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On the history of the definite tenses in English

Alfred Akerland





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ON THE HISTORY

OF

THE DEFINITE TENSES IN ENGLISH

BY

ALFRED ÅKERLUND

LIC. PHIL., HB.

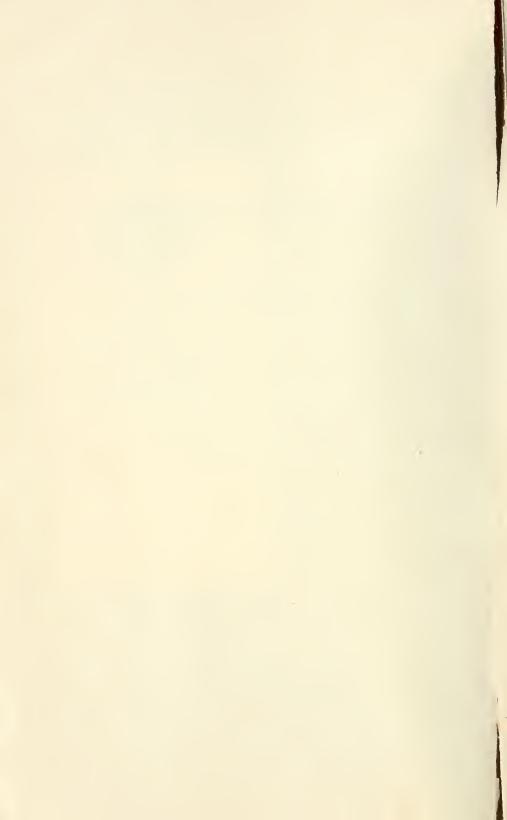
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PREFACE.

The following investigation, in an abridged form, was originally meant to appear as part of a more comprehensive work, announced in the 'Englische Studien', band 40 (1909), under the title: 'The Origin and Development of the Definite Tenses in English'.

My interest in the subject was at first roused by the diverging views on the origin of the definite tenses in Modern English.

Thus much may suffice to say here concerning these views: some scholars recognize in the *-ing*-form the present participle with the new ending, and are of opinion that they have developed directly from corresponding periphrastic forms in Old English, where we have to do with the old participle — which is also the case in texts belonging to northern dialects in Middle English; other scholars, on the contrary, hold that their origin is to be sought in such expressions as 'he is a-going', a standing for the preposition on, and the form in *-ing* being not the participle proper but the verbal noun.

Later on, when working out my material, I grew more and more interested in the various uses of the periphrastic forms, be their origin what it may, and I thought it worth while to deal with them in a comparatively exhaustive way, while I was about it.

In the present treatise, therefore, I altogether turn my back on the verbal noun question.



iv PREFACE

I start from the fact that the construction 'be ing' in Modern English is morphologically, if not historically, the same as that occurring in Old English, and follow it from this period through Middle and Early Modern English, adding at the end a section on the compound definite tenses.

In short, the treatise is intended to give, in the first place, a history of the periphrasis (in the active voice) from an exclusively syntactical point of view, and secondly, to contribute, so far as the investigation may furnish conclusions on this point, towards the formation of an opinion on its origin, by comparing its functions during the different stages of the language.

In a later essay I shall take up this question from the point of view of the verbal-noun expressions, by giving an account of their origin and their relations to the definite tenses, in other words: a history of the 'a-phrases' — such as the one quoted above — in standard English, dialects, and vulgar speech, this account also comprising the rise and growth of the passive definite tenses.

Finally, I desire to record my hearty thanks to my teacher, Professor Eilert Ekwall, of Lund, University, for the valuable advice and encouragement he has given me during the progress of my work; to Mr. Charles Scott Fearenside, formerly English Lector in the University of Lund, who has read through the treatise in manuscript and in proof with a view to normalizing my English; and lastly to the officials of the University Library at Lund for their unfailing courtesy and help in facilitating my researches.

Landskrona, September 1911.

Alfred Åkerlund.

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¹ See also *Grenville Grove*, Modern Engelsk Lärobok, Del II Grammatiken, p. 53 ff. — This book came into my hands when my own work was just finished.

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Kn. T. - The Knightes Tale

M. T. - The Milleres Tale

P. Prol. = The Parson's Prologue

Prol. - The Prologue

Sh. T. The Shipmannes Tale

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Troil. - Troilus and Criseyde

Rom. R. = The Romannt of The Rose 1

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D & o. = Dicta et opiniones diversorum philosophorum

P. Pr. - Active Policy of a Prince

Pr. R. A Prisoner's Reflections

Gen. - Generydes, ed. Wright, E. E. T. S. 55, 70.

Bl. - Blanchardyn and Eglantine, ed. Kellner, E. E. T. S. e. s. 58.

God. - Godeffroy of Boloyne, ed. Colvin, E. E. T. S. e. s. 64.

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 - As = As You Like It vol. 4
 - Cor. = The Tragedy Of Coriolanus vol. 9
 - Haml. = The Tragedie Of Hamlet vol. 11

 - Jul. C. = The Tragedie Of Julius Cæsar vol. 10

TEXTS

King L. = The Tragedie Of King Lear	vol.	11
L. L. L. = Loves Labour's Lost		
Macb. = The Tragedie Of Macbeth	vol.	11
Me Wives = The Merry Wives Of Windsor	vol.	1
Mids. = A Midsommer Nights Dreame	vol.	3
Mn. Adoe = Much Adoe About Nothing		
Oth. = The Tragedie Of Othello	vol.	12
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INTRODUCTORY REMARKS.

1. General Character of the Definite Tenses in Recent English.

The existence of the periphrastic and simple forms side by side furnishes the English language with an admirable means of expressing even very subtle shades of meaning: the use of a definite tense may indeed represent a stylistic nicety of an exquisite effect, just strong enough to be felt and appreciated, but too delicate, I am tempted to say, to allow of being properly analyzed. They prove, then, frequently enough, rather hard to judge; and on the whole, to get at the intrinsic character of the definite tenses is perhaps no easy task.

Most authors agree, however, that they have a general meaning of duration which is to be looked upon as their main characteristic.

Western, who has treated this subject somewhat fully, explains the difference between the simple and the periphrastic forms thus:

As a rule, one can only say that, whereas the simple tenses express the infinite and the unlimited, as: 'the church stands on a hill', 'I have never seen him', or the momentary, as: 'he fell'dead', or a series of events, as: 'when he had gone, I sat down and wept', — the periphrastic tenses imply that the action or the state of things is limited

within a certain space of time, either directly expressed or to be understood, as: 'he *has been sleeping* for six hours', or that it is simultaneous with another action, as: 'he *was dressing* when I *entered* the room'. (Indledning, 2).

This pronouncement is not intended to stand as an exhaustive definition of the definite tenses ('At gi nogen udtommende og noiagtig definition af de omskrevne verbalformers brug i engelsk er neppe muligt'. — Indledning, 1.), but it covers the main uses.

Taking it, therefore, as the starting-point for forming a more general and comprehensive definition, we may sum up the different statements by saying that the indefinite tenses are used where no special time is thought of, whilst the definite tenses are employed when this is the case. Thus put, I venture to say that it gives us the key to an explanation of the other uses ¹ as well, and I arrive at the following view of the matter:

The fundamental principle, that which underlies all the different functions of the definite tenses, is that the periphrasis gives, so to speak, a stronger inner stress to the verb, makes it more sentence-stressed, by calling the interest directly to the idea of time: the indefinite tense is more neutral and apt to act in a way more as a copula than as a tense, properly taken, whereas the definite tense is more pregnant in this respect and is preferred where the action, as such, is to be emphasized.

2. Views of Previous Investigators Concerning the Old English Periphrasis.

Old English possesses an equivalent to the Modern English definite tenses in a periphrasis formed by the verbs 'wesan' or 'beon' with the present participle.

¹ See Concluding Survey.

It occurs already in the oldest texts and was noticed remarkably early by grammarians; but until lately no thorough investigation as to its character and syntactical uses has been undertaken.

Most of the authors concerned agree in attributing to the Old English periphrasis about the same meaning and grammatical functions as characterize the corresponding modern forms, e. g. Mätzner, Einenkel, Müller, and others.

Several scholars, however, are of a somewhat different opinion.

Thus Sweet, in New Engl. Gr. II, § 2203, remarks that the extended forms in Old English are 'only vaguely differentiated from the simple forms'. In § 2205 he supposes the fundamental difference to be that the periphrastic tenses 'are associated with the idea of incompletion', and then admits that, as a natural result of this, they very often occur in constructions which involve the idea of continuity or progression (§ 2206). — Thus far, I think, Sweet's remarks will hold good, but then he ventures the following restriction: 'But that this idea is only a secondary one is shown by those instances in which the context excludes the idea of duration, as when the periphrase is accompanied by the adverb sona 'immediately', as in ba sõna on anginne þæs gefeohtes wæs se munt Garganus bifigende mid ormætre ewacunge 1'. — That the periphrasis in this instance, as indeed in some others as well, admits of an inchoative meaning in no wise excludes the idea of continuity: on the contrary, it must always be understood that the action in question is not only beginning, but also that it continues for some time. Thus in the above example we might very well infer that Mount Garganus 'started

This is Aelfric's translation of the Latin: Garganus immenso tremore concutitur. — Se Max Förster, Zu den Blickling Homilies, Herrig's Archiv 91, p. 194.

trembling' 1, which certainly implies duration. Moreover, one is justified in saying that, in these instances, the durative element is not only admissible but, as a rule, predominant, the inchoative meaning being only the secondary one.

Jespersen holds (Growth and Structure etc., p. 205) that Old English 'he wæs feohtende' corresponds to Modern English 'he used to fight'. — It will not be denied that, in some cases, the Old English periphrasis involves such an idea; but if Jespersen's interpretation should be taken to mean that the main use of the extended tenses in Old English is that they denote a habit, it must be downright rejected. — It would seem as if Jespersen had adopted this interpretation in order to support his conjecture of the altogether different origin of the Old English periphrasis and its modern counterpart, by thus assuming different functions for the two extreme stages of the language ².

Lately the periphrasis in Old English has been treated, on a larger scale, by no fewer than three scholars, namely, Erdmann and Pessels, and lastly by Püttman, who has also brought some specimens of the Early English period under his investigation.

Without entering into details in this place I confine myself to stating that the results arrived at agree on all main points, and especially in recognizing the idea of duration or progression as the general character of the periphrasis.

¹ Sweet has (§ 2207): 'began to tremble'.

² The passage referred to runs as follows: 'The periphrastic tenses *I am reading, I was reading, I have been reading, I shall be reading,* etc. were not fully developed even in Shakespeare's time and seem to have little, if anything, to do with the Old English *he wæs feohtende* 'he used to fight'; the modern forms are aphetic for *I am a-reading,* where *a* represents the preposition *on* and the form in -ing is not the participle, but the noun'.

Only I think fit to quote, in its entirety, Erdmann's very interesting definition (p. 12): 'The Participle Present is used to form, together with the various parts of the auxiliary verbs wesan and beon, that periphrastic conjugation which is commonly called the Progressive form, and the characteristic of which is that it denotes an action as being in progress at a certain time, present, future, or past. It differs in this from the corresponding simple forms, which represent the action merely as a fact, that takes, will take, or has taken place. Being the adjective form of the verb, the Part. Present naturally has in its character a shade of permanence and durability, that does not belong to the rest of the verb. Accordingly, though actions put in the simple forms also must be considered to occupy some space of time and the two forms may not unfrequently be interchanged, without infringing the sense of the passage, there will however be found to exist a perceptible distinction between their several ways of giving the same idea. This distinction may be greater or less in particular cases, but it is seldom quite effaced. By using a tense of this periphrastic conjugation, the speaker, mentally entering into the very time of events, describes the action as going on, as continuing; whereas, if choosing the simple form, he would take no notice of it from that point of view, but mention it as a fact only'.

I. OLD AND EARLY MIDDLE ENGLISH.

Occurrence. Both in Old and in Early Middle English the periphrasis is very sparingly used, as compared with modern usage.

Beowulf musters only 3 examples, and in the whole of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle we have only about 24. In Aelfric's Lives of Saints the number of instances seems at first sight fairly large - about 100; but when we take into consideration the great length of this work, one must say that, even here, the frequency is, comparatively, small. Also, it is a striking fact that the occurrence of the extended forms is here very uneven: while some of the legends exhibit no instances at all, e. g. II, IV, IX, X, XI, XIV, XV, XVII, XIX, etc., we find them in comparatively great numbers in others, especially in XXIII with 13 instances. and, even more, in XXIII B, where some two dozen are on record. This might partly depend on the more or less free use Aelfric made of the Latin sources which were at his disposal. In the works translated from the Latin, in fact, the periphrasis is much more frequently used than in the works that are original or partly original. Thus in the Blickling Homilies which are, as has been shown by Max Förster¹, a very close translation from the Latin, there

¹ Zu den Blickling Homilies, Herrig's Archiv 91.

are no fewer than about 130 instances, a considerable number of which occur in Hom. XIII, where we find the periphrasis on almost every line. In the *Old English Homilies* there are 26, which is certainly no great number for a book of that size. As regards the *Genesis and Exodus* I have gone through the greater part of the text itself and the whole of the glossary, with the meagre result of finding only two examples. The instances are likewise very few in other texts belonging to this period: *The Life of Saint Katherine* and *Alfred's Proverbs* have only two or three each. These texts, however, are rather short. An exception from the general scantiness is afforded in the *Vices and Virtues*, with 36 instances of the periphrastic form.

The tense which is most often met with is the past, while, owing to the narrative nature of most of the texts concerned, the present is comparatively scarce.

A. Main Uses.

1. The Present Tense.

(i) **Defined.** The function of the periphrasis is seldom quite clear, unless it is strengthened by time-definitions, which, however, is the case in only a very limited number of instances.

It then expresses the actual present in some cases where the definitions are 'nu' (Ae. L. XVI, 217), or 'nu gyt' (Ae. L. XXIII, 452), which even more emphasizes the present moment. Occasionally the complement lies in a clause, as in V. a V. 47, 14 and A. Pr. 40.

In other cases the definitions employed show that the periphrasis implies duration, as in O. E. H. II, 175, 18 ('eure'), V. a V. 137, 31 ('niht and daiz').

Examples.

- Ae. L. I, 45. Symble he bið gyfende. And he ne wanað swaþæh nan þing hís.
- XVI, 217. and da synd nu ealle on pam ecan wuldre for heora clænnysse mid criste wunigende.
- XXIII, 452. and decins se casere is nu gyt smeagende hwæt we gefaran habban.
- O. E. H. II, 175, 18. De se is eure wagiende.
- 21. pis wrecche woreld. pat eure is wagiende noht fra stede to stede ! ac fro time to time.
- V. a V. 21, 12. To alle do halgen de hier on liue waren iboren, and nu mid ure lauerde gode wunigende bied, ic clepie
- 47, 14. ic de beseche and bidde dat tu dese halwende lore on write sette, for dan ic am michel benchinde dar hwile de ic on dese wrecche lichame am wuniende,
- 137, 17. Godd is haure fastinde.
- 31. For dan de gode mann is niht and dai beinkinde hu he muge gode icwemen, and him betst hersumen; alswa is dies beswikene mann niht and dai beinkinde hwu he muge fellen his ungesali beli mid swete metes and drenches.
- A. Pr. p. 40. If hit so bi-tydeb,

pat pu bern ibidest, pe hwile hit is lutel, ler him mon-pewes; panne hit is wexynde, hit schal wende par-to; pe betere hit schal iwurpe euer buuen eorpe.

Remarks.

- Ae. L. I, 45. Here the expression involves an idea of recurrence.
- O. E. H. II, 175, 18. Translated from the Latin 'Mare semper est in motu'.
- (ii) **Undefined.** In the majority of the examples found the tense occurs by itself, and the function of the periphrasis in many cases scarcely differs from that of the simple

form, as, for instance, in Ae. L. I, 49 and in O. E. H. II, 175, 25. Here the extended tense seems to be called into existence chiefly by virtue of the durative or rather progressive character of the verbs in question ('creopende' and 'fleonde' respectively).

Rather often the participle approaches an adjective in meaning: Ae. L. I, 131; Ae. L. XVI, 293; Ae. L. XXXIV, 114; V. a V. 15, 23; V. a V. 137, 6; here the periphrasis seems to denote *absolute duration*. In the last example one might also say that it stands instead of the indefinite present, according to modern notions: the translation 'helps much' is the correct one to render the meaning of the Middle English expression 'is — swiðe helpinde'.

Thus, on the whole, one must say that where it stands undefined, the present periphrastic very seldom denotes the actual present in the same strict sense as we have it in Modern English; a few examples, however, might be singled out as fairly good specimens: Ae. L. V, 417; O. E. H. I, 43; V. a V. 21, 3; V. a V. 95, 3; V. a V. 107, 8. Note, however, that the verbs employed here, 'eardigende' and 'wunizende', are by nature durative.

Examples.

- Ae. L. I, 49. Da gesceafta pe pæs án scyppend gescéop synden mænig-fealde, and mislices hiwes, and úngelíce farað. . Sume syndan creopende on eorðan, mid eallum lichoman, swá swá wurmas doð. Sume gað on twam fotum, sume on feower fotum, -- —. Sume fleoð mid fyðerum, sume on flodum svimmað.
- 131. And swá styrigende is seo sawul. þæt —
- 176. Heo is unge-sæwenlic, and un-lichomlic, butan hæfe and butan bleo, mid þam lichaman befangen, and on eallum limum wunigende.
- V, 417. Ic me gebidde to ∂am gode. þe bið eardigende on heofonum.
- XVI, 293. Twa unrot-nyssa synd. an is peos yfele.

and oder is halwende pæt is pæt se man for his synnum gennrotsige.

- Ae, L. XXIII B, 244. god sy gebletsod se ðe is sawla hælu tilligende;
 - 227. De gedafenað abbud Zosimus to biddenne and to bletsigenne, forþan þu eart underwreðed mid þære sacerdlican lare, and þu eart tellende cristes gerýnu mid þam gyfum þæra godenndlican
- XXXIV, 114. We habbað cyne-helmas halige mid us scinende swa swa rose, and snaw-hwite swa swa lilie.

þa þu ne miht geseon þeah þe hí scinende beon.

- O. E. H. I, 43. ah prud heo wes swide and modi. and lizere and swikel, and wredful and ontful, and fordi heo bid wuniende inne bisse pine.
- 95. On culfre onlicuesse and on fures heowe wes godes gast isceawed, fordon bet he ded ha he beod bilehwite, and wid-utan ufelnesse, and birnende on godes willan.
- II, 175, 25. He is fleonde alse shadewe and ne stont neure on one stede.
- V. a V. 15, 23. de deade man[n]es pruh, be is widuten ihwited, and wid-inne stinkende and full of wermes.
- 21, 3. To gen ic clepige iec de bied wunigende mid gemaneliche hlauerde gode,
- 35, 28. He wissed des mannes idang[c] de he to-cumd, oder durh halize writes oder durh hali sermuns, pe he him durh sume wise manne de he is inne wuniende, sant.
- 37, 32. Şif du wilt sikerliche wunizen on karite and on gode, panne do du alswa we hit a boke finden iwriten, pat is, dat tu mid rihte zeleane and mid faste hope and mid sode lune bie werchinde dat god de du iliefst.
- 57, 11. To sume menn hie cumò and farò, and mid sume men hie is *wunende*, and on swide feawe menn hie is *rixende*. On da manne de hie is *rixende*, þis [is] de tacne: al swo de woreld-mann lihtliche lei[c|hed of ydelnesse de he isied oder iherð, al swa de gastliche mann de hie on rixeð, lihtliche wepð oder sobbeð,
- 59, 14. godes milsce last ænremo (to) alle do mannen de him bied dradinde,
- 75, 16. and wite ou te sooe, bute ou him bie hier teioinde hwat swa hit oe ratt to donne: oanne ou cumst , oanne ou art itwamd fram oine lichame, hit te wile betachen —

- V. a V. 75, 22. Dinicie si affluant, nolite cor apponere, 'Worldes eihte, ¿if hie is swiðe rixinde to ðeward, ne do ðu naht ðine herte ðerto,
- 95, 3. Carited arist up fram de grundwalle, and beclepd all de wouh, (and) alle de bied in do hali huse wuniende;
- 95, 11. For di he bitt dat pais bie aider on licame and on saule, and dat pies hali milite sibsumnesse bie rixende on zeu bade;
- 95, 23. ic am on muchele aruednesses, on hungre and on durste(s), on wacches and on swinkes, and on manize(s) kennes wrecchades, sori and sorhfull, woninde and wepinde.
- 101, 14. Zif ani cump and bri[n]gp tidinges of idelne(s)-ses, and is *spekende* sotwordes de aræred up hleitres, none wunienge ne haue he mid de,
- 107, 8. Dies ilche halige mihte, hie is tur and strenglie to alle do mihte(s) de dar inne bied hanigende,
- 133, 24. þat is, ðat he worðliche him loki mid alle hise lemes of his likame. Hise eigene, þat hie ne bien to swiðe gawrinde hider and geond; þo earen, ðat hie bliðeliche ne hlesten ydelnesses, —
- 137, 6. To alle do nedes de mann hafd to donne panne is (pes)e hali mihte swide helpinde.

Remarks.

- Ae. L. I, 49. It is scarcely possible to perceive any difference in meaning between the periphrastic tense 'syndan creopende' and the simple forms 'gað', 'fleoð' and 'swimmað'.
- 176. 'Heo' applies to 'seo sawul'.
- O. E. H. II, 175, 25. 'Qui fugit velut umbra et -'. It is not impossible that the adverb 'neure' in the second clause has been felt as an equivalent to an 'eure' in the first, and thus has brought the periphrasis into use there.
- V. a V. 57, 11. Here the periphrasis is very happily chosen, according to modern notions, to mark the intensive-durative idea in 'is wunende'.

'is rixende' — it is concerning God's grace — as opposed to 'cumð and farð'. This stylistic nicety, however, may have been far from the author's mind: we find 'is rixende' and 'on rixeð' by the side of one another and under the same conditions, i. e. without any difference of meaning being perceptible. Thus the appearance of the periphrasis would seem to be rather arbitrary.

- V. a V. 59, 14. The extended tense might here, perhaps, be considered to imply a constancy, a frame of mind.
- 75. 22. It is possible that 'affluant' has been felt to be a verb of a marked progressive character, perhaps with some nuance of intensity also (note the addition 'swiðe'), and thus the extended form has been considered as the most apt to convey this idea.
- 95, 23. Here I consider the participles to be of an adjectival nature (note also that they are coordinated with real adjectives): the periphrasis denotes a habit, almost verging on a quality.
- 133, 24. Observe the alternating occurrence of periphrastic and simple forms: 'bien — gawrinde', 'hlesten'.

2. The Past Tense.

(i) **Defined.** This tense occurs more often with definitions of time than without. These may consist of temporal adverbs or adverbial expressions, indicating either point or length of time.

As examples of the former category, which might be termed actuality, we may take Chr. D. 1052 ('þa'),

O. E. H. I, 225 ('þa'), O. E. H. II, 3 ('on elche of þese brie times').

For the latter, which rather represents an action or a state of things as going on for a certain time, and might be called *qualified duration*, we have many more examples, of which I mention Chr. A. 871 ('oþ niht'), Chr. C. 1066 ('lange on dæg'), Chr. E. 1100 ('æfre'), Ae. L. XX, 125 ('ðrittig geara'), Ae. L. XXIII, 493 ('æfre'), Ae. L. XXIII B, 577 ('lange'), V. a V. 51, 5 ('þrie and þrihti wintre and an half'). The complements, as may be seen above, may denote *perpetuity* ('æfre'), or *limited duration* ¹, either in more general terms ('lange on dæg', 'lange') or else by distinct statements ('ðrittig geara', 'þrie and þrihti wintre and an half').

Occasionally, according to the nature of the complements, it is hardly possible to decide whether point or length of time is meant, as, for instance, in Chr. E. 1104, where 'to bysan timan' may be rendered either by 'at this time' or 'during this time'.

Often enough the definition lies in a separate clause, more or less connected with the clause where we have the periphrasis. Here, at least in many cases, we can distinguish between actuality and limited duration. The former category I find represented in Ae. L. XVIII, 421; Ae. L. XXIII, 584; O. E. H. I, 89; V. a V. 149, 12; the latter in Chr. A. 755; Ae. L. XXXVII, 4; O. E. H. II, 33 and 131. In all these cases, we have to do with an 'oddæt'-or a 'forte bat'-clause, and here the action is sometimes, as in

¹ The terms I employ to designate the main uses of the definite tenses are these: 1. actuality, e. g. and decius se casere is nu gyt smeagende hwæt we gefaran habban. (Ae. L. XXIII, 452.). 2. qualified duration, comprising: (a) perpetuity, e. g. Godd is haure fastinde. (V. a V. 137, 17.); (b) limited duration, e. g. þa wæs he seofon monðas wunigende swa blind. (Ae. L. XXI, 270.).

Chr. A. 755, represented as going on until a certain result is reached.

In some instances we find a combination of adverbial and clause to strengthen the force of the periphrasis, as in Chr. A. 755 (p. 48, 9); Chr. A. 855; Ae. L. XXI, 270; Ae. L. XXIII B, 45 and 803.

On the whole, it may be said that, where the definition is an adverb or an adverbial expression, the periphrasis implies *qualified duration* in by far the greatest number of the instances found, but that, when the definition is a clause, the two categories *actuality* and *limited duration* are on a balance with each other.

Examples.

- Chr. A. 755 (p. 48, 4). and hie alle on pone Cyning wærun feohtende op bæt hie hine ofslægenne hæfdon;
 - [E: and he ealle on done cining feohtende wæron, od bet hig hine ofslægen hæfdon.]
- A. 755 (p. 48, 9). Ac hie simle feohtende wæran op hie alle lægon butan anum Bryttiscum gisle,
- A. 755 (p. 48, 26), and hie ha ymb ha gatu feohtende wæron op hæt hie hær inne fulgon,
- A. 855 (p. 66, 8). and by ilcan geare ferde to Rome mid micelre weorlnesse, and bær was .Xii. monab wuniende, and ba him ham weard fór,
 - [E: And by ilcan geare ferde to Rome mid mycclum wurðscipe, and þær wunade .Xii. monað, and he feng to Karles dohter Francna cining þa he hamweard wæs.]
- A. 871 (p. 70, 28). and onfeohtende wæron op niht.
- C. 918 (p. 105, 25). Ac swide hrædlice pæs de hi þæs geworden hæfde heo gefór .Xii. nihtun ær middan sumera. binnan Tama weorþige dy eahtoþan geare þæs de heo Myrcna anweald mid riht hlaforddome healdende wæs.
- C. 1066 (p. 198, 23), and hi pær togædere fengon, and swyðe heardlice lange on dæg feolitende wæron.
- D. 1052 (p. 175, 15). þa wæs Eadward cyng on Gleawcestre *sittende*.
- E. 1085 (p. 215, 33). Da Willelm Englalandes cyng be ba wæs sittende on Normandige, fordig he ahte ægder ge

Englaland ge Normandige. ϕ is geaxode, he ferde into Englalande — —

- Chr. E. 1098. Toforan see Michaeles mæssan ætywde seo heofon swilce heo for neah ealle þa niht *byrnende* wære.
- E. 1100 (p. 235, 21). and purh yfelra manna rædas þe him æfre gecweme wæran. and purh his agene gitsunga. he æfre þas leode mid here and mid ungylde tyrwigende wæs.
- E. 1104 (p. 239, 21). Nis eade to aseggenne bises landes earmda be hit to bysan timan dreogende wæs.
- Ae. L. XIII, 147. Wel we magon geoencan hu wel hit ferde mid ús.

þaða þis igland wæs wunigende on sibbe.

- XVIII, 421. Isaias se witega wæs awæg farande.
 ac god hine gecyrde þus him eft secgende.
 Gecyr to ezechian —
- XX, 125. þry sinna he gestrynde, and hi siððan buta ðrittig geara wæron wunigende butan hæmede, and fela ælmyssan worhton, oð þæt se wer ferde

to munuclicere drohtnunge. - -

 XXI, 1. ON EADGARES DAGUM DÆS ÆÐELAN CYNINCGES.

> pADA se cristendom wæs wel deonde purh god

on angel-cynne — —

þa geswutelode god — —

- 270. þa wæs he seofon monðas *vunigende* swa blind. and his hlyst næfde, opþæt he mid geleafan ferde to þam halgan swyðune. — —
- XXIII, 220. and swa oft swa he into ôære byrig eode, he hine on wædlan hywe æteowde, and dearninga wæs smeagende hu hit on ôæs caseres hirede ferde.
- 493. and æfre he him wæs onsittende þæt hine sum man gecneowe.
- 584. Da he pus wæs to heom sprecende, and swa hreowlice his ceap gedrifan hæfde, hi sóna ealle up stodon.
- 621. and æfre wæs his nneadnys wexende.
- 717. Da malchus has word gehyrde he se portgerefa him swá hetelice wæs tospræcende, he ofdræd sloh adún hærrihte.
- 801. he arás þa of þære flora, and of þan wacan sæcce þe he lange on-uppan dreorig wæs sittende, and he þancode gode ælmihtigum.

- Ae. L. XXIII B, 45. swá hé sylf sæde Zosimus, þæt hé sylf wære fram þam modorlicum beorðrum on þæt mynster befæst, and oþ þæt þreo and fiftigðe geár he wæs þær on þam regole *drohtnigende*, and æfter þysum he wæs gecnyssed fram summin geþancum.
- 50. and he was bus spreeende, hwæder ænig munuc on eordan sy.
 Das and bysum gelicum him bencendum, him æt-stód sum engel, and him to cwæd.
- 415. Ac swilce me hwilc strang menin ongean stode.
 þæt me þone ingang beluce, swa me seo færlice godes wracu þa duru bewerede; Oððe ic eft standende on þæs temples cafertune wæs.
- 562. and bus ic seofontyne geare rynum on mænig-fealdum frecednyssum swá swá ic ér cwæð. winnende wæs on eallum þingum oþ þisne andweardan dæg and me on fultume wæs. and míne wisan reccende seo halige godes cennestre.
- 577. bus ic wæs lange on mænig-fealdum, and mislicum nydbearfnyssum, and on unmætum costnungum winnende, and wraxligende.
- 803. and J Zosimus on pant mynstre wæs drohtnigende, an hund wintra, and pa to drihtne hleorde,
- XXV, 728. lonathas wunode on wurðmynte ða lange. and cynegas hine wurðodon mid wordum and gifum.

and he sige geferde on manegum gefeohtum. and æfre wæs winnende embe godes willan.

- XXXI, 28. His mod wæs swa-peah æfre embe mynstru smeagende.
 - -- XXXVII, 4. -- & he on cristes láre wel *þéonde* wæs. oððæt he wearð ge-hádod to halgum diácone.
- O. E. H. I, 89. Dat halie hired cristes apostles weren wuniende edmodliche on heore ibeoden on ane upflore pa on pisse deie — com ferliche muchel swei of heofne
- 225. Adam þa wes wniende on þeses life mid ¿eswínce.
 II, 3. Men þe waren wunende on elche of þese þrie times wisten gerne after ure lanerd ihesu cristes tocume alse we doð.
- 31. On be niht and on be time, be ure lafdi seinte marie kennede of holie lichame ure louerd ihesn crist, were herdes wakiende bi side be buregh and wittende here oref.
 - 33. Al mankin was wunende on muchele wowe. -

- forte pat ilke time ! pat ure louerd ihesu crist hem parof aredde.
- O. E. H. II, 51. pat israelisshe folc was *walkende* toward ierusalem on swinche, and on drede, and on wanrede and po wile was hersum godes hese.
- 51. Ac efter han he hie weren wuniende in ierusalem. ... ho hie forleten godes lore.
- 131. for he nolde noht turnen ut of he hege weie, ne of he rihte pades. . and was her-one werchende, and farende, for to hat he [com] to de ende hat is eche lif.
- 147. and on his reuliche wei hie weren walkinde forte pat hie comen to he lichamliche deade.
- V. a V. 51, 5. Dies ilke hlauerd lesus Crist, he was her on dese liue wunizende prie and prihti wintre and an half mang senfulle mannen,
 - 55, 1. On da time de hie was hier on liue *libbende*, hit was iwriten: Maledicta sterilis, —
 - 67, 25. an riche iungman cam to Crist be do daizen de he hier lichamliche was wuniende, and seide: Quid faciam, —
- 149, 12. Hit seið in Vitas patrum ðat at sume sal waren de hali faderes to-gedere igadered, and waren spekinde bitwen hem on (h)williche wise me mihte rihtist and sikerest to gode cumen. Sum sade:

 Da sade on of da eldest

Remarks.

- Ae. L. XXIII, 220. 'wæs smeagende' marks what he was actually engaged in at each of his visits to the town. Here the sense of incompletion is especially prominent: no definite result is thought of. The periphrasis might also be considered to involve a slight shade of iteration: a comprehension of several single acts. Compare the simple form 'æteowde', which denotes a single act completed.
 - 801. 'wæs sittende' = Modern English 'had been sitting'.
 - XXIII B, 415. 'standende wæs' may perhaps be

correctly rendered by 'found myself standing'. The extended tense seems to indicate that the idea of result should be linked together with that of duration.

- V. a V. 149, 12. This example might, in some way, be compared with Ae. L. XXIII, 220: 'waren spekinde' comprehends the utterances of each speaker ('Sum sade: ——', which appears more than once.) The discussion is represented as brought to a kind of close by 'Da sade——'.
- (ii) Undefined. When undefined, the periphrasis is in some cases very vague in meaning according to modern notions: that is to say, we should here sooner expect the indefinite tense nowadays: Chr. E. 1086; Ae. L. III, 566; Ae. L. VI, 131; Ae. L. XXV, 276; V. a V. 41, 17; L. o St. K. 64; G. a E. 2741. It may be observed that the verb in all these instances is 'wunigende'.

In other cases the participle partakes of an adjectival nature, as in Ae. L. XXIII, 702; Ae. L. XXIII B, 90; O. E. H. II, 119 and L. o St. K. 1353.

Apart from these two groups, however, one may certainly hold that the past periphrastic, even when it occurs without definitions, has, to a considerable extent, the same functions as in Modern English: it expresses that an action or a state of things was going on under special circumstances, these being indicated, more or less directly, in the context. The following may be considered as especially good examples: Ae. L. VII, 67 and 421, Ae. L. XXIII B, 187; Ae. L. XXV, 423; O. E. H. I, 41 and 93.

Examples.

Beow. 159. (ac sē) æglæca ēhtende wæs, dĕorc deaþ-scua duguþe ond gĕogoþe;

- Beow. 3028. Swā sē secg hwata secggende wæs laðra spella;
- Chr. E. 994. and æt nyxtan naman heom hors. and ridon swa wide swa hi woldon. and unasecgendlice yfel wircende wæron.
- E. 1086. Eala reowlic and wependlic tid wæs pæs geares.
 be swa manig ungelimp wæs forðbringende.
- Ae. L. III, 566. AN æþele læce wæs wunigende on þære byrig. IOSEP gehaten.
- VI, 131. Se þegn wæs wunigende butan wifes neawiste.
- VII, 67. Þa cunnodan læcas hwi he licgende wære.
- 421. and cristen-dom wæs *peonde*, and þa halgan wurdon gecydde.
- XVI, 161. forðan þe he mid soðfæstnysse ne sohte þone hælend.

ac foxunga wæron wunigende on him.

- XXI, 444. - se tima wæs gesælig

and wynsum on angel-cynne. ha da eadgar cynincg

pone cristen-dom ge-fyrðrode, and fela munuclifa arærde.

and his cynerice wæs wunigende on sibbe.

- XXIII, 702. syddan dyllic feoh wæs farende on eordan.
- 823. and for pære micelan blysse synderlice he weop ofer ælcne, and his heorte wæs fægnigende.
- XXIII B, 32. Dás wisan he ealle on him hæbbende wæs.
 and he næfre fram þam smeagungum haligra gewrita his mód awenda
- 90. ac þæt án wæs swiðost fram heom eallum geefst. þæt heora ælc wære on lichaman déad. and on gaste libbende;
- 141. æghwilc on his agenum ingehyde mid him sylfum habbende wæs, his agenes geswinces gewitnysse hwæt he wyrcende wæs, and hwilcra geswinca sæde sawende.
- 177. Da wisan Zosimus georne behealdende wæs.
- 187. Hé witodlice hire wæs ehtende. and heo wæs fleonde;
- XXV, 276. and his feower gebroðra him fylston anrædlice and ealle ða þe wæron wunigende mid his fæder.
- 423. and sloh da hædenan oð þæt hi oncneowon þæt se cena iudas him wið-feohtende wæs.
- XXX, 8. Nacode he scrydde, and swa ic soðlice secge, ealle nyd-behæfnysse he wæs dælende, þam þe þæs behofodon.

- Ae. L. XXX, 445. forþant ge wæron winnende on godan life. and ge wæron for-þyldiende mænig-fealde cos[t]nunga. and swa-þeah næron ofer-swiþde. Cumað nu on sybbe.
 - XXXI, 622. cwæð eac þæt nan man nære fram him ofslagen

buton pam anum pe him onfeohtende wæron.

1283. — ac he ne ablan na swa-þeah. mid seofon-nihte fæstene him fore to-þingi-

od-bæt he beget bæs be he biddende wæs.

XXXIII, 7. and heo þa dæghwamlice hire speda þearfendum dælde. and gelomlice heo cyrcan sohte. and mid halsungum god wæs *biddende* þæt —

XXXIV, 76. þa cyne-helmas wæron wundorlice *scinende* on rosan readnysse. and on lilian hwitnysse.

XXXV, 84. Polemius þa sona sende his frynd to þam mædene darian and micclum wæs biddende

bæt -

- O. E. H. I, 41. Mihhal eode bi-foren and þa scawede mihhal to sancte paul þa wrecche sunfulle þe þer were wuniende
 - 93. Nu eft on pisse deie purh pes halie gastes to-cume : weren alle ispechen agein inumen. and isome : fordon pet cristes apostlas weren *specende* mid alle spechen.
- 95. fordon bet he wes dreihninde on bissere worlde mid bilehwitnesse. and — —. for he ne remde ne of bitere speche nes.
 - 95. forðon þe he dude þet heo weren birnende on godes willan, and bodiende umbe godes riche.
- 11, 119. ec hie him segen on fures hewe al ich er seide. and weren þerof *wallinde* on soðere luue godes and mannen.
- V. a V. 41, 17. ôu aust te folgin ôane riht[t]wise and onfald lob, ôe was wunigende on ôare woreld mid wiue and mid children,
- L. o St. K. 64. In pis ilke burh wes wuniende a meiden
 - of grome 't of teone, bed bringen o brune an ad amidden be burh;
- G. a E. 2741. Raguel letro dat riche man,
 Was wuniende in madian,
 He hadde seuene dowtres bi-geten;

Remarks.

- Beow. 3028. This occurs after a rather lengthy harangue, and it may be that the periphrasis can be ascribed to a certain idea of duration, viz. with a view to the time the warrior took to deliver his speech.
- Ae. L. XXI, 444. The translation given in the edition used, 'and his kingdom continued in peace' exactly renders the meaning.
- XXIII, 702. The translation of the edition is 'since the like money was current on the earth'.
- XXIII B, 32. 'hæbbende wæs' is indirectly defined by 'næfre' in the next clause.
- XXX, 8. The context shows that 'wæs dælende' applies to several occasions: 'he used to
 ', 'it was his habit to -'.
- XXXI, 622. The translation given here: '— no man had been slain by him save those only who were fighting against him' is not quite accurate. The context leads me to prefer: 'who had been fighting' (on a certain occasion or perhaps rather on several different occasions during his former life).
- XXXIII, 7. The periphrasis seems to imply a certain idea of intensity: note the complement 'mid halsungum', and the coordination with the iterative expressions 'dæghwamlice — dælde' and 'gelomlice — sohte'.
- XXXV, 84. Here also an intensive meaning seems to be intended: 'micclum'.
- O. E. H. I, 93. There is an indirect definition in 'Nu eft on bisse deie' in the first clause.
- 95. 'dreihninde'. The complement 'on bissere

worlde' is here equivalent to an adverbial of time: 'during his whole life'.

- O. E. H. I. 95. 'birnende', 'bodiende'. The first participle is here adjectival (= burning, zealous), and 'bodiende' may be considered to share in this idea in so far that it denotes a constant liabit
- L. o St. K. 64. [H]ac in urbe Alexandrinorum erat quedam puella, — Thus 'erat' is rendered by 'wes wuniende'.
- 1353. 'berninde as he wes —'. The Latin has: furiis agitatus accenso in medio civitatis vehementissimo igne. jussit —.

Additional Remark.

In Aelfric's Lives of Saints a few instances of the past periphrastic occur, where we should now use either the perfect or the pluperfect.

These compound tenses were not fully developed in Old English, nor in the earlier part of the Middle English period, and they did not occur at all in the periphrastic conjugation. Thus it may be explained that, in case the idea of duration or progression was attached to the meaning of an expression, or if the verb in question was felt to possess this character, the past periphrastic might occasionally be chosen.

We have already noted two instances; he arás þa of þære flora. and of þam wacan sæcce þe he lange on-uppan dreorig wæs sittende. and he þancode gode ælmihtigum. (Ae. L. XXIII, 801), and: cwæð eac þæt nan man nære fram him ofslagen buton þam anum þe him onfeohtende wæron. (Ae. L. XXXI, 622). In the first of these two instances, at least, the extended past corresponds exactly to a definite pluperfect in Modern English.

In the following examples, however, Modern English would sooner prefer an indefinite perfect or pluperfect.

- III, 113. þa stód se hælend sylf. æt þam halgan weofode.

 and mid his halgum handum. husel senode.

 and þam bisceope tæhte. þæs þe hé biddende

 wæs.
- XII, 177. Eft ne mot nan mann ne ne sceal secgan on hine sylfne þæs ðe he wyrcende næs.
- XII, 243. Nu ge habbað gehyred þæt ge forhelen ne sceolan eowre agenne synne ne eac secgan na mare þonne ge wyrcende wæron.
- XXIII, 210. I)a hi dus sprecende wæron seofon da gecorenan halgan. þa sealdon hi heom fæstnunge betweonan. þæt hi ealle þis woldon healdan.
- XXIII, 386. Dyllice halige word, and ungerime odre de on halgum bocum synd awritene, bæt god ælmihtig mænigfealdlice, ge durh his witegan, ge burh hine sylfne, and be dæra martyra æriste wæs sprecende.

The translations of these examples given in the edition — which I consider to be perfectly correct — are the following:

- III, 113. 'and instructed the bishop in that for which he had prayed'.
- XII, 177. 'nor ought he to say, respecting himself, such [things] as he hath not done,'
- XII, 243. 'neither say any more than ye have done,'
- XXIII, 210. 'When they had thus spoken, —, they gave each other —'
- XXIII, 386. 'Such [are the] holy words and numberless others which are written in holy books, which God Almighty, in many ways, both by His prophets and by Himself, and concerning the resurrection of the martyrs, had spoken,'

3. The Imperative and the Infinitive.

In these two forms of the periphrastic conjugation we note a strong durative force, occasionally further emphasized by such an adverb as 'symble' in Ae. L. XII, 268.

In most cases they express a habit or a frame of mind, the participle thus assuming a more or less adjectival meaning, although the context may clearly show that it retains its full verbal force, as in Ae. L. XXXIII, 314 and V. a V. 121, 9, where there are objects attached to 'forgitende' and 'rewsende' respectively.

(i) Examples of the Periphrastic Imperative.

Ae. L. XXXIII, 314. ne beo pu forgitende pinra efenpeowa.

O. E. H. II, 5. Uigilate quia -- pat is beð wakiende, and forleteð gure synne.

V. a V. 75, 9. Darhwile de du art mid pine widerwine on da weize, bie him teidinde dat de he wile hauen idon, læste he de nime – —

— 113, 4. Estote mi(sericordes), 'Bieð mildciende, al swo geuer fader is on heuene!'

(ii) Examples of the Periphrastic Infinitive.

Ae. L. XII, 268. We sceolan beon *beonde* symble on godnysse. V. a V. 37, 6. þat he and his fader hine scolden luuigen and mid him *wuniende* b(i)en.

97, 17. Ic hit wat well dat godd ne mai bien wunizende on none saule dat unfrid is of sennes.

 107, 15. ne he ne scall resten ne slapen to michel, ne to litel; ne he ne scal to michel bien spekende, ne to michel swi(g)ende;

121. 9. For di us menezed allre pinge arst ure lauerde of desre eadi mihte, pat we scolden beon rewsende ure sennen,

23. Mann de wel wile bien riwsinde, ne rewe him nauht ane hise sennes.

Remark.

V. a V. 107, 15. This instance clearly shows how the indefinite form and the adjective converge towards the same idea of absolute duration in Modern English: the translation of the edition FUTURITY 25

is: 'nor shall he *speak* too much, nor *be* too much *silent'*; one might here very well substitute an adjective for 'spekende' as well: 'nor shall he *be* too *talkative*'.

B. Futurity.

Sometimes the periphrasis occurs in expressions which involve a futural meaning. In the majority of these instances, however, this is not its chief function, the idea of duration or progression being the predominant one. Thus one can by no means hold that the periphrasis serves as a 'future-equivalent', but only that it has an implied undermeaning of futurity.

1. The Present.

Ae. L. XXI, 295. — and ic wille bæt ge beran eower leoht to me. and licgað on cneowum and ic eow forgife bæt bæt ge gyrnende beoð.

XXIII B, 667. Eala hwæðer heo hider cumende syo. and me ne gyme.

O. E. H. I, 119. Da pe butan godes laze and godes isetnesse libbed! pa beod butan gode efre wuniende.

V. a V. 103, 20. Ne biest ou naht hier lange wunizende; forlat oine sennen!

Remarks.

- Ae. L. XXI, 295. Kühn (Die Syntax des Verbums in Aelfric's 'Heiligenleben'). Leipzig-Reudnitz 1889, p. 40): '21,297 [this example] könnte man futurisch nennen. (cf. Koch II § 18).' 'gyrnende beoð' implies a supposed actuality.
 - XXIII B, 667. 'cumende syo' denotes indefinite futurity, an eventuality.

- O. E. H. I, 119. I should prefer: 'shall for ever be dwelling' to the 'are ever dwelling' given in the edition.
- V. a V. 103, 20. The futural meaning is obvious: 'thou wilt not long be dwelling' (translation of the edition).

2. The Past.

Beow. 1102. 'deah hie hira beag-gyfan banan folgedon
'deoden-lease, þā him swā geþearfod wæs:
'gyf þonne Frysna hwylc frecnon spræce
'dæs morþor-hetes myndgiend wære,
'ponne hit sweordes ecg syddan scolde

Ae. L. Vl, 268. ac wære þæt getél. wunigende æfre.
O. E. H. I, 217. Gif non hine ne lufede. non to him ne cóme. ne delende nére óf his eádinésse.

Remarks.

- Beow. 1102. 'myndgian' means 'remind of' (Holthausen: erinnern an). Thus: 'if then — should remind of —'. The idea of hypothetical futurity appears, in fact, to be the essential element of the periphrasis: a durative force seems scarcely admissible.
- Ae. L. VI, 268. Rendered in the translation by: '- but that the tale should always continue'.
- O. E. H. I, 217. 'if none loved him, none would come to him, nor would participate of his bliss.' (translation of the edition).

C. The Inchoative.

In the Chronicle and in Aelfric's Lives of Saints we meet with several interesting instances where the periphrasis has, besides its primary and chief function, an additional inchoative meaning of a secondary character: the periphrasis is here inchoative-durative, and the latter element predominates so much that the former has not even got its own linguistical expression, but is involved in the duraitve. We have to do with a sort of anticipation, or logical hiatus', as Erdmann (p. 13) very aptly terms it: 'Instead of simply stating that such and such an action begins, by a liveliness of expression it anticipates time, and passing over the opening moment, represents the action as already in progress. This logical hiatus is more or less felt, according to the different degree of weight attached to the commencement of the action'. As regards the Chronicle it may be observed that the expression 'and feohtende wæron' is a set phrase, so to speak, for rendering the idea which in Modern English may be expressed by 'and then they started fighting'. Occasionally this scantiness of language, or as Erdmann has it, 'liveliness of expression', gives way to a more logical, but less vivid and pregnant style: and hi bær togædere fengon and swyðe heardlice - feohtende wæron. C. 1066 (p. 198, 23). Here the two elements have got each its special expression in the language.

Examples.

Chr. A. 835. Her com micel sciphere on West Walas, and hie to anum gecierdon, and wip Ecgbryht West Seaxna cyning winnende wæron; þa he þæt hierde, and mid fierde ferde, and him wip feaht æt Hengest dune, ——

[E: winnende. MS. wuniende; and so D.]

- Chr. A. 867. and hie late on geare to pam gecirdon pæt hie wip pone here winnende wærun, and hie peah micle fierd gegadrodon, and pone here soliton æt Eoforwic ceastre, and on pa ceastre bræcon, and hie sume inne wurdon, and pær was ungemetlic wæl geslægen
- A. 876. [p. 74], and by geare Healfdene Norbanhymbra lond gedælde, and *ergende* wæron and hiera *tilgende*. [B: b hie sybban ergende. E: hergende.]
- A. 878. p. 76, 2]. and pæs on Eastron worhte Aelfred cyning lytle werede geweorc æt Aepelinga eigge, and of pam geweorce was winnende wip pone here,
- E. 994. Her on þisum geare com Anlaf and Swegen to Lundenbyrig and hi ða on ða burh festlice feohtende wæron, and eac hi mid fyre ontendan woldon, ac hi þar gefeordon maran hearm and yfel þonne hi æfre wendon.

 [F: and fæstlice on þa burh fuhton, and hi —]
- E. 1001. Her com se here to Exan muðan, and úp ða eodan to dere byrig, and þær fæstlice feohtende wæron, ac him man swyde fæstlice wiðstod, and heardlice. Da gewendon hi
- Ae. L. XXIII, 775. and þa þa hí þæt gewrit ræddon, hí ealle wundrigende wæron. and god ælmihtigne ánon móde wuldredon.
- XXIII B, 231. Das word witodlice gebrohton on Zosime micelne ege. and fyrhtu, and he wæs byfigende; And hé wæs geondgoten mid þæs swates dropum; Da ongan hé sworettan
 - 669. and biterlice weop, and his eagen up to pam heofone hæbbende, and eadmodlice god wæs biddende pus cwæðende.
- XXV, 490. Hwæt da færlice comon fif englas of heofonum.

ridende on horsum mid gyldenum gerædum. and twægen þæra engla on twa healfe iudan feohtende wæron. and hine eac bewerodon.

- XXXI, 220. þa æfter twam tidum astyrode se deada eallum limum. and lociende wæs.
- 1123. þa wæs se ele wexende ofer ealne Jone weg.
 swa þæt he ofer-fleow. —
- 1202. and þa deofol-seocan sona mid swiðlicre grymetunge

forhtigende wæron. - -

Remarks.

- Chr. A. 878. Here the hiatus is very little felt: it is even possible that no inchoative idea is intended.
- Ae. L. XXV, 490. The context shows clearly that the expression ought to be rendered by 'began to fight' or, better, 'started fighting' rather than by 'were fighting', which is the translation of the edition.
- XXXI, 1202. 'sona' shows that the inchoative element is more stressed than the durative.

Additional Remark.

In Aelfric's *Lives of Saints* we have some curious cases, which seem to have something in common with the inchoative use of the periphrasis, in so far that they imply an anticipation, at least the last two of them. It may be that Latin influence has been at work here, to judge from an analogous instance in the Old English Version of Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People, quoted by Püttmann (p. 5): pa somninga se min latteow gestod and butan eldenne wæs eft his gong cerrende 430, 25 (repente ductor substitit; nec mora, gressum torquens *208, 16).

XXXI, 250. — and he sona ge-edcucode.

and mid geornfulre elnunge up arisende wæs.

XXIII B, 639. and eft-cyrrende wæs herigende. and blætsigende úrne drihten hælendne crist;

 641. And he wæs eft-cyrrende purh pone ylcan siðfat þæs westenes þe hé ær þyder becom.

D. Survey.

Sweet remarks (§ 2208) that 'The analogy of the adjective construction would make us expect to find the periphrastic forms used mainly to express rest, and passive rather than active phenomena. But, on the contrary, they are especially favoured by verbs of motion and fighting — wæs winnende, wæron feohtende — either with or without the idea of continuity'.

Here Sweet no doubt has had in mind the frequent occurrence of 'feohtende' in the Chronicle, but his remark does not hold good for the great bulk of Anglo-Saxon literature: verbs expressing rest and other passive phenomena are very freely employed in the periphrastic conjugation. Püttman has found that verbs of saying are very often met with: this is true as regards the Blickling Homilies, for instance, and other works of the same kind, especially if translated from the Latin. Püttmann - speaking about cases where the periphrasis seems to be devoid of any progressive force — is inclined to attribute, even to these verbs, at least in many cases, a slight shade of the sense of duration, in others he takes into account the possibility of Latin influence: 'Zu den ebenfalls häufig mit der bedeutung eines historischen tempus vorkommenden verben des sagens ist zu bemerken, dass es sich in vielen fällen vielleicht doch um eine leise schattierung des begriffes der dauer handeln könnte, in anderen vielleicht lateinischer einfluss anzunehmen ist' (p. 48). He may be right in both

¹ In § 2204 he ventures the following conjecture: 'They were no doubt originally formed on the analogy of the combination of the verb 'be' with adjectives, so that such a paraphrase as $h\bar{\iota}e$ $w\bar{e}ron$ blissiende 'they were rejoicing' was felt to be intermediate between $h\bar{\iota}e$ blissodon 'they rejoiced' and $h\bar{\iota}e$ $w\bar{e}ron$ bl $\bar{\iota}pe$ 'they were gfad'.'

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suggestions, especially, it seems to me, as regards the Latin influence. As to the verbs which most often take the periphrasis, it should be kept in mind that this depends, to a great degree, on the nature of the texts: this is especially clear in the case of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*; one can safely say, however, that verbs that are of a durative or progressive character — such as verbs of rest, motion and also mental states or proceedings — are in the majority.

The chief functions of the periphrasis during these periods are to mark that an action or a state of things is going on at a certain point of time, actuality, or else for a certain length of time, qualified duration. It is hardly possible to decide in every case whether actuality or limited duration is the function of an extended tense: even where there are definitions one may find examples lying on the borderland between the two categories. On the whole, however, one can say that during these periods the latter is somewhat more frequently represented than the former.

The meaning of the periphrasis is most clearly brought out when it is defined by adverbs, adverbial expressions generally, or by another clause, which directly mark the point or the length of time. Here we have a type which may be worth some special attention, I mean where the complement consists of adverbs of perpetuity, such as 'æfre', 'symble'. If the verb in question is also durative, then, of course, the whole expression involves the idea of perpetual duration: Godd is haure fastinde (V. a V. 137, 17), and æfre wæs his uneaðnys wexende. (Ae. L. XXIII, 621);

¹ Generally speaking, then, it implies progression or duration. If this idea is limited to a special moment, and thus the meaning of incompleteness prevails over that of duration properly taken, then it is that the periphrasis is used to form the actual tenses, describing the actual goings-on, a situation or the like.

but if the verb is a 'point-verb' we get a meaning of recurrence: *Symble* he bið *gyfende* (Ae. L. I, 45). Of course, according as the same verb may be felt as more or less durative, an expression may be interpreted as either durative or iterative, as in: and *wfre* he him www *onsittende* pæt hine sum man gecneowe (Ae. L. XXIII, 493). Here we may either regard 'www onsittende' as applying to a series of several different occasions, or else as a mental state of a certain constancy.

But the meaning may also lie, more or less perceptibly, in the context only, especially for the past tense, where a certain point or length of time is, in most cases, to be understood. Not infrequently, however - and this mostly as regards the present tense, which always tends to become more neutral in meaning, where the idea of actuality is not quite clear — the periphrasis is either very vague, hardly differentiated in function from the indefinite form — these cases are, however, not so very many — or else, where the idea of duration is distinctly prominent, tending towards the meaning of absolute duration, the participle assuming a nearly adjectival character, which is the case in several instances. As regards the former group, Püttmann holds that, in a great number of instances, the periphrasis has the same meaning as the simple forms: 'Schliesslich bezeichnet die umschreibung in einer grossen anzahl fälle das historische tempus, d. h. sie weicht in ihrer bedeutung nicht von derjenigen der formen der einfachen zeiten ab.' (p. 48). Here, however, it must be borne in mind that this is mostly the case in works translated from the Latin — and this is more emphasized by Pessels 1 than

Pessels has (p. 82) the following remark: 'The influence of the Latin has tended to greatly increase the employment of the periphrasis, but it has, at the same time, greatly obscured the progressive force.'

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by Püttmann — such as *Bede*, and also the *Blickling Homilies*, which latter Püttmann incorrectly classes among the more original works ('selbständigere prosa') as well as Pessels, who groups it with 'the original works'. In the *Old English Homilies*, for instance, Püttmann ascribes only 6 instances to this category, two of which are quite out of place, as they have not the present, but the perfect, participle. These are I, 81: gode men weren burh bet ho weren *itende* of ban halie gast, and 95: Alswa scal be larðeu don þe ðet bið mid þen halia gast *itend*.

Together with the primary idea of the periphrasis we note, sometimes, a more or less marked under-meaning, so that we may be justified in ascribing to it an additional character of futurity or ingression.

We get the futural meaning especially when the present tense is defined by adverbs denoting time-length as 'lange', 'æfre' — thus we find that the 'æfre-type' falls into three sub-types, namely one durative, one iterative and one futural-durative; but in other cases also this meaning may be, more or less distinctly, felt.

The inchoative or ingressive meaning is very seldom predominant: otherwise it is only secondary, the durative idea being the primary and prevalent one.

To this general idea of duration or progression one might add that, at least in cases where *qualified duration* is implied, as when the periphrasis is defined by 'æfre', 'symble' etc. or followed by a result-clause, but also in many others, even those implying *actuality*, the periphrasis gives a stronger inner stress to the verb than the indefinite forms, so much so that one may say that the definite tenses have, in not a few cases, a pronounced intensive character: they are more pregnant as opposed to the more neutral simple forms.

II. LATE MIDDLE ENGLISH.

A. Midland and Southern Dialects.

Occurrence. In texts belonging to these dialects the periphrasis is, up to the 15th century, sparingly used.

Havelok the Dane (3000 short lines) has only one case on record; and so too has Joseph of Arimathie, which is a rather short text. Sir Gawayne and the Green Knight, and the Early English Alliterative Poems, although both of them fairly long texts, exhibit likewise one each. From an investigation of Piers the Plowman, comprising Prologus and Passus I-XII (about 200 pages), I have gathered 4 instances. The extended tenses seem to be totally absent from The English Works of Wyclif: I have gone through about ¹/₃ of the volume, which counts 450 pages, without being able to hunt out a single specimen. This, however, is not at all surprising if we take into consideration the nature of the work: a collection of sermons or tracts in a philosophical-religious vein, altogether lacking the vividness of narration. Sir Ferumbras has contributed about half a dozen instances, which must be regarded as a comparatively scanty number, considering the epic character and the not inconsiderable size of the work. Also Chaucer must be pronounced to make a rather limited use of the construction: The Canterbury Tales and the Troilus and Criseyde together hold only some 30 cases. The same remark may be applied to Gower (in the prologue and the first two books of his *Confessio Amantis* I have only found half a dozen instances) and also to Lydgate, to judge from the *Temple of Glas* with two or three: this last text, however, is rather short.

Towards the latter part of the 15th century the periphrasis seems to have got more freely used: George Ashby's: A Prisoner's Reflections, Active Policy of a Prince, Dicta & opiniones diversorum philosophorum contain together 16 examples. In the Generydes they amount to about a dozen. Caxton's translations show a very uneven occurrence: while his Blanchardyn and Eglantine abounds in instances of the periphrastic tenses, they are very seldom met with in the Godeffroy of Boloyne.

1. The Present Tense.

(i) **Defined.** In some cases the tense is accompanied by time-distinctions, usually adverbs, either implying point of time ('now'), as in Gaw. 2214; Fer. 766 and Caxt. Bl. 189, 16, or else length of time: Ashby, Pr. R. 218 ('euermore'), P. Pr. 870 ('euer').

In one or two cases the definition takes the form of a clause, as in Ch. Troil. IV, 31, where *actuality* is the function of the periphrasis, and in Ashby, Pr. R. 220, where 'whyle' might as well suggest a durative meaning.

Examples.

Gaw. 2214. For now is gode Gawayn goande rygt here,

Fer. 766. I gylde me her to Charlis kyng : pe beste knygt y-core
pat is owar now lywyng : oper euere was her
be-fore.

Ch. Troil. IV, 31. Bifel that, whan that Phebus shyning is

Up-on the brest of Hercules Lyoun, That Ector, - -

Lydg. T. o. Gl. 3 b, 1. [p. 14]. I pleyne also vp-on Jelusye,
The vile serpent, the snake tortyvous,
That is so crabbit & fromynge of his ye,
And euere grochynge & suspecyous,

3 c, 1. [p. 14]. Thus is he fryed in his owene gres,
To-rent & torn with his owene rage,
And euere froward & frounynge causeles,

Ashby, Pr. R. 218. Thynke that worldes welth and felycyte Ys nat enermore in oone abydyng,

220. But transitory ys prosperyte,
And no certeynte whyle thow art lyuyng.
P. Pr. 870. Put no ful truste in the Comonalte,
Thai be euer wauering in variance,

Caxt. Bl. 129, 12. The sayd kynge Alymodes is alwaye kepynge his siege before her cyte of Tourmaday, & wasteth & distroyeth al the contrey about,

— 189, 16. this daye I doo praye you & commande / that oner all the best knyghtes that are now reynynge in the wyde worlde / ye woll socoure the comforte of my Joye,

Remarks.

- Ch. Troil. IV, 31. 'Bifel that --,' in the past, but 'shyning is --'. The 'whan'-clause marks the time of day.
- Ashby, Pr. R. 218. With a suggestion of futurity: 'shall not always be abiding'.
- Caxt. Bl. 129, 12. Denotes both protracted duration and actuality; we may also note the occurrence of the simple forms 'wasteth & distroyeth', which seem to single out something of the different proceedings contained in the comprehensive 'kepynge his siege', or they may be regarded more as a supplement to this expression, dispensing with the periphrasis mostly in order to avoid clumsiness of language.

(ii) **Undefined.** Somewhat more frequently the tense occurs without special complements. It then expresses the present actual, 'now' being understood, as in Piers Pl. Pass. VIII, 18; Fer. 2735; Ch. C. T. Cl. T. 744; C. Y, Prol. 67 and Gow. C. Am. II, 1804.

In Caxt. Bl. 215, 17 the periphrasis does not so much emphasize an actual moment: its chief function is rather to denote progression by itself, the idea of time, whether as a point or a length, being less prominent and only of a secondary importance.

This is decidedly the case in the following examples, where the inherent progressive or durative nature of the verbs has called the periphrasis into use: Gow. C. Am. II, 2151; Rom. R. 1563; Ashby, P. Pr. 751.

Sometimes the periphrastic present seems rather vague in meaning: Ashby, D & o 739 and Caxt. Bl. 112, 24 and 192, 3.

In one case the tense has a futural meaning: Piers Pl. Prol. 66.

Examples.

Piers Pl. Prol. 66. But holychirche and hij. holde better togideres,

The moste my[s]chief on molde is mountyng

wel faste.

 Pass. VIII, 18. «Amonges vs», quod þe Menours. «þat man is dwellynge,

And euere hath, as I hope, and euere shal here-after».

Fer. 2735. þan cam Clarioun þe sturne kyng i & loude hem gan ascrye:

«Falleþ on hem þai buþ fleoyng; we schulleþ hem haue an hye».

Ch. C. T. Cl. T. 744. My peple me constreyneth for to take Another wyf, and cryen day by day;

And treweliche thus muche I wol yow seye, My newe wyf is *coming* by the weye.

Ch. C. T. C. Y. Prol. 67. I seye, my lord can swich subtilitee —

That al this ground on which we been *ryding*, Til that we come to Canterbury toun, He coude al clene turne it up-so-doun, And pave it al of silver and of gold'.

Gow. C. Am. I, 1379. That for I se no sped comende, Ayein fortune *compleignende* I am, as who seith, everemo:

II, 1804. — And thus forth he geth
 Conforted of this evidence,
 With the Romeins in his defence
 Ayein the Greks that ben comende.

2151. And many a fraude of fals conseil

Ther ben hangende upon his Seil:

Lydg. T. o Gl. 3 b, 1. [p. 14]. I pleyne also vp-on Ielusye,

The vile serpent, the snake tortyvous,

That is so crabbit & frounynge of his ye,

Rom. R. 1563. Abouten it is gras springing,

For moiste so thikke and wel lyking,

Ashby, P. Pr. 751. Looke pat your maters be with god standyng,

D & o. 739. If ye be to any man *licencyng*To set his fote vpon youres areryng,

He wol after set his fote vppon your nekke.

Caxt. Bl. 112, 24. 'we holden on the crysten feyth, & are byleuyng in lhesu cryste'

192, 3. as ye shall understond by the historye, whiche is following

215, 17. as phisicke is naught worth where the pacient is passing;

Remarks.

Rom. R. 1563. 'Tout entour point l'erbe menue,

Qui vient por l'iaue espesse et drue'.

The periphrasis in the English version is due to the progressive character of the verb. In fact, the simple form would have been quite inappro-

Ashby, D & o. 739. 'licencyng'. In the List of Words

priate in this connexion,

(by Furnivall) given as an adjective, meaning 'giving leave'. It is difficult to judge of the periphrasis in this instance, as indeed in several others from Ashby. This author seems to have a great predilection for the extended tenses: whether from a metrical point of view or not, I do not feel called upon to discuss.

- Caxt. Bl. 112, 24. Here the periphrasis might be employed to convey a meaning of duration or intensity, suggesting a constancy of mind, which could not have been brought about by the simple form, but it may also be inferred that 'are byleuyng' is chosen by way of contrast with the simple form 'holden', to avoid monotony.
- 192, 3. I may be conjectured that 'is following' is due to a certain liveliness of conception, if not to the progressive nature of the verb only.

2. The Past Tense.

(i) **Defined.** The tense is, in most cases, found with definitions. These consist, in about half the number of instances, of adverbs or adverbials, implying either point or length of time, or, occasionally, recurrence: Hav. 945 ('ay'), A. P. Cl. 293 ('penne'), Ch. C. T. Prol. 89 ('al the day'), M. T. 1 ('whylom'), Sh. T. 24 ('ever in oon'), Troil. V, 22 ('ever-more'), Gow. C. Am. II, 1645 ('ofte'), Gen. 2544 ('allway'), 3739 ('still'), Caxt. Bl. 85, 4 ('atte this owre'), 96, 29 ('yet'), 127, 11 ('the same tyme'), God. 21, 17 ('thenne yet').

In about as many cases, the complement consists of a clause, this especially towards the end of the period; here, for the first time, we note the occurrence of the

periphrasis in clauses beginning with 'as', so characteristic of Modern English: Fer. 3611; Ch. C. T. Sq. T. 401; P. Prol. 10; Troil. II, 555; Gen. 5069 and 5662; Caxt. Bl. 101, 17 and 101, 35; further 136, 6; 141, 7; 161, 31. Here the periphrastic past denotes *actuality*, as also in the other cases, where the definition is a clause: Rom. R. 1715; Gen. 3746; Caxt. God. 51, 32.

Occasionally both adverbials and clause are to be found, as in Caxt. Bl. 145, 2.

Examples.

Hav. 945. Of alle men was he mest meke, Lauhwinde ay, and blipe of speke;

A. P. Cl. 293. benne in worlde watz a wyze wonyande on lyue, Ful redy & ful ryōtwys, & rewled hym fayre;

Piers Pl. Pass. XI, 403. «Haddestow suffred», he seyde. «slepyng po pow were,

bow sholdest haue knowen bat clergy can. and conceined more borugh resoun;

Fer. 2140. bus wyle was he on halle sittyng: with is puple attemete,

pan com per an hepene kyng : rydynge atte ēete;

— 3611. As he was *prykyng* ouer an hul A wykked cas ber him byful

ys sted wax al ateynte:

Ch. C. T. Prol. 89. Embrouded was he, as it were a mede Al ful of fresshe floures, whyte and rede. Singinge he was, or floytinge, al the day;

Kn. T. 507. And solitarie he was, and ever allone,
 And wailling al the night, making his mone.

1840. For he was yet in memorie and alyve,
 And alway crying after Emelye.

M. T. 1. WHYLOM ther was dwellinge at Oxenford
A riche gnof, that gestes heeld to bord,
And of his craft he was a Carpenter.
With him ther was dwellinge a povre scoler,

Sh. T. 24. Amonges alle his gestes, grete and smale,
 Ther was a monk, a fair man and a bold,

I trowe of thritty winter he was old, That ever in oon was *drawing* to that place.

Ch. C. T. Sq. T. 401. Amidde a tree fordrye, as whyt as chalk,
As Canacee was pleying in hir walk,
Ther sat a faucon over hir heed ful hye,
That with a pitous voys so gan to crye

P. Prol. 10. Ther-with the mones exaltacioun,
I mene Libra, alwey gan ascende,
As we were *entringe* at a thropes ende;

Troil. II, 555. It fel that I com roming al allone
 Into his chaumbre, — —
 — as I was cominge,
 Al sodeynly he lefte his compleyninge.

V, 22. This Troilus, with-outen reed or lore,

As man that hath his loyes eek forlore,

Was waytinge on his lady ever-more

Gow. C. Am. Prol. 552. For evere whil thei deden wel,
Fortune was hem debonaire,
And whan thei deden the contraire,
Fortune was contrariende.

II, 1477. And as fortune wolde tho,

He was duellende at on of tho.

1645. Demetrius, which ofte aboute
 Ridende was, stod that time oute,

Rom. R. 1715. The God of Love, with bowe bent,
That all day set hadde his talent
To pursuen and to spyen me,
Was stonding by a fige-tree.
And whan he sawe how that I

He took an arowe ful sharply whet,

Gen. 1674. Whille he was stille in prisone a bideng, his thought was all on Clarionas;

2544. ffor thei were allway fightyng still opece
 Ayenst Galad the kyng of Asirye;

3739. So still opece he was ther abideng,

— 3746. Vppon a tyme the Sowdon was alone,
In a garden was walkyng to and fro,
Ser luell Was ware therof anon,

5069. And as thei were remevyng fro the place, ffull sustely Sygrem callid lucydas,

5662. And as sche was comyng inward to his tent, Of hir he was full gladde in his entente, And seid, 'mayde Mirabell, benedicite;

- Caxt. Bl. 84, 30. Eugn atte the same oure that the two vasselles be foughte eche other the proude mayden in amours was *lenyng* at a wyndow, thorough whyche she sawe pleynli the bataylle
- 85, 4. The doughter of Alymodes the kynge was atte this owre settynge byfore her pauillyon for to beholde pe batayll of pe two champions.
 - 87, 20. Whan blanchardyn sawe the yong damoysell that was there *syttyng* / he bowed hym self donneward vpon his hors necke, and toke the mayden by the myddes of her body,
 - 96, 29. And that they sholde delynere hym in his hande / And telle hym that it was he that had slayne Rubyon, his brother, byfore Tourmaday, where his fader kynge Alymodes was yet *kepyng* the syege,
 - 101, 17. Ryght thus as the kynge was talkynge so wyth blanchardyn / cam there a knyghte armed of al peces,
 - 101, 35. and alredy thou mayste see by me that they be not fer from hens, for as I was *commynge* towarde the I dyde fynde thyn enmyes byfore me,
 - 127, 11. And in especyall she was sore discomfited at her herte for the lone of her frende blanchardyn, that was the same tyme wyth his felawe sadoyne *sayllyng* vpon the see in grete gladnesse for the wynde & the see that were peasible.
 - 136, 6. As she was thus *talkyng* wyth her maystres, and that the vessayls beganne to com nyghe, and made redy all thynges to take lande, a south wynd rose vp sodanly, 141, 7. he folowed daryus of so nyghe that he ouer reched hym with his swerde, as he was *fleyng* at the right syde of hym.
 - 145, 2. It happed that one a day blanchardyn, Sadoyne, and his wyff the fayer Beatrix, were *sittyng* at the bord takynge their recreacyon / The same tyme herde blanchardyn a voyce of a man that full pyteuosly lamented hym self;
 - 152, 19. and noo playsure she coude taken in no thynge / but was euer more *sorowyng* at the herte of her /
 - 161, 31. & as he was *musyng* vpon be werke, lokyng to & fro vpon the see, he perceyued a right myghty nauey, 193, 26. Whan sadoyne, that was the same tyme *lokyng* out at a wyndowe — sawe the two oostes — he gaf hymselfe gret meruayl,

Caxt. God. 21, 17. a parte of the muraylles whiche were thenne yet apperyng

51, 32. pEter was *goyng* with the grete companye whan a messager cam to hym rydyng,

Remarks.

- Ch. C. T. Sh. T. 24. The expression implies a habit. Gow. C. Am. II, 1477. 'tho' in the first clause is, logically, a definition to 'was duellende'. The emperor had many houses, between which he spent his time.
- 1645. 'ofte — Ridende was' comprehends a series of actualities.
- Caxt. Bl. 84, 30. This example occurs, with slight alterations, several times in this work: it is a sort of set pattern.
- (ii) **Undefined.** When no time-defining complements are attached to the periphrasis, the tense has none the less, in most cases, a very well marked meaning, viz., of *actuality*; this is clearly seen, for instance, in Fer. 4657; Ch. C. T. Kn. T. 560; Gow. C. Am. II, 1497; Caxt. Bl. 45, 31, where the periphrastic past, in indirect narration, corresponds to a present actual in the direct speech, and further in 118, 21 and 119, 7; etc.

Sometimes, however, though not very often, this meaning is either very slightly perceptible or hardly admissible. In such cases one might rather speak of a certain idea of duration, as in Gen. 1156 and Caxt. Bl. 62, 3; and also in the following examples, where the participle occasionally assumes an adjectival meaning: Caxt. Bl. 56, 4; 150, 20 and 152, 28.

Examples.

- Jos. 18. Feole flowen for fert, out of heore cubbhe in-to Augrippus lond, was heroudes eir, pere monye lenginde weore, forlet of heore ounc.
- Fer. 4657. Ys wyf was *lyggynge* on chylbedde For two chyldren þat sche þo hedde Wyb-inne ber-on a kane.
- Ch. C. T. Kn. T. 560. He fil in office with a chamberleyn,

 The which that dwelling was with Emelye.
- 1097. The statue of Venus, glorious for to see, Was naked *fleting* in the large see,
- M. T. 4. With him ther was dwellinge a povre scoler,
- Troil. III, 687. So whan that she was in the closet leyd,
 And alle hir wommen forth by ordenaunce
 A-bedde weren, ther as I have seyd,
 There was no more to skippen nor to traunce,
 But boden go to bedde, with mischaunce,
 If any wight was steringe any-where,
 And late hem slepe that a-bedde were.
- Gow. C. Am. 1, 2346. The body, which was ded *ligende*, For pure pite that thei have

 Under the grene thei begrave.
- II. 1497. On horse riden him ayein;
 Till it befell, upon a plein
 Thei sihen wher he was comende.
- Gen. 1156. And ther he was *purposing* to Abyde,

 4775. And ser Amelok Anon he ganne hym dresse,
- 4775. And ser Amelok Anon he ganne hym dresse,

 Whiche with a knyght was playeng Att

 chesse.
- Caxt. Bl. 45, 31. The man ansuered hym, that wyth grete payne he sholde be lodged / And that the men of armes of the proude pucelle in amours were *comyng* in so grete nombre —
- 56, 4. And many penoncelles, baners, and standardes that the wynde shok here and there, wherof the golde & the azure vas glysteryng tyl vnto her eyen / bycause of the bryght bemes of the sonne that spred were vpon them.
- 62, 3. Blanchardin, whiche was sore desyryng for to proue hym self and shewe his strengthe and vertue dyde putte hym self in the fore front,
- = 118, 21. And another of the capitayns had the charge

of the foure thousand archers, fote men whiche yssued oute at a posterne that was nyghe the see, & lepte anon in to the medowe where the sayd bestes were fedyng

Caxt. Bl. 119, 7. The fotemen thenne entred wythin the close medowe, where the bestes were *pasturyng*,

- 139, 24. ther were tenn thousand Cassydonyens that followed hym, and yssued out of the towne wyth daryus, that was *rydyng* before hem all vpon a right myghty courser
 - 143, 31. But by the comaundement of Blanchardyn the preeste of the crysten men that were *dwellynge* there assembled anone, and made redy many tubbys
- 150, 20. the nauey was apparelled & redy made, stored & garnyshed wyth good men of werre, & wyth artylarye as was perteynyng to suche a thyng,
- 152, 28. and as she dyde cast alwayes her syght toward the see, she trowed to have seen a grete nombre of shippes that were appyeryng vpon the water | and cam sayllynge
- 161, 18. kynge Alymodes, that was in grete affraye to knowe the cause and occasion wherfore they of the cyte were makynge suche a gladnesse, assembled his barons
- Odd. 91, 12. And sayde they wold drawe them to ward Nycene for to abyde there the other Barons that were comyng on the waye

Remarks.

- Gen. 1156. The periphrasis seems to give the impression of a set purpose, so to speak, which the simple form would perhaps have failed to suggest.
- Caxt. Bl. 62, 3. 'desyryng'; with an under-meaning of intensity, further enforced by 'sore'.

3. The Imperative and the Infinitive.

These forms are strongly durative, very often implying a frame of mind or a habit.

(i) Example of the Periphrastic Imperative.

Ashby, D & o. 715. In your counsail be quick and ay wakyng.

(ii) Examples of the Periphrastic Infinitive.

Ch. Troil. III, 1138. But for the love of god sin ye be brought In thus good plyt, lat now non hevy thought Ben hanginge in the hertes of yow tweye:

Ashby, P. Pr. 285. Do youre selfe and all shall be *obeying*, Truste to no man is execucion,

- D & o. 594. A kyng sholde be fyrst kepynge his lawe;
 Al other must doo the same for his awe.
- 689. Showying theim semblance of love euery day,
 Corogeng theim to be to you lovyng.
- 967. On erthe ther is no thing so vnsemyng
 As a kynge to be in predacion,
 Or by compulsion to be taking,
 1097. And who that to [un]nedy wolbe graunting,

Remark.

Ch. Troil. III, 1138. The periphrasis is, I take it, quite indispensable here: the simple form would altogether fail to convey the proper meaning.

Is not accepted as for man witty,

Additional Remark.

The participle sometimes approaches in meaning to an adjective. In many cases it is nearly impossible to draw any line of distinction between the verbal and the adjectival character.

The latter is commonly to be inferred where the participle occurs in juxtaposition with a real adjective, or when the periphrasis is defined by adverbs of perpetuity, namely, in expressions involving the idea of a frame of mind or a habit, and also in cases where the finite verb

is not expressed. The following is a very illustrative example:

Lydg. T. o. Gl. 3 b, 1. [p. 14]. I pleyne also vp-on Jelusye,
The vile serpent, the snake tortyvous,
That is so crabbit & frounynge of his ye,
And euere grochynge & suspecyous,

'The French participles in -aunt have quite lost their verbal force and are to be looked upon as pure adjectives:

Caxt. Bl. 28, 12. the yron of my spere whiche is full sore trenchaunt

- 170, 10. he was so dolaunt, & so replenyshed wyth sorow

Also the 'wel syttynge' of the following example, which is a direct translation of the French 'bien séant':

Caxt. Bl. 17, 14. a ryght goode & riche swerde, that longed vnto the kynge his fadre, whiche afterward was to hym wel syttynge,

and, I suppose, the 'wel doand' in Rom. R. 2707:

They shal hir telle how they thee fand Curteis and wys, and wel doand.

B. Northern Dialects.

Occurrence. In comparison with the Midland and Southern texts the Scottish works exhibit, with one or two exceptions, a fairly considerable frequency, although rather small as compared to modern usage.

In *Barbour's Bruce* we have not a few examples: thus in the five first books there are to be found not less than a score, and the same number is afforded by books I-V of the *Wallace*. Also in the works of Lyndesay and in the *Complaynt of Scotlande* the periphrasis has a comparatively frequent occurrence.

In the *Kingis Quair* and in Dunbar's poems, on the other hand, we note a more scanty use of it: in the former, which is, to be sure, only a small text (1400 short lines), only 4 instances are on record, and Dunbar's poems (about 280 pages) have not furnished more than 12 instances.

On the whole, however, one may safely say that the extended tenses were more in vogue in Scotland than in England. Also, in 'Lowland Scotch', they seem to have held their ground fairly well, as far as frequency goes, up to the present time: Krüger remarks (Schwierigk. des Engl. II, p. 172): 'In schottischen Romanen finde ich einen auffallend starken derartigen ¹ Gebrauch der Form, z. B. I am hearing you are a poor man. There's more than one eligible girl in Shawbridge I could name, but it is not for me to be choosing for him. I will be hearing of you? (The Mischief-Maker, by Leslie Keith, Times Weekly Ed. Jan.—April 1898)'.

Alexander Bain, (Higher Engl. Gr. p. 187 a. f.), has some remarks to the same effect: «When, therefore, without wishing to signify continuance or occupation, we employ a progressive tense, we violate the best English usage. The expressions, 'The master is calling you', 'he is speaking to you', 'were you ringing?' 'I was supposing', 'he is not intending' are Scotticisms for 'the master calls', 'he speaks to you', ——»

Murray, questioning the possibility of Celtic influence on the Scottish dialects, ventures the following suggestion, (The Dialect of the Southern Counties of Scotland, p. 54): 'Of grammatical changes, either in inflection or syntax, which can be attributed to Celtic influence, there are per-

¹ Speaking about certain verbs, which by their nature avoid the periphrasis, such as: like, love, be fond of, hate, please, dislike, scorn, etc. (p. 171.)

haps no traces in Scottish literature. Even in the modern dialects these are rare, though they are probably to be seen in the fondness for periphrastic verbal forms, such as «Ye'll be gaan',» «I'm sayan',» for You will go, I say; and a certain indirectness in the matter of tense, thus, «What was ye wantan'?» «I was wantan' to see you just for a minute,» etc., for What do you want?» «I want to see you.»

1. The Present Tense.

(i) **Defined.** It expresses either *actuality*, enforced by the adverb 'now', as in Ly. Mon. 5354, and others, all from the same author, or else, where the definition is an adverb of *perpetuity*, it has this function, as in K. Qu. 173 ('ay') and Du. Man, sen thy lyfe etc. 1 ('evir').

In one instance we have a futural meaning, namely in Ly. Mon. 5502, where the adverbial 'in those dayis' applies to the future.

Examples.

K. Qu. 173. From day to day so sore here artow drest, That with thy flesche ay walking art in trouble,

And sleping eke;

Du. Man, sen thy lyfe is ay in weir,

And deid is evir *drawand* neir, [Man, sen thy lyfe etc. 1.].

Ly. Mon. 5354. Mony prelatis ar now ryngand,

The quhilkis no more dois vnderstand

— 5502. Quho that bene leuand, in those dayis, May tell of terrabyll affrayis:

— 5890. Father, quod I, declare to me

Quhare sall our Prelatis ordorit be,

Quhilk now bene in the warld leuand;

Ly. Pap. 174. Now *cumyng* ar, said scho, the faitall houris;

Off bitter deth now mon I thole the schouris.

353. So, ze, that now bene *lansyng* vpe the ledder,

Tak tent in tyme, fassinnyng zour fingaris faste.

Remark.

- Ly. Mon. 5502. 'bene leuand' might be rendered by: '(those who) shall chance to live (then)'. The futural meaning is essential, the durative element being rather weak, and mainly to be inferred from the nature of the verb. There is another instance of this same example in 5523.
- (ii) **Undefined**. Without definitions it is employed to denote the present actual, in the same way as we have it in Modern English, especially in the instances furnished by Lyndesay and the Complaynt.

By virtue of the progressive sense of the verb it is used in B. Br. III, 681 ('rynnand'), and in Du. The petition etc. 40, 'ar spruning' ('are sticking out') denotes a passivality which naturally accounts for the construction. In these two cases Modern English would likewise have chosen the periphrasis.

Examples.

B. Br. III, 259. Tharfor men, that werrayand [ar],
Suld set that etlyng euir-mar
To stand agayne that fayis mycht,
Wmquhile with strenth, & quhile with slycht

681. That is ane lle in[to] the Se;

And may weill in mydwart be
Betnix kyntyr and Irland:

Quhar als gret stremys ar rynnand,

IV, 226. For thai wat weill and wittirly,
That thai that weill ar *liffand* heir
Sall wyn the segis, — —

W. Wa. IV, 745. Now haiff I lost the best man *leiffand* is; Du. My beikis ar *spruning* he and bauld.

[The petition of the gray horse, auld Dunbar, 40.]

- Ly. Mon. 4235. I se nocht ellis bot troubyll infinyte:

 Quharefor, my Sonne, I mak it to the kend,
 This warld, I wait, is drawand to ane end.
- 5312. So, be this compt, it may be kend,

 The warld is drawand neir ane end:
- C. o. Sc. 60, 5. The thondir slais mony beystis on the feildis; & quhen it slais ane man that is sleipand, he sal be fundin dede, and his ene close; 135, 16. mony of vs ar beggand our meit athourt the cuntre,

Remarks.

- B. Br. III, 259. It is not impossible that 'men, that werrayand [ar]' ought to be interpreted: 'men who use to war', 'war-faring men'. But the ordinary idea (of actuality) is by no means excluded: 'when they are engaged in a war'.
- IV, 226. 'heir' might be regarded as a restriction equivalent to an adverb of time, denoting actuality.
- W. Wa. IV, 745. Modern English: 'the best man living' or 'the best man that is now living'.
- C. o. Sc. 135, 16. This is from an exposition of the bad state of affairs in Scotland at the time when the Complaynt was written. The periphrastic present is here aptly chosen to give heightened colour to the passage.

2. The Past Tense.

(i) **Defined.** The definitions consist of adverbs or adverbial expressions. These express either point of time,

as in B. Br. II, 540 ('then'), W. Wa. IV, 469 ('zeitt'), 643 ('be this'), V, 964 ('be that'), C. o Sc. 76, 9 ('at that tyme'), or, somewhat more seldom, length of time, as in B. Br. II, 570 ('ay'), and others where *perpetuity* is implied, further in B. Br. XIX, 723 ('all that day'), Ly. Mon. 3542 ('fourtye zeris'), these being examples of *limited duration*.

The definition consists of a clause. Here the periphrasis serves to express *actuality* in almost all instances found: B. Br. Ill, 716; IV, 189; 632; W. Wa. V, 89; 145; 237; Du. Of a Dance in the quenis chalmer, 40; The wowing of the king, etc. 50; Ly. Mon. 764; 1539, in all of which the periphrasis has its place in an 'as'- or 'quhen'-clause; further in C. o Sc. 9, 27 and 76, 13.

In a rather limited number of examples an idea of duration is perhaps more prominent: B. Br. II, 167 and Ly Mon. 1215.

Examples.

- B. Br. II, 167. Thusgat maid thai thar aquentance,
 That neuir syne, for nakyn chance,
 Departyt quhill thai lyffand war.
- 540. Then war the wiffys thyrland the wall
 With pikkis, quhar the [assailēeours] all
 Entryt, and dystroyit the tour,
- 570. Bot worthy lames off dowglas
 Ay trawailland* and besy was;
 For to purches the ladyis mete;
 [*trauellde he H.]
- III, 670. Nocht-for-thi, on mony wyss,
 He wes dredand for tresoun ay:
- 716. Quhen that the land wes rycht ner hand,
 And quhen Schippys war sailand ner,
 The Se wald ryss on sic maner,
- IV, 189. And as in-to northumbirland,
 He wes with his [gret] rowt Rydand,
 A Seiknes tuk him in the vay,
- 632. And as the king apon the land

Wes gangand vp and doun, bydand Till that his menghe reddy war, His hostes com rycht till hym thar.

B. Br. V, 34. And he wes alsua doutand ay

That his lord suld pass the se.

- XIX, 723. All that day caryand thai war With cartis, men that slayne war thar.
- XX, 431. So fer chassit the lord dowglass
 With few folk, that he passit wes
 All the folk that wes chassand then.
- W. Wa. IV, 469. Zeitt feill on fold was fechtand cruelly:
- 643. Be this the host approchand was full ner;
- V, 89. As that war best arayand Butleris rout,
 Betuex parteys than Wallace ischit out;
- 145. Kerle beheld on to the bauld Heroun,
 Vpon Fawdoun as he was *lukand* doune,
 A suttell straik wpwart him tuk that tide,
- 237. As he was thus walkand be him allayne
 Apon Ern side, makand a pytuous mayne,
 Schyr Jhone Butler, —
 Out fra his men of Wallace had a sicht.
- 817. Haldyn he was off wer the worthiast man, In north Ingland with thaim was leiffand than.
- 964. Be that Wallace was semland with the laiff.
- 1024. The power than with Wallace wes cummand; Thai entryt in, ——
- Du. Quhen scho was danceand bysselye,

 Ane blast of wind soun fra hir slippis:

 [Of a Dance in the quenis chalmer, 40.]
 - Quhen men dois fleit in joy maist far,

 Sone cumis wo, or thay be war;

 Quhen carpand wer thir two mostcrowss,

 The wolf he ombesett the houss,

 [The wowing of the king, etc. 50.]
- Ly. Mon. 764. And quhen Adam wes *slepand* sounde, He tuke ane Rib furth of his syde,
- 1215. So lang as Adam wes leueand,
 The peple did obserue command;
- 1539. And, quhen the Flude was decressand,
 Thay wer left welteryng on the land.
- 3542. And quhow that peple wandrand wes Fourtye zeris in wyldernes.
- C. o Sc. 6, 16. The toune of sauerne baris vytnes of his delegent vail eantnes, that he maid contrar the imment dan-

geir that vas *cummand* on the realme of France, at that tyme quhen ane multitude and infinit nummir of men of veyr, ——, discendit fra the hight of germanye.

C. o. Sc. 9, 27. ande quhen he aperit to be solitar, than he vas speikand vitht hym self anent his auen byssynes,

- 44, 2. the prudent quintus cincinatus, quha vas chosyn be the senat to be dictatur of rome, at that samyn tyme he vas *arand* the land vitht his auen hand at the pleuch.
- 76, 9. for al iherusalem ande mekil of iuda vas put tyl extreme desolatione. At that tyme, and man of Israel callit matathias, —, vas sittand on the hil of modin,
- 76, 13. thir fiue bredir var soir vepand for the desolatione of iuda ande iherusalem. Than matathias there father said to them, —
- (ii) Undefined. The tense expresses what was going on at a certain time, or under certain circumstances (*actuality*), not directly stated or in close connexion with the periphrasis, but, as a rule, to be gathered from the context. The case where it is most independent of such indirect definitions is when it corresponds to the present actual, in indirect narration, of which we have some instances: B. Br. VI, 466; W. Wa. III, 104; V, 11; Ly. Mon. 2025. The verb used here is 'coming': by the bye, it might be worth mentioning that we have no less than 9 instances of this verb under this heading to only 1 for the defined past. As other good examples of this function of the periphrasis may be mentioned: B. Br. XVIII, 114; W. Wa. III, 377; Du. This nycht, etc. 1; Ly. Mon. 1531; C. o. Sc. 70, 19.

Chiefly implying progression or duration in a few cases, no special point or length of time being thought of: B. Br. I, 59 and 95, where the function of the extended form seems perhaps somewhat doubtful; further: IV, 416 and probably also in B. Br. III, 728 and W. Wa. III, 43.

Examples.

- B. Br. 1, 59. For thar mycht succed na female,

 Qhill foundyn mycht by ony male

 [That were in lyne] ewyn descendand;
- 79. This ordynance thaim thocht the best,
 For at that tyme wes pess and rest
 Betwyx Scotland and Ingland bath;
 And thai couth nocht persawe the skaith
 That towart thaim wes apperand;
 - 95. Haid ge tane keip how at that king
 Alwayis, for-owtyn soiournyng,
 Trawayllyt for to wyn senghory,
 And throw his mycht till occupy
 Landis, that war till him marcheand,
 As walis was, and als Ireland;
 - III, 379. The king saw how his folk wes stad,
 And quhat anoyis that thai had;
 And saw wynter wes cummand ner;
- 585. For all war doand, knycht and knawe;
 Wes nane that euir disport mycht have
 Fra steryng, and fra rowyng,
- 630. The thingis that that fletand war
 Thai tuk; and turnyt syne agayne,
- 728. Quhen the folk, that thar wonnand wer,
 Saw menn off Armys in thar cuntre
 Aryve in-to sic quantite,
 Thai fled in hy, with thar catell,
- IV, 113. He tuk a culter hat glowand,
 That het wes in a fyre byrnand,
- 416. The cry raiss hydwisly and hee,

 For thai, that *dredand* war to de,

 Rycht as bestis can rair and cry,
- VI, 466. And quhen he tald had that tithing,
 How that schir amer wes cumand
 For to hunt hym out of the land,
 With hund and horn,
- XII, 15. And quhen the kyng wist at thai weir In haill battale cummand so neir, His battale gert he weill aray.
- XVIII, 114. For the laiff hass thair vayis tane
 Till the erische kyngis, that ves thar,
 That in haill battale howand war.
- XIX, 661. And with licht of the litill fyre,

That in the luge wes byrnand schyre, In-till the luge a fox he saw,

- W. Wa. III, 43. Schir Richart had thre sonnys as I yow tald.
 Adam, Rychart, and Symont that was bald.
 Adam, eldest, was growand in curage;
 - 104. Bot thai rycht sone raturnde in agayne,

 To Wallace tald that thai war cummand fast.
- 377. Gret rowme he maid, his men war fechtand fast;
- IV, 115. The schirreffis court was cumand to the toune,
 And he as ane for Scot of most renoune.
 - V, 11. Wallace thaim tauld that new wer wes on
 The Inglismen was off the toune cummande.
- 125. Sternys, be than, began for til apper,
 The Inglismen was cummand wondyr ner;
 - 415. Als Kerle wyst, gyff Wallace levffand war,
- 531. Fra tyme thai wyst that Wallace leiffand was,
- 987. The day was donne, and prochand wes the nycht;
 At Wallace that askit his consaill rycht.
- Du. This nycht in my sleip I wes agast,

 Me thocht the Devill wes tempand fast

 The peple with aithis of crewaltie;

 [This nycht in my sleip, etc. 1.]
- Me thocht the Devillis, als blak as pik,

 Solistand wer as beis thik,

 Ay tempand folk with wayis sle;

 [This nycht in my sleip, etc. 101.]
- Quhen that I schawe to him 50ur markis,
 He turnis to me again, and barkis,
 As he war wirriand ane hog:
 Madame, 5e heff a dangerouss Dog!
 [Of James Dog etc. 5.]
- Quhen that I speik till him freindlyk,

 He barkis lyk ane midding tyk,

 War chassand cattell through a bog:

 Madame, ze heff a dangerouss Dog!

 [Of James Dog etc. 13.]
- Ly. Mon. 1488. Bot with the branche scho did returne,
 That Noye mycht cieirly vnderstand
 That felloun Flude was decressand:
- 1531. Bot Noye had gretast displesouris,
 Behauldand the dede Creatouris,

Seyng thame ly vpone the landis, And sum wer *fleityng* on the strandis:

- Ly. Mon. 1853. I fynd no man, in to that lande,
 His tyrrannie that durste ganestande,
 Bot Habraham, and Aram his brother:
 That disobeyit I fynd none vther,
 Quhilk dwelland war in that cuntre,
- 2025. Quhen that the Babilonianis,
 To gidther with the Caldianis,
 Hard tell Kyng Nynus wes cumand,
 Maid proclamationis through the land,
- 3327. And as ane woman he wes cled,
 With wemen counsalit and led;
 And schamefullye he wes syttand,
 With Spindle and with Rock spinnand.
- C. o. Sc. 68, 18. sche vas in grite dout ande dreddour for ane mair dolorus future ruuyne that vas aperand to succumb hyr haystylye,
- 70, 19. The eldest of them vas in harnes, traland ane halbert behynd hym, The sycond of hyr sonnis vas sittand in ane chair, beand clethd in ane sydegoune, kepand grite grauite, hyr zongest sone vas lyand plat on his syde on the cald eird,
- 88, 2. alcibiades persauand that lacedemonia vas aperand to be superior of athenes, he said to the pronest of kyng darius,

Remarks.

- B. Br. I, 79. 'apperand' seems here to have the same meaning as 'coming'.
- 95. 'Marchen' means 'border upon'.
- IV, 416. The expression 'dredand war to de' is strongly adjectival in meaning, and the whole that-clause with its antecedent might be regarded as a circumlocution for 'cowards'.
- Ly. Mon. 3327. It appears from the context that 'wes syttand' applies to several different occasions; hence, 'he used to sit'.
- C. o Sc. 68, 18. Cp. the remark to B. Br. I, 79.

- C. o Sc. 70, 19. The passage describes the situation of 'Dame Scotia's' meeting with her sons.
- 88, 2. The occurrence of the periphrasis may be accounted for by the general sense of progression contained in the expression. Here we might also infer a slightly futural meaning: 'was about to —', 'was going to —'. Cp. also B. Br. I, 79 and C. o. Sc. 68, 18.

3. Examples of the Periphrastic Imperative.

Du. Be amyable with humble face, as angellis apperand,
And with a terrebil tail be stangand as
edderis;

[Turne to thy freynd, beleif nocht in thy fo,
Sen thow mon go, be grathing to thy gait;
[O Wreche, be war! 3.]

4. Examples of Cases where the Participle is of an Adjectival Nature:

B. Br. III, 696. And by the mole that passyt zar,
And entryt sone in-to the rase,
Quhar that the strem sa sturdy was,
That wawys wyd [that] brekand* war
Weltryt as hillys her and thar.
[*bolning H.]

K. Qu. 161. And quhilum In hir chiere thus a lyte Louring sche was;

Ly. Mon. 223. Quhilkis bene to plesand Poetis conforting.C. o. Sc. 34, 6. al thir seuyn elementis that this last varld is creat of, ar ouer abundand vitht in oure affligit realme,

C. Survey.

The Midland and Southern Dialects. The chief function of the definite tenses is to denote actuality.

SURVEY 59

The point of time may be directly expressed, for the present 'tense, as a rule, by 'now'; for the past tense, by various adverbs or adverbials of time, very often by a clause, especially towards the end of the period, the periphrasis then usually occurring in an 'as'-clause.

But even in the instances where no direct statements are given, this idea is felt strongly enough in most cases.

Some instances there are, indeed, where no special time is thought of (either as a point or as a length), the periphrasis then being due to the inherent durative or progressive meaning of the verb.

The definite tenses are also used to denote *qualified* duration, though this function is strongly on the decrease: it is now, almost exclusively, confined to the rather scanty number of instances where the complements are adverbs or adverbials of time-length, either denoting perpetuity or limited duration.

Very seldom has the periphrasis any additional meaning: I have only found one instance where it has a pronounced idea of *futurity*.

The verbs employed are mostly durative or progressive by themselves: more than half the number of the instances met with have a verb of rest or motion, and of these 'dwelling' and 'coming' are the most common.

The Northern Dialects. Things are very much the same here and do not call for many further comments. It may, however, be observed that the most common verbs are here 'coming' and 'living'.

Summing up: the definite tenses are now beginning to assume their modern functions. Usage is getting more and more settled: they are very seldom vague in meaning, i. e., encroaching on the domains of the indefi-

nite tenses; in fact, one can safely say that this use is quite discarded in favour of the idea of actual duration and progression, and the cases where the participle partakes rather more of an adjectival character than of a verbal, are likewise comparatively few in number.

III. EARLY MODERN ENGLISH

Occurrence. During this period also the periphrasis seems to be sparingly used in comparison with recent English.

This impression may, to a certain degree, be due to the nature of the works investigated: where the narrative style does not come in, the periphrasis is very seldom met with. Thus from the first 110 pages of *Fisher's Works* I have not gathered more than 4 instances, and the same small number from the first 140 pages of *Starkey's England*. I have likewise read a large part of Ascham's works without finding more than half a dozen examples.

An exception from the texts of this category is afforded by Latimer's sermons, where the construction is represented in a fairly great number of cases. Some of these, however, are stereotyped sermon-phrases or repeated quotations from the Bible.

The plays, which, on account of their form, afford no wide range to the narrating tenses, especially the past, have likewise only furnished a scanty amount of material. This holds good no less for the earlier than for the later part of the period, with the exception perhaps of Shakespeare. The periphrasis is very rare in Udall's *Roister Doister*, and it does not occur at all, so far as I can find, in the *Ferrex and Porrex* of Sackville and Norton. ¹ The

Barring such a case as that quoted on p. 81.

contemporaries of Shakespeare — Marlowe, and still more Peele and Greene — are very sparing in their use of the extended tenses; in those plays of Marlowe which I have gone through they only amount to about a score.

Shakespeare has perhaps favoured the construction somewhat more than most of the authors belonging to the period; but still it must be said that the difference is great between the frequency in his works and in such as belong to our days, a fact which is also remarked by Franz (Sh. Gr. 2nd ed. Heidelberg 1909: p. 499, § 622): 'Von be und dem partizip des präsens, der sogenannten progressiven zeitform (he is coming), macht Sh. einen verhältnismässig spärlichen gebrauch, sie kommt erst später häufiger zur verwendung'. The occurrence is, in his works, somewhat uneven: thus the periphrasis is seldom met with in some of his plays, e. g. in *Mids., Mu. Adoe*, and *Tw. N.*; in others it is somewhat more common, as in *Me. Wives, Jul. C., Haml., King L., Temp.* and above all in *Taming, Cor.* and *Hy. VIII.*

1. The Present Tense.

(i) **Defined.** The periphrasis occurs comparatively seldom in the present tense with definitions. These may consist of adverbs, for the Pre-Shakespearean period chiefly 'ever', while Shakespeare has 'now' — in a great many cases — and 'still'.

In not a few instances the time-defining element lies in the connection with another clause, as in Fisher, Works, 60, 23, where the periphrasis denotes *limited duration*. In the other cases it has rather the function of *actuality*, as for instance in Sh. Temp. II, 1, 228.

Examples.

Fisher, Works, 60, 23. To whome we answere that yf a dogge hauynge a grete stone bounde aboute his necke be cast downe from an hygh toure, he seleth no weyght of that stone as longe as he is *fallynge* downe,

Heyw. The Four P's. I, 11. Pot. Then tell me thys; are you perfyt in drynkynge?

periyi in drynkynge?

Ped. Perfyt in drynkynge, as may be wysht by thynkynge. Pot. Then, after your drynkynge, how fall ye to wynking? Ped. Syr, after drynkynge, whyle the shot is tynkynge.

Some hedes be *swymmyng*, but myne wyll be synkyng;

And, upon drynkynge, my eyse wil be pynkynge;

For wynkynge to drynkynge is alway lynkynge.

- Lat. Serm. Pl. [Sk. Sp. 246, 296] he is euer *appliynge* his busynes, ye shal neuer fynde hym idle, I warraunte you.
- Sev. Serm. 112. for the deuyll, the greate maiestrate, is verye busy nowe, he is euer doynge, he neuer ceaseth to go about to make them like hymselfe.
- 166. One of her neyghbours mette her in the streate, and fayed mestres whether go ye, Mary sayed she, I am goynge to S. Tomas of Acres to the sermon, I coulde not slepe al thys laste nyght, and I am goynge now thether, I neuer sayled of a good nap there,
- 180. The fayethfull can not lacke, the vufaythfull is euer lackynge,
- 191. It is much like as if I oughte another man .XX. M. [thousand] poundes, and shulde paye it out of hande, or elles go to the dungen of ludgate, and when I am goynge to pryson, one of my friendes should come, and aske, whether goeth thys man?
- Lyly, Anat. 77. But alas Euphues, what truth can there be found in a trauailer? what ftay [trust] in a ft[r]aunger? whose words and bodyes both watch but for a winde, whose feete are euer *fleeting*,
- 78. the Mirlin striketh at the Partridge, the Eagle often snappeth at the Fly, men are alwayes laying baites for women, which are the weaker vessels:
- Marl. Ed. II; V, 1. For such outrageous passions cloy my soul,
 As with the wings of rancour and disdain,
 Full often am I soaring up to heaven,
 To plain me to the gods against them both.

- Marl. Tamb. 2. III, 5. *Tamb*. Well, now ye see he is a king: look to him, Theridamas, when we are *fighting*, lest he hide his crown as the foolish king of Persia did.
- Sh. Anth. I, 5, 29. Hee's speaking now,

Or murmuring, where's my Serpent of old Nyle,

(For so he cals me:)

- III, 6, 73. He hath given his Empire
 Up to Whore, who now ar *levying*The Kings o'th'earth for Warre.
- Valiantly vanquish'd. Now my Spirit is *going*, and can no more.
- As, III, 2, 51. Clo. Instance, briefly: come, instance.
 Cor. Why we are still handling our Ewes, and their Fels you know are greasie.
- Cor. Il, 1, 74. When you are *hearing* a matter betweene party and party, if you channee to bee pinch'd with the Collicke, you make faces like Mummers,
- Haml III. 3, 80. Ham. Now might I do it pat, now he is praying,
- Hy. VIII; IV, 2, 209. Say his long trouble now is *passing*Out of this world.
 - Jul. C. II, 1, 362. Bru. That must we also. What it is my Caius,

I shall unfold to thee, as we are going, To whom it must be done.

- III, 1, 277. And you shall speake
 In the same Pulpit whereto I am going,
 After my speech is ended.
- King L. II, 1, 28. Have you not spoken 'gainst the Duke of Cornewall?

Hee's comming hither, now i'th' night, i'th' haste,

- Me. Wives, III, 3, 28. he gives her folly motion and advantage: and now she's going to my wife,
- Mu. Adoe, II, 3, 130. Leo. This saies shee now when shee is beginning to write to him,
- Oth. I, 1, 96. Even now, now, very now, an old blacke

Is tupping your white Ewe.

Taming, II, 1, 402. That she shall have, besides an Argosie

That now is lying in Marcellus roade:

Sh. Taming, IV. 3, 198. *Pet.* It shall be seven ere I go to horse:

Looke what I speake, or do, or thinke to doe,
You are still *crossing* it,

4, 54. Bap. Not in my house Lucentio, for you know Pitchers have eares, and I have manie servants,

Besides old Gremio is harkning still, And happilie we might be interrupted.

Temp. I, 2, 206. Mir. Hevens thank you for't, And now I pray you Sir, For still 'tis beating in my minde; your reason

For raysing this Sea-storme?

– II, 1, 228. Ant. Noble Sebastian,

Thou let'st thy fortune sleepe: die rather: wink'st

Whiles thou art waking.

Remarks.

- Lat. Sev. Serm. 166. Note in this example, and also in 191, the occurrence of the periphrastic tense side by side with the simple form, the latter apparently being used in cases parallel to those in which the clause is introduced by 'here', 'there', of which I have given some examples below: in both these instances the indefinite present is employed in questions beginning with 'whether'.
- 191. The expression 'when I am goynge -'
 refers to a supposed actuality, and thus has a
 slight suggestion of futurity.
- Lyly, Anat. 78. 'are alwayes laying —'. The expression involves the idea of iteration. Compare Taming, IV, 3, 198. This type is very frequent in recent English.
- Marl. Tamb. 2. III, 5. The context shows that 'when we are fighting' refers to the future.

- Sh. Jul. C. III, 1, 277. The periphrasis here acts as a future-equivalent, as is clearly seen from the defining clause.
- Mu. Adoe, II, 3, 130. This is the first instance
 I have found of the Modern English use of the periphrasis with verbs denoting the beginning of an action.
- (ii) **Undefined.** Apart from some few instances, from the earliest authors, where the periphrasis seems mostly due to the nature of the verb, with no regard paid to any ideas of time, namely in Fisher, Works 64, 12 and 93, 8 ('abydynge') and further in Heyw. The Four P's I, 12, where the participle is perhaps more an adjective than a verb, one may say that the tense is employed in close conformity with modern usage.

The most salient feature is the remarkably great frequency of the verbs 'coming' and 'going', especially the former, the instances having one of these verbs amounting to rather more than half of the whole number.

In many cases the meaning is not quite that of actual present, but has a shade of futurity to it.

As regards 'coming', first, it seems natural to suppose such a meaning when there are no indications as to way, direction or point of arrival, in short, where the expression gets more abstract and generalized, as especially in questions, as for instance in Sh. Jul. C. III, 1, 316 and Taming IV, 1, 18.

On the other hand, where the context furnishes the periphrasis with certain complements, as in Ud. R. D. IV, 2 ('yonde'), Sh. Haml. II, 2, 347 ('hither'), Hy. V; III, 6, 84 ('hearke you'), King L. I, 3, 10 ('I heare him'), these may indicate that we have to do with the pure present ¹.

¹ This does not, of course, exclude the idea that sometimes

As examples of the real present with 'going' may be given Peele, Old Wive's T. 448: 2 and Sh. Taming I, 2, 165; for a decidedly futural meaning Sh. King L. II, 4, 326, and for a use which might be pronounced to be the intermediate link between them both, Marl. Tamb. 1, V, 2.

Here the interval between word and act is all but imperceptible.

Of the construction which Sweet terms the *immediate* future we have two instances, namely Greene, Look.-Gl. 140: 2 ¹ and Sh. Me. Wives, IV, 3, 3. — It is worth noting that in both these cases the idea of motion may still be attached to the verb 'going'.

Examples.

Fisher, Works, 64, 12. The partes of my fleffhe wherin the nouryffhynge of fleffhely volupty be refydent & abydynge, are replete & fulfylled with mockes & fcornes.

93, 8. Heuen is aboue vs, wherin almyghty god is refy-

dent & abydynge,

Heyw. The Four P's. I, 12. For wyll or skyll what helpeth it, Where frowarde knaves be *lackynge* wit?

Lat. Sev. Serm. 78. Wherefore we maye be fuer yat God bleffed thys Realme, althoughe he curffed ye realme, whose ruler is a chyld, vnder whom the officers be climbynge and glenynge, fturynge, ferachynge, and fcrapyng, and — — go by walkes.

— 132. What is nowe behinde? we be catynge and drynck-ynge as they were in Noes tyme, and Mariynge I thyncke as wyckedly as ener was. We be buildynge, purchachinge, planting in the contempte of Goddes worde.

Asch. Scholem. [Sk. Sp. 305, 27]. For when I am in presence either of father or mother, whether I speake, kepe silence, sit, stand, or go, eate, drinke, be merie, or sad, be sowyng, plaiyng, dauncing, or doing anie thing els, I must do it, as it were, in soch weight, mesure and number,

the context makes the futural meaning more prominent, as, for instance, in Sh. Macb. IV. 3, 215.

¹ Compare 'here will I speak' and 'I am going to speak'.

Ud. R. D. III, 1. M. Mery. Nowe fay thys againe: he hath fomewhat to dooing

Which followeth the trace of one that is wowing,

- 1V, 2. But what two men are yonde comming hitherwarde?
- Lyly, Alex. I, 3. But I must be gone, the philosophers are coming.
- 1, 3. Aris. Here cometh Alexander.
 - Atex. 1 see, Hephestion, that these philosophers are here attending for us.
- V, 4. Alex. But here cometh Apelles. Apelles, what piece of work have you now in hand?

Apel. None in hand, if it like your majesty; but I am devising a platform in my head.

- Anat. 80. for you have given vnto me a true loue[r]s knot wrought of chaungeable Silke, and you deeme that I am *deuifing* how I might have my coulours chaungeable alfo,
- Marl. Ed. II; IV, 6. Bald. Spencer, I see our souls are fleeting hence;
- Faust. III, 4. Good Frederick, see the rooms be voided straight,

His majesty is coming to the hall;

- Tamb. 1, V, 2. Pray for us, Bajazet; we are going.
- 2, Ill, 4. Ther. How now, madam, what are you doing? Olymp. Killing myself, as I have done my son,
- Peele, Old Wive's T. 448: 2. Fan. Gammer, what is he?

 Madge. O, this is one that is going to the conjurer:
- 457: 1. My blood is pierc'd, my breath fleeting away,
- Greene, Look.-Gl. 140: 2. Adam. This way he is, and here will I speak with him.

First Lord. Fellow, whither pressest thou?

Adam. 1 press nobody, sir; I am going to speak with a friend of mine.

Sh. Anth. 1, 3, 4. Cleo. See where he is,

Whose with him, what he does: I did not send you. If you finde him sad, Say I am dauncing:

- III, 2, 2. Agri. What are the Brothers parted?
 - Eno. They have dispatcht with Pompey, he is gone,

The other three are Sealing.

5, 16. Eros. He's walking in the garden thus, and spurnes

The rush that lies before him. Cries Foole Lepidus,

And threats the throate of that his Officer, That murdred Pompey.

- Sh. Anth. IV, 15. 27. Ant. I am dying Egypt, dying; onely I heere importune death a-while, untill Of many thousand kisses, the poore last I lay upon thy lippes.
- 55. Ant. I am dying Egypt, dying.
 Give me some Wine, and let me speake a
 little.
- V, 2, 392. Dol. Cæsar, thy thoughts
 Touch their effects in this: Thy selfe art comming

To see perform'd the dreaded Act which thou So sought'st to hinder.

As, I, 1, 32. Oli. Now Sir, what make you heere? Orl. Nothing: I am not taught to make any thing. Oli. What mar you then sir?

Orl. Marry sir, I am helping you to mar that which God made, a poore unworthy brother of yours with idlenesse.

- 2, 109. Le Beu. I wil tell you the beginning: and if it please your Ladiships, you may see the end, for the best is yet to doe, and heere where you are, they are comming to performe it.
- 138. Le Beu. You must if you stay heere, for heere is the place appointed for the wrastling, and they are ready to performe it.

Cel. Yonder sure they are comming.

- Cor. I, 3, 55. *Val.* How do you both? You are manifest house-keepers. What are you *sowing* heere?
- III, 2, 158. *Corio*. Pray be content:

 Mother, I am *going* to the Market place:

- Looke, I am going:

3, 6. — What, will he come? Enter an Edile.

Edile. Hee's comming.

Bru. How accompanied?

IV, 6, 72. Enter a Messenger.

Mes. The Nobles in great earnestnesse are going
All to the Senate-house: some newes is
comming

That turnes their Countenances.

- Sh. Cor. V, 2, 72. O my Son, my Son! thou art *pre- | paring* fire for us: looke thee, heere's water to quench it.
- Haml. II, 2, 347. wee coated them on the way, and hither are they *comming* to offer you Service.
- III, 2, 95. Enter King, Queene, Polonius —
 Ham. They are comming to the Play: I must be idle.

Get you a place.

- Hy. V; I, 2, 297. But this lyes all within the wil of God,
 To whom I do appeale, and in whose name
 Tel you the Dolphin, I am comming on,
 To venge me as I may,
- II, 4, 106. King. Or else what followes?

Exc. Bloody constraint: for if you hide the Crowne

Even in your hearts, there will he rake for it. Therefore in fierce Tempest is he *comming*, In Thunder and in Earth-quake, like a Jove:

- III, 6, 84. hearke you, the King is *comming*, and I must speake with him from the Pridge.
 - - Enter the King -
- Hy. VIII; I, 4, 31. Cham. Sweet Ladies will it please you sit; Sir Harry

Place you that side, Ile take the charge of this:

His Grace is entring.

II, 1, 124. Vaux. Prepare there,

The Duke is comming: See the Barge be ready;

- 4, 252. — that I committed

The daringst Counsaile which I had to doubt,

And did entreate your Highnes to this course, Which you are *running* heere.

- IV, 2, 132. *Grif.* She is *going* Wench. Pray, pray. *Pati.* Heaven comfort her.
- V, I, 81. King. What say'st thou? Ha?

To pray for her? What, is she crying out?

4, 71. Cham. Mercy o'me: what a Multitude are heere?

They grow still too; from all Parts they are comming.

As if we kept a Faire heere?

Jul. C. I, 2. 194. Enter Cæsar and his Traine.

Bru. The Games are done,

And Cæsar is *returning*.

Cassi. As they passe by,
Plucke Caska by the Sleeve,

Sh. Jul. C. III. 1, 316. — — Is thy Master comming?

Ser. He lies to night within seven Leagues of Rome.

- 3, 7. 1. [Cit.] What is your name?
 2. [Cit.] Whether are you going?
- 14. Cin. What is my name? Whether am I going?
- 21. Cinna. Directly I am going to Cæsars Funerall.
 King L. I, 1, 35. Glou. He hath bin out nine yeares,
- and away he shall againe. The King is comming.

 Sennet. Enter King Lear, —

- 2, 135. Edg. How now Brother Edmond, what serious contemplation are you in?

Bast. I am thinking Brother of a prediction I read this other day, what should follow these Eclipses.

- 3, 10. — — When he returnes from hunting, I will not speake with him,

Ste. He's comming Madam, I heare him.

- II, 4. 69. and there's not a nose among twenty, but can smell him that's *stinking*;
- 326. Glo. The King is in high rage.

Corn. Whether is he going?

Glo. He cals to Horse, but will I know not whether.

III. 1, 4. Kent. I know you: Where's the King? Gent. Contending with the fretfull Elements; Bids the winde blow the Earth into the Sea,

7, 12. Advice the Duke where you are *going*, to a most festivate preparation: we are bound to the like.

- IV, 4, 26. Mes. Newes Madain,

The Brittish Powres are *marching* hitherward. *Cor.* 'Tis knowne before. Our preparation stands

In expectation of them.

L. L. IV, 3, 2. Bero. The King he is hunting the Deare,

I am coursing my selfe.

They have pitcht a Toyle, I am toyling in a pytch, pitch that defiles;

V, 2, 770. Page. Master, let me take you a button hole lower: Do you not see Pompey is uncasing for the combat: what meane you? Sh. Macb. 1, 5, 33. Mess. The King comes here to Night.

Lady. Thou'rt mad to say it.

Mess. So please you, it is true: our Thane is comming:

One of my fellowes had the speed of him; Who almost dead for breath, had scarcely more

Then would make up his Message.

75. — He that's comming,

Must be provided for:

IV, 3, 215. Now is the time of helpe: your eye in Scotland

Would create Soldiours, make our women fight,

To doffe their dire distresses.

Malc. Bee't their comfort

We are comming thither: Gracious England hath

Lent us good Seyward, and ten thousand men, Me. Wives, III, 1. 25. Sim. Yonder he is comming, this way, Sir Hugh.

3, 93. M. Ford. Why (alas) what's the matter?
 M. Page. Your husband's comming hether (Woman) with

all the Officers in Windsor, — — *M. Ford.* 'Tis not so, I hope.

M. Page. Pray heaven it be not so, that you have such a man heere: but 'tis most certaine your husband's comming, with halfe Windsor at his heeles, —

IV, 2, 83. Mist. Ford. But is my husband comming?
 Mist. Page. I in good sadnesse is he, and talkes of the basket too.

3, 3. Bar. Sir, the Germane desires to have three of your horses: the Duke himselfe will be to morrow at Court, and they are going to meet him.

Mids. III, 2, 430. Rob. Thou coward, art thou bragging to the stars.

Telling the bushes that thou look'st for wars, And wilt not come?

IV, 2, 17. *Snug*. Masters, the Duke is *comming* from the Temple, and there is two or three Lords & Ladies more married:

Mu. Adoe, II, 1, 77. Leon. The revellers are entring brother, make good roome. [All put on their masks.]

Enter Prince, Pedro, - -

Sh. Oth. III, 1, 48. The Generall and his wife are talking of it, And she speakes for you stoutly.

 Taming, I, 2, 165. Gre. And you are wel met, Signior Hortensio.

Trow you whither I am going?

III, 2, 37. Bion. Why, is it not newes to heard of Petruchio's comming?

Bap. Is he come?

Bion. Why no sir.

Bap. What then?

Bion. He is comming.

Bap. When will he be heere?

- IV, 1, 18. Cur. Is my master and his wife comming Grumio?
- 181. Away, away, for he is comming hither. [Exeunt.]

 Enter Petruchio.
- Temp. II, 1, 16. Seb. Looke, hee's winding up the watch of his wit, By and by it will strike.
- III, 2, 157. Trin. The sound is going away, Lets follow it, and after do our worke.
- Tw. N. II, 5, 17. Mar. Get ye all three into the box tree: Malvolio's comming downe this walke, Iye thou there: [Throws down a letter, for heere comes / the Trowt, that must be caught with tickling. Exit Enter Malvolio.
- III, 4, 9. Mar. He's comming Madame:
 But in very strange manner. He is sure possest Madam.

Remarks.

- Heyw. The Four P's. I, 12. 'be lackynge wit', 'are stupid'.
- Asch. Scholem. [Sk. Sp. 305, 27]. Note the alternating occurrence of the simple and periphrastic forms in this instance. There does not seem to exist any tangible difference between them.
- Lyly, Alex. V, 4. 'here cometh —'. When preceded by 'here', 'there' or 'where', 'come', as a rule, does not take the periphrasis. Among the numerous examples I pick out a few:

- Marl. Ed. II; II, 1. Leave off this jesting, here my lady *comes*. Peele, Dav. and Beths. 466: 1. See Where she *comes*: Greene, Look.-Gl. 137: 2. O, here my young master *comes*.
- Marl. Tamb. 1, V, 2. The words are uttered by Tamburlaine, and directly after 'going' we have the stage-direction: Exeunt Tamburlaine, Techelles,
- Sh. Anth. V, 2, 392. The meaning is: 'You have come yourself and now find that — is performed'.
- As, I, 2, 109. One might at first be tempted to regard 'comming to performe it' as an example of an immediate future with 'come', the expression thus being on a par with 'going to perform it'. But on a closer examination it will appear, I take it, that the verb retains its full original meaning, and that it cannot be considered to act as an auxiliary. Compare also Anth. V, 2, 392 and Haml. II, 2, 347. 'Come', then, had not yet developed any parallel construction to the nowadays very common 'be going to'.
- Cor. III, 2, 158. This is a very interesting example: the first 'I am going' is decidedly futural in meaning (I have made up my mind to go directly), the second 'I am going' may either be regarded as actuality ('Looke —') or as an anticipated actuality, in this case with a very short interval between the moment of the utterance and the actual departing. That such an interval exists, however slightly felt, is shown by the words which follow: 'commend me to my wife', which, of course, must be spoken just before parting.

- Sh. Cor. III, 3, 6. If, taking into consideration that 'coming' often implies an anticipation, we suppose that the person in question had not yet actually started, but was only just about to, one is led to conclude that Shakespeare has made the speaker use the definite tense to give the impression of a very near and sure futurity as opposed to the more vague and uncertain 'will - - come?' In such a case we have, then, to do with a sharpening, admirably brought about by the periphrasis, of the futural meaning lying in the question. - In all probability, however, the extended tense is here used to denote actuality: 'he is already on his way', and in that case, of course, the gap between the meaning in 'will - come' and 'is coming' is much wider.
 - Tw. N. III, 4, 9. After one or two speeches: Enter [Maria, with] Malvolio.

2. The Past Tense.

(i) **Defined.** Only in one instance is the definition an adverb, namely in Sh. Hy. VIII; III, 2, 182, where 'now' denotes what had recently taken place. In Sh. Macb. II, 3, 25 the periphrasis is defined by an adverbial, marking duration up to a special time, and in two more examples we have likewise adverbials, namely in Lat. Sev. Serm. 127 ('In the tyme of Noe') and Sh. Oth. IV, 1, 150 ('the other day'), but it may be questioned whether it is not rather the following clause that has called the periphrasis into use in these two cases than the adverbials.

The great bulk of the instances show the periphrasis defined by another clause; especially it occurs in clauses

introduced by 'as', 'when', or 'whilest' to denote what was taking place, when something else happened (simultaneousness); this idea is, though very seldom, further sharpened by such an adverb as 'yet': Lyly, Anat. 52 and 71.

Examples.

Hawes, Passet. of Pl. XXXIII, 16. | Sk. Sp. 122.] And as he was his stroke discharginge,

I lept asyde from hym full quickly,

Lat. Sev. Serm. 108. For as I was goynge to hys Sermon, I remembred me that I had neither fayed maffe, nor mattens.

— 127. In the tyme of Noe, they were eatynge and drynkynge, buyldynge plantynge and fodaynely the water came vpon them, and drowned them:

In the tyme of Lothe alfo, they weare *eatynge* and *drynkynge*. etc. And fodenlye the fyre came vpon them, and denoured them. And nowe we are eatynge and drinkynge.

— 152. Ther was a fearcher in london, which executynge his office displeased a marchaunt man, in so much that when he was doinge his office, they were at wordes,

Sp. F. Q. VI, 2, 9. Where, as this day I was enraunging it,
I chaunst to meete this Knight —

3, 25. The Beast, --

Into the wood was *bearing* her apace — — when Calidore,

Him overtooke

5, 35. And therein he likewise was *praying* now, Whenas these Knights arriv'd,

6, 30. At last he up into the chamber came
Whereas his Love was sitting all alone,

6, 37. There whilest he thus was setling things above,

He gan bethinke him

7, 23. Thus whylest they were debating diverslie,

The Salvage forth out of the wood issew'd

10, 39. It fortuned one day, when Calidore

Was *hunting* in the woods, as was his trade, A lawlesse people,

The dwelling of these shepheards did invade;

Sp. F. Q. VI, 12, 15. Who in a morning, when this Maiden faire Was dighting her, —

Chaunst to espy upon her yvory chest The rosie marke,

- Lyly, Anat. 52. As she was yet *talking*, supper was set on the bord, then Philautus spake thus vnto Lucilla.
- 71. But whileft he was yet *speakinge*, Ferardo entered, whome they all duetifully welcommed home,
- 82. As they wer thus pleasauntly conferring the one with the other, Liuia (— —) entered into the Parlour,
- Marl. Ed. II; V, 4. Sol. He would have taken the king away perforce,

As we were bringing him to Killingworth.

- Faust. IV, 6. Cart. I'll tell you how he served me: as I was going to Wittenberg t'other day he met me Greene, Look.-Gl. 141: 1. Sir, as I was coming alongst the port-royal of Niniveh, there appeared to me a great devil,
- Sh. As, III, 2, 279. Jaq. By my troth, I was seeking for a Foole, when I found you.
- Haml. II, 1, 86. Ophc. My Lord, as I was sowing in my Camber,

Lord Hamlet - -

- - he comes before me.

- Hy. V; V, 2, 229. Now beshrew my Fathers Ambition, hee was *thinking* of Civill Warres when hee got me,
- Hy. VIII; III, 2, 182. King. Good my Lord,

You are full of Heavenly stuffe, and beare the Inventory

Of your best Graces, in your minde; the which

You were now running o're:

- Macb. 1, 7, 65. I would, while it was *smyling* in my Face,
 Have pluckt my Nipple from his Bonelesse
 Gummes,
- II, 3, 25. Macd. Was it so late, friend, ere you went to Bed,

That you doe lye so late?

Port. Faith Sir, we were carowsing till the second Cock:

IV, 3, 148. — What I am truly
Is thine, and my poore Countries to command:
Whither indeed, before they heere approach
Old Seyward with ten thousand warlike men

Already at a point, was setting foorth: Now wee'l together,

- Sh. Mu. Adoe, II, 3, 136. Leon. O when she had writ it, & was reading it over, she found Benedicke and Beatrice betweene the sheete.
- Oth. IV, 1, 150. Cassio. She was heere even now: she haunts me in every place. I was the other day talking on the Seabanke with certaine Venetians, and thither comes the Bauble,
- Taming, III, 2, 169. and threw the sops all in the Sextons face: having no other reason, but that his beard grew thinne and hungerly, and seem'd to aske him sops as hee was *drinking*:
- (ii) Undefined. With the exceptions of Starkey, Engl. I, 3, 887, where 'floryschyng' is to be regarded as rather more adjectival than verbal, Sp. F. Q. VI, 12, 3, and Sh. Jul. C. III, 2, 22, where the periphrasis is chiefly due to the character of the verb, the undefined tense is used, just as in recent English, to mark the state of things at a certain time or under certain circumstances, these being indicated in the context in a more or less direct way. We find here several interesting examples where the periphrasis is chosen in order to depict, in a lively way, a given situation, even in the works from the earlier part of the period, as in Heyw. The Four P's. I, 18; Lat. Sev. Serm. 119; Asch. Scholem. I; Tox. 157, and Sackv. Mirr. for Mag. Ind. 3.

Examples.

Starkey, Engl. 1, 3, 887. when thys land was more *floryschyng* then hyt ys now.

Heyw. The Four P's. I, 18. I never sawe devylls so well approprited.

The master devyll sat in his jacket; And all the soules were *playinge* at racket.

Lat. Sev. Serm. 119. and there was fyr Roberte Cunstable, the Lorde Hussye, the Lord Darly. And the Lorde Darlye,

was tellynge me of the fayethfull service that he hadde done the kynges maiestye

Lat. Sev. Serm. 183. For ludas the twelfte was a boute his bufines, he was occupied aboute his marchaundife, and was prouydyng among the byshoppes and preistes,

- Asch. Scholem. I. [Sk. Sp. 305.] Hir parentes, the Duke and the Duches, with all the houshould, Gentlemen and Gentlewomen, were *huntinge* in the Parke: I founde her in her Chamber, readinge Phædon Platonis
- Tox. 26. kept my mynde fo occupied, that it had no leifure to loke to my feete. For I was reding howe fome foules being well fethered, flewe alwayes about heauen
- 145. Some make a face with writhing theyr monthe and countenaunce fo, as though they were doyng you wotte what:
- -- 157. The feeldes on bothe fides were playne and laye almost yearde depe with snowe, That morning the fun shone bright and clere, the winde was whistelinge a loste,
- Sacky. Mirr. for Mag. Ind. 3. [Sk. Sp. 284.] Hawthorne had lost his motley lyverye,

The naked twigges were *shivering* all for colde:

Sp. F. Q. VI, 12, 3. And had endured many a dreadfull stoure In bloudy battell for a Ladie deare,

The fayrest Ladie then of all that living were:

Sh. Haml. II, 2, 501. - For loe, his Sword

Which was *declining* on the Milkie head Of Reverend Priam, seem'd i' th' Ayre to sticke:

- Hy. VIII; II, 3, 64. L. Cham. Good morrow Ladies; what wer't worth to know

The secret of your conference?

An. My good Lord,

Not your demand; it values not your asking: Our Mistris Sorrowes we were *pittying*.

- Jul. C. III, 2, 22. Had you rather Cæsar were *living*, and dye all Slaves; then that Cæsar were dead, to live all Free-men?
- King L. 1, 2, 32. Glou. Why so earnestly seeke you to put up that Letter?

Bast. I know no newes, my Lord.

Glou. What Paper were you reading?

- IV, 2, 6. I told him of the Army that was Landed:

He smil'd at it. I told him you were comming,

His answer was, the worse.

- Sh. Me. Wives, II, 1, 29. *Mis Ford*. Mistris Page, trust me, I was *going* to your house.
 - Mis. Page. And trust me, I was comming to you: you looke very ill.
- Oth. III, 4. 172. Beshrew me much, Æmilia,

 1 was (unhandsome Warrior, as 1 am)

 Arraigning his unkindnesse with my soule:

 But now 1 finde, 1 had suborn'd the Witnesse,

 And he's Indited falsely.
- 193. Cassio. What make you from home?

 How is't with you, my most faire Bianca?

 Indeed (sweet Love) I was comming to your house.

Bian. And I was going to your Lodging, Cassio.

— Temp. II, 1, 96. *Gon.* Sir, we were *talking*, that our garments seeme now as fresh as when we were at Tunis at the marriage of your daughter,

3. Examples of the Periphrastic Infinitive.

Heyw. The Four P's. 1, 22. But, where ye dout, the truthe nat knowynge,

Belevynge the beste, good may be *growynge*. In judgynge the beste, no harme at the leste; In judgynge the worste, no good at the beste.

- Lat. Serm. Pl. [Sk. Sp. 239.] Therfore preache and teach and let your ploughe be doynge; let your plough therfore be going & not cease, that the ground maye brynge foorth fruite.
- [Sk. Sp. 242.] so diligently muste the prelates and ministers labour for the fedinge of the soule: boeth the ploughes muste styll be *doynge*, as mooste necessarye for man.

4. The Adjectival Meaning.

Represented in not a few cases, most of them, however, occurring in Shakespeare, and thus the frequency might partly be attributed to the comparatively considerable mass of material collected from this author.

The most notable are 'wavering' (fickle, inconstant), 'living' (in the sense of alive), 'loving', 'fitting' and 'stirring'. — Note also the curious instance of a participle in -ant (Lat. Serm. Pl. Sk. Sp. 241).

Examples.

Lat. Serm. Pl. [Sk. Sp. 241.] I knowe them, and have bene conversant with some of them.

Ud. R. D. II, 1. Yea and extempore will he dities compole,

Foolishe Marsias nere made the like I

suppose,

Yet must we sing them, as good stuffe I vndertake,

As for fuch a pen man is well *fittyng* to make.

Sackv. & Nort. Ferr. and Porr. V, 1. So giddy are the common people's mindes,

So glad of chaunge, more wavering than the sea.

Lyly, Anat. 59. if he finde thee wanton before thou be wo[o]ed, he wil gesse thou wilt be wauering when thou art wedded.

Marl. Ed. II; II, 1. Y. Spen. Our lady's first love is not wavering:

My life for thine she will have Gaveston.

Sh. Cor. 11, 3, 216. Brut. Did you perceive,

He did sollicite you in free Contempt, When he did need your Loves: and doe you thinke,

That his Contempt shall not be brusing to you,

When he hath power to crush?

Haml. I, 1, 14. Barn. Have you had quiet Guard? Fran. Not a Mouse stirring.

2, 149. So excellent a King, that was to this
Hiperion to a Satyre: so *toving* to my Mother,
That he might not beteene the windes of
heaven

Visit her face too roughly.

Sh. Hy. VIII; III, 1, 109. Camp. Put your maine cause into the Kings protection,

Hee's loving and most gracious.

- Macb. II, 3, 45. *Macd*. Is thy Master *stirring*? Our knocking ha's awak'd him: here he comes. *Lenox*. Good morrow, Noble Sir. *Macb*. Good morrow both. *Macd*. Is the King *stirring*, worthy Thane? *Macb*. Not yet.
 - Me. Wives, III, 1, 14. Evan. 'Plesse my soule: how full of Chollors I am, and trempling of minde:
- Oth. III, 1, 26. Cassio. Prythee keepe up thy Quillets, ther's a poor peece of Gold for thee: if the Gentlewoman that attends the Generall be stirring, tell her Clo. She is stirring sir: if she will stirre hither, I shall seeme to notifie unto her.
- Temp. II, 1, 220. Scb. What? art thou waking? Ant. Do you not heare me speake?
- 2, 115. Tri. I tooke him to be kil'd with a thunderstrok; but art thou not dround Stephano: — And art thou living Stephano?

5. The Periphrasis Expressing a Subjective Feeling.

In some cases, especially from the latter part of the period, we find the periphrasis used to suggest a subjective feeling on the part of the speaker, sometimes implying a certain softening of the expression, but sometimes also conveying a meaning of quite an opposite nature. — In all cases the essential function is to throw in a degree of personal interest, which could not have manifested itself in the indefinite tenses on account of their more neutral and matter-of-fact character.

Examples.

Lat. Sev. Serm. 179. Yea, on the hollye day, they can not fynde in their hertes to come to the Temple, to the bleffed communion, they must be *working* at home.

- Lyly, Anat. 68. I will omitte that, and feing that we had both rather be *talking* with them, then *tatling* of them, we will immediately goe to them.
- Marl. Ed. II; IV, 6. Rice. My lord, be going; care not for these.
- Sh. As, IV, 1, 87. Am not I your Rosalind?
 - Orl. I take some joy to say you are, because I would be talking of her.
- Cor. II, 1, 87. It is not woorth the wagging of your Beards, and your Beards deserve not so honourable a grave, as to stuffe a Botchers Cushion, or to be intomb'd in an Asses Packe-saddle; yet you must bee *saying*, Martius is proud: who in cheape estimation, is worth all your predecessors,
- Hy. VIII; V, 4, 11. He scratch your heads; you must be seeing Christenings? Do you looke for Ale, and Cakes heere, you rude Raskalls?
- Taming, II, 1, 78. *Gre.* Saving your tale Petruchio, I pray let us that are poore petitioners speake too? Bacare, you are mervaylous forward.

Pet. Oh, Pardon me signior Gremio, I would faine be doing.

Gre. I doubt it not sir. But you will curse Your wooing neighbors:

_____ III, 2, 207. Kate. Nay then,

Doe what thou canst, I will not goe to day, No, nor to morrow, not till I please my selfe, The dore is open sir, there lies your way, You may be *jogging* whiles your bootes are greene:

 V, 1, 92. Carrie this mad knave to / the Jaile: father Baptista, I charge you see that hee be / forth comming.

Remarks.

Lat. Sev. Serm. 179. 'must be working' expresses indignation and disapproval. The simple form 'must work' would mean a bare and objective statement that such a necessity really existed. — Compare the similar instances of Sh. Cor. II, 1, 87 and Hy. VIII; V, 4, 11.

- Lyly, Anat. 68. The durative element lying in the periphrasis seems to be introduced to show that the occupation in itself, and not its results, is the interest of the persons in question. Compare Sh. As, IV, 1, 87, where the periphrasis also serves to make the wish more modestly expressed.
- Marl. Ed. II; IV, 6. The extended tense is certainly chosen here to make the demand more polite; the simple form 'go' would be too abrupt in its shortness. But that it is not mainly the greater length that produces the impression sought for will be seen from a comparison with 'be gone', which is not much shorter but sounds decidedly curt and harsh: evidently the chief thing is the idea of gradual progression lying in the periphrasis. Compare the interesting instance in Sh. Taming, III, 2, 207, where the periphrasis is used by way of irony.

IV. THE COMPOUND TENSES.

1. The Perfect and the Pluperfect.

These tenses do not occur in Old English, nor in the earlier part of the subsequent period.

Later on, they creep slowly into existence — even as late as Shakespeare they are strikingly scarce; but they are now employed frequently enough.

(i) **Defined.** When defined, by adverbs, adverbials, or the context, they express either *qualified duration* or, more seldom, *actuality*.

The former category is represented by Sh. Hy. VIII; III, 2, 226 ('ever'), where *perpetuity* is implied, and further by Ch. C. T. Kn. T. 69 ('al this fourtenight'), Asch. Tox. 82 ('longe'), Sp. F. Q. VI, 7, 38 ('two whole yeares'), Sh. Hy. VIII; II, 3, 101 ('sixteene yeares'), Milt P. L. II, 933 ('to this hour'), IX, 135 ('who knows how long Before'), Pep. 68 [62–63] ('long'), Bun. Pilgr. 124, 7 ('this twenty years'), Congr. Bach. I, 1 ('all the morning'), Def. Rob. 194 ('a Fortnight'), Mont. III, 71 ('long'), Joh. Rass. 50 ('long') and St. S. J. 302 ('all this while'), which all are examples of *limited duration*.

The latter category, *actuality*, comprises, more or less decidedly, Congr. W. W. I, 2; Spect. 39 [Add.]; Def. Rob. **221** and Mont. III, 179.

In Def. Rob. 112 'often' marks an iterated occupation.

Examples.

Ch. C. T. Kn. T. 69. And certes, lord, to abyden your presence, Here in the temple of the goddesse Clemence We han ben waytinge al this fourtenight;

Asch. Tox. S2. But as for the Turkes I am werie to talke of them partlye because I hate them, and partlye bycause I am now affectioned even as it were a man that had bene longe wanderyng in straunge contries and would fayne be at home

Sp. F. Q. VI, 7, 38. So now she *had* bene *wandring* two whole yeares

Yet had she not in all these two yeares space Saved but two;

Sh. Hy. VIII; II, 3, 101. Why this it is: See, see,

I have beene begging sixteene yeares in Court

(Am yet a Courtier beggerly) — —

− III, 2, 226. − − I

Can nothing render but Allegiant thankes, My Prayres to heaven for you; my Loyaltie Which ever *ha's*, and ever shall be *growing*, Till death (that Winter) kill it.

Milt. P. L. II, 933. Fluttering his pennons vain, plumb-down he drops

Ten thousand fathom deep, and to this hour Down had been falling, had not, by ill chance,

The strong rebuff — —

IX, 135. To me shall be the glory sole among
 The Infernal Powers, in one day to have
 marred

What he, Almighty styled, six nights and days Continued making, and who knows how long Before had been contriving?

Pep. 68 [62—63]. I have long been building, and my house to my great content is now almost done.

Bun. Pilgr. 124, 7. When I was at home in mine own Country I heard as you now affirm, and, from that hearing went out to see, and *have* been *seeking* this City this twenty years: but find no more of it, than I did the first day I set out.

Congr. Bach. I, 1. What fine lady hast thou been putting out

of conceit with herself, and persuading that the face she had been making all the morning was none of her own?

- Congr. W. W. 1, 2. Mean! why he would slip you out of this chocolate-house, just when you had been talking to him as soon as your back was turned whip he was gone!
- Spect. 39 [Add.]. As I have been walking in his fields I have observed them stealing a sight of me over an hedge,
- Def. Rob. 112. I had a great mind to bring it Home if I could; for I had often been musing, Whether it might not be possible to get a Kid or two,
- 194. I gave him a Cake of my Bread, and he eat it like a ravenous Wolf, that had been starving a Fortnight in the Snow:
 - 221. After this I had been telling him how the Devil was God's enemy —. Well, says Friday,
- Mont. Ill, 71. The confounding of all ranks, and making a jest of order, has long been growing in England
 - 179. I am inclined to be of the opinion that nobody makes their own marriage or their own will: it is what I have often said to the Duchess of Marlborough, when she has been telling me her last intentions,
- Joh. Rass. 50. I have been long comparing the evils with the advantages of society, and resolve to return into the world to-morrow.
- St. S. J. 302. Then I solemnly declare, said the lady, blushing, you have been making love to me all this while.
- (ii) **Undefined.** When not accompanied by any temporal complements, they denote that such and such an action or state of things has lasted for some time in the past, either somewhat indefinitely, as in Piers Pl. Pass. V, 129 (where the verb is the durative 'dwellynge'), or else and this may be regarded as the rule the tense is defined by itself, representing the action as bordering, more or less closely, on the present: Sher. Riv. III, 1, where 'lately' is understood and Sh. Oth. III, 3, 49, meaning 'I was just now talking' (Je viens de parler) may be picked out as specimens for the two main types.

Not infrequently, in instances belonging to the 'just'-

type, the inner stress glides from the idea of occupation over to this idea of 'just-now-being-done', insomuch that the sense of duration is, strictly considered, thrown into the background, sometimes more, sometimes less. Compare Joh. Rass. 66, where the idea of duration is still admissible, in so far that it certainly took some space of time to deliver and thus also of listening to 'the dismal history', with Spect. 138 [Budg.] and above all St. S. J. 336, in which last example not a trace of duration is left.

In cases like these the periphrasis is chosen to give a fresher and livelier colour to the expression, to bring out the idea of time, not as a length but as a point: in short, its function is here that of *actuality*.

Examples.

Piers Pl. Pass. V, 129. Amonges Burgeyses haue I be. dwellynge At Londoun,

And gert bakbitinge be a brocoure to blame mennes ware.

Lyly, Alex. II, 2. Alex. — — How now, Apelles, is Venus's face yet finish'd?

Apel. Not yet: - -

Alex. Well, let it rest unperfect; and come you with me, where I will shew you that finish'd by nature, that you have been trifling about by art.

Greene, Look.-Gl. 138: 1. Adam. By my troth, sir, 1 cry you mercy; your face is so changed that I had quite forgotten you: well, master devil, ve have tossed over many a pot of ale together.

Adam. Faith, sir, my old friend, and now good-man devil, you know you and I have been tossing many a good cup of ale: —

Sh. Oth. III, 3, 49. *Des.* How now my Lord?

I have bin talking with a Suitor heere,
A man that languishes in your displeasure.

Spect. 44 [Add.]. the bell rung to dinner, where the gentleman I have been speaking of had the pleasure of seeing the huge jack

- Spect. 86 [Add.]. My friend Sir Roger de Coverley told me the other night, that he *had* been *reading* my paper upon Westminster Abbey, in which, says he, there are a great many ingenious fancies.
- -- 138 [Budg.]. he had just received a letter from his steward, which acquainted him that his old rival and antagonist in the country, Sir David Dundrum, had been making a visit to the widow.
- 214 [Add.]. Or, if we believe, as many wise and good men have done, that there are such phantoms and apparitions as those I have been speaking of, let us endeayour — —
- Def. Rob. 38. told me they had been musing very much upon what I had discoursed with them of, the last Night, and they came to make a secret Proposal to me;
- Sw. Gull. 242. he said, he *had* been very seriously *considering* my whole story,
- Mont. II, 137. I have been running about Paris at a strange rate with my sister, and strange sights have we seen.
- Joh. Rass. 66. Here Imlac entered and interrupted them. «Imlac», said Rasselas, «I have been taking from the Princess the dismal history of private life,
- St. S. J. 336. I was a small tribute, I told her, which I could not avoid paying to virtue, and would not be mistaken in the person I had been rendering it to for the world
- Sher. Riv. II, 1. I have been considering that I grow old and infirm, and shall probably not trouble you long.
- 2. Sir L. Hah! my little ambassadress upon my conscience, I have been looking for you;
 - Lucy. O gemini! and I have been waiting for your worship here on the North.
- III, 1. C. Abs. I have been revolving, and reflecting, and considering on your past goodness, —
 A. Abs. Well, sir?
 - C. Abs. 1 have been likewise weighing and balancing what you were pleased to mention concerning duty, —
- IV, 3. C. Abs. To what fine purpose I have been plotting!

Remarks.

Greene, Look.-Gl. 138: 1. It is somewhat difficult to recognize any decided difference in function be-

tween the simple form on one hand and the periphrastic on the other in this instance. — It might be conjectured, however, that in his last speech Adam recalls with more liveliness, and also, I am tempted to say, tenderness, the many merry occasions referred to. — Mark, by the bye, the much more affectionate terms in the last speech as opposed to the rather cold-sounding statements in the first. — This, then, would account for the periphrasis here, but the change may also be due to a desire to avoid monotony of expression.

Spect. 86 [Add.] The expression does not necessarily imply that he had read the whole of the paper but only that he had just been engaged in reading it: perhaps he had perused but a small part of it. — The choice of the periphrasis here might be ascribed to Sir Roger having aimed at a very cautious statement; and if this is really the case, one must say that he has couched his meaning in a very happy turn.

Additional Remarks.

- (i) In some cases the verb 'be' seems to retain, to a certain degree, its own meaning, the inner stress being divided between that and the participle, which latter forms a sort of supplement, expressing the occupation or the errand: 'as he had been at G. to take his leave' (Pep. 52), 'where the King himself had been and gathered' (Pep. 169), 'where I had been before and had been peering' (Def. Rob. 79).
 - Pep. 52 [60—61]. he was then drunk, having been taking his leave at Gravesend the night before, and so could not remember what it was that he said.

- Pep. 169 [62—63]. I eat some of the first cherries I have eat this year, off the tree where the King himself had been gathering some this morning.
- Def. Rob. 79. I went all over that part of the Island, where I had been before *peering* in every Corner, and under every Rock, to see for more of it,
- St. S. J. 338. When La Fleur told me the Lieutenant de Police had been *enquiring* after me, the thing instantly recurred;
 - 359. When I alighted at the hotel, the porter told me a young woman with a bandbox had been that moment *enquiring* for me
- (ii) As I have mentioned before, the periphrasis has, in later times, been chosen where a certain liveliness of style is aimed at, or particularly to express a personal interest, or the like.

The compound tenses offer many examples of this use of the periphrasis. - Onions, in An Advanced Engl. Syntax, § 134 c, p. 113, has a remark to the following effect: 'The Continuous forms are sometimes used idiomatically without implying anything 'continuous', e. g. 'What have you been doing to that picture?', 'Someone has been tampering with this lock'. These are different from have you done, has tampered; they give an emotional colouring to the sentence and express surprise, disgust, impatience, or the like'. — It is clear that such cases as these may offer many difficulties in the way of a correct interpretation. To my mind, however, most of them seem to imply rather a softening of the expression, than the contrary. In Pep. 42 [63-64], for instance, the had not been drinking' might be regarded as a euphemism for 'he was not drunk' 1.

¹ Fearenside holds that this is 'a common enough phrase', and adds: 'to me it suggests a recent and continuous action which would naturally end in the state described in the past participle'.

- Pep. 42 [63-64]. This day, W. Bowyer told me, that his father is dead lately, and died by being drowned in the river, coming over in the night; but he says he had not been drinking.
- Congr. Bach. I, 1. How now, George, where hast thou been snarling odions truths, and entertaining company like a physician, What fine lady hast thou been putting out of conceit with herself, and persuading that the face she had been making all the morning was none of her own?
- D.-D. 1, 3. Mask. You have already been tampering with my Lady Plyant?

 Lady Touch. I have: she is ready for any impression I think fit.
- Sher. Riv. III, 1. damn your demure face! come, confess, Jack you have been *lying* ha'n't you? You have been *playing* the hypocrite, hey? I'll never forgive you, if you ha'n't been lying and playing the hypocrite.
- 1V, 2. What, you have been treating me like a child!
- V, 1. You have been *crying*! I'll be hanged if that Faulkland has not been *tormenting* you!
- 3. What's going on here? So you have been *quarrelling* too, 1 warrant.

2. Examples of the Future and the Preterite Future.

Above (in sections I—III) I have already dealt with several cases of combinations of 'shall' and 'will' and the periphrastic infinitive, viz., where I have considered the participle to be chiefly of an adjectival nature, or generally where this combination does not seem to constitute a real tense. The line of difference may be very difficult to draw, however, and therefore I think it best to recall attention to all the instances before given ¹, and to expand the list

¹ These are: Ae. L. XII, 268; V. a V. 37, 6; 107, 15; 121, 9; 121, 23 (p. 24); Ashby, P. Pr. 285; D & o. 594; 1097 (p. 46); Lyly, Anat. 59; Sh. Cor. II, 3, 216 (p. 81); Sh. As. IV, 1, 87; Taming, II, 1, 78 (p. 83).

by giving some additional examples. As for the instances quoted here, I do not make any distinctions at all, but simply give the forms below, although I readily admit that the heading is rather sweeping.

Lydy. T. o Gl. 53 p. 36. And eke my sone Cupide, bat is so blind,

He shal ben helping, fulli to perfourme gour hole desire, hat nohing behind Ne shal be left: — —

Ashby, D & o. 691. Thus your glorious fame shal be springing

To high & lowe, — —

Caxt. Bl. 151, 20. Duryng the tyme that the goode kynge of fryse, Blanchardyn and Sadoyne, and their folke *shall* be thus *saylynge* towarde Tourmaday. We shall retorne to speke of the tyraunte,

Heyw. The Four P's. I, 11. *Ped.* Syr, after drynkynge, whyle the shot is tynkynge,

Some hedes be swymmyng, but myne wyll be synkyng;

And, upon drynkynge, my eyse wil be pynkynge;

Sh. Hy. V; III, 7, 100. *Orleance*. He is simply the most active Gentleman of France.

Const. Doing is activitie, and he will still be doing.

- King L. I, 4, 151. Foole. No faith, Lords and great men will not let me, if I had a monopolie out, the would have part an't, and Ladies too, they will not let my have all the foole to my selfe, they'l be snatching;
- Mu. Adoe, I, 1, 113. Beat. I wonder that you will still be talking, signior Benedicke, no body markes you.
- III, 5, 34. Con. Dog. A good old man sir, hee will be talking as they say, when the age is in, the wit is out, God helpe us,
- Oth. III, 2, 2. Othe. These Letters give (Jago) to the Pylot,

And by him do my duties to the Senate: That done, I will be walking on the Workes, Repaire there to mee.

Taming, III, 1, 52. Bian. [Luc.] Mistrust it not, for — — Hort. [Bian.] I must believe my master, else I promise you,

I should be arguing still upon that doubt, But let it rest, —

Sh. Temp. II, 1, 27. Gon. Therefore my Lord.

Ant. Fie, what a spend-thrift is he of his tongue.

Alon. I pre-thee spare.

Gon. Well, I have done: But yet

Seb. He will be talking.

Mass. O. D. II, 2. Will you still be babbling

Till your meat freeze on the table?

- Pep. 106 [60—61]. Met with Mr. Spong, who still would be giving me counsel of getting my patent out,
- 156 [63-64]. Their fleet for Guinea is now, they say, ready and abroad, and will be going this week.
- Bun. Pilgr. 40, 14. Also he would be often reading in the Roll that one of the shining ones gave him,
 - 60, 1. Thus he went on a great while, yet still the flames would be reaching towards him;
- Congr. D.-D. III, 2. Sir Paul, what a phrase was there! You will be making answers, and taking that upon you which ought to lie upon me!
- Spect. 51 [Add.]. Sometimes he will be lengthening out a verse in the singing psalms, half a minute after the rest of the congregation have done with it;
- 64 [Add.]. Sir Roger told me, that the country people would be tossing her into a pond and trying experiments with her every day, if it was not for him and his chaplain.
- Mont. III, 251. I have not tasted a drop of punch since we parted; I cannot bear the sight of it; it would recall too tender ideas, and I should be quarrelling with Fortune for our separation, —

Remarks.

- Caxt. Bl. 151, 20. This is a very interesting passage. The course of events is suddenly cut off, and the reader is requested to keep in mind a given situation, until the narration is taken up again.
- Sh. Mu. Adoe, III, 5, 34. Here the periphrasis has an intensive character (closely allied to the idea of repetition). Compare Temp. II, 1, 27.

- Sh. Oth. III, 2, 2. In this case, as also in Caxt. Bl. 151, 20, the tense is defined by the context. One might hold that in both these instances actuality is the main function of the periphrasis: the durative element, however, is also very prominent.
- Congr. D.-D. III, 2. A clear instance of the 'emotional colouring'. Compare Spect. 64 [Add], where the periphrasis represents the actions referred to as never really undertaken but always on the verge of it, or sooner, only expresses that the persons in question 'had a great mind to do it' (would be for tossing —). In several of the above examples a faint shade of this subjective feeling may also be inferred, although these things are so very little tangible that it would be next to impossible to fix the respective meanings in words.

General Remark.

Roughly taken, the function of the periphrastic future and preterite future is to express duration in the future, but this idea is seldom very strong unless in any way enforced by definitions. Otherwise it is, in most cases, very little prominent. — Compare Western (§ 17): 'Disse tider betegner, når de omskrives, egentlig, hvad der vil eller vilde gå for sig i en nærmere bestemt fremtid, f. eks. I should be quarrelling with him all the time (Ward, Grieve II, 17); men da begrebet varighed gjerne træder tilbage, når talen er om fremtiden, får de ialmindelighed blot betydningen af noget, som vil (vilde) indtræffe engang i fremtiden, — —'

CONCLUDING SURVEY.

The main functions of the definite tenses have, through all periods, been the same, namely *actuality* and *qualified duration*.

These have been treated in detail above, and I shall only mention here one or two things concerning their mutual relations during the development of the periphrasis.

The most striking fact is a very interesting displacement that has taken place in the range of action, so to say, of these two categories: In Old and Early Middle English qualified duration is comparatively more represented than actuality, while in Late Middle and Early Modern English this latter function is decidedly preponderant and must be looked upon as the chief one. In this connection it may be brought to mind that the later developed compound tenses have, to a certain degree, their part in this change. Thus in Modern English the function of qualified duration has, to a great extent, been taken over by the definite perfect and pluperfect: especially when defined, these tenses nearly always imply *limited duration*.

Western (see §§ 9, 10) and Sweet (New Engl. Gr. §§ 2213, 2221, 2222) both deny that the definite tenses can express *repetition*, this being reserved for the indefinite tenses, as for instance in: *he writes a letter every day* (Western), or: *he goes to Germany once a year* (Sweet).

— 'When', says Sweet, 'a definite tense is used in a context implying repetition, the definite tense does not share in this meaning (for repetition is expressed by indefinite tenses, § 2213), but keeps its own; thus his temper only failed him when he was being nursed means 'on each occasion when he was being nursed' — that is, the definite tense applies to each of the repeated phenomena singly'. — Or as Western has it: 'Derimod kan selve den situation, hvorunder noget sker, gjenta sig. Siger jeg således: Vesterday, when I came, he was writing, and the day before yesterday, when I came, he was also writing, and the day before that, when I came, he was also writing etc., så kan alt dette samles till det ene udtryk: Whenever he was writing, I came' ¹.

Expressions like these imply what I would term *iterated actuality*.

It is clear that the periphrasis is quite_out of question in such cases as those first spoken of, namely: he writes a letter every day; he goes to Germany once a year; but we have a type of the definite tenses, where, at least in particular cases, I should not hesitate to ascribe to them an iterative function, namely, where a 'point-verb' is defined by a perpetuative adverb or the like. — I quote an illustrative example from Western's collections: The great swing-door into the street was for ever opening and shutting, or: I remember his wife a great many years ago, when she was always having children.

There exists, however, a marked difference between this category of iteration and that first spoken of. In he writes a letter every day the iterated phenomena are directly stated as having intervals: this iteration might be described as distributive or analyzing iteration. The latter category,

¹ I should prefer: Whenever I came, he was writing.

represented by 'was for ever opening and shutting' and 'was always having children' I would term *comprising* or *generalizing iteration*. The intervals are not dwelt upon: on the contrary, by using the durative form one is brought to ignore them, to feel them as little as possible: such expressions tend rather to convey the meaning of uninterrupted action — in other words, duration. But this is a generalizing on the part of the speaker, an emotional way of putting things: logically seen, we have to do with a series of repeated actions.

On the other hand, we have not, or need not have, to do with iterated actuality here: this instant the swingdoor *opened*, next instant it *shut* again, and so on; she *had* a child that year and the year after she *had* another, etc.

Such cases are not foreign to previous stages of the language. They originate in Old English and occur, though sparingly, also in Middle and Early Modern English.

Sweet (New Engl. Gr. 11, § 2232) has this remark: 'The definite present is also used in a future sense, but only in combination with verbs of motion'. - It is however, not only such verbs that occur with this meaning; compare Krüger (Schwierigk, des Engl. II, p. 171) and the examples given there: 'Zuweilen behauptet der Sprechende, er sei schon bei etwas begriffen, das er thatsächlich noch nicht angefangen hat, um den andern des unmittelbar bevorstehenden Erfolgens der Handlung zu versichern; auf diesem Wege wird die progressive Form eine Form, die nahe Zukunft auszudrücken. I really must be getting home. I'll be going my ways now (schottisch). I am coming, ich komme schon, gleich! I must be going now, ich muss jetzt wirklich gehen. What is going to be the upshot of this China affair? She is getting a good husband. We are having a ball next mouth'. - 1 can add another example: And Banghurst had given ten thousand pounds, and

further, Banghurst was giving five thousand pounds. — . (Twelve Stories and a Dream, by H. G. Wells, Macmillan's Sixpenny Series, London, 1904, p. 5). — As a rule, however, the verbs employed are verbs of motion.

This use of the periphrasis originated in Early Modern English, where verbs of motion, especially *come* and *go*, are, so far as I can ascertain, the only verbs to take the periphrasis in this sense of a near futurity.

Of the construction 'to be going to do something', the *immediate future*, the first examples found are in Greene and Shakespeare. — See besides p. 67 ¹. — I can add here that I have really found two examples with 'come': when as I thought I saw him pursued by the whole Body; and now I expected that Part of my Dream was coming to pass, and that he would certainly take Shelter in my Grove; (Def. Rob. 205) and: Ay, master thought another fit of the gout was coming to make him a visit (Sher. Riv. I, 1).

During this period also we find the first cases of that use of the definite tenses which I have termed 'the subjective feeling'.

The *inchoative* meaning (see p. 27) has died out with Old English.

In close relation to the character of the definite tenses stands the fact that they cannot, as a rule, be employed with certain verbs which are quite devoid of a durative or progressive element and thus ordinarily serve as timeless copulas, unless they are specially sentence-stressed, so that the idea of time becomes prominent, when they admit of the periphrasis, as well as other verbs under similar circumstances. I shall quote some authors on this point.

Sweet (New Engl. Gr. II, § 2218): 'There are some

¹ And the remark to Sh. As, I, 2, 109 (p. 74).

verbs which occur only in the indefinite tenses. This is especially the case with verbs which express feelings, physical and mental perceptions etc., such as *fcel*, *like*, *think*: *I fcel ill*; *he likes being here*; *I think so*. But as soon as the element of volition or action becomes prominent, the definite tenses re-assert their rights: compare *it hurts* with *he is hurting him*; *he doesn't see it* with *he is seeing the sights*; *I hear a noise* with *I am hearing lectures'*.

Krüger (Schwierigk, des Engl. II, p. 171 f.): 'Zeitwörter, die einmalige schnelle Akte bezeichnen, wie to accept, decline, refuse, reject, pardon, forgive, see, apprehend, obtain, convince, infer, grant, mean, oder solche äussere Zustände schlechthin wie to own besitzen, possess, surround, inclose, oder innere Vorgänge, welche mehr etwas Zuständliches als sich Entwickelndes an sich haben, wie to like, love, be fond of, hate, please, dislike, scorn, detest, abhor, contemn, condemn, envy, grudge, consider (für etwas halten), understand, comprehend, believe, erlauben sie demnach i nicht. Das schliesst nicht aus, dass im gewissen Zusammenhang auch solche Verben sie haben: I can hate; I remember once lying sleepless, when I was hating my enemy the whole night. Sodann findet sie sich noch in folgender Gestalt: By declining the offer you are declining your fortune; hier scheint mir das vorangehende Gerundium die ähnliche Form herbeigeführt zu haben. Doch ist eine Neigung bemerkbar, sie zu gebrauchen, wo wir sie ihrer ursprünglichen Natur nach kaum erwarten: Mr Robertson is offering substantial reward for any information that may be given in regard to the missing boat. But I am forgetting; you will let me order some fresh coffee for you? (Aber ich vergesse ja ganz.) Mother will be wondering where we are'.

¹ Mögen es nun äussere oder innere Vorgänge sein, die sie bezeichnenden Verba können die progressive Form haben, sofern der allmähliche Verlauf derselben ausgedrückt werden soll.

Compare also Murray (The Dialect of the Southern Counties of Scotland, p. 220): 'The Present Actual is formed by prefixing the present tense of the verb be to the present participle, as «hey's gaan' thruw the wud». But in verbs expressive of sensuous or mental impressions, as sey, heir, fynd, fancie, leyke, heate, also bey, hæ, there is only one form for these two senses, as wey sey them eennuw, an' wey sey them at aa teymes; with which contrast, thay're syngan't een-nuw, an thay syng'd at aa teymes'.

On the other hand, it is only natural that the periphrasis should be specially favoured by verbs possessing a durative or progressive meaning, and this has also been the case throughout all the periods of the language.

Thus, although it cannot be denied that the Old English and the Modern English definite tenses exhibit some differences as to their respective syntactical functions, yet it must also be admitted that not only is the fundamental idea the same, but also the main uses in Modern English can be traced back to the Old English period, through an uninterrupted existence during the stages lying between these two extremes. Wherefore, it may be safely inferred that the Modern English periphrasis is really identical with its Old English counterpart.

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