nothing of special interest:—

'*This answere y-herde*, Alymodes . . . made his oost to approche,' *Blanch.* 57/28; '*and that doon*, . . . he shall mowe,' etc., 73/24;—preceded by after, 94/6; *Charles the Grete*, 44/21, 47/31, 58/31, 61/12, 62/17, and *passim*; *Huon*, 3/29, 39/5.

4. Another function of the nominative case was that in connection *with the infinitive*:—

e. g. 'I say this, be ye redy with good herte To al my lust, and that I frely may As me best liste do you laughe or smerte, *And neuer ye to gruch it night ne day*.'—*Chaucer*, II. 289. See the chapter on the Infinitive, p. lxiv, below.

5. *Interchange of the Nominative and the Accusative cases.*

(*a*) Though the use of *you* instead of *ye* occurs as early as the middle of the 14th century ('yhow knaw,' Hampole, *Pricke of Conscience*, p. 127, l. 4659; cf. *Book of Curtesye*, Introduction, p. x), the nominative holds its place on to the time of Henry VIII.

Caxton, as a rule, has preserved *ye;* it is only in the inverted position (imperative, less frequent in interrogative sentences) that *you* is introduced; but the number of *ye*'s, even in that position, prevails.

In *Blanchardyn* there are two *you*'s in the imperative:—

'Come you with me,' 60/28; 'be you sure,' 185/17. (The instances are, of course, much more numerous in *The Foure Sonnes of Aymon* and *Morte Darthur*.)

Aymon. 'But knowe *you*, that Hernyer dyde mysse of his enterpryse,' 90/15; 'Fayr chyldren, now be *you* sure,' 129/1; 'defye *you* hym on my behalfe,' 157/32; 'now gyue *you* me good counseyll,' 203/14, 361/9, 412/26.

Interrogative sentences. 'What be *you*, fayre knyghte?' 91/25; 'telle me, how thynke *you?*' 170/1; 'what thynge aske *you* of me?' 246/20, 184/31, 291/31, 343/17, 373/29.

Morte Darthur, 206/6, 240/22, 242/14, 251/29, 255/16, 255/33, 269/8, 279/18, etc., etc.

Huon, 33/9, 33/19, 41/5, 79/32, 98/10, 102/5, 110/13, etc.

There are, however, several instances of *you* in another position:

'You holde,' *Aymon*, 26/18; 'Cosin, sayd Reynawde, *you* speke well and wysely,' *ibid.* 132/33; 'now up, Ogyer, and *you*, duke Naymes,' *ibid.* 157/23; 'yf *you* wyl yelde your selfe to his merci,' 189/22, 432/14, 438/10.

(*b*) There is another instance in which the nominative case has been encroached upon by the dative. That well-known tendency of using absolute personal pronouns in the dative case, which has divided the French pronouns into two different classes (*conjoints* and *absolus*), and which appears in such modern English phrases as 'it is *me*, older than *me*,' is not wholly unknown to Caxton. He always has 'it is I'[1] (never *me!*), but in the following passages, p. xiv, there is apparently a faint germ of that use.

In *Blanchardyn* the dative occurs twice where we expect the nominative case; but there seems to be a sort of mixed construction: 'And syn aftre, he lyghtly dyde sette hande on the swerde, of the

[1] Chaucer 'it am I'

whiche he smote here and there with bothe his handes by suche a strengthe, that *him* that he rought with full stroke was all in to brused,' 63/2,—him that = whom that, for 'he whom,' as if the use of the flexionless *that* threw the case on to *he*; 'and sware that he sholde neuer departe from afore the place unto the tyme that the castel were take, and *theym* of within at his wyll,' 181/31,—'them' for 'they.'

But the passages from *Aymon* do not admit of such an explanation:—

'whan thise wordes were fynysshed, all the foure brethren, and all *theym* of theyr compaunye arayed themselfe . . .' 78/22; 'the base courte began to be sore moved, and the crye was so great, for al *them* of the dongeon defended themselfe valyantlye,' 94/12; 'But I telle you, upon your feythe that none other shal knowe the same, but only we, *us* three, unto the tyme that the dede be accomplysshed,' 212/30. Cf. *The Curial*, 4/18: 'For ther is nothyng more suspecte to euyl peple than *them* whom they knowe to be wyse and trewe.'

On the other hand, there are striking instances of the nominative being used instead of the dative or accusative case:—

'But at thentree of a forest that was there, they loste their trayne, and went oute of ther waye, wherby they myght not folowe nor ouertake the pucell, nor *they* that brought her with theym.'—*Blanchardyn*, 181/22; 'Go ayen to Tormaday to see the noble lande of that lady, *she* of whom thou art amorouse so moche,' 186/19.

On this point I cannot refrain from quoting those passages of a 16th century play which contain the same use, as I have never come across any parallel earlier or later. Both in the last passage of Caxton's and in those of *Sir Clyomon and Sir Clamydes* (falsely attributed to Peele, and printed in Dyce's edition of Peele's works, pp. 490—534; see my essay in *Englische Studien*, XIII, p. 187), *a pronoun referring as apposition to a noun in one of the oblique cases appears in the nominative*:—

To go and come, of custom free or any other task:
I mean *by Juliane, she*, that blaze of beautie's breeding. 491, *b*.
Do never view *thy father, I*, in presence any more. 497, *a*.
Sith that mine honour cowardly was stole *by caitiff he*. *ibid*.
But shall I frame, then, mine excuse *by serving Venus, she*. 501, *b*.
Than thus *to see fell fortune, she*, to hold her state in spite. 505, *b*.

Clamydes, ah, *by fortune, she*, what froward luck and fate
Most cruelly assigned is unto thy noble state. 507, *b*.
Fie *on fell Fortune, she*. 508, *a*.
Although that *with Clamydes, he*, I haue not kept my day. 511, *a*.
Yet though *unto Neronis, she*, I may not show my mind. *ibid*.
Neronis, daughter to the king, *by the king of Norway, he*,
Within a ship of merchandise convey'd away is she. 514, *a*.
So do I fly from tyrant he, whose heart more hard than flint. 515, *a*.

The Foure Sonnes of Aymon and *Huon* contain several striking instances of the nominative instead of the dative case :—

'Reynawde toke hym, . . . and made all *they* that were wyth hym . . . to be hanged and slayne.'—*Four Sons*, 90/19 ; 'For never Hector of Troy was worthe *thou*,' 127/29. 'Before you and all your barons I haue dyscomfyted in playn batayll *he* that hath brought you into all this trouble.'—*Huon*, i. 46/10. 'Syr, ye may se here before you *he* that wolde do lyke case agaynst me.'—*ibid*. 288/16. 'I haue found so nere me *he* that purchaseth my dethe and shame.'—*ibid*. 288/23. On pages 83, 84, and 87, *thou* is apparently a misprint for *you*.

Finally, it is worth stating that *but* and *sauf* (save) don't govern the accusative as prepositions, but are followed by the nominative, as if they were conjunctions. 'Noon but *I* haue seen it.'—*Blanchardyn*, 43/32. 'Al be ded sauf *I*.'—*Charles the Grete*, 102/31.

§ 5. *The Genitive Case.*

(*a*) The genitive in connection with nouns (and pronouns).

The applicability of this genitive, which was nearly unlimited in Old English, especially in poetry, is rather restricted in Caxton's time.

1. The first function of this case, viz., that denoting birth and relationship (whence the name *genetivus*), shares its dominion with the dative :—

'My lady Margarete . . Moder unto our naturel & souerayn lorde.'—*Blanchardyn*, 1/3. 'Blanchardyn, sone unto the kynge of Fryse.'—*ibid*. 1/27. 'Blanchardyn answered that he was of the lande of Grece, and sone to a kynge,' 100/1 ; 'and sayde to the kynge, fader unto Blanchardyn,' 174/18 ; 'daughter to Kyng Alymodes,' 83/9 ; 'quene Morgause of Orkeney, moder to Sire Gawayne.'—*Morte Darthur*, 357/25 ; 'kynge Lots wyf and moder *of* sir Gawayne and *to* sire Gaheris,' *ibid*. 425/12.

2. The objective genitive is not very frequent :—

'She bereth in her herte care ynough and dyspleysure for the loue *of him.*'—*Blanchardyn*, 73/33, 76/5, 77/25; 'for right moche he desyred to showe hymself, for his *ladyes loue*,' 83/8.

3. The genitive denoting quality is used in the same way as in Modern English; only it is noteworthy that Malory treats it quite as if it were an adjective, so as to use it in the comparative and superlative degree. 'She is the fairest lady and *most of beautie* in the world,' *Morte Darthur*, 357/23; more of beautie, 358/13, 358/18, 360/33, 450/13, and frequently. Instead of *of*, *a* sometimes appears:—

'yf he had been yet man *alyue*, I wolde haue gyuen you tyl his wyff.'—*Blanchardyn*, 93/22. alyue = of life; cf. liues = alife.—*Rob. of Gloucester*, 301/376; *Owl and Nightingale*, 1632; Morris, note to l. 250 of *Story of Genesis and Exodus*. 'I am not a power to reward the after thy merite.'—*Blanchardyn*, 109/9.

4. The genitive of the personal pronoun instead of the possessive pronoun occurs very frequently:—

(I) 'knewe wel that the story of hit was honeste.'—*Blanchardyn*, 1/11. 'the sowle of the (thec),' 17/21; 'for pryde of her,' 39/14; 'the herte of hym,' 39/33, 64/17, 86/20, 87/31, 92/7, 106/17, 114/32, etc.

This use is especially worth noting, when it occurs in sentences like the following:—

'ye haue exposed the body *of you and of your men*,' 171/20. In Modern English we should say: 'your body *and those* of your men.' Malory once says: 'I pray you hertely to be my good frende and *to* my sones,' *Morte Darthur*, 406/28.

5. The partitive genitive was not a great favourite with the English of the 14th and 15th centuries. After comparing the use of this case in that time with what it was in Old English, we cannot but conclude that the idea of partition attached to such phrases as MÁÐMA FELA (many treasures), *Beówulf* 36, in Old English was about to be supplanted by that of the simple apposition. Apart from the fact that the numerals, as well as many indefinite adverbs and pronouns, no longer governed the genitive, compare the following expressions:—

Robert of Gloucester (quoted by Koch, II², p. 169): 'þe þryddo

del my kingdom, y geue þe,' 285; 'þe þrydde del ys londe,' 711; 'From þe on ende Cornewayle,' 178.

Chaucer (Einenkel, p. 93): 'A busshel venym,' IV. 267; 'no morsel bred,' III. 215; 'the beste galoun wyn,' III. 249.

E. E. Wills (ed. Furnivall): 'a peyre schetys,' 4/16, 5/8, 41/24, 76/16, 101/18; 'a peyre bedes,' 5/3.

Bury Wills (Camden Society): 'a pece medowe,' 47; 'a peyre spectaclys,' 15; 'a quart wyne,' 16; 'a galon wine,' 30.

But there was a sudden stop in the development towards apposition instead of the genitive; and at the end of the 15th century there was a sort of reaction in favour of the Old English use. Expressions like those quoted above are not to be met with in Caxton; only a few traces of the Middle English tendency remained.

Maner without *of* occurs in *Blanchardyn* three times: 'by al manere wayes,' 50/19; 'all manere noureture,' 74/8; 'al manere poyntes,' 109/16; while there are 18 instances of *maner* + *of* viz., 28/20, 53/17, 55/27, 58/19, 60/31, 73/34, 93/32, 111/28, 117/27, 119/2, 119/11, 159/34, 174/12, 177/4, 186/8, 188/26, 197/28, 200/18.

Other is used for 'others of.' '*Other* her gentyll women,' 76/31; 'other his prysoners,' 121/25.

Also *any* occurs for 'any of':—

'Affermyng that I oughte rather tenprynte his actes and noble feates than of Godefroy of boloyne or *ony the eight*.'—Caxton's Preface to *Morte Darthur*, 2/1.

In *Aymon* is a curious remnant of what must have been rather common in the 14th century, as Chaucer offers several instances of it. The passage runs as follows: 'but of all Fraunce I am *one of the best & truest knyght* that be in it,' 272/23. These are the parallels in Chaucer:—

'Oon of the grettest auctour that men rede' (5 MSS., one has 'auctours'), III. 234; 'On of the best farynge man on lyue,' III. 8; 'On of the best entecched creature,' V. 35 (cf. *Einenkel*, p. 87).

This odd expression is made up of two constructions: I. 'One the best knyght.' II. 'One of the best knyghtes.' The former, which was at last supplanted by the second, crops up many times in Middle English, and has its parallel in other numerals:—

'Oute of þilke hilles springeþ þre þe noblest ryueres of al Europe.' —*Trevisa*, I. 199. 'I deuyse to Iohane my doughter . . . III. the

best pilwes after choys of the forseyde Thomas my sone.'—*E. E. Wills*, 5/9. 'I wyll that Richard my sone haue tweyne my best hors.'—*ibid.* 23/23. 'II. the best yren broches.'—*ibid.* 46/17. 'too the best sanapes,' 101/ 24, *Guy of Warwick* (ed. Zupitza), 8095; 'at two the firste strokes,' *Morte Darthur*, 343/29; 'two the best knyghtes that euer were in Arthurs dayes,' *ibid.* 419/31.

This free use of apposition (instead of the modern genitive) did not die out before the time of James I.:—

'Enough is, that thy foe doth vanquisht stand
Now at thy mercy: Mercy not withstand:
For he is *one the truest knight* aliue.'—*Faerie Q.*, I. iii. 37.

'Or who shall not great Nightes children scorne,
When two of *three her Nephewes* are so foule forlorne?'
Ibid. I. v. 23.

'His living like sawe never living eye,
Ne durst behold; his stature did exceed
The hight *three the tallest sonnes* of mortall seed.'—*Ibid.* I. vii. 8.

'Was reckoned *one the wisest* prince that there had reigned.'
Shakspere, *Henry VIII.*, II. ii. 48.

Apart from this liberty, we have to state a few other noteworthy points respecting Caxton's use of the partitive genitive.

(*a*) There are numerous instances of the *independent*, or, as it is sometimes called, the elliptic genitive partitive, which is so often met with in Chaucer; cf. 'Of smale houndes hadde sche, that she fedde,' II. 5. Before Chaucer the instances are rare. Perhaps the following passages may be looked upon as approaching that use:—

'hwa so euer wule habbe lot wiδ þe of þi blisse: he mot deale wiδ þe *of þine pine* on eorþe.'—*O. E. Hom.* I. 187. 'man eggeδ his negebure to done oδer to speken him harm, oδer s(c)ame, and haueδ uiδ elch wiδ oδer, and makeδ him to forlese his aihte, oδer *of his rihte*.'—*O. E. Hom.* II. 13. 'þe priue þyeues byeþ þo þet ue steleδ nazt of oncoupe ac of priueþ. And of zuicheu þer byeδ *of* greate and *of* smale. þe greate byeδ of þe kneade and þe ontrewe reuen.' . . —*Ayenbite*, 37.

Caxton has several instances of this use:—

'(She) tolde hym that she was right wel content of his seruyce, and wolde reteyne hym in wages, and gyue hym *of her goodes*, for he was worthy therof.'—*Blanchardyn*, 75/5. 'wherof the kynge was right wele content, and receyued hym *of* his hous.'—*ibid.* 99/21; = as one of his house, or court. (Cf. *Huon*, I. 13/20: 'the two sonnes

of Duke Seuyn of burdeux shal come to the courte, and, as I haue harde say, the kynge hath sayde that, at there comynge, they shal be made *of hys* pryuey counsell.') 'And wyte, that Guynon hadde wyth hym of the beste knyghtes of Charlemagne.'—*Aymon*, 91/18. 'and therefore lete us set upon hym or day, and we shalle slee doune *of his* knyghtes: ther shal none escape.'—*Morte Darthur*, 121/10. '(He) charged hym that he shold gyue hym *of* al maner of metes.' —*ibid.* 214/20. (Cf. *Gesta Romanorum*, 197: 'þe knyghte of baldak sent to the knite of lumbardye *of* al maner thinges.')

This use too was continued in the time of Henry VIII.:—

'I wyll ye take *of* your best frendys.'—*Huon*, 5/25. 'this that I haue shewid you is of truth.'—*ibid.* 61/26. 'I requyre you, shewe me *of* your newes and adventures that ye haue had.'—*ibid.* 566/12. 'Englysh marchauntes do fetch *of* the erth of Irlonde to caste in their gardens.'—*Andrew Borde*, p. 133; cf. p. 170.

From an alteration of the 1601 edition of *Huon* we may perhaps conclude that the English of that time did not relish this use in prose. The original edition has: 'for incontinent they wyll sende *of* theyr shyppes, and take thys shyp,' 212/29; the edition of 1601 alters *of* into '*some of*.'

(*b*) Here and there indefinite pronouns like 'much, many (other)' are followed by *of* + *noun*: 'for he hath doon to us this day so moche *of* euyl.'—*Blanchardyn*, 169/22. 'wherof soo many *of* children (were) faderles, and soo *many churches* wasted.'—*Aymon*, 27/19. 'a grete many of prysoners.'—*ibid.* 87/4. But, as a rule, the modern use prevails.

(*c*) There is another sort of Genitive, which we may, perhaps, not improperly term *pseudo-partitive*, viz. that which appears in sentences like 'a castle of hers, a knight of Arthur's.' It is true, that in many cases we might translate these phrases by 'one of her castles, one of Arthur's knights'; but there are many examples in Middle English which do not admit of such an explanation, and the Modern English use ('that beautiful face of hers!') proves that no idea of partition is included in such expressions. After a close examination of the oldest instances as met with in the 14th century (second half?), we see that they are brought into existence by another necessity.

In Old English the possessive pronoun, or, as the French say, 'pronominal adjective,' expresses only the conception of belonging

and possession; it is a real adjective, and does not convey, as at present, the idea of determination. If, therefore, Old English authors want to make such nouns determinative, they add the definite article:

hælcð mín se leofa, *Elene*, 511; þú cart dóhtor mín séo dýreste, *Juliana*, 166; þæt tacnede Leoniða on his þæm nihstan gefeohte and Persa, *Orosius*, 84/31; Mammea his sio gode modor, *ibid.* 270/26; mid hire þære yfelan scéonnesse, *Blickling Homilies*, 5/1; openige nu þin se fægresta fæþm, *ibid.* 7/24; þonne bið drihten ure se trumesta staðol, *ibid.* 13/10; hé wolde oferswíðan úrne ðone écan déað, *Ælfric's Homilies*, I. 168/1; úre se ælmihtiga scyppend, *ibid.* I. 192/6; þurh his þæs méran forrynelcs and fulluhtcres ðingunge, *ibid.* I. 364/5. The article preceding the possessive pronoun: se heora cyning, *Orosius*, 56/31; seo heora ingoð, *Blickling Homilies*, 163/3; seo hire gebyrd, 163/9, etc.

In Middle English the possessive pronoun apparently has a *determinative meaning* (as in Modern English, Modern German, and Modern French); therefore its connection with the definite article is made superfluous, while the indefinite article is *quite impossible*. Hence arises a certain embarrassment with regard to one case which the language cannot do without. Suppose we want to say 'she is in a castle belonging to her,' where it is of no importance whatever, either to the speaker or hearer, to know whether 'she' has got more than one castle—how could the English of the Middle period put it? The French of the same age said still 'un sien castel'; but that was no longer possible in English. There's only one instance of indefinite article + possessive pronoun that has come to my knowledge, and that is of the early period of Middle English: *Saules Warde* (*O. E. H.*, I. p. 265): 'for euch an is al mihti to don al þat he wule, ȝe, makie to cwakien heoueue ba ant eorþe wið *his an finger*' (for one is mighty enough to do all that he desires, yea, to make heaven and earth quake with *one of his fingers*. Translation by R. Morris).[1]

We should expect the genitive of the personal pronoun (of me, etc., as in Modern German),—and there may have been a time when this use prevailed,—but, so far as I know, the language decided in

[1] Other instances, however, may have escaped my notice, and it is worth while to search Middle English literature for evidence on this hitherto puzzling point.

favour of the more complicated and rather absurd construction 'of mine, of thine,' etc.

This was, in all probability, brought about by the analogy of the very numerous cases in which the indeterminative noun connected with *mine*, etc., had a really partitive sense (cf. the examples below), and, moreover, by the remembrance of the old construction with the possessive pronoun.

There is a good deal of guesswork in this explanation, of course; but one thing is sure—it was the impossibility of connecting the indefinite article with the possessive pronoun which suggested the new construction. This is proved by indisputable chronological facts.

I. First, we find the indefinite article (or the equally indefinite words *any, every, no*) in connection with *of mine, of thine*, etc. This construction is met with in the 14th century.

II. Next, analogy introduces the indefinite article in connection with the double genitive of a noun, 'a knyght of king Arthur's.'

III. Last, we come across definite pronouns (this, that) in connection with *of mine;* and exceptionally the definite article occurs there also in connection with the double genitive of a noun (the knight of kyng Arthur's).

Chaucer: A friend of his, IV. 130, IV. 257, IV. 356; an hors of his, II. 271; an old felaw of youres, III. 97; eny neghebour of myne, III. 198; every knight of his, II. 239; no maner lym of his, V. 170.—Cf. that ilke proverbe of Ecclesiaste, II. 226; *this my* sentence heere, III. 40; oure wreche is this, oure owen wo to drynke, IV. 184 (*Einenkel*, pp. 86, 87).

Early E. Wills: I will that William . . . be paied of their billes for making off *a liuery of myn*, 53/20; ȝif any servaunt *of myn* haue labord for me . . . 53/23 (both instances ab. 1420 A.D.); I will that Chace haue a habirion *of myne*, 54/7; he may haue such a good honest booke of his owne, 59/9; every child *of hires* lyuynge at the day of my decesse haue xx li to their mariage, 107/1.

Bury Wills (A.D. 1434): and more stuff I haue not occupied *of hers*, p. 23; such goodes *of myn* as shall be sold, 24; such tyme as money may be reysid of goodes as shal be sold *of myn*, 36.

In neither of these 'Wills' volumes is there any instance of the second or third stage of the development of our construction. Cf. *E. E. Wills:* this my present testament, 49/4; similar cases are in 51/5, 79/26, 119/15.

Gesta Romanorum offers instances of II, but not of III: I am forrester of the Emperours, 206; a nopere knyȝt of the Emperours, 241.

In CAXTON the *I. group* is represented by numerous instances: And for this cause departeth now my sayd lady from *a castell of hers, Blanchardyn* 38/6. (Original: dun sien chastel.) He toke also a grete spere from the hande of *a knyght of his*, ibid. 107/32; for the kyng Alymodes hath a daughter of his owne . . . *ibid.* 125/4; a yeoman of his owne, *ibid.* 201/18; a town of his, *Aymon* 69/15; a gentylman of his, 412/29; a neuewe of his, 527/22. Cf. Malory's *Morte Darthur*, 35/35, 38/28, 365/12, 366/2, 369/17, etc.

Group II. is often met with in the *Morte Darthur*: a knyghte of the dukes, 37/7, 9; Syre gawayne, knyghte of kynge Arthurs, 146/30; I am a knyghte of kynge Arthurs, 153/32, 263/31, 263/34, 330/22, 331/19; a trusty frende of Sir Tristrams, 363/8; and ryght so cam in knyghtes of kynge Arthurs, 386/29; and he had gotten hym ten good knyghtes of Arthurs, 459/33; and therewith foure knyghtes of kynge Markes drewe their swerdes to slee syre Sadok, 469/30, 521/24, 522/12, 635/21.—In two instances *s* is omitted: Thenne came forth a knyght, his name was lambegus, and he was a knyght of syr Trystrem, 318/16; there was a knyghte of kyng Arthur, 331/17.

The frequent occurrence of this genitive in connection with Arthur and his knights has often (in English Grammars, &c.) suggested the supposition that there is a sort of ellipsis in this construction: a knyghte of kynge Arthurs = a knyghte of kynge Arthurs *court*.[1] But first of all, such instances as 'a trusty frende of syr Tristrams,' 'I am forester of the Emperors,' do not admit of such an explanation—unless we say 'among Sir T.'s friends,' 'among the Emperor's foresters';—and secondly, there are no other examples of this elliptic construction in Caxton or Malory.

Of Group III., there are *two* instances in *Blanchardyn* with *that*, and a few with the definite article in *Morte Darthur*:

'as for to wene to haue her, thou haste *that berde of thyne* ouer whyte therto; thy face is so mykel wonne, and *that olde skynne of thyne* ys ouer mykel shronken togyder,' 186/22-25. Original: 'vous auez la barbe trop grise, la face trop usee, et le cuir trop retrait.'

Elsewhere Caxton is not afraid of using *this* in connection with the possessive pronoun. Cf. this my towne, *Blanch.* 73/18; this her werre, 90/1.

[1] Cf. two knyghtes of kynge Arthurs Courte, 297/1, 6, 16, 298/33, etc.

There are two passages in *Morte Darthur* belonging to this group: 'Alle the knyghtes of kynge Arthurs,' 330/9; 'he sholde haue her and her landes of her faders that sholde falle to her,' 488/14;—in both instances the partitive genitive is wholly excluded.

B. The Genitive governed by adjectives and verbs is, on the whole, the same as in Modern English. But it is worth noting that the ideas of *reference* and *cause* are still expressed in Caxton by *of*, while, in Modern English other prepositions (*in, as to, with* &c.) are preferred.

(*a*) Reference :—

The childe grewe and amended sore of the grete beaulte . . . *Blanchardyn*, 13/6; of the tables and ches playing, and of gracious and honeste talkynge, he passed them that were his elder in age, 13/9; demaunding of the batailles of Troy, 14/13, 15/8; sore troubled of wyttis, 45/8; nought dommaged of nothing, 48/31; there was no man that of prowes and worthynes coude go beyonde hym, 65/21; wele shapen of alle membres, 99/14; sore chaunged of face, 145/30; what wyl you do of me?, 146/16. Cf. 150/25, 178/21, 184/6, 193/14;—*Aymon*, 54/25, 64/5, 290/32;—*Morte Darthur*, passim.

(*b*) Cause :—

(They) judged hem self right happy of a successoure legytyme, 12/17; (the kyng) that of this adventure was ful sory and dolaunt, 21/4; Blanchardyn sore angry and euyll apaid of that he sawe . . . 28/13; sore passioned of one accident, 68/20;—*thank of*, 49/33, 60/25; pardon of, 50/9, 10.

Of is sometimes replaced by *ouer*: Right enamored they were ouer hym, 66/25; auenged ouer hym, 86/30. Once *for of* occurs: and also *for of* the grete dysplesure that he had . . . 111/34.

(*c*) For the Genitive used adverbially, see *Adverb*, p. lxxvii.

§ 6. *The Dative Case.*

After the decay of the Old English inflection there was a tendency to make up for it by the preposition *to*. But from the time in which the *Old English Homilies* were composed, down to our own days, *to* never became the rule.

In Caxton *to* is often used after verbs, where we omit it, especially after *tell*:—

Now anon brynge *to me* myn armes, *Charles the Grete* 48/15; but on the same page: he shold brynge hym hys armes, l. 4; after

brought he hym hys hors, l. 22. I assure *to* you by my faith that I shall do it . . . *ibid.* 49/30; I graunte *to* you alle my goodes, *ibid.* 50/3; I do *to* the grete amytye, *ibid.* 55/34. Cf. *Blanchardyn*, 20/17; *Aymon*, 362/31, 367/3.

Tell. and whan thou hast told *to* me thy name . . . *Charles the Grete*, 53/16; I telle to the, *ibid.* 54/17. Cf. 55/2, 57/23, 61/3, 86/5, etc.

Demand is usually followed by *of*; but there is an exception, perhaps brought about by French influence: 'Thenne cam kyng Alymodes forthe, and demaunded *to* the stywarde' . . . *Blanchardyn*, 283/23. *Require*, also, occurs with *to*: *Blanchardyn*, 168/3; *Aymon*, 34/20. *Ask*, followed by two objects, occurs: *Aymon*, 362/31; (he) asked for hym *to* two of his men.

There is one instance of *offend* + *to*: 'Yf there be ony man here that I haue offended *unto*,' *Morte Darthur*, 292/19.

The *Ethic Dative* is not frequent in Caxton:

'A right grete and impetuouse tempeste rose, that lasted *us* thre dayes,' *Blanchardyn*, 100/9; their sorrowe redoubled *them* full sore, *ibid.* 119/34; the bloode ranne *me* doune, *Aymon*, 88/19. (But ye withdrawen *me* þis man.—Chaucer, *Boethius*, ed. Morris, p. 7. Caxton has: fro me.)

§ 7. *The Accusative Case.*

A. The Accusative Case, as governed by transitive verbs, sometimes differs in *Caxton* from the modern use.

Besides such verbs as 'demand, require, serve, tell,' quoted above, *behold* is followed by *of*, e. g. *Aymon*, 391/26; and especially noteworthy is the construction of *swear*. In Middle English this verb is followed by *on*. Cf. *Chaucer*, IV. 363: and this *on* every God celestial I swere it yow, V. 222. Caxton uses 'swear' as a transitive verb, and makes the accusative case follow it: he sware his Godes, *Blanchardyn*, 92/25, 107/22; swore God, *Aymon*, 38/4, 73/14, 87/10, 185/4, 201/33, 459/11, 471/7, 515/7, 526/17. In *Aymon* are only three examples of 'swear' followed by a preposition: (he) sware *by* God, *Aymon*, 61/29; he sware *by* saint Denys, *ibid.* 411/11; I swore *upon* all sayntes, *ibid.* 85/4.

From one passage of the *Ayenbite*, and another in *Blanchardyn* we may safely infer that this use is due to French influence.

Ayenbite, p. 6: huo þet zuereþ wiþ-oute skele *þane name* of oure lhorde . . . he him uorzuereþ, *Blanchardyn*, 107/22; The kynge of polonye . . . sware his goode goddes, that he sholde neuer haue loye at his herte. Original: 'jura ses bons dieux.'

Dan Michel always translates literally; and Caxton too, in this case, introduced the French construction.

The *Cognate Object* occurs several times:

And there she had not been no longe whyle, when she had *perceyued* the playn *choys and syght* of a right greto and myghty nauye, *Blanchardyn*, 56/2; (choys = syght). deye a shamefull dethe, *ibid.* 190/4, and very often in the other works of Caxton. I rebuke hym neuer for no hate that I hated hym, *Morte Darthur*, 349/4; the good loue that I haue loued you . . . *ibid.* 364/4.

B. The *Accusative absolute* is used with great freedom by Caxton and Malory, and even by Berners. Instances abound. I quote only a few to illustrate my statement:—

He fondo hym *the terres* (= *teurs*) *at the eyes of him* makynge his full pituouse complayntes, *Blanchardyn* 123/24; (there) he toke a bote, prest and garnysshed wyth eight goode felawes, eche of them an ore in his hande . . . *ibid.* 154/7; The good erle, then, the prouost, and the knyghte of the fery, their swerdes in their handes naked, toke and seysyd her by force, *ibid.* 180/19; Thenne came syluayn, his felawes wyth hym, and ascryed the two barons to dethe, *ibid.* 205/19. Original: 'siluain auant auec ses compaignons.'

C. For the Accusative with Infinitive, *see Infinitive*, p. lxx.

D. The *Adverbial Object* exhibits some peculiarities worth stating.

(*a*) Time. *Never the days of her lyff* she sholde wedde paynem nor no man infidele, *Blanchardyn*, 65/15. Malory has: *neuer his lif*, 127/23; cf. Chaucer. Imeneus, that god of weddyng is, Seigh neuer his lif so mery a weddid man, II. 333; many a wighte hath loued thynge he neuer saugh his lyue, V. 8 (cf. *Einenkel*, p. 52; Zupitza, note to *Guy of Warwick*, ll. 1747-8); (he) wend neuer to haue come *tyme enough*, *Blanchardyn*, 158/4. Original: 'a tans (temps).' Cf. 170/5; *Aymon*, 265/19, 343/5; *Morte Darthur*, 228/24; *Huon*, 332/8, 334/10.

That tyme, in *Morte Darthur*, 48/8, is equivalent to '*at* that tyme,' *ibid.* 49/16. Cf. the same tyme, *Blanchardyn*, 127/13, 128/8, 143/29; and at that same houre, 139/8; at the tyme, 194/32; *Morte Darthur*, 363/35; and the instructive example, *Morte Darthur*, 356/7, 8: *sometyme* he was putte to the werse by male fortune, and *at sometyme* the wers knyghte putte the better knyghte to a rebuke.

(*b*) Manner.

Seeyng that *noon otherwyse* he myghte doo, *Blanchardyn*, 30/26; and noon otherwyse wyll I doo, *ibid.* 93/25; the best wyse that he myght or coude, he ordeyned his bataylles, 162/27, 171/32;—but we find too: *in* like wise, 98/23; *in* the best wyse, 125/24, 166/2.

Chaucer never uses *other wyse;* only *other weye*, *other weyes*. Cf. *Kinenkel*, p. 66.

§ 8. *The Article.*

There are several remarkable peculiarities about Caxton's use of the Article.

(*a*) Nouns in the Vocative case are preceded by the definite article instead of O:—

'Sith that we haue lost thee, farewell *the* ioye of this world!' *Aymon*, 574/30; 'Then syr Launcelot cryed: *the* knyght wyth the blak shelde, make the redy to luste wyth me!' *Morte Darthur*, 392/16.

(*b*) Possessive Pronouns used substantively are sometimes preceded by the definite Article:—

'Thenne toke the prouost his spere, and so dyde Blanchardyn *the his*,' *Blanchardyn*, 48/20 (Original: la sienne); I praye you that euery man force hymself to do worthily hys deuoyr, that your worship and *the oures* be kepte, *Aymon*, 72/21; In whiche he hath not rendred the reason or made any decision, to approve better *the his* than that other, *Eneydos*, 23/19.

(*c*) Numerals denoting part of a whole are sometimes preceded by the definite Article:—

'And yf peraventure one of them dare not come allone hardyly, late come *the* two or thre or foure of the moost valyauntest' . . . *Charles the Grete*, 41/27; and yf *the* foure dare not come, late come fyue, *ibid.* 29. Cf. *Morte Darthur*, 355/5: wete thou wel, said sir Tristram, *the* one of us shalle dye or we departe.

In the last two groups Caxton copied only too faithfully his French originals. I do not know of any other Middle English instance of 'the his'; but as for 'the two,' there is the authority of Chaucer and the unknown translator of the *Romaunt of the Rose*, if not to sanction it as a good Middle English expression, at least to excuse it:

And sins he ran . . . And borwed him large hoteles thre; and in *the two* his poysoun poured he; The thrid he keped clene for his

drynke, *Cant. T.* III. 103; And if thou maist so fer forth wynne, That thou resoun derst byginne, And woldist seyn thre thingis or mo, Thou shalt fulle scarsly seyn *the two.*—*Romaunt of the Rose*, V. 77/8.

Perhaps the following expressions too may be attributed to French influence:—

The captayne gaff *the* goode nyght to the damoyselle, *Blanchardyn*, 51/27 (Original: la bonne nuit); and gaff hym *the* goode nyght, *ibid.* 74/26; onely the captayne of Tormaday, that cam for to make unto her *the* reuerence, *ibid.* 51/17. Cf. 77/2, 158/16: Blanchardyn coude not kepe hymself, but that *the* grete teerys dropped fast out of his eyen, *ibid.* 145/33.

(*d*) Before two adjectives qualifying one noun, the Article is often repeated:—

He sawe there under in a playn a moche ample and *a* grete medowe, *Blanchardyn*, 32/2; the prouoste of the towne dyde ordeyne a stronge and *a* byggo warde, 58/20; ye be enamored of a hyghe and *a* ryche pryncesse, 75/7; he was a ryght valyannt and *a* hardy prynce, 113/20; makyng *a* grete and *a* solempne oath, 177/16.—There are, in *Blanchardyn*, but two exceptions[1]: A noble and victorious prynce, 1/26; the rude and comyn englysshe, 2/9.

(*e*) The definite article is repeated where one of the two adjectives is in close connection with the noun. Thus in *Blanchardyn* 'proude' and 'pucelle' are looked upon as one noun, hence the following expressions:—

The right gracious and fayre, *the* proude pucelle in amours, 76/30; the fayer, the proude pucell, 83/12; the right desolate, the proude pucelle, 89/29; cf. 94/9, 96/7, 127/10, 129/29. There are two exceptions: the fayr pucelle and proude in amours, 128/8; the fayr proude mayden, 131/10.

(*f*) There are three instances (in *Blanchardyn*) of the indefinite article used in analogy to *such* + *adjective* + *a*:—

It nedeth not to be doubted that he is come to his extremyte of prowes and valyantes, wythout that amours hathe be the cause in the persone of *some hyghe a* pryncesse, 72/20; hy gaf to hym-self grete merueylle, and was wel abashed of *that soudayne a* wylle that was come to hym, 126/9; which is the most fayr, and the most

[1] These are where Caxton is writing his own English, not englishing another man's French. I wish all his Prologues and Epilogues, as collected in Blades's quarto, could be examined for other contrasts of his phrascology. —F. J. F.

noble, and the most complete *a* lady, and most pleasaunt of all the remnaunt of the world, 156/13.

§ 9. *The Adjective.*

For adjectives used substantively see § 1, p. vi. For the arrangement of noun and adjective see the chapter below, on 'The Arrangement of Words.' The tautology in the formation of the comparative and superlative degree (more better, most best) so well known from Shakspere, occurs here and there in Caxton, and is extremely frequent in *Morte Darthur*:—

more werse, *Blanch.* 23/33; more better, *ibid.* 91/35; the most valyauntest, *Charles the Grete*, 41/27; more sonner, *ibid.* 44/18; most next, *ibid.* 44/17; more gretter, *Curial*, 5/13. *Morte Darthur*, 74/37, 142/8, 144/29, 35; 148/5, 215/29, 218/3, etc.

Adjectives referring to preceding nouns are *not* yet followed by *one*:—

So grete a stroke and *so heuy* he gaffe hym, *Blanch.* 62/22; god hath well kept hym from so moche an hap and so hyghe, 75/24; a trusty man and secret, 81/23, 86/17, 97/20, 110/2, 156/14, 163/4, 169/17, 178/2, 179/5, 200/29. *Aymon*, 392/9, 504/20. *Morte Darthur* constantly.

But the Middle English use of '*one*' *following a noun* is met with in Malory several times:—

There lyueth not a bygger knyght than he is *one*, 72/22; (it) was grete pite that so worthy a knyght as he was *one* shold be ouermatched, 87/35; such yong knyghtes as he is *one* . . . ben neuer abydynge in no place, 251/25. Cf. Chaucer: For in my tyme a seruaunt was I *on*, II. 56, V. 112. The oldest instance quoted by Mätzner, *Glossar*, is from *Robert of Gloucester*, p. 17: 'a wonder maister was he on;' but without the preceding article, the use goes as far back as the *Ormulum*:—

þatt ȝho wass adiȝ wimmann *an*
All wimman kinn bitwenen. 2333.

So far as I know, but one instance occurs in Caxton of *one* following an adjective:—

And after whan thou shalt haue employed thy body, thy tyme and thy goodes for to deffende the, another *newe one* cometh to the courte, and shall supplante thy benediction.—*Curial*, 12/13.

The syntax of the numerals is that of our own day.

THE PRONOUNS.

§ 10. *Personal Pronouns.*

(*a*) Cases interchanged. *See* § 4, p. xi.

(*b*) Use of *thou* and *ye*.

Thou is used from superiors to inferiors, or from equals to equals *as a sign of contempt or defiance*:—

Lohier, the son of Charlemagne, delivering his message to the duke Benes of Aygremonte, addresses him with '*thou*,' *Aymon*, pp. 24, 25; and so do all the knights challenging each other to fight. Instances abound.

In many cases *thou* and *ye* are used in the same speech:—

Blanchardyn. Eglantyne always addresses her lover with 'ye'; but on p. 109 the following passage occurs: 'Ha, my right trusty frend . . . . that hath ben the pyler, susteynynge under *thy* swerde bothe myself and all my royaulme, I am not a power to rewarde *the* after the meryte that *ye* deserued to haue of me. Well *ye* haue shewed . . . the excellent vertu of humylite that is in *you*,' etc., ll. 9 ff. Again, Beatrice addressing her father Alymodes with contempt, says: 'medel *thou* nomore wyth loue, leue thys thoughte, and make no more *thyne* accomptes for to entre wythin thir cite; for yf *ye* haue taken and bounde my husband . . .' 186/28 ff.

Aymon. Ogier the Dane addressing his sword Cortyne: 'Ha, Cortyne that so moch I haue loued *the*, and, certes, it is wel rayson, for *ye* be a good swerde, and in many places *ye* haue wel holpen me,' 268/1 ff.

—Charlemagne asks Rypus to hang Richard: 'Rypus, yf *ye* wyll do soo moche for me that *ye* wyll go hange Rychard, I shall make *the* lord of grete londes,' 333/6—8.

—Mawgis blaming Rypus: 'Ha, rypus, *thou* traytour, euyll man, *ye* haue always be redy for to doo some euyll against us, but sith that I haue found *you* here I shall not seke *you* nowhere else,' 339/17 ff. Cf. 435/10 ff., 468/8 ff.

Morte Darthur. The lady's thanking Sir Lancelot for his killing the giant: 'For *thou* hast done the most worship that euer dyd knyght in this world, that wyll we bere recorde, and we all pray *you* to tell us *your* name,' 199/15 ff.

—Sir Raynold addressing Lancelot: '*thou* art a strong man, and I suppose *thou* hast slayn my two brethren . . . I wolde not haue a doo wyth *you*,' 202/35 ff. Cf. 209/14, 211/8, 214/13, 224/20, 226/5, 227/14, 234/14, etc.

This change of the pronoun in the address may be observed even in good Elizabethan prose :—

'Young gentleman, althoug[h] my acquaintaunce be small to intreate *you*, and my authoritie lesse to commaund *you*, yet my good will in giuing *you* good counsaile should induce you to beleeue me, and my hoarie haires (ambassadors of experience) enforce *you* to follow me, for by howe much the more I am a straunger to *you*, by so much the more *you* are beholdinge to mee, hauing therefore opportunitie to vtter my minde, I meane to be importunate with *you* to followe my meaninge. As *thy* birth doth shewe the expresse and liuely Image of gentle bloude, so *thy* bringing vp seemeth to mee to bee a greate blotte to the linage of so noble a bonte, so that I am enforced to thincke, that either *thou* dyddest want one to giue *thee* good instructions, or that *thy* parentes made *thee* a wanton wyth too much cockeringe; either they were too foolishe in vsinge no discipline, or *thou* too frowarde in reiecting their doctrine, eyther they willinge to haue *thee* idle, or *thou* wylfull to be ill employed.'—Lyly, *Euphues*, p. 2, ed. Landmann.

Philautus answering to Evphves: 'friend Euphues (for so *your* talke warranteth me to terme *you*), I dare neither vse a long processe, neither louing speach, least vnwittingly I should cause *you* to conuince me of those thinges which *you* have already condemned. And verily I am bolde to presume vpon *your* curtesie, since *you yourself* haue vsed so little curiositie, perswading my selfe that my short answere wil worke as great en effect in *you*, as *your* few words did in me. Try all shall proue trust; heere is my hand, my heart, my lands and my lyfe at *thy* commaundement: *Thou* maist well perceiue that I did beleue *thee*; and I hope *thou* wilt the rather loue me, in that I did beleeue *thee*.'

Lucilla, declaring her love to Euphues, uses both *thou* and *you*. —*Ibid.* p. 50.

Cf. *New Custom* (Dodsley's Collection, ed. Hazlitt, Vol. IV.), p. 18; *Trial of Treasure* (*ibid.*), p. 264; Marlowe, *Tamburlaine*, l. 189 ff.; Greene, *A Looking-Glass for London and England*; for Shakspere, see Abbott, § 231.

(*c*) Personal pronouns are emphasized by a preceding *it is*. It is he . . . *Aymon*, 33/9, 251/18; it is she, *Blades*, p. 166; it was I, *Morte Darthur*, 38/21, 83/25. In *Malory* the older expression occurs several times: I am he, 36/18; I was he, 67/7.—'It is *me*' was never used by Caxton, though he had the strong temptation of the French.

(*d*) Pleonastic use of the personal pronoun. If the predicate is separated from the subject by any adverbial, participial, or adjectival (relative) clause, a personal pronoun is pleonastically inserted to mark the subject:—

The proude pucelle in amours, with what peyne and grief that it was, atte thynstaunce and requeste of her sayd maystresse, *she* mounted anon upon her whyte palfray, *Blanch.* 45/4; The kyng thenne, after the knyght had thus spoken to hym, *he* gaff commandment . . . *ibid.* 102/16; How Gryffon of Haultefelle and Guenelon, after that they hadde slayne the Duke Benes of Aygremonte, *they* retorned to Paris, *Aymon*, 58/13; whiche, whan he sawe that Guycharde was entred into the castell, *he* retorned ayen, *ibid.* 73/6; the whiche whan he founde not his master in the chirche, *he* was al abasshed, *ibid.* 573/16; the damoysel that came from la Beale Isoud unto syr Tristram alle the whyle the tournament was advoynge *she* was with Quene Guenever, *Morte Darthur*, 389/8; thenne Kyng Arthur with a grete egre herte *he* gate a spere in his hand . . . *ibid.* 391/18, 395/37.

This pleonasm is very frequent after participle clauses:—

Thenne one of the daughters of the provost, *knowyng* that Blanchardyn was armed and redy to goo out wyth her fader, *she* cam and brought with her a fayre whyte coueryng . . . *Blanch.* 61/5; the Kynge Alymodes, *seeynge* the grete prowes that was in Blanchardyn, and that non so hardy durste approche hym, *he* began to crye aloude . . . *ibid.* 88/18; cf. 126/17, 128/28, 129/27, 138/9, 144/14, 150/19, 152/33, 167/12, 170/2, 173/24, 181/15.

But the pronoun was not the rule. The number of the passages quoted above is 13; but there are 16 (in *Blanchardyn*) where the pronoun is omitted, 22/20, 26/17, 27/23, 33/3, 41/27, 48/1, 50/1, 53/2, 56/12, 57/24, 93/11, 118/10, 148/22, 152/9, 166/30, 169/16. This use crops up very often in the *Gesta Romanorum*, pp. 3, 5, 45, 171, 209, 210, 221, 233, 235, 276, 316, 335.

After adjectival or relative clauses this use may be traced back to the earliest periods of the English language. A few instances will suffice for the present occasion:—

Ælfred's Orosius. Ac þa lond on east healfe Danais þe þær nihst sindon, Albani *hi* sind genemnede, 14/23; and he Ninus Soroastrem Bactriana cyning, se cuðe manna ærest dryeræftas, *he hine* oferwinnand ofsloh, 30/10; cf. *ibid.* 12/16, 26/20, 72/13, 98/2, 124/16, 188/26, 204/6.

Cura Pastoralis. Ure ældren, þa þe þas stowa ær hioldon, *hie* lufedon wisdom, p. 4; cf. 22.

Blickling Homilies. Lazarus, þe Crist awehte þy feorþan dæge þæs þe he on byrgenne wæs ful wunigende, *he* getæcnaþ þysne middangeard, 75/4; cf. 85/25, 147/2.

Ancren Riwle. þeo ilke þet he bledde vore ne brouhten heo him to presente ne win et. 114.

O. E. Hom. I. pp. 3, 7, 9, 253; II. pp. 15, 19, 41, etc. *Old English Miscellany*, pp. 17, 18, 40. *Story of Gen. and Exodus*, ll. 1003-4, 1065, 3839. *Cursor Mundi*, ll. 283, 285, 7184, 8940, 9014, etc., etc.

Caxton exhibits several instances of this pleonasm:—

He that wyll bee enhaunced in price, *he* oughte not to looke so nyghe, *Aymon*, 354/23; *he that* beginneth a game, *he* oughte to see an ende of it to hys proffyte, 355/6; and again the Frenshemen *that* sawe their kynge come agen, *they* were ryght glad, 413/19; for he that had ony mete, *he* hyd it incontynent, 422/2; and Charlemagne, that sawe aymon goo thus quyte, and that he had garnysshed mountalban of vytayllis, *he* was full angry for it, 436/14; this mornynge, thenne, reynawde *that* was wythin ardein, after that he had herde his masse, *he* called his thre bredren, 476/10; and thenne therle Faffras that was a worthy knyghte and a wyse, *he* wente to the gate of saynt stevyn, and kepte hym there, 504/21; for he that shall deye in the sawtynge of the holy cite, *he* shall be saved without doubte, 512/8.

There are many instances of the pleonastic personal pronoun after the compound relative *who that* or simple *who* = whosoever.

And who had seen him at that tyme, *he* wolde not haue trowed that he had be a man . . . *Blanch.* 194/21; who soever rekeneth wythoute his hoste, *he* rekeneth twys, *ibid.* 202/6; *who that* beleueth ouermoche in dremes, *he* doth agenste the commaundemente of god, *Aymon*, 222/12; *who that* doth you goode, *he* leseth well hys tyme, 269/18, 363/5, 368/5, 420/28, 453/3, 514/15, 590/24.

For the apparently pleonastic use of personal pronouns in the oblique case, see 'Relative Pronouns,' p. xlii.

(*c*) *Personal Pronoun omitted.*

A. As subject.

This omission is a remnant of the oldest stage of the language, when the personal endings of the verb made any pronoun (as a subject) superfluous, as in Greek and Latin. It is common to Old English, Middle English, and Old French:—

Old English. Her com Eomer from Cwichelme West Seaxna cininge. þohte þæt he wolde ofstingan Eadwine cininge, *Chronicle*, ab. 626; cf. 656 (Laud MS.) þæs on þæm afterran geare Hannibal sende sciphere on Rome, and þær ungemetlice gehergedon (*scil.* hie, namely the army), *Orosius*, 180/3; cf. 68/27, 134/6.

Middle English. and ȝif he hit nauȝ, ahefe (*scil.* he) swa muchel swa he mai, *O. E. Hom.*, I. 29; þa he iseh Martham and Mariam Magdalene þe sustren wepe for hore broȝer deaȝ, and ure drihten ȝurh rouȝe þæt he hefde of hom, schedde of his halie ezene hate teres, and hore broȝor arerde, and (*scil.* heo, they) weren stille of hore wope, *ibid.* 157; þu seist þat on gode bileuest (*scil.* thou), *ibid.* II. 25, l. 2; after þe forme word of þe salme abugest gode (*scil.* thou), *ibid.* l. 4. Cf. 71, 89, 93, 97, 101, 111, 119, 123, 197, 199, 215. *Gen. and Exodus*, ll. 1183, 1729, 1732, etc., etc.

Caxton is extremely free in omitting the pronoun. The instances occurring may be divided into the following groups:—

1. When the subject is the same in two co-ordinate sentences, it is omitted in the second. The omission is striking, whenever there is a clause inserted between the two principal sentences:—

So ranne the vasselles to gyder, and roughte eche other by suche a force upon the sheldes, that they were brusen and broken all to peces; theire speres (that sore bygge and stronge were) broke also all to peces. And *thenne toke* theire swerdes (*scil.* they) . . . *Blanch.* 28/11; A lytyl shal here cease *oure matere* to speke of hym, unto tyme and oure shal be for to retorne to the same. And shall shewe the sorowes and the complayntes of the proude pucelle in amours (*scil.* it, namely, *oure matere*), *ibid.* 43/5; [the provost is introduced making a long speech; then the author continues:] and thenne (that is, after the speech) wythout taryeng drewe his swerde (namely, the provost), 49/29. On p. 52 the subject for the first sentence of the 16th chapter must be supplied from the preceding chapter:—whan the proude lady in amours understode the squyer speke thus, the bloode ranne up at her face, and [she] wexed red as a rose, 64/16; wherof the provost was not lesse reioysshed than blanchardyn was. The dyner was redy, and [they] made an ende of their proces tyl another tyme, 81/26; cf. 14/21, 16/10, 22/15, 30/27, 32/7, 33/18, 41/19, 41/24, 42/8, 43/1, 52/17, 58/23, 64/16, 64/20, 66/17, 66/21, 67/4, 68/4, 69/1, 85/27, 85/32, 88/11, 99/32, 100/21, 106/8, 108/19, 127/4, 146/9, 157/3, 170/29, 174/20, 195/22, 203/29.

2. When the subject is the same in a principal and a subordinate sentence, the pronoun is omitted in one of them.

(*a*) Pronoun omitted in the subordinate sentence:—

Blanchardyn emonge other passetymes, delyted hymself in hawkynge and huntyng, wheras right moderately and manerly [he] mayntened hymself, 13/18; cf. 21/2, 22/11, 25/8, 39/25, 97/32, 152/28, 169/13.

(*b*) Pronoun omitted in the principal sentence:—

And for tabredge, after the rewthes, syghes and wepynges that so moche incessantly or wythout ceasse made the noble pucelle, [she] fell doune sterk ded upon the stomak of her most dere louere, 30/13; cf. 30/20, 49/11, 52/21, 53/24, 54/6, 65/3, 127/16.

3. When the subject of a subordinate sentence is not the same as that of the principal one, and is yet omitted, it must be supplied from the context.

How be it I knowe right wel, and make no doubt at all, but that first of all hit shall tourne for pryde of her, tyl a grete displeasire unto her, and [she] shal be therof wors apayed more than reason requyreth, *Blanch.* 39/15; certaynly I shal doo folow hym; and bylene for certayn that *his* laste daye is comen, and [he] shal deye, 44/12; cf. 45/16, 45/21, 87/10, 97/3, 133/33, 146/13, 150/23, 167/16.

4. *It* preceding impersonal verbs is omitted.

There are but two instances of this omission in *Blanchardyn*:—

But [it] seemed that she sholde slee herself to be more hastely venged, 43/26; so [it] taryed not long after thys was doon that the tempeste ceassed, 137/29.

Other instances: *Charles the Grete*, 41/6, 47/28, 49/11, 50/7, 63/11, 77/14, 83/9, 83/24, 85/7, etc. *Morte Darthur*, 136/7, 145/34, 163/35, 217/4, 241/34, 266/5, 278/20, 318/9, 354/29, etc. *Aymon*, 24/15, 27/26, 31/32, 39/29, 43/26, 45/3, 47/3, 48/24, etc.

B. A pronoun as object is very rarely omitted.

'But the knyght that was ryght courteys, guyded hym and *conduyted* a whyle,' *Blanch.* 39/30, is scarcely to be called an omission (see 'Arrangement of Words,' p. ci); but the pronoun is certainly wanting in the following passage: 'For as to his fadir, he wolde not touche,' *Aymon*, 85/29. Cf. Starkey, *England in the Reign of Henry VII*, 71/66: as for thys matter we shal ryght wel avoyd.

(*f*) The Emphatic Pronoun (himself, etc.) is used either in apposition (he himself), or independently (himself):—

For yf I sholde doo it, he hymself sholde blame me for it, *Aymon*, 189/33; and he hymselfe is delybered for to take the habyte and to become a monke, *ibid.* 280/23. By my faith, said Charlemagn, myself shall it be, *ibid.* 387/19; he thrested his swerde in one of his flankes wel depe, and hys swerde, hymself, and the place was all bybled of the blood, *Charles the Grete*, 77/12; wherin hym self is buryed, *ibid.* 37/24. There are not instances enough to decide which use prevails.

Own is sometimes inserted: 'I shall hang you my owne self.' *Aymon*, 339/13.

§ 11. *The Reflexive Pronoun.*

Both the simple and the compound forms occur, but the latter are apparently the rule. Of thirty instances occurring on the first forty-two pages of *Blanchardyn*, only three are simple, namely, 1/22, 2/10, 41/21.

§ 12. *The Possessive Pronoun.*

(*a*) *My, thy*, are used before consonants; *mine, thine*, before vowels. *Its* never occurs; in its place we find *his*, as in Old and Middle English. For the possessive pronouns used substantively, 'mine, thine, ours, yours' is the rule; 'our, your' occur, but quite exceptionally:—

I haue herde that ye haue called me and my broder the sones of a traytour, and that the kyng knoweth well that our fader slewe yours by trayson, wherof I wylle ye wyte that ye lie falsely, but your fader dyde assaylle *our* by trayson, *Aymon*, 545/10; Ye wolle enforce yourselfe to rescue oute of daunger of deth, my lorde and *youre*, my good husband Sadoyne, *Blanchardyn*, 189/25. *his* is sometimes preceded by the definite article. *See* 'Article,' p. xxvi.

The possessive pronouns are sometimes preceded by *this*: 'This their message,' *Morte Darthur*, 160/30. Cf. above, § 5, on the Genitive Case, p. xv.

(*b*) The possessive pronoun *my* is used as a term of courtesy. It occurs very frequently in connection with *lady*, so as to form almost *one word*. This is made evident by the repetition of *my* in the following instances:—

Unto the right noble puyssaunt and excellent pryncesse, *my* redoubted lady, *my* lady Margarete, duchesse of Somercete, etc., *Blanchardyn* (Dedication), 1/2; I haue told you her byfore, that the paynem kynge Alymodes apparreylleth hymself to make werre

to *my* lady, *my* maystresse, the proude pucelle in amours, *ibid.* 38/3; *my* lady *my* susters name is dame Lyonesse, *Morte Darthur*, 232/13; I byleue certeynly that he shall doo soo, for the kindness that *my lorde my* fader dyde shewe unto Charlemagne, *Aymon*, 427/33; I praye you ryde unto *my* lorde *myn* unkel kynge Arthur, *Morte Darthur*, 267/32. I met with only one exception: At yonder wyndowe is *my lady syster* dame Lyones, *ibid.* 237/3.

Instead of 'my lady his moder,' Caxton says several times *his lady moder*: *Aymon*, 57/34, 62/20, 81/13.

(*c*) The possessive pronoun is often replaced by the genitive of the personal pronoun: the head of him = his head. See 'Genitive.'

(*d*) *his* instead of the genitival inflexion *'s* is very rare:—

And with that renne, blanchardyn *his* courser ran ouer pe provost that he tradd upon one of his armes, *Blanchardyn*, 48/35; to what thynge Charles *hys* sone and *hys* doughters were instructe and taughte to doo, *Charles the Grete*, 28/1; this lord of this castel, *his* name is syr Damas, *Morte Darthur*, 126/17 (not exactly equal to a genitive); the fyrste knyghte *hys* hors stumbled, *ibid.* 220/30.

(*e*) *mine* is sometimes equivalent to *of me* used in an objective sense. It occurs in connection with the gerund, and translates the French *mon*, etc. 'Thou knowest well, that I dyde was *in my deffendynge*,' *Aymon*, 88/26; 'it was I that slewe this knyght *in my deffendaunt*,' *Morte Darthur*, 83/25. This is false analogy to the other gerundial constructions, like 'in my talking,' etc., formed out of the intransitive or transitive verbs. There is a parallel passage in Chaucer:—'Another homicidy is doon for necessite, as whan a man sleth another *in his defendaunt*,' III. 312. One MS., however, has *him defendaunt*.[1]

§ 13. *The Demonstrative Pronouns.*

With the exception of one remnant of Middle English use, the syntax of the demonstrative pronouns is really the same in Caxton as in our own time. *That* is sometimes used in connection with *one* and *other*:—

[1] Perhaps the following passage cannot be explained in the same way:—'Syre, ye be a right fayre Iouncell . . . and *to my semyng* right wel worthy to haue the grace and fauour of the right gentyll damoyselle,' *Blanchardyn*, 37/22. Probably 'seem' is here 'think'; 'to my thinking' is still in use. Cf. the chapter on the Impersonal Verb.

That one looked upon *that other* for to see who wold sette fyrst honde upon hym, *Charles the Grete*, 44/26; *that one* was named babtysme, and *that other* grabam, *ibid.* 59/17-18. Cf. *ibid.* 59/24-5, 62/19, 70/21.

The same is often used as a mere equivalent of the simple personal pronoun:—'Where by experience he shuld lerne to bere armes, and shuld exercyce and take payne and dyligence upon hymself to knowe the ways of *the same* = of them' (*scil.* armes), *Blanchardyn* 16/6; cf. 19/16, 22/1, 38/9, etc. It crops up very often in Elizabethan times: Marlowe, *Tamb.* I. 2; *Edward* II. l. 1439; Greene, *Looking Glass*, 135 *a*, 142 *a*; Greene, *Alphonsus*, 228 *a*, 228 *b*, 229 *a*; *Gorboduc*, 18, 23; Spenser, *View of the State of Ireland*, p. 609 *a*, 624 *a*. For Shakspere, see Schmidt, *Lexicon*, s. v.

§ 14. With regard to *Interrogative Pronouns* it is noteworthy that *what* often refers to persons:—

She loked bakward for to se *what* he was that so hastely rode after her, *Blanchardyn*, 41/30; moche grete desyre I haue to wyte and knowe *what* he may be, 64/1; (he) asked of him *what* he was,[1] of what lande and of what lynage, 99/35. Cf. 43/13, 128/17, 154/11, 183/20, 194/3. Very often in *Morte Darthur*, and also in Berners's *Huon*, we find '*what* he was and *who* was his father,' 17/22. Cf. 23/12, 29/11, 30/3, 30/13, 54/7, 104/11, etc.

§ 15. *The Relative Pronoun.*

(*A.*) The relative clause either follows its antecedent, or rather *correlative*, or precedes it. Accordingly we find two sorts of relative pronouns in Caxton:—

I. That, which, the which, whom, where, as.

II. Who, who that, whosoever (whomsoever).

(I.) *That* is used of persons and things, *especially after pronouns* (he, that), but is restricted to the nominative and accusative case, when used alone, and is never preceded by a preposition. Of all the relative pronouns it is by far the most frequent.

'*That conveys a vague idea of reference;* this is its function compared with the other relative pronouns. It answers thus to

[1] Though we say still '*What* are you? an engineer or a teacher?' meaning 'of what profession or business are you?' the first quotation above shows that *what* in it means *who*.

Old English þe, to the German *was*, used by illiterate people, and to the Hebrew *ascher*.

Dr. Abbott's rule with regard to the Elizabethan use of *that* does not apply to Caxton. *That* is not only used (*a*) after a noun preceded by the article, (*b*) after nouns used vocatively, in order to complete the description of the antecedent by adding some essential characteristics of it. Cf. the following passages:—

That used of persons: *Blanchardyn*, 1/9 (theym that); 12/17 (people of the lande that iudged heuself right happy); 14/5 (theym that); 15/2 (Blanchardyn that); 15/22 (knyghtes that); 19/16 (dyuers there were that); 19/19 (blanchardyn that); 19/21 (no tonge humayn that); 19/23, 24; 20/1, 21/11, 22/2, 4, 17; 23/2, 7, 13, 17, 19, 24; 25/15, 16, 22, 24; 26/16, 27/11, 28/6, 31/2, 9; 32/13, 22, 25; 33/4, 5; 38/8, 39/29, etc.

That used of things: 12/5, 19; 15/6, 16, 21; 16/7, 17, 19; 17/10, 14; 18/10, 22; 19/1, 14, 15, 25, 26; 20/19, 22/9, 11; 23/6, 24/9, 26/1, 7, 19, 25; 27/4, 16, etc.

Next in frequency comes *which*. It refers to persons and things, but differs from *that* in three points.

1. It not only follows an immediate antecedent, but may be separated from it by other nouns:—

he found the foot of the hors of hym for whom he wente in enqueste, *whiche* (*sic.* the foot) he folowed ryght quykly, *Blanchardyn*, 25/19; at thynstaunce and requeste of my sayd lady, *whiche* I repute as a commaundemente, I haue reduced, 1/23; he gate a ryght goode and riche swerde, that longed unto the kynge his fader, *whiche* afterward was to hym wel syttynge, 17/15; where he fonde the leest courser of the kinge his fader, *whiche* was the fairest and the best that coude haue ben founde in ony contreye at that tyme, 18/1; cf. 19/10. There is a very instructive instance in *Morte Darthur*: 'when syr Gaherys sawe hys tyme, he cam to their beddes syde, alle armed, with his sword naked and soddenly gat *his moder* by the here and strake of her hede; whenne syr Lamorak sawe the blood dasshe upon hym all hote, *the whiche* he lefte passynge wel (*i. e.* his moder), wete ye wel he was sore abasshed,' 452/27.

2. *Which* is used in connection with prepositions. Upon whiche, *Blanchardyn*, 18/7; in whiche, 22/2, 28/17, 31/16; through whiche, 32/3, 62/2.

3. It replaces a personal or demonstrative pronoun, in order to bring about a closer connection between the two *logically co-ordinate* sentences:—

I, wyllyam Caxton . . . presente this lytyl book unto the noble grace of my sayd lady: *whiche boke* I late receyued in frenshe from her sayd grace, etc., *Blanchardyn*, 1/7; I haue reduced this sayd boke out of frenshe into our englyshe: *whyche boke* specyfyeth of the noble actes and fayttes of warre . . . *ibid.* 1/25 (= and it); cf. 33/6; the noble mayden behelde hym moche humbly, *whyche* toke a ryght grete pleasure to see his gracyouse and assured behauyng, 77/7 (= and she); but this function is shared also by *the whiche* and *whom*. Cf. Of *whom* and of *their* behauynge I shal make mencion after, *Charles*, 38/22.

The whiche (answering to the French *liquels*) is used most of persons in the same function as *which*, *Blanchardyn*, 13/3, 18/16, 22/18, 26/10, 27/8, 29/7, 32/14, etc.

Whom, so far as I am aware, is used of persons, and in connection with prepositions. Of whom, 15/15; for whom, 25/18; to whom, 37/7. Cf. 82/12, 90/19, 94/22, 98/31, 99/3, 104/5, 105/11, etc.

Where, followed by *of* or *by*, refers to persons and things, and whole sentences, and is equivalent to *which* and *whom*.

The childe growe and amended sore of the grete beaulte, *wherof* he was garnysshed, *Blanchardyn*, 13/6 (French *dont*); and (that) gaff hym a wylle for to be lyke unto those noble and worthy knyghtes, *wherof* he sawe the remembraunces, 15/19; thurgh the cite were herde the voyces, *wherby* they were soone aduertysed, 20/4; (he) wrapped his wounde, *wherof* he so sore sorowed, 23/11; and thenne toke their swerdes, *wherof* they gaafe many a grete stroke, 28/11; cf. 28/16; he sholde vaunce hymself for to kysse suche a pryncesse that neuer he had seen before, and *wherof* thacquentaunce was so daungerous, 40/25; the rayson *wherby* I so saye I shall show it unto you, 53/9, etc.

Referring to sentences: but trowed all they that were present that they had be bothe ded, *wherof* the pyteous cryes, wepyng and lamentacyons began to be more grete . . . 20/2, 20/5.

As is used after *such* as in Modern English; cf. 1/20, 2/11, etc., but *such* is also often followed by *that*:—

It shall not be taken so lightly as men wene, for suche folke doo kepe it, *that* well and worthily shall deffende it, *Aymon*, 73/11; ye aske counseyll of *such that* cannot counseyll theymselfe, *ibid.* 208/14; I requyre and byseche alle *suche that* fynde faulte or error . . . Blades, *Caxton*, 170. Cf. Chaucer, *Boeth.* (ed. Morris): such a place that men clepen theatre. On the first forty pages of *Blanchardyn*, the share of these pronouns expressed in figures is:—

	Persons.	Things.		Persons.	Things.
That	39	51	Whom	3	—
Whiche	6	17	Where	2	7
The whiche	7	1	As	1	1

(II.) *Who* as a relative preceding the correlative is met with in Old English in connection with *swa*, and becomes in Middle English *whose*, later *whoso*.

Who that is declared by the grammarians not to appear before the second half of the 14th century; cf. Koch II.², p. 282. But there are instances of an earlier date:—

Þenne againes kinde Gaþ *hwa þat* swuche kinsemon ne luueþ and leueþ (then against nature goes each man who loveth such a kinsman and leaveth, *Morris*). *Þe wohunge of ure Lauerd* (*O. E. Hom.* I. p. 275).

to *quat* contre sum *þat* þu wend, *Cursor Mundi*, 1149. Cf. 1151; qua þat, *ibid.* 1969.

huo þet yelpþ; he is aperteliche godes þyef, *Ayenbite*, 59; *huo þet* godeleþ his euenisten, he is accorsed of god, *ibid.* 66; cf. 70, 75, 80, 81, 89, 93, 94, etc.

For Chaucer, see Koch, *loc. cit.*

Caxton has both *who* and *who that* equivalently: for *who that* was that tyme yrought of hym, his dayes were fynyshed, *Blanchardyn*, 169/4; *who* had seen hym at that tyme, he wold not haue trowed, that he had be a man mortal, *ibid.* 194/20; for *who that* believes ouer moche in dremes, he dooth againste the commaundements of god, *Aymon*, 222/12; *who that* dooth you goode, he leseth wel hys tyme, *ibid.* 269/17; *who* had seen the grete mone that alarde . . . made for their cosyn, he wolde haue grete pyte for to see them, 363/3. Cf. 368/5 (who that), 420/28 (who), 453/3 (who that), 514/13 (who), 590/24 (who). Cf. *Morte Darthur*, 43/29, 45/23, 176/35, 264/23, 378/23, etc.

(*B.*) Relative pronouns in the sentence.[1]

The structure of the relative clauses in Caxton is far from being the same as in Modern English. There are three principal types of relative constructions:—

(I.) The antecedent or correlative is a noun in a complete sentence, which is followed by a many-worded adjective or relative clause:—

'She conceyued a ryght faire sone, whiche was named Blanchardyn.'—*Blanchardyn*, 12/12.

(*a*) If the relative pronoun is in the nominative case, the construction, as a rule, is the same as in Modern English. There are only a few exceptions:—

[1] For convenience' sake I prefer to discuss this important point in this place, instead of in the Syntax of the Sentence, as the system requires.

Ine þise zenʒeþ moche wolk : ine uele maneres . ase þise fole wyfmen . *þet* uor a lite wynnynge, *hy* yueþ ham to zenne, *Ayenbite*, 45.

A knight ther was and that a worthy man, *That* fro the time that he firste began To riden out, *he* louede chevalrie.—Chaucer, *Canterbury Tales* (quoted by Zupitza in a note to Koch II². p. 278).

I have not come across any such instance in Caxton, but have found two in Malory's *Morte Darthur* :—

Now tourne we unto sire Lamorak *that* upon a daye *he* took a lytel Barget and his wyf . . . 330/24 ; here is a worshipfull knyght sir Lamorak *that* for me *he* shal be lord of this countreye, 334/2 ; sir Trystram *that* by adventure *he* cam . . . *ibid.* 407/21.

(*b*) The relative is an oblique case. Then, as a rule, the relatives enumerated above are used in connection with the corresponding preposition : 'Of whom, to whom, whom or which,' etc. But there are exceptions in this case too. Instead of the simple relatives, there occur

In the genitive : relative + his (her), their.

In the dative and accusative } relative + him (her, it), them.

Old English. Hwæt se god wǽre, þe þis *his* beâcen was, *Elene*, 162 ; se mon ne wât, þe *him* on foldan fægnost limpeð, *Cod. Ex.* 306/25 (quoted by Koch, p. 277).

Middle English. þe pope Gregorie þþat þe fende *him* hadde wel neiʒ icaʒt, *Greg.* ed. Schulz, 16 *a* ; a doughter þþat wiþ hire was hire moder ded, *ibid.* 32 *a* ; It was hire owhen child, *þat* in *his* armes aniʒt she went, *ibid.* 748 ; there were maydenes thretty, that for hys seruyse in the halle there there loue on hym can falle, *Guy of Warwick*, ed. Zupitza, l. 180, *see* note (Koch, p. 278, note by Zupitza).

There are a few instances in Caxton and Malory :—

Thenne answered Rubyon to Blanchardyn, that the daughter of the myghty kynge Alymodes, the cuen before had gyuen unto hym her sleue, *the whiche* in presence of her father she had taken *it* from her ryght arme, *Blanchardyn*, 84/12, 13 ; he fonde hym, the terres at the eyes of hym, makynge his full pitueuse complayntes, *the whiche* sadoyne had herde part *of hem*, 123/25 ; Syre, I say the same for the knyght, that is the most parfyt in all beaulte and condicyons *that*[1] *his* lyke can not be founde, 155/8 ; *the whiche* thenne, by old age and lyuynge many yeres, *his* blood was wexen colde, *Eneydos*, 14/21 ; *of whom* may not wel be recounted the valyaunce *of hym*, *Charles*, 38/20 ;

[1] Perhaps 'that' is here = so that?

for he had lost moche of his blode by his foure mortal woundes, *of whyche* the leste *of them* was suffysaunt for hym to haue deyed, *ibid.* 235/10; A, syr, ye are the same knyghte *that* I lodged ones in *your* castel, *Morte Darthur*, 266/15; so leue we sire Trystram in Bretayne, and speke we of sire Lamerak de galys, *that* as he sayled, *his* shyp felle on a rok, and perysshed all, 330/2; and that was she *that* Breunys saunce pyte took that shelde *from her*, 345/11, 12.

This use continued in the 16th century:—

I know no man lyuyng *that* I or my brother haue done *to hym* any dyspleasure, Berners, *Huon*, 19/24; *the whiche* treasure I gaaf part *therof* to the kynge, 263/9; I pray thee, show me what be yonder two prynces that goth up the stayres, and *that* so moch honour is done *to them*, 286/9.

Very rarely is a relative in the oblique case followed by a redundant personal pronoun:—

(they) were all murderers, *wherof* the prynepall and the mayster *of them* all was named sylvayne, *Blanchardyn*, 204/8; It is by cause ther is come in to thy court he that hath slayne my brother *whom* incontynente thou oughtest to haue slayne *hym* quyke, *Huon*, 141/24.

The edition of 1601 omits *hym*. There is perhaps a change of the construction in *Blanchardyn*, 192/29: 'they recountred a peynem, *which* they toke, and broughte *hym* before Blanchardyn.'

(II.) The correlative sentence is divided into two parts by the relative clause:—

'He that wyll be enhaunced in price, he oughte not to loke soo nyghe.'—*Aymon*, 354/23.

In Old and Middle English this type is nearly always a sort of anacoluthon to our modern eyes and ears, and perhaps it was such indeed. The essential point in which this construction differs from the modern use is, that *the correlative always appears in the nominative case*, without regard to its place in the sentence; it is only the redundant pronoun, personal or possessive, in the second part, which marks the subjective or objective case of the correlative, *e. g.*, in Modern English we might say:—'*To her who* was not skilled in receiving such guests, his acquaintance was hard to make,' but Caxton has:—'and *she* that was not lerned to receyue suche geestes, sore harde was his acquaintance *to her*.'—*Blanchardyn*, 67/29, 30.

Accordingly I distinguish two groups of type II.

(*a*) The correlative is the subject of the sentence. Then the redundant *personal* pronoun appears in the nominative case.

This pronoun is, as said above (*see* 'Personal Pronoun'), very frequent in Old English and Middle English. Perhaps we might say that this is the rule; at least the *Old English Homilies* seem to suggest such a supposition. There are in the Second Series twenty-three instances of the redundant pronoun, namely, p. 15, l. 4 from top; p. 15, l. 4 from foot; p. 19, l. 9 from top; p. 43, l. 3 from top; p. 45, l. 16 from foot, and on pages 69 (twice), 73, 75, 99, 115 (twice), 133 (twice), 143, 153 (three times), 155, 159, 201, 203, 207; while only six passages omit it, namely, on pages 11, 17, 19, 73, 111, 151.

In Caxton this is no longer the case. There is not one instance of the group (*a*) in *Blanchardyn;* and in *Aymon* they are not very numerous. *See* 'Personal Pronoun.'

(*b*) The correlative is the object (direct or indirect) of the sentence; then, as a rule, it is in the nominative case, and the redundant personal pronoun is either in the genitive (his, her, their) or dative (accusative) case:—

Alle synfulle men þe heued-synnes don habbeð, and nelleð þerof no shrift nimen he bihat *hem* eche fur on helle, *O. E. Hom.* II. 41; alle þo þe here synnen forleteð and beteð he heleð *here* synwunden mid fulenege, *ibid.;* þat (Harleian MS. þei þat) etys me ȝitt hungres thaym, and þey þat drinkes me ȝitt þristes *thaym.* Hampole, *Prose Treatises*, p. 3.

In Caxton, (*b*) is apparently the rule:—

The rayson wherby I so say, I shall show *it* unto you, *Blanchardyn*, 53/9, 67/30 (quoted above); but this that I haue tofore wryton, I haue taken *it* oute of an autentyke book, *Charles*, 38/24; he perceyued a right myghty nauye, wherof *they* that were come upon lande, he sawe *hem* in grete nombre, *ibid.* 162/3; that whiche I haue done in this behalue, I haue donn *it* for the beste, 185/19; *they* that were about hym rebell, he dompted and subdewed *them*, 196/15; very instructive instances, *ibid.* 215; *he* that deyeth in feyinge, *his* soule shall neuer be saued, *Aymon*, 232/26; but the sorou that the kyng made for his quene, *that* myghte no man telle.—Malory, *Morte Darthur*, 274/34.

I found but a few instances of modern construction:—

And *them that* ben poure and caste doun, maketh she oftymes to ryse and mounte from certaynte to Incertaynte, *Curial*, 6/13; and *them that* were hurte, he lete the surgyens doo heale their woundes, Malory, *Morte Darthur*, 174/13.

There is one instance in Malory in which—if Caxton or his compositor did not introduce a first *gaf* not in the author's copy—both the old and modern uses are mixed in one: 'Thenne the kyng stablysshed all his knyghtes and [*gaf*] *them* that were of londes not ryche, *he gaf them* londes . . .' *Morte Darthur*, 118/13. Malory (if the first *gaf* was his) began with the modern construction: 'and gaf them that were of londes not ryche (londes),' but in the second half of the sentence he found it would be quite confusing and impossible to add 'londes' only to his long adjective 'that were of londes not ryche,' and he therefore repeated the words which governed 'londes,' the old use suggesting itself to his memory as a justification for his cumbrousness. This use occurs very often in Berners:—

The londe *that* they hold, gyue *it* to Charlot your sone, *Huon*, 5/13; with my swerde I so defendyd me, that *he* that thought to haue slayne me, I haue slayne *hym*, 27/5, 6; he that lieth there deed before you, I slew him in my defence, 34/11; *all the mete that* he could get in the towne, he shuld by *it*, 84/33.

(III.) *The relative sentence precedes its correlative.*

'*who* had seen hym at that tyme, *he* wold not haue trowed that he had be a man mortal,' *Blanchardyn*, 194/21. The use of the personal pronoun in the correlative is the same as in type II.

In the *Ayenbite* the pronoun is the rule, just as in the French Original (qui-il, quiconque-il); quite exceptionally it is omitted, *e. g.* 'huo þet wyle lede guod lif; zeche þet he habbe þet zope guod,' p. 94 (omitted also in the Original). In the *Gesta Romanorum*, too, it is always to be met with:—

who that euer comith thedir, *he* shall fare wele, p. 15; who so euer wold come to that feste, *he* sholde haue his doughter, p. 87; who so euer gote therby to the holy londe, *he* shall in pes go, p. 106; who so euer wolde rin with his dowter, *he* shulde wed her, p. 122; who so euer gothe with her to bedde, *he* shall anon falle in to a dede sleep, p. 160; who so euer bere it upon him, *he* shal haue loue of al men, p. 180; whosoeuer haue hit, *he* shall euermore joy, p. 286.

Caxton. *Blanchardyn*, 194/21 (quoted above); whosoeuer rekeneth withoute his hoste, *he* rekeneth twys for ones, 202/6; who that was that day yrought of hym, *his* dayes were fynyshed, 169/4;—*Aymon*, 222/12, 269/18. *See* above, p. xl.

Malory, *Morte Darthur*. *Who that* holdeth against it, we wylle slee *him*, 43/29, 30; *who* saith nay, *he* shal be kyng, 45/23; whosomeuer is hurte with this blade, *he* shalle neuer be stamched, 176/35; who that may first mete ony of these two knyghtes, *they* sholde torne hem unto Morgan le fays castel, 378/23.

The same use occurs in the 16th century as well:—

Whosoeuer that hath not seene the noble citie of Venis, *he* hath not seene the bewyte and ryches of thys worlde, *Andrew Boorde*, p. 181; whosoeuer wil buylde a mancyon place or a house, *he* must cytuate . . . p. 233. Cf. pp. 236, 238, 242.

Shakspere has often *what—it*:—

What our contempt doth often hurl from us, We wish *it* ours again, *Antony*, I. ii. 127; *what* you have spoke, *it* may be so perchance, *Macbeth*, IV. iii. 11.

(*C.*) *Attraction* is to be observed in *that* = that which:—

Paynem, upon *that* thou me demaundest, I telle to thee . . . *Charles the Grete*, 54/17; Olyuer answered that he wold not, and *that* he sayd was folye, *ibid.* 56/35. Cf. *Blanchardyn*, 74/12, 91/7; *Morte Darthur*, 257/31.

Stronger attractions occur in *Blanchardyn*:—

Blanchardyn, sore angry and euyl apayde of *that* he sawe the untrewe knyghte to endure so longe . . . = 'of that which,' 28/13; and wyth theym was the kynge of fryse, that of new had cast doune to the grounde [him] *that* bare the chief standarde of kyng Alymodes, 195/8. *that* = him who.

(*D.*) Omission of the Relative.

The omission of the relative is very common in the 15th and 16th centuries, after *there is, there is not* (no):—

There is no man in the world can compare to him, *Charles*, 54/19; yet there were some of the grete lordes had indignation that Arthur shold be kynge, *Morte Darthur*, 43/14; there was none dyd so wel as he that day, *ibid.* 50/12; there was so fewe a felaushyp dyd suche dedes, 53/33; there was no man myghte passe them, 59/20. Cf. 59/28, 61/17, 68/24, 146/38, 212/4, 222/33, 238/28, etc.

There are many instances of this omission in Berners and in Elizabethan writers:—

Here be two of my nephese shall be pledge for me, *Huon*, 37/21; among them there was one was not content, *ibid.* 73/16; there is no man shal let me, 97/7. Cf. 113/25, 115/32, 122/17, 146/1, 238/30, 249/28, 296/16, 299/8, 440/16. For Shakspere, *see* Abbott, § 244; and *Anglia*, III., p. 115 ff.

Beside the omission after *there is*, several striking instances occur in *Blanchardyn* and *Morte Darthur*. It is impossible to account for this use without entering into a discussion of the whole matter; so I beg the reader to be satisfied for the time with a simple report of the facts:—

Whan blanchardyn understode [that] the knyght thus went thretenyng hym, and that [he] so moche inhumaynly entreated the gentyll pucelle, [he] sayde unto hym, 27/10. Cf. [he] sawe syr Alysander was assoted upon his lady,[1] *Morte Darthur*, 477/12; thou suffrest now thyn enmyes to sette thy land al on a fyre, and wymmen and children to be slayn of them, [that] are comen ferre wythin thy royaulme, *Blanchardyn*, 101/27; haue pyte and compassyon upon thys pore chylde, whiche is now al alone amonge wolves famyshed, [that] be redy to devour me, *ibid.* 180/22.

In a chirche they found one was fair and riche, *Morte Darthur*, 84/5; I shall sende hym a gyfte shalle please hym moche more, 101/2; where is the lady shold mete us here? 146/15; he mette with a man was lyke a foster, 184/29; and thenne was he ware of a faucon came fleynge ouer his hede, 208/11; but thou shalt see a syght shal make the torne ageyne, 219/35; ryght soone ther shal mete a knyght shal paye the alle thy wages, 228/11; by the feythe we owe unto god, 233/8; I wil wel with this he make her amendys of al the trespas he hath done ageynst her, 240/29; for the good lordship ye shewed me, 305/14; that is the grettest payne a prysoner may haue, 400/4.

§ 16. *The Indefinite Pronouns.*

The modern English *one* = people = French *on*, German *man*, does not occur in Caxton. Its place is still occupied by *men*.

And that by his behauoure and contenaunce, *men* might well knowe that he was departed and come of noble extraction, *Blanchardyn*, 50/16; *men* see atte ey his beaulte, 54/33; (she) cam toward a wyndowe, out of whiche *men* sawe right ferre into the see, 55/32. Cf. 57/7, 68/24, 76/28, 80/7, 99/1, 116/11, 129/7.

From the passages 54/33, and 129/7, we see that 'men' was followed by a predicate in the plural. Cf. 'men make often a rodde for theym selfe,' *Aymon*, 97/11. There is one instance of 'man':—

[1] The omission of the relative here is still good English.

A man told me in the castel of four stones, that ye were delyuered, and that *man* had sene you in the court of kynge Arthur, *Morte Darthur*, 83/4.

Everiche is equivalent to the modern 'everybody':—

Euerych (went) in to his owne countrey, *Aymon*, 186/16; to do *euericke* Iustice and reson, *Charles*, 30/15; there came a byrde to his ere in the presence of *everiche* that *were* aboute hym, *ibid.* 34/3; in a plural sense = all.

THE VERB.

§ 17. *Impersonal Verbs.*

(*A.*) The Impersonal Verbs denoting natural or else external events, as raining, thundering, freezing, etc., have remained the same, with regard to their syntactical use, from Old English down to modern times. We say still: it rains (O. E. hit rinð), it thunders (O. E. hit þunraþ), it freezes (O. E. hit freóseð), it[1] happens that, &c. (O. E. hit gelimpeð), etc.

But those Verbs which express states or actions of the human mind have undergone an important change. As stated above (*see* p. xi, 'Nominative Case'), many once Impersonal Verbs became personal, and we have now but a few instances of such verbs as 'it[1] seems to me, it[1] pleases me.'

In Caxton we see this tendency at work, but the change from impersonal to personal verbs is far from being complete. Here is an alphabetical list of the impersonal verbs in Caxton and Malory; those used personally, too, are marked with * :—

**ail*, Middle English *eilen*, impersonal, and so it is in Caxton. 'Ha broder, what yelleth you?' *Aymon*, 226/26; what eyleth you, fayr cosyns, that ye make so euyll chere? *ibid.* 322/1.

Once personal. And when the duchesse sawe him, she began to wepe full sore; and the duke knewe wel what *she eyleale* (Original: yeelde), *Aymon*, 66/2.

**be better.* 'Me were better' is the rule, but there is an instance of the personal use. 'A, foole, said she, *thou* were better flee by tymes,' *Morte Darthur*, 228/33.

forthynke (cf. rewe, repent), to repent. Middle English only impersonal, *see* Stratmann, *s. v.* There are exceptions in the *Ayenbite* (pp. 5, 29), but there Dan Michel apparently copied too faithfully his French original.

[1] This *it* is a false subject, to throw the true subject after the verb.

Caxton does not use the word, which he replaces by 'rewe' and 'repent'; but there are several instances in *Morte Darthur*: '*Me forthynketh* of your displeasyr,' 97/32; 'that me forthynketh,' 82/2. Cf. 324/17.

**hap* = *happen*, generally impersonal as in Middle English. Once personal in *Morte Darthur*: 'And so *he* happed upon a daye he came to the herd men' . . . 369/20. Einenkel quotes an earlier instance from the Life of saynt Elisabeth, Wülcker's *Lesebuch*, II., p. 15: 'For who . . . In that holy iurne happe for to deye . . . he goth a siker weye To heuenwarde.'

**be leuer*, generally impersonal (Caxton, however, prefers 'have leuer.' Cf. *Aymon*, 37/17, 148/12); but there is apparently the beginning of the personal construction in the following mixed expression: 'Ha, false and renyed strompet, *I were me leuer ded*, than that I sholde byleue nor doo thi cursed counseyll,' *Blanchardyn*, 185/32. It is composed out of the two constructions struggling one with another in the author's mind. Similar absurdities occur in *Chaucer*: *Him hadde wel leever* . . . That she hadde a ship, II. 109; Him lever had himselfe to mordre and dye, V. 323. See *Einenkel*, p. 112; Zupitza, note to *Guy*, l. 5077.

Like is still impersonal. (Caxton prefers *please*.) 'Sir, like it you (may it like, that is, please you) that we have doon,' *Aymon*, 568/25; me lyketh better the sword, sayd Arthur: Malory, *Morte Darthur*, 74/3; I assente, sayd the kynge, lyke as ye haue deuysed, and at crystmas there to be crowned, and to holde my round table with my knyghtes *as me lyketh*, ibid. 182/10. Cf. 222/10, 230/8. I don't notice any instance of personal use in Caxton; but there is one as early as 1440: 'Here me, and þou shalt like it for euer,' *Gesta Romanorum*, p. 281.

Like is used impersonally (and intransitively) in Elizabethan authors:

> 'Therefore 'tis best, if so *it like* you all,
> To send my thousand horse incontinent.'
> Marlowe, *Tamburlaine*, I. 51.

'And I'll dispose them as *it likes* me best.' *ibid.* 3839.

Cf. Greene, *Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay*, p. 159, *a.*; Greene, *James IV.*, p. 202, *a.*; *George-a-Greene*, p. 260, *a.*

**list*, used both personally and impersonally.

Impersonal. Whan the kynge hath dyned, who that wyl may goo playe *where hym lyste*,—*Charles the Grete*, 118/11; Breuse was so wel horsed, that *whan hym lyst* to flee, he myght wel flee, and also abyde whan *hym lyst*,—*Morte Darthur*, 398/8, 9. Cf. 245/8, 256/4.

Personal. Ye shall now here and understande from the heus-fourthon a terryble and a pyteous songe, yf *ye* therafter *liste* to herken, *Aymon*, 59/7; ye shall understonde, yf ye liste to herken, *ibid.* 90/21.

There are two instances of the personal use in *Chaucer*. For he to vertu listeth not entende, III. 1; As doon this fooles that hire sorw eche with sorowe . . . and listen nought to seche hem oother cure, IV. 136.

**ben loth*. *Impersonal.* I wold well kepe me, and *be loth* for to denounce thynge unto you that shulde tourne you to a displeasure, *Blanchardyn*, 76/17; that *is me loth*, said the knyght, *Morte Darthur*, 69/24.

Personal. I knowe thou arte a good knyghte, and loth I were to slee thee, *Morte Darthur*, 203/17; therfor ony of hem will be loth to haue adoo with other . . . *ibid.* 279/2; I am ful loth to haue adoo with that knyght, *ibid.* 383/22.

There is an instance of the personal use in *Chaucer*. 'My soverayn lady . . . Whom I most drede and love, as I best can, and lothest were of all this world displese,' 111/19. But perhaps this use may be traced back to as early as the *Cursor Mundi*. One line shows the state of transition between the impersonal and personal. 'Of chastite *has* lichour leth' (loath), l. 31, Cotton MS. The Fairfax MS. reads: 'of chastite *ys* licchour loþ.' Göttingen and Trinity MSS. read: 'of chastite has lecchour lite.'

In another line, *loth* seems to be used quite personally: (these names) *þat luth er* for to lie in rim, 9240, MSS. C. F. T.

**myster* = need, be in need of; avail.

Impersonal. lady moder, gramercy of so fayre a yefte as here is, For *it mystreth me* wel, *Aymon*, 129/14; borgons, thys worde mystre not to you for to saye, for ye must nedes defende yourselfe, *ibid.* 141/5; what mystreth hym (to Aeneas) to edifie cartage, and enhabyte emonge his enmies . . . *Eneydos*, 62/13.

Personal. Wherefore I mystered gretly of thayde and socours of you and of other, *Blanchardyn*, 77/33. (Of your helpe I had grete myster, *Morte Darthur*, 224/34. Cf. 59/5.)

need seems to be used only impersonally by Caxton and Malory. It needeth not to be doubted that he is come to his extremite of prowes and valyauntnes, *Blanchardyn*, 72/17; it nedeth not to be asked, yf he was therof gladde, *ibid.* 101/4; it nede not to you to make eny sorowe, *ibid.* 278/15. Cf. *Aymon*, 167/7, 490/6; *Morte Darthur*, 278/15. Often used so by Spenser:

Now needeth him no longer labour spend, His foes have slain themselves.—*Faerie Queene*, I. i. 26; Him needed not long call, *ibid.* II. vi. 19; Me little needed from my right way to have strayed, II. vi. 22. Also by Shakspere, 3 *Henry VI.*, I. iv. 125; *Venus*, 250.

owe = behove. Alas, said sir Lamorak, ful wel *me ought* to knowe you, for ye are the man that most haue done for me, *Morte Darthur*, 337/24. Cf. *Chaucer*, II. 313: and ther she was honoured as hir oughte; *Gesta Romanorum*, p. 215: (she) mette him as hir owte to do.

please only impersonal. It playse me wel, *Aymon*, 75/8. Cf. 29/25, 159/28, 226/22, etc.; *Morte Darthur*, 198/3, etc.

**repent.*

Impersonal. Yf ye abide here ony lenger, it shall repente you full sore, *Aymon*, 472/30; Me sore repenteth it, said sir gauayn, *Morte Darthur*, 107/27; that me repenteth, sayd syr Turquyne, *ibid.* 185/25.

Personal. Wherof I me repente sore, *Aymon*, 38/21; I truste in god myn eure is not suche but some neuer of them may sore repente thys, *Morte Darthur*, 59/7; I repente me, *ibid.* 469/23.

rew, impersonal. That rewyth me, sayd the provost, *Blanchardyn*, 156/10.

**seem* not only means 'appear,' but also 'think, believe,' as in Old English, when used personally. There are two passages in *Blanchardyn* which can be interpreted in this way: '*To my seming* ye sholde forclose and take awaye out of your herte all inutyle sorowfulnesse,' 53/5; 'I am sure that he hath in his house a rote that, as to my semyng shal gyf me help,' 70/17; *Me semeth* him a servaunt nothing able, *Courtesye*, l. 455.

There are two passages in the *E. E. Wills* which sanction this interpretation: 'like as mine executours seme best,' 79/21; and still more indisputable: 'as *they seme* that gode ys,' 111/26.

shame, only impersonal.

'Me shamed at that tyme to haue more adoo wyth you,' *Morte Darthur*, 332/5; 'for me shameth of that I haue done,' 324/6.

In Middle English it is impersonal and personal; cf. Trevisa's translation of Higden's *Polychronicon*: '*I* knewe myn own powert, and *schamede* and dradde,' I., p. 11. Cf. I., p. 9: '*me schamed* and dradde to fynde so grete and so gostliche a bone to graunte.'

thynken = seem, always impersonal. *Charles*, 55/11; *Aymon*, 410/30; *Morte Darthur*, 65/9, etc.

(*B.*) There is another sort of Impersonal Verbs, which denote neither external events nor actions of the mind. These are the verbs *reherce*, *show*, *tell*, occurring in Malory, as in Middle English, without any subject. The context proves that we have to supply 'the author,' 'the book,' though sometimes we find 'in the booke':—

After they were wedded, as it telleth in the booke, *Morte Darthur*, 63/18; as it telleth after, 63/35; as it telleth in the book of aventures folowynge, 64/31; as *it reherceth* after in the book of Balyn le saueage, that foloweth next after, 75/17; as it telleth after in the sangraylle, 91/27; as it reherceth afore, 105/11. I found only one instance in Caxton. The heading of chapter xvii. of *Aymon* runs as follows:—*Here sheweth* how reynawde faught agenst rowland, the whiche he conquered by the wyll of God, etc., 389/12.

This is an old Middle English use :—

Asc *hit seð* þer = as is said there, *i. e.* in the salutations, *Ancren Riwle*, p. 34 ; hi scule habben þat hrad *þe seð* iþe godspel (which is spoken of in the gospel), *O. E. Hom.*, I. 241 ; so it her telleð, *Bestiary* (in *O. E. Miscellany*), l. 257. Cf. l. 630. (There is another explanation in Grimm, IV. 53.)

(*C.*) There is often a striking want of inflexion in the Impersonal Verbs, especially in *thynk* = seem :—

Bote ne *þinche* ham nawt ȝet þat he is ful pinet (but it seems to them that he is not yet fully tormented).—þe wohunge of ure Lauerd, *O. E. Hom.*, I. p. 283. In the *Cursor Mundi*, me *thinc* is the rule! Cf. 225, 248, 2224, 2941, 3030, 5192, 5863, 6670, etc. ; otherwise as hem thenke, *E. E. Wills*, 124/10 ; as it *please* the seid Denys, *Bury Wills*, p. 46 ; as them best *seme* to doon, *E. E. Wills*, 86/4. In *Caxton*—Me thynke that ye ought to take that the erle profereth to you, *Aymon*, 410/30 ; It playse me woll, sayd the kynge, *ibid.* 75/8 ; thys worde mystre not for you to saye, *ibid.* 141/5. *Lyst* is nearly always without *s*. *See* above.

I suppose that this want of inflection is due to the analogy of the frequent *me lyst*, which is the regular Old English form. Cf. fæst (inf. fæstan), grét (inf. grétan). Sievers, *A. S. Grammar*, § 359/3.

§ 18. *Intransitive, transitive, and reflexive verbs.*

It is an unparalleld freedom of the English language to use the same verb in an intransitive, transitive, or causative, and reflexive sense, *e. g.* change, mend. Many causes have concurred in bringing about this remarkable and most valuable peculiarity. There is a faint germ of it in Old English, *e. g. bídan*, to abide (dwell and wait for), intransitive and transitive ; *féran*, go and carry ; *gesamnian*, to gather, reflexive and causative. It grows in Modern English, e. g. *drive*, used intransitively, *O. E. Miscellany*, pp. 1, 15 ; *fill*(en), Intr. *O. E. Hom.*, II. 37 ; *sink*(en), causative, *Story of Genesis and Exodus*, 1108 ; *leren* = to learn, *ibid.* 354, 1383, 3486 ; *O. E. Miscellany*, pp. 4, 11 ; *understand* = to teach, *ibid.* p. 52 ; *kelen* = to become cold.—Trevisa, *Polychr.* I. 177, etc.

It becomes ripe in the Elizabethan time, when nearly every verb is used in all the three senses.

Caxton exhibits several instances, which show that the development towards the Modern use was nearly complete :—

Cease, used as a causative. Soo pray I you that ye wyl *cesse* your grete sorowe, *Blanchardyn*, 44/2; (I beseche you) that ye wyll *ceasse* your sorowe, *ibid.* 53/27.

Learn = teach. She was not *lernyd* to receyue suche geestes, *Blanchardyn*, 67/29. Cf. 141/4.

Malory, too, has several instances of this use:—

I shalle be your rescowe, and *lerne* hym to be ruled as a knyghte, *Morte Darthur*, 197/10; who dyde lerne thee to dystrosse ladyes and gentylwymmen, *ibid.* 197/17. Cf. 285/33, 333/23. Shakspere, *Othello*, I. iii. 183: My life and education both do *learn* me How to respect you.

Lose, causative = ruin. But through fortune chaungeable, my lande hath he wasted and *lost* by darius, *Blanchardyn*, 146/5; *Morte Darthur*, 82/21.

Possess, causative. When he had gyuen to me my lande, and *possessed* me in my contrey, I wold not accept it, *Charles*, 147/16.

Succombe, causative = subdue. In their folysshe pryde I shal *succombe* and brynge a lowe their corage, *Blanchardyn*, 104/30. The original has: 'Et de la folle entre prinse qu ilz ont faicte pour l'orgueil et oultrage qui les ensuient contre vous vouldroy *abaissier* leur couraige follastre.'

Sit. There is a passage in *Aymon* where *sit* is used as a causative = set; but there seems to be only one instance of this use, and that makes me suspect a misprint. And he *sat* al his folk in a bushment within a grete wode, 136/18. I never came across this use of *sit* in older English, but several passages in *Melusine*, and the free modern *sit*, as a reflexive or causal, come very near to it. And she thanne wepynge *satte* herself by hym, *Melusine*, 157/2; [they] sate themself at dyner, *ibid.* 157/20; 'Whatever he did, he was constantly *sitting himself* down in his chair, and never stopping in it.'—Dickens, *Chimes*, 66; '*sitting himself* down on the very edge of the chair,' *Pickwick*, II. 356. *See* Storm, *English Philology, Colloquial English*.

Tarry is used as an intransitive, reflexive, and causative verb.

(*a*) but not long *hit taryed*, when tolde and recounted was . . . *Blanchardyn*, 19/17.

(*b*) the knyght there alone *taryed himself*,—*Blanchardyn*, 22/20. Cf. 88/3.

(*c*) other Infynyte thynges that are wont to *tarye* the corages of some enterpryses, *Blanchardyn*, 17/11; here we shal taryc tyl oure penne, *ibid.* 182/11.

Walop, causatively. But Blanchardyn wyth a glad chere *walaped* his courser as bruyauntly as he coude . . . = made to gallop, *Blanchardyn*, 42/5. Cf. *Morte Darthur*, 176/5: and anon he was ware of a man armed *walkynge* his horse easyly by a wodes syde. (Both as in Modern English.)

There are a few verbs used reflexively, which seem to be mere translations of the French.

The whiche, when he sawe Blanchardyn, anone *escryed hymself* hyghe . . . *Blanchardyn*, 32/15; I haue not *perceyued me* of this that ye telle me, *ibid.* 17/15 (Original: je ne me suis pas perceu de . . .); I *perceyue me* well, *Aymon*, 229/15; after this he *toke hym self* to syghe full sore = he began, *Blanchardyn*, 23/16; yet sholde I neuer *consent me* to noo peas, *Aymon*, 409/23; I *assente me*, said Arthur, *Morte Darthur*, 71/13; I assente me therto, *ibid.* 340/6.

At last, it is worth noting that a passive construction is sometimes used with the meaning of a reflexive (or intransitive):—

Here we shal leue to speke of her, and shal retourne to speke of Blanchardyn, that in the provostis house *was sette* atte dyner, *Blanchardyn*, 82/22; they wysshe their handes, ant *were sette* at dyner, *Aymon*, 38/8; now *was set* Berthelot and the worthi reynawde for to playe at the ches, *ibid.* 61/21; I pray you that ye wyl telle me in what region and what marche it (*i. e.* the city) *is sette* = lies, *Blanchardyn*, 128/25. Cf. *Huon*, 117/32. This too seems to be due to the French.

§ 19. *Auxiliary Verbs.*

(*a*) The verbs *can*, *may*, *will* are still complete.

1. be able to: How shall I *conne* doo soo moche, that I maye avenge myselfe of Charlemagne, *Aymon*, 61/9; full fayne [she] wolde haue putte therunto a remedy yf by any meanes she *had conde*,—*Blanchardyn*, 97/4.

2. with the meaning = to learn: 'Syre monke, in the deuylles name, *conne* ye well your lesson,' *ibid.* 282/23.

3. The phrase 'I conne you thanke' (French: *savoir gré*): I conne you grete thanke of the offre that now ye haue doon to me, *Aymon*, 30/34, and 70/32.

The infinitive of *may* is *may*, or the more frequent and correct *mowe* (*Old English*, múgan). In *Blanchardyn* there is only 1 *may* against 12 *mowe*.

I pray you that ye wyl doo the beste that ye *shal may* toward the kynge, 91/10; As ye shall *mowe* here hereafter, 14/8; by what maniere he sholde *mowe* passe it over, 32/7, 38/14, 43/14, 46/31, 54/28, 68/5, 73/25, 78/2, 101/34, 151/6, 173/33.

Mowe occurs twice as a past participle in *Blanchardyn*. And wherby ye *haue mowe* knowen by the relacion of your captayne . . .

53/13; by all the seruyces and pleasures that I *haue mowe* doon unto you, 53/23.

It is to be thought that he *shall wyl* giue hym one of his doughters in mariage, *Blanchardyn*, 64/25.

Will. I am at a loss how to explain *wold* = be willing,[1] in the following passage: 'from þe owr that ye shal *wold* gyue your loue unto kynge Alymodes, the right happy weal of peas shall be publysshed through alle cuntreye,' *Blanchardyn*, 69/19. Well he *had wold*[2] that they myght be met wythall, *ibid.* 121/17.

Perhaps the past participle has influenced the infinitive, as in the verbs of Latin origin, like 'mitigate, participate,' etc.

(*b*) *Have* often means = lead, take, bring. (The ladyes) toke her up anone, and *had* her to bedde, *Blanchardyn*, 96/20; (Subyon) toke her by the hande, and *had* her up fro the grounde, *ibid.* 177/32, 181/17, 183/2, 189/30; *Aymon*, 92/14, 525/9, 536/10, etc.; *Morte Darthur*, 486/17.

(*c*) *May* is equivalent to *can*; they are sometimes used together tautologically. 'The gretest honoure that man *can or may* do to a knyght.'—*Blanchardyn*, 66/10.

(*d*) *do* is used to give the verb which it precedes a causative meaning. I shal *doo passe* this same spyere throughe the myddes of thy body, *Blanchardyn*, 27/17; I shal *doo* folow hym = I shall cause him to be followed, *ibid.* 44/10 (Original: 'Ie le ferai Sieuir'), 112/7, 120/25, 126/28, 137/21, 148/3, 157/12, 186/4, 187/23, 190/3, 200/31. So in Malory. Compare 'make' in § 25 below.

(*e*) *do* used redundantly, as *can or gan* in Middle English. I tried in vain to find out a rule in Caxton for using or omitting this troublesome 'auxiliary.' There are 95 instances of this *do* in *Blanchardyn*.

(*f*) *Come* is once used as an auxiliary, as in French, and probably in obedience to it: 'She called hym nyghe her, and shewed hym the ryght myghty nauye that *cam* to arryue there' = which had just arrived (venoit d'arriver), *Blanchardyn*, 153/35.

(*g*) For *owe*, see 'Impersonal Verbs.'

(*h*) For the use of *shall* and *will*, in order to mark tense and mood, *see* 'Tense' and 'Mood.'

§ 20. *Voice.*

The peculiarity of forming the passive voice from intransitive verbs, which is characteristic of the English language, or rather the

[1] Dr. Furnivall says it is the past participle 'have been willing to,' 'have consented to.'

[2] Past part. wisht, been willing.

conversion of what is the object of a verb into the subject (he was given a book), is, so far as I am aware, not to be met with in Caxton, and I found only one instance in Malory. Cf. the following instances:—

As was tolde hym by the knyght, *Blanchardyn*, 43/1; all that was told hym, *ibid.* 196/20; and whan it was told the kynges that there were come messagers, *Morte Darthur*, 48/27; whan hit was told hym that she asked his hede, *ibid.* 79/25, 327/35;—he departed and came to his lord and told hym how *he was answerd* of sir Trystram, *ibid.* 463/5.

This rigid observation of the difference between transitive and intransitive verbs, with regard to the passive voice, is very strange at the end of the 15th century, as there are instances of the modern freedom as early as the beginning of the 13th century.

Koch quotes one instance from *Layamon*: 'þat *we* beon iqueined,' 1/40; and another from *Robert of Gloucester*: '*ycham* ytold,' 5514.

But I find the passive construction even with the direct and indirect object:—

'Nes among al moncun oni holi dole ifunden *þet* muhte beon ileten blod,' *Ancren Riwle*, 112; *þet* is scarcely the dative; nor is Ure Lauerd in 'Ure Lauerd beo iðonked,' *ibid.* 8, where MS. C has: 'beo *hit* þonked,' for another passage, on p. 112, is indisputable: 'þe *he* was þus ileten blod.'[1]

Chaucer. I may you devyse how that *I* may be *holpe*, III. 11; I am commaundid, II. 294; ye schal be payd, III. 17; Thambassatours ben answerde for fynal, IV. 306.

Chaucer offers no example of the passive with a double object, but I find one in Hampole, *Prose Treatises*, p. 5: 'I fand Jesus bowndene, scourgede, *gyffene galle to drynke*.'

Perhaps we may see in Caxton's apparent dislike of this construction, a sort of negative influence of the French.

§ 21. There are verbal forms which, in Old English, were indifferent with regard to voice. These were the infinitive, the verbal noun (-ung, -ing), and sometimes the participle past, when used adjectively.

[1] *Einenkel* was somewhat rash in saying, with regard to this use, that in Chaucer's time this revolution had just began, and that we must look upon these instances as mere irregularities and licences, p. 110.

In Middle English there is a faint beginning of creating new passive constructions of the infinitive and gerund by means of the auxiliary *be;* but before the Elizabethan age the modern use of the passive infinitive and gerund is not complete.

In Caxton there is a distinct tendency towards the modern use, but still the active constructions prevail. The Infinitive, Gerund, and Participle will be dealt with in their proper place; here a few instances will suffice:—

He made *the toun sawte* ofte tymes ful sore = to be assaulted, *Blanchardyn*, 152/4; after that grenouse sorowe that she hath had of my *takynge*, *ibid.* 148/32; (he) was *remembred* of it always, *ibid.* 31/7; he was ryght sore mercyelled, *ibid.* 139/16.

§ 22. *Tense.*

(*a*) Sometimes the Present Tense occurs instead of the Preterite (Præsens historicum):—

And then he *taketh* him bytwene his armes, and kisse*th* hym by grete loue; and whan he *had* doon thus, he say*d* . . . *Aymon*, 78/12; all they[m] of theyr companye arayed themselfe, and yssued oute of the castell . . . and soo *go* upon the oost of Charlemagne, *ibid.* 78/25; but Reynawde the worthy knyght *is* not abasshed, but he *taketh* all his folke, and setteth theym afore hym, and say*d* to his brother Alarde, *ibid.* 101/12.

(*b*) The Present used instead of the Future is very rare:—

'To morwe erly, whan we *see* houre and tyme goode, and alle redy, we shal do sowne oure trompetter,' *Blanchardyn*, 157/11.

(*c*) The Preterite is used in the narrative; but sometimes the Perfect alternates with it, often even in the same sentence:—

Charlemain is come to the frensshe men, and commaunded theym for to wythdrawe theym selfe, *Aymon*, 84/7, 8; Reynawde and his bredern are goon upon the walles, and loked about theym, and sawe that the bassecourte of the castell brenned there as their wytaylles were, *ibid.* 98/1, 2; Sir Bleoberis ouerthrewe hym, and sore hath wounded hym, *Morte Darthur*, 296/32.

This use crops up pretty often in Middle English epic poetry. Cf. *Story of Genesis and Exodus*:—

'Wiþ wines drinc he wenten is þogt,
So þat he haueþ þe dede wrogt. 1149, 1150;
Symeon and Ieui it bi-spoken,
And hauen here sister þor i-wroken.' 1865, 1856, 2043, 2101, 2312, 2609, 2622, 3746, 3798, 3956.

(*d*) The Preterite instead of the Past Perfect Tense is still very common in Caxton :—

(We) shall shewe the sorowes and the complayntes of the proude pucelle in amours, and the manyere that she kept after the kysse that blanchardyn toke of her, *Blanchardyn*, 43/8. And (the city) hym semed the most fayre and most riche cyte that euer he sawe, *ibid.* 45/17. Cf. 47/33, 57/29, 59/26, 66/15, 116/8, 128/34, 129/26, 145/12, 162/6, 185/6. Malory, *Morte Darthur*, 37/13, 49/2, 99/31, 150/25, 271/19, 313/14, 325/18, 337/7, 348/3.

(*e*) If what a person thinks, hopes, or tries does not agree with the facts, the verb containing the object of the verbs *think*, *believe*, *trow*, *fear*, *hope*, *try*, etc., appears, as a rule, in a tense anterior to that of those verbs, *e. g.* :—

The prouost and the other of the towne entred ayen in to the cyte, wenyng to them that Blanchardyn had be wyth them, but he was not, *Blanchardyn*, 88/8.

1. for they were bothe fal in swone, so that no lyf coude be perceued in theire bodyes, but trowed all they that were present that they had be bothe deed, *Blanchardyn*, 20/2; as they sholde neuer haue seen eche other, they toke leue one of other, 94/5; for well he wend that he sholde neuyr haue seen ayen her, 95/30; but the prouost . . . trowed that he (Blanchardyn) had ben a sarrasyne as other were, 128/10; they were constreyned to enter into the brode see agayne, lest they sholde haue smytten hemself agrounde, 136/13. (She) was in a grete feer lest he had ben drowned in the grete tempest, 152/14; she was right glad, wenyng to her that it had be Sadoyne, 183/13; and thenne sir launcelot wold haue yeuen hym alle these fortresses and these brydges, *Morte Darthur*, 352/4. Cf. *ibid.* 368/35, 369/30, 392/29, etc.

2. The infinitive of the perfect, instead of the present tense, after such verbs is (with a very few exceptions) strictly observed :—

He wende to haue tourned the brydell of his horsse, *Blanchardyn*, 140/32; the cassydonyers had not syth the powere for to haue dressyd it (the standarde) vp ayen, 141/30; (the prouost) wend neuer to haue come tyme ynoughe there, 158/3; he wende to haue lost his wyttes, 186/33; he trowed certaynly to haue fynysshed hys dayes, 188/3. Cf. 107/11, 108/8, 113/22, 117/25, 136/22, 152/29, 166/8, 182/23, 184/2, 197/25, 203/9, 205/25, 205/31, 206/5; *Charles the Grete*, 133/1, 142/13, 143/15; *Aymon*, 60/2, 85/26, 101/28, 175/23, etc.; *Morte Darthur*, 35/12, 37/15, 83/1, 83/6, etc.

Exceptions :—

(Alymodes) wythdrewe hym self in to his pauyllyon, commaundyng his folke that euery man shold loke to lodge hym self, trowyng to be in a sewrete that his enmyes as for that same day sholde not comen nomore out of their cyte (but they yssued out), *Blanchardyn*, 59/20; she shal neuer haue no parfytte Ioye at her herte, for loue of a knyght of whom she is enamored, whiche she weneth to be perysshed (but he was not), 155/3. Cf. 167/25, 185/14, 186/22, 186/27, 190/33; *Aymon*, 196/26, 231/11; *Morte Darthur*, 227/13, 248/3.

This use was continued in the 16th century :—

He fell to the erthe, wenyng he had been slayne, BERNERS, *Huon*, 29/25; (Huon) drew out his sword to defende hym selfe, thynkyng the beest wold haue assayled hym, 111/11; cf. 200/31, 201/2; with the infinitive, 11/17, 26/30, 27/3, 31/13, 40/9, 44/20, 62/15, 69/6, 90/5, 100/4, 108/4, 108/30, etc.; he was about in such familiar sort to have spoken to her, SIDNEY, *Arcadia*, p. 27; I was about to have told you my reason thereof, SPENSER, *Ireland*, p. 613; I hope to have kept, *ibid.* p. 620.

'Her scattered brood, soone as their Parent deare
They saw so rudely falling to the ground,
Groning full deadly, all with troublous feare,
Gathred themselves about her body round,
Weening their wonted entrance to have found
At her wide mouth.' SPENSER, *Faërie Queene*, I. i. 25.

'All cleane dismayd to see so uncouth sight,
And half enraged at her shamelesse guise,
He thought have slaine her in his fierce despight.' *ibid.* I. i. 50[3].
Cf. I. ii. 36[2]; I. ii. 39; I. iii. 5; I. iii. 24; I. iii. 41; I. v. 13; I. vi. 3; I. vi. 40; I. vii. 14, etc.

(*f*) With regard to the agreement between the tenses in principal sentences and clauses, the strictness of our modern rules, adopted from the Latin grammar, is still unknown, and, in particular, the Preterite in the principal sentence is often followed by the Present in the clause. This is due to a sort of anacoluthon. There is, as it were, a sudden transition from indirect to direct speech, which is indeed very common in Middle English, as well as in Caxton and Malory :—

(Blanchardyn) prayed hym that he vouschesauff to helpe hym that he were doubed knyght, *Blanchardyn*, 24/2 (Original : 'quil le aidast a adouber de ses armes'); and whan she myght speke vnto her maystres that he that this Iniurye had doon to her what so euer he be, Yf he may come in her handes or in her power, noon shal

mowe saue hym, but he shal lese his hed for the same, 43/13; and *sayde* of a goode herte and a free wylle that he shal furnysshe Rubyon of his requeste, 83/3; Blanchardyn made grete sorowe and lamentacyon, wyshyng full often that he may yet see ones his lady, 97/17, 65/11, 69/19, 138/20, 185/7; (Charlemayne) sware god that he sholde neuer retorne in to fraunce but that Ryynawde were take; and that yf he maye haue hym, all the worlde shall not saue hym, *Aymon*, 73/16; (the kyng) badde hym be redy and stuffe hym and garnysshe hym, for within xl dayes he wold fetche hym oute of the byggest castell that he hath, *Morte Darthur*, 35/33; and there Dynadan told Palomydes all the tydynges that he herd and sawe of syre Tristram, and how he was gone with kynge Marke, and with hym he hath alle his wyll and desyre, *ibid.* 455/12.

§ 23. *Mood.*

Caxton's use of the Subjunctive is nearly modern; in the sentences, however, which express a wish, the *synthetic* use is remarkable. Instead of the modern '*may* god help me' there is 'so helpe me God'; instead of 'might it please God,' 'pleased God,' etc. This, however, is very common, and is continued in the poetry of even modern times. But there is another point worth noting. There are several instances of the Indicative instead of the Subjunctive Mood, which seem to suggest that the modern tendency of supplanting the Subjunctive may be traced back to Caxton's time, or still earlier.

1. Sentences expressing wish :—

I beseke and praye þe, in the worship of the goddes, that at tyme of nede, for the defense of my royalme, thou wylt uttir and shewe that which I see appiere with in þe, *Blanchardyn*, 104/22.

There are several instances of this use in *Huon* :—for I wyll thou knowy*st* she is the fairest mayde that is now lyuynge, 50/14; I wyll thou lay*est* unto me good hostages, 51/9; I wyll thou know*est* that ye shall all lose, 87/28; I doubte me *lest* he *hath* slayne my sone Lohyer, *Aymon*, 30/17.

Please occurs in Elizabethan authors in the Indicative, when used in principal sentences expressing wish :—

Pleas*eth* it you therefore to sit down to supper,—Lyly, *Euphues*, p. 28; pleas*eth* you walk with me down to this house—Shakspere, *Errors*, IV. i. 12; pleas*eth* you ponder your Supplicant's plaint—Spenser, *Sheph. Cal.*, February.

There seems to be one instance as early as 1360, *Sir Gawayne*

and the Green Knight, 2439: 'bot on I wolde yow pray, displeses yow neuer.'

2. Negative clauses:—

He began to ryde faste by the forest, in whiche he was bothe the daye and the nyght . . . wythout adventure to fynde that *doeth* to be recounted, *Blanchardyn*, 31/19 (original: qui a raconter *face*); wythout fyndyng of eny aduenture that *is* to be recounted, *ibid.* 127/7; it nedeth not to be doubted that he is comme to his extremite of prowes, wythout that amours *hath* ben the cause in the person of some hyghe a prynecesse, 72/19.

3. Conditional sentences:—

(*a*) The clause (introduced by *if*) appears sometimes in the Indicative:—

And yf thou wylt not doo it . . . *Aymon*, 25/6; always yf he hath trespassed ayenst you in ony manere, I am ryghte sory for hit, *ibid.* 30/28; now shall it be seen yf it *is* true or not, *ibid.* 325/3.

The Subjunctive appears in *Aymon*, 25/33, 26/1, etc.

(*b*) Sometimes the principal sentence following a conditional clause appears in the Indicative, though the latter expresses irreality:—

For a ryght gode knyght he *was*, yf he had been a crysten man, *Blanchardyn*, 86/13; for I *was* dysherited and undoon for euer, yf they had not been, *Aymon*, 159/6.

§ 24. *Imperative Mood.*

1. The Imperative is very often followed by the personal pronoun. Instances abound. Cf. p. xiii.

2. Here and there the imperative seems to be represented by the Indicative, as the arrangement of words suggests:—

But wel *ye knowe* that he was not hadde sore ferre from the kynge his fadre, *Blanchardyn*, 13/1 (original: sachiez); A, fayr damoysels, said Amand, *ye recommaunde* unto la Beale Isoude, *Morte Darthur*, 436/16.

This occurs very often in the *Story of Genesis and Exodus*, as in the *Cursor Mundi* (frequent):—

'Almigtin louerd, hegest kinge,
Ðu giue me seli timinge.'—*Story*, 31.

'Adam, *ðhu knowe* eue ðin wif,' *ibid.* 397. Cf. 737, 1492, 2072.

The Oriel Text of the *Book of Curtesye* has one instance:—

'As ye be commandyd, so *ye do* algate,' 120.

Hill and Caxton have: 'so do ye algate.'

The Infinitive.

§ 25. *Active and Passive.*

While, as mentioned above, the Infinitive in Old English—as well as in the other Teutonic languages—was indifferent with regard to voice, the later periods of Middle English develope the passive on the same principle as Latin, and are probably modelled on that. Whenever there is an action without a subject to do it, we find the passive construction in Latin—*infinitivus passivi* and *participium passivi* (or rather *gerundium*), *e. g.* militem occidi iussit; credendum est. So far as I am aware both these constructions are translated in Old English, as well as in Middle English of the first centuries, by the simple infinitive. Instances abound:—

Þa hi þæt ne geþafodan, þa het he hi *beheafdian*,—Sweet, *Oldest English Texts*, p. 177 (Martyrology); þa beht se casere gesponnan flower wildo hors to seride, *ibid.*; Eac is to geðencanne, *Curæ pastoralis*, 53; denum eallum wæs . . . to geþolianne . . . oncyð, *Beowulf*, 1418; ne bið swylc cwénlic þeáw, idese to efnanne . . . þætte freoðu—webbe, *ibid.* 1941; we nu gehyrað þis halige godspel beforan us redan, *Blickling Hom.* 15/28. Cf. 55/25, 107/26; hit is lang to areccene, *Wulfstan*, 7/12; seo monnisenes is wundorlic ymbe to smeagenne, *ibid.* 15/14, 25/6, 27/1, 158/16, etc., etc.

Middle English:—

Nu ne þerf na mon his sunne mid wite abuggen but toward crist ane mid scrifte swa him his preost lered al swa his festen, þe swiðe ouer Rimet þes flesces wlongnesse and chuc (chire?) ȝong and god to donne þernore monie and feole oðre godere werke þe nu were long eou *to telle*,—*O. E. Hom.* I. 9; heo wes wurse to þolien þenne efreni of alle þa oþre pine, *ibid.* I. 43; hwet is us *to donne?*—*ibid.* I. 91; þan alden his to warniene wið nuele iþohtas, *ibid.* I. 109; II. 117, 139; þatt (sc. flocc) tœleþþ þatt *to lofenn* iss, *Ormulum*, 77; þeos (þinges) beoð alle ine freo wille *to donne* or *to leten*, *Ancren Riwle*, 8; leteð *writen* on one scrowe hwat se ȝe ne kunneð nout, *ibid.* 42.

> 'Ghe knew it for hire owen sune;
> And quane it sulde sundred ben,
> Ghe bar it teremuth for *to sen*.'
> *Story of Genesis and Exodus*, 2628;
>
> 'Se bi-leuen *brennen* he bend.' *ibid.* 3151.
>
> 'O spuse-brek wumman
> þat þe Iuus dempt *to stan*.' *Cursor Mundi*, 186;

'worþie for to neuen.' *ibid.* 4056, 4420, 5634, 5678, 6364, 6718.

'And syn he best *to love is* and most meke.' *Chaucer*, V. 77;

'foul artow *to embrace*.' *ibid.* III. 93.

'But ny thay wondren what sche mighte be,
That in so pover array was for *to se*.' *ibid.* II. 310.

'His brest was hole withouten for *to sene*.' *ibid.* III. 13; 'it (sc. þe oost) is to dispyse (orig. spernendum est).' *Boethius*, p. 12.

þis emperour is *to undirstand* our Lord ihesu crist, *Gesta Romanorum*, p. 22 (= by this emperour is understood, etc.); I wolle haue this childe, that thi wife has brought forthe this nyght, *to norisshe* in my palys, *ibid.* p. 208; sone the emperoure made letters *to send* to the empresse, *ibid.* p. 213; thenne she brought him out of þe prison, and *gerte bathe him*, *ibid.* p. 312.

The passive construction is rarely to be met with in the earliest Middle English texts. There are, however, numerous instances in the 14th century:—

Cursor Mundi (Cotton, Göttingen, and Trinity MSS.), 4856:

'þair siluer he tok and gaue þam corn
And to þair inne did it *be born*.'

Cf. 5004, 5080, 9098; worthy to be . . . *i-preysed* (= praeconiis attollendi), Trevisa, *Polychronicon*, I. 3; suche seruey and is good *to be knowe* of Cristen men, *ibid.* I. 17; that made hem gentil men *y-callid* be,—*Chaucer*, I. 240.

'And suffrith us . . .
ful ofte *to be bete* in sondry wise.' *ibid.* II. 314.

(Petrarch's Original, p. 170: et saepe nos multis ac gravibus flagellis *exerceri* sinit.)

In Caxton the old use is still very frequent, if it is not the prevailing one; and, to conclude from several instances, the passive construction was not quite familiar to him. The proportion between the instances of active and passive construction is in *Blanchardyn* 11 to 8.

(*a*) Governed by adjectives and answering to the Latin Supine.

Active.

The sore of loue is ryght anguyssous and heuy *forto bere*,—*Blanchardyn*, 68/23; lete vs not departe from hens for this is a goode place for *to deffende*, *Aymon*, 108/10; but the foure sones of Aymon were good *to knowe* by thother for they had on grete mauntelles of scarlet furred with ermynes, *ibid.* 224/8.

Passive.

(Subyou) tolde them . . . that he wold wedde the proude pucelle in amours, for many causes and raysons that were to long *to be reherced*,—*Blanchardyn*, 179/18; here shall you here of the hande hewyng, and of a thynge heuy *to be recounted*,—*Aymon*, 53/12; Reynawde and his bredern are suche knyghtes that they ben not *for to be* lightly *ouerthrowen*, *ibid.* 104/2; ye are gretly *to be blamed*, *ibid.* 234/6.

(*b*) Governed by verbs, especially by *do* and *make*, answering to the Latin *Infinitivus Passivi*. Caxton very often uses a redundant *do*, so that we find such awkward expressions as, 'he did do make.'

Active.

I shal doo *folow* hym (original: Ie le feray sieuir), *Blanchardyn*, 44/10; he made *to drawe vp* ancres, *ibid.* 111/13; they made *to take vp* the ancres and *to hale vp* their saylles, *ibid.* 127/2; he made the toun *sawte* ofte tymes, *ibid.* 152/4; Subyon domaged theym ryght sore, and their place, wyth their bombardes and other engynes of warre, that he had do *brynge* there, *ibid.* 200/31; but what so euer goode sporte and pleysure that blanchardyn sawe ther *make* for his sake nothyng coude playse hym, *ibid.* 110/11; very striking is *ibid.* 12/22: Blanchardyn was taken in to the handes of a right noble lady of the lande *for to norysshe* and *bryngen vp* (original: pour le nourir et esleuer). Cf. *Gesta Romanorum*, p. 208 (quoted above, p. lxii).

There is also both the active and passive construction governed by the same verb:—

Kyng Alymodes commaunded expressely to the mareshall of his ooste, that he shold doo make and to be sette vp a galhouse, *Blanchardyn*, 187/23; *Aymon*, 70/5, 73/30, 74/22, 78/14, 90/24, 96/21, 96/28, 129/4, 145/23, 147/21, etc.

Passive.

for he made *to be brought* vnto hym by his folke al suche armures and harneys as to hym behoued to haue, *Blanchardyn*, 47/19; (Blanchardyn) made hym *to be armed*,—*ibid.* 47/22; he made his trompetto *to be sowned*, *ibid.* 119/23; *Aymon*, 65/8, 66/14, 69/34, 73/23, 73/26, 74/13, 80/1, 80/21, 84/31, 87/1, 96/24, 101/22, 167/32, etc.; *Morte Darthur*, 37/1, 367/38, etc.

(*c*) Governed by the verb 'to be,' answering to the Latin Gerundium or Futurum Passivi:—

Active.

And where vpon is *to by-leue* that blanchardyn was neuere in hys lyff half so glad, *Blanchardyn*, 80/11; syr Emperour, this paynym

nameth hym self fyerabras, whiche is moche *to redoubte* and hath done moche harme to crysten men, *Charles the Grete*, 42/26; and yf thou mayst come vnto the hye secrets whyche ben strongly *for to doubte* and *drede* in the doubtous courteynes of the most hye prynces. Thenne shalt thou be most messhaunt, *The Curial*, 5/12; ye be to blame (still kept), *Aymon*, 83/7, 99/13.

Passive.

He began to ryde faste by the forest wythout aduenture to fynde that doeth *to be recounted* (original: qui a raconter face), *Blanchardyn*, 31/19; wythout fyndyng of eny aduenture that is *to be recounted*, *ibid.* 127/7; yf Blanchardyn was ryght glad of this aduenture, it is not to be axed, 42/1, 12; it is not to be told but Blanchardyn mayntened hymself, 50/29.

Instead of the infinitive there occur two instances of the past participle:—

Thise ben the folke of themperour Charlemayn, that goeth to Ardeyn for to besege a castell that the foure sones of Aymon haue *do made* there, *Aymon*, 70/29; how the kyng Charlemayn wold have *doon hanged* Mawgys incontynent after that oliver had deliverde hym to hym, *ibid.* 365/5. Cf. Alle the werk . . . which I haue *do maad*,—*Bury Wills*, p. 39.

There are striking instances of group (*b*) in Berners's *Huon*:—

(Huon) toke the horne of Iuorey from his necke and toke it to his host *to kepe*, sayenge, 'host, I take you this *to kepe*,' 85/15. Cf. *ibid.* 233/16 (kepe, however, may be the substantive; Middle English, kep. *See* Stratmann s. v.); thyder his doughter was brought to hym *to se*, *ibid.* 313/31; how the duches Esclaramond deliuervd her doughter Clariet to Barnarde *to bere* to the abbot of Cluny, *ibid.* 401/26.

For the Tense of the Infinitive, *see* above, p. lvii.

§ 26. The Simple Infinitive is far from being so much restricted as in Modern English. Caxton's use of it is nearly as free as Chaucer's. A few instances will do:—

How after many dysputacyons Olyuer *ayded arme* fyerabras, *Charles the Grete*, 57/4; But the valiaunt erle of rames pursued hym so nygh that he suffred hym not *goo* at his wylle, *Aymon*, 517/9. Cf. Man schal not suffre his wyf *go* roule aboute, *Chaucer*, II. 226; That wol not suffre us *duellen* here, *ibid.* II. 279.

The Infinitive governed by 'do' is nearly always simple: for instances see the preceding paragraph.

After 'make' the simple Infinitive in a passive sense is very rare.

He *made* the toun *saute* ofte tymes ful sore, *Blanchardyn*, 152/4; The good lady *made bryng* lynnen, *Aymon*, 129/7. Cf. Chaucer, *Bocce*, p. 55, l. 1460: he lete brenne þe citee of Rome and *made slen* þe senatours.[1]

§ 27. *To* and *for to* preceding the Gerundial Infinitive.

As a rule, Caxton uses *for to*,

(*a*) In order to denote aim and purpose; (*b*) after substantives.

The first translates the French *pour*, the latter *de*. There are, however, exceptions. On the first sixty pages of *Blanchardyn*, *to* occurs eighty-six times, and of these only two are governed by nouns, viz., 16/6, 41/20. On the other hand, out of the eighty-six passages containing *for to*, there are but three governed by verbs, viz., 18/18, 29/25, 37/13. Here and there both *to* and *for to* occur in the same sentence:—

They alle sholde mounte on horsbacke *for* tenquyre and seke after his most dere and welbeloued sone, and *to* bringe hym ayen vnto hym, *Blanchardyn*, 20/21; ye myght well kepe your selfe that ye com not so often *to* see vs and *for to* doo vs harme, *Aymon*, 83/9.

§ 28. *Functions of the Infinitive.*

(*a*) Caxton sometimes uses the Infinitive—as in Old and Middle English—where we use the Gerund, especially after prepositions:—

Wythout aduenture *to* fynde, *Blanchardyn*, 31/18; *Wythout to* make ony noyse, *Aymon*, 78/24; yf I goo there wythoute myn armes, nor *wythout to* be as it apperteyneth, *ibid.* 219/31; *wythout to* be dyshonoured, *ibid.* 470/25. Infinitive with the Gerund, *Blanchardyn*, 37/15, 16; he salued hym prayng that *for to paye* well and largely content him, he wold vouchsauf to take hym for his hoste, *Blanchardyn*, 46/9; ye knowe well the offence that your broder halde doon to me, *for to haue* slayn soo cruelly Lohier, *Aymon*, 60/2; but none myght compare wyth Reynawde *for to do* well, *Aymon*, 82/3; yet ye be there and wel ferre *for to* be oute, *Charles*, 93/3; ye are gretely to blame *for to* displease kyng Arthur, *Morte Darthur*, 80/12.

Remnants of this use occur still in Spenser (? as conscious archaisms):—

[1] Dr. Furnivall suggests that this construction may explain Shakspere's puzzle in *All's Well*, III. iv.: 'I see that men make rope's (make us to be ensnared) in such a scarre (fright) that we'll forsake ourselves.'

'Or who shall let me know
On this vile body *for to* wreak my wrong.'
Faërie Queene, II. viii. 28/4.

'feare nought, then saide the Palmer well aviz'd,
for those same Monsters are not those in deed,
But are into those fearefull shapes disguiz'd
By that same wicked witch, to worke in dreed,
And draw *from* on this journey *to* proceed.'
Ibid. II. xii. 26/5.

(*b*) The Infinitive used instead of a whole clause (as a many-worded adverb) :—

They kylled and slue and hurte sore many one, Deffendynge hem selfe soo strongely ayenste their enmyes, to theyr grete losse and damage, and *to* wythdrawe them self ayen = so that they withdrew themselves (original: 'maint en naurerent et occirent en eul deffendant, tellement que leurs ennemis, a leur grant perte et dommage, sen retournerent arrieve sans gaires prouffiter, car moult en yolt de mors et de naures'), *Blanchardyn*, 187/10; he lefte not *for to* be forthwith quartered . . . but that he toke that same sarasyn by the heyre, etc., *Charles the Grete*, 132/18; *for to* renne xxx leghes he wold not be wery, *ibid.* 150/13; Here is to hard a mocke for me, and ye wynne not moche by, *for to* gabbe me of this facyon, *Aymon*, 338/29 (conditional clause); and soo he lete conduyte the harper out of the countrey but *to* say that kyng Mark was wonderly wrothe he was (conditional clause), *Morte Darthur*, 465/12.

There are several instances of this use in Berners's *Huon*, and here and there in Elizabethan writers :—

Syr, quod they, *to* dye in the quarell we shall ayde and socoure you (edition of 1601: were we sure to dye, etc.), *Huon*, 22/2; I thanke the of thy grace to haue gyuen me the puyssaunce to sle such a creature (ed. of 1601: that thou hast gyuen me, etc.), *ibid.* 109/21; as long as I lyue I shal neuer forgete Huon, and shal alwayes, *to* dye in the payne, kepe me for the bodely company of ony man lyuinge (ed. of 1601: and shal alwayes be redy to dye in the payne and kepe me fro, etc.), *ibid.* 195/14; yf he had knowen it *to* haue dyed in the quarel he wolde neuer haue consented to that treason, *ibid.* 284/6; Comforte your men, who hathe great desyre to defende this citye for the sauegarde of their owne bodyes and lyues, thus *to* make sorow ye can wyn nothynge therby, *ibid.* 387/30.

§ 29. *The Infinitive Absolute.*

There is a peculiar use of the Infinitive which turns up first in the second half of the 14th century :—

'I say this, be ye redy with good herte
To al my lust, and that I frely may
As me best liste do yow laughe or smerte,
And never ye to gruch it.'—*Chaucer*, II. 289 (Grisilda).

'Let hym fynde a sarasyn
And y to fynde a knyght of myn.'—*Guy of Warwick*, 3531/2.

I have tried in vain to find any trace of this use in earlier days, and can only account for it in the following way. There is an outspoken tendency in the English of the 14th century to supplant adverbial clauses of time, and express a condition by absolute constructions:—

þe same Plato lyvyng, hys maistre socrates deservede victorie of unri;tful deeþ in my presence, Chaucer's *Boece*, 184 (original: 'eodemque superstite praeceptor ejus Socrates injustae victoriam mortis me adstante promeruit'); but I withstod þat ordinaunce and overcom it, *knowyng al þis þe kyng hym self*,—*ibid.* 308; *The service doon*, they soupen al by day, *Chaucer*, II. 364; *This wordes seyde*, she on hire armes two fil gruf, *ibid.* IV. 337; *The cause iknowe, and of his harm the roote*, Anon he yaf the syke man his boote, *ibid.* II. 14.

As appears by the preceding examples, both participles serve to represent clauses in the present and past tenses. But how about the future? Why should there be no absolute construction for a clause with a future tense? The want of a proper participle did not prevent the language from completing the use of absolute constructions. *It resorted to the Infinitive.* Wycliffe tried to introduce a future participle. 'He was *to dyinge*,'—*Lucas*, I. 2 (erat moriturus); '*to doynge*,' *ibid.* 22, 23 (facturus). But this innovation was not accepted. There is, however, a similar formation in Caxton: 'Guy, hir loue and *tocoming* husband,' *Charles the Grete*, 134/27, *i. e.* that was to be; 'Our *tocomyng* souerayne lorde,' *Blades*, 139/140; it occurs also in *Piers Plowman*. Cf. Skeat, Notes, p. 371, and Trevisa, *Polychr.* I. 267. This probably gave birth to that peculiar use which, in the course of its development, became more and more free, so that in the 15th century the Infinitive Absolute often serves to alternate with any principal sentence and clause:—

'I dar the better ask of you a space
Of audience, to schewen oure request
And ye, my lord, to doon right as yow lest.'—*Chaucer*, II. 281.

'Ne (he) in his desire none other fantasye bredde,
But argumentes to this conclusioun,
That sche of him wolde han compassioun
And he to ben hire man whil he may dure.'—*Chaucer*, IV. 127.

'(I mene that ye wolde) agreen that I may ben he
In trowth alway to don yow my servyse,
As to my lady right, and chief resorte
With al my wit and al my diligence,
And I to han right as yow list conforte . . . .
And that ye deigne me so muchel honoure
Me to comaunden aught in any houre,
And I to ben youre veray humble trewe.'—*Chaucer*, IV. 230.

'Men schold him brenne in a fuyr so reed
If he were founde, or if men myght him spye,
And we also to bere him companye.'—*Chaucer*, III. 38.

Item, I geue and quethe to Willm Husher III s. IV d. *and he to haue* his indentour of his prentished. *Bury Wills*, p. 16 (A.D.); Item, I wyll that Maist. Thomas Harlowe sey the sermon at my interment, if he vouchsafe, *and he to haue* VI s. and VIII d. to prey for me, *ibid.* p. 17; *ibid.* p. 18. A striking instance occurs on p. 21: I will that the seid preest ne his successours shal not lete to ferme the seid place to no man nor woman, but *he and his successours to hogge;* Also y will þat Iohn Edmund (hane) al þe led . . . *he to pay* þer for as it ys worthy, *Earliest English Wills*, 2/13 (A.D. 1387); I yeue hem halli unto Maude my wyf, *scho for to doo* with them hir owne fre wylle, *ibid.* 95/16 (A.D. 1433); *ibid.* 123/18 ff (A.D. 1439); If all thre sonnes die withoute heires of their bodies, theire moder than lyuyng, then *she for to haue* all the same maners, *ibid.* 124/25, 127/14, 15 (A.D. 1439):—

'frollo þat worthy knyght
Proferyd wyth arthour for to fyght
Vnder þis wyse and condicioun,—
He hadde þe Maystrie haue þe crown;
And no mo men but þey twa.'
Arthur, ed. Furnivall, l. 76.

Caxton seems to have disliked this use; the following passages are the only instances I have found of an Infinitive Absolute occurring in his works:—

And with the remenaunte he shold make men ryche, and *to sette* them in good poynte, *Charles the Grete*, 126/3; yf I retorne wythoute to auenge my barons, I shall do pourely, sythe they haue susteyned and borne up the crowne Imperial and my wylle, and I now *to retorne* wythoute to auenge them. He that gaf me suche counceyll, loueth me but lytel, I se wel, *ibid.* 16/14.

But Malory's *Morte Darthur* makes a very large use of it; instances abound; and it is probably due to the influence of this great favourite of the 16th century that the absolute infinitive is very frequent in Berners, and occurs even in Elizabethan times:—

This is my counceill . . . that we lete purvey X knyghtes, men of good fame and *they to kepe* this sword, *Morte Darthur*, 40/37; for hym thought no worship to haue a knyght at suche auaille *he to be* on horsbak and he on foot, *ibid.* 71/23; hit was neuer the custome of no place of worship that euer I came in whan a knyghte and a lady asked herborugh and *they to receyue* hem and after *to destroye* them, *ibid.* 310/23; and soo they rode vnto the keepers of beestes and alle *to bete* them, *ibid.* 367/38; The custom was suche amonge them, that none of the kynges wold helpe other, but alle the felaushyp of euery standard *to helpe* other, *ibid.* 533/18. Cf. 461/27, 590/35.

In the following instances the Infinitive Absolute is used without a subject:—

I wylle that ye gyue vnto your broder alle the hole manoir with the appertenaunce, vnder thys forme, that sir Ontzelake hold the manoir of yow, and yerely *to gyue* yow a palfrey, *Morte Darthur*, 134/18; I wyl foryeue the the dethe of my broder, and for euer *to become* thy man, *ibid.* 224/19; thou shalt neuer escape this castel, but euer here *to be* prysoner, *ibid.* 244/14; I will do to yow homage and feaute, with an C knyghtes with me, and alle the dayes of my lyf *to doo* you seruyse, *ibid.* 266/31; he shold fyghte body for body, or els *to fynde* another knyght for hym, *ibid.* 303/14; there is non other waye but thou must yelde the to me, outher els *to dye*, *ibid.* 314/3. Cf. 324/14, 408/8, 496/9, 527/25, 633/14, 646/32.

Berners goes a step beyond Malory in his free use of the Infinitive Absolute:—

Yf it fortunyd that the vanquisser sle his enemye in the feld, or he confesse the treason for the deth of his sonne, that than the vanquyssher *to lese* all his londys, *Huon*, 40/26; it shall be sayde that you who hath lyuyd in so grete tryumphe all the dayes of your lyfe, and now in your latter dayes *to become* a chylde, *ibid.* 47/6; whan thou seest hym sytte at the table, than *thou to be armyde* wyth thy sworde, *ibid.* 50/7; And also thou *to brynge* me thy handfull of the hereof hys herde, *ibid.* 50/20. Cf. 107/5, 116/32, 169/14, 169/20, 185/11, 256/21, 287/20, 303/26, 304/15, etc.

In all these instances the Infinitive Absolute is more or less governed by, or at least in connection with, the finite verb of the

principal sentence; but there are some instances where the Infinitive is used entirely apart from the preceding sentence:—

By God, quod he, I hope alway byhynde! And *she to laugh*, *Chaucer*, IV. 198. Cf. IV. 185, V. 295.

'Most senceless man he, that himselfe doth hate,
To love another: Lo! then, for thine ayd,
Here take thy lovers token on thy pate.'
So they to fight.'—Spenser, *Faërie Queene*, I. vi. 47/8.

Mr. Kitchin, in his Clarendon Press edition, explains this expression by 'and they go to fight'; but I am rather inclined to see in it a remnant of the Infinitive Absolute, if not an imitation of the older French use. *See* Littré, *Dictionnaire*, s. v. *de*, 20°.

§ 30. The Infinitive in connection with the Accusative (or Nominative) case, where we now put *for* or *for . . to*.[1] As in Chaucer, the Infinitive with the Accusative occurs governed by substantives, adjectives, and impersonal verbs:—

No wondur is a lewid man *to ruste*,—*Chaucer*, II. 16; now were it tyme a lady *to gette* honne, *ibid.* IV. 250; but it is good a man *be* at his large, *ibid.* II. 71: (his folke) putte hem self vpon their enmyes, so that it was force the polonyens *to recule* abak, *Blanchardyn*, 107/18; it is better a man wysely to be stille than folyssly to speke, *Charles the Grete*, 93/5; for it is gods wyll youre body *to be punyshed* for your fowle dedes, *Morte Darthur*, 67/10; for it semeth not yow *to spede* there as other haue failled, *ibid.* 77/34.

In Malory, and even in Shakspere, we sometimes find the Infinitive in connection with the nominative case instead of the expected accusative, after substantives, adjectives, and impersonal verbs:—

Thow *to lye* by our moder is to muche shame for vs to suffre, *Morte Darthur*, 453/4; hit was neuer the custome of no place of worship that euer I came in, whan a knyghte and a lady asked herberough, *and they to receyue hem*, and after to destroye them, *ibid.* 310/23; a heauier task could not haue been imposed than *I to speak* my griefs unspeakable,—Shakspere, *Err.* I. i. 33; what he is indeed, more suits you to conceive than *I to speak of*,—*As You Like It*, I. ii 279; *thou* this *to hazard* needs must intimate skill infinite or monstrous desperate,—*All's Well*, II. i. 186; *I to bear* this . . . is some burden,—*Timon*, IV. iii. 266.

[1] John Fisher has the modern construction: 'It is better *for* a synner to suffre trybulacyon.'—*English Works of John Fisher*, ed. Mayor (E. E. T. S.), p. 41, l. 9.

§ 31. Sometimes the Infinitive is omitted, and its function is included in the preceding auxiliary verb. This is especially the case where we now use verbs like 'go,' 'move,' etc.

This omission is rather frequent in Old English :—

Swa swa oferdrincan man wat þæt he sceolde to his huse and his reste, *Boethius*, 132; Ðat hie forgieten hwider hie scylen, *Cura Pastoralis*, 387/14; for oft Ðonne hy witodlice gesceop þæt hy sceolon to reste, *Beda*, 283; þæt he nyste, hwær ut sceolde, *Orosius*, 286/20; Ic him æfter sceal, *Beowulf*, 2817; þonne he forð scile, *ibid.* 3178; þonne Ðu forð scyle metod-secaft seon! *ibid.* 1179; Ac hie to helle sculon on þone sweartan sið, *Genesis*, 733; Min sceal of lice sawul on siðfæt, *Juliana*, 699; Heo wæs on ofste, wolde ut þanon feore beorgan, þa heo onfunden wæs, *Beowulf*, 1293; ær he in wille, *ibid.* 1371; Ic to sæ wille, *ibid.* 318; nu wille ic eft þam lige near, *Genesis*, 760; Ða he him from wolde Ða gefeng he hine, *Cura Pastoralis*, 35/19; þa mid þæm þæ hi hie getrymed hæfdon and togædere woldon, þa wearð corþbeofung, *Orosius*, 160/28; ac þa hie togædere woldon þa com swa ungemetlic ren, *ibid.* 194/17.

Middle English :—

> 'Bot I wyl to þe chapel, for chaunce þat may falle.'
> *Sir Gawayne*, 2132.
> 'I frayned hym . . . whider þat he þouȝte.'
> Langland, *Piers Plowman* (B), 16/174.

I could not find this use in Caxton, but there are instances in Malory :—

But the brachet wold not from hym, *Morte Darthur*, 37/24; I wylle to morowe to the courte of kyng Arthur, *ibid.* 446/1; whether wylt thow? *ibid.* 560/32; that wold the none harme, *ibid.* 390/1.

§ 32. *The Present Participle* ending in -yng, -ynge (scarcely in -ing), has the same functions as in Modern English; for *tocoming*, *see* above, § 29, p. lxvii.

With regard to voice, there are but few exceptions to its active meaning. *Desplesaunt* = displeasing occurs in *Blanchardyn*, 27/19; 'thy lyffe is to me so gretly *displeasaunte*.' But several times it has the passive sense = displeased :—

Byfore whiche cyte was yet Kyng Alymodes at siege wyth his oost, wherof the fayr the proude pucell in amours was sore *displaysaunt*, *Blanchardyn*, 127/11; but on thys day . . . so *desplaysaunt* ne sory was he neuer as I shal make hym for the, *Charles the Grete*, 62/3; the noble flory pes was moche *dysplaysaunte* for the

necessyte of the frensshe men, *ibid.* 124/26; wher fore thadmyral was so *dysplaysaunt* and angry that he wende to haue dyed, *ibid.* 143/14. The verb *displease* occurs also several times in the phrase: *dysplayse* you not, *ibid.* 113/20, 146/34; and in the past participle *dysplaysed*, *Aymon*, 464/19, 510/8.

Malory has *beholdyng* = beholden:—

Ye are the man in the world that I am most *beholdyng* to, *Morte Darthur*, 42/24; I am moche *beholdyng* vnto hym, *ibid.* 86/22; me semeth ye ar moche *beholdynge* to this mayden, *ibid.* 476/32; therfor ye are the more *beholdyng* vnto god than any other man to loue hym and drede hym, *ibid.* 640/11; *beholden* occurs, *ibid.* 86/11, 89/5. Cf. Skeat, *Notes to Langland*, p. 161. Instead of *holden* [B, A], we find in [C] the form *holdinge*.

This represents a common corruption, which appears also in *beholding*, as used for *beholden* by Shakspere and others, see *Richard III.*, II. i. 129; *Julius Cæsar*, III. ii. 70; and Abbott, *Shakspere Grammar*, 3rd ed., sect. 372.

§ 33. *The Past Participle* exhibits far more irregularities with regard to voice. Past Participles of transitive verbs used in an active sense, or at least indifferent as to voice, turn up in all the periods of the language.

Old English. Ond ic bebiode on godes naman, þæt nán mon þone æstel from þáre bóc ne dó, ne þá bóc from þæm mynstre: *uncúþ* hú longe þær swá gelærede biscepas síen, *Cura Pastoralis*, Preface.

Uncúþ may very likely be an absolute participle = 'it being unknown,' but I am rather inclined to take it in an active sense = 'not knowing,' referring to *ic*. The Middle English use of the word seems to justify this interpretation:—

His muð is get wel *uncuð* with pater noster and credo, *O. E. Miscellany*, p. 4, 112; of his swike he aru *uncuð*, *ibid.* p. 16, 512;

> 'Here dede is al uncuð
> Wið ðat spoken here muð.' *O. E. Miscellany*, p. 19, 594.

Eftsone we þe beð *uncuðe* þe heuenliche kinge, for þat ure li flodo him swiðe mislikeð, alse he wile noht cnowe bute þat þe him beð queme (we that do not know the heavenly king . . . he also will not acknowledge us), *O. E. Homilies*, II. p. 45. Cf. *unwiste*.

There is a parallel to this use in Old Norse. Kunnr = Old English cúð, is used in an active sense:—

Atli sendi
ár til Gunnars
kunnan segg . . . (Attila sent once to Gunther, a knowing, *i. e.* clever man), Edda, *Atlakviða*, 1/3; *Geðrówod* under ðám pontiscan Pilate,—Ælfric, *Homilies*, II. 596/14; hwæt getácnode sé gebrædda fisc, búton ðone *geðrówodan* crist? *ibid.* II. 292/13; and his bróðer sunu Irtacus, yfele *geworht* man, féng tó his rice, *ibid.* II. 476/17; ond hie þa wurdan hraþe *gelyfde* Crist him sealde gesihþe, *Blickling Homilies*, p. 155/5; *gelyfed* = believing, also Ælfric, *Homilies*, II. 26/32; *Lives of Saints*, II. 302; and æt nyhstan þæt folc ða weard swa wið god *forworht*, þæt he let faran hæþenne here and forhergjan eall þæt land, *Wulfstan*, 14/2. Cf. *ibid.* 155/11; niniuéte wæron forsyngode swyðe, ac hy dydan, swa heam þearf wæs, *ibid.* 170/11.

Middle English. The *Old English Homilies* exhibit the same participles as those quoted above:—

And þa welle bi-wisten XII. meister deoflen swile ha weren kinges to pinen þer wiðinnen þa earming saulen þe *for-gult* weren, *O. E. Homilies*, p. 41; nu leofe breðre ze habbeð iherd hwa erest biwon reste þam *forgulte* saule, *ibid.* p. 45; he demað stiðne dom þam *forsuneȝede* on his efter to-come þet is on domes deie, *ibid.* 95; on hwan mei þe mon modegian þen he beo wel *iþoȝen* and *iþungen*, for he mei findan fele þe beoð bet *iþoȝen* and *istoȝen* þene he, *ibid.* 107; heo setten heore honden ofer *ilefde* men, and heo underfengen þene halian gast, *ibid.* p. 91. Cf. *unbilefde* men, *ibid.* II. p. 81, 171, 195; he scal beon swa *iweorht* þet him mon mote wið speken and his neode menan, *ibid.* II. 111.

There are very numerous instances of participles of compound verbs, the first part of which is *for*:—

All folle wass *forrylltt*,—*Ormulum*, 25, 26; ȝiff þatt tu *forrlanged* arrt, Tu cumen upp till Criste, *ibid.* 1280; hwet sculen horlinges do, þe swikere, þe *forswerene*,—*Poema Morale*, 103. Cf. Alle he weeron *forsworen* and here treothes forloren,—*Chronicle*, ab anno 1137. *O. E. Homilies*, I. 143.

> 'And it sal ben ðe laste tid.
> Quan al man-kinde, on werlde wid,
> Sal ben fro dede to liue brogt,
> And selt sad fro ðe *forwrogt*.'

(And the righteous separated from the wicked.) *Story of Genesis and Exodus*, 266; *forswonken*,—*Cursor Mundi*, 2017; *forliuen* (Cotton, Göttingen, Trinity), *forliued* (Fairfax), *ibid.* 5315; *forwalked* = tired out with walking,—Skeat, *Notes to Langland*, p. 312; *forwandred* = tired out with wandering, *ibid.*

Chaucer, too, has several instances of this use :—

Now hadde Calkas left, in this mischaunce, Alle *unwiste* of this fals and wikked dede, His doughter, IV. 111, 112. (*Unwiste* = not knowing, ignorant;) þou and god . . . ben *known wiþ me* þat no þing brouȝt me to maistrie or dignite; but þe comune studie of al goodenes, *ibid.*; Boece, *Consolation*, 14 (original: 'tu mihi et . . . deus *conscii* nullum *me* ad magistratum nisi communc bonnorum omnium studium detulisse').

'O olde, unholsom, and *mysliyved* man!' *ibid.* IV. 313 = man of ill living. Cf. Modern English, *long-lived*, though that is probably an adj. in *-ed* from the compound noun *long-life*: its *i* is long.

Caxton's use of the past participle is pretty regular; there are, however, several instances at variance with modern use. In his reprint of Chaucer's *Boece* or *Consolation*, Caxton alters the 'known' of the passage quoted above, into *knowing* :—

(Blanchardyn) was *remembred* of it alleways, *Blanchardyn*, 31/6; and the prouost aseed hym yf he was *counseylled* for to fulfylle the construction of that texte, *ibid* 47/12, 178/2; the lady . . . is well *trusted* wyth me, *ibid.* 79/1; wherof he was right sore *meruey lled*,—*ibid.* 139/16, 162/7. Cf. I was *wondyrde* (Harleian MS., I wondered), Hampole, *Prose Treatises*, p. 6; ha false and *renyed* strompet = renegate, *Blanchardyn*, 185/31; I meruaylle me moche how thou, that art prudent and wyse of goodes art so *ouerseen* and fro thy self, for to dar expose thy self to so many perillis = mistaken (Furnivall, *Glossary*), *Curial*, 3/13; whan charlemagne sawe hym *seased* of mawgys, he called rowlande, *Aymon*, 365/26. Cf. *Huon*, 94/8; whan Huon sawe that he was *sessyd* of his horne (ed. of 1601: possessed).

Malory is, in this respect as in many others, nearer the Middle English use :—

They are wery and *forfoughten*,—*Morte Darthur*, 87/25, 105/35; I pray you in no wyse be ye *aknowen* where I am, *ibid.* 254/21; thenne he told the kyng alle that batail, And how sir Palomydes was more weyker and more hurte and more *lost* of his blood, *ibid.* 447/13.

§ 34. *The Verbal Noun.*

The verbal noun in Caxton, with its functions of noun and verb, may be traced back to two different sources.

(*A.*) When used as a noun, it derives from the Old English verbal noun in *-ung*, *-ing*. Instances of it are very common in Caxton, as

in modern times. It is only worth noting when it forms part of a compound:—

Muste I nedes deye thus shamefully, wythoute *deffence makynge? Blanchardyn*, 188/31; the barons and knyghtes theme of a right gode wyll, wythout answer nor *replye makyng*, in grete haste . . . went and armed hem self, *ibid.* 189/32; in thes *wordes talkyng*[1] togyder, dyd arryue there foure of their men, *ibid.* 192/25: Reynawde toke therof vengeaunce vpon Berthelot by good rayson and that more is, it was his *body deffendynge*,—*Aymon*, 207/29, 566/26; and for that *honour doyng* to Sir Tristram he was at that tyme more preysed, *Morte Darthur*, 394/19.

These compounds are common in Old and Middle English:—

Sige forgeaf Constantino cyning ælmihtig, *dómweorðunga*,—*Elene*, 144; sinewoorðung, *ibid.* 1218; dægweorðung, *ibid.* 1233; dustsceawung, *Blickling Hom.*, 113/29; unriht gitsung, *ibid.* 53/21; bi his cloðes wrixlunge, *O. E. Hom.*, I. 207; by his side openunge, *ibid.*; in his blod swetunge, *ibid.*; þere is . . . fallyng in blode shedynge, *Piers Plowman* (Text C), 12/282; in housing, in haterynge and in to hiegh clergye shewynge, *ibid.* 15/76; late usage be ȝowre solace of seyntes lyues redynge, *ibid.* 7/87; þorugh 'ibeatus vires' techynge, *ibid.* 10/321; þorw bedes byddynge, *ibid.* 19/373; with herte or syȝte shewynge, *ibid.* 13/279; without any money payenge, *E. E. Wills*, 107/20 (A.D. 1436).

The more modern phrase 'the house is building'[2] is not met with in Caxton; he has still *a* (or *in*) preceding the verbal noun:—

(He) herde the feste and the noyse that was *adoynge* in the pronostis house, *Blanchardyn*, 67/5; she wyst not what she sholde saye or thynke therof, whether she was *a* wakyng or a slepe, *ibid.* 152/34; and as the feste was *a* doynge, there came a messager . . . *Aymon*, 163/7; he founde the chirche of sayntc peter *a* makynge, *ibid.* 576/8; atte the same oure that this Ioye and feste was *in making* (original: 'se faisoit'), *Blanchardyn*, 67/1; *Morte Darthur*, 84/12, 389/7.

(*B.*) The verbal noun is used as a verb: then it derives from the present participle.

1. Governed by the preposition *in*.

We now use *in* in connection with the verbal noun, where, in Old English, the simple participle was preferred, *e. g.* 'calo drincende oðer sædon' = others said *in* drinking ale, *Beowulf*, 1946. I

[1] ? pres. part. absolute 'they talking.'—F. J. F.

[2] It is a pity that 'is being built,' &c., tend to displace this construction.

suppose that *in*, imitated from the French, was grafted upon the old participle, so that it kept its verbal function. Therefore it was not followed by *of*, even in the earliest periods of its use :—

And thei seye, that we synne dedly, *in schavynge oure Berdes*,—*Maundeville*, p. 19; he was a dedly Creature, suche as God hadde formed, and duelled in the Desertes, *in purchasynge his Sustynance*, *ibid.* p. 47; and *in bryngynge hire Seruyse*, thei syngen a Song, *ibid.* p. 310.

Caxton very often drops *in*, as in *Blanchardyn*, 14/20, 16/8, 18/8, 33/12, etc. But even when it precedes the verbal noun, it is not followed by *of* :—

I am come to serue her *in kepyng my worshyp*,—*Blanchardyn*, 76/11; and *in tornynge hemself* ayen, [they] layde hande on their swerdes, *ibid.* 84/27; euery man cam forth to doo his deuoyre, eche of hem in his rowme *in defendynge the place*,—*ibid.* 113/4, 123/17; *Charles the Grete*, 26/34, 52/11, 66/34, 85/23, 163/19, etc.

2. There are a few passages in Caxton, which, in my opinion, throw a most interesting light on the use of the verbal noun, both in Middle English and in modern times. 'Most humblie beseekynge my . . . lord to pardon *me* so presumyng,' *Blades*, 140; 'take no displaysir on *me* so presuming,' *ibid.* 148. Cf. 165. I see in this construction a mode of expression which was the only one used in old times, and which still remains in vulgar English : 'don't mind *me* sitting down.'

In Old English, as well as in Latin, Greek, and the old Teutonic languages, it is not the action or state as an abstract, but the person or thing acting, which is the subject of perception, feeling, or thought. 'hac *literae recitatae* magnum luctum fecerunt' = the reading of this letter, *Livius*, 27, 29; 'poena violatae religionis iustam recusationem non habet' = for the violation of religion,—Cicero, *De Leg.*, 2, 15.

To this principle are due many of the so-called absolute constructions in the Old Teutonic dialects. See *Grimm*, IV. 873, ff.

It appears also in the noun-clauses in Old and Middle English. Instead of the modern abstract sentence, *e. g.* 'you see that he's going away,' the old construction is, 'you see *him* that he goes away.' So *Old English Hom.*, I. 17; 'ʒif þu *hine* iseȝe þæt he wulle assottie to

þes deofles.' *See* below, 'Noun Clauses.' The same principle appears also in the following instances illustrating the older use:—

Be þe lifigendum (during thy life time), *Beówulf*, 2666; be þrem lifigendum, *Bede*, 2, 5; To-janes þo sunne risindde = at the time of sunrise, *Old English Miscellany*, 26.

'Alle waters als þai sall ryune
And þat sal last *fra þe son ryssyng*
Til þe tyme *of þe son doungangyng*.'
Priche of Conscience, 4777 f.

'After the sunne goyng down.'—*Genesis*, 28, 11.

In later times this use began to decay, as indeed in every respect abstraction supplanted intuition, and the verbal noun took the place of the old present participle. Thus *Purvey* alters the instance quoted above to 'aftir the goyng down of the sunne.' Cf. *Exod.* xxii. 26, *Deuteronomy* xi. 30. Perhaps we may see the state of transition in the following passages of the *Ayenbite*. The old participle is kept in its outward form, but the new use, *i. e.* the verbal noun, throws its shade on the construction. Thus we have: 'ȝef he zuereþ fals *be his wytinde*,' p. 6. 'Be *him* wytinde' would answer to the Old English 'lifigendum'; 'be his wyt*inge*' would be quite modern (as it really occurs, *see* below); the connection of both gives 'be *his* wyt*inde*.' Cf. pp. 8, 28, 37, 40, 47, 94, etc. The French has: 'à son (leur) escient.'

Both the mixed and the modern construction occur on p. 73, *Ayenb.*: 'guo into helle ine þine libb*inde*: þet þou ne guo ine þine sterv*inge*' (original: 'en ton vivant, en ton morant').

The extremely free use of the verbal noun as an adjective to substantives, which is characteristic of Elizabethan English ('undeserving praise,' 'unrecalling crime' in Shakspere) is not met with in Caxton. Perhaps these are worth noting: 'fallyng sekeness,' *Charles the Grete*, 37/28; 'woepyng teerys,' *Morte Darthur*, 338/9. Cf. *Huon*, 219/25; *Lucrece*, 1375; *Complaint*, 304.

§ 35. *The Adverb.*

I. Derived from Nouns.

(*a*) In the Genitive Case.

Alonge = of longe = fully, at length. As *alonge* by the grace of god it shall be shewed in thistorye of this present book, *Blanch-*

ardyn, 2/6; (Blanchardyn) entred in to a chambre, hanged wyth right fayre and riche tapysserye of the destruction of Troye, well and *alonge* fygured, *ibid.* 15/2; his mayster . . . . well and *alonge* dide aduertyse the chylde, *ibid.* 15/22; he dyde reherce unto blanchardyn al *alonge*, how the royalme of tourmaday was come to a doughter full fayre, *ibid.* 128/29.

Of lighte = lightly. A man that is well garnysshed is not *of lighte* overthrowe, *Aymon*, 106/6.

Of a freshe (*a* apparently mistaken for the article) = anew. After . . . began the batayll *of a freshe*, sore harde and fell, *Aymon*, 110/23.

(*b*) Old Instrumental, now the Accusative case.

Other while (Old English hwilum) = sometimes. It is as requesyte *other whyle* to rede in Auncyent hystoryes, *Blanchardyn*, 1/13

Wonder grete (Old English wundrum). Syr Sadok . . . gaf hym a *wonder grete* falle, *Morte Darthur*, 532/19; soo they hurtled togyders *wonder sore*,—*Morte Darthur*, 433/15; he merueylled *wonder* gretely, *ibid.* 459/35.

Caxton has *wonderfull*. Wherof the good lady Margerye was *wonderfull* wroth and sory, *Aymon*, 36/23. Cf. þat feht was *wunder strong*,—*Layamon*, 1744; it fresethe *wonder faste*,—*Maundeville*, 11; singe *wondir swetly*,—*Gesta Romanorum*, 334; *wondyr hevy*,—*ibid.*

The old instrumental case is contained also in the following adverbial phrases:—

She rydeth *the lytyl pas* (orig.: a petit pas), *Blanchardyn*, 38/22 (Blanchardyn bygan to ryde on *a good pas*,—*ibid.* 40/10); accordyng to my promyse, I haue holpen you *the beste* that I coude, *ibid.* 149/25; but *the beste* that to hym was possyble he dyde recomforte her, *ibid.* 172/21; whiche came rennynge *all his myght* towarde Subyon, *ibid.* 201/20.

Perhaps the following phrases are formed after the same principle, if not in analogy to the cognate accusative:—

Dynadas was ouerthrowen hors and man *a grete falle*,—*Morte Darthur*, 401/22; there was Kyng Arthur wounded in the lyfte syde *a grete wounde* and a perylous, *ibid.* 412/25; the spere wente in to his syde *a grete wounde* and a perylous, *ibid.* 442/20.

II. Derived from Adjectives.

Though the final *e* was scarcely more than a mere 'monumentum scriptionis,' yet there are very numerous instances of adjectives used as adverbs by means of (or without) the old *-e*.

1. Before adjectives.

Clene.
Ye cam lyke a madde man *clene* oute of your wytte, *Morte Darthur*, 599/16.

Close.
He lyght ful quykly the shylde alonge the breast and the helmet wel *clos* laced, *Blanchardyn*, 24/16.

Exceeding.
Whan the admirall saw her so *exceeding* fayre he was taken in loue, *Huon*, 162/8.

Hard.
Sire Lamorak was *hard* bygo for hym, *Morte Darthur*, 358/2.

Marvellous.
Thys is a man *meruayllous* ryche, *Charles the Grete*, 42/15.

New.
Now be the thre brethern *newe* horsed, *Aymon*, 63/29; there was a chylde *newe* dede, *Charles the Grete*, 37/18; but they knewe hym not for he was *newe* desguysed, *Morthe Darthur*, 636/24; when he sawe that he was *new* horsed agayne he was ioyfull, *Huon*, 291/21.

Wonderful.
The dukes Beues had slayne Lohier, the sone of the kynge Charlemayn, wherof the goode lady Margerye was *wounderfull* wroth and sory, *Aymon*, 36/23.

Wood wrothe.
Whan he sawe a knyght with his lady he was *wood wrothe*,—*Morte Arthur*, 407/12; thenne was kynge Marke *wode wrothe* oute of mesure, *ibid.* 470/15, 487/7, 488/19, 610/13, 647/26; (Launcelot) ranne *wylde wod* from place to place, *ibid.* 593/4.

2. Attached to verbs.

Clene.
They made hym to be wasshed *clene*,—*Blanchardyn*, 148/18; all the estates were set and Iuges armed *clene*,—*Morte Darthur*, 491/33; thenne was sir Palamydes *clene* forgeten, *ibid.* 553/25; I counceyle yow said the kynge to be confessid *clene*,—*ibid.* 577/28, 601/8, 611/10, 638/35, 647/9, 672/11; he saw within the shyppe but one man *clene* aruyd, *Huon*, 447/3.

Clere.
(An hand) holde within the fyst a grete candel whiche brenned ryght *clere*,—*Morte Darthur*, 666/24.

Dear.

Neuer deth was so sore solde ne so *dere* boughte as this shall be, *Aymon*, 38/26.

Fayre.

Nature had *fayre* appareylled the gardyne, *Blanchardyne*, 122/28; (Reynawd) wente *fayr* vpon the folke of charlemagne, *Aymon*, 449/12; soo they did saufly and *fayre*,—*Morte Darthur*, 370/17; he salewed hym not *fayre*,—*ibid.* 659/18, 666/35. Cf. *Gesta Romanorum*, p. 3, and *passim*; and *fayre* endyd his lyfe.

Foul.

Gerarde of Roussyllon weneth for to fare *fowll* wyth vs, *Aymon*, 42/2; thou hast borne the *foule* this day agcynst me, *Charles the Grete*, 69/31; my fader is kyng Bagdemagus that was *foule* rebuked at the last turnement, *Morte Darthur*, 188/8; *foule* haue ye mocked me, *ibid.* 511/31; haue done *foule* to yow, *ibid.* 599/35.

Incontynent.

She called to her them that were in her chambre to whiche *incontynent* she commaunded that they sholde goo, *Blanchardyn*, 56/16; he shold late hym haue it *in-contynuent*,—*ibid.* 60/4; the maystres dyd perceyue *incontynent* by her wordes . . . . *ibid.* 64/30, 187/1, 194/7, etc.; than duke Naymes departyd, and *incontenent* he incounteryd Charlot, *Huon*, 32/14; but Huon releuyd hym *incontynent*,—*ibid.* 56/24, etc. Cf. Marlowe, *Tamburlain*, 52; Spenser, *Faërie Queene*, I. vi. 8/5; *ibid.* II. ix. 1/7; Peele, *Alphonsus*, 229 *a*.

Late.

Now haste you thi rewarde, for my lorde Lohyers deeth that thou *late* slew, *Aymon*, 56/18; he was but *late* made knyghte, *Morte Darthur*, 471/15; cf. *Blades*, p. 172. Cf. That likewise *late* had lost her dearest love,—Spenser, *Faërie Queene*, IV. viii. 3/4; *ibid.* I. ii. 11/2.

Loude.

He smote his hors wyth the spore . . . . escryeng as *loude* as he myght, *Blanchardyn*, 170/13.

Nere.

I am myself *nere* goon, *Aymon*, 565/23; the knyghtes name was called Accolor that after had *nere* slayne kyng arthur, *Morte Darthur*, 89/15.

New.

Thou *newe* made knyght thow hast shamed thy knyghthode, *Morte Darthur*, 108/7; there was a fayre medowe that semed *newe* mowen, *ibid.* 228/17; A. M. horses let to be *new* shode, *Huon*, 113/10; let her be bayngned and wesshyde and *new* arayed, *ibid.* 536/25.

Cf. And streems of purple blood *new* die the verdant fields,—Spenser, *Faërie Queene*, I. ii. 17.

Nyghe.
How *nyghe* was I lost, *Morte Darthur*, 654/27.

Passyng.
Sir Palamydes dyd passynge wel and myghtely, *Morte Darthur*, 557/21 (there is also *passyngly*,—*ibid.* 543/13, 544/33). Cf. And all the wyles of wemens wits (she) knew *passing* well,—Spenser, *Faërie Queene*, III. viii. 8/9.
Kyd, *Spanish Tragedy*, 107.

Playne.
I ware yow *playne*,—*Morte Darthur*, 621/34. Cf. By which he saw the ugly Monster *playne*, Spenser, *Faërie Queene*, I. i. 14/6.

Scarce.
For they be not vytaylled *scars* for foure dayes, *Charles the Grete*, 122/3. Cf. *Scarce* them bad arise,—Spenser, *Faërie Queene*, I. iv. 14/14, 22/8.

Softe.
He salued hym full *softe*,—*Aymon*, 33/27.

Stronge.
Soo *stronge* he spored his horse, that he wente ayenste Reynawde, *Aymon*, 86/23.

The common *adverb of negation* is not used as in Modern English.

Ne = not (preceding the verb) occurs but quite exceptionally: in *Blanchardyn* only *nys* = ne is:—

There *nys* no tonge humayn that coude to yow recounte ne saye the grete sorow, *Blanchardyn*, 19/22; ther *nys* so grete sorowe, but that it may be forgoten at the laste, *ibid.* 133/4; ther *nys* no tonge of no creature mortall, that vnto you coude telle . . . the grete loye, *ibid.* 148/2; there *nys* noo man so oolde but he sholde soone gete hete there, *Aymon*, 452/12.

Here and there *ne* turns up also before other verbs:—

Charlemagn *ne* shall see the beste torne of the worlde, *Aymon*, 168/18; I *ne* entende but onely to reduce thauncyent ryme in to prose, *Charles the Grete*, 39/6; he *ne* preysett kyng ne erle, *ibid.* 42/17; *ne* doubte ye not for I shal rendre you anone al hole, *ibid.* 95/11.

Ne = nor.
I holde nother castelle *ne* fortresse of hym, *Aymon*, 25/22.

Double negatives are very common :—

He *neuere* had borne *noon* armes, nor herde speke therof, *Blanchardyn*, 13/24 ; *nor* also had *not* seen the manere and thusage ofIoustynge, *ibid.* 14/1 ; (Blanchardyn) *neuere* had taken theratte *noo* hede, *ibid.* 15/2, etc. etc. There is an instance of four negatives in one and the same sentence. For *neuer* daye *nor* owre the childe Blanchardyn toke *noo* fode of *none* others brestis, *ibid.* 13/3.

§ 36. *Prepositions.*

A = in or on.
(He) herde the feste and the noyse that was *a*doynge in the prouostis house, *Blanchardyn*, 67/5. For other instances of this kind, *see* Gerund. The prouoste descended *a lande* (= on land), *Blanchardyn*, 198/30, 199/25 ; *Aymon*, 145/30. 525/7, 529/4. They lepte *a horsbak* (= on horsbak), *ibid.* 180/27, 183/16 ; *Aymon*, 26/28 ; the kynge ascryed hym self *a* hyghe (= on high), *ibid.* 20/12 ; he descended from his hors *a* foote, *Aymon*, 35/10, 186/5, 232/29, 490/20 ; they wende that the cyte had be sette a fyre (= on fire), *ibid.* 511/30, 583/9 ; he thus founde hymselfe *a* grounde (on grounde), *ibid.* 45/1, 232/10, 564/14.

A is often = of.
(He) cut his helmet and the coyffe of stele in suche manere *a*wyse (= of wyse) that the goode swerde entred in to the brayne, *Blanchardyn*, 28/20. Cf. above, Genitive.

Against = upon, towards.
Hym happend *ageynst* a nyghte to come to a fayr courtelage, *Morte Darthur*, 200/3 ; (Launcelot) *ageynst* nygyt rode vnto that castel, *ibid.* 574/6.

At = to.
He myght not brynge his entrepryse *at* an ende, *Blanchardyn*, 41/14 ; the bloode ran vp *at* her face, *ibid.* 64/16, 84/36, 176/26, 177/7, 177/21, 188/1. (He) wente wyth all hys oost *at* Mountlyon, *Aymon*, 69/14, 66/27, 79/21, 349/5, 408/1, 430/9, 496/8.

At = on.
Reynawde toke the kynge and drewe hym a lityll *atte* oo side, *Aymon*, 146/7, 453/7.

By = from, out of.
(He) laughe at them *by* grete love, *Aymon*, 230/25, 298/3, 303/30.

By = in.

(He) smote a knyghte *by* suche a wyse, that he putte his spere thorughe the body of hym, *Aymon*, 42/15, 61/24, 304/5, 453/1.

By = on.

They dyd soo moche *by* their iourneys that they cam to saynt Iames, *Aymon*, 156/19, 235/20, 239/32.

By = with.

(He) smote a knyghte *by* suche a strengthe that he ouerthrewe hym, *Aymon*, 43/12.

By is used alternately with *of* and *with* in passive constructions; but *of* prevails. Cf. *Blanchardyn*, 1/15, 2/12, 11/11, 18/10, 19/3, 42/13, 66/8, 97/35, 98/27, 101/27, 109/32, 113/34; by, 1/26, 124/16, 169/21; with, 91/19, 124/14; *Aymon*, 52/34, 53/1.

For = in spite of, is rare in Caxton, but occurs several times in Malory:—

This child wylle not laboure for me *for* ony thyng that my wyf or I may do, *Morte Darthur*, 102/22; I wyll accomplysshe my message *for* al your ferdful wordes, *ibid.* 167/31, etc. This use is very common in Elizabethan writers. Marlowe, *Massacre*, 2114; Spenser, *Faërie Queene*, 1, 3, 24/5; Peele, *Old Wives' Tale*, 453, b; Kyd, *Spanish Tragedy*, 17; Shakspere; *see* Schmidt, *s. v.*

For = from.

After she asked whi they were departed *for*[1] the kynges courte, *Aymon*, 36/19.

In = into, is still very frequent.

Yf he may come *in* her handes or *in* her power, noon shal mowe saue hym, *Blanchardyn*, 43/14; the prouost came ayen *in* the sayd place, *ibid.* 81/16, 96/29, 105/5, 109/14, 109/24, 116/24, etc.; *Aymon*, 63/1, 159/20, 210/20; *Morte Darthur*, 252/13.

Here and there also in the 16th century:—

By rise of virtue, vice shall grow *in* hate, *Gorboduc*, 180; how canst thow *in* this condition; Bunyan, *Pilgrim's Progress*, p. 35.

In = on, is rare.

That . . . *in* the crosse suffred deth and rassyon, *Aymon*, 24/20; ye ascended in to heuen and lefte for your liyeutenant saynt Peter thappostle *in* erthe, *Charles the Grete*, 71/27; Marlowe, *Tamburlaine*, 760.

'I think the pleasure they enjoy in heaven
Cannot compare with kingly joys *in* earth.'

[1] Misprint for *fro*.

Cf. Lord's Prayer: Thy will be done *in* earth. And *in* the honour of a kyng he sweares,—Marlowe, *Edward II.*, 1216. He is *in* England's ground, *ibid.* 1705; Shakspere, *Venus*, 118; *Midsummer Night's Dream*, II. i. 185; *Troilus*, V. ii. 169.

Maugre = in spite of.

(They) ledde the lady by force to castel forde, *maulgre* Subyon, *Blanchardyn*, 8/25, 9/1, 179/24, 180/29, 180/34, 189/9; *Aymon*, 86/14, 229/1; very often in Malory, and still in Shakspere.

Maugre occurs also as a substantive:—

They myghte no lenger endure the grete *magre* that Reynawde bare to theym (original: 'dommaige'), *Aymon*, 86/16; I haue herd moche of your *maugre* ageynst me, *Morte Darthur*, 405/28. So twice in Spenser:—

> 'Ne deeme thy force by fortunes doome unjust,
> That hath (*maugre*[1] her spight) thus low me laid in dust.'
> *Faërie Queene*, II. v. 12/9; III. iv. 39/8.

(= a curse upon? Morris, Glossary to Spenser's Works, Globe edition).

Of differs in its functions from the modern use in several essential points.

1. It denotes reference, *as to*:—

Pardoune me *of* the rude and comyn englyshe, *Blanchardyn*, 2/9; the childe grewe and amended sore *of* the grete beaulte, *ibid.* 13/6; *of* the tables and ches playinge and *of* gracyous and honeste talkynge, he passed them that were his elder in age, *ibid.* 13/19, 20; demaundynge *of* the bataylles of Troye (= about), *ibid.* 14/13; the same, 15/8; wel shapen *of* alle membres, *ibid.* 37/21; sore troubled *of* wyttis, *ibid.* 45/8, 48/31, 65/21, 97/10, 99/14, 145/30, etc.; *Aymon*, 54/25, 64/5, 290/32, etc.

2. It denotes cause, *in consequence of*:—

(They) iudged hem self right happy *of* a successoure legytyme, *Blanchardyne*, 12/17; sory *of*, *ibid.* 21/4; euyl apayde *of* (original: maltalentif), *ibid.* 28/13; *of* a custume (= in consequence, according), *ibid.* 112/32, 130/8; he ought *of* rayson to be well rewarded, *ibid.* 126/6, 133/10.

3. *Of* = by in passive constructions. See *by*.

4. It seems to be mistaken for *on*, *upon*:—

(Kyng Charles) beyng in his dormytorye, trustyng *of* the syde of our lord in grete deuocyon began to say the psaulter, *Charles the Grete*, 33/32.

[1] ? by the ill will of.—F.

This mistake, probably brought about by *a* being equivalent to *of* and *on*, is common in the 16th century :—

They began to slee alle suche as wolde not beleue *of* Ihesu Cryst (ed. of 1601 *on*), *Huon*, 152/24 ; the same, *ibid.* 417/30, 462/12, 464/28 ; I wyll send thee *of* my errand, *Sir Clyomon and Sir Clamydes*, 494 a ; my master riding behind my mistress ; both *of* one horse, *Taming Shrew*, IV. i. 71 ; as when thou shouldst be prancing *of* thy steed, Greene, *Alphonsus*, 235 b.

On mistaken for *of* :—

On hym is no care, *Aymon*, 62/27 ; she began to thynke *on* that poure man, *Charles the Grete*, 13/33. Probably also the phrase : *on* lyue = alyue, *Aymon*, 64/18. *See* Genitive : he seith not ryght *on* me, *Morte Darthur*, 138/25—16th century :—

> 'I tell you true, my heart is swoln with wrath
> *On* this same thievish villain Tamburlaine.'
> Marlowe, *Tamburlaine*, 620.

> 'And tyme may yield us an occasion
> Which *on* the sudden cannot serve the turn.'
> Marlowe, *Jew of Malta*, 473, 1078, 2338, 4690.

The middle *on*'s face, *Lear*, IV. v. 20 ; my profit *on*'t, *Tempest*, I. ii. 365, 456 ; I'm glad *on* 't, *Jul. Cæs.*, I. iii. 137.

Ouer = of :—

Kynge alymodes knyghtes had grete enuye *ouer* hym, *Blanchardyn*, 65/22 ; right enamored they were *ouer* hym, *ibid.* 66/25 ; to thende he myght be auenged *ouer* hym, *ibid.* 86/30 ; Blanchardyn, that grete slawghter dyde make *ouer* his men, *ibid.* 107/27.

To = up to, equal to :—

Suche a worship appurteyneth not to be doon to me, for I am not *to* the value therof, *Blanchardyn*, 109/20.

Tofore = before :—

(He) presented hym selfe *to-fore* the kynge, *Aymon*, 186/24.

It is a remarkable custom in Caxton and other writers of the 15th century to use, for variety's sake, two different prepositions for the same purpose :—

O thou free knyght, replenysshed *wyth* prowesse and *of* grete wordynesse, *Blanchardyn*, 49/15 ; she cam and brought wyth her a fayre whyte coueryng of damaske clothe, wher*of* she made the hors of blanchardyn to be coucred *wyth*,—*ibid.* 61/7, 8 ; loue serued her *wyth* a messe sharp and sowre ynoughe tyl her tast that is to wyte *of* a louely care, *ibid.* 67/17, 18 ; (Blanchardyn) cam ridyng through the toun accompaned *wyth* the prouoste and *of* many other knyghtes,

ibid. 83/23; the knyght *of* whom my sayde lady is so sore enamoured *vpon*, hath to his name blanchardyn, *ibid.* 130/17; Sadoyne sawe their shyppes redy and well stored *wyth* vytaylles and *of* other thynges, *ibid.* 150/28; they all were eten *wyth* bores and *of* lions, *Aymon*, 52/34, 53/1; Charlemayne apoynted not *wyth* the foure sones of Aymon, nor *to* Mawgys, *ibid.* 58/24, 25; I shall shew you whether I can do any thyng *wyth* the spere and *of* the swerde, *ibid.* 83/28; I am not a chyld wher*of* men oughte to mocke wyth, *ibid.* 360/12. (He) toke it and robbed wythall the nose, the mouth, and the eyen *of* rowlande, and in like wyse *to* all thother xii peres of fraunce, *ibid.* 371/21, 22; wysdom desyreth you *to* be hys wyf, and *for to* be quene, *Charles the Grete*, 14/8,9; it is the same *of* whyche your god was enbawmed *wyth*,—*ibid.* 56/29, 30; O fayre Quene of Orkeney, Kynge Lot's wyf and moder *of* sir Gawayne and *to* sire Gaheris, and modir *to* many other, for thy loue I am in grete paynes, *Morte Darthur*, 425/12; and the begynnynge of the kynges letters spak wonderly short vnto Kynge Arthur, and badde hym entermate *with* hym self and *with* his wyf and *of* his knyghtes, *ibid.* 456/32, 33; thenne *by* his aduys and *of* sire Sadoks he lete stuffe alle the townes and castels, *ibid.* 495/19.

§ 37. *Conjunctions.*

And used redundantly (compared with the Old English and the present use), turns up pretty often in Caxton, as in other writers of the 15th century, and is not unfrequent in Elizabethan times:—

And the thyrd tyme with a full grete horte she revyled hym, *and* sayyng to hym that he was lyke an hounde, *Trivet*, p. 233; yf thow wolt telle me, *and* I shalle gete the on fallyng to thin estate, *Gesta Romanorum*, p. 173; the vertu of the broche is this, that who so euere her hit vpon his brest late him thinke what he wolle, *and* he shalle mete perwith at his likinge, *ibid.* p. 181; forsothe, sir, quod he, *and* I shall tell you, *ibid.* 202; sir, quoþ he, *and* I shalt tell you not, *ibid.* 322; whiche boke I late receyued in frenshe . . . for to reduce and translate it in to our maternal *and* englysh tonge, *Blanchardyn*, 1/9; by my feyth, sayd Reynawde, *and* we shall deffende ourselfe also to our power, *Aymon*, 235/11; O, brother Reynawd, *and* what doo you here, *ibid.* 244/26; cosin Reynawd, sayd Ogyer, *and* we shall kepe vs fro you, *ibid.* 263/11; alas, *and* that I dyde grete harme, *ibid.* 283/4; for the more that ye praye him, *and* the worse shall he doo, *ibid.* 330/27; syre, sayd Richarde, *and* ye shall see me anone, *ibid.* 343/22; sir, sayd mawgis, *and* I yelde me to you, *ibid.* 357/5; I praye you lete hym come here *and* that he awake myn vncle Charlemagne oute of his slepe, *ibid.* 405/12; whan he herde the duke naymes speke so, *and* it moved his blode full sore, *ibid.* 419/6; I neuer put man to the erthe *and* thys hors present, *Charles the Grete*,

70/10; I requyre the that it may playse the to take the payne for to rescowe and socoure my loue guye, *and* ellis I am a loste woman, *ibid.* 135/3; alle the barons cam thyder *and* to assay to take the sword, *Morte Darthur*, 42/35: syre knyght, sayd the other, whoos name was Hontzlake of wentland, *and* this lady I gat by my prowesse of armes this day, *ibid.* 114/23; wylle ye, sayd syre Gawayne, promyse me to doo alle that ye maye . . . to gete me the loue of my lady. Ye syre, sayd she, *and* that I promyse you, *ibid.* 150/11; whaune Elyzabeth, Kyng Melyodas, myst her lord, *and* she was nyghe out of her wytte, *ibid.* 273/27; a mercy my lord, sayd she, *and* I shalle telle you alle, *ibid.* 275/33; wel, said the Kyng Melyodas, *and* therfor shal ye haue the lawe, *ibid.* 275/35; but their horses he wold not suffre his squyers to medle with, *and* by cause they were knyghtes ervaunt, *ibid.* 442/29; telle me, said palomydes, *and* in what manere was youre lord slayne, *ibid.* 518/31; and therfore ye may be sory, said sire Tristram, of your vnkyndely dedes to so noble a kynge. *And* a thynge that is done may not be vndone, sayd Palomydes, *ibid.* 542/29; sir knyghte, said she, and ye wille ensure me by the feyth that ye owe vnto knyghthode that ye shalle doo my wylle . . . *and* I shalle brynge yow vnto that knyght, *ibid.* 652/12; syr *and* I wille doo hit, sayd sir launcelot, *ibid.* 658/9; thenne had the kynge grete joye, and dressyng hym to sytte up, *and* toke the swerde by the pomel, *Melusine*, 153/16; and penne gaf hym the swerd ayen, and thus makyng his wounde opend, *and* out of it ranne blood, *ibid.* 153/22; by my feyth, said thenne Anthony, *and* I accorde therunto, *ibid.* 217/10; sens he was aduertesyd, that with kepyng his tonge fro spekynge he myght abrege hys iorney, *and* he sayde that surely he wolde that way, *Huon*, 64/24 (ed. of 1601 omits *and*); syr, quod themperour, *and* he shal derely abye it, *ibid.* 305/27.

Gorbodue. 'Loe, this is all; now tell me your aduise.
Arostus. *And* this is much, and asketh great aduise.' *Gorbodue*, 146;

'Warre would he haue? *and* he shall haue it so.' *ibid.* 680;

Barabas. 'Haply (the Turks) come for neither, but to pass along
Towards Venice by the Adriatic sea;
With whom they have attempted many times,
But never could effect their stratagem.
Jew. *And* very wisely said. It may be so.'
Marlowe, *Jew of Malta*, 205;

'Is she so fair?
And matchless beautiful.' *ibid.* 617.

'O earth-mettled villains, and no Hebrews born!
And will you basely thus submit yourselves
To leave your goods to their arbitrament?' *ibid.* 310;

'Well, yet the old proverbe to disprove I purpose to begin,
Which always saith that cowardly hearts fair ladies never win:
Shall I not Julia win, *and* who hath a cowardlier heart?'
Sir Clyamon and Sir Clamydes, 507, *a*;

Kendal. 'Thou, how art thou a gentleman?
Jenkin. *And* such is my master.' Greene, *George-a-Greene*, 259, *a*;

Hamlet. 'Will the king hear this piece of work?
Pol. *And* the queen too.' *Hamlet*, III. ii. 53;

Cass. 'This rudeness is a sauce to his good wit.
Brut. *And* so it is.' *Julius Cæsar*, I. ii. 307.

Also = as:—

Also nighe as I can, *Blades*, 132.

As = as if, is very common:—

Lepyng alwaye here and there, *as* hors and man had fowgthen in thayer, *Blanchardyn*, 42/7; her gowne that she had on was therof changed *as* grete shoure of rayne had come doune from the heuens, *ibid.* 43/17; after thys fortune I haue ben syn, as force compellyd me therto, seruaunt vnto a kynge sarasyn, *as* I had ben one of theym, *ibid.* 133/31; he smote vpon his enmyes *as* it had be the thonder, *ibid.* 169/2; he hewe the sarasins *as* they had ben wythoute harneys, *Aymon*, 137/20; (he) kept hymself styll like *as* he had ben deed, *ibid.* 179/11.

Still frequent in Elizabethan authors:—

'And lickt her lilly hands with fawning tong,
As he her wronged innocence did weet.'
Spenser, *Faërie Queene*, I. iii. 6/3. Cf. *ibid.* I. v. 20/9; III. i. 6/5;

'I hope our credit in the custom house
Will serve as well, *as* I were present there.'
Marlowe, *Jew of Malta*, 94. For Shakspere, see Schmidt, *s. v.*

As is used redundantly before other conjunctions and adverbs in Malory:—

I wist it were soth that ye say I shold do suche peryllous dede *as* that I wold slee my self to make the a lyar, *Morte Darthur*, 84/38; awaite vpon me *as* to morn secretely, *ibid.* 287/22; I wille be-redy *as* to morne, *ibid.* 311/4; for *as* that same day this lady of the lake knewe wel that kynge arthur shold be slayne, *ibid.* 361/25; he charged the lady of the lake not to discouer his name *as* at that tyme, *ibid.* 362/22; nay, said sire Palomydes, *as* att this tyme I wille not Iuste with that knyght, *ibid.* 382/23; for *as* to morne the grete turnement shalle be, *ibid.* 383/23; that shalle ye not wete *as* at this tyme, *ibid.* 408/22; ye shalle not wete *as* at this time, *ibid.* 412/10.

Both (postponed) = as well, also occurs in *Morte Darthur*, not only in order to connect two, but more persons and things:—

I am sore hurte and he *bothe*,—*ibid.* 134/10; he smote syr galahantyne on the helme that his nose braste out on blood, and

eerys and mouthe *bothe*,—*ibid.* 192/5; for my hors and I ben fresshe *bothe*,—*ibid.* 323/20; now I wil say vnto you and to hym *both*,—*ibid.* 349/3; fals treason hast thou wrouȝt and he *both*,—*ibid.* 403/31.

Eke (Old English *éác*) = also:—

eke harneys, *Blanchardyn*, 60/21; I shall delyuere you hors, and wherof his son and *eke* Blanchardyn came, *ibid.* 126/13.

Ne = nor, *see* 'Adverbs,' p. lxxvii.

Nor—also = nor—either:—

For not a peny he wolde take of it, *nor* his brethern *also*,—*Aymon*, 145/7.

So = if:—

Yf nedes I shal dey, I were of it all well content, soo that it were in the absence of her, *Blanchardyn*, 188/23; I shall now quyte you and release vnto you all the servyse that ye owe me, to you and to your eyres for evermore, *soo* that ye will take Richard, the sone of Aymon, and see that he be hanged, *Aymon*, 324/7; I will not take your yeldyng vnto me, But *so* that ye wylle yelde you vnto syr Kay the Seneschal, *Morte Darthur*, 200/32; I wille ryde with you *so* that ye wille not rebuke this knyght, *ibid.* 348/32.

This use is also frequent in Elizabethan authors:—

> '*So* now the mighty emperor hears of you,
> Your highness needs not doubt but in short time
> He will . . . redeem you from this deadly servitude.'
> Marlowe, *Tamburlaine*, 1011; *ibid.* 3839; *Faustus*, 1361; *Jew of Malta*, 189; *ibid.* 190.

Than = then = when (Old English *Sonne*):—

Thenne Brastias saw his felawe ferd so with al, he smote the duke with a spere that hors and man fell doune, *Morte Darthur*, 54/2, than Syre Tor was redy he mounted vpon his horsbak and rode after the knyght, *ibid.* 109/20; thenne the duke sawe he myghte not escape the deth, he cryed to his sones and charged them to yelde them, *ibid.* 155/4; and *thenne* Beaumayns sawe hym soo well horsed and armed, thenne he alyghte doune and armed hym, *ibid.* 222/26.

Than = than that, than if:—

For I had leuer that ye were confused and dysmembred *than* I shold take armes or hors for to Iuste lyke as ye say, *Charles the Grete*, 43/17; and yf thou haue broughte Arthurs wyf, dame Gweneuer, he shall be gladder *than* thow haddest guyen to him half fraunce, *Morte Darthur*, 167/24; now am I better pleasyd, saye

Pryamus, *than* thou haddest gyuen to me all the prouynce and parys the ryche, *ibid.* 178/2; I had leuer to haue ben torn with wylde horses *than* ony varlet had wonne such loos, *ibid.* 178/4.

That, like the Greek ὅτι, is often used to introduce a direct speech (oratio recta), so that it is equal in value to the modern colon :—

He sayd full angerly to the styward, *that* 'to an euyll owre hath your lady ben so madde as to mary her self to a ladde, a straunger.' *Blanchardyn*, 184/9; (Merlyn) late wryte balyns name on the tombe with letters of gold, *that* here lyeth balyn le Sauuage, *Morte Darthur*, 98/35; [*how* in the same function occurs, *ibid.* 84/7; (the kynge) wrote the names of them bothe on the tombe, *How* here lyeth launceor the kynges sone of Irlond, that at his owne requeste was slayne by the handes of balyn.]

That often replaces other conjunctions in compound clauses, especially *when*; this is a literal translation of the French 'que' in the same function :—

When they of the cyte had seen the manere and the rewle of their enmyes, and *that* all wyth leyser they had seen their puyssance and their manere of doynge, The Captayne and the prouoste of the towne dyde ordeyne a stronge and a bygge warde, *Blanchardyn*, 58/17; *when* he knewe and *that* he was aduerlysed by his sone . . . he was al ynough content, *ibid.* 126/10; and *whan* she sawe that by no maners of meanes she myght not tourne ne chaunge the corage of her cruel fader, And *that* she herde hym saye blame of her god . . . she by grete wrath sayd, *ibid.* 186/9; and *whan* the nyght was passed, and *that* reynawd was vp he went here and there, *Aymon*, 134/23; and *whan* the tables were take vp and *that* euery man had eten at his ease, they wente to their warde, *ibid.* 463/27; and *whan* the morowe came and *that* mawgys had his newe sloppe and his hode he toke his palster, *ibid.* 467/9.—And *after* that the worke was ended, and *that* all their enmyes were taken or slayn, they brought hym and entred wythin the cyte, *Blanchardyn*, 195/26; *after* that Sadoyne was crowned to be kynge, and *that* he had archyeued and made all his ordonnances . . . Blanchardyn, his felawe, dysposed him self for to retourne ayen toward Tornaday, *ibid.* 196/23.—So began he to be ful of thoughte and all annoyed of hym self *by cause* he was not armed tyl his plasure, and *that* he myght not yssue out, *ibid.* 59/30; they sholde make theim gode chere of suche goodes as god had lent hem; *by cause* they semed to be knyghtes, and *that* it was sore late to ryde ony ferther, and *that* noo housyng nor no retrayt was nyghe, *ibid.* 204/27, 28; thother labourers had so grete enuy *by cause* he dide better his deuoir than thei, and *that* he was better loved than thei, *Aymon*, 575/16.

That is used tautologically :—

None can telle it you, bycause *that* it (the beaulte) was so grete, that god and nature had nothyng forgoten there, *Blanchardyn*, 13/7; it is bycause *that* he is a straunger, *ibid.* 91/20; I shall now quyte you and relesse vnto you all the servyse that ye owe me . . . for evermore, soo *that* ye wyll take Richard . . . and see that he be hanged, *Aymon*, 324/7; ye knowe how longe *that* he hath dammaged vs, *ibid.* 402/14; me thynketh that we oughte to avenge vs vpon hym, sith *that* we have hym, *ibid.* 402/16; ye wote well that I left him by cause *that* peas shold be made, *ibid.* 407/26; I am wel admeruaylled fro whens *that* cometh to the suche presumpcion *Charles the Grete*, 53/13; for it is longe sythe *that* they haue ony thynge holpen vs, *ibid.* 140/30.

II. SYNTAX OF THE SENTENCE.

§ 38. *Concord.*

The first rule of every syntax, namely, that a finite verb agrees with its subject *in number*, is very often sinned against in the early periods of the English language.

(*A.*) The slightest violation of grammar is the construction of *collective nouns with predicates in the plural* (κατὰ σύνεσιν). Of this concession made by grammar to logic, there are instances from Old English down to our own day :—

Old English: þæt folc sæt . . . and arison, *Exodus*, xxxii. 6; se here swór þæt hie woldon, *Chronicle*, 921; þin ofspring sceal âgan *heóra* feónda gata, *Genesis*, xxii. 17. (March, *Comparative Gram.*, § 402.)

Middle English: þat israelisshe *folc* was walkende toward ierusalem on swinche, and on drede, and on wanrede, and þo wile *was* hersum godes hese. Ac efter þan þe *hie weren* wuniende in ierusalem . . . þo *hie* forleten godes lore, *O. E. Homilies*, II. 51. Ðis wird of engeles metten him, *Story of Genesis and Exodus*, 1790.

'And *euerile on* ðat helden wiŏ him,
Ðo wurðen mire, and swart, and dim.'—*ibid.* 285.

'And als *ilkan* for sere resun
Com for to mak þair orisun.'—*Cursor Mundi*, 10,222.

'That all the folk schuln laughen in this place.'—*Chaucer*, II. 231.

'And saugh wel that hire folk weren al aweye.'—*ibid.* IV. 201.

'The remenaunt were anhanged, more and lesse.'—*ibid.* III. 84.

This use is rare in Caxton. 'People, folk,' are followed by a singular verb, e. g. *Aymon*, 38/12, 100/19; the plural is an exception, e. g. *Aymon*, 70/26: 'what *are* this folke?'

(*B.*) Plural nouns, or several nouns joined together by a copulative conjunction, take a singular predicate. This striking irregularity crops up very early, and is very frequent in the 15th century, and in the time of Shakspere:—

Moren and wilde (h)uni *was* his mete, *O. E. Homilies*, II. 139;

'In firme begining, of nogt
Was heuene and eorðe samen wrogt.'—*Story of Gen. and Exod.*, 40;

'For *was* sundri speches risen.'—*ibid.* 668;

'ðor was laid adam and eua.'—*ibid.* 817;

'Alle his wundres þat he doþ, *is* þurch þene veud.'—*The Passion of Our Lord*, l. 60 (*Old English Miscellany*, 39).

'Alle his wundres þat he doþ, *is* þurch þene quede.'—*ibid.* l. 250.

(he) steaȝ into heuene þet is aboue alle sseppe þet *ys* ine heuene, *Ayenbite*, p. 11; þe nezende article and þe þri laste belongeþ to þe holi gost and *is* þellich, p. 13.

Siþen þe sege and þe assaut *watz* sesed at Troye, *Sir Gawayne*, l. 1; out tak the forsayd matyns bokys that is bequethe to Thomas my sone, 5/14; *Early English Wills*, 5/14;—the hole goodis that is my owne, 92/12; þis *es* the dettis þat *es* [h]owynge to me, 39/34 (*Essex*, ab. 1417); the 80 mark þe whiche *is* in Thomas Harwodes hand, 44/12; forto dispende the goudis that es therin, 71/2; On the finger *was* wretyn word*is*: 'percate hic,' *Gesta Romanorum*, p. 7. Cf. Zupitza, note to *Guy of Warwick*, l. 298.

Caxton. The kyng Alymodes and alle his oost *was* right sore affrayed, *Blanchardyn*, 119/29; here *is* xx li of money, *Aymon*, 332/7; here is grete merveylles, *ibid.* 444/31; Such II. brethren as *is* kyng Ban and kyng bors, *Morte Darthur*, 57/38; there ben but fewe now lyuynge that *is* so myghty as he is, *ibid.* 241/22; he arryued up in Irland euen fast by a castel where the kynge and the quene *was*,—*ibid.* 285/9; there *was* slain that morowe tyde x M good meonys bodyes, *ibid.* 53/12.

There are many instances of this freedom in the literature of the 16th century:—

There *is* more nobler portes in England, *Andrew Boorde*, p. 120; there is at Bath certain waters, *ibid.*; the olde noble the Aungels and the halfe aungels, *is* fine golde, p. 121; in Cornwall *is* two speches, p. 123; in Wales *is* used these two stalticious matters, p. 127; yet in Ireland *is* stupendous thinges, p. 133; XVIII Scotish peus *is*

worthe an Englysshe grote, p. 137; the mountains *is* very baryn, p. 160; the greater *is* the flods, p. 161; there is many great mountains, p. 165. Cf. 171, 172, 185, 191, 195, 208, 245.

There *was* many Dukes, Erles, and barons, *Huon*, I. 2/22 (ed. of 1601: were assembled); there *was* lenynge in wyndowes ladys and damesels, *ibid.* 38/28 (ed. 1601: were); there was present in the feld lordes and knyghtes, 43/4. Cf. 90/19, 115/19, 126/30, 156/6, 157/9, 167/3, 210/24, 313/25, 325/25, 371/13, 388/29, 390/6, 394/21, 413/15, 414/23, 422/11, 423/4, 471/22, 472/19, 473/31, 555/23, 29, 589/24, 605/28.

'What shooting is, how many kindes there *is* of it—is tolde.'—Ascham, *Toxoph.* 31.

'Both the mastur and rular of the sterne *ys* wyse and experte.'—Starkey, *England*, etc., p. 57, l. 1071.

'See, Dicoon, 't was not so well washed this seven year, as ich neeen.'—*Gammer Gurton*, 193.

'There *is* five trumps besides the queen.'—*ibid.* 199.

'What needs these plaints?'—*Mucedorus*, 232.

'What needs these words?'—*ibid.* 232.

'Here *is* four angels for you.'—Greene, *Looking-Glass*, 125, a.

'Here *is* twenty angels.'—*ibid.*

'Each others equall puissaunce envies,
And throug their iron sides with cruell spies
Does seke to perce.'—Spenser, *Faërie Queene*, I. ii. 17, 4/6.

'He had yet lived, whose twelve labours displays
His endless fame, and yet his honour spreads.'—*Tancred*, I. iii.

'Here's your thirty shillings.'
'Our neighbours, that were woont to quake
And tremble at the Persean Monarkes name,
Now sits and laughs our regiment to skorne.'—Marlowe, *Tamburlaine*, 115.

'. . . . . about their necks
Hangs massie chaines of golde . . .'—*ibid.* 314.

'Whose fiery cyrcles beare encompassed
A heaven of heavenly bodies in their Spheares
That guides his steps and actions to the throne.'—*ibid.* 464.

'*Was* there such *brethren*, sweet Meander, say?'—*ibid.* 667.

'What *saies* my other friends?'—*ibid.* 768.

'Upon his browes was pourtraid vgly death,
And in his eies the furie of his hart,
That shine as Comets, menacing reueng,
And casts a pale complexion on his cheeks.'—*ibid.* 1054/55.

'for Wil and Shall best fitteth Tamburlain,
Whose smiling stars giues him assured hope.'—*ibid.* 1136.

'What is beauty, saith my sufferings, then?'—*ibid.* 1941.

'Now shame and duty, loue and feare presents
A thousand sorrowes to my martyred soule.'—*ibid.* 2166.

'My lord, such speeches to our princely sonnes
Dismaies their mindes before they come to proeue
The wounding troubles angry war affoords.'—*ibid.* 2046.

'from Trebizon in Asia the lesse
Naturalized Turks and stout Bythinians
Came to my hands full fifty thousand more,
That, fighting, knowes not what retreat doth meane.'—*ibid.* 3538.

'See now, ye slaues, my children stoops your pride
And leads your glories sheep-like to the sword!'—*ibid.* 3748/49.

'Distrest Olympia, whose weeping eies
Since thy arriuall here beheld no Sun,
But closde within the compasse of a tent,
Hath stain'd thy cheekes, and made thee look like death.'—
ibid. 3883.

'The Humidum and Calor, which some holde
Is not a parcell of the Elements.'—*ibid.* 4477.

'Sometimes like women, so unwedded maides,
Shadowing more beautie in their ayrie brows,
Then has the white breasts of the queene of Loue.'—
Marlowe, *Faustus*, ed. Breymann, 149 (B).

For Shakspere, see *Abbott*, § 335.

The instances with *-s*, and *-th*, however, may be also explained as remnants of Northern and Southern endings.

§ 39. *Co-ordination instead of Subordination.*

It is a well-known characteristic feature of poetical style to use sentences as co-ordinate ones, which, logically, stand in the relation of subordination. But Caxton's prose also exhibits several striking instances of this use. Two principal sentences are asyndetically joined together, where we should expect a principal sentence and a subordinate clause:—

Whan he see Blanchardyn, that all prest was to furnyshe hys enterpryse, gaffe to hymselfe grete meruaylle, and praised hym but litell, *he asked hym of whens he was. Blanchardyn answerd*, that for no drede nor fere that he had of hym he shuld kepe his name from hym, *Blanchardyn*, 84/3; whan the sarrasyns saw the kynge of the gyauntes dede they were sore frayed and gretly abashed, for in hym was alle their hope. *they fled toward their tentes as faste as they myght. Blanchardyn and* they of Tormaday pursued them, *ibid.* 87/14, 15; Sadoyne beheldc the pucell beatryx that so gentyl was and so odly fayr, *he embraced and kyssed her*, sayeng, *ibid.* 143/21. Cf. 33/2, 39/16, 141/25, 168/24.

In the prose of the sixteenth century I noticed this use only in Berners:—

So he went to hys lodgyng sorowfull and in grete dyspleasure, and than he imagyned and studyed on the mater, and howe to brynge about his interpryse; than he departed fro hys lodgyng, and went to Charlot the kynges sone, with whome he was ryght pryuey; he founde hym syttyng on a ryche couche with a yonge knyght, *Huon*, 13/3—9; thus they 2 bretherne departyd and kyssyd theyr mother, sore wepynge. Thus they toke theyr horses and theyr companys, *ibid.* 14/3, 4; Charlot came agaynst the 2 brethern; the Abbot of Cluny saw Charlot commynge al armyde, *ibid.* 19/13, 14; as they lokyd in to the see they spyed a shyppe charged with xxx paynemes, and grete ryches; then Gerames saw how the shipp was commynge to that porte, then he sayd to his company, syrs, lett vs go, *ibid.* 129/11, 12. (But, perhaps in this case *then—then* answers to Old English ðonne—ðonne = when, then.) Cf. 134/20, 149/6—9, 152/16, 185/3, 4, 203/1, 273/8, 297/4, 313/25, 381/24, 388/2.

§ 40. *Noun Clauses.*

(*A.*) The Subject Clause, which, in Modern English, is introduced by *that*, turns up very frequently in the shape of an Accusative in connection with an Infinitive. 'It is better a man wysely to be stille, than folysshly to speke,' *Charles the Grete*, 93/5. *See* § 30.

(*B.*) Much more interesting is the difference in the construction of the Object Clause. Compare the following two sentences: 'And God saw the light that it was good' (*Genesis*, i. 4); 'You see that I am composed' (Dickens, *Dombey and Son*, iii. 9).

Logically speaking, the two constructions are equivalent; but psychologically, how different is the idea which they represent! In the first case the sentence expresses an abstract result; in the second, the verb *see* has a concrete object, in which a certain attribute is perceived.

The former way of expression is the older as well as the more intuitive, and it crops up very often in Early English, though the more modern one seems to have crept in at a very early period:—

Old English: Ic þæt gehýre, þæt þis is hold wïorod, *Beowulf*, 290; We þæt gehýrdon þurh hálige héc, þæt ów dryhten geaf dóm unscyndne, *Elene*, 364. Cf. 853.

Middle English: Gif þu *hine* iseze þet *he* wulle asottie to þes deofles hond send to his werkes. þet þu hine lettest, *Old English Homilies*, l. 17; he scal soðfeste men setten him to irefon. and for godes eie libban his lif rightliche and beon on erfeðnesse arred and ebmod on stilnesse. and his *ofspringe ne þauie* þet *hi beon unright-*

wise (and shall not suffer his offspring to be unrighteous), *ibid.* I. 115;

'ful wel þu *me* iseie þauh þu stille were.
Hwar ich was and *hwat i dude* þauh þu me uorbere.'—
On God Ureisun of ure Lefdi, 105/106;

'He wayned me vpon þis wyse to your wynne halle,
for to assay *þe surquidre, 3if hit soth were*,
þat rennes of þe grete renoun of þe Rounde Table.'—
Sir Gawayne and the Green Knight, 2457;

'(They) louen more here folye avowis to
fulfille *hem* þan to fulfille goddis hestis.'—
Wyclif, *Unprinted Engl. Works*, ed. Matthew, p. 103;

'When the emperowre harde telle
All þat ease, how hyt felle,
That Saddok was so slayne,
Therof was he nothyng fayne.'—
Guy of Warwick, ed. Zupitza, 1498;

'When he sawe dewke Raynere
And the constabull Waldynere,
How þer men were broght to grownde
Wyth grete yre yn a stownde,
Gyo begaune to crye in hye.'—*ibid.* 1967.

For other instances in the same work, see Zupitza's note to l. 1497.

I aske þe *ten* of alle the men . . . *þat þei be pikid oute*,—*Gesta Romanorum*, p. 154; knowist thow not *me, what I am?*—*ibid.* 208; he weht to the sheldes where they lay, *ibid.* 235; and he had grete envie of þis childe þat þe emperour loved him so moche, *ibid.* 322.

Caxton and Malory are well acquainted with the old use. The following instances are equivalent in their structure to those quoted above:—

Syre, I knowe not *your persone, what ye be*, nor to whom I speke, *Blanchardyn*, 183/26; whan sadoyne, that was the same tyme lokyng out at a wyndowe wythin his castell of Cassydonye, and his wyf the fayr Beatryx by hym sawe *the two oostes that they wold loyne togyder* to batayl, he gaf hymselfe gret meruayl, *ibid.* 193/29; the lady, that was shette wythin, was full sore and wroth *for her frende blanchardyn, that he was soo ferre* from her, *ibid.* 197/30; (he) went to the ryuage of the water, and byheldo *it that it ranne* lyke a quarel out of a crosbowe, *Charles the Grete*, 157/26; byholde *me how I am* obedyent to the commaundements of the chyrche, *ibid.* 238/25; (he) came to the bataille and sawe *his knyghtes how they had* vaynquyssshed the bataylle, *Morte Darthur*, 171/35; and we here knowe *the* wel that thou arte syre Launcelot du laake, *ibid.* 186/

38; and therfor alle the myssayenge that ye myssayed me fordered me in my bataill, and caused me to thynke to shewe and preue *my self* at the ende *what I was*,—*ibid.* 229/35; that shalle cause *me that I shall not* be knowen, *ibid.* 258/1; he knewe *sir Blamor de ganys that he* was a noble knyght, *ibid.* 303/17; syr Danadan knewe *the knyght* wel *that he* was a noble Knyght, *ibid.* 429/4; but euer sir Dynadan thought he shold knowe *hym* by his shelde *that* it shold be sir Tor, *ibid.* 429/18; he euermore desyred *her to wedde her*,—*ibid.* 575/34; anon the good man knewe *hym that* he was one of the knyghtes errraunt, *ibid.* 671/33.

But the real meaning of this old construction seems already drawing to decay in Malory and Caxton; for in many instances *that* is no longer understood as a conjunction, but as a relative pronoun; consequently the personal pronoun is dropped, and the noun clause becomes an adjective one:—

Whan the kynge herde *the prouoste, that* soo grete offre made for to haue ageyne blanchardyn, He gaff hym self grete merueylle, *Blanchardyn*, 91/29; but ouer moche dysplaysed her to see her feyth-full *frende Blanchardyn that* wolde goo ayen out of the lande, *Blanchardyn*, 172/14; of that other part, he sawe *his only doughter, that* denyed and defended hym his comynge in to his eyte, *ibid.* 184/7; (Alymodes) sawe hym self bannyshed and chassed out of his towne and royalme, and also *his doughter that* was wedded to his mortayll enmye, *ibid.* 191/30; the kynge Alymodes, seeng *his folke that* fled . . . cam and yelded hym self in to the handes of blanchardyn, *ibid.* 195/16; he sawe his cheff banner ouer thrawen, and hym self enclosed of al sydes, *his men that* fled, and awayte non other but after the stroke of deth, *ibid.* 203/17; theune whan Charlemagne saw *his peres that* were soo sore moved wyth angre ageuste hym, he sayd to theym, *Aymon*, 485/21; and whan reynawd saw *mawgis that* dyde so well, he was glad, *ibid.* 516/19; neuertheles, Rychard beyng on a lytel montayn, and byholde *the hoost* of the paynyms came ageynst hym with grete courage, ye may wel ymagyne in what estat his hert was, *ibid.* 150/29; feragus, beyng euyl contente *for hys hors that* was dede, took hys swerde for to smyte Rolland, *ibid.* 222/28.

(*C.*) Whenever the object noun-clause is at the same time an adjectival one, Caxton uses the old construction. Take for instance this sentence, 'He saw a shield that he knew to be his brother's.' Instead of using our accusative with the infinitive, Caxton says (as we also often do now): 'He saw a shield that he know was his brother's':—

She commaunded that they sholde goo and arme them self for to resiste ayenst her ennyes at their commyng on lande, *whiche she sawe approched* alredy right nyghe, *Blanchardyn*, 56/19; and also for of the grete dysplesure that he had of the quene his wyffe, that suche a sorowe made for her entyerli beloued sone blanchardin *whiche she wyste not where he was becom . . . ibid.* 112/1; the fayr pucelle and proude in amours myght not seasse nor leue her sorowe ther fore, that she contynually made for her right dere frende blanchardyn; *that* for the loue of her *she trowed that he had other be lost or ded,—ibid.* 120/11; the powere folke of prusse, that is to wyte, the barons and knyghtes that Sadoyne had brought wyth hym were sore dyscomfyted and full of sorowe for thabsence of their maystre, *that they sawe was brought prysonner* of the paynems, *ibid.* 171/30; I am he *that thou knowe that dyd doo destroye* rome your cyte, and slewe the Pope and many other, and bare awaye the relyques that I there founde, *Charles the Grete*, 52/30; fals creature that thou arte (whome I byseche god confounde), thou wendest to haue made me to muse in thy folyes, *ibid.* 119/8; and amonge them he sawe his broders sheld syr Lyonel, and many moo *that he knewe that were his felawes,—Morte Darthur*, 185/7; and so shull ye haue wel rewarded me of all *that ye say that* my brother and I haue doo for you and for your realme, *Melusine*, 153/1; and thanne all they that were there hyan to sorowe and wepe for the pyte they had of the kyng, And also of the sorow that they sawe the virgyne, his daughter, made so pitously, *ibid.* 154/22.

§ 41. *Change of direct and indirect speech.*

It is a frequent anacoluthon in Old French, Middle High German, and Middle English writers to pass abruptly from indirect to direct speech. This occurs several times in Caxton, but Malory makes a most extravagant use of it:—

> 'Wex derke, ðis coron is gon,
> Iacob eſt bit here faren agon,
> Oc he ne duren ðe wele cumen in,
> "but go wiþ us senden beniamin;"
> ðo quaþ he, "quan it is ned."'—*Genesis and Exodus*, 2240;

> 'The dewke clepyd Gye there,
> And bad, yf hys wylle were,
> That Harrawde schulde haue wyth hym eche dell
> Fyve hundurde knyghtys armed well,
> And wende forthe, wythowte fayle,
> Boldely them for to assayle,
> "And ye, syr Gye, a thousande
> Bolde men and wele bydande."'
> *Guy of Warwick*, ed. Zupitza, 1785;

> 'He clepyd hys hunte to hym there
> And seyde, he wolde chace þe dere

Erly in the morowtyde
In the forest, þat was so wyde,
Bothe at hartys and at hyndys,
And wylde bestys of odur kyndys,
"Prenely that hyt be wroght,
That þe dewke wytt hyt noght."'—*ibid.* 2328/29;

'The emperowre asked then,
What were all the armed men.
Oon seyde, hyt was syr Gyowne,
"All in wrath goyth fro þe towne
In odur stedde to do hys beste
Wyth schelde and spere to fyght preste."'—*ibid.* 3162/70.

Cf. Zupitza, note to l. 1785.

Than the messanger sayde to her that the kyng made to hym so harde and heuy countenaunce, that he wold nat hoore speke worde, neyther of yow hys lady, neyther of youre chylde, in any maner that myght be, *Trivet*, p. 239 (Chaucer Society's *Originals & Analogues*); and syth whan she was come ayen to her self, that she had the myght to speke, she sayde to the prouost that soone and incontynent he shold go toward the kyng Alymodes for to wyte, yf for golde or syluer he wolde take to raonson þe knyght. And yf his playsure was to sende hym ayen to her, 'I shal gyue him for his raonson seuen dromadaryes al laden with fyn gold,' *Blanchardyn*, 90/2; he right reuerently salued hym, sayeng vnto hym, that he was come there for to beye ayen þe straunge knyght . . . thus right gladly she wolde haue hym ayen, yf your plesure were for to putte hym to raonson, *ibid.* 91/23; Alymodes ansuerd to hym, and sayd that it was more than a monthe ago that they neuer made noo yssue . . . and that they were made full symple, syth that the yonge knyght was taken, whiche I betok you for to be brought vnto the kynge of salamandrye, *ibid.* 116/14; Sadoyne departed and com to fore the kynge his fader, to whome in the best wyse that he myght or coude dyde shewe vnto him his wyll, and . . . that a lawfull and Iuste cause he had to do soo, for to gyue socoure and helpe the yonge knyght straunger, 'that thourgh his prouesse and grete worthynes hathe socoured you,' *ibid.* 126/1; the prouoste tolde to hym . . . that neuer syth that she receyued the letter that he dyde sende to her by hym, she had no Ioye at her herte, nor shal neuer haue vnto the tyme that she see you ayen, *ibid.* 156/33; thenne they auysed the kynge to send for the duke and his wyf by a grete charge, And yf he wille not come at your somons thenne may ye do your best, *Morte Darthur*, 35/25; the kynge commaunded II. knyghtes and II. ladyes to take the child bound in a cloth of gold, and that ye delyuer hym to what poure man ye mete, *ibid.* 59/6; (A squyer) told hym how ther was a knyght in the forest had rered vp a pauelione by a well, and hath slayne my mayster a good knyght, *ibid.* 68/25; Balyn told his broder of his aduenture of the sword, and of the deth of the lady of the lake, and

how kyng arthur was displeaysyd with hym, wherfor he sente this knyȝt after me, *ibid.* 83/8, 9; (Pellinore) charged the heremyte with the corps that seruyse shold be done for the soule, and take his harneys for your payne, *ibid.* 117/15. Cf. *ibid.* 119/5, 129/26, 136/3, 146/34, 149/28, 169/13, 170/32, 178/22, 183/22, 203/5, 208/1, 227/17, 231/17, 239/10, 240/9, 242/37, 247/8, 271/20, 281/6, 282/2, 315/21 and *passim*; for yf they had not be, the paynemys had dystroyed thaun all, or had constrayned to be conuerted to theire fals lawe, whiche had he to vs wers and heuyer than ony deth corporall, *Melusine*, 152/5, 6.

This freedom is very frequent in Berners, and occurs as late as the second half of the 17th century:—

(Huon) embrassyd hym and sayde how often tymys he had sene Guyer, his brother the prouost, wepe for you, and whan I departyd fro Burdeux I delyueryd to hym all my londes to gouerne, *Huon*, 62/31, 32; than the admyrall answeryd, and sayd how he wolde pardon hym on the condycyon that he shulde neuer after trespas hym, nor no man in his countre, and be syde that, to become my man, and to do me homage, *ibid.* 150/1; he founde Iuoryn, to whom he shewed . . . howe he and his company founde the sayd knyght and your nece the fayre Esclaramonde, *ibid.* 163/18; than he called all his couent, and chargyd them, in the vertue of obedyence, to reuest them selues with crosse and myter and copes, to reseyue Huon, the ryghtfull enherytour to the countre of Burdeux though the kynges of fraunce be our founders, *ibid.* 219/11, 12; they alyghted and kneled downe before Huon, and requyred hym to haue mercy, and pyte of theym as to saue theyr lyues and put vs in pryson, *ibid.* 336/17; (Huon) commaunded him that incontynent he sholde go to the emperour, and say vnto hym that yf it be his pleasure to here spekynge of any peace, I shall condyscende therto, *ibid.* 342/10; then he sayd to kynge Arthur, 'syr, I wyll ye holde your peas, for if yo speke one worde more agaynst Huon the soueryne kynge of the fayry, that he wold condemyne hym perpetually to be a warwolfe in the se,' *ibid.* 602/21; they told him that they were poor pilgrims going to Zion, but were led out of their way by a black man, clothed in white, who bid us, said they, follow him,—Bunyan, *The Pilgrim's Progress*, 133/1.

§ 42. *Adjective Clauses.*

(*A.*) For the construction of adjective clauses, *see* 'Relative Pronoun,' § 15, B, p. xxxvii above.

(*B.*) Adjective clauses are sometimes used with a conditional sense (who would speak = if somebody would speak):—

Certes, who someuer brought her this sorowfull and pyteuose tydynge I doubte not but that she shold slee her self for grete displaysir, *Blanchardyn*, 155/30; and I promyse you, that who shall hange Richarde, I shall goo to Reynawde, and shall put myself in hys pryson, *Aymon*, 326/23; who that sholde speke of the bredern of reynaude and of theyr dedes, it were to longe to be recounted, *ibid.* 536/3; for who that might take them fro the sarasyns, none of them shuld neuer retourne foot, in sury nor in tharsy, *Melusine*, 169/32; 'By my hed,' said Anthony, 'who that shuld punysshe you . . . ye were not puyssaunt to make amendes suffysaunt therof,' *ibid.* 209/26; 'but, fayre Cousyn, it is wel trouth, that who myght goodly tary the day of your weddyng it were your honour,' *ibid.* 238/1; and who that shuld enquire of me what folke they were, I shuld say it was one of Claude of Syon bretheren that camme toward his brother at his mandement, *ibid.* 249/5.

For the so-called figures of syntax, like anacoluthon, pleonasm, *see* the Appendix below, on Caxton's style, p. cix, &c.

III. ARRANGEMENT OF WORDS.

§ 43. *Subject and Predicate* (*Inversion*).

Compared with Early English, the inversion of the present language ranges over a very limited space. Caxton, in this respect, is very near the Modern English; in two cases, however, he has kept the Middle English.

1. Inversion used in emphatic sentences:—

Sore troubled of wyttis, and gretly vexed wythin her myndo as ye here, *rode forthe the gentel pucelle*,—*Blanchardyn*, 45/10; so *smot they* hem self wythin callyng vp a hyghe crye in to þe thikkest of their ennyes, *ibid.* 59/4; and syth *made eche hem self* to be armed hastely whan *dressid and redy they were*, they made their coursers to be had forth out of the stable, *ibid.* 60/33; and after that announced *was there comyng*, men made them to entre in to the chambre of parement, *ibid.* 76/27; to the rescue of blanchardyn *cam also the yode prouost*,—*ibid.* 166/23.

2. Co-ordinate sentences introduced by *and* are often inverted. This use may be traced to the pre-historic time of the English language. It appears in the oldest Teutonic dialects, and is still kept in Modern German, though learned grammarians are untiring in ridiculing this time-honoured use:—

Old English: Her Aeþelheard cyning forþferde *and feng* Cuþred to Westseaxna rice, *Chronicle*, a. 741; ac monige sindon me swiðe onlice on ungelærednesse, þeah þe hi mæfre leorningenihtas naren, wilniað ðeah lareowas to beonne, and ðynceð him swiðe leoht sio byrðen þæs lareowdomes, *Cura Pastoralis*, p. 24.

Modern English: Syon was sum hwile iclepet þe hehe tur of Ierusalem. And *seið syon* ase muchel on englische leodene ase heh sihðe, and *bitacneð þis tur* þe heh schipe of meidenhad, *Hali Meidenhad*, p. 5; and *was his* holie lichame leid in buriels in þe holie sepulcre, *Old English Hom.*, II. 21; alse hit bi þe wimman and bi sheawere. hic bihalt hire sheawere. *and cumeð hire* shadowe þeronne, *ibid.* 29; and gif hit is swo. me ðingð ne bringð no synful man quemere loc þene teares sheding for his sinnen. *and wiste* seinte peter, and Seinte Marie Magdalene, *ibid.* 65. Cf. *ibid.* 83, 127, 165, 213; *Saules Warde*, 249 (*Old English Hom.* I.);

> 'And tanne comm he siþþen ut
> All dumb and butenn spæche,
> and toc to beenenn till þe folle,
> *and spæc he* nohht wiþþ tunge.'—*Orm.* 224;
>
> 'He made an aucter on godes name,
> *And sacred he* ðor-on, for sowles frame.'
> *Story of Genesis and Exodus*, 626;
>
> 'ðo seute he after abram,
> *and bitagte he* him is leman.'—*ibid.* 782;
>
> 'It semet wel ðat ge spies ben,
> And into ðis lond cumen to sen,
> *And cume ge* for non oðer ðing
> But for to spien ur lord ðe king.'—*ibid.* 2171;
>
> 'And al ðis unweder ðor atwond,
> *And wurð* ðis weder sone all stille.'—*ibid.* 3059.

Caxton offers several instances of this use:—

Thenne dylygently he demanded his mayster of the subtylnes of the werke, of thystorye and of the personnages. *And* first *recounted vnto hym his mayster* the puyssaunce the right grete cyrcuyte, and the noblesse of the cyte of Troyes, *Blanchardyn*, 15/9; the wawes wexed so bygge and so grete, that they semed to be mountayns. *And was the tempeste so perelouse*, that they were constreyned to enter into the brode see agayne, *ibid.* 136/11; Kynge Alymodes made the towne to be assayled, *and was there made grete alarme and grete fray*,—*ibid.* 152/23; and within a whyle they cam to the heremytage and took lodgyng *and was there gras otys* and breed for their horses, soone it was sped *and full hard was their souper*,—*Morte Darthur*, 111/7; for moche he langed that he myght there be arryued for to shew hym all the tydynges. *And dured* not long *the* scarmoushe, *Melusine*, 127/4; Uryan thanne made the standarde to passe fourth rydyng in batayll moche ordynatly *and was Vryan before*, hauyng a staf on hys fyste,

ibid. 131/22; anoone cammc there Vryan, whiche alyghted, toke hys speere, and so dyde hys folke moche appertly, and made hys banere to be dysployed abrode, *and were the crosbowe men* on bothe sydes of hym vpon the bridge, *ibid.* 131/30; and so moche they dide that the fals paynemes might gete nothing on them, but that they lost twyes asmoche more, *and was scarmusshing* moche fyers and peryllous, *ibid.* 137/20; and thanne Vryan smote hym vpon the helmet a grete stroke with all his might, *and was the sawdan so sore charged* with that stroke that he was so astonyed and amaysed that he neyther sawe nor herde, *ibid.* 145/28; and thene Vryan and his folke lodged them self in the paynems lodgys, *and was the sommage of the cristen sent fore,—ibid.* 146/18. Cf. 203/17, 214/7, 12, 215/13, 234/7, 240/6.

§ 44. The Predicative verb, especially the verb *be*, is, as a rule, placed at the end of adjective clauses, and exceptionally also in others :—

The knyght thenne beholdynge the Iouencell Blanchardyn, that right yong *was*, and sawe hym alone, Rose anone vpon his feet, *Blanchardyn*, 26/16; theire sperys (that sore bygge and stronge *were*) broke also all to pyces, *ibid.* 28/10; thenne her maystres, that sage and dyscrete *was* comforted her, *ibid.* 43/19; whan blanchardyn had wel loked and rede the verses that grauen *wers* in the marbell vpon the gate, and well vnderstode theire sentence, a lytyl he bygan to smyle, *ibid.* 47/8; there beganne the trompettes, the hornes, the olyphauntes, and the busynes to blowe, that suche a noyse *made*, that the see and the erthe retentyssed wyth alle, *ibid.* 183/6. Cf. 41/29, 49/10, 51/18, 60/31, 62/20, 64/30, 88/27, 94/29, 97/6, 99/8, etc.

§ 45. *Place of the Object.*

(*A.*) The object, when a noun, precedes the verb: 1. in emphatic sentences; 2. in clauses, especially before past participles and infinitives :—

1. *Your loue and lady* I shal yelde vnto you this day, *Blanchardyn*, 25/2; so smot they hem self wythin callyng vp a hyghe crye in to þe thikkest of their ennmyes, where they slew and detrenched many one, *And dyuerse tentes* and pauyllons they pulled doune, *ibid.* 59/6; for so helpe me god, as I loue you wyth all my veraye herte, and am so esprysed wyth your loue, that *reherce it to you* I can not, *ibid.* 9/34; he toke his way forth on, and *folke* he met ynoughe by the waye, *ibid.* 98/30; *to the rescue* of blanchardyn cam also the goode prouost, *ibid.* 166/22.

2. Thenne the proude pucelle in loue, after a lytyl musyng, vnderstode well by the wordes of the captayne, and by the cognyssaunce that he tolde her of his horse, that he was that self knyght that *the*

kysse had taken of her, *Blanchardyn*, 51/26; I shal suffre for this nyght hym that *so grete a displaysure* hath don to me this day, *ibid.* 51/31; Blanchardyn thanked the messager, and prayed hym curtaysly that he wold haue hym for humbly recomended to the goode grace of the noble pucelle, that *so fayre a present* had sent to hym, *ibid.* 82/6; the paynem knyght, that was full curteys, made a token to hym that *his request* he dyde graunte, *ibid.* 90/26; and for *thys werke* to conducte and brynge to an ende, I graunte you euen now, and chose you, for to be in oure behalue Conestable and hed captayne of oure present armye, *ibid.* 100/27; and none of them abode there, but that he was ded or taken excepte som that fled awaye, that *this tydynges* brought to Alymodes, *ibid.* 191/9; that god that created the firmamente, and made alle thynges of nought for *the people* to susteyne . . . kepe and saue the, *Aymon*, 24/19; I complayne me to you of the foure sonnes of Aymon, that hathe *my londe* dystroyed and wasted, *ibid.* 89/13; they coude *no counceil* gyue, but said they were bygge ynough, *Morte Darthur*, 47/10.

(*B.*) The personal pronoun as an object is not bound by this rule. In Old English its place was generally before the finite verb, as may be seen from the *Blickling Homilies*, where more than 80 per cent. of the pronouns in the oblique case precede the verb. In Middle English prose the modern arrangement carries the day, and in Caxton there are but a small number of instances exhibiting the old use; but even in these the French influence may have been of some effect:—

I *me* recommende ryght humbly vnto your good grace, *Blanchardyn*, 133/18; and to the surplus, to the playsure of oure lorde, and *hym* playsed ye shal vnderstande by mouthe ferthere of myn astate, *ibid.* 134/4; and yf I maye take hym, I shall not leue hym, for the duke Aymon that shamfully is goon from me, nor for his foure sonos that I haue made knyghtes, wherof I *me* repente sore, *Aymon*, 38/21; the kyng gaaf hym ayen his salute, and *hym* demaunded what he was, *ibid.* 40/26; he called afore hym his barons, and *to theym* sayd, *ibid.* 104/18; ye knowe wel the grete dishonour thei haue doon to me, wherof I *me* complayne vnto you, *ibid.* 183/15; I *you* supplye with al myn herte that now ye wyll rewarde me wyth a yefte that I shal desyre, *Charles the Grete*, 49/28; therof, madame, I *you* assure, *ibid.* 92/30. Cf. 127/1, 159/19, 160/15; God *me* spede, said Blamor de ganys, *Morte Darthur*, 306/26; the kyng rode euen to her, and salewed her, and said god *yow* saue, *ibid.* 541/5; I haue none other wylle than to endeuoyre me þerto, how be it certayn that I may not acomplysshe to the regarde of the grete honour that ye haue *me* shewed, *Melusine*, 152/13; but it augmenteth my doulour, wherfore I *you* commande that ye cesse of this heuynes, *ibid.* 155/8; but the

hauoir that is departed amonges my felawes I may not *it* rendre or yeld to you, *ibid.* 211/6.

§ 46. *Place of the Attribute.*

(*A.*) One attribute.

In Old and Middle English, adjectives (as a rule) precede the noun; this before-putting, though not unfrequent in poetry, occurs rarely in prose. In Caxton, adjectives—not only of French, but also of Teutonic origin, as well as present and past participles—follow the noun, and we may safely say that this is due to French influence.

(*B.*) Of two adjectives belonging to the same noun, the first precedes, the second follows it. This is nearly like the French use; but Caxton was far from copying his original, he simply kept a very old good English tradition:—

Old English: Gif ænig man hæbbe *módigne sunu and raucne*,—*Deuter.* xxi. 18; to gódum lande and widgillum, *Exod.* iii. 8; waeron on þissum felda unrímne gesomnunga hwíttra manna and fægerra, *Beda*, v. 13; he gefór . . . gód man and clæne and swíðe eðele, *Chronicle*, 1056; þat se anweald . . . becume tó *gódum men* and tó *wísum*,—*Boeth.* xvi. 1.

Middle English: heo wulle under fon *swa heȝ þing* and *swa hali* swa is cristes licome, *O. E. Hom.*, 25; þet *frumkenede childe* and þet *lefeste*,—*ibid.* 87; non þe ledeð *feir lif* and *clene*,—*ibid.* 137; *manie wundre* and *muchele*,—*ibid.* 139; þat *loðeliche ward*, and *ateliche*, and *grisliche*,—*ibid.* II. 5; lomb is *drih þing* and *milde*,—*ibid.* 49; þe olde men þe þo weren and lif holie, *ibid.* 51; after summ *apel man & good*,—*Orm.* 611; *Rihhtwise men* and *gode*,—*ibid.* 116; full *mehhtiȝ mann* and *mære*,—*ibid.* 806;

> 'Of hem woren ðe getenes boren,
> *Migti men*, and *figti*, [and] *for-loren*.'—
> *Story of Genesis and Exodus*, 564;
>
> 'A *michel fier* he sag, and an *bright*.'—*ibid.* 951;
>
> 'Ghe bed him gold, and agte, and fe,
> To maken him *riche man* and *fre*.'—*ibid.* 2018;
>
> '*Long weige* and *costful* he ðor fond.'—*ibid.* 3880;

Troye, þat *god mon* was and *wys*,—*Robert of Glos.*, p. 10; a *lute bal* and *round*,—Wright, *Pop. Treat. on Science*, p. 137; Sire Emerde Valence, *gentil knyght* and *free*,—*Polit. Songs*, (Camden Soc.) p. 216; ful *modi man* and *proud*,—*Anecd.*, p. 2; He was *hardy mon* and *strong*,—*Alis.*, 4402; the *foulest contree*, and *the most cursed*, and *the porest*,—*Maundeville*, p. 129; a *heȝe ernde* and a *hasty*,—*Gawayne*, 1051; to *knawe god* and *lonye*,—*Ayenbite*, 88; *soþe blisse* and *ziker*,—*ibid.* 93; þa is *guod lyf* and yblyssed, *ibid.*; a *yole zone* and *treue*,—*ibid.* 101;

and namely with a *yong wif* and a *fair*,—*Chaucer*, II. 327; an *old man* and a *pore* with hem mette, *ibid.* III. 98; of such a *parfyt God* and a *stable*,—*ibid.* III. 6; in a foul *stynkynge stable* and *cold*,—*Wyclif*, 17; in grete *falle hors* and *nedeles*,—*ibid.* 60; *gaie houses* and *costy*,—*ibid.* 61; *open heretiks* and *stronge*,—*ibid.*; *new song* and *costy*,—*ibid.* 76; an *heuenly yiefte* and *gostly*,—*ibid.* 82; here *worldly lif* and *cursed*,—*ibid.* 99; *proude men* and *delicate*,—*ibid.* 120; *wide clopis* and *precious*,—*ibid.* 128. Cf. *ibid.* 129, 140, 145, 156, 181, 223. I am come of *gret blode* and *riall*,—*Gesta Romanorum*, 23; a *strong man* and a *mighty*,—*ibid.* 42; a *wise man* and a *redy*,—*ibid.* 148; a *noble man*, and a *worthi*,—*ibid.* 172; *riche yiftes* and *fair*,—*ibid.* 190; a *worthy knyzt* and a *riche*,—*ibid.* 202. Cf. *ibid.* 251, 264.

Caxton: and so *grete a stroke* and so *heuy* he gaffe hym, *Blanchardyn*, 62/22; god hath well kept hym from so *moche an hap* and so *hyghe*,—*ibid.* 75/24; that knewe hym for a *trusty man* and *secret*,—*ibid.* 81/23; he lete fall vpon daryus suche a *stourdy strok*, and so *grete*,—*ibid.* 86/17; a *grete tempeste* roose in the see, and so *horrylde*,—*ibid.* 97/20; that was a *fayr knyght* and *yonge*,—*ibid.* 110/2; ye shall doo as a *wyse woman* and *well counseylled*,—*ibid.* 178/1; the *best tyme* and *most entier*,—*ibid.* 179/5; the *grete strokes* and the *dangerous*,—*Aymon*, 392/9; that was a *worthy knyghte* and a *wyse*,—*ibid.* 504/20; a *myghty spere* and *sharpe*,—*Charles the Grete*, 48/27; O *ryche emperour* and *noble*,—*ibid.* 84/16; I had had fyue of the *valyauntest erles* of fraunce and of the *grettest*,—*ibid.* 88/3; she ledde them by an *olde gate* and *secrete*,—*ibid.* 94/1; in spayne he had XVI *grete townes* and *stronge*,—*ibid.* 205/6; she was called a *fair lady* and a *passynge wyse*,—*Morte Darthur*, 35/7; that is a *passyng true man* and a feythful, *ibid.* 38/29; that was a *passyng good man* and a *yonge*,—*ibid.* 52/8; thou art a *boystous man* and an *vnlykely*,—*ibid.* 84/20; he was a *likely man* and a *well made*,—*ibid.* 94/27; the *best knyght* and the *myghtyest*,—*ibid.* 192/35; many in this land of *hyghe estate* and *lowe*,—*ibid.* 198/1; this is an *horrylde dede* and a *shameful*,—*ibid.* 211/13; this is a *fowle custome* and a *shameful*,—*ibid.* 310/31; they foughte vpon foote a *noble batail* togyders and a myghty, *ibid.* 346/21. Cf. 353/5, 408/16, 412/25, 425/31, 432/2, 435/7, 442/20, 509/2, and *passim*.

§ 47. *Place of the Adverb.*

There is an evident tendency in Caxton to place the adverb before the verb, and very often even before the subject:—

Thenne *dylygently* he demanded his mayster of the subtylnes of the werke, *Blanchardyn*, 15/7; Blanchardyn *toward the stables* tourned his waye, *ibid.* 17/20; right thus . . . cam the yomen & grommes of þe stable makynge grete noyse and crye for þe grete courser of þe kynge, whiche *that night* was stolen fro theim, *ibid.* 19/10; (Blanchardyn)

founde a knyght that lay there on the grounde, armed of all pieces, the whiche *full pyteously* complayned, *ibid.* 22/18; for hir sake I wyl fight with you in fauoure of þe good knight her true louer, þe whiche *falsly*, as an vntrewe knyght, ye haue be trayd, *ibid.* 26/11; they founde þe knyght, that awayted after theym, that *well and curtoysly* saluted Blanchardyn, *ibid.* 33/5; of the teerys that *from her eyen* fyll doune, her gowne that she had on was therof charged, *ibid.* 43/16; Blanchardyn herkned the prouost, to whom *boldly* he answered, *ibid.* 48/15. Cf. 72/31, 85/8, 86/21, 87/21, 99/4, 101/5, 131/26, 133/17, 140/9, 145/7, 147/25, 151/7, 164/31, 169/25, 186/11, 194/12.

This is especially striking in passive constructions, where the adverbial combination, stating by whom something is done precedes:—

So was he *by the two doughters* brought in to a chambre, *Blanchardyn*, 50/21; of what dethe mygt I do make hym to deye for to gyue vnto hym his payment of the grete oultrage *by hym* commytted in my persone, *ibid.* 52/30; and seen the battaylles and scarmysshynge that *by them of the towne and their enmyes* were made, So began he to be ful of thoughte, *ibid.* 59/27; syth he also perceyued the black sleue that *vpon his helmet* was sette fast, *ibid.* 63/27; many of the gretest of hem had ben slayn or taken, yf *by the vertue and strengthe* of blanchardyn they had not be socoured, *ibid.* 66/13; I doubte not that yf by aduenture she were out of his remembraunce, and *by hym* putte in oblyuyon, that god forbede but that sholde dey sodaynly, *ibid.* 74/1; he called blanchardyn his new Conestable and tolde hym how, *by hym and his barons*, was ordeyned to hym the charge and conduyte of his werre, *ibid.* 103/21; he sholde neuere haue loye at herte tyll that the deth of his brother, and the damage that he had receyued were *by hym* auenged, *ibid.* 107/24; he awoke out of his slepe thurghe the pyteouse crye that *of his men* was made, *ibid.* 113/16. Cf. *ibid.* 142/34, 143/31, 159/19, 161/11, 194/8, 9, 10, 199/4.

§ 48. *Apposition.*

A word in apposition to a possessive genitive is, in Middle English, and still in Caxton, put after the noun governing the genitive (Cf. Skeat, notes to *Piers Plowman*, pp. 42, 157, 307, 329; Zupitza, *Guy of Warwick*, l. 687). This arrangement is very old, though the modern one may be found exceptionally as early as the *Chronicle*, about the year 890:—

Old English: for his wed broðeres luuen Oswi, *Chronicle* 656 (Laud MS.); for Saxulfes luuen þes abbodes, *ibid.* (very frequent); on Torevines dagum þæs ofermódan cyninges, *Boethius*, 16/1;

be Cnútes dæge cinges,—Hickes, *Dissert.*, ep. p. 2. (Quoted by Mætzner, *Grammar*, III., p. 355.)

Middle English: þurh davi3es mu3 þe prophete, *Old English Hom.*, I. 139; in august time þe Imparour, *Cursor Mundi*, 11277; ion heued, þi prisun, *ibid.* 13167; in Kynges hous Arthor, *Gawayne*, 2275; þe duches doȝter of Tyntagelle, *ibid.* 2465; for marye loue of heuene, *Piers Plowman*, B I., 157; for the lordes loue of heuene, *ibid.*, B VI., 19; the kynges metynge Pharao, *Chaucer*, V. 163; that was the kynge Priamus sone of Troye, *ibid.* IV. 108; and byd him that on alle thynge That he take up Seys body, the kynge, *ibid.* V. 159; the faire yonge Ypsiphile the shene That whilom Thoas doughter was the kynge, *ibid.* V. 321; to praye for my lordes soule,—Sir Thomas West, *Early English Wills*, 7/4, 5; on þe maydenys halfe Blanchiflowre,—Zupitza, *Guy of Warwick*, 687; the dewkys men Segwyne, *ibid.* 2427; my lordes sone þe emperowre, *ibid.* 2827; the erlys doghtur Rohawte, *ibid.* 4005; the erlys sone Awbrye, *ibid.* 4339, 5352, 6054, etc.; goddes sone of heuen,—Perry, *Religious Pieces*, p. 2.

Caxton: for syn that he was departed from *his fadres house, the kynge of fryse*, [he] had nothre eten nor dronken, *Blanchardyn*, 31/21; but wel he tolde hym that he sholde be well lodged in *the prouostys house of the towne*,—*ibid.* 46/3; here foloweth the balade that was wryton vpon the gate of *the prouostis place of Tourmaday*,—*ibid.* 46/21; for right moche he desyred to shewe hymself, for *his ladyes loue, doughter to kyng Alymodes*,—*ibid.* 83/9; the *kynges sone of Ireland*,—*Morte Darthur*, 80/23; I loue Gweneuer, the *kynges doughter Lodegrean*,—*ibid.* 100/15; his name is syr gauayne *kyng Lots sone of Orkeney*,—*ibid.* 108/37; I am the *lordes doughter of this castel*,—*ibid.* 127/30; his name is Marhaus the *kynges sone of Ireland*,—*ibid.* 141/4; for the *kynges loue of heuen*,—*ibid.* 177/32; he sawe his *broders shield syr Lyonel*,—*ibid.* 185/6, etc.; of the *kyngis deth of Armenye*,—*Melusine*, 178/14.

There are also two instances of the modern construction:—

(They) gaff eche other soo vnmesurable strokes that the *kynge of Polonye spere* brake al to peces, *Blanchardyn*, 108/1; they fonde three of þe *kynge of frysys seruauntes*,—*ibid.* 112/17.

§ 49. *Contraction.*

Instead of saying 'the father came, and the son came,' as primitive tribes still do, we use the contraction 'the father and the son came.' Caxton exhibits several interesting traces of that state of the language, which takes the middle course between the primitive repetition (anaphora), and the modern contraction.

1. Two adjectives and one noun:—

The grete strokes and the dangerous, *Aymon*, 392/2 (instead of 'the grete and dangerous strokes.' *See* above, § 46).

2. Two subjects and one predicate :—

(He answered) that he sholde putte peyne that his honoure sholde be kepte, and his body ayenst hym, *Blanchardyn*, 48/19; hym semed, yf he wold be baptysed and all his folk, and to bylene in our feith, that the tempeste shold breke, *ibid.* 137/18; wold subyon or not, and all his helpes, the noble lady, proude of loue, was taken oute of his power, *ibid.* 197/20.

3. One verb and two objects :—

They were in a grete daunger of Subyon, that damaged theym ryght sore, and their place, *Blanchardyn*, 200/29.

4. One object governed by two verbs :—

But the knyght, that was ryght curtoys, guyded hym and conduyted a whyle, *Blanchardyn*, 39/30.

To sum up :—Caxton's syntax, on the whole, is nearer Chaucer than Shakspere; and there is a still greater kinship between his prose and that of the fourteenth century, than that of the Elizabethan age. In reading Caxton's books, the general impression resembles very much that received by reading *The Tale of Melibeus*, or even *Maundeville;* and the results of a minute analysis agrees with that impression. It is true, many peculiarities of Caxton's language turn up also in Shakspere and Spenser; but we must keep in mind, that there is always a sort of tradition in poetry, which links together the remotest periods, while in simple prose, as in daily life, the distance of times is of great influence. There is a wide gap between the language in Spenser's *Faërie Queene*, not to speak of the *Shepherd's Calendar*, and his *View of the State of Ireland*.

Thus, the plural of abstracts is very frequent in the poem, but very rare in the prose treatise; the article is extremely often omitted in the former, while it is used in the latter, etc.

There are several points, which draw a very marked line between Caxton's syntax and that of the sixteenth century :—

1. *Ye*, not *you*, is still, with a few exceptions, the nominative of the 2nd pers. plural personal pronoun. This is quite common in Berners. *See* p. xiii.

2. Adjectives referring to preceding nouns are not yet followed by *one*. *See* p. xxviii.

3. The personal pronoun, when a subject, is still very often omitted. *See* p. xxxiii.

4. *Self* is still considered an adjective, as seen by the 3rd person plural: *themselfe*, never *themselves*. The latter becomes the rule about the middle of the sixteenth century.

5. *Who* (in the nominative) as a relative pronoun is still unknown.

6. The indefinite pronoun *one* is not yet used; in its stead we find *men*. *See* p. xlvi, § 15.

7. Constructions like 'we are banished the court' are not yet in use; there seems to be still a rigid observance of the difference between transitive and intransitive verbs, with regard to the passive voice. *See* p. lv.

8. Agreement between tenses (*consecutia temporum*) is not yet strictly observed. *See* p. lviii.

9. The infinitive absolute is still in use. *See* p. lxvi.

10. The arrangement of words is much more free than in later times. *See* pp. ci—cix.

APPENDIX.

I. CAXTON AS A TRANSLATOR. HIS STYLE.

'In his translation of this work, Caxton shows himself piously literal. Words and phrases, both foreign and unusual, he transferred bodily to his text; nothing ever deterred him, simply because it was French; he wandered along every winding of the sentences he was rendering, and brought them over with all their sinuosities into English. In consequence, his translation is perhaps one of the most literal that has ever been produced in the English language; and though to some extent stilted and even awkward, yet it is impossible not to admire his faithfulness to his original; and the very quaintness of those peculiarities of language sometimes adds a charm to his composition.'—Octavia Richardson, in the Introduction to her edition of *The Four Sonnes of Aymon*, E. E. T. Soc., p. vii.

I don't think Caxton was such a pious slave. His translation of *Blanchardyn*, no doubt, is as 'quaint' and even as 'awkward' as that of *The Four Sonnes of Aymon;* but I cannot admit Miss Octavia Richardson's statement with regard to his 'piety.' On the other hand, I contend that he was as good and free a translator as any of the 15th century, and in his style certainly not inferior to Peacock, the greatest prosaist of his time.

What makes Caxton's style appear so awkward in the eyes of a modern reader, is his repetitions, tautologies, and anacolutha. But these irregularities are, for the most part, conscious sins, committed not only by him, but also by all the writers of his time. Read the following sentences from Malory, whose like never occurs in *Blanchardyn* or *Aymon*, and you will admit that Caxton was a very able translator, for his time:—

Well, saide Merlyn / I knowe whome thou sekest / for thou sekest Merlyn / therfore soke no ferther / for I am he, *Morte Darthur*, 36/16—18; and moche blood they bledde bothe / that al the place there as they faught was ouer bledde with blood, *ibid.* 71/26—28; but traucilynge men are ofte wery, and their horses to / but though my hors be wery / my hert is not wery, *ibid.* 96/21—23; for I haue sene many of their sheldes that I knowe on yonder tree / there is kayes shelde / & sir braundeles sheld / and syr Marhaus sheld, and syre Galyndes shelde, and syre Bryan de lystnoyse sheld, and syr Alydukes sheld with many mo, *ibid.* 195/36, 196/4; and toke his sword redy in his hand, redy vnto bataylle / and they were al armed in black harneis redy with hor sheldes, *ibid.* 206/18—20; but alweyes queno gweneuer preysed syr kay for his dedes / and sayd what lady that ye loue / and she loue yow not ageyne, she were gretely to blame, *ibid.* 122/15—17; thenne ther was a lady in that countrey that had loued kynge Melyodas longe / And by no meane she neuer coude gete his loue; therfore she lete ordeyne vpon a day as kynge Melyodas rode on huntynge / for he was a grete chacer / and there by an enchauntement she made hym chace an herte by hym self alone / til that he came to an old castel, *ibid.* 273/19—25; but as yet he may not yet sytt sure on horsbak / for he that shalle be a good horsman / hit must come of vsage and excercyse, *ibid.* 344/23—25; and as she wold haue ranne vpon the sword, and to haue slayne herself / alle this aspyed kyng Marke / how she kneled downe and saide / swete lord Ihesu haue mercy vpon me, *ibid.* 368/34, 369/2; now maye ye saye, sayd syr launcelot vnto youre frendes, how & who hath delyuered you, *ibid.* 199/24—26; thenne syr, he sayd, my name is Garoth, and broder vnto syr Gawayn of fader and moder,

ibid. 218/21, 22; fy on you bothe, said sir Gahoryse, for a fals traitour / and fals treason hast thou wrought / and he both vnder the fayned chere that ye made vs, *ibid.* 403/29—31; but the Kynge of Irland whos name was Marhalt, and fader to the good knyghte sir Marhaus that sire Tristram slewe, had alle the speche that sir Tristram myghte here it, *ibid.* 529/19—22; he told he of whens he was / and sone vnto Launcelot, *ibid.* 622/3, 4.

Of course, Caxton followed the drift of the narrative in his original as closely as possible; but so far as I am aware, there is no ground whatever for supposing that he slavishly sacrificed the genius of his native language to Latin or French. It will be seen by the Introduction that Caxton's Syntax is essentially English, as much so as that of Chaucer and Gower; his arrangement of words is, in spite of his original, truly Saxon; and even in his introduction of foreign words, he only continued what the preceding centuries had begun.

There are a very few decided Frenchisms in *Blanchardyn;* but these are rather slips of the pen, than intended or conscious innovations. Such are *require*, *demand*, governing the dative case, see § 6, p. xxiii; *swear*, with the accusative, *see* § 7, p. xxiv, *A;* the article used in the vocative case, § 7, *a;* the *his*, § 7, *b*, p. xxvi. Cf. Dr. Furnivall, Introduction to *Eneydos*, p. xix.

As strong evidence against Miss Richardson's opinion, I quote the fact that there is not one instance of the French *moi* = *I* being translated by 'me'! *See* § 4, p. xi. With regard to Caxton's style, its main feature is the *tiresome tautology*, which is apparently produced by the translator's desire to make as much as he could of his work, to render it as showy as possible;[1] his whole age was affected by this fashion of intolerable verbosity: to convey an idea through the medium of as many words as possible was considered as a beauty of style.

This appears first in the choice of words. Generally, one French expression is rendered by two consecutive synonyms; sometimes the first of these is the word of the original, sometimes another; sometimes one is French, the other Saxon; sometimes one strange, the other familiar;—

[1] Compare the American girl who liked creaky shoes because they announced her coming and made folk look at her.

Regned in fryse a kynge of right *beneured* and *happy* fame (orig. de tres horeuse renomme), *Blanchardyn*, 11/10; but *priuated* and *royde* he was of the right desyred felicite, 12/1; of *lignage* or *yssue* of his bodye (orig. lignie), 12/2; I leue to telle the *bercuyllynyis* and *lamentacioums* (orig. regretz), 12/4; *by her self al alone in solytary places* (orig. en lieux solitaires), 12/6; now it is soo that atte *his byrthe and comyng in to* this world (orig. a laduenement duquel), 12/12; *sourded* and *rose vp* (orig. sourdy), 12/14; *prest and redy* (orig. preste), 23/20; by his *behauoure and contenaunce*, men myght well knowe that he was departed and come of *noble extraction* and *hyghe parentage* (orig. haulte lignee), 50/16, 18; I holde hym so courtoys and *dyscret*, or *wyse*, 54/27; for bothe of hem *loued* sore blanchardyn, and right *enamored* they were ouer hym, 66/24; *Amoures* or *loue* serued her wyth a messe, 67/17; she sette neuere nought by *amours* and *loue*, 75/15; Blanchardyn *sawe* and *perceyued* the noble, 77/1; mouyd wyth *grete wrath* and *yre*, 92/7; she wolde not *putte in oblyuyon* nor *forgete* hym, 94/11; she myght *see* ne *chuse* the nauye, 135/28; she byganne to *chuse* and *perceyue* the saylles, 135/30; to gyue *socoure* and *helpe* vnto her, 150/16; the grete *malyuolence* or *euyll wylle*, 153/21; (the proude pucelle) mounted vp to a high toure for to *see* and *beholde* the batayl, 163/14; right grete was the *effucyon* or *shedyng* of blode, 165/22; wythout *answer* nor replye, 189/32.

It is, however, worth noting that the original too sometimes indulges in slight tautologies:—

Pourquay ne a quelle cause, 22/20, ne le sceut ne peult, 52/21, 66/10, 103/5, 122/20.

A second sort of tautology is Caxton's additions of his own, for which there is not the slightest necessity whatever. (But who of us doesn't like touching up other men's work?) Compare the following instances, to which many more can be added:—

Blanchardyn grewe in beawte, wytte, and goode maners *beyonde mesure, and passed all other of his age*, 13/10, 11; and recounted vnto him his mayster . . . the right grete valyaunce of Hector of Troylus, Parys and Deyphebus brederen, *and of Achilles*, 15/15; after, he demaunded of his mayster, the names *and blasure* of the armes, 15/23; wythout that ony body coude telle any tydynges *where he was becomen*, 18/13; thenne Blanchardyn, moued of pyte, *alyght from his courser, and* sette fote on erthe, 23/9; to thees wordes sayde Blanchardyn to the knyght, *and prayed hym* that he vousshesauff to helpe hym, 24/1; he sholde auenge hym of his enmye, *and that he shulde yelde ayen his lady vnto hym*, 24/5; and that he shulde therfore dye shamefully *in that place*, 27/2; and yf thou auaunce, *or haste* not thy self, I shal doo passe this same spyere

thrughe the myddes of thy body, 27/17 ; O thou proude *herdles* boye (orig. garchon), 27/24; (Blanchardyn) syn departed, sore troubled atte herte for the pyteouse dethe of the two *true* louers, 31/1 ; (he) had nothre eten nor dronken, but onely that whyche he fonde vpon the trees growynge in the grete forest, as crabbes and other wylde frutes *that are wonte to growe in wodes*, 31/24, 25 ; (a marener) brought hym a boote goode and sure that from the knyght *of the ffery* was sent vnto hym, 32/26 ; right well it were your fayt *and welthe* for to goo rendre your personne vnto her, 38/10 ; she rydeth the lytyl paas vpon her *swete and softe palfraye* (orig. sa haguenee), 38/23. Cf. 44/1, 4, 12, 46/18, 26, 50/10, 52/3, 55/13, 20, 56/21, 58/30, 59/11, 63/12, 64/6, 65/34, etc.

There are very few passages in which Caxton is less verbose than the original. Cf. 24/16, 44/6, 65/16.

There are also few instances in which Caxton seems to have misinterpreted the French :—

For syth that by fayre meanes thou wylt not yelde agen the pucelle, thou most nedes deffende the nowe, ayenst me, the right that thou pretendest vpon her (orig. Il te conuient contre moi deffendre le droit que tu y pretendez a auoir), 27/15, 16. Cf. 29/1.

The sudden transition from one construction to another is pretty frequent in Caxton, and seems, to a certain degree, to have been considered as a figure of speech. Compare the following passages :—

For I confesse me not lerned, ne knowynge the arte of rhetorik, ne of suche gaye termes as now be sayd in these dayes and vsed, *Blanchardyn*, 2/11 ; soo that by his dylygence taken wyth an ardaunt desyre, fonde hymself nyghe her and of her maystres wythin a short space of tyme, 41/24 ; O thou free knyght, replenysshed wyth prowesse and of grete wordynesse, haue mercy vpon our fadre, 49/15 ; (then sayd blanchardyn) that hym semed yf he wold be baptysed and all his folk, and to byleue in our feith, that the tempeste shold breke, 137/18 ; I gyue my self vnto you, prayeng that ye wol saue bothe me and my cyte, and to take vs in to your mercy, 142/14.

Against the first important principle of modern composition, the unity of sentence, Caxton often sins. Such strong *anacoluthа* as the following would be impossible nowadays ; but Caxton and his contemporaries used them without any scruple.

1. A principal sentence co-ordinate with a participle clause ; a perfect tense being substituted for a participle, or having its conjunction and subject suppressed :—

The knyght thenne *beholdynge* the Iouencell Blanchardyn that right yong man was, and *sawe* hym alone, Rose anone vpon his feet, *Blanchardyn*, 26/16; and euyn at these wordes *cam* the prouost tyl his owne knowlege ageyne, and *vnderstandynge* that he had lost the felde for cause of the stourdy stroke that he had receyued of the spere of blanchardyn, And *sayde* in this maner, 49/22; Alimodes, *seeng* his ennyes cam a lande, and in so fayre ordonaunce *y-sette* of that one part, and of that other syde *he sawe* them of the cyte that cam wyth a grete puyssaunce vpon hym and his folke, It is well ynough to be byleued, that he was not well assured, 162/24; Alymodes *seeng* his folke lose grounde, and *were smytten* ded doun right by the hyghe prouesse and grete worthynes of blanchardyn, desyred sore wyth al his herte to joyne hym self wyth hym, 167/20; the kynge Alymodes, *seeng* his folke that fled, his cheff standarde ouer thrawen and layng vpon the grounde, His barons all to bet adoune, and also *sawe* that Impossyble it was to hym to escape hym self quyk from the bataylle, wherfore, assone as he mygt, or euer that a more grete myscheff sholde happe vnto hym, cam and yelded hym self, 195/16.

2. Direct speech interrupting an indirect one. *See* Noun Clauses, § 40, p. xcv.

3. A principal sentence co-ordinate with a relative clause:—

(She) douted leest he shuld sette his loue on one of the doughters of the prouoste, *whom* she hasteli sente for *and spake to hym* [= to whom she spoke] as it foloweth, *Blanchardyn*, 69/12; and of another part she sawe a grete noumbre of folke *that* retourned to the tentes, [and then she] *thoughte wel*, and also her hert Iudged and gaf it to her, that that was the worthy blanchardyn, 89/16; *how* sodayne toke leue of his fader the kyng, and [how] so *dyde* Blanchardyn, and [how both] toke the see wyth a grete naue, 125/16; he was cast in to an hauen of the see of the sayde lande, *where* he made grete wast, [where he] toke and slewe many men, and [whence] many *he dyde* brynge wyth hym prysoners, 145/15; certes, *who-someuer* brought her this sorowfull and pyteouse tydynge, I doubte not but that she shold slee her self, 155/30; he perceyued a right myghty nauey, *wherof* they that were comen vpon lande, *he sawe hem* in grete nombre, 162/3.

4. Other instances:—

(He) byganne for to desyre the goode grace of the same proude pucelle in amours, wythout *makynge* of eny semblaunt, *nor to dyscouere* [= or discovering] it to the knyght, *Blanchardyn*, 37/15; (she) commaunded hym to presente hit hastely from her behalue vnto blanchardyn prayng hym *that* for her sake and loue, *to dye* [= he would dye] the whyt coloure in to red, 168/21; whan the proude pucelle in amours sawe her frende blanchardyn departed from her

chambre, *where* she lened vpon a wyndowe that loked vpon the see, makyng full pyteouse rewthes for her loue that she sawe, nor neuer thens she wolde departe as longe as she myght see the shyppes, 174/28 [*where* she = she there].

II. THE MANUSCRIPTS AND PRINTS OF THE ROMANCE.

The story of Blanchardyn and Eglantyne, not being connected with the great epic subjects of the Middle Ages, viz., Arthur and Charlemagne, has hitherto been but very little dealt with in the literary history of England and France. We therefore seem still rather in the dark about the origin and development of the story. Up to now, the following versions are known:—

I. In French verse, all in MS.:

1. Bibl. Nationale, Fr. 375.
2. Bibl. Nationale, Fr. 19,152.
3. Turin, coté $\frac{44}{156}$. I K 35.
4. British Museum, Additional, 15, 212, ff. 197—266 *b*.
5. Fragments, communicated by Paul Meyer, *Romania*, 1889.
6. Fragments of a Middle High-German translation, or rather rehandling, communicated by Haupt, *Germania*, xiv, p. 68 ff.

II. In prose, 2 French in MS., 3 English in print:

1. Bibliothèque Nationale, Fr. 24,371.
2. Bibliothèque Royale, Brussels.[1]
3. Caxton, unique, 1489 (?): here reprinted.
4. 1595, in two Parts, unique. At Britwell. For the full title, *see* p. 227.
5. 1597. Part I., unique: Public Library, Hamburgh.

In 1867, H. Michelant published at Paris an edition of the French Romance, *Blancandin et L'Orgueilleuse d'Amour*, from the MS. 375 in Paris, and the Addit. MS. British Museum. The Poem had before been analyzed by Emile Littré in the *Histoire littéraire*, tome xxii (1852), pp. 765—778, and Henry Ward has described the Museum MS. in his *Catalogue of Romances* in the B. Mus. (1883), i. 727-8. He says:—

[1] Michelant prints the chapter-headings of this in the Introduction to his *Blancandin*, pp. xiii—xviii.

Blanchandin et Orgueillose d'Amors. A poem of adventures, in about 4800 octosyllabic lines. *French.* 'Blanchandin is the son of a king of "Frise" (Phrygia?). He has been kept in ignorance of chivalry, till he sees some figures upon a tapestry. He steals away from home, and, after a few adventures, kisses Orgueillose d'Amors, the Princess of Tormadai (apparently in or near Syria), out of sheer bravado. Her indignation is before long changed into affection. She is besieged by another suitor. Blanchandin is taken prisoner. He is shipwrecked on the coast of India. In the end he returns to Tormadai with Indian allies under a Prince Sadoine, and they relieve Orgueillose d'Amors.'

M. Michelant thus sketches the contents of the earliest version of the story in the St. Germain MS. 1239, of the 13th century, which contains 4,826 lines (p. v—vii):—

'Blancandin has fled from his Father's court—where the practice of arms was forbidden him—to seek adventures abroad. On his road, a knight advises him to go and kiss, in the midst of her retinue, the beauteous *Orgueilleuse d'amour*, whose name denotes her character. This audacious deed stirs most highly the wrath of the young princess. She vows she will take astounding vengeance on the culprit, who has fled. She recognises him next day in the middle of a tourney where he carries off the prize; but the valour and good looks of the young knight make love supplant hatred in her heart; and the two lovers have just avowed their mutual feelings, when an old Saracen king (Alimodes) arrives, who besieges *l'Orgueilleuse d'amour*, to force her to marry him, in spite of her repeated refusals. Blancandin offers to defend her, and distinguishes himself in the fight; but, overpowered by numbers, is taken prisoner. In vain is the highest ransom offered to the Saracen king. He has sworn the death of his rival, and sends him captive to a King of the Indies, whose brother, Blancandin had slain in battle.

'During the voyage, a storm rises, which wrecks the vessel, and Blancandin alone escapes. He arrives safe and sound at the court of a certain King of Athens, who is besieged by a powerful enemy. Blancandin offers his services to the King, and frees him. The King, from gratitude, wishes to marry Blancandin [to his daughter?], but Blancandin, faithful to 'the Lady-proud-in-love,' refuses. He confides his secret to the King's son (Sadoine), with whom he is bound in firm friendship, and both embark to succour the still-besieged Princess. At sea, they meet some of her folk; and Blancandin, without making himself known, charges them to announce his speedy arrival, for the purpose of delivering her. But, in very sight of the harbour, a tempest drives them away, and Blancandin takes advantage of the terror of his companions, to convert and baptise them. He lands, with his friend Sadoine, in the very kingdom of the Prince

(Alimodes) who was besieging the Lady-proud-in-love, where his own Father was moaning in the direst captivity. Blancandin promises to give Sadoine in marriage the daughter of King Alimodes, a young and beautiful Saracenes who, in the customary way, at first sight falls in love with the Knight (Sadoine), whom she sees out hunting. Blancandin takes the city, kills the King's son Darie, gives his sister in marriage to his friend Sadoine, and sets his own father free. Then all retake the road to Tormaday, where the Lady-proud-in-love is besieged. She sends her Provost to know who the new-comers are, and to ask them for help. The Provost—who had formerly been Blancandin's host—recognises him, and announces his arrival to the Lady-proud. She wants to prepare a brilliant reception for him, while his foe Alimodes, on his side, makes ready for battle. In the middle of the fight, the Lady-proud, to encourage Blancandin, sends him her sleeve on the point of a spear; he redoubles his efforts, and puts his rival to flight. Alimodes re-embarks in all haste. And the two lovers, united at last, after so many thwartings, celebrate their marriage; and the wedding ended, every one, says the poet in concluding, goes home,

S'en vet en sa contrée.'

The end of the text is—*Michelant*, p. 208 :—

Et quant la messe fut chantée,
Tuit s'en vont en la tor quarrée.
Mult i ot harpes et vieles,
Et tantes melodies beles:
Tuit li baron del païs né,
Iiii jors i sont séjorné.
Au quint departent lor mesniée,
En lor terre l'ont envoiée.
Le roi de Frise s'en revet,
Et en sa contrée s'en vet.
Arriere s'en revet Sadoine,
A sa moiller en Cassidoine,
Des or a Blanchandins amie,
Sage et proz sans vilanie.
Blanchandins est sires et dus:
Li romans faut; je n'en sai plus.

Explicit de B. et de O.

This, says M. Michelant (p. vii) is the original story. But we have two other versions of it which run almost side by side, and differ from the original romance by an addition of about 1200 lines.

The second version is that in the Turin MS. coté $\frac{L}{V}$, I K. 35, a small quarto of the 13th century (copied A.D. 1331), of which the first Part may have been taken from the St. Germain MS. 1239, with a few copier's changes, while the second Part is singularly close to the 3rd version in MS. 375 (formerly 6987) in the National Library, Paris, which Michelant has printed. The Turin MS. (*Mich.* p. 210) ends thus:—

XIIII jors dura la cours,
Quant Blanchandins fu coronés,
Sadoines est arrier alés
O sa moillier de Carsidoine.
Ensi se departi Sadoine
De son compaignon Blanchandin.
Nostre chançons prant ici fin.

Explicit de Blanchandin.

The story of the later addition to the first version of the Romance is thus told by M. Michelant on pages viii, ix, of his edition :—

'In the fight which ended in raising the siege of Tormadai, Sadoine, who had slain the brother of Alimodes, was taken prisoner by the latter, and sent to Cassidonie [Chalcedony], to be there put to death. Blancandin sets out to succour his friend, and delivers him at the moment he was to be strung up on a gallows, notwithstanding the prayers of the daughter of Alimodes, who begged in vain for pardon for her spouse. Alimodes is conquered again. But, during the absence of Blancandin, his Seneschal—in whose guard he had left the Lady-proud-in-love—gets together the chief Lords of the country, and plots with them to carry off at once both the Crown and Love of Blancandin, that he, the Seneschal, may force her to marry him. Two vassals who remain faithful, conduct Orgueilleuse to a castle, where the treacherous Seneschal besieges them. They, however, find means to warn Blancandin, who hastens to return to Tormadai to revenge himself. The traitor flees,—pursued closely by Blancandin and his friend Sadoine,—and takes refuge at a neighbouring brigand's, where he hopes to get rid of the two knights who have isolated themselves in the ardour of their pursuit. They, though received with apparent good-will, suspect a snare; they persist in keeping their arms, in spite of the most pressing invitations to give them up; and, seizing on a favourable moment, they cut to pieces the band of robbers, and carry off their leader and the Seneschal, whom they punish with death. After this exploit, Blancandin returns to Tormadai, where he celebrates his nuptials and those of his friend Sadoine, with the greatest magnificence.'

Such, says M. Michelant, is the new ending of the poem in the MSS. of Turin and the French National Library, 375. The differences of it in these MSS. consist only in this, that in the Turin MS. the episode of the amours of Sadoine with the daughter of Alimodes, the first interview of the two lovers, and the combats which precede the taking of Cassidonie are treated at greater length, and with details which are not found in the other version.[1]

The chapter-headings do not agree, word for word, with Caxton's. They divide the Story into 3 Parts, and differ in expression, as the englishing of a few below will show :—

This present book contains 3 Treatises, of which the First speaks of the birth of Blanchendin; how he set out from the court (*ostel*) of his Father, and why; how he became a knight, and how he kissed *l'Orgueilleuse d'amours:* the which first Treatise is divided

[1] Does not this point to the Turin version being the later of the two?

into 10 Chapters, of which the First tells of the birth of Blanchendin, of the joy which sprang from it, and how he was put to study as soon as he was of fit age (*eut aage*), and how he got on (*profita*).

The 2nd Chapter tells how, on the information (*relacion*) of his Master, and also because of his own inclination, his departure is settled (l. 125 of the Verse-text). . . .

The 10th Chapter tells in what manner Blanchendin managed to kiss (*parvint au baisier de*) the Proud-Lady-of-Love, and of the displeasure that she took at it (ab. line 687 of the Verse-text).

The Second Treatise tells how Blanchendin came to Tourmaday, and how he fought his Host; how and by what means he recovered the good-will of the Proud-Lady-of-Love, and of the imprisonment of the above-named; and contains 16 Chapters, of which the First tells of the sharp grief that the Proud-Lady-of-Love made on account of the aforesaid kiss; of the arguments between her, and her mistress who comforted her (ab. line 710 of the Verse-text).

The 2nd Chapter speaks of the threats of the Lady-Proud-in-Love to Blanchendin, and how Blanchendin came to Tourmaday to lodge; of the Provost, and the verses which he found on the Provost's door (line 781 of the Verse-text). . . .

The 16th Chapter tells how Blanchendin slew the King of the Giants; how Blanchendin was captured; of the grief which the Lady-Proud-in-Love made thereat; how she sent the Provost to (*devers*) Allimodes for the ransom of Blanchendin; and of the refusal of Allimodes, and how he had Blanchendin shipt off (*fist enmener*) by sea (line 1903 of the Verse-text).

The Third Treatise tells how Blanchendin behaved himself (*se gouverna*) at Athens towards the King; of his return; of the conquest of Cassidonie; how he recognized his Father; of the victory that he won against Allimodes and against the traitor Subiien; and is divided into 22[1] Chapters, of which the First says that Allimodes had Blanchendin shipt off; and how, by chance, he (Blanchendin) was saved from the dangers of the sea, and pretended to be a Saracen (line 2119 of the Verse-text).

The 2nd Chapter tells how Blanchendin was retained by the King of Athens, and brought to good end (*lui acheva*) a war that he had in hand (*auoit*). (line 2285 of the Verse-text). . . .

The 22nd Chapter tells how Subien thought to save himself; and the way he was taken, and then hanged (line 5954 of the Verse-text).

We evidently want an edition of the Brussels MS., to show its full differences from Caxton's original.

As to Blanchardyn pretending to be a Saracen, the Verse-text says (p. 75) that after escaping to land from the shipwreck,

[1] Michelant prints xii., but gives headings of xxij.

Il est en .L. tertre montés :
Devant lui vëoit tors asses
Hautes, qui furent Rubien,
Un roi du lin Octevien.
Octeviens fu rois de Grece ;
Rubiens fu roi de Losgece.
Son barnage ot par grant poeste
Trestout ensanle à une feste ;
Paiens i ot et Sarrasins.
Lors se porpensè Blancandins
Comment il pëust escaper,
C'arriere se puist retorner.
Diu reclama, le fil Marie,
Que il li puist sauver sa vie,
Sarrasin dist qu'il se fera,
Et lor langage parlera,
Car il set bien Sarrisonois,
Et bien Latin, et bien Grigois,
D'une herbe son visage frie,
Lors fu plus noirs que pois boulie.
A tant s'en torne le marois.
Devant sa tor sëoit li rois :
Il ot la barbe et les grenons
Dusqu'as orelles gros et lons . . .

To enable the reader to judge how Caxton's French-prose original expanded and altered the poem, the last 50 lines of M. Michelant's text are given below. The robbers arm to attack Blanchardyn and Sadoine :—

Lors sont li laron haubergié,
Puis issent de la cambre hors.
Selvains s'escrie, li plus fors :
" Signor, prendes ces .II. glotons.
Fremes les huis que les aions.
Si me faites cel pont lever,
Qu'il ne s'en puissent escaper."
Blancandins voit le traïson,
Et a dit à son compaignon :
" Companis, dist il, nos sons trahi.
Ce sont larron que je voi ci.
S'or ne deffent cascuns sa vie,
Jamais ne reverra s'amie.
Veïstes mais tele aventure?
Mult par est fols li hom qui jure
De rien qui avenir li doie."
Lors recommence li harnoie.
Li larron les dansiaus requierent
Et cil as brans d'acier i fierent.
Au premier colp ocist Selvain,
Blancandin le fiert de sa main ;
Après a l'autre porfendu,
Et Sadoines i a feru
A une hace qu'il trova ;
.III. des ciés du bu sevra.
Que vous feroie plus lonc conte?
Tous les ocient à grant honte ;
N'en escapa viex ne kenuus.
Subtiens i fu reconnus ;
Nel vaurent pas illuec ocire,
Ains l'emmenront à lor empire.
Le matinet, à l'esclairier,
Joste le fu le vont loier.
Asses li font et duel et paine ;
Puis donent lor cevaus avaine,
Et de la vitaille au larron
Se courrerent li baron.
Asses orent, et un et el,
Et el demain wident l'ostel.
Si enmainent lor prisonier ;
Tant penserent de chevaucier,
Que repairié sont à lor gent
Qui d'aus estoient mult dolent ;
Mais desour tot fait grant dolor
Ma dame Orgilleuse d'amor.
Mais quant son drut voit revenir,
A ses .II. bras le va saisir,
Et cil le baise, et ele lui.
Là s'entrespusent ambedui ;
S'es espousa .I. archevesques.
Ases i ot abes et vesques,
Et menestreus et jonglëurs.
.VIII. jors entiers dura la cours,
Et Blancandins fu coronés,
Et Sadoines s'en est r'alés
O sa moillier en Cassidoine.
Blancandins se part de Sadoine.

Chi Fine de Blancandins.

As another sample, take the incident of the kiss, and note how the prose writer has suppresst much of the Maid-of-Honours' talk, and has made Blanchardyn kiss Eglantine only once, instead of three

times. Orgilleuse's barons are talking of the uselessness of suitors courting their mistress (p. 22, l. 633) :—

Blancandins n'ot soing de lor feste,
Ains chevauce, pas ne s'areste
Desor les mules Sarrasines ;
Là chevauchierent les meschines.
Et si vont .II. et .II. ensanle,
Li damoisiaus mult biaus lor sanle
Et mult lor plaist à esgarder.
L'une commença à parler,
Cele estoit fille au roi d'Espaigne ;
Si le mostra à sa compaigne :
" Ves quel dansel sor cel destrier !
Com a gent cors per embracier !
Ki'n porroit faire ses soulas
A son plaisir, entre ses bras,
Tos tans auroit joie d'amor ;
Jamais n'aroit nule paor.
Car plëust ore au fil Marie,
Qu'il fesist de moi s'amie !
L'autre dist : " Ce seroit damage :
Trop estes de legier corage.
Si ne vous ameroit por rien ;
Mais en-droit moi seroit il bien,
Car il est biax, et je sui bele,
Virge de cors, gente pucele.
Si ameroit miex mon deduit
Que le vostre, si cum je cuit."
L'autre pucele s'en aïre,
Par mantalent li prist à dire :
" Damoisele, trop estes baude,
Et de vostre corage caude.
Se or le voloit commencier,
Ancui le porroit assnier
Laquels feroit mix à plaisir
U jou, u vous, à lui servir."
Tant se sont entreamprosnées
Que andeus se fuissent mellées.
Mais clos n'osent ; si se tienent,
Car Orgilleuse d'amor criement
Cascure forment le redoute.
Et ele vient après sa route,
Desor son palefroi Norois
Dont li resne furent d'orfrois.
La testiere fu bien ouvrée,
.I. fevre i mist mainte jornée.
Les clokes furent, et les serres,
Apportées d'estranges terres.
Li poitraus fu de mult ciere œvre,
Mainte escalete d'or le cœvre.
Toute la sele o le ceval
Fu covere d'un vermel cendal.
De jouste li fu sa maitresse,
Ki n'a perdue mainte messe
Et mainte voie de moustier
Por li et duire et castoier.
Blancandins chevauce par force
Tot .I. cenein, lés une roce,
Et vit Orgilleuse d'amors.
De li baisier fu angoissous,
Et dist qu'il nel lairra por voir
Que il n'en face son pooir,
Coique soit ore del falir ;
Miex en vorroit après morir !
Lors point son ceval, et eslesse
Entre la dame et la maistresse,
Jà nel teura on por malvais.
Cele part vint de plain eslais,
Entre les .II. dames se mist,
Et de l'autre tant s'entremist,
Ains qu'ele fust bien acointie,
L'ot Blancandins .III. fois baisie ;
Puis s'en torna grant alëure,
Plus que galos no amblëure.
Mais tant comme cevax puet rendre,
Car il n'a soing de plus atendre,
Mais de l'escaper, se il pot.
Ains se porra tenir por sot,
Se Diex n'en pense, qui tout fist,
Car Orgilleuse-d'-amor dist
Qu'ele jamais ne sera lie
Desi qu'ele ne sera vengie :
" Car il m'a faite trop grant honte.
S'il est fix à rois u à conte,
Si perdra il demain la teste :
Jà n'en ert de si grant poeste.
A tant est këue pasmée
Del ceval, sor l'erbe enversée.
Mult en fu triste et courecie
Sa maistresse, plus ne detrie,
De pasmison le releva.
Oies comment le conforta . . .

Caxton's copy of his French original, which he sold to the Duchess of Somerset, and from which he made the present translation, was the same prose version which I have collated in Paris. In

the table of contents, in the headings of the chapters, and in the whole drift of the narrative, both texts agree; there are but very slight differences, pointed out in the footnotes, which may be either due to the MS. which Caxton had before him, or, what is much more probable, to the translator's system of touching-up his original.

The only known existing copy of Caxton's work, in the Library of Earl Spenser, is imperfect. All the text after sig. M.iiij., and one leaf after B.i., are wanting; they are now supplied from the French original. *See* pp. 34 and 211 ff. Blades thus describes Lord Spencer's copy:—

No. 78.—The History of Blanchardin and Eglantine. *Folio. Sine ullâ notâ* (1489?).

Collation.—Imperfectly known. The introductory matter makes a 3^{n} [ternion], signed i, ii, iii, the 6th leaf being blank. **A B C D E F G H I K L M** are 4^{us} [quaternions], and there were probably several other additional signatures.

Typographical Particulars.—Without title. The Type is all No. 6. The lines, which are all of one length, measure 4⅝ inches, and there are 31 to a full page. Woodcut initials. Without folios or catchwords.

The Text begins on sig. j recto, with a prologue by Caxton . . . [and] finishes on the verso of the same leaf . . . The table follows on sig. ij, with a 2-line initial . . . and finishes on the 5th recto, which, however, in the only copy known, is unfortunately in manuscript. This appears to have been copied from the very rare reprint[1] by Wynken de Worde,[2] the last 4 lines being:—

'How Blanchardin wedded his love the proude / pucelle in amours: And of the grete ioye that / was made there . and of the Kynge of Fryse deth. capl^{e} liiij^{e}.'

The 6th leaf is blank. On sig. **A**j recto, the 1st chapter commences . . . As to the date there are only the typographical particulars to guide us, which, however, all point to about the year 1489.

The only known Existing Copy is in the library of Earl Spencer. It is, unfortunately, imperfect, wanting the 5th leaf of the preliminary matter, **A**5, **B**ij, and all after **M**iiij. It is in a fair state, and measures 8¾ × 6¾ inches.

One leaf (sig. **L** iij) has also been preserved among the Bagford collections in the British Museum (Harl. MS. 5919, fol. 3 *b*), and from this our specimen at Plate LIV has been obtained.

[1] Why not from the chapter-heading on the last page of Caxton's Text?

[2] An imaginary book. I can find no trace of it in Herbert's Ames, Bohn's Lowndes, Hazlitt, &c.

SALE PRICES

Year.	Sale Lot.	Seller.	Amount. £	s.	d.	Purchaser.
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Blades, *Life of Caxton*, ii. 216-7 (1863.)

Of the edition of 1595—of which Mr. Christie-Miller has the only copy—there are, in the present edition, two long specimens under Caxton's text. Part I. of ed. 1597 is at Hamburg.

The shortest, and therefore the most ancient, version of *Blanchardyn and Eglantyne* is that contained in the MS. 19,152 of the National Library at Paris. In it the poet is kind enough to marry both Blanchardyn and Sadoyne after their return from Cassidonie, where they have killed Darie, the son of Alymodes, and conquered the entire kingdom. The whole story answers to Caxton's chapters 1—42, and half of 43.

The Paris MS. 375, and that at Turin, add the taking of Sadoyne in the Castle, Blanchardyn's setting out in order to save him and the treason of Subion, as related by Caxton in chapters 43—56.

Thus far the report of M. Michelant, in his edition of *Blancandin et L'Orgueilleuse d'Amour* (Paris, Librairie Tross, 1867), is right. But with regard to the prose versions he commits a very gross mistake. He believes the two only extant prose versions to be one and the same. After having given a description of the Brussels MS. he, referring to a short note dedicated to an unknown gentleman, says:—

'Nous croyons qu'il est ici question du Duc de Bourgogne, Philippe le Bel, qui à fait faire bon nombre de ces translations, notamment celles de Siperis, d'Hélène, d'Eric et Enite, que l'on trouve dans la même bibliothèque, bien que le second exemplaire de cette translation semble infirmer notre hypothèse. Ce dernier fait partie du fonds de Sorbonne N°. 466, petit in-folio sur papier, aux armes de Richelieu, de cent cinq feuillets à longues lignes, d'une écriture du xv^e^ siècle, qui paraît postérieure à l'autre MS. La table dont la première manque, contient en tout 54 chapitres sans division de livres; elle diffère de la précédente *bien que roman offre le même texte.*'

I really cannot conceive how the editor could venture to put forward such a fallacy. The prose MS. of the Brussels Library has

not the least connection with that of Paris. They are quite independent of each other, and differ not only in the Tables of Contents, but also in the text. The Brussels MS. is a brief abstract of the story,—as Michelant might have seen by the small number of leaves, —while the Paris prose version is a full rendering of the romance. Besides this, the former agrees with the poetic version as printed by M. Michelant, in every *name*, while the latter, or Paris MS., exhibits a most important alteration in the names of persons and places.

In the Brussels MS., as well as in Michelant's edition, Blanchardyn kills Rubion, the 'roy des Gaians,' and is sent by Alymodes to Salmandrie. During a storm he escapes, and comes to the shore of *Athens*. He presents himself to the king *Ruban*, who makes him 'senechal' of his army, against his enemy *Escamor de Beaudaire*.

This is quite different in the Paris MS., in which Blanchardyn is cast on the shore of *Prussia*, and comes to Marienburg. The king of Prussia is pleased with him, and appoints him (Blanchardyn) head-captain of his army. Meanwhile a wounded knight arrives with the news that the king of *Poland* has invaded Prussia. Blanchardyn, with Sadoyne, is sent against the Poles, and Blanchardyn unhorses the king, who gives himself up as a prisoner.

What induced the author of the Paris prose version to alter Athens into Marienburg? Probably he wanted a country better known to the people of that time as a scene of constant war, and in this respect his choice was very well made. After the Crusades to the Holy Sepulchre had lost their charms, the knights of England and France very often joined their colleagues of the Teutonic order, who were in a state of constant warfare with their heathen neighbours in Lettow (Lithuania), Ruce (Russia), and elsewhere. Compare Chaucer's description of the Knight :—

> 'At Alisaundre he was whan it was wonne;
> Ful ofte tyme he hadde the bord bygonne,
> Aboven alle nacioons in *Prus*.
> In Lettowe hadde he reysed, and in Ruce,
> No cristen man so ofte of his degre.—The *Prologue*, 51—55.
>
> Forthy who secheth loves grace,
> Where that these worthy women are,
> He may nought than him selve spare
> Upon his travail for to serve,
> * * * * * *

So that by londe and eke by ship
He mot travaile for worship,
And make many hastif rodes,
Somtime in *Pruse*, somtime in Rodes,
And some tyme into Tartarie.'
Gower, *Confessio Amantis*, ii., 5 C.

I feel grateful to Lord Spencer and Mr. Christie-Miller for so kindly allowing their treasures to be used for this reproduction, and I thank Mr. Graves and the other Officers of the British Museum for the facilities they have afforded me. I am also indebted to Dr. Furnivall for adding side-notes and head-lines to the text.

Vienna, Nov. 14, 1889.