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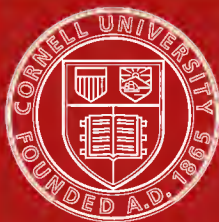
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THE TEMPORAL CLAUSE  
IN OLD ENGLISH PROSE





YALE STUDIES IN ENGLISH

ALBERT S. COOK, EDITOR

XXXII

THE SYNTAX  
OF THE  
TEMPORAL CLAUSE  
IN  
OLD ENGLISH PROSE

BY

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A Thesis presented to the Faculty of the Graduate School of Yale  
University in Candidacy for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy



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TO THE MEMORY  
OF  
JACOB COOPER  
PROFESSOR OF GREEK AND AFTERWARDS OF PHILOSOPHY  
IN RUTGERS COLLEGE  
A SCHOLAR WHO MERGED HIS SCHOLARSHIP IN LOVE FOR  
HIS BROTHER-MAN.



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## PREFACE

However great may be the diffidence with which one offers his work, certainly no one need apologize for an attempt to contribute to our knowledge of the syntax of Old English. Therefore, since the plan and scope of this monograph are set forth at length in the General Introduction, it only remain for me to thank those to whose kindness I am indebted for much help in the course of the work.

This thesis was written under the direction of Professor Albert S. Cook, of Yale University, and to him I extend most hearty thanks for advice and encouragement from the inception of the work, and especially for his reading of the proof.

I owe hearty thanks to Professor Allen R. Benham, of the University of Washington, for many helpful suggestion, as well as for the stimulus that comes from association with one engaged in a similar task. I am also indebted to Professor Hubert G. Shearin, of Kentucky University, for valuable hints as to methods of work.

The aid given me in bibliographical matters by Mr. Andrew Keogh and Mr. Henry A. Gruener, of the Yale Library, and by Mr. William N. Carlton, of the Library of Trinity College, has been invaluable.

I would also thank the authorities of the Watkinson Library of Reference, in Hartford, for their many courtesies.

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A. A.

TRINITY COLLEGE, HARTFORD, CONN.

*June 15, 1907.*



## GENERAL INTRODUCTION

### *Aim, Scope, and Method*

The aim of this study is to treat exhaustively all the important syntactical features of the temporal clause in all the prose monuments of Old English. The work is designed to be a complete historical account of this syntactical element, distinguishing between early and late usage where such distinction exists, giving accurate statistics as to the relative frequency of different methods of expressing the same or similar ideas, and noting whatever else may seem to be of value for an understanding of the history of the construction in question.

To this end I have endeavored to note every clause having the function of an adverbial determinant of time, to present the peculiarities of each variety in a clear and succinct form, and to tabulate the results for each.

For the sake of ease in verifying the results presented, and as a convenience for lexical and synonymic study, every occurrence of every phenomenon falling within the scope of the study has been either discussed under its proper category in the text, or relegated to the index-lists in the Appendixes. In addition to these index-lists, tables have been prepared, presenting the actual numerical occurrence of each variety of clause, with its mode, arranged

with regard to authorship and chronology, so far as these are known. When dealing with so great a number of clauses, having so great a variety of connectives, it seemed that in no other way could the material be presented so that the mind might readily comprehend the whole field, and the relations of the various subdivisions to one another.

My attitude toward the subject has been historical, rather than what one might call philosophical or speculative. To me the relations of the phenomena of Old English to those presented, on the one hand, by the other Germanic dialects, and, on the other, to those offered by Middle and Modern English, are of greater interest than speculation as to the origin of connectives or constructions. However, I have not excluded such matter altogether; especially when such inquiry seemed to throw light on the particular case in hand, I have permitted myself to introduce it.

In no way, I believe, can so just and positive a notion of the intimate relation of English to the other languages of the Germanic group be obtained, as by a comparative study of their syntax. Identity or likeness of individual words may be explained by the theory of borrowing, but when we find a group of languages agreeing essentially in using a similar construction or group of constructions, it is plain that there must be a more intimate relation. On the other hand, modern usage is to be understood only in the light of Old and Middle English.

I have, therefore, in a series of notes, following the exposition of the Old English usage, presented matter in the nature of comparative studies, designed to exhibit the close parallelism in syntactical features between Old English and the other Germanic languages, and the changes in form and usage between

Old English and the later stages of the language. In this way the reader may avoid considering the syntactical features of the temporal clause in Old English as mere isolated peculiarities, and be led to see them as the outgrowth of earlier influences and tendencies, on the one hand, and as the origin of later usage, on the other.

The fact that much of the Old English prose is translated from the Latin has been borne in mind, and in cases where the original aids in explaining an Old English construction, it has been included in the discussion.

That omissions have been altogether avoided in dealing with so vast a number of clauses, especially in the case of some of the more common classes, is not to be expected; but I believe that nothing of importance has been overlooked. The unpublished thesis<sup>1</sup> of Dr. Frank H. Chase has been useful as a check, and comparison with his work has given me confidence in the accuracy and inclusiveness of my own.

### *List of Old English Prose-Texts Examined*

I have endeavored to include all the Old English prose-texts available, and these are arranged in alphabetical order below. With Dr. Shearin<sup>2</sup> and Dr. Benham<sup>3</sup>, I have included the *Vespasian Psalter and Hymns*<sup>4</sup>, though they are mere glosses, and almost worthless for syntactical study, however valuable they may be for the study of the phonology of Old English.

The abbreviations indicated on the left-hand margin of the page have been used throughout. If any system

<sup>1</sup> Yale Library.

<sup>2</sup> *The Expression of Purpose in OE. Prose, Yale Studies in English* 18.

<sup>3</sup> Unpublished, Yale Library.

<sup>4</sup> Contained in *OET*.

of line-numbering is followed in a text, no matter what its nature may be, it has been adhered to here, as a convenience in using the references. Biblical texts are, of course, cited by chapter and verse.

ÆH. 1. = Homilies of Ælfric, ed. Thorpe. 2 vols. London.

ÆH. 2. = 1844-46.

Ap. T. = AS. Version of Apollonius of Tyre, ed. Thorpe. London, 1834.

The Latin original: *Historia Apollonii Regis Tyri*, ed. Ring. Leipzig, 1888.

Æ. Asm. = Ælfric's Writings in AS. *Homilien und Heiligenleben*, ed. Assmann. Kassel, 1889. (Grein's Bibliothek der AS. Prosa 3.)

Æ. Th. = Ælfric's Writings contained in *Ancient Laws and Institutes of England*, ed. Thorpe. London, 1840.

BH. . . . = The OE. Version of Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*, ed. Miller. 2 vols. London, 1890. (EETS. 95, 96.) The Latin original: *Bedæ Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum*, etc., ed. Plummer. Oxford, 1896.

BlH. . . = The *Blicking Homilies of the Tenth Century*, ed. Morris. London, 1880. (EETS. 58, 63, 73.)

Bo. . . . = King Ælfred's OE. Version of Boethius *De Consolatione Philosophiae*, ed. Sedgefield. Oxford, 1899. The Latin original: *Anicius Manlius Severinus Boëthius, Philosophiae Consolationis Libri 3 etc.*, ed. Piper. Leipzig 1871.

BO. . . . = *Das Benedictiner-Offizium, ein AE. Brevier*, ed. Feiler. Heidelberg, 1901. (*Anglistische Forschungen* 4.)

- BR. . . . = Die Angelsächsischen Prosabearbeitungen der Benedictinerregel, ed. Arnold Schröer. Kassel, 1885. (Grein's Bibliothek der AS. Prosa 2.)
- Byr. . . = AS. Excerpte aus Byrhtferth's Handboc oder Enchiridion, ed. Kluge. Anglia 8.
- Cart. . . = Cartularium Saxonicum . . . etc., ed. Birch. 3 vols. London, 1885-93.
- Chad. . = Ein AE. Leben des Heiligen Chad, ed. Napier. Anglia 10.
- Chron. . = Two of the Saxon Chronicles Parallel, ed. Earle and Plummer. Oxford, 1892.
- Coll. . . = Colloquium Ælfrici, ed. Wülker. London, 1884. (Wright's Vocabularies, 2nd Edit.)
- CP. . . . = King Ælfred's OE. Version of Gregory's Cura Pastoralis, ed. Sweet. London, 1871. (EETS. 45, 50.) The Latin original in Migne, Patrologia Latina 77.
- De Temp. = Ælfric's Translation of Bede De Temporibus, ed. Wright. London, 1841. (Popular Treatises on Science, etc.)
- Deut. . . = Ælfric's Translation of Deuteronomy. (Grein's Bibliothek der AS. Prosa 1.)
- De Vet. = Ælfric's Prefaces to his Biblical Translations. (Grein's Bibliothek der AS. Prosa 1.)
- Dial. . . = Bischofs Wærferth von Worcester Übersetzung der Dialogen Gregors des Großen, ed. Hecht. Leipzig, 1900. (Grein's Bibliothek der AS. Prosa 3.) The Latin original in Migne, Patrologia Latina 77.
- Epis. . . = Epistola Alexandri ad Aristotelem, ed. Baskervill. Anglia 4.
- Exod. . = Ælfric's Translation of Exodus. (Grein's Bibliothek der AS. Prosa 1.)

- Gen. . . = Ælfric's Translation of Genesis. (Grein's Bibliothek der AS. Prosa 1.)
- Gram. . = Ælfric's Grammatik, ed. Zupitza. Berlin, 1880. (Sammlung Englischer Denkmäler 1.)
- Guth. . = The AS. Prose Version of the Life of St. Guthlac, ed. Goodwin. London, 1848.
- Hex. . . = The AS. Version of the Hexameron of St. Basil, ed. Norman. London, 1849.
- HL. . . = The Non-Ælfrician Writings in Assmann's AS. Homilien und Heiligenleben. See Æ. Asm. above.
- Inst. . . = The Non-Ælfrician Writings in Thorpe's Ancient Laws and Institutes of England. See Æ. Th. above.
- Int. Sig. = Ælfric's Version of Alcuin's Interrogationes Sigewulfi in Genesin, ed. Mac Lean. Anglia 6, 7.
- Job. . . . = Ælfric's Translation of Job. (Grein's Bibliothek der AS. Prosa 1.)
- John . . = The Synoptic Edition of the Gospel of St. John, ed. Skeat. Cambridge, 1878.
- Jos. . . . = Ælfric's Translation of Joshua. (Grein's Bibliothek der AS. Prosa 1.)
- Jud. . . = Ælfric's Translation of Judges. (Grein's Bibliothek der AS. Prosa 1.)
- L. . . . . = The Synoptic Edition of the Gospel of St. Luke, ed. Skeat. Cambridge, 1874.
- Laws . . = Die Gesetze der Angelsachsen, F. Liebermann, Erster Band. Halle, 1898.
- Lch. 1. = Leechdoms, Wordcunning, and Starcraft  
Lch. 2. of Early England, ed. Cockayne. 3 vols.  
Lch. 3. London, 1864-66.
- Lev. . . = Ælfric's Translation of Leviticus. (Grein's Bibliothek der AS. Prosa 1.)

- LS. 1. = Ælfric's Lives of Saints, ed. Skeat. 2 vols.  
 LS. 2. London, 1881-1900. (EETS. 76, 82, 94, 114.)
- M. . . . = The Synoptic Edition of the Gospel of St. Matthew, ed. Skeat. Cambridge, 1887.
- Mart. . . = An OE. Martyrology, ed. Herzfeld. London, 1900. (EETS. 116.)
- Mk. . . . = The Synoptic Edition of the Gospel of St. Mark, ed. Skeat. Cambridge, 1871.
- Neot. . . = Ein AS. Leben des Neot, ed. Wülker. Anglia 3.
- Nic. . . = The OE. Version of the Gospel of Nicodemus, ed. Hulme. Publications of the Modern Language Assoc. of America 13.
- Num. . . = Ælfric's Translation of Numbers. (Grein's Bibliothek der AS. Prosa 1.)
- O. . . . = King Ælfric's Orosius OE. Text and Latin original, ed. Sweet. London, 1883. (EETS. 79.)
- OET. . = The Oldest English Texts: ed. Sweet. London, 1885. (EETS. 83.)
- PPs. . . = Libri Psalmorum Versio Antiqua Saxonica, ed. Thorpe. Oxford, 1835. (The first fifty psalms are in prose.)
- Quot. . = Supplement to Ælfric's Homilies in Biblical Quotations in Old English Prose Writers, Second Series (pp. 135-179), ed. Cook. New York, 1903.
- Rood. . = Legends of the Holy Rood, ed. Morris. London, 1871. (EETS. 46.)
- Sat. . . = A Dialogue between Saturn and Solomon. In *Analecta Anglo-Saxonica* (pp. 110-115), ed. Thorpe. London, 1846.
- Sol. . . . = King Ælfric's Version of St. Augustine's Soliloquies, with the Latin Original, ed.

Hargrove. New York, 1902. (Yale Studies in English 3.)

Wulf. = Wulfstan's Homilies, ed. Napier. Berlin, 1883.

All quotations from the following works, unless otherwise specified, are from the editions given below:

A. Old English Poetry.

Christ, ed. Cook. Boston, 1900.

Judith, ed. Cook. Boston, 1889.

Other Poems: Grein's Bibliothek der Angelsächsischen Poesie, ed. Wülker. Kassel, 1883-98.

B. Middle English.

Piers Plowman, The Vision of William concerning Piers The Plowman, ed. Skeat. 2 vols. Oxford, 1886.

C. Gothic.

Ulfilas, ed. Heyne. Achte Auflage. Paderborn und Münster, 1885.

D. Old Saxon.

Heliand, ed. Heyne. Dritte Auflage. Paderborn, 1883.

E. Old High German.

Otfrids Evangelienbuch, ed. Erdmann. Halle a. S., 1882.

Tatian, ed. Sievers. Paderborn, 1892.

References to Wulfing are to vol. 2 of the *Syntax Ælfreds*. Bonn, 1901.



## CHAPTER I

### THE CONNECTIVES OF THE TEMPORAL CLAUSE

The temporal clause in OE. is always joined to the main clause by an introductory word or formula. This partakes both of the nature of an adverbial conjunction and of a relative. That this is true is made evident by the great number of connectives of which the relative *ðe* forms a part, and by the fact that often, in the case of clauses introduced by a phrase composed of a preposition + object (noun of time) + *ðe*, it is difficult to decide whether the function of the particular example is adjectival or adverbial.

In OE. this connective is never omitted, at least in colloquial speech, as its counterpart sometimes is in Modern English.

The connectives introducing the temporal clause have been grouped into six divisions, according to the nature of the temporal relations indicated. Therefore we treat here the connectives introducing:

- A. Clauses indicating time when.
- B. Clauses denoting immediate sequence.
- C. Clauses denoting duration.
- D. Clauses determining the time of an action by reference to a preceding action.
- E. Clauses determining the time of an action by reference to a subsequent action.
- F. Clauses indicating the time of the termination of the action of the main clause.

A. CLAUSES DENOTING *TIME WHEN*.1a. *ða*.

This is the most common of temporal connectives in OE. We find cognates in OF. *tha*, OS. *tho*, *thuo*, OHG. *do*, and ON. *ða*. The primary use of this conjunction is to introduce a clause denoting *time when*. Wülfiŋ<sup>1</sup> classes this particle with those which introduce 'Nebensätze zur Angabe des Zeitpunktes, wann etwas geschieht'. There are many cases in which *ða* might be translated *while* or *after*, just as the modern English *when* is often used to introduce clauses which logically bear such relations to the main clause; but whatever may be the different meanings which might be assigned to the particle, they certainly have no influence on its syntax. This will be apparent from what follows, and I therefore leave such discussion to the lexicographer.

Yet there are questions of meaning which do call for some consideration. *Ða* introduces a clause used to determine *time when*, as has been said, but an act which preceds another is frequently its cause. So sometimes we have a combination of the causal and temporal notions. In modern English *when* often has this double force, as in the sentence: 'When the books of a year and of a library were counted by hundreds or thousands, learned men could really know what was best to be known'<sup>2</sup>. In the following sentence the temporal force has almost disappeared: L. 14. 29 Lest haply, when he hath laid a foundation, and is not able to finish, all that behold begin to mock him. So *ða* in the following sentence has a strong causal coloring: M. 1. 19 Soðlice iosep hyre wer, *ða* he wæs rihtwis and nolde hi gewidmærsian,

<sup>1</sup> Syntax Ælfreds 2. 103.<sup>2</sup> Frederic Harrison, The Choice of Books.

he wolde hi dihllice forlætan. Here the Vulgate reads: Joseph autem vir ejus *cum* esset justus, et nollet eam traducere. Another illustration of *ða* in its approach to the causal meaning: *ÆH.* 2. 448. 11 Micele wæron þises mannes gearnunga, þa se *Ælmihtiga* he him cwæð, þæt his gelica nære on eorðan.

The ease with which the *ða*-clause brings two acts into the field of view is so great that *ða* occasionally seems to have a concessive force, as in these examples: John 12. 37 *Ða* he swa mycele tacn dyde beforan him, hi ne gelyfdon on hyne; *BH.* 36. 33 *Ʒ* wende þæt he mid swinglan sceolde þa beldu *Ʒ* þa anrednesse his heortan anescian, *ða* he mid wordum ne mihte.

A conditional use is much less clear to me, yet Bosworth-Toller recognize it, and quote this as an illustration: *ÆH.* 1. 478. 11 ac hit was swa gewunelic on ðam timan þæt rice menn sceopon heora bearnum naman be him sylfum, þæt hit wære geduht þæs ðe mare gemynd þæs fæder, *ða ða* se sunu, his yrfenuma, wæs geciged þæs fæder naman. Neither Wülfing nor Mather admits such a use of *ða*, however.

The Latin *cum*-clause shows parallel development. It was probably purely temporal in origin, but by emphasizing the causal or concessive connotation, the causal or concessive idea became most prominent in the mind of the speaker.

In these clauses this went so far that all idea of time was lost, and we have *cum* purely causal, or purely concessive, as well as *cum* with its original temporal signification. Still, as in the OE. sentences referred to, we find *cum*-clauses which may be considered either as temporal, or causal, or both. I believe that in OE. the causal or concessive or conditional notion never became so strong as to exclude that of time.

This idea of time is always present, though sometimes less prominent, perhaps, than some of the other possible relations of the *ða*-clause to its main verb.

So much for the meaning of *ða*; now let us consider its use. My study has established the fact that *ða* is used only with the preterite tense of the indicative mode.

There are some exceptions, real or apparent, which we shall now consider.

I have examined about thirty-three hundred clauses with this connective or its variants, *ðaða* and *ða . . . ða*, and have noticed only seventeen instances in which either the present tense or the optative mode appears. Most of these are in late or corrupt texts, about ten of them being in the late entries of the Chronicle.

We shall first consider the cases in which the present tense appears: Chron. 261. 25 God hit bete *þa* his wille *beð*. This seems to be a perfectly clear case, and we should rather expect the optative as well. Chron. 266. 12 *þer* efter in *þe* lengten *þestrede þe sunne* 7 te *dæi*, abuton non tid *dæies*, *þa* men *eten*, *ð* me lihtede candles to *æten* bi. This appears in the entry for the year 1140; and the phonology is so changed, that it is difficult to say what the mode and tense are. Does the clause mean while men were eating, or at the time that men (habitually) eat? The verb in the following sentence is probably preterite indicative, with *æ* for *e*: Cart. 2, 290. 14 hit hiera yrfe is *þ* hit swa umbe sæccen gange into *þære* Cyrican swa hit *þa* on *dæg* wes, *þa* hit man him to *læt*. Lch. 3, 82. 11 *þæt* syndon sa ysene, *þa* man mid cnifun hæle menn. Neither the tense nor the mode is hard to understand here, but the text is very corrupt and late. HL. 122. 184 And wite *þu þæt* heo is

of ðinum sæde geeacnod, swa swa þu nyttest, þa þa þu hi ana forlæte. The sense here requires the preterite. May not this be regarded as a preterite of a weak verb *lætan*?

Of the five apparent exceptions, then, to the rule in regard to the tense with *ða*, only two seem reasonably certain.

We pass now to the question of mode. Chron. 215. 6 hi ferdon æfter heom into þam mynstre 7 woldon hig ut dragan, þaða hig ne dorsten na utgan; Chron. 264. 4 þa þe castles uuaren maked þa fyl登en hi mid deoules 7 yuele men (entry for 1137); Chron. 266. 37 þa hi þer inne wæren, þa com þe kinges cuen mid al hire strengthe. See also Chron. 161. 26; 218. 1; 259. 37; 264. 28; 267. 1: also Chron. 266. 12; Lch. 3 82. 11; HL. 122. 184, as quoted above. In these cases the optative form is to be accounted for by the weakening of the *a* of the ending, and there is really no violation of the rule that the indicative is the mode used after *ða*, except in the case of those examples in which the present tense appears also.

In O. 56. 17 þa æt nihstan hie hæfden getogen eal Creca folc to ðæm gewinum, þa Læcedemonia besætan þa burg Mæs[ian]e X winter; the reading *hæfdon* of MS. C. is probably correct.

BH. 162. 21 secgað men, þa Oswald se cyning of Scotta ealonde biscopes bede, . . . þa wæs him sended ærest oðer biscop reðes modes monn. BH. 198. 31 þa eode se mæssepreost to Aidane þæm biscope; bæd hine þæt he for hine gebæde 7 for his geferan, 7 for heora gesyntu to Gode þingade, þa heo swa micelne siðfæt feran scolden; Rood. 11. 2 Ða hio þus hiom betweonan spræcen, þa cliopodan þare cwene cæmpan þider. In all these cases, also, we most probably have the weakening of the termination, and not really

an optative. Or, in the case of the examples from BH., the mode of the verbs of the temporal clauses may be due to the fact of their being in indirect discourse.

In any case, the number of exceptions to the principle laid down is insignificant, granting even that all the cases cited are *bona fide* optatives, which is certainly by no means beyond dispute.

It is interesting to note that Ælfric in Gram., in giving equivalents for Latin modes and tenses, always uses *ðonne* to translate *cum* when used with the present tense, but changes to *ða* when the Latin changes to the past tense. For example, 132. 14 subivntivo mode under-ðeodendlicum gemete Tempore Praesenti cum amem þonne ic nu lufige, &c., eodem modo Tempore Praeterito imperfecto cum amarem þaða ic lufode hwæt hwega, cum amares ðaða ðu lufodest, &c.

I have not been able to discover whether or not this distinctive syntactical function of *ða* obtains in all the cognate languages in which it appears. But all the examples I have found indicate at least that this use is the prevailing one, as will be seen from the examples cited below. Erdmann<sup>1</sup> says: "*tho* steht im Nachsatze nach *so* I, 22.42 u. öfters; im temporalen Nebensatze steht es ebenso wie *so* und in gleicher Bedeutung nur beim Ind. Prät." Therefore in one important OHG. text, at least, *tho* has the same meaning and use as *ða* in OE.

Very often a correlative *ða* stands at the beginning of the main clause, as in this example: O. 19, 25 *Ða* he þiderweard seglode fram Sciringes heale, þa wæs him on þæt bæcbord Denearc. But the number of cases in which this correlative *ða* does not appear are very numerous, even in what we may call the

<sup>1</sup> Syntax der Sprache Otrfrids, pp. 120, 204.

formal temporal period. I have been careful in my indexes to distinguish the cases in which *þa* is used from those in which it is not; but I am not prepared to make any statement as to the uniformity of the use or omission of the *þa* in such cases. However, when the *þa*-clause is drawn in parenthetically, there is likely to be no *þa*; nor does *þa* usually appear if the clause determines the time of the action of a verb which is itself in a subordinate clause.

The use of such balancing adverbs is a very noticeable feature of OE. prose, and it may be that a more minute study than I have been able to make of this matter would yield more definite and valuable results.

Occasionally the *þa*- clause depends on a verb omitted, as in this example: BH. 106. 21 Onhyrede he on þon þa bysene þæs ærestan heordes Godes cirican Scē Petres þæs apostoles, þa he æt Rome ærest Cristes cirican staðolode. Since clauses introduced by *þa* are so common, it would be superfluous to quote examples here. Almost any page of OE. would yield one or more.

Of the three connectives, *þa*, *þaða*, and *þa . . . þa*, *þa* is the most common in all the texts except Bo., in which the form *þa . . . þa* predominates, Dial., and the works of Ælfric, in which *þaða* is by far the most common. However, in his Old Testament translations the simple *þa* is more frequent. In general, *þaða* seems to be more common in the late texts, although appearing in very early ones also. Perhaps the consistent use of the simple *þa*, although there are several examples of the divided form, itself most common in early texts, may be considered as another of the archaic peculiarities of BIH. The divided form is most common in BH., Bo., and Guth. For statistics as

to the number of examples of each sort in each text, see the tables and index-lists<sup>1</sup>.

NOTE 1. Of the OE. poetry I have examined only the Christ. I find that *ða* is used here as in the prose.

NOTE 2. The Middle English form of the OE. *ða* is *tho*, and I find it used both as adverb and as conjunction in Piers Plowman. In Chaucer, however, it seems to occur only as an adverb. By this time *hwæn* has become the ordinary temporal connective in such uses as those of *ða* and *donne* in OE. I find the form *ðo* first in Cart. 3, 217.7 Her switelep on þis write ihu Sifled uthe hire ait he þo sche ouer se ferde. I have noticed it also in the Winteneý-Version of the Regula S. Benedicti (circa 1200 A. D.), for example, 5.17; 7.27. In the first of these cases the present tense is used, and in the second an optative form occurs. I cite one or two examples from Piers Plowman: Pro. 176 Ac *tho* the belle was ybought, and on the beize hanged, There ne was ratoun in alle the route for alle the rewme of Fraunce, That dorst have ybounden the belle aboute the cattis nekke. Passus 21.243 'By godes body' quath this Book 'ich wole bere wyttnesse, *Tho* this barn was ybore, ther blased a sterre.'

NOTE 3. So far as I have observed, no cognate of the OE. *ða* occurs in Gothic. However, there are cognates in most of the Germanic dialects, and I cite such examples as I have noted. Since OF. is most nearly related to OE., we begin with that: Lesebuch<sup>2</sup> 95.16 *Tha* use drochten ebern warth, *tha* warther alle brekanden to boden ebern. 96.22 *Tha* mat alra erest sette thet ield, *tha* slochma enre frowa hire brother. In reading the OS. Heliand<sup>3</sup> I noted a number of examples of *tho*, one or two of which I quote: 794 *Tho* sie that geld habdun, erlos an them alaha, so it an iro ewa gibod, gilestid an iro land-wisum, *tho* forun im eft thie liudi thanan. Numerous illustrations, might be quoted from OHG., but I shall cite only one or two. Erdmann notes that *tho*

<sup>1</sup> pp. 162—177.

<sup>2</sup> Wilhelm Heuser, *Altfriesisches Lesebuch*, Heidelberg, 1903.

<sup>3</sup> Heyne's 3te Auflage.



is used only with the preterite indicative in Otfrið : 3.17. 35 Selbo druthin nidar sah, *tho* man zimo thiz gisprah.

In ON. the form is *þa*, which is usually combined with the relative *er*<sup>1</sup>, when used as a temporal conjunction. However *þa* alone is used, and I cite an example taken from the Icelandic-English Dictionary of Cleasby-Vigfusson : Fornmanna Saga 7.165 eitt sinn *þa* Sigurðr konungr for fyrir land fram.

#### 1b. *ðaða*.

Since all that has been said of a general nature in regard to *ða* applies also to this double form, it will be unnecessary to repeat here.

Probably one of the *ða*'s was originally an adverb, and the other a conjunction. But the feeling for this disappeared, and *ðaða* came to be used for *ða*, without any difference in meaning. It is the commonest form in Ælfric's writings, except in the Old Testament translations, and is almost the only form used in Dial.

Very often the conjunction *ðaða* is balanced, as it were, by a *ða* in the main clause. I have noted one instance in which *ðaða* occurs in this way in the main clause: Dial. 330. 13 he hine *þa þa* na ne getette, *þaþa* he eft com to þam baðum. In the Winteneý-Version of the Regula S. Benedicti (circa 1200), I find *ðaða* with the present: 23. 27 *þaþa* hi werǵiað, næng cursian agean.

NOTE 1. Grein, in his *Sprachschatz*, gives only one example of *ðaða* in OE. poetry: Metres of Boethius 11.15 *ðaða* he wolde. In general then, this form belongs to the prose, especially to that of Ælfric and Bishop Wærferth, though occurring elsewhere more or less frequently.

#### 1c. *ða . . . ða*.

For a general discussion of the meaning and use of this particle, the reader is referred to the section on *ða*.

<sup>1</sup> See *ðaðe*, p. 23.

Perhaps this represents an intermediate stage between *ða* and *ðaða*, the first element being a conjunction and the other an adverb, or *vice versa*, but it is felt as a simple conjunction. It occurs most often in BH., in which it is used about as frequently as the simple *ða*. In Bo. it is by far the commonest form. It is also common in Guth. Its relative frequency in BIH. is another evidence of the latter's archaic language. It occurs a number of times in Mart., but is rare in other texts. The *ða* in the main clause appears in about the same proportion as in the case of *ðaða*. Bo. 71.3 *þa* se Wisdom *ða* þis spel [areht hæf]de, þa ongan he eft giddian.

#### 2a. *ðonne*.

Excepting *ða* with its variants, this is the most common temporal connective in OE. I have noted the following spellings beside the form *ðonne*, the most common one in all the texts: *ðanne* (OET., Cart., Lch., CP.); *ðone* (Chron., LS.); and *ðenne* (M., L., John., Æ. Th., Coll., HL., and Byr.). We find cognates in Gothic *þan*, OS. *than*, OHG. *danne*. The Middle English forms are *þanne*, *ðenne*, *thanne*, *ðeonne*, *ðene*, *ðan*, *ðen*; and so the Modern English *then*.

The meaning of *ðonne* is about the same as that of *ða*. That is to say, it is used to introduce a clause telling when the action of the main clause takes place — to quote Wülfing again: 'zur Angabe des Zeitpunktes, wann etwas geschieht' — and is translated by the German *als*. Bosworth-Toller, under *ðonne*, say: '*ðanne* and *ða* differ in force; the former is used where the time of an action is indefinite, and is found with the future, the indefinite present, and the indefinite past; the latter is used where a definite action has taken place.' Whatever the reason may be, it will

be remembered that we found that *ða* is used only with the preterite indicative. On the other hand, *ðonne* occurs with both indicative and optative, as well as with both the present and the preterite tenses. However, naturally enough when we consider the meaning, the optative occurs, for the most part, only in connection with the imperative, after another optative, or in indirect discourse. The normal difference in use between *ða* and *ðonne* is well brought out by this example: John 21.18 Soð ic segge þe, *ða* þu gingre *wære* þu gertest þe, and eodest þær þu woldest. Witodlice *þonne* þu *ealdest* þu strecest þine hande and oþer þe gyrt and læt þider þe þu nelt. Of the two thousand clauses with this connective which I have examined, fewer than two hundred are in the preterite tense. Ælfric also in Gram, when translating the Latin *cum*, uses *ða* with the preterite, but *ðonne* when the tense of the Latin changes to the present. For citations see *ða*<sup>1</sup>.

As we found to be the case with *ða*, clauses introduced by *ðonne* frequently carry a causal or concessive or conditional force, in addition to the primary temporal signification. However, the temporal element is in all cases prominent enough to justify my inclusion of them in the lists.

Since most of my discussion of these secondary and in a sense incidental meanings of *ða* is equally applicable to *ðonne*, I forbear any extended consideration of the matter here. The reader is referred to the excellent dissertation<sup>2</sup> by Frank J. Mather, Jr. for a discussion of the conditional use of *ðonne*.

Occasionally the verb, the time of the activity of which is determined by the temporal clause, is omit-

<sup>1</sup> p. 14.

<sup>2</sup> The Conditional Sentence in Anglo-Saxon, Munich, 1893, p. 49.

ted, as in this example: Mart. 4. 18 þa wæs hire ansyn swa reod ond swa fæger swa þære wynsumestan fæmnan, þonne heo fægerost bið. Likewise I have noticed one or two instances in which the auxiliary in the temporal clause is omitted: Lch. 2, 290. 14 þonne þ fyr of þam stane aslegen, hit is god wið ligetta 7 wið þunorrada; LS. 2, 38. 555 þonne þyllice gēpohtas on astigan, þonne astrehte ic me sylfe on eorðan. In this case a note informs us that *agunnon* is supplied in a later hand. Probably all such cases as these two are to be explained as mere accidental omissions of the scribes.

I have not been able to make out the form of the verb in this sentence: Lch. 1, 390. 18 Ðis man sceal cweðan ðonne his ceapa hwilcne man *fortsolenne*. Cockayne translates: 'A man must sing this when one hath stolen any one of his cattle'. I judge it is a mere corruption for the accusative singular of the past participle of *forstelan*, with the auxiliary omitted.

In this example, *ðonne* seems to be equivalent to *hwonne*: OET. Vesp. Psalms 118. 84 hu monge sind dægās ðiowes ðines ðonne ðu doest oehendum mec dom. The Vulgate reads: Quot sunt dies servi tui: quando facies de persequentibus me iudicium? It will be remembered that this is a mere gloss, and perhaps *ðonne* or *ða* was the only rendering the glossator knew for the Latin *quando*.

The following sentence is the only one of the sort I have noted in all OE. This peculiar construction is also doubtless due to the wish to preserve the construction of the Latin original: L. 13. 35 Soðlice ic eow secge þ ge me ne geseoð ærþam þe cum *se þonne* ge cweðað gebletsod sy se ðe com on drihtnes naman. The Latin is: Dico autem vobis, quia non videbitis me donec veniat *cum* dicetis: Benedictus,

qui venit in nomine Domini. This curious construction does not go back to the Greek.

Sometimes *ðonne* seems to be used as a sort of temporal relative, as in this sentence: John 9.4 niht cymþ, þonne nan man wyrcan ne mæg. In such sentences the clause introduced by *ðonne* does not determine the time of the action of the main verb, but rather is used to characterize or describe the subject of that verb. It is therefore rather an adjective relative clause than an adverbial temporal clause in any ordinary sense. The Latin idiom is precisely similar: venit nox, quando nemo potest operari. So also the Greek: ἔρχεται νύξ ὅτε οὐδεὶς δύναται ἐργάζεσθαι. In this sentence *ðonne* translates the Latin *cum*: John 16.25 Seo tid cymð, þænne ic eow ne sprece on bigspellum. Latin: venit hora cum jam non in proverbiiis loquar vobis. Greek, ὅτε. See also L. 17.22; John 4.21; 5.25; LS. 1. 510, 384; Wulf. 118.9; 208.30. The relative nature of these clauses appears from a comparison with such cases as this: M. 9.15 soðlice þa dagas cumað þæt se brydguma byð afyrred fram him. For this passage the Hatton MS. reads: þe se bredgume byþ aferred fram heom. Latin: cum auferetur ab eis sponsus. Greek: ὅταν ἀπαρθῇ ἀπ' αὐτῶν ὁ νυμφίος. Modern English *when* is of course used in just the same way, so there is really nothing peculiar about the construction in OE. But in OE., *ðonne* is so often used to introduce a real adverbial temporal clause that this relative use seems at first strange. Further evidence of the fact that *ðonne* occasionally had this relative use in OE. is afforded by these examples: Lch. 1. 324.6 heo hafaþ wæstm sinewealtne 7 byterne, se ys to nymenne to þam timan þonne he æfter his grennyse fealwað. Mk. 24.25 Soðlice ic eow secge þ ic

heonon forð ne drince of þyses wingeardes cynne, oð þone ðæg, þonne ic hine niwne drince on godes rice. In the following example, *ðon* is doubtless for *ðonne*, since MS. O. has *þonne*, and MS. Ca. *þonn̄*: BH. 340.7 ða gehyrde heo semninga in þære lyfte uppe cuðne sweg 7 . . . , þær heo wunedon to gebedum gecegde 7 awehte beon, *þon* heora hwylc of worulde geleored wæs.

NOTE 1. *ðonne* is as common in the poetry as in the prose, and, so far as I have noticed, its uses here are parallel to those of the prose. It would therefore be superfluous to quote examples.

NOTE 2. None of the Middle English forms of *ðonne* seem to be used in Chaucer as temporal conjunctions, and I have only one example from Piers Plowman: B. 16.69 *Thanne* contenance is nerre the croppe as calewey bastarde, *Thanne* bereth the croppe kynde fruite and clenneste of alle, Maydenhode, angeles peres.

NOTE 3. *Then*, the Modern English representative of OE. *ðonne*, is not used to introduce temporal clauses.

NOTE 4. Examples of *þan* in Gothic are numerous. I quote one or two, selected at random: M. 6.6 Iþ þu *þan* bidjais, gagg in heþjon þeina; Mk. 4.15 jah *þan* gahausjand unkarjans, suns qimiþ Satanas jah usnimiþ waurd. Numerous examples might be adduced from the Heliand, but one will suffice: 5603 Than thu an thin riki kumis, wis mi than ginaðig. This also will illustrate the use of the OHG. cognate to OE. *ðonne*: Otfrid 5.19.34 Wer ist manno in lante, ther *thanne* witharstante, *thanne* er iz zi thi u gifiarit, thaz sih ther himil ruarit.

## 2b. *ðonne ðonne*.

The doubled form *ðonne ðonne* is rare in OE. prose, occurring only in Bo. (5 times) and in CP. (33 times), and not at all in the poetry, so far as I have been able to discover.

Originally, in all probability, one element was felt as an adverb, the other as a conjunction; but it is impossible to determine which is which. To all intents and purposes, the two form one conjunction, not differing in meaning or use from the simple *ðonne*.

Since the doubled form is comparatively rare, I subjoin an example, though it presents no peculiarities of use: CP. 311.12 *Ðæt is, ðonne ðonne sio wamb bið aðened mid fylle for giefernesse, ðonne towierpð hio ðurh fierenlustas ða mægenu ðære saule*

### 2c. *ðonne . . . ðonne*.

This divided form of the connective is even more rare than the *ðonne ðonne* form. It occurs six times in Bo., once in Sol., and once in CP. This form needs no extended discussion, since all that has been said concerning the meaning and use of *ðonne* applies here. I submit an example: Bo. 33.14 *þonne þu þonne orsorg wære, 7 þa þeofas þe from gewiten wæron, þonne meahtes þu bismrian þæs andweardan welan*. So far as my observation goes, this form does not occur in the poetry.

### 3. *ða ðe*.

This somewhat rare connective is, of course, made up of the common temporal conjunction *ða* and the relative particle *ðe*. *ða* itself is from the root of the demonstrative *se*, so the particle arose in a manner perfectly logical. Though the connective is by no means found only in early texts, its use may be a survival from a syntactical period in which this was the common form, rather than the simple *ða*, which may possibly have developed out of it. Though the cognate of *ða* is not used as a temporal conjunction in Gothic, the closely related *þan* is; and occasionally the relative particle *ei*, corresponding to OE. *ðe*, is

used with it, as in this example: John 9. 4 *qimiþ nahts, þanei ni manna mag waurkjan*. In ON. *þa* without the relative particle *er* is uncommon.<sup>1</sup>

As to meaning and use, *þa þe* does not differ from the simple *þa*. For data as to its distribution, see the tables and index-list.<sup>2</sup>

In this example from BH. it might be thought that the temporal particle is *æfter þon . . . þe*, and that the *þa* is a demonstrative, and correlative with the *þa* in the main clause, but the sense requires *when* rather than *after*: BH. 306. 18 *Æfter þon þa þe Ceadwola wæs gemægenad . . . , þa geeode he . . . Wiht þæt ealond*. In this example we have a somewhat similar case: Dial. 302. 9 *ac mid þy þa þe his lic wæs gegyred to þweanne, swa hit þeaw wæs æfter his forðfoðre ær man hine bebyrgde, his fet 7 his handa wæron swa hale gewordene, swylce hi næfre næfdon nan dolh ænigre wunde læssan oððe maran*. In M. 18. 24 *þe* is probably a scribal error for *he*: *þa þe þæt gerad sette, him wæs an broht se him sceolde tyn þusend punda*. Instead of the *þa þe* of this example: Chron. 208. 3 *þa þe se cyng Willelm þ geaxode, þa bead he ut scip fyrde*, MS. D. has *þa þa þe*. This, however, is the only instance of the kind I have noted. Thorpe's edition of the Chronicle (Rolls Series 1861) has *þa þe* in this example, which occurs in the entry for 1013 in MS. Cott. Tiber. B. IV: *þa þe he to þære byrig com, þa nolde seo buruhwaru bugan*. All other MSS. have the simple *þa*.

NOTE 1. I have found no example of *þa þe* in OE. poetry.

NOTE 2. In Layamon's Brut, *þa þe* appears a few times, I quote one instance: 2. 385. 16 *þa þe he wes old mon: þa com him ufel on*. See also Brut 2. 50. 12. The Middle English *whan that* is somewhat analogous to *þa þe*. It oc-

<sup>1</sup> See Note 3, under *þa*, p. 17.

<sup>2</sup> p. 25.



curs somewhat rarely, and is even yet met with in archaic style; compare the translation of the passages referred to above. I quote the well-known opening lines of Chaucer's Prologue to the Canterbury Tales: *Whan that* Aprille with his showres soote The droghte of Marche hath perced to the roote, &c.

NOTE 3. As was stated above, the use of *þa* in ON. without the relative particle is unusual. This ON. *þa er* is precisely parallel to the OE. *ða ðe*, and this, taken with the evidence from the Gothic *þanei*, gives considerable support, I think, to the theory that the use of *ða* as a temporal connective has been developed from *ða ðe*. I quote one example from the ON. by way of illustration: En *þa er* Pall biskup hafði setið at stoli tolf vetr i Skalaholti, þa vard sa atburðr, at Herdis for heiman varit eptir Paska.<sup>1</sup>

#### 4. *ðonne ðe*.

Only three examples of this connective have come under my notice, all of which I quote at length: Dial. 206. 26 ac forþon þe se ealda feond þonne getihð to wite 7 to yfle þa forhwyrfdan mæn þurh andan 7 æfæste, þonne þe he sceawaþ þa godan fremian 7 weaxan to Godes wuldre; ÆH. 1. 48. 12 Se wisa Augustinus spræc ymbe ðæs rædinge, and smeade hwi se halga cyðere Stephanus cwæde þæt he gesawe mannes bearn standan æt Godes swyðran, and nolde cweðan Godes bearn; þonne ðe is gefuht wurðlicor be Criste to cweðenne Godes Bearn ðonne mannes Bearn; BH. 350. 23 Ond he þa, þæne þe þæt unmæte sar nom 7 hefigode his scylde gewitnes, . . . cwæð he to þam mæssepreoste.

*Donne* is from the root of the demonstrative pronoun *se*, and the use of the relative particle with it is not, in itself, anything extraordinary. Probably *ðonne* was originally the accusative singular of the demonstrative, and probable its use as a temporal conjunction

<sup>1</sup> Vigfusson and Powell, Icelandic Prose Reader, p. 225.

was developed through this appended *ðe*. If this is so, then we should regard such cases as a survival of an earlier syntactical usage, or as the result of a lingering feeling of the primitive force of *ðonne*. In Gothic the cognate form *þan* is occasionally found with the relative particle *ei*.<sup>1</sup>

The meaning and use of *ðonne ðe* are parallel to those of *ðonne*, and call for no special discussion here. I have not found any examples of this particle in the poetry, or in Middle English. The Middle English and archaic *when that* offers some analogy.<sup>2</sup>

NOTE 1. I quote two of the Gothic examples of the use of *þanei*: M. 25. 40 jah *þanei* tawideduþ ainamma þize minnistane broþre meinaize, mis tawideduþ; Greek, ἐφ' ὅσον. Also M. 25. 45. These are rather causal than temporal in force. John 9. 4 Ik skal waurkjan waurstwa þis sandjandins mik, unte dags ist; qimiþ nahts, *þanei* ni manna mag waurkjan; Greek, ὅτε.<sup>3</sup>

### 5. ðe.

There are ten<sup>4</sup> cases in OE. prose in which *ðe* is used as a temporal connective. Because this use is so rare, I shall quote the examples rather freely, especially since sometimes a particular case could be considered as causal.

That *ðe* is not a weakened form of *ða* is indicated by the fact that in two of the examples it occurs with the present tense. The particle is occasionally used to introduce a causal clause or even a result-clause<sup>5</sup>. I have not been able to find parallel uses of the corresponding relative particles in other Germanic languages, save that *er* is frequently used to introduce temporal clauses in ON. O. 2. 6 Hu Sar-

<sup>1</sup> Cf. under *ða ðe*, p. 23.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. under *ða ðe*, note 2, p. 24.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. under *ða ðe*, note 3, p. 25.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. p. 186, 105.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Benham, The Expression of Result in Old English Prose (still unpublished).

danapalus wæs se siþemesta cyning in Asiria, ond hu hiene beswac Arabatus his ealdormon; 7 hu þa wifmen bysmredan hiora weras, þe hie fleon woldon. On this Wülfing remarks: 'Oder sollte *ðe* relatives Fürwort sein, das durch *hie* ergänzt und verdeutlicht wird?' If this were the only example of *ðe* used to introduce temporal clauses in OE., it might be easier to accept this explanation; but since there are some nine other instances of a similar use, it seems unnecessary to explain it in any such way. If we include the instances in which *ðe* is used to introduce non-temporal subordinate clauses, the necessity for explaining away its use here is still further diminished. In all the cases except two, *ðe* is to be translated *when*. In the Laws there is found one case in which it seems to demand the rendering *after* and is used to translate the Latin *postquam*.<sup>1</sup>

O. 148. 31 to ðon þæt he wolde þæt þa folc him þy swiþor to buge þe he hæfde hiera ealdhlafordes sunu on his gewælde. Here *ðe* has a causal coloring, as *ða* often does, but the primary notion is that of time. Thorpe translates: Because he would that the people should the more readily submit to him, *when* he had their old lord's son in his power.

BH. 240. 6 Ono þe ða þreo winter gefylled wæron, æfte Pendan slege þæs cyninges, þa wunnon 7 fuhton wið Osweo Mercna heretogan.

Sol. 8. 5 Ðu þe oferswiðdest ðonne deað, þe þu sylf arise, and æac dest þæt ealle men arisað. Here the temporal meaning seems clear, and Hargrove translates: Thou who didst overcome death *when* Thou thyself didst arise, and also wilt make all men arise.

CP. 73. 9 Ðonan cymeð sio mettrymnes ðam healedum, ðe se wæta ðara innoða astigð to ðam lime,

<sup>1</sup> p. 104.

*ðonne* *asuilð* hit and *ahefegað* & *unwlitegað*. Sweet translates: Hydrocele is caused by the humours of the body collecting in the member, so that it swells and becomes heavy and disfigured; which certainly does not help us to understand the syntax of the sentence. I should punctuate differently, placing a colon after *healdum*, and construing *ðonne* as a demonstrative adverb correlative to *ðe*, the temporal conjunction.

CP. 85. 21 we magon beon getrymede mid Johannes cuide *ðæs* godspelleres, *ðe* he cuæð. Sweet does not translate the words at all. Here the particle might be construed as being a relative, which of course it most often is. Or it might be considered a weakened form of *ða*, especially since the expression *ða he cweð* occurs almost hundreds of times in this text. But the fact that the Cotton MS. also has *ðe* makes against this hypothesis. I prefer to consider it a temporal conjunction, used as *ða* so often is in this connection.

Dial. 273. 17 ic þa gyt wæs wuniende *ealling* in þam mynstre, *þe* he me þis cyðde, þæt, &c. This is one of the clearest examples I have seen, and there seems to be no doubt as to the temporal character of the *ðe*-clause.

BlH. 129. 25 ge efne eac manige hæþne men un-geleafsume oft þurh þæt to godes geleafan gecyrraþ, *þe* hie geseoð hu God þa stowe weorþaþ. This example also has a causal coloring; but it is secondary, and the temporal notion is the chief one.

To sum up, then, the evidence of these ten cases establishes, beyond doubt, the fact that *ðe* is used as a temporal conjunction in OE. prose. Wülfing notes only the one case in O., which he considers doubtful.

NOTE 1. I have found no illustrations of *ðe* used as a temporal connective in the poetry.

NOTE 2. The ON. use of the relative particle *er* as a temporal conjunction offers a parallel to *ðe* temporal<sup>1</sup>. I quote one example, but the number might be increased indefinitely: Cleasby's Icelandic Dictionary, Egils Saga: næst *er* ver komum.

#### 6a. *swa oft swa*.

Though the cognates of the elements of this connective occur in about all the Germanic dialects, I have been able to discover the corresponding temporal connective only in Gothic, *swa ufte swa*. It corresponds etymologically, and also respecting its use, to the Modern English *as often as*. It occurs but seldom, and I have found only about eighty instances of its use in OE. prose, while I have not noted it at all in the poetry, nor in Middle English.

In this example the verb is omitted: Lch. 1. 398.15 *cweþe . . . pater noster swa oft swa þæt oðer . . .*

Occasionally there is a balancing or correlative *swa* in the main clause, thus: LS. 2. 292.1200 and *swa oft swa he þyder ferde, swa forhtodon þa deobla on ge-wit-seocum mannum* Much more frequently do we find a demonstrative *ðonne* at the head of the main clause, as in this example: Wulf. 106.28 and *swa oft swa hy fyrdedon oððe to gefeohte woldon, þonne offrodon hy heora lac*. However, in the larger number of cases we have no such balancing adverb, but the main clause follows directly, thus: O. 218.15 *swa oft swa hiene Romane mid gefeohte gesohton, he hie simle gefliemde*.

NOTE 1. The two parallels in Gothic occur in the same chapter and in consecutive verses: 1. Corinth. 11. 25 *sa stikls so niujo triggwa ist in meinamma bloþa; þata waurkjaip,*

<sup>1</sup> See under *ða ðe*, p. 23.

*swa ufta swe* drigkaip, du meinai gamundai; 1. Corinth. 11. 26  
*Swa ufta auk swe* matjaip þana hlaif jah þana stikl drigkaip  
 daupau frauins gakannjaip, unte qimai.

**6b swa oft . . . swa.**

That *swa oft swa* had not become altogether a closed compound seems to be shown by these two examples: O. 274. 24 7 siþþan he wæs Sapan þæm cyninge to ðon geset, oþ his lifes ende, þæt he *swa oft* sceolde stupian *swa* he to his horse wolde: CP. 273. 12 forðæm hit gewitt *sua oft* fram us *sua* us unnytte geðohtas to cumað. Here we may see the origin of the particle. The *swa oft* belongs properly to the main clause, the *swa* to the subordinate member of the sentence. The temporal character was originally only incidental, and the idea of comparison predominated. But for the historical period of OE. the temporal force is the only one felt, and the whole expression is a compound conjunction used to introduce a clause of repeated action.

It is interesting to note that one of the two examples (1. Corinth. 11. 26) of *swa ufta swe* in Gothic is of this type.

The two examples quoted above are the only ones I have found in the prose, and I have noted none in the poetry.

**6c. swa . . . oftost.**

This connective is very rare, only five examples having come under my notice in all OE. prose; but these occur in texts ranging from Ælfred to Wulfstan. Probably in origin the construction is modal, but in none of the cases that I have noted could this be considered the primary signification. It is noticeable that this construction is used only with

the optative present of *mugan*; and that in every case the subject of the subordinate clause is placed between the *swa* and the *oftost*, while nothing else ever is. CP. 5. 3 & forðon ic ðe bebiode ðæt ðu ðo swæ ic geliefe ðæt ðu wille, ðæt ðu ðe ðissa woruldðinga to ðæm geæmetige swæ ðu oftost mæge, ðæt, &c. Since the number of examples is so few, I list them here for convenience of reference: Æ. Th. 445.23; Inst. 415.7; Wulf. 73.21; 290.22.

NOTE 1. Grein's *Sprachschatz* gives only one reference for this connective in the poetry: *Metra des Boëtius*<sup>1</sup>, 22.9 sece þæt siððan on his sefan innan 7 forlæte an swa he oftost mæge ælcne ymbhogan.

#### 6d. swa oft swa . . . oftost.

This curious construction seems to arise from a confusion of the common *swa oft swa* construction and the rare *swa . . . oftost*. I have found it only in OE. prose, and have been able to discover no parallels in either the poetry or the other Germanic dialects. Both examples are from Wulf: 143. 11 and þæt we swuteljað swa oft swa we oftost pater noster singað; 234. 11 ðonne lærað hy us eac swa oft swa we oftost magon, þæt we secan ure cyrican.

The origin of the construction from a confusion (contamination) of the two constructions treated above is especially clear from a study of the latter example. Here we have the characteristic position of the subject, and the characteristic verb of the *swa . . . oftost* type, as well as the full *swa oft swa* formula of the more common variety. It seems clear also that in the first example the *oftost* is dragged in by association with the *swa* immediately preceding.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Grein, *Bibliothek*, vol. 3.

<sup>2</sup> For an example of a similar mixed construction, see *swa lange . . . oð ðæt* p. 133.

7a. prep. + object (noun of time) + *ðe*.

Occasionally what seems to be a real temporal clause is introduced by a prepositional formula of the nature indicated above. In general, it may be said that such clauses are with difficulty distinguished from mere relative adjective clauses qualifying the noun of time in the quasi-stereotyped phrase introducing the clause. No hard and fast line can be drawn, for the temporal nature of the clause is incidental, and its primary function is to characterize the noun of time. But often the phrase (*prep. + object + ðe*) may be translated *when*, or is logically equivalent to *when*, and the time of the main verb is fixed by the relative clause.

I have noted clauses of this kind, denoting *time when*, introduced by *on*, *in*, *to*, and *ymbe*. The nouns used as objects are *dæg*, *niht*, *æfen*, *gear*, *tid*, *tima*, *first*, *gefeoht*, and *fleam*. The most common case is the dative, but the accusative and instrumental are also found. *Ðe*, of course, is merely the relative particle, and may represent any number, gender, or case. The noun of time may or may not be modified.

The following examples will illustrate the normal form of this clause, as well as the cases, prepositions, &c., which are found: L. 17. 29 Soðlice *on þam dæge þe* Loð eode of sodoma hyt rinde fyr 7 swef of heofone; Dial. 29. 30 7 sona ongæt þæt seo Godes fæmne wæs gehæled *in þa ylcan tide, þe* se Godes þeow cyrde; O. 168. 36 *Ymbe ðone timan þe* þiss wæs, . . . , he besierede þæt folc; Gen. 21. 8 and Abraham worhte, swa swa heora gewuna wæs, mycelne gebeorscipe to blysse his mannum *on þone dæg, þe* man þæt cild fram soce Sara ateah.

Sometimes the relative particle is separated from its antecedent by the main clause, as in this example:



Dial. 172. 18 he þa acsiende smeaðancollice ongeat, þæt on ða ylcan tid wæs þæs biscopes forðfore, þe se drihnes wer oncneow his upstige to heofonum. So also in this: LS. 1, 48. 410 On þam dæge þu scealt cuman to me þe ic com to mannum. This example, I think, can hardly be considered a true temporal clause. Its difference from the following example will perhaps show the distinction, as well as give some idea as to the difficulty of distinguishing: ÆH. 1. 286. 22 Efne ðu gesihst ðone mannan beforan ðe, ac on ðære tide þe ðu his neb gesihst, þu ne gesihst na his hricg; ÆH. 2. 356. 8 and wæron forði þa gebytlu on ðam dæge swiðost geworhte, ðe he ða ælmeßsan gewunelice dælde; Dial. 30. 12 sona swa þæs cnihtes fæder him fram cyrde, on þa ylcan tid he oncneow, þæt him wæs eft lif seald, þe he ær gehyrde of þæs hælendes sylfes muðe, þæt him lif gehaten wæs.

The following is the only example I have noted in which *to* is used in these phrases: Lch. 1. 256. 12 7 to ðam timan ðe se fefor to ðam men genealæcean wylle, smyre hyne þærmid. The word-order is peculiar in the following sentence, but is due to the Latin: OET. Vesp. Psalms 19. 10 geher us in dege in ðæm we gecegað ðec. Latin: exaudi nos in die qua invocaverimus te. þa is probably for þe in this example: BH. 168. 2 þa gelomþ in seolfan tid, þa mon þone cyning fulwade, ðæt þær wæs, &c. This view is supported by the fact that MSS. B. and Ca. have þe.

O. 206. 13 þa on ðæm gefeohte þe hie þæt fæsten brecan woldon, wæs Romana fela mid fl anum ofscotod. *Gefeoht* is not strictly a noun of time, but the construction is identical with that of the other examples, and the word does represent the time in which the action of the main verb occurs.

It will appear from the notes given below that this construction is common to many languages, as would naturally be expected.

Note 1. I have made no close examination of OE. poetry with this point in mind, but I have noted this example in the *Christ*. Here, however the text may be corrupt<sup>1</sup>. *Christ* 1097 þæt, þeah, to teonum [geteod] weorþeð þeodum to þrea, þam þe þonc Gode Womwyrcente wi[h]t[e] ne cūpun, þæs he on þone halgan beam ahongen wæs Fore moncynnes manforwyrhtu, þær he leoflice lifes ceapode, þeoden moncynne, on þam *dæge*, Mid þy weorðe — þe no wom dyde His lichoma leahtra firena — Mid þy usic alyside. Whitman translates: 'But this shall be for an affliction and a punishment to men, to those malefactors who knew no gratitude to God, that He, the King, was crucified on the holy rood for the sins of mankind, on that day when He whose body knew no sin nor base iniquity lovingly purchased life for men with the price with which He ransomed us<sup>2</sup>.

Note 2. I have noted this example in Chaucer's Prologue (43), which though it does not indicate *time when*, illustrates the general features of this kind of clause: A *Knight* ther was, and that a worthy man, That *fro the tyme that* he first began To riden out he loved chivalrie, Trouthe and honour, fredom and courtesie.

Note 3. This verse from L. will show the Modern English form of this idiom: 17. 30 after the same manner shall it be *in the day that* the Son of man is revealed. The Italian is similar, thus: Dante *Purg.* 28. 49 Tu mi fai rimembrar dove e qual era Proserpina *nel tempo che* perdette La madre lei.

NOTE 4. The Latin idiom will be seen from the example which follows: Gen. 5.1 *In die qua* creavit Deus hominem, ad similitudinem Dei fecit illum. Compare also the Greek: L. 1. 25 Οὕτως μοι πεποίηκεν Κύριος ἐν ἡμέραις αἷς ἐπέιδεν ἀφελεῖν ὄνειδός μου ἐν ἀνθρώποις.

<sup>1</sup> See the note to 1097 in Cook's ed.    <sup>2</sup> C. H. Whitman, Boston, 1900.

7b. noun of time (in oblique case) + *ðe*.

This construction is closely analogous to the preceding, but is met with somewhat less frequently. We find the same difficulty spoken of in relation to the preceding class of clauses, in distinguishing clauses virtually temporal from relative adjective clauses; though in general the number of doubtful cases is not so great.

I have noted the following nouns of time used in this way: *dæg*, *niht*, *tid*, *gear*, and *gefeoht*. The case is usually the instrumental, though the genitive and dative are also found. As before, I quote examples to show the norm of this construction, illustrate the use of cases, &c.: Chron. 79. 26 *se forðferde þy geare þe seo sunne ađystrode*; ÆH. 2. 186. 22 *þæs geares ðe he gewat he cyðde his forðsið on ær sumum his leorning-cnihtum*; O. 226. 17 *Ac þære ilcan niht þe mon on dæg hæfde þa burg mid stacum gemearcod, ..., wulfas atugan þa stacan up*. BH. 330. 12 *þæm tidum swiðust þa hende onlesde wæron, þæm þe for hine þa symbelnesse mæssena mærsode wæron*. This example is unusual in that the demonstrative is repeated with the *ðe*, which does not immediately follow its antecedent.

Sometimes another part of the sentence, usually the main clause, comes between the noun of time and *ðe*, as in the example from BH. 330. 12 quoted above. So also: Mart. 6. 17 *þy ilcan dæge ic to heofonum astah þe ic to eorðan com*; Dial. 306. 15 *hi onfundon 7 geacsodon, þæt þy ylcan dæge þeodric se cyning wæs dead, þe hit gecyþed wæs 7 geowed þam Godes þeowe be his ænde*.

NOTE 1. I have noted one example of this construction in the Christ. Probably it is as frequent in the poetry as in the prose, since it seems to be common to many languages. Christ 1153 *Hwæt! eac scyldge men Gesegon to soðe, þy*

*sylfan dæge þe* [he] on þrowade, þeodwundor micel, þætte eorðe ageaf þa hyre on lægun.

NOTE 2. In Middle English *that* replaced OE. *ðe*, and this use of *that* has persisted to the present time. I cite one Middle English example: Amis. A. Amil. 2437 Thei come home *that ylk a day*, *That* here bredale was holde<sup>1</sup>.

NOTE 3. In Modern English we sometimes find the parallel construction, though my reading leads me to think that the prepositional formula occurs more often than the construction we are now considering. For example, in the Authorized Version, L. 17. 29 reads: But *the same day that* Lot went out of Sodom it rained fire and brimstone from heaven; but the Revised Version has: but *in the day that* Lot went out from Sodom it rained fire and brimstone from heaven<sup>2</sup>. The French idiom does not have the prepositional formula at all, so far as I have been able to learn. This sentence will illustrate the usage in that language: Je suis arrivé à N. Y. *le jour que* mon ami se préparait à faire un voyage en Europe.

NOTE 4. So far as I know, only one example of this construction is to be found in Gothic, though sentences in which the prepositional formula is used are occasionally met with. The example I have noted is as follows: L. 17. 30 Bi þamma wairþiþ *þamma daga*, *ei* sunus mans andhuljada. It follows the Greek exactly.

NOTE 5. Of course in Latin the ablative denotes *time when*, usually without a preposition, so the parallel to this construction is very common. I quote the Latin for L. 17. 29: Qua die autem exiit Lot a Sodomis, pluit ignem et sulphur de coelo. The Greek is: ἡ δὲ ἡμέρα ἐξῆλθεν Λὼτ ἀπὸ Σοδόμων ἔβρεξεν ΠΥΡ καὶ Θεῖον ἀπ' ΟὐΡΑΝΟΥ. It will be observed that in neither of these cases is the relative employed.

### 8a. mid ðam ðe.

This conjunction is made up, as so many are, of the preposition, plus its object (here in the dative), plus the relative particle. I find the same difficulty

<sup>1</sup> Weber, Metrical Romances, 2.

<sup>2</sup> For the Latin and Greek of this example, see note 5.

as with the other conjunctions of the *mid*-class — that of determining the precise relation of the actions of the two clauses to each other. But I am convinced that the primary use of the conjunctions with *mid* is to introduce a clause indicating *time when*. I have assigned examples to the different classes as seemed to me most appropriate. A general discussion of the use of the conjunctions of the *mid*-class will be found under the head of *mid ðy*. Since this applies to all conjunctions made up of *mid* and its object, whether dative or instrumental, with or without *ðe*, no extended consideration is required here.

The spelling *ðæm* has been noted in O. and CP.; elsewhere *ðam* alone is found. I quote examples to show differences in spelling, use of *ða* in the main clause, &c.: O. 292. 30 *Ac mid þæm þe* he from þære clusan afaren wæs wiþ þære scipa, *þa* com Theodosius þærto; Jos. 2. 5 And hig urnon on æfnunge ut of þissere birig, *mid þam þe þa* burhgatu belocene wurdon. The Latin runs: *cumque* porta clauderetur. Jos. 4. 18 *Mid þam þe* hig ferdon fram þære ea Jordanen, *þa* arn se stream forð, swa swe he ær dyde; Latin: *cumque* ascendissent. I have noted two examples in which *mid ðam* is repeated at the head of the main clause, thus: ÆH. 1. 122. 33 *Mid þam ðe* he forbead þam gehæledum hreoflian þæt he hit nanum men ne cydde, *mid þam* he sealde us bysne þæt, &c.; LS. 2. 422. 363 *Mid þam þe* ic hogode helpa þinum wife. *mid þam* ic forleas min. This example is found in the Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew, a poorly written and often corrupt text: HL. 119. 57 7 *midþa ðe* he hæfde XX wintræ, *þa* nam he wif him to make. MS. J. has *mid þam þe*, which is doubtless the correct reading, and *midþa* is due to a mere scribal error. The form *mid þæm ða* is found in Quot. 151. 3.

NOTE 1. So far as I have been able to discover, *mid ðam ðe* does not occur as a temporal conjunction in OE. poetry.

NOTE 2. The Gothic *miþþanei* presents a very close parallel to OE. *mid ðam ðe*, as to both structure and use. I quote an example or two for comparison: L. 18. 35 Warþ þan, *miþþanei* nehwa was is Jaireikon, blinda sums sat faur wig du aihtron; L. 2. 27 Jah qam in ahmin in þizai alh; jah *miþþanei* inn attauhun berusjos þata barn Jesu, ei tawidedeina bi biuhtja witodis bi ina, (28) jah is andnam ina ana armins seinans.

### 8b. *mid ðy ðe*.

The fifty-odd examples of this connective that I have collected occur in texts from BH. to Epis., the greatest number in any one text being in BlH. In BH. the form *mid ðy* is most common, as is also the case with Guth. As is to be expected, the meaning and use do not differ from that of *mid ðy*, and for a general discussion the reader is referred to the paragraphs on that connective.<sup>1</sup> In Dial., especially in MS. O., we frequently find the spelling *mid ty ðe*, and in BlH. the spelling *mid þi þe*. With this connective, as with *mid ðy*, we find *ða* used in a variety of ways. The examples quoted are selected with the view of illustrating the different spellings and this use of *ða*: Dial. 49. 25 *mid þy þe* he þæt heafod upp ahof of þam gebede, he funde gesund þæt leohtfæt; BH. 168. 26 *Mid þy þe* he eft Cænwalh on his rice gesetted wæs, þa com in Westseaxe sum biscop of Ibernian Scotta ealonde; BH. 136. 23 *Mid þy þe* he þa se cyning from þæm foresprecenan biscope sohte 7 ahsode heora halignesse, . . . þa andsworede he; BlH. 249. 18 *Mid þi þe þa* wæron gefyllede seofon dagas swa swa him Drihten bebed, he ferde of [Mar] madonia ceastre; Dial. 126. 20 *mid ty þe* þis wæs gehealden for þam

<sup>1</sup> p. 41.

gewunan þæs ymbhydiglican regoles, þa sume dæge hit gelamp, þæt þa gebroðra eodon ut to sumre spræce; CP. 55. 11 *Mid ði ðe* he sceolde his gestreon toweorpan, *mid ðy* he hie gadrað. This is the only example I have noted with *mid ðy* repeated at the head of the main clause.

#### 8c. *mid ðan ðe*.

This connective is found only in Guth. I have noted eight instances of its use there, as against one occurrence of *mid ðy ðe*. There is nothing to add, by way of generalization, to what has been said in considering *mid ðy*, and I shall content myself, therefore, with quoting an example or two: Guth. 56. 3 *Mid þan þe* hi faran woldon, þa brohton hi forð ane glofe; Guth. 52. 5 *Mid þan þe* hig þa on manegum gespræcum heora gastlic lif smeadon, þa comon þær sæmninga in twa swalewan fleogan; Guth. 86. 19 And þa þære æfter fylgendan nihte *mid þan þe* se foresprecena broðor nihtlicum gebedum befeall, þa geseah he eall þæt hus uton mid mycelre beorhtnesse ymbseald.

#### 8d. *mid ðon ðe*.

I have noted only two instances of the use of this connective, and both of these are in O. Wülfing assigns the first of these to his third class of temporal clauses: 'Nebensätze zur Angabe der Dauer einer Handlung oder ihrer Gleichzeitigkeit mit einer anderen.' But, as in many instances of the clauses with *mid ðy*, I cannot see that the clause has any other force than to indicate *time when*. The Latin has the ablative absolute construction — *devicta Aegypto*, and we therefore derive no aid from that source. It is worthy of note, however, that the participle in the Latin ablative absolute construction is past, and therefore to some extent bears out my position. The other example

Wülfiſing assigns to his second class — ‘Nebensätze zur Angabe der unmittelbaren Folge einer Handlung auf eine andere.’ Here the Latin is lacking, so that again we are left in doubt. Thorpe translates *when* for the first example, and *after* for the second. I think it mere hair-splitting to assign either to any other class than that indicating *time when*. The action of the two clauses of the first example could hardly have been simultaneous, and there is nothing to show that that of the one clause followed that of the other immediately in the second. I quote both examples in full: O. 78 3 se [Ciruses sunu], *mid þon þe* he Egypte oferwon gedyde þæt nan hæþen cyning [ær] gedon ne dorste, þæt wæs þæt he heora godgielsum eallum wiðsoc, 7 hie æfter þæm mid ealle towearp; O. 258. 25 Ac *mid þon þe* hie þæs cristendomes onfengon, hie wæron swa geþwære 7 swa gesibsume þæt hie ealle forgeafon þæm casere þa fæhþe þe his mæg hæfde wið hie ær geworht. The example quoted from BIH. under *mid ðy*<sup>1</sup> indicates the course of development for this sort of connective. Since it seems to me so significant, I quote it here also: BIH. 133. 13 he cwæþ, *Mid þon dæge* wæs gefylled se dæg þe is nemned Pentecosten ymb fiftig nihta æfter þære gecyþdan æriste, þa wæron ealle þa apostolas wunigende on anre stowe.

### 8e. *mid ðam*.

Only one instance in which *mid ðam* is used without the relative particle has been noted. Of course there is nothing noteworthy in this form; it is exactly analogous to *mid ðy*. The meaning is evidently rendered by *when*. I quote the example: LS. 2. 62. 135 and *mid ðam* he ineode, þa aras se cyning.

<sup>1</sup> p. 45.



8f. *mid ðy*.

Though the cognates of both the elements of this conjunction occur in most of the Germanic languages, I have not found that this particular combination occurs except in OHG. In this it is often used as a temporal conjunction by Tatian, but not at all by Otfrid. In OE., *mid ðy* occurs in general only in Anglian texts, over half of the examples being in BH.

We have first to consider the meaning of the conjunction. Hittle<sup>1</sup> thinks that the primary force of *mid* is local, and that its uses of denoting accompaniment and agency are developed from this. We should expect, therefore, that *mid ðy* would denote that the action of the main clause and that of the temporal clause were simultaneous, and of equal duration. Wülfig assigns clauses with *mid ðy* to the class: 'Nebensätze zur Angabe der Dauer einer Handlung oder ihrer Gleichzeitigkeit mit einer anderen.' My own study of these clauses has led me to differ widely from this view. It is true that sometimes *mid ðy* has the meaning of *while*, and that sometimes the action of the two clauses is simultaneous; and whenever this has seemed to me to be the case, I have assigned the example to the appropriate class. But, on the other hand, *mid ðy* is very often used to introduce a clause which does not denote duration, nor simultaneous action. Much more often the particle would bear the translation *after* rather than *while*. In BH., in which it occurs most frequently, it will be remembered, it is used to translate the Latin *cum* much more frequently than *dum*. I think here it is equivalent to *ða* or *ðonne*, and is used simply to indicate when the action takes place. In such sentences the particular relation of the two

<sup>1</sup> Zur Geschichte des ae. Präp. *mid* und *with*, Anglistische Forschungen 5.

actions is not emphasized, but rather the time of the occurrence; to quote Mätzner:<sup>1</sup> 'Dieser Nebensatz (der Zeitbestimmung) kann zuvörderst das Wann? im Allgemeinen als einen Zeitpunkt oder Zeitraum innerhalb einer jeden der drei Zeitsphären bestimmen, worauf die Handlung des Hauptsatzes bezogen ist, welche ebenso eine gegenwärtige, vergangene, oder zukünftige sein kann. Die im Nebensatze enthaltene Handlung kann tatsächlich mit der des Hauptsatzes zusammenfallen oder ungleichzeitig sein; beide können einander decken, oder eine die andere, wie der Zeitraum den Zeitpunkt, einschliessen. Diese an sich möglichen, aus den Zeitformen des Nebensatzes und des Hauptsatzes sowie aus dem Zusammenhange und der Natur der Handlungen sich ergebenden Verhältnisse werden durch die hier im Satze enthaltene Zeitpartikel für sich nicht angedeutet, sie ist am wenigsten charakteristisch und darum verschiedener Beziehungen fähig, und könnte zum Teil mit anderen wechseln.' This, I think, fairly expresses the use of *mið ðy*, and I believe that the truth of this will appear clearly from an inspection of the examples I shall quote.

The form *mið ðy* occurs most frequently in the Northumbrian Gospels. In fact, it there almost excludes both *ða* and *ðonne* — occurring 120 times in M., 119 in Mk., 180 in L., and 126 in John, according to Cook's Glossary<sup>2</sup>. Here also it is used to translate both the Latin *cum* and *dum*, but in fully 90 per cent. of the cases it stands for the former. The use of *ða* with this connective is one of its peculiarities. It occurs both in the subordinate clause and in the main clause, or in either. Since the frequent use of this

<sup>1</sup> Englische Grammatik 2. 431.

<sup>2</sup> A Glossary of the Old Northumbrian Gospels, Halle, 1894.

connective is almost peculiar to BH., and since all the variations with *ða* and *ðonne* are represented, I have selected all the examples for quoting from this text. The attention of the reader is especially directed to the time-relation of the two clauses, and the use of *ða* and *ðonne*. BH. 28. 18 *Mid ðy* Peohtas wif næfdon, bædon him fram Scottum. Certainly here *mid ðy* is best translated by *when*, since neither the 'Dauer' nor the 'Gleichzeitigkeit' of the action is thought of. Neither clause contains *ða*, be it noticed. This example is very similar, and *mid ðy* represents *cum*: BH. 438. 13 *Mid ðy* se adl swiðe weox 7 hefegade, eft se cyng ineode to him hiene to niosianne 7 to lærenne. *Mid ðy* also renders *cum* in this example: BH. 234. 6 Forðon *mid þy* he micelre tide æfter lifde 7 georne halig gewreotu leornade 7 smeade, *þa* æt nyhstan onget he 7 geleornade in gaste, þæt he ne wæs mid wætre fulwihtes bæðes Gode to bearne acenned. Here we have *ða* at the head of the main clause, as a sort of demonstrative relative to *mid ðy*. Hardly any other translation than *when* would give the force of *mid ðy* in this example: BH. 304. 25 *Mid ðy* he *þa* se bisceop *þa* stowe onfeng, *þa* gestapelode he þær mynster. Here we have a *ða*, in addition to the *mid ðy*. Its office seems to be to make the time more specific, and to point to the *þa* at the head of the main clause. Sentences of this type are very common in BH.: 112. 7 *Mid þy* heo *þa* gesegon þone biscop mæssan on symbelnesse mærsian in Godes cirican 7 þæm folce husl syllan, wæron heo mid elreorde dysignesse onblawne. In this example we have no *ða* at the head of the main clause.

BH. 34. 22 *Mid þy* *ða* se foresprecena Godes man fela daga mid him wæs, . . . *þa* becom þæt to earan þæs manfullan ealdormannes. In the latter example

*ða* has come to stand next to *mid ðy*, and we also have *ða* at the head of the main clause. This example is similar to the preceding, save that we find no *ða* in the main clause: BH. 232. 6 *Mid þy þa* ten dagas þæs feowerteglecan fæstnes to lafe wæron, cwom ærendwraçe, se ðe hine to cyninge feran het. For the relative occurrence of these combinations of *mid ðy* and *ða*, consult the index-list<sup>1</sup>. There each variation has been noted. That *mid ðy* in BH. is used in place of *ða* is indicated also by the fact that only eight or nine of the one hundred and thirty-nine examples are in the present tense.

It is also worthy of remark, perhaps, that in more than 90 per cent. of the instances with this connective, the subordinate clause comes before the main clause.

In a few cases *ðonne* takes the place of *ða*, and I note that when this happens the tense is always present: BH. 86. 11 *Mit þy* heo þonne gelimpeð seo bismrung for oferfyllo, þonon hafað þæt mod hwylc-ehugu cyld; BH. 88. 2 *Mid þy þonne* se lichoma onginneð lustfullian, þonne onginneð þær neo syn acenned beon; BH. 82. 25 *Mid þy þonne* seo lufu ne bið tudres to tilienne, ac se willa ma wealdeð in þam weorce þære gemengnisse, þonne habbað þa gesinhiwan ðearfe be heora gemengdnesse, þæt hi wepen 7 hreowe don. In all these examples *mit ðy* translates the Latin *cum*.

BH. 290. 6 *Mid ðy ðapa* seo foresprecene Cristes þeowe Torhtgyð þreo ger þa gena æfter þære hlaf-digan forðfore in þissum life hæfd wæs, ond heo swa swiðe mid þa untrymnisse þe we forecwædon, soden wæs, þætte na þa baan an to lafe wæron. Formally, at least, this sentence has no main clause. For this *ðaða* MS. B. has simply *ða*, which is probably

<sup>1</sup> p. 191 ff.

the correct reading, since, to my knowledge, *ðaða* is never used adverbially. So, for this example, MSS. B. and Ca. have *mid þy*: BH. 418.15 *Mid ða* Pippin se cyning Froncna þas ðing geherde 7 geacsade, *þa* sende he weorod 7 heht hiora lichoman to him gelædan. This example shows the particle in course of development, or at least enables us to deduce the process. It is the only one of the sort I have noted: BIH. 133.13 he cwæþ, *mid þon dæge* wæs gefylled se dæg þe is nemned Pentecosten ymb fiftig nihta æfter þære gecyðdon æriste, *þa* wæron ealle þa apostolas wunigende on anre stowe. BIH. are comparatively late, but the archaic<sup>1</sup> nature of the language is very manifest, and perhaps this is another evidence of that fact.

I have not been able to find any parallels in the poetry, in Middle English, or in Modern English.

NOTE 1. The Gothic *bipe* offers some analogy, and I therefore quote an example: Mk. 4.10 Iþ *bipe* warþ sundro, frehun ina þai bi ina miþ þaim twalibim þizos gajukons.

NOTE 2. In OHG., *mit thu* is used in very much the same way as *mid ðy* in OE. In Otfred, however, it occurs only as an adverb, but in Tatian it is common as a conjunction. I subjoin several examples for the sake of comparison: Tatian 44.15 *Mit thiu* sie iuuer ahtent in therro burgi, flohet in andera (cum autem persequentur); Tatian 5.7 Cristes cunni uuas so: *Mit thiu* uuas gimahalit thes heilantes muoter Maria Josebe, er thiu zisamane quamin, uuas siu fundan so scaffaniu fon themo heilagen geiste. The Latin is: *cum* esset desponsata. Tatian 2.3 Uuard tho, *mit thiu* her in biscofheite giordinot uuas in antreitu sines uuehsales fora gote, . . . thaz her uuihrouh branti ingangenti in gotes tempal. Latin: Factum est autem *cum* . . .

### 8g. *mid ðan*.

I have noted this form of the instrumental with *mid* used as a temporal conjunction, only in Guth.,

<sup>1</sup> See Morris' Preface to his ed. of BIH.

and have only six examples of it so used. Since its meaning and use do not differ from those of *mid ðy*, no further discussion is necessary at this point. It will be noted that the form *mid ðy* is much more frequent in Guth. than even *mid ðan*. I quote two examples to show the use of *ða* with the connective: Guth. 94. 22 *Mid þan* he þa wæs forhtlice geworden for þære ungewunelican gesihþe, *ða* ge-seah he þone eadigan wer Guthlac on engellicre ansyne him beforan standan; Guth. 22. 21 *Ða* þæs on mergen *mid þan* hit dæg wæs, þa ferde he eft to þam mynstre.

#### 8h. mit te.

I have noted this weakened form of *mid ðy* in only two texts — OET. Vesp. Psalms, and Chad. — and have only three examples in all.

Since this particle does not differ in meaning and use from *mid ðy*, any extended discussion is unnecessary here. I quote the examples in full: OET. Vesp. Psalms 105.44 7 gelocade hie, . . . , *mit te* he geherde gebeodu heora. The Latin has: Et respexit, . . . *cum* exaudiret orationes eorum. Chad. 144. 113 *mitte* hit þa wunade on þere stowe swa swa tide fec, swilce hit þunnurad were 7 he þa ymbhygdie mode spyrede hwet þ were, a ontynde se biscop ceadda þ egðyrl þes ge bed huses; Chad. 143. 97 *Mitte* se biscop ceadda þer inne bec redde 7 he þer ute warhte, swa hwet swa hit gesegen wes, þ hit þearf wes. The sentence is not complete.

#### 8i. mittes.

So far as I have noted, this form occurs only in Chad., five cases in all. It is derived probably from *mid* and *ðys*, the instrumental of *ðes*. Since the syn-

tax agrees with that of *mid ðy*, no discussion need be given here. I quote one or two examples, and for convenience give the references for the others: Chad. 144.121 *Mittes* heo þa swa comon þa manode he ceadda heo erest þ̅ hi lufan 7 megen 7 sibbe him be tweonum 7 ealle ge leaf nisse heoldon mid ealre anrednesse; Chad. 145.178 7 *mittes* hine freg-nadem his gingran for hwon he þ̅ dyde, Ða andwyrde he him 7 cweð. Also! Chad. 144.136; 147.234; 147.252.

8j. *mid ðon dæge*.

This example is interesting chiefly for the light it throws on the origin and meaning of the *mid*-formulæ in general. Since it has already been utilized twice, once in the discussion of *mid ðy*<sup>1</sup>, and again in that of *mid ðon ðe*<sup>2</sup>, it will be sufficient to quote it here: BIH. 133.13 he cwæþ, *mid þon dæge* wæs gefylled se dæg þe is nemned Pentecosten ymb fiftig nihta æfter þære gecyþdan ærist, þa wæron ealle þa apostolas wunigende on anre stowe. We have had occasion several times before to speak of the consciously or unconsciously archaic nature of the language of BIH., and this is probably another instance in which an earlier syntactical usage has been preserved.

8k. *mid ðan ðæt*.

In this sentence from Guth., *mid ðan ðæt* seems to be used as a temporal conjunction: Guth. 66.20 Ðæt gelamp *mid þan þæt* manige men for missenlicum þingum him to comon, þa betweox oþre com þær þæs foresprencenan wræccan Æþelbaldes gefera þæs nama wæs Ova. There is nothing inherently impossible in such a use of *ðæt*, but it is extremely rare in OE.

<sup>1</sup> p. 45.

<sup>2</sup> p. 40.

## 81. mid ðæm ðæt.

In these two examples from O. it seems possible to consider *mid ðæm ðæt* as a temporal conjunction: O. 190. 21 7 hie þæt swa gelæsten, gif him Scipiane gestirde, se wæs þara cempena ieldest, *mid þæm þæt* he his sweorde gebræd. MS. C. reads *mid ðæm ðe*, and the Latin is: nisi Cornelius Scipio tribunus tunc militum *districto gladio* deterrisset. Thorpe translates: 'and they had so done, if Scipio had not restrained them, who was the eldest of the soldiers, when he drew his sword.' He, however, reads *mid þam þe*. The second example is quite clearly non-temporal. The Latin is lacking, so we can derive no help from that source. O. 286. 14 Ac God gewræc on þæm færehte swiþe gedafenlice on þæm arleasan men his arlease geþoht, *mid þæm þæt* hiene gemette an mon, þa he for from Actesifonte þære byrig. Thorpe translates: 'But in that expedition God very fittingly avenged on that base man his base intention, *when* a man met him, as he came from the city of Ctesiphon.'

## 9. ðonecan ðe.

This strange connective appears only in Bo., and there but three times. It seems to be made up of *ðon*, equivalent to *ðonne*, and the adverb *ece*, eternally. We should, therefore, naturally expect that it would mean *whenever*, and this hypothesis is confirmed by the context in the three instances in which it is used. Though Sedgefield, in his glossary, gives the meaning *whenever*, in all three cases he translates *as soon as*, or *as soon as ever*. Since the form is so interesting, and since the instances in which it is used are so few, I quote the three passages: Bo. 44. 7 7 þeah hi nu ealle hiora lif 7 hiora dæda awriten hæfdon, . . . hu ne forealdodon þa gewritu þeah



7 losodon þonecan þe hit wære, swa some swa þa writeras dydon; Bo. 58. 2 7 beo þ ilce þ heo wæs, ðonecan ðe heo utan behwerfed sie þ þ hio ær wæs; Bo. 61. 5 Ac þonecan þe he ðone anwald forlæt, oððe se anweald hine, þonne ne bið he nauðer þa dysegan ne weorð ne andrysne. I have been able to discover no parallel in the poetry; and so far as I know, nothing of the kind appears in Middle English. Our *whenever* is somewhat analogous, though, as was said before.

#### 10. swa hwanne swa.

The unique example of this connective is found in CP. 389. 36 Ond eac forðæm ðætte hie ðy fæsðlicor & ðy untweogendlicor gelifden ðara ecena ðinga, swa hwanne swa him ða gehete. Sweet translates: '*whenever* he promised.' *Hwanne* is regulary an interrogative adverb, but here, as happens in the case of many other adverbs, has acquired relative force. This relative force is generalized by the addition *swa . . . swa*, so that the whole phrase is exactly equivalent to the Modern English *whenever*'; the *when* of which is, of course, derived from the OE. *hwanne*. Both *ða* and *ðonne*, especially the latter, introduce this sort of clause, which is really the protasis of a general condition; and this perhaps explains why this connective is so rare.

NOTE 1. In Layamon's Brut I have noted the form *weonne so*, but here the *so* seems to have no generalizing force: 2. 206. 5 uor *weonne so* ich beo uorð faren, Hengest eow wul makien kare. The Century Dictionary, under *whenso*, quotes this sentence from William Morris, giving a review in the Academy of Feb. 9, 1889, p. 85, as the source: 'In a far off land is their dwelling, *whenso* they sit at home.' This is of course such an archaism as abounds in Morris' work. The form *whensoever* is much more common, though it too has an archaic tone. I quote a sentence from the

Lesser Litany in the Book of Common Prayer : 'Mercifully assist our prayers which we make before the in all our troubles and adversities, *whensoever* they oppress us.'

NOTE 2. *Swa hwanne swa* has an exact parallel in OS. *so hwan so* : Heliand 1950 Than seggio ik iu te warun, *so hwan so* thius werold endiod ; Heliand 4047 All hebbiu ik gilobon so, that it so giwerðan skal, *so hwan so* thius werold endiod.

11a. *on swa hwilcum dæge swa.*

This formula is similar to that of *prep. + obj. (noun of time) + pe.* But this is generalized by the use of *swa . . . swa*, making it, in effect, the protasis of a general condition. In meaning, the phrase is precisely equivalent to the Modern English *on whatever day*. I have noted only two examples of this, both in Gen., and practically identical. I quote both : Gen. 2. 17 Soðlice of þam treowe ingehides godes and yfeles ne et þu ; *on swa hwilcum dæge swa* þu ets of þam treowe, þu scealt deaðe sweltan. The Latin runs : *in quocumque enim die comederis ex eo, morte morieris.* Gen. 3. 5 Ac god wat soðlice, þæt eowre eagan beoð geopenode *on swa hwilcum dæge swa* ge etað of þam treowe. Latin : *in quocumque die comederitis.*

NOTE 1. I have noted a very similar example in the poetry : Reb.<sup>1</sup> 5. *In swa hwylce tiid swa* ge mid treowe to me on hyge hweorfað, and ge hellfirena sweartra geswicað, swa ic symle to eow mid siblufan sona cyrre þurh milde mod. Here we have the accusative rather than the dative, *tiid* instead of *dæg*, and *in* instead of *on* ; but, nevertheless, the parallel is sufficiently close.

11b. *swa hwilc(e) dæg(e) swa.*

This formula is analogous to that of *noun of time (in an oblique case) + pe.* The office of the *swa . . . swa* is to generalize the time indicated by the

<sup>1</sup> Grein-Wülker's Bibliothek 3. 170.

substantive. The expression is therefore equivalent to the Modern English *whatever day*, though we more often use the prepositional formula *on whatever day*. I have noted only two examples with this connective: Chron. 72.31 he him aþas swor 7 gislas salde, þæt he him gearo wære swa hwelce dæge swa hie hit habban wolden; and Exod. 10.28 Swa hwilce dæg swa ic þe geseo, þu scealt sweltan. The Latin for the latter example is: *quocumque die* apparueris mihi, morieris. Were it not for the one example in Chron., I should think these forms due to an imitation of the Latin; but of course we cannot maintain any such theory for that example.

NOTE 1. I have noted an example of the same sort in PPs. 137.4 *Swa hwylce daga* ic þe deorne cige, gehyr me hwætlice. For this the Latin is, as usual, *in quacumque die*. The rarity of this construction seems somewhat surprising at first, considering its frequency in Modern English; but the fact is probably due to the frequent use of *donne* in just such general conditions as we may consider these.

## 12. *ðonne* ær *ðe*.

This connective occurs only once in OE. prose, and its exact meaning is a matter of some doubt. The passage is: Bo. 49.27 Ac þonne ær þe he þ ge-wealdleþer forlæt þara bridla, þe he ða gesceafta nu mid gebridlode hæfð, þæt is seo wiperweardnes þe we ær ymbe spræcon: gif he ða læt toslupan, þonne forlætað hi þa sibbe ðe hi nu healdað. Cardale, Fox, and Sedgefield all translate *whenever*, and Sedgefield says in a note on the passage<sup>1</sup> that *ær* seems to be a contraction of *æfre*. The Latin runs: *Hic si frena remiserit, Quidquid nunc amat invicem, Bellum continuo geret*. It seems then that *whenever* must be the proper rendering, but *ær* as a contraction for

<sup>1</sup> p. 417.

*æfre* is certainly unusual. Yet, in lieu of a better explanation, it must be accepted, for the present at least.

13a. *swa*.

As a conjunction, the usual function of *swa* is to introduce modal clauses; but the modal idea readily passes over to the temporal. This happens in many languages; for example, in Greek, *ὡς* sometimes introduces temporal clauses, as, does *ut* in Latin, *comme* in French. In German, *als* is perhaps the most common conjunction denoting *time when*, though even *wie* is sometimes so used, as, for instance: *wie es* (das Meer) schläft, da sagt der Blick, was keine Zunge spricht. One of the most striking instances of this use of modal connectives to introduce temporal clauses that I have noticed is in the Low Latin *Sanctae Silviae Peregrinatio*<sup>1</sup>, namely the frequent use of *quemadmodum* in the sense of *cum*, thus: 10.9 *quemadmodum* ibamus de contra videbamus summitatem; 47.19 hoc solum hic amplius fit, quod infantes, cum baptidiati fuerint et vestiti, *quemadmodum* exiit de fonte, simul cum episcopo primum ad Anastase ducuntur.

In OE. it is not always possible to distinguish between the modal and the temporal meaning. In general, therefore, I have not considered cases as temporal that could readily be considered modal, believing that there is some feeling of manner remaining, even in some of the examples I have admitted.

Probably the OE. clause introduced by *swa* temporal denotes that the action of the two clauses is simultaneous; but from this the less definite *when*-clause, and the clause denoting immediate succession,

<sup>1</sup> Ed. Bechtel, University of Chicago Press, 1902.

easily arise. I shall consider here only the *when*-clauses. For further discussion of *swa* temporal, the reader is referred to *swa = as soon as*<sup>1</sup>. It will be seen from the examples quoted how difficult it is to draw the line between modal and temporal clauses: Dial. 29. 12 *swa þe halga wer þis gehyrde, þa smercode*; O. 198. 24 *þa geacedon þa consulas þæt ær, ær Hannibal, 7 him ongean comon, swa he þa muntas oferfaren hæfde*. Latin: *cum descendisse*. In such examples as this I think the modal meaning predominates: Lch. 2. 306. 30 *do eft on þ ilce fæt, nytta swa þe þearf sie*.

In the following sentence *hwa* is doubtless a mere scribal error for *swa* (MS. T. and also the Wintaney Version have *swa*): BR. 91. 9 *Ða þa on ytinge ahwyder farað, niman him brec of hrægelhuse, eft hwa hy ham cumen of þam færelde, betæcan him gemæne*.

NOTE 1. In the poetry *swa* sometimes has temporal force. I have noted it in *Beowulf*, thus: 1667 *þa þæt hilde-bil forbarn, brogden mæl, swa þæt blod gesprang, hatost heaðo-swata*.

NOTE 2. In Middle English we find *swa*, or *al swa*, or *as*, used in temporal clauses. Thus, Lagamon's *Brut* 2. 478. 8 *Al swa þe aðele king þas word hafede isæid, Cador sprong on horse*: Chaucer, *Pardoner's Tale* 336: *These riotours thre, of which i telle, . . ., were set hem in a taverne for to drynke; and as they sat, they herde a belle clynke biforn a cors, was carried to his grave*.

NOTE 3. In Modern English, *as* very often has temporal force. Such clauses are so common that it is almost superfluous to quote; this will suffice: *Paradise Lost* 2. 676 *Hell trembled as he strode*.

NOTE 4. In Gothic, *swe* frequently bears temporal signification, as in L. 8. 23 *þaruh þan swe faridedun, anasaislep*; John 18. 6 *þaruh swe qaþ im þatei ik im, Galibun ibukai jah gadrusun dalap*. The Greek is: *ὡς οὖν εἶπεν αὐτοῖς Ἐγὼ εἶμι*,

<sup>1</sup> p. 68.

ἀπῆλθαν εἰς τὰ ὀπίσω καὶ ἔπεισαν χαμαί. The same passage in the Heliand 4850 runs thus: *So im tho the neriendo Krist sagda te soðon, that he it selþo was, so wurðun tho an forhton folk Judeono.* Likewise in OHG: Tatian 81.4 *Inti so sie tho gistigun in skef, bilan ther uuint; Otfrid 2, 9.51 So er thaz suert thenita, ther engil imo hareta.*

NOTE 5. In Greek, ὡς sometimes has the temporal meaning, as in the verse quoted from the New Testament above in Note 4; this appears as early as Homer, thus: *Iliad 1. 600 ἄσβεστος δ' ἄρ' ἐνώητο γέλωος μακάρεσσιν θεοῖσιν, ὡς ἴδον Ἥφαιστον δια δόματα ποιπνύοντα.* Likewise *ut* early acquires this meaning of *when* in Latin. I quote an illustration from Terence: *Andria 3. 4. 11 Hoc audi ut hinc te intro ire iussi, opportune hic fit mi obviam.*

### 13b. swa ðæt.

*Swa ðæt* is, of course, a common conjunction introducing consecutive clauses, and it seems most strange that it should ever have temporal force. Yet in a few instances it undoubtedly has.

I can suggest no explanation, nor have I found parallels either in the poetry or in cognate languages. I shall quote all the instances, since they are few, and since most of them call for some discussion: Chron. 162. 13 *Her gefor Harðacnut swa þ he æt his drince stod.* This is unquestionably temporal, and purely so. And as such also I consider the next example: Lch. 1. 246. 2 *nim þonne þæne oþerne ende 7 gewrið to anes hundes swyran, swa þ se hund hungrið sy.* Still this may be conditional, and mean *provided that*; Cockayne translates: 'so that the hound be hungry,' which rather lends support to this view. ÆH. 2. 18. 21 *Hit wæs swa þæt se Nabuchodonosor gehegode on Godes folce, and aweð gelædde micelne dæl þæs folces to his rice.* Thorpe translates: 'It was when Nebuchadnezzar warred on God's people,

and led away a great part of the people to his kingdom.'

I do not consider this example as temporal, though it may be so construed: Int. Sig. 50. 493 God afandode abrahames *swa þæt* he het hine niman his leofan sunu Isaac 7 geoffrode gode to lace 7 syððan ofslean on þa ealdan wisan. A variant gives a much better reading: God afandode Abrahames gehyrsumnyse, and het þæt, &c. I doubt very much the temporal force of *swa ðæt* in this example also: Deut. 9. 9 and ic þurhwunode on þam munte feowertig daga and feowertig nihta, *swa þæt* ic ne æt ne dranc. The Latin is: panem non comedens et aquam non bibens. Wulf. 293. 14 and, þa þa Moyses se heretoga lædde godes folc of Egipta lande, þa on þam dæge he hit lædde ofer þa readan sæ, *swa þæt* he sloh mid anre gyrde on þa sæ, and heo toeode on twa. The latter example seems to me to be temporal. But the use of *swa þæt* with any other force than consecutive is strange, to say the least.

#### 14. *hwonne*.

It is not strange that *hwonne*, the interrogative adverb, should sometimes be used as a conjunction introducing temporal clauses. If we remember that its direct descendant *when* is the most common temporal connective in Modern English, we are rather surprised that this use is so rare in OE. When used as a conjunction, *hwonne* has most often the sense of *until*, in which case it still lies close to its common use as an interrogative in indirect questions.<sup>1</sup> It is sometimes difficult to determine whether *hwonne* should be regarded as a conjunction, or merely as an adverb in an indirect question.

<sup>1</sup> See p. 137.

All the three cases in which I have regarded it as a conjunction are in the Laws, and it is used to translate the Latin *quando* in each instance. It is probable that *quando* itself went through the same course of development as *hwonne*, having been originally an interrogative.

I quote all three of the examples: Laws 140. 12 Eac we cwædon, . . . 7 ðæt he him geandagode of þam folclande, *hwonne* he him riht worhte beforan ðam gerefan. Latin: *quando* rectum velit ei facere coram preposito suo. Laws 144. 19 Ic wille þæt ælc gerefa hæbbe gemot a ymbe feower wucan; 7 gedon ðæt ælc man sy folcrihtes wyrðe, 7 ðæt ælc spræc hæbbe ende 7 andagan *hwænne* hit forðcume. Latin: *quando* proveniat. Laws 194. 8 On hundrede, swa on oðer gemote, we wyllað þæt mon folcriht getæce æt ælcere spæce 7 andagie, *hwænne* man þæt gelæste. Latin: *quando* hoc impleatur. Even here the use of *hwonne* somewhat approaches that of the indirect question.

NOTE 1. In Middle English, *whan* frequently has the meaning of *when* in Modern English, as is to be expected, since the latter developed directly from it. I have noted it in Merlin (E. E. T. S.) 3. 587 *Whan* Gawein saugh hem come, he seide now may we abide to longe.

NOTE 2. Of course it would be superfluous to quote Modern English examples of *when*-clauses.

NOTE 3. In OS., *hwan* is used much like *hwænne* in OE., chiefly as an interrogative. I quote an example in which it seems to introduce a temporal clause: Heliand 5780 so thie wardos thes wiht ni afsuaþun, derþia liudi, *hwan* hie fan them doðe astuod. In Otfrid, *wanne* sometimes introduces temporal clauses, thus: Otfrid 3. 1. 11 In thesen buachon *wuanne* ih auuiggon ni gange.

#### 15a. ðær.

*Ðær* is, of course, primarily the local adverb; but it developed a relative use, as did many other de-



monstratives. As a relative, naturally enough, its chief use is to introduce adverbial clauses of place. By a metaphorical extension of the local idea, however, it comes to have temporal, causal, and especially conditional force. It is impossible, in many cases, to draw a hard and fast line between these different meanings, all perhaps united more or less clearly in the same case, shading off the one into the other. In general, it is safe to say there is some survival of the local idea, even though logically the given example may seem to belong to one of the other categories. The examples selected for quoting will manifest the difficulty of determining whether or not a given example should be considered as temporal, local, causal, or conditional. For *ðær* in conditional use, see the dissertation of Dr. F. J. Mather<sup>1</sup>, and Wülfing<sup>2</sup>. I have noted the spelling *ðar* in *Æ. Th.*

CP. 129. 7 Sua eac *ðær* ðæt heafod bið unhal, eall ða limu bioð idelu. This example may be regarded as conditional<sup>3</sup>. Mart. 188. 11 *ond* sume dæge *þær* heo hy gebæd, heo onsende hyre gast to gode. The proximity of *sume dæge* helps out the temporal notion; as does *ðy dæge* also in this example: Mart. 176. 21 *þy dæge* Gabriel se heahengel æteowde Zacharie, Johannis fæder, *þær* he stod æt þam weofode, *ond* ricels bærende in godes onsægdnesse. The use of the word *sæl*, and the *ða* at the head of the main clause, seem to me to make it clear that, in the following example, the temporal idea is the predominant one: LS. 2. 284. 1038 Eft on sumne *sæl þær* martinus siðode mid his geferum, *þa* com *þær* færlice yrnan an *þearle* wod cu. It requires an effort of the imagination to take *ðær* in its local meaning in this example, though probably

<sup>1</sup> The Conditional Sentence in Anglo-Saxon, p. 40.      <sup>2</sup> 2. 143.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Mather on this point, p. 50.

some such feeling remains: LS. 1. 426. 176 ac hi beoð geopenode oft unþances huru on domes dæg, þær nan ðincg digle ne bið. The temporal force also seems to be clear in this concluding example: Wulf. 176. 30 and gyf bisceopas forgymað, þæt hi synna ne styrað ne unriht forbeoðað ne godes riht ne cyðað, ac clumjað mid ceaflum, þær hy sceolan clypjan, wa heom þære swigean!

NOTE 1. It seems that *ðær* is used as a temporal conjunction in the poetry also. I have noted this example in Cynewulf's Christ: 795 Ic þæs brogan sceal Geseon synwraece, þæs þe ic soð talge, þær monig[e] beoð on gemot læded fore onsyne eces Deman. Whitman translates: 'For this, as I account truth, I shall behold terror, the punishment of sin, *when* many shall be led into the assembly before the presence of the eternal Judge.'

NOTE 2. The use of *ðær* as a temporal conjunction seems to have persisted well into Middle English, though I have noted no examples of a purely temporal nature. Indeed its Modern English representative, *where*, is used in precisely the same manner, at least in colloquial speech. In this example *there* seems to mean *although*, with a temporal coloring: Piers Plowman B. 11. 237 And in the apparaille of a pore man and pilgrymes lyknesse Many tyme god hath ben mette amonge nedy þeple, There nevere segge hym seigh in secte of the riche.

#### 15b. *ðær ðær*.

Though *ðær ðær*, as well as simple *ðær*, might sometimes be translated *while*, the examples belong rather to this class. It seems that when it is used with temporal force, it is equivalent to *ða* or *donne*. Probably the original force of the first *ðær* was that of a demonstrative, but, for the historical period of OE., it is hardly safe so to generalize. I have noted the spelling *þer* in Sol., thus: Sol. 44. 2 Geðenc nu

hweðer awiht mani (?) mann cynges ham sece, þær ðær he ðonne on tune byð. So also in this example: Sol. 42. 1 Hu ne ys þæt eac nu butan ælcum tweon þæt ælcum men ys se æalra betsta creft, and þæt se beste weorc þæt he æfter wysdome spurige, and hine lufige ðær ðær he hine ongyte? Hargrove translates: 'And is it not his best work to search after wisdom, and love it *whenever* he findeth it?' The *ðonne* at the head of the main clause gives support to the rendering *when* for *ðær ðær* in this example: CP. 399. 17 ðær [ðær] hi ðone fiell fleoð ðære synne, ðonne magon hie ðeah weorðan gehælede suide iedelice ður[h] forgiefnesse & ðurh gebedu. In the following sentence, probably the use of *ðær ðær* is due to the fact that the writer had a particular passage of a book in mind, the New Testament of course: CP. 451. 5 Ac ðær ðær us God forbead ðæt we ure ryhtwisnesse beforan monnum dyden, he us gecyðde forhwy he hit forbead.

It is impossible, for me at least, to distinguish between a local and a temporal use in such cases as this: ÆH. 1. 132. 29 þæt þær bið soð ærist, ðær ðær beoð wepene eagan and cearcigende teð. Very likely in all these examples there is a strong local feeling, as well as the temporal force. This concluding illustration presents the same difficulty of interpretation: ÆH. 1. 252. 19 Heardheort bið se mann ðe nele þurh lufe oðrum fremigan, þær ðær he mæg.

16. swa hwær swa.

Formally this connective is the generalized local conjunction; and its temporal meaning, if indeed it have any, is incidental, and, so to speak, accidental.

Both sentences in which I have thought it might have temporal force occur in discussions of the date

of Easter. I quote them: Lch. 3. 244. 11 We secgað swa þeah be ðære halgan easter tide þ swa hwær swa þe mona byð feowertyne nihta eald fram XII ma kl' april, þ on ðam dæge byð seo easterlice gemæru. De Temp. 6. 23 is identical with this. In all probability the idea was purely local in the mind of the writer. He thought of a place on a calendar, or something of that sort. However, the clause is logically temporal, and therefore I consider it.

17a. *loca hwær.*

*Loca hwær* seems to mean *wherever*, and is similar in composition and development to *loca hwænne* (q. v.). In a few cases it seems that it may be regarded as a temporal conjunction. However, in all probability the idea is local, the writer having in mind a calendar.<sup>1</sup> The examples I have noted are all in Lch., except one in Byrh., four in all. I quote only one, since all the others are practically identical: Byrh. 322. 31 Ælc preost sceal witan þæt æfter VIII id' martius, *loca hwær* beo se mona niwe þæt he gebyrað to þære easterlican tide. Cf. Lch. 3. 226. 13; 16. 19.

17b. *loc(a) hwanne.*

This connective, compounded of *hwanne*, the interrogative, and *loca*, the imperative of *locian*, has the generalized meaning of *whenever*. The generalizing effect of *loca* is plainly seen in the following example: LS. 1. 400. 278 Bide me *loca hwæs* þu wille ærðan þe ic beo genumen of ðinre gesihðe. This connective is of rare occurrence, and I quote all the examples I have noted: Chron 158. 4 ealla þa gerihta þe þær of arisað of æidre healfe ðare hæfene, swa þ *loc whenne* þ flod byþ ealra hehst 7 ealra fullost beo an scip

<sup>1</sup> Cf. above, *swa hwær swa*, p. 59.

flotigende swa neh þan lande swa hit nyxt mege, &c. The sentence is incomplete in Chron. Cart. 1. 137. 31 Ac *loc hwenne* hit gewurðe þ̄ biscop oððe abbod oððe abbedesse gewite of ðysan live, sy hit gecydd ðan Arb. LS. 1. 336, heading: Spel *loca hwænne* mann wille. Skeat translates: A homily for any occasion. Wulf. 199. 16 be þam awrat Johannes se godspellere on ðære bec þe man hat apocalipsin, þus cweðende: *locahwonne* þara godes þegna Enoh and Elias tima cumen bið, þæt heora bodung geendod bið, þæt wilde deor . . . feohteð togeanes heom, and æt nyhstan oferswyð hy and ofslyhð hy.

#### 18. nu.

As a conjunction, *nu* is usually employed to introduce causal clauses, and I very much doubt its ever being used as a purely temporal connective. However, I have noted this one case in which *nu* may be construed *when*, and has indeed been so rendered by Sedgefield in his excellent translation. The sentence in question follows: Bo. 80. 23 Wundorlice cræfte þu hit hæfst gesceapen þæt þ̄ fyr ne forbærnð þ̄ wæter 7 þa eorðan *nu* hit gemenged is wið ægðer. Sedgefield translates: '*when* mingled with either'. The context, shows, I think, however, that *although* would be a more fitting translation. The thought does not seem to be that it is wonderful that fire does not burn water or earth *when* they are mingled, but that it does not, now that they *are* actually mingled.

NOTE 1. Schücking<sup>1</sup> says concerning *nu*: 'Die kausale Bedeutung ist von der temporalen nicht immer zu scheiden. Naders Vorgehen (a. a. O.) die *nu*-Sätze nach dem Muster von Erdmann (Otfried, Syntax) einschränkungslos unter die Kausalsätze zu verweisen, ist des rein temporalen Ursprungs

<sup>1</sup> Grundzüge der Satzverknüpfung im Beowulf, p. 4.

der Konjunktion wegen schon nicht ohne Bedenken (vgl. auch Mätzner III, 473 für die historische Entwicklung). Bestimmt liegt in einem Falle wie v. 1476b kein kausales Verhältnis vor: *geþenc nu, se mære maga Healfdenes, snottra fengel, nu ic eom siðes fus . . . hwæt wit geo spræcon.*' I cannot agree that there is no causal relation in this example.

### 19. gif.

It seems that in one instance *gif*, the most common particle used to introduce conditional clauses, has temporal force. Very often temporal connectives, especially *ðonne*, shade off into conditional use; why then should not *gif* occasionally have temporal signification? However, this is the only instance in which I have considered the temporal element prominent enough to call for notice. The example is: LS. 2. 36. 525 *Nu þu me axast þa ðincg þe ic swiðe þearle sylf beforhtige, gif me nu to gemynde becumað ealle þa frecednysse þe ic ahrefnode.* Skeat translates: '*whenever* all the perils that I underwent recur to my memory.' The temporal coloring is surely very slight, if present at all.

## B. CLAUSES DENOTING IMMEDIATE SEQUENCE.

### 1a. sona swa.

This is the most common conjunction in OE. denoting that the action of the main clause immediately follows that of the subordinate clause. The cognates of the elements of the connective occur in most of the Germanic languages, and examples will be found in Note 4.

In origin the construction was probably modal. We have seen that the *swa*-clause modal easily passes over to temporal use. The *sona swa*-clause differs from this only in that an adverb has been

introduced to emphasize the temporal nature of the clause, to indicate more exactly the time-relation of the two clauses. Originally *sona* belonged to the main clause, as will appear from the examples which follow, but the combination came to be felt as a simple conjunction introducing clauses 'zur Angabe der unmittelbaren Folge einer Handlung auf eine andere,' to quote Wülfing. The sentences indicating most clearly the origin of the construction are those in which the elements of the conjunction are separated, thus: BH. 46. 19 hi wæron *sona* deade, *swa* hi eorðan gesohtan; LS. 2. 138. 210 and hit *sona* aras, *swa* hit hrepode þa stowe. In this example, *sona* seems to belong rather to the main clause, while the temporal force of *swa* is still combined with its original modal value: Dial. 293. 18 þa *sona swa* þæs lichama gefeoll on eorðan, eall se mund acwacode.

Very frequently there is a demonstrative *ða* at the head of the main clause; occasionally *ðonne* occurs, though very rarely. The following examples will serve to illustrate this: Chron. 131. 14 ac *sona swa* hi to gædere gan sceoldan, *þonne* wearð þær æfre þurh sum þing fleam astiht; Mart. 122. 21 ond *sona swa* heo wæs ændlefen geara, *þa* lufode heo Crist, ond on hine gelyfde; HL. 198. 118 He *þa* se ealda, *sona swa* he þæt gehyrde, blissode and god herode; Ap. T. 5. 20 Thaliarcus, *sona swa* he þ gehyrde, he genam mid him ge feoh ge attor, 7 on scip astah; Chron. 35. 9. ac he forðferde *sona swa* hi þider com. *Swa* is also sometimes found at the head of the main clause.<sup>1</sup>

NOTE 1. Judging from Grein's *Sprachschatz*, *sona swa* is rare in the poetry. It does not occur at all in the *Christ* or *Beowulf*. I quote an example from the *Metra* of Boethius:

<sup>1</sup> See *sona swa . . . swa*, p. 65.

8.1 *Sona swa* se Wisdom þas word hæfde swetole areahste, he þa siððan ongan singan.

NOTE 2. *Sona swa* occurs in Lagamon's Brut, thus: 2. 521. 6 *Sona swa* he Arður isæh, *swa* he on his cneowen bæh. We find *some so* in Piers Plowman, as in this example: B. 10. 226 Was nevere gome uppon this grounde . . . fairer underfongen . . . than my-self sothly *some so* he wist That I was of Wittis hous. In Middle English we find all conceivable variations between this and Modern English *as soon as*. Richard Coer de Lion<sup>1</sup> 5743 And al so soone as he was come, He brak asunder the scheltrome. Piers Plowman 20. 63 Ac as sone so the Samaritan hadde sighte of that syke, He alyghte anon of lyarde. Chaucer, Prioresses Tale 136 For which as soon as it was dayes light, . . . She hath at scole and elles wher him soght.

NOTE 3. In Modern English, *soon as* is sometimes used, but for the most part only in poetry. I quote an example or two which I have noted incidentally in my reading: Cary's Dante's Divine Comedy, Hell 3. 71 This shalt thou know, soon as our steps arrive Beside the woeful tide of Acheron. The well-known lines of Addison's hymn on Creation come to mind also: Soon as the evening shades prevail, The moon takes up the wondrous tale.

NOTE 4. Gothic *suns-ei* is a sufficiently close parallel to OE. *sona swa*, and I quote examples of its use: L. 1. 44 Sai allis *sunsei* warþ stibna goleinais þeinaizos in ausam meinaim, lailaik þata barn in swignipai in wambai meinai; John 11. 20 Ip Marþa, *sunsei* hausida þatei Jesus qimip, wipraiddja ina. OS. offers only the divided form *san . . . so*, yet the parallel is very close, and the divided form *sona . . . swa* occurs a few times in OE. Heliand 3029 *Tho* warð siu *san* gihelid, *so* it the helago gesprah wordun war-fastun. This OS. construction lends support to the theory of the origin of the OE. conjunction advanced above. No exact parallel occurs in either Otfrid or Tatian, but analogous constructions do occur. *So . . . erist* and *so sliumo so* are the commonest connectives in OHG. denoting that the action of one clause follows that

<sup>1</sup> Weber, Metrical Romances, Edinburgh, 1810.



of the other immediately. Since the latter approximates the OE. *sona swa*, I quote an example: Otfrid 3, 20. 60 gisah ih sar, so iz gizam, so *sliumo*, so ih iz thana nam.

1b. *sona swa . . . swa*.

In a number of cases we find *swa* at the head of the main clause, though *ða* is more frequently met with. *Swa* in this position confirms the theory of the origin of this sort of temporal clause that has been advocated above. The *sona swa* having become to all intents and purposes a single conjunction, the second *swa* is introduced at the head of the main clause, because of a lingering consciousness of the originally modal character of the clause. We have, then, what we may regard as three stages in the development of the *sona swa* clause: first, the *sona . . . , swa . . .* stage; then, the *sona swa . . . , swa . . .* stage; and thirdly, the *sona swa . . .* form, with or without a demonstrative temporal adverb at the head of the main clause. The modal element will be evident in varying degrees in the examples I shall quote: BH. 30. 2 *sona swa* hi ðæs landes lyft gestuncan, *swa* swulton hi; Bo. 141. 5 ac *sona swa* hi hiora mod onwendað from gode, *swa* weorðað hi ablende mid unwise; CP. 463. 34 Ðæt is ðætte ðæt mod *sona swa* hit God forsihð, *swa* secð hit his agenne gielp.

NOTE 1. I have found only one example of this kind in the poetry: Phoenix 120 *Sona swa* seo sunne sealte streamas hea oferhlifað, *swa* se haswa fugel beorht of þæs bearwes beame gewiteð.

NOTE 2. *Sona swa . . . swa* is found in Layamon's Brut: 2. 369. 12 *Sona swa* Vðer hine isæh, *swa* he him to-geines bæh.

1c. *sona swa . . . sona*.

In a few instances *sona* is repeated in the main clause, usually not at its head, where *ða* often appears, but in the body of it.

Its function is to bind the two clauses more closely together, and to emphasize the fact of the immediate sequence of the action of one clause on that of the other. Often the temporal clause is somewhat loosely related to its main clause; there is no such intimate relation as between the parts of a conditional or result period, for example, and devices such as this for emphasizing the relation are frequently met with. The examples quoted will illustrate the peculiarities spoken of.

LS. 1. 284. 21 and *sona swa* his earmas for unmihte aslacodon, *sona sloh amalech* and *sige hæfde* on him; Epis. 155. 414 *ða sona swa* he me þær geahsode and him mon sægde þæt þær mon cymen wæs of Alexandres herewicum, þa het be me *sona* to him lædan. In the following example *sona* is evidently written for *sona swa*, for MS. G. has this reading; it also reads *sona* for *mid ðam*: LS. 2. 30. 451 ac *sona* ic halige fæmne þines suna rode geseo, ic *mid þam* wiðsace þissere worulde.

I have found no parallels in either the poetry or Middle English.

#### 1d. *sona . . . swa.*

This form of the connective has already been spoken of, because of its bearing on the question of the origin of the construction. I have noted only five examples of it in OE., two of them in BH. Since they are so few, and throw so much light on the origin of the *sona swa* clause, I quote the five in full: BH. 46. 19 hi wæron *sona* deade, *swa* hi eorðan gesohtan; BH. 154. 34 *sona* on morne, *swa* hit dagian ongan, þæt he for on þone here þe him togegnes gesomnad wæs; LS. 2. 138. 210 and hit *sona* aras, *swa* hit hrepode þa stowe; Dial. 37. 18 þa semninga se ylca

Julianus, *swa* he geseah þone Godes þeowan, he forseah hine *sona* for his gegerelan. In this last example we have a yet further variation from the *sona swa* type, and the original force of *swa* is especially clear: BR. 126. 20 *Swa* se cuma cnocige, oþþe se þearfa clypige, he *sona* cweþe, &c.: Latin, *mox* autem aut . . .

NOTE 1. In OS. only the divided form occurs, thus: Heliand 1741 Thea mugon gi *san* antkennean, so gi sie kuman gesehat . . .

1e. *swa sona swa*.

I have found only one instance of *swa sona swa*; and this seems strange, since *swa hraðe swa* is the regular form for that connective. Probably the explanation is to be found in the difference in origin of the two — *sono swa* being modal originally, and *swa hraðe swa* developing from a comparative construction. That *sona swa* assumed the comparative form may be due to the influence of *swa hraðe swa*. But the better explanation, as it seems to me, is that the origin of the construction was forgot, and the feeling of comparison became prominent, as it is in Modern English *as soon as*. This is the unique example of *swa sona swa* in OE: LS. 2. 436. 184 *secgað* me *swa sona swa* ge on-cnawaþ þæt he cucu ne byð.

NOTE 1. Early in Middle English the comparative form became common<sup>1</sup>, and Modern English *as soon as* is the direct development of the form that we find in Layamon's Brut 2. 344. 6 *Swa sona swa* Vðer of pissen þingen iwarð war, færde he bad stronge.

1f. *sona swa swa*.

This form is due probably to a merely accidental repetition of *swa*. Since the other MS. has *sona swa*, and since it is the only example of the sort in OE.,

<sup>1</sup> See *sona swa*, Note 4, p. 64.

I content myself with quoting the example : Dial. 214. 12 *sona swa swa* Martinus gehyrde Benedictus word, he tobræc hraðe þone fotcops.

1g. *swa . . . swa.*

*Swa* frequently has the meaning *when*, and sometimes denotes that the action of one clause follows that of the other immediately<sup>1</sup>.

I have noted two examples in which *swa* is repeated at the head of the main clause, and in which the time-relation of the two clauses is of this kind. I quote in full: O. 172. 8 *Swa* þæt þa se oðer consul gehierde Diulius, *swa* gefor he to ðæm iglonde. The Latin runs: Quod *ubi* Duilius, alter consul, audivit, cum triginta navibus adversus Annibalem profectus est. Bo. 57. 23 *swa* þu hine alætst, *swa* sprincð he up 7 wrigað wið his gecyndes. *Swa* properly denotes that the action of the two clauses is simultaneous; but in the nature of the case, in these examples, one must follow the other.

1h. *swa.*

For a general discussion of *swa* temporal, the reader is referred to the paragraphs on *swa* introducing a clause denoting *time when*<sup>2</sup>. We should expect *swa* to denote that the action of the two clauses was simultaneous; but often it seems to be equivalent to *ða* or *ðonne*, and sometimes it is plain from the context that it is equivalent to *sona swa*. This will be clear from a study of the examples that follow: Bo. 145. 25 Ac sio gesihð æt frumcerre *swa* þa eagan on besioð, hi ongitað ealle þone andwlitan ðæs lichoman; Chron. 99. 4 þa hwile *swyðe* raðe æfter þam, *swa* oþre ham comon, þa fundon hi oðre floc raðe þ rad ut wið Ligtunes; LS. 2. 340. 89 and *swa* he þone munuc geseah, þa axode he hine to hwi he come.

<sup>1</sup> See *swa*, p. 52, 68.

<sup>2</sup> p. 52.

NOTE 1. I have only once noted *swa* used in the poetry to mean *as soon as*, and then an adverb in the main clause removes any doubt as to the time-relation of the two clauses: Psalm<sup>1</sup> 113.3 *Swa heo sæ geseah, he hio sniome fleah.*

NOTE 2. In OHG. *so* sometimes indicates this relation of the clauses to one another, thus: Tatian 81.4 *Inti so sie tho gistigun in skef, bilan ther uuint.*

1i. *onan . . . swa.*

This form is found twice in Wulf. *Onan* or *anan*, as it is spelled once, is equivalent in meaning to *sona*, and these clauses closely resemble the *sona . . . swa* form.

They bear out the theory that *sona swa* arose from the modal sentence; and here, though the temporal clause has the same force that a *sona swa* clause would have, the modal nature of *swa* is still felt to some degree. The two examples are practically identical, and therefore I shall quote only one: Wulf. 16. 14 *ær ðam timan næs æfre ænig mann on worulde swa mære, þæt he on an ne sceolde to helle, swa he forðfaren wæs.* Cf. Wulf. 110. 11.

1j. *ðærrihste swa.*

This connective occurs only once. As in the case of *onan . . . swa* clauses, the *ðærrihste* is equivalent to *sona*. The purpose of using the adverb seems to be to emphasize the fact that the action of one clause directly follows that of the other, which fact is not connoted by the simple *swa*. ÆH. 2. 80. 3 and hi ða mid langsumere elcunge heora mede underfengon, þa ðe we buton elcunge, *þærrihste swa* we of urum lichaman gewitað, underfoð.

2a. *swa (h)raðe swa.*

This connective is almost peculiar to the works of Ælfric, though it also occurs twice in Chron., and

<sup>1</sup> Grein's Bibliothek.

once in each of the following: O., Lch., Wulf., and Ap. T.

In origin it doubtless arose from the comparative sentence, unlike *sona swa*, which seems to have developed from the modal use of *swa*. This example shows that *swa raðe swa* had not become altogether a closed compound, even in the historical period of OE: O. 166. 6 him þær becom swa færlic yfel þæt þa men wæron *swa raðe* deade, *swa* hit him an becom. In this example the comparative idea is still plain.

Very often a correlative *swa* is found at the head of the main clause, thus: ÆH. 1. 584. 21 and *swa hraðe swa* hi þæt mod hreppað, *swa* gewit se goda willa. In one instance *swa hraðe* is so repeated, thus emphasizing the comparative thought: LS. 1. 18. 126 and *swa hraðe swa* heo gehyrð þære burga naman þe heo ær cuðe, *swa hraðe* heo mæg þa burh on hire gēpohte gescyppan hwylc heo bið. Once *ðonne* is found at the head of the main clause: LS. 2. 178. 169 Ac *swa hraðe swa* hi ge-sawon his scinendan neb-wlite . . . , *þonne* ledon þa hæðenan heora wæpna adune. This may be due to the fact that the writer forgot that he began with a *swa hraðe swa* clause, and finished the sentence as though it were a *ðonne* clause. Still the use of a demonstrative *ða* or *ðonne* in such a position is so common that it need excite no surprise. Occasionally *ða* is found so used: LS. 2. 330. 236 ac *swa hraðe swa* he geseah þæs sanctes lichaman, *þa* awedde he sona; ÆH. 1. 200. 7 and he wæs halig *þærrihte swa hraðe swa* he mann wæs.

NOTE 1. This connective seems to have persisted into Middle English and it can be found in Brut 2. 640. 10 and he cumen after wolde *swa raðe swa* he mihte; Brut 3. 17. 10 *So rathe so* hii mihten, vt of sipe hii rehten. But *rathe* is used only as an adverb in Chaucer and Langland.

2b. *swa . . . raðost.*

This connective is rare, only seven instances of it having been noted in the prose. In structure it is closely analogous to *swa oftost* and *swa lengost* (q. v.).

The verb is always some form of *mugan*, and the subject is always placed between the two parts of the connective, and nothing else ever is. I quote examples to illustrate: Chron. 94. 1 þa for Eadweard cyning æfter, *swa* he *raðost* mehte; LS. 1. 536. 794 and ic bidde þinne þrymfullan cynescype, þæt þu to us cume *swa* þu *raþost* mæge; Wulf. 39. 8 and æfre *swa* þæt cild *raðost* ænig ðing specan mæge, tæce man him sona ealra þinga ærest pater noster and credan.

NOTE 1. So far as I can discover from Grein's Sprachschatz, *swa . . . raðost* occurs only once in the poetry: Guth.<sup>1</sup> 1082 Aras ða earla wynn heard hygesnottor, *swa* he *hraðost* mehte.

NOTE 2. With *swa . . . raðost* may be compared the Greek *ὡς ταχιστα*, and the Latin *quam celerrime*.

3. *swa ær swa.*

I have noted only two examples with this connective. Its meaning is perfectly clear, and it seems to have originated in a comparative force, which, indeed, it never loses. *Ær* alone never means *soon*, but is comparative in its very nature. So *swa* tells *how much before*, and the second *swa* is the correlative of the comparison. It is an easy step from this to the meaning *as soon as*. I quote both examples: BH. 248. 25 him geheht, *swa ær swa* heo geþungenne mon 7 hades wyrðne metan meahton, þæt heo hine woldon to biscope gehalgian 7 hider onsendan; LS. 1. 358. 317 Nytenu ætað *swa ær swa* hi hit habbað. I have not found parallels either in the poetry or in Middle English.

<sup>1</sup> Grein's Bibliothek.

4. *ðon ær ðe*.

The meaning of this connective is not at all clear. Wülfiŋg<sup>1</sup> assigns both examples to his sixth class, 'Nebensätze zur Angabe des Nachfolgens nach der Handlung des übergeordneten Satzes'; but the translation *as soon as* suits the context much better in both cases.

Bo. 25. 18 Ac ic eow mæge mid feawum wordum gereccan hwæt se hrof is ealra gesælða, wið þas ic wat þu wilt higian þon ær þe ðu hine ongitest. In his glossary, Sedgfield assigns the meaning *as soon as ever* to *ðon ær ðe*, but in his translation renders the passage thus: 'towards which I know that thou, O Mind, wilt hasten *before even* thou perceivest it.' Cardale translates: 'for which I know thou wilt strive until thou obtainest it<sup>2</sup>.' In a note on the passage, however, he suggests that *ðon ær ðe* is put for *ær ðon ðe*. Bosworth-Toller give *as soon as* for the meaning of *ðon ær ðe*, as does Sweet in his Student's Dictionary.

Professor Frank H. Chase, Ph.D., accepts this meaning in his thesis<sup>3</sup>, and proposes the following explanation: *ðon* (dative (!) of degree of difference) = *by how much*, so literally *the sooner*, and, by an easy change, *as soon as*. The sense required makes *as soon as* the evident meaning, but Dr. Chase's explanation seems hardly satisfactory, though I am unable to offer a better one. His analysis would suggest rather the meaning *before*, which he is combating. *Don ma ðe* is a close parallel, so far as form goes, and that means *any more than*.

Any analysis leads us to expect the meaning *before*, which the context requires us to reject. It may be that in an earlier period of the language this connective was in more frequent use, and had the meaning

<sup>1</sup> 2. 116.<sup>2</sup> 51. 28.<sup>3</sup> Unpublished, Yale Library.



*before*, but for some reason came to mean *as soon as*, perhaps through the analogy of *ðon ma ðe*, which is frequently used in a negative clause, and means *not any more than*. If *ðon ær ðe* were employed in a negative sentence, it would mean *not any earlier than*, and from this the change to *as soon as* is easy.

The other example follows: CP. 331. 3 Ðu cuist nu ðæt wille geswican *ðon*, ær ðe ðu genoh hæbbe. This Sweet translates: 'Thou sayest now, that thou wilt cease, *before* thou hast enough.' I agree with Dr. Chase in saying that this makes nonsense of the passage; the context clearly demands *as soon as*, which Sweet gives in his Dictionary, as has been said. The Cotton. MS. has *ðonne*, ær *þe*. This form occurs in Bo., and has been assigned to the class indicating *time when*.<sup>1</sup> This, however, would bear the translation *as soon as*, for it seems to me as though the writer had forgot the construction with which he began. In conclusion, then, we must accept *as soon as* for the meaning, but a satisfactory explanation is still to seek.

NOTE 1. With this construction should be compared OS. *than mer the* and *than langa the*. The first is similar to the Latin *eo magis quo* and OE. *ðon ma ðe*, and the second equal to the German *so lange als*. I quote examples: Heliand 1395 *than mer the* thi u burg ni mag, thi u an berge stad, hoh holm-kliþu, biholan werðan, wriulik giwerk, ni mugun iuwa ward than mer an thesaro middil-gard mannun werðan . . . ; Heliand 363 Thar was thes mareon stol an er-dagun, aðal-kuninges, Davides thes godon, *than langa the* he thana druht-skepi thar, erl undar Ebreon, egan mosta, haldan hoh-gisetu.

#### 5a. swa ricene swa.

I have noted only one example of this connective, which is in structure and meaning similar to *swa hraðe*

<sup>1</sup> p. 51.

*swa*. It will be noted that it occurs in the writings of Ælfric, who is especially fond of the latter connective: ÆH. 1. 86. 34 *Swa ricene swa ic gewite, ofsleað ealle ðas Iudeiscan ealdras*.

5b. *swa radlice swa*.

Chron. 358. 16 Ne þince man na sellice þ we soð seggen, for hit wæs ful cuð ofer eall land þ *swa radlice swa* he þær com þ wæs þes Sunendæies þ man singað Exurge quare O. D. This is the only example of this connective I have noted.

5c. *swa swiðe swa*.

I can hardly consider the temporal notion in this sentence to be the primary one, yet Morris translates: 'Verily as quickly as,' &c. I should rather translate according as: BH. 185. 5 Witodlice *swa swiþe swa* he weneþ sylf þæt he sceole to heofenum ahafen weorþan, *swa swiþe* he biþ bedyped on þa neoþemestan helle witu.

6a. *sona ðæs ðe*.

For a discussion of *ðæs ðe*, which means *after*, the reader is directed to the proper paragraphs of Section IV.<sup>1</sup> The general matters there considered need not be treated here.

As has been the case with so many of the particles belonging to this section, this connective means *after*, with an adverb prefixed to make clear the fact of immediate sequence. Thirty-three of the thirty-nine examples with this connective occur in BH. Of the remaining six, two are in Chron., one in Cart., two in Guth., and one in Epis.

Occasionally *ða*, *ðonne*, *sona*, or *swa* appears as a correlative in the main clause. I quote examples to

<sup>1</sup> p. 110.

illustrate these points: Chron. 176. 6 *sona þæs þe þis wæs, þa forlet se cyng þa hlæfdian*; BH. 326. 22 *forðon sona þæs þe heo onweg eodon, . . . þonne toslupon ða bendas 7 tolesde wæron*; BH. 394. 1 *Sona þæs ðe se biscop orationem ofer me arædde 7 me geblætsode 7 gesægnode 7 utgongende wæs, sona ic wæs, &c.*; Epis. 148. 249 and *sona þæs ðe hie inne wæron, swa wæron þa nicoras gearwe*. I have noted no parallels either in the poetry or in other Germanic dialects.

6b. *sona . . . ðæs ðe*.

The two examples with this form of the connective likewise appear in BH. I quote both: BH. 200. 2 *ic wat sona, cwæð he, þæs þe ge in scip astigað, þæt ofer eow cymeð micel storm 7 hreonis*; BH. 418. 22 *Sona þæm erestan tidum, þæs ða lareowas cuomon in Fresena land, . . . þa wolde he hredlice to Rome cuman*. MSS. B., O., and Ca. have *þæs þe*.

6c. *sona ærest ðæs ðe*.

The one example of this kind also occurs in BH., as do most of the *sona ðæs ðe* class: BH. 200. 9 *Ond sona ærest, þæs þe heo in scip eodon, 7 ut leton, þætte astigon wiðorwearde windas*.

6d. *sona from fruman ðæs ðe*.

Perhaps this example throws light on the question of the origin of the temporal use of *ðæs ðe*. I have noted only one of the kind: Guth. 26. 10 *On þam seaðe ufan se eadiga wer Guðlac him hus getimbrode, sona from fruman þæs þe he þæt ancer-setl gesæt*.

6e. *sona ðæs*.

Only two examples of *sona ðæs* have been noted. Since the relative is sometimes dropped in such connectives as *ða hwile ðe* and *æfter ðam ðe*, it need not

surprise us that such is the case here: Chron. 199. 25 *sona þæs hi fere wæron, worhton castel æt Hæstinga port*: Epis. 158. 499 And þa *sona þæs þa elpendas ða swin gesawon, þa wæron hie afyrhte.*

6f. *ðæs ðe . . . sona instepe.*

BH. 402. 33 *Ða wæs geworden, þæs ðe he on minre ondwlitan bleow, ða sona instepe gefelde ic mec batiende 7 werpende.*

7. *sona hraðe ðæs ðe.*

This one example offers, as it were, an easy transition to the next class, that of the *hraðe ðæs ðe* type: BH. 98. 7 Ah he *sona hraðe, þæs þe he biscop geworden wæs, þætte he gefremede þæt weorc þæt he longe wilnade.*

8a. *hraðe ðæs ðe.*

As we found *sona ðæs ðe* to occur almost exclusively in BH., so *hraðe ðæs ðe* is confined to O., only two examples occurring elsewhere, and these in Chron. I quote examples: Chron. 228. 4 Ac *hraðe þæs þe he ham com, he his fyrde ge gaderode*; O. 160. 3 *raðe þæs þe hie togædere coman, Romane hæfdon sige.*

8b. *raðe . . . ðæs ðe.*

Four instances of the divided form occur, two in O., one in BH., and one in BIH. Examples follow: O. 246. 4 *hiene raðe gefliemde þæs þe hie togædere comon*; BIH. 27. 21 Men þa leofestan, cup þætte *hræpe Drihten, þæs þe he of þam fulwihtes bæpe eode, þa fæstte he sona.*

NOTE 1. I find *raðe . . . ðæs ðe* once in the poetry: Chron. 188. 22 he swa *raðe his lif geendade þæs þe he to Engla lande com.*

8c. *raðe ðæs . . . ðe.*

O. 168. 26 hie *raðe þæs forbærnan het þe he to lande gefor.*

8d. *forraðe ðæs ðe.*

Cart. 2. 315. 16 *Æðelstan cyng gefreode Eadelm forraðe þæs ðe he ærest cyng wæs.*

8e. *swiðe hraðe ðæs ðe.*

The one example which I have noted with this strengthened form of the connective is as follows: Bo. 133. 23 *sume hi bereafað hiora welan swiðe hraðe, þæs þe hi ærest gesælige weorðað.*

8f. *instepes ðæs ðe.*

BlH. 35. 5 *Hwæt, we gehyrdon þæt þæt fasten þyses feowertiges daga ongunnen wæs instepes þæs þe he of þæm fulwihte astag.*

9a. *hrædlice siððan.*

In a considerable number of cases, an adverb is employed, either in immediate conjunction with the particle or in the main clause, to render specific the fact of the immediate sequence of the action of one clause on that of the other, when the particle itself does not imply this. Such a phenomenon we have in *hrædlice siððan*, and in the other particles of this subdivision.

These require no discussion, but it has been my principle to assign no example to this class without some clear indication of immediate sequence in the sentence itself, and I therefore think it fitting to indicate the reason in each case.

ÆH. 2. 136. 22 *and he hrædlice siððan he munuc wæs wearð geset cumena ðen.*

9b. *siððan . . . raðe.*

O. 178. 2 *Ac sibþan Metellus þa elpendas ofercom, sibþan he hæfde eac raðe þæt oþer folc gefliemed.*

9c. *sona . . . siððan.*

Æ. Asm. 14. 36 *Ac hi sona geswicon þæs sincipes æfre, syþþan hi Cristes leare geleornodon æt him;*

Hex. 56. 8 and eode him *sona* aweg, *syððon* he ðiss gehyrde. The following example is identical with those just quoted, save that the relative position of the clauses is reversed: Guth. 36. 6 Næs þa nænig yldend to þam þæt *syððan* hi on þæt hus comon, hi þa *sona* þone halgan wer eallum limum gebundon.

**9d. *sona siððan.***

This combination occurs twice, once in BH. and once in BIH. I quote both examples: BH. 132. 4 Forþon *sona sibban* þa ærendwrecan ham cerdon, þe his cwale ærendodon, þa gebeon Rædwald his fyrd; BIH. 111. 29 & se man næfre toðon leof ne bið his nehmagum & his worldfreondum, ne heora nan hine to þæs swiþe ne lufað þæt he *sona sibban* ne sy onscungend, seoþþan se lichoma & se gast gedælde beoþ.

**9e. *swiðe hraðe siððan.***

I have noted this combination only once, thus: CP. 465. 22 ac ic ongeat *swiðe hraðe, siððan* ðu me forlete, hu untrum ic wæs.

**9f. *sona mid ðam ðe.***

One instance of this connective has been noted: LS. 1. 480. 151 and he wearð hal *sona mid þam þe* he clypode cristes naman him to fultume.

**9g. *sona . . . mid ðam ðe.***

In three of the examples I have included under this head, the temporal clause precedes its main clause, thus: O. 274. 3 *sona* gedyde sweetol tacn þæt he Philippus ær besierede, *mid þæm þe* he het cristenra monna ehtan; Dial. 46. 27 *mid þam þe* se Godes wer Constantius þa þis gehyrde, he *sona swiðe bliðe* forlet þa leohtfatu.

## 9h. mid ðam ðe . . . hrædlice.

This occurs only once: Dial. 142. 10 þa *mid þam þe* he þa flaxan onhyllde, þa eode þær ut *hræddlice* an næddre.

## 9i. mid ðam ðe , . . færinga.

Guth. 14. 15 þa gelamp sume nihte *mid þam þe* he com of farendum wege, . . . þa wæs he *færinga* mid Godes ege onbryrd.

## 9j. færlice, mid ðam ðe.

ÆH. 1. 430. 31 þa *færlice*, *mid ðam ðe* he gesæt, comon ðæs caseres cempan, and hine gelæhton.

## 9k. sona mid ðan ðe.

BIH. 199. 20 Ða *sona mid þan þe* se stræl on flyge wæs, þa com swiðe mycel windes blæd foran ongean, þæt seo stræl instepe wearð eft gecyrrad.

## 9l. sona mid ðy ðe.

Only one example has been noted, though there are several in which *sona* appears in the main clause: BH. 186. 13 *Sona mid þy þe* seo fæmne mid þære cyste, þe heo bær, geneolecte þæm cafertune þæs huses, þa gewiton ealle þa wergan gastas onweg.

## 9m. mid ðy ðe . . . sona.

*Mid ðy ðe* most often means *when*, but frequently the action of one clause follows that of the other. In these examples *sona* is used in the main clause to make clear the fact of immediate sequence: Dial. 197. 9 *mid þy þe* þæt þus geworden wæs bodod þam wælhreowestan cyninge, þa *sona* wæs his þæt reðe mod gecyrrad to mycelre arwurðnesse þæs biscepes; BIH. 139. 21 & *mid þy þe* heo þis gecweden [hæfde, þa] com þær *sona* eadega . . .

## 9n. mid ðy ðe . . . hraðe.

Three of the four examples occur in BIH., the other in Dial. : Dial. 142. 11 *mid þy þe* he þa flascaŋ gehylde, þa wæs þær *hraðe* sumu nædre ut gangende ; BIH. 245. 14 *mid þi þe* he þæt gehyrde, *hraþe* he þa aras gesund.

## 9o. mid ðy ðe . . . semninga.

The two examples of this connective occur in BIH. Since they are practically identical, I quote only one: BIH. 147. 30 þa *mid þy þe* he þis gecweden hæfde ure Drihten, þa cleopode *semninga* þære eadigan Marian lichoma beforan him eallum & wæs cweþende . . .

## 9p. mid ðy ðe . . . færinga.

Only one example has been noted: Ap. T. 15. 4 *Mid þy ðe* se cyning þas word gecwæd, þa *færinga* þar eode in ðæs cynges iunge dohtor.

## 9q. sona æfter ðam ðe.

Chron. 231. 10 Ða *sona æfter þam þe* se cyng wæs suð afaren, feorde se eorl anre nihte ut of Bebbra burh towardses Tine muðan.

## 9r. sona æfter ðon ðe.

BIH. 121. 6 Swa we leorniaþ þæt *sona æfter þon þe* Drihten on heofenas astag . . . , þa wæs *æfter þon* þæt hie þysne middangeard on twelf tanum tohluton.

## 9s. swiðe hraðe æfter ðon ðe.

Dial. 297. 14 þa *swiðe hraðe æfter þon þe* he swa aras, hefiendre þære adle he wearð forðfered.

## 9t. æfter ðon ðe . . . sona.

In the following example, *æfter ðon ða* is probably for *æfter ðon ðe*, since the other MSS. have this reading : BH. 126. 19 *Æfter þon þa* Æþelfrið se cyning hine þær geahsode þæt he mid Rædwold þone cyning wæs, þa sende he *sona* ærendwrecan to him. One



other example has been noted, thus: Dial. 260. 15 *ac æfter þon þe* he gefeoll hider on þis woruldlice wræce, he gewat *sona* fram þam leohte 7 wisdomes his modes.

9u. *naht longe æfter ðam.*

In this example, immediate sequence is indicated by denying the contrary: Mart. 110, 3 *ða æfter seofen gearum se bysceop forðferde naht longe æfter ðam* he hæfde mæssan gesungen æt þæra apostola tyde. Aside from this difference, it is similar to those we have been considering.

9v. *sona ða.*

As is true of Modern English *when*, OE. *ða*, denoting *time when*, frequently introduced a clause the action of which preceded that of the main clause. In *sona ða* the office of *sona* is to make clear the fact that the action of the one clause follows that of the other directly. *Sona ða*, then, differs from the others we have been considering only in this, namely, that the priority of the action of the temporal clause is not necessarily implied in the connective, as it is in *siddan* and *æfter ðam ðe*, &c.

Three of the five examples I have noted occur in Dial. I quote one of these, and the other two: Dial. 31. 8 *sona þa* se halga fæder wæs inn agan on þone wyrttun, þa ongan se deofol . . . of hire muðe clypian; LS. 2. 252. 522 Tetradius *ða sona þa* he þæt geseah, gelyfde on urne drihten; BIH. 177. 33 *þa sona þa* þæt gewit aræded wæs, þa cwæþ Neron. This Morris translates 'as soon as the letter was read, then said Nero.'

10. *næs ða nænig hwil to ðan sona swa.*

We find three instances of this curious combination in Guth. It is due probably to a confusion of con-

structions ; but the first element is unknown elsewhere in OE., except as we find it in this sentence: Epis. 146. 180 *Ða næs long to þon* in þæm westenne þæt we to sumre ea cwoman. Guth. 54. 23 presents an intermediate stage: *Swylce næs eac nænig hwil to þam sona comon þær þry men to þære hyðe and þær tacn slogon.*

The three examples follow: Guth. 54. 15 *Næs þa nænig hwil to þan, sona swa* hi ut of þam inne eodon, þa gesegon hi þone hræfn mid þan sweartan nebbe þa glofe teran uppe on anes huses þæce; Guth. 60. 16 *Næs þa þænig hwil to þan sona swa* he wæs mid þam gyrdele begyrd, eal seo unclænnys fram him gewat; Guth. 68. 19 *Næs þa nænig hwil to þon sona swa* he mid þan hrægle swa miccles weres gegyred wæs, þa ne mihte þæt þæt sar aberan.

The writer of Guth. is fond of negative expressions of this kind.

### C. CLAUSES DENOTING DURATION.

#### 1a. *Ða hwile ðe.*

This is the connective used most often, by far, to introduce a clause indicating the duration of an action. It is not necessary that the activity predicated in the main clause should correspond in point of extension to the space of time indicated by the *ða hwile ðe* clause. Sometimes we have a momentary activity expressed in the main clause. *Ða hwile* is the accusative singular of *seo hwil*, used to indicate extent of time; *ðe* is, of course, the relative particle. The particle, then, is equivalent to Middle English *the while that*, which has been replaced in Modern English by *while*, though the form with the article is still sometimes met with in poetry.

I have noted one example in which the relative is separated from its antecedent: O. 212. 25 Ic nat (eac), cwæð he, hu nyt ic þa hwile beo þe ic þas word sprece. The use of *lengest*<sup>1</sup> in the following example really makes the clause equivalent to *as long as*, and makes clear the equal duration of the activities of the two clauses: Chron. 85. 22 þa besæt sio fierd hie þær utan þa hwile þe hie þær lengest mete hæfdon.

The plural *hwila* seems to be used in this example: Chron. 149. 30 7 he his rice heardlice wærode þa hwila þe his tima wæs. Or *hwila* is a careless writing for *hwile*. So *ða* is probably for *ðe* in these examples: Lch. 2. 120. 15 drince þa hwile þa he þurfe; Lch. 2. 338. 20 beþe hine mid þisse beþinge þa hwile þa he mæge aræfnan. I have also noted three instances of *ðe hwile ðe*, two in CP. and one in Lch. 3, which are probably due to the carelessness of the scribe. For the examples from CP., the Cotton. MS. has *ða hwile ðe* in both cases: CP. 159. 4 forðæmðe we ealle, ðe hwile ðe we libbað on ðissum deadlican flæsc, ðære tidernesse & ðære hnescnesse ures flæsces we beoð underðidde; CP. 247. 15 Eac sint to manianne ða halan ðæt hie Gode wilnigen to licianne ðe hwile ðe hie mægen; Lch. 3. 122. 6 ne cume he on nane cyle ðe hwile þe he seoc beo.

I have noted two cases in which *hwile* is modified: O. 20. 25 ealle þa hwile þe þæt lic bið inne, þær sceal beon gedrync 7 plega; PPs. 48. 18 Forðam he nyste him nænne þanc, ne Gode ne mannum, þæs þe he him sealde, syððan he hit hæfde; butan þa ane hwile þe hit him man sealde. The Latin is: et confitebimur tibi dum benefeceris ei. A *hwilæ ðæ* occurs once: Cart. 2. 410. 39 And a *hwilæ ðæ* cristendom sie, fullicæ mid hira godcundnessæ for me sien. . . . Latin: Et

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *swa* . . . *lengost*, p. 91.

*quamdiu* cristianitas permanserit. *þer hwyle ðe* likewise appears only once: Cart. 3. 216.2 And ic an þat Athelfled bruke þe lond *þer hwyle þe* hire lef beth.

In this example, *ða hwile* is repeated at the head of the main clause: ÆH. 1. 10. 35 and *þa hwile þe* he smeade hu he mihte dælan rice wið God, *þa hwile* gearcode se Ælmihtiga Scyppend him and his geforum helle wite. I quote one example to illustrate the normal use of the connective: Bo. 23. 14 Eall hie us þyncað þy leohtran *ða hwile þe* þa oncras fæste bioð.

The use of *ða hwile ðe* with *magan* and *motan* is so frequent in Wulf. that it might almost be considered a peculiarity of the style. I quote two examples from the same page chosen at random: Wulf. 150. 9 uton andettan ure synna *þe hwile, þe* we *magon* and *moton*; Wulf. 150. 16 helpe gehwa his sylfes georne *þa hwile þe* he *mage* and *mote*.

NOTE 1. *ða hwile ðe* seems to be rare in the poetry. I quote examples: Byrhtnoth's Tod<sup>1</sup> 14 he hæfde god geþanc, *þa hwile þe* he mid handum healdan mihte bord and brad swurd; Byrhtnoth's Tod 272 æfre embe stunde he sealde sume wunde, *þa hwile ðe* he wæpna weoldan moste.

NOTE 2. In Layamon's Brut *ða hwile ðe* is found, but the later version usually has *ðe wile ðæt*. Examples follow: Brut 1. 95. 9 *þa hwile þe* ic libbe, oðer nulle ic habben; later text: *þe wile þat* ich libbe oþer nele ich habbe. I have found *whyl that* in Chaucer, but have not noted it with the article: Chaucer's Prologue 397 Ful many a draughte of wyn had he y-drawe From Burdeux-ward, *whyl that* the chapman sleep.

NOTE 3. I have not found *the hwile that* in Modern English, though *the while* is found in both Scott and Tennyson.

NOTE 4. Closely parallel to OE. *ða hwile ðe* is Middle High German *die wile daz*: Der Nibelunge Not 1. 392. 2368 Ja han ich des gesworn, daz ich den hort iht zeige *die wile daz* si leben.

<sup>1</sup> Grein's Bibliothek.

1b. *ða hwile*.

The form without the relative is of rare occurrence, so much so that its existence has been questioned. Wülfing<sup>1</sup> says that 'Max Förster behauptet in seiner Besprechung von Bearden's Arbeit über die alt-schottischen Präpositionen (Anglia 18 (N. F. 6), Beiblatt S. 135): 'Nicht *þa hwile* allein, wie auf S. 87 angegeben ist, sondern *þa hwile þe* wurde in Ae. als Konjunktion gebraucht.' Das ist, wie dies Beispiel zeigt, nicht richtig; neben *þa hwile þe* kommt auch *þa hwile* allein vor.'

To the two examples which Wülfing finds in Alfred's works, I have added five examples from other texts. Besides these, *ða hwile* occurs a considerable number of times in the Northumbrian Gospels, not always equivalent to Latin *dum*, but sometimes translating *usque*; though for this we usually find *wið ða hwile*. For particulars the reader is referred to Cook's Glossary<sup>2</sup>.

Miller has *þendæm* for *ða hwile* in the example on which Wülfing makes his note. *Ða hwile* is the reading of Ms. Ca., which Smith followed: Smith's ed. BH. 537. 19 seþe ær *þa hwile* he ðis hwilendlice rice hæfde, ma he gewunode þ he . . . . The corresponding passage in Miller's ed. is 188. 4.

I quote examples freely, since the particle is rare, though it is not unusual to find the relative lacking in similar connectives: Sol. 47. 14 forðam þu næfre þæt ne myhte *þa hwile* þu byst on ðam þeostrum þinra sinna; Lch. 3. 122. 18 do þus ðe *hwyle* hym ðearf sy. The last example is in a late text, and *ða* frequently becomes *ðe* in such. Lch. 3. 2. 6 læt reocan in þa eagan *þa hwile* hy hate synd; Mart. 208. 2 nu

<sup>1</sup> 2. 110, note.

<sup>2</sup> A Glossary of the Old Northumbrian Gospels, Halle 1894.

a butan ende geshyð urne dryhten, þæs wyllan heo ær fremede þa hwyle heo on lyfe wunode on hyre lichoman.

I have not found any instances of *ða hwile* in the poetry.

NOTE 1. In Middle English we find *the wile*, as in this example: Piers Plowman B. 10. 145 Youre man shal I worthe, As longe as I lyve bothe late and rathe, Forto worche youre wille, *the wile* my lyf dureth.

NOTE 2. It is only rarely that the article is used with *while* in Modern English; and when it is found, it is usually in poetry. I quote an illustration from Scott: Lord of the Isles 6.15 Right on De Baune, *the whiles* he passed, Fell that stern dint.

NOTE 3. In Middle High German we find both *die wile* *daz* and *die wile* alone. The latter gives the Modern German *dieweil*, which has passed very largely over into causal use. An example from Middle High German follows: Der Nibelunge Not 1. 134.816 so möhten im diu riche wol wesen undertan: die wile lebet Gunther, so kundez nimmer ergan.

### 1c. *ða hwile ðæt*.

I have noted only three examples with this connective, two of them being in an entry of the Chron. for the year 1123. The use of *ðæt* for *ðe* became universal in the Middle English period, so it is not surprising to find it appearing so late in the OE. epoch.

I quote the three cases: Chron. 252. 34 *ða hwile þ* se ærceþ wæs ut of lande geaf se kyng ðone biscop rice of Baðe þes cwenes canceler Godefrið wæs ge haten; Chron. 253. 1 7 *þa hwile þ* he þær wæs þa geaf he þone biscop rice of Lincolne an clerik Alexander wæs ge haten; Cart. 2. 453. 28 þ ðis min wille and gifte and of ðis writ fastnyng ungewenmed beo and ungewered and ungewendelic *ðe hwile þ* Cristendom dureþ in ðis gelonde Englisckan.

NOTE 1. *þe wile þat* occurs in the later text of the Brut of Layamon, though the earlier more often has *ða hwile ðe*: Brut 1. 95. 9 *þe wile þæt* ich libbe oþer nele ich habbe; Brut 1. 268. 6 and he heolde god griþ, *þe wile þat* laste his lif.

#### 1d. on ðære hwile ðe.

This prepositional form of the particle occurs only twice, both instances being in O. I quote the two in full: O. 130. 9 *on ðære hwile þe* he þær winnende wæs, frefelice hiene gesohte Minotho, seo Sciþþisce cwen; O. 170. 12 *On þære hwile þe* he þone unræd þurhteah, Amicor, Pena cyning, wæs mid sibbe wið his farende mid eallum his folce.

#### 1e. wile.

This almost Modern English form of the connective appears twice in the Chron., the first in the entry for the year 1137, the second in that for 1140. Both examples follow: Chron. 264. 26 I ne can ne i ne mai tellen alle þe wunder ne alle þe pines ð hi diden wrecce men on þis land. 7 ð lastede þa XIX wintre *wile* Stephne was king 7 æure it was uerse 7 uerse; Chron. 268. 10 oc ferden þe ærceþ 7 te wise men betwux heom 7 makede ð sahte ð te king sculde ben lauerd 7 king *wile* he liuede.

The language is no longer OE. We feel that we have reached the end of a period in the history of the race. I know of no piece of literature so full of suggestion and interest to the student of history or of language as the last entries of the OE. Chron.

#### 2. ða ðrage ðe.

*Drag* is in meaning about the same as *hwil*, and their uses are largely parallel. I have noted only one instance of *ða ðrage ðe*, which is, of course, exactly parallel to *ða hwile ðe*.

I quote the example: Lch. 2. 284. 14 Sume bec lærað wið þære healfdeadan adle þ man pintreow bærne to gledum 7 þonne þa gleda sette toforan þam seocum men, 7 þ he þonne ontyndum eagum 7 opene muþe þane rec swelge þa þrage þe he mæge.

### 3. ða lange ðe.

I have found but one example of this connective. I do not know that *lang* is elsewhere used as a substantive, and probably this isolated case is due to the dropping out of some noun, such as *first* or *hwil*. Or the form may be due to a sort of confusion between *ða hwile ðe* and *swa lange swa*. The example follows: Lch. 3. 114. 18 7 do þus þa lange þe hit beþurfe.

### 4. swylce hwile swa.

Though this seems a perfectly natural form for a connective meaning *while*, I have observed only one instance of its use. In a sense it represents a sort of transition from *ða hwile ðe* to *swa lange swa*. The former comes from an adverbial use denoting duration of time; the latter is clearly comparative in origin; this partakes of the nature of both, and is therefore an interesting case. I quote the example: Lch. 3. 112. 17 do hym þanne hnesce mettas 7 godne drincan eal swa hit beforen seið, *swylce hwile swa* hym hit beþurfe.

### 5. swa mænige dagas swa.

I quote the only case of this construction I have noted: LS. 2. 26. 392 and *swa mænige dagas swa* ic ær þære [rode] symbelnyse on þære ceastre wunode mid [gelicum] fullicum weorcum me gemæ[n]gde.

### 6a. swa lange swa.

Though this conjunction is not of frequent occurrence, it is about evenly distributed throughout the whole OE. period.



In origin the construction is comparative; and its temporal character is incidental, as it were, though in the historical period of the language that idea is the chief one.

This class of clauses seems to have escaped Wülfiſing's notice, though there are numerous examples in the works of Alfred.

I have noted the spelling *swe longe swe* in OET. Vesp. Psalms 145. 1 ic hergu dryhten in life minum, singu gode minum *swe longe swe* ic biom.

The Middle English form is *so longe so*, which I find first in Cart. 3. 217. 27 And Wlmer prest singe þerat and his bearntem *so longe so* he þen to þen hode. The spelling *swæ* occurs in this example: BH. 436. 2 hiene in ðæm streame sæncte 7 defde, *swa longe swæ* he gesegen wæs þæt he aræfnan meahte. I have noted only one case in which the substantive occurs with *lange*: Mk. 2. 19 ne magon hi fæstan *swa lange tide swa* hi ðone brydguman mid him habbað.

The apparent optative in this example is probably due to the weakening of the ending, as it occurs in a late text, and as there is no reason for the optative: Æ. Asm. 86. 181 þeo boc us sæð swutellice be þam folce, þ heo on sibbe wunedon *swa lange swa* heo *wurðoden* þone heofenlice god on his bigengum georne. The following example will illustrate the normal use of the connective: Mart. 214. 13 ond hig slepon dæg ond niht *swa lange swa* hig on þam huse wæron.

In M. 25. 40 *swa lange swa* has the logical force of *inasmuch as*, which stands in our modern versions: M. 25. 40 Ðonne 7 swarað se cyning hym 7 cwypþ to heom: Soþ ic eow secge, *swa lange swa* ge dydon anum ðysum minum læstum gebroðorum, *swa lange* ge hyt dydon me. This is evidently due to the Latin, for nowhere else in OE., save in quotations of this

passage and the similar verse M. 25. 45, has *swa lange swa* this meaning. The Latin is: et respondens rex, dicet illis: amen dico vobis, *quamdium* fecistis uni ex his fratribus meis minimis, mihi fecistis. This does not go back to the Greek, which runs thus: *Καὶ ἀποκριθεὶς ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐρεῖ αὐτοῖς Ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν ἐφ' ὅσον ἐνοιήσατε ἐνὶ τούτων τῶν ἀδελφῶν μου τῶν ἐλαχίστων, ἐμοὶ ἐποιήσατε.* Following the Greek, the Gothic has: Amen qīþa izuis, jah þanei tawideduþ ainamma þize minnistane broþre mainaize, mis tawideduþ. Wycliffe has *as long as*; but *in as moche as*, which is the reading of all subsequent versions down to the American Revised, appears first in Tyndale's version.

It as an easy step from *as long as*, in its temporal meaning, to the meaning *inasmuch as*, and we very often hear it so used in colloquial speech. The merchant, anxious to dispose of his wares, wishing to give the notion that he is influenced by good will, will say to a prospective purchaser: *as long as* it is you, &c.

However, in OE. *swa lange swa* always has its literal meaning, save in this one instance. Cf. M. 25. 45; ÆH. 2. 108. 15, 28; BIH. 169. 20; Wulf. 288. 25; 289. 6.

NOTE 1. I have not observed any parallels either in the poetry or in other Germanic languages.

NOTE 2. In the earlier text of Layamon's Brut we find *swa long swa*, while the later version usually has *so long so*. I quote an illustration: Brut 2. 526. 22 swiken nulle ich nauere, *swa long swa* beoð auere. Later version: þat *so long so* beoþ euere, ne swike ich þe neuere.

NOTE 3. *As long as* is so common in Modern English that to quote illustrations would be superfluous.

#### 6b. *swa lange . . . swa lange.*

In four instances *swa lange* is repeated at the head of the main clause. I quote to illustrate: O. 274. 10

*swa longe swa* seo ehtnes wæs þara cristenra monna, *swa longe* him wæs ungemetlic moncwealm getenge; ÆH. 2. 108. 28 Soð ic eow secge, *swa lange swa* ge forwyrndon anum of ðisum lytlun, and noldon him on minum naman tiðian, *swa lange* ge me sylfum his forwyrndon.

6c. *swa lange . . . swa.*

I quote the one example in which *swa lange* appears in the midst of the main clause, while *swa* introduces the subordinate member of the sentence: ÆH. 2. 230. 35 and *swa lange* leofode of ðisum deadlicum life *swa* he sylf wolde. In such an example as this the comparative nature of the construction is more evident.

6d. *swe longe.*

The one instance of this connective appears in Vesp. Psalms, which is a literal and slavish gloss. Doubtless the form is due to the imitation of the Latin *quamdiu*, which it is employed to render: OET. Vesp. Psalms 103. 33 ic singu dryhtne in life minum, ic singu gode minum *swe longe* ic biom. The Latin is: psallam Deo meo, *quamdiu* ero.

6e. *swa lange þ.*

It does not quite appear whether this example is to be understood as temporal or as expressing result. The form would lead us to expect the latter meaning, but the context seems to favor the temporal interpretation. The sentence in question follows: Chron. 250. 34 þæt fir hi seagon in ðe dæi rime and læste *swa lange þ* hit wæs liht ofer eall.

6f. *swa . . . lengost.*

This connective corresponds to *swa . . . oftost* and *swa . . . hraðost*, but it is found only once. As in the case of the other connectives, the verb is a form of

*mugan*; and the subject, and only that, intervenes between the parts of the connective. The one example follows: Chron. 161. 1 ealle þa yldestan menn on West Seaxon lagon ongean *swa* hi *lengost* mihton.

### 7. *ðenden*.

This connective occurs very rarely in the prose, only seven examples of its occurrence being noted. In meaning it is synonymous with *ða hwile ðe*.

Wülfiŋg does not note it as being used in the writings of Ælfred, but I have found one instance of its use. The corresponding passage in Smith's ed. of BH. has *ða hwile*, and this explains why Wülfiŋg does not find the conjunction in Ælfred.

Three of the seven examples occur in Lch. I shall quote freely, since so few examples occur: Laws 74. 1 Gif ðisses hwæt gelimpe *ðenden* fyrd ute sie, oððe in læntenfæsten, hit sie twybote; BH. 188. 4 se ðe ær, *þenden* he þis hwilendlice hæfde riice, ma he gewunade, þæt he for þæm ecan riice symle wonn 7 God bletsode; Lch. 2. 204. 1 of þam sceal beon þ rot gelome adon, *þenden* hit mon welð; Mart. 40. 11 wit sendon þine sweostra, ond Crist unc sende to þe, ond wit sceolon a beon mid þe *þenden* þu leofast.

In the Northumbrian Gospels<sup>1</sup> *ðende* occurs a number of times, thus: M. 26. 6 *ðende* donne wæs ðe hælend in bethania in huse symonis ðæs hreafa, cuom to him wif hæbbende stænne fulle smirinnise.

NOTE 1. In the poetry *ðenden* occurs somewhat more frequently. I quote examples from Beowulf, thus: Beo. 57 heold *þenden* lifde, gamo lond guð-reouw, glæde Scyldingas; Beo. 1859 wes an, *þenden* ic wealde widan rices, maþmas gemæne.

<sup>1</sup> Cook, Glossary.

## 8. on ðam ðe.

This connective occurs very rarely, two instances only having been noted.

Probably it arose from the omission of the substantive in such sentences as this: O. 180. 21 *On þæm dagum þe* Titus Sempronius 7 Gratias Gaius wæron consulas on Rome, (hie) gefuhton wið Faliscis þæm folce. I quote the two examples: Chron. 169. 28 *On þam þe* Godwine eorl 7 Beorn eorl lagon on Peuenes ea þa com Swein eorl, 7 bæd Beorn eorl mid facne; Chron. 179. 16 *on þam þe* he her on lande wæs he gespeon ealle Centingas.

## 9. under ðæm ðe.

The only occurrence of this connective is in O. as follows: O. 30. 5 hy ða *under ðæm þe* he him onwinnende wæs, wurdon gerade wigcræfta.

It is a short step from such a use of *under ðam* as we have in the following sentence to the full conjunctive force: Chron. 168. 7 Ða wearð hit *under þam* þet þam cynges com word þ unnfrið scipa lægen be westen and hergodon. The use of *under* in such cases as this might easily lead to its employment in conjunctive phrases: O. 210. 10 Æfter þæm Serius Galua for eft on Lusitanie, 7 frið genam wið hie, 7 hi *under þæm friþe* beswac; O. 182. 23 Swa þonne wæs mid Romanum þæt an gear þæt hi sibbe hæfdon, þæt hie *under þære* sibbe to þære mæstan sace become.

NOTE 1. In OS. we find *undar thiu* used with temporal force: Heliand 2854 That folk stillo bed, . . . *under thiu* he thurh in selbes kraft, . . . thena meti wihida, . . . endi mid is handum brak.

## 10a. betwux ðam ðe.

Both the examples with this connective occur in LS. 2., and both follow: LS. 2. 254. 548 *Betwux þam*

*þe* se bisceop on þære byrig wunode, þa cydde man geond þa burh þæt þær cuman wolde to onsigendan here; LS. 2. 322. 123 *Betwux þam þe* he clypode to criste þagit þa tugon þa hæþenan þone halgan to slæge.

The conjunctive use might easily develop from such employment as this: Chron. 224. 13 *Betwux þissum* se eorl of Normandige Rodbeard þes cynges broðer gaderode swiðe mycel folc. And this adverbial use comes naturally from its frequent use with two dates, as in this example: Chron. 101. 5 þy ilcan sumera *be twix* hlaf mæssan 7 middum sumera se here bræc þone friþ of Ham tune.

10b. *betweoh ðon ðe*.

This form of the connective has been observed only once: BH. 360. 10 ond þa *betweoh ðon þe* hine man lacnade, he forðferde. The Latin is: *Vulneratus namque est in pugna Australium Saxonum, . . . et inter medendum defunctus.*

11a. *onmang ðam(n) ðe*.

*Gemang* means a mixture, being from the same root as the verb *mengan*: and, though the simple *mang* does not occur, it would have the same meaning. As a preposition *gemang* has the meaning 'in Mitten von, unter, auch in Zeitliche übergehend = während,' to quote Wülfing.<sup>1</sup>

Doubtless the conjunctival use grew out of its employment as a preposition in cases such as this: Chron. 241. 14 7 *on mang* þam ge winnan se fæder forðferde.

I have noted sixteen instances of *onmang ðam ðe*, eight of which occur in Chron., and six in Nic., with one each for LS. and HL. In HL. and Nic. the

<sup>1</sup> 2. 660.

spelling *amang* occurs, as well as *onmang* in the latter.

Examples follow: Chron. 169. 3 *Ða amang þam þe* hi ridon, þa bæd Swegen hine þet he sceolde faran mid him to his scipon; LS. 1. 502. 246 and seo sunne sah to setle *on-mang ðam þe* hi on woþe wæron; HL. 172. 92 And he þanan to his gereorde eode and *amang þan þe* he æt, he to his þegnum spræc and þus cwæð; Nic. 502. 12 ac *amang þam þe* hig þus spræcon þær wæs stefen 7 gastlic hream swa hlud swa þunres slege.

**11b. ongemang ðam ðe.**

This form of the conjunction has been met with only twice: CP. 339. 24 hie sint to manigenne ðæt hie geðencen, *ongemang ðæm ðe* hie wilniað ðæt hie gifule ðyncen, ðæt hie, &c. Latin: *dum* valde munifici videri appetunt. Wulf. 84. 4 forðam hit wæs oft ær, þæt godes halgan fela wundra þurh godes mihta openlice worhtan *on gemang þam, þe* hi ehtnesse þaledon.

**11c. gemang ðæm(n) ðe.**

I quote the examples of this form of the connective I have noted: O. 160. 6 *Gemong þæm þe* Pirrus wið Romane winnende wæs, hi hæfdon eahta legian; Lch. 3. 106. 10 styre hy swyþe, *gemang þan þe* heo welle.

**12a. prep. + object (noun of time) + ðe.**

This construction has been discussed before<sup>1</sup>, and so no extended comment is necessary here. The cases in which such clauses have the meaning *while* are very few indeed, only four having been noted, all of which I quote.

<sup>1</sup> p. 32.

The prepositions used are *in*, *on*, *geond*, and *binnon*; the nouns of time *tid*, *fyrst*, and *dag*; the cases which are found are the dative and the accusative.

BH. 128. 18 7 frægn, for hwon he *in þære tide*, þe oðre men slepon 7 reston, ana swa unrot . . . sæte; ÆH. 2. 150. 1 þa geworhte he fela wundra eac *binnon ðam fyrste ðe* he biscop wæs; LS. 1. 516. 477 Feower siðon man awende mynet-isenā *on his dagum*, þe ðas halgan *ðagyt* wunodon onmang oþrum mannum. In the latter example the meaning *while* is emphasized by *ðagyt*. LS. 2. 294. 1223 and syþþan of þam dege *geond twentig wintra fyrst þe* he wunode on life ne com on þam earde ænig hagal syððan.

I have not noted any parallels to this usage in the poetry.

12b. noun of time (in oblique case) + ðe.

In only one instance have I regarded such a clause as belonging to this division. The case is the dative, and the noun *tima*. The example follows: CP. 253. 10. ðæt hie ðonne her on worulde ðoligen earfeðu *ðam timum ðe* hie ðyrfen.

For a full discussion of this construction the reader is referred to the paragraphs relating to it in Section A.<sup>1</sup>

13a. mid ðam ðe.

Since the meaning of this particle has already been fully discussed<sup>2</sup>, a few brief remarks will suffice here.

So far as I have observed, *mid ðam ðe* only once indicates the equal duration of the actions of the two clauses; it usually indicates a period of time, when it means *while*, at some point of which the action of the main clause takes place. Most often it simply has the force of *when*, indicating merely the point of time at which an action takes place.

<sup>1</sup> p. 35.

<sup>2</sup> p. 36.



I quote the example in which *mid ðam ðe* indicates the equal duration of the activity of the two clauses: Gen. 18. 8 and stod him under þam treowe wið hig, *mid þam þe* hig æton.

Examples of the particle with its more common signification follow: ÆH. 2. 98. 5 Efne ða, *mid þam þe* he hlyste ðæs heofonlican sanges, ða gewat his sawul of ðam geswenctan lichaman to ecere reste. In the greater number of cases *ða* is thus repeated at the head of the main clause. Exceptions have been noted in the index-list. Quot. 151. 6 Ða, *mid þam þe* þa wif eodon, þa comon þa weardmen, and cyddon þæt Crist aras of deaþe.

NOTE 1. In Gothic, *miþþanei* is used in much the same way as *mid ðam ðe* in OE. I cite an instance in which it introduces a clause at some point of which the action of the main clause takes place: L. 2. 6 Warþ þan *miþþanei* þo wesun jainar, usfullnodedun dagos du bairan izai.

### 13 b. *mid ðan ðe*.

I quote the only example of this connective I have noted with the meaning *while*: Neot 109. 81 *Mid þan þe* he his salmes and his gebeden and rædingan emb hydiglice smeade, þa becom him to gemynde his oðer scoh.

### 13 c. *mid ðy ðe*.

Often it is difficult to determine whether connectives of the *mid*-class indicate a time-relation for which we should use *when*, or whether it is best rendered by *while*. Being guided by the fact that it most often renders *cum* in translations from the Latin, as well as by the sense of the passages, I have assigned most of the examples to the first class, differing in this from Wülfig, who assigns the greater number to the class indicating 'Dauer oder Gleichzeitigkeit.'<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> 2. 110.

I have assigned only such examples to this class as indicate clearly the duration of the activity. The *mid ðy ðe*-clause denotes a period of time within which the activity of the main clause takes place:

BH. 34. 15 And *mid þy ðe* he hine þa geseah on singalum gebedum, . . . þa wæs he semninga mid þam godcundan gyfe gesawen 7 gemildsad. Here *mid ðy ðe* is used to render the Latin *dum*.

In this example the rendering *while* is supported by *þu gyta*: BH. 210. 3 *Mid ðy ðe* Sigeberht *þu gyta* rice hæfde, cwom of Hibernia Scotta ealonde halig wer sum, þæs noma wæs Furseus.

In BIH. and Ap. T. the spelling *mid ði ðe* has been noted: Ap. T. 11. 16 *Mid þi þe* he þas þingc wæs sprecende to him silfum, þa færinga geseah he sumne fiscere gan.

The meaning *while* is clear in this example: BIH. 231. 17 þa Drihten Hælend Crist cwæð to ðæm halgan Andrea his apostole, *mid þy þe* he wæs in Achaia þæm lande.

### 13 d. *mid ðy*.

This connective occurs most frequently in BH., though also met with in other texts. The reader is referred to the discussion of *mid ðy*, meaning *when*<sup>1</sup>, for a general consideration of the meaning and use of the connective.

Examples follow: OET. Vesp. Psalms 30. 28 forðon ðu geherdes stefne boene minre *mið ðy* ic cleopiu to ðe. The Latin runs: Ideo exaudisti vocem deprecationis meae, *dum* clamarem ad te. BH. 62. 3 Wæs bi eastan þære ceastre welneah sumo cirice in are Scī Martine geo geara geworht, *mid þy* Romani þa *gyt* Breotone beedon. In the following example, *ða hwile*

<sup>1</sup> p. 41.

makes the force of *mid ðy* plain: BH. 424. 21 *Mid ðy* wit *ða hwiile* eodan, bicuomon wit to sumere dene; BH. 458. 7 *Mid þy* he *þa gena* wæs begeondan sæ wuniende, het Oswio se cynincg gehalgian to bysceope on Eoforwicceastre Ceaddan þone halgan wer. In the latter example, *þa gena* fulfils the same office.

The spelling *mid ði* is found in Ap. T. 3. 21 *Mid þi* soðlice antiochus se wælreowa cyningc on þysse wælreownesse þurhwunode, þa wæs apollonius gehaten sum iung man se wæs swiðe welig 7 snotor.

NOTE 1. In OHG., *mit thiu* frequently has the meaning of *while*. I quote examples for comparison: Tatian 27. 2 Uuis gihengig thinemo uuidaruorten sliemo, *mit thiu* thu bist in ueege mit imo. The Latin runs: *dum* es in via cum eo. Tatian 139. 10 *Mit diu* ir liocht habet, giloubet in liocht, thaz ir liochtes barn sit; Latin: *dum* lucem habetis.

#### 14. swa swa.

In Modern English, *as* is frequently used in the sense of *while*, but I have noticed *swa* in OE. only once so employed. The example follows: Chron. 136. 14 7 dydon eall swa hi ær gewuna wæron, hergodon 7 bærndon 7 slogon *swa swa* hi ferdon.

#### 15 a. ða giet ða.

We have had occasion several times to note the use of an adverb to make clear a time-relation not necessarily connoted by the particle itself; in a few cases *ða gyt* used with *ða* gives it the meaning of *while*.

I quote all the examples: O. 136. 11 *þagiet þa* Alexander ham com to Babylonia, *þagiet* wæs on him se mæsta þurst monnes blodes. This represents an intermediate stage; the *ða giet* in the main clause is correlative to that in the subordinate clause, which, however, still indicates *time when*.

In the following example, the meaning *while* seems plain: Dial. 167. 11 7 *þa gyt þa* hi sæton æt þære mysan 7 betwyh heom þa halgan gespræcu spræcon, seo lætere 7 seo ufore tid *þa gyt* forþ teah, þa seo ylce nunne seo Godes fæmne Benedictes swuter bæd hine 7 þus cwæð; Laws 42. 16 7 *þa giet ða* hie æt-gædere wæron, monega hæðena ðeoda hie to Gode gecerdon. Latin: *dum adhuc* simul erant. L. 15. 20 7 *þa gyt þa* he wæs feorr, his fæder he hyne geseah; L. 24. 6 geþencað hu he spæc wið eow *þa gyt þa* he wæs on galilea.

#### 15 b. ða gen ða.

This connective is, of course, closely analogous to that of 15 a, and therefore needs no discussion. I quote the one example: BIH. 165. 17 Uton we þonne, men þa leofestan, gehyran hu swiþe loflice Sanctus Johannes wæs mid þæs Halgan Gastes mægemum gefylled, *þa [gen] þa* he on his modor bosme wuni-gende wæs.

### D. CLAUSES DETERMINING THE TIME OF AN ACTION BY REFERENCE TO A PRECEDING ACTION.

#### 1 a. siððan.

This conjunction is, according to Sweet<sup>1</sup>, compounded of the preposition *sið* and its object in the dative. Others regard *ðan* as being the instrumental in a phrase of comparison. I incline to the latter view; for *ðæm* does not become *ðan* until the later period of OE., and we have *siððan* in the earliest texts. Indeed I have found but one instance of *siððam* in all OE., and that in a text the language of which is late: Sol. 45. 10 *Siððam* he þonne þat gelæornod

<sup>1</sup> Student's Dictionary of Anglo-Saxon.

hæbbe þæt his eagan nanwyht þæt fyr ne onscyniað, hawie þonne on steorran, &c. But it is difficult to draw a sharp line between preposition and adverb in such cases.

The fact that we never, or very rarely, find the relative<sup>1</sup> with *sið-ðan*, whereas we regularly have it with *æfter ðon* or *ær ðon*, lends support to the view that the conjunction arose from a phrase of comparison. In this passage the parts are written separately: Chron. 213. 10 Ðes geares for barn Lunden burh anre nihte ær assumptio scē Mariæ swa swyðe swa heo næfre ær næs *syð þan* heo gestapeled wæs.

Beside the common spelling *siddan* and *syððan*, I have noted *seodðan* in BH. and BIH., *siedðan* in CP., *siodðan* in Epis., and *siodðen* in Rood. In Lch. and the Hatton MS. of the Gospels *syððe* or *sedðe* is found, and the Northumbrian Gospels have *sidda*.

The examples quoted are selected with a view of exhibiting these different spellings, as well as the different usages discussed below. *Siddan* is used indifferently to express the relations *ex quo* and *postquam*.

In most cases it is impossible to distinguish between these different functions, and I have therefore deemed it advisable to include all uses of *siddan* under the general class of clauses determining the time of the action of the main clause by reference to a preceding action. The relation *ex quo* is, in reality, a mere special case of this general class. In a few cases the meaning *ex quo* is quite clear, thus: O. 17. 24 Ne mette he ær nan gebun land, *sippan* he from his agnum ham for. But most often the word will bear the translation *after*, as well as *from the time that*, thus: O. 90. 9 Ac *sippan* hie on Sicilium wunnon, hie eac *sippan* betweenum him selfum winnende wæron.

<sup>2</sup> p. 104.

Wülfiŋ himself says<sup>1</sup>, speaking of his fourth division, 'Nebensätze zur Angabe des Anfangspunktes der Handlung des übergeordneten Satzes': 'Es ist nicht immer genau festzustellen, ob das Fügewort in solchen Sätzen durch *seitdem* oder durch *nachdem* zu übersetzen ist, . . . da mehrere Möglichkeiten vorhanden sind.'

One other illustration of *siddan* in its meaning *from the time that* will suffice: L. 7. 45 Coss þu me ne sealdest; þeos *syððan* ic ineode, ne ge-swac þ heo mine fet ne cyste. The Latin runs: Osculum mihi non dedisti: haec autem *ex quo* intravit, non cessavit osculari pedes meos.

The sentences quoted for variations in spelling will illustrate either use as it may happen: BH. 318. 14 Secgað men be hire, *seoðþan* heo mynster gesohte, þæt heo næfre linnum hræglum brucan wolde; CP. 157. 21 *Siedðan* he hit *ðonne* mid ðara awðrum cyð, *ðonne* bið sio duru ðære unryhtwisnesse ontyned. The use of *ðonne* in this way is rare, though occasionally found. I quote one other example: Sol. 23. 5 *Syððan* þu þonne me þæt asæd heafst, þonne mæg ic þe secgan butan ælcum tweon þæt þu heafst swa feola ðara ancra begyte swa þu heafst þara lusta on wurlde forlæten.

More frequently, *ða* is found at the head of the main clause, as in this example: Sol. 21. 16 ac *sioðþan* ic hyt þa ongyten hæfde, þa forlæt ic þa þe sceawunge mid þam eagum.

Epis. 151. 310 *Sioðþan* hie þa wyrmas hæfdon ondruncen þæs wætres, þa gewiton hie þonon and ure no ne ehton; Rood. 5. 34 Ða *sioððen* se mæra kasere constantinus wæs getrymed mid rihtan geleafan, he þa liornian ongan þa godcundan lare; Lch. 3. 104. 1 oþre greccas nemneð eumotici, þ sindon þe teþ þe

<sup>1</sup> 2. 112.

þane mete brecaþ, *sybbe* þa forme hyne underfangene habbæt.

In Modern English, *since* has passed very largely over to the causal signification. This is natural enough, for an event which precedes another is often its cause; but it is noteworthy that in OE. *siððan* rarely or never has this meaning. I quote an example in which the two meanings seen about equally present: LS. 2. 70. 76 Fela wæron forbodene godes folc on ðære æ þe nu syndon clæne æfter cristes tocyme, *siððan* paules cwæð to þam cristenum ðus.

NOTE 1. *Siððan* seems to be used in the poetry as in the prose. An example follows: Christ 1041 micel arisedð Dryhtfolc to dome, *sippan* deapes bend Toleseð Liffsuma.

NOTE 2. I find *seoððen* in Layamon's Brut 1. 267.6 þar nas nauer nan man *seoððen* Noes flod hit hauede ouergan.

Later forms are *sithenes*, which gives the Modern English *since*; and *sithe*, which gives *sith*, common in Elizabethan English: Piers Plowman, Prologue A. 61 *Seththe* charite hath be chapmon, and cheef to schriuen lordes, Mony ferlyes han bi-falle in a fewe yeres. For the same passage the B. text has: For *sith* charite hath be chapman . . . I find the form *syn* in Chaucer's Prologue 601 And by his covenant yaf the rekenyng, *syn* that his lord was twenty year of age. *Sithen* also is found: Knightes Tale 1244 and sikerly, ther trowed many a man That never, *sithen* that the world bigan, . . ., Nas of so fewe, so noble a companye.

NOTE 3. The Modern German *seitdem* is analogous to OE. *siððan*.

NOTE 4. Gothic *seipu* is cognate to OE. *siððan*, but is not used as a conjunction. OS. *siðor* is used as a conjunction in ways parallel to the use of OE. *siððan*: Heliand 147 than warun wit nu atsamna antsibunta wintro gibenkeon endi gibeddeon, *siðor* ik sie mi te brudi gekos. In OHG., Otfrid uses *sid* in ways parallel to OE. *siððan*: Otfrid 2. 8. 54 Thiz zeichan deta druhtin krist mennisgon zi erist, *sid* er hera in worolt quam joh mannes lichamon nam; Otfrid 5. 17. 15 zi

sin selbes riche, so gizam, *sid* er in tode sigu nam. In Tatian, *sid* is not employed as a conjunction.

1b. *siððan . . . siððan.*

In a number of cases *siððan* is repeated in the main clause. The purpose is to bind the two clauses more closely together, as we have noted in the case of many similar phenomena. In this example *siððan* in the main clause translates a Latin *postea*: Laws 54. 20 *siððan* hit to ðam arise þæt angylde, *siððan* sie þæt wite CXX scill.' The Latin runs: *postquam* angildum ad id surgit (crescit) *postea* sit wita centum uiginti solidi.

Other examples follow: O. 296. 9 þohte, *sipþan* þæt folc oferfunden wære, þæt hie *sipþan* wolde eall þæt he wolde; O. 62. 32 þis ic sprece nu for ðæm þe ic wolde þæt þa ongleaten, . . . hwelc mildsung *sipþan* wæs, *sipþan* se cristendom wæs 7 hu monigfealde wolbærnes ðære worulde ær þæm wæs; BIH. 219. 24 Ah *seopþan* he þon biseophade onfeng in Turnan ðære byrig, nis nænig man þæt þa wundor ealle asecggan mæge, þa ðe God *seopþan* þurh hine worhte.

1c. *siððan . . . ðe.*

It is not altogether clear whether *siððan* in this example should be regarded as an adverb, or whether *siððan . . . ðe* together make a conjunction. In either case, the construction is unique, unless it be the instance considered below.

I quote the *siððan . . . ðe* example: Laws 174. 38 7 forgyldon þæt yrfe, þe *syððan* genumen wære, þe we þæt feoh scuton. The Latin runs: quod captum fuerit (est), *postquam* pecuniam nostram contulerimus. It may be that a *ðæs* has dropped out before *ðe*. If



that were present, the construction would be perfectly regular.

The following example presents something of the same difficulty, but I believe that *siððan* is an adverb, and *ðe*<sup>1</sup> used to introduce a clause indicating *time when*: HL. 156. 114 Geearnode he þy *syððan*, þe he drihten heora ealra modgeðances cunnode and be him sylfum hi ealle befran, hwæt hi wendon, þæt he wære.

#### 1d. *sið*.

I have found only one example of *sið* in OE. It is impossible to say whether it is a remnant of an earlier conjunctive use of the simple *sið* or an early approximation to the Middle English form, but I incline to the latter view. The one example follows: Cart. 2. 58. 13 *Sið* heora tuuge dæg agan sie, þonne agefe mon tuenti hida higuum to biodland.

#### 2a. *æfter ðæm ðe*.

In origin, *æfter* is the comparative of the adverb *af*, meaning *from*, originally local in signification. It means, therefore, in the sphere of time *later*. Its use as a preposition came doubtless from its use in comparisons, and naturally it required the dative case. The step from preposition to conjunction is easy. Of course, *ðe* is the relative.

As to use, *æfter ðæm ðe* differs from *siððan* in that it never has reference to the beginning-point of an action. The determination of time, for the main clause, is effected by a subordinate clause, the action of which is conceived of as absolutely preceding that of the main clause. There is nothing implied as to the closeness of the succession of actions; that of

<sup>1</sup> Cf. p. 26.

the main clause may follow immediately, or an indefinitely long period may intervene.

The prevailing spelling is *æfter ðam ðe* in all the texts except O. and CP. *Siddðan* is the most common conjunction introducing clauses of this kind in all the texts except O. and BH. In the former, *æfter ðæm ðe* occurs most frequently, and in the latter *æfter ðon ðe*.

More clauses of the *æfter*-type occur in O. than in all the other texts taken together. This is due probably to the style; scores of clauses of similar nature are found. O. 78.1 *Æfter þæm þe* Romeburg getimbred wæs twa hunde wintra 7 IIIIX, þætte Cambis(is) feng to Persa rice.

In a number of cases we find *ða* at the head of the main clause, as in this example: O. 94.22 *Æfter þæm þe* Læcedemonie hæfdon Perse oft oferwunnen, þa gebudon him Perse þæt hie hæfdon III winter sibbe wiþ hie; O. 92.7 þa on ðæm ilcan dæge *æfter þæm þe* hie þiss gesprečen hæfdon, fuhton Gallie on þa burg.

Examples with the spelling *ðam* follow: M. 27.31 *æfter þam þe* hig hyne þus bysmerodon, hig unscriyddon hyne þam scyccelse; BIH. 229.1 Her segð þæt *æfter þam þe* Drihten Hælend Crist to heofonum astah, þæt þa apostoli wæron æt-somne.

In this example, *ðe* is probably a mere scribal error for *æfter ðam ðe*; since *ðe* nowhere else has the meaning *after*, and since the other MS. has this reading: Laws 328.7 And us ne ðincð na riht, ðæt ænig man ahnian scule, ðær gewitnysse bið, 7 mann gecnawan can, þæt þar brygde byð; þæt nan man hit nah to geahnianne raðost ðinga ær syx monðum, ðe hit forstolen wæs. The other version reads: ær syx monðum, *æfter ðam ðe* hit forstolen wæs; and the Latin is: *postquam furatum est*.

NOTE 1. So far as I have been able to discover, none of the conjunctions of the *æfter*-type appear in the poetry.

NOTE 2. OE. *æfter* is cognate with Gothic *aftaro* and ON. *aptr*, but neither of these is used as a conjunction.

In OS. we find *aftar thiū*, but it is used only in adverbial relations. In OHG. we find *aftar thiū* used as a conjunction in Tatian, but not so in Otfrid. I subjoin an example: Tatian 7.1 *Aftar thiū* tho argangana uuarun ahtu taga, thaz thaz kind bisnitan uurdi, uuard imo ginemnit namo Heilant. The Latin is: Et *postquam* consummati sunt dies octo.

### 2b. *æfter ðan ðe*.

This form of the connective is comparatively rare, only ten instances having been noted, though these occur in texts ranging from BH. to HL. Since it does not differ from *æfter ðam ðe* in any respect, save in the case of the demonstrative, no further discussion is called for here. Beside the ten instances spoken of, I have noted it twice in the Hatton MS. of the Gospels. I give the references: M. 27. 31; Mk. 14. 28.

I quote examples to illustrate the normal use of this connective: BH. 410. 31 him segde, þætte ðære ilcan nihte him Bosel þurh gesihðe ætæawde *æfter ðan þe* uhtsang wæs gefylled. In a few instances *ða* stands at the head of the main clause, thus: ÆH. 1. 90. 11 *Æfter þan ðe* wæron gefyllede ehta dagas Drihtnes acennednyse þæt he ymsniden wære, þa wæs his nama geciged Jesus. I have noted only one instance in which *ða* appears in the temporal clause as a correlative to *ða* at the head of the main clause: HL. 159. 169 *Æfterþan þe* se hælend þa hæfde heora fet geþwagen, þa onfeng he eft his hrægle and hine mid gegerede. In this example *ða* appears in the main clause, but not at its head: Gen. 13. 14 God cwæð þa to Abrame, *æfter þan þe* Loth wæs totwæmed him fram.

2c. *æfter ðon ðe.*

This form of the connective occurs most frequently in BH., about half of the whole number of examples being found in that text. The other examples are scattered through texts ranging from OET. to HL., though the whole number of examples is only about thirty.

Since nothing more of a general nature is to be added to what has already been said concerning the *æfter*-type of connective, I pass to the examples: OET. 178. 33 *æfter ðon ðe* he tuelf gear ðær wunode, ða eode he in ðone gefean ðære ecan eadinesse; BH. 94. 2 se eadiga papa Gregorius *æfter þon þe* he þæt setl þære Romaniscan cyricean 7 þære apostolican þreottyne gear 7 syx monað 7 tyn dagas wulderlice heold 7 rehte, þa wæs forðfered.

In the following example, we have a *ða* in the subordinate clause, correlative to *ða* at the head of the main clause: BH. 362. 3 *Æfter þon ðe* he *ða* to Dryhtne geleorde, þa wæs Cuðbyrht ðæs ilcan mynstres regolweard geworden.

The change of mode in this example is noteworthy: Dial. 305. 16 *æfter þon þe* þu swa earfoðlice 7 gewinfullice *on geate 7 gelyfdest*, ic gelyfe, þæt hit sy ræd, þæt ic asægce þa spræce, þe me gerehte wæron fram swiðe getreowum werum.

We have *ða* at the head of the main clause in this example: Guth. 12. 9 *After þon þe* he wæs aþwegen mid þam þweale þæs halgan fulluhtes, *ða* wæs he eft to þære fæderlican healle gelædd and þær gefedd. Here *ðonne* appears in a similar manner: BIH. 59. 11 Hie him *þonne* eft swiþe bitere þencaþ, *æfter þon þe* se deað him tocymeþ Godes dom to abeodenne. We find *æfter þon þe* in the Northumbrian Gospels, for particulars the reader is referred to Cook's Glossary.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> A Glossary of the Old Northumbrian Gospels, Halle, 1894.

2d. *æfter ðon.*

I have noted this form only twice, and suspect that it may be due to an imitation of the Latin *postquam*. However, the relative is so frequently omitted in temporal connectives that it is probably unnecessary to adopt any such theory. Beside the two examples in the texts I have examined, I have observed that it is the most common form in the Northumbrian Gospels. In the latter the omission of the relative in connectives of this formation is regular. OET. Vesp. Psalms 126. 2 *arisað, æfter ðon gesittað ða ðe eotað hlaf sares, ðonne seleð scyldum his slep-*. Latin: *surgete postquam sederitis, qui manducatis panem doloris*. BH. 326. 9 *Ond æfter þon he hine gereste medmicel fæc, ða ahof hine up 7 ongan aweg gan.*

NOTE 1. The OHG. *after thiu* is closely parallel to this form: Tatian 97. 7 *auh after thiu theser thin sun ther dar fraz alla sina heht mit huorun quam, arsluogi imo gifuotrit calb*. The Latin runs: *sed postquam filius tuus . . . venit*.

2e. *æfter ðæm ðæt.*

Only one example of this class has been noted. The use of *ðæt* in this way is unusual, but may be regarded as one of the early stages in its progress toward its present regular relative use. Beside the more common *oð ðæt* we find *oððe*, so that in some connections the demonstrative and the relative were felt to be closely related, even in OE. Or *ðæt* may be regarded as the demonstrative introducing a substantive clause in apposition with *ðæm*. The sentence in question is as follows: O. 212. 28 *Hit biþ eac geomlic þæt mon heardlice gnide þone hnescestan mealstan æfter þæm þæt he þence þone soelestan hwetstan on to geræceanne.*

Wülfing<sup>1</sup> regards the two following examples as

<sup>1</sup> 2. 114.

temporal, but I cannot so consider them: BH. 28. 7 þa gelamp *æfter þon þætte* Peahte ðeod com of Scyððia lande on scipum 7 þa ymbærndon eall Breotone gemæro, þæt hi comon on Scotland upp: BH. 40. 24 Ða wæs sona, *æfter þon þæt* smyltnes com cristenra tida, þæt ðær wæs cyrice geworht.

### 2f. *æfter ðæt*.

I quote the one example of this sort I have noted: Lch. 3. 132. 30 *æfter þæt* seo blodlæse si gefylled, þu hine scealt scearpigean. The text is somewhat late, and perhaps we shold regard this as an early appearance of a syntactical usage which in Middle English and Elizabethan English became common. We find *after that* as a conjunction in the King James' Version of the Bible, for example: Mk. 1. 14 Now *after that* John was put in prison, Jesus came into Galilee. The English Revised Version also has *after that*, but the American reads simply *after*.

We may regard the clause introduced by *that* as the object of the preposition, and the presence of *that* due probably to the feeling of necessity for an object.

### 3. *ðæs ðe*.

This connective is rare in the writings of Ælfric, and indeed occurs infrequently in all the texts except Chron., O., and BH.

In origin it is an adverbial genitive, meaning at first *when*, and then becoming specialized to the meaning *after*. We occasionally find *ðæs* as an adverb meaning *after*, as in this example: Chron. 72. 9 7 þæs ymb anne monaþ gefeaht Ælfred cyning wiþ alne þone here lytle werede æt Wiltune.

In this sentence we have *ðæs* in its more original use of denoting *time when*: Chron. 72. 12 7 þæs geares wurdon VIII folc gefeoht gefohten wiþ þone here.

The addition of the relative gives the adverb conjunctive force, and so far as I have observed, *ðæs* is never used alone as a conjunction.<sup>1</sup> This example will show how the addition of *ðe* makes of the adverb *ðæs* a conjunction: Chron. 2. 7 Ond *þæs* ymb VI gear *þæs þe* hie up cuomon ge eodon West Seaxna rice.<sup>2</sup>

In one instance *ðæs* is separated from *ðe*: Guth. 90. 17 *þæt þy* ylcan dæge *þæs* ymbe twelf monað *þe* seo forðfore *þæs* eadigan weres wæs, hi *þa þa* byrgene untyndon. It would seem that *ymbe twelf monað* is, as it were, an afterthought, and is inserted parenthetically between the parts of the connective.

The many instances of the following kind might lead us to suppose that *ðæs* arose from the partitive use: O. 212. 13 *þa* wæs *þæt þridde* gewin geendad Punica 7 Romana on *þæm* feorþan geare *þæs þe* hit ær ongunnen wæs. But the difficulties in the way of this theory are greater than for the one which I have adopted.

In this example we have a *ða* in the subordinate clause balanced by a *ða* at the head of the main clause: BH. 42. 3 And *þæs ðe þa* seo costnung ðære ehtnesse gestilled wæs, *þa* wæron forðgongende *þa* cristenan men.

In the following example we have *ða* at the head of the main clause as frequently: Exod. 16. 1 *þa* ferdon hig *þanon þi* fifteodan dæge *þæs* æfteran monðes, *þæs þe* hig ut ferdon of Egipta lande.

In this example *þæs* is evidently for *ðæs ðe*, which is the reading offered by MSS. B., O., and Ca.: BH. 108. 22 *þæt* wæs ymb an 7 twentig wintra, *þæs* Agustinus mid his geferum to læranne Ongolþeode sende wæs.

A scribal error is doubtless responsible for the form *ðæsne* in the following: Cart. 2. 121. 36 Ða æfter þyssum

<sup>1</sup> But see below.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. BH. 486. 21.

hit gelamp, þan ilcan geare þæsne þis on midnewinter wæs gedon.

NOTE 1. This connective is met with occasionally in the poetry. In this example the relative is separated from *ðæs*: Christ 466 Sona wæron gearwe hæleð mid Hlaford to þære halgan byrig, þær him tacma fela tires Brytta onwrah, . . . ærþon up stige ancenned Sunu, . . . þæs ymb feowertig, þe he of foldan ær from deaðe aras, dagaena rimes. Judith<sup>1</sup> 13 þæt wæs þy feorðan dogor þæs þe Judith hyne . . . ærest gesohte.

NOTE 2. I have not found parallels either in Middle English or in the other Germanic dialects.

#### 4a. prep. + obj. (noun of time) + ðe.<sup>2</sup>

The instances in which this formula is equivalent to a connective meaning *after* are very few indeed, and are hard to account for.

The time-relation is not evident from the connective itself, but must be gathered from the context. One would like to think that *ðæs* has dropped out in all the cases, but that is rather too violent a method of dealing with the question.

Probably the examples were not felt as *after*-clauses at all, though logically they are. The clauses introduced by *ðe* may be considered relative adjective clauses depending on the noun of time; just as we might say, translating HL. 185. 131, 'It was then in the eighth year that the great famine came upon them, that, &c.'

I quote the examples: Cart. 3. 527. 31 þis wæs gedon ymbe VIII nigon hund wintra 7 LXVIII 7 on nigoþan geare þe Oswold bisceop to folgoðe feng; Exod. 19. 1 On þam briddan monðe, þe Israhela folc ferde of Egipta lande, hig ferdon to Sinai westene. For this the latin reads: *Mense tertio egressionis Israel de terra*

<sup>1</sup> Cook's ed., Boston, 1889.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. p. 32.



Aegypti, in die hac venerunt in solitudinem Sinai. Num. 1. 1 Drihten spræc witodlice to Moise on Sinai dune . . . *on þam oðrum geare, þe* hig foron of Egipta lande. The Latin is: *Locutus est Dominus ad Moysen . . . anno altero egressseionis eorum ex Aegypto.* HL. 185. 131 And hyt wæs þa *on þam ehtoðan geare, þe* se mycla hungor heom on becom, þæt hig for þære hlafeaste þa eorðan æton.

4b. noun of time (in oblique case) + ðe.<sup>1</sup>

Only three instances of this connective have been noted. The explanation suggested for the group 4a applies equally well here, and therefore no further discussion is necessary. The examples follow: Chron. 119. 7 Her wæs Eadgar eþeling gehalgod to cyninge on Pentecoste mæsse dæi on *V idus Mai; þe XIII geare þe* he to rice feng æt Hatabaðum; Chron. 235, 19 þ wæs þæs *preotteðan geares þe* he rice on feng; BH. 30. 20 *þy sixtan monðe, þe* he hider com, he eft to Rome hwearf. For this passage the Latin has: *ac sexto quam profectus erat mense Romam rediit.*

5a. of + obj. (noun of time) + ðe.

This formula differs from 4a in that the nature of the temporal relation is clearly indicated by the preposition of the connective. Clauses with connectives of this type fix the time of the beginning of the action of the main clause, and are therefore a special case of the clause 'zur Angabe des Vorhergehens vor der Handlung des übergeordneten Satzes,' to adopt the words of Wülfing.<sup>2</sup> He however makes a separate division for clauses 'zur Angabe des Anfangspunktes.'<sup>3</sup>

My reasons for including clauses of this kind under this general division are these: first, the impossibility<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. p. 35.

<sup>2</sup> 2. 114.

<sup>3</sup> 2. 112.

<sup>4</sup> p. 101.

of determining whether many clauses of the *siððan*-class do express the relation *ex quo*; secondly, the fact that this determination of time is a mere special case of the determination of time by reference to an action which precedes that of the main clause.

The number of examples with this connective is not great, but they occur in texts ranging in date from BH. to Wulf. The only nouns of time I have noted are *tid*, *dæg*, and *tima*; the case is always the dative, of course.

I quote examples: BH. 52. 9 is *sæd of þære tide þe hi ðanon gewiton oð to dæge, þæt hit weste wunige*; Guth. 84. 20 *Of þære tide þe ic ærest mid þe on þisum westene eardode, ic þe gehyrde sprecaþ on æfenne and on æren-mergen ic nat mid hwæne*; LS. 2. 292. 1193 *Auitianus soðlice siðþan wæs mild-heortra of þam dæge æfre þe se deoful him fram wearð*; Deut. 9. 7 *Of þam dæge, þe he eow ut alædde of Egipta lande oð þisne dæg, æfre ge fliton and wunnon ongean drihten*. The Latin reads: *Ex eo die, quo egressus es ex Aegypto*; Wulf. 280. 5 and *of þam timan ærest, þe se man fulluht underfehð, him wunað on se halga gast, gif he hine sylfne mid rihte gehealt*.

NOTE 1. With this may be compared OHG. *fon thiu*: Tatian 92.4 *Inti fragata sinan fater: uuuo michil stunta ist fon thiu imo thaz giburita?* For this the Latin is: *quantum temporis est ex quo hoc ei accidit*.

5b. *fram* + obj. (noun of time) + *ðe*.

Since only four examples with this formula have been noted, I quote them all. No comment of a general nature in addition to what has been said in 5a is necessary. The nouns of time are *gear*, *dæg*, and *tima*; and the case is always the dative: O. 62. 15 *From þæm geare þe heo getimbred wearð, wæs*

hire anwald M wintra 7 C 7 LX 7 folnæh feower,  
 ær hio hierē anwaldes benumen wurde; Æ. 1. 462. 29  
*Fram ðam dæge þe his apostol Bartholomeus hider*  
 com, ic eom mid byrnendum racenteagum ðearle  
 fornumen; LS. 1. 98. 158 we synd wraðe ge-swæncte  
 and mid fyre fornumene for Julianes intingan æfre  
*fram ðam dæge þe ge hine ærest dræhton*; Wulf. 15. 2  
 þa wæs agan geargerimes *fram þam timan, þe Adam*  
 ærest gescapen wæs, feower þusend and hunteontig  
 and þreo und sixtig gearē, þæs þe bec secgað.

NOTE 1. I have noted a parallel construction in Gothic, and  
 cite illustrations: Colossians 1. 9 *Dupþe jah weis, fram þamma*  
*daga ei hausidedum, ni hweilaidedum faur izwis bidjandans*  
*jah aihtrondans ei fullnaip kunþjis wiljins is in allai handugein*  
*jah frodein ahmeinai*; Nehemiae 5. 14 *Jah fram þamma daga*  
*ei anabaup mis ei wesjan fouramableis izi in Judaia, &c.*  
 The Greek for the first passage follows: *Διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἡμεῖς,*  
*ἀπ' ἧς ἡμέρας ἠκούσαμεν, οὐ πανόμεθα ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν προσευχόμενοι.*

5c. fram ðæt.

This connective, common in Middle English, has  
 been noted only once: Chron. 258. 26 þis wæs sægon  
 7 herd *fram þ* he þider com eall þ lented tid on an  
 to Eastren.

NOTE 1. I quote an illustration from Middle English:  
 Richard Coeur de Lion<sup>1</sup> 213 Geve us leve to don her dwele,  
*Fro that* begynnes the gospelle, Tyll the messe be sungge  
 and sayd.

E. CLAUSES DETERMINING THE TIME OF ACTION BY  
 REFERENCE TO A SUBSEQUENT ACTION.

1a. ær.

This connective is, in origin, a comparative, and  
 belongs to the main clause. But from this it soon

<sup>1</sup> Weber, Metrical Romances. Edinburg 1810.

develops conjunctival and prepositional functions, as many adverbs did.

It is difficult to say which arose first, its prepositional or conjunctival use. We find *ær* alone, as well as *ær ðam* in early texts, so, for lack of evidence, the question must be left undecided.

The chief point of interest in connection with *ær* is its use with the optative; but as this will be discussed in the chapter on the mode of the temporal clause, we leave it for the present.

The simple *ær* is the most common of the connectives of the *ær*-class in all the texts, save in the writings of Ælfric, in which *ær ðan ðe* predominates.

The comparative nature of *ær* is apparent in examples such as these: Lch. 1. 112. 20 Wið eagenas sare ær sunnan upgange oððe hwene ær heo fullice gesigan onginne, ga to ðære ylcan wyrte proserpinacam; BH. 438. 21 Ær hwene ðu come, eode inn on þis hus to me twegen geonge men fægre 7 beorhte.

The examples which follow will illustrate the normal use of mode, etc.: Dial. 274. 2 ic þa gyt wæs wuniende in minum mynstre, ær ic þas biscopscire underfengce; L. 22. 16 Ic eow secge þ ic heononforð ne ete, ær hyt sy on godes rice gefylled.

The double comparative, as it were, *æror*, stands in the main clause, correlative with *ær*, in this example: LS. 2. 276. 919 Martinus him cwæð to þæt he ne mihte na gan *æror* to cyrcan ær se þearfa wære gescryd; Int. Sig. 50. 490 God afandað þæs mannes, na swilce he nyte ælces mannes heortan, ær he his fandige, ac he wyle þæt se man geþeo on þære fandunge; Wulf. 150. 8 ne mæg se preost ænigum synfullum men wel dædbote tæcan, ær he gehyre his synne, þe ma, þe ænig læce mæg ænigne untrumne mann wel lacnjan, ær he hæbbe þæt attor ut aspiwen þe him oninnan bið.

All the following have the indicative: Chron. 82. 17 Earnulf cyning gefeaht wið ðam ræde here *ær* þa scipu cuomon; O. 64. 33 hie mid nanum þinge ne mehton gesemedede weorþan, *ær* þara Romana wif mid heora cildum iernende wæron gemong ðam gefehtun; CP. 385. 15 nolde he ðeah on eorðan bion monna lareow, *ær* he wæs ðritiges geara eald; John 17. 24 forðam þu lufodest me, *ær* middan-eard gesett wæs; ÆH. 2. 96. 7 Se apostol Petrus hæfde wif and cild, and eac sume ða oðre apostolas, *ær* hi to Cristes lareowdome gecyrdon; BIH. 243. 17 We witon forþon þe *ær* he on þæs earfoðnesse com he ure wæs wealdend.

NOTE 1. Probably *ær* is as common in the poetry as in the prose. I quote an example: Christ 315 Wende swiðe þæt ænig ælda æfre [ne] meahte swa fæstlice forescyttelsas on ecnesse o inhebban, oþþe ðæs ceasterhlides clustor onlucan, *ær* him Godes engel, þurh glædne geþonc, þa wisan onwrah.

NOTE 2. In Middle English *ær* usually appears as *er*, and its use is frequent. Examples follow: Brut 1. 67. 17 þu most swiþer fehten, *er* we heonne iwenden; Chaucer's Knyghtes Tale 182 *Er* it were day, as was hir wone to do, She was arisen, and al redy dight.

NOTE 3. In Modern English *ere* is confined largely to poetry, or archaic language. I cite an example from Shakespeare: 2 Henry IV. V. 5 *Ere* this year expire, We bear our civil swords and native fire As far as France.

NOTE 4. In OS. we find *er* used much as *ær* in OE. I quote examples for comparison: Heliand 4954 ni let ina the portun ward folgon is frohon, *er* it at is friunde abad Johannes at enumu Judeon, that man ina gangan let forð an thena frid-hof. We find *er* in OHG. also. I quote: Tatian 5. 7 Christes cunni uuas so: Mit thi uuas gimahalit thes heilantes muoter Maria Josebe, *er* thi uuas zisamane quamin, uuas siu fundan so scaffaniu fon themo heiligen geiste; Otfred 2. 7. 65 Irkanta ih thino quati ju manageru ziti, *er* er thik thes gibeitti, thaz er thik hera le-itti.

1b. *ær ær*.

This doubled form of the connective occurs only three times, and all of these are in Bo. It is probable that the first *ær* belongs to the main clause, since we frequently find a correlative *ær* so employed. This correlative *ær* happens to stand at the end of the main clause, and the two practically form one conjunction.

In the following example the first *ær* is better regarded as still belonging to the main clause: CP. 141. 10 *sua sindon ða loccas to sparienne ðæm sacerde ðæt he ða hyd behelien, & ðeah ðæt he hie forceorfe ær, ær hie on ða eagan feallen.*

The examples of *ær ær* follow: Bo. 128. 17 *Se foreþonc is sio godcunde gesceadwisnes; sio is fæst on þæm hean sceppende þe eall fore wat hu hit geweorðan sceall, ær ær hit geweorðe;* Bo. 128. 28 *Swa swa ælc cræftega ðencð 7 mearcað his weorc on his mode, ær ær he hit wyrce;* Bo. 144. 29 *swa swa good scipstiora ongit micelne wind on hreore sæ ær ær hit geweorðe.*

1c. *ær . . . ær*.

In a considerable number of cases we find an adverbial *ær* in the main clause correlative to with the conjunction.

In one instance this adverbial correlative stands at the end of the main clause, and so in immediate juxtaposition with the connective. In this way, doubtless, the form *ær ær* is to be accounted for. The example in question is as follows: CP. 141. 10 *sua sindon ða loccas to sparienne ðæm sacerde ðæt hi ða hyd behelien, & ðeah ðæt he hie forceorfe ær, ær hie on ða eagon feallen.*

Here follow the examples of *ær . . . ær* with the

optative: O. 58. 7 Nu is hit scortlice ymbe þæt gesægd þætte *ær* gewearð *ær* Romeburg getimbred wære; Bo. 22. 32 forðæm mænegum men is leofre þæt he *ær* self swelte *ær* he gesio his wif 7 his bearn sweltende; BIH. 19. 8 Þa cumað oft þurh deofles sceonessa *ær* to manna heortan, *ær* Drihtnes werc þær wunian mote.

Here are the examples with the indicative: Chron. 186. 4 ac *ær* þær wære ænig spere gescoten, *ær* fleah ðæt Englisce folc, forðan þe hig wæron on horsan; Mart. 218. 27 ond sancta Lucia *ær* ne gewat, *ær* hyre com to godes sacerd; Wulf. 15. 11 forðam he næs na *ær* mann, *ær* he for ealles middaneardes alysednesse sylfwilles menniscnesse underfeng.

NOTE 1. I have noted one instance in the poetry in which a correlative *ær* is used in this way: Beowulf 1371 ðeah þe hæð-stapa hundum geswenced, heorot hornum trum, holtwudu sece, feorran geflymed, *ær* he feorh seleð aldor on a ofre, *ær* he in wille hafelan [hydan].

NOTE 2. We find the same syntactical usage in OHG.: Otfrid 4. 4.3 Thaz was finf dagon *er*, *er* er thulti thaz ser, er iz zi thi u irgiangi thaz man nan gifiangi.

#### 1d. *ær* ðæm ðe.

This form of the connective is more common in the writings of Ælfred, especially O. and CP., than in those of Ælfric.

In itself *ær* is a comparative, and, as such is followed by the dative. Naturally, then, when it came to be used as a preposition, it demanded the dative case. The addition of *ðe* gives this preposition with its object the force of a conjunction.

This does not mean that this formula was the earliest conjunction of the *ær*-type, and that in course of time *ðe* was dropped, leaving *ær* ðam with the force of a conjunction, later *ær* alone being used.

For, on the other hand, the simple *ær* seems to be more common in early texts than in later; in general, the use of the relative in prepositional formulae of all kinds increases in later texts. Moreover, OE. seems to be almost alone in the extensive employment of connectives built up of a preposition, the demonstrative object, and the relative.

In meaning and use *ær ðam ðe* does not differ from the simple *ær*, the optative being used in the greater number of cases.

We find a correlative *ær* in the main clause in only a few cases, as in these examples: CP. 385. 18 nolde he ðeah *ær* bodian ða giefe ðæs fulfremedan lifes, *ærðæm ðe* he self wære fulfremedre ielde; Hex. 4. 1 Her ge magon gehyran ðæt heofone næs na *ær ærðam ðe* se ælmihtiga wyrhta hi geworhte on anginne and ealne middaneard on hys mycclum cræfte; Wulf. 169. 6 riht is, þæt we lufjan þa, ðe god lufjan, . . . and nænne gemanan *ær* wið þa habban, *ær ðam þe* hy gebugan and geornlice betan. Compare also CP. 461. 13, and BIH. 169. 24.

Examples of *ær ðam ðe* with the optative follow: O. 36. 22 *Ær ðam ðe* Romeburh getimbred wære eahta hund wintra 7 fif wintrum, gewearð þæt Moyses lædde Israhela folc of Egyptum; L. 13. 35 Soðlice ic eow secge þ ge me ne geseoð *ærþam þe* cume se ðonne ge cweðað: gebletsod sy se ðe com on drihtnes naman; John 14. 29 nu ic eow sæde, *ærðam þe* hit gewurðe, þ ge gelyfon þonne hit geworden bið; LS. 1. 240. 25 and geoffriað þam godum *ærþam þe* ge beon getintregode; Inst. 374. 44 ne bið he wyrde þ he husl underfo, *ærþam ðe* he hit gebete. Examples with the indicative: John 8. 58 Se hælend cwæð to him: Ic wæs *ær þam þe* Abraham wæs; LS. 1. 234. 224 ne husel næs gehalgod *ærþam ðe* se hælend com.



NOTE 1. The *ær*-connectives with *ðe* seem to be lacking in the poetry, or almost so, at least. I have noted no examples of *ær ðam ðe*.

NOTE 2. Gothic *faurþizeī* offers a good parallel to this connective. I quote examples: M. 6. 8 Ni galeikoþ nu þaim: wait auk atta izwar þizeī jus þaurbuþ, *faurþizeī* jus bidjaiþ ina; L. 2. 26 Jah was imma gataihan fram ahmin þamma weihein ni saihsan dauþu, *faurþizeī* sehwi Xristu frauþins.

### 1e. *ær ðan ðe*.

The *ðan*-variety of the *ær*-class does not appear in the writings of Ælfred at all. It occurs once in Dial., five times in Chron. — all the cases in entries subsequent to 1040 — once in the Gospels, and is the prevailing form in Ælfric's writings. It also occurs in the Hatton MS. of the Gospels.

The spelling *ear þan þe* appears in this example: Chron. 163. 9 *ear þan þe* he bebyrged wære, eall folc geceas Eadward to cyng on Lundene. The spelling *ar ðan ðe* has been noted once: LS. 2. 74. 127 and axodon hwæðer he etan wolde *ar ðan þe* he behamelod wurde.

*Ær ðan ðe* occurs more frequently with the optative, though instances with the indicative are not lacking. Examples with the optative: Dial. 60. 2 he bebead his þegnum be him sylfum þus cweþende, þæt þæt þe hi gesowon, hi nanum men ne sædon, *ær þan þe* mannes sunu fram deaðe arise; M. 10. 23 Soþlice ic eow secge, ne be-farað ge israhela burga *ær þan þe* mannes sunu cume; LS. 1. 232. 202 Petrus hæfde wif *ærðan þe* he wære gecyrrad to cristes hirede.

In this example the verb is lacking: LS. 1. 318. 182 and he becom to helle, *ærðan þe* to his huse.

Examples with the indicative: ÆH. 1. 566. 9 and þæt wif ðurh ða færlican styrunge ne gymde hire cildes *ær ðan þe* heo to lande becom; LS. 2. 282. 1008

Se halga wer swa-þeah wiste þæt hi wæron gefætnode *ær-þan þe* he him to comon; Wulf. 296. 22 and hu ic geþafode, þæt twegen cyningas foran of Rome mid here to Hierusalem þære burh, þe me wæs burga leofost, *ær þan þe* hig mine beboda tobræcon, þe þære burge þa geweald ahton.

1f. *ær ðon ðe*.

The number of examples with this connective is not large, though they occur in a wide variety of texts. This form occurs most frequently in Dial., Mart., and BIH.

I have noted a correlative *ær* in the main clause in four instances in BIH., thus: BIH. 165. 32 & hine *ær* monnum gecyþan & gesecgan teolode, *ærþon þe* he sylfa lifde & mennisc leoht gesawe. So also BIH. 165. 35; 167. 1; 167. 3.

Both modes are found with *ær ðon ðe* as the following examples show: BH. 282. 10 þes halga wer, *ær þon þe* he biscop geworden wære, tu æðele mynster he getimbrede; Dial. 297. 8 se forðferde nu for twam gærum on siðwærce, ac *hwene ær þon þe* he swulte, he gecidge his cniht 7 hine het forð gan 7 him gearwian his hræge.

In this example, as well as in the preceding one, the comparative nature of *ær* is made clar by *hwene*: Mart. 54. 9 ond *hwene ærðon þe* he his gast ageofe, he sæde þæt he gesawe Crist selfne.

MS. B. has *þe* for *ða* in the example which follows, and that doubtless is the correct reading: Bo. 20. 9 Hwa mæg þonne auht oðres cwedan butan þ þu wære se gesælgesta þa þu me wære *ær* leof þonne cuð 7 *ær þon þa* ðu cuðe minne tyht 7 mine þeawas.

Examples with the indicative: Laws 43. 19 þa æfter his ðrowunge, *ær þon ðe* his apostolas tofarene wæron,

... monega hæðna ðeoda hi gecirton to Gode; Mart. 160. 19 ond hwædre þeah ne meahte nanig þone lichoman findan, *ærðon þe* comon twa wif geleafulle ond hine atugon of þam wætere.

1g. *ær ðam*.

The number of examples of this sort is small, but they occur in texts ranging in date from Laws to LS. Probable the form is due to a shortening of *ær ðam ðe*. Still we find *ær ðam* used adverbially as in the sentence following, and the conjunctive use may have developed directly from that: Chron. 176. 21 þ wolve ðyncan wundorlic ælcum men þe on Engla lande wæs, gif ænig man *ær þam* sæde þ hit swa ge wurþan sceolde.

We find both indicative and optative with *ær ðam*, and examples follow: CP. 241. 9 sua sua se iil, *ærðæm* he gefangen weorðe, mon mæg gesion ægder ge his fet ge his heafod ge eall ðæt bodig; LS. 2. 214. 392 þa gelamp hit þæt se casere traianus wæs forðfaren *ær þam* eustachius of þam gefeohte come.

With the indicative: O. 64. 17 ðæt hie nane mildheortnesse þurhteon ne mehtam, *ær þæm* him seo bot of ðæm cristendome com, þe hie nu swiþost tælað; Mart. 110. 21 ond þa ne mihte hyra naðer fram oðrum beon adyded, *ærðam* on morgen heora unrihtwysnys wæs geopenod eallum folce.

1h. *ær ðan*.

I have noted only one example of *ær ðan*, which I quote: O. 158. 24 þeh þe Romane sume hwile hæfdon swiþor fleam geþoht þonne gefeoht, *ær þan* hie gesawon þæt mon þa elpendas on þæt gefeoht dyde.

The rarity of this form is explained by the fact that *ðan* is used, for the most part, by Ælfric alone, and that at the same time he almost invariably uses

the relative. In only one case do we find *ær ðam* in Ælfric's writings, and *ær ðan* or *ær ðon* not at all.

NOTE 1. In OS. we find *er than* which offers a close parallel. It occurs with both optative and indicative, and I quote examples: Heliand 641 *endi the kuning selbo gibod swiðo hardliko, herro Judeono, them wisun mannum, er than sie forin westar forð, that sie im eft gikuððin, hwar he thana kuning skoldi sokean an is selðon*; Heliand 4568 *Nu ik in iuwes drohtines skal willeon seggian, that ik an thesaro weroldi ne mot mit mannum mer mozes anbitan, furður mit frihun, er than gifullod wirðid himilo riki.*

#### ii. *ær ðon.*

The number of *ær ðon*-clauses is not great, but they occur in texts ranging from OET. to BLH. We do not, however, find it all in the writings of Ælfric.

It is most common in early texts, six of the examples being found in OET. In the Northumbrian Gospels *ær ðon* frequently appears.

I have noted two instances in which a correlative *ær* appears in the main clause, thus: Dial. 200. 22 *witodlice nyste man ær, hwylcum naman se ælpeodiga man genemned wæs, ær þon se awyrgde gast, . . . hin naman acleopode 7 ameldode*; Mart. 172. 1 *ær ic me sylfne ofsla mid mine sweorde, ær ðon ic sende mine hond on þam fæmnan.*

We find both modes with *ær ðon*: with the optative: Bo. 104. 31 *ac ic sceal ærest ðin mod gefeðeran, ðæt hit mæge hit ðe yð up ahebban ær ðon hit anginne fleogan on ða heanesse*; with the indicative: O. 46. 27 *On þam dagum wæs swa micel ege from ðæm wifmonnum, þætte Europe ne Asiam ne ealle þa neahpeoda ne mehton aþencean ne acræftan hu hi him wiðstondan mehten ær þon hie gecuron Ercol þone ent þæt he hie sceolde mid eallum Creca cræftum*

beswican; Dial. 125. 3 *uneaðe* he mihte þa word  
abeodan, *ær þon* se awyrgda gast towearp þone wah,  
þe þær getimbrod wæs.

NOTE 1. In the poetry this connective is found frequently, though the simple *ær* form is the prevailing one. I quote two examples from the Christ, one with the optative and the other with the indicative: Christ 544 *Bidon ealle þær þegnas þrymfulle þeodnes gehata In þære torhtan byrig tyn niht þa gen, . . . Ærþon up stige ealles Waldend On heofona gehyld*; Christ 857 *Wæs se drohtað strong Ærþon we to londe geliden hæfdon Ofer hreone hrycg.*

### 1j. *ær ðonne*.

This connective is very rare, only four examples having been noted in all. Of course, *ðonne* is regularly used in comparisons, and it is not surprising that we find it used with *ær* the conjunction, strengthening, as it were, the comparative force of *ær*.

Wulfing has an example from Smith's ed. of BH., for which Miller's ed. has *ær ðon*. I quote the example from Wulfing<sup>1</sup>: BH. 493. 32 to hyre gerestscipe þonne hire wer ne sceal gangan, *ær þonne* þæt accennede bearn fram meolcum awened si.

I quote the examples I have noted: Bo. 117. 26 *Ic wene ðeah þ him losige se anwald ær þonne þu wolde oððe hi wenen*; Lch. 1. 360. 19 *Gif þu gesyxt wulfes spor ær þonne hyne, ne gesceþpeð he þe*. In the example quoted from Bo. the verb is lacking. Lch. 3. 22. 4 *syle wearm etan 7 on ufan drincon þriwa on dæg, ær þonne he ete*.

NOTE 1. We find *er thanne* in Tatian, but not in Otrfid. I quote an illustration: Tatian 55. 4 *Tho quad imo ther rihtary truhtin, nidarstig, er thanne arsterbe min sun*. The Latin reads: *priusquam moriatur filius meus*.

<sup>1</sup> 2. 117.

1k. *ær* + obj. (noun of time) + *ðe*.

I have noted only two instances of this sort. The construction is very similar to that we have noted before, under the caption, *prep. + obj. (noun of time) + ðe*<sup>1</sup>, and demands no extensive treatment here. I quote the examples: M. 26. 29 *Witodlice ic secge eow þ ic ne drince heonun-forð of þysum eorðlican wine ær þam dæge þe ic drince þ niwe mid eow on mines fæder rice*; Wulf. 123. 5 *forðam nah ænig man mid rihte to fulljanne hæþenne man, gyf he ylde and andgyt hæfð, þæt he geleornjan mæg hwæt fulluht mæne, and hwæt riht geleofa sy, ær þam byre þe he wite eal, hwæt hit behealde.*

2a. *toforan ðam ðe*.

All the examples of *toforan* or *foran to* in conjunctional phrases are in comparatively late texts. It is noteworthy that we never find *beforan* so used. The word is made up of the preposition *to* and the local adverb *foran* used in a pronominal sense. *Toforan*, then, is really equivalent to *ær*, and its use in this way may be regarded as the first step toward the Modern English use of *before*, instead of *ær*, as a conjunction. I quote the one example I have noted with *toforan ðam ðe* as the connective: Lch. 1. 160. 22 *genim þysse wyrte seap þe we palion nemdun, gemengc wið eced, smyra þær mid þa ðe þ yfel þoligen, toforan þam þe hyt hym to wylle.*

NOTE 1. In OS. we find *te-foran*, but it is used only as a preposition. I quote an example: *Heliand* 1722 *Ni skulun gi swinun teforan iuwa meregriton makon.* In this example *teforan* may be regarded as an adverb.

2b. *toforan ðam timan ðe*.

Only one example of this kind has been noted. This construction has been discussed so often that

<sup>1</sup> p. 32.

no repetition is called for here. The example follows: Lch. 1. 206. 2 *genim þysse ylcan wyrte twigu, befeald on wulle, ster hyne þærmid, toforan þam timan þe se fefor hym to wylle.*

2c. *foran to þam timan ðe.*

This, of course, differs from the preceding only in the place of the preposition. I quote both examples: Wulf. 86. 8 and *þeodscypas winnað and sacð heom betweenan foran to þam timan, þe þis sceal geweorþan*; Wulf. 89. 14 *ðæt bið witodlice, þæt he mænde, we witan ful georne, þa sorga and ða sarnessa, þe on woruld becumað, foran to þam timan, þe Antecrist wedeð and ealle woruld bregeð.*

F. CLAUSES INDICATING THE TIME OF THE TERMINATION OF THE ACTION OF THE MAIN CLAUSE.

1a. *oð ðæt.*

This is the most common connective used with clauses which indicate the time of the termination of the action of the main clause. Wülfing's title for this division is: 'Nebensätze zur Angabe des Endpunktes der Handlung des übergeordneten Satzes.'<sup>1</sup>

Logically, *ðæt* is the object of the preposition, and the subordinate clause is in apposition with it.

Very often the *oð ðæt*-clause expresses a result, while still keeping its temporal force.<sup>2</sup> The fact that the *oð ðæt*-clause always follows its main clause is another evidence of its affinity to the result-clause, that being the regular order for such clauses.

We find both modes with *oð ðæt*, but the indicative in much the larger number of cases. A full discussion of the mode will be found in the proper chapter, and

<sup>1</sup> 2. 119.

<sup>2</sup> See the thesis of Dr. A. R. Benham.

so here only examples to illustrate the usage as to mode will be found.

The spelling *ðæt* has been noted in OET., Chron., and Æ. Asm., thus: OET. Vesp. Psalms 70. 18 ne forlet ðu mec *ot ðæt* ic secge earm ðinne cneorisse alre ða toword is, mæhte ðine; Chron. 79. 14 hi þeah þa ceastre aweredan *oððæt* Ælfred cyng com utan mid fyrde.

The form *oð ðæs* found in the following example in due to a mere scribal error for *oð ðæt*, as a comparison with the readings of the other MSS. will show: BH. 332. 8 7 geryno onfeng, 7 þone unwemne geheold, *oð þæs* he gearnode, þæt he to his gesihðe becwom.

The temporal element is very slight in such sentences as this, which are common in land-descriptions: Cart. 2. 483. 4 þonne andlang þæs mærhlines oþþe well bærnige 7 lang weges *oþ þæt* hit cumþ to þam herpaþe.

Examples with the indicative follow: Bo. 14. 26 Ða geswigode se Wisdom ane lytle hwile *od þ* he ongeat þæs Modes ingeþoncas; LS. 1. 162. 263 Sume eac befæstan heora suna him to godes þeow-dome, *oð þæt* þær gadorod wæs hund-teontig muneca and feowertig ealles; Ap. T. 12. 13 Æfter þisum wordum he eode on þone weg þe him getæht wæs, *oð ðæt* he becom to þare ceastre geate 7 ðar ineode.

Examples with the optative: BH. 254. 31 7 þa baad feower monað, *oððæt* him feax geweoxe, þæt he to preoste bescoren beon meahte; LS. 2. 170. 22 Paulus eode þa gleaw-lice and heora godas sceawode ealle be endebyrdnyse, and eac þa weofoda *oþ þæt* he funde on weofod þe þis gewrit on stod Deo-ignoto; Wulf. 304. 20 hit bið swyðe rihtlic lif and gode gecwemedlic, þæt cniht þurhwunige on his cnihtade, *oð þæt* he on rihtre æwe gewifige.

NOTE 1. *Oð ðæt* occurs as frequently in the poetry as in the prose. I quote an example: Christ 307 Wlat þa swa



wisfæst witga geond þeodland *Oppæt* he gestarode þær gestap-  
elad wæs Æpelic ingong.

NOTE 2. OE. *oððæt* appears as *aðat* or *aðet* in Middle English. I quote examples: Brut 3. 208. 20 he for-bað þam kingen kine-helm to nimene *a þat* hin seolf comen, and setten hine an heore hafden; Old English Homilies: In diebus Dominicis<sup>1</sup> 19. 69 Louerd nu ic bidde þe gef þin wille is þet þu heom gefe rest la hwure þen sunne-dei *a þet* cume domes-dei.

NOTE 3. With OE. *oð ðæt* we may compare Modern German *bis das*, as in this sentence: so wie ich nicht inne halte, *bis das* ire gerechtigkeit aufgehe.

NOTE 4. In OS. *unt* occurs only as a preposition, but *unt* that is of frequent occurrence as a temporal conjunction: Heliand 450 That ger furðor skred *unt that* that friðu-barn godes feartig habda dago endi nahto. *Unz thaz* in OHG. is used only adverbially: Otfried 1. 4. 70 *unz thaz* tharbe harto thero thineru uuorto.

### 1b. oð ðætte (ðe).

In only a very few cases do we find the relative *ðe* used with *ðæt* to introduce a temporal clause. When we remember that it is used so frequently with other forms of the demonstrative in conjunctive phrases, this is rather surprising. In general, the form *ðætte* occurs more frequently in early texts, though the examples I have noted occur in texts ranging from Cart. to Nic.

I have observed nothing in the use of *ðæt ðe* in temporal clauses to bear out Dr. Shearin's theory that this form is more emphatically conjunctive than the simple *ðæt*.<sup>2</sup> In most of the instances, *ðæt ðe* is used in very brief sentences, and not merely when the main clause is long and complex.

<sup>1</sup> Morris, Specimens of Early English, Part I, Oxford, 1887.

<sup>2</sup> H. G. Shearin, The Expression of Purpose in Old English Prose.

The use of the relative with the demonstrative is perfectly logical, and should occasion no surprise. On the other hand, it is rather surprising that we do not find it in the writings of Ælfric, who in general uses the relative in conjunctional formulæ much more consistently than any other OE. writer.

It seems that no one has regarded *oð ðette*, in the sentence which follows, as introducing a temporal clause. But so far as I know, *oð ðæt* is not used as a preposition—much less, then, *oð ðette*. Such a use would indeed be difficult to account for. O. 66. 27 Ac þa cyningas þe æfter Romuluse ricsedon wæron forcuðran 7 eargran þonne he wære, 7 þæm folcum laðran 7 ungetæsran, *oð þætte* Tarcuinius, ðe we ær ymbe sædon, þe hira (eallra) fracopast wæs — ægþerge eargast. ge wrænast, ge ofermogast—ealra þara Romana wif [ða] þe he mehte he to (ge)ligre geniedde, 7 his suna geþafode þæt he læg mid Latinus wife, &c.

In the following example we have a confusion between the connectives *oð ðone ðæg ðe* and *oð ðæt ðe*: Mart. 176. 26 þu bist dumb *oð þone ðæg oð þæt þe* þis bið.

Some examples to illustrate the normal use of the connective follow: BH. 260. 13 He ða eac in Cent mæssepreostas 7 diaconas hadode, *oðþæt þe* Theodor ærcebiscop to his seðle cwom; Nic. 480. 28 7 he geanbidiende wæs godes ryces *oð þ ðe* cryst wæs ahangen.

We find *oð ðæt te* frequently in the Northumbrian Gospels.

#### 1c. oððe.

It is not altogether clear whether we should regard *ðe* as the relative, or as a weakened form of *ðæt*. I incline to the former view, though the fact that

*oððe* occurs a number of times in the Hatton MS. of the Gospels, in which we find such a weakened form as *syððe*, lends support to the latter theory.

The number of examples is not large, only nine in all, and the greater part of them occur in early texts, four in Chron., three in the writings of Ælfred, and two in LS. Besides these, I have noted five instances in the Hatton MS. of the Gospels, distributed as follows: M. 18. 30; L. 15. 4, 8; John 21. 22, 23. Both modes are found with *oððe*, but the optative occurs only twice.

Examples follow: Chron. 98. 22 7 be drifon hie on anne pearruc, 7 be sæton hie þær utan, *oþþe* hie him sealdon gislas, þæt hie of Eadwardes cyninges anwalde afaran woldon; O. 20. 31 Alecgað hit ðonne forhwæga on anre mil þone mæstan dæl fram þæm tune, þonne oðerne, ðonne þæne þriddan, *oþ þe* hyt eal aled bið on þære anre mile; LS. 2. 42. 625 and geanbida min on þa healfe iordanen þe to worulde belimpeð *oþþe* ic þe to cume.

NOTE 1. *Oððe* is found occasionally in the poetry: Beowulf 649 wiste þæm ahlæcan To þæm heahsele hilde geþinged, Siððan hie sunnan leoht geseon [ne] meahton, *Oþðe* nipende niht ofer ealle, Scaduhelma gesceapu scriðan cwoman.

#### 1d. oð.

In origin, *oð* is a preposition denoting limit of motion. From this it soon passed into conjunctive use, probably through the dropping out of its object *ðæt* in the more common conjunction *oð ðæt*.

The simple form *oð* is found in almost all the texts, though it occurs more frequently than *oð ðæt* in only Cart. and O. *Oð* occurs very rarely in the writings of Ælfric, save in his Old Testament translations.

Both modes are found with *oð*. Following are

examples: Chron. 190. 21 he for suð mid eallre þære scire . . . *oð* he com to Hamtune; O. 218. 29 Æfter þæm Mantius se consul for on Numentine, Ispania folc, 7 þær wæs winnende *oþ* he genom friþ wiþ þæt folc; Exod. 16. 34 Israhela bearn æton heofonlicne mete feowertig wintra, *oð* hig comon to Chanaan lande.

Examples with the optative: Sol. 59. 9 Æfter ðam feorðan wit sceolon gyet spurian, nu þu þa ðreo wast, *oð* ðu æac þæt wite; BR. 70. 18 And forðon on þa wisan mid hreowsunge dædbete, *oð* hit þam abbode fulbet þince and hine geswican hate; Wulf. 3. 1 ac we synd þam gelicost gescapene on þisse worulde, þe sum cyning hate sum forworht wif don on carcern, and þæt sy bearneacen, and heo þonne cenne cniht, and se þonne sy ðær afeded, *oð* he sy twentigwintre oððe gyt yldra.

NOTE 1. In the poetry *oð* does not occur frequently. I quote an example: Judith<sup>1</sup> 293 Him mon feaht on last, mægeneacen folc, *oð* se mæsta dæl þæs heriges læg hilde gesæged on ðam sigewonge, sweordum geheawen.

NOTE 2. *Oð* is found in early Middle English, but soon disappears. Old English Homilies<sup>2</sup>: A Parable 2. 13 Ac þis gesceod he hadde isett bi-tweone frend and fend þat þan hi come mislice to berie gef he frend were me hine sceolde derewurðlice forð-clepian and do hine wasse and giefe him his formemete þat him to lange ne þuht to abiden *oð* se laford to þe none inn-come.

NOTE 3. OE. *oð* finds a parallel in the Gothic cognate *unte*: Mk. 6. 10 Jah qaþ du im: þishwaduh þei gaggaiþ in gard, þar saljaiþ, *unte* usgaggaiþ jainþro. OHG. *unz*, cognate with OE. *oð*, is used as a temporal conjunction, at least in Tatian. I quote an example: Tatian 44. 7 fraget thanne uuer in theru uuirdig si, inti thar uuonet *unz* ir uzfaret. The Latin is: et ibi manete *donec* exeatis.

<sup>1</sup> Ed. Cook. Boston, 1889.

<sup>2</sup> Morris, Specimens of Early English, Oxford, 1887.

1e. of *ðæt*.

I have noted two instances in which this form occurs as a temporal conjunction, and a number of cases of *of*. I take it that this is a mere variation in the spelling of *oð ðæt*, though I have found no statement in the grammars or lexicons to that effect. The spelling occurs only in very late texts.

The two examples I have noted follow: Cart. 2. 548. 1 7 þonne eft in on noddre niþer and lang streames *of þæt* hit cumð to pures fenne; Lch. 3. 130. 20 Nim cuppan fulle wæteres 7 sealti 7 meng swyþe to gadere, *of þæt* sealt meltan sy.

## 1f. of.

All the examples I have noted with this spelling occur in Cart. It is doubtless a late spelling for *oð*. Examples follow, all of which occur in descriptions of land-boundaries: Cart. 2. 304. 29 swa suð þonan *of* hit cymð to þære holding stowe; Cart. 2. 529. 35 þonne ford west be hagan *of* hit sticað æft on clincan leage.

1g. swa lange . . . oð *ðæt*.

This connective doubtless owes its origin to a confusion of constructions. The writer begins with an idea of result, but so modifies it that he makes the clause expressing result temporal as well.

Eighteen of the twenty-five examples noted occur in ÆH. and LS. Chron. has two examples, Dial. two, and BR., Lch., and BIH. one each. In all but three cases we find the divided form. Those which differ follow: Dial. 101. 18 7 wæs þær þa gewylwed *swa lange*, *oð þæt* he þanon eode of him gewundod eallum lichaman; ÆH. 1. 232. 7 þa bododon hi *swa lange* *oð þæt* þa ðweoran hi ofslogon; LS. 2. 362. 126 Hi spræcon þa *swa lange*, *oð þæt*, he to ge-leafan beah.

In such examples as the following, the result-idea involved is very clear: LS. 2. 230. 166 Began ða to bodigenne þa godspellican lare *swa lange* þam sceaðan oþ þæt he ge-lyfde on god; ÆH. 1. 304. 29 *swa lange* he æteowde his wundra ðam hæðenum folce oþþæt hi geleaffulle wæron.

NOTE 1. I have not been able to find a parallel to this construction in the poetry.

NOTE 2. I have noted a similar construction in Middle English: Brut 3. 200. 13 Bruttes þat long heolden wel *swiðe longe*, a þ Aðestan þe stronge, þe king of þissen londe, heom binom þas londes alle.

#### 1h. *swa lange oð.*

This connective owes its origin to the same confusion of constructions that gave us *swa lange . . . oð ðæt.*

I have noted only five examples, all of which I quote: Chron. 169. 8 he forweornde swiðe *swa lange oð* his sciperes ge fengon hine; Chron. 180. 8 Ða wið læg se cyng sume hwile þeah, *swa lange oð* þet folc þe mid þam eorle wes, wearð swiðe astyred ongean þone cyng; Bo. 121. 20 Forðæm hi ne lyst spyrian æfter ælcra spæce *swa longe oð* hi þ riht witen; Cart. 3. 284. 19 þa spræc hit fæstlice Byrhsige Dyrincg *swa lange oð* þa witan þe þa wæron gerehton Eadgife, þæt heo sceolde hire fædres hand ge clænsian be swa myclan feo; Jos. 7. 16 and eode þæt gehlot *swa lange oð* hit becom to þam ilcan men þe þæt man gefremode.

NOTE 1. With this construction is to be compared Modern German *so lange bis*, thus: er quälte mich *so lange, bis* ich that, &c.

#### 1i. *swa swyðe . . . oð ðæt.*

This conjunction is the result of the same sort of confusion between the result- and temporal ideas, or

fusion of them, that produced *swa lange oð ðæt*. I have noted only three instances, all of which I quote: Dial. 220. 9 se hit me sæde 7 þus cwæð, þæt nu for fif gærum hit gelumpe on Romebyrig, þæt Tifrestream wæs upp gangende 7 *swa swiðe* weaxende, oð þæt hyre wæter 7 yða fleowen ofer þa weallas; Dial. 248. 23 witodlice hit gelamp, þæt þa yþa reðgodon in heora þeawe 7 wæron upp ahafene for þara winda mycelnessum *swa swiðe*, oþ þæt of þam scipe wæron þa næglas forlorene; Wulf. 206. 22 and seo eorðe weoll ongean þam heafonlican flode *swa swyðe*, oð ðæt þæt wæter wæs heahre, þonne ænig munt æfre wære.

#### 1j. *swa lange ðæt*.

The clauses with this connective so approach the result-force that it is difficult to decide to which category they should be assigned. Both connotations must have been in the mind of the writer in most of the cases.

Five of the six examples are in Chron., the other in Laws. I quote all, since they are so few, and so doubtful in some cases: Chron. 117. 24 7 wæs þær þa *swa lange* þ se arcebiscop Oswald of Eoforwic wæs forð ge witon. In the following example probably the result-idea is predominant: Chron. 117. 30 wæs þær *swa lange* þ man sette him to biscop on Wintan ceastre; Chron. 177. 23 ða lengde hit man *swa lange* þ seo scip fyrð eall belaf. The next example is the only one in which þ does not follow *swa lange* directly: Chron. 178. 1 7 eodon þær up 7 hergodon *swa lange* þær þ þ folc geald heom swa mycel swa hi heom on legden; Chron. 179. 25 þa for æft ongean to Wiht 7 þær abutan be þam sæ riman *swa lange* þ hi comon to-gædere Harold eorl his suna; Laws 226. 7 Da geræddan witan, þæt hit betere wære, þæt man æure tymde, ðæs hit ærest befangen wære, *swa longe* þæt man wiste,

hwær hit ætstandan wolde, ðy læs ðe mon unmihtigne man to feor 7 to lange for his agenan swencte. The Latin for this reads: Unde consuluerunt sapientes, quod melius erat, ut saltem advocaretur ubi deprehendebatur, *donec* innotesceret, &c.

NOTE 1. I have noted a parallel in Middle English: Brut 2. 116. 19 Heo eoden *swa longe* forð ward, þat heo comen in ænne orchærd.

### 1k. ðæt.

The ideas of time and result lie very close to one another in all the clauses of the *until*-division; but, in the case of those with *ðæt* as the connective, it is most often impossible to assign them definitely to either one of these categories. In most of the examples from Chron. probably the primary notion is that of time, though the result-element is usually present; but in some few cases I cannot see that there is any connotation of result at all.

In this first sentence the temporal force is clear; moreover MS. C. has *oð* and MS. D. *oððe*: Chron. 92. 5 þa rad se cyning mid firde ð he gewicode æt Baddan byrig wið Win burnan; Chron. 143. 14 7 wende swyðe raðe abutan East Englum in to Humbran muðan 7 swa upp weard andlang Trentan þæt he com to Gegnes burh; Chron. 213. 4 7 þa Brytta hine heoldon þæt se cyng com of Franc land. The idea of result is most prominent in this example: Chron. 267. 1 7 besæt heom ð þer wæs inne mikel hungær; O. 160. 31 hie þeah swa ondrædendlice gebidon þæt se ege ofergongen wæs, 7 þær siþþan wælgrimlice gefuhton; Lch. 1. 340. 25 Wið lip adle, genim cwicenne fox 7 seoð þæt þa ban ane beon læfed; Inst. 486. 52 gyf þonne hwa mid hwylcum unæmtan genyd sy, þæt he to þære mæssan cuman ne mæge ne to þæm



æfensange, þonne swa-þeah gewunige he fæstende, þ he wite þ seo mæsse 7 se æfen-sang sy gesungen; Byrh. 300. 11 þonne beoð þi geare þreo hund daga 7 feower 7 fiftig daga fram easter tide þæt he eft cume.

NOTE 1. The following lines from Layamon's Brut present a parallel use of *þæt* in Early Middle English: Brut 3. 207. 14 And þus heo wuneden here, wel feole gere, þat þæ children weoren muchele iwaxen.

## 2. *hwonne*.

The use of *hwonne* in the sense of *until* doubtless developed through its regular use in indirect questions. Indeed, in many of the cases in which I have construed it in this sense, it still lies close to the ordinary use in such clauses.

The nine examples I have noted occur in texts ranging from BH. to Wulf., though five are in the writings of Ælfred.

I quote freely, believing that the peculiarities of meaning and use will be brought out thus more clearly than by discussion: BH. 178. 22 þ alihte se eoredmonn 7 þæt gebæte of ateah, 7 þær hwile bad, *hwonne* his horse bet wurde oðþe he hit þær dead forlete. The Latin for this is: *coepit expectare horam qua*. BH. 186. 23 þa wæs sume dæge, þætte he sorgende bæd *hwonne* seo adl to him cwome; Bo. 14. 10 Walawa þ ða ungesæligan menn ne magon gebidon *hwonne* he him to cume, ac forsceotað hine foran; CP. 121. 11 Se yfela ðeow cuið on his mode: Hit bið long *hwonne* se hlaford cume; ÆH. 1. 140. 19 and ðincð him to lang *hwænne* he beo genumen of ðyses lifes earfoðnyssum; BIH. 109. 32 ah he þær on moldan gemolsnaþ & þær wyrde bideþ, *hwonne* se ælmihtiga God wille þisse worlde ende gewyrcean; Wulf. 236. 11 swa oft, swa he þærinne wæs, him

þuhte æfre to lang, *hwonne* he moste beon ymbe þæs lichaman oferfyllle and ymbe his agene unþeawas.

NOTE 1. *Hwonne* is occasionally so employed in the poetry, thus: Christ 147 Nu hie softe þæs bidon in bendum *Hwonne* Bearn Godes cwome to ceorigum.

NOTE 2. With this use of *hwonne* in OE. we may compare the OS. *hwan* in combination with *er*, as in this example: Heliand 105 That werod oðar bed umbi thana alah utan, Ebreo-liudi, *hwan er* the frodo man gifrumid habdi waldandes willeon.

### 3a. fort(e).

I have observed this connective only in Lch. 3. It is made up of *for* + *to*, which becomes *forte*, and then *fort*. In one of the examples we have the spelling *forte*, thus: Lch. 3. 102. 17 Nim þanne swa hætte swa he hættest forbere mæge 7 habban an dæl on hys muþe, *forte* acoled beo. The examples are all similar, and one or two will suffice for illustration: Lch. 3. 118. 26 do þar piper to 7 lege to þan sare, *fort* þe man wearmie; Lch. 3. 130. 15 ete þanne a morgen, *fort* he full sy.

NOTE 1. I have noted *forte* in Middle English, and quote examples: Brut 2. 171. 17 þe name stondeþ þare, *forte* þat Dence men driuen vt þe cnihtes; Piers Plowman A. 11. 119 Leve him on thi luft half a large myle on more, *Forste* thou come to a court Kep-wel-thi-tonge-From-lesynges-and-lygeres speche.

### 3b. swa lange fortþan.

I have noted only one example with this connective, and this I quote: Lch. 3. 88. 23 læt hyne liggan *swa lange fortþan* eara hit habben eal gedrucan.

### 4. til.

Only two instances of the use of this conjunction have been noted. These occur in the entries of the

Chron. for the years 1137 and 1140. The word was probably introduced into English by the Danes, and still occurs in the Scandinavian languages.

In Danish it was also used as a preposition, but occurs only as a conjunction in Chron. I quote the examples: Chron. 263. 32 *þa þe* king Stephne to Engla lande com *þa* macod he his gadering æt Oxene ford 7 *þar* he nam *þe* ð Roger of Sereberi 7 Alexander of Lincol 7 te Canceler Roger hise neues 7 dide ælle in prisun *til* hi iafen up here castles; Chron. 267. 27 *þær* efter scæ ferde ouer sæ 7 hi of Normandi wenden alle fra *þe* king to eorl of Angæu sume here *þankes* 7 sume here un*þankes* for he be sæt heom *til* hi a iauen up here castles.

NOTE 1. The use of *til* became common in the Middle English period, gradually displacing *oð ðæt*. I quote an example: Piers Plowman C. 7. 185 Suche werkus with ous were neure out of seson, *Til* we myghte no more.

5a. *oð* + obj. (noun of time) + *ðe*.

This construction is already familiar to us, and therefore demands no extended treatment here. The nouns of time are *first*, *tid*, *dæg*, *byre*, and *tima*; and the only case, as is to be expected, is the accusative.

Some examples follow: Chron. 99. 29 7 *þa* sæton hi ute on *þam* iglande æt Steapan Reolice *oð þone fyrst þe* hi wurdon swyðe mete lease; BH. 42. 12 *þeos sibb awunade on Cristes cyrican, ða þe on Brytene wæron, oð ða tide þe* se Arrianisca gedweola aras; L. 1. 20 And nu *þu* byst suwiende 7 *þu* spreca ne miht, *oð þone dæg þe* ðas ðing gewurðað; LS. 1. 508. 337 *þæt* hit mid him *þær-inne læge* to swutelunge *oð ðone byre þe* hi god ælmihtig awehte; Chron. 142. 10. 7 hi heafdon *þone arcþ* mid him swa lange *oð þone timan þe* hi hine ge martyredon.

NOTE 1. An example of the parallel construction in Gothic follows: L. 1. 20 *Jah sijais þahands jah ni magands rodjan und þana dag ei wairþai þata, duþe ei ni galaubides waurdam meinaim, þoei usfulljanda in mela seinamma.*

NOTE 2. I quote an example of the same construction from the poetry: Beowulf 2400 *Swa he niða gehwane genesen hæfde, sliðra geslyhta, sunu Ecgþiowes, ellen-weorcan, oð þone anne dæg, þe he wið þam wyrme gewegan sceolde.*

**5b. oð + obj. (noun of time) + ðæt.**

Only two instances of the use of the demonstrative, instead of the relative, in this construction have been noted. These are to be regarded as early instances of a use of *ðæt* which has since become common.

The two instances follow: Bo. 116. 10 *7 wunode mid hire oð ðone first þ his ðegnas him ne mihton leng mid gewunian*; Guth. 8. 11 *and hi ða samod wæron oð þone fyrst þæt God foresceawode þæt þæt wif mid bearne geeacnod wæs.*

**6a. to ðam ðæge ðe.**

I quote the two instances, which I have noted of this full form of the formula with *to*: ÆH. 2. 288. 6 *We wenað þæt ge ealle on andwerdnysse her ne beon to ðam dæge þe we þæt godspel rædan sceolon*; LS. 1. 516. 488 *wæron . . . to ðam dæge þe hi eft awocon.*

**6b. to ðam ðæt.**

This form of the connective occurs only with the negative expression *næs nænig (nan) hwil*, and occurs most frequently in Guth., though it is very rare even there. I quote the only example with the dative that I have observed: Guth. 46. 22 *Næs þa nan hwil to þam ðæt he geseah ealra wihta and wildeora and wurma hiw in cuman to him.*

6c. to *ðon ðæt*.

Two examples with the instrumental have been noted in Guth., and are quoted here: Guth. 50. 12 Næs þa *nænig hwil to þan þæt* he to scipe eode, se ylca þe þæt gewrit wrat; Guth. 96. 19 Næs þa *nænig hwil to þon þæt* him his frynd on þære stowe brohton to Cruwlande.

NOTE 1. I have observed the same construction in Beowulf 2592 Næs þa long *to þon, þæt* ða aglæcean hy eft gemetton. Here also we have the negative expression preceding, &c. Compare also Beowulf 2846.

6d. to *ðon . . . ðæt*.

The one example of this sort differs from those which precede, only in that *ðæt* does not immediately follow its antecedent. We have the usual negative expression preceding: Epis. 146. 180 Ða næs long *to þon* in þæm westenne *þæt* we to sumre ea cwoman.

6e. to *ðam*.

It is not clear whether in this case we have a construction similar to those considered above, with *ðæt* omitted, or whether the writer forgot the construction with which he began, and began a new sentence. The passage in question follows: Guth. 54. 23 Swylce næs eac *nænig hwil to þam* coman þær þry men to þære hyðe, and þær tacn slogon.

6f. to *ðæt*.

This connective is found once, in the entry for 1137 of Chron., thus: Chron. 264. 13 Me ðide cnotted strenges abutan here hæued 7 uurythen *to ð* it gæde to þe hænes.

7. *ðe gyt ðe*.

This expression is clearly best rendered by *until*, and is to be analyzed as follows: *still, when*, that is *until*.

It occurs in Chron. in the entry for the year 1116: Chron. 246. 34 Ðis wæs swiðe ge swincfull gear 7 byrstfull on eorð wæstman þurh þa ormæte reinas þe coman sona onforan August 7 swiðe ge drehton 7 ge swencton *þe gyt þe com Candel mæssan.*

## CHAPTER II.

### A. THE MODE IN THE TEMPORAL CLAUSE.

Here we have to consider the indicative, the optative, and the so-called modal auxiliaries *mugan*, *sculan*, *motan*, and *willan*. We shall order our division according to the sixfold division of clauses that we made for the particles, believing that differences in the use of mode, when such exist, are due to the different time-relations on which this grouping is based.

This for the indicative and the optative; but since the discussion of the auxiliaries is so largely in regard to meaning, a separate division will be devoted to them.

#### 1. The Mode in Clauses indicating *time when*.

As is to be expected, the indicative is the prevailing mode in such clauses.

When the optative does appear, it is due usually to some peculiarity of the main clause, and not to the time-relation of the two clauses. The most common cause for the use of the optative is an imperative in the main clause, though often it appears in clauses belonging to indirect questions, in object-clauses introduced by *ðæt*, or is due to attraction. In most of these cases the action of the temporal clause belongs to the future, and always has a doubtful or hypothet-

ical character. Sometimes it is difficult to assign a definite reason for the mode; it seems to be the result of the general, indefinite character of the sentence in which it appears.

The indicative is so common in such clauses that it would be superfluous to transcribe examples: for instance, the optative does not occur at all in clauses with *ða*, and almost any page of OE. will yield one or more clauses with this connective.

I quote a few examples of clauses with the optative, indicating in each case what I conceive to be the reason for the choice of mode: Sol. 4. 16 and þonne þu ðe gebeden hæbbe, awrit þonne þæt gebed; Lch. 1. 106. 18 7 þonne hit hat *sy*, lege ofer þa cyrnlu 7 gewrið ðæerto; BR. 91. 6 Swa oft, swa hy aþor oðþe meon, oþþe ænig þing niwes *underfon*, betæce a pæt ealde. In clauses of this type, the optative in the temporal clause may be explained as due to a striving for symmetry in mode, in other words to a kind of attraction. This is the view advanced by Hotz<sup>1</sup>, and adopted with some modification by Mather<sup>2</sup>. Dr. Mather rather adds a reason for the desire for symmetry than modifies the theory. He says: 'The speaker introduces a strong subjective element into the sentence by the expression of his own desire or command. He thereby falls out of the *role* of mere reporter, and expresses a particular interest in the relation. This element of will may extend through the whole sentence and influence the verb of the protasis, which becomes subjunctive, the proper mode for the expression of will or wish. The subjunctive in such clause is then rather adhortative, at least in origin,

<sup>1</sup> G. Hotz, *The Subjunctive Mood in Anglo-Saxon*, Zurich, 1882, p. 55; also p. 33, note.

<sup>2</sup> *The Conditional Sentence in Anglo-Saxon*, p. 8.

than potential or hypothetical.' I agree with this in the main, but think that the uncertainty attached to an event merely conceived and still in the future is sufficient in itself to account for the mode, at least so far as temporal clauses are concerned. Delbrück<sup>1</sup> says: 'Sodann ein überall im germanischen erscheinender typus, nämlich bei optativischem vordersatz ein nachsatz mit einer verbalform imperativischer Bedeutung. Wie bei dem entsprechenden typus mit *jabai* wird durch den optativischen vordersatz ausgedrückt, dass der sprechende den eintritt des satzinhaltes als möglich (wahrscheinlich, bevorstehend) in aussicht nimmt.'

BH. 76. 5 Ðu frugne eac swylce, þonne wiif cennende *wære*, æfter hu feola daga heo moste in circan gongan. In this example the optative is due to its occurrence in an indirect question, or to the hypothetical nature of the whole sentence.

The following are examples of the optative appearing in object-clauses: CP. 307. 11 he gehett ðæt he sua don wolde, ðonne he eft *come* on ðæm ytemestan dæge; PPs. p. 61. 14 'and he witegode eac þæt ylce be Ezechie, þe lange æfter him wæs, þæt he sceolde þæt ylce don, þonne he alysed *wære* æt Asirium.

In the following sentence, we may regard the mode of the temporal clause as being due to that of the verb on which it depends: BH. 76. 11 Forþon þeah þe heo in þa ilcan tiid, þe heo acenned *hæbbe*, Gode þoncunge to donne in circan gonge, ne bið heo mid nænige synne byrðenne ahefigad; CP. 389. 36 Ond eac forðæm ðætte hie ðy fæsðlicor & ðy untweogendlicor gelifden ðara ecena ðinga, swa hwanne swa him ða *gehete*, ðylæs . . &c.

<sup>1</sup> Der Germanische Optativ im Satzgefüge, p. 288.



The hypothetical nature of the whole sentence leads to the use of the optative in the following example: Dial. 261. 11 ac efne hit is gelic þære wisan, þe man hwylic bearneacen wif genime 7 sænde in carcern 7 heo þær þonne cænde cniht, 7 þonne se cniht *si* geboren, þæt he sy afeted in þam carcerne.

In the following examples, both from Wulf., the change of tense is hard to account for. Evidently we have here the beginning of the Modern English use of *were* as an optative: Wulf. 147. 22 þa geongan men hopjað, þæt hi moton lange on þissere worulde libban, ac se hopa hi bepæcð and beswicð, þonne him leofost *wære*, þæt hi lybban moston; Wulf. 189. 5 and uton gecnawan, hu læne and hy lyðre þis lif is on to getruwjanne, and hu eft hit wurð raðost forlora and forlæten, þonne hit *wære* leofost gehealden.

The optative form in such examples as these, all found in late texts, is evidently due to the weakening of the ending, and we have really to do with indicatives: LS. 1. 534. 754 and mid þy þe hi in *becomen* þa gemetton hi on þa swiðran hand ane teage; Chad. 145. 178 7 mittes hine fregnaden his ginran fur hwon he þ dyde, þa andwyrde he him 7 cweð.

In a few cases the optative and the indicative stand in the same construction, thus: CP. 463. 4 ðæt he hine selfne ne forlæte, ðær he oðerra freonda tilige, & him self ne afealle, ðær ðær he oðre tiolað to ræranne; Wulf. 140. 28 þonne þu *smercode*st and *hloge*, þonne weop ic biterlice.

REMARK. It must not be inferred that we always find the optative after an imperative. There are exceptions, though they are not numerous. Examples follow: Lch. 3. 2. 6 læt reocan in þa eagan þa hwile hy hate *synd*; Jos. 8. 7 þonne fare ge to, *mid þam þe* we fleonde *beoð*, and gegað

þa buruh. Fleischauer<sup>1</sup> states the principle thus, that the optative is used when the action of the subordinate clause is conceived as preceding that of the main clause, the indicative when it is contemporaneous with it.

NOTE 1. All the dissertations on the syntax of OE. poetry agree, in almost the same words, in saying that the indicative is the prevailing mode in temporal clauses. Only two, however, mention the use of the optative in such cases as we have been discussing. Prollius<sup>2</sup> says: 'Die temporalsätze stehen im conj. d) nach *hwonne*, wenn der inhalt des satzes der unsicheren zukunft angehört, e) ebenso nach *þonne*.' Schürmann<sup>3</sup> makes a similar statement: 'Der Konjunctiv findet sich hier zweimal zum Ausdruck der blossen Möglichkeit, deren etwaige Verwirklichung in der Zukunft liegt.' There are the only attempts to account for the optative in such sentences that have been observed.

NOTE 2. In Gothic, according to Douse<sup>4</sup>, the optative is used in clauses of this kind, much as in OE. He says: 'Some other temporal conjunctions take the indic. or subj. according as their clauses refer to actual fact or to what is merely possible or still in the future; in the latter case the temporal clause is generally attached to an imperative, optative, or subjunctive clause. Examples with the optative: a) after an imperative, M. 6. 6 þu þan *bidiais*, gang in heþjon þeina. b) in an object clause, John 14. 29 quap inzwis . . . ei, biþe wairþai, galaubjaip.' I do not find that there are examples of the optative in temporal clauses, due to such causes as led to its use in OE., in either OS. or OHG. But in the latter language we find the optative so used in the closely related comparative clause. Erdmann<sup>5</sup> says: 'In anderen Fällen ist der Vergleichsatz mit dem Satze zu welchem er gehört in den Conj. verschoben, . . . So beim Imperative':

<sup>1</sup> Der Conjunctiv in der Cura Pastoralis, 255.

<sup>2</sup> Über den syntactischen Gebrauch des Conjunctivs in den Cynewulf-schen Dichtungen 'Elene,' 'Juliana,' und Crist 57.

<sup>3</sup> Darstellung der Syntax in Cynewulf's Elene, 387.

<sup>4</sup> Introduction to the Gothic of Ulfilas, 255.

<sup>5</sup> Syntax der Sprache Otfrids, 113.

IV, 30. 32 irdeilet imo thare, so wizzod iwer lere. Roetteken<sup>1</sup> informs us that the same usage prevailed in Middle High German: 'Übergeordneter Imperativ des Hauptsatzes zieht auch hier oft den Nebensatz in den Conjunktiv: 368. 1 Nu wahset alle mit einander di wile ez gotes wille si.'

NOTE 3. Erdmann<sup>2</sup> says: 'Im Nhd. ist jetzt der Conjunctiv beschränkt auf den Fall, daß das Eintreten des Neben-umstandes mit zum Inhalte des Befehles gehört und vom Sprechenden beabsichtigt wird, Schiller, Turandot 5. 2 teile sie mit einem würd'gen Gatten, der klug sei und den Mächtigen nicht reize.'

NOTE 4. For the Latin, Lane<sup>3</sup> says, speaking of *quando*: '*quando*, originally a temporal particle, has the meaning *when*, which readily passes over to a causal meaning, *since*, *because*. In both meanings it introduces the indicative. For special reasons, however, the subjunctive is used, as in indirect discourse or of action conceivable.'

## B. THE MODE IN CLAUSES DENOTING IMMEDIATE SEQUENCE.

The indicative is the mode regularly found with clauses of this kind. The optative is found, but very rarely, and then is generally to be accounted for by the fact that the main clause contains an imperative or an adhortative optative.

Since most of the examples quoted in discussing the particles denoting immediate sequence<sup>4</sup> have the indicative, it will not be necessary to illustrate the normal use here. I pass to the optative, giving the reason for its use in each case.

<sup>1</sup> Der Zusammengesetzte Satz bei Berthold von Regensburg, p. 51.

<sup>2</sup> Grundzüge der deutschen Syntax, p. 166. This contains the best general discussion of the optative dependent on imperatives and that due to attraction, pp. 164 ff.

<sup>3</sup> George M. Lane, A Latin Grammar, 1898, p. 341.

<sup>4</sup> p. 62 ff.

BR. 101. 8 Sona swa he þæt gewrit uppan þone altare *alecge*, *beginne* þis fers and þus cweþe; Lch. 3. 122. 7 hæte hym man bæþ, swa hraðe swa hys wisa *godige*. In both of these examples the optative is due to the command expressed in the main clause.

O. 76. 9 he . . . getruwade þæt he hiene beswican mehte, siþþan he binnan ðæm gemære *wære* 7 wicstowa *name*; Dial. 317. 7 7 he sæde, þæt sona swa he *wære* of þam lichaman atogen, þæt he gesawe helle witu 7 unarimendlice stowa þara ligea. In these examples, the optative is explained by the fact of their occurring in object clauses.

These two categories include all the optatives which I have noted in clauses denoting immediate sequence.

NOTE 1. In none of the dissertations on the poetry have I found any mention of the optative in clauses denoting immediate sequence.

### C. THE MODE IN CLAUSES DENOTING DURATION.

Again the indicative is the prevailing mode, and as before no reason for introducing examples exists. The optative, when it is found, is most often due to an imperative or hortatory optative in the main clause.

Examples follow: Chron. 163. 11 healde þa hwile þe him God *unne*; BR. 74. 17 and ne beo ymbe his rædinge, þa hwile þe þa oðre *rædan*; Lch. 2. 262. 9 ne do þu þonne mid sealte þa blædran on, ac on forewearde þa adle þenden þ sar læst *sie*.

The optative appears in an object-clause: Inst. 399. 20 And we lærað þ ænig wifman neah weofode ne cume, þa hwile þe man *mæssige*; Cart. 2. 217. 12 Ða wilnede Æþelbald swa þeh to þam bisceope 7 to þam higen þ heo him mildemode alefdan þ he his most brucan ða hwile þe he *wære*.

In the following examples the optative is caused by attraction: CP. 63. 19 Ac pinsige ælc mon hiene selfne georne, ðylæs he durre underfon ðone lareowdon ðæs folces ða hwile ðe him ænig unðeaw on *ricsige*; Dial. 329. 6 þæt nænig man þær ne onfehð noht þære clænsunge hæle be þam læstum synnum, nymðe he geearnige ær þa hwile þe he on þysum life *sy* mid godum dædum. In all these examples, the indefinite and hypothetical character of the content of the temporal clause has much to do with the determination of the mode.

In this example the optative would seem to be due merely to the general character of the sentence, and not to any specific characteristic: CP. 6. 12 gedon . . . ðætte eal sio gioguð þe nu is on Angel kynne, friorra monna . . . sien to leornunga oðfæste, þa hwile þe, hi to nanre oðerre note ne *mægen*.

The reason for the optative in the examples which follow is not clear to me: Guth. 86. 1 þas þing þe ic ær nolde nænigum woruld-men secgan, þa hwile þe ic lifigende *wære*, ic hit þe wylle nu onwreon and gecyþan; HL. 198. 122 he a mid him wunian wolde *þa while þe* his lif *wære* and his lare geornlice hlystan.

NOTE 1. Prollius<sup>1</sup> alone, of all the writers on the syntax of OE. poetry, mentions the use of the optative in clauses denoting duration. He says: 'Derjenige temporale nebensatz, welcher aussagt, dass während der dauer einer realität eine andere realität stattfindet, also der temporalsatz der gleichzeitigkeit wird im ae. durch die conjunction *þenden* eingeleitet, welche, wenn nicht besondere einflüsse vorliegen, den indicativ nach sich hat. . . . Der conjunctiv steht, wenn der temporale nebensatz unter dem einflusse eines hauptsatzes ist, der enthält: 1. einen wunsch, 2. eine absicht, dies wird im hauptsatze ausgedrückt durch finales *þæt*.'

<sup>1</sup> Über den syntactischen Gebrauch des Conjunctivs in den Cynewulf-schen Dichtungen 'Elene,' 'Juliana,' und 'Crist,' p. 28.

D. THE MODE IN CLAUSES DETERMINING THE TIME OF AN ACTION BY REFERENCE TO A PRECEDING ACTION.

As we should expect, the indicative is the normal usage for clauses expressing this time-relation. The optative, when found, is to be explained in ways such as we have already discussed. Examples follow.

Here the optative occurs on account of the command in the main clause: Sol. 45. 10 *Siddam he þonne þat gelæornod hæbbe þæt his eagan nanwyht þæt fyr ne onscyniað, hawie þonne on steorran and on monan.*

Optative in an object-clause: CP. 445. 32 *hit is awriten ðæt him wære betere ðæt hi no soðfæstnesse weg ne ongeaten, ðonne hi underbæc gecerden, siddan hi hine ongeaten.*

The general optative nature of the whole sentence seems to lead to the choice of mode here: O. 212. 28 *Hit biþ eac geornlic þæt mon heardlice gnide þone hnescestan mealmstan æfter þæm þæt he þence þone soelestan hwetstan on to geræceanne.*

NOTE 1. Furkert<sup>1</sup> notes the optative after *siddan*, and says: 'Hier steht der Konjunktiv, da die Handlung in unbestimmter Zukunft liegt.'

E. THE MODE IN CLAUSES DETERMINING THE TIME OF AN ACTION BY REFERENCE TO A SUBSEQUENT ACTION.

In clauses expressing this relation, the optative is the prevailing mode, as in all the Germanic languages. Probably originally this mode was used because of the element of uncertainty which attaches to an event still in the future. But the use of the optative be-

<sup>1</sup> Der syntactische Gebrauch des Verbuns in dem angelsächsischen Gedichte vom heiligen 'Guthlac,' 23.

came conventional in such clauses, and is used even in statements relating to past events, the reality of which could not be a matter of doubt, and which could not be influenced by any feeling of optativity.

Thus the use of the optative in this sentence, of which sort there are many in O., must be purely conventional: O. 40. 11 *Ær ðam ðe Romeburg getimbred wære syx hund wintran 7 fif, in Egyptum wearð on anre niht fiftig manna ofslegen, ealle fram hiora agnum sunum.*

That the indicative is not found merely after a negative main clause hardly needs statement; but the principle seems to obtain in the other Germanic dialects, and has been supposed to exist for OE.<sup>1</sup>

All the instances of the indicative with *ær*, or any other connective of this class, occur in statements of fact in past time. Schürmann<sup>2</sup> says: 'Wenn die Handlung als Faktum hingestellt wird, so steht hier der Indikativ. . . . Soll dagegen dieselbe als beabsichtigte Folge oder als bloss gedacht hingestellt werden, so wird der Konjunktiv verwendet.'

Though this is not altogether true, for very often we have the optative in simple narrative of facts, yet I think the relatively small number of indicatives is to be accounted for on this principle. The feeling of the reality of the action of the *ær*-clause is, in these cases, so strong that it led to the use of the indicative, rather than the conventional optative.

The use of the indicative with *ær* is rare enough to have led even so capable a scholar as Mr. Sweet<sup>3</sup> into such a statement as this: 'The conjunction *ær* is always followed by the subjunctive, even in simple

<sup>1</sup> Hotz, *Use of the Subjunctive Mode in Anglo Saxon*, p. 17.

<sup>2</sup> *Darstellung der Syntax in Cynewulf's 'Elene'*, p. 388.

<sup>3</sup> *An Anglo-Saxon Reader*, Oxford, 1876, p. XCV.

statements.' However, about one-fourth of the total number of clauses I have noted have the indicative.

Some examples of *ær* with the indicative follow: Chron. 253. 16 *ðes ylce geares ær se biscop of Lincolne com to his þ rice for bearn eall meast se burh of Lincolne*; *ÆH.* 2. 96. 7 *Se apostol Petrus hæfde wif and cild, and eac sume ða oðre apostolas, ær hi to Cristes lareowdome gecyrdon*; Wulf. 15. 11 *forðam he næs na ær mann ær he for ealles middaneardes alysednesse sylfwilles menniscnesse underfeng þurh þæt clæne mæden Scā Marian.*

NOTE 1. All the dissertations on the syntax of OE. poetry state the fact that the optative is the rule for clauses introduced by *ær*. Only three make mention of the use of the indicative in these clauses: Schürmann, whose words we have quoted, Prollius, and Hertel. Prollius<sup>1</sup> refers the reader to Hotz for an explanation of the indicative after a negative main clause, and concerning the indicative after a positive main clause says: 'die inhalte dieser nebensätze sind in der vergangenheit liegende thatsachen, welche für das die aussage machende subject des hauptsatzes volle realität haben, und von diesem objektiv als solche wiedergegeben werden, daher wohl der indicativ zu erklären.' Hertel<sup>2</sup> merely mentions the fact that we find the indicative with *ær*, and offers no explanation.

NOTE 2. In Modern English, the optative is occasionally found after conjunctions meaning *before*. This is, no doubt, due to the same causes which led to its use in OE., namely the feeling of uncertainty which attaches to an event still in the future. Some examples follow: Shakespeare, Comedy of Errors, V Kneel to the Duke, *before* he *pass* the abbey; Byron, Childe Harold 1. 90 How many a doubtful day shall sink in night, *Ere* the Frank robber *turn* him from his spoil, and Freedom's stranger-tree *grow* native of the soil; Bulwer, Last Days of Pompeii IV. 15 I advise thee, Sosia,

<sup>1</sup> Syntactischen Gebrauch des Conjunctivs in Elene, Juliana u. Crist, p. 29.

<sup>2</sup> Der syntactische Gebrauch des Verbuns in dem ae. Gedichte Crist p. 20.



to delay no longer, seize her *ere* she *quit* the garden. In Modern French we find the optative with *avant que*, under the same conditions that lead to its use with *before*. I quote examples: Gil Blas V. 1 Elle dit à Soliman: Seigneur, *avant que* vous *prononciez* mon arrêt, daignez m'écouter; Montesq., Cons. Rom. La religion chrétienne dégénéra sous l'empire grec au point où elle était de nos jours chez les Moscovites, *avant que* le czar Pierre 1er *eut fait* renaître cette nation.

NOTE 3. The optative is the rule in all the Germanic languages for clauses introduced by the respective equivalents of OE. *ær*, but in all of them the general principle also is that only after a negative main clause do we find the indicative. Even into Middle High German this rule persists, and examples of *ær*-clauses with positive main clauses are rarely met with before this period. Since examples with the optative have been quoted in the discussion of the particles, none will be found here.

#### F. THE MODE IN CLAUSES INDICATING THE TIME OF THE TERMINATION OF THE ACTION OF THE MAIN CLAUSE.

The most common connective introducing clauses of this kind is *oð ðæt*, and the prevailing mode is the indicative.

By far the greater number of optatives which we find in these clauses is to be explained by the presence of an imperative in the main clause, their occurrence in object-clauses, or by the principle of attraction.

There are cases, however, which call for another explanation. In clauses such as the following we find the optative, because the action of the temporal clause belongs to the future, and is felt as uncertain: CP. 425. 16 & swa swa we sigon *ær* on ðæt unalief-

ede, oð ðæt we *afeollon*, swa we sculon nu forberan ðæt aliefede, oððæt we *arisen*. In the first *oð ðæt*-clause we have the indicative, because of the fact in past time, in the second the optative is used, because of the uncertainty attached to the future. These clauses partake somewhat of the nature of the purpose-clause, for an event which is still in the future may be the object aimed at, and so require the optative<sup>1</sup>.

Other examples of *oð ðæt* with the optative follow: BH. 268. 7 Is þæt hwelc wundor, þeah ðe he þone dæg his deaðes oðþe ma þone Drihtnes dæg bliðe gesege, þone he symle sorgende bad, oð þæt he *cwome*? Bo. 51. 20 ac ic sceal he sumre byse sume anlicnesse þære wisan ðe fetæcan oð ðe þæt þing cuðre *sie*.

NOTE 1. Those of the writers on the syntax of the poetry, who have spoken of the optative in clauses with *oð ðæt* agree in saying that the indicative 'drückt das Faktum aus: . . . der konjunktiv die Erwartung.'<sup>2</sup> Prollius<sup>3</sup> says: 'Der conjunctiv steht, wenn der Nebensatz unter dem einflusse eines im Hauptsatze ausgedrückten wunsches steht oder wenn sein inhalt der unsicheren zukunft angehört, was durch ein im Hauptsatze stehendes *gebidan* angedeutet wird.'

NOTE 2. Dr. Baldwin<sup>4</sup> says concerning the subjunctive in temporal clauses in Malory: 'a present subjunctive, corresponding to the present subjunctive in anticipatory and ideal conditions, stands regularly in temporal clauses looking toward the future and involving the idea of condition, doubt or contingency. Examples: 195. 6 we shalle neuer departe *tyl* the one of us *be* dede; 206. 5 I shalle abyde *tyl* God *send* you here ageyne.'

NOTE 3. In Modern English the optative is occasionally

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Hotz, The Subjunctive mood in Anglo-Saxon, p. 37.

<sup>2</sup> Schürmann, Syntactischen Gebrauch des Conjunctivs in Elene, &c. 389. Reussner, Syntax Andreas, p. 20.

<sup>3</sup> Syntactischen Gebrauch des Conjunctivs in Elene, Juliana, Crist. p. 28.

<sup>4</sup> Inflection and Syntax of the Morte d'Arthur, p. 65.

found after conjunctions meaning *until*. Doubtless the same cause leads to this occasional use that more frequently produced the optative in OE. Some examples follow: Irving, Sketch Book At the fall of the leaf, when his tail falleth, he will mourn and hide himself in corners, *till* his tail *come* again as it was; Carlyle, Heroes and Hero Worship, A Man's acts are slavish, not true but specious, his very thoughts are false, he thinks too as a slave and coward, *till* he *have* got Fear under his feet.

NOTE 4. The rule in Gothic for the mode in clauses introduced by *unte*, seems to be the same as prevails in OE. I quote an example with the optative: 1 Korinth 11. 26 swa ufta auk swe matjaip̃ pana hlaif jaþ pana stikl drigkaip̃, daupau frauins gakannjaip̃, *unte qimai*. I do not find that *unz* in OHG. ever has the optative because the event lies in the future. Erdmann<sup>1</sup> notes the optative after an imperative, 'and nach conjunctivischem Absichtsatze.'

## 2. The so-called Modal Auxiliaries.

We pass now to the auxiliaries *mugan*, *sculan*, *motan*, and *willan*. The first point to be noted is the relative infrequency of occurrence in temporal clauses. Dr. Shearin<sup>2</sup> found about 480 clauses with these auxiliaries in the 3000 purpose-clauses which he examined, while I have noted only about 450 in the eight thousand or more that I have studied.

In the purpose clause, *willan* occurs least often, but in the temporal clause *mugan* occurs most frequently.

In regard to the meaning of these auxiliaries, and that is the point about which most of the discussion of them has centered, little need be said here. Every writer on OE. syntax has thought it necessary to treat them, so that whatever I might say, based on the study of the comparatively few examples which have occurred to me in the course of my work, would

<sup>1</sup> Syntax der Sprache Otfrids, p. 123.

<sup>2</sup> The Expression of Purpose in OE. Prose, p. 100.

add nothing to our knowledge of their meaning, now indeed pretty well understood.

*Mugan*, then, in the temporal clause is always equivalent to Latin *possum*, and the ability may be either in respect to physical or psychological circumstances.

*Sculan* denotes either obligation or necessity, most often perhaps the latter. *Motan* denotes opportunity, and is equivalent to the Latin *mihi licuit*, though occasionally it seems to border on the meaning of *mugan*, and to denote ability. *Willan* was originally an optative in all the Germanic languages, and in the temporal clause in OE. always has its primary meaning of desire.

These are, then, in general the root-meanings, so to speak, of which the shades that may be distinguished are mere variations, and these are almost as numerous as the examples and the investigators dealing with them.

None of these auxiliaries is ever used in temporal clauses as mere substitutes for the optative. They preserve their primary meaning, and themselves take the optative under the same circumstances that lead to its use in the case of any other verb. In a few instances both *sculan* and *willan* seem to tend toward their Modern English use as tense-auxiliaries, but this never becomes so pronounced as to involve any loss of their usual meaning.

I quote examples to illustrate some of the more interesting uses of these auxiliaries. In this example *mugan* approaches nearest to being modal of all the instances in which it occurs in temporal clauses: LS. 1. 196. 30 *Stanæs magon hnexian and þæt starce isen on leades gelicnyse ærðan þe se geleafa mæge of gaþthes breoste beon æfre adwæsced.*

That *willan* was felt as a tense-auxiliary even in

OE., is clear from these examples taken from Ælfric's Grammar. He translates the Latin sentence: *Uideo te docturum esse, ic geseo, þæt ðu wyllt tæcan*<sup>1</sup>. So, again: *docturus sum cras pueros, ic wyllt tæcan to merigen þam cildum*<sup>2</sup>. This example will illustrate the use of *sculan* as a tense-auxiliary: LS. 2. 28. 406 *þa ic sceolde in on þa dura gangen, þa ongunnan hi butan ælcere lættinge ingangan*.

The meaning of *motan*, and its difference from *magan*, is very well seen in examples of this kind, which are frequently met with, especially in BIH. and Wulf.: BIH. 95. 25 *Forþon we sceolon nu gefencean, þa hwile þe we magon & motan, ure saula þearfe, þe læs we foryldon þas alyfdon tid, & þonne willon þonne we ne magon*; Wulf. 27. 5 *ac do nu manna gehwylc, swa him mycel þearf is, geswice yfeles and bete his misdæda þa hwile, þe he mage and mote*; ÆH. 1. 268. 31 *gif he ær geswican nolde, þaþe he mihte and moste*. Once we find the conjunction omitted, probably a mere error of the scribe, and the auxiliaries stand together: BIH. 115. 20 *Uton we þonne þæs gefencean, þa hwile þe we magon moton, þæt we us georne to gode þydon*.

By way of summary, then, the prevailing mode in the OE. temporal clause is the indicative, save in clauses with connectives rendered by Modern English *before*.

When we find the optative in clauses other than these, it is due to an imperative in the main clause, or to its being in an indirect question or in an object-clause, or more rarely to the general indefinite character of the sentence. The indicative with connectives of the *ær*-class occurs only in clauses of fact in past time, and is due to this circumstance. The

<sup>1</sup> 150. 18.

<sup>2</sup> 152. 10.

auxiliaries *mugan*, *sculan*, *motan*, and *willan* in temporal clauses, almost without exception, have their full independent meaning, though in the case of *willan* and *sculan* there is already a noticeable tendency toward the later use as tense-auxiliaries.

## CHAPTER III.

### POSITION OF THE CLAUSE AND WORD ORDER.

The position of the temporal clause in OE. is very free. Indeed it may occupy any one of the three possible positions: that is to say, it may precede the main clause; it may follow it; or the temporal clause may stand between different members of the main clause.

This interposition of the temporal clause is met with less frequently than either of the other positions, and a clause so placed is likely to be of a parenthetical nature. This is true of all the clauses except those with *oð* (*ðæt*), which always follow their main clause.

I have nothing to add, of a general nature, in regard to the order of words to the results set forth by Dr. C. A. Smith,<sup>1</sup> but I have noticed that in all the clauses introduced by *swa* followed by a superlative, *hradost*, *oftost*, *lengest*, the subject, and nothing else, is always placed between *swa* and the superlative.

My study has led me to believe that this principle, laid down in Bosworth-Toller, is much more freely violated than is usually supposed: 'When the word

<sup>1</sup> Order of Words in Anglo-Saxon Prose.

*ða* stands at the beginning of a clause, and may be translated by *then*, the verb generally precedes its subject; if it is to be translated by *when*, the subject generally precedes the verb.'

#### SEQUENCE OF TENSES.

As in all other languages, the general principle is the familiar one of Latin Grammar—principal tenses depend upon principal tenses, and historical upon historical.

But this fact is to be explained by the logical relation of the action of the two clauses, and not by any influence of the verb of the main clause on that of the dependent clause. Indeed, Professor Hale<sup>1</sup> showed that this is true for Latin, for which the doctrine of the sequence of tenses has been taught religiously for centuries. We are not surprised to note, then, occasional violations of sequence in OE. I quote only one example to illustrate: O. 220. 10 þonne hie from gesælgum tidum gilpað; þonne *wæron* þa him selfum þa ungesælgestan.

#### NEGATIVE.

The negative of the temporal clause is *ne* or *na*, or both.

<sup>1</sup> The Sequence of Tenses in Latin (Am. Jour. Phil. 7. 8).

## CONCLUSION.

In closing this study, it may be desirable to recapitulate some of the most obvious results arrived at:

1. The surprising number and variety of the connectives used to introduce the temporal clause.

2. The fact that *þa*, the most common of the connectives, is used only with the preterite tense of the indicative mode.

3. The fact that certain connectives, or groups of connectives, are found, for the most part, only in a definite group of writings.

4. That *Ælfric* seldom omits *ðe* from the conjunctive formulæ.

5. That the syntax of the temporal clause is essentially the same throughout the OE. period, save that different writers, in the same period as well as in different periods, use different connectives.

6. That *ær* and its variants have the indicative in about one-fourth of the cases in which they occur.

7. That *ær*, when used with the indicative, usually occurs in narratives of fact in past time, and that the mode has the effect of emphasizing the actual occurrence of the action of the clause.

8. That the indicative is the prevailing mode in all clauses, save in the *ær*-clauses.

9. That the occurrence of the optative in clauses other than those of the *ær*-type is usually due to peculiarity of the main clause (the presence of an imperative, &c.), and that hypothetical or indefinite character in some measure leads to the use of the optative in such cases.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cook, *A First Book in Old English*, p. 104.



10. That the use of the optative does not decrease perceptibly in the later period of OE., so far as the temporal clause is concerned.

11. That the so-called modal auxiliaries *magan*, *sculan*, *motan*, *willan* have their full verbal content, and are not used as a mere paraphrase for the optative.

12. That these auxiliary verbs take the optative under precisely the same circumstances that ordinary verbs do.

13. That the use of the auxiliaries does not increase noticeably in the later period of OE.

14. That *sculan* and *willan*, though preserving their full independent meaning, show a tendency to pass over into the use of tense auxiliaries.

15. That the position of the temporal clause is free, save that the *oð* (*ðæt*)-clause always follows the main clause.

## APPENDIX I.

### INDEX-LIST OF CLAUSES (8861).

#### A. CLAUSES DENOTING *TIME WHEN* (5760).

##### 1. Index-List of *ǰa*-Clauses (1641).

OET. (4) indic. 177. 3; 178. 36: without *ǰa* in the main clause; Vesp. Psalms (psalm and verse.) 118. 32: indeter. 177. 16.

Chron. (90) indic. 2. 10, 11, 12; 5. 8, 12; 30. 4, 18; 33. 7; 37. 10; 87. 6; 88. 1, 23; 91. 5; 103. 5; 112. 29; 124. 30; 127. 27; 129. 29; 133. 4; 134. 19; 135. 28; 138. 24; 139. 1, 8, 20; 141. 7; 142. 1; 143. 4, 26; 146. 13; 147. 28; 164. 28; 169. 6; 172. 17, 18, 20; 174. 26; 175. 7; 176. 17; 180. 3; 190. 2; 196. 6, 10, 15, 18, 22, 28; 203. 13; 207. 7, 13; 223. 28; 224. 31; 229. 22; 245. 7, 13; 259. 20; 262. 34; 263. 32; 267. 18, 21; 268. 23, 25: without *ǰa* in the main clause; 84. 34; 85. 16; 86. 31; 97. 19; 128. 19; 200. 9; 209. 35: indeter. 30.10; 86.11; 95.9; 97.17; 136.21; 144.4; 148.5; 151.7; 178.39; 180.15; 181.38; 196.6; 204.23; 207.26; 208.22; 216.6; without *ǰa* in the main clause; 18.18; 215.33; 234.3; 237.35.

Cart. (27) indic. vol. 1: 80. 25; 429. 10; vol. 2: 176. 16, 18, 25; 177. 10; 236. 24; 237. 4; vol. 3: 283. 22; 284. 17: without *ǰa* in the main clause; vol. 2: 236. 20; vol. 3: 370. 33; 371. 26; 372. 11; 390. 11; 536. 21; 630. 6; indeter. vol. 2: 236. 16, 80; 237. 15, 18; vol. 3: 329. 14; *ǰonne* in the main clause; vol. 2: 179. 9: without *ǰa* in the main clause; vol. 2: 282. 26; vol. 3: 215. 6; 369. 29; 372. 11.

Laws. (7) indic. without *ǰa* in the main clause; 42. 17; 140. 22; 181. 33; 210. 37; 220. 26: indeter. without *ǰa* in the main clause; 114. 21: with *ǰa* in the main clause 214. 25.

PPs. (40) (psalm-number and verse) indic. 29. 7: (page and line) 5. 12; 22. 1; 23. 23; 24. 24; without *ḏa* in the main clause; (psalm-number and verse) 9. 6; 34. 8; 37. 11: (page and line), 5. 14, 15; 7. 5, 6; 9. 3; 10. 16; 14. 16, 17; 20. 10, 11, 14; 22. 5; 27. 1, 3, 6; 28. 12; 42. 19; 52. 15, 16; 55. 23; 65. 6; 82. 1, 5; 109. 6; 115. 14: indeter. (psalm-number and verse) 30. 26: without *ḏa* in the main clause; (page and line) 10. 12, 13; 13. 1; 42. 21; 49. 18; 101. 12.

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CP. (1) indic. without *ða* in the main clause; 53. 20.

Dial. (8) indic. 191. 17; 265. 26; 302. 9; 326. 10, 19: indeter. 325. 24, 26; 326. 13.

L. (1) (ch. and v.) indic. without *ða* in the main clause; 8. 51.

Mart. (1) indic. without *ða* in the main clause: 210. 23.

ÆH. 1. (1) indeter. 484. 11.

LS. 2. (4) indic. 58. 63: without *ða* in the main clause; 220. 26; 266. 740: indeter. 346. 177.

Æ. Asm. (2) indic. without *ða* in the main clause; 119. 62: indeter. 121. 152.

BIH. (1) indic. 163. 15.

8. Index-List of *donne ðe* Clauses (3).

BH. indic. without *donne* in the main clause; 350. 23.

Dial. indic. 206. 26.

ÆH. 1. indic. without *donne* in the main clause; 48. 12.

9. Index-List of *ðe* Clauses (9).

O. (2) indic. 2. 6: indeter. 148. 32.

BH. (1) indic. with *ðe* in the main clause; 240. 6.

Sol. (1) indeter. 8. 5.

CP. (2) indic. 73. 9; 85. 21.

Dial. (1) indeter. 273. 17.

BIH. (1) indic. 129. 25.

HL. (1) indeter. 156. 114 (?).

10. Index-List of *swa oft swa* Clauses (77).

- Chron. (3) indic. 84. 20; 144. 10; 219. 33.  
 Laws (6) indic. 284. 14, 19, 21; 447. 3: opt. 68. 8; 152. 15.  
 O. (3) indic. with *swa* in the main clause; 142. 5; 184. 8;  
 218. 15.  
 BH. (3) indic. 262. 16; 354. 22: indeter. 146. 20.  
 CP. (2) indic. 167. 5; 313. 13.  
 Dial. (11) indic. 86. 6; 106. 16; 108. 20; 126. 16; 202. 10;  
 210. 15; 340. 4; 343. 2; 347. 20: opt. 347. 22: indeter. 34. 6.  
 BR. (3) opt. 15. 4; 60. 22; 91. 6.  
 Mart. (1) indeter. 106. 7.  
 Lch. 3. (3) opt. 44. 18; 48. 7; 124. 13.  
 ÆH. 1. (1) indic. 174, 27.  
 ÆH. 2. (3) indic. 400. 18; 444. 4, 5: indeter. 494. 5.  
 LS. 1. (6) indic. 244. 85; 456. 247; 496. 131: indeter. 284.  
 19; 496. 138; 500. 220.  
 LS. 2. (7) indic. 120. 808; 338. 57; 344. 160; 434. 133: indeter.  
 with *swa* in the main clause; 292. 1200; 294. 1207; 324. 152.  
 De Temp. (1) indic. 16. 22.  
 Gen. (1) (ch. and v.) indic. 20. 13.  
 Jud. (1) (ch. and v.) indic. pro. 8.  
 Æ. Asm. (3) indic. 86. 182; 106. 122, 125.  
 Inst. (4) indic. 434. 12, 15, 17: indeter. 436. 5.  
 BIH. (2) indic. 127. 30: opt. 33. 21.  
 Wulf. (8) indic. 106. 28; 190. 27; 236. 10; 248. 19; 278. 27:  
 opt. 170. 15; 173. 8: indeter. 24. 2.  
 HL. (2) indic. 106. 122; 145. 42.  
 Byr. (1) indic. 332. 12.  
 Chad. (2) indeter. 142. 66; 146. 192.

11. Index-List of *swa oft . . . swa* Clauses (2).

- O. (1) indeter. 274. 24.  
 CP. (1) indic. 273. 12.

12. Index-List of *swa . . . oftost* Clauses (5).

- CP. (1) opt. 5. 3.  
 Æ. Th. (1) opt. 445. 23.  
 Inst. (1) opt. 415. 7.  
 Wulf. (2) opt. 73. 21; 290. 22.

13. Index-List of *swa oft swa . . . oftost* Clauses (2).  
Wulf. (2) indic. 143. 11; 234. 11.

14. Index-List of *prep. + obj. (noun of time) + ðe*  
Clauses (104).

Chron. (3) indic. 178. 23; 240. 26: indeter. 127. 14.

Laws (1) indic. 128. 3.

PPs. (3) (psalm and verse) indic. 17. 19; 19. 9; (page and line) 82. 2.

O. (16) indic. 5. 30, 31; 62. 4; 74. 29; 142. 11; 168. 36;  
180. 21; 194. 33; 206. 13, 19; 214. 26; 224. 31; 232. 15, 30;  
250. 22; 268. 11.

BH. (5) indic. 34. 29; 128. 18; 136. 2; 340. 31: opt. 76. 11.

Bo. (1) indic. 7. 1.

Sol. (1) indeter. 42. 9.

CP. (4) indic. 53. 18; 89. 19; 121. 15: opt. 89. 24.

Dial. (14) indic. 34. 29; 172. 18; 207. 1; 313. 21; 335. 29:  
indeter. 29. 24, 30; 30. 12; 68. 3; 148. 11; 215. 8; 283. 4;  
306. 21; 317. 2.

M. (1) (ch. and v.) indic. 24. 50.

L. (3) (ch. and v.) indic. 1. 25; 17. 30: indeter. 17. 29.

John (1) (ch. and v.) indic. 4. 53.

Lch. 1. (1) indeter. 256. 12.

Lch. 2. (1) opt. 330. 25.

ÆH. 1. (8) indic. 244. 15; 286. 23; 478. 8; 480. 28; 504. 21:  
indeter. 82. 3; 414. 7; 574. 3.

ÆH. 2 (8) indic. 100. 18; 172. 17; 350. 4; 356. 22: indeter.  
356. 8; 358. 26; 378. 9; 382. 2.

De Temp. (1) indic. 7. 24.

LS. 1 (9) indic. 48. 410; 186. 300; 194. 3; 208. 232; 426.  
198; 508. 362; 512. 410, 413; 530. 704.

LS. 2. (7) indic. 58. 84; 134. 148; 294. 1225; 306. 1410; 316.  
37: indeter. 116. 747; 378. 1.

Gen. (4) (ch. and v.) indic. 5. 1; 21. 8: indeter. 2. 4; 24. 61.

Æ. Asm. (1) indic. 77. 122.

De Vet. Pref. (1) indic. 15. 19.

BIH. (2) indic. 209. 16: indeter. 27. 25.

Wulf. (3) indic. 214. 16; 225. 7; 286. 2.

HL. (2) indic. 133. 588: indeter. 134. 625.

Nic. (1) indeter. 471. 6.

Byr. (1) indic. 311. 28.

Rood. (1) indeter. 3. 7.

15. Index-List of *noun of time (in oblique case) + ðe*  
Clauses (38).

Chron. (4) indic. 2. 1; 176. 38; 235. 29: indeter. 79. 26.

Cart. (2) indic. vol. 2, 163. 6: indeter 217. 15.

Laws (1) opt. 162. 26.

O. (6) indic. 20. 26; 60. 30; 224. 31; 226. 17; 286. 25:  
indeter. 248. 7.

BH. (6) indic. 302. 32; 330. 12; 360. 19; 450. 11; 474. 2:  
opt. 374. 27.

Bo. (1) indeter. 121. 5.

Dial. (5) indic. 39. 5; 175. 8; 306. 15; 341. 4: indeter. 72. 4.

BR. (1) indic. 127. 17.

Guth. (1) indeter. 86. 3.

Mart. (5) indic. 6. 17; 72. 11; 84. 21: indeter. 44. 18; 194. 3.

ÆH. 2. (1) indic. 186. 22.

Inst. (4) indic. 487. 7: opt. 471. 19, 49; 487. 57.

BIH. (1) Indic. 205. 34.

16. Index-List of *mid ðæm ðe* Clauses (81).

O. (9) indic. with *ða* in the main clause; 104. 15; 160. 27;  
166. 14; 292. 30: without *ða* in the main clause; 64. 25, 27;  
84. 33; 106. 15: with *swa* in the main clause; 188. 8.

Bo. (1) indeter. (*mid ðæm ðe ða . . . , ða . . .*) 8. 27.

CP. (5) indic. 31. 8; 71. 24; 369. 17; 397. 34: indeter.  
123. 6.

Dial. (1) indeter. with *ða* in the main clause; 164. 9.

Guth. (5) indic. with *ða* in the main clause; 16. 6; 18. 11;  
20. 13: with *ðonne* in the main clause; 16. 6; 18. 11; 20.  
13: with *ðonne* in the main clause; 12. 7, 12.

ÆH. 1. (14) indic. with *ða* in the main clause; 60. 11; 186.  
30; 374. 15; 466. 10; 468. 29: without *ða* in the main clause;  
100. 22; 122. 33; 126. 28; 598. 2: indeter. with *ða* in the  
main clause; 202. 10, 16; 454. 27; 494. 7; 510. 29.

ÆH. 2. (5) indic. without *ða* in the main clause; 392. 2; 460. 29; 538. 12: indeter. with *ða* in the main clause; 184. 3; 450. 9.

LS. 1. (13) indic. with *ða* in the main clause; 56. 88; 60. 158; 68. 316; 106. 291; 318. 171; 324. 73; 452. 182: without *ða* in the main clause; 124. 147; 218. 139, 149: indeter. with *ða* in the main clause; 68. 299; 402. 307; 452. 172.

LS. 2. (6) indic. with *ða* in the main clause; 184. 261: without *ða* in the main clause; 28. 413; 320. 101; 372. 269; indeter. with *ða* in the main clause; 406. 123: with *mid ðæm* in the main clause; 422. 363.

Gen. (2) (ch. and v.) indic. with *ða* in the main clause; 18. 2: indeter. with *ða* in the main clause; 22. 11.

Jos. (4) (ch. and v.) indic. with *ða* in the main clause; 4. 18; without *ða* in the main clause; 2. 5; 4. 7; 5. 13.

Jud. (1) (ch. and v.) indeter. without *ða* in the main clause; 16. 2.

Job. (1) indeter. with *ða* in the main clause; 267. 19.

Æ. Asm. (1) indic. with *ða* in the main clause; 86. 162.

De Vet. Pref. (4) indic. with *ða* in the main clause; 6. 1: without *ða* in the main clause; 23. 25, 26: indeter. without *ða* in the main clause; 6. 13.

HL. (3) indic. without *ða* in the main clause; 142. 95: indeter. with *ða* in the main clause; 119. 63; 121. 139.

Ap. T. (6) indic. with *ða* in the main clause; 20. 15; 24. 9; 27. 19: without *ða* in the main clause; 24. 3: indeter. without *ða* in the main clause; 23. 12; 25. 3.

#### 17. Index-List of *mid ðy ðe* Clauses (57).

BH. (8) indic. with *ða* in the main clause; 168. 26; 366. 12; 404. 17: without *ða* in the main clause; 142. 29; 304. 7; 436. 5: indeter. with *ða* in the main clause; 136. 23: without *ða* in the main clause; 242. 22.

CP. (1) indeter. with *mid ða* in the main clause; 55. 11.

Dial. (3) indic. 49. 25; 98. 20: indeter. 293. 5.

M. (1) (ch. and v.) indic. 27. 12.

Guth. (1) indic. with *ða* in the main clause; 62. 25.

Mart. (1) indeter. 198. 14.

LS. 1. (3) opt. with *ða* in the main clause; 534. 754: indeter. 502. 245; 522. 561.

BIH. (23) indic. 69. 29; 147. 23; 197. 28; 203. 26; 231. 7, 31; 235. 16; 237. 17, 30; 239. 25, 28: (*mid ðy ðe ða . . .*) 249. 18: with *ða* in the main clause; 143. 13: opt. 139. 13; 241. 22: indeter. 7. 19; 15. 4, 22; 17. 25; 27. 3; 71. 12; 139. 15; 229. 25.

HL. (2) indic. 204. 301: indeter. 206. 385.

Ap. T. (12) indic. with *ða* in the main clause; 1. 6; 10. 23; 13. 25; 14. 20; 16. 1. 3; 17. 16: without *ða* in the main clause; 12. 23: indeter. 5. 1, 26: without *ða* in the main clause; 9. 16; 21. 19.

Epis. (2) indic. with *ða* in the main clause; 146. 178; 152. 352.

#### 18. Index-List of *mid ðan ðe* Clauses (9).

Guth. (8) indic. with *ða* in the main clause; 56. 3; 64. 19; 68. 7; 82. 18; 86. 19: (*mid ðan ðe . . . ða . . . , ða . . .*) 52. 5: indeter. 62. 24: with *þæt* in the main clause; 24. 18.

Neot. (1) indeter. with *ða* in the main clause; 107. 56.

#### 19. Index-List of *mid ðon ðe* Clauses (2).

O. (2) indic. 78. 3; 258. 25.

#### 20. Index-List of *mid ðam* Clauses (1)

LS. 2. (1) indeter. 62. 135.

#### 21. Index-List of *mid ðy* Clauses (207).

OET. (6) Vesp. Psalms (psalm and verse) indic. 48. 13; 91. 8; 104. 12; 105. 44; 106. 28: indeter. 4. 2.

BH. (138) indic. with *ða* in the main clause; 82. 30; 102. 30; 112. 19; 184. 7; 250. 4; 282. 25; 316. 18; 320. 1; 340. 33; 388. 32; 410. 11; 454. 13; 460. 7; 480. 25: without *ða* in the main clause; 28. 18; 86. 34; 102. 3; 190. 17; 232. 6; 244. 15; 268. 23; 316. 16; 356. 3; 396. 10; 420. 5; 424. 30; 436. 13; 438. 13: (*mid ðy . . . ða . . . , ða*) 120. 35; 124. 31; 128. 14; 130. 20; 180. 26; 182. 18; 194. 13; 198. 2; 212. 18; 214. 27; 232. 30; 266. 17; 288. 14; 292. 19; 294. 23; 304. 25; 326. 5; 328. 13; 334. 3; 338. 8; 340. 13, 28; 352. 15. 18; 364. 14; 384. 18, 23; 386. 14; 388. 9, 22; 392. 27; 394. 28; 412. 7; 414. 4;

416. 12; 426. 6, 9, 26; 428. 32; 430. 15; 432. 28; 454. 1, 27; 462. 1, 16: (*mid ðy . . . ða . . .*) 112. 7; 184. 12; 226. 34; 272. 8; 276. 22; 368. 16; 390. 30; 392. 31; 410. 8; 428. 4; 430. 27; 470. 3: (*mid ðy ða . . . , ða*) 34. 22; 226. 29; 262. 24; 270. 16; 286. 28; 320. 14, 30; 324. 19; 382. 8: (*mid ðy . . . ðonne . . . , ðonne*) 82. 25; 86. 11; 88. 2: opt. without *ða* in the main clause; 418. 29: indeter. with *ða* in the main clause; 126. 13; 214. 3; 234. 6, 18; 298. 9; 314. 5; 356. 30; 392. 30; 428. 30; 430. 24; 462. 7: without *ða* in the main clause; 270. 22; 330. 31; 406. 10; 444. 7: (*mid ðy . . . ða . . . , ða*) 114. 8; 132. 15; 162. 24; 184. 27; 186. 1; 234. 24; 244. 1, 4; 284. 5; 294. 12; 320. 24; 326. 27; 346. 32; 368. 1; 382. 24; 386. 11; 396. 15; 428. 27; 440. 2; 452. 7. 13: (*mid ðy . . . ða . . .*) 122. 27; 352. 9; 458. 2; 474. 4.

Dial. (11) indic. (*mid ðy ða . . . , ðy*) 226. 16: (*mid ðy . . . , ða*) 243. 3; 288. 2: (*mid ðy ða . . . ,*) 170. 14: (*mid ðy*) 136. 14; 167. 23; 170. 27; 293. 25: indeter. 155. 27; 159. 17: (*mid ðy ða . . . , ða*) 52. 30.

Guth. (25) indic. (*mid ðy . . . ða . . . , ða*) 18. 6; 22. 16; 36. 13; 40. 18; 76. 18; 80. 10; 90. 11; 94. 13: (*mid ðy ða . . . , ða*) 72. 4: (*mid ðy . . . , ða*) 16. 1; 38. 20; 44. 4; 50. 13; 78. 22; 96. 15: (*mid ðy*) 14. 19; 26. 20: indeter. (*mid ðy . . . , ða*) 18. 21; 30. 13; 40. 27; 48. 21; 68. 11; 86. 15: (*mid ðy*) 20. 23; (*mid ðy . . . ða*) indic. 56. 10.

LS. 2. (2) indic. with *ða* in the main clause; 336. 25: indeter. (*mid ðy ða . . . , ða*) 338. 62.

BIH. (6) indic. 237. 15; 243. 1; 245. 31; 247. 5; 249. 2, 11.

HL. (1) indic. 207. 403.

Epis. (18) indic. (*mid ðy . . . ða , ða*) 146. 187; 148. 232; 154. 392, 398; 155. 417; 161. 609; 162. 612; 165. 726: (*mid ðy . . . , ða*) 149. 257; 152. 335; 159. 532; 164. 684: (*mid ðy ða . . . , ða*) 164. 697: indeter. with *ða* in the main clause; 159. 534; 165. 714: (*mid ðy . . . ða . . . , ða*) 143. 88; 152. 356; 158. 512.

## 22. Index-List of *mid ðan* Clauses (6).

Guth. (6) indic. with *ða* in the main clause; 22. 21; 74. 22: (*mid ðan . . . ða . . . , ða*) 94. 22: indeter. with *ða* in the main clause; 20. 9: (*mid ðan . . . , ða*) 70. 11; 88. 25.



23. Index-List of *mit te* Clauses (3).

OET. (3) Vesp. Psalms (psalm and verse) indeter. 105. 44.  
 Chad. (2) indeter. 143. 97; 144. 113.

24. Index-List of *mittes* Clauses (5).

Chad. (5) indic. 144. 121, 136; 147. 234, 252; opt. (?) 145.  
 178.

25. Index-List of *mid ðon dæge* Clauses (1).

BIH. (1) indic. 133. 13.

26. Index-List of *mid ðæm ðæt* Clauses (2).

O. (2) indic. 190. 21: indeter. 286. 14.

27. Index-List of *mid ðan ðæt* Clauses (1).

Guth. (1) indic. with *ða* in the main clause; 66. 20.

28. Index-List of *ðonecan ðe* Clauses (3).

Bo. (3) indic. 61. 5: opt. 44. 7; 58. 2.

29. Index-List of *swa hwanne swa* Clauses (1).

CP. (1) opt. 389. 36.

30. Index-List of *on swa hwilcum dæge swa* Clauses (2).

Gen. (2) (ch. and v.) indic. 2. 17, 35.

31. Index-List of *swa hwilce dæg(e) swa* Clauses (2).

Chron. (1) opt. 72. 31.

Exod. (1) (ch. and v.) indeter. 10. 28.

32. Index-List of *ðonne ær ðe* Clauses (1).

Bo. (1) indic. 49. 27.

33. Index-List of *swa* Clauses (12).

Chron. (1) opt. 130. 36.

O. (3) indic. 200. 20: indeter. 198. 7, 24.

Dial. (1) indeter. 29. 12.

BR. (3) opt. 90. 9, 14; 91. 13.

Lch. 2. (3) opt. 306. 30; 310. 2; 316. 9.

Wulf. (1) indic. 233. 12.

34. Index-List of *swa ðæt* Clauses (5).

- Chron. (1) indic. 162. 13.  
 Lch. 1. (1) opt. 246. 2.  
 AH. 2. (1) indeter. 18. 21.  
 Deut. (1) (ch. and v.) indic. 9. 9.  
 Wulf. (1) indic. 293. 14.

35. Index-List of *hwænne* Clauses (3).

- Laws. (3) opt. 144. 19; 194. 8; indeter. 140. 12.

36. Index-List of *ðær* Clauses (28).

- BH. (2) opt. 28. 20; indeter. 270. 30.  
 CP. (5) indic. 129. 7; 309. 13; opt. 463. 4; indeter. 37. 8;  
 265. 13.  
 Guth. (1) opt. with *ðær* in the main clause; 4. 8.  
 Mart. (5) indic. 50. 13; 176. 21; 188. 11; 190. 22; indeter.  
 192. 6.  
 Lch. 2. (1) opt. 318. 19.  
 LS. 1. (2) indic. 426. 176, 203.  
 LS. 2. (1) indeter. 284. 1038.  
 Deut. (2) (ch. and v.) opt. 15. 10; 28. 32.  
 Æ. Asm. (1) indic. 44. 492.  
 Æ. Th. (1) indic. 456. 13.  
 Inst. (2) indic. 424. 21; 436. 36.  
 BIH. (1) indic. 3. 14.  
 Wulf. (4) indic. 162. 21; 176. 30; 190. 27; indeter. 100. 2.

37. Index-List of *ðær ðær* Clauses (18).

- O. (1) opt. 242. 12.  
 Bo. (3) indic. 9. 5; with *ðonne* in the main clause; 38. 24;  
 71. 17.  
 Sol. (2) indic. 44. 2; opt. 42. 1.  
 CP. (9) indic. 313. 18; 361. 7; 371. 11; 399. 17; 451. 5; 455.  
 4; 457. 12; 463. 2. 4.  
 ÆH. 1 (2) indic. 132. 29; 252. 20.  
 ÆH. 2. (2) indic. 146. 15; 558. 2.

38. Index-List of *swa hwær swa* Clauses (2).

- Lch. 3. (1) indic. 244. 11.  
 De Temp. (1) indic. 6. 23.

39. Index-List of *loca hwær* Clauses (4).

Lch. 3. (3) opt. 226. 13, 16. 19.

Byr. (1) opt. 322. 31.

40. Index-List of *loc(a) hwanne* Clauses (4).

Chron. (1) indic. 158. 4.

Cart. (1) opt. vol. 1. 137. 31.

LS. 1. (1) indeter. 336 (heading).

Wulf. (1) indic. 199. 16.

41. Index-List of *nu* Clauses (1).

Bo. (1) indic. 80. 23.

42. Index-List of *gif* Clauses (1).

LS. 2. (1) indic. 36. 525.

## B. CLAUSES DENOTING IMMEDIATE SEQUENCE (369).

1. Index-List of *sona swa* Clauses (154).

Chron. (10) indic. with *ða* in the main clause; 79. 18; 133. 23; 135. 11; 156. 32; 223. 2; with *ðonne* in the main clause; 131. 14: without *ða* in the main clause; 35. 9; 130. 26, 40; 156. 1.

Cart. (1) indic. without *ða* in the main clause; vol. 2, 237. 9.Laws. (1) indeter. without *ða* in the main clause; 278. 5.PPs. (1) (psalm-number and verse) indic. without *ða* in the main clause; 47. 5.O. (3) indic. without *ða* in the main clause; 78. 22: indeter. with *ða* in the main clause; 96. 14; 230. 2.Bo. (2) indic. with *ða* in the main clause; 116. 6: without *ða* in the main clause; 11. 2.CP. (2) indic. without *ða* in the main clause; 35. 15: indeter. without *ða* in the main clause; 35. 21.

Dial. (65) indic. with *ða* in the main clause; 11. 22; 28. 21; 37. 23; 46. 10; 49. 13; 62. 29; 72. 22; 82. 25; 84. 16; 143. 7; 196. 9; 277. 23; 279. 19: without *ða* in the main clause; 11. 23; 79. 33; 82. 2; 97. 20; 111. 12; 115. 22; 121. 23; 123. 9; 149. 16; 154. 16; 159. 5; 164. 8; 196. 22; 198. 9; 208. 25; 212. 14;

221. 25; 230. 14; 235. 4; 242. 27; 244. 2; 293. 18; 295. 19; 306. 4, 13; 313. 5; 325. 6; 344. 17; 347. 32: opt. without *ða* in the main clause; 195. 27; 302. 2; 317. 7: indeter. with *ða* in the main clause; 29. 13; 31. 10; 36. 15; 39. 2; 221. 22: without *ða* in the main clause; 27. 34; 30. 9; 50. 17; 57. 30; 97. 8; 131. 26; 163. 14; 165. 24; 167. 20; 180. 27; 183. 7; 206. 5; 211. 5; 222. 1; 234. 17.

Mk. (1) (ch. and v.) indic. without *ða* in the main clause; 14. 45.

L. (2) (ch. and v.) indic. with *ða* in the main clause; 1. 44; 4. 17.

BR. (8) indic. without *ða* in the main clause; 19. 18; 20. 1; 61. 2; 67. 20: opt. without *ða* in the main clause: 66. 15; 73. 8; 83. 3; 101. 8.

Guth. (1) indic. with *ða* in the main clause; 44. 2.

Mart. (6) indic. with *ða* in the main clause; 52. 21; 122. 21; without *ða* in the main clause; 48. 12: indeter. with *ða* in the main clause; 192. 21; 216. 28: without *ða* in the main clause; 162. 19.

Lch. 2 (1) indic. with *ðonne* in the main clause; 114. 18.

Lch. 3 (2) indic. with *ða* in the main clause; 42. 14: without *ða* in the main clause; 438. 3.

LS. 1 (7) indic. with *ða* in the main clause; 114. 422; 416. 42; 488. 21: without *ða* in the main clause; 178. 146; 444. 52; 538. 819: indeter. with *ða* in the main clause; 124. 140.

LS. 2 (11) indic. with *ða* in the main clause; 46. 690; 236. 280: without *ða* in the main clause; 12. 184; 38. 570; 50. 758; 128. 46; 386. 142: indeter. with *ða* in the main clause; 194. 77; 274. 886; without *ða* in the main clause; 46. 683; 64. 157.

Gen. (1) (ch. and v.) indic. without *ða* in the main clause; 27. 27.

Num. (1) (ch. and v.) indic. without *ða* in the main clause; 21. 8.

Æ. Asm. (1) indeter. without *ða* in the main clause; 97. 161.

Inst. (5) indic. without *ða* in the main clause; 387. 42; 480. 45; 486. 41: opt. without *ða* in the main clause; 482. 54: indeter. with *ða* in the main clause; 375. 31.

BH. (7) indic. with *ða* in the main clause; 173. 33; 187. 28; 193. 4: without *ða* in the main clause; 137. 3; 167. 9; 191. 29: opt. without *ða* in the main clause; 37. 21.

Wulf. (8) indic. with *ða* in the main clause; 22. 6: without *ða* in the main clause; 9. 1, 10; 196. 10: indeter. with *ða* in the main clause; 8. 5; 100. 16; 306. 27: without *ða* in the main clause; 154. 1.

HL. (2) indic. without *ða* in the main clause; 240. 64: indeter. without *ða* in the main clause; 198. 118.

Ap. T. (5) indic. 11. 22; 16. 15; 19. 3; 21. 24: indeter. 5. 20.

#### 2. Index-List of *sona swa . . . swa* Clauses (23).

Chron. (2) indic. 86. 31: indeter. 253. 6.

O. (5) indic. 118. 11; 158. 16; 222. 18; 262. 11: indeter. 166. 9.

BH. (2) indic. 30. 2; 256. 24.

Bo. (2) indic. 14. 3; 141. 5.

CP. (5) indic. 57. 5; 241. 10; 431. 17; 463. 34; 465. 13.

Dial. (1) indeter. 67. 15.

LS. 1 (1) indic. 478. 101.

Gen. (1) (ch. and v.) indic. 37. 23.

Jos. (1) (ch. and v.) indic. 3. 15.

Æ. Asm. (1) indic. 109. 245.

HL. (2) indeter. 196. 26; 198. 91.

#### 3. Index-List of *sona swa . . . sona* Clauses (7).

BR. (1) opt. 13. 17.

Guth. (2) indic. with *ða* in the main clause; 50. 2, 3.

Lch. 1 (2) opt. 218. 23; 246. 8.

Epis. (1) indeter. 155. 414.

Rood. (1) indic. 5. 5.

#### 4. Index-List of *sona . . . swa* Clauses (5).

BH. (2) indic. 46. 19; 154. 34.

Dial. (1) indic. 37. 18.

BR. (1) opt. 126. 20.

LS. 2 (1) indeter. 138. 210.

#### 5. Index-List of *swa sona swa* Clauses (1).

LS. 2 (1) indic. 436. 184.

6. Index-List of *sona swa swa* Clauses (1).  
Dial. (1) indeter. 214. 12.

7. Index-List of *swa . . . swa* Clauses (2).  
O. (1) indeter. 172. 10.  
Bo. (1) indic. 57. 23.

8. Index-List of *swa* Clauses (8).  
Chron. (1) indic. 99. 4.  
O. (2) indic. 246. 14: opt. 116. 27.  
Bo. (1) indic. 145. 25.  
Dial. (1) indic. 36. 31.  
Lch. 2. (1) opt. 328. 28.  
LS. 2. (1) indic. 340. 89.  
HL. (1) indic. 196. 51.

9. Index-List of *on an . . . swa* Clauses (2).  
Wulf. (2) indic. 16. 14; 110. 11.

10. Index-List of *ðærrihte swa* Clauses (1).  
ÆH. 2. (1) indic. 80. 3.

11. Index-List of *swa (h)raðe swa* Clauses (37).  
Chron. (2) indic. 174. 25: indeter. 196. 30.  
O. (1) indic. 166. 6.  
Lch. 3. (1) opt. 122. 7.  
ÆH. 1. (9) indic. with *swa* in the main clause; 16. 9; 584. 21: without *swa* in the main clause; 150. 12; 200. 8; 286. 33; 322. 31; 560. 8: indeter. 316. 15; 372. 8.

ÆH. 2. (12) indic. with *swa* in the main clause; 168. 22; 176. 2; 354. 1: without *swa* in the main clause; 358. 3; 416. 4; 476. 8; 494. 11; 526. 1: indeter. with *swa* in the main clause; 178. 14; 196. 10: without *swa* in the main clause; 414. 25; 492. 7.

De Temp. (1) indic. 3. 13.

LS. 1. (4) indic. with *swa* in the main clause; 192. 392: with *swa hraðe* in the main clause; 18. 126; 46. 375; 402. 306.

LS. 2. (4) indic. 178. 169; 184. 247; 330. 236; 382. 72.

Jos. (1) (ch. and v.) indic. 3. 13.

Wulf. (1) opt. 301. 25.  
Ap. T. (1) indeter. 18. 18.

12. Index-List of *swa . . . (h)raðost* Clauses (7).

Chron. (1) indeter. 94. 1.  
Laws. (1) indic. 458. 8.  
Lch. 1 (1) opt. 166. 25.  
Lch. 2. (1) opt. 346. 20.  
LS. 1. (1) opt. 536. 794.  
Gen. (1) (ch. and v.) indic. 45. 19.  
Wulf. (1) opt. 39. 8.

13. Index-List of *swa ær swa* (2).

BH. (1) indic. 248. 25.  
LS. 1. (1) indic. 358. 317.

14. Index-List of *ðon ær ðe* Clauses (2).

Bo. (1) indic. 25. 18.  
CP. (1) opt. 331. 3.

15. Index-List of *swa ricene swa* Clauses (1).

ÆH. 1. (1) indeter. 86. 34.

16. Index-List of *swa radhce swa* Clauses (1).

Chron. (1) indic. 258. 16.

17. Index-List of *swa swiðe swa* Clauses (1).

BIH. (1) indic. 185. 5.

18. Index-List of *sona ðæs ðe* Clauses (39).

Chron. (2) indic. 176. 6; 231. 1.  
Cart. (1) indic. vol. 1. 137. 9.  
BH. (33) indic. 34. 25; 44. 15; 46. 8; 60. 22; 90. 13; 104. 32; 124. 10; 138. 23; 142. 18; 152. 15; 158. 3; 180. 7; 208. 8; 228. 3; 236. 10; 256. 30; 260. 15; 292. 29; 326. 22; 352. 26; 380. 16; 422. 3; 432. 17; 440. 14; 450. 7; 464. 11; opt. 190. 15; indeter. 138. 7; 394. 1; 404. 3, 23; 428. 21; 458. 16.  
Guth. (2) indic. with *ða* in the main clause 26. 19; 60. 14.  
Epis. (1) indic. 148. 249.

19. Index-List of *sona . . . ðæs ðe* Clauses (2).  
BH. (2) indic. 200. 3; 418. 22.
20. Index-List of *sona ærest ðæs ðe* Clauses (1).  
BH. (1) indic. 200. 9.
21. Index-List of *sona from fruman ðæs ðe* Clauses (1).  
Guth. (1) indic. 26. 10.
22. Index-List of *sona ðæs* Clauses (2).  
Chron. (1) indic. without *ða* in the main clause; 199. 25.  
Epis. (1) indic. with *ða* in the main clause; 158. 499.
23. Index-List of *ðæs ðe . . . sona instæpe* Clauses (1).  
BH. (1) indic. 402. 33.
24. Index-List of *sona hraðe ðæs ðe* Clauses (1).  
BH. (1) indic. 98. 7.
25. Index-List of *(h)rað(e) ðæs ðe* Clauses (14).  
Chron. (2) indic. 182. 13; 228. 4.  
O. (12) indic. 160. 3; 170. 4; 190. 2, 6; 200. 3; 202. 14;  
208. 10; 224. 9; 236. 17; 242. 16; 266. 7; 292. 11.
26. Index-List of *(h)raðe . . . ðæs ðe* Clauses (4).  
O. (2) indic. 184. 13; 246. 4.  
BH. (1) indic. 162. 6.  
BlH. (1) indeter. 27. 21.
27. Index-List of *raðe ðæs . . . ðe* Clauses (1).  
O. (1) indic. 168. 26.
28. Index-List of *forraðe ðæs ðe* Clauses (1).  
Cart. (1) indic. vol. 2. 315. 16.
29. Index-List of *swiðe hraðe ðæs ðe* Clauses (1).  
Bo. (1) indic. 133. 23.
30. Index-List of *swiðe hræðlice ðæs ðe* Clauses (1).  
Chron. (1) indeter. 105. 25.



31. Index-List of *instepes ðæs ðe* Clauses (1).  
BIH. (1) indic. 35. 5.
32. Index-List of *hræðlice siððan* Clauses (1).  
ÆH. 2. (1) indic. 136. 22.
33. Index-List of *siððan . . . raðe* Clauses (1).  
O. (1) indic. 178. 2.
34. Index-List of *sona . . . siððan* Clauses (3).  
Guth. (1) indic. 36. 6.  
Æ. Asm. (1) indic. 14. 36.  
Hex. (1) indeter. 56. 8.
35. Index-List of *sona syððan* Clauses (2).  
BH. (1) indic. 132. 4.  
BIH. (1) opt. 111. 29.
36. Index-List of *swiðe hraðe siððan* Clauses (1).  
CP. (1) opt. 465. 22.
37. Index-List of *sona mid ðam ðe* Clauses (1).  
LS. 1. (1) indeter. 480. 151.
38. Index-List of *mid ðam ðe . . . sona* Clauses (4).  
O. (1) indic. 274. 3.  
Dial. (2) indic. with *ða* in the main clause; 37. 18: indeter.  
without *ða* in the main clause; 46. 27.  
Guth. (1) indeter. without *ða* in the main clause; 20. 22.
39. Index-List of *mid ðam ðe . . . hræðlice* Clauses (1).  
Dial. (1) indeter. with *ða* in the main clause; 142. 10.
40. Index-List of *mid ðam ðe . . . færinga* Clauses (1).  
Guth. (1) indic. with *ða* in the main clause; 14. 15.
41. Index-List of *færlice mid ðam ðe* Clauses (1).  
ÆH. 1. (1) indic. with *ða* in the main clause; 430. 32.
42. Index-List of *sona mid ðan ðe* Clauses (1).  
BIH. (1) indic. 199. 20.

43. Index-List of *sona mid ðy ðe* Clauses (1).  
BH. (1) indeter. 186. 13.
44. Index-List of *mid ðy ðe . . . sona* Clauses (5).  
BH. (1) indic. with *ða* in the main clause; 34. 31.  
Dial. (3) indic. with *ða* in the main clause; 165. 14; 197.  
9: without *ða* in the main clause; 80. 10.  
BIH. (1) indic. with *ða* in the main clause; 139. 21.
45. Index-List of *mid ðy ðe . . . hraðe* Clauses (4).  
Dial. (1) indeter. with *ða* in the main clause; 142. 11.  
BIH. (3) indic. without *ða* in the main clause; 229. 10;  
245. 23: indeter. without *ða* in the main clause; 245. 14.
46. Index-List of *mid ðy ðe . . . semninga* Clauses (2).  
BIH. (2) indeter. with *ða* in the main clause; 145. 11;  
147. 32.
47. Index-List of *mid ðy ðe . . . færinga* Clauses (1).  
Ap. T. (1) indic. with *ða* in the main clause; 15. 4.
48. Index-List of *sona æfter ðam ðe* Clauses (1).  
Chron. (1) indic. 231. 10.
49. Index-List of *sona æfter ðon ðe* Clauses (1).  
BIH. (1) indic. 121. 6.
50. Index-List of *swiðe hraðe æfter ðon ðe* Clauses (1).  
Dial. (1) indic. 297. 14.
51. Index-List of *æfter ðon ðe . . . sona* Clauses (2).  
BH. (1) indeter. 126. 19.  
Dial. (1) indic. 260. 15.
52. Index-List of *naht lange æfter ðam* Clauses (1).  
Mart. (1) indeter. 110. 3.
53. Index-List of *sona ða* Clauses (5).  
Dial. (3) indic. 31. 8; 143. 6: indeter 57. 30.  
LS. 2. (1) indic. 252. 522.  
BIH. (1) indic. 177. 33.

54. Index-List of *to ðan sona swa* Clauses (3).

Guth. (3) indic. 54. 15; 68. 19: without *ða* in the main clause; 60. 16.

## C. CLAUSES DENOTING DURATION (449).

1. Index-List of *ða hwile ðe* Clauses (262).

OET. (2) opt. 175. 13. 17.

Chron. (26) indic. 89. 9; 104. 9; 117. 36; 144. 20; 149. 1; 160. 18; 161. 12; 165. 19; 192. 6; 193. 11; 194. 24; 233. 36; 240. 6: opt. 163. 11: indeter. 97. 33; 102. 29; 214. 17; 121. 13; 158. 15; 160. 4; 162. 3, 11; 164. 30; 208. 20; 242. 7; 246. 1.

Cart. (25) indic. vol. 2. 225. 22; 329. 23; vol. 3. 391. 14: opt. vol. 1, 560. 8; vol. 2. 173. 25; 179. 22; 196. 18, 23, 28; 208. 6; 217. 12; 222. 11. 17; 225. 9; 252. 3; 269. 1; 267. 3; 309. 14, 18; vol. 3. 76. 1; 402. 35; 432. 28: indeter. vol. 1. 575. 14, 17; vol. 2. 237. 10.

Laws. (13) indic. 214. 20; 222. 3; 268. 16, 22; 273. 13, 21; 298. 25; 446. 25: opt. 250. 35; 290. 25; 384. 35: indeter. 400. 18. 24.

PPs. (4) (psalm and verse) indic. 45. 4; 48. 7, 11: opt. 48. 7.

O. (8) indic. 72. 22; 118. 9; 146. 4; 222. 17; 254. 7: indeter. 124. 10; 126. 11; 148. 14.

BH. (1) indeter. 390. 2.

Bo. (22) indic. 23. 14; 26. 16; 62. 4; 76. 7; 90. 24, 29, 31; 95. 14; 108. 9; 113. 24; 114. 3, 5, 18; 122. 3; 128. 11, 12; 135. 28; 136. 21: opt. 102. 18: indeter. 41. 4; 49. 27; 103. 2.

Sol. (14) indic. 29. 12; 31. 19, 26; 43. 23; 52. 11; 53. 5; 65. 13; 69. 12; 70. 1: opt. 13. 23; 14. 4; indeter. 1. 17; 43. 5; 59. 23.

CP. (13) indic. 159. 4; 295. 3; 331. 15; 421. 27; 431. 14; 467. 15. 17: opt. 7. 12; 43. 10; 63. 19; 247. 15: indeter. 249. 7; 251. 16.

Dial. (17) indic. 50. 22; 224. 6; 289. 25; 294. 16; 303. 21, 23; 306. 3; 327. 21; 328. 21; 335. 5; 350. 13: opt. 218. 22; 329. 6; 348. 12; 350. 12; indeter. 207. 20; 307. 15.

M. (2) (ch. and v.) indic. 5. 25; 9, 15.

- L. (1) (ch. and v.) indeter. 17. 8.  
 John. (3) (ch. and v.) indic. 9. 4; 12. 35: opt. 12. 36.  
 BR. (3) indic. 127. 15: opt. 2. 14; 5, 6.  
 Guth. (3) opt. 86. 1: indeter. 60. 8; 84. 9.  
 Lch. 1. (4) indic. 397. 4: opt. 202. 15; 256. 20; 390. 16.  
 Lch. 2. (1) opt. 120. 15.  
 Lch. 3. (4) opt. 122. 6; 432. 5: indeter. 44. 1; 288. 2.  
 ÆH. 1. (5) indic. 350. 18; 518. 28; 598. 9: indeter. 10. 35;  
 216. 28.  
 ÆH. 2. (8) indic. 124. 20; 126. 20; 340. 5; 388. 5; 430. 32;  
 454. 30; 560. 16; 578. 33.  
 Quot. (1) indic. 151. 10.  
 De Temp. (2) indic. 5. 17; 15. 26.  
 Ls. 1. (4) indic. 280. 270; 286. 39: indeter. 264. 61; 438. 89.  
 LS. 2. (3) indic. 96. 457; 204. 220; 364. 134.  
 Int. Sig. (1) indic. 42. 405.  
 Exod. (1) (ch. and v.) indeter. 33. 22.  
 Lev. (1) (ch. and v.) indic. 26. 33.  
 Deut. (1) (ch. and v.) indeter. 31. 27.  
 Job. (1) indic. 270. 11.  
 Æ. Th. (3) indic. 446. 14; 464. 34; 465. 13.  
 Hex. (5) indic. 8. 20, 30; 14. 3; 34. 28: indeter. 24. 3.  
 Inst. (12) opt. 369. 23; 370. 34; 370. 46; 371. 8; 372. 13, 30;  
 375. 18; 388. 3; 399. 20; 421. 9; 436. 26; 438. 20.  
 BIH. (13) indic. 25. 27; 35. 34; 95. 24; 101. 16; 103. 23;  
 115. 20; 125. 3; 175. 2; 195. 6; 205. 3; 225. 34; opt. 101.  
 9, 10.  
 Wulf. (27) indic. 4. 7; 5. 6; 76. 5; 94. 12; 106. 1; 107. 26;  
 113. 16; 115. 12; 119. 1; 129. 13; 150. 9; 207. 29; 208. 31;  
 209. 11; 281. 8, 14: opt. 27. 5; 150. 16; 204. 6; 271. 15; 304.  
 22; 308. 11: indeter. 5. 11; 40. 25; 135. 17; 154. 5; 291. 13.  
 HL. (8) indic. 166. 52: opt. 143. 148; 164. 4, 46; 165. 45;  
 198. 266: indeter. 122. 173; 190. 266.  
 Ap. T. (1) indeter. 27. 27.

## 2. Index-List of *ða hwile* Clauses (6).

- Cart. 2. (1) opt. 199. 45.  
 Sol. (1) indic. 47. 14.

Mart. (1) indeter. 208. 2.

Lch. 3 (3) indic. 2. 6; 288. 5: opt. 122. 18.

3. Index-List of *ða hwile ðæt* Clauses (3).

Chron. (2) indic. 252. 34; 253. 1.

Cart. (1) indic. vol. 2. 453. 27.

4. Index-List of *on ðære hwile ðe* Clauses (2).

O. (2) indic. 130. 9; 170. 12.

5. Index-List of *wile* Clauses (2).

Chron. (2) indic. 264. 26: indeter. 268. 10.

6. Index-List of *ða ðrage ðe* Clauses (1).

Lch. 2. (1) opt. 284. 14.

7. Index-List of *ða lange ðe* Clauses (1).

Lch. 3. (1) opt. 114. 18.

8. Index-List of *swilce hwile swa* Clauses (1).

Lch. 3. (1) opt. 112. 17.

9. Index-List of *swa mænige dagas swa* Clauses (1)

LS. 1. (1) indeter. 26. 392.

10. Index-List of *swa lange swa* Clauses (50).

OET. (1) Vesp. Psalms (psalm and verse) indic. 145. 1.

Chron. (2) indic. 142. 1; 257. 22.

Cart. 2. (2) opt. 57. 30: indeter. 122. 10.

Cart. 3. (3) indic. 390. 33; opt. 106. 39: indeter. 217. 27.

Laws. (2) indic. 212. 26: indeter. 175. 31.

BH. (3) indic. 436. 2; 454. 8: opt. 286. 21.

Bo. (2) indic. 91. 24: indeter. 48. 29.

CP. (1) indic. 349. 6.

Dial. (4) indic. 282. 25: indeter. 59. 22; 83. 17; 200. 4.

M. (1) (ch. and v.) indic. 25. 45.

Mk. (1) (ch. and v.) indic. 2. 19.

L. (1) (ch. and v.) indic. 5. 34.

Mart. (1) indic. 214. 13.

Lch. 1. (1) indic. 224. 23.

- Lch. 3. (2) indic. 428. 30; opt. 4. 25.  
 ÆH. 1. (2) indic. 54. 13; 526. 34.  
 ÆH. 2. (6) indic. 66. 29; 108. 15, 28; 230. 30; 406. 23:  
 indeter. 232. 2.  
 LS. 1. (2) indic. 468. 456; indeter. 218. 129.  
 LS. 2. (2) indic. 274. 885; 302. 1348.  
 Deut. (2) (ch. and v.) opt. 4. 9; 22. 29.  
 De Vet. Pref. (1) indic. 6. 20.  
 Æ. Asm. (3) indic. 86. 181; 106. 121; opt. 98. 202.  
 Hex. (1) indic. 36. 13.  
 BIH. (1) indic. 169. 20.  
 Wulf. (3) indic. 288. 25; opt. 46. 8; 300. 21.
11. Index-List of *swa lange swa . . . swa lange* Clauses (4).  
 O. (1) indic. 274. 10.  
 M. (1) (ch. and v.) indic. 25. 40.  
 ÆH. 2. (1) indic. 108. 28.  
 Wulf. (1) indic. 289. 6.
12. Index-List of *swa lange . . . swa* Clauses (1).  
 ÆH. 2. (1) indeter. 230. 35.
13. Index-List of *swe longe* Clauses (1).  
 OET. (1) Vesp. Psalms (psalm and verse) indic. 103. 33.
14. Index-List of *swa lange ðæt* Clauses (1).  
 Chron. (1) indic. 250. 34.
15. Index-List of *swa . . . lengost* Clauses (1).  
 Chron. (1) indic. 161. 1.
16. Index-List of *ðenden* Clauses (7).  
 Laws. (1) opt. 74. 1.  
 BH. (1) indeter. 188. 4.  
 Lch. 2. (3) indic. 204. 1; 222. 9; opt. 262. 9.  
 Mart. (2) indic. 40. 1; 142. 26.
17. Index-List of *on ðam ðe* Clauses (2).  
 Chron. (2) indic. 169. 28; 179. 16.

18. Index-List of *under ðæm ðe* Clauses (1).  
O. (1) indic. 30. 5.
19. Index-List of *betwux ðam ðe* Clauses (2).  
LS. 2. (2) indeter. 254. 548; 322. 123.
20. Index-List of *betweoh ðon ðe* Clauses (1).  
BH. (1) indeter. 360. 10.
21. Index-List of *on(a)mang ðam ðe* Clauses (16).  
Chron. (8) indic. 169. 3; 226. 3, 24; 229. 2; 241. 1; 243. 26;  
246. 12; indeter. 239. 31.  
LS. 1. (1) indic. 502. 246.  
HL. (1) indic. 172. 92.  
Nic. (6) indic. 474. 7; 475. 12; 484. 3; 502. 12; 510. 11;  
511. 11.
22. Index-List of *ongemong ðan (ðæm) ðe* Clauses (2).  
CP. (1) indic. 339. 24.  
Wulf. (1) indic. 84. 4.
23. Index-List of *gemong ðam ðe* Clauses (2).  
O. (1) indic. 160. 6.  
Lch. 3. (1) opt. 106. 10.
24. Index-List of *prep. + obj. (noun of time) + ðe* Clauses (4).  
BH. (1) indic. 128. 18.  
ÆH. 2. (1) indic. 150. 1.  
LS. 1. (1) indic. 516. 477.  
LS. 2. (1) indeter. 294. 1223.
25. Index-List of *noun of time (oblique case) + ðe* Clauses (1).  
CP. (1) indeter. 253. 10.
26. Index-List of *mid ðam ðe* Clauses (22).  
ÆH. 2. (4) indic. 136. 16; 570. 29; indeter. 98. 5; 382. 29.  
Quot. (3) indic. 148. 13; 151. 6; without *ða* in the main  
clause; 156. 10.  
LS. 1. (4) indic. 76. 441; 210. 22; without *ða* in the main  
clause; 80. 510; indeter. 226. 109.

LS. 2. (4) with *ða* in the main clause indic. 438. 188 : indeter. 138. 207; 382. 67; 408. 141.

Gen. (2) (ch. and v.) indic. 12. 11 : without *ða* in the main clause; 18. 8.

Jos. (1) (ch. and v.) indic. 8. 7.

Æ. Asm. (2) indic. 79. 159 : indeter. 86. 174.

HL. (1) indic. 119. 57.

Ap. T. (1) indic. 24. 15.

27. Index-List of *mid ðan ðe* Clauses (1).

Neot. (1) indic. 109. 81.

28. Index-List of *mid ðy ðe* Clauses (13).

BH. (3) indic. 34. 15 : indeter. 178. 12; 210. 3.

Dial. (1) indeter. 160. 10.

BIH. (6) indic. 143. 5; 147. 3; 157. 26; 231. 17; 235. 2; 241. 25.

Ap. T. (3) indic. 11. 16 : indeter. 4. 18; 11. 16.

29. Index-List of *mid ðy* Clauses (29).

OET. (4) Vesp. Psalms (psalm and verse) indic. 37. 17 : indeter. 30. 23; 31. 3; 119. 1.

BH. (21) indic. 38. 6; 62. 3; 70. 24; 78. 6; 80. 7; 190. 4; 400. 20; 424. 21, 32; 426. 12, 16; 428. 15; 446. 22; 452. 25; 458. 7 : opt. 426. 19 : indeter. 122. 16; 270. 34; 400. 11, 17; 430. 10.

Ap. T. (1) indeter. 3. 21.

Epis. (3) indic. 162. 618; 164. 671 : indeter. 160. 574.

30. Index-List of *swa swa* Clauses (1).

Chron. (1) indic. 136. 14.

31. Index-List of *ða giet ða* Clauses (5).

Laws. (1) indic. 42. 16.

O. (1) indic. 136. 11.

Dial. (1) indic. 167. 11

L. (2) (ch. and v.) indic. 15. 20; 24. 6.

32. Index-List of *ða gen ða* Clauses (1).

BIH. (1) indic. 165. 17.



D. CLAUSES DETERMINING THE TIME OF AN ACTION  
BY REFERENCE TO A PRECEDING ACTION (573).

1. Index-List of *siddhan* Clauses (244).

Chron. (18) indic. 47. 7; 143. 18; 175. 18; 225. 25; 233. 20; 236. 4: without *ḍa* in the main clause; 110. 3; 123. 11; 143. 18; 167. 20; 186. 22; 194. 6; 229. 5; 232. 21; 238. 34; 239. 18; 240. 7: indeter. without *ḍa* in the main clause; 11. 20.

Cart. 2. (1) indeter. 134. 22.

Cart. 3. (1) indeter. 416. 11.

Laws. (14) indic. 42. 8; 44. 19, 22; 96. 7; 216. 15; 228. 37; 230. 23; 330. 33; 386. 7; 450. 34: opt. 10. 19, 22, 26; indeter. 175. 32.

PPs. (5) (psalm and verse) indic. 11. 7; 21. 8: indeter. 21. 8; 48. 18: (page and line) indic. 95. 9.

O. (20) indic. 17. 24; 30. 26; 48. 32; 84. 22; 92. 27; 156. 11; 168. 14; 212. 21; 214. 22; 228. 11; 232. 6; 254. 4; 256. 31; 258. 31: opt. 76. 9: indeter. 114. 28; 134. 32; 148. 33; 200. 11; 266. 22.

BH. (8) indic. 116. 15; 138. 22; 152. 17; 184. 20: indeter. 124. 15; 164. 3; 258. 19; 318. 14.

Bo. (11) indic. 52. 12; 64. 1; 77. 3; 91. 2; 105. 14; 112. 2; 128. 13: opt. 52. 24; 103. 7; 139. 11: indeter. 20. 3.

Sol. (11) indic. 2. 8; 10. 13; 21. 19, 21; 23. 5; 63. 30; 69. 7: opt. 45. 10; 54. 3: indeter. 21. 16; 63. 18.

CP. (18) indic. 7. 3; 11. 16; 55. 17: 81. 7; 113. 11; 157. 21; 215. 11; 393. 46; 407. 18; 469. 1: opt. 341. 15; 443. 11; 445. 33; 461. 6: indeter. 7. 23; 385. 2; 451. 19.

Mk. (1) (ch. and v.) indic. 1. 14.

L. (6) (ch. and v.) indic. 13. 7; 14. 29; 15. 30; 23. 33: indeter. 7. 45; 22. 20.

John. (1) (ch. and v.) indeter. 13. 12.

BR. (6) indic. 73. 11; 83. 14; 126. 7: opt. 74. 5; 99. 17; 119. 17.

Guth. (4) indic. 16. 23; 90. 9: indeter. with *ḍa* in the main clause; 22. 23; 82. 14.

Mart. (1) indic. 178. 17; 198. 18.

Lch. 1. (3) with *ðanne* in the main clause; opt. 92. 9, 27; 142. 17.

Lch. 2. (4) indic. 208. 3; 332. 24: opt. 44. 3; 286. 14.

Lch. 3. (2) indic. 12. 20: indeter. 34. 11.

ÆH. 1. (12) indic. 6. 15; 212. 8; 224. 4; 232. 14, 27; 258. 7; 304. 26; 324. 5; 332. 27; 456. 10; 590. 29; 594. 22.

ÆH. 2 (3) indic. 96. 9; 126. 24; 290. 23.

Quot. (1) indic. 158. 14.

Gram. (1) indeter. 2. 15.

LS. 1. (8) indic. 232. 192; 436. 67; 476. 64; 498. 195; 530. 702; 534. 763: indeter. 262. 22; 504. 285.

LS. 2. (17) indic. 70. 76; 144. 3; 204. 221; 226. 93; 286. 1078; 324. 133; 394. 306: indeter. 40. 592; 60. 121; 62. 125; 68. 48; 160. 25; 176. 119; 368. 232; 370. 245; 380. 43; 384. 115.

Int. Sig. (1) indic. 20. 184.

Gen. (2) (ch. and v.) indeter. 17. 22; 22. 9.

Exod. (6) (ch. and v.) indic. 2. 11; 7. 25; 9. 24; 10. 6; 29. 9: opt. 4. 10.

Num. (2) (ch. and v.) indic. 3. 13: indeter. 13. 1.

Deut. (3) (ch. and v.) indic. 1. 4; 31. 21: indeter. 31. 27.

Jos. (2) (ch. and v.) indic. 9. 13; 23. 1.

Æ. Asm. (2) indic. 82. 29; 89. 283.

Æ. Th. (3) indic. 442. 25; 458. 29; 464. 25.

De Vet. Pref. (3) indic. 3. 3; 10. 45; indeter. 17. 35.

Hex. (2) indic. 36. 17, 19.

Inst. (3) indic. 368. 3; 373. 45: opt. 406. 5.

BlH. (9) indic. 17. 15; 21. 27; 105. 11; 111. 31; 243. 29; 245. 1: indeter. 23. 11; 187. 3; 207. 35.

Wulf. (16) indic. 10. 14; 19. 4; 33. 4; 95. 3; 123. 10; 152. 1; 192. 3; 195. 18; 197. 13; 292. 9; 293. 25: indeter. 38. 20; 147. 13; 293. 29; 294. 1, 4.

HL. (1) indic. 165. 33.

Ap. T. (2) indic. 6. 25; 13. 19.

Epis. (4) indic. 149. 278; 151. 310; 154. 402: indeter. 143. 105.

Byr. (5) indic. 315. 17; 329. 13, 21: opt. 304. 18: indeter. 319. 40.

Rood. (1) indic. 5. 34.

2. Index-List of *siddan* . . . *siddan* Clauses (22).

Laws. (1) opt. 54. 20.

O. (6) indic. 62. 34; 90. 1, 9; 106. 7; 250. 29: opt. 296. 9.

Bo. (1) indic. 129. 2.

CP. (1) indic. 465. 17.

ÆH. 1. (3) indic. 108. 32; 304. 29; 460. 24.

LS. 2. (1) indeter. 42. 626.

Æ. Asm. (1) indic. 85. 137.

De Vet. Pref. (1) indeter. 5. 20.

BIH. (2) indic. 125. 33; 219. 24.

HL. (1) indic. 176. 232.

Wulf. (4) indic. 97. 13; 105. 2; 123. 6; 279. 21.

3. Index-List of *siddan* . . . *ðe* Clauses (1).

Laws. (1) opt. 174. 38.

4. Index-List of *sið* Clauses (1).

Cart. 2. (1) opt. with *ðonne* in the main clause 58. 13.

5. Index-List of *æfter ðam ðe* Clauses (144).

Chron. (1) indic. 209. 2.

Laws. (1) indic. 328. 7.

O. (100) indic. 54. 5; 58. 10; 68. 4; 78. 1, 16; 86. 19; 90. 5.  
22; 92. 8; 94. 19, 22, 33; 100. 17; 104. 1, 12; 106. 22; 108. 3;  
110. 4, 15; 120. 19; 122. 30; 136. 32; 140. 31; 154. 1; 156. 5;  
160. 1, 16; 162. 4, 22; 164. 24; 170. 19; 174. 23; 180. 15;  
186. 1; 188. 29; 194. 1; 202. 30; 208. 22; 210. 13, 22; 214. 25;  
220. 18; 224. 1; 226. 11, 14; 228. 1, 4; 230. 31; 232. 14, 29;  
236. 1; 238. 15; 244. 20; 248. 3, 30; 254. 20; 256. 21; 258.  
20; 260. 26; 262. 7, 17, 30; 264. 5, 16; 266. 5, 19; 268. 1, 25;  
270. 5, 15, 20, 24; 272. 5, 12, 16; 274. 1, 8, 16; 276. 11, 19;  
278. 1, 6, 13, 19; 280. 13; 284. 12; 286. 23; 288. 3, 28; 292. 4,  
20; 296. 27: indeter. 104. 23; 112. 8; 116. 13; 118. 26; 132.  
8; 152. 11; 178. 14; 238. 18.

BH. (1) indic. 406. 18.

Bo. (1) indic. 70. 12.

CP. (6) indic. 287. 8; 405. 22; 411. 17; 419. 28; 447. 20:  
indeter. 397. 25.

- Dial. (2) indic. 260. 7; indeter. 291. 1.  
 M. (3) (ch. and v.) indic. 27. 31, 35; indeter. 26. 32.  
 Mk. (1) (ch. and v.) indeter. 14. 28.  
 L. (3) (ch. and v.) indic. 2. 21, 22; 18. 33.  
 Lch. 1. (1) indic. 316. 17.  
 ÆH. 1. (1) indeter. 478. 14.  
 LS. 1. (3) indic. 164. 272; 332. 168; indeter. 282. 1.  
 LS. 2. (4) indic. 200. 163; 214. 388; indeter. 66. 1; 208. 305.  
 Gen. (1) (ch. and v.) indic. 6. 4.  
 Num. (1) (ch. and v.) indeter. 13. 1.  
 Deut. (2) (ch. and v.) indic. 5. 23; 31. 24.  
 Jos. (1) (ch. and v.) indic. 5. 12.  
 Jud. (1) (ch. and v.) indeter. Pro. 1.  
 Hex. (1.) indeter. 42. 19.  
 Inst. (1) indic. 364. 18.  
 BIH. (1) indic. 229. 1.  
 HL. (4) indic. 181. 2; indeter. 120. 113; 159. 171; 183. 80.  
 Byr. (2) indic. 329. 23; 335. 48.  
 Rood. (1) indic. 5. 11.

#### 6. Index-List of *æfter ðan ðe* Clauses (11).

- BH. (1) indic. 410. 11.  
 Lch. 3. (1) indic. 132. 17.  
 ÆH. 1 (1) indic. 90. 11.  
 ÆH. 2. (2) indeter. 244. 35; 406. 5.  
 LS. 2. (2) indic. 124. 1; 400. 25.  
 Gen. (1) (ch. and v.) indic. 13. 14.  
 HL. (3) indic. 193. 2; indeter. 120. 11; 159. 169.

#### 7. Index-List of *æfter ðon ðe* Clauses (36).

- OET. (1) indeter. 178. 32.  
 Cart. 2. (1) indic. 216. 19.  
 BH. (17) indic. 54. 7; 74. 11; 94. 2; 114. 1; 118. 20; 146. 26; 192. 28; 308. 28; 314. 14; 336. 1; 372. 2; 420. 28; indeter. 220. 7; 252. 19; 268. 1; 362. 3; 476. 23.  
 Dial. (5) indic. 214. 18; 320. 27; indeter. 258. 5; 302. 4; 305. 16.

- Guth. (3) indic. 12. 9; without *ða* in the main clause 96.  
 10: opt. with *ðonne* in the main clause 84. 2.  
 Mart. (3) indic. 76. 4; indeter. 34. 7; 58. 24.  
 Lch. 2. (1) opt. 210. 18.  
 Inst. (1) opt. 481. 7.  
 BIH. (3) indic. 59. 11; 79. 2; 207. 28.  
 HL. (1) indic. 204. 306.

8. Index-List of *æfter ðon* Clauses (2).

- OET. (1) Vesp. Psalms (psalm and verse) indic. 126. 2.  
 BH. (1) indeter. 326. 9.

9. Index-List of *æfter ðæm ðæt* Clauses (1).

- O. (1) opt. 212. 28.

10. Index-List of *æfter ðæt* Clauses (1).

- Lch. 3. (1) opt. 132. 30.

11. Index-List of *ðæs ðe* Clauses (88).

- OET. (1) indic. 179. 10.  
 Chron. (18) indic. 4. 20; without *ða* in the main clause;  
 2. 7; 56. 34; 66. 12; 84. 17; 88. 13; 89. 1, 24; 105. 28; 135.  
 32; 241. 27, 29; indeter. 22. 1; 47. 28; 72. 26; 110. 9; 173.  
 20; 217. 26.  
 Cart. 3. (5) indic. 71. 12; 443. 27(2); 484. 15; opt. 533. 8.  
 O. (15) indic. 64. 20; 172. 3; 182. 18; 194. 6; 200. 33; 212.  
 12, 14; 218. 14; 238. 11; 262. 15; 272. 20; 286. 28; indeter.  
 252. 17, 31; 254. 4.  
 BH. (24) indic. 42. 3; 44. 1; 108. 22; 110. 7; 116. 9; 174.  
 25; 204. 4; 214. 29; 316. 14; 318. 29; 332. 27; 374. 18; 404.  
 6; 422. 4; 456. 9; 458. 26; 464. 28; 472. 28; 482. 6; 486. 21;  
 488. 26; indeter. 44. 4; 298. 28; 450. 25.  
 Dial. (2) indic. 340. 18; 342. 8.  
 Guth. (3) indic. with *ða* in the main clause 68. 1; indeter.  
 10. 17; 18. 19.  
 Mart. (1) indeter. 178. 21.  
 Lch. 2. (1) opt. 354. 21.  
 Lch. 3 (1) opt. 28. 17.

- ÆH. 2. (1) indic. 196. 19.  
 LS. 1. (5) indic. 32. 116; 512. 432: indeter. 152. 80; 164.  
 294; 508. 353.  
 Exod. (1) (ch. and v.) indic. 16. 1.  
 Æ. Asm. (1) indic. 73. 6.  
 De Vet. Pref. (1) indic. 8. 17.  
 Inst. (2) indic. 356. 32: opt. 355. 14.  
 BIH. (3) indic. 67. 6; 75. 4; 165. 24.  
 Wulf. (2) indic. 14. 10; 18. 8.  
 Epis. (1) indic. 160. 568.
12. Index-List of *prep. + obj. (noun of time) + ðe* Clauses (4).  
 Cart. 3. (1) indic. 527. 31.  
 Exod. (1) (ch. and v.) indeter. 19. 1.  
 Num. (1) (ch. and v.) indic. 1. 1.  
 HL. (1) indic. 185. 131.
13. Index-List of *noun of time (oblique case) + ðe* Clauses (3).  
 Chron. (2) indic. 119. 7; 235. 18.  
 BH. (1) indic. 30. 20.
14. Index-List of *of + obj. (noun of time) + ðe* Clauses (10).  
 BH. (1) indic. 52. 9.  
 Guth. (2) indic. 26. 15: indeter. 84. 20.  
 LS. 1 (2) indic. 160. 213; 516. 487.  
 LS. 2 (1) indic. 292. 1193.  
 Deut. (2) (ch. and v.) indic. 4. 32: indeter. 9. 7.  
 BIH. (1) indic. 11. 13.  
 Wulf. (1) indic. 280. 5.
15. Index-List of *fram + obj. (noun of time) + ðe* Clauses (4).  
 O. (1) indic. 62. 15.  
 ÆH. 1. (1) indic. 462. 29.  
 LS. 1. (1) indic. 98. 158.  
 Wulf. (1) indic. 15. 2.
16. Index-List of *fram ðæt* Clauses (1).  
 Chron. (1) indic. 258. 26.

## E. CLAUSES DETERMINING THE TIME OF AN ACTION BY REFERENCE TO A SUBSEQUENT ACTION (661).

1. Index-List of *ær* Clauses (258).

Chron. (38) indic. 49. 1; 75. 20; 79. 3; 82. 17; 88. 8; 89. 22; 135. 24; 145. 19; 148. 15; 164. 3; 196. 21; 253. 16: opt. 84. 35; 86. 29; 100. 14, 17. 24; 124. 29; 137. 21; 170. 8, 32; 176. 14; 199. 28; 222. 19; 240. 6; 252. 23; 260. 17; 268. 36: indeter. 81. 15; 171. 21; 196. 14; 222. 23; 226. 31; 238. 23; 252. 26.

Cart. 2 (4) indic. 225. 23; 236. 28: opt. 96. 13; 199. 12.

Cart. 3. (3) indic. 284. 23: opt. 102. 28: indeter. 284. 31.

PPs. (4) (psalm and verse) indic. 17. 36: opt. 16. 12: indeter. 38. 16; (page and line) indeter. 69. 20.

Laws. (16) opt. 76. 8; 92. 28; 152. 15; 162. 16, 23, 29, 34; 176. 7; 184. 30; 188, 13; 304, 10; 322. 1; 348. 19; 358. 30; 380. 12; 454. 22.

O. (19) indic. 19. 29; 46. 32; 64. 34; 120. 16; opt. 19. 27; 50. 12; 56. 20; 62. 17; 84. 33; 198. 25; 250. 8; 252. 7: indeter. 60. 29; 108. 29; 128. 9; 130. 14; 222. 29; 252. 24; 270. 12.

BH. (3) opt. 186. 28; 438. 21: indeter. 176. 7.

Bo. (10) indic. 11. 8; 97. 21; 127. 13: opt. 70. 21; 77. 1; 99. 15; 141. 25; 144. 13; 145. 13: indeter. 36. 32.

CP. (11) indic. 385. 15: opt. 157. 20; 187. 10; 241. 13; 349. 12; 431. 4; 433. 32, 34; 441. 6; 447. 5: indeter. 253. 14.

Dial. (7) opt. 7. 29; 274. 2; 297. 28; 318. 5: indeter. 302. 11; 314. 15; 317. 7.

M. (4) (ch. and v.) indic. 1. 18: opt. 5. 26; 16. 28; 17. 9.

Mk. (3) (ch. and v.) opt. 9. 1; 14. 30, 72.

L. (8) (ch. and v.) indic. 22. 34: opt. 2. 21; 9. 27; 12. 59; 22. 16, 18, 61; indeter. 22. 15.

John. (5) (ch. and v.) indic. 13. 38; 17. 24: opt. 4. 35, 49; 20. 1.

BR. (6) opt. 3. 2; 18. 18; 40. 22; 68. 7; 70. 15; 87. 14.

Guth. (2) opt. 96. 5: indeter. 98. 3.

Mart. (3) opt. 4. 23; 10. 14; 146. 7.

Lch. 1. (3) opt. 84. 7; 390. 19; 398. 5.

Lch. 2. (10) opt. 56. 9; 116. 6, 10; 134. 24; 196. 15; 210. 17; 284. 3; 340. 4; 344. 4; 346. 17.

Lch. 3. (13) opt. 6. 1; 22. 7; 38. 4. 6; 46. 4; 60. 10; 98. 14; 122. 2; 126. 18; 132. 19; 134. 26; 288. 21; 434. 22.

ÆH. 1. (2) opt. 54. 24: indeter. 136. 8.

ÆH. 2. (9) indic. 96. 7: opt. 26. 30; 38. 31; 148. 21; 186. 25; 344. 32; 514. 5; 538. 22: indeter. 516. 1.

LS. 1 (5) indic. 534. 762: opt. 148. 19; 188. 334; 198. 56; 422. 147.

LS. 2. (9) opt. 42. 627; 276. 919; 312. 11, 91; 338. 53: indeter. 210. 330; 300. 1307; 314. 3; 346. 200; 406. 114.

Int. Sig. (1) opt. 50. 490.

Gen. (4) (ch. and v.) indic. 41. 50: opt. 27. 10; 32. 26: indeter. 27. 7.

Exod. (3) (ch. and v.) indic. 10. 26; opt. 23. 28: indeter. 17. 12.

Jos. (1) (ch. and v.) opt. 2. 6.

Æ. Th. (1) opt. 447. 17.

Hex. (1) opt. 12. 24.

Inst. (13) opt. 353. 38; 357. 16; 359. 11; 370. 14; 372. 26; 373. 45; 378. 9; 381. 2; 385. 1; 392. 20; 397. 18; 411. 20; 480. 48.

BlH. (4) indic. 243. 17: opt. 21. 2; 47. 18; indeter. 225. 9.

Wulf. (23) indic. 165. 10; 206. 15: opt. 15. 10; 21. 5; 22. 15; 39. 18; 71. 8; 96. 6, 12; 103. 6; 142. 18; 147. 16; 155. 18; 162. 22; 175. 6; 206. 8; 209. 29; 216. 22; 281. 19; 302. 6; 307. 28: indeter. 175. 19; 206. 17.

HL. (4) opt. 126. 326; 204. 296: indeter. 190. 255; 204. 297.

BO. (2) opt. 77. 14, 19.

Nic. (1) opt. 498. 21.

Epis. (2) opt. 140. 25; 144. 119.

Byr. (1) opt. 307. 48.

Sat. (3) indeter. 111. 11, 12, 16.

## 2. Index-List of *ær ær* Clauses (3).

Bo. (3) opt. 128. 17, 28; 144. 29.

## 3. Index-List of *ær . . . ær* Clauses (37).

Chron. (4) opt. 63. 19; 186. 4; 251. 26: indeter. 91. 14.



- Cart. 2. (1) indeter. 236. 9.  
 Laws. (5) opt. 160. 11; 162. 23; 224. 7; 330. 12: indeter. 110. 14.  
 O. (4) opt. 58. 7; 170. 24: indeter. 134. 8; 232. 4.  
 Bo. (3) opt. 22. 32; 144. 25: indeter. 39. 3.  
 CP. (6) indic. 199. 1: opt. 141. 10; 325. 17; 433. 28; 447. 20; indeter. 425. 33.  
 Guth. (1) indic. 22. 5.  
 Mart. (1) indic. 218. 27.  
 ÆH. 2. (3) opt. 252. 34: indeter. 140. 2; 166. 18.  
 LS. 1. (1) indic. 498. 197.  
 LS. 2. (2) indeter. 38. 558; 294. 1218.  
 Gen. (1) (ch. and v.) opt. 27. 33.  
 BIH. (2) opt. 10. 8; 179. 26.  
 Wulf. (2) indic. 15. 11: opt. 243. 13.  
 HL. (1) indeter. 153. 47.

4. Index-List of *ær ðam ðe* Clauses (124).

- Chron. (2) opt. 5. 3: indeter. 196. 31.  
 Laws. (4) indic. 42. 14: opt. 74. 21; 244. 6; 256. 5.  
 O. (14) opt. 28. 25; 32. 1; 16. 24; 36. 3, 22; 40. 12; 42. 25; 44. 3; 50. 5, 26; 56. 6, 13; 70. 12: indeter. 126. 28.  
 BH. (1) opt. 20. 23.  
 Bo. (2) opt. 84. 1; 128. 12.  
 Sol. (2) indic. 60. 5: indeter. 62. 33.  
 CP. (13) indic. 393. 16: opt. 5. 9; 99. 16; 287. 15; 367. 18; 371. 3; 385. 18; 407. 4; 433. 26; 445. 2; 465. 34: indeter. 443. 28; 461. 13.  
 Dial. (3) indic. 125. 3: opt. 60. 3: indeter. 88. 14.  
 M. (6) (ch. and v.) indic. 6. 8: opt. 12. 20; 23. 39; 24. 34; 26. 34, 75.  
 L. (2) (ch. and v.) opt. 13. 35; 21. 32.  
 John (6) (ch. and v.) indic. 8. 58; 9. 18: opt. 13. 19; 14. 29; 17. 5: indeter. 1. 48.  
 BR. (3) opt. 63. 1; 69. 3; 83. 7.  
 Lch. 1. (2) opt. 202. 10; 316. 18.  
 ÆH. 1. (10) indic. 172. 7; 318. 3; 356. 30: opt. 90. 14; 136. 11, 32; 192. 24; 212. 11; 240. 21; 402. 23.

- Quot. (1) indeter. 150. 21.  
 De Temp. (1) opt. 9. 20.  
 LS. 1. (5) indic. 234. 224: opt. 240. 25; 374. 151: indeter. 90. 668; 330. 140.  
 LS. 2. (4) indic. 442. 270: opt. 176. 118; 278. 946: indeter. 42. 636.  
 Int. Sig. (2) indic. 22. 211: indeter. 22. 197.  
 Gen. (10) (ch. and v.) indic. 20. 18: opt. 2. 5; 11. 4. 6; 37. 18; 42. 15; 48. 5: indeter. 27. 4; 45. 28; 50. 16.  
 Exod. (2) (ch. and v.) indic. 1. 19: opt. 12. 34.  
 Num. (1) (ch. and v.) indic. 12. 15.  
 Jud. (2) indic. 264. 36: opt. 263. 16.  
 Æ. Asm. (3) opt. 54. 103: indeter. 71. 156; 85. 134.  
 Æ. Th. (3) indic. 441. 44; 456. 48: indeter. 459. 33.  
 De Vet. Pref. (1) indic. 1. 16.  
 Hex. (6) indic. 12. 21: opt. 2. 20; 36. 10: indeter. 2. 13; 4. 1, 8.  
 Inst. (6) opt. 354. 23; 355. 15; 364. 15; 372. 34; 374. 42; 384. 5.  
 BIH. (1) indeter. 169. 24.  
 Wulf. (3) opt. 91. 1; 169. 6: indeter. 103. 26.  
 Ap. T. (1) indic. 7. 17.  
 Byr. (1) indic. 302. 12.  
 Rood. (1) opt. 9. 13.

#### 5. Index-List of *ær ðan ðe* Clauses (133).

- Chron. (4) indic. 204. 21: opt. 163. 9; 198. 5: indeter. 200. 21.  
 Dial. (1) opt. 60. 2.  
 M. (1) (ch. and v.) opt. 10. 23.  
 ÆH. 1. (19) indic. 26. 2; 40. 23; 186. 16; 404. 9; 566. 9; 616. 1: opt. 2. 29; 92. 21; 94. 26; 112. 24; 158. 15; 202. 3; 210. 20; 478. 13; 496. 9; 578. 5; 596. 9; 598. 24.  
 ÆH. 2. (42) indic. 40. 31; 78. 35; 200. 26; 214. 6; 308. 9; 364. 24; 472. 23; 538. 20; 540. 16: opt. 28. 12; 56. 34; 124. 13. 20; 142. 9; 214. 22; 230. 32; 236. 6, 10, 11; 242. 2. 3; 244. 19; 246. 4; 274. 18; 280. 20; 296. 30; 360. 15; 364. 22; 368. 34; 400. 16; 414. 35; 470. 20; 560. 22; 566. 34; 576. 22; 584. 21: indeter. 78. 29; 134. 20; 192. 18; 214. 8; 306. 9; 370. 6.

Quot. (2) indic. 169. 9. opt. 176. 15.

De Temp. (5) indic. 10. 16; 14. 21: opt. 11. 5; 14. 21; 19. 14.

LS. 1. (22) indic. 350. 192; 384. 6; 468. 439: opt. 10. 7; 96. 94; 126. 170; 196. 30; 224. 67; 232. 202; 274. 179; 318. 178; 400. 278; 420. 102; 426. 185; 442. 21; 450. 133; 474. 33: indeter. 162. 245: 230. 187; 440. 6; 442. 8; 446. 80.

LS. 2. (12) indic. 282. 1008; 408. 162; opt. 40. 609; 74. 127; 126. 18; 152. 124; 160. 39; 222. 41; 262. 679; 282. 1010; 394. 300: indeter. 72. 86.

Int. Sig. (1) indeter. 36. 335.

Gen. (5) indic. 2. 5; 8. 7; opt. 19. 22: indeter. 13. 10; 18. 4.

Æ. Asm. (7) opt. 88. 218, 219; 89. 258, 260: indeter. 17. 82; 32. 202; 38. 351.

Æ. Th. (3) opt. 442. 24; 464. 17, 22.

De Vet. Pref. (7) indic. 19. 35: opt. 9. 24, 25; 10. 20. 22; 22, 12: indeter. 5. 17.

Wulf. (2) indic. 296. 22: opt. 293. 8.

#### 6. Index-List of *ær ðon ðe* Clauses (43).

Laws. (1) indic. 43. 19.

BH. (5) opt. 282. 10: indeter. 242. 27; 292. 29; 336. 19; 376. 13.

CP. (2) opt. 187. 6: indeter. 187. 4.

Dial. (5) opt. 305. 12: indeter. 62. 10; 88. 15; 166. 11; 297. 8.

Guth. (2) opt. 82. 26: indeter. 10. 15.

Mart. (8) indic. 160. 19; 164. 7; 192. 5: opt. 12. 18; 54. 9; 102. 26; 216. 11: indeter. 104. 11.

Lch. 2. (4) opt. 30. 31; 204. 7; 212. 17; 352. 16.

De Vet. Pref. (1) indic. 18. 44.

Inst. (1) opt. 477. 29.

BIH. (12) opt. 51. 33; 125. 15; 131. 14; 165. 19, 32, 35; 167. 1, 3; 219. 23: indeter. 129. 19; 165. 20. 21.

HL. (1) indeter. 190. 264.

Epis. (1) indeter. 156. 437.

#### 7. Index-List of *ær ðam* Clauses (14).

Laws. (2) opt. 74. 22; 348. 18.

O. (1) indic. 64. 18.

Sol. (3) indic. 12. 9: opt. 45. 9. 13.  
 CP. (1) opt. 241. 9.  
 M. (1) (ch. and v.) opt. 5. 18.  
 Mk. (1) (ch. and v.) opt. 13. 30.  
 Mart. (2) indic. 110. 21: indeter. 146. 4.  
 Lch. 1. (1) opt. 350. 14.  
 LS. 2. (1) opt. 214. 392.  
 Inst. (1) opt. 356. 3.

8. Index-List of *ær ðan* Clauses (2).

O. (1) indic. 158. 24.  
 Wulf. (1) opt. 298. 27.

9. Index-List of *ær ðon* Clauses (36).

OET. (6) Vesp. Psalms (psalm and verse) indic. 17. 38:  
 opt. 57. 10; 89. 2; 128. 6: indeter. 39. 14; 118. 67.  
 Laws. (1) opt. 92. 29.  
 O. (3) indic. 46. 29; 108. 30: indeter. 64. 8.  
 BH. (6) opt. 74. 19; 76. 27; 84. 16; 138. 26; 436. 28: indeter.  
 248. 15.  
 Bo. (2) indic. 12. 5: opt. 104. 31.  
 CP. (2) indic. 215. 15: opt. 331. 21.  
 Dial. (3) indic. 125. 3: opt. 17. 24: indeter. 200. 22.  
 Mart. (4) opt. 80. 4; 188. 10: indeter. 172. 1; 178. 16.  
 Lch. 1. (2) opt. 84. 15; 330. 25.  
 Lch. 2. (5) opt. 118. 20; 124. 15; 140. 17; 228. 8, 15.  
 Inst. (1) opt. 357. 16.  
 BIH. (1) indic. 201. 17.

10. Index-List of *ær ðonne* Clauses (4).

Bo. (1) indeter. 117. 26.  
 Lch. 1. (1) opt. 360. 19.  
 Lch. 3. (1) opt. 22. 4.  
 Wulf. (1) indic. 221. 31.

11. Index-List of *ær + obj. (noun of time) + ðe* Clauses (2).

M. (1) (ch. and v.) indeter. 26. 29.  
 Wulf. (1) opt. 123. 5.

12. Index-List of *toforan ðam ðe* Clauses (1).

Lch. 1. (1) opt. 160. 22.

13. Index-List of *toforan ðam timan ðe* Clauses (1).

Lch. 1. (1) opt. 206. 2.

14. Index-List of *foran to ðam timan ðe* Clauses (2),

Wulf. (2) indic. 86. 8; 89. 14.

F. CLAUSES INDICATING  
THE TIME OF THE TERMINATION OF THE ACTION  
OF THE MAIN CLAUSE (1050).

1. Index-List of *oð ðæt* Clauses (701).

OET. (17) Vesp. Psalms (psalm and verse) indic. 56. 2; 93. 13. 15; 111. 8; 122. 2: opt. 57. 8; 67. 24; 71. 7; 104. 19; 141. 8; indeter. 70. 18; 72. 17; 109. 1; 140. 10: Vesp. Hymns, indic. 406. 28. 29: indeter. 404. 10.

Chron. (31) indic. 47. 26; 48. 27; 49. 5; 79. 14; 87. 13; 88. 21; 131. 9; 132. 11; 139. 14; 145. 23; 169. 12; 178. 3; 186. 26, 34; 194. 36; 194. 13; 197. 11; 199. 15; 200. 11; 201. 21; 206. 27; 210. 25; 211. 34; 213. 19; 224. 36; 226. 26; 231. 4; 248. 20: indeter. 160. 5; 181. 11; 248. 1.

Cart. 1. (2) indic. 502. 1; 542. 26.

Cart. 2. (8) indic. 132. 12; 265. 23; 429. 16; 483. 4; 489. 6; 522. 16; 541. 27; 547. 40.

Cart. 3. (9) indic. 84. 6, 7, 9, 10, 11, 17, 25; 193. 11: opt. 390. 30.

Laws. (11) opt. 10. 6; 54. 19; 106. 4; 116. 28; 120. 8; 138. 14; 178. 6; 212. 21; 220. 6; 262. 41; 338. 2.

O. (9) indic. 32. 8; 42. 4; 60. 15; 62. 1; 90. 10; 102. 10. 30; 188. 14: indeter. 168. 29.

BH. (32) indic. 62. 7; 90. 31; 142. 14; 150. 20; 154. 27; 178. 21; 214. 2; 238. 1; 264. 24; 268. 23; 332. 19; 360. 13; 368. 14; 396. 9; 422. 27; 436. 4; 442. 25; 466. 27; 474. 18; opt. 58. 10; 218. 22; 254. 31; 268. 7; 374. 7; 380. 2: indeter. 30. 13; 164. 7; 256. 9; 288. 31; 332. 8; 350. 33; 462. 21.

Bo. (8) indic. 14. 26; 65. 14; 69. 32; 92. 1; 112. 1; 119. 32;  
opt. 72. 10; 83. 21.

Sol. (1) indeter. 21. 3.

CP. (28) indic. 37. 23; 69. 3; 71. 7; 143. 16; 169. 14; 187.  
9; 235. 1; 257. 7; 279. 8, 9; 283. 4; 393. 14; 405. 5; 417. 24;  
425. 15; 439. 14; 447. 10; 463. 14, 30: opt. 23. 17; 291. 2;  
363. 17; 385. 4; 417. 35; 425. 16; 457. 14, 16, 23.

Dial. (37) indic. 12. 1, 11; 15. 1; 24. 29; 43. 8; 66. 13, 20;  
89. 7; 98. 17; 101. 19; 114. 33; 115. 15; 118. 2; 136. 1; 140.  
13; 212. 23; 213. 12; 220. 12. 14; 225. 20; 228. 26; 240. 10;  
241. 4; 243. 8; 251. 24; 275. 17; 286. 2; 289. 12; 318. 1;  
341. 3: opt. 261. 12; 296. 14: indeter. 20. 30; 23, 32; 73. 27;  
213. 3; 326. 2.

M. (6) (ch. and v.) opt. 14. 22; 18. 30, 34: indeter. 2. 13;  
22. 44; 26. 36.

Mk. (2) (ch. and v.) opt. 6. 10: indeter. 14. 32.

L. (1) (ch. and v.) indeter. 19. 13.

BR. (7) opt. 30. 3; 49. 9; 59. 18; 69. 15; 70. 7; 71. 1;  
117. 12.

Guth. (1) indic. 20. 26.

Mart. (17) indic. 20. 26; 48. 18; 76. 10; 78. 2; 80. 8; 96. 11;  
158. 11; 166. 5; 218. 13: opt. 218. 9: indeter. 26. 5; 30. 8; 66.  
11; 92. 26; 98. 15. 23; 212. 21.

Lch. 1. (18) opt. 76. 18; 80. 4; 92. 10, 14, 19; 94. 1; 204. 23;  
284. 23; 286. 4; 312. 11; 328. 17; 338. 13; 348. 15, 17; 350.  
19; 358. 25; 360. 5; 374. 25.

Lch. 2 (49) indic. 46. 5; 188. 15; 308. 18; 328. 7: opt. 18.  
17, 20; 30. 14; 38. 11; 52. 8; 56. 22; 58. 5; 66. 25; 74. 4;  
88. 19; 92. 4; 94. 9, 21; 114. 25; 118. 8; 120. 17; 128. 11;  
130. 3; 190. 6; 194. 26, 28; 204. 2; 208. 23; 240. 7; 248. 18;  
262. 22; 270. 2; 272. 13; 284. 17; 286. 25; 290. 1; 292. 24;  
296. 15; 308. 16; 314. 3; 316. 26; 322. 30; 326. 15; 328. 2;  
332. 18, 19; 340. 11; 342. 24; 346. 22; 356. 15.

Lch. 3. (11) indic. 426. 32: opt. 2. 11; 14. 5, 18; 20. 18; 22.  
25; 34. 4; 42. 29; 48. 17; 76. 6; 228. 1.

ÆH. 1. (37) indic. 78. 23; 80. 2; 92. 27; 94. 7. 15; 108. 33;  
162. 9; 166. 6; 202. 1; 266. 36; 268. 27. 30; 296. 11; 308. 5;  
378. 16; 384. 10, 15; 432. 15; 440. 8; 448. 20; 506. 2; 546. 6;

566. 23; 588. 13; 614. 33: opt. 82. 2; 126. 1; 136. 30; 202. 7; 218. 9; 252. 8; 266. 35; 492. 12: indeter. 42. 19; 78. 34; 159. 20; 314. 31.

ÆH. 2 (57). indic. 38. 5; 66. 10; 68. 17; 98. 10; 128. 15; 138. 7; 148. 9; 154. 11; 196. 14; 198. 18; 200. 23; 214. 8, 15; 216. 6; 218. 34; 222. 34; 236. 26; 264. 22; 272. 7. 18; 302. 8; 312. 28; 332. 8; 340. 30; 354. 19; 378. 29; 382. 11, 13, 23; 396. 13; 434. 7; 504. 13; 548. 16; 578. 5; opt. 50. 24; 138. 21; 200. 2; 214. 30; 312. 11; 384. 25; 408. 6; 426. 24; 434. 3; 484. 3; 582. 20: indeter. 58. 5; 64. 18; 86. 4; 126. 22; 134. 16; 258. 25; 384. 18; 502. 21; 506. 5; 508. 21; 518. 1; 560. 35.

Quot. (7) indic. 136. 3; 141. 19; 148. 6; 170. 13: opt. 144. 21; 157. 10: indeter. 140. 20.

De Temp. (9) indic. 5. 10, 14, 18; 9. 8, 11: opt. 3. 6; 8. 12; 10. 6; 11, 24.

Gram. (2) indic. 2. 18; 3. 14.

LS. 1 (73) indic. 12. 24; 26. 36; 28. 55; 30. 90; 48. 416; 88. 651; 94. 88; 110. 336; 142. 390; 148. 27; 162. 263; 190. 350, 361; 208. 225; 214. 69; 218. 147; 232. 196; 236. 265, 270; 238. 285; 254. 258; 264. 53; 290. 95; 298. 204; 318. 160; 320. 20; 324. 59; 350. 209; 372. 117; 388. 63, 68; 408. 388, 391; 414. 11; 442. 20; 446. 90; 462. 351; 508. 352; 512. 421; 528. 641: opt. 12. 22; 18. 135; 36. 194; 76. 449; 144. 424; 152. 88; 188. 312; 248. 170; 286. 37; 332. 172; 486. 228; 500. 205; 506. 326: indeter. 36. 189; 44. 336; 108. 305; 212. 53; 220. 11; 238. 291; 262. 24; 284. 27; 340. 69; 386. 60; 400. 272; 414. 27; 416. 31; 422. 150; 440. 127; 448. 123; 456. 231; 458. 271; 484. 222; 498. 182.

LS. 2. (69) indic. 58. 74; 90. 355; 94. 424, 435; 96. 451; 98. 496; 100. 501, 517; 104. 585; 106. 590, 610; 116. 737; 118. 779; 134. 147, 154; 140. 230, 246; 158. 217; 160. 24; 176. 126; 178. 145; 182. 209, 216; 188. 298, 329; 200. 173; 204. 232; 230. 186; 250. 488, 497; 260. 664; 262. 670; 272. 844; 298. 1285; 312. 1480; 322. 117; 326. 162.; 362. 101; 370. 255; 372. 231; 378. 15; 384. 124, 133; 390. 210; 442. 271: opt. 48. 730; 52. 786; 92. 405; 170. 22; 370. 250; 406. 119: indeter. 74. 118; 106. 599; 108. 636; 126. 13; 128. 35; 134. 139, 141; 156. 200;

168. 8; 174. 77; 176. 106; 236. 258; 276. 908; 314. 4; 366. 190; 368. 203; 374. 311; 378. 25.

Gen. (12) indic. 12. 5; 13. 1; 14. 1, 14; 19. 3; 24. 10; 46. 1; opt. 3. 19; 27. 44; 38. 11, 17: indeter. 18. 5.

Exod. (1) (ch. and v.) indeter. 33. 8.

Num. (4) (ch. and v.) indic. 15. 45; 21. 24: opt. 15. 33: indeter. 11. 17.

Deut. (1) (ch. and v.) indic. 1. 31.

Jos. (3) (ch. and v.) indic. 5. 8; 10. 13, 41.

Jud. (14) indic. Pro. 9. 14; 3. 24; 4. 17, 24; 7. 23; 10. 10; Epi. 263. 13, 20; 264. 14, 25, 38; 265. 7: indeter. 4. 21; 8. 12.

Æ. Asm. (31) indic. 5. 117; 23. 224; 38. 344, 355; 56. 147; 59. 187; 68. 71; 72. 171; 75. 51; 87. 189, 213; 88. 235, 241; 98. 213; 104. 66; 105. 92, 100; 106. 133; 111. 310; 113. 358: opt. 85. 145; 98. 211: indeter. 14. 18; 20. 149; 58. 179; 82. 37; 84. 94; 86. 170; 102. 17; 110. 267, 273.

Æ. Th. (1) indic. 441. 29.

De Vet. Pref. (21) indic. 5. 28; 8. 31, 40; 9. 20; 10. 2; 15. 18, 29, 35, 37; 16. 24; 17. 10; 18. 41; 21. 7: indeter. 3. 11; 4. 22; 6. 7; 8. 36; 9. 41; 15. 16, 23; 17. 8.

Hex. (1) indic. 2. 23.

Coll. (1) indic. 92. 17.

Inst. (6) indic. 354. 11: opt. 352. 25; 354. 3, 6; 429. 10; 436. 24.

BlH. (14) indic. 9. 35; 21. 29; 79. 15; 155. 6, 14; 187. 7; 193. 13; 203. 17; opt. 145. 4; 233. 27; 239. 7; 241. 21; 249. 9: indeter. 191. 19.

Wulf. (11) indic. 216. 30; 244. 14: opt. 47. 21; 104. 5; 154. 28; 155. 23; 181. 25; 304. 20: indeter. 154. 7; 176. 11; 220. 13.

HL. (11) indic. 123. 226; 126. 306; 129. 438; 170. 20; 187. 182; 190. 275; 193. 7; 205. 349: indeter. 124. 236; 127. 351; 132. 530.

Nic. (1) opt. 510. 32.

Ap. T. (5) indic. 3. 26; 5. 11, 22; 12. 13; 14. 7.

Chad. (3) indic. 141. 32; 143. 105: indeter. 145. 178.

Rood. (1) indeter. 107. 18.

## 2. Index-List of *oð ðætte (ðe)* Clauses (9).

Cart. 2. (1) indic. 34. 22.

O. (1) indeter. 66. 25.



BH. (2) indic. 260. 14; 288. 17.  
 Dial. (1) indic. 331. 7.  
 Mart. (1) indic. 176. 26.  
 Lch. 2. (2) opt. 72. 24; 178. 14.  
 Nic. (1) indic. 480. 28.

### 3. Index-List of *oððe* Clauses (9).

Chron. (4) indic. 39. 25; 86. 14; 98. 22: indeter. 93. 9.  
 O. (1) indic. 20. 31.  
 Bo. (2) indic. 57. 27; 65. 17.  
 LS. 2. (2) indic. 28. 417: opt. 42. 625.

### 4. Index-List of *oð* Clauses (224).

Chron. (22) indic. 47. 24; 48. 10; 49. 9, 25; 93. 27; 99. 21;  
 101. 9; 102. 6; 102. 13, 21; 106. 24; 132. 19, 27; 140. 21;  
 146. 10; 190. 21; 213. 17; 229. 28: indeter. 49. 3; 110. 23;  
 175. 5; 180. 13.

Cart. 2. (22) indic. 96. 10; 255. 10; 270. 28; 305. 3, 27; 364.  
 1; 386. 13, 14, 16, 17, 18, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24; 429. 15; 514. 13;  
 520. 33; 522. 21; 524. 12; 541. 13.

Cart. 3. (30) indic. 8. 18; 47. 7, 8; 55. 17; 70. 16; 85. 12;  
 96. 18; 169. 33; 195. 8; 227. 26; 229. 2; 247. 6; 272. 7; 368.  
 12, 13, 16, 18, 19, 25, 27; 417. 26; 480. 4; 508. 23, 24, 25, 27;  
 526. 28; 599. 14, 15, 17.

Laws. (3) opt. 176. 11; 179. 15; 386. 15.

PPs. (1) (psalm and verse) indic. 18. 6.

O. (71) indic. 21. 2; 32. 18; 40. 32; 44. 5, 20, 27; 46. 6; 56.  
 27; 64. 32; 66. 21, 23; 74. 33; 76. 18; 80. 22, 25; 88. 25; 90.  
 16, 18, 20, 30; 92. 14, 24; 100. 2; 110. 8; 112. 13; 114. 3;  
 118. 3, 20, 25; 120. 23; 122. 23; 124. 27; 134. 21; 148. 7;  
 152. 21; 160. 22; 162. 17; 170. 30; 178. 24; 180. 9; 186. 15,  
 22, 25; 204. 1; 212. 4; 214. 18; 216. 21; 218. 30; 220. 2; 224.  
 14, 16; 230. 10, 30; 236. 29; 254. 23; 258. 10; 280. 7; 282.  
 31; 284. 17; 286. 20; 290. 24; 294. 3; opt. 114. 31: indeter.  
 28. 28; 72. 24; 76. 28; 86. 31; 120. 17; 186. 4; 218. 7; 270. 7.

Bo. (8) indic. 53. 7; 86. 21; 103. 11; 122. 4; 136. 2: opt.  
 51. 20: indeter. 50. 29; 102. 21.

Sol. (3) indic. 35. 22: opt. 3. 15; 59. 9.

CP. (14) indic. 195. 11; 275. 12; 279. 3; 361. 3; 381. 17; 383. 31; 393. 1; 437. 29; 469. 7: opt. 61. 21; 385. 12; 459. 8; 461. 16; 467. 25.

Dial. (2) indic. 75. 21; 81. 5.

M. (4) (ch. and v.) indic. 2. 9; 13. 33; 26. 58: opt. 10. 11.

Mk. (2) (ch. and v.) opt. 6. 45; indeter. 12. 36.

L. (6) (ch. and v.) indic. 13. 21; 15. 4, 8: opt. 9. 4; 12. 50: indeter. 13. 8.

John. (2) (ch. and v.) indeter. 21. 22, 23.

BR. (2) opt. 70. 18; 73. 10.

Lch. 2. (1) opt. 290. 6.

Lch. 3. (4) opt. 4. 2; 14. 25, 32; 90. 20.

ÆH. 2. (1) indeter. 166. 22.

Gen. (6) (ch. and v.) indic. 11. 31; 33. 3; 50. 10: opt. 27. 44; 44. 12: indeter. 33. 14.

Exod. (3) (ch. and v.) indic. 15. 23; 16. 20, 34.

Lev. (4) (ch. and v.) indic. 24. 12; 25. 22; 26. 10: opt. 40. 41.

Num. (1) (ch. and v.) indic. 11. 19.

Deut. (3) (ch. and v.) indic. 11. 5; 28. 48: opt. 28. 22.

Æ. Th. (1) indic. 449. 31.

De Vet. Pref. (1) indic. 12. 14.

Wulf. (5) indic. 22. 11; 217. 2; 293. 17: opt. 3. 1: indeter. 100. 8.

HL. (1) (page and line-numbering on page) indic. 181. 8.

Nic. (1) indic. 492. 12.

#### 5. Index-List of *of ðæt* Clauses (1).

Cart. 2. (1) indic. 548. 1.

#### 5. Index-List of *of* Clauses (7).

Cart. 2. (6) indic. 304. 29, 30; 367. 26, 27; 444. 15; 529. 35.

Lch. 3. (1) opt. 130. 20.

#### 7. Index-List of *swa lange . . . oð ðæt* Clauses (25).

Chron. (2) indic. 142. 15; 211. 29.

Dial. (2) indic. 309. 12: indeter. 101. 18.

BR. (1) opt. 131. 6.

Lch. 2. (1) opt. 230. 7.

ÆH. 1. (3) indic. 232. 7; 304. 26, 29.

ÆH. 2. (1) indic. 494. 1.

LS. 1. (5) indic. 372. 119; 460. 299; 466. 417; 486. 231 :  
indeter. 330. 145.

LS. 2. (9) indic. 362. 126; 368. 214; 372. 301; 378. 18; 416.  
270 : indeter. 230. 166; 250. 482; 358. 50; 384. 120.

BIH. (1) opt. 193. 4.

8. Index-List of *swa lange oð* Clauses (5).

Chron. (2) indic. 169. 8; 180. 8.

Cart. 3. (1) indic. 284. 19.

Bo. (1) opt. 121. 20.

Jos. (1) (ch. and v.) indic. 7. 16.

9. Index-List of *swa swiðe . . . oð ðæt* Clauses (3).

Dial. (2) indic. 248. 23; opt. 220. 9.

Wulf. (1) indic. 206. 22.

10. Index-List of *swa lange ðæt* Clauses (6).

Chron. (5) indic. 117. 24; 177. 23; 178. 1; 179. 25 : indeter.  
117. 30.

Laws. (1) indeter. 226. 7.

11. Index-List of *ðæt* Clauses (13).

Chron. (9) indic. 140. 24; 143. 14; 177. 19; 178. 12; 179. 1;  
213. 4; 223. 13; 267. 1 : indeter. 92. 5.

O. (1) indic. 160. 31.

Lch. 1. (1) opt. 340. 25.

Inst. (1) opt. 486. 52.

Byr. (1) opt. 300. 11.

12. Index-List of *hwonne* Clauses (9).

BH. (2) opt. 178. 22; 186. 23.

Bo. (2) opt. 20. 31; 124. 10.

CP. (1) opt. 121. 12.

ÆH. 1. (1) opt. 140. 19.

BIH. (2) opt. 97. 24; 109. 32.

Wulf. (1) indeter. 236. 11.

13. Index-List of *fort(e)* Clauses (7).

Lch. 3. (7) opt. 102. 17; 104. 22; 112. 7; 118. 26, 31; 126. 16; 130. 15.

14. Index-List of *swa lange fort ðan* Clauses (1).

Lch. 3. (1) opt. 88. 23.

15. Index-List of *til* Clauses (2).

Chron. (2) indeter. 263. 32; 267. 27.

16. Index-List of *oð + obj. (noun of time) + ðe* Clauses (18).

Chron. (3) indic. 99. 29; 142. 10; 144. 19.

O. (2) indic. 20. 26; 88. 22.

BH. (3) indic. 4. 2; 42. 12; 342. 19.

Sol. (3) indic. 27. 6: opt. 2. 12; 30. 10.

CP. (1) opt. 7. 13.

M. (1) (ch. and v.) indic. 24. 38.

L. (2) (ch. and v.) indic. 1. 20: indeter. 17. 27.

LS. 1. (2) indeter. 506. 317; 508. 336.

BIH. (1) indic. 139. 21.

17. Index-List of *oð + obj. (noun of time) + ðæt* Clauses (2).

Bo. (1) indic. 116. 10.

Guth. (1) indeter. 8. 11.

18. Index-List of *to ðam dæge ðe* Clauses (2).

ÆH. 2. (1) indic. 288. 6.

LS. 1. (1) indeter. 516. 488.

19. Index-List of *to ðam ðæt* Clauses (1).

Guth. (1) indic. 46. 22.

20. Index-List of *to ðon ðæt* Clauses (2).

Guth. (2) indic. 96. 19: indeter. 50. 12.

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## APPENDIX III.

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Hex.; Coll.	Neot	Inst.	Bl. H.	Wulf
	Willan	Mugan Sculan Willan	Mugan Sculan Motan Willan	Mugan
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	P. Ps.	O.	B. H.			Bo.	Sol.	C. P.
		Sculan	Mugan	Willan	Mugan	Willan	Mugan	
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